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## VOCAL SONATA FORMS OF MOZART

*Nachum Schoffman*

In discussions of the vocal works of the second half of the 18th century and their relationship with sonata form,<sup>1</sup> a certain anomaly seems to have developed. It is acknowledged that opera—as well as the canzona, the suite, and the Italian overture—is one of the sources of the sonata and the symphony. This is stated categorically.<sup>2</sup> Influence in the opposite direction—that of the sonata-form model on the form of vocal works—is described, if at all, with a great many reservations.

This is especially true in the literature on the vocal works of Mozart, particularly in that on the ensembles and finales in his operas. Sometimes the works are analyzed with a separate terminology specific to vocal music: *strophe*, *da capo*, *ritornello*, etc.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the forms are said to be so various as to defy classification.<sup>4</sup> In still other cases, the masterful dramaturgy of the ensembles is described as the result of a symphonic technique, or the workings of a symphonic principle.<sup>5</sup> When ensembles are defined as actually in sonata form, detailed descriptions of deviations from the standard model qualify the definition, at times almost to the point of retracting it altogether.<sup>6</sup>

Yet the same sort of deviation, when encountered in instrumental works, causes no such dilemma. It is a commonplace of critical writing that hardly any specific instrumental work of the Classic era conforms precisely to the standard model of sonata form.<sup>7</sup> On the contrary, such diversity is evidence of the vitality of the sonata, and is one aspect of its pervasive influence on all the musical thought of the 18th century.

Why, then, cannot the vocal works of Mozart be approached with the same assumptions? If we postulate that the implied model, the norm, is sonata form, just as we do with instrumental works, perhaps the vocal music might be seen in a new light.

The first prerequisite for this undertaking is the formulation of a relevant definition of sonata form, against which we can measure specific works. The modern definition, refined by two centuries of historical perspective, is not necessarily the most applicable; nor does it necessarily conform to the model of the 18th-century mind.

The feature which many still consider most characteristic of sonata form—the duality and contrast of themes—was not described as central until 1837 by Marx<sup>8</sup> and 1840 by Czerny.<sup>9</sup> Most definitions of sonata form contemporary with Mozart deal with the harmonic and not the thematic aspects of the form. A sonata was described as a series of key areas.<sup>10</sup> By far the most complete and important such description is that of Koch,<sup>11</sup> which we may safely use as representative of the genre.

But a definition of sonata form that takes no cognizance of thematic contrasts or thematic development would hardly suffice to describe works by Mozart, nor would it satisfy 20th-century minds. Bathia Churgin has recently published Galeazzi's description of sonata form of 1796, which combines the tonal with the thematic aspects.<sup>12</sup> This may serve to bridge the gap between 18th- and 20th-century conceptions.

If we are willing to admit that no sonata conforms in all its aspects with a standard model, how much more so is this true of the works of Mozart himself. His variants of the model manifest themselves in at least three areas: (1) a longer and more complex development section than is warranted by the minimal standard model; (2) motivic unity between themes, and motivic development; and (3) a non-verbatim recapitulation or a recapitulation of the themes in reverse order. (In reference to this last, even 18th-century definitions admit the possibility of recapitulating only the second theme.<sup>13</sup>)

For a first example, we will consider the *Graduale ad Festum*, K. 273.<sup>14</sup> This work conforms quite closely even to "textbook" sonata form, with the exception of one detail: the recapitulation presents the themes in reverse order. The recapitulation begins at m. 48, with the reprise of m. 17 in the tonic. Later, at m. 57, comes the reprise of m. 1. If the work is analyzed from the point of view of key areas, as required by the definition of Koch and his contemporaries, it satisfies most of the criteria. This is shown below in tabular form:

| Koch's description <sup>15</sup>  | m.    | keys   | deviations from Koch   |
|---|-------|--------|--|
| ... the first period of the movement, after the tonic has been stressed enough to the emotions ...      | 1-8   | I      |  |
| ... modulates to the fifth and ... dwells and ends there.   | 9-30  | V      | The modulation to the dominant occurs a bit early, at the end of the first period. |
| The second period begins again in the key of the fifth ... but modulates to the minor key of the sixth. | 31-47 | V-II-V | Modulates instead to the weak key of the supertonic.                               |

| Koch's description <sup>15</sup>   | m.    | keys | deviations from Koch   |
|--|-------|------|--|
| The third period begins again with the initial theme and in the principal key . . .                    | 48-56 | I    | The thematic material is not from the beginning, but from the "second period." |
| Now finally the concluding period follows, which primarily is heard in the principal key of the piece. | 57-73 | I    | Here the thematic material from the beginning is recapitulated.                |

An analysis according to Galeazzi's description shows an even closer conformity with the 18th-century criteria of sonata form:

| Galeazzi's description <sup>16</sup>  | m.    | keys | deviations from Galeazzi  |
|---|-------|------|---|
| 26. The Introduction  | —     | —    | None. In the musical example given by Galeazzi, there is also no introduction.  |
| 27. The Motive  | 1-8   | I    |   |
| 28. The Second Motive . . . also sometimes serves to lead out of the key, terminating in the dominant of the key or the relative major of minor keys.   | 9-16  | V    | The modulation to the dominant occurs a bit early, at the end of the Motive.  |
| 29. The Departure from the Key follows either immediately after the Second Motive, or with it, if there is one, or else immediately after the true Motive.  | —     | —    | Galeazzi allows the option of moving to the dominant at the end of the Motive, as here.   |
| 30. The Characteristic Passage  | 17-24 | V    | Galeazzi explains that this should be "una nuova idea." In his own musical example, this idea is not entirely new; it is more so in K. 273. |
| 31. The Cadential Period  | 24-30 | V    |   |
| 32. Coda  | —     | —    | None.   |
| 33. . . . the first part always closes in the dominant of the principal key.  | 31    | V    |   |
| 34. The second part then also begins with its motive, which it can do in four different ways. . . . 2. Beginning the second part with the same motive as the first, transposed to the fifth of the key. | 31-36 | V    |   |



| Galeazzi's description <sup>16</sup>   | m.    | keys   | deviations from Galeazzi   |
|--|-------|--------|--|
| 35. The Modulation   | 37-47 | V-II-V |  |
| 36. The Reprise . . . if one does not want to make the composition too long, then it shall be enough to repeat instead the Characteristic Passage transposed to the same fundamental key.  | 48-56 | I      | This is Galeazzi's second option: a reprise of m. 17 ff., but with a new, chromatic formula, mm. 54-56.  |
| 37. Repetition of the last three periods of the first part is made transposing them to the principal key, and writing them after each other, in the same order they had in the first part. | 57-69 | I      | Recapitulation of the Motive, mm. 57-62, with the new chromatic cadential formula, mm. 63-65, followed by a recapitulation of the Cadential Period, mm. 65-69. |
| 38. The Coda   | 69-73 | I      |  |

In his article on the forms of Mozart arias, Hans Zingerle states that "with more or less extended 'through-composed' texts, in order to conclude the work, the first strophe is recapitulated da-capo-style."<sup>17</sup> One of the examples he gives is "Voi che sapete" from *Le nozze di Figaro*. The question arises: why must a recapitulation be characterized as da capo style and not, in close conformity with the mental climate of Mozart's time, as sonata style? The key areas of the aria, and the melodic content of its periods, may be delineated as follows:<sup>18</sup>

| measures | keys      | melodic content |
|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| 1-8      | I         | introduction    |
| 9-20     | I         | A               |
| 21-28    | V         | B               |
| 29-36    | V         | C               |
| 37-44    | VII       | D               |
| 45-52    | VII-II-VI | E               |
| 53-61    | IV-V-VI-V | F               |
| 62-77    | I         | A               |
| 78-79    | I         | coda            |

The series ABCDEFA seems to justify the use of the term "through-composed." This is certainly not a da-capo aria. Although the proportions are all wrong for a sonata, the succession of key areas is, nevertheless, reminiscent of the sonata model: tonic moving to dominant; an area of modulations; return to the tonic at the recapitulation of the primary melodic material.

