# current musicology

number 26/1978

CORRESPONDING EDITORS:

*Domestic*

| | |
|---|---|
| John Daverio | Boston University, Boston, Mass. |
| Brian Taylor | Brandeis University, Waltham, Mass. |
| David Day | Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah |
| Myrl Hermann | Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pa. |
| Linda Thomas | Carnegie-Mellon University, Pittsburgh, Pa. |
| Kenneth Gabele | Case Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio |
| Ronald T. Olexy | Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. |
| John Gordon Morris | City University of New York, New York, N.Y. |
| Sheila Podolak | City University of New York, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn, N.Y. |
| Laura Greenberg | City University of New York, City College, New York, N.Y. |
| Jeffrey Giles | City University of New York, Hunter College, New York, N.Y. |
| Monica Grabie | City University of New York, Queens College, Flushing, N.Y. |
| Peter Lefferts | Columbia University, New York, N.Y. |
| Howard Pollack | Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. |
| Lou Reid | Florida State University, Tallahassee, Fla. |
| Susan Youens | Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. |
| Robert A. Green | Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind. |
| Andrea Olmstead | Juilliard School, New York, N.Y. |
| William Borland | Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, La. |
| Laura Calzolari | Manhattan School of Music, New York, N.Y. |
| Richard Terry | Memphis State University, Memphis, Tenn. |
| John Nadas | New York University, New York, N.Y. |
| William Smialek | North Texas State University, Denton, Texas |
| Cecilia Van de Kamp | Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill. |
| Jane Duff | Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pa. |
| Michael Tusa | Princeton University, Princeton, N.J. |
| Helen Baker | Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J. |
| Charles Wolterink | Stanford University, Stanford, Calif. |
| Roger Larsson | State University of New York at Buffalo, Buffalo, N.Y. |
| Debrah Smith | Tulane University, New Orleans, La. |
| Anne Hettinger | University of Arizona, Tucson, Ariz. |
| Carol Quin | University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Ark. |
| Elizabeth Lamberton | University of British Columbia, Vancouver, B.C., Canada |
| Larry Archbold | University of California, Berkeley, Calif. |
| Jonathan Paul Couchman | University of California, Los Angeles, Calif. |
| Kathleen Stoner | University of California, Riverside, Calif. |
| Margaret Crouch | University of California, Santa Barbara, Calif. |
| Eric Weimer | University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill. |
| Amzie D. Parcell | University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio |
| Murl Sickburt | University of Colorado, Boulder, Colo. |
| Celia Fry | University of Hawaii, Honolulu, Hawaii |
| Alice M. Hanson | University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill. |
| Walter Mann | University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa |
| Martha Minor | University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kan. |
| Kristine Forney | University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. |
| Linda W. Claus | University of Maryland, College Park, Md. |
| Hugh Kerr | University of Miami, Coral Gables, Fla. |
| Richard James | University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich. |
| Judith J. Warmanen | University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, Minn. |
| James Briscoe | University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C. |
| Josephine Hart | University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore. |

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AEGIS OF

The Music Department
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
New York

# contents


*REPORTS*

From the Domestic Corresponding Editors:

JOHN DAVERIO 7 Boston University: Opera Performances, 1977-78

ROBERT A. GREEN 9 Indiana University: Meeting of the National Opera Association, 2-5 November 1977

JOHN NADAS 11 New York University: The American Institute for Verdi Studies Archive

CATHERINE PARSONEAULT 14 North Texas State University: Opera Research

ROGER LARSSON 16 State University of New York at Buffalo: A Production of Marco da Gagliano's *Ballo di donne turche*

LARRY ARCHBOLD 20 University of California, Berkeley: Opera Productions and Research

RICHARD JAMES 22 University of Michigan: Britten's *Curlew River*

KRISTINE K. FORNEY 24 Fifth International Verdi Congress

From the Foreign Corresponding Editors:

LUDWIG FINSCHER 29 Johann Wolfgang Goethe University, Frankfurt: Musicology and Opera at the Musicological Institute

*FORUM*

Opera: Performance and Musicology

JUDITH E. OLSON 31 Introduction
SARAH CALDWELL 32
MARTIN CHUSID 34
ROBERT DARLING 36
WALTER DUCLOUX 38
PHILIP GOSSETT 40
JAN LARUE 43
OSBOURNE MCCONATHY 46
MARIA F. RICH 47
JUDITH E. OLSON 50 Overview

57 Announcements

*ARTICLES*

WILLIAM E. KORF 62 Gottschalk's One-Act Opera Scene, *Escenas campestres*
GORDANA LAZAREVICH 74 The Eighteenth-Century Intermezzo as Repertory for Opera Workshops
DENNIS R. MARTIN 83 *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen* (1730) and Thomas Lediard, an Early Eighteenth-Century Operatic Scenographer
ELAINE W. NEWMAN 99 Enesco's *Oedipe*: A Little-Known Masterpiece
CARL B. SCHMIDT 106 The "Apotheose de Lully:" or, Toward a New Lully Edition
OLGA TERMINI 112 Stylistic and Formal Changes in the Arias of Carlo Francesco Pollarolo (ca. 1653-1723)

125 Contributors

forum

# *OPERA: PERFORMANCE AND MUSICOLOGY*

*Compiled and edited by Judith E. Olson*

## INTRODUCTION

The *Current Musicology* opera forum was undertaken in order to survey the gap between opera performance and opera-related musicological research. Its purposes include discovering to what extent musicologists are presently working in opera and what they are doing, exploring the resources musicologists and opera groups can offer each other, and suggesting ways in which contact between the two groups can be increased and improved.

In the United States more people are watching more performances of more operas than at any other time in history. According to statistics compiled by the Central Opera Service, during the 1976-1977 season 427 operas were performed by 68 major and 61 civic companies; 167 symphony orchestras, choral groups, and music festivals (staged and concert performances); and 165 avocational companies and music clubs. In addition, 422 opera workshops and opera theaters at colleges, universities, and conservatories performed 2,464 times, accounting for one-third of the 7,389 opera performances of the season. Of these performances, 1,833 were staged by the 68 major companies (those with budgets over $100,000); joint expenses of major companies totaled $79.7 million. The numbers of both performing organizations and performances increased by one-half from 1970 to 1977, and audiences doubled, reaching ninety per cent of capacity in the 1976-1977 season. These figures indicate a large potential for participation in opera at all levels and the spread of public appreciation of opera.

Respondents to the forum included artistic directors of professional opera companies, opera service organizations, grant-making institutions, directors of college opera workshops, and musicologists who have worked with opera companies preparing editions and musical materials, conducting, and acting as consultants. All respondents were given the following questions as suggested areas for discussion, and asked to add any further ideas they might have. Their responses follow, and an editorial overview is appended.

1. What problems most need to be researched in order to influence and develop repertoire?

2. What should be researched to be of service to an opera performer (i.e., singer, director, translator, designer, conductor)?

3. What sorts of information are necessary for the audience to bring an educated perspective to the viewing and hearing of an opera?

4. In what form should material and information be presented in order to be readily accessible to opera companies?

5. What are some problems in producing historically accurate scores for opera production?

6. What are some problems in adapting historical music materials to contemporary opera orchestras and singers?

7. What are possible clearinghouses of information on musicological opera research accomplished and in progress?

8. How can musicologists locate individual opera companies which would be interested in their work?

9. How could a musicologist be active on an opera staff today and in the future, and what skills would be required of musicologists working in professional opera?

10. Where can musicologists and opera performers go for funds to prepare a new, historically legitimate production?

SARAH CALDWELL, Artistic Director, The Opera Company of Boston (from a discussion with Judith E. Olson, 27 January 1978)

At the present time there is not much interest by opera companies in musicological research. Other groups, such as symphony orchestras, are always interested in new parts and a new edition. Naturally critics generally respond well to productions which exhibit intellectual prowess. As far as opera companies are concerned, you will find a few individuals who are interested in research; many others will give lip-service to it, but may be unwilling to spend money on it. An opera company may be interested in research in terms of a premiere, where they are coming out with totally new materials and will receive publicity for it, but it is not the hottest item.

As far as funding goes, asking companies to go to places where they are already getting money is not as promising as suggesting some new place. If you can find an organization that will give money for opera research and can make the parts and scores available for nothing, and then if they can also pay for some of the orchestral rehearsals, then it saves money and begins to seem financially sound.

The first thing I ask from a musicologist is where the materials are. This will depend on with whom the musicologist is working, however; I have talked to other conductors who are simply floored by the idea of going to the Opera Library at the Bibliothèque Nationale. But to me the first job of the musicologist is to bring together and compile the

materials. I also like to act as musicologist myself and find out where things are and use them.

There are a few musicologists who can work successfully with performers. Philip Gossett, for example, is very helpful and generous with his research, and is good at working with performers. But this is an area that the musicologist must be conscious of. There are many things a performer knows that he can apply to a musical score. A musicologist may help in the production, but he does not always have a first-hand knowledge of how the music works in performance. It is very unusual that someone is equally competent in both the areas of research and production. It is a rare musicologist who is able to figure out in collaboration with performers what the composer had in mind.

The result of research must be that the musicologist makes such information available that the director, conductor, set designer, and so on can make the decisions. They are the logical arbiters of that information. The researcher helps to get the performers interested in what is available, but he is really in the position of giving the surgeons the knives, and not teaching them how to cut. A conductor and designer must have control of the kinds of materials to be used. You must remember that he is still performing for a contemporary audience.

Much recent research has not given the performers alternatives, but rather what the scholar thinks is important. Problems arise when the musicologist tries to make musical decisions without the knowledge or perspective of the performers. Sometimes he leaves out all sorts of "unimportant" little details which are important, and includes other details which really are unimportant without having the knowledge that is necessary to make the decisions. And often he does not even say what he has done. Notation is inadequate, it must be explained. You cannot write out music of any period and really show the style. In addition, much research which was done before recent developments in the sophistication of photographic equipment must be redone.

However, giving a successful performance involves much more than just having well-researched materials. Ideally the musicological input as consultation and collaboration should be available from the very beginning. I know of a case where a production was planned and researched very carefully, but the conductor and singers arrived only at the last minute, and the production fell apart because everyone was accustomed to doing it a certain way.

As far as musicologists working with opera companies, Boston does employ people to bring historical perspective to the works, and to help the conductors, set designers, etc., to make their decisions. European opera houses have the position of Dramaturg on their staffs—a sort of combination of public relations director and musicologist. For example, the Komische Oper in Berlin employed Stompor as Dramaturg; he is a

musicologist and an expert on Handel's German operas. He wrote the program notes and handled the publicity. It was a springboard for him to move on to a position as Intendant somewhere else. This is very common in European houses, and the actual duties of the Dramaturg depend on the bent of the company.

The best way to get research into opera is to seek musicians, conductors, and performers with a scholarly bent. The attitudes of musicians are shaped at the universities where they get their musical training, and you form them when they are young through opera workshops. To make something happen in five years, you must reach the performers at the university.

Also, it is the individual performer that must be reached, and not the opera companies. An opera company as an institution is nothing more than the group of individuals that make it up. The Opera Company of Boston is interested right now in performances using historical materials, but that is simply because of the interest of a number of individuals; in five or ten years that may not be the case. Opera companies usually do not even go through the thought process of researching their materials. They just take what they can get from the music publishers. Often the ones who bring the scholarly attitude are the performers who come in to do guest performances.

The best training for the well-rounded musicologist is to start young getting the experience of being a conductor and performer, and to be a performer of many styles of music under many circumstances. As I said before, the natural meeting-ground for performance and musicology is the university.

MARTIN CHUSID, Professor of Music, New York University; Director, American Institute for Verdi Studies

American opera companies are more numerous and their audiences are probably better educated than at any time in our nation's history. Yet, because the cultural phenomenon we call opera is so complex, both groups badly need the assistance of musicologists. The larger companies might well consider the employment of scholars-in-residence. Not only could staff musicologists help find and prepare new materials for the repertory, locate the best available editions of the music, select the best possible translations for performances and librettos, but they could also provide basic information—simple but necessary facts.

A high percentage of operatic subjects are drawn from history and mythology, two areas in which even college graduates are generally unprepared these days. Relevant historical data, not to mention information on the more complex aspects of social conventions which existed in by-

gone days, are badly needed if librettos are to be understood in their proper context. In a libretto as relatively free of mythological allusions as *La Traviata*, for example, the audience should know that "Ebe" (Hebe), the daughter of Zeus and Hera, waited on the gods, that she filled their cups with nectar. Violetta prepares the "Libiamo," the drinking song, well by pouring wine for Alfredo while remarking, "Saro l'Ebe che versa" ("I will be the [goddess] Hebe who pours [for you]").

Let me cite two additional examples from Verdi's *Don Carlos*. There are two figures, one dressed in the costume of a member of the "Sant' Ufficio" (the Inquisition) and the other a soldier with a musket, posted outside of Posa's cell in the death scene. Why are they necessary? The religious figure points to Posa, the soldier fires the murder weapon. Symbolically there is a clear reinforcement of the scene earlier in the act in which the Grand Inquisitor gains the upper hand vis-à-vis Philip, the temporal ruler. The Church leads the way. But there is another factor at work, a historical one. A member of the Church, even during the Inquisition, was never allowed to bloody his own hands. He could and did, however, designate exactly who it was that had to be murdered, tortured, or burned at the stake as a heretic.

At an earlier point in the opera Posa visits Elizabeth and her ladies on his return from a trip through France. He is carrying a message to the Spanish Queen from her family; Henry the Second of France is her father. While she is reading the message, Posa remarks to Eboli, "There is already talk of a great tournament and the King will be there [as a participant]," Posa is, in fact, referring to the tournament on 30 June 1559 at which Henry was struck on the temple by a lance in the hands of Gabriel de Montgommery, a Captain in the Scottish guard, a wound from which Henry died on 10 July.

Librettos by their very nature are highly condensed documents, and most of them need considerable explication. But not only audiences, even more it is the performers, stage directors, and designers who must have information of the kind just mentioned at their fingertips. Otherwise there will continue to be performances of the sort I witnessed a number of years ago in which two soldiers, but without a religious figure present, were brought on stage for Posa's death scene. How can an audience understand or even take the plot of an opera seriously, if the persons responsible for the performances are not sufficiently knowledgeable to stage the work accurately—that is, so that it makes sense?

Certainly Verdi was concerned with historical accuracy in the staging of his works. Witness the following letter to Tito Ricordi:

> Please inform Perrone that the epoch of *Macbeth* is much later than Ossian and the Roman empire. Macbeth murdered Duncan in 1040, and he was [in turn] killed in 1057.

> In England there ruled in 1039 Harold—the so-called Harefoot King—a monarch of Danish descent. He was succeeded in the same year by Hardicanute, twin brother of Edward the Confessor. I needn't tell you that there should be neither silk nor velvet in the costumes.

The correspondence of Verdi and other composers and librettists of opera provides a fund of valuable practical information for the performance and comprehension of their operas. But it requires thoroughly trained persons on the staffs of our opera companies to ferret out this information. With teaching positions increasingly difficult to find, our young Ph.D.s in musicology are available. Are our opera companies ready to use them?

ROBERT DARLING, Artistic Director, Central City Opera

As a producer in opera, one of the most pleasant and delightful aspects of my work has always been discovery: discovery of the music; discovery of the way the characters are illuminated and expressed, musically and dramatically; and discovery of the interior of the ideas that compose an artistic work, its inner source where dwell the fires of creation. Opera, of course, opens vistas of past centuries well beyond the three centuries that comprise the repertory we offer today. Concerned as I am with finding ways to present opera that will entrance a modern audience, I find it necessary to scour bookshelves for ideas and information that connect our present with our artistic past. History, sociology, philosophy, psychology all play their part, as does musicology. How can the contemporary musicologist serve the lyric theatre? Certainly first of all by opening treasures lost in dust and showing us they still gleam.

The exhumation of unperformed works, however, is meaningless to the needs of a producer unless that information is *easily* accessible. I would hope to see works not now in the standard repertory codified so that their performance requirements could easily be ascertained and logically presented. The Quaintance Eaton books *Opera Production I & II* or the Belwin Mills Catalogue are well known guides that could be expanded to include additional relevant information. Aside from statistical information (how many flutes, trombones, sopranos, sets, etc.), an array of opinion would be welcomed, both criticism from the time of the work and our contemporary feelings about that work, its composer, and so on.

While I have not been greatly attracted to "accurate" reconstructions of "lost" masterpieces, a sense of correct performance practice needs to be developed in order to grasp some of the charm of the work. One of the great delights of the *Julius Caesar* revival by the New York City Opera

was the freshness in handling the da capo arias that liberally sprinkled the score.

Nothing is more difficult, of course, than to reconstruct a lost performance practice, but how revealing and rewarding any scraps of information can become when a difficult work is being attempted! *Faust,* one of the most difficult operas with which to deal intelligently, was patched and reshaped at the premiere not only to accommodate an immature chorus, but also because in one case the scenic skill and perception had not been developed to provide what Gounod intended when he wrote the work. When I came upon a scrap of information revealing that he originally wanted the church to "open up" revealing the town square, then to go back into the church, I realized he was striving toward a cinematic style unknown then. Today the opera should be produced with *avista* changes giving it something its composer originally wanted but could not achieve.

Musicology is exploring the evolution and legacy of American opera in an important way with a series of reprints that make scores such as John Bray's *The Indian Princess* or George Chadwick's *Judith* accessible to performers; and in some instances a semblance of production information is included, although orchestration information is often very scanty. Whether these works could hold the stage again is a difficult question to answer, but one that might be helped by applying ourselves not only to informative retrieval from the past, but also to creative reconstruction now.

I am told that some of our universities now have computers that can synthesize almost any sound with extraordinary accuracy and can be programmed to recreate Bach fugues. Where is the progressive musicologist (not only the current musicologist) who will take on the computer? How I would love to hear the balance of voices achieved in a carefully reconstructed Baroque opera, the high voices in subtle distinction, soprano, alto, contralto, tenor, and that unknown creature the castrato! Is it possible? Could the progressive musicologist with computer restore a lost musical legacy; could this fantastic musicologist with his computer replace the surgeon with his knife?

The marriage of scholarship and art is ever a fragile relationship. It demands an informed and creative scholar and an open-minded and adventurous producer. The past must guide us, not stifle and choke us with its dust. The opera theater exists to entertain. To do this it must engage our passions, our feelings, and our minds. Opera has many facets that need to be polished to refract those special lights into our present visions. Important work remains to be done by producers with the guidance of knowledgeable musicologists eager and ready not only to remove the dust, but also to apply some imaginative polish and make lost treasures gleam and, dare I say, lost chords sound.

WALTER DUCLOUX, Professor of Music and Director of Opera Theater, University of Texas, Austin

We have the world's greatest reservoir of dramatic and musical talent. As far as opera goes, we lack only one thing—leadership. There are not enough people qualified both as serious students of sources and as practitioners of the stage. In order to produce such people, musicology has to widen its narrow concern for written material and set its sights on broader horizons. More than that of any other form of musical endeavor, the history of opera is a microcosm of world history. Its cherished musical forms—arias, ensembles, cabalettas, interludes, and the like—are not products of purely musical concerns, but answers to extra-musical needs. The very origins of opera are to be found in the physical properties of the Greek amphitheater, which forced the actors to speak slowly and on a high pitch. The musical "close-up" techniques of a Puccini would have been inconceivable, were it not for the focusing possibilities of electric light.

The merits of musicology over the last hundred years are well known. A glance shows that wherever musicology flourished we have splendidly documented performance tools, annotated scores, volumes of research materials in several languages. The ready availability of such materials, as well as of competent musicologists themselves steeped and interested in live performances, has permitted conscientious performers to prepare themselves in depth. In Europe, where opera has long been a part of general education, it was not necessary to educate an audience to its appreciation. The fact that the United States has only just awakened to wide-spread enjoyment of opera has given musicology a task and an authority that are often misunderstood. This rapid expansion has tended to rip open a gulf between the study and the performance of opera, with mutual recriminations between music historians and performers, to the disadvantage of both. The time is at hand to bridge that gulf where it exists, first and foremost in academe.

Unlike European universities, born independently in various language areas, universities in the United States follow a clear pattern based on imitation of European models. Musicology, in Europe an honored denizen of academe, has tended in America to develop in isolation from the live hurly-burly of musical performance. Especially in the field of opera, musicological research in America often works in a vacuum, as far as performance is concerned. Opera seasons, brilliant but short periods of exotic entertainment, cannot take the place of a good old *Stadttheater* in a middle-sized European town, where ten to twelve operas are produced annually, given as many times as the demand will permit.

In response to the demands of an increasing host of talented native singers, universities have established opera workshops. All too often such

workshops operate in a vacuum of their own. Concentrating on the training of singers, they do not try to attract other students. Yet drama students as well as orchestra players are sometimes ahead of their teachers; they are anxious to work in this still new and fascinating domain, provided they are made to feel welcome. But they cannot feel at home in a situation where vocal expertise is all that counts. Too many conductors, lighting experts, costumers, and coaches, myriad specialists, still shy away from opera. Talented directors of the spoken stage find all too few opportunities for practical study in operatic direction.

In addition our operatic world is schizophrenic. Its critics, musicians most, will chide conductors and singers for the slightest transgressions against "the composer's wishes" while extravagantly hailing blatant excesses of stage-directors and designers. Where once the ability to read a score in terms of its visual corollary on stage seemed important, some recent operatic ventures seem bent on disrupting any possible correlation between pit and stage. "Creativity" is all around us, impartially shielding both genius and charlatan.

The past century has elevated music to the pinnacle of adulation. Opera, the wild and woolly circus of popular entertainment and vocal acrobatics, has changed into the hallowed temple of art, where only music is sacred, while the contributory arts may indulge in orgies if they wish. Gluck foresaw this when he remarked, "Our opera *puzza di musica* [stinks of music]!" It is time to restore opera to its proper domain—the stage. Musicology, in its own interest, must assume a leading role in the effort. Once admitted to the theater, music *is* the most powerful of the arts. Throughout history, it was the wise musicians who fought for the other arts to generate the total impact that writers from Monteverdi to Menotti had in mind. Opera flourished most when administered by the Webers, Wagners, Mahlers, Toscaninis, and Liebermanns—musicians all! We are all slaves to habit. Much of our trouble is caused by semantics. We call Euripides a playwright and Wagner a composer. In fact, Wagner was a superb playwright and Euripides composed all the music for his plays. Both men were theatrical producers steeped in stage-craft, lighting, body movement, backstage politics, and high-level negotiations.

What specific tasks could musicology undertake in the immediate future? There are large areas of drought as far as theatrical repertory for operatic students is concerned. Why cannot musicology provide workable editions of French opèra comique or German Singspiel in good English translation, a repertory easily learned and not vocally demanding, but grateful for neophyte stage-people? Our nationwide interest in the supernatural might argue for a new look at Marschner, whose true historic significance was too long overshadowed by Wagner.

The overriding hope, however, must be the value of such efforts to the one contributor without whom opera will die, the composer. For all the

marvelous statistics celebrating the ever-increasing output of American opera, reality looks less glorious. Musicology—and its close relative music criticism—must bear part of the blame for a situation which has become grotesque: the fact that in our democratic society the word "popular" has become a dirty word to academe; that almost unperformed composers have become heroes, while frequently performed ones are viewed with disdain; that some of the most talented dramatic composers alive are regarded as inferior because they work in Hollywood. Musicology should widen its concerns to include *all* musical activity of our time, undeterred by the dictates of fashion.

There are two ways to look at a bull. Musicologists tend to look at him as veterinarians. But we who enter the corrida of live performance have to look at him differently. To the matador, *el toro* is something to be faced and mastered. Bless the doctors who keep him big and full of fight! We are friends.

PHILIP GOSSETT, Professor of Music, University of Chicago (remarks made to the Central Opera Service on the occasion of the performance of Rossini's *Tancredi* by the Houston Grand Opera, 17 November 1977)

The crusade for *Tancredi* is part of a larger crusade which has as its goal replacing in opera houses throughout the world, both large and small, the editions being used today of Italian nineteenth-century opera (the operas of Rossini, Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi) with new critical editions. By a critical edition I mean a published full score together with appropriate derivative materials (a piano-vocal reduction and orchestral and choral parts), prepared exclusively on the basis of the most authentic contemporary sources: first and foremost surviving autograph scores, but also, when these prove insufficient, contemporary manuscript copies, printed editions, libretti, collections of vocal variants, and so on. A critical edition is not a facsimile; it is an edition in which critical intelligence has been brought to bear on these authentic materials so that the resulting score can be used as the basis of a performance in the opera house. It is an edition which in various ways, depending upon the composer involved, makes clear where the composer's explicit will ends and where the editor's intervention begins. It is an edition which, in principle, is timeless; not tied to a performance, or to a conductor, or to a singer. It presents the work as completely and accurately as is possible on paper. When more than one authentic version of the work exists, it makes available in a practical manner all the music associated with the opera.

What does this have to do with performance? Is it merely a sterile academic exercise foisted on a resisting public by sterile academics such as myself? Let me state the relationship as a paradox: "A critical edition is

meant to be performed, but you cannot perform a critical edition." The *Tancredi* edition can serve us here as a model for what this paradox means.

I spent the better part of a year preparing the critical edition of *Tancredi* for the Rossini edition which is being published by the Fondazione Rossini of Pesaro. (The first volume of the edition, *La Gazza ladra,* edited by Alberto Zedda, will be published early in 1979; the second, *L'Italiana in Algeri,* is currently being engraved; *Tancredi* will be the third volume; to be followed by *La Donna del lago, La Cenerentola,* and *Il Turco in Italia,* all of which are well under way.) The performing materials drawn from my edition were then sent to the singers, Maestro Rescigno, and the forces here in Houston. At this point, their work began.

First, Maestro Rescigno had to make some basic decisions. My score includes *all* the music Rossini composed for *Tancredi* in its various authentic stages. For practically every aria of the original version there exists an authentic substitute aria, not to mention the tragic finale, about which you have probably heard enough already. A critical edition cannot, indeed must not, make choices among these pieces. The conductor, working closely with the stage director and the singers, is responsible for the choices, and must base them on his judgments about the particular cast, the quality of the various pieces as he sees them, and so on. The editor of the critical edition can have an impact, of course, and should be consulted, but his fundamental task is not to consider the particularities of a given performance.

Second, decisions about cuts had to be made. This is treacherous ground, and I am sure you have all walked around it before, but scholars and performers must really face it straight on if they are to understand one another. Opera is a performing art; it takes place in a theater, not a library. To cut an opera on a recording is indefensible; to cut it in a theater is not. A wonderful *New Yorker* cartoon once showed a concert hall with a distinguished looking musician on stage breaking a piano apart with a baseball bat. A very serious young man in the audience, with a score on his lap, turned around to his neighbor and indignantly commented, "It says here he should be using an axe." There are acceptable modifications of a score and unacceptable ones. A conductor who methodically crosses out practically all the repeated passages in a Rossini or Donizetti opera (and we all know such conductors) should simply not perform these works. He does not understand them, *punto e basta.* On the other hand, it is perfectly clear that the recitativo secco needs pruning in the theater, alterations which should be worked out for each specific performance between the stage director and the conductor. The practical necessities of a given performance, size of the stage, nature of the chorus, abilities of individual singers, may speak in favor of certain cuts within the musical numbers themselves. Cuts of this kind have in fact been taken

in this performance of *Tancredi*. I can live with them, although in one or two cases cohabiting is a better word, but in every case I understand why, for the needs of this particular production, the cuts have been made. What I will never agree to live with is a "tradition" of cuts. "Traditions" of that kind are betrayals. (I do not know the precise etymological relation between *tradizione* and *tradire*, but clearly there is one.)

