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articles

MUSIC AND THE COMMUNAL ORDER: THE VISION OF UTOPIAN SOCIALISM IN FRANCE

Jane Fulcher

French utopian socialism has long been the subject of considerable debate—a continuing source of puzzlement to historians of nineteenth-century France. Its curious amalgam of the novel and bizarre, along with its inherently authoritarian strain, has eluded classification or reduction to a clearly definable ideological "type."

In their attempt to explain this utopian philosophy and the dynamic it developed in France, many scholars have sought to dissect its ideas and examine their component parts. Few have approached utopianism in terms of the unified core of beliefs that transcended the more singular thoughts of each prophet and those of his subsequent following. What still needs to be studied is the utopian "goal," its animating vision in an integral sense: the model of society utopians bequeathed and its cumulative cultural force.

The utopian conception of "harmonious culture" lies perhaps most expansively revealed within a body of texts not yet examined in requisite depth by historians. It is not fortuitous that the predominant imagery of utopians centers on "harmony," for one finds in their numerous discussions of music a most valuable insight indeed. Music held a significant position in utopian–socialist theory, being a subject encountered in important discussions of both Saint-Simon and Fourier. It is a topic further developed by their followers in even more explicit and elaborate detail, eventually becoming a pervasive analogy—an almost ubiquitous cultural theme. Within discussions of music, utopians considered the communal order: the nature of the harmonious society and the spiritual condition of the individuals within. Utopian writings on music reveal a conception of "inner fulfillment," as well as a model of social relations that is, significantly, a conservative one.

The early utopian–socialist quest must be placed in the appropriate context, both from the standpoint of the intellectual background of the time and that of the socio-political world. Its ideal was formed in response to the threat of harsh economic competition and to the menace of social upheaval that pervaded early nineteenth-century France. For both Saint-Simon and Fourier, the goal was "stability, order, and progress," the desire for which patently determined the nature and direction

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of their cultural thought.[1] Intellectual precedents did, however, exist with regard to the "order" they sought, one characterized by interdependence, stability, faith, and peace.

Conservatives, such as de Maistre, had considered the Middle Ages a cultural paradigm, for a universal religion had insured a social stability predicated on a coherent philosophy. The early socialists similarly desired such interdependence and social cohesion, which they, too, considered depended on a consensus in basic ideals. They, however, desired cultural renewal on the basis of "modern" forces supported by a new ethic or religion that implied a stable, certain body of beliefs. The problem lay in defining a viable basis for this religion, in arriving at a truer authority than historical wisdom or pre-conscious values. Following the model of Enlightenment theorists, they turned to science for authority; the construction of an ethical system was to begin with knowledge of the empirical facts.

Both Saint-Simon and Fourier sought an integral, collective culture based on scientific planning and proper cohesion, or order, in the realm of thought. Saint-Simon proposed that science should define human "types," and thus roles for members of society, so that resources could be placed in the appropriate hands, resulting in a coordination of interests and goals. The material foundation upon which the future society was to build was to be provided by industry, a resource to be mined for the benefit of all, regardless of social function or class. All would prosper— although there would still be marked differentiation in wealth—and men would be happy, for they desired not equality but stability and expression of their natures.[2]

Fourier's system had certain features in common with Saint-Simon's: he wished to eliminate wasteful competition, to avoid class war, and to ensure social progress. His ideal was also "association," based on a scientific premise and plan, but his model was communitarian and agrarian rathar than industrial. The answer he proposed was the formation of "phalanxes"—small cooperative communities—in which life would be communal, and work accomplished through voluntary associations alone. Again, there was to be no palpable distinction of classes, but there would be financial inequality, for remuneration would depend on the labor and talent that each individual could provide.

Both Saint-Simon and Fourier, then, sought not to obliterate but to "harmonize" classes, which meant that each must be happy—that is emotionally stable, and aware of its role. Fourier, specifically, found not only physical but emotional deprivation to be socially disruptive and proposed that inner satisfaction would result in cooperation and peace. His method for reconciling individual fulfillment with the demands of the social totality involved the laws of human passion, which Fourier related to Newtonian "attraction." Different kinds of "passions" would

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be coordinated within each individual man, and, in addition, different types of men would work together in compatible groups. Determined that the passions be recognized—legitimized and constructively harnassed —he apodictically asserted that such recognition would obviate social unrest.[3] The liberation of man's passional nature was a way to maintain stability, order, and peace, which implied that such yearnings were not only to be freed, but directed and further refined. Social solidarity would then be the product of full emancipation of man's inner world, resulting in the individual's emotional health and thus furthering the cooperative state.

The idea of "passional fulfillment," however, was complex for Fourier, as it was for later utopians, who came to understand it in a multi-faceted sense. They saw man as an animal with sensual needs, but also with desires of the mind and the heart, all of which were passions or faculties intimately united in an integral whole. Man quested for intellectual coherence, but, in addition, he required much more—an expansive development and coordination of forces, of every aspect of the internal realm:

> Man experiences sensual needs and attractions; he has affections of the heart; he is gifted with intellectual faculties, some of which have a sensible nature and that one can, as a result, include in the number of "passions," that is, those faculties that cause us to suffer if they are not satisfied.
>
> The passions of the three orders . . . when combined with each other produce a passion of a superior order . . . which is the religious spirit in its varied manifestations, the need to be in accord with the unities of a more elevated sphere; Fourier has given this passion the name of "Uniteisme."[4]

Fourier saw men's passions not as appetites, but rather as essential components of the "soul," planned carefully by God, who "organized" it wisely, aware of the passions and their mutual force. The soul became a concept frequently discussed by the followers of Fourier, for whom it retained a complex connotation, as related to the sensual and the divine. Man was envisaged as a spiritual creature with certain implacable interior needs, some of them animal, some angelic, but equally important and uniformly condoned. Man's ultimate quest was for concordance in his passions, a harmonious unity within the soul; the passions were not enemies of concord, but, on the contrary, a means to this end.[5]

Saint-Simon, too, saw man as a whole—a complex, multifarious being —a product of feeling, will, and mind, of passions that are inextricably bound. Saint-Simon's goal and that of his followers was balance between man's feeling and mind, between reason and the needs of the heart, including both spirit and sense. Man's passions or needs were

to be recognized and refined, constructively and deliberately used, for classes and groups would be reconciled only when each individual achieved "health of the soul."[6] For both theorists, then, internal fulfillment was related to the external realm; for a smoothly functioning society was contingent upon the harmony of each member within.[7] Concordance and conciliation between classes, between individuals in their appropriate roles, could be achieved only when all were imbued with equilibrium in emotional life.[8]

Since the human passions were to be developed and regulated in the interest of the associationist goal, the arts were promoted as logical tools to help realize such internal change. Art was to lead man to happiness, but, above all, to harmony and concord within, a function that was stressed by Saint-Simon and Fourier, whose ultimate interest was peace. The arts, then, had a definite role: to cultivate necessary virtues in man to insure the appropriate inclinations or constructive emotional states. Both theorists assigned the arts a "conciliatory" mission: to foster an association between men, educating society in a unitary direction, and functioning through a number of different ways. Art, viewed as a means to bring a man into harmony or concordance with his fellows, could enrich ideas through "sympathetic expression," or "fix attention" through pleasure. But even more important perhaps, the arts could act in an oblique manner, impinging on sensations, imprinting ideas, or penetrating through symbolic force.

Art was to fulfill its mission by speaking to the sensual passions of man, as well as to ineffable sentiment and to the conceptual, rational mind. Art was to function in three different ways: it was to appeal to man's rational sense, or alternatively to his sensations or his "spirit," all equally components of the soul. Sensationalist theories of the Enlightenment were juxtaposed with a Platonic, symbolic approach, according to which art was to radiate its harmonies, setting the proper example for man. Gabriel-Desire Laverdant, a Fourierist leader in the mid-1840s, explained their concept in the following manner:

> Art shall fulfill its mission that much better when it speaks at the same time to all the sensual passions, to the reason and to the feeling. It is so far from true that it is necessary to separate the two concepts of the good and the beautiful, by virtue of a law of harmony pre-established by the Great Treasurer [*Grand Econome*], that one can say that the more the artist touches the ideal of good, the more he attains beauty. This is the principle that Plato taught when he said, "Beauty is the splendor of truth." From this it follows that the artist, in creating beauty, necessarily preaches the good.[9]

As is evident in the preceding quotation, Fourier was strongly influenced by Plato and, accordingly, emphasized the symbolic approach,

as his followers were later to do. Art was to create ideal harmony in man, serving him as an abstract model, effecting the proper balance of faculties by encouraging imitation of the desirable mean:

The liberal arts act through radiance and produce health of the soul, that is to say the active passion, well-being, and enthusiasm that one derives from the perception of harmonies in the contemplation of beauty.[10]

Saint-Simon, on the other hand, stressed the "social-engineering" approach, whereby men could be actively and physically imbued with emotional states. Crowds could be "swayed at will" by the artist, who could infuse them with appropriate passions in the interest of the social totality and the new ideology to be thus imposed.[11] But although Fourier emphasized imitation and Saint-Simon the inculcation of ideas, both believed that in "organic" epochs of culture, harmony would naturally be radiated by art. In such periods the arts would automatically assume harmonious, "elegant" forms; they would be internally unified, and thus the various arts would join easily together:

During "organic" epochs, all the arts converge in joining hearts and spirits, in pressing efforts in a common direction. . . . The social order of the future being constituted . . . according to the nature of man's capacities, decaying conceptions will produce and receive the purity and elegance of forms that are the apanage of an advanced civilization.[12]

Saint-Simonians and Fourierists agreed not only on the nature of art in the harmonious state, but also on the nature of the current malaise, the contemporary cultural ills. Both cited the radical disjunction between the faculties of spirit and mind that had inevitably resulted from the lack of coherence in the modern intellectual world. This lack of coherence was reflected in art, which was similarly devoid of direction; however, the utopians proposed that not all arts were adversely affected by this. They considered each of the arts as a language, a mode of communication or transmission making certain kinds of statements, and thus more relevant to particular emotional states. To them, one art appeared the most versatile and innately appropriate to their immediate need—able to address, most completely, the demands of the tumultuous contemporary world. One art alone could impart internal balance and its corresponding peace in the external world by reconciling the tension that divided man's feeling from his rational, cognitive sense.

Music was the art that responded to the challenge of "critical epochs" in culture, periods when disorder and confusion were regnant in the realms of spirit and mind. Discord in ideas, upsetting a central component in every man's soul, his reason, had resulted in a surrender of

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balance, a matter that music alone could address. Being an art that was inherently vague, it could soar above the intellectual realm, effecting concordance through sensation and spirit in lieu of the rational mind.[13] The subject of music became associated with the issue of internal balance —fulfillment—in man, and with the concomitant external concordance to which it appeared to be closely akin. In the face of the current intellectual malaise, music was perhaps the most essential fine art and, moreover, the art best able to minister to the total man. Music could realize a harmonious state by reforming interior man, reaching the soul directly through sentiment in a time of intellectual decay. This could be done through symbolic means, through acting instead on the physical sense, or by reinforcing a text and thus appealing to the rational cognitive mind. Music was thus the most versatile art, capable of communicating with all three aspects of interior man, the most useful and penetrating art in view of the contemporary cultural malaise.[14]

The subject of music, as a result, became bound with the utopians' most exalted ideals, for it was simultaneously a symbol and a tool to help realize the new moral, cultural age. They approached music as an art that was culturally conditioned and socially important, a phenomenon to be studied and used as a means to help thwart further cultural decay. Music was a mirror of internal man, but it could be applied in a practical way if it were studied in terms of its specific effects on the mind, the emotions, and sense. From their point of view, the art of music was far more than a mirror—it was morally useful, for it could help create harmony within and between individual men.

It is in the writings of the Saint-Simonians that music becomes an issue of central importance as an art that is singularly able to meet the contemporary cultural need. According to the Saint-Simonian theorist, Émile Barrault, music meets the challenge of "critical epochs" as a result of its mysterious, ineffable language that penetrates the spiritual realm. Music is capable of effecting a union of consciousness between individual minds, implanting a harmony and imprinting ideas through its physical, sensational force.[15]

Many other Saint-Simonian writings refer to music in a similar sense and note the extraordinary development of the art in the contemporary cultural world:

> Is it necessary that we be reduced to explain thus the power of the only one of the fine arts in which one may recognize real power today? . . . Old social ties having lost all their authority because they were not in harmony with the state of enlightenment and the needs of hearts, that which should replace it in the future should, after [music's] example, effect the union of individual consciences in the general conscience.[16]

Music unites the consciences of men in a time of intellectual confusion, infusing a sense of the communal goal independent of articulate ideals; this accounts for its efflorescence and force, its vitality in an otherwise decadent age, for music responds to the longing for fusion of the individual with the "social mind."

Fourier saw music less as a symptom or conditioning force, as the Saint-Simonians did, than as a model, and by this means an instrument to further the harmonious state. Since music, and most particularly opera, was an art-form associated with those who were rich, it stood for internal and external luxury—delectation and external display. It was an art to be made accessible to all, to every strata of social class, and particularly to the workers, who would appropriate culture and thus refinement in taste. With all individuals equally cultivated in manners, and with equal access to the amenities of culture, the basis of social conflict would then vanish, regardless of disparity in wealth.[17]

But just as important as "internal luxury" and the sheer outward allure of the art, opera provided a symbol, a model of the harmonious order to come. Accordingly, Fourier and his followers saw opera as a socio-liturgical ritual and proposed that all members of the social community actively participate in opera. Opera was a symbol of collective endeavor, a whole greater than the sum of its parts, a model of cooperation and integration and thus a means to instill this condition in men.[18]

Fourier, like Plato, stressed education in music, proposing that the children of the phalanx be trained; instruction in music, in fact, was to begin as early as the tender age of six months. At four a child would be thoroughly examined in both musical and choreographic skills and, having passed these tests, would finally be allowed to take part in an opera.[19] In a Platonic sense, this was part of the child's training in "harmony" or "cooperation," for the child of the poor would happily stand and sing with the child of the rich. Even before understanding, rationally, why cooperation within the whole was necessary, the child would be instilled with a sense of the beauty and pleasure of the harmonious mean.

If one is aware of the intellectual tradition in France, it is not surprising that the subject of music was accorded such emphasis in a period of social unrest. Music, in France, had socio-cultural connotations from the days of Louis XIV, who exercised rigorous control in the interest of the culturally unified political state. This emphasis on the control of music was revived in the later eighteenth century in revolutionary France, when theories of music, drawing heavily on the Greeks, were most forcibly thrust to the fore. Plato's *Republic* was a rich source of ideas concerning music's cultural role and the necessity of controlling its development in the interest of the ideal political state.[20] Such ideas were inevitably sources for the cultural theories of Saint-Simon and Fourier,

both of whom had classical educations and had experienced the culture of revolutionary France.

Utopian aesthetics, in general, display a fascinating convergence of traits in which ancient, eighteenth–century and romantic ideas are commingled in a singular way. Like the early romantics, utopians saw art as a model of aesthetic unity; like Goethe and Schiller, their quest was for "equilibrium between sentiment and mind." But French utopian socialism was informed by an orderly, harmonious vision, the property of a young, idealistic, upper class, a well–intentioned but conservative elite. The provocative outward demeanor and libertine emphasis of some of its factions should not obscure the sober and spiritual aspects of its cultural thought. Internal balance and external harmony, functioning smoothly in peace, was their goal, their motivating vision, their ultimate, exalted socio-cultural aim.

Such ideals were continually repeated in utopian socialist writings and became an enduring legacy of French utopian socialist thought.[21] Its emphasis on stability in hierarchy and order, and on the dependence of these on reason and sentiment, as well as the concomitant implications for art, were remarkably tenacious in France. Music, too, retained its high place as a "symbol of harmony" at the apex of the arts, the one most congenial to contemporary culture and, perhaps, the most socially significant. For music was culturally conditioned; in fact, it was a metaphor for culture and thus socially important, since through "symbol" and "sense" it could instill balance—moral culture—in man.

NOTES

[1] As Theodore Zeldin points out, in *France 1848-1945*, 2 vols. (Oxford, Eng.: The Clarendon Press, 1973), 1:494, Saint-Simon's ideal was "peace and prosperity." He also observes that Fourierism gradually strengthened its appeal to the socially conservative by emphasizing its quest for "the peaceful reconciliation of the antagonisms and class hatreds of present society." (Zeldin, *France* 1:443) This emphasis is strong in the literature of the followers of both theorists, in which such terms almost continually appear. Among Saint-Simonian writings, a good example is the series of lectures entitled, "Exposition of the Doctrine of Saint-Simon," begun in 1828, and written primarily by Bazard. In the Fourierist literature, they abound in the pamphlet, *Banquets commémoratif de la naissance de Charles Fourier* (Paris: Ecole Sociétaire, 1843-44).

[2] Felix Markham, ed., *Henri de Saint-Simon: Social Organization, the Science of Man, and Other Writings* (New York: Harper and Row, 1952; Harper Torchbooks, 1964), p. xxvi.

[3] Jonathan Beecher and Richard Bienvenu, ed., *The Utopian Vision of Charles Fourier* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1972), p. 7.

[4] Gabriel-Désiré Laverdant, "De la mission de l'art et du role des artistes," *La Phalange* (1845):255.

[5] Ibid., p. 257.

[6] Ibid., p. 259.

[7] Ibid., p. 255.

[8] W. M. Simon, in *European Positivism in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1963), p. 44, stresses this fact as a part of the dogma of positivism, which incorporated certain ideals from utopian thought: "For the Positivist, all knowledge served only one purpose, the betterment of society, one of whose primary elements was the achievement of mental harmony, first of all within each individual member of the society, and then among them. Mental harmony . . . was not only intellectual but above all emotional in nature."