An even more interesting example of the same phenomenon is found in the second movement of the *Vesperae solennes de Confessore*, K. 339, the "Confitebor."<sup>19</sup> At first glance this might also seem to be a "through-composed" piece, i.e., a continuing succession of new melodic ideas in each period, brought to an elegant conclusion by a relatively late recapitulation of the opening material. However, analysis with the criteria of Koch and Galeazzi again shows that the work conforms to the 18th-century definition of sonata form:

| Koch   | m.     | keys        | deviations  |
|--|--------|-------------|---|
| The first period   | 1-9    | I           |   |
| ... modulates to the fifth. . .  | 10-14  | I-V         |   |
| ... dwells and ends there.   | 15-23  | V           |   |
| The second period  | 24-80  | modulations | Although the submediant is touched upon, most of the modulations are to the dominant and subdominant. As expected in Mozart, the development section is greatly extended, containing solo passages and much new material. |
| The third period   | 81-89  | I           |   |
| The concluding period  | 89-102 | I           |   |
| Galeazzi   | m.     | keys        | deviations  |
| 26. The Introduction   | —      | —           | None.   |
| 27. The Motive   | 1-9    | I           |   |
| 28. The Second Motive . . . is not essential.                                | —      | —           | None.   |
| 29. The Departure from the Key.  | 10-14  | I-II-V      |   |
| 30. The Characteristic Passage   | 15-20  | V           |   |
| 31. Cadential Period   | 20-23  | V           |   |
| 32. Coda   | 23-24  | V           |   |
| 33. . . . the first part always closes in the dominant of the principal key. | 24     | V           |   |

| Galeazzi  | m.     | keys        | deviations |
|---|--------|-------------|------------|
| 34. The Second Part. One may begin the second part with some passages freely taken from the first.  | 24-34  | modulations |            |
| 35. Modulations   | 35-80  | modulations |            |
| 36. Reprise . . . it is necessary that the motive itself be conducted gradually to the subdominant of the key, and then make a cadence on the dominant. | 81-89  | I           |            |
| 37. Repetition of the last three periods of the first part  | 89-102 | I           |            |

Such analyses, although they do demonstrate conformity with 18th-century criteria, cannot show all the details of construction. For example, Mozart apparently planned the pattern of reprises around the fact that the text of the psalm contains the same phrase twice: "manet in saeculum saeculi."<sup>20</sup> The exposition concludes with the special phrase reserved for this line of text, mm. 20-23 (Galeazzi's "Cadential Period"), in the dominant, in which the word "manet" is repeated over and over. This is repeated at mm. 72-75, again in the dominant, as the conclusion of a series of modulations, coinciding with the last verse of the psalm. Finally, with great adroitness, it is repeated in its correct place in the recapitulation, mm. 95-100, in the tonic, but now on the word "amen." The vowel sounds of "manet" and "amen" being the same, the vocalization of this cadential phrase sounds exactly like a recapitulation. There is an implied pun in the fact that the recapitulation begins at the words "sicut erat in principio."<sup>21</sup> Explication of the relationships between the recapitulations and the Doxology text in the entire *Vespers* would require a separate study.

In the foregoing analyses, less attention has been paid to thematic contrast than to recapitulation patterns. The point has been to show that these recapitulations grow out of a sonata concept, rather than a da-capo concept.

The ensembles and finales in Mozart's operas have been described as being in sonata or symphonic style. But some ensembles have been capably analyzed as being in sonata form. Kerman has done this with the trio "Ah, taci ingiusto core" from act 2 of *Don Giovanni*<sup>22</sup> and with the trio, no. 7, "Cosa sento" from act 1 of *Le nozze di Figaro*.<sup>23</sup> Levarie has treated this same trio, no. 7 in *Le nozze di Figaro*,<sup>24</sup> and also the trio, no. 14, "Susanna, or via sortite" from act 2 of *Figaro*.<sup>25</sup>

A piece that both critics have defined as being in sonata form is the trio

“Cosa sento.”<sup>26</sup> If we denote the various themes in the exposition of this trio according to Galeazzi’s scheme, we see that there are:

|                        | m.    |
|------------------------|-------|
| Introduction           | 1-5   |
| Principal Motive       | 5-15  |
| The Second Motive      | 16-23 |
| Departure from the Key | 23-42 |
| Characteristic Passage | 43-57 |
| Cadential Period       | none  |

The “modulation” (i.e., the development section) begins at m. 58, and not at m. 70 as Levarie has it.<sup>27</sup> It begins with material from the “uscita di tono,” m. 23, and not with that of the “motivo,” m. 5.

There are two motives common to all the themes that recur throughout the piece: melodic steps outlining the interval of a third—the basis of the first theme (the Count’s theme), m. 5, and also of the second (Basilio’s) theme, m. 16 (thus the second theme is an inversion of the first<sup>28</sup>); and cadences with dotted rhythm, the basis of the introduction, mm. 4-5, and subsequently heard in every possible context (e.g., mm. 12-13, 14-15, 28-29, 42-43). As in many of Mozart’s sonata forms, the development section is disproportionately long, complex, and rich in thematic allusions. Even the presence of a recitative at mm. 121-28, although uncommon, is not really excessive.<sup>29</sup> This recitative is immediately followed by a section, mm. 129-46, that leads into the recapitulation precisely according to Galeazzi’s prescription:

However remote the modulation is from the main key of the composition, it must draw closer little by little, until the Reprise, that is, the first Motive of Part I in the proper natural key in which it was originally written, falls in quite naturally and regularly.<sup>30</sup>

The events of the recapitulation are as follows:

- (1) mm. 147-55: recapitulation of mm. 5-15.
- (2) mm. 155-67: instead of a recapitulation of mm. 23-42, new material in the tonic based on mm. 23-42 (see especially the running eighth-notes of mm. 161-62, 165-66) and the second motive: the cadence with dotted rhythm.
- (3) mm. 168-75: recapitulation of mm. 47-57 (missing the first four measures) in the tonic.
- (4) mm. 175-81: recapitulation of mm. 16-23, out of order.
- (5) mm. 182-201: repeat of mm. 159-75.
- (6) mm. 201-21: coda.

The dotted rhythm cadence motive of the introduction is brought in again for the coda, just as Galeazzi suggests:

A most beautiful artifice is [often] practiced here, and this is to recapitulate in the Coda the motive of . . . the introduction, if there

was one . . . ; this produces a wonderful effect, reviving the idea of the theme of the composition, and bringing together its parts.<sup>31</sup>

In the light of this schematic account of the trio, it is illuminating to examine the analyses by Kerman and Levarie. The point of the following remarks is not by any means to belittle the acuity, insight, or skill of these critics, but only to demonstrate the extent to which their reservations about the applicability of the instrumental sonata-form model to vocal works color their terminology.

Both point out the recapitulations in this trio and remark that the recapitulations of sonata form are used here for dramatic purposes. However, both describe two salient reappearances of themes as deviations from standard sonata form. The first of these is the repeat of the first theme, m. 5, the Count's angry exclamation upon his discovery of the duplicity of his courtiers. This returns at m. 101 and again at m. 147. Kerman calls m. 101 "a recapitulation" and m. 147 "a second recapitulation."<sup>32</sup> Levarie calls m. 101 a "false recapitulation" and m. 147 a "real recapitulation."<sup>33</sup> But the presence in the development section of the first theme—indeed, of all the themes—need not be explained away as a "false recapitulation," or any kind of recapitulation at all. As a matter of fact, m. 101 is *not* an exact repeat of m. 5, but a slightly different variant.<sup>34</sup> The appearance of this theme in the recapitulation, m. 147, is actually a repeat of the variant from the development section, m. 101.

The second case is the theme of m. 16, Basilio's apologetic remarks, which recurs at m. 85 and again at m. 175, out of order. Both writers see the repeat in m. 175 as a detail extraneous to the form. Levarie calls it "a quasi-correction of the irregular order of the recapitulation."<sup>35</sup> But such a feature, if not commonplace, is at least probable. It is merely another example of Mozart's habit of playing with the order of themes in the recapitulation.<sup>36</sup> As a matter of fact, the theme in the recapitulation, m. 175, is sung to the text from the development section, m. 85, and not that of m. 16.

Levarie also analyzes the trio "Susanna, or via sortite" from act 2 of *Figaro*. He describes it as a sonata form in which the development section is missing. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the development section is vestigial. Of the 146 measures of the trio, it occupies only eleven: mm. 61-71.<sup>37</sup> Such a variant of sonata form is not unknown. We need look no further than the overture to *Figaro* itself.<sup>38</sup>

In analyzing the sextet, No. 19, from act 3 of *Le nozze di Figaro*, Levarie<sup>39</sup> delineates an exposition and a recapitulation, and identifies a "middle section" at mm. 40-74 that "leads directly into a recapitulation of Marcellina's opening melody and a simultaneous recapture of the tonic."<sup>40</sup> Yet he unaccountably fails to call the piece a sonata form. An abbreviated table will show that all the components of sonata form are present.<sup>41</sup> The only important deviation is the repetition of theme C instead of a cadential formula to end the exposition.

| m.      | theme | key         | remarks  |
|---------|-------|-------------|--|
| 1-13    | A     | I           |  |
| 13-17   | B     | I-V         |  |
| 17-24   | C     | V           |  |
| 24-32   | D     | V           |  |
| 33-40   | C     | V           | Repeat of C instead of cadential formula.                                  |
| 40-73   | —     | modulations | Some of the modulations are chromatic.                                     |
| 74-80   | A     | I           |  |
| 80-101  | B     | I           |  |
| 102-140 | (C)   | I           | Not exactly a recapitulation, but mainly based on the material of theme C. |

Some vocal works of Mozart can be said, without exaggeration, to be written in sonata form. Some of these can be shown to conform to 18th-century definitions of sonata form, to stand the test of analysis according to modern conceptions of the sonata, and to exhibit no greater deviation from the model than that allowed in the analysis of instrumental works. At the very least, their formal structure shows the influence of the implied model of sonata form. But, as we have seen, critical writings resist the unequivocal use of sonata terminology in the analysis of vocal works. Habit or tradition seems to have decreed that a separate terminology applies to the formal aspects of vocal music.

The sonata idea and the sonata-form model are pervasive in the musical thought of the late 18th century. Sonata terminology is therefore justifiably applied to sonatas, symphonies, concertos, chamber music, serenades, divertimentos, cassations, and operatic overtures. Why not apply the same criteria to the vocal works of the same composers? Surely the use of the terminology of the da-capo aria—or any other such terminology—for works which belong to the age of the sonata is anachronistic.

A proper analysis of any piece of music must be conditioned by cognizance of its historical context. Perhaps the relinquishing of an anachronistic convention of historiography, and the unqualified application of definitions of sonata form to vocal music, will contribute to a deeper insight into the Classical vocal repertoire.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> What is meant here is sonata-allegro form, the standard form of most first movements, and not the overall scheme of movements of a complete sonata.