Third, vocal ornaments must be prepared. The critical edition offers the vocal lines composed by Rossini. It provides all variants found in Rossini's hand, dating from the 1820s, the 1830s, and even the 1850s. It provides whatever evidence exists for ornamentation supplied by contemporary singers. It does not pretend to dictate to Marilyn Horne what ornaments she should sing. Instead, by presenting documentation about ornamentation, it suggests the kinds of ornamentation that are appropriate. From there each singer must determine, with the cooperation of the conductor, and in this case the spectacular help of Martin Katz, how best to perform the part. Variations are needed in cabaletta repetitions, fermatas must be filled in with appropriate cadenzas, and so on. All these matters depend on a specific performance and specific singers and, as I am sure you will all agree after the performance, they help give each different performance its special character. Nothing is more depressing than hearing ornaments become "traditional." What a bore having to listen to the same variations on "Una voce poco fa" again and again.

Finally, of course, there are a host of matters that enter under the general category of "interpretation." The critical edition presents Rossini's text. It is correct *per se*, and the qualities of a particular performance do not touch its correctness. For various reasons, however, a conductor may feel it necessary to make modifications. At a certain point in a beautiful orchestral introduction to Tancredi's Gran Scena in the second act, for example, Rossini has the winds play chords *sf* on the down beat only for several measures, while the strings have various figurations below. These chords are notated as eighth notes. Perhaps due to the specific acoustics of Jones Hall, these eighth notes seemed terribly abrupt in performance, and Maestro Rescigno rightly has had the winds sustain the chords for a full quarter note. Or to take another example, in the overture Rossini, as always, specifies only two timpani, here on D and A, tonic and dominant. The critical edition must not do more. But it seems to me within Maestro Rescigno's prerogative to add, as he has done, a timpani on E to fill the hole in the sonority that is created at a certain point by the absence of a third timpani in Rossini's score. One could argue, of course, about the merits of the decision, but it is clearly not inappropriate for a conductor of a specific performance to make such decisions. To take a final example, Rossini has provided no music whatsoever for the concluding battle scene. We witness only the reactions of

characters on stage, who are commenting in secco recitative. But on several occasions they comment "Qual grida" or "Odi il fragor" or "Ascolta. Cessò il tumulto." It has seemed appropriate to us to introduce here some trumpet calls and the like, derived by Maestro Rescigno and myself largely from martial music used earlier by Rossini in the duet of Argirio and Tancredi "Il vivo lampo di questa spada," to represent the ongoing battle. Such music would have no place in the critical edition, but it makes perfect sense in the context of this production.

I trust the paradox is clearer now. One does not perform a critical edition. But a critical edition allows performers to make rational, informed choices at every stage of their work. It strips the work of layers of accretions. In the case of the popular opera repertory, a critical edition gets the notes right (you would be horrified at a demonstration of how many wrong notes there are in the scores you use daily, not to speak of incorrect articulation, dynamics, and so on).

Our crusade, then, is well under way, and the Houston production is but one manifestation of it. As you may know, the University of Chicago Press, working together with Casa Ricordi, has recently announced the publication of a critical edition of the complete works of Verdi, with the first volume due in 1980. It will be a thirty-year project, and most of us will probably not see the end of it, but it will finally make the works of Verdi available to all in published full scores. A critical edition does not pretend to answer every question. But it allows the particular judgments that must be made for each performance to grow out of the fullest knowledge of the composer's score and the documents surrounding it. In the hands of sensitive musicians and directors, such knowledge can only be liberating.

JAN LA RUE, Professor of Music, New York University

According to the Hollywood rumor factory, Groucho Marx shortly before his death was considering a script entitled *A Musicologist at the Opera*, based freely on Rossini's *The Turk in Italy*. As one who has survived a brief period of official attachment to an opera house, I suspect this script would have been a winner. Even without a script, the potential services of musicology to opera seem almost limitless. In practice, of course, they may be severely limited not only by the knowledge and energy of the musicologist, but also by the acceptance rate of the opera establishment, a tempo roughly comparable to the evolutionary patterns of the woolly mammoth. Among the obvious areas for cooperation the following come quickly to mind, not necessarily in order of urgency: securing a correct or at least plausible version of the libretto and music; proof-reading the performing score and parts; researching the authentic

traditions of performance, including sets, costumes, stage business, dance routines, orchestra size, tempos, and musical style; preparing literate program notes and accurate advertisements relating to the current performances; and working regularly with conductor and performers to achieve an acceptable balance between local conditions and musicological ideals. There is far more to do than any single musicologist could achieve, and the frustrations encountered in putting even one item from the above list into action can be discouraging. Musicologists must constantly remind themselves that opera is first an industry, second an art, and never a historical discipline. The producers and consumers of this industry pursue a different product.

In common with other industries, opera suffers from chronic shortages of time and money. The time problem results to a considerable extent from singers caught in the worldwide meteor system (formerly called the "star system"). Today this system places such inhuman demands on the schedules of performers that opera is often pinched between airplane flights. In such a multi-continental timetable it is small wonder if the singers—meteors—find little time to work with the earthbound musicologist; they scarcely have time for the conductor. The money situation poses classically insoluble problems: place any industrial enterprise of great complexity in a restricted market and the result is a continuing deficit. Small wonder again, if under these conditions the musicologist encounters difficulties in carrying through his ideas. No deficit operation welcomes further expenses.

Beyond time and money, the operatic consumer must accept some responsibility for the musicological underdevelopment of the industry. Until the opera public takes an interest in authenticity as well as in vocal power and range, we can scarcely expect the managers to respond to our suggestions. Authenticity takes time and costs money, and the audience must both know and care. Barring a miracle, therefore, musicology can expect only limited and gradual cooperation from major opera establishments.

Yet not everything the musicologist offers to opera involves a time-investment by busy performers, costs the managers heavy money, or demands instant attention from the consumers. For example, many questions of authenticity can be settled in a brief telephone conference, and reasonably unmisleading program notes have been produced by many musicologists. These modest contributions indicate possibilities for future interaction, but we need a vital first step: all operatic budgets should include a small provision for a musicological consultant. There would be no lack of appropriate candidates.

Of the many individuals involved in an opera performance, the musicologist is particularly well-positioned to give disinterested advice, since he will receive little public credit or blame. As a happy consequence,

it will gradually occur to conductors and singers that any good results from a musicologist's suggestions can be adopted freely as emanations of their own distinctive styles—opera requires no footnote credits. To show other possibilities, here are three concrete examples drawn from experience of situations requiring musicological first-aid.

*Scenic hazards.* Stage designers obviously must study scenic requirements, mood, and stage action; however, apparently they do not always take into account whether the singers must sing *while moving* and what the terrain will be. Few performers can project an expressive cantilena (or an enraged protest) while negotiating simulated rocks underfoot on a dark stage. The resident musicologist might foresee the need for a ramp rather than twisting steps—before some singer twists an ankle and before the union carpenters go home.

*Publicity.* Typically handled by an advertising firm connected with the business managers, announcements will rarely be concerned with authenticity. On one ill-advised subscription form, the adman used a silhouette produced nearly a century after the composer's death with no detectable resemblance to his actual, known appearance. Worse still, for the same performance, the foyer exhibition was also left to the advertisers, apparently on the principle that exhibitions are part of publicity. In creating the exhibition, the main entrance sign was taken from a supposed signature of the composer. Unfortunately, the billboard-size reproduction was copied from a heading on an autograph written not by the composer but by some other hand. In the display cases the biographical information was taken from a popular child's life of the composer, supplemented by several record jackets, with many resulting mistakes in dates and facts as well as perpetuations of various folk tales. The musicologist had not been asked, and the embarrassing revisions were hasty and wasteful.

*Tempos.* Everyone knows that difficult allegro finales must be paced with some regard to the maximum safe speed for the singers involved. Yet in public performance conductors typically break the speed limit, accelerating recklessly somewhere between rehearsal studio and orchestra pit. A performance of even more brilliant total effect might result from a less risky tempo (not only singers have trouble with unsafe speeds) coupled with more incisive articulation in the orchestra, particularly by brass and winds. Without becoming the Ralph Nader of the operatic world, the musicologist can give early warnings of such problematic finales. Similar practical thinking can be extended in a number of directions if the musicologist is given official access to the appropriate inner circles. Every opera house should have the equivalent of the National Security Council, and the musicologist should be a member.

How can we accelerate the infection of opera by musicology? Since historical interest and authenticity have never served as primary goals of the opera industry, musicologists have customarily looked to colleges and

universities, and more recently to local opera societies, for sophisticated operatic attitudes. A realistic hope for the future can therefore be seen in the growing alliance between university expertise and community talent. No one would wish to neglect Sullivan or Gilbert, but there seems to be a trend in "light opera" associations to extend their repertories in the general direction of Purcell or to supply a Shakespeare play with authentic dance and song. Going still further into our operatic heritage, pioneer groups in many parts of the country have shown that even a single act of a Cavalli or Lully opera, presented in a concert version that includes appropriate suggestions of action, can lead to fresh appreciation of a bygone style. Working by these and similar routes, though presently neglected and even rejected by "heavy opera," musicology will gradually reclaim the best of history and tradition to improve the performances of the future.

OSBOURNE McCONATHY, extensive research and conducting for The Opera Company of Boston; Librarian, Boston Symphony Orchestra

The lack of contact between musicologists and performing artists has created a situation in which our musical performances today are not only ineffective but incorrect. Audiences and performers are both unaware of the state of affairs, but it is a dangerous one because music is losing its power to please and the public is becoming less discriminating and concerned. The result is that the art is suffering a decline. Our cultural life is losing its vitality in spite of an ever-growing need for aesthetic sustenance evidenced by the increased size of our audiences, and in spite of the proliferation of musical organizations. The public is being short-changed and does not know it, and the perpetrators or performers are equally blissfully ignorant. It sounds like a dire situation, and it is; one has only to look at our television, movies, and popular music to know it. Musical establishments are feeling the financial pinch and are relying more and more on government support, but even here our taste has been so corrupted that the importance of cultural excellence is not recognized and the need for support of the arts is denied. Are the performers or the musicologists to blame? Both have been guilty of lack of concern for each other, and both must now work to bridge the gap.

A demonstration of the effectiveness of authentic performances was made in the 1977-1978 season with the Metropolitan Opera Company's revival of *Tannhäuser*. For the first time in many years, Wagner's stage directions were given consideration and the result has been renewed interest in the opera and the work has come to life.

The musicologist can help in such a renewal by being the deputy for the composer. When Wagner and Verdi were alive, they were active participants in the production of their works. Performers needed their

direction for the successful performance of their parts. Of course, the composers' directions were not always followed, and Mozart, Verdi, and Wagner were often driven to despair (think of Berlioz in Paris!), but when they were followed (as Mozart's in Prague) the results were overwhelming. Sometimes, too, the composer benefited by the performer's advice and requests. Mozart, for example, often waited for the coming of a singer before finishing the music for him. Composers did not work in a vacuum.

When a composer dies, his control over the presentation of his music is lost. Performers lose touch with the true way of doing things. Either through ignorance or arrogance they corrupt the music, and a decline eventually sets in. It is here that the musicologist should enter the picture and defend the music by helping to restore authentic performances. Authentic performances are necessary if the music is to live and if our cultural life is to remain healthy.

This need for the musicologist is not presently recognized. The musical critic is usually unaware, just as the public is unaware, of the difference between a vital performance and a poor one, because vital performances are so rare. However, they do take place occasionally (as in the case of the *Tannhäuser* in New York) and when that happens, the need and value of authenticity is evident and, consciously or not, recognized and welcomed.

How many musicologists are prepared to deputize for the composer? This is an important question, and the answer unfortunately is "very few." Yet their training is essential for this function. It is necessary for musicologists to recognize their responsibilities along these lines and to do their best to fill this need. They cannot wait to be called on. They should not conceal themselves in their studies. They must condemn improper performance practice and revitalize our musical life by helping to produce good concerts and operas. Moreover, it is in opera that they are most needed, because it is in opera that our musical reforms usually take place. Opera companies must be made aware that the composer or his deputy, the musicologist, must be on hand to produce a successful performance.

MARIA F. RICH, Executive Director, Central Opera Service, New York; Editor, *Who's Who in Opera*

While preparing the material for the 1976 Central Opera Service *Directory of Operas and Publishers,* we became acutely aware of the many available versions and editions of certain operas, particularly, of course, of the Baroque music-theater pieces. The *Directory* lists about three thousand published operas in alphabetical order by composer, and was compiled as an aid to opera producers, indicating the availability of

performing material. Each edition is identified by its publishers (and in cases of foreign houses by the American representative). This is followed by the name of the editor/adaptor wherever appropriate, then the language(s) of the text as they are printed, and finally the material itself—whatever is available: full score (FS), miniature score (MS), study score (StS), orchestra parts (P), chorus parts (CP), vocal score (VS).

We discovered that under Monteverdi, for example, there are ten different editions of *La Favola d'Orfeo,* eight of *L'Incoronazione di Poppea,* six of *Il Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda,* five of *Il Ritorno d'Ulisse in patria,* four of *Il Ballo delle ingrate,* and finally, one of *Lamento d'Arianna.* It is interesting to note that the majority of these editions are by composers who have written their own operas: Malipiero, Dallapiccola, d'Indy, Maderna, Orff, Ghedini, Goehr, Křenek, Bucchi, and Respighi. Other versions are by musicologists such as Denis Stevens, Alan Curtis, and Raymond Leppard, who have done yeoman work in reconstructing early operas. The latter was almost single-handedly responsible for the great international rebirth of Pier Francesco Cavalli, thanks to his adaptations of *La Calisto, L'Egisto,* and *L'Ormindo.* The Austrian composer-conductor Bernhard Paumgartner has prepared an authoritative edition of Cavalieri's *La Rappresentazione di anima e di corpo,* and it is his version that has been performed during many Salzburg Festivals, although two other editions are also listed as available. The *Directory* also lists six versions of John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera,* but there can be no doubt about which is the most popular today. The edition by Benjamin Britten far outperforms the first version by Pepusch, as well as the Austin and Milhaud arrangements.

All this brings us to the question of style, the style of the period when the work was originally conceived—often a hotly disputed enigma—and the style of the period when the reconstruction, edition, or adaptation was made. Too often the latter has been permitted to overshadow the former, at its extreme resulting in the Stokowski/Bach adaptations which were so popular in their own time, when rich, sensuous sound was an end in itself.

With Toscanini came the trend to return to "come scritto," to find the original score, the "Urtext," the period style. This became the unwritten ethic of the "serious musician." After a century of *Boris Godunov* in the rich and smooth Rimsky-Korsakov orchestration, attention and favor turned toward the "Ur-Boris," and the sparser and more primitive orchestration by Musorgsky seemed better suited to the drama. (Nonetheless, there are many who feel that the Rimsky version is, theatrically, the more successful one.)

Thus musicologists today are more often concerned with the search for original versions, for original material and fragments of operas, in order to reconstruct as faithfully as possible the original ideas of the

composer. It is a time which frowns on tradition for tradition's sake, a time for fresh evaluation.

The trend toward re-establishing embellishments in bel canto singing has changed many familiar arias into coloratura exercises and soprano showcases, believed to have been the practice in the time of Bellini, Rossini, and Donizetti. Whether this can also be applied to Mozart seems at least questionable. Is this a question of taste or do we become guilty ourselves of being tradition-bound? Some rules concerning Mozart's style seem to be indisputable today, and among those is the use of a reduced orchestra. But what a surprise to read a letter Mozart wrote to his father from Vienna in 1781: ". . . I forgot to tell you the other day that at the concert the symphony [K. 338] went *magnifique* and had the greatest success. There were forty violins, the wind instruments were all doubled, there were ten violas, ten double basses, eight violoncelli, and six bassoons."

The work of musicologists in opera and the resulting editions have been discussed at various Central Opera Service conferences. The latest one was held in Houston last October, and coincided with the Houston Grand Opera's first performance of Rossini's *Tancredi* in the then just completed critical edition by Philip Gossett. It was prepared for and under the auspices of the Fondazione Rossini. On the afternoon prior to the performance, conference delegates were treated to a fascinating discussion by Professor Gossett, stage director John Cox, and critic Andrew Porter. The discussion centered on problems encountered by researchers, such as the decisions to be made by the musicologist when confronted by contradictory material. Professor Gossett also gave a lucid explanation of the meaning of a critical edition. [See Professor Gossett's remarks above — Ed.]

There has been continuous controversy over whether the composer is best served by the performance of the first version of an opera for which the composer himself made changes after hearing the first performance. In almost every case, these were intended to improve the work, indicating an original deficiency, at least in the composer's opinion. At the Central Opera Service Bicentennial Conference in Boston, Julius Rudel addressed himself to the question of new editions and "Urfassungen:" "His [the composer's] waste basket is to be emptied and leaked to an ever-eager world yearning for the Urtext, the original outpouring the composer himself had foolishly rejected. Let us call it the ur-Urtext, pre-Urtext. The past of opera is now being rewritten with a compulsion for completeness that is rather stupifying. I marvel at the regular unearthing of new material for old scores, . . . The composers' own suggested cuts, the liberties they regularly took with their own scores, the adding, subtracting, substituting, re-arranging, have suddenly become anathema. We can see from composers' letters that they were never sure, they never viewed

every note as sacrosanct. Mozart cut, added, rearranged, to suit the performing capabilities of a particular group, and even the patience of a particular audience." This speech, as well as the above-mentioned panel discussion at the Houston Conference, is available with the complete transcripts of each Conference from Central Opera Service, Metropolitan Opera, Lincoln Center, New York, NY 10023.

So far I have mentioned only some of the activities and publications of our organization. Files are maintained on some twenty-five thousand operas and the Information Service, available to Central Opera Service members, can draw on these extensive archives. In serving the complete opera community, opera companies as well as educational workshops, Central Opera Service continually compiles new information on all aspects of opera and distributes this information through its annual *Directories* and its quarterly *Bulletin*. Among its features, the *Bulletin* contains a column on new editions performed or published, and on research on or discoveries of operatic material. As an added service, Central Opera Service has agreed to make the list of musicologists interested in and qualified for operatic research, as published in this issue of *Current Musicology*, available to opera producers upon request. An announcement to this effect will appear in the forthcoming Central Opera Service *Bulletin*. In order to keep the information current, additional names will be published periodically in the *Bulletin*. The information supplied should include name and address, university affiliation if any, field of interest or specialty (period, country or language, or particular composer), and past work in opera, and whether the registrant suggests a particular operatic project or is generally available within his sphere of expertise. Any completed and available opera-related study, new edition/version, etc., will be reported immediately in the subsequent *Bulletin* issue. There is, of course, no charge for either listing.

Concluding this report, we would like to express our great pleasure in anticipation of future cooperation with readers of *Current Musicology* and with American musicologists in general. The unprecedented growth of American opera over the past few years, as reported in the Introduction to this Forum, should augur well for this new association.

## OVERVIEW

The opera forum received enthusiastic response not only in the form of written articles for publication but also in suggestions and experiences from many other interested people. The following discussion includes concerns of opera companies seeking to mount historically accurate productions, the services a musicologist may be expected to provide, how

musicological materials can be made more easily accessible to opera companies, and ways in which a musicologist can build an active and responsive opera audience.

The opera producer who is interested in historical authenticity is faced with many problems. First, professional opera is an economic venture and dependent on its audience; satisfying that audience is necessary for survival, and it is in consideration of that audience that the producer will make his decisions. Singers will also weigh the time spent learning an unfamiliar role against the probability of future performances.

After a company has determined what its resources are adequate to provide, it must ask itself what constitutes authentic performance. Whether it is a performance using musical and dramatic conventions of the age and country where the work was originally written, or whether it means a more idiomatic representation based on a study of the individual composer's writings, stage directions, and conventions found in others of his works depends on the work and the composer in question. Often, but not always, authenticity means playing the music as written with attention to proper interpretation of specific signs, stripped, as Professor Gossett suggests, of centuries of accretions and traditions of cuts. The company must then decide which aspects of an "authentic" performance it will seek to recreate (or is capable of recreating), and to what degree it will attempt to realize those aspects.

In making these early decisions it is often essential for a company to consult an expert who can locate information and materials, and who can interpret this information. This may be done in personal consultation or through the medium of such guides as Robert Darling suggests.

However the company chooses to use the information, it ought at least to operate in full knowledge of the alternatives. Whether directors will seek to recreate a convention, or whether they will use the information as a primary resource from which they can develop their own ideas or stimulate their creativity will depend on the company and individuals involved.

It is clear from the responses that the range of available knowledge of such a musicology consultant or "scholar-in-residence," to use Professor Chusid's term, includes more than the ability to discover the best score, proper cuts, ornaments, and instrumentation. It also includes aspects of period set design, choreography, costuming, and vocal quality, as well as an understanding of acoustics and a humanistic educational background. In addition, the staff musicologist must have the ability to work with performers, to handle publicity whenever it relates to musical and historical aspects of the work, and to write good program notes. As Sarah Caldwell pointed out, this unites the responsibilities of the European Dramaturg.

The specific qualifications desired vary according to the needs of the company and, as Professor LaRue remarks, the abilities and energy of the musicologist.

A musicologist with access to this background information can act as the "composer's deputy" called for by Osbourne McConathy. The relationship of such a musicologist to a company would not be unlike the relationship of the composer himself to an opera company, and the type of concessions that must be made for performance would be similar.

The musicologist who could deliver this range of information would, if possible, work with the company throughout the production of the opera, as both Sarah Caldwell and Professor LaRue advocate, consulting with directors in all areas of production, working with conductors for a proper balance of sound within the hall, and helping to adapt the music to contemporary singers and performers and them to adapt to proper performance practices.

Many respondents pointed out that the product of the scholar's contribution to the production of an opera must be attractive to its audience in all aspects. In a conversation, John Ludwig of the National Opera Institute asked, does a musically "correct" performance really honor the composer if it does not deliver proper voice quality, interesting scenery, and acting at a professional level? He noted further that in his experience, much time and energy is often spent getting the proper music together, and not enough on choosing the right voices or making sure other aspects of the production are well worked out.

The musicologist could gain sophistication in various aspects of dramatic presentation and production along with performers in university opera workshops and community opera groups. He can practice integrating into production a concern with authenticity which can extend to all aspects of the music and staging, if, as Professor Ducloux noted, there is an interaction of experts in all of these areas. Dealing with audience reception in these situations can also be good experience for a musicologist. An audience exposed early to well researched and innovative university and community performances will certainly demand the same from professional opera. Because these groups often do not have the same economic concerns as the professional companies, they may be more open to experimentation. Sarah Caldwell pointed out the special potential of university programs for introducing performers to a concern for authenticity that will carry over into their professional careers.

Opera performers are very much aware of the great distance that lies between studying music in the conservatory or university and performing it with a professional company. Opera workshops and apprenticeship programs at some companies have in part bridged the distance between these areas for the performer. In the area of research it is not as easy.

Often a company does not know how and where to begin exploring the information concerning a particular opera, or how to make contact with a musicologist interested in its project.

In conjunction with the *Current Musicology* opera project, the Central Opera Service will maintain and make available the listing of musicology consultants for all levels of performance with their special research areas which begins in the announcements section of this issue of *Current Musicology*. Soon it may also be possible for companies to obtain research work on a particular topic directly through computer link-ups between performance and library facilities at a few of the recently founded research centers for the performing arts.

A musicologist on an opera staff or a provision in the budget for musicology consultation, as suggested by Professors Chusid and LaRue, would make such information easily available on a regular basis. LaRue's point that attention to authenticity can become a part of a performer's reputation is borne out by a number of contemporary performers. It is also possible to obtain the benefits of a musicologist on the staff at little additional cost through clever grantsmanship. The National Endowment for the Arts has often supported the production of revivals or newly researched works where they form a part of the regular season for a company. Although it is primarily concerned with young artists and contemporary opera, the National Opera Institute could directly or indirectly fund projects which fit into their "Innovative Projects" or "Rarely Performed Operas" categories. Research supported by grants from the National Endowment for the Humanities may also produce helpful information for opera companies. The Foundation Center, 888 7th Ave., New York, NY 10019, (212) 975-1120, can put companies and individuals in touch with additional grant possibilities. An apprenticeship with an opera company to integrate various aspects of research into the production of an opera would be an appropriate element of doctoral research, if the responsibility and credit for the research can be preserved by the musicologist.

Opera companies often employ set designers as well as singers who are experienced in the production of a specific work for the duration of preparation of that single work. Scholars or musicologists who have researched a work and who have helped in its production could also move from company to company, employed by each for a small part of a season. This has already occurred with a few operas that have recently been revived. A national agency or opera service organization could also make available for consultation musicologists who are familiar with a specific area of opera. The link to be provided by Central Opera Service is one step in this direction.

Many of the musicologists and opera professionals consulted expressed

doubts as to how receptive opera companies are to matters of authenticity, and to collaboration with musicologists, especially if they are unsure that attempts at authenticity are financially viable or worthwhile. In responding to such a state of affairs, it is clear that one of the best assets of a musicologist is a knowledgeable audience that takes an active interest in accurate and authentic performance. A key to producing such an audience is to provide it with easily-accessible opportunities to become informed on the operas to be produced in their area. Many means exist to provide for this opportunity, which are at the same time ways to build opera audiences in general.

From 1965 to 1967, Chusid taught New York University extension courses, each based on four operas performed at the New York City Opera. The class met once before each opera, attended the performance together, and met again afterwards and before the next opera. At each meeting the class studied the upcoming opera and discussed the previous performance. Tuition for the program included the cost of the tickets. In the course of Chusid's four cycles of operas (two general, one Mozart, one contemporary), enrollment increased from 35 to 135. Such programs could be offered through many different agencies (including opera companies as a part of a subscription series).

Information can be provided in other ways, such as reading and listening lists of varying levels of difficulty; exhibits of documents, iconography, costumes, and so on; and through radio, television, and newspapers. The National Endowment for the Humanities offers a wide range of programs under which historical, theoretical, and critical studies in the arts are funded. Projects dealing with appreciation in the arts may be included where they relate clearly to other fields of the humanities or demonstrate a humanistic approach.

The NEH provides grants for the preparation of research tools, such as bibliographies, catalogues, and so on, and for independent study and research. Programs by all levels of educational institutions, including libraries and museums, to improve instruction in the humanities and to develop and provide formal and systematic educational programs for students and for the general public are also funded. Included could be lectures, film showings, discussions, interpretive performances, and field trips, as well as individual and small group study sessions. Recently an aesthetic education program at Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in New York trained general classroom teachers in aspects of the historical, literary, and philosophical framework of opera, using *La Traviata*. The Center used its unique resources of performance materials and invited scholars from the area to participate in the instruction.

Museums and historical organizations may receive support from the NEH for interpretive exhibits of objects and documents which foster an understanding of our cultural heritage, as well as public symposia, lec-

tures, interpretive film programs, and so on. Professional, civic, social, and service-oriented voluntary organizations that develop programs using resources in the humanities to explore topics of interest to their members also receive funding.

In terms of film, radio, and television production, NEH stipends are available for planning instructional projects, for developing materials to be presented, and to bring together scholars in the humanities and production professionals to develop new modes of cooperation between these groups and new media formats for the distribution of humanistic information. Many NEH program areas make available funds for such projects that explore new ideas for the dissemination of information within branches of the humanities. A Youthgrants program provides for projects developed and conducted by young people in their teens and twenties, including those who have not completed professional training. More information on all NEH programs is available from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Washington, DC 20506. Again the Foundation Center should also be contacted for further grant possibilities.

The musicologist who knows how to use such promotional and audience-building techniques pays for the cost of authenticity and for his own position on the opera staff. Such techniques can also make the consciousness of authenticity a popular concern, and may enable the audience to reject performances in which false claims of authenticity are made.