[9] Laverdant, "De la mission," p. 259.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Markham, *Henri de Saint-Simon*, p. 103-4.

[12] "Discours sur les beaux-arts," *L'organisateur* (1830-31):145.

[13] Émile Barrault, *Aux artistes. Du passé et de l'avenir des beaux-arts* (Paris: Alexandre Mesnier, 1830), p. 70.

[14] Ibid., p. 71.

[15] Ibid.

[16] "Discours sur les beaux-arts," p. 149.

[17] H. H. Needham, *Le développement de l'esthétique sociologique en France et en Angleterre au XIXᵉ siècle* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1926), p. 87.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Donald Egbert, *Social Radicalism and the Arts* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. 134.

[20] Alexander L. Ringer, "J.-J. Barthélemy and Musical Utopia in Revolutionary France," *The Journal of the History of Ideas* (1961):360.

[21] Zeldin, *France*, p. 436: "Saint-Simonianism, as it flourished in the mid-nineteenth century, laid stress on religion, financial investment, and the emancipation of the proletariat and . . . women. . . . Though bits of it were absorbed into other mass movements, Saint-Simonianism remained the creed of an élite."

THE FORMATION AND DESTINATION
OF THE FONDS BLANCHETON

Jehoash Hirshberg

The *Fonds Blancheton*[1] is one of the largest and most important manuscript sources of early eighteenth-century instrumental music. Pierre Philibert de Blancheton, whose role in the formation of the collection will be discussed in the present study, was born on 9 October 1697 and died on 6 March 1756. He was a member of the *Parlement* of Metz from 1724. The violinist Carlo Tessarini dedicated his six trios, opus 6 to Blancheton, who must have been an eager music lover.

The *Fonds Blancheton*, a carefully planned repository of instrumental compositions of various genres, is divided into two groups: six sets of *sinfonie*, each of which is labeled by opus number from 1 to 6 (of which opus 4 was lost) and one set of concertos, marked opus 1. Each set contains 50 compositions, so that the whole collection comprises 350 works (of which 50 were lost, if opus 4 indeed followed the overall plan). Each set of *sinfonie* comprises four part-books: *violini I* and *II, alto viola,* and *basso.* The concerto set includes seven part-books: *violino principale, violino II, violino III* (or *violino primo ripieno*), *alto viola, viloncello,* and *organo.* The volumes are beautifully leather-bound and carry the emblem of Blancheton. Some 104 composers are represented, and there are also several anonymous compositions. The *Fonds Blancheton* is the most comprehensive source for the early symphonies of G. B. Sammartini, and includes a large sample of works by Cammerloher, Brioschi, G. B. Somis, and Zanni. Many of the works in the collection are *unica.* A detailed thematic catalogue has been compiled by Lionel de La Laurencie, who also provided an introduction to the origin and background of the collection. While the *Fonds Blancheton* has frequently been used by scholars, little work has been done on the collection itself as the object of inquiry, with the exception of LaRue's study of the watermarks, which will be dealt with later. To present additional data and to reinterpret hitherto known facts, in order to improve on the limited and inconclusive evidence presented by La Laurencie, is the purpose of the present study.

La Laurencie has tried to establish terminal dates for opera 1 and 6 of the collection:

> All the symphonies published by Le Clerc before 1742 (works by Cammerloher, Abaco le jeune, Brioschi, and Sammartini) appear in opus 1 of Fonds Blancheton. There are consequently grounds for the assumption that opus 1 was completed before 1742, even ca.

1740. . . . Moreover, opus 6 contains 12 symphonies by Cammerloher and 2 by Francesco Abaco (le jeune) which appear in the *privilège* of 22 February and 31 March granted to Dutès.[2]

Bathia Churgin has already expressed reservations with regard to opus 1:

> Reasoning that the manuscript copies must have preceded the printed versions which were so easily obtainable, La Laurencie conjectures that the collection was formed in the period around 1740-1744. While La Laurencie's argument is not wholly convincing, since manuscript copies of printed works are not as uncommon as he leads us to believe, it still provides the most satisfactory explanation of the dating of this valuable collection.[3]

Regarding opus 6, La Laurencie simply misquoted Brenet's listing of the *privilège*, which mentions Richter, Scaccia, Hasse, and Rezell, but not Cammerloher or Abaco,[4] so that his argument cannot be accepted.

Unfortunately, La Laurencie neglected an important piece of evidence that could have supported his inclination to establish an earlier date for the *Fonds Blancheton*. La Laurencie does refer to Le Cène's print of six of Scaccia's concertos,[5] but he fails to indicate the crucial fact that three of them have concordances with the *Fonds Blancheton*. Moreover, none of the other concertos of the *Fonds Blancheton* has concordances with any eighteenth-century print. The concordances are listed in Table 1.

Table 1

Scaccia's Concertos in *Fonds Blancheton*—Concordances

	No. in *Fonds Blancheton*	No. in Le Cène's Print
Concerto in B-flat	10	1
Concerto in A	11	4
Concerto in F	23	6

The print is numbered 557, which is the last number in Le Cène's catalogue of 1734. It also appears in the 1737 catalogue, items 575 and 578 of which were announced in 1735, so that all evidence points to 1734 as the date of publication of Scaccia's concertos.[6] If La Laurencie's suggestion that printed works would never have been copied into manuscripts was adopted, the terminal date for the *Fonds Blancheton* would have to be moved back by almost a decade. Still, the reservations expressed by Bathia Churgin should be considered; additional data is required to support the early date. Indeed, such data can be found in the manuscript itself. All volumes of the *Fonds Blancheton* have title pages that are nearly identical, with the important exception of the inscription "Scriptum Manu Del Sig^r. Estien," which appears on the title pages of the

concerto set only. In opera 5 and 6 of the *sinfonie* as well as in the concerto set the hand-written title pages are preceded by beautifully engraved title leaves, in which the combination of "Italianized" French and Latin (e.g., *Raccolté* instead of *Récolté* or *Recueilli*) is replaced by pure Italian. (See Plates 1 and 2.) La Laurencie points out this fact with no further comment,[7] although the presence of two title leaves undoubtedly raises certain questions. It would appear that the decision to prepare engraved title leaves was reached after the whole collection had been copied and the handwritten sheet could not be left out, since it was part of a bifolio that already contained music. As for the *sinfonie*, opera 1, 2, and 3, they already must have been bound by then, so that there was no way to insert the title sheet into them. It can be assumed that at least the first three sets of *sinfonie* (no assumpion can be made about the lost fourth set) antedate the concerto set and opera 5 and 6 of the symphonies.
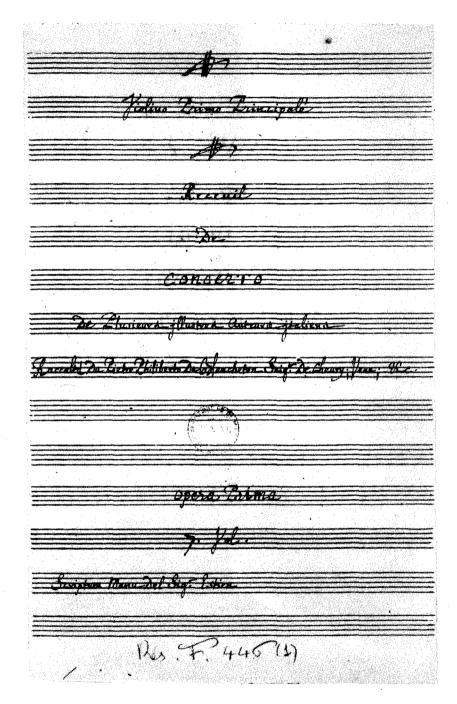
Another source of information is the little that we know about the copyist, Estien. A study of the *Fonds Blancheton* strongly suggests that only one hand was involved in the preparation of the large collection, which is remarkable when the amount of work involved is considered. (Other manuscripts of the same period reveal that several hands were frequently involved in the copying, as in a striking case of two concertos by Tessarini, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, mss. 9904, 9906, in which the solo parts were carefully and neatly copied, while the copying of the *ripieno* parts was careless and hasty.) La Laurencie identified the copyist as Charles Estien, who published a collection of six symphonies and trio sonatas in 1747,[8] all of which appear in opera 1 and 2 of the *Fonds Blancheton*. The collection is entitled "Sinfonie a due violini, e basso Dei piu Celebri Autori D'Italia/ Receullis [sic] par Mr Estien/ Premier Receuil [sic]." The same wrong spelling of *Recueil* also appears on all of the handwritten title leaves of the *Fonds Blancheton* (the spelling was tacitly corrected by La Laurencie). On 1 April 1741 Estien received a *privilège* for nine years for "plusieurs musiques étrangères de différents auteurs, sonates, trios, et concertos, musique sans paroles."[9] There is some indirect evidence that certain relations between Blancheton and Estien continued at least until ca. 1744, when Tessarini's print of six trios, opus 6 appeared, dedicated to Blancheton with the inscription "Gravé par Mlle. Estien."[10] The significance of the information about Estien will be discussed presently.

LaRue's detailed investigation of the watermarks of the *Fonds Blancheton* yielded little significant evidence, as reported by Bathia Churgin:

> The watermarks (which were difficult to decipher) belong to the T. Dupuy and A. Montgolfier paper companies, with a countermark of IHS in a circle with cross and nails. Edward Heawood . . . lists no watermarks of A. Montgolfier with the countermark as described, and his examples of the Dupuy watermarks do not correspond with those

Plate   1

Concerti Sei più Celebri Autori d'Italia Violino Principale Opera 1.ª J. Vol.

AVEC PRIVILEGE DU ROY.

Rés. F. 446

Plate 2

in the *Fonds Blancheton*. However, since a French ordinance of
1741 required that all watermarks be dated from 1742 on . . . the
absence of any date on the watermarks is striking. It suggests that
the paper was purchased before the ordinance took effect, thus re-
enforcing La Laurencie's arguments for an early dating of the
collection.[11]

While the manuscript paper itself is of little help, much more significant
information can be derived from the flyleaves and the engraved titles,
for which completely different paper was used. It would appear that the
binder haphazardly used some leftover paper for the engraved titles and
the flyleaves, so that several different watermarks are represented. Only
two of the watermarks are of interest for the purpose of dating. The
first is the typical French watermark of grapes[12] and the second is the
same watermark with the addition of the date 1742. The two kinds of
watermarks are distributed as shown in the following table:

Table 2

Distribution of Watermarks in *Fonds Blancheton*

Set	Part	Flyleaf
A. Grapes without Date		
Sinfonie op. 2	Vln. I	first
	Vln. II	first and last
	Vla.	first and last
Sinfonie op. 3	Vln. I	first and last
	Vln. II	first
	Basso	first and last
B. Grapes with the 1742 Date		
Sinfonie op. 5	Vln. I	first and last
	Vla.	last
Sinfonie op. 6	Vln. I	first
	Vln. II	first and last
	Vla.	first and last
	Basso	first
Concertos	*Violino Principale*	first (with table of contents) and last
	Vln. II	last
	Vln. III	first and last
	Vlc.	first

It seems very likely that the binding was done quite soon after the completion of the copying of the manuscript, since traces of ink are clearly seen on the verso of the first and on the recto of the last flyleaves, with one significant exception of the first flyleaf of the *violino principale* part in the concerto set, on the verso of which the table of contents was copied. It might be suggested that in this particular case the copyist spent some time on the preparation of the table, thus allowing the ink of the title leaf to dry. Another detail of some importance is the difference between the manuscript paper of the symphonies and of the concertos. All of the symphonies were copied on heavy manuscript paper with gold edges, whereas the concertos were written on paper of similar quality, but with red edges.

The evidence of the watermark of grapes with the 1742 date does not by itself imply that the binding was necessarily done in 1742. Yet, the consistent distribution of the two kinds of watermarks at least suggests that the *sinfonie*, opera 1, 2, and 3 were bound sometime before 1742 whereas the remaining three sets were bound shortly after 1742. Additional data supports this assumption. The most striking evidence is that of the *privilège* granted to Estien in 1741, which clearly coincides with the preparation of the engraved sheets. There could be two possible reasons for the existence of the engraved titles:

1. The compilation could have been prepared as a ceremonial presentation to Blancheton. This assumption is quite unconvincing, because in such case the handwritten title would not have been required, and, moreover, the note "avec privilège du Roy" would have been totally redundant.

2. The engraved titles were prepared as a first step toward a printed publication of the whole *Fonds Blancheton*. All data provided in the foregoing discussion support this explanation. The possible succession of events can be reconstructed as follows. Sometime in the early 1730s Charles Estien began his work on the compilation for Blancheton. There are no signs of wear and tear in the beautiful, luxurious compilation, so the idea must have been that of a repository of instrumental music played at the court of Blancheton. Following the completion of the first three (possibly four) sets, Blancheton himself, or, more likely, Charles Estien, proposed the idea of a printed publication of the whole project. The beautifully copied volumes could thus be used as the exemplar for the engraver. In 1741 Estien secured the *privilège* that specifically described a collection of many instrumental works of foreign origin (in fact, the wording of the *privilège* looks like a free translation of the engraved titles). For some reason the project did not materialize. It took Estien about six years to come out with a single publication of only six works from *Fonds Blancheton*, and, strangely enough, all six are printed anonymously, although the identities of the composers must

have been well known to Estien from his work on the *Fonds Blancheton*. The engraved titles are remains of what could have become the most ambitious publication project of the eighteenth century.

There remains the question of dating the concertos in relation to the symphony sets. Both title leaves of the concerto collection are marked *Opera Prima*, so that additional sets must have been contemplated. It is possible that work on the concertos began following the completion of the six sets of *sinfonie*. There are, however, several considerations that render such an assumption at least questionable. The 1734 print of Scaccia's concertos antedates the first print of *sinfonie* from *Fonds Blancheton*. While the possibility that Blancheton or Estien ignored the Le Cène print cannot be ruled out completely, it would seem unlikely, especially since other concordances with prints were carefully avoided. It would also appear strange that not one, but three concertos from a print would have been copied into the manuscript. There is also the evidence of the different nature of the repertories of the two groups. The six sets of *sinfonie* include a large variety of sinfonias, overtures, concertinos, sonatas, and trios, which by itself is typical of the indifferent contemporary attitude to exact terminology in general and of the indefinite status of the symphony in the 1730s in particular. Still, there are no violin concertos in the sets of *sinfonie*, so that it is clear that the separate collection of the concertos must have been contemplated at the initial stage of the compilation. The concerto collection is also much more consistent with regard to the Italian origin of the works. It would have been unlikely that the compiler would have postponed the much more prestigious genre of the violin concerto in favor of the varied collection of "sinfonie." It thus seems more likely that Estien worked on the two projects simultaneously, and that the concerto project required more time, especially since it involved the copying of seven parts, compared with four in the case of the *sinfonie*.

NOTES

1 The collection is at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Rés. F. 441-446. The standard reference work about the collection is by Lionel de La Laurencie, *Inventaire critique du Fonds Blancheton*, 2 vols., Publications de la Société Française de Musicologie, Series 2 (Paris: Société Française de Musicologie, 1930 and 1931).

2 La Laurencie, 1:13.

3 See Bathia Churgin, *The Symphonies of G. B. Sammartini*, vol. 1, *The Early Symphonies*, Harvard Publications in Music 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 9, where specific examples of manuscript copies of prints are mentioned.

4 Michel Brenet, "La librairie musicale en France de 1653 a 1790, d'après les registres de privilèges," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 8 (1906-07):443. La Laurencie does mention Scaccia's name with regard to the same *privilège* (2:47), but with regard to 12 overtures that do not appear in *Fonds Blancheton*.

⁵ La Laurencie, 2:47. Copies of the print are now found at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, at the Music Library, University of California at Berkeley, and in the De Geer collection in Leufsta, Sweden.

⁶ See Otto Erich Deutsch, *Musikverlags Nummern* (Berlin: Merseburger, 1961), p. 20 and François Lesure, *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Estienne Roger et Michel Charles le Cène* (Paris: Heugel, 1955). La Laurencie dated the print "before 1740" and Barblan, in his article "Scaccia, Angelo Maria," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 11 (1963): col. 1469, dates it ca. 1735.

⁷ The full text of the titles is given in La Laurencie, 1:10-11. La Laurencie has tacitly emended the copyist's recurring wrong spelling of *Recueil* as *Receuil*. The same spelling also appears in the Estien print that will be presently discussed.

⁸ La Laurencie, 1:11. La Laurencie dated the print from 1741, but Lesure has found that the print was announced in 1747, and the former date is only that of the *privilège*. See François Lesure, ed., *Recueils imprimes: XVIIIᵉ siecle*, Répertoire international des sources musicales, vol. BII (Munich: Henle, 1964), p. 355, and Bathia Churgin, pp. 9-10, n. 16.

⁹ Michel Brenet, "La librairie musicale en France de 1653 à 1790, d'après les registres de privilèges," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 8 (1906-07):441.

¹⁰ It is impossible to suggest at that point who Mlle. Estien was. It might be added that the title also mentions the engraver Robert, who also engraved the title leaves of the *Fonds Blancheton* and of Estien's print. The date for Tessarini's trios is provided by Albert Dunning, "Tessarini, Carlo," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gergenwart* 13 (1966): col. 261. For the full title see La Laurencie, 1:12.

¹¹ Bathia Churgin, p. 9, n. 14.

¹² For a large number of examples of watermarks of grapes, see Edward Heawood, *Watermarks* (Hilversum, Netherlands: Paper Publication Society, 1950), nos. 2088-2432.

CONTROL AND CHANCE IN THE NEW MUSIC

James Stiles

> The wisest thing to do is to open one's ears immediately and hear a
> sound suddenly before one's thinking has a chance to turn it into
> something logical, abstract, or symbolical.[1]

<div align="center">*　　*　　*</div>

Webern, in an amazing remark on his approach to serial technique,
announced, "only now is it possible to compose in *free fantasy*, adhering
to nothing except the row."[2] (italics mine) Have we been wrong in our
statistical regimen for the analysis of his music? Did Webern conceive
of his work as free sound impression controlled only by the sequence of
pitch dictated by the row, or was he not aware of the seeming aural
stricture which the row imposed on his style?