<sup>2</sup> E.g., Edward J. Dent, "Ensembles and Finales in Eighteenth-Century Italian Opera," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* 12 (1910-11):121; Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: Norton, 1941), pp. 594-95, 598; Edward J. Dent, *Mozart's Operas: A Critical Study* (London: Oxford University Press, 1947), p. 13; Egon Wellesz and Frederick W. Sternfeld, "The Early Symphony," in *The Age of Enlightenment*,

1745-1790, *The New Oxford History of Music*, vol. 7 (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 367.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Hans Zingerle, "Musik- und Textform in Opernarien Mozarts," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* (1953):112-15.

<sup>4</sup> E.g., Joseph Kerman, *Opera as Drama* (New York: Knopf, 1956), p. 86. See also: Denton Rossell, "The Formal Construction of Mozart's Operatic Ensembles and Finales" (Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1955).

<sup>5</sup> E.g., Alfred Lorenz, "Das Finale in Mozarts Meisteroper," *Die Musik* 19 (1927):632; Kerman, pp. 77, 86; Donald Jay Grout, *A Short History of Opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), pp. 277, 285.

<sup>6</sup> For detailed references and discussion, see below.

<sup>7</sup> E.g., H. C. Colles, "Sonata," in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 5th ed., 7 (London: Macmillan, 1954):888.

<sup>8</sup> Adolph Bernhard Marx, *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1837).

<sup>9</sup> Carl Czerny, *Vollständige theoretisch-praktische Pianoforte-Schule* (Vienna: Diabelli, 1840).

<sup>10</sup> Fred Ritzel, *Die Entwicklung der "Sonatenform" in musiktheoretischen Schrifttum des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts* (Weisbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1968), p. 135. See also William S. Newman, "The Recognition of Sonata Form by Theorists of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *Papers of the American Musicological Society* (1941):21-29; Leonard Ratner, "Harmonic Aspects of Classic Form," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 2 (1949):159-68.

<sup>11</sup> Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* (Leipzig, 1782-93). See also Ritzel's chapter on Koch, pp. 171 ff.

<sup>12</sup> Bathia Churgin, "Francesco Galeazzi's Description (1796) of Sonata Form," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 21 (1968):181-99.

<sup>13</sup> Koch, 3:311; Galeazzi, par. 36.

<sup>14</sup> All references are to *Wolfgang Amadeus Mozarts Werke* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1955), Serie 3, Band 2, pp. 103-10.

<sup>15</sup> Koch, *Versuch*, 2:223, quoted in Ratner, "Harmonic Aspects of Classic Form."

<sup>16</sup> Francesco Galeazzi, *Elementi teorico-pratici di musica*, vol. 2 (1796), pp. 253-60, quoted in Churgin.

<sup>17</sup> Zingerle, p. 114.

<sup>18</sup> All references are to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, *Neue Ausgabe sämtliche Werke*, Serie 2, Werkgruppe 5, Band 16, 2 vols., ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1973), pp. 175-82.

<sup>19</sup> All references are to *Neue Ausgabe*, Serie 1, Werkgruppe 2, vol. 2, ed. Karl Gustav Fellerer and Felix Schroeder (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1959), pp. 116-28.

<sup>20</sup> Psalms 111: 3, 10.

<sup>21</sup> This, of course, is not original with Mozart. It occurs, for example, in J. S. Bach's Magnificat in D.

<sup>22</sup> Kerman, pp. 80-84.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

<sup>24</sup> Siegmund Levarie, *Mozart's "Le Nozze di Figaro": A Critical Analysis* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 57-61.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 95-100. He calls it no. 13.

<sup>26</sup> All references are to *Neue Ausgabe*, Serie 2, Werkgruppe 5, Band 16, 2 vols., pp. 109-26.

<sup>27</sup> Levarie, p. 57.

<sup>28</sup> This is fully explained in Levarie.

<sup>29</sup> An outstanding example is Beethoven's Piano Sonata, op. 110. But see also C. P. E. Bach's first "Prussian" Sonata, second movement: Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Die preussischen Sonaten für Klavier*, ed. Rudolf Steglich, Nagels Musik-Archiv, no. 6 (Hannover: Nagel, 1927), p. 6.

<sup>30</sup> Galeazzi, par. 36, quoted in Churgin, p. 195.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., par. 37, quoted in Churgin, p. 196.

<sup>32</sup> Kerman, p. 87.

<sup>33</sup> Levarie, p. 57.

<sup>34</sup> In the Confitebor from K. 339 already discussed, the development section also contains such a "false start" of the first theme, at mm. 58-61.

<sup>35</sup> Levarie, pp. 58-59.

<sup>36</sup> Another example is the last movement of the Piano Sonata in F Major, K. 332, where the period missing from its proper place in the recapitulation is reinserted at the last moment as a coda.

<sup>37</sup> All references are to *Neue Ausgabe*, Serie 2, Werkgruppe 5, Band 16, 2 vols., pp. 202-13.

<sup>38</sup> For an example of the difference in attitude between the analysis of an instrumental form and the same form in vocal music, compare Levarie's description of this trio, p. 95, with his description of the Sinfonia to *Figaro*, p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Levarie, pp. 145-53. He calls it no. 18.

<sup>40</sup> Levarie, pp. 146-47.

<sup>41</sup> All references are to *Neue Ausgabe*, Serie 2, Werkgruppe 5, Band 16, 2 vol., pp. 375-401.



# *A CONTRIBUTION TO THE BIOGRAPHY OF ERNEST BLOCH: LETTERS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF HARTFORD*

*Myron Schwager*

As interest in American music history continues to grow, one fertile and reasonably uncultivated area for investigation is that of European composers/teachers who emigrated to this country in the early decades of the 20th-century and were instrumental in opening the doors to subsequent and rather impressive musical accomplishments. One such figure, Ernest Bloch, has been neglected in recent years as a composer, although a considerable number of exceptional pupils<sup>1</sup> bear witness to the effectiveness of his teaching at a time when good music pedagogues were in lean supply in the United States. It is perhaps a tentative step that, in 1977, the first full-length biography of Bloch appeared.<sup>2</sup> Though the work considers previous studies on the composer and his music and leans to some extent upon information supplied by Suzanne Bloch Smith and Lucienne Bloch Dimitroff, daughters of the composer, it is modest in scope and seemingly premature. This is due in part to the fact that extensive documents left by Bloch to the Library of Congress will not be made available for public inspection until 1984.<sup>3</sup>

Any serious full-length biography of the composer that appears even after 1984 will undoubtedly consider a generally wider base of information, including a large and hitherto uncatalogued collection of Bloch's personal letters, housed in the Archives of the University of Hartford. (See Appendix for the inventory.) Brought to my attention by Ethel Bacon, Librarian of the Hartt College of Music of the University of Hartford, these letters were formerly the property of Mrs. Pauline Paranov, daughter of Julius Hartt, the founder of Hartt College. There are 53 letters, mostly in French, in the collection. Of these, 48 were written by Ernest Bloch, 37 to his good friend Julius Hartt. Other letters were to Morris Perlmutter (7),<sup>4</sup> Alfred Pochon (1),<sup>5</sup> Pauline Hartt (2), and the Julius Hartt Musical Foundation (1). Additionally, the collection contains 5 letters written to Julius Hartt by: Marguerite Bloch (1), Ivan Bloch (1), and Suzanne Bloch (3).<sup>6</sup>

By far the most important and most interesting letters are those to Julius Hartt, to whom Bloch opened his mind and, no less, his heart in a manner of rare intimacy and warmth. That he had a certain veneration for this Hartford musician is evident. In his letter of 8 March 1952 to the Julius Hartt Musical Foundation, he wrote:

When I came to America in 1916, my beginnings were very hard; I found many devoted friends, but in my heart I was still very lonely. . . .

A little more than a year after that, a man with an extraordinary face . . . came to see me in my poor little apartment, 955 Lexington Avenue. It was *Julius Hartt*, perhaps the greatest American I have met after 36 years in this country. I had found a real friend, and a most comprehending one. His conception of life and Art were similar to mine, and in him I felt a brother. I still have his "Letter to a Young Musician,"<sup>7</sup> and I consider this *by far the best writing* I have read on the subject since 36 years.

A few months later, I spent a night in his country home at North Windham; early in the morning he took me out amidst the bushes and the flowers to the Connecticut River, and suddenly the whole landscape was revealed to me, with its soul. I was shaken with emotion; I told him, 'I have found God again,' and I crumbled on his shoulder, crying like a little child. Such moments one lives only once in one's life, and years have not obliterated this rare feeling.

Bloch's "rare feeling" is corroborated in a letter of 17 March 1927 which was written to Julius Hartt from San Francisco:

I have a vague, but certain feeling, that you did not *need* words from me, to know that I do *not* change, that I am the same, in spite of all outside happenings, that my heart is the same, my friendship for you the same, . . . that years and distance, and now people have not obliterated dear memories; our first meeting—the arrival in the night at North Windham . . . the red flowers in the yard . . . the old room . . . the little flowers that your daughter had put so affectionately in a little cup . . . the awakening in the morning . . . our going down to the river . . . the sun, the flowers, the trees . . . the silence . . . *one* real friend . . . and my *crying* on *your* shoulder, urgent deep emotion, for having met *God* again, and for the first time *on this soil*, after two years of doubts, dryness of heart. . . . This was too deep, too significant, too beautiful—It is *alive* in me as it ever was—It has only *grown*, and taken a deep significance, which you will find in the new symphony I have just finished, and which could be dedicated to you, if it were not to the 'Memory of Abraham Lincoln and Walt Whitman.'