The potential of responsible and knowledgeable critics for effecting changes in the attitudes of opera companies and for presenting the opera audience with a critical perspective should not be underestimated. For example, Covent Garden, after being lambasted by the critics for accepting printed materials of *Carmen* without evaluating them, eventually consulted Winton Dean, a leading expert on Bizet, to determine what could be done about the situation. Andrew Porter's critiques of the New York Metropolitan Opera performances of *Tannhäuser* and *La Favorita* in the 9 January 1978 and 13 March 1978 issues of *New Yorker* magazine are examples of the kind of critical questioning to which a critic can introduce his audience. McConathy comments that performers and audiences often do not realize that anything is lacking in a production until they experience one which returns to practices which reflect the composer's own conception, and also cited *Tannhäuser* as an illustration.

The collaborative assistance of an experienced musicologist can have a positive effect on opera performance and assist in the development of an educated audience for all levels of opera companies, through research for the company, courses, lectures, detailed program notes, reviews, and the media. The recent Fifth International Verdi Congress devoted to research and performance experience and practice with Verdi's *Macbeth* took place on the occasion of the Kentucky Opera Association's production of the original 1847 version of *Macbeth.* A very promising and gratifying

aspect of the performance and the Congress was the attendance of a large body of informed and interested people from many parts of the country, not all of whom were musical professionals. Such events could become regular occurrences.

Readers are invited to respond to this forum with suggestions and new information. Letters should be addressed to *Current Musicology*, Department of Music, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027.

articles

# *GOTTSCHALK'S ONE-ACT OPERA SCENE, ESCENAS CAMPESTRES*

*William E. Korf*

H. Wiley Hitchcock, in his book *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction,* writes, "Without question the most colorful personality, the most articulate intelligence, the most talented performer, and the most provocative composer among the mid-nineteenth-century pianists was Louis Moreau Gottschalk. . . ."[1] Gottschalk's friend George Upton, a nineteenth-century musician, spoke of him as being "tropical by nature—a wayward, passionate creature, who delighted in reveries and wild, strange rhythms."[2] These facets of Gottschalk's personality are to be found in his music, but the most distinctive feature of these compositions is to be seen in his use of Creole, Black, and Latin American rhythms and melodies; these influences are strongly prevalent in his orchestral music.

After Gottschalk's death in 1869, his orchestral works (only two of which are published) remained in relative obscurity in private libraries in Cuba and Brazil until recently. The scores in Brazil, one of which was *Escenas campestres,* first belonged to Arthur Napoleão, a pianist and close friend of Gottschalk, and then passed to Dr. Abrahão de Carvalho of Rio de Janerio, from whom they were purchased by The New York Public Library in late 1967 by means of a gift from the American pianist Eugene List.

An important aspect of Gottschalk's tours in Latin America was the large festivals that he directed. In Cuba in the spring of 1860 he wrote in his diary, *Notes of a Pianist,*

> Two months later (on the offer made to me by the general-in-chief to place at my disposal all the military bands) I had, as I say, the idea of giving a grand festival, and I made an arrangement with the director of the Italian company, then in possession of the Grand Tacón Theater. He contracted with me to furnish his chief performers, all the choruses, and his whole orchestra on condition of having an interest in the result. I set to work and composed, on some Spanish verses written for me by a Havanese poet, an opera in one act, entitled *Fête champêtre cubaine.* Then I composed a *Triumphal Hymn* and a *Grand March.* My orchestra consisted of six hundred and fifty performers, eighty-seven choristers, fifteen solo singers, fifty

drums, and eighty trumpets—that is to say, nearly nine hundred persons bellowing and blowing to see who could scream the loudest.[3]

In order to recruit performers for the Havana concert, Gottschalk sent out the following announcement to fellow musicians:

> Dear Sir: In order to bring to pass in this city a Festival in which 650 musicians will perform several of my symphonic works, I have found it necessary to count on the cooperation of my artistic friends and admirers who have always demonstrated such kindness toward me. Numbering you in this company, I venture to hope that your assistance and your talent will increase the success of the FESTIVAL. Please let me know your decision either directly at my house, 470 *Aguiar,* or through one of the music stores of this city.
>
> Let me take this opportunity to offer myself as your humble servant, etc.
>
> L. M. Gottschalk
>
> Havana, Jan. 24, 1860
>
> Note: The rehearsals will be announced in the papers.[4]

The "List of Mr. Gottschalk's Published and Unpublished Works, in the Order of Their Composition," of 1863, which was probably compiled by Gottschalk himself and is printed in facsimile in Robert Offergeld's *Centennial Catalogue* of the composer's works, gives the name of the opera as *Scéne Champétre* [sic], *(pour soprano, ténor et bariton avec orchestre).*[5] According to Offergeld, Nicolás Ruíz Espadero, a Cuban friend of Gottschalk, had a copy of this music in 1880 which was titled *Escenas campestres (cubanas). Cuarteta para soprano, tenor, baritono y bajo, con accompañamiento de orquestra* (presumably this information is from Luis Ricardo Fors's biography of Gottschalk, which was published in Havana in 1880).[6] The Uruguayan musicologist, Francisco Curt Lange, said in 1950 that the manuscript belonged to Abrahão de Carvalho in Brazil.[7] Lange says further, "It was written for soprano, tenor, baritone, bass and orchestra."[8] Although Fors said that the opera included a bass vocal part, and subsequent chroniclers followed his lead, the extant manuscript does not contain one.

Gottschalk had an obvious interest in opera at this time, for Jeanne Behrend writes in the "Prelude" to *Notes of a Pianist* that he was conducting operas at Matanzas and Havana in 1860.[9] The *Escenas campestres* is perhaps related to the *tonadilla escénica,* a Spanish theatre ballad popular with Cuban composers at the turn of the eighteenth century. It was from the *tonadilla escénica* that the Cuban *teatro bufo* arose; in the latter,

the popular Spanish personalities of the *tonadilla* were exchanged for Creole stereotypes.[10]

Robert Offergeld wrote in *Stereo Review* that "the *Escenas campestres* (Gottschalk called it a one-act opera; today it might be described as a sort of staged bucolic cantata) is full of sparkle and wit, and must be as much fun to sing as Rossini."[11] It is difficult to imagine this work being staged, however, for there is no real plot, and the characters have no names.

The lyrics of the opera, according to Gottschalk, were "some Spanish verses written for me by a Havanese poet."[12] There is no denying that they are of a rather inconsequential nature. Lange says that the singers "present verses in bad taste, constantly repeated, which certainly do not say too much in favor of Gottschalk's aesthetic judgment."[13] To attempt to decipher the Spanish text in a reproduction of the manuscript is quite difficult. The original Spanish and the English translation (offered as an appendix to this article) are a compilation of materials from John Cary Lewis's thesis, *A Study and Edition of Recently Discovered Works of Louis Moreau Gottschalk*,[14] from the "Notes" by Richard Freed to the recording *A Gottschalk Festival*,[15] and work done by this writer.

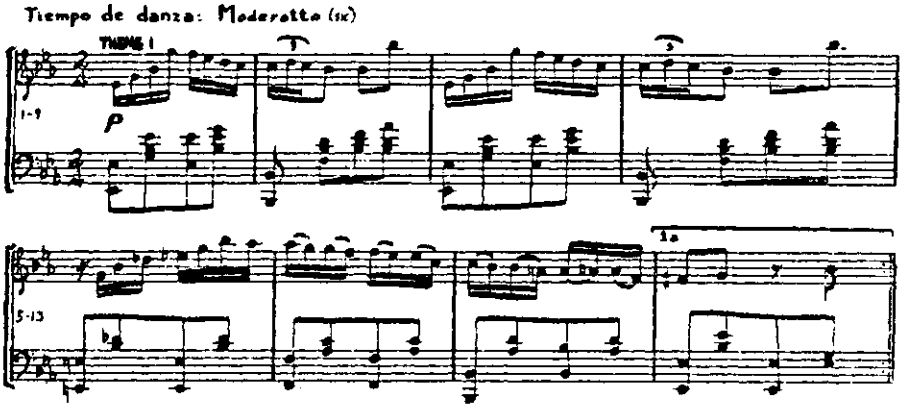
The orchestra of *Escenas campestres* is essentially identical to that of the symphony *La nuit des tropiques*, except that here the only percussion is the timpani; in both works emphasis is placed on the use of a large wind band. The singers include a soprano, a tenor, and a baritone; in the first two sections of the work the orchestra includes *flautín* (piccolo), two *flautas*, two *oboes*, two B-flat *clarinets*, two B-flat *cornetines*, two *trompas* (E-flat horns), two *fagottes*, two trombones, *figle* (ophicleide), strings, and timpani. In the final part of the piece are added *requinto* (E-flat clarinet), E-flat *trompet*, E-flat *tromba* (bugle trumpet), two *bombardinos* (euphoniums), and *bastuba*.

The title page of the extant manuscript reads: *Escenas Campestres / Por / Dñ L. M. Gottschalk / Obra* 159. The date 17 February 1860 is given at the end of the score. The overall form of the work is ternary—ABA. The first and last sections of the piece are based on Gottschalk's piano composition *Danza* Op. 33, which was written in Puerto Rico in November 1857; it is reprinted in Vera Brodsky Lawrence's edition of Gottschalk's piano music and contains the inscription, "A mon vieil ami Edouard Verger (de Saint Pierre, Martinique)."[16] The theme of this piano composition was very likely arranged from a popular Cuban song of the period, but John Doyle, in his dissertation on Gottschalk's piano music, was not able to trace its source.[17]

The first *A* section of the scene is an orchestral introduction in E♭ major based on the *Danza*. It begins in 2/4, "Tiempo de Danza: Moderatto [sic]," with full orchestra *piano*, the theme played by high winds and strings. A harmonic and rhythmic background is provided by the bassoon, ophicleide, cello, and string bass playing on the downbeat of each measure,

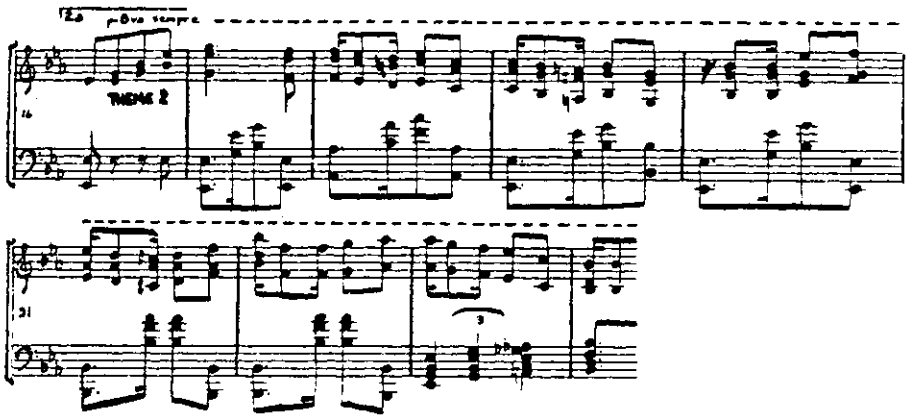
while the cornet, horn, second violins, and violas fill in the remainder of each measure with an even eighth-note pattern. (See Example 1.)

EXAMPLE 1: *Escenas campestres*, mm. 1-8, theme 1 in the piccolo, flute, oboe, clarinet, and first violin parts.




The melody of the second sixteen measures is heard in the piccolo, oboe, cornet, and first violins, and emphasizes the Latin rhythms that permeate this work. An especially noticeable rhythm is the triplet figure, a sort of hemiola effect, that first appears in the second violin, sounding against the other prevailing rhythms. (See Example 2.)

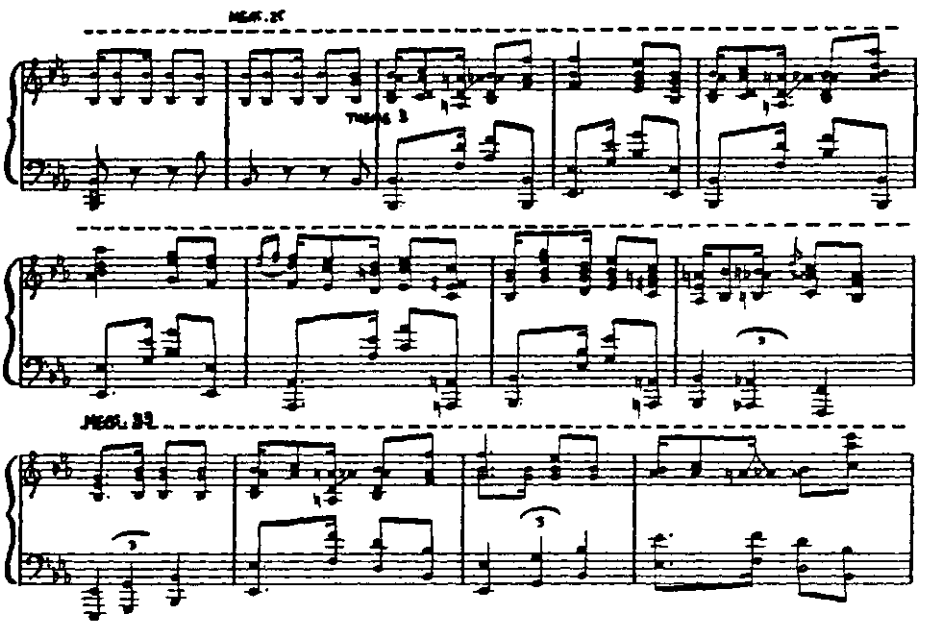
EXAMPLE 2: mm. 9-17, theme 2 in the piccolo, oboe, cornet, and first violin parts.




The third theme of the orchestral introduction, using the same instrumentation as the second theme, is melodically somewhat different from the piano version—and perhaps more imaginative—although the har-

monies are the same. The triplet rhythm grows increasingly important in the accompaniment. (See Example 3.)

EXAMPLE 3: mm. 24-26, theme 3 in the piccolo, oboe, cornet, and first violin parts (mm. 25-33).

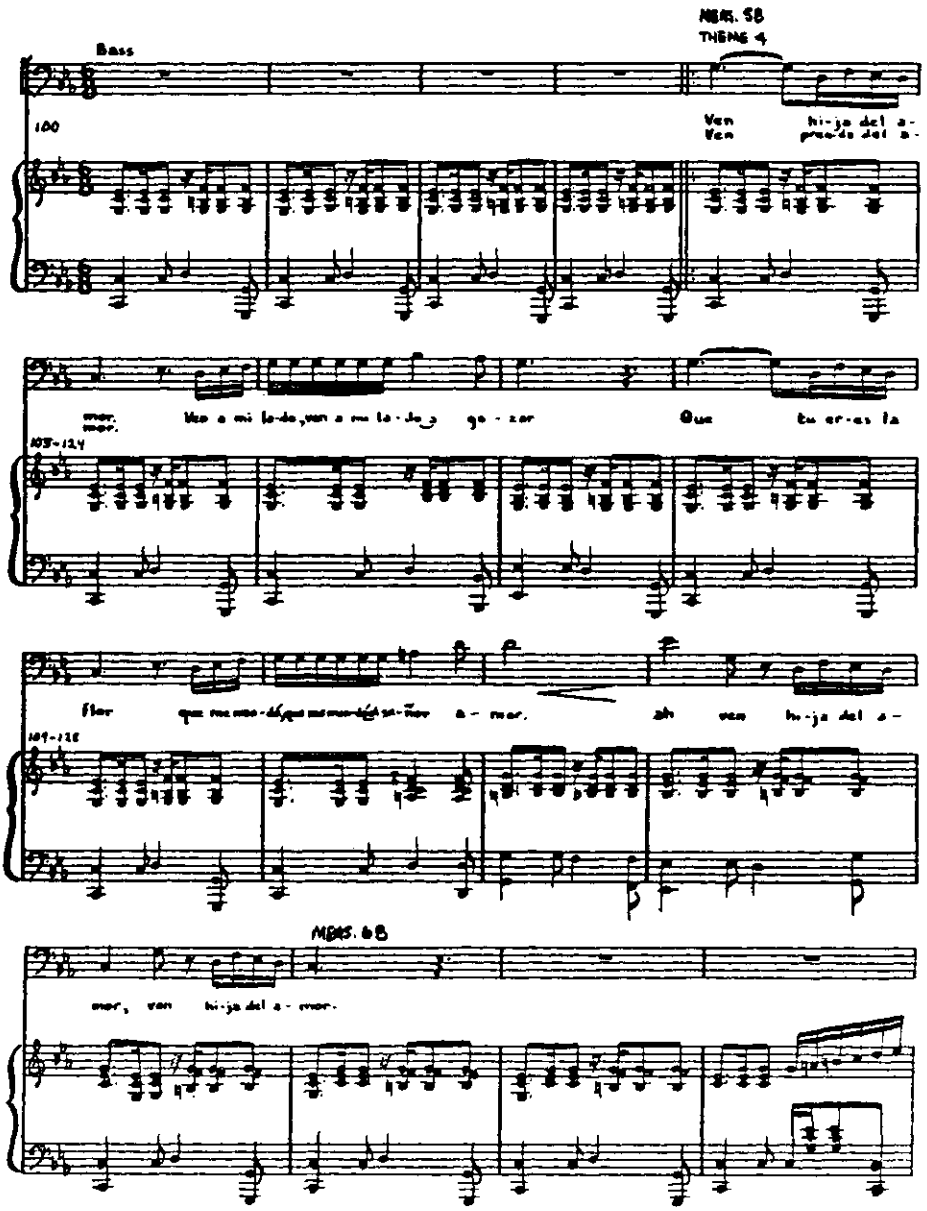


The *B* section of the large three-part form is in itself also a ternary form. This central section of the opera is considerably longer than the first and is full of rhythmic ostinatos of Spanish and Latin American derivation. The time signature has changed to 6/8, and the key is C minor. The first and last sub-sections are for the vocal soloists and orchestra, while the middle part, based on a Spanish dance called a *zapateado*, is for orchestra only.

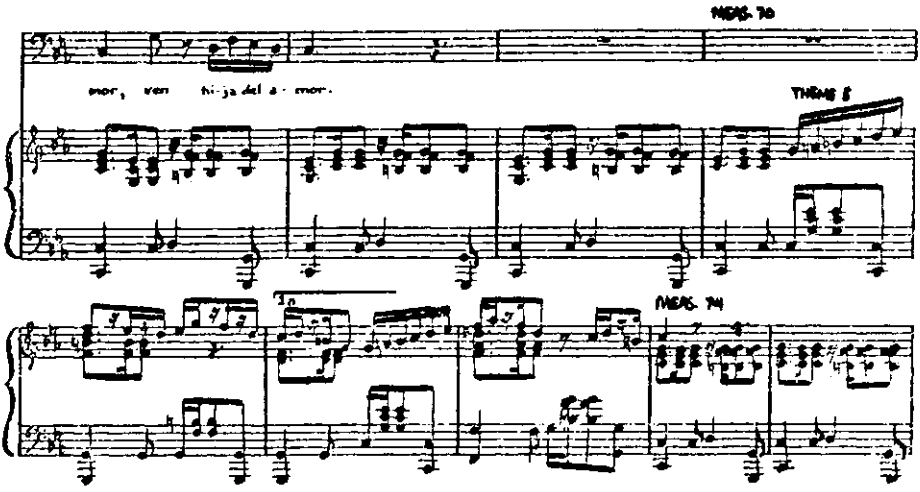
The four-measure introduction by the strings which begins the first sub-section (*a*) contains three rhythmic ostinatos that remain prominent throughout this section. The baritone soloist enters with the main theme of this part, the first few notes of which constitute an important motive for the section. (See Example 4.) This vocal phrase is followed by a seven-measure orchestral phrase which features the clarinet in a syncopated theme that typifies the rhythmic intricacy of this entire middle section of the opera. (See Example 5.) The soprano then enters with a new theme, somewhat more coloratura in nature than the male vocal parts.

The orchestral sub-section *b* that follows (*zapateado*) is not only the high point of the middle of the scene but of the entire composition, owing to

EXAMPLE 4: mm. 54-70, theme 4 in the baritone solo part (mm. 58-68).

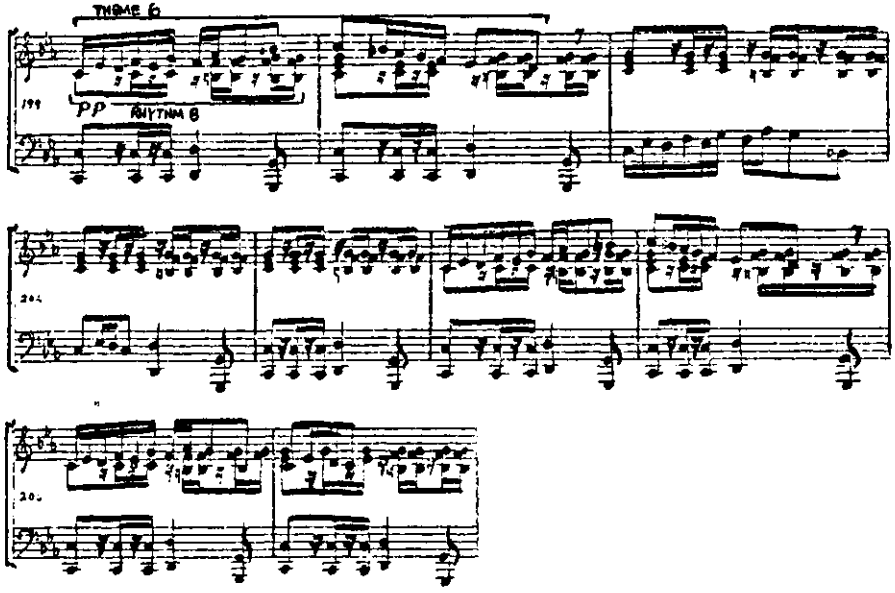


EXAMPLE 5: mm. 67-75, theme 5 in the clarinet part (mm. 70-74).



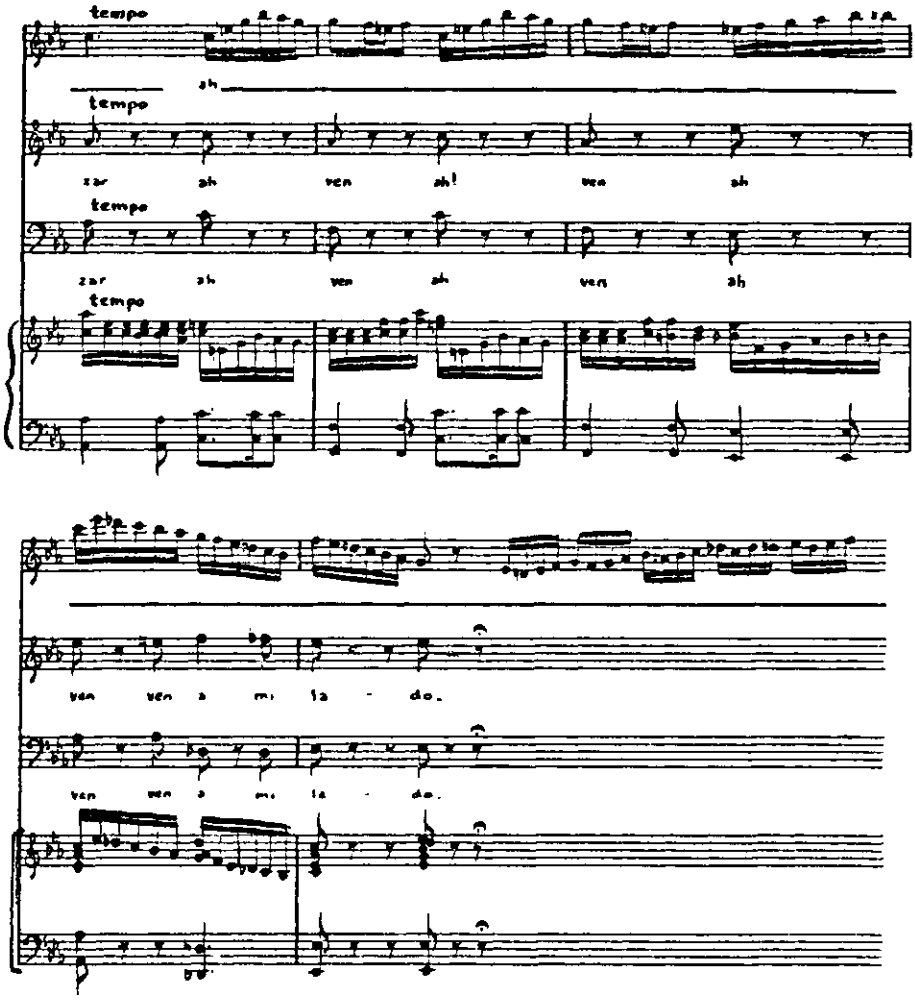

its rhythmic and melodic interest. (See Example 6.) The *zapateado* is a dance which makes use of foot stamping in complex syncopated patterns, and this section reflects its origin as it becomes increasingly animated through a gradual buildup in dynamics, orchestration, and intricate rhythms.

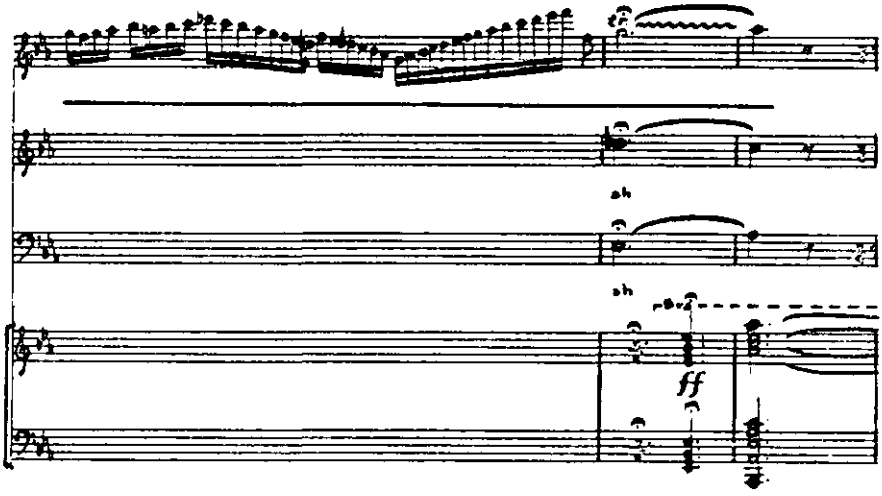
EXAMPLE 6: mm. 137-145.



The repeat of the *a* sub-section of the middle part of the opera places emphasis on coloratura writing for the three vocalists. Especially notable are the use of repeated notes in all voices, a run of almost two octaves in the baritone, and a written cadenza for the soprano which goes to a high f‴. In these coloratura vocal sections, there is usually an orchestral instrument that doubles the vocal part: with the repeated notes, the piccolo and oboe; with the widely-spaced baritone run, the bassoon; and with the final soprano part (with the exception of the cadenza), the clarinet. (See Example 7.)

EXAMPLE 7: mm. 253-259, showing the coloratura soprano part with the cadenza.






Only the soprano sings with the orchestra in the return of the *A* section, the opening "Danza". This vocally demanding part ends with another coloratura passage which culminates on a high e♭‴.

A final statement of the original "Danza" music is played by full orchestra. Only winds and brass are heard in the last five-measure phrase, where harmonic interest is evoked by the appearance of a minor iv chord (A♭ minor) in the key of E♭ major.

Probably the most significant aspect of Gottschalk's orchestral music is his use of nationalistic elements, rather than the intrinsic value of the music itself. And the music is of historical importance because the composer was the only American of international stature in the middle of the nineteenth century to make use of this important style characteristic of the Romantic period.