The first objection of many opponents of serialistic procedure is that
the finished work seems rather cold and impersonally mathematical (it
is interesting to note that many of the post-Webern practitioners have
come from math-engineering backgrounds: Babbitt, Stockhausen, Xen-
akis). Yet there are many anecdotes that relate how emotionally serialists
react to their own music. By the pianist, Peter Stadlen, who premiered
the *Piano Variations*, opus 27, we are given more insight into Webern's
vehement emotion toward this esoteric piece:

> As he sang and shouted, waved his arms and stamped his feet in
> an attempt to bring out what he called the meaning of the music, I
> was amazed to see him treat those few scrappy notes as if they were
> cascades of sound.[3]

Since some of Stravinsky's rows are less than twelve-note forms, Roger
Smalley has intimated a more romantic approach on the part of that
composer, and theorized that he wrote his melodies *first*, and then ab-
stracted his rows *from them*. Hans Keller, in criticism of this idea, is
starkly unrhetorical and perhaps a bit banal: "Tunes don't strike one
the way his rows go."[4]

Ernst Krenek has made a similarly atypical philosophical comment
concerning the twelve-tone method: "In turning to serialism, the com-
poser has liberated himself from the dictatorship of inspiration." In a
more generally held concept of serialism, Nicolas Rouwet explains that
structuralism was the rationale for its inception and sustenance. He
states: "Indeed, it was introduced to keep alive a certain unity, even a
certain uniformity, after the collapse of the system of tonal relations in
the musical language."[5] This train of thought is also pursued by Henri
Pousseur:

When we listen to the music of Schoenberg it becomes apparent immediately that the symmetries found within it . . . are the fruits of a harsh irony, or, at most, of bitter nostalgia. They are proof enough that its composer is still dreaming of what he considers a "golden age" (though it may have been gilt), while at the same time he is well aware that it has long since vanished into the past.[6]

In a letter by Schoenberg we are given a clear idea of what an evolutionary process his incorporation of the twelve-tone method was:

The method of composing with the twelve tones had many first steps. The first step was taken about December, 1914, or at the beginning of 1915, when I sketched a symphony, the last part of which later became *Die Jakobsleiter*, but which has never been continued. The scherzo of this symphony was based on a theme consisting of the twelve tones. But this was only one of the themes. I was still far from the idea of using such a basic theme as a unifying means for a whole work. After that I was always occupied with the aim of basing the structure of my music consciously on a unifying idea which produced not only all the other ideas, but also regulated their accompaniment and the chords, the "harmonies."[7]

In an obviously not too recent statement, Leonard B. Meyer quotes George Rochberg as supporting serialism for the way it can produce intervallically-related tonal functions, without relying on the "exhausted machinery of historic tonality."[8]

* * *

Kostelanetz: The difference between your music and, say, Milton Babbitt's music is that he is very much concerned with finished products, and you are more concerned with processes.

Cage: Yes, and they want to have a result which will be in accord with the things they do, to bring about what would presumably be the best result. I'd imagine that notions such as unity and precision enter into their minds.[9]

* * *

Only four years after Webern's death, Messiaen composed his piano work, *Mode de valeurs et d'intensités*, the first composition to break the trend of monodimensional serialization and to apply the technique to duration and dynamics, in addition to pitch. In 1952 Boulez, in homage to his mentor, used the Messiaen "mode" as row material for his two-piano piece, *Structures*, the most complex unit of serial writing to that time. *Structures* is perhaps only surpassed in complexity by Stockhausen's *Kontrapunkte*. Hans Oesch analyzes these essays by the post-Webernites

as being a completely new sort of music: in contrast to other periods of technical turmoil, more innovations affecting all aspects of music had been made in these postwar years than ever before, thus assuring that this was a completely new era.[10] It is an interesting coincidence that *Structures* and *Kontrapunkte* should appear the same year as their absolute antithesis, Cage's *4'33"*. Cage's first published attempt in the area of aleatoricism (or as he prefers, *indeterminancy*) had been *Music of Changes* dating from 1951, the year before *4'33"*.

There are basically two types of aleatory compositions: such pieces as Cage's *Music of Changes* in which the compositional process involves indeterminacy, and the performance is reproductive (though even in this piece Cage warns the performer that in some places the notation is irrational, and the performer must use his discretion); and such works as Stockhausen's *Zyklus* or Barney Child's *Take Five* in which the performance involves indeterminate factors.

Robert D. Wilder calls aleatory method "the most serious challenge to the Western tradition of music."[11] It is against this artistic tradition of the West that Cage rebels. He feels that tradition is a burden upon art, causing the perceiver to react in a certain, predictable way, instead of opening the way for a variety of possible responses. Cage's study of Zen philosophy, under the tutelage of D. T. Suzuki, brought him to a point beyond the traditional Western expectation of accomplishment, or at least beyond "striving" for some goal. Indeed, in a silence (not *silent*) piece such as *4'33"*, he revels in not striving for anything, but rather allows his occidental audience to make an accomplishment for itself. The influence of oriental culture is also obvious in Stockhausen's *Music für ein Haus* (1968), with its meditative readings interspersed between the improvisatory movements for the players.

Many composers are in the faction of the "middle left", that is, one of *limited* aleatoricism. As Lutoslawski states,

> I am not even partially interested in avoiding responsibility for my work. I am not interested in music entirely determined by chance. I want my piece to be something which I myself have created, and I would like it to be the expression of what I have to communicate to others. I am an adherent of a clear-cut division between the role of the composer and that of the performer, and I do not wish even partially to relinquish the authorship of the music I have written.[12]

Cage views a piece of music as a progressive event, not static in character. Hence, the element of *limited* aleatoricism should not change the basic character of a work, but rather each performance should be a variation or progression from earlier performances. The extent which the element of chance plays in the performances of all music of the Western tradition is not often noted. What has frustrated so many com-

posers is that no matter how precisely a work is notated, its live perform-ance remains contingent in so many aspects. Thus the division into two camps: the aleatoricists, recognizing and making artistic use of this indelible human factor; and the electronicists, forswearing any connec-tion with unpredictable acoustic instruments, relying on computers, synthesizers, and magnetic tape for a "hewn-in-granite" repeatable performance.

Stockhausen's enchantment with electronic music began with his disenchantment with acoustic instruments used in serial music, with regard to timbre. In Stockhausen's thinking, traditional instruments were too diverse, physically and artistically, to have a "common denominator," and without this "common denominator" no truly serial concept can exist.[13] Of course, even in electronic music there is the aspect of the unforeseen in out-of-the-lab performances, since different tape machines, synthesizers, and speakers will react as differently as any live virtuosos.

<center>*   *   *</center>

> *Robert Ashley to Cage*: It seems to me that your influence on con-temporary music, on "musicians," is such that the entire metaphor of music could change to such an extent that—time being upper-most as a definition of music—the ultimate result would be a music that wouldn't necessarily involve anything but the presence of people. That is, it seems to me that the most radical re-definition of music that I could think of would be one that defines "music" without reference to sound.[14]

<center>*   *   *</center>

George Rochberg, like many composers, has stated various reactions to aleatoricism. At one time he asserted that it would turn its audience into nothing more than automatons nurtured only by "stimuli–response situations"; they would be empty beings taking nothing to the event, and receiving nothing from it.[15] In another comment Rochberg supports aleatory over total-serialistic technique:

> While the stream of events in totally serialized works may be con-tinuous in the sense that sound is always in motion, the discourse has lost its sense of direction, resulting in a type of unplanned indeterminacy. Planned indeterminacy, on the other hand, *seeks* to be utterly discontinuous and perceptually unpredictable in order to preserve spontaneity, the living freshness of the living situation.[16]

Boulez has also professed to be against uncontrolled aleatoricism. He has said that he *writes in* some chance elements by making the music too complex to be performed in the absolute notated time, and thus the performer must make the adjustments according to his or her own skill.[17]

This can be interpreted as a rationalization for *Structures*, which has been criticized for being so complex that no human being could play it accurately; the end effect, these critics point out, could have been achieved through chance procedures. The original title that Boulez had considered for *Structures* was that of an engraving by Klee, "At the Limit of Fertile Land."[18] It is evident that Boulez considered *Structures* to be just that, for, like Messiaen before him, he saw this absolute control to be a dead-end, and in the future he moved in a less restrictive path. *Le marteau sans maître* displays a definite "warming" of emotional content when compared to *Structures*. It was against such pieces as *Structures* that the idea of "collective *ad libitum*," as Lutoslawski calls aleatoricism, arose in rebellion—against the completely abstract concept of music as "a series of acoustic phenomena occurring in time."[19] Yet few performers or listeners recognize the change in Boulez's attitude with *Le marteau*. As Lukas Foss has said: "I am yet to hear a precise and spirited performance of Boulez's *Marteau*, instead of all the counting, watching and approximating."[20]

* * *

Kostelanetz: But is Milton Babbitt a seer?

Cage: No, because he's making something that then is part of our environment—an object which he puts outside of himself, which he puts outside of us, and which he then has to write long articles about, and so forth; and then to have . . . all the mathematical business in order to convince us that if we didn't agree on an ear level, we will be obliged to agree on a mathematical level.[21]

* * *

A curious aspect of an outstanding book by Wilfrid Mellers is a chart he includes in *Caliban Reborn: Renewal in Twentieth-Century Music*. It may be easier to find fault in an objective graphic generalization than in Mr. Mellers's lucid, subjective verbal analyses, but it is quite disturbing that the author shows John Cage to be a linear descendent, only a little to the *right*, of Beethoven. Disciples of Messiaen are aligned far to the left, and poor Luigi Nono is disconnected in a no-man's-land somewhere between.[22] Perhaps Mellers regards Cage as the bearer-of-the-mantle of Beethoven, in the same sense that Charles Wuorinen has called Cage "the *ne plus ultra* of the romantic avant–gardism."[23]

Our post–1950 age of electronic communication has generated a melting-pot of musical styles in which all techniques of the past and present can be used; no composer need fear criticism of being either behind the times or too eclectic. Serialism is still being used, but the fervor with which it was explored and exploited in the 50s and 60s as *the* method of composition has abated. Aleatoricism has mellowed in its concept—

no longer is many a composer's sole indication to the performer: "Play the Music of the Universe." Even a revival of harmonic techniques in the classical tradition has taken place. As Henry Pleasants suggests concerning serialism, if one chooses to embrace or reject any or all of the current trends, one will be in good company.[24]

NOTES

[1] Michael Nyman, *Experimental Music: Cage and Beyond* (London: Cassell and Macmillan, 1974), p. 1.

[2] As quoted in Philip K. Bracanin, "Analysis of Webern's 12-Note Music: Fact and Fantasy," *Studies in Music* 2 (1968):104.

[3] As quoted in Walter Kolneder, *Anton Webern: An Introduction to His Works* (London: Faber and Faber, 1968), p. 143.

[4] Hans Keller, "The Contemporary Problem," *Tempo* 83 (1967-68):25.

[5] Nicolas Rouwet, "Contradictions within the Serial Language," *Die Reihe* 6 (1964):67.

[6] Henri Pousseur, "The Question of Order in New Music," *Perspectives of New Music* 5 (1966):99.

[7] As quoted in Adrian Jack, "The Meaning of Serial: An Introduction to Schoenberg's Method and Its Application," *Music and Musicians* 22 (1973):42.

[8] Leonard B. Meyer, *Music, the Arts, and Ideas: Patterns and Predictions in Twentieth-Century Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 300.

[9] Richard Kostelanetz, *John Cage* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p. 10.

[10] Hans Oesch, "Die Ars Nova des zwanzigsten Jahrhunderts," *Melos* 34 (1967):385.

[11] Robert D. Wilder, *Twentieth-Century Music* (Dubuque, Iowa: W. C. Brown, 1969), p. 277.

[12] György Ligeti, Witold Lutoslawski, and Ingvar Lindholm, *Three Aspects of New Music* (Stockholm: Nordiska Musikforlaget, 1968), p. 48.

[13] Paul Gredinger, "Serial Technique," *Die Reihe* 1 (1958):40.

[14] Kostelanetz, p. 148.

[15] John Beckwith and Udo Kasemets, *The Modern Composer and His World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961), p. 62.

[16] George Rochberg, "The New Image of Music," *Perspectives of New Music* 2 (1963):3.

[17] Pierre Boulez, "Alea," *Perspectives of New Music* 4 (1964):46.

[18] Pousseur, p. 102.

[19] Ligeti, et al., p. 52.

[20] Lukas Foss, "The Changing Composer-Performer Relationship: A Monologue and a Dialogue," *Perspectives of New Music* 1 (1963):49.

[21] Kostelanetz, p. 14.

[22] Wilfrid Mellers, *Caliban Reborn: Renewal in Twentieth-Century Music* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), p. 183.

[23] Charles Wuorinen, "The Outlook for Young Composers," *Perspectives of New Music* 1 (1963):60.

[24] Henry Pleasants, *The Agony of Modern Music* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955), p. 122.

STRUCTURALISM AND MUSICOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW

Patricia Tunstall

The past decade has witnessed a growing interest among musicologists in the kind of inquiry known as structuralist. Although structuralism originated as a theory and methodology specific to certain limited disciplines, its relevance to other fields has become increasingly apparent, and its principles and assumptions articulated in increasingly general terms. One of the major trends of twentieth–century thought, it has significant implications for musicology; indeed, some major musicological debates have involved ideas central to structuralist theory, although these ideas are seldom expressed in structuralist terms. It is helpful, therefore, to explore the historical development of that theory at some length —not in order to have new labels to pin on old debates, but to better understand the intellectual history to which those debates are related.

The scope of the subject matter and the limitations of space imposed here will often necessitate somewhat cursory accounts of highly complex fields. The intention of this paper is not, however, an in-depth examination of any single aspect of structuralism, but rather an introductory overview of its basic definitions and procedures.

Structuralism, a theory generated and developed primarily by western European scholars who are the direct inheritors of the Western intellectual tradition, has its philosophical antecedents in the rationalist schools of thought prominent in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Such theorists as Descartes conceived of the thinking human being as inherently rational, and thus as the determining locus of knowledge and truth. Kantian theory was an elucidation of the rational categories that constitute the human mind. French social theorists as diverse as Rousseau and Diderot discussed social functioning from the standpoint of an underlying assumption of the rational nature of man's cognition. The rationalist premises of such figures were reflected not only in the contents but in the formulation of their theories, which involved deductive and speculative rather than inductive processes.

The first challenges to rationalist thought came from within philosophical discourse: empiricists such as Hume and Berkeley argued that the mind has no inherent rational order, but is a repository of the impressions transmitted from the outside world. The nineteenth century, however, brought more formidable challenges. For the first time, the Western tradition of speculation upon the nature of the self was forced into extensive contact with foreign cultures with alien versions of objective reality. Within western European culture itself, radically

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different world-views became evident. Never before had such conflicting modes of thought and life demanded recognition; now, however, classes with different social experience were coming into increasing power, and nations with unfamiliar cultures were entering the world economic arena. The evident differences between cultures could not be accounted for by the rationalist assumption of a universal identity of mental categories. The new theories developed to explain these differences were based on a new assumption, that of the determining power of environment. In addition, developments in biological science had implications for every field. Emerging theories of evolution provided a new model for understanding human experience in terms of historical progress.

The challenge to rationalism from realms outside of formal philosophical thought thus developed into a powerful and eventually dominant critique. The rationalist assumption that the source of knowledge was the inherent, rational categories of the mind found itself in increasing conflict with theories locating this source elsewhere: in social and cultural experience, in political organization, in historical identity, or in biological nature. Freudian theory, while sharing the rationalist's emphasis on the discovery of universal characteristics of the human subject, implied, however, a refutation of a major rationalist premise: when Freud examined the self, he found not immutable mind but immutable drives—an unconscious which was the very antithesis of reason.

Theorists in all fields, then, rejected the idea of the rational mind and turned to the investigation of other sources of meaning and intelligibility. These theories differed in method as well as object: no longer relying upon deductive elegance, they were couched in the terms of empiricist inquiry and based upon claims of scientific validity. These changes occurred in the emerging discipline of musicology as well as in other fields. Theories that musical processes were determined by universal, invariant mental operations were challenged by explanations of musical activity as conditioned by social, cultural, or historical forces.

It is significant that the discipline of linguistics, in which structuralism first emerged as a systematic theory, has a particularly strong tradition of rationalist ideas. During the late eighteenth century, the French school of "philosophical grammar" had evolved a theory of language based on rationalist premises. Described by one commentator as "the linguistic equivalent of Cartesianism,"[1] this school postulated the existence of more and less abstract levels of language, and a transformational process by which less abstract levels were generated out of more abstract ones. Early in the twentieth century, a Swiss linguist named Ferdinand de Saussure revived and developed this line of thinking. Language, he claimed, is a system with logical and autonomous laws. At a level of organization more abstract than what we normally call grammar, a language can be investigated as a set of logical operations. Saussure's seminal distinction

was between individual acts of speech ("paroles") and the universe of linguistic conventions upon which individuals draw when they speak ("langue"). Linguistic analysis, therefore, was the investigation of speech in order to discover the organizational properties of language. Saussure stressed that language as a system is not the conscious possession of any individual; rather it is the totality of linguistic rules available in a society, "a sum of impressions deposited in the brain of each member of a community, almost like a dictionary of which identical copies have been distributed to each individual."[2] According to a common formulation, language is a kind of "code"; each instance of individual speech is a "message" constructed with reference to the code. Although the code is not apparent in surface characteristics of speech, and its users are not conscious of it, it can be extrapolated through structural analysis of the relations among elements of a series of messages.