Important in rounding out a biography of Bloch, the letters at the University of Hartford, though spanning 34 years, pertain mainly to those years between the composer's arrival in the United States (1916) and his move to Cleveland (1920-21) when he became director of the Cleveland Institute. Little has been written about these years, and almost nothing of Bloch's connection with Hartford.<sup>8</sup> Nowhere, for example,

can one find printed information dealing with his trips to give lessons at the Julius Hartt School (1918-20) or even with his negotiations to become conductor of the Hartford Philharmonic Orchestra.<sup>9</sup>

On 19 January 1919 he wrote to Julius Hartt, "If they offer me the directorship of an orchestra in Hartford, under such conditions that I am able to accept, that is to say, *with complete freedom*, moral, material and artistic, you know that this will be a great joy for me to come and settle in your little city." Had Bloch done so, his life might have taken quite a different turn.

One document is of special interest concerning the composer's feelings about his American activities in the years 1916-18. In a letter to Hartt of 13 November 1920 he writes:

I have redone a little biography which, at least, will be accurate! You will not have much trouble in lending life to this assemblage of facts, and the scrawny skeleton will come to life under your lively pen. You are familiar enough with me to know the real and profound significance of all these external events.

The "little biography" which is mentioned in this letter appears to be that reproduced in Plates 1 and 2.<sup>10</sup>

The main interest in this document is seen in Bloch's "redoings"; these are apparently the handwritten comments that he had scribbled all over the two pages. On four occasions he informs us of his personal feelings concerning the press (Dec. 1916, 29 Dec. 1916, 25 Jan. 1918, 8 March 1918). Under 23 March 1917 he indicates that he not only had met one of his great friends and supporters, Carl Engel, but had had the misfortune of meeting the composer Loeffler—"alas!" The "greatest event" in his "artistic life," (3 May 1917) a concert devoted to his Jewish works,<sup>11</sup> included a performance of *Israel*, which was "totally misunderstood." His attitude toward his early employer, David Mannes, expressed only in his handwritten comments, is rather negative.<sup>12</sup> The fact that his magazine article "Man and Music"<sup>13</sup> attracted the attention of Mannes warrants another "alas!" And, of course, there is the indication of 2 December 1917, a "very important date for me: as you [Julius] heard my music . . . and thus [we] were able to meet. . . ." In the fall of 1918, Bloch indicates, "North Windham! a *great, great date*," and writes, "I am teaching at the David Mannes School, and in Hartford at Mr. Hartt's."

In many of his letters Bloch discusses music, either technically or philosophically, and he speaks about his own works. These letters also reveal many other interesting sides to Bloch that might be pursued by inquisitive scholars. It is well known, for example, that he was something of a hypochondriac and that he suffered from ill health for many years. In this context, I cannot resist the inclusion of the contents of a special delivery letter to Julius Hartt, postmarked in New York, 17 November

- X Composition.
- X Conducting.
- Ⓟ Teaching, lecturing

== Performances of my works  
= Publication

Ernest Bloch  
America!

1916.

- August 1st. Arrival in New York. (7'ai 36 Gauss sounds)
- X September about 15<sup>th</sup>? I composed the last movement of my String-quartet. (The three first movements were composed in Geneva, (Switzerland) during the Spring. *in 8 days!*)
- X October Maud Allan Tour... I conducted, besides other works, my "Hiver-Printemps", with this small orchestra of 40 pieces, in different cities of the United States and Canada, with success. In New York, Aeolian Hall, on October 21. *(I conducted also "The Blue Danube" and "Capriccio" extremely!!)*
- November 7 ....Premature end of the Maud Allan Tour!.... alas!
- == December One begins to publish articles on me and on my work, in several newspapers, Boston Globe, Boston Transcript, Musical Observer, Musical America, etc. *(with the acute understanding of my imagination!)*
- == December 22 First performance of my String Quartet, by the Flonzaley's in New York, Aeolian Hall, then in Boston, Chicago, San Francisco. The work produces a great impression in New York and especially in Boston. In Chicago the Press is very bad... *(in fact, it is "outrageous"!)*

1917.

- January I meet Mrs. J.F.D. Lanier, whose affection and wonderful devotion help me to overcome a terrible situation... I deliver several private lectures at her home, where I meet many prominent musicians. *(I always was eager to meet them, as you know!)*
- X March 23, 24. Invited by Dr. Karl Muck, I conduct in Boston my "Trois Poemes Juifs" with an immense success. This is the first real great success in my career; the Press is wonderful and shows a profound understanding of my work. I meet for the first time Carl Engel. *(Doeffler, too... alas!)*
- X May 3 Concert of my Jewish works in New York. *(Friends of Music)* Carnegie Hall.) with a big orchestra, Hans Kindler, Melanie Kurt, Carl Braun, conducted by Bodanzky and by myself. *(Greatest event in my artistic life) It is a real triumph, misunderstanding.*
- June 7 I leave for Europe. We meet a submarine, at about 600 miles from Bordeaux. We fire 5 shots! — and miss the submarine!
- == \*\*\*\*\* Before leaving I signed a contract with G. Schirmer, for the publication of all my works.
- == \*\*\*\*\* In February, was published, in the Seven Arts Magazine, an article by Paul Rosenfeld "The Music of Ernest Bloch", which attracted broadcast attention(!)
- == In March, appeared, in the same magazine, an article of my own "Man and Music", which attracted the attention of... David Mannes... *(alas!)*

1917

June, July, August, Sept. Switzerland. (cl a sea aux montagnes....!)

October 19 Arrival in New York with my family, composed of my wife and my three children. (wonderful atmosphere of the Wallis von Borch for 5 weeks!)

X

December 2 I conduct a concert at the Sty. of the Friends of Music, at the Ritz Carlton. (Liadow, Moussorgsky, and Bloch.) "River-Printemps" and "Poemes d'Automne". The latter, sung by Mme. Povla Frijsh, with orchestra. This has been, until now the only complete performance with orchestra of this work. (Very important date for me : as you heard my music ... and thus able to meet...)

\*\*\*\*\*

I begin serving my two years at the David Mannes Music ~~Academy~~ School. During that season 1917-1918, I delivered there two series of five lectures:

(X)

- 1) The soul of art  
The soul of Music  
The aesthetic unrest of our time  
The Constraint of Form  
Liberation through Form.
- 2) Musical expression through Melody.

(The soul of David and Clara Mannes!)

Further, Courses in Counterpoint, Form, etc.

\*\*\*\*\*

\$150.00 for 3 jumps  
\$100 " 10 " etc, etc.

~~1918~~

1918

X

January 25,26 I conduct a concert of my Jewish works, in Philadelphia. The Press is awful, in general, especially the Hunter. (later the same H. writes that I am the greatest Jewish composer, etc!)

X

February 1,2 I conduct my "Trois Poemes Juifs" IN Chicago.

=

January... Capital execution of my Poemes Juifs, in New York, by Walter Damrosch.

X

March 8 I conduct my first Symphony (C sharp minor) in New York, (Philharmonic Orchestra) with an enormous success, but the Press, in general is very bad, except a few exceptions. This was the first performance in America and the third, since the work was composed, in 1901, and refused by \* Colonne, Chevillard, Marty, La Societe Nationale, Weingartner, Hausegger, Mengelberg, Wood, etc. *Sambon writes that this is the first and last performance of my work!*

\*\*\*\*\*

X

In the Fall I am engaged by the People's Music League to build a chorus, for the study of the old Vocal masters of the XV, XVI, XVII, centuries.  
\*\*\*\*\* (wonderful failure!!)  
~~I teach privately~~  
I am teaching at the David Mannes School, and in Hartford at Mr. Hartt's.

(X)  
New York show!  
a great, great date.

1919. Bloch sounds amazingly like a doctor of the 1970s, at least in the treatment of his patient through diet rather than the prescription of endless medicines:

My dear friend,

Here is a '*program*.' I am absolutely CONVINCED that if you conform to it *strictly*, regularly and with perseverance, for *fifteen* days, you will find yourself so completely transformed and rejuvenated by it that you will adopt it.

No microbe survives it, because it is quite simply *true* and *natural*. And all your mental troubles will disappear as well, as if by magic.

Begin *tomorrow*.

And do not cease.

Before eight days, you will be writing to me to tell me of your amazement concerning their effects.

Completely yours,

E. B.

*morning* Cold water "ablution" with a *big* sponge.

(Beginning to wet the face and the neck.)

Dry with towel.

*Rub* thoroughly THE WHOLE body with a *rough* towel.

Little walk outside (15 minutes)

rest (15 minutes)

*breakfast* Uncooked, unpasteurized milk.

Cereals (all kinds)

Fruit (but without "sugar"—)

rest (15 minutes)

*noon* luncheon—*vegetables* (if possible two kinds):

one green, (spinach, cauliflower, carrots, containing

*salts*) the other *rich* in protein, to *replace* meat or

eggs, like *peas, beans, or lentils*—

(mushrooms are possible, or macaroni, spaghetti, etc.)

*whole wheat bread*.

fruits (nuts, figs, dates, apples, oranges, grapefruit, etc.)