Adaptability to the circumstances of the moment appears to be another characteristic of the style of the orchestral music. This is reflected in Gottschalk's use of whatever musical forces were available to him in his monster concerts, especially the combining of band and orchestral instruments as in *Escenas campestres*. Considering the general level of training of the musicians with whom Gottschalk had to deal, the evident success of these concerts is remarkable. One cannot help but be impressed by the esteem in which this man was held throughout Latin America. He is certainly the first, and perhaps the greatest, cultural ambassador to Latin America from the United States. Francisco Curt Lange comments on this aspect of Gottschalk's career as follows:

> We see him as the first great Americanist, far from all preoccupation with borders, and at odds with arbitrary symbols which could disturb the peace of the world. With the unquestionable magic of

his pianistic technic and interpretation, he captivated his listeners. And with his prodigious talent for organization, . . . he shook the often decadent musical life of our countries, producing *monster*-concerts, for which he brought together nearly all the musicians living in a given city, communicating to them during the exacting and exhausting rehearsals something of his spark of genius, of his fervor for the fine arts, and the rigor of interpretation from which a scorned profession could not but profit. . . . We firmly believe Gottschalk procured a desired result—that is, the awakening of a musical restlessness which was to cause the activities of professional and amateur musicians to prosper, whether in favorable or unfavorable circumstances. The act of centralizing in his own person the official interest of the country in which he was working had to benefit instantly the general attitude toward music and those who served it. . . .[18]

On Gottschalk's tombstone is written, "His noble heart and generosity made him beloved by all. . . . Time will never erase the remembrance of his noble deeds and genius."[19] A more apt epitaph appears in Frederic Louis Ritter's book, *Music in America:* "He spent his best force endeavoring to entertain musically inexperienced and uninspiring audiences."[20]

*NOTES*

1 H. Wiley Hitchcock, *Music in the United States: A Historical Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1969) p. 73.

2 George P. Upton, *Musical Memories (1850-1900)* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1908) p. 77.

3 Louis Moreau Gottschalk, *Notes of a Pianist,* ed. with an introduction by Jeanne Behrend (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1964; based on the Clara Gottschalk edition, Philadelphia, 1881) pp. 26-27, entry from Cuba, approximately early spring, 1860.

4 Luis Ricardo Fors, *Gottschalk* (Havana: Propaganda Literaria, 1880) pp. 104-105.

5 Robert Offergeld, *The Centennial Catalogue of the Published and Unpublished Compositions of Louis Moreau Gottschalk* (New York: Ziff-Davis for *Stereo Review,* 1970) p. 9.

6 Fors, p. 105.

7 Offergeld, p. 19.

8 Francisco Curt Lange, "Vida y muerte de Louis Moreau Gottschalk en Rio de Janiero (1869)," *Revista de estudios musicales* vol. 2, nos. 5 and 6 (December 1950, April 1951) p. 213 (continued from vol. 2, no. 4 [August 1950] pp. 43-216).

9 Gottschalk, *Notes,* p. xxxi.

10 Alejo Carpentier, "Music in Cuba (1523-1900)," *The Musical Quarterly* 33 (1947) pp. 370-371.

11 Offergeld, "Louis Moreau Gottschalk (1829-1869)," *Stereo Review* 21, no. 3 (September 1968) p. 60.

12 Gottschalk, *Notes,* p. 26, entry from Cuba, approximately early spring, 1860.

13 Lange, *Revista de estudios musicales* vol. 2, nos. 5 and 6 (December 1950, April 1951) p. 244.

[14] John Cary Lewis, "A Study and Edition of Recently Discovered Works of Louis Moreau Gottschalk" (D.M.A. thesis, Eastman School of Music of the University of Rochester, 1971). Part 2 contains a piano transcription of *Escenas campestres*.

[15] *A Gottschalk Festival: The Complete Works for Piano & Orchestra, Escenas Campestres, The Complete Works for Orchestra, 5 Pieces for Piano (4-Hands).* Vienna State Opera Orchestra & Berlin Symphony Orchestra, Igor Buketoff & Samuel Adler, conductors. Turnabout TV-S 34440-42.

[16] *The Piano Works of Louis Moreau Gottschalk,* ed. Vera Brodsky Lawrence (New York: Arno Press & The New York Times, 1969) vol. 2, pp. 151-161.

[17] John G. Doyle, "The Piano Music of Louis Moreau Gottschalk, 1829-1869" (Ph.D. diss., New York University School of Education, 1960) p. 152.

[18] Lange, *Revista de estudios musicales* vol. 2, no. 4 (August 1950) pp. 49-50.

[19] John W. Barker, "Gottschalk in Brooklyn: A Morbid Epilogue to a Brilliant Career," paper read at a meeting of the Midwest Chapter of the American Musicological Society, Chicago, 11 November 1967, p. 23.

[20] Frederic Louis Ritter, *Music in America* (2nd ed., New York: Scribner, 1890) p. 380.

## APPENDIX: Text for Gottschalk's *Escenas campestres*

### Trio

*Baritone*

Ven, hija del amor,
  ven a mi lado a gozar,
Que tu eres la flor
  que me mandó Señor, amar.
Ven, prenda del amor,
  ven a mi lado a gozar,
Que tu eres la flor
  que me mandó Señor, amar.
Ah ven, hija del amor.
Yo te ofresco primor
De mi jardín un precioso asahar;
Te ofresco primor
  de mi canto el dulzor,
  de las aves el tierno trinar,
Sí.

Come, daughter of love,
  come to my side and rejoice,
For you are the flower
  sent to me by the Lord to love.
Come, jewel of love,
  come to my side and rejoice,
For you are the flower
  sent to me by the Lord to love.
O come, daughter of love,
I offer to you darling
From my garden a lovely orange
  blossom;
I offer you darling
  the sweetness of my song,
  the tender trill of birds,
Yes.

*Tenor*

Ven, prenda del amor,
  ven a mi lado a gozar,
Que tu eres la flor
  que me mandó Señor, amar.
Ah ven, hija del amor.

Come, jewel of love,
  come to my side and rejoice,
For you are the flower
  sent to me by the Lord to love.
O come, daughter of love.

*Soprano*

Yo no te quiero creer;
  no sigas más.

I don't want to believe you;
  don't go on.

Yo busco otro placer.
No te quiero creer;
no sigas más.
No quiero tu canción.
Adiós.

I'm seeking other pleasures.
I don't want to believe you;
don't go on.
I don't want your song.
Goodbye.

*Tenor and baritone (at various times)*

Ven aquí, corazón, ven que
to quiero contemplar.
Oiga del tiple el son,
Oiga del tiple sabroso son.
Ven, astro matutino,
Ven, hija del amor,
ah ven a mi lado.
¡Ah ven, ah ven a bailar!

Come here, my heart, come
so I may look at you.
Listen to the sound of the guitar.
Listen to the guitar's enticing sound.
Come, morning star,
Come, daughter of love,
O come to my side.
Oh come, oh come and dance!

*Soprano*

¡Ay, ay, nunca! No te
quiero creer.
¡Ya no sigas más!
No te quiero creer.
¡Oiga el zapateado!
Ya bamos a baylar.

Ay, ay, never! I don't
want to believe you.
Now don't go on!
I don't want to believe you.
Listen to the *zapateado!*
Let us dance now.

Danza

*Soprano*

Vivir es gozar,
amar es vivir.
Que bello es cantar,
ay que bello.

To live is to enjoy,
to love is to live.
How beautiful it is to sing,
oh, how beautiful.

Ay que bello es baylar.
Vivir es gozar,
amar es vivir.
Que bello es cantar,
ay que bello es baylar.
Escucha el canto, tra-la-la.
Ay que dulce canto, la-la-la.
Tu mi ternura,
tu que calma[s] el quebranto,
Ven, que empieza el baile.
Ven, mi bién y mi amor.
La-la-la, la-la-la, la-la-la.
Ven, mi bién y mi amor,
ya oyes la danza.
Ay, que dulce canto.
Ay, que dulce es el bayle [canto?].
Ven aquí, mi amor.

Oh, how lovely it is to dance.
To live is to enjoy,
to love is to live.
How beautiful it is to sing,
how lovely it is to dance.
Listen to the song, tra-la-la.
Oh, what a lovely song, la-la-la.
You, my tender love,
you who soothe my sorrow,
Come, for the dance is starting.
Come, my dearest, my love.
La-la-la, la-la-la, la-la-la.
Come, my dearest, my love,
now hear the dance.
Oh, what a sweet song.
Oh, how lovely is the dance [song?].
Come to me, my love.

# *THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INTERMEZZO AS REPERTORY FOR OPERA WORKSHOPS*

*Gordana Lazarevich*

Directors of opera workshops are continually searching for operatic material suitable to their specific workshop situations. Inevitably, when embarking upon eighteenth-century repertory, their search stops with the comic operas of Mozart. There are several understandable reasons for these choices quite apart from the excellence of the music: such operas as *Le Nozze di Figaro* and *Die Zauberflöte* use casts that are numerous enough to employ a considerable number of people in the workshop, and due to the humor and familiarity of the music to the audiences at large, Mozart is a safe "drawing card" at the box office.

Mozart stands out as the greatest dramatist and the perfect assimilator of the predominant operatic styles in the eighteenth century. But it must be remembered that historically, his activities occur at the culmination of the development of a genre that pervaded eighteenth-century musical life, namely the Italian comic opera. Such composers as Giuseppe Sellitti (1700-1777), Pietro Auletta (1698-1771), Gaetano Latilla (1713-1789), Giuseppe Scarlatti (1712-1777), Vincenzo Ciampi (1719-1762), Domenico Fischietti (ca. 1725-1810), Niccolò Piccinni (1728-1800), Rinaldo da Capua (ca. 1710-ca. 1780), to mention only a handful of the dozens of names, were active composers of comic operas before Mozart. The large number of works produced by these composers attests to the extreme popularity of the genre throughout the eighteenth century before Mozart devoted his creative efforts to that genre.

Of the Italian comic opera composers contemporary with Mozart one must mention Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816), Domenico Cimarosa (1749-1801), Antonio Salieri (1750-1825), Nicola Zingarelli (1752-1837), and Joseph Mysliweczek (1737-1781). (Mozart met the last as early as 1770 in Bologna and developed a great respect for him.) These composers were the leading luminaries on the European operatic stages in the second half of the century. Their works were heard over a broad geographic area from Madrid and Naples to London and St. Petersburg.

Indeed, some operas attained greater acclaim during their composers' lifetimes and received more performances than any of Mozart's, yet despite this fact, contemporary opera groups tend largely to ignore their existence. Among the most popular comic operas one may include Piccinni's and Goldoni's *La Buona figliuola* (1760) and Cimarosa's and Bertati's *Il Matrimonio segreto* (1792). Both of these works exist today in published editions.[1] *Il Matrimonio segreto* has been recorded recently by Fisher-

Dieskau, Barenboim, and the English Chamber Orchestra on a Deutsche Grammophon label.[2] The fact that artists of such international repute have turned their attention to an eighteenth-century comic opera other than Mozart's is an important step in the recognition of the existence and quality of this repertory. The eighteenth century was indeed the golden age of the Italian comic opera. Hundreds of works are still in existence; they have been preserved in manuscript form and are waiting to be "discovered" by our audiences and music students.

In addition to the comic opera, another comic genre was extremely popular, and one might even say that it reigned supreme in the first half of the eighteenth century: the intermezzo. As the root of the term denotes, the intermezzo was a short musical action inserted between the acts and scenes of a larger work. Intermezzi were most commonly inserted into Italian opera seria, although one occasionally finds them appended to comic opera as well. They consisted of two or three sections or acts. A three-act intermezzo was commonly related to its host composition in the following manner: its first two acts followed acts 1 and 2 of the opera respectively; the third act of the intermezzo appeared before the penultimate scene of the opera.

Although bound with the staging of the opera seria, the intermezzo plot was in no way connected to that of the larger work. The curious coexistence of the two contrasting genres is to be explained by the function which the intermezzo fulfilled within the operatic performance, to provide comic relief to the long and somewhat intricate plots of the Baroque opera seria.

This breaking up of the musical continuity of the main opera is better understood in the light of contemporary reports such as those of Charles de Brosses who, while traveling through Italy, attended performances of Italian operas and recorded his impressions of them. In his *Lettres familières sur l'Italie* of 1739 and 1740[3] de Brosses refers to the spectacular scenery, the installation of which required considerable time, thus affecting the musical continuity of the opera. In his opinion, the magnificence of the scenery made up for the cumbersome process of scene changes. One can, therefore, understand a practical reason for the performance of the third act of the intermezzo: usually ten to fifteen minutes in length, it would fill in an awkward gap in the purely mechanical aspect of stage production, diverting the audience while affording the stage crew the time necessary for a change of scene on stage before the grand finale.

The intermezzo employed two singers, several actors (i.e., non-singing roles who performed in pantomime), and a small chamber orchestra consisting primarily of a string quartet and continuo. Baritone and alto or soprano vocal ranges were the most frequently exploited in these comic works. The plots of the short works were in no way connected to their

host operas, and after about 1720 intermezzo singers were totally independent of the cast of the host opera. It was common practice for the singers in an intermezzo to perform the same work on their tours throughout Europe, each time inserting the intermezzo into a different serious opera. For example, a work like *Bacocco e Serpilla* (music by Orlandini, text by Salvi, 1719) was inserted into at least nine different operas (*Amalasunta, Antigona, I Veri amici, Amore e fortuna, Amor tirannico, Innocenza schernita, Lucio Papirio, Siroe, Vincitor di se stesso*).[4]

It is thus a somewhat curious historical fact that the early eighteenth-century intermezzo, while having an independent identity, did not have an independent existence. Yet it was an independent genre, for its two or three acts, taken together, formed a continuous plot. From the many performances of the more successful intermezzi, one deduces that the genre enjoyed extreme popularity. Such works as Orlandini's *Bacocco e Serpilla,* Hasse's *Larinda e Vanesio (The Would-be Gentleman,* 1726) and Pergolesi's *La Serva padrona (The Maid Mistress,* 1733) remained in the forefront of the comic musical repertory for over three decades. In the eighteenth century, where part of a composer's duty was to create fresh operatic works for each new season, the repetition of a work from one season to another indicates its popularity with the audiences.

The comic opera and the intermezzo co-existed in the early decades of the eighteenth century, specifically in Naples, which was in the vanguard of operatic activity. When the rise, development, and maturity of the two genres are compared, it becomes clear that a comic musical idiom was developed first in the intermezzo, and only several decades after the intermezzo reached its mature phase did comic opera begin to show traces of an independent comic musical idiom. The predominant element of comedy in the early opera buffa is in the libretto. The music still follows the conventions and style established in the serious opera. For example, Scarlatti's *La Donna ancor e fedele* (1698), *Il Trionfo dell'onore* (1718), or Leo's *Amor vuol sofferenza* (1739) do not contain the slapstick action and humorous musical characterization of the numerous contemporary intermezzi. Interestingly enough, each of the above composers also wrote intermezzi which exhibit a different style from that found in their comic operas. This is particularly exemplified in Scarlatti's *Pericca e Varone (The Spanish Lady and the Roman Cavalier,* 1714), Leo's *Drosilla e Nesso* (1726), and Vinci's *Don Pomponio e Modestina* (1728), which differ from the comic operas in both nature of the text and musical characterization.

The astute female who entices her reluctant male counterpart into marriage through a series of ruses and disguises, the somewhat slow-witted male (usually a servant, peasant, or member of the middle classes), the scheming widow, the cowardly soldier, the quack, and the hypocrite

—a whole gallery of rogues is animated in the intermezzi. While the actual character patterns of the individual members are recognizable as derivations from the Molière theater and the commedia dell'arte, the naturalistic mode of expression and at times coarse language, when set to music, gave rise to a musical buffo idiom. Its ingredients include the musical patter phrase, the lively octave jump, playfully repeated cadential endings, onomatopoeic utterances, the imitation of laughter or sobs, arias satirizing contemporary singing practices (abounding in awkward trills and other incorrect embellishments), and a bass singing in falsetto. Elements of musical humor were manifold and gave rise to musical characterizations directly associated with musical slapstick. A character such as Figaro, Leporello, or Susanna is more likely to have a musical antecedent (although considerably less refined) among the characters of an early eighteenth-century intermezzo than among those of comic opera of the same period. The comic musical idiom was therefore first established in the intermezzo, then in the comic opera.

While the structural distinction between the two genres is quite clear in the first half of the century, it becomes less so in the second half. Initially each act of the intermezzo contained two arias (one for each of the characters) and a duet, which at times served as a battleground for the presentation of two conflicting emotions. These duets represent some of the earliest ensemble characterization and as such serve as precursors to the opera buffa finales. While most of the action was carried out in the *recitativo secco,* usually one accompanied recitative in each intermezzo added an extra element of humor and slapstick. With the increasing popularity of the comic opera, the intermezzo of the second half of the eighteenth century expanded to proportions approximating those of the comic opera, employing at times as many as four and five singers. One comes across late intermezzi which are contractions of comic operas, and conversely, comic operas which are expansions of intermezzi. The later intermezzo is no longer performed between the acts of an opera and is amalgamated with the comic opera.

The intermezzi of the first half of the century present an excellent source of repertory for opera workshops associated with today's colleges, universities, conservatories, and amateur community opera groups. A historical precedent for the performance of intermezzi as independent two- and three-act units (i.e., independent of their original opera seria context) is offered by the Italian troupe of Pietro Bambini, who executed thirteen intermezzi and comic operas in Paris during their 1752-1754 guest appearances at the Paris Opera.

From the financial point of view, this type of comic action requires minimal sets and could easily be produced in conjunction with an institution's art or theatre department. The action of an intermezzo may

take place in a street, a courtroom, or a ballroom. While it is true that each act requires a different setting, the sets need be nothing more elaborate than a large folding screen, the backdrop on either side of which may represent a different location. The basic props are usually indicated in the libretto or score, and seldom include more than a table, chair, bed, or spinet—i.e., those props which are essential to the action. As budgetary restrictions have become part of our daily reality, producing an operatic work for less than $1000 should hold considerable appeal.

With its slapstick action and satire of features of human character well recognizable even today, there is a certain timelessness to the intermezzo. Its setting could be the twentieth as easily as the eighteenth century. For a performance of Hasse's *Larinda e Vanesio* (1726) and Sellitti's *Drusilla e Strabone* (*The Widow and the Quack*, 1735) by an amateur group in New York City in 1971, for example, the second intermezzo was presented in a "keystone cops" black and white setting and the action on stage was combined with film strips.[5]

Defined by its musical resources, the intermezzo is of chamber music proportions, thirty to forty-five minutes in duration, and with the two singing roles supported by a string quartet and a harpsichord continuo. Only in later versions does one find additional instruments. In a 1739 version of Hasse's *Larinda e Vanesio,* for example, two lutes reinforce the first and second violin parts, while the same work also calls for bassoons as background music to a dance.

Several non-singing (i.e., purely pantomimic) roles may be employed on stage. Their function ranges from that of a mere assistant (who holds a mirror while the lady is getting dressed) to an actual supporting role necessary to the development of the plot (such as Vespone's role in Pergolesi's *La Serva padrona).* The pantomimic characters may also infuse the intermezzo plot with further slapstick moments, much in the manner of the *lazzi* in the commedia dell'arte. As the intermezzo texts are not very informative on the action to be taken by the pantomimic role other than that which is deduced from the dialogue between the two singing characters, the actual choreography of the additional characters' movements is left to the talents and experience of the imaginative stage director.

The modest musical resources which the performance of an intermezzo requires are one of its major assets. This economy of means has not only financial benefits but also provides the answer to the needs of a smaller workshop in which the experience and vocal range and quality necessary for a Mozart or Verdi opera are not available. While Mozart's comic operas constitute some of the greatest examples of the genre ever written, many contemporary amateur groups tackle them in the mistaken assumption that because the arias are simple and melodious the music will be easy to perform. Because their music is less demanding of the singers

than Mozart's, the intermezzi serve as good preparatory ground for anyone interested in eventually performing the great master's works.

In addition to the practical aspects, there are also purely musical reasons for a revival of interest in the intermezzo: the music is mellifluous and charming—certainly not Mozartean in quality, but amazingly Mozartean in sound. Particularly delightful are the ten intermezzi by Johann Adolf Hasse (1699-1783), composed between 1726 and 1741. Mozart was acquainted with Hasse's operas and held the composer in high esteem.

A variety of intermezzi suitable for performance by today's opera workshops comes to mind. The one intermezzo most familiar to contemporary audiences is Pergolesi's *La Serva padrona.* Its popularity is largely due to the existence of an excellent score, the Universal Edition miniature score, edited by Karl Geiringer. The edition uses the original Italian text and includes a French and German translation, as well as the variants applied to it during a 1756 French performance.

Pergolesi's *Livietta e Tracollo (The Astute Peasant Girl)* of 1734 is an excellent work much in need of a good scholarly and performing edition. It exists in a piano vocal arrangement among the complete works of Pergolesi by F. Caffarelli.[6]

Alessandro Scarlatti, one of the most respected opera composers of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, exhibits a vivacious comic idiom and a good sense for comic characterization both in his numerous *scene buffe* (short comic scenes, precursors of the intermezzi) and in his four large intermezzi written for Neapolitan operas between 1716 and 1719: *Pericca e Varone* from the opera *Scipione nelle Spagne* (1714), *Armilla e Bleso* (1716), *Dorilla ed Orcone* from *Tigrane* (1715), and *Lidia e Sergio* from *Cambise* (1719).[7]

Between 1706 and 1731 Domenico Sarro (1679-1744) composed fifteen sets of comic scenes and intermezzi, the most interesting of which is *Dorina e Nibbio (The Impresario of the Canary Islands,* 1724), performed in Naples with his setting of Metastasio's *Didone Abbandonata.* The topic, satirizing the tempers of prima donnas, the contemporary singing style, the unscrupulousness of the impresarios, and the ignorance of the public, was popular in the eighteenth century. It was reflected as early as 1720 in Benedetto Marcello's popular satire on the entire operatic hierarchy *Il Teatro alla moda* and was echoed throughout the century. Vestiges of this topic are still recognizable in Mozart's *Der Schauspieldirektor* (1786). Sarro's music is delightful. At least one aria takes mocking aim at the prevalent custom of ornamentation in the opera seria, and the text (possibly by Metastasio) is of superior quality. This intermezzo is well worthy of a revival.

Giuseppe Sellitt's *Drusilla e Strabone* of 1735 and Hasse's *Larinda e Vanesio* are both major works in the intermezzo repertory very much in the tradition of Pergolesi's *La Serva padrona.* Recently a scholarly yet

practical edition of Hasse's intermezzo with an extensive explanatory preface has been published by A-R Editions of Wisconsin in volume 28 of their *Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era*, edited by this author. Two other Hasse intermezzi are in preparation for publication in the *Concentus Musicus* series by the same editor.

Giuseppe Orlandini's *Bacocco e Serpilla* was one of the most popular eighteenth-century intermezzi, as it held the stage for almost half a century. The story of a husband whose marital difficulties resulted from his passion for gambling is developed in the most humorous and sympathetic manner by the librettist Antonio Salvi (1664-1724). This intermezzo, edited by Robert L. Weaver, is soon to be published by the North Carolina University Series (under the general editorship of William S. Newman).

One of the few intermezzi that have been available for a considerable time is Telemann's *Pimpinone*, performed in Hamburg in 1725. The full score, edited by Th. W. Werner in 1936, is located in *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* Band 6. *Vespetta e Pimpinone* was originally composed by Tommaso Albinoni (text by Pietro Pariati), for a Venetian performance in 1708. Telemann used as basis for his composition the 1708 text, which was translated into German by Johann Philipp Praetorius and set to entirely new music. A recording of it has been issued in 1975 under the Telefunken label (Das alte Werk), directed by Hans Ludwig Hirsch and performed by the Ensemble Florilegium Musicum on original instruments.[8]

Several intermezzi dating from the second half of the eighteenth century must be mentioned. Rinaldo da Capua's *La Zingara* was originally performed during the Paris season of 1752-1754. The score, involving three singing characters—Nisa, Tagliaborse, and Calcante (soprano, tenor, and bass, respectively)—is a lively intermezzo of enlarged proportions. A published version of this work, edited by Andrea della Corte, exists but is currently out of print.[9] An excellent recording of it has been made on the Turnabout label by the Mainz Chamber Orchestra, Günther Kehr conducting.[10]

Rousseau's *Le Devin du village (The Village Soothsayer)* is historically interesting because of the role it and its author assumed during the famous "Querelle des Bouffons" in Paris, 1752-1754. Rousseau originally composed it at the height of the controversy involving Italian and French musical tastes, as an emulation of the Italian intermezzo style. A recording has been issued in 1972 on an Arion-Paris label under the directorship of Roger Cotte.[11]

Although not strictly in the intermezzo tradition, Mozart's *Bastien et Bastienne* (1768) must be mentioned in connection with the above work as a further possible source of chamber opera repertory. The text to Mozart's work, a German Singspiel with spoken dialogue, is derived from

Rousseau's. Finally there is Haydn's intermezzo, *La Canterina,* composed for the Esterhazy court in 1766, which is in two acts and includes four singers, one tenor and three sopranos. It is published in the Joseph Haydn *Werke,* Reihe 25, Band 2, edited by Dénes Bartha.

Music directors willing to tackle the intermezzo repertoire will immediately encounter a major problem, the dearth of editions. One must remember that the above-mentioned works are representative of a mere handful out of hundreds of intermezzi written throughout the eighteenth century. The primary task facing the musicologist and music director is to prepare music editions for publication and thus make them available to musicians at large. Publishers face as great a responsibility as the musicologists, in that they must be willing to accept these works for publication. Up to now commercial publishers have tended to shy away from accepting such projects.

The production of editions which are both scholarly and practical is essential. The early eighteenth-century intermezzo presents a research field which abounds in misattributions and inaccuracies surrounding the identity of the composer and the authenticity of the works. The intermezzo is a genre propagated to a large extent through pasticcio adaptations. It was not unusual for one composer to add or substitute an aria or duet to an intermezzo written at some earlier date by another composer. The more popular works thus often contained musical numbers by several different composers.

There is no reason why today one should not perform an intermezzo in its pasticcio version, as such a performance would merely follow a prevalent custom of the eighteenth century and would be historically accurate. What is important, however, is that the exact identity of the composers who have contributed to the pasticcio be disclosed and that the chronological order of performances and resultant musical addenda be explained. This is simply a plea for historical accuracy in a field which has not only been neglected, but where mistaken information has been propagated by some of the musicians and scholars who have shown interest in it.

Little benefit can be obtained from such scores as the Caffarelli edition of Pergolesi's *Opera Omnia* in which erroneous information is presented. For example, *La Contadina* is misattributed to Pergolesi, when in effect it is a pasticcio of two different intermezzi by Hasse, *Don Tabarrano e Scintilla* (1728) and *Pandolfo e Lucilla* (1730). Only the last duet is by Pergolesi, from his comic opera *Flaminio* (1725).[12] Similarly, *Il Geloso schernito,* printed in the *Opera Omnia,* is a pasticcio of arias by Pietro Chiarini and possibly dates from a 1743 Venetian performance of the work. The intermezzo *Il Maestro di musica* is a condensed version of Pietro Auletta's *Orazio.*[13]

Thus there are problems associated with intermezzo sources and pub-

lications. They are not raised in an attempt to discourage musicians from performing this repertory, but, quite to the contrary, they serve to draw attention to some of the difficulties existing in this field. Intelligent performances of intermezzi, based on an understanding of the genre, its history, style, and function within eighteenth-century society are possible when the authentic sources have been sought out and good editions prepared.