These concepts deviated significantly from many of the social–scientific ideas prevalent at the time. In contrast to the current emphasis upon social context, Saussure's method was to isolate language from its social functions on the assumption that within the elements of language itself could be discovered its essential qualities. Second, Saussure's thesis that these qualities were logically coherent implied the then unpopular premise that the ordering activity of the mind is systematic. Third, in contradistinction to linguistic theories stressing the historical development of languages, Saussure emphasized the importance of non-historical studies, since the system of language accessible to any speaker exists entirely in the present.

The task of the structural analyst, according to Saussure, is to organize a mass of data—a collection of individual utterances—in such a way as to clarify the logical system that comprehends all of them. This involves a process of dismantling and reconstruction, since, in specific utterances, linguistic elements are arranged and distributed so as to obscure the systematic nature of their relations. The linguistic code is thus never deducible from one message. A collection of messages, however, may be broken down into component parts; these parts may then be used to construct a logical model in which their interrelations are explicit. Through the orderly rearrangement of speech elements the fundamental order of a language can be revealed.

Saussure's reconstructive model—adopted by most succeeding structuralists—involves two axes, the syntagmatic and the associative. The horizontal, syntagmatic axis represents "contiguous" relations—that is, how elements are arranged sequentially in speech. The vertical, associative axis represents "thematic" relations, or how elements refer metaphorically or symbolically to other elements. Thus, reading horizontally, the analyst can discover the conventions by which words are combined into a series in speech; vertical configurations will reveal the

categories of sound and meaning by which words are classified in memory. Linguistic elements related syntagmatically can occur next to one another; those related associatively can replace one another.

The significance of this model is that it embodies a basic structuralist view of mental ordering activity: the mind can link elements together linearly (and can follow rules for doing so), and it can associate them categorically (again, according to given rules). Crucial to the model is a conception of the mind as active and of mental categories as operations, not ideas. The structure of language explored by Saussure is a complex of operational capacities, not a constellation of images. And it is this feature that makes languages comparable; if the deepest structure of a language is not a set of rules about particular words and grammars, but a set of formal procedures for dealing with all words and all grammars, then this is a level at which all languages may be compared.

Saussure postulated other comparisons as well. Language, he suggested, is only one of several systems of signs operating in society—such systems having fixed correspondences between "signifiers" and "signifieds." In language, the signifiers are sound-images such as words and syllables; its signifieds are the mental concepts indicated by those sound-images. Although language is perhaps the most important system of signs, there are others: "Language is a system of signs that expresses ideas, and is therefore comparable to a system of writing, the alphabet of deaf-mutes, symbolic rites, polite formulas, etc."[3] Any systematic cultural phenomenon is a system of signs, according to Saussure, if it is characterized by a one-to-one relation between each signifier and its signified, and if that relation is not open to individual decision but is fixed by social convention. Linguistics is therefore potentially a field within a general science of signs, which he called "semiology."

The first to respond to this suggestion was the French anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss, whose work was decisive for the development of an interdisciplinary structuralist theory and practice. A scholar whose training encompassed both Western philosophical tradition and modern anthropological techniques, Levi-Strauss found in structuralism a way to synthesize his speculative inclinations and his respect for scientific methods. "For the first time," he wrote of structuralism, "social scientists are able to form necessary relations."[4] Working from Saussure's premise that other cultural phenomena were organized like language, he applied the structuralist analytic techniques outlined above to various cultural systems, such as totemistic practices, kinship conventions, and myth repertoires.

In the course of these studies, Levi-Strauss added important dimensions to structuralist theory. First of all, he found that the specific organizational structures discovered in one system of a culture will be similar to those discovered in another. Studies of a Brazilian Indian society pro-

vided persuasive evidence for this idea. His structuralist investigation of their myths revealed strong systematic relations between the seemingly random elements of the myths: when analytically reorganized, the images, events, and characters of the myths fell into consistent thematic categories (such as honey and tobacco, raw food and cooked food). These categories, in Levi-Strauss's view, were symbolic expressions of a fundamental opposition between nature and culture; and the operations performed upon these symbols in the process of myth generation represented attempts by the culture to render the opposition intelligible. Myths, therefore, were not irrational explanations of natural phenomena; they were logic systems using a vocabulary of natural phenomena to explain the world. Exploring other systems within the same culture, Levi-Strauss discovered that the fundamental categories underlying the elements of myth also underlay other areas of cultural expression. The ways those categories were manipulated within the myths were typical of logical operations governing other kinds of mental activity and understanding. He concluded that the categories and manipulations themselves constituted the structural habits of the culture, the set of cognitive properties underlying all of its various sign systems. The particular value of structuralist anthropology, therefore, was that one could discern the logical structures of a culture in any of its semiological phenomena. The patterns of organization characterizing one system would be the patterns operative in any other, and all systems would be susceptible to the structuralist method of clarifying those patterns.

Levi-Strauss was interested in a still higher level of generalization. He theorized that logic structures were not only consistent among cultural phenomena, they were, at the most abstract level, universal. The ultimate importance of ascertaining such logic structures was that they reflected properties of the human mind itself. The formal procedures through which the mind structured reality were common to all minds; the content manipulated by these procedures was culture-specific, but the procedures themselves were universal in character. All aspects of human experience, then, were governed at the most basic level by a limited number of operational categories inherent in the structure of the mind. In Levi-Strauss's view, these categories were principally binary in nature, such as juxtaposition, inversion, and opposition. It was the task of ethnographers to refine such views: "Ethnographic analysis," he declared, "must try to arrive at invariants beyond the empirical diversity of the human species."[5]

In the work of both Saussure and Levi-Strauss, an analytical process that begins by restricting itself to an isolated object has as its eventual aim the extrapolation of the structures imposed on reality by the mind. The initial exclusiveness of focus is only a preparation for a conclusion at the most general level. This conclusion will not be a hypothesis of

universal conceptual, linguistic, or thematic categories; rather it will be a formulation of the organizational properties of the mind that characterize all of its operations.

The connection of this premise to the rationalist philosophical tradition is unmistakable: basic to Cartesian and Kantian theories alike was the notion that all minds operate with the same formal properties, and that these properties are definitively logical. Yet the structuralist theories of Saussure and Levi-Strauss represent a distinctively modern reformulation of this notion.

Seen in the context of Western intellectual history, structuralism is a set of principles neither precisely rationalist nor precisely corresponding to modern ideas of environmental determinism. Like modern social sciences, it proceeds by examining cultural phenomena; like modern natural sciences, it isolates sets of phenomena for purposes of study; but in its ultimate goal—the formulation of cognitive universals—it is close to its heritage of rationalist philosophy. From this heritage it takes the basic assumption of an inherent mental structure that determines experience and knowledge. But it shares with modern social–scientific thought an awareness of the important role of culture in determining specific knowledge and experience, and so postulates universals far more abstract, less bound to specific concepts, than those of philosophical rationalism. Like many modern theories, structuralism postulates decisive limits upon an individual's conscious capacity to choose his forms of thought and action, but it defines those limits as innate to cognition, not as learned. This definition allows it to rely, as did Cartesian thought, upon speculative and deductive analytical techniques; but unlike Cartesian thought, structuralism first depends upon empirical data-gathering and verifying procedures. Structuralism, then, may perhaps be understood as a modern reemergence of rationalist ideas informed and tempered by the insights of modern social, political, and scientific thought.

What is the relation of structuralism to musicology? In recent years an increasing number of musicologists have taken an interest in this question. The answers they propose vary widely both in method and goals, and are thus difficult to classify or summarize. All, however, begin with the assumption that the methods of structural linguistics are relevant to musicological endeavors in some way. An interesting background to this assumption is provided in a recent paper by Howard Serwer,[6] which contends that modern linguistic theory is very close to older music theory in its rationalist emphasis on "rigorous abstraction." Heinrich Schenker, writes Serwer, was the last musical theorist to resist the rise of a relativist, superstructural approach to musical analysis, and his conceptual tools were similar to those of modern linguistics. Schenker's terms for differing levels of abstraction in music—"background, middleground, foreground" —correspond to the common linguistic terms "deep structure" and "sur-

face structure"; his use of the term "Verwandlung" to account for relations between these levels is close to the linguistic concept of transformation, whereby surface structures of speech are generated from the deep structures of language. This concept is suggested by Schenker's statement, quoted by Serwer, that in music there is "nothing truly new . . . only transformations extending themselves."[7] Serwer's conclusion echoes Levi-Strauss's own goal: "Like linguistics, music theory was and should be concerned with the rigorous definition and abstraction of those elements common to all music, that is, with universals."[8]

Structuralist approaches to music may be roughly divided according to the type of theoretical model used. Two models have been of particular interest to musicologists in recent years. The first of these has been influenced by the concept of semiology, the second more by the anthropologically oriented procedures of Levi-Strauss.

The school of thought that, borrowing Saussure's term for the science of signs, calls itself musical semiotics, or semiology, has assumed increasing prominence during the past decade. Two congresses of the Society for Ethnomusicology have devoted considerable attention to this topic; several books and many articles have appeared; and a 1973 conference in Belgrade devoted itself to the exploration of topics in musical semiology.

Musical semiologists undertake the study of music as a system of signs. They link their efforts explicitly with semiologists in other fields, who have applied structuralist techniques to sign systems as diverse as newspaper photographs, advertising images, the conventions of high fashion, and the literary form of the narrative; thus they consider their investigations as contributions to the developing science of semiology first proposed by Saussure. The techniques of semiology, writes Jean-Jacques Nattiez, constitute a "procedure peculiar to the science of man [i.e., not the natural sciences]."[9] Musical semiology is linked as well with the particular tendency in semiology, popular in recent years, to consider not only social systems but also works of art as systems of signs. Implicit—and often explicit—in this tendency is the assumption that artistic works are not so much acts of free and spontaneous individual creation as they are assemblages of socially meaningful signs.

The basic premises of musical semiologists are those of structuralist theory. In the structuralist tradition, they insist upon the isolation of music from its social functions in the initial stages of study. They proceed on the belief that, although individual musical utterances may appear unsystematic or idiosyncratic, all utterances refer to a systematic universe of musical categories for their constructive properties. And they rely on structuralist techniques to disclose the underlying relationships between every musical element and every other; most operate with some form of the dual-axis model developed by early structuralists. Often this

model is modified or supplemented by concepts borrowed from more recent developments in structural linguistics. Nicolas Ruwet, for example, makes systematic use of the "taxonomic distributionist" theories of Zellig Harris in his analyses of Debussy songs; the model he uses for reorganizing the components of these songs make particular reference to Harris's principle of repetition as a primary category. Through this process Ruwet is able to plot the distribution of structurally similar elements in relation to one another. Ruwet's analysis is an exemplary structuralist one, notes John Blacking, because it "takes essentially musical features as the basis of meaning and thus as the focus of analysis."[10] More recently, Gilbert Rouget, Charles Boilès, and Sinha Arom, among others, have followed similar procedures in analyses of non-Western music.

One of the foremost practitioners of musical semiotics is Jean-Jacques Nattiez, who sees semiological investigation as a critical task of modern musicology. Nattiez advocates the structuralist analysis of musical works along the general lines of Saussurian procedure. Three principles in particular are singled out by Nattiez as crucial premises for a semiology of music.[11] First, Saussure's emphasis upon the isolation of language from its social contexts for purposes of study is applicable to music as well: Nattiez proposes that musical analyses focus upon showing the relations among the internal elements of musical objects. Second, Saussure's advocacy of the synchronic approach should be heeded. Traditional musicology has been hampered, in Nattiez's view, by its consistently historical perspective. Finally, musical semiology must adopt Saussure's essential distinction between "langue" and "parole." Nattiez's semiological models are constructed within the framework of these three principles, using the conventional set of syntagmatic/associative axes. To standard Saussurian terminology he adds the linguistic concept of "transformation," using the term to mean formal operations upon musical elements to yield structurally related ones.

Nattiez suggests that further modifications of traditional structuralist methods are necessary to meet the specific exigencies of musical analysis. Every musical work, he postulates, has three manifestations: it is written, performed, and heard. Therefore each work constitutes not one but three "paroles"; and semiological investigation must acknowledge all three. Models must therefore be constructed not only of the work as it presents itself to the analyst, but also of the work as heard by the listener (the "aesthetic" pole) and the work as perceived by the composer (the "poietic" pole). Semiological analysis consists not of one reconstruction but of a series of rewritings. Only through such a series will the structural characteristics of a musical system be made clear. Nattiez sometimes seems to suggest that all three poles constitute the proper object of analysis for musical semiologists; at other times, he implies that the aesthetic and

poietic dimensions should be assigned to other disciplines.[12] The latter view is reiterated by Otto Laske, who has proposed the development of another discipline, "psychomusicology," to account for these dimensions.[13]

Nattiez has argued that musical semiology differs from traditional music analysis principally in its degree of methodological rigor. In his view, traditional analysis is weak because it is not scientific; it is "merely intuitive and lacks organization; it cannot be considered a form of scientific knowledge."[14] The solution offered by semiotics is the development of a metalanguage, a collection of entirely abstract symbols with which to build structural models of music. Only with the establishment of such a language can musical analysis "acquire scientific standards: formulated on an explicit and repeatable division into units, it becomes exhaustive in a way that sets it apart irrevocably from the stylistic dissertations of traditional analysis."[15] Nattiez cites the theory of structural linguist Noam Chomsky that this model can be a kind of "generative grammar," exhaustive enough that an analyst can generate legitimate specific utterances according to its rules. With a comprehensive metalanguage and adequate models, believes Nattiez, semiology will have truly deductive verification procedures at its disposal.

Concomitant with the emergence of musical semiology has been a developing interest in structuralism among musicologists who do not use the term "semiology" to describe their work. These musicologists often refer to Levi-Strauss rather than directly to linguistic theories; their interests are often stimulated by Levi-Strauss's general anthropological orientation and by his specific hypothesis that music, like myth, is a supremely appropriate object for structuralist attention. Articles by Arden Ross King,[16] Gilbert Chase,[17] and Pandora Hopkins,[18] among others, have set forth descriptions and critical reviews of Levi-Strauss's expressed ideas on music. These articles outline his premise that music and myth are analogous because both are intelligible but untranslatable, and while each takes specific forms in specific cultures, both have fundamental structural characteristics that particularly illuminate cognitive principles of order. Hopkins and King express an uncertainty about the appropriateness of structuralist methodology for ethnomusicological analysis. Writes Hopkins, "Levi-Strauss has indeed found a convincing example [in "Bolero"] for proving the essential structural character of music. However, his contention that every musical work contains within it a resolution of conflicts is questionable."[19] But Hopkins concludes that Levi-Strauss "has made it possible to compare classificatory systems (and therefore patterns of thought) that have traditionally been considered . . . not comparable. . . . Thus Levi-Strauss's concepts are liberating."[20]

One of Levi-Strauss's most prominent musicological converts is Gilbert Chase, who finds the work of the structural anthropologist of central

importance to the development of musicology. In a recent lecture,[21] Chase focused upon the structuralist assumption that the properties of an object must be analysed in terms of the relations among its elements, with the goal of understanding the operations performed on them; this focus, in Chase's view, is critical for all musical analysis. Chase is particularly interested in the work of Jean Piaget, who incorporates a notion of development and feedback through time into the static Levi-Straussian formulation. Piagetian structuralism allows for a cybernetic dimension to structuralist analysis—a diachronic as well as a synchronic model.

The work of John Blacking has been perhaps the most significant response to Levi-Strauss's recommendation for a study of music analogous to his study of myth. Blacking's understanding of the relation between universal and cultural determinants of knowledge is close to the structuralist view. "Artistic forms," he writes, "are produced by a synthesis of given universal systems of operation and acquired cultural patterns of expression."[22] Blacking's frequent references to "contextual" and "non-musical" phenomena do not signify a theory of environmental determinism; they express rather a conviction that musical principles of organization are the same as principles of organization in other areas. *How Musical Is Man?* is not an explicitly structuralist work, but it displays a strongly structuralist emphasis on the relation of internal musical structure to the internal structure of non-musical phenomena. "Attention to music's function in a society," he writes, "is necessary only insofar as it may help us to explain the structures."[23] The book shares with structuralist thought an ultimate interest in the implications of musical structure for human cognitive structure. Blacking criticizes the ethnomusicological tendency to "produce program notes outlining the context of the music" rather than an "analytic device describing its structures as expressive of cultural patterns."[24]

What sets Blacking apart from this tendency is, most clearly, a difference in goal: "functionalist" ethnomusicologists study the social context of music to illuminate the function of music in society, whereas Blacking studies this context to discover how it activates musical structures. Because the musical processes in a culture formally replicate others of its processes, the terms used for musical analysis should be logical and not specifically musical, applicable to other processes. It is ethnomusicology's responsibility to generate such analytic tools. Thus Blacking's emphasis on culture is a structuralist one; he is interested not in social rules about music, but in the "relationships between the rules of systems of musical and social communication."[25]

Both of the structuralist-oriented approaches to music outlined above share several basic premises and methods. They concentrate on the arrangements of internal musical elements and assume that these arrange-

ments are systematic. They focus initial efforts upon the musical object itself, using logical categories as the terms of analysis. In the writings of both Nattiez and Blacking, the development of more abstract analytical language is emphasized as an essential task of musicology.