*evening* a meal composed of *cereals*,

*milk, fruit*, like the breakfast.

*washing the feet* after every meal with sulphur soap—

*brush* the body with a hard brush before going to bed

after every meal, 1 point of a knife of a powder made of

{ half rhubarb

{ half magnesia

You see, the diet *avoids entirely*:

*coffee, tea, chocolate.*

*sugar*  
*butter or fats*  
*meat, fish or eggs—*

*Three meals a day.*

*morning and evening:* milk, cereals, fruit

*noon:* vegetables, bread, fruit.

It is ironic that, on the back of the last page, Bloch writes, "Have been sick six weeks but am able and shall be happy to see you." It appears that he gained a great deal of strength through his close friendship with Julius Hartt and that, ill or well, the composer sought a communion which, due to the inconveniences of life, could never be as complete as he might have wished. Without question, the Bloch letters at the University of Hartford will be consulted in any future, serious and full-length biography of the composer.

APPENDIX: Inventory of letters at U. of H.<sup>14</sup>

| cat. no. | from | to | sent from       | date                      | remarks concerning contents   |
|----------|------|----|-----------------|---------------------------|---|
| 918356   | EB   | JH | NYC             | 6 June 1918               | Difficulties with David Mannes concerning his contract.   |
| 918373   | EB   | JH | NYC             | 23 June 1918              | Potential visit to Hartford: Mannes matter continued; man's situation in the world.   |
| 918516   | MB   | JH | NYC             | 16 Sept. 1918             | Thanks to JH for gift of vegetables; shall rejoice in meeting Hartt family.   |
| 918518   | EB   | JH | NYC             | 18 Sept. 1918             | Returns from Hartford, invigorated from friendship and atmosphere he found there; discusses Boston conducting position (Monteux).                         |
| 918524   | EB   | JH | ANY             | 24 Sept. 1918             | Makes arrangements to go to Hartford on 27 September.   |
| 918526   | EB   | AP | H <sup>15</sup> | 26 Sept. 1918             | Pleads for help in sparing Morris Perlmutter from military service.   |
| 918557/a | EB   | JH | NYC             | 7 Oct. 1918               | Claims a political selection of conductor for Boston (Raubaud); interest in Chicago conductorship; teaching in Hartford; friendship and love of Hartford. |
| 918557/b | EB   | JH | NYC             | Friday, 7th <sup>16</sup> | Aid for Morris from Frank Damosch, Ordynsky, Secretary Baker; hints of interest in Hartford orchestra position (Mr. Bissell).                             |

| cat. no. | from | to | sent from | date                                       | remarks concerning contents   |
|----------|------|----|-----------|--|---|
| 918566   | EB   | JH | NYC       | 16 Oct. 1918                               | More concerning Morris's problems; seems to be planning a possible move to Hartford.  |
| 918577   | EB   | JH | NYC       | 27 Oct. 1918                               | Morris, Ordynsky, Mrs. Baker.   |
| 918580   | EB   | JH | NYC       | 30 Oct. 1918                               | More politics on behalf of Morris via Frank Damrosch, Mrs. Baker, etc.  |
| 918652   | EB   | JH | NYC       | 2 Dec. 1918                                | Politics of the board of the Philharmonic Orchestra in Hartford and Bloch's possible involvement.                           |
| 919101   | EB   | JH | NYC       | 1 Jan. 1919                                | Expresses wishes for the New Year and hopes that Morris is restored to JH.  |
| 919119   | EB   | JH | NYC       | 19 Jan. 1919                               | Affirmation of Bloch's desire to move to Hartford if he would have complete freedom as conductor of the Hartford Orchestra. |
| 919100   | EB   | JH | NYC       | Fri. [1919] <sup>17</sup>                  | Arrangements to visit Hartford to hear the Philharmonic Orchestra and see Mr. Roberts and David Stanley Smith.              |
| 919127   | EB   | MP | NYC       | 27 Jan. 1919                               | Concerns arrangements for lessons in New York.  |
| 919129   | EB   | JH | NYC       | 29 Jan. 1919                               | Plans meeting with Mr. Bissell in Hartford and asks JH to reschedule lessons.   |
| 919253   | EB   | MP | NYC       | 3 Apr. 1919                                | Concerns payment for lessons, music from Schirmer's, etc.   |
| 919600   | EB   | JH | NYC       | Postmarked<br>17 Nov. 1919<br>Special Del. | Prescribes a vegetarian diet to help improve JH's health.   |
| 919617   | EB   | JH | NYC       | 17 Nov. 1919                               | Arranges a meeting in NYC with JH; praises him as a great man, most qualified to tell the world about Bloch's works.        |
| 919624   | EB   | JH | NYC       | 24 Nov. 1919                               | Regrets not being able to be with the Hartts for Thanksgiving due to postponed obligations.                                 |
| 919663   | EB   | JH | NYC       | 13 Dec. 1919                               | Tells of having nervous breakdown and being very busy, but discusses upcoming concert of his music in Hartford.             |



| cat. no. | from | to               | sent<br>from | date                  | remarks concerning contents  |
|----------|------|------------------|--------------|-----------------------|--|
| 920155   | EB   | JH               | NYC          | 5 Feb. 1920           | Feels low physically and in bad spirits; has difficulty getting away, but longs for a rest.  |
| 920260   | EB   | JH               | NYC          | 10 Apr. 1920          | Attempts to cheer up JH and offers medical advice. Includes a list of Russian names.   |
| 920301   | EB   | MP               | NYC          | 1 May 1920            | Arranges for resumption of lessons in New York in view of the fact that JH is feeling better.  |
| 920367   | EB   | JH               | NYC          | 17 June 1920          | Speaks of his mother and offers more medical advice. Mentions Bodansky, New Symphony Orchestra, and auditions. Envis neither Bodansky, Stravinsky, nor Damrosch for, in his modest position, he has freedom. |
| 920412   | EB   | JH               | PNH          | 12 July 1920          | Expresses the virtues of his garden; invites JH to Peterborough.   |
| 920467   | EB   | JH               | PNH          | 17 Aug. 1920          | First mentions the possibility of going to Cleveland; discusses the pros and cons.   |
| 920513   | EB   | JH               | NYC          | 13 Sept. 1920         | Expresses optimism about going to Cleveland; plans to go to Pittsfield and hopes that his mother could join JH in trip from Hartford to Pittsfield.  |
| 920516   | SB   | JH               | NYC          | 16 Sept. 1920         | Thank-you note; says that EB will see JH in Pittsfield.  |
| 920518   | EB   | JH               | C            | 18 Sept. 1920         | Discusses arrival in Cleveland and gives impressions; says mother is delighted to go to Pittsfield with him.   |
| 920500   | EB   | JH               | C            | no date <sup>18</sup> | Tells JH that he may be the <i>only one</i> who has entirely understood his work; expresses feelings about teaching and his ceaseless giving.  |
| 920528   | SB   | JH <sup>19</sup> | NYC          | 28 Sept. 1920         | Thanks for hospitality, etc.   |
| 920561   | EB   | JH               | C            | 11 Oct. 1920          | Complains of lack of a secretary, even with his double existence—Cleveland and New York; discussion of Morris's upcoming concert in NYC.   |

| cat. no. | from | to               | sent<br>from | date          | remarks concerning contents   |
|----------|------|------------------|--------------|---------------|---|
| 920574   | EB   | JH               | NYC          | 24 Oct. 1920  | Bloch's mother dies; Morris's NYC concert appraised.  |
| 920578   | SB   | JH <sup>20</sup> | OBL          | 28 Oct. 1920  | Thank-you letter.   |
| 920613   | EB   | JH               | C            | 13 Nov. 1920  | Sends clippings and annotated biography to JH; speaks of his giving nature as a musician, though D. Mannes calls him selfish; philosophy of life.                                     |
| 920676   | EB   | JH               | C            | 26 Dec. 1920  | Invites JH to Cleveland for concert he is conducting.   |
| 921110   | EB   | MP               | NYC          | 10 Jan. 1921  | Thank-you note for check and letter from Pauline. Will arrange lesson after Long Island lectures are over.  |
| 921166   | EB   | JH               | C            | 16 Feb. 1921  | Tells of upcoming concerts in NYC (20, 21 Feb.); praises JH as a great writer and teacher who should expand his horizons beyond Hartford.   |
| 921272   | EB   | JH               | C            | 22 Apr. 1921  | Regrets not being able to see JH; asks if JH has read Paul Rosenfeld's article on his <i>sonate</i> ; expresses sadness over antisemitism of Robert Godet.                            |
| 921203   | EB   | JH               | NYC          | 3 Mar. 1921   | Notification that the performance of <i>Schelomo</i> (Mengelberg and Van Vliet) is off, but that Dr. Muck will direct his <i>Jewish Poems</i> ; wishes him to visit on Sunday anyhow. |
| 921278   | EB   | MP               | NYC          | 28 Apr. 1921  | Impossible to see Morris for a lesson due to frantic schedule.  |
| 921302   | EB   | MP               | NYC          | 2 May 1921    | Concerns lesson times.  |
| 921377   | EB   | JH               | NYC          | 27 June 1921  | Expresses tiredness after his first season in Cleveland; says that next year should be better due to expected help from some of his students: Sessions, Hutchinson, Rogers, etc.      |
| 922527   | EB   | PH               | C            | 27 Sept. 1922 | Wishes to hear from Pauline Hartt's father, from whom he has not heard in months.   |