Despite the above-mentioned problems, the intermezzo is a genre worthy of contemporary revival within the confines of an amateur opera workshop. Such works as *La Zingara, Le Devin du village, Pimpinone, Larinda e Vanesio,* and *Bacocco e Serpilla* abound in musical humor, and two of them on a program could easily provide a full evening's entertainment. The Mozart buffs in the audience will recognize in the above works the prototypes of a Susanna, a Despina, or even a Leporello, while the performers of the intermezzo will gain an understanding of a musical style which will afford them a better insight into the interpretation of Mozart.

*NOTES*

1 Niccolò Picinni, *La Buona figliuola,* ed. Giacomo Benvenuti (Milan: I Classici musicali italiani, 1942); Domenico Cimarosa, *Il Matrimonio segreto,* ed. Giovanni Bertati (Milan: Ricordi, 1944).

2 DC 2709069.

3 Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1931.

4 See Gordana Lazarevich, "Eighteenth-Century Pasticcio: the Historian's Gordian Knot," *Analecta Musicologica* 17 (Cologne: A. Volk, 1976).

5 The stage direction was by Albert Takazauckas.

6 Giovanni Battista Pergolesi, *Opera Omnia,* ed. F. Caffarelli (Rome: Gli Amici della musica da camera, 1939-1942).

7 Attention must be drawn to an important project now in progress: the operas of Alessandro Scarlatti are being published by the Harvard University Press, under the general editorship of Donald J. Grout. Four operas have appeared to date. (See the announcements section of this volume.)

8 Tel-2635285.

9 In the *Piccola antologia settecentesca* (Milan: Ricordi, 1925).

10 TV 34033S

11 ARN 38 157.

12 Frank Walker, "Two Centuries of Pergolesi Forgeries and Misattributions," *Music and Letters* 30 (1949) pp. 297-320.

13 Frank Walker, "*Orazio:* The History of a Pasticcio," *Musical Quarterly* 38 (1952) pp. 369-383.

# *EINE COLLECTION CURIEUSER VORSTELLUNGEN (1730) AND THOMAS LEDIARD, AN EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY OPERATIC SCENOGRAPHER*[1]

*Dennis R. Martin*

Very little is known about Thomas Lediard, and almost all that we do know is taken from his own writings. In spite of his important work for the theater, he became so obscure a theatrical figure, even in his own day, that the *Biographia Dramatica,* a late eighteenth-century theatrical biographical dictionary, confused him with his son of the same name.[2] Thomas Lediard was born in London on 20 October 1684, and during his youth was trained as an architect. He was associated very early with British diplomacy and foreign affairs, and at the age of twenty-three was found in Saxony as part of the staff of the Duke of Marlborough, who was negotiating with Charles XII of Sweden.[3] Lediard served the Duke on several occasions, always, he said, "in character of a gentleman who traveled for his pleasure at his own expense, without having or desiring any reward or gratification for it in any shape or under any denomination whatsoever."[4] It is possible that at this time, 1707, Lediard was already connected in some capacity with the British Embassy in Hamburg. As early as 1724, and probably before that, Lediard served as the secretary to Sir Cyril Wich (or Wyche), who since 1714 had been British Envoy Extraordinaire to the Hanseatic towns, a position held by both Wich's father and grandfather.[5] Wich and his associates also acted as proprietors of the Hamburg opera house.[6] Apparently it was at their command that Lediard, with his previous experience and training as an architect, began designing scenery in Hamburg.

Although in his writings Lediard describes himself as the director or manager of the opera house, having complete charge of the scenery,[7] the only scenery designs by him that survive, except for one isolated plate,[8] are found in the engravings of *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen in Illuminationen und Feuer-Wercken* (Hamburg, 1730). The engraved plates and accompanying commentaries of *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen* describe the scenography and some of the action of elaborate operatic prologues, epilogues, and special productions, all of which were undertaken in the Hamburg opera house for important state festivals. The book exists in several forms, in both German and English, covering varying time periods between 1724 and 1730, with different numbers of plates. Internally the book is organized into short chapters. Each chapter deals with a specific event (stated on its title page) by means of com-

mentary and plates (usually one to four in number, measuring approximately 33 by 45 cm). The contents and organization of the individual chapters, the different versions of the entire book, and Lediard's writings suggest that these short chapters were originally separate festival programs, similar to libretti, which were issued individually at the time of each performance. This is, in fact, implied in Lediard's dedication and preface to the last edition of *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen*, printed in 1730, which is the most extensive of all the editions, containing eighteen plates for ten festivals.[9]

The festivals described in Lediard's book seem to have had little connection with the *Hansestadt of Hamburg*, but rather were designed, directed and paid for by the British embassy and the proprietors of the opera house to entertain and impress visiting nobility and diplomats. Occasions for performances included the celebration of King George I's birthday, the wedding of Louis XV, the birth of the prince of Norway, and the coronation of Czar Peter II. In light of this, the elaborate character of Lediard's scenography and of the printed work describing it is understandable, for both would have been meant to reflect the glory and splendor of the nobility and the state. Such an exalted purpose distinguishes Lediard's scenery from the sets ordinarily used as backdrops for Baroque operas and explains his especially lavish scenic style. *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen* may, therefore, be seen as a collection illustrating the very best of the scenographic art of its time.

To judge from the information available,[10] the Hamburg stage was about one hundred feet deep, with a proscenium arch opening about forty feet wide and thirty-two feet high. It was equipped with fifteen sets of grooves in the floor of the wings for moveable scenery, three sets of backshutters (large flats that could be slid completely together to serve as backgrounds or to hide things upstage), and a machine that could move part of the floor up and down. All of these were probably arranged as in Figure 1, forming an isosceles triangle on the stage floor, with the curtain line as the base, the two wings as the equal sides, and the apex at the back (this was the customary Baroque stage design). By careful consideration of the rules of perspective, the scenographer could arrange his scenery along the wings to create the illusion of great depth and distance in the rear of the stage, even when it was rather shallow. Figure 2 is a Lediard scene from 1728, showing flats in all fifteen grooves and the three sets of shutters (each pillar is in a separate groove; also, note the *deus ex machina*). Below each individual groove, on a floor just under the stage, stood a small wheeled cart upon which a flat was supported. The scenery, then, could be changed very quickly using a system of ropes and pulleys that would retract one flat while immediately substituting another from within its set of grooves. The design of the Hamburg stage resulted in a playing area about forty feet square (bounded by the wings and the

FIGURE 1: Probable floor plan of the Hamburg opera house stage.

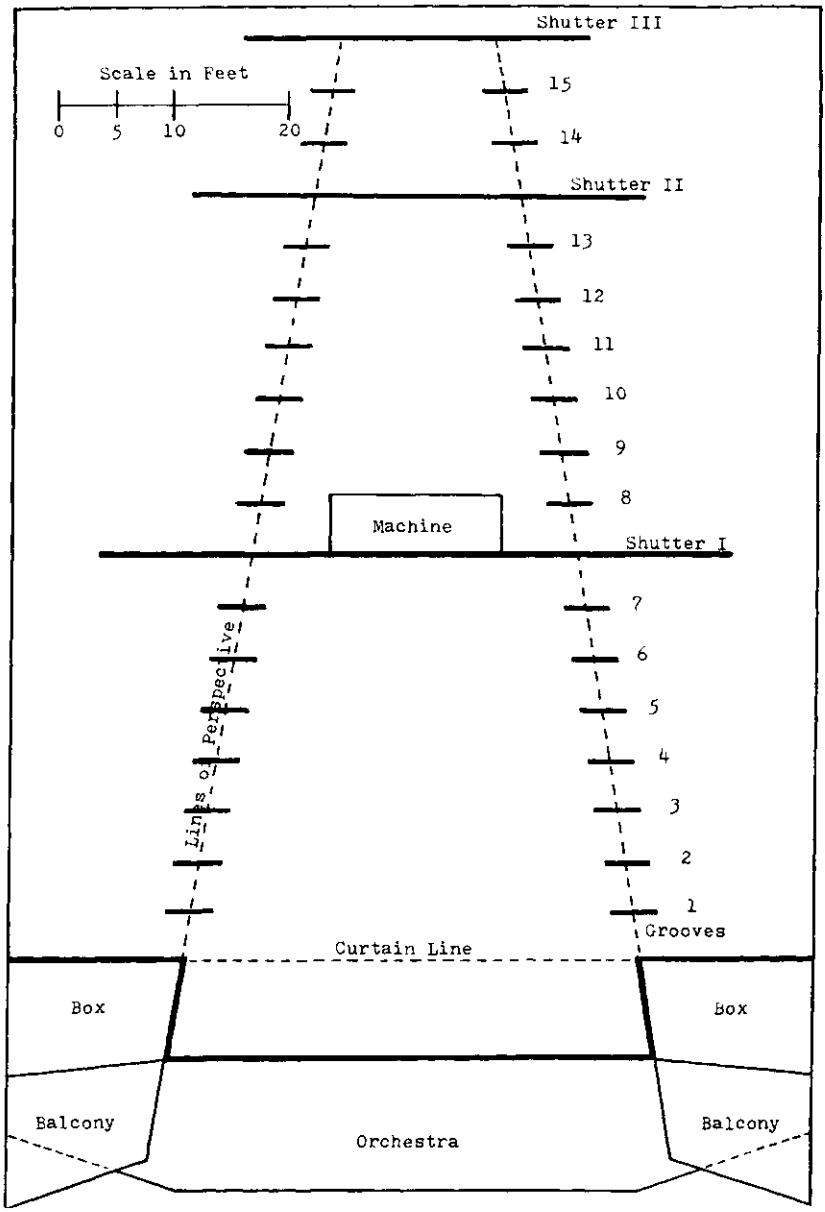
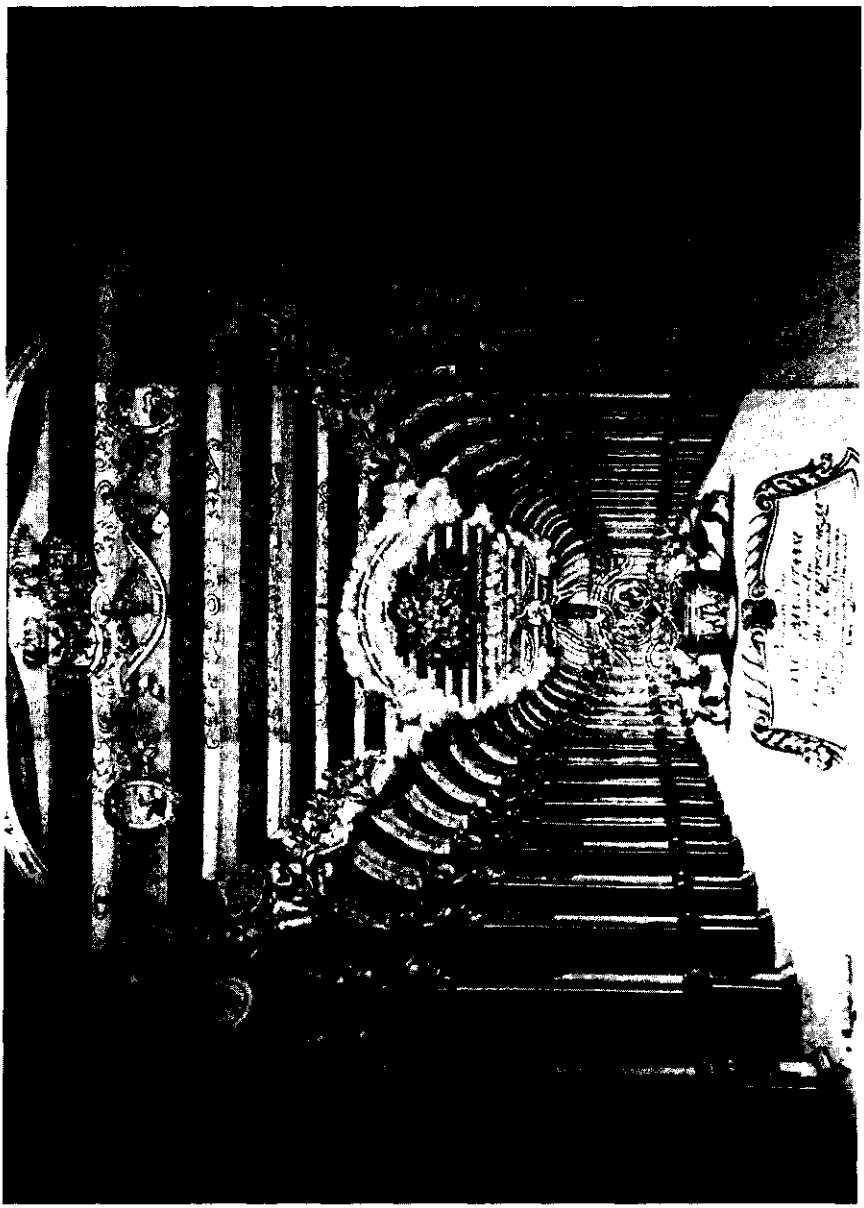


FIGURE 2: Scenery for the 1728 celebration of the birth of a princess to the Duke of Schlesswig-Holstein.

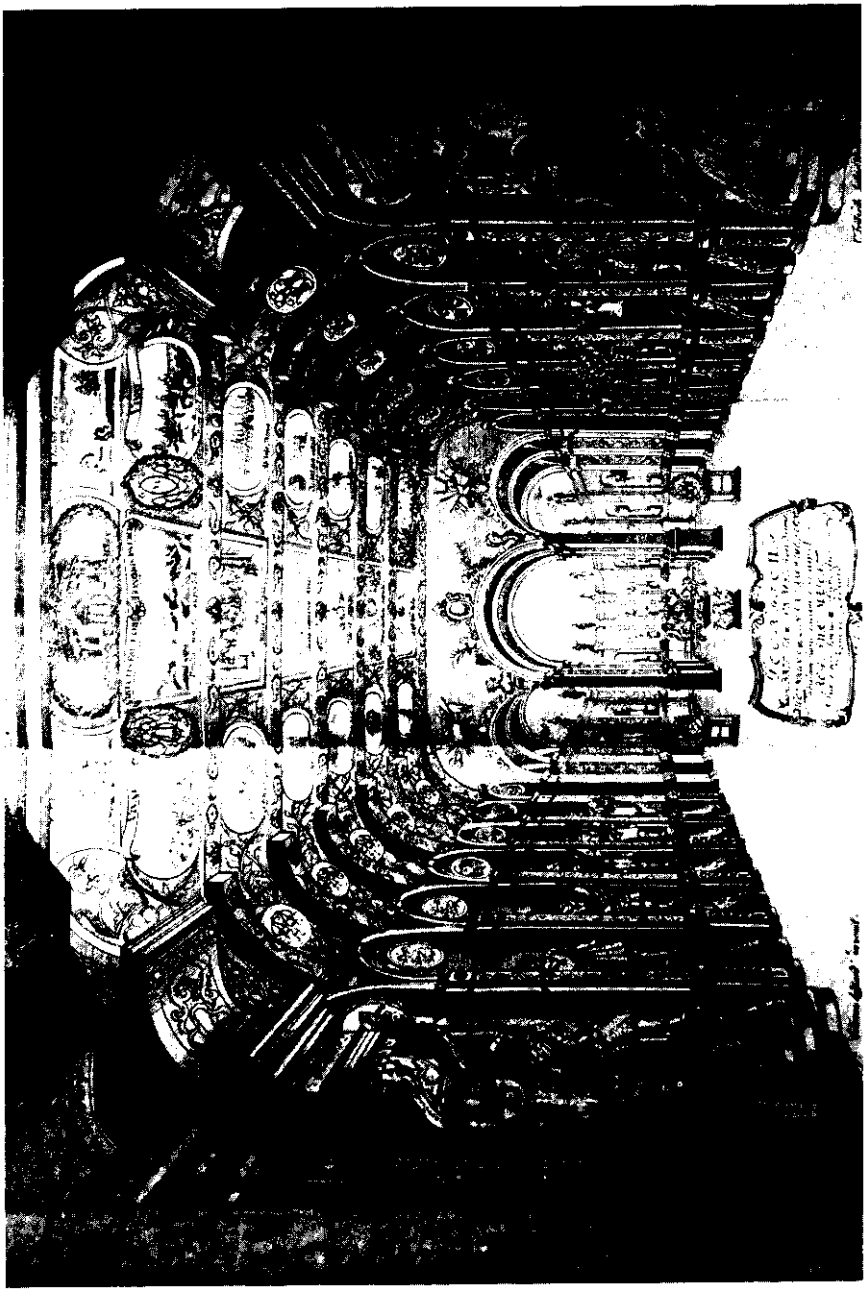


first set of shutters), which was used, in a fashion closer to French theatrical practices than to Metastasian opera seria, for singing, dancing, speaking, and large spectacles. With so many grooves for scenery and such a spacious playing area, the stage of the Hamburg opera house was larger and better equipped than most theaters in Europe and offered excellent facilities for the practice of Lediard's craft.

The coronation of George II of England and his queen was the occasion of an especially elaborate celebration at the Hamburg opera house on 22 October 1727, for which Lediard designed the scenery. The three-act production, called *Great Britain Rejoycing*, seems to have been conceived as a fantastic spectacle of singing, dancing, and extraordinary scenic effects, in the spirit of Lediard's prologue and epilogue productions and with a similar purpose of praising the new king and the state. Figure 3, which reproduces the opening scene design for that occasion, illustrates several important aspects of Lediard's contributions to scenography. Among these is what Lediard called "The Transparent Theatre," an invention that he claimed to be his own. The following quotation is part of Lediard's own description of the scenery of Figure 3. One may note with interest the recurrence of the word "transparent."

> The first illumination, at the Opening of the Stage, represented a vast Hall, finely embellish'd and illuminated, and decorated, on both Sides, with gilt Statues of the most renowned Kings of *England*, on Pedestals of white Marble, curiously adorn'd.
>
> On the Front of the Stage, at the Entrance into this Hall, was a noble triumphal Arch, finely illuminated, resting upon transparent Pillars, of a bright Red, adorn'd with green Foliage, and gilt Cornishes.
>
> Between these Pillars sat, on elevated Thrones, two of the principal Female Singers, in proper Habits, representing *Virtue* and *Honor*: and over them were two large transparent Escutcheons, with proper Devices, adorn'd with Festoons, and supported by two flying Angels.
>
> Over this triumphal Arch, in the Middle, was represented a noble Temple, transparent, dedicated to *Virtue* and *Honor*. . .
>
> Within the triumphal Arch, on each Side of the Hall, was a double row of twelve transparent Pillars, of a bright Red, adorn'd with green Foliage, and hung with Trophies.
>
> Between these Pillars, stood the gilt Statues I mentioned before, and over each was a transparent Arch, with an Escutcheon, bearing the arms of England, differently quarter'd, according to its several Additions, from Time to Time.
>
> Upon these 25 Pillars, rested six transparent Arches, which cross'd the whole Stage. . .

FIGURE 3: Opening scene of *Great Britain Rejoycing*, performed on 22 October 1727 to celebrate the coronation of George II.



> Behind these Arches were three *Piazzas* of transparent Pillars, one large, in the Middle, and two less, on each Side, which led to a spacious Amphitheater, adorn'd with transparent Niches, Orange-Trees and gilt Statues. . .[11]

The description continues at great length, but it is possible from this excerpt to see Lediard's emphasis on the transparency concept. His use of the word "transparent" should not be confused with the earlier use of the term by English scenographers since the time of the Commonwealth masques to signify scenery with cut-out portions so that flats behind it could be seen.[12] Lediard's device seems to have involved constructing the sets out of translucent materials and illuminating them from behind as well as, or instead of, from the front, so that everything in the entire set appeared to glow. Performances are described in which thousands of tiny lamps, probably candles, were employed to achieve this effect.[13] While earlier scenographers had created glowing emblems, medallions, mottos, and inscriptions, Lediard appears to have been the first to have applied the technique to entire pillars, statues, and walls within the scenery.

Emblems, medallions, inscriptions, and mottos, both transparent and opaque, were much used by Lediard, however, and from the set in Figure 3 (for the coronation celebration) it can be seen that such allegorical ornamentation forms another distinctive feature of Lediard's stage designs. An examination of pictures of both earlier and later operatic scenography reveals that such detailed symbolism is almost unique with Lediard. Most probably, the function and philosophical basis of his sets provided the motivation for symbolic representation. While the classically based mottos and pictures would have distracted attention from the dramatic action of an opera, they only served to heighten the effect of a spectacle in honor of the king, and acted as a graphic doctrine of affections, in which the complicated, symbolic elements involved worked together to create a philosophical, subconscious, almost mystical impression in the mind, even though each element of the whole might not have been consciously interpreted by the viewer. The theory is explained by Lediard in the preface to his libretto of the English opera, *Britannia* (see note 8): "This sort of Theaters [sic] has a double Use; for at the same Time that they delight the Eye, the Emblems, Devices and Inscriptions, which are mostly borrow'd from the Ancients, not only divert, but instruct the Mind."[14]

Because of the complexity of such allegorical scenery, in which every bit of the set had a particular symbolic meaning, it is easy to understand the need for short printed program books for each performance. Without the book, the full effect of the scenery and its success in fulfilling its primary function would have been diminished, since the audience could

not have been expected to comprehend all the symbolic elements. The main scene of the coronation celebration (Figure 3) can serve as an example of the sometimes overwhelming intricacy.

The festival program that was included in *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen* contains a description of the scene similar to, but much more detailed than, the one given on pp. 87, 89 above. The degree of detail in *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen* can be seen from the commentary concerning some of the smaller, but very significant, aspects of the scene (see detail of Figure 3 reproduced as Figure 4). For example, in the arch above the two women are the elements of the coats of arms of the new monarch, the lion of Great Britain on the left and the white horse of Hanover on the right, flanking the temple of Virtue and Honor (cf., the earlier description). Behind this triumphal arch is a group of six arches that span the stage, each arch containing three pictures and each picture having its own Latin motto. The commentary in *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen* (two pages containing part of the commentary about the detail of the set in Figure 4 are reproduced as Figures 5 and 6) explains that the first of the six arches represents the might of Great Britain, and the picture at the left, under the lion, shows "The island of Great Britain, at which her fleet crosses," with the inscription "Sic quiscit" ("Thus she rests"). The commentary continues with the following German couplet which expands upon the symbolic content:

| | |
|---|---|
| So seht sie sichere Ruh, | Thus you behold a secure peace |
| Der Feinde Trotzen zu. | In spite of your adversaries. |

The remainder of the pictures in the first arch represent "The island of Great Britain, upon which the surrounding sea rages" and "The fleet of Great Britain under sail." The other arches are discussed in an identical manner. One can appreciate how important program booklets such as those in *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen* would have been to the audience. Without the written explanation, the audience would have found it impossible to have understood the wealth of complicated symbolism (to have known, to take one further example, that the pictures of the second arch compose an arch of learning and represent Oxford, the Royal Society, and Cambridge), even though the general affection or idea of the set could have been perceived.

In addition to their explanatory function, the program booklets would have made excellent souvenirs of the performances. Not only would these souvenirs have continued to remind the observer of the performance, but the booklets would have served as examples to his fellows of the power, glory, and splendor of Great Britain, Hanover, and the monarch. The total effect of the scenery and spectacle could therefore have been multiplied many times.

FIGURE 4: Detail of Figure 3, top center.

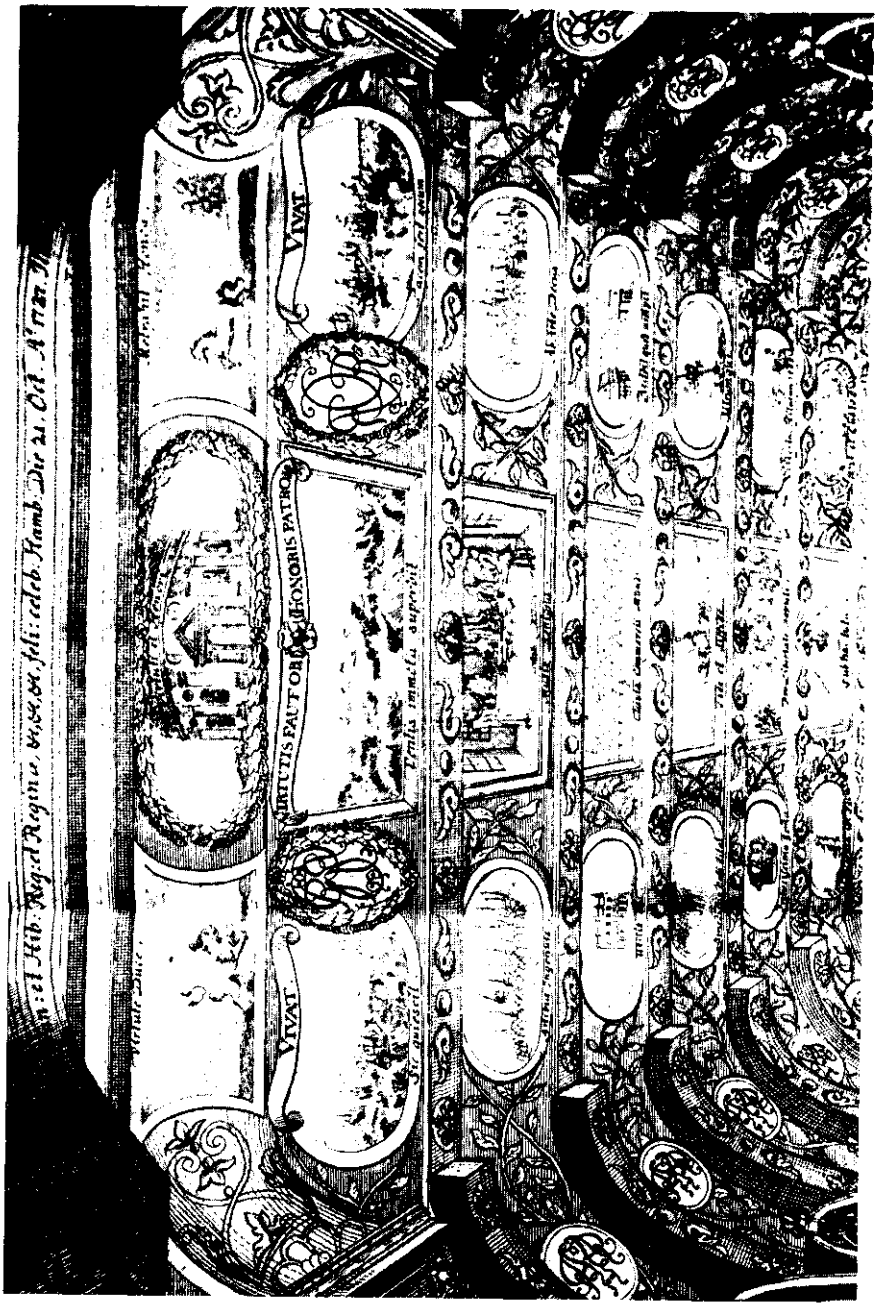
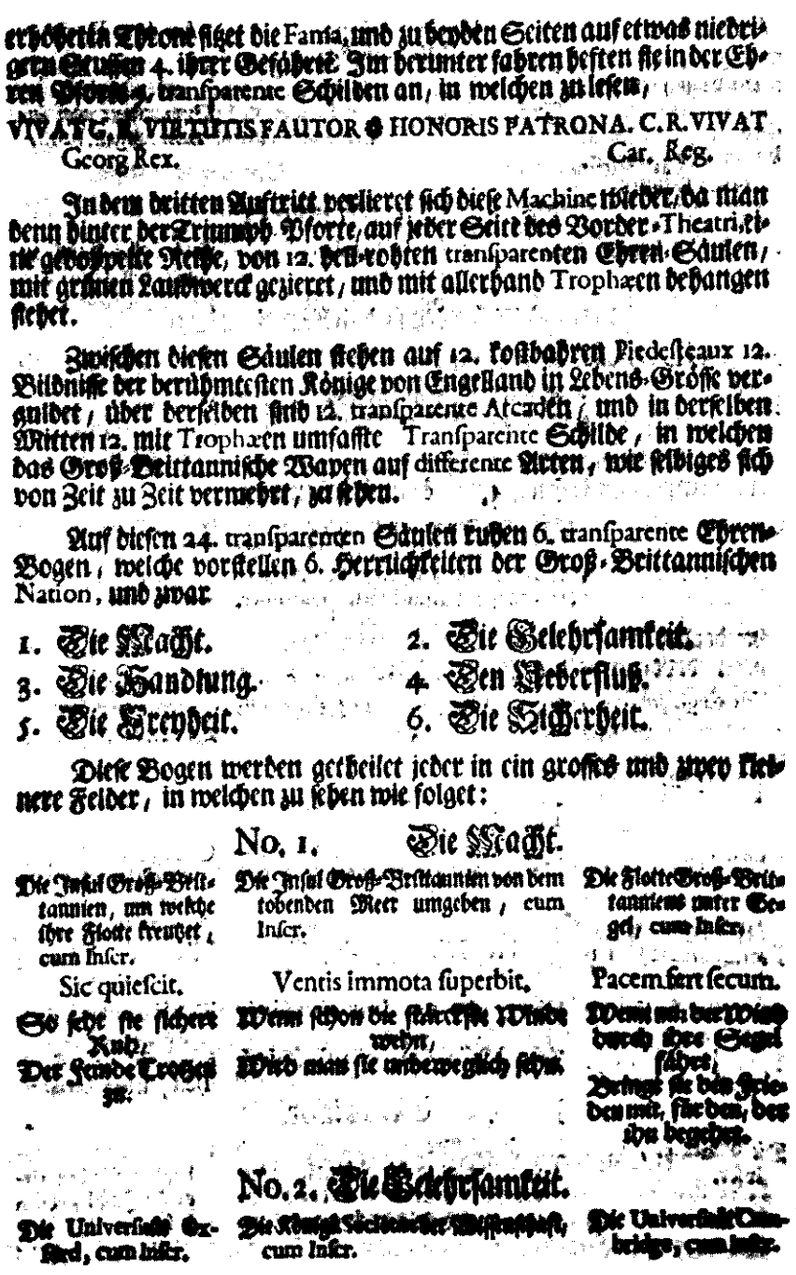


FIGURE 5: Part of the commentary in *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen* for the scene in Figures 3 and 4.



erhöhetten Throne ſitzet die Fama, und zu beyden Seiten auf etwas niedrigern Stuffen 4. ihrer Gefährtē. Im herunter fahren heften ſie in der Ehren Pforte 4. transparente Schilden an, in welchen zu leſen,

VIVAT G. R. VIRTUTIS FAUTOR & HONORIS PATRONA. C.R. VIVAT
Georg Rex. Car. Reg.