For several theorists, the tools and concepts of semiology have been considered useful as a model for a musical structuralism. However, the reliance upon semiology as it has been developed in other fields of analysis raises central difficulties. As a rule, semiologists take from Saussure the definition of semiology as the science of signs, and the definition of a sign as the existence of a one-to-one relation between a signifier and a signified. The application of the latter definition to music reawakens a long-standing issue in music aesthetics: what kinds of things are "signified" by the elements of music? Many hypotheses have been suggested by those interested in semiological research.[26] David Osmond-Smith writes that the term "semiotics" should perhaps be used in reference to the specific semantic meanings sometimes found in music, such as an instrumental imitation of a non-musical sound.[27] Sociological analyses offer a definition for the meaning of music closely allied with its social functions.[28] The semiologist Roland Barthes claims that the elements of aesthetic objects carry connotations as well as denotations: the signifieds of such objects therefore include both semantic and ideological meanings.[29]

However, no agreement seems to exist among musical semiologists about the definition of music's signifieds. Nattiez, for example, rejects all the kinds of meanings cited above. He declares that semiology is not the study of "the expressive, semantic aspect of music";[30] neither is it the determination of "the connections between certain sonorous combinations and certain social structures."[31] In Nattiez's view, these purposes rule out the level of scientific rigor that, for him, is the distinguishing feature of semiological inquiry. The work of Roland Barthes he finds particularly unscientific: "he gives the illusion of science to a procedure that is nothing other than the course of traditional hermeneutics."[32] According to Nattiez, semiotics must entirely disregard the question of music's meanings, and investigate only the internal arrangements of its elements.

If this is the case, however, the usefulness of semiological procedures as they have been developed in other fields is called into question. Semiological investigations of other art forms are usually undertaken with attention to the semantic as well as the syntactical properties of artistic elements. It is, in fact, precisely the existence of *both* kinds of properties that makes these investigations illuminating. A semiological analysis of a work of art or literature entails a structural reorganization of its formal elements, but that reorganization is accomplished with reference to semantic meanings; the reinterpretation of relations among elements

depends partially upon the semantic associations of those elements. Works of literature or art are seen to involve meaning on several different levels—syntactical, semantic, connotative—and these levels must be considered in relation to each other. Semantic meanings may reveal implicit syntactical connections, for example; conversely, discovery of syntactical connections may reveal implicit semantic meanings. The analytic task is thus a charting of the structural relations among different levels of meaning. The organizational patterns of signifiers, in other words, are examined with reference to signifieds. The conclusions of semiological inquiries often rely upon such references.

Musical analysis, however, cannot rely upon a systematic reference to signifieds in its investigation of signifiers. Music seems to involve primarily syntactical, not semantic, relations; it does not exhibit a systematic one-to-one correspondence of each specific musical element with a specific non-musical meaning. According to Saussure's definition, then, music must be considered not a system of signs but a system of signifiers without signifieds. Therefore musical analyses can make only limited use of the particular virtues of the semiological approach.

This is not to say that musical structuralism is unviable, but that semiological models may not be its most useful tools. Although musical elements do not have semantic meanings, their organizational patterns may have extra-musical significance. The general goal of all structuralist endeavor is to examine the structural characteristics of objects in order to form hypotheses about the structural categories of cultures and the structural procedures of the human mind. Musical structuralism implies that such examinations do not necessarily have to involve semantic components; music's value for structuralism may lie precisely in the fact that it is *not* semantic. Its unique feature is that it lacks the kinds of meanings that semiological techniques are designed to investigate, but does not lack the kinds of significance with which structuralism is ultimately concerned. Its elements are not signs, but the relations between them are coherent and meaningful. It is these relations themselves, the formal operations performed upon sonorous elements, that are the essence of musical structure. Perhaps, then, that structure is a uniquely lucid and unmediated reflection of the formal operations of cognition.

Levi-Strauss was one of the first to suggest that music's "intelligible but untranslatable" nature makes it especially important for structuralism. As a sensuous manifestation not of concepts but of operations, music provides an unusually clear demonstration of the basic ordering processes of the mind. Unclouded by semantic associations, the procedures of music reflect not the mind's ideas but only its activities. It is thus an eminently appropriate object for an inquiry concerned with the nature of mental activity itself.

It is perhaps significant that Blacking does not invoke specifically semiological concepts and models; his work allows for the potential development of new concepts and models suited for the analysis of the uniquely abstract kinds of meaning found in music. Like Levi-Strauss, Blacking finds that music involves a synthesis of immanent, untranslatable structuring activity with culturally particularized forms. The analysis of musical structure may therefore be most fruitful for an understanding of mental structures and for the ways such structures emerge within specific cultures. Suggests Blacking, "Music may express the quintessence of a society's socio-conceptual structure and hence serve as a kind of litmus paper for structuralist analysis."[33] Blacking enriches structuralist thought with a new formulation of the concept of "transformation," suggesting that musical transformations reveal the precise connections between universal logical processes and culturally specific ones. Musical transformations occur, argues Blacking, in relation to social experience: the capacity for transformation may be universal, but is only activated under the stimulation of social phenomena. "By observing the patterns of social interaction which mediate between the innate structure of the mind and its extensions in culture, ethnomusicology can demonstrate the affective, social basis of musical transformations."[34]

In conclusion, musical analysis may be most enlightened by those structuralist principles that are *not* specifically borrowed from semiological endeavors in other fields. The application to music of a science of signs may eventually yield disappointing results: this science is oriented towards a kind of extramusical significance that music may not have and, when divorced from that orientation, may not yield substantially enlightening analyses. The structuralist interest in basic logical processes, on the other hand, invites a search for other kinds of extramusical significance, and this search may prove more rewarding. By bringing to musical analysis a desire to illuminate the rational character of musical processes, and to speculate upon the extramusical implications of those processes, a structuralist musicology will link its premises and goals to the traditions of its philosophical antecedents. This emphasis upon the cognitive dimensions of musical activity may provide new insights both about cognition and about music.

NOTES

1 Howard Serwer, "New Linguistic Theory and Old Music Theory," in *International Musicological Society: Report of the Eleventh Congress; Copenhagen, 1972,* 2 vols. (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1974), 2:653.

2 Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics,* trans. Wade Baskin (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959), p. 19.

3 Ibid., p. 16.

4 As quoted in Hayes, ed., *Levi-Strauss: The Anthropologist as Hero* (Boston: MIT Press, 1970).

5 Ibid., p. 23.

6 Serwer, pp. 652-57.

7 Ibid., p. 655.

8 Ibid., p. 654.

9 Jean-Jacques Nattiez, "Sur les relations entre sociologie et semiologie musicales," *International Review of Aesthetics and Musical Sociology* 5 (1974):62.

10 John Blacking, "Review- Essay," *Ethnomusicology* 20 (1976):599. For Ruwet's analysis see his *Langue, Musique, Poesie* (Paris: Sevil, 1972).

11 Jean-Jacques Nattiez, "Linguistics: A New Approach for Musical Analysis," *International Review of Aesthetics and Musical Sociology* 4 (1973):54-56.

12 Nattiez, "Sur les relations," p. 63.

13 Otto Laske, "Verification and Sociological Interpretation," *International Review of Aesthetics and Musical Sociology* 8 (1977):211-37.

14 Nattiez, "Linguistics: A New Approach," p. 65.

15 Ibid., p. 64.

16 Arden Ross King, "Review Essay," *Ethnomusicology* 18 (1974):101-11.

17 Gilbert Chase, "Review Essay," *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 4 (1972):152-57.

18 Pandora Hopkins, "The Homology of Music and Myth," *Ethnomusicology* 21 (1977):247-62.

19 Ibid., p. 256.

20 Ibid., p. 259.

21 Gilbert Chase, "Structuralism and Music," in *Two Lectures in the Form of a Pair*, Institute for Studies in American Music, no. 2 (New York: I.S.A.M., 1973), pp. 20-37.

22 John Blacking, *How Musical is Man?* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1973).

23 Ibid., p. 26.

24 Ibid., p. 30.

25 Idem, "The Existence and Limits of Musical Transformations," paper delivered to the Society for Ethnomusicology Congress, Toronto, 1972, p. 4.

26 For a thorough discussion of music and language as objects of semiological research, see Rose Rosengard Subotnik, "The Cultural Message of Musical Semiology: Some Thoughts on Music, Language, and Criticism since the Enlightenment," *Critical Inquiry* 4 (1978):741-68.

27 David Osmond-Smith, "Music as Communication: Semiology or Morphology?," *International Review of Aesthetics and Musical Sociology* 2 (1971):108-11.

28 See for example K. P. Etzkorn, "On Music, Social Structure and Sociology," *International Review of Aesthetics and Musical Sociology* 5 (1974):43-49.

29 Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*, trans. Annette Lavers and Colin Smith (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967).

30 Nattiez, "Sur les relations," p. 61.

31 Ibid., p. 71.

32 Ibid., p. 67.

33 Blacking, "The Existence and Limits," p. 6.

34 Ibid., p. 9.

supplement

The following section constitutes a supplement to *Current Musicology's* opera issue (number 26/1978). Professor Conati's article is a contribution to the forum, "Opera: Performance and Musicology."

ITALIAN ROMANTIC OPERA AND MUSICOLOGY

Marcello Conati

I confess I was greatly perplexed by the various questions that make up the questionnaire of the "Opera Project," as proposed by *Current Musicology*.[1]

The reasons for such perplexity come, above all, from the difficulty involved in giving, in a limited space, a certain logical order to a series of reflections that have ripened over many years of scholarship and practical experience in the field of Italian Romantic opera, which together with ethnomusicology make up the core of my professional activity. At the heart of all this lies the fear, which I cannot subdue, that the intervention of musicology in opera, although indeed necessary, may in the end lead to one-sided, authoritarian choices in the fields of performance and interpretation.

One may object, saying that musicology is a scientific discipline and therefore exact. But what does its precision really consist of, above all if it is applied to the field of opera, where artistic factors cannot be separated in any way from those inherent in the changes in society, in the economy, in customs, in taste—these always objects for controversial interpretations?

I think the development of modern thought has sufficiently proven the only *apparent* objectivity of scientific research and its lack of neutrality in the light of dominant economic interests. Furthermore, the very work of restoring a work of art (which today is defined as a "critical edition") responds to that concept of artistic ownership that in the Western world is still understood in terms of the commercial exploitation of the artistic product (and of the very restoration!), trans-

formed into consumer goods, involving, through the legal protection of the authors' rights (and copyrights), vast economic interests that have to do with publication. Even at its ethical base this concept of artistic ownership is in turn the result of a change in economic history that took place during the Romantic period, determined by the liberal revolution of the Western bourgeoisie. To the scientific disciplines (in this specific case, to musicology) there was assigned, furthermore, the implicit task of "restoring" the validity of "artistic ownership" by sanctioning its legitimacy and even extending it to the artistic products of other eras and other civilizations, where that concept had a very different meaning, certainly not tied to the modern function of commercial exploitation.

But I did not intend to speak of this general problem, though it also deserves a full discussion, but rather of the intervention of musicological research in the very nature of opera and of the dangers that may ensue from the results of research based on "scientific" pretension. This may transform itself into a kind of intellectual authoritarianism that is in direct opposition to the concepts of "democracy," of "participation," and of "self-direction," etc., which are the common patrimony of Western culture, and which the liberal revolution itself helped to affirm in the peoples' awareness.

At the core of the reflections I mentioned at the beginning of this article, there is the recognition or awareness of those various ways of approaching and interpreting a musical "object" (but in this specific case, it would be better to say musical-theatrical work) that have indirectly influenced the evolution of the complex social phenomenon that opera represented in Italy. Different kinds of interpretation that modern studies of language and of the "sociology of listening" have identified display a dichotomy between "popular" and "cultured" codes. According to the definition recently given by Gino Stefani, the "cultured" code consists solely of the "interiorized appropriation . . . corresponding to the only social and private function allowed by the cultured code itself, which is the aesthetic-artistic function"; while within the "popular" code "the referential communication prevails over the poetic, . . . projecting the musical significance to various cultural contexts and circumstances, the tendency to an appropriation of the music which is not pure listening, but which implies an expressive activity as well."

Musicological research, while naturally respecting the philology of musical interpretation and application in performance (the argument which is of interest to us at this moment), works for the most part within certain boundaries that have to do solely with the "cultured" code, deliberately excluding those boundaries that are, on the other hand, permitted by the "popular" code and, as we have indicated, have influenced many aspects of the development of opera in Italy.

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Italian Romantic opera, which statistically constitutes a very important component of the international lyric opera repertory and is still in a phase of expansion through the rediscovery of Verdi, Donizetti, and even of the lesser known works of Rossini, represents an unusual phenomenon in the history of Italian culture. After centuries of cultural isolation by the ruling classes (at least from the end of the sixteenth century), it expresses a period of unification between the work of intellectuals and the cultural aspirations of vast sectors of the popular masses. This is not a new observation; Gramsci had already remarked that "the Italian artistic 'democracy' had had a musical expression, rather than a 'literary' one," and that, further, "in Italy the music [or more precisely the musical theater] substituted to a certain extent that artistic expression in popular culture that in other countries [for example, France and England] is conveyed by the popular novel."

Not only was a condescension on the part of intellectuals instrumental in bringing about this union, also the rise of the masses—or to say it more correctly, the participation and collaboration of the masses (and of the interpreters who expressed these)—left a mark that is sometimes visible, but more often invisible (and for that reason not always clearly perceptible, especially by non-Italian musicologists). Notice, for example, a new kind of vocality that imposes itself as an alternative to the "cultured" bel canto style (which had its origins in the 1600s and 1700s), better suited to the new public's sensibility and to mass appropriation. Notice those "conventions" and traditions born in the moment of live performance that, although not set down on the written page, nevertheless constitute a vital, fundamental, verifying document of the rapport between writer and audience that we cannot dismiss before we first fully understand its socio-cultural aspects and meanings.

And how can we understand them, then, without an initial anthropological and sociological study of the reasons for that phenomenon of "audience participation" that is so frequent in the theatrical life of every period and every country—the phenomenon that, in the specific case of Italian Romantic opera, reveals deep roots in a cultural behavior that continues even today in Italy in a few eloquent examples in so much popular theater—from the "Maggio Epico" of the Tuscan-Emilian Appenines to the "Bruscello" of Tuscany, from the so-called "Stable Theater" of the Emilian plains region to the Sicilian "Puppet Theater."

Time, while pushing us further and further from the great epoch of Italian Romantic opera, constantly weakens the reasons for performing standards that did not exclusively rely on the written page, but reflected rather the degree of participation of the masses in the work of such intellectuals as composers, librettists, scenic designers, performers, and so on. And there exists an even more concrete risk that scientific research—that is to say musicology—may contribute to the "expropriation" of a

cultural product belonging to the masses and always understood by them to be their own, despite official criticisms and judgments expressed by savants of the time.

On the other hand, it is known (or at least it should be known, above all by musicologists) that the great Italian operatic composers (unlike composers from other countries, especially the German school) followed rules of writing music that are in fact their own (tacitly agreed upon) that leave room for the integration of that which occurs in the live performance. In order to avoid the risk of a complete or partial misunderstanding of these specific characteristics that derive from a work of art of a certain historic phase, we have to confirm the characteristics and standards (or norms) of this "integration" that grow out of the performance practice—a structural component of Italian Romantic opera—while keeping in mind certain characteristics that transcend the written page and become part of the socio-cultural sphere.

Musical philology must therefore reconfirm its own responsibilities and investigative tools through a comparison with other disciplines (for example, anthropology, sociology, structural linguistics, and others), thus not restricting methods of research on anything so complex, so uniform, and coherent as opera to the narrow field of the exclusively musical contents of the written page. Those disturbing manifestations of cultural intolerance that already mark our way of listening to music and theater today derive from this very narrowness of musicological interest and from the partial conclusions of its research, to which totalitarian efficiency is attributed, based on the claim of scientific validity.

It is a common, deep belief held by scholars, performers, and (it goes without saying) publishers that the critical edition of an opera score is the key to a final resolution of the text's authenticity and consequently the problem of an absolutely faithful interpretation on the part of the performers. This belief derives from yet another conviction (or perhaps we should say "convention"), equally popular in the professorial field: the guarantee of total respect for the composer's original thought must make itself known through absolute fidelity in reproducing the written page; and this is a convention that has been absolutely codified; perform only what is written.

This standard, the misunderstandings of which musicology has yet to help clarify, is working its evil now in the field of opera (with certain necessary exceptions, of course), reducing more and more the complex problem of "faithful" performance to the musical dimensions only, or rather to the written notes of the score, that have perhaps been "chromatically" re-evaluated. This standard really hides a *solutio facilitatis*, which lays to rest (and, when necessary, puts to sleep) the consciences of lazy performers who lack creativity; but nevertheless this solution does not avoid mistakes.

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Recently, I went to a performance of Verdi's *Il Trovatore* at the Teatro Comunale in Florence. It was excellently conducted by Riccardo Muti; not one bar was left out, nor were any notes added or changed in respect to the current version of the score published by Ricordi. Therefore, the famous high C, usually inserted into Manrico's *stretta*, was left out, since Verdi did not write it. I must confess that the absence of this high C (often a B-natural or sometimes a B-flat) gave me a sense of liberation: from now on, it will be very hard indeed for me to attribute any importance at all to the presence or the lack of this high C as long as the interpreter entrusted with the role of Manrico knows how to meet the difficult demands of Verdi's phrasing.

An intact *Trovatore!* Riccardo Muti can thus claim to have performed Verdi exactly as the score is written, at least as far as the notes are concerned (as to the metronome indications, which also are a part of the written text, that is another story). I don't know, though, whether he ever suspects that "Verdi-as-written" is not automatically the same as "the authentic Verdi." Certainly Muti never suspected, for example, that there exists, or rather that there existed in Verdi's era, an "unwritten standard" in the performance of the Italian opera (inherited from the performance practice in the eighteenth century), in which the reprise of a solo section (aria, cabaletta, etc.) makes up the variation of the original. This is all the more true if the text is sung again exactly as before (as in the case of the *stretta* of Manrico). And then what about the much-despised high C of "Di quella pira," which is, in practical application, nothing more than one of the possible variations allowed by performance practice during the reprise of the piece?