| cat. no. | from | to   | sent<br>from | date         | remarks concerning contents   |
|----------|------|------|--------------|--------------|---|
| 927217   | EB   | JH   | SF           | 17 Mar. 1927 | After years, gets very sentimental about past experiences together; says his new <i>America</i> symphony could be dedicated to JH if it was not already dedicated to Lincoln and Walt Whitman.  |
| 927322   | IB   | JH   | NYC          | 22 May 1927  | Reminisces about Hartford; writes in place of his father (EB), who is going to Europe.  |
| 927410   | EB   | JH   | S            | 10 July 1927 | Describes medical problems; wishes to work less and to spend more time with such friends as JH; wishes to be an American.   |
| 928672/a | EB   | JH   | [SF]         | 22 Dec. 1928 | Reminisces about past experiences in North Windham; tells of official honors bestowed upon him at a special banquet.  |
| 928672/b | EB   | PH   | [SF]         | 22 Dec. 1928 | Writes Pauline that he has not forgotten her or anyone or anything in Hartford; says that <i>America</i> was a great success.   |
| 944344   | EB   | MP   | ABO          | 9 May 1944   | Recognizes the death of JH and tells how he had read his "Letter to a Young Man" to a class at Berkeley; speaks of Carl Engel's recent death; doubts that he is able to write a "children's opera" because much depends on a possible libretto. |
| 952208   | EB   | JHMF | ABO          | 8 Mar. 1952  | Wishes to congratulate the JHMF for the splendid work they have done since JH had passed away; he wants to evoke the memory of this great man and hopes that his presence will be felt.   |

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> George Antheil, Howard Hanson, Leon Kirchner, Bernhard Rogers, Randall Thompson, and Roger Sessions are but a handful of the American composers who studied with Bloch.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Strassburg, *Ernest Bloch: Voice in the Wilderness* (Los Angeles: Trident Shop, California State Univ., 1977).

<sup>3</sup> In July of 1925 Bloch made a gift to the Library of Congress of sketches, scrap-books, manuscripts, letters, and miscellaneous documents. He stipulated that they

not be made public until 25 years after his death. Though rather sketchy, Bloch's own typewritten catalogue for the collection is printed in Strassburg, pp. 101-11.

<sup>4</sup> Morris Perlmutter is known today as Moshe Paranov. A favorite pupil of Julius Hartt, he married his mentor's daughter, Pauline, and successfully guided the Julius Hartt School to its present status as a college, affiliated with the University of Hartford. Dr. Paranov is currently President Emeritus of Hartt College, an active conductor, clinician, and teacher.

<sup>5</sup> Alfred Pochon, a Swiss violinist, was a member of the famous Flonzaley String Quartet.

<sup>6</sup> Two of these letters are addressed to "Monsieur et Madame Hartt." See Appendix.

<sup>7</sup> Julius Hartt acted as music critic for the *Hartford Times*. His "Letter to a Young Musician" appeared in the issue of 2 March 1918.

<sup>8</sup> Strassburg's biography disposes of Bloch's Hartford connection in a short paragraph:

The season of 1919-1920 found Bloch teaching not only at the David Mannes School of Music but also at the Julius Hartt School of Music in Hartford Connecticut. In addition, he conducted, gave lectures, and taught privately in order to make ends meet. Accordingly, when he was invited by influential persons from Cleveland to found and direct the Cleveland Institute of Music, he responded with alacrity, and severed his connection with both the Mannes and Hartt schools.

<sup>9</sup> This orchestra, under the musical direction of Robert Prutting, preceded the Hartford Symphony Orchestra, which was not founded until 1944.

<sup>10</sup> My lack of certainty in this matter is due only to the fact that the "little biography" and the letter of 13 November 1920 were found in separate locations at the University of Hartford. The two documents had likely been separated over the years.

<sup>11</sup> Horatio Parker had spoken of the concert as the "most significant event of the year in New York." See "Unique Music by Ernest Bloch Receives Notable Exposition," *Musical America* (12 May 1917):9.

<sup>12</sup> Bloch's difficulties with David and Clara Mannes are documented in several of the letters, See, e.g., those of 6 June 1918, 23 June 1918, 7 October 1918, 13 November 1920, and 22 December 1928.

<sup>13</sup> This article, originally printed in the March 1917 issue of *Seven Arts*, was reprinted in *Musical Quarterly* 19 (1933):374-81.

<sup>14</sup> Abbreviations are as follows: EB (Ernest Bloch), JH (Julius Hartt), MB (Marguerite Bloch), SB (Suzanne Bloch), IB (Ivan Bloch), PH (Pauline Hartt), MP (Morris Perlmutter), AP (Alfred Pochon), JHMF (Julius Hartt Musical Foundation), NYC (New York City), ANY (Ardsley, New York), H (Hartford), PNH (Peterborough, N. H.), C (Cleveland), SF (San Francisco), S (Switzerland), ABO (Agate Beach, Oregon), OBL (On board the Lafayette, transatlantic liner).

<sup>15</sup> This letter is not in Ernest Bloch's handwriting, and there is an English translation in another (female?) hand. The French version was either written (from dictation?) by someone else or copied from an original version and translated into English. Though Bloch claims to be writing from Hartford, this is questionable. In the letter of 24 September 1918 he indicates that he is planning to go to Hartford on the 27th of September. Someone dated this letter 26 September 1918. It is on stationary belonging to Margaret Warner of Springfield.

<sup>16</sup> The exact date of this letter is difficult to determine. Bloch wrote "Vendredi soir 7" or Friday evening, the 7th. Though 7 June 1918 is a Friday, the letter could not have been written before 26 September 1918. I have accordingly placed it where I feel it fits chronologically.

<sup>17</sup> The only indication of the date is "Vendredi." I have placed the letter where it seems to fit chronologically.

<sup>18</sup> The first two pages (four sides) of this letter are missing and so is the date. On the basis of the letterhead (Hotel Statler, Cleveland) and the content, I have placed it between the letters of 18 September and 11 October 1920.

<sup>19</sup> This letter was addressed to "Monsieur et Madame Hartt."

<sup>20</sup> Addressed to "Monsieur et Madame Hartt."

# THE MOTET IN ENGLAND IN THE 14TH CENTURY

Peter M. Lefferts

It seems there has always been a small group of musicologists to plead the cause of the music of late medieval England. As put recently by Margaret Bent:

The surviving English repertory of the 14th century cannot compare in size with that of France or Italy, and despite some excellent studies continues to be treated as a poor relation to these more impressive remains. The music is as yet largely unpublished. The fragmentary sources we do have clearly imply a similar number of otherwise lost manuscripts and a total repertory quite as large, varied, individual, technically accomplished and musically rich as those of the two main traditions.<sup>1</sup>

Confirmation of this assertion is readily available in the volumes of RISM B IV. The information contained there reveals the scope of the English remains (even while excluding the many important finds of the last decade) and suggests the reasons for their relative obscurity: the lack of sizeable, integral manuscripts, the anonymity of the English composers, and the diversity and obscurity of these composers' apparent monastic working environments.

The lack of proper musical editions is being redressed by a series of volumes soon to be published in the *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* enterprise of Éditions L'Oiseau Lyre (Paris and Monaco). Volumes 14 to 17 will contain those pieces of English polyphony recoverable in whole or as major fragments, from the early 13th century up to but not including the repertory of the Old Hall manuscript and its concordant sources.<sup>2</sup> Important work remains to be done on many aspects of this same body of material, however, including careful codicological studies of the manuscript fragments and of their parent codices, examination of unsettled notational and liturgical questions, and careful assessment of the fragmentary pieces, too often overlooked when an edition is at hand.

The motet in England in the 14th century may be bounded chronologically by the 14th-century leaves and palimpsests of the Worcester materials, on the older side, and the isorhythmic motets of Omc 266/268 and Lbm 40011B—two sources with Old Hall concordances—on the more recent.<sup>3</sup> These boundaries actually delimit a reasonably self-contained musical repertory. Around 1290-1300 there was a marked shift in the notation, layout, musical style, technical forms and procedures, and

relation of word to music in English polyphony, triggered in all probability by exposure to Franconian and Petronian notational and stylistic developments on the continent. This English redirection, evident in such sources as US-Princeton, US-Chicago, ONC, and Lbm 24198, is defined as well by the distribution of concordances, which appear relatively frequently within—but not as often between—certain groups of sources. The later boundary can be less precisely drawn, a circumstance that acknowledges the state of affairs in the motet of ca. 1400: very few are preserved from ca. 1350-60 until the end of the century. This may be due merely to the lack of preservation of sources (the obvious solution), to a change in the function of the motet in the liturgy (if in the absence of evidence we assume some such function), or to the drastic decline in monastic cultivation of polyphony in the latter half of the 14th century as documented by Roger Bowers. This decline was paralleled by the development of new types of choral institutions and the polyphonic genres they cultivated.<sup>4</sup>

What are the dimensions of this motet repertoire? If we adopt for the moment a rather broad definition of what constitutes a motet, there are about 25 sources containing about 45 complete pieces and roughly 55 fragments. This is approximately half the size of the combined discant and cantilena repertoires which are the other significant types of 14th-century English polyphony. Because of the nature and condition of the present manuscript remains (paste-downs, flyleaves, covers for documents, and the like), many of the so-called complete motets actually require extensive restoration of music and texts. At the same time, many of the fragments are integral folios with one or more whole voice parts (due to the *cantus collateralis* layout) and hence may be profitably investigated for information about the original motet's length, form, and style.