In dem dritten Auftritt verlieret ſich dieſe Machine wieder, da man denn hinter der Triumph Pforte, auf jeder Seite des Vorder-Theatri, eine gebogene Reihe, von 12. hell-rothen transparenten Ehren-Säulen, mit grünen Laubwerck gezieret, und mit allerhand Trophæen behangen ſiehet.

Zwiſchen dieſen Säulen ſtehen auf 12. koſtbahren Piedeſtaux 12. Bildniſſe der berühmteſten Könige von Engelland in Lebens-Gröſſe vergüldet, über derſelben ſind 12. transparente Arcaden, und in derſelben Mitten 12. mit Trophæen umfaſſte Transparente Schilde, in welchen das Groß-Brittanniſche Wapen auf differente Arten, wie ſelbiges ſich von Zeit zu Zeit vermehret, zu ſehen.

Auf dieſen 24. transparenten Säulen ruhen 6. transparente Ehren-Bogen, welche vorſtellen 6. Herrlichkeiten der Groß-Brittanniſchen Nation, und zwar

1. Die Macht.
2. Die Gelehrſamkeit.
3. Die Handlung.
4. Den Ueberfluß.
5. Die Freyheit.
6. Die Sicherheit.

Dieſe Bogen werden getheilet jeder in ein groſſes und zwey kleinere Felder, in welchen zu ſehen wie folget:

No. 1. Die Macht.

Die Inſul Groß-Brittannien, um welche ihre Flotte kreutzet, cum Inſcr.
Sic quieſcit.
So ſetzt ſie ſicherer Ruh,
Der Feinde Trotzen zu.

Die Inſul Groß-Brittannien von dem tobenden Meer umgeben, cum Inſcr.
Ventis immota ſuperbit.
Wenn ſchon die ſtärckſte Winde wehn,
Wird man ſie unbeweglich ſehn.

Die Flotte Groß-Brittanniens unter Segel, cum Inſcr.
Pacem fert ſecum.
Wenn man der Winde durch ihre Segel führet,
Bringt ſie den Frieden mit, für den, der ihn begehret.

No. 2. Die Gelehrſamkeit.

Die Univerſität Oxford, cum Inſcr.
Die Königl. Teutſche Univerſität, cum Inſcr.
Die Univerſität Cambridge, cum Inſcr.



FIGURE 6: Part of the commentary in *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen* for the scene in Figures 3 and 4.

Artibus Ingenuis.
Die weil ſein Sitz mit denen beſten Künſten prangt,
So iſt ſein Ruhm biß an der Sternen Pohl gelangt.

Muſis benigna.
Die Muſen ſchlieſſet ſie durch günſtig ſeyn,
In ihre Flügel ein.

Ab Arte Decus.
Der freyen Künſte edler Ruhm,
Entſpringt von ſeinem Eigenthum.

No. 3. Die Handlung.

Die Börſe zu London, cum Inſcr.
Utilis Orbi.
Ein jeder weiß, was ihre Krafft,
Dem Erden Kreyß für Vortheil ſchafft.

Die Stadt London, cum Inſcr.
Clavis Commercii Mundi.
Wer in dem Handel will das rechte Wohl ergründen,
Kan hier den Schlüſſel finden.

Das Zoll-Hauß zu London, cum Inſcr.
Reddit quod accipit.
Der Strohm, ſo alhier eingefloſſen/
Wird zu des Reiches Nutz ſo wieder ausgegoſſen.

No. 4. Der Ueberfluß.

Ein Acker, auf welchen zugleich die Sonne ſcheint und Regen fällt, cum Inſcr.
Benedictio Coeli ditat.
Des Himmels reicher Seegen,
Entſteht aus Sonnen-Schein und Regen.

Die Banco von Engelland: Durch derſelben Wapen, nemlich, die Brittanniam, ſitzend, und viel Geld-Hauffen um ſich habend, cum Inſcr.
Fide & diffide.
Trauen, und mißtrauiſch ſeyn
Zu rechter Zeit, bringt Reichthum ein.

Eine güldene, auf einer Pyramide mit Blumen gezierte Crone, cum Inſcr.
Utrumque.
Hier zeiget ſich den Britten zu gefallen,
Ein Ueberfluß in allen.

No. 5. Die Freyheit.

Eine Crone, auf welcher ein Diamant heller als alle andere funckelt, cum Inſcr.
Pretioſiſſima Gemma.
Der allereddelſte und allerbeſte Stein
Wird hier gar leicht zu finden ſeyn.

Das Unter-Hauß des Groß-Brittanniſchen Parliaments ſitzend, cum Inſcr.
Pro Libertate Populi.
Man ſieht uns hier einmühtig ſitzen,
Des Volckes Freyheit zu beſchützē.

Eine Nachtigal auf einem Zweige ſingend, cum Inſcr.
Libertas hilarem reddit.
Den lieblichen erfreulichen Geſang,
Schafft edle Freyheit ſonder Zwang.

No. 6. Die Sicherheit.

Die Eintracht, cum Inſcr.

Die Inſul Groß-Brittannien, und über derſelben die Käyſerl. Krone Groß-Brittanniens, mit dem Zepter und Reichs-Apfel, cum Inſcr.

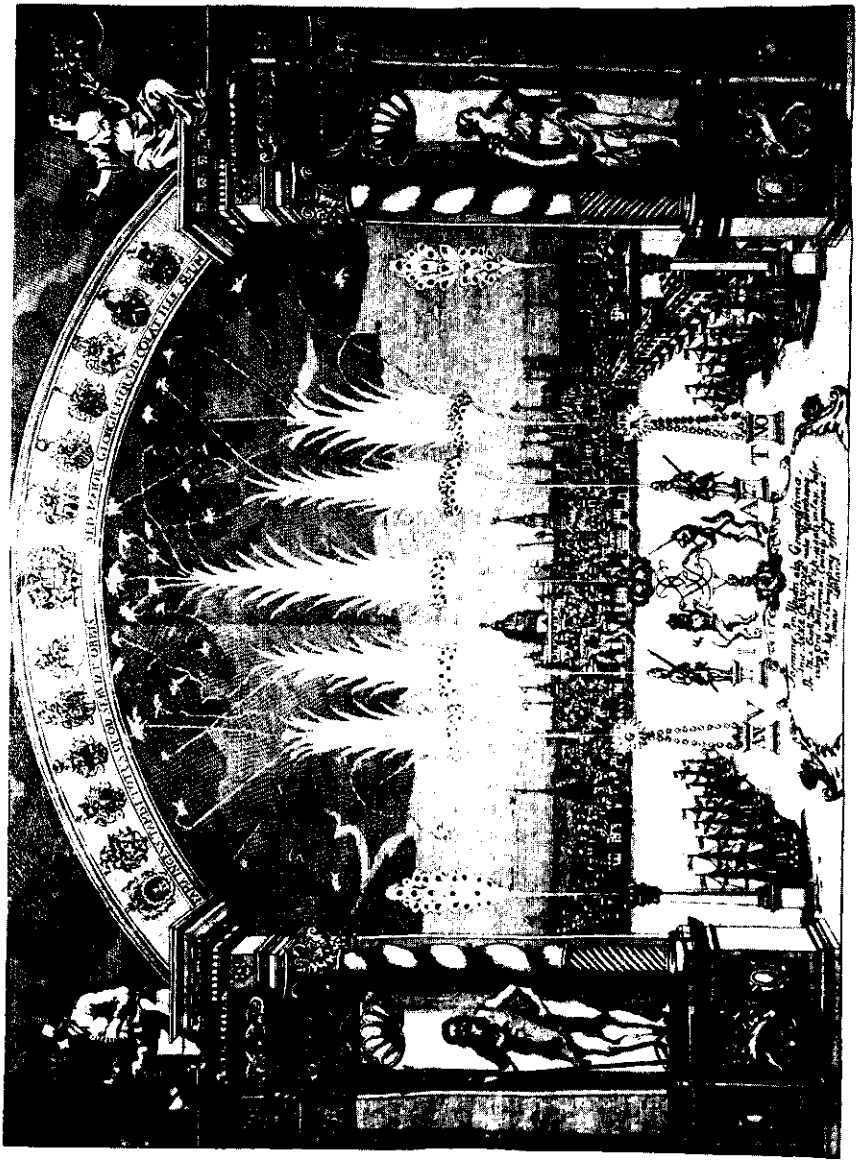
Eine mitten in den tobenden Wellen liegende Inſul, cum Inſcr.

Lediard's fireworks represent another important aspect of his scenographic technique. Fireworks were not new to the theater. For years dragons had exhaled flames and houses had burned on stage without (it was hoped) being consumed. Lediard's fantastically elaborate indoor fireworks spectacles, however, place him near or at the top of the first rank of theatrical experts. Figure 7 pictures the scenery for the epilogue to Handel's *Julius Caesar* (for which, incidentally, Lediard prepared the first German translation). The opera and epilogue were presented in the Hamburg opera house as a part of the celebration on 9 June 1727 of the sixty-eighth (and last) birthday of George I. Only the front of the stage was illuminated for most of the epilogue, but at the end the stage went dark, revealing a projection of the river Thames flowing by moonlight through London, with St. Paul's and the London skyline overlooking two lines of ships on the river. Then the fireworks began. In a carefully planned order, explained in *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen* and translated below, fireworks erupted from almost every part of the set, to the accompaniment of trumpets and drums.

I. Wird aus denen Schiffen, und von dem Strande, *Salve* aus 45. Canonen geschossen.
II. Wird aus den Spitzen der Cronen auf des Pfeilern allerhand Lust-Feuer gespielet.
III. Brennen die Sternen der *Pyramiden*, und die strahlende Sonnen in weissen, di Buchstaben und Ziffern aber in blauem Feuer.
IV. Kommt Neptunus aus dem Wasser sichtbarlich hervor, und zündet mit seinem Drei-Zack das VIVAT in weissem, den gekröneten Zuge aber in blauem Feuer an, da denn zugleich aus der Spitze der Crone Pfauen-Schwäntze, Stern-Putzer, und anderes Lust-Feuer gespielet wird.
V. Wird zum Beschluss aus den Spitzen der *Grenadier*-Mützen, allerhand Raqueten und anderes Lust-Feuer gespielet.

I. From the ships and from the beaches a salvo of 45 cannons is fired.
II. All kinds of fire shoot forth from the spikes of the crowns atop the pillars.
III. The stars of the pyramids and the radiant suns [atop them] begin to burn in white, while the letters and figures [within the suns and pyramids] sparkle with a blue fire.
IV. Neptune appears, rising out of the water, and with his trident causes the VIVAT to burn in white, while the [center] emblem burns in blue fire, and at the same time from the tip of the center crown burst forth peacocks' tails, sky rockets [?], and other fireworks.

FIGURE 7: Scenery for the epilogue to *Julius Caesar*, performed 9 June 1727 as part of the celebration of the sixty-eighth birthday of George I.



V. At the close, all kinds of rockets and other fireworks play about from the spikes of the grenadiers' helmets.

*The German Spy* also comments on the performance, noting that the fireworks were so popular that they were continued by request for four successive nights, and includes the amusing anecdote that "The Curtain was no sooner drop't, than all the Doors, Windows and Twilights of the Stage, were immediately thrown open to carry off the Smoak, which, by that means, did not in the least offend the Audience."[15]

Lediard's scenographic style and technical innovations can be seen as a logical visual counterpart to the fantastic musical and dramatic juxtapositions in the house where he worked and may have been manager during the most active period of opera production in the city of Hamburg.[16] Although Lediard's work had allegorical and classical elements and purposes similar to those espoused by Metastasio and his followers in other parts of Europe, his scenographic designs were much different from those of his Italian contemporaries. He always built his scenes symmetrically about a central axis, never making use of the *scena per angolo,* even though the latter became very common in opera seria scenography, and had been used in England at least as early as 1719 by the scene painter John Devoto.[17] Lediard's extreme allegorical symbolism, the frequent use of the *deus ex machina,* and the excesses of fireworks also contrast with the Italian scenographers of his day. Lediard's scenes, rather, resemble more closely the Italian sets of the beginning of the eighteenth century, the time when he received his training as an architect. His archaic style fits well into the northern, Hamburg operatic tradition, with its anachronisms, strange combinations of style and text, and love of monsters, magic, and machines. These were mirrored in Lediard's work and helped to shape his unique style.

The Hamburg opera house seems to have passed out of British, or at least Wich's, control in 1728.[18] According to the records, after 1728 Lediard only designed one more pair of sets for the Hamburg theater, those for the 10 August 1730 celebration of the coronation of Anna Ivanovna, Empress of Russia. Wich was made a baronet on 20 December 1729 and probably left Hamburg shortly thereafter, having been appointed British Envoy Extraordinaire to the court of Russia.[19] Since Wich was not in control of a theater at his new appointment, Lediard's services as a scenographer would not have been needed there, and he and Wich seem to have parted company.

By November of 1732 Lediard had returned to London, where he presented the opera *Britannia,* for which he wrote the libretto and designed the scenery, and for which John Frederick composed the music. From an examination of the libretto, the work seems to have been modeled after Lediard's Hamburg spectacles, employing allegorical characters and ideas,

featuring transparent scenery, and glorifying the king. The opera did not, however, have the desired effect of eliciting the support of the British nobility for opera in English, and after its production Lediard never seems to have been in contact with the stage again. Thus the opportunity for growth of a new northern school of operatic scenography based on Lediard's work was lost, and his innovations in the transparent theater, allegorical scenery, and indoor fireworks failed to have much influence on later scenographers. Thomas Lediard continued his life in London as a respected author, architect, and magistrate until his death in 1743,[20] but as a theatrical figure he became so obscure that he and his work were not rediscovered until the present century.

*NOTES*

[1] A portion of this paper was read to the Spring Meeting of the Midwest Chapter of the AMS, in Urbana, 16 April 1977. I wish to thank Dr. Frederick Crane of the University of Iowa musicology faculty for taking the excellent photographs used as illustrations and Dr. Sven Hansell, also of the Iowa musicology faculty, for his suggestions concerning the paper.

[2] David Erskine Baker, *Biographia Dramatica*, 3rd. ed., vol. 1, part 2 (London: n.p., 1812) p. 447. The date of death given, December 1759, is that of his son; Thomas Lediard, Sr. died in June 1743.

[3] Lediard wrote one of the earlier and more authoritative biographies of the Duke of Marlborough, entitled *Life of John, Duke of Marlborough* (London, 1736), as well as numerous other works on history, language and grammar (both German and English), architecture, travel, theater, and law.

[4] Quoted in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1921-1922) s.v. "Lediard, Thomas."

[5] John Burke and John Bernard, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies of England, Ireland, and Scotland*, 2nd ed. (London: John Russell Smith, 1844) p. 567.

[6] Thomas Lediard, *The German Spy* (London: J. Mechell & J. Bailey, 1738) p. 96; also Thomas Lediard, *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen in Illuminationen und Feuer-Wercken* (Hamburg: Philipp Ludwig Stromer, 1730).

[7] Lediard, *The German Spy*, pp. 96, 288, 381; *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen*, title page; and *Britannia, an English Opera* (London: J. Watts, 1732) title page.

[8] This plate appears in the libretto of *Britannia*, an opera for which Lediard wrote the libretto and designed the scenery. *Britannia* was produced in London in 1732.

[9] According to the *National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints* only two copies exist in this country: one at the University of Iowa (which I used) and the other in the New York Public Library. At least four earlier versions of the work seem to have existed. See Ifan Kyrle Fletcher, "The Discovery of Thomas Lediard," *Theatre Notebook* 2, no. 3 (April-June, 1948) pp. 42-45. This issue of the *Theatre Notebook* also contains several other articles on Lediard and the Hamburg opera.

[10] See Lediard, *The German Spy* and *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen;* and Helmut Christian Wolff, *Die Barokoper in Hamburg* (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler, 1957).

[11] Lediard, *The German Spy*, pp. 381-83.

[12] Richard Southern, *Changeable Scenery* (London: Faber & Faber, 1952) pp. 260-7; such confusion exists in statements about Lediard in Roger Fiske's *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973) pp. 135-36.

[13] Lediard's *The German Spy*, p. 289, includes in its description of a performance on 9 June 1727 celebrating the birthday of George I: "The Whole Theatre [i.e., stage and scenery] was illuminated with several Thousands of Lamps, dispos'd, however, in such Manner, behind transparent Scenes, that none of them were to be seen, and yet the Light they gave was extreamly penetrating by Reason of their great Number."

[14] Lediard, *Britannia*, p. 4.

[15] Lediard, *German Spy*, p. 292.

[16] Renate Brockpähler, *Handbuch zur Geschichte der Barokoper in Deutschland* (Emsdetten: Lechte, 1964) pp. 113 ff.

[17] E. Croft-Murray, *John Devoto, A Baroque Scene Painter*, Society for Theatre Research Pamphlet Series, No. 2 (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1953) p. 7.

[18] See the preface to *Eine Collection curieuser Vorstellungen;* also, according to the title page of the work, it originally only contained material from celebrations 1724-1728. The later sections (probably the last two) seem to have been added for a new edition of 1730 (the preface is dated 28 September 1730), but the 1728 title page was retained.

[19] Burke and Bernard, *Genealogical and Heraldic History*, p. 587.

[20] *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v. "Lediard, Thomas."

# *ENESCO'S OEDIPE: A LITTLE-KNOWN MASTERPIECE*

*Elaine W. Newman*

In Yehudi Menuhin's newly published autobiography, *Unfinished Journey*, mention is once again made of that elusive masterpiece, Georges Enesco's only opera, *Oedipe* Op. 23. Menuhin, a violin student and devoted friend of the Rumanian composer, writes of this work, "It is the masterpiece of a master, nursed into shape over decades, the score traveling everywhere with him and growing bulkier by the year, gaining pages on holidays, during weekends, and in hotel rooms late at night after concerts."[1]

The opera *Oedipe*, begun near Lausanne, Switzerland in 1906, was at last completed at Tescani in 1932, and received its premiere at the *Théâtre National de l'Opéra* in Paris in 1936. Subsequent performances have taken place in Bucharest (1955), Paris (1963), and Saarbrücken (1971), but the opera has never been mounted in the United States. Almost universally acclaimed as a masterwork, *Oedipe* is virtually unknown in this country, and no detailed study of it has been published in the English language. Recently, however, a long, comprehensive, and detailed book in Rumanian has been authored by the Rumanian musicologist Octavian Cosma.[2]

The study by Cosma and the memoirs of Enesco (edited in French by Bernard Gavoty)[3] remain the only published materials to deal extensively with this opera and with Enesco's approach to composing it. A complete recording of the work, with a specially prepared text in the Rumanian language (the original text of *Oedipe* is in French), has been made by the cast and orchestra of the Bucharest State Opera on the Rumanian Electrecord label. The orchestral score is available through Editions Salabert of Paris.

Beginning in 1906 (when Enesco first experienced a vague desire to compose for the theater) this "voluminous opera," as he later called it, occupied him intermittently for a quarter of a century. It was only in 1910, however, when Enesco attended a performance by the actor Mounet-Sulley in *Oedipe-roi* at the *Comédie-Française*, that he began to consider the Sophoclean tragedy as a possible subject for an opera. The cry of the great actor when, as Oedipus, he appeared blinded upon the stage, so impressed Enesco that he attempted to notate it then and there in his theater program. This was the first of numerous sketches in unconventional signs and symbols later to be used in the notation of *Oedipe*.

The librettist for *Oedipe* was the French poet Edmond Fleg, a respected Hellenist and distinguished man of letters. Fleg had been in-

troduced to Enesco by the critic Pierre Lalo. Later to be decorated by the French government for his contributions to literature, Fleg was the author of innumerable poems, stories, and essays, and had already furnished the libretto for Ernest Bloch's opera *Macbeth*.[4] It was Fleg who conceived the final shape of *Oedipe* as a drama in four parts: a prologue, two acts, and an epilogue. This division represents a considerable distillation of the original material, for both librettist and composer had agreed to treat the entire life of Oedipus: his birth and the dire predictions of parricide and incest; his youth, with the murder of Laius, the conquest of the Sphinx, and the marriage to Jocasta; his manhood, with the eventual discovery of his unwitting crimes, and self-blinding; and his old age, with his eventual vindication. A less stalwart librettist might have flinched at the plethora of literary matter to be covered, for the opera includes early incidents of the ancient myth (some of them amplified in Acts I and II), as well as the complete content of Sophocles's tragedy *Oedipus Tyrannus* (in Act III), and that of his last play, *Oedipus at Colonus* (in Act IV). Other twentieth-century composers, in setting the Oedipus tragedy to music, have been satisfied to deal only with the content of Sophocles's *Oedipus Tyrannus*.[5]

A central theme of the opera is the contest between Man and Fate, culminating in the long-delayed victory of Man. In order to enunciate this theme, and to unite the various acts of the opera through it, the authors severely altered the classic riddle of the Sphinx to read: "Name someone or something that is greater than Destiny!" To this, Oedipus replies: "Man! Man is more powerful than Destiny!" This declaration is made during Act II. At the end of Act III and the events of the *Oedipus Tyrannus,* Oedipus appears to be at the nadir of his career, completely subjugated by Fate. Only in Act IV, through the events of the *Oedipus at Colonus,* does Oedipus declare himself victor over Fate and at last achieve peace.[6]

Clearly, this is opera on a grand scale, with a large cast of singers and dancers, six different scene changes, and a story that unfolds over a period of more than sixty years. For its 1936 premiere in Paris, more than 350 people were directly involved in the production. All the characters of both Sophocles's plays are required, as well as Oedipus's adoptive mother Merope, and the Sphinx, sung by a contralto. Also specified are a number of choral singers and dancers described in the score as "Thebans, Warriors, Shepherds, People of Thebes, Guards of Oedipus, Entourage of Créon, Theban Elders, and Athenian Elders."

In general, *Oedipe* is tonally oriented, beginning and ending on G. At the start of each act, a specific tonal area is established as a point of departure, and, within the act, a particular pitch class may occasionally be stressed. However, the sense of tonality is considerably attenuated by the free piling of chords in fourths, distorted by the introduction of un-

conventional scale patterns, and obscured by long series of parallelisms functioning without regard to key. Moreover, the pitches of the tempered scale are supplemented by the use of microtones which the composer has notated by means of his own notational scheme as follows:

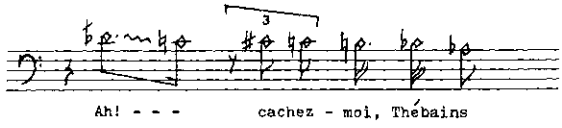
$\natural$ = ¼ tone higher
$\sharp$ = ¾ tone higher
$\flat$ = ¼ tone lower
$\flat\flat$ = ¾ tone lower

In the vocal parts, exact pitches are sometimes replaced by a kind of delivery lying between song and speech and described in the score as *moitié-parlé*. This type of declamation is notated with white diamond-shaped notes. (See Example 1.) The *moitié-parlé* delivery is sometimes

EXAMPLE 1


combined with microtones. (See Example 2.) Neither the use of micro-

EXAMPLE 2




tones, nor the half-spoken type of delivery was original with Enesco. Apart from the Greek genera and other exotic idioms whose use of quarter tones had not historically influenced the course of Western music, there existed a number of precedents dating from more recent times. These included the occasional use of quarter tones in Halévy's opera *Promethée* (1849), in Alois Hába's *String Quartet* (1919), and in Ernest Bloch's *Piano Quintet* (1923). The half-spoken type of delivery had also been anticipated in the *Sprechstimme* of Humperdinck's *Königskinder* (1897), later amplified by Schoenberg in *Pierrot Lunaire* (1912).

In *Oedipe*, these techniques are closely related to the development of the dramatic action. They are gradually worked into the musical fabric, effecting a transition from the purely sung style, which first prevails, to screaming and shrieking, with no definite pitch, which obtains at the climax. In the descent from the climactic point of Act III, there is an

extended section in *moitié-parlé,* by way of retransition to conventional singing tone.

Each act of *Oedipe* has its own thematic material, but in addition several melodic motives reappear with considerable frequency throughout the work. The composer himself mentioned the leitmotif function of these, citing in particular the theme of Jocasta, the motive of the parricide, and the four notes that suggest the verbal duel of the Sphinx.[7] Some of these themes are long and are compounded of various discrete motives. In the course of the opera, these fragments are treated independently; they are altered by rhythmic and melodic expansion and contraction, and often are so changed that no more than their original contours remain. While they occasionally appear in the vocal parts, they are usually relegated to the orchestral accompaniment where they often produce an effect of poignancy based on association with the context in which they were last heard.

It is possible to attribute a characteristic orchestral timbre to some of these leitmotifs. That of Laius is frequently heard in the bassoons or clarinets. The leitmotif of Antigone is usually played by the saxophone, clarinet, or oboe. The violins, in their uppermost register, generally carry the theme of Jocasta, while the horns belong to Creon. For the theme of Destiny, Enesco often uses the double basses in the lowest register, while other motives derived from this theme appear, as a rule, in the cellos. There is, however, no one particular instrumentation associated with the theme of Oedipus.