For some time the high C of "Di quella pira" has been the classic contested issue in musicology. (I refer back to a famous syllogism cited by Andrea Della Corte in his monograph on the "Six Most Beautiful Verdi Operas.") Now it has become a contested issue among conductors as well. In this regard it would be worth while to meditate on what Verdi himself wrote to Giulio Ricordi in 1899:

> When I began to scandalize the musical world with my sins, there existed the calamity of the Prima Donnas' "Rondo;" now there exists the tyranny of orchestral conductors! Bad, Bad! But the lesser evil is the first of these!!!

And perhaps soon this high C will become a touchstone for a sophisticated audience that will want to hear an example of performance practice in *Il Trovatore* that is thought of as valid for *Tristan und Isolde.*

But fighting over contested issues does not resolve problems of interpretation, nor does it make progress toward a true understanding of the cultural and social phenomena that comprise Italian Romantic opera. The high C's of "Di quella pira" are, if anything, the starting point for a

return to the historical, artistic, and socio-cultural conditions that were in effect at the moment of birth of a given work of art.

At the Fifth International Congress for Verdi Studies held in November 1977 at Centre College in Danville, Kentucky (and again I make apologies for falling back on personal experience), I had the chance to present a paper on the staging of the first edition of Verdi's *Macbeth* (Florence, 1847). This paper summarizes most of the results obtained from research derived (since we do not have a *Disposizione scenica* for that production) not only from texts (orchestral score, score, libretto), from a comparison between the two editions of the opera, and from available documents (above all the letters from Verdi to publishers and interpreters), but also from theatrical news reports of the period. This research, emphasizing the instruments and the essence of that first staging of *Macbeth,* enabled me to better clarify for myself the meaning of the re-working of the opera for the Theatre Lyrique in Paris (1865); the dramatic function of certain scenes that are omitted even in productions that are not just routine (for example, the *Ballabili degli spiriti aerei*); and the meaning of the "fantastic" element within the dramatic episode to which Verdi gives a function radically different from that of the original Shakespeare drama.

My experience during this research convinced me that a true and proper "critical edition" of an opera makes no sense if it is limited to a pure and simple restoration of the musical score. It is, if anything, the end result of an investigation that first extends to all the theatrical elements that come together in the staged production. The continual small changes and revisions that composers (from Rossini to Donizetti and Verdi) have brought to their own operas are indicative of certain related situations that in turn are part of the very artistic and theatrical life of the nineteenth century; and these, then, determine the nature of a performance.

One of the theatrical factors that editors and interpreters neglect and that is intimately bound to the musical element is the characteristics of the stage-space and the theater-space in which nineteenth-century composers found themselves working. I wish to especially emphasize the acoustical conditions determined by that space. This aspect is no less basic than the composer's choice of the chief performers, since a certain sound, a certain vocal effect, and a certain orchestral texture were all conceived in relation to the specific conditions of formation and propagation of sound. These conditions depend upon elements in the relationship between stage and auditorium that today we no longer find even in the oldest Italian opera theaters, such as La Scala in Milan, the San Carlo in Naples, the Comunale in Bologna, the Fenice in Venice, and the Regio of Parma. Only apparently have their internal structures remained the same. In actuality the theaters have undergone modifications

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that have radically changed their original acoustic function and have had historically important consequences on the technique of singing.

According to operatic procedure before the nineteenth century, singers usually worked on a thruststage that reached beyond the proscenium arch out under the ceiling of the auditorium (which therefore functioned as a sounding box). Therefore they were in the most favorable position to make their voices resound in a homogenous way. Their vocal technique depended greatly upon these acoustic conditions: from them came a lightness and a softness of sound that was more easily bound to control of voice volume and color or timbre. Today the thruststage has been removed (consequently the stage itself is drawn back, or rather "made into a cave") to make way for the so-called "Mystic Gulf"—which is to say another "sounding box," the stage, is added to the first and original one, the auditorium. This is the direct consequence of the affirmation of Wagner's theatrical concept in the last years of the nineteenth century.

Wagner, though, was following his own innovative beliefs; he was imagining a theater that was not yet in existence. He had Bayreuth built, a model which still remains unique, fulfilling the demands of staging and performing his works. With the acceptance of Wagnerian theories and the so-called "music drama," the most important theaters of the nineteenth century, beginning with La Scala in Milan, adapted their structures to imitate Bayreuth. (Even the elderly Verdi finally agreed to lowering the floor of the orchestra pit, although this initially was only slightly modified without creating a second "sounding box," and the stage was yet to be cut back.) Consequently, old and glorious theaters like La Scala, the San Carlo, the Fenice, and others are neither one thing nor the other; while not being able to compete with Bayreuth in handling Wagner's operas, they are no longer ideal for the operas they were conceived and built for.

Music history is partly the history of the acoustic spaces that each society, during its evolution, has chosen. That theatrical singing technique is closely related to acoustic conditions has already been stated; its confirmation is that Wagner, Puccini, and Strauss are relatively easy to sing today, while Verdi is difficult, Donizetti even more so, and Bellini and Rossini virtually impossible. (Here I am of course referring to the norm for present–day singers. Exceptional performers such as Callas, Horne, Sutherland, Pavarotti, Bruson, and others do not make up the rule.)

To conclude my somewhat hurried and random thoughts, and to answer indirectly the questions of the "Opera Project," I want to make a single, initial proposal to those working professionally in the opera field (musicologists naturally included): to study all the possibilities available to restore the original acoustic conditions to each opera in the place where it is performed, an indispensable preliminary step to re-

covering the suitable vocal technique. Through this initial restoration, it will eventually be possible to restore the vocal procedure for performance—of fundamental importance, as the voice is the most important factor in opera in general, as well as in staging.

One may say that this proposal is a beginning, the end of which lies too far in the future; but if we are to seriously work toward complete respect for the original characteristics of a work of art, there is no other choice. Either leave things as they are (and they are very badly off, if the whole question of *Aufführungspraxis* remains limited to "following-only-what-is-written"; and they will get worse if this procedure is implicitly made legitimate in "critical editions" of scores, with the resulting intellectual authoritarianism that will end up by relegating opera to academic circles and the discourse of "experts," taking it out of the hands of the general public for whom it was written), or seriously begin work at the roots of the problem, going back to the historical, anthropological, and social beginnings of an artistic and cultural phenomenon that to this day receives wide acclaim from an international audience. But this must be done without fanaticism and puritanical attitudes, and above all with an awareness that there are many ways of approaching a work of art and of interpreting it. The ways of grasping it change with the changing society and its problems. On the other hand, in more than a century of theatrical performances the general audience has never doubted the greatness of Rossini, Donizetti, or Verdi, and this audience perceived the meaning of their work—while quite the contrary is true of the savants. It is futile to waste too much time puzzling over the notes alone in the search for the unpublished, so as to formulate partial proposals that touch only superficially upon the problems at hand.

Does my proposal sound like Utopia? Perhaps, but if that is so then Utopia was already implicit in the questionnaire!

Translation by Catherine Matz

NOTE
1 C.f. *Current Musicology* 26 (1978):31-32.

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FRANCESCO CAVALLI IN MODERN EDITION

Ellen Rosand

Even a cursory glance at the history of modern performances of operas composed before 1750 reveals that we are currently in the midst of a Cavalli renaissance. After a silence of nearly three centuries, the past decade has witnessed the performance of at least eleven of the Venetian composer's twenty-seven extant operas, several of which have also been recorded and published in modern editions.[1]

The roots of this renaissance can be traced, in part, to the successful revival in the early 1960s of Monteverdi's Venetian masterpiece, *L'incoronazione di Poppea*. Indeed, the success of various productions of *Poppea*, in established as well as experimental opera houses—an appreciation of the viability and the relevance of *Poppea* for the modern theater—led enterprising conductors and editors to Monteverdi's other Venetian opera, *Il ritorno d'Ulisse*, and thence to the works of Francesco Cavalli. The maestro's closest operatic collaborator and heir, Cavalli had dominated (in fact, all but monopolized) the operatic stage in Venice for the quarter-century following Monteverdi's death, and his works were performed widely throughout Italy and abroad.

The problems involved in resurrecting a Cavalli opera for modern performance are both general and specific. Some of them apply to a revival of any work from the remote past, from a lost tradition. Others relate to the special nature of seventeenth-century opera and to Cavalli in particular.

Performing editions would seem to fall into two general categories, according to the expressed aims of their editors: the "authentic" editions, those in which the editor attempts to re-create the original to the letter, and the manifestly "inauthentic" editions in which the editor justifies his intervention by a desire to make the old work palatable to the audience of today; at best, such an editor might claim his intention to re-create the spirit of the original—a view perhaps analogous to that of the early seventeenth-century monodists who attempted to re-create the "affect" of Greek music, lacking the letter. In fact, these two categories of edition are really not so very different. Even the re-creation of the affect involves some investigation into the nature of the original, and the authenticity of every "authentic" edition is at best hypothetical, determined by interpretation and choices of the modern editor, because the original can never be completely known or understood.

In either case, then, whether we seek to reproduce the original or simply to re-create its affect, we must learn as much about it as possible. Herein lies an important distinction between an opera by Cavalli and

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one, let us say, by Rossini—the one more than twice as remote in time as the other. For, whereas the original Rossini opera may be obscured by a confusing abundance of material—one or more autograph manuscripts; printed editions recording various contemporary performances that may or may not have been supervised by the composer; alterations or interpretations by various editors and conductors; multiple sets of parts carelessly, inconsistently, or incompletely copied—the Cavalli opera is obscured by a dearth of such basic material. Only the bare bones of an original exist. In most cases there is only one manuscript score for any single opera; none of them was printed, and there are no extant parts. Moreover, the scores are obviously skeletal; they contain innumerable short-hand indications and directions and omit many details that were evidently either conventions (assumed by performers), or else left to be indicated orally during rehearsals. In the case of Rossini (as Philip Gossett has amply demonstrated), collation, elimination, pruning, and sorting of material are the chief activities of the editor. Seventeenth-century opera scores, on the other hand, require building up, extension, expansion, fleshing out. For works of this period, intelligent, informed, and sensitive invention is the editor's chief task.

The editor of a Cavalli opera does have recourse to various sources of information concerning original performance practice, of which sources three kinds may be distinguished: musical, textual, and documentary. The primary sources are, of course, the manuscript scores of the operas themselves. The largest and most complete collection of these, the Contarini Collection of the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice, consists of twenty-eight scores, which represent all of Cavalli's extant operas.[2]

The physical appearance of these scores indicates that many of them were closely associated with the composer; seven are largely autographs (some of these certainly composing scores and some used for performances), while eight others, in which Cavalli's hand appears intermittently, obviously relate to specific performances for which the composer was responsible. The remaining scores, in several copyists' hands, are probably contemporary fair copies of autographs or performing scores made under the composer's direction, and thus they too serve to transmit information about early performances.

While the seven autograph scores offer unique and invaluable insights into Cavalli's compositional process, the performing scores, both full and partial autographs, prove more useful to the modern editor; they afford numerous examples of the kinds of changes that were considered appropriate or feasible during the seventeenth century itself.

In addition to the Marciana manuscripts, a number of contemporary manuscript copies are preserved in various other European libraries and private collections. Many of these can be associated with specific performances in cities other than Venice. A copy of *Xerse* in the Bibliothèque

Nationale, for example, clearly records the Paris production of that opera—with ballets by Lully—that took place in 1660 under Cavalli's own direction. The score of another Cavalli opera performed in Paris —indeed, written expressly for that city—*L'Ercole amante*, found its way back to Venice, probably in the composer's trunk. Although it is not an autograph, its close relationship to the specific Paris production of 1662 is documented by the numerous rubrics, written in Cavalli's hand, in an Italianized French—such as "tou douxemans" and "bien fort messieus."[3] Two scores in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (*Egisto* and *Giasone*) probably reflect Hapsburg performances.[4]

Many of these scores provide important information for the modern editor. Comparison with the Venetian scores reveals numerous differences, some of which can surely be attributed to changes in performance conditions or the expectations of a new audience. But none of these manuscripts, close as its association with the composer and with actual contemporary performances might have been, provides enough information for a modern edition.

A typical Cavalli score contains two lines of music: a voice part and a bass. In addition, a number of ritornellos or sinfonias for three-, four-, or five-part strings may be included, as well as an occasional aria or recitative passage with string accompaniment.[5] The score does not provide certain crucial information: bass figures, instrumentation of the continuo, dynamics, phrasing, or tempo indications. Nor are the markings actually found in the score necessarily to be taken at face value. A number of manuscripts, especially the autographs, are obviously short-hand records. Staves are sometimes left empty where string parts are clearly intended, or else an indication like "con violini" may appear. A rubric such as "segue un'altra stroffa" might be the only indication that more than one stanza of an aria was sung.

In short, in order to produce an edition of any one of the operas, an editor must carefully examine all of the Cavalli scores, combine and sift the information they provide, learn from one how to interpret the signs in another, and note the frequency or consistency of conventional formulas for treating various situations. But the scores are not enough. An editor should also examine as many contemporary librettos as possible, for they too afford a valuable source of information about performance practice, both for individual works and in general.

As documents of specific performances, when compared with one another and in association with scores, librettos can offer significant insight into the kinds of alterations possible within the style. Often they indicate passages that were cut in a particular performance (by means of *virgole*, or double-commas); occasionally they even provide information about instrumentation ("con viole")[6] or staging.[7] Quite frequently, moreover, their front matter—dedications and prefaces—provides explanations for

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inconsistencies encountered in some of the manuscript scores; they inform, for example, that a new singer has arrived at the last minute[8] (which would justify certain transpositions found in various manuscripts—a useful precedent for a modern editor), or that certain arias were changed or added "to increase the delight of the audience" (justifying, perhaps, a similar liberty on the part of a modern editor).[9] This kind of information, too, must be carefully collated for it to be of any use to an editor, but it can be invaluable.

Such documents as contracts or pay records for singers and players afford a further source of information regarding the performance practice of these works. Although only a few such documents specifically associated with Cavalli's operas have come to light, others concerning contemporary operas by other composers can also offer relevant information. Among the Cavalli documents, one reveals not only which instruments participated in a performance of *Ciro* in 1664, but, presumably, which players were busiest. Of the three keyboard players, two violinists, one *viola da brazzo* player, one *violetta* player, and two theorboists listed, the highest paid was the first keyboard player, followed by the first violinist and first theorboist.[10] The modern editor can certainly attempt to duplicate the make-up of this orchestra as well as the distribution of activity among the players.

These, then, are the chief sources of historical information available to the modern editor of a Cavalli opera. But they are not sufficient. Many editorial decisions must be determined on the basis of other factors: the demands of special performance conditions, economic considerations, the availability of singers and instrumentalists, and even contemporary taste. The editor has to combine the ideal of historical accuracy with the not–always–cooperative realities imposed by a specific modern situation. His most important initial responsibility is to gain a conception of the work in its original context, to understand its most significant values, and to attempt to preserve and communicate them. Compromise and invention may be inevitable, but "inauthentic" additions or changes are defensible only if they proceed from an appreciation of the values inherent in the original.

As a specific example of the problems and compromises forced upon the editor of a Cavalli opera, I can offer my own experience with *Giasone*, the composer's eleventh work, first performed in Venice in 1649.[11] One overriding concern informed almost all of my editorial decisions: the preservation of the dominant role of the text in all aspects of the production. Cavalli's style, founded upon the *seconda prattica* ideals first enunciated by Monteverdi, finds its *raison d'être* in the text; every musical element functions in its service. Obviously this relationship cannot be perceived unless the meaning of the text is clear to the audience, whether seventeenth-century Venetian or twentieth-century American. Of

the two possible solutions for a non-Italian audience, a singing transla-
tion or a printed translation in libretto form (to be read with the house
lights up during the course of the performance), neither is completely
satisfactory. The former, even if extraordinarily well done, cannot help
but distort or obscure the original meter or rhyme scheme and bring about
subtle alterations of the close music-text relationship; the latter, partic-
ularly in a staged performance, creates an artificial barrier between the
dramatic work of art and the audience, resulting in a loss of responsive
immediacy.[12]

The extraordinary popularity of *Giasone*, probably the most successful
of Cavalli's operas, is indicated by the large number of extant manuscript
copies of the score as well as of librettos published in various cities and
years, many of them exhibiting significant variants.[13] Indeed, there are
more copies of *Giasone* in existence than of any other opera by Cavalli.
The establishment of an "authentic" version of the opera, one as close as
possible to the composer's original conception, is thus somewhat more
complicated than in other cases. The most reliable source, probably
closest to the first Venetian performance, is the Marciana manuscript, one
of those scores that appears to be a fair copy of an autograph or per-
formance score. This, however, does not correspond completely to the
libretto printed for the first performance, for it omits several scenes and
sections of scenes; but music for a few of these omissions appears in an-
other score, that in Vienna. For this reason, as well as for others which
will soon become clear, I chose to collate the Venice and Vienna manu-
scripts. The resulting score was then modified and cut to satisfy the
particular conditions of the performance at hand.

From the point of view of casting, *Giasone* actually presents fewer prob-
lems than do most seventeenth-century operas. Its relatively small cast
of nine requires only one high male voice—an alto—for the title role,
rather than the more usual two or more. (*Poppea* requires two; Cavalli's
Xerse, five!) There are, of course, alternatives to using countertenors in
such roles: the parts can be transposed down an octave for baritone or
bass, or they can be sung at pitch by women. The values inherent in the
original emerge much more strongly if the latter solution is adopted. In
seventeenth-century opera the low male voice—bass or baritone—carries
specific dramatic connotations, which, in fact, persist well into the nine-
teenth century: basses were gods or fathers but not sons, old men but
not young lovers. Lovers are conventionally portrayed by high male
voices—sopranos and altos in the seventeenth and early eighteenth
centuries, tenors later.