One can only speculate about the degree to which these remains are a representative sampling of the original repertoire. By an ironic twist of fate, the materials at our disposal today are almost without exception the refuse from books destroyed in the 14th and 15th centuries, particularly as a by-product of bookmaking at such active *scriptoria* as the one at Worcester. If a music book was lucky enough to escape the consequences of its stylistic or generic obsolescence, then it was probably lost during the wholesale breakup and destruction of monastic libraries at the Dissolution, or in later Protestant purges.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, the 14th-century materials that we have tend to reflect patterns of medieval library preservation in general (e.g., as at the Benedictine houses at Bury St. Edmund's, Durham, and Worcester), as can be seen by comparing Neil Ker's study of medieval English libraries with Margaret Bent's listing of English sources by determinable provenance.<sup>6</sup> Only when Roger Bowers's work on English polyphonic musical establishments is completed

will we know whether the important musical centers are well represented in the extant sources.<sup>7</sup>

Further evidence allows an estimate of loss to be made. From the late 13th and early 14th centuries, the famous Harleian index (LoHa, fols. 160v-61r) preserves textual incipits for 164 items in a lost codex; Dittmer's Worcester Volume I preserves foliations up to cxxxviii; Cb 8 has paginations up to 558 (!); ONC has foliations up to xc; Ccc 65 has foliations up to c; and Lbm 24198 (an alphabetical codex with items extant from R,S,T) has numerations for each letter implying either eight compositions per letter, or eight pages per letter. A book with 100 or more compositions may reasonably be extrapolated.<sup>8</sup>

Against the proof of this staggering loss only two consoling points may be made. First, there is an extraordinarily high number of concordances among these manuscript fragments, and as new material emerges, it is rare that concordances to known music are not present. The repertory is evidently large, but somehow circumscribed. Second, the textual contents and musical forms and procedures are of limited variety and can be viewed as diverse variations on recognizable species, so that a typology may be generated that subsumes all of the extant material. This forms a basis for generalization about the fragmentary remains and speculation about the lost repertory we cannot know.

As a way of presenting some more detailed information about the motet in England, I have chosen to focus on a single manuscript: Oxford, Bodleian Library, E. Museo 7 (hereafter Ob 7). The choice has its sentimental as well as practical considerations. Ob 7 is a complex motet source from ca. 1340-50, exhibiting an important diversity of notations and styles. It is also the collection from which Manfred Bukofzer selected two motets on St. Edmund to analyze in the brilliant essay which opens the *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music*. In that article he made the promise, tragically unfulfilled, to deal more fully at a later time with the larger motet repertory to which the St. Edmund pieces belong.<sup>9</sup>

Ob 7 is a late 11th- or early 12th-century parchment manuscript of St. Augustine's Commentaries on Psalms 101-50.<sup>10</sup> The provenance of the codex is Bury St. Edmund's, as established by an *ex libris* (probably of the 13th century, according to Stainer) and a library pressmark. It is one of a set of books by Augustine from the Bury library given to the Bodleian in 1654. The present binding is judged to be of the late 17th century and may well date from within a few years of this transaction.

Four musical flyleaves at each end of the codex, preserving 14th-century polyphony, are of interest to us. The provenance of at least the front leaves from Bury seems assured by the presence of the two motets on St. Edmund and implies that the association of the flyleaves with the present parent codex predates the latest binding. RISM says, "It would seem that the end fly-leaves are simply a later part of the same codex as



the front ones," echoing Stainer,<sup>11</sup> but this is not further justified, and indeed there seems to be no absolutely compelling reason to associate the front leaves (which are in Petronian notation and exhibit insular features in both music and texts) with the rear leaves (which are in continental Ars Nova notation and preserve mostly isorhythmic motets, one of which has continental concordances).<sup>12</sup>

The recto of the first rear flyleaf is worn and discolored to an extent that makes the reading of even its verso difficult, a condition implying that at one time this leaf either served as an external flyleaf or was itself the first surviving leaf in some book. In general, the front and rear sets of flyleaves differ in color and texture of parchment, in scribal hands for music and text, in decoration (the initials of the front leaves are filled in, while those of the rear leaves are not), and in staff rulings. The latter, generally 12 five-lined red staves per page, exhibit consistent dimensions that vary from front to rear: ca. 285x190mm for the front leaves and ca. 275x180 for the rear ones. This difference is slight enough, however, even when viewed against the other evidence, to hold open the possibility that the sets of flyleaves came from different fascicles of the same parent music manuscript and were bound into the present volume at the same time.<sup>13</sup> The wear on the innermost rear flyleaf may have occurred while the leaves were in another configuration before re-binding.

The present tight binding makes an assessment of gathering structure impossible, but certain conclusions are obvious from the state of the musical contents. The front leaves are not continuous, but break into two sets of two leaves each, containing nos. 1a-4 and 5-10 (see Example 1). Each group contains on its central opening two complete compositions, one for four and the other for three voices, the latter beneath the former (nos. 2-3 and 7-8). Other items are fragments, but the layout of two motets per opening is preserved. From the spacing (and crowding) of notes and texts in general, and the blank staves beneath no. 4, it would appear that longer motets were entered first on an opening, and then a second motet was written in where space was sufficient. Staves were not deliberately indented for initials.

The rear leaves form a consecutive series of pages containing four complete three-voice motets (nos. 12, 14-16) and fragments of two other motets. In addition, a later hand has entered a textless English discant setting of a Kyrie in pseudoscore on blank staves after the motetus and tenor of no. 12.<sup>14</sup> The spacing of contents and the regular indenting for initials indicate more planning than is exhibited in the front leaves.

Within the front flyleaves two distinctions are apparent between the motets of the first and second groups. One category concerns later scribal amendments. Stainer remarks that the blue initials of the first group have been tampered with, but those of the second group are untouched.<sup>15</sup> In the second group, on the other hand, some later scribe(s)

EXAMPLE 1: Musical contents of Ob 7.

front flyleaves:

- 1a. Maria mole pressa/[Tenor]\*
- 1b. Zorobabel abigo/Zorobabel actibus\*
2. Petrum cephas/Petrus pastor/  
T. Petre/Quartus cantus
3. Rex visibilium/Rex invictissime/T. Regnum tuum solidum
4. Lux refulget/[Tenor]
5. Duodeno sydere
6. Frontentibus florentibus/T.  
Floret
7. Ave miles/Ave rex/T. Ave rex/  
Tenor ij
8. De flore martirum/Deus tuorum/T. Ave rex
9. Templum eya Salomonis
10. Barrabas dimittitur

rear flyleaves:

11. [C?]uius de . . ./Quadri[ ]ivium
12. Omnis terra/Habenti dabitur/  
Tenor
13. [Kyrie]
14. Deus creator/Rex genitor/  
T. Doucement me reconforte
15. Pura placens/Parfundement/  
Tenor
16. Domine quis habitabit/De veri cordis/T. Concupisco
17. Parce piscatoribus/T. Relictis retibus

\*RISM lists 1a and 1b as a single item.

added *musica ficta* and attempted to interpret notationally ambiguous semibreves in Petronian notation by adding stems (upward in nos. 6 and 8; downward in nos. 5 and 9). The results are varied and do not yield a uniform interpretation.<sup>16</sup>

The other important distinction concerns motet types. The difference here is perhaps coincidental, but may instead reveal some deliberate ordering in the original codex. In the first group, nos. 1a and 2-4 all share the rigid patterning of an isoperiodic phrase structure. Nos. 1a and 2, in particular, are characteristic of a number of pieces in the repertory with patterned tenors laid out in a distinctive orthography of longs and long rests (see for example their RISM incipits), with isoperiodic phrase structure based on such odd numbers as 15, 9, 7.<sup>17</sup>

No. 3 attempts an isoperiodic phrase structure based on the number 4, with rhythmically identical declamation patterns in semibreves in the duplum and triplum. These patterns, and eventually the larger phrase scheme, break off towards the end of the motet. Evidently the piece was conceived around the text of the triplum which determined the phrase length and declamation. Then duplum and tenor were laid out in coordination, and the tenor's pitches determined the contrapuntal structure. Since the tenor chosen was a "whole chant" (the *Regnum tuum*

*solidum* Gloria prosula), the double-versicle structure of which was entirely ignored, its rhythmic presentation had to be condensed toward the end in order to be fitted in. The initial ground plan and premises of this motet relate it to an extremely interesting set of English motets not otherwise represented in Ob 7: the duet motets with *medius cantus*, which are isoperiodic in even-number schemes, exhibit isophonic declamatory patterns on the semibreve, and present the cantus firmus as the middle voice contrapuntally. (There is a slim probability that no. 1b may have had a *medius cantus*, but the preserved voices show no isoperiodicity.)

No. 4 interrupts the regularity of its patterning in a different way, with the third statement of its tenor color at a point exactly two-thirds of the way through the text. Here there is a diminution of time values in both extant parts and a consequent acceleration of declamation from a uniform second-mode delivery to more involved patterns. With this acceleration is coupled a marked rise in the tessitura of the upper voice. Overall, the climactic increase in energy is so structurally determined that it brings to mind isorhythmic diminution.