The orchestration in *Oedipe* is distinguished by its variegated timbres, for in addition to the usual complement of orchestral instruments there are parts for a number of less conventional ones. These include both the piano and the harmonium and, among the wind instruments, the saxophone and flageolet. In the storm scene of Act II, there are parts for wind machine and cannon, as well as a long *glissando* for saw to be played when the Sphinx dies. A number of special instrumental techniques are carefully specified in the score, including strings *scivolando sul ponticello,* or *sulla tastiera,* and woodwinds as well as brass *pavillion en l'air.* Fingerings and bowings for the strings are meticulously indicated, as well as pedaling for the piano.

This large ensemble is utilized selectively so that much of the time it has the proportions, although not the style, of a chamber orchestra. Cosma describes the orchestra of Enesco as not triplaned but pluriplaned, divided not into families but into individual instruments;[8] thus the sonority often results from a confluence of many relatively independent melodic lines.[9] Commenting on this feature of the score, the critic Emanoil Ciomac wrote, "The orchestra with its multiple voices, which, on reading the score, might appear confused and deafening, becomes transparent by

a masterly distribution, by timbres that set each other off."[10] Similarly, another writer, Louis Laloy, remarked, "When reading the score, it seems encumbered with divergent details. . . . When listening to it, everything seems to clear up . . . [forming] a background of colored harmony above which rises the vibrant and explicit melody more often played by a single instrument, flute, violin, oboe, or clarinet."[11]

The basic structural process in *Oedipe* is a carefully measured building up of musical and dramatic tensions. Rhythmic, melodic, harmonic, timbral, and textural resources are carefully deployed so that high points of the drama coincide with points of greatest musical tension, involving the audience deeply in the human drama enacted on stage. At the climax of Act II, for example, against an eerie rustling and whirring that suggest the movement of wings, the Sphinx poses its formidable riddle to which Oedipus, undaunted, makes his reply. Enesco himself described the high tension of this moment and the way he felt when composing it:

> The moment when Oedipus, guessing the right answer, avoids the trap the Sphinx had laid for him, I had to go, by way of music, beyond that which words could suggest. I had to create a state of almost unbearable tension. The Sphinx feels its end nearing, and shrieks like a night-bird frightened by the hunter. I had to invent that shriek, to imagine the unimaginable. When I laid down my pen, after finishing that scene, I felt I would go mad.[12]

The climax of the entire opera occurs in Act III when, having blinded himself within the palace, Oedipus reappears on the stage, staggering, and covered with gore. So intense has been the musical and dramatic build-up to this point, that the collective scream that bursts from the chorus, covering four measures, and ranging downward from *fff* to *pp*, comes as both a culmination and a release. Act IV, which follows as an epilogue, provides a return to calm and serenity.

One obstacle to the production of *Oedipe* is its length, the difficulty of successfully sustaining this continuous build-up in tension over a period of three hours. Although there are carefully planned moments of relaxation, deliberately introduced islands of repose, and, of course, several intermissions, much is demanded of the listener if he is to participate fully in the experience. Nevertheless, when the opera has been performed, it has evoked enthusiastic responses. Henri Malherbe, writing in the Rumanian publication *Universul*, said of this opera,

> The music of *Oedipe* is of a wild majesty, of a graphic precision, and of impressive realism. We are faced with one of the grandest symphonies we have ever heard in the lyrical drama.[13]

Arthur Honegger, in *Le Figaro littéraire,* proclaimed,

> We are in the presence of one of the greatest masters; it may at any time be compared with those works that mark the climax of lyrical art. . . . It is highly original, and possesses a dramatic force that is simply formidable.[14]

René Dumesnil, in *Le Monde,* wrote:

> During the rehearsals, I saw many eyes filled with tears; it is a rare and marvelous thing that a work of art should possess such force.[15]

Finally, Aram Khatchaturian, speaking at the Georges Enesco Third International Competition and Festival,[16] said:

> Not to know *Oedipe* is to ignore a huge and specific stage in Georges Enesco's creation. *Oedipe* is an outstanding event in the history of opera composition.

The great achievement of *Oedipe* lies in its successful portrayal of the hero as a human being, with human failings and weaknesses, but with that singular strength of character that belongs to Man alone. The hero of *Oedipe* is not the statuesque figure of Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex,* nor the ritualized creature of Orff's *Oedipus der Tyrann.* He is simply Man.

Much of the credit for this belongs to Edmond Fleg, who invented for the protagonist thoughts and lines that Sophocles never knew. After his self-blinding, for example, the hero of *Oedipe* expresses a "natural" self-pity, saying, "Where shall I go? How shall I sustain myself?", unlike the noble, almost god-like King in Sophocles. In his pain and anguish, he bitterly tells the Thebans that he has thanked his mother for the children she gave him. Fleg must be credited with great sensitivity and imagination in conceiving such a line, filled with bitterness, drenched with irony, and seething with human torment.

Enesco's music further serves to focus attention on the human trials of the hero, growing in intensity as the dramatic situation demands. Musical tensions parallel human tensions, inviting and demanding the listener's involvement. The opera impresses as a highly emotional work in which the characters, especially the hero, give free vent to the most extreme human feelings of terror and pain.

The device of the *Erinnerungsmotiv,* which Enesco employs most skillfully, contributes to a feeling of poignancy. During Act III, when a suspicion regarding his true birth is just beginning to arouse fear in Oedipus, a messenger from the court of Corinth arrives at Thebes. He sings a melody first heard in Act II, presumably some twenty years earlier, dur-

ing the happy and secure days of Oedipus's youth. The use of this *Erinnerungsmotiv* recalls with sadness and nostalgia those pleasant times in the life of Oedipus before his many trials had begun.

Finally, the use of microtones and *moitié-parlé* to suggest moaning and wailing, as well as the scoring of actual howls, shrieks, or screams at the time of his greatest anguish, does much to emphasize the human aspect of the hero. One of Enesco's great accomplishments in the opera was the incorporation of such sounds into the musical fabric in such a way that they arise naturally and climactically from the musical context.

In *Oedipe,* Enesco exploited a variety of modern techniques of composition, but always in the interest of a greater and more exquisite expressivity; their emotional effect, sometimes transporting in intensity, can be appreciated only in performance. *Oedipe* remains in the repertory of the Rumanian State Opera Company, playing, of necessity, to limited audiences, but it is time the opera reached our shores, and was accorded here the full-scale production it deserves.

*NOTES*

1 Yehudi Menuhin, *Unfinished Journey* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977) p. 216.

2 Octavian L. Cosma, *Oedipul-Enescian* (Bucharest: Editura Muzicală a Uniunii Compozitorilor din Republica Socialistă România, 1967).

3 Bernard Gavoty, ed., *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco* (Paris: Flammarion, 1955).

4 Further details of the life and work of Fleg may be found in *Who's Who in France, 1963-64* (Paris: Jacques Lafitte, 1963) p. 1060.

5 Such works include Stravinsky's *Oedipus Rex,* Orff's *Oedipus der Tyrann,* Partch's *Oedipus,* and Leoncavallo's *Edipo Re.*

6 Classical scholars do not generally see the Oedipus of Sophocles's tragedy as vanquished by Fate. Rather, he is viewed as victorious in defeat, asserting his own dignity even in the indignity of his fate. Enesco and Fleg, however, took a variant view, and reserved the victory of their hero for the final act of the opera.

7 Gavoty, *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco,* p. 144. In his exhaustive study, Cosma has also isolated a great number of leitmotifs and, noting associations throughout the work, has paired them with the characters and ideas they seem to represent. These leitmotifs and their associations are given in Cosma, *Oedipul-Enescian,* pp. 102-25.

8 Cosma, *Oedipul-Enescian,* p. 262.

9 *Ibid.,* p. 261.

10 Emanoil Ciomac, *Revista Fundaţilor Regale* (Bucharest) 1 June 1956.

11 Louis Laloy, *Revue des deux mondes* (Paris) 15 April 1936.

12 Gavoty, *Les Souvenirs de Georges Enesco,* p. 146.

13 Henri Malherbe, *Universul* (Bucharest) 13 March 1936.

14 Arthur Honegger, *Le Figaro littéraire* (Paris) 19 March 1936.

15 René Dumesnil, *Le Monde* (Paris) 24 May 1955.

16 Bucharest, 1964.

# *THE "APOTHEOSE DE LULLY:" OR, TOWARD A NEW LULLY EDITION*

*Carl B. Schmidt*

Almost ten years have now passed since Donald Grout published a list of "Some Desiderata and Goals for the Study of 18th-century Italian Opera" in this journal, and the decade has seen major advances in various of the areas he enumerated.[1] Work on RISM has continued at a steady pace, though volumes dealing with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscript sources still have not been completed; Claudio Sartori's invaluable libretto catalogue has begun to appear in xerox copy; a new edition of Alessandro Scarlatti's operas is well under way; and there have been numerous studies and bibliographical scrutinies of individual composers. Yet, despite this progress and a very real interest in the performance of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian operas, published editions of the scores—Scarlatti's excepted—have been produced only at the rate of a trickle. Finally, although Grout focused his remarks on Italy in the eighteenth century, his assessment is equally applicable to Italian opera of the seventeenth century. We still have very few, if any, scholarly editions of operas by such important figures as Peri, Caccini, Da Gagliano, Cavalli, Cesti, Legrenzi, P. A. Ziani, Sartorio, and Draghi. But our purpose is neither to reexamine the current state of Italian Baroque musical scholarship nor to lament the lack of newly published operas. Rather, it is our intent to focus on a quite parallel situation in French musical studies of the same period.

Recently, scholarly attention has been divided more equitably between French and Italian studies, and the former have begun to attract some of the notice they rightfully deserve. To a certain extent the current state of such scholarship is reflected in books by James Anthony (*French Baroque Music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau*)[2] and Robert Isherwood (*Music in the Service of the King: France in the Seventeenth Century*).[3] It is clear that much significant archival research has recently been done and that many early printed treatises or important earlier scholarly studies have been, or soon will be reprinted.[4] It is equally clear, however, that the writing of such histories is seriously hampered by the lack of scholarly editions of the music. Too often the conscientious author is forced to consult the works of Lully, Campra, Charpentier, Delalande, Destouches, Mouret, and others in manuscript or early printed editions—a time-consuming and problematic task. In the "Author's Note" to his book, Professor Anthony, while summarizing the status of French Baroque musical scholarship, comments, "It is shocking that neither the *Oeuvres*

*complètes* of Lully nor of Rameau are 'complete'."[5] Indeed it is shocking, but since Henry Prunières's death in 1942 only one new volume (of motets) has been added to the Lully edition, and work on the Rameau edition has all but ceased.[6] Plans to undertake a completely new Lully edition are now under way, and perhaps a progress report is appropriate.

An unexpected benefit of the International Musicological Society meetings held in Berkeley in the summer of 1977 was the presence of various scholars with a common interest in the music of Jean-Baptiste Lully. This interest, coupled with the willingness of the New York publishing firm of Broude Brothers Limited to sit down and discuss the feasibility of a new Lully edition, led to several working sessions at which those present discussed many of the problems inherent in the publication of such an edition. The sessions resulted in the firm resolve to form an editorial committee and, more important, the establishment of Broude Brothers Limited as the publisher.[7] To those of us who had long wished to see Lully's many remaining works made available in a scholarly edition, this was a strong incentive to pool resources and begin the arduous tasks that lay ahead.

One of the principal difficulties in publishing the works of a major French Baroque composer is that almost no other such edition exists that could be used as a model. As a result, numerous decisions concerning editorial policy must be made at the outset, some of which will undoubtedly need refining as work progresses. Secondly, there is the problem of dividing Lully's *oeuvre* into series according to some logical scheme. Unfortunately the ill-defined terminology of the period and the occurrence of works pieced together or expanded from fragments of earlier compositions make the task particularly difficult. But the overwhelming problem in a critical edition of Lully's music is establishing the score to be used as the primary source. For editions of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, or Haydn, the existence of autograph manuscripts often simplifies such decisions, but in the case of Lully there is no surviving corpus of such autograph materials. What does exist is a maze of manuscript and printed sources; a brief summary of the situation is given here.

A. Lully works before 1673 (ballets, comédies-ballets, intermèdes, etc.)

Music for these works survives almost solely in manuscript scores including *partitions générales, partitions réduites,* single instrumental parts, and collections of excerpts in one of the above arrangements.[8] In most cases the copyist is unknown, though some scores are from commercial establishments such as Foucault. While provenance is often difficult to determine, when it is known it can be useful in establishing the importance of a given source. The primary repositories for such manuscripts

are in Paris, but miscellaneous scores are scattered as far as Besançon, Prague, Berlin, and Berkeley.[9]

B. Lully works from 1673-1678 (tragédies lyriques)

All these works, including *Les Festes de l'Amour et de Bacchus, Cadmus et Hermione, Alceste, Thésée, Atys, Isis,* and *Psyché,* exist in scores published after Lully's death.[10] Dozens of manuscript scores for each tragédie also remain, scattered throughout the world in libraries and private collections. In fact, scores of these works appear in dealers' catalogues with surprising regularity. Most likely, many are commercial copies from the Foucault or Christophe Ballard establishments and have little interest for the editors of the new Lully edition, but no score can be dismissed until it has been examined by a Lully specialist familiar with the source problems. Of great significance is the collection at the Paris Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra of individual parts which were used in various performances.[11] For Group B, then, manuscript sources often pre-date printed ones and must be given special attention.

C. Works from 1679-1687 (tragédies lyriques and the final stage ballets)

The primary works in this group, *Bellérophon, Proserpine, Persée, Phaëton, Amadis, Roland, Armide, Acis et Galatée, Idylle sur la paix, Le Temple de la paix,* and *Le Triomphe de l'Amour,* were all published in *partitions générales* during Lully's lifetime—customarily in the year of their first performance.[12] Because of the tight rein Lully held over the French musical establishment, it is safe to assume that he personally approved the readings given in these scores before they were issued. It is useful to examine as many copies of each edition as possible, however, for some contain manuscript corrections or additional bass figures and *agréments.* Again, many manuscript exemplars exist, some of which bear printed title pages, and single orchestral and vocal parts are to be found at the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra.[13] As was the case for Group B, the usefulness of each manuscript can be judged only after it has been carefully examined.[14]

Initially, the major task is to locate manuscript and printed scores of Lully's works.[15] RISM is helpful for printed scores, though the listings are far from complete or accurate, but no comprehensive list of manuscripts has yet been made.[16] The magnitude of the problem can best be seen if several tragédies lyriques are chosen at random and the number of sources presently known is disclosed. Preliminary work on *Phaëton* has uncovered more than twenty-five manuscript scores (not including parts at the Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opera), seventeen additional copies of printed

scores listed in RISM, and one new printed edition not listed in RISM. For *Atys* the figures are twenty-nine manuscript scores and nineteen additional copies of printed scores listed in RISM. No doubt many more scores will come to light as the work of the Editorial Committee continues. Statistics for the other tragédies are comparable.

Because almost all of Lully's works involve texts, there is the added task of locating *livrets*. Lully's chief collaborators were Isaac de Benserade, Jean-Baptiste Molière, and Philippe Quinault, and while editions of Molière's works are under good bibliographic control, the same can hardly be said for the works of the others. Both Benserade and Quinault have been the subjects of significant literary studies, although neither has undergone bibliographic scrutiny comparable to that of Molière.[17] The French analogue of Sartori's catalogue has yet to be compiled, and the problem is compounded by the facts that (1) collections of *livrets* (like Italian libretti) are notoriously poorly catalogued; (2) single *livrets* are scattered in collections all over the world; (3) *livrets* for Lully's tragédies were published in numerous editions (some literary, but many as the direct result of revivals in Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels, Avignon, Wolfenbüttel, Nancy, and elsewhere; and (4) some Quinault *livrets* such as those to *Thesée* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1675), *Atys* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1676), and *Isis* (Paris: C. Ballard, 1677) exist in more than one issue. This fourth point is an important one because the specific date of performance may vary from exemplar to exemplar, the cast list (often including the names of more than one hundred performers) may be altered, or some change in the text may have been made. Therefore, great care must be taken to examine as many copies of each *livret* as possible—particularly the so-called "first editions."

Finally, one other category of sources needs to be investigated. Iconographic evidence for Lully's works exists in profusion and provides our best link with the visual aspect of Lully's stage works which so captivated chroniclers of court life in the age of the Sun King. Manuscript or printed materials can be found for both costumes and set designs, and although recent scholarship has brought to light such sources for many Lully ballets and several tragédies lyriques, much remains to be done.[18] The scope of this fascinating search is perhaps most strikingly illustrated by the discovery that scenes from Lully's tragédies can even be found woven in a set of tapestries.[19]

The obstacles blocking a new Lully edition are formidable, but not insurmountable. Years ago, Henry Prunières proved that a critical edition is possible, and the ten volumes he completed attest to his vision and courage. In beginning the new *Oeuvres complètes,* the committee's general policy will be to edit first those works not already done by Prunières, in order to make available as much music as possible. And,

because the source problem of editing a tragédie lyrique far outweighs that for a typical ballet, it has been decided to commence the new edition with several volumes of ballets presented in chronological order.

By the tercentenary of Lully's death in 1987 there should be substantial progress, but no miracles. Much hard work lies ahead and the Editorial Committee will need all the assistance it can get, particularly from individuals who know of Lully sources in private hands or out-of-the-way places, whether they are musical, literary, or iconographic.[20] Lully's "Apothéose" must no longer be solely that provided centuries ago by François Couperin. The time is overdue for a more appropriate and fitting "Apothéose"—that of a new edition of Jean-Baptiste Lully's collected works.

*NOTES*

1 *Current Musicology* 9 (1969) pp. 88-91.

2 New York: Norton, [1974]. A revised edition has just appeared. Professor Anthony has also published a valuable list of scholarly works in progress, "French Music of the XVIIth and XVIIIth Centuries: A Checklist of Research in Progress," *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 15 (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1975) pp. 262-267.

3 Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973.

4 Among the important archival studies are Madeleine Jurgens, *Documents du Minutier central concernant l'histoire de la musique (1600-1650)* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1967 and 1974); Marcelle Benoit, *Versailles et les musiciens du roi 1661-1733: Etude institutionnelle et sociale*, La vie musicale en France sous les rois bourbons, 19 (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1971), and *Musiques de cour: chapelle, chambre, écurie 1661-1733*, La vie musicale en France sous les rois bourbons, 20 (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1971). Significant reprints have been published by Minkoff and Slatkine of Geneva, and AMS Press, Inc. will soon reprint a series containing thirty-eight important works, entitled "Music and Theatre in France in the 17th and 18th Centuries," selected by Neal Zaslaw.

5 Anthony, *French Baroque*, p. 3.

6 Before his death Prunières completed two volumes of ballets, three of comédies-ballets, two of motets, and three of tragédies lyriques. These volumes were all issued in Paris by Editions de la revue musicale. The eleventh volume was published by Broude Brothers Limited in 1972 after a text established by Prunières and revised by Michel Sanvoisin. Apparently efforts have been made to begin a new Rameau edition, but nothing concrete has developed as yet. However, dissertations by Mary Cyr, "Rameau's *Les fetes d'Hébé*" (University of California at Berkeley, 1975) and Robert Peter Wolf, "Rameau's *Les Paladins* (1760)" (Yale University, in progress) are important additions to the Rameau literature.

7 The Editorial Committee includes Carl B. Schmidt* (Secretary), James Anthony, Albert Cohen*, Lowell Lindgren, Meredith Ellis Little*, Joyce Newman*, Joshua Rifkin*, Herbert Schneider, Erich Schwandt, Peter Wolf, and Neal Zaslaw*. (Asterisks designate those present in Berkeley.)

8 An exception is the tragédie-ballet *Psyché*, the airs for which were published by Robert Ballard in 1670 and again in a second edition in 1673.

9 The most thorough investigation of musical sources for Lully's ballets has been done by Meredith Ellis Little. See her "The Dances of J.B. Lully" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1967); "The Sources of Jean-Baptiste Lully's Secular Music," *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 8 (1968) pp. 89-130; and "Inventory of

the Dances of Jean-Baptiste Lully," *Recherches sur la musique française classique* 9 (1969) pp. 21-51. Of enormous value will be the thematic catalogue of Lully's works that has been prepared by Dr. Herbert Schneider of the Johannes Gutenberg-Universität in Mainz.

10 All except *Alceste* were published in *partitions générales* and most were also published one or more times in *partitions réduites*. *Isis* was first published as a set of ten partbooks in 1677.

11 Some idea of the extent of these parts is given by Théodore de Lajarte in *Bibliothèque musicale du théâtre de l'opéra: catalogue historique, chronologique, anecdotique* (Paris: Librairie des bibliophiles, 1878; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969).

12 Excerpts from some of Lully's works were also published in Amsterdam by Jean Philippe Heus during the composer's lifetime.

13 Manuscript scores with printed title pages are a curious and little-studied group of sources. Two such examples are (1) PHAETON, / TRAGEDIE / MISE / EN MUSIQUE / Par Monsieur DE LULLY, Escuyer, Conseiller- / Secretaire du Roy, Maison, Couronne de France, / & de ses Finances, & Surintendant de la Musique / de Sa Majesté. / [printer's mark] / A PARIS, / Chez CHRISTOPHE BALLARD, seul Imprimeur du Roy pour la Musique, / ruë S. Jean de Beauvais, au Mont Parnasse. / *Et se vend* / Ruë S. Honoré, proche l'Academie Royale de Musique. / [rule] / M. DC. LXXXIV. / *Avec Privilege du Roy*. and (2) CADMUS, / *TRAGEDIE* / MISE / EN MUSIQUE, / *Par Monsieur de Lully, Escuyer, Conseiller,* / *Secretaire du Roy, Maison, Couronne de* / *France & de ses Finances, & Sur-Intendant* / *de la Musique de Sa Majesté.* / [printer's mark] / SE VEND A PARIS / Chez le Sieur FOUCAULT, Marchant, ruë S. Honnoré, à l'Enseigne de la Regle / d'or, prés la Place aux Chats.

14 Some manuscripts in this group are actually exact copies of printed scores. One such exemplar of *Persée* is part of the Cortot materials now in the music library of the University of California at Berkeley (MS. 449). Identical pagination and layout prove that this manuscript was copied from the 1682 *partition générale* published by Christophe Ballard in Paris.

15 For the past three years the present author has been involved in preparing a systematic *catalogue raisonné* of pre-1800 sources for Lully's tragédies lyriques, including printed and manuscript music and printed *livrets*.

16 See RISM A V pp. 367-375.

17 See Charles Silin, *Benserade and His Ballets de Cour* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940) and Etienne Gros, *Philippe Quinault: sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris: E. Champion, 1926; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970).

18 Important recent work includes Marie-Françoise Christout, *Le Ballet de cour de Louis XIV 1643-1672*, La vie musicale en France sous les rois bourbons, 12 (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1967) and François Lesure, *L'Opéra classique français: XVII^e^ et XVIII^e^ siecles*, Iconographie musicale, 1 (Geneva: Minkoff, 1972). An earlier work of importance is Roger-Armand Weigert's *Jean I Berain: dessinateur de la chambre et du cabinet du roi (1640-1711)* (Paris: Nogent-Le-Rotrou, 1936).

19 See Jacques Heuzey, "Sur une tapisserie de style Louis XIV à sujet théâtral," *Revue d'histoire du théâtre* 29 (1977) pp. 41-52.

20 Anyone possessing such information is invited to communicate it to the Secretary in care of Broude Brothers Limited, 56 West 45th St., New York, NY 10036.

# *STYLISTIC AND FORMAL CHANGES IN THE ARIAS OF CARLO FRANCESCO POLLAROLO (ca. 1653-1723)*

*Olga Termini*

Carlo Francesco Pollarolo was one of numerous opera composers active in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries in that great operatic center, the city of Venice. Like his contemporaries Marc' Antonio Ziani, Giacomo Perti, and Antonio Lotti—to cite but a few names associated with Venice at that time—Pollarolo was very famous during his lifetime. But in the 250 years since his death he has met with singular neglect and, in a few instances, even deprecation. Pollarolo had the misfortune of being maligned by his first biographer, Francesco Caffi, who called him *"uno scrivacchiatore piuttosto stemperato,"* i.e., "a rather immoderate scribbler."[1]

Caffi's judgment and that of subsequent authors are largely based on ignorance of Pollarolo's works.[2] Although only a small portion of his staggering output is extant, there are now thirteen complete, dated opera scores available, as well as five oratorios.[3] The purpose of this article is to trace the aria, the most interesting part of this composer's music through his career, and to demonstrate that it falls into at least three distinct phases of stylistic development.

Pollarolo's creative career began around 1680, the year he advanced from the position of organist to that of *maestro di cappella* at the Cathedral of Brescia, the city where his family had settled around 1665. From this early period only one complete opera score survives, *Il Rodrigo* (1686), first performed in Verona in 1687. When Pollarolo moved to Venice in 1690 to assume the position of Second Organist at the Basilica of San Marco, his opera composition increased dramatically. Between 1691 and 1701 not a year passed without premieres of one or more Pollarolo operas on Venetian stages, especially that of San Giovanni Grisostomo, the most fashionable opera house in Venice. The majority of the extant opera scores also dates from this decade.[4] There is only a slight decline in performances after 1701, and another continuous succession of annual premieres occurred from 1712 to 1719, to say nothing of the numerous performances outside Venice. Pollarolo's last opera reached the stage three months before his death in February 1723.

## THE ARIA IN POLLAROLO'S OPERAS

In the late seventeenth century the aria was the most important ingredient of Venetian opera, for the composer as well as for the singers

and audiences. Few theorists comment on the aria before 1700; Salvadori, in his *Poetica Toscana all'uso,* published in 1691, advises librettists to make the recitative short so that the audiences may hear the aria which they enjoy so much.[5] However, the great debate on the function and abuses of the aria, and of opera in general, did not begin until the eighteenth century, the chorus of critics rising especially after 1730.

Pollarolo flourished at a time when the development of the operatic aria was already under way, and his works show the gradual shifts taking place in its relative number, length, importance, and position in the scene. The change in number and extent was effected by the librettists who determined the structure of the text. Table 1 indicates the trend to reduce the number of arias in each opera, even in cases where the number of scenes remained exceptionally large, as in Zeno's *Faramondo.* In this

TABLE 1: Scenes and arias

| Opera | Librettist | Year | Number of Scenes | Number of Arias | Arias with B.C. | Arias with Orchestra |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Il Rodrigo* | Bottalino | 1686 | 62 | 60 | 51 | 9 |
| *Onorio in Roma* | Giannini | 1692 | 53 | 42 | 28 | 14 |
| *Ottone* | Frigimelica-Roberti | 1694 | 38 | 37 | 16 | 21 |
| *Faramondo* | Zeno | 1699 | 68 | 39 | 7 | 32 |
| *Il Color fa la regina* | Noris | 1700 | 38 | 35 | 20 | 15 |
| *Ariodante* | Salvi | 1716 | 35 | 29 | 6 | 23 |

case it means, of course, that the number of scenes consisting entirely of recitatives increased, since duets, dances, and ensembles are of minor importance in this opera. Thus Salvadori's advice to get to the aria as fast as possible was not always heeded.

There was another distinct, although gradual shift taking place, that of the position of the aria within the scene; it was moved toward the end of the scene where it was followed by the (hopefully triumphant) exit of the singer. This resulted in the famous or notorious exit-aria *(aria d'ingresso)* which Benedetto Marcello satirized so brilliantly in his *Teatro alla moda* of 1720.[6] The end-of-scene position encouraged the expansion and elaboration of the aria, since it no longer interrupted the progress of the action or dialogue of the scene but formed its musical and emotional culmination. The trend toward the exit-aria was established in

Pollarolo's earliest extant score but accelerated as time went on. It is safe to generalize that the shorter, more modest songs or arias tend to occur at the beginning or in the middle of a scene, and the elaborate *da capo* arias, at the end.