Octave transposition of countertenor roles is also inappropriate for
seventeenth-century opera, particularly in scores by Cavalli and Monte-
verdi, because it alters the relationship between characters. Expanding
thirds to tenths and unisons to octaves forces a musical wedge between

lovers, undermining one of these composers' chief dramatic means, the use of vocal rapport as a metaphor for physical and emotional intimacy.

Even when every effort is made to match the abilities of singers to the requirements of their roles, some transposition will probably be necessary. Since overall harmonic consistency and tonal hierarchies are anachronistic to Cavalli's style, transpositions need not fit into a larger tonal scheme. But, like Monteverdi, Cavalli does employ harmony for dramatic purposes. He distinguishes clearly and emphatically between smooth transitions and abrupt juxtapositions from one key to another as a simple, effective analogue of relative sympathy between characters. Characters in agreement—lovers in particular—often converse in the same or closely related keys, while disagreement frequently emerges from sharp harmonic discontinuities. Transpositions that blur such distinctions should certainly be avoided if the composer's own dramatic language is to be heard.

Cavalli's usually unadorned vocal lines can be embellished, particularly at cadences or on long-held notes; ornaments may also serve to vary successive strophes of an aria. But in no case should such additions obscure the meaning of the text. Taking into account the ornamentation treatises of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and the ornamental passages that do appear occasionally in Cavalli's scores, an editor can suggest types of embellishments; but a freer, more affective result is obtained if the singer himself, having considered the appropriate possibilities, invents the ornaments spontaneously.

The sketchiness of the manuscript scores poses a considerable challenge to the editor. Since neither the number nor nature of the continuo instruments, nor the number of strings per part, can be ascertained from these scores, the editor must rely heavily on whatever documentary evidence he can find. For the modern *Giasone* the selection of the continuo group —clearly the backbone of the orchestra in any mid-seventeenth-century opera—was based on documentary evidence tempered by practical considerations. Instead of the three harpsichords sometimes used in Cavalli's day, our *Giasone* used two, each with its own *viola da gamba*.[14] Two *chitarroni* formed a third melodic continuo section. Ideally each group might have been supported by its own *gamba* and *violone*, but this was economically unfeasible—economics always looming large to reduce performance options. A single double bass supported all of the continuo groups.

Concerning stringed instruments, documentary evidence suggests that there was one instrument per part, but also that the number of instruments may have depended, to some extent, upon the size of the theater for which the work was intended. Since most modern theaters are considerably larger than those of seventeenth-century Venice, I felt justified in increasing the number of strings to three per part, although this must have distorted the original balance of strings and continuo. Modern stringed

instruments tuned at modern pitch were used, although, ideally, it might have been nicer to have had Baroque strings—a luxury that seems readily available only in England. In the hope of achieving more of a Baroque sound, however, our modern string players were instructed to play with a minimum of vibrato.

Having decided which instruments are to play, the editor then faces the monumental task of determining how they should be employed. Again, two main considerations informed my decisions: taste and text; I aimed to provide contrast and to follow the meaning of the text and the vicissitudes of the drama as closely and effectively as possible. Thus, for example, in individual scenes, each of the two similar harpsichord continuo groups supported a specific character to enhance dramatic dialogue through antiphony. Both groups could then join together at the conclusions of such scenes or at climactic moments within them. The softer sound of the *chitarroni* group was reserved for the quieter, more intimate passages of the drama, love scenes or dream sequences, for example. Harpsichords alone, without their attendant cellos, accompanied very rapid exchanges, with bass instruments added at points where the bass line became more deliberately measured in response to textual event. The full continuo group was reserved for climactic moments of the drama, such as Medea's Incantation Scene. By this kind of selective use of the continuo instruments, a considerable degree of dramatic contrast could be achieved with the relatively limited means available.

The actual notes to be played by the continuo instruments, beyond the bass figures added editorially, were determined by the players themselves, since they, after all, best know the possibilities of their own instruments. Furthermore, a printed predetermined realization risks imposing rigidity upon a style that depends on flexibility for its effect.

With regard to the string parts, although they appear primarily in the ritornellos and sinfonias of the Venice *Giasone* score, considerable documentary evidence exists for adding them elsewhere. They should certainly be added to the two laments in the opera, Egeo's in act 2 and Isifile's in act 3. The reasons for this are compelling: every known Cavalli opera includes at least one lament, often more than one, and almost all of them call for string accompaniment. In a few instances the parts are not actually written out, but the lament is preceded by the rubric "con violini," or "con viole." The association of strings with lament was a traditional one by the middle of the seventeenth century, reaching back at least as far as that ur-lament, Monteverdi's "Lasciatemi morire."[15] Finally, string parts for Isifile's lament are conveniently provided in the Vienna score of *Giasone*.[16]

In addition to laments, certain types of arias provide opportunities for adding string parts: those arias constructed as a succession of short phrases with relatively lengthy interludes between them. Many such arias

already use strings, alternating in concertato style with the voice until the final phrase, where the two groups combine. Although it may be tempting to add strings whenever Cavalli's ubiquitous recitative moves with lyrical effusion from duple to triple meter, such automatic treatment would undermine the function of simple meter change as an affective means; if strings are reserved for fewer moments, the significance of their contribution assumes greater weight.

During rehearsals of our *Giasone*, the stage director found that in order to accommodate certain stage action he needed more ritornellos than the composer had provided. Cavalli's performance scores themselves offer ample evidence of the insertion of instrumental passages; sometimes these passages seem to have been literally squeezed into the manuscript, probably during rehearsals, to satisfy just such staging requirements. In most cases Cavalli's own ritornellos derive from some measured melodic material from the end of the preceding aria or recitative passage, and it was possible to "create" ritornellos in the same way for our *Giasone*.

One inconsistency in the *Giasone* string parts proved somewhat problematic: for most of the opera the strings are notated in three parts—two trebles and bass; but the overture calls for five-part strings—two trebles, alto, tenor, and bass; and the Viennese score contains five-part strings for Isifile's lament. The economics of modern productions—not altogether different from the seventeenth-century situation—make it impractical to hire two violists to play just five or ten minutes of music during an entire evening; a solution, therefore, must be found: either violinists can double on violas for those few passages in question, or else viola parts can be added to other sections as well. I chose the latter alternative—but still could not keep the violists busy enough for a whole evening.

Perhaps the single most difficult aspect of preparing *Giasone* for modern performance involved cutting it to fit a standard three or three-and-a-half-hour opera evening. Although modern audiences gladly subject themselves to five-hour Wagner performances, they seem (or are expected) to be unwilling to do the same for a Baroque opera. Some reasons for this are obvious and familiar. Text and music are so closely linked that if the former is not clearly and immediately understood, the meaning and impact of the latter are diluted. In addition, Cavalli's (and Monteverdi's) style is a subtle one; the musical contrasts occur on an exceedingly small scale when compared to those of, say, Mozart or Verdi, and in a large theater with modern instruments, many of the subtleties are totally lost. Furthermore, various kinds of editorial intervention, for example the inflation of the orchestra size, completely submerge the contrasts inherent in the original work.[17]

That cuts were made even during the seventeenth century itself is at-

tested by the many printed librettos furnished with double-comma marks (*virgole*) next to lines that were omitted in performance. In addition, contemporary cuts, perhaps made during rehearsal, are actually indicated in many of the Cavalli scores by means of red chalk slashes, some of them probably made by the composer's hand.[18] It is most helpful that in the case of *Giasone*, the Viennese score contains a number of substantial and intelligently-conceived cuts, all of which were adopted in the performing edition.

The task of cutting *Giasone* is unusually difficult because of the libretto's tight dramatic construction. In other operas, even some by Cavalli himself, where the complexities of plot are fewer and more peripheral, cutting is substantially easier. In order to minimize the effect of cuts on the dramatic structure and coherence of *Giasone*, I tried to follow those guidelines I have been discussing. The importance of music-text flow to Cavalli's style suggested that the fabric of the opera would be disturbed less by the omission of entire scenes than by numerous small cuts within them. Yet the isolation of expendable scenes was not easy. Several categories of scenes suggested themselves, however: those involving gods—including the rather lengthy prologue—and those concerned with secondary human characters.

While the divinities originally played a crucial role in motivating and controlling the outcome of early operas, by the mid-seventeenth century they had become vestigial, the human characters having essentially assumed control of their own destinies. Indeed, the Venetian score of *Giasone* fails to include music for several of the Olympian scenes found in the libretto. As it turned out, however, although I cut all of the internal scenes with deities for which music was available, I kept the prologue, as much for its unusually florid and attractive music as for the neat dramatic opportunity it provided: its contest between Apollo and Cupid, articulating the drama of Medea and Isifile, could be personified by the same singers.

The original *Giasone* contained only one other dispensable secondary scene—a female gardener's scene early in the first act, which I omitted. Extraneous to the plot, this character never appears again—except in the Florence manuscript, where another scene for her is inserted in act 2.[19]

Various considerations impeded further cutting of secondary scenes. The very fact that they are peripheral to the plot means that such scenes often provide opportunities for musical variety, for expanded lyrical forms. Serious characters are usually too involved in weaving and then unraveling the threads of the plot to have leisure for singing. Moreover, the important resource of relief from serious events disappears if secondary, often comic, scenes are omitted, thereby accelerating the action unnaturally; and some secondary scenes are dramatically essential be-

cause they allow for the passage of time required by the main action. Finally, secondary scenes often fulfill a practical function; they can be played before a drop-curtain, allowing set-changes to take place behind them.

Within individual scenes themselves, the principal victims of cutting were the multiple strophes of arias. This kind of cutting is also unsatisfactory, however, because it undermines an important contrast: that of the strophic versus the non-strophic aria. Cavalli often defines characters by the kinds of arias they sing, and he also articulates certain dramatic situations, slowing them down or accelerating them through the use of either strophic or through-composed form. It would have been preferable to cut more recitative dialogue (of which there is an extraordinary amount), if only it were not so crucial to an understanding of the plot.

No editor can be completely satisfied with his edition. He can never know if his version is "authentic," or even if it communicates the spirit of the original. Nor is the critical success of his edition—however welcome—likely to prove anything significant about its quality. Nonetheless, it is possible to construct something like an authentic score of a Cavalli opera by taking full advantage of the rich body of source materials available, going beyond the specific score and libretto of the work to seek models and analogues among other contemporary scores and librettos. And something like an effective, authentic performance can be achieved if editorial and performance decisions—on such matters as orchestration, ornamentation, and cuts—are guided primarily by an appreciation of the controlling aspects of the text in the composer's conception of the work. Above all, having established a reasonable score, however imperfectly, and investigated and understood its intrinsic values, however partially, it is the editor's and performers' obligation to take it seriously, to trust it.

NOTES

[1] The following Cavalli operas have been recorded: *L'Erismena* (Cambridge, 1968), *L'Ormindo* (Argo, 1969), *La Calisto* (Argo, 1972), and *L'Egisto* (Eurodisc, 1973). For the first two recordings see Carl Schmidt's review in *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24 (1971):313-17.

Piano-vocal scores of three operas edited by Raymond Leppard have been published by Faber, London. These are: *L'Ormindo* (1969), *La Calisto* (1975), and *L'Egisto* (1977). A fourth opera, *L'Eritrea*, edited by Jane Glover for Oxford University Press, London, is in press.

[2] There are two copies of *Erismena*. For a discussion of the Cavalli scores in the Contarini Collection, see Jane Glover, *Cavalli* (London: Batsford, 1978), pp. 63-72.

[3] See Henry Prunières, *Cavalli et l'opéra vénitien au XVIIᵉ siècle* (Paris: Rieder, 1931), facsimile 4.

4 For relationships between Cavalli scores not in the Contarini Collection and performances outside Venice, see Lorenzo Bianconi, "Caletti (Caletti-Bruni), Pietro Francesco, detto Cavalli," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 16 (1973):686-96.

5 Facsimiles 2 and 3 in Prunières, *Cavalli*, reproduce pages from Cavalli's autograph scores. See also Glover, *Cavalli*, facsimile 1.

6 See, for example, Luigi Zorzisto (Giulio Strozzi), *Veremonda, l'amazzone di Aragona* (Venice: Giuliani, 1652), act 3, scene 7, p. 83.

7 An intriguing example—one that shows not only that stage directions were included in librettos but also that they were countermanded if proven unsuccessful— occurs in a libretto by Aurelio Aureli, *La costanza di Rosmonda* (Venice: Valvasense, 1659). At the back of the libretto, in a note to the reader, Aureli states: "Nella Scena XIV, dell' Atto Primo dove dice Clitennestra sopra una Loggia, s'è pensato di farla comparire in scena per esponerla à gli occhi di tutti, & in particolare à quelli, che saranno ne i palchi."

8 See, for example, the note to the reader in Aurelio Aureli, *Gli amori infrutuosi di Pirro* (Venice: Nicolini, 1661): ". . . Per esser il Signor Clemente arrivato in tempo ch'erano già dispensate le parti del Drama, m'è convenuto inserirlo nell'uno, e nell'altro al meglio, che ha potuto permettere la brevità del tempo."

9 See, among other examples, the publication entitled *Nuovo prologo et ariette aggiunte all'Elena* (Venice: Giuliani, 1659), note to the reader: "Per maggiormente dilettare chi si porta ad ascoltare . . . si è fatto un nuovo prologo & aggiunte e mutate diverse Ariete. . . . Mia penna non hà havuto altro ogetto, che dilettarti con la novità."

10 Venice, Archivio di Stato, Scuola grande di San Marco, b. 194, c. 268. The document is discussed in Janet Beat, "Monteverdi and the Opera Orchestra of his Time," *The Monteverdi Companion*, eds. Denis Arnold and Nigel Fortune (London: Faber and Faber, 1968):285.

11 My edition, commissioned by the Clarion Music Society, was designed for two very different sets of conditions: a fully staged production in the eighteenth-century Teatro Accademico, Castelfranco Veneto, Italy (September 1976), and a concert performance in Alice Tully Hall, New York (January 1977). Both performances were conducted by Newell Jenkins.

12 The New York production of *Giasone*, because it was a concert performance, used this second solution fairly successfully.

13 For a list of extant manuscript copies of *Giasone*, as well as of other Cavalli operas, see Glover, *Cavalli*, p. 158f.

14 Both performances used cellos instead of *viole da gamba* because they were more readily available and created a better balance with our modern violins.

15 See my article, "The Descending Tetrachord: An Emblem of Lament," *Musical Quarterly* (in press).

16 Osterreichisches Nationalbibliothek, MS M 796/75, ff. 167v-172v.

17 Concerning the danger of obscuring Cavalli's contrasts, see my review of Leppard's edition of *La Calisto* in *Music Review* 38 (1977):138-42.

18 A close study of these cuts might provide information about which musical relationships were considered most significant during the seventeenth century itself, and could be very useful to a modern editor intent upon preserving the spirit of the original work.

19 Florence, Biblioteca nazionale, MS B.R. 33 (Magl. XIX, 20), act 2, scene 10, p. 157.

MINATO AND THE VENETIAN
OPERA LIBRETTO

Edward R. Rutschman

On 6 March 1637, the fee-paying general public had its first taste of opera with the opening of the Teatro San Cassiano in Venice. This first course must have been a good one, for by the mid-1650s several theaters were providing a steady diet of theatrical entertainment. The initial venture of the Rome-based opera company of Ferrari and Manelli had been successful, and operas were being produced at a rate hitherto unknown. During the decades of the '40s, '50s, and '60s, far-reaching changes took place in the structure of opera, due in part to the changing relationship between the composer and the librettist.

The importance of the librettist in the creation of an opera must not be overlooked; one does well to heed the caution of Einstein: "Who could write a history of the opera without knowing the history of the libretto?"[1] The librettist had the first opportunity to define the structure and set the tone of the work by providing the composer with a suitable text. He shared with the machine maker, not with the composer, the credit for the production of a new work, if, indeed, he had to share it at all. The composer often had to be satisfied with indirect references to his work in the librettist's preface to the printed libretto. Such laudatory phrases as *il miracolo della musica* may have been considered sufficient contemporary allusion to the composer, but they are a frustration to the modern scholar working three centuries after the event. Instead, one must rely on contemporary diaries or on chronologies, which sometimes raise as many problems as they solve.[2] Since the librettist was responsible for printing the libretto at his own expense (and for his own financial gain), it is understandable that he usually used his preface to expound his own views on the theater and, in the case of Minato, to provide a catalogue of his works.

Nicolò Minato, one of the most prolific librettists of all time, began his career in Venice and concluded it in Vienna.[3] Although his activity as a librettist is well documented through surviving printed librettos, little biographical information is available from other sources. Born in Bergamo, he was apparently of a noble family, for he signed the dedication of his first libretto, *Orimonte* (1650): "Nicolò Minato Co[nte]."[4] Caffi's statement that Minato was a lawyer[5] is corroborated by Minato's own claim in the preface to *Orimonte* that this is a work written by an amateur whose real calling is the forum.[6]

Minato wrote twelve librettos for Venetian theaters between 1650 and 1668, and more than 150 works are attributed to him in his capacity as

poet to the Hapsburg court between 1669 and 1698.[7] Of the Venetian librettos, Cavalli set eight and Sartorio three, including the two-opera cycle *La prosperità di Elio Sejano* and *La caduta di Elio Sejano* (both 1667), the cycle being designed for performance on two consecutive evenings. These were followed by *Tiridate*, a libretto for Legrenzi, in 1668.[8] Minato was not forgotten in Venice after he moved to Vienna; such works as *Ifide Greca*, first set by Draghi in Vienna in 1670 and then provided with a Venetian setting as a *pasticcio* by Partenio, Sartorio, and Freschi in 1671, helped keep the poet's name alive.