Pollarolo and his contemporary composers wrote for singers whose importance, virtuosity, and popularity were increasing. Soprano voices, male and female, were in the overwhelming majority, evidently favored by the public. In Pollarolo's operas soprano castrati are fairly evenly matched with female sopranos, for example Metilde and Fausto in the opera *Ottone,* or Rosimonda and Faramondo in *Faramondo.* There are almost no roles for female altos in Pollarolo's operas,[7] but usually there is one (or more) for alto castrato who was frequently matched with a female soprano. Examples are Ottone and Lucrezia in *Ottone,* and Termanzia and Onorio in *Onorio in Roma;* in this latter work the title role is for an alto castrato, a casting still familiar to us from the first version of Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762). Tenors and especially basses were relatively rare; they were often cast as kings, generals, fathers, senior advisers, villains, or servants, and sometimes as comic characters.

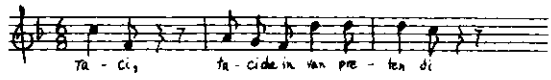
The extant cast lists show that the opera composers were familiar with the voices for which they composed. Casts overlap a great deal; sometimes they are even identical for two operas presented in the same year, as in Pollarolo's *Il Pastor d'Anfriso* and *Irene,* both given at San Giovanni Grisostomo in 1695.[8] How closely Pollarolo observed the peculiar qualities of an individual singer will be mentioned later.

## THE EARLY ARIA STYLE

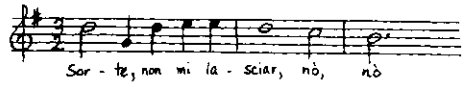
Brevity and variety are the most important characteristics of Pollarolo's early style. Frequent changes from *recitativo semplice* to short *ariosi,* interspersed with brief arias, reflect the composer's close attention to the expression of the text. Pollarolo's penchant for coloratura coincides with almost madrigalistic word-painting in both arias and recitatives. The aria themes are usually simple, triadic, and narrow in range, at least in the opening motive or phrase. Characteristic is the opening with the interval of the fifth, reaching up to the sixth or expanding to the octave. In this respect Pollarolo's melodies resemble countless others by his predecessors and contemporaries. Example 1 illustrates this tendency.

The thematic vocabulary was well worked out and closely linked to the different aria-types already in vogue. The "rage-and-revenge" type (*aria agitata*) called for tonic triads, octave range, or octave leaps, forcefully stated; sometimes vigorous runs or coloratura fulfilled the same function. (See Example 2.) The *aria cantabile* invariably features sustained notes or flowing rhythms and conjunct motion. (See Example 3.)

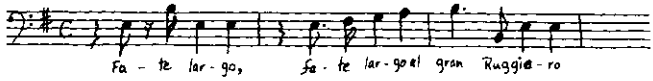
EXAMPLE 1a: Pollarolo, *Il Rodrigo* (1686) act 1, scene 6.



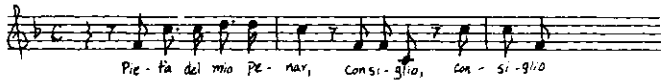

EXAMPLE 1b: Varischino, *L'Odoacre* (1680) act 1, scene 2.



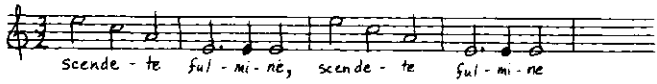

EXAMPLE 1c: Pollarolo, *Il Rodrigo* act 3, scene 18.



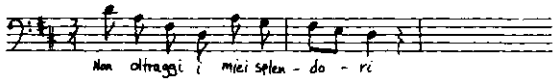

EXAMPLE 1d: Perti, *Oresta in Sparta* (1685) act 2, scene 16.



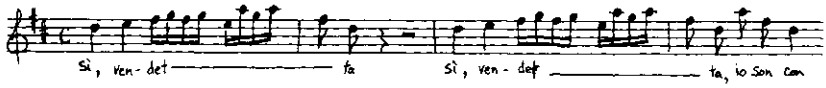

EXAMPLE 2a: P. A. Ziani, *Il Candaule* (1680) act 2, scene 12.



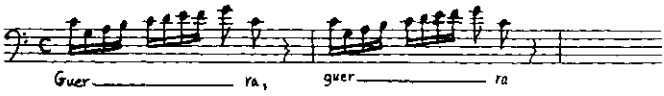

EXAMPLE 2b: Pollarolo, *La Forza della virtù* (1693) act 1, scene 14.



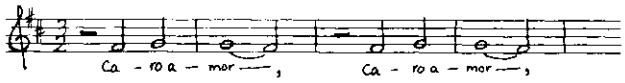

EXAMPLE 2c: A. Scarlatti, *Clearco in Negroponte* (1686?) act 1, scene 1.



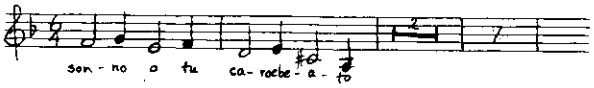

EXAMPLE 2d: Pollarolo, *Il Rodrigo* act 1, scene 1.



EXAMPLE 3a: Pollarolo, *Il Rodrigo* act 2, scene 20.




EXAMPLE 3b: Perti, *L'Inganno scoperto per vendetta* (1691) act 2, scene 3.




These and other thematic types persisted throughout the entire period under discussion, including all of Pollarolo's extant opera scores.

The *ABA* form was already firmly established by the time Pollarolo entered the scene. But at this time the arias are often fully written out, either because of their brevity or because the return of the *A* section is varied; it may be abbreviated, slightly expanded, or appear only in the bass but not in the vocal part. Usually section *A* is continuous, but short, repeated subsections are possible as in *"Non sa goder"* from *Il Rodrigo*. The *B* section, normally shorter than *A*, is also subject to varied treatment; in Pollarolo's oratorio *Jezabelle* the aria *"Vo sperando"* has a *B* section which is a short consecutive duet, a true *aria col pertichino*, as Caffi puts it in his *Storia della musica teatrale*.[9] In the aria *"Bella non piangere"* from *Il Rodrigo* the *B* section begins with a meter change to $\frac{4}{4}$, giving the impression of a recitative interpolation.

The strophic song still occurs occasionally, sometimes as a kind of duet in which the two characters alternate in singing different stanzas of the same song, an *aria in duetto*.[10] Pollarolo often finds ways to reflect in the music a parallelism between aria texts; for example, in act 3 of *Il Rodrigo* he writes vocal variations over the same bass line, basically a very old technique, but here it serves to link the lines *"Sì, sì, che mi tradiste"* with *"No, no, che non v'inganno."* Even as late as 1700, in *Il Color fa la regina*, Pollarolo expresses the connection between two aria texts musically: in act 2, scene 4 Adelasio sings *"Dimmi un sì"* ("Tell me yes") but has to leave without Eritrea's "yes". Left alone she answers *"Dir vorrei"* ("I would like to say it") on a motive which picks up Adelasio's theme. It is no longer a strophic variation over a fixed bass but a thematic link between arias which are also linked in thought.

Most of Pollarolo's early examples are arias with basso continuo only, usually preceded or followed by a ritornello.[11] The bass line is handled in one of three ways: (1) simply supportive to the melody and implied chords, (2) melodically active and interacting with the vocal line, or (3) independent of the voice, often acting as a rhythmic ostinato, usually

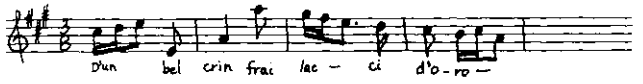
in the *aria cantabile*. All of these techniques, needless to say, were established in Venetian opera before 1686.

During this period Pollarolo's harmonic idiom was strongly diatonic and simple in the choice of key schemes, favoring dominant or relative keys for the middle section. In an opera with sixty arias (*Il Rodrigo*) there are bound to be several in the same key, but almost none will have identical patterns of modulation.

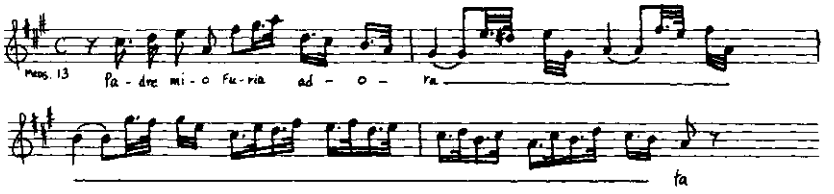
## THE ARIA IN THE MIDDLE PERIOD

The arias in the scores of the 1690s show a startling growth in every respect without abandoning the flexibility of the earlier scores. Themes expand in range, often leaping boldly with an almost instrumental sweep; the vocal phrases may expand through coloratura to virtuosic lengths. (See Example 4.) On the other hand, Pollarolo also uses dance

EXAMPLE 4a: Pollarolo, *Alfonso Primo* (1694) act 1, scene 10.




EXAMPLE 4b: Pollarolo, *La Rosimonda* (1696) act 1, scene 2.




rhythms for his aria themes. *"Non sa che sia costanza"* from *Ottone* is a siciliano whereas *"Spera sì"* from *Faramondo* is in a sarabande rhythm. This latter aria is written for the page Childerico, sung by a female soprano, a forerunner of Cherubino.

Formally the aria becomes more and more a set, autonomous piece, but in the 1690s drama-related interruptions or interpolations are not unusual. These occur frequently in scenes where one character overhears another, commenting in recitative during the other's aria with dramatic realism although at musically logical points such as the end of the *A* section. Musical form does not always supersede dramatic motivation—in the aria *"Vacillante è il regno mio"* Onorio falls asleep after the music rather literally depicts the shaky condition of his throne; he does not finish the second *A* section, but leaves the last phrase to the orchestra.

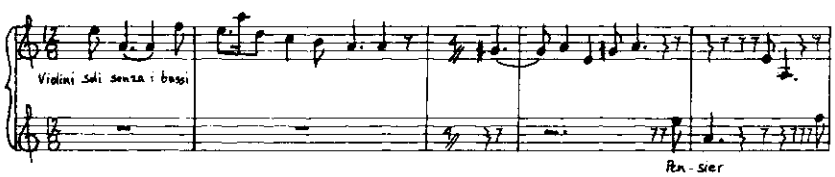
While arias in one or two sections (*A B* or *A* $A^1$) still occur, the tripartite form is now the norm, usually with the indication *da capo*. The first section is often binary in structure and is usually longer than the

middle section, as in *"Muterò il scettro in fulmine"* from *Onorio in Roma,* where the *A* section is thirty-one measures in length and the *B* section only seven. This is especially true in orchestrated arias where the separate ritornello is replaced by an integral introduction, often with a brief corresponding postlude at the end of the section. In other words, the orchestra has a large share in the formal expansion of the aria. Sometimes the middle section is also subdivided as in *"O non ti rivedrò"* from *Ottone* (discussed in detail below) which fits Johann Walther's description of the "modern" aria in his *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1732) although it was composed as early as 1694:

> ". . . the modern arias, each of which has two main sections and at least that many, if not more, interludes, so that there the voice may pause a little and take a breath. . ."[12]

As Table 1 shows, orchestral arias constantly increase in number; as early as 1694 (in *Ottone*) they outnumber those with basso continuo only. Both types exhibit an increase in harmonic interest and expansion of key schemes to more remote tonalities. However, the most interesting aspect of the arias in this decade is the composer's skill and imagination in the use of orchestral accompaniments. *Onorio in Roma* of 1692 is the first score with expanded orchestration; instead of the earlier three-part strings, as in *Rodrigo,* the accompaniments vary now from one to eight parts, although five-part writing is most common. One interesting combination is voice plus solo violin or violins without bass. Pollarolo applied this instrumentation for the first time in *Onorio in Roma* (1692) in the aria *"Usignuoli che cantate."*[13] The score is marked *"aria con violini soli senz'altro accompagnamento."* A later example is the aria *"Pensier fammi veder"* from *Il Color fa la regina* (1700) in which the voice and violins take turns at the same theme whereas in *Onorio* the two are contrasted. (See Example 5.) Wolff attributes the invention of the aria ac-

EXAMPLE 5: Pollarolo, *Il Color fa la regina* (1700) act 2, scene 3.




companiments without bass to Pollarolo[14] who used them in other expressive arias. For example, he uses an accompaniment of only two violins and one viola for *"Il viver mio si chiude"* from *La Forza della virtù* (1693) in which the heroine takes leave of the world (*"aria con concerto*

*senza bassi*"). In the English translation of Raguenet's *Parallèle des Italiens et des Français,* attributed to John E. Galliard and published in 1709, credit for innovations in arias is given as follows:

> ". . . and to give the last hand to the perfection of Italian music for operas and cantatas, succeeded the above-mentioned Scarlatti, the first inventor of the songs accompanied by the violin alone and other compositions very much to be commended, Pollaroli, the Venetian inventor of the unison ariettas, which invention has been followed by the most celebrated composers and is at present one of the greatest beauties in the Italian operas."[15]

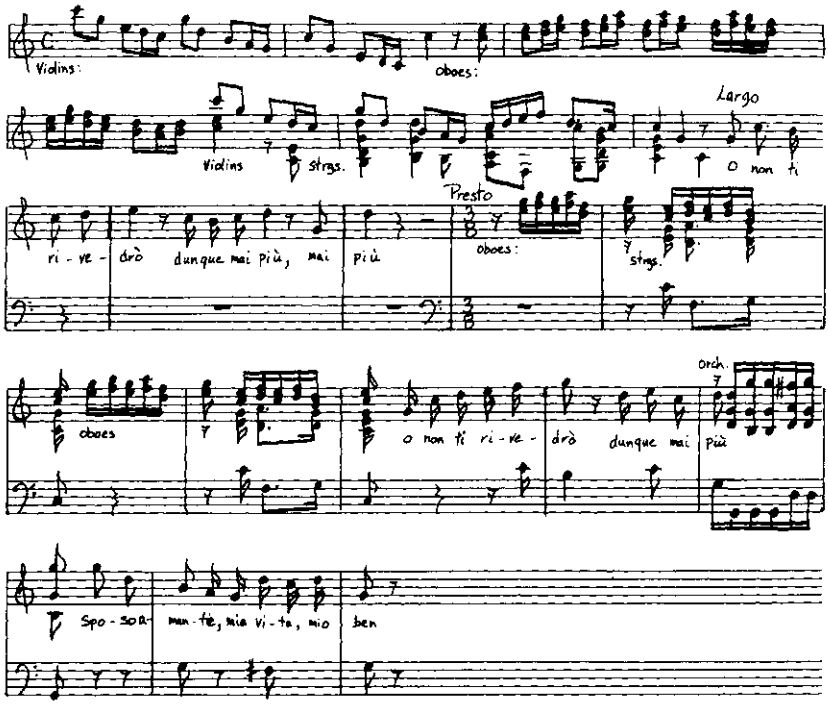
The unison aria is indeed a prominent type in Pollarolo's works. The earliest example is in *Il Rodrigo,* a comic aria for bass voice and basso continuo (*"Bella non piangere"*). In *Ottone* (1694) the whole orchestra plays in unison accompanying the aria *"Le Crude Eumenidi"* (act 4, scene 3). Sometimes the basso continuo arias are marked *"violini suonano con la parte"* or the bass *"tutti i bassi"* so that much more string sound was actually heard than the scores visually demonstrate.

Another innovation, perhaps really Pollarolo's, is the concerto grosso technique in aria accompaniments. The clearest example appears in *Onorio in Roma* (act 3, scene 2) where five-part strings alternate with off-stage strings (two violins and bass) marked *"concertino dentro la scena."* Pollarolo's orchestration reflects the concerto principle even when there is no actual physical separation of groups. Contrast between solo and tutti, or dynamic markings simulating this contrast also help to insure the audibility and prominence of the voice in an orchestrated aria.[16] The concertino often includes wind instruments. Pollarolo was one of the first, if not the first, of the composers of the Venetian school to use oboes extensively in aria accompaniments, beginning in 1692 (*Onorio in Roma*).

To demonstrate several characteristics of Pollarolo's style in this decade, the aria *"O non ti rivedrò"* from *Ottone* will serve as an example. In scene 9 of the third act Metilde has just said a last farewell to Fausto who is led away to his execution. She remains on stage to sing an aria which expresses her grief over her loss and her determination to end her own life. The contrast of these two emotions is expressed not only in the usual way, by contrasting sections *A* and *B,* but also within each section. The aria is scored for two oboes functioning as a concertino, and strings (violins 1 and 2, violas 1 and 2, and basso continuo). After the brisk orchestral introduction, the voice enters with a different theme, marked *largo,* unaccompanied, and approaching a recitative style (section *a*). Then comes a sudden *presto* in $\frac{3}{8}$ meter, an outburst foreshadowing the opposite mood but sung on the same words. It is not until this fast sec-

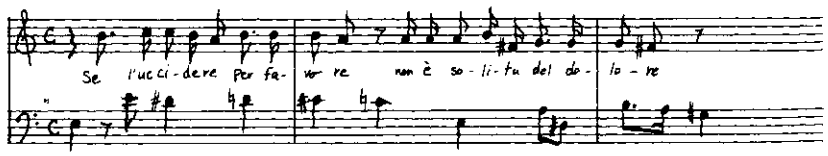
tion (*b*) that the opening violin motive is picked up by the voice. The opening is given in Example 6. An orchestral postlude concludes the *A* section.

EXAMPLE 6: Pollarolo, *Ottone* (1694) act 3, scene 9.




The *B* section reverses the mood contrast, beginning furiously on the words *"onda, cielo, terra, abbissi"* underscored by string tremolos (*c*), and modulating to a more reflective passage (*d*) in common time with a chromatically descending bass line employed for expressiveness and with a dissonance between voice and accompaniment on the word *"dolore."* (See Example 7.) There follows another orchestral interlude. More sur-

EXAMPLE 7



prising is the last part of section *B*, which is thematically related to the *presto* section in *A*, in the tonic key, with a variation of the oboe figures of section *A*. This final part of the *B* section forms a retransition to the opening of the *da capo*. It should be said that this aria functions as the finale of act 3; this is probably the main reason for its elaborate structure. (*Ottone* is divided into five acts, a pattern preferred by its librettist Frigimelica-Roberti.)

## THE ARIA IN THE LATER OPERAS

It is not clear exactly when Pollarolo's style changed toward what has been called the "Neapolitan style." *Il Faramondo* of 1699 (libretto by Apostolo Zeno) belongs to the new type, its scenes consist of long stretches of recitative, now clearly *recitativo secco*, separated from fully developed *da capo* arias. The *arioso* has disappeared. The vocal themes become even more instrumental, seeming to compete with the violins. The virtuosic element overtakes the descriptive as the basis for coloratura, i.e., in these arias coloratura may serve to reflect the overall mood but is not necessarily a direct response to the meanings of particular text-phrases. The variety of parts and tonal colors of the previous years yields to four-part writing, and even this is often simplified by means of unisons between violins or violas, resulting in two or three actual parts in the aria accompaniments. The later arias fit rather closely the doctrine that a single "affection" should prevail throughout the aria; they seem to be cast in one basic mood in spite of the customary harmonic and textural contrasts between *A* and *B* sections. The arias in *Ariodante* (1716), Pollarolo's last extant score, are almost never integrated into the action by such earlier devices as recitative interruptions. Comparison arias and arias on generalized subjects gain ground over the action-related aria or *aria d'azione*. In his treatise *Della Tragedia antica e moderna* (1715) Pier Jacopo Martello recommends the comparison-aria to the librettist:

> "I recommend to you in the aria a few comparisons with little butterflies, boats, birds, or brooks. . . ."[17]

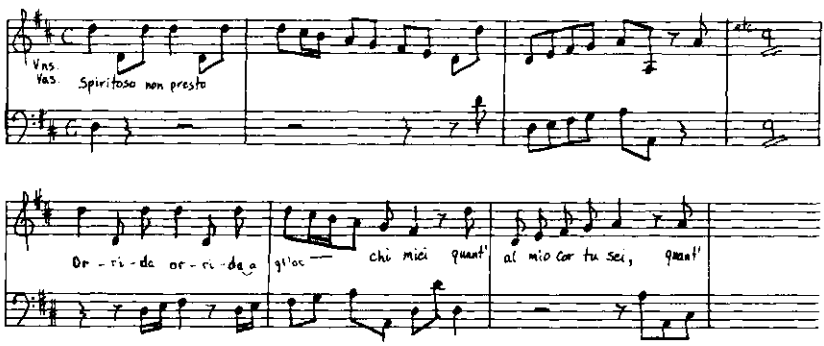
He adds that the composer always knows what to do with these comparison arias and the singer always gets applause even in the worst operas!

The form of the *da capo* aria does not change fundamentally from that of the 1690s except for further elaboration of the melodic lines and *fioriture*. There is also a tendency toward the tripartite *A* section; at the end of *A* the opening passage returns either in the orchestra only or in both voice and accompaniment. *"Spera sì"* from *Il Faramondo* (act 1, scene 3) shows this plan. In this aria the initial theme returns only in the

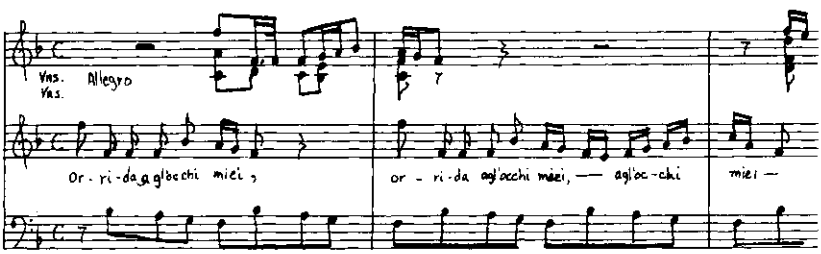
accompaniment in the first large *A* section (i.e., *a* for orchestra alone, $a^1$ with voice, *b* with voice, *a* for orchestra alone); in the *da capo*, however, the postlude is preceded by an added passage at least remotely related to *a* (i.e., *a*, $a^1$, *b*, $a^2$ with voice, *a*).

An aria from Pollarolo's *Ariodante* exemplifies his late style; it is an *aria agitata*, dramatic, unified, and virtuosic. The violins, violas, and basses play in unison, near-unison, or in octaves. The orchestra clearly announces the theme, whose leaping octaves are instrumental in style but also characteristic of the mood; in fact the descending octave also figures in Handel's setting of the same text composed nineteen years later. The aria is sung by the character Ginevra who has just dismissed her hated adversary Polinesso and tells how deeply she abhors him. (See Example 8.)

EXAMPLE 8a: Pollarolo, *Ariodante* (1716) act 1, scene 2.




EXAMPLE 8b: Handel, *Ariodante* (1735) act 1, scene 2.




It was in Pollarolo's setting of 1716 that the Venetians first heard the later world-famous Faustina Bordoni sing in public. She made her operatic debut in this opera at the age of nineteen. The aria demonstrates Pollarolo's careful attention to Bordoni's particular talents, of which we have some descriptions by her contemporaries. Quantz describes her voice as a penetrating mezzo-soprano with a range from $b\flat$ to g″, limits Pollarolo meticulously observes throughout the opera. She had a flexible

tongue, and the ability to enunciate clearly and to sing coloratura passages in a fast tempo, all features required for this aria.[18]

## CONCLUSION

Between 1686 and 1716 Pollarolo's arias developed from the drama-oriented aria or song of flexible form and modest dimensions to the virtuosic concert piece in a large *da capo* form. The stylistic changes described in the foregoing seem to justify a periodization into three phases:

Early: c1686-c1690 (Brescia)
Middle: c1692-c1696 (Venice)
Late: c1699-c1716 (Venice)

This chronology must be considered tentative because it depends upon the availability of dated scores (there are none between 1687 and 1691, 1697 and 1698, and 1702 and 1715). In fact, even now there is doubt regarding the timing of the change from middle to late periods. After practically establishing the late style in 1699 with *Il Faramondo*, Pollarolo reverts to a more conservative manner the very next year in *Il Color fa la regina* which has fewer exit-arias, more basso continuo arias, short songs in binary form, and several *ariosi*. Since *Le Pazzie degli amanti* of 1701 is more in line with the "progressive" trend of *Il Faramondo*, however, the intervening throwback to an earlier style may be explained in terms of the importance of the librettist. Perhaps the difference was between the reform-minded Apostolo Zeno, who wrote *Faramondo*, and the more old-fashioned Matteo Noris, author of *Il Color fa la regina*.

*NOTES*

[1] Francesco Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra nella già Cappella ducale di San Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797* (Venice: G. Antonelli, 1854-1855; Milan: Bollettino bibliografico musicale, 1931) vol. 1, p. 326.

[2] The only detailed treatment of Pollarolo's music in print (*Onorio in Roma*) is in Hellmuth Christian Wolff, *Die venezianische Oper in der zweiten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: O. Elsner, 1937).

[3] Eighty-seven operas and fifteen oratorios can be documented from scores, libretti, and references to performances. See Olga Termini, "Carlo Francesco Pollarolo, His Life, Time, and Music with Emphasis on the Operas" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 1970). Six additional scores have come to light since the completion of this dissertation.

[4] They are *Il Rodrigo (Roderico)*, MS score Mus. f 954, Biblioteca Estense, Modena; *Onorio in Roma*, MS score VI g 39, Regierungsbibliothek, Ansbach; *La Forza della virtù*, MS score MS 3 voll.P. Brussels 2529, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels; *Ottone*, MS score Frank de Bellis Collection, San Francisco State University; *Alfonso Primo*, MS score (1694) Frank de Bellis Collection; *Irene*, *La Rosimonda* (1696), *Il Pastore d'Anfriso*, and *Il Color fa la regina*, MS scores Český Krumlov Archive,

Archivní Spravna, Prague; *Gl'Inganni felici* (1696), MS score Add. 16109, British Museum; *Il Faramondo,* MS score MS 17258 and *Le Pazzie degli amanti,* MS 17571, both at Osterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna; and *Ariodante,* transcript of lost copy (Landesbibliothek Dresden) M1500.P74A6, Library of Congress. Partial Scores, oratorios, undated and scattered arias were not included in this study.

5 Giuseppe Salvadori, *Poetica Toscana all'uso dove con brevità e chiarezza s'insegna il modo di comporre ogni poesia* (Naples, 1691), cited in Michael F. Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan Opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) p. 56.

6 Benedetto Marcello, *Il Teatro alla moda* (Venice, ca. 1720; Lanciano: R. Carabba, 1913) p. 10.

7 Placidia in *Onorio in Roma* is a notable exception.

8 The casts are listed in Simon P. Towneley Worsthorne, *Venetian Opera in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954) pp. 173-174.

9 Francesco Caffi, *Storia della musica teatrale in Venezia,* MS Cod. It. IV-747-749, Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, vol. 1, p. 263.

10 Ibid.

11 For a numerical breakdown see Table 1.

12 Johann Walther, *Musikalisches Lexikon, oder musikalische Bibliothek* (Leipzig, 1732; facs. repr. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953) p. 46.

13 The aria is given in Wolff, Appendix No. 51.

14 Ibid., p. 99.

15 "A Comparison between the French and Italian Music," *The Musical Quarterly* 32 (1946) p. 424.

16 Affinities between arias and concerto style existed earlier, as in the works of Carlo Pallavicino; see Julian Smith, "Carlo Pallavicino," *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 96 (1969-1970) p. 68.

17 p. 187.

18 J.J. Quantz, "Lebensbeschreibung" in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Historisch-kritische Beytraege zur Aufnahme der Musik* (Berlin: G. A. Lange, 1754-1778; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1970) vol. 1, p. 240.