Minato's place in the history of the libretto is unsettled. One common critical view holds that the development of the Venetian libretto after Busenello, creator of the brilliant characterizations so well matched by the music of Monteverdi in *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, suffered an overwhelming decline. If one thinks of the librettos of the '40s, '50s, and '60s solely as literature, this view cannot be denied, but apparently few considered the libretto even to be a form of literature. While it is true that Busenello published a collected edition of his own librettos shortly before his death,[9] his action was highly unusual. Minato, by contrast, declared in his preface to *Xerse* (1654) that he was writing for no other end than his own caprice,[10] and two years later, in the preface to *Artemisia* (1656), he stated that he wished his audience to form an opinion of the work by seeing it on the stage rather than by reading it in print.[11] There is evidence that Minato changed his attitude about the role of the libretto after the failure of his first effort, for he never claimed paternity for *Orimonte* in his lists of works in later prefaces. Indeed, in the preface to *Xerse* the poet makes it clear that he has abandoned the more stylized language that he had been accustomed to employ in other contexts.[12]

As early as 1643 the librettist Bartolini, in his preface to *Venere Gelosa*, claimed to be able and apparently considered it necessary "with the diversity of meters and with the correctness of words to provoke the whimsicality"[13] of the composer. He was inspired, no doubt, by the whimsicality of a fee-paying public that required a substantial catalogue of entertainments: scenes of hunting, sacrifice, battle, death, prison; machines for rapid changes of scenery and appearances of deities; occasions for disguise and deception; poetry with a precious tone for communicating amorous sentiments, and strophic texts for arias.

Minato met these requirements by providing a mixture of the two types of plot most common in the 1650s: mythological or historical subjects and incredible agglutinations of episodes and subplots based on romantic intrigue. Incidents based on historical sources excused the *accidenti verisimili*, plausible occurrences that, one might say, filled gaps found in classical sources. The *accidenti verisimili* are often stated separately from the historical source material in the plot synopsis of the

printed libretto, and these episodes are sometimes as beguiling as episodes in Herodotus.

After finding this formula successful with *Xerse*, Minato continued to provide pseudo-historical librettos for the duration of his Venetian career; his Venetian works continue in somewhat altered form even into the next century. In his willingness to learn from the failure of the style of *Orimonte* and his readiness to provide what his audience expected, Minato was not alone among contemporary librettists; there is evidence that on at least one occasion a relatively inexperienced librettist parodied an entire libretto, seeking a model for success.[14]

Since the drama begins *in medias res*, a body of before-the-fact material must gradually be revealed in the course of the action by means of sealed letters, picture lockets, and old trusted servants with good memories. Some such ploy is frequently needed to convince the local tyrant to commute the sentence that he has just delivered, thereby making possible the required happy ending. This latter requirement was so rigid that the plot of Dido and Aeneas as told by Busenello ended with the reconciliation of Dido with her previous suitor rather than ending with the death of Dido. A Venetian libretto with a tragic ending, Aureli's *Eliogabalo*, though set to music by Cavalli, was apparently never performed.[15]

Minato's *Artemisia* (1656, music by Cavalli) shows a level of complexity not at all uncommon. The only historical pretext is the existence of the Mausoleum, built by Artemisia, Queen of Caria, to house the ashes of her dead husband, Mausolus. Minato explains in his preface that, in contrast to his *Xerse* of two years earlier, "drawn from a famous author" (Herodotus), *Artemisia* consists of "pure invention."[16] Actually, the plot of *Xerse* also contains a good deal of Minato's own invention, though it is broadly based on substantial historical incidents. Minato justifies his *accidenti verisimili* by claiming that he follows Aristotle in being willing to base pretense on history.[17] Accordingly, his assumptions are numerous:

> Meraspe, Prince of Cappadocia, has accidentally but mortally wounded Mausolus in single-handed combat. Artemisia issues an edict that whoever captures or kills Meraspe will become her protector to arrange her second marriage. She herself has no desire to remarry, but her subjects and counselors wish it. The hunted Meraspe becomes enamored of Artemisia and comes to serve as her page, disguised as the widower Clitarco. Artemisia, preparing for war with Phrygia, makes Alindo, Prince of Bithynia, her general. He falls in love with her. Meanwhile, the princess Artemia, a love-stricken vassal of Meraspe, and Ramiro, a second vassal who pursues Artemia, penetrate Meraspe's disguise. Oronta, Princess of Cypress,

having been spurned by Alindo, disguises herself as a soldier named Aldimiro, who has fled from pirates. She discovers the love of Alindo for Artemisia.[18]

The opera begins in this state of affairs.

In view of one's initial reaction that the length and complexity of the *antefatto* matter are too great for the audience to absorb, it is tempting to assume that portions of the plot were topical. The assumption becomes more attractive when one encounters reports that in his Viennese librettos of the 1670s, '80s, and '90s, Minato frequently satirized the royal family and members of the court, sometimes rather daringly. The Brussels copy of Minato's libretto to *La lanterne di Diogene* (1674) contains hand-written annotations that provide a key to most of the characters in the drama, including allegorical appearances of the Emperor himself (Leopold I), Louis XIV, and Charles XI of Sweden.[19] To date, any analogous Venetian key is lacking, and the question of what part political subjects play in Minato's Venetian librettos remains a matter for speculation.[20] However, a comic scene from Minato's Venetian *Scipione Affricano* (1664), act 2, scene 10, seems to be a parody of the precious language of Venetian librettos in general. Satire directed against individuals and based on recent events would be plausible as well.

The use of disguise to complicate the intrigue in *Artemisia*, particularly the transvestite disguise of the princess Oronta as a soldier, is a favorite device of Minato. His *Elena*, produced three years after *Artemisia* and based on a scenario of the late Faustini, employs four disguise roles, three of them transvestite. In Cavalli's musical setting the roles of Menelaus, disguised as a woman, and Hippolita, dressed as a man, are both soprano roles. The casting of a male soprano to play Menelaus and a female soprano to sing Hippolita would enhance the plausibility of the respective disguises. To a public accustomed to attend the opera in disguise during the Carnival season, the use of disguises on stage would present few problems of credibility.

Minato has sometimes been credited with introducing the regular and clear distinction between recitative and aria texts. Anna Amalie Abert considers that with Minato, "the separation of music and drama is complete."[21] Starting with his first printed libretto, *Orimonte* (1650), Minato makes a distinction between passages that advance the action and passages that provide an opportunity for a character to reflect on the progress of the plot. This in itself is nothing new, but the poet is progressive in his means. The recitative texts are in the standard seven- and eleven-syllable lines, freely mixed, while aria texts are variable in construction. Minato's aria texts often consist of two strophes, unlike those of earlier librettists, frequently written in several strophes. The earlier strophic texts, moreover, often showed less contrast to their surroundings in meter or con-

tent than do Minato's texts. Cavalli's musical settings of the aria texts confirm Minato's progressive tendencies. The composer sometimes ignored strophic passages in the texts of his earlier librettists and set some or all of the strophes as recitative, but he rarely ignored a strophe of Minato, seeming to agree with Minato on the function of a strophic text.

Minato's librettos followed the general pattern set by Busenello and Faustini in borrowing elements of the Spanish drama: separation of the action into three acts; frequent changes of time and place; alternation or even mixing of serious and comic; and frequent interruption of the flow of the action from scene to scene. The Aristotelian unities were freely and openly avoided.

Venetian comic characters step directly out of the *commedia dell'arte* and the Spanish drama and have their roots in the Roman New Comedy of Plautus and Terence: the old nurse, the clever slave, the stutterer. Often the comic scenes center on the attempts of the old nurse to seduce the young page, or in the case of Minato's *Scipione Affricano*, act 2, scene 9, one of the serious characters disguised as a page. Though some librettists introduced obscenity into their comic scenes to such an extent that they felt obliged to justify its use in libretto prefaces,[22] Minato's servants are generally rather restrained in their farcical banter. They are rarely as suggestive as in *Pompeo Magno*, act 2, scene 12, where Atrea, the old nurse, says to the servant Delfo (played by a castrato in Cavalli's setting of the libretto): "Believe me, if your weren't a castrato, you would be a billy goat."[23]

In order to organize the kaleidoscopic mixing of ingredients that is characteristic of the Italian opera libretto of the mid-seventeenth century, Minato tried various schemes to unify the libretto at various levels. At first his concern appeared primarily at the local level, in attempts to unify entire scenes by means of refrain lines. *Orimonte*, act 3, scene 14, for instance, has no fewer than five separate refrain lines, four of which appear in a regularly rotating fashion during the second half of the scene. After *Orimonte*, and in accordance with Minato's general change of attitude toward the function of the libretto, the poet concentrated on larger structural spans in his search for unity. The strong parallels between the main plot and the subplot in *Artemisia* become fully parallel plots in *Scipione Affricano* and *Mutio Scevola*. Of the latter two works, *Scipione Affricano*, with its transitions from one plot to the other, has a somewhat higher degree of integration than *Mutio Scevola*, where the two plots are generally exclusive of one another.[24]

The comic scenes in *Artemisia* further indicate Minato's search for unifying devices: six comic scenes dispersed among the last two acts form an extended subplot which is related to neither the main plot nor the principal subplot. To foster clarity Minato tends to place comic

scenes and solo scenes at the beginning or the end of a scenographic set, where they do not disturb the mechanism of the main plot.

As part of a general trend toward an increased number of arias and a growing interest in the exit aria in the later *seicento*, Minato's Venetian librettos exhibit some progressive characteristics, the most striking of which is the distribution of arias within the scene. In the six librettos *Orimonte* (1650), *Xerse* (1654), *Artemisia* (1656), *Scipione Affricano* (1664), *Mutio Scevola* (1665), and *Pompeo Magno* (1666), entrance arias consistently comprise about half of the total number of aria texts. Arias in the middle of the scene, those arias that neither begin nor conclude the business of the scene, range from a high of nearly one in three in *Artemisia* to a low of one in twelve in *Scipione Affricano*. Scene-ending arias, usually but not always followed by an exit, mushroom from about twenty percent of the total number of arias in the former to nearly fifty percent in the latter of these two works.

Solo scenes decline from a high of one scene in four in *Orimonte* to the much lower rate of two solo scenes per sixty-scene libretto in *Mutio Scevola* and *Pompeo Magno*, the last two librettos that Minato provided for Cavalli. This corroborates information contained in a letter of Ziani, dating from 1665, that audiences are tired of long monologues.[25]

In summary, the Venetian librettos of Minato are significant examples of mid-century attitudes toward plot, source material, and the use of disguises, and they are progressive in their handling of aria texts and in their concern for structure.

The growing series of modern revivals of *seicento* operas now includes Minato's *Scipione Affricano*[26] and *Pompeo Magno*,[27] both set by Cavalli. This opportunity to evaluate the work of Venetian librettists in a proper setting is becoming more frequent, and should not be missed.

NOTES

[1] Alfred Einstein, *The Italian Madrigal*, 3 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 1:vi.

[2] See, for example, Thomas Walker, "Gli errori di *Minerva al tavolino*," in *Venezia e il melodramma nel seicento*, ed. Maria Teresa Muraro (Florence: Olschki, 1976), pp. 7-20, for observations on a problematic Venetian chronology dating from the 1680s. See also Nino Pirrotta, "Early Venetian Libretti at Los Angeles," in *Essays in Musicology in Honor of Dragan Plamenac on his 70th Birthday*, ed. Gustave Reese and Robert J. Snow (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1969), pp. 237-38, concerning further difficulties that chronologies can present.

[3] Although there is as yet no full-scale work on Minato's librettos, several individual works have received treatment: *Xerse* in Martha Novak Clinkscale, "Pier Francesco Cavalli's *Xerse*" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1970); Wolfgang Osthoff, "Haendels 'Largo' als Musik des goldenen Zeitalters," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 30 (1973):175-89; and Harold Powers, "Il Serse trasformato," *Musical Quarterly* 47 (1961):481-92 and 48 (1962):73-92. *Mutio Scevola* has been investigated in Harold Powers, "Il Mutio tramutato. Part I: Sources and Libretto," in *Venezia e il melo-*

dramma, pp. 227-58 and Robert Freeman, "Opera without Drama: Currents of Change in Italian Opera, 1675 to 1725, and the Roles Played Therein by Zeno, Caldara, and Others" (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1967), pp. 114-25. A view on *Seleuco* may be found in Robert Freeman, "Apostolo Zeno's Reform of the Libretto," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968):335-37. The Viennese works are treated in Carlotta Elisabetta Salzer, "Teatro italiano in Vienna barocca," *Rivista italiano del dramma* (1938):47-70, and idem, "Il teatro allegorico italiano à Vienna," *Rivista italiana del dramma* (1939):65-84.

4 Nicolò Minato, *L'Orimonte / Drama per musica / del / Co: Nicolò Minato. / All'Illustriss. & Eccellentiss. Sig. / Girolamo / Contarini. / Fù del Eccellentiss. Sig. Bertuzzi* (Venice, 1650).

5 Francesco Caffi, *Storia della musica sacra nella già cappella ducale di San Marco in Venezia dal 1318 al 1797*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1854), 1:280.

6 "Sappi, ch'io non sò del Poeta. Le mie applicationi sono nel Foro."

7 See the listings in Anna Amalie Abert, "Minato," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 9 (1961): cols. 348-49; Alfred Orel, "Draghi," *MGG* 3 (1954): cols. 735-57; and Franz Hadamowsky, *Barocktheater am Wiener Kaiserhof* (Vienna: A. Sexl, 1955), pp. 75-100.

8 *Tiridate* is Minato's *rifacimento* of Bentivoglio's *Zenobia e Radamisto* (1665). See Claudio Sartori, "Legrenzi," *MGG* 8 (1960): col. 480.

9 Giovanni Francesco Busenello, *Delle hore ociose di Gio: Francesco Busenello* (Venice: Giuliani, 1656).

10 ". . . sappi, ch'io non scrivo ad altro fine, che del mio solo capriccio," Nicolò Minato, *Xerse. / Drama per musica / Nel Teatro / A. SS. Gio: E Paolo / Per l'Anno MDCLIV / Dedicato / All'illusstrissimo, & Eccellentissimo Signor / Marchese / Cornelio / Bentivoglio* (Venice: Leni, 1654).

11 "Mi dichiaro però, che più bramo, che ne formi opinione vedendolo in Scena, che leggendolo in fogli." Nicolò Minato, *Artemisia / Drama per musica / Nel Teatro / A SS. Gio: E Paolo / Per l'Anno MDCLVI. / Consecrato / Alla Ser: Real Altezza / di Ferdinando Carlo / Arciduca d'Austria, & c.* (Venice: Giuliani, 1656). Freeman, "Apostolo Zeno's Reform," pp. 323-24, note 9, quotes a lengthy, amusing protest against the libretto as literature from a libretto of a somewhat later period, the anonymous *La serva favorita* of 1689.

12 "Cosi apunto m'è sortito di comporre questo Drama: nel quale havrei saputo adoprar frasi più sollevate, discorsi più allungati, figure, traslati, & altri freggi da me conosciuti per essentiali in altra forma di compositioni, mà come stimati, in quelli di tal sorte, dannosi, in questo à bello studio abbandonati." Minato, preface to *Xerse.*

13 ". . . con la diversità de' metri e con la proprietà delle parole d'irritare la bizzaria di chi doveva accompagnarle con le note." Niccolò Bartolini, preface to *Venere gelosa* (Venice: Surian, 1643).

14 See Ellen Rosand, " 'Ormindo travestito' in *Erismena*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975):268-91, for evidence of Aureli's modeling of *Erismena* on Faustini's *Ormindo*.

15 See Lorenzo Bianconi, "Caletti," *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* 16 (Rome, 1974):689, for speculations on the reason for the withdrawal of *Eliogabalo* before it ever reached the stage.

16 "In quel Drama [*Xerse*] ti reccai qualche accidente tratto da famosissimo Autore, ch'in altro Idioma lo scrisse: in questo tutto ciò, ch'io t'apporto è di mia pura inventione."

17 "Hora seguendo i documenti del Maestro del tutto Aristotele, volendo, come egli insegna, fingere sopra l'istoria." Minato, *Artemisia, argomento.*

18 Ibid.

[19] The entire key appears in Alfred Wotquenne, *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique de Bruxelles*, Annexe I, *Libretti d'opéras et d'oratorios italiens du XVIIᵉ siècle* (Brussels, 1901), p. 90. A somewhat different key appears in Paul Nettl, "Exzerpte aus der Raudnitzer Textbüchersammlung," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 7 (1920):143-44. See also the comments on Minato's *Il fuoco eterno custodito dalle Vestali* in Salzer, "Il teatro allegorico," pp. 80-82.

[20] For speculations on possible allegory in Sbarra's *Alessandro vincitor di se stesso*, see Wolfgang Osthoff, "Antonio Cestis *Alessandro vincitor di se stesso*," *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 24 (1960):22-23.

[21] Anna Amalie Abert, *Monteverdi und das musikalische Drama* (Lippstadt: Kistner und Siegel, 1954), p. 305.

[22] See Adolf Sandberger, "Zur venezianischen Oper," *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* 32 (1925):62.

[23] "Credimi, se non fosse, che castrato tu sei, saresti un capro." Nicolò Minato, *Pompeo / Magno. / Drama per musica / Nel Teatro à S. Salvatore / Per l'Anno 1666. / Dedicato / A Madama Illustriss. & Eccellentiss. / D. Maria Mancini / Colonna, / Prencipessa Romana, Duchessa / di Tagliacozzo, &c.* (Venice: Nicolini, 1666).

[24] On the relationship between the two plots in *Mutio Scevola*, see Powers, *"Il Mutio tramutato,"* pp. 234-37.

[25] Sandberger, "Zur venezianischen Oper," *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* 31 (1924):63.

[26] An edition by Claude Genetay was performed at the Drottningholm Court Theater in 1972 and at the Central City Festival, Central City, Colorado in 1975.

[27] An edition by Thomas Walker was produced by Denis Stevens for BBC radio in 1975.