The second group of front flyleaves shows more diversity. *Ave miles* (no. 7), the famous St. Edmund motet discussed by Bukofzer, has five sections of voice-exchange and a brief coda. Motets nos. 6, 8, and 10 exhibit strophic repeat with variation (nos. 6 and 8) or varied voice-exchange (no. 10—this piece is complete in its DRc 20 concordance). These processes are closely related and very common in the early 14th-century English motet. With the repeat of the tenor, the composer gives a varied repeat of the polyphonic superstructure he has already composed, either with or without an exchange of material between upper voices.

Fragment no. 9 is a single voice only, but it exhibits a double-versicle structure of considerable interest. The music may be diagrammed as: Ax<sub>1</sub>Ay Bx<sub>2</sub>By Cx<sub>3</sub>Cy Dx<sub>4</sub>Dy. This represents four pairs of musical phrases, each with an *ouvert* (x) and *clos* (y) melodic cadence. The *ouvert* is varied each time; the *clos* becomes a refrain. Each three-line stanza of the text corresponds to a phrase, and the pairing of stanzas by meaning and rhyme scheme is an obvious conceit of the poet. Each musical phrase is articulated into three segments by caesuras, paralleling the verses of the stanzas and their rhyme scheme. Though no tenor is preserved for this fragment, and free compositions have melodic facture analogous to that found here,<sup>18</sup> it is likely that this voice part is from a three-voice tenor motet, judging from the source layout and context. Many similar voices exist as part of cantus-firmus motets, which exhibit a wide variety of such intricate structures, often with full refrains.

The most obvious question about the compositions in the rear flyleaves of Ob 7 is the following: are they merely motets in England or truly "English"? Motets no. 12, 15, 16, and 17 are in the central French style of the mid-century, i.e., in Ars Nova notation in *tempus imperfectum*

*tum*, *prolatio maior* with an isorhythmic tenor (which in each case undergoes a diminution by half), and exhibiting elaborate numerological phrase schemes in duplum and triplum (with panisorhythmic design), as well as a rather abstract relationship of text to music. No. 16 exists in two continental sources, Ivrea and Cambrai Bibl. Communale, in which this style is well represented by other motets. However, in these continental concordances it is texted with conventional French love lyrics, the probable originals. No. 16 was apparently adapted to the English preference for sacred Latin motet texts. In no. 15 a similar process of contrafacture may well have been halted after the triplum was provided with a Latin text to the Virgin Mary, because the French text of the duplum, with its vocabulary of Classical and Biblical references, could pass as sacred in tone and intent.<sup>19</sup> For nos. 12 and 17 the case for retouching is not so clear. Until the tenors of these motets have been conclusively identified and the language of their texts fully clarified, it will be difficult to say whether they are compositions by Englishmen, contrafacta made palatable for Englishmen, or directly imported continental Latin motets.

One might think that the same process of textual substitution was applied as well to no. 14, since the two upper voices take as their points of departure the initia of the two most famous Kyrie tropes in the Salisbury Rite, while the tenor quotes a couplet used by the trouvère Watrquet in a *fatras* for King Philip of France.<sup>20</sup> However, the use of a French tenor is uncommon on the continent, while French tenors supporting Latin upper parts are not rare in England. In addition, the literal three-fold presentation of the tenor is a common method of handling a non-Gregorian cantus firmus in the English motet repertory. The unusual rhythmical nature of this tenor—its bursts of rhythmic activity in semi-breves and minims, and its mensuration in *tempus perfectum*, *prolatio maior*—implies that it may be a highly ornamented version of a much simpler monophonic tune. Clearly, the upper voices are not rhythmically differentiated from the tenor, and they interact with it in a manner quite unusual in contemporaneous continental motets. There are passages with parallel thirds, sixths, and six-three chords (and a marked degree of repetition of counterpoint, even with voice-exchange, upon each tenor repetition) that strongly suggest an English influence here, if not in fact an English origin (the conclusion I favor).

No. 11 has not, to my knowledge, previously received any careful scrutiny, due to the condition of the leaf, which makes the two preserved voices very difficult to read in natural light. The upper voice on the page, bearing clef C3, alternates *cum* and *sine littera* sections, an alternation made emphatic by the use of a decorative red curlicue between elements of text. The lower voice, bearing clef C5, is not indented for an initial, implying that it belongs with the other. It is named "Quadri[ ]vium," not "Quadruplum[?]" as RISM gives it (a fold in the parch-

ment makes the middle of this word unreadable). Except for the name of the part, this voice is textless, carrying throughout the ornamental device as decoration. On the basis of this evidence it is reasonable to follow RISM in assuming these are two voices of a four-voice composition.

The use of such terminology as "Quartus cantus," "Quadruplex," or "Quadruplum" to designate the textless second supporting voice of a four-voice motet is a feature of English polyphony, as is the use of the terms "Primus tenor" and "Secundus tenor" (which had already gained currency in the 13th century). The continental equivalent is, of course, "Contratenor." The use of alternating *cum* and *sine littera* sections is also typically English. The observation of these features in no. 11 prompted a closer examination of it under ultraviolet illumination, producing the following results: the text has proved to be basically unreadable, though individual words and phrases that can be made out seem to imply a Christmas or Epiphany text directed to Mary, with a prayer for her intercession at the end. The two extant voices, largely recoverable, work well together in counterpoint, and by superposition of alternate *cum* and *sine littera* sections, a four-voice composition emerges that is freely composed in five sections of voice-exchange followed by a brief coda. On each exchange the material of the section is traded between members of the upper or lower pair of voices (see Appendix: musical transcription).

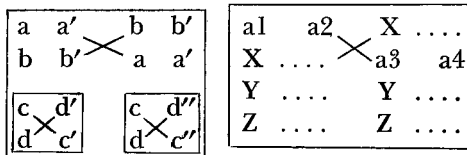
The significance of this intriguing piece is that its form is precisely the one described by Bukofzer for *Ave miles*, Ob 7, 7.<sup>21</sup> Although in separate sets of leaves, and in quite different notations, the two motets have a common structural framework. *Ave miles* has a cantus firmus, however, while Ob 7, 11 does not.

At least two other 14th-century English motets, one with cantus firmus and one without, have the same layout. The latter is a motet on St. Bartholomew which has only just recently been discovered (Oxford, Bodleian Library, New College 57, flyleaf [recto]). Restoration is accomplished in a manner similar to that used for Ob 7, 11, but unfortunately the fragment cannot be made to yield a complete piece. The resultant counterpoint is rather mechanical in rhythm and in exploitation of parallel six-three chords, but is deft in its interweaving of a single musical line between the two lower supporting parts. The vocal line in every section is a carefully shaped pair of *ouvert* and *clos* phrases, with straightforward first-mode declamation. Only the second half of each four-line stanza of text has been preserved<sup>22</sup> (see Example 2).

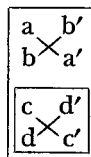
The other example, with cantus firmus, is a motet on St. Lawrence, *Triumphat hodie*, which is incomplete in both its sources, ONC, 3 and Lbm 24197, 7.<sup>23</sup> Between the two, the entire two-voice supporting substructure and one of the two upper voices can be assembled. The music of the second upper voice may be reconstructed through voice-exchange.

EXAMPLE 2: ONC 57, no. 1.

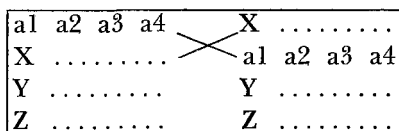
Form of each of the five sections:



The coda section, currently incomplete and possibly corrupt, may have had the form:



The St. Katherine motet *Rota versatilis* and the Hatton motets (Oha 81, 1-3) have this design in each of their exchange sections:



[Only the “a” phrases are texted; a and a’ (etc.) are paired as *ouvert* and *clos*. The alternative representation for ONC 57, 1 shows the intermediate position it occupies formally between the pieces with line-by-line or phrase-by-phrase exchange, and those with a more extended exchange form.]

The underlying cantus firmus is a French secular ditty in the musical form AA BB AA BB AA, thus readily adaptable, because of its repetitions, to a voice-exchange format.<sup>24</sup> The coda which concludes the motet is an elaborate sixth section, built on one further AA statement of the tenor tune with hocketing between the two lower voices.

Closely related construction in five sections with voice-exchange using a cantus firmus is found in a St. Nicholas motet, *Salve cleri speculum*, OHa 81, 4. It is built on the St. Nicholas prose *Sospitali dedit egros*, which has four double-versicles of music. To provide a fifth section, a free setting of two stanzas of text, with exchange, was added at the beginning.<sup>25</sup> A further free example, the immense St. Katherine motet, *Rota versatilis*, is also laid out in five large sections. In each, a musical module of four phrases is presented and then repeated with exchange between the two upper parts, while the lower pair of accompanying voices repeats without exchange<sup>26</sup> (See Example 3).

Let us return to an examination of Ob 7, 11, asking whether it is apparently “English” in any way besides its formal structure and pairing of voices for voice-exchange. In fact, though it does not exhibit the smooth rhythmic flow, careful regard for declamation, neat phrasing, and melodic facture of the others of its type, it does have typically English harmonic and local contrapuntal detail. As is immediately obvious, it is a “tonal” composition with final on C and has a vertically-

EXAMPLE 3: Voice-exchange motets in five sections.

| Topic and Incipit                                 | Source (s)  | Tonal Center | Voice Ranges |       |        |       | Length of Sections in Longs |                   |      |      |      |          |
|---|---|--------------|--------------|-------|--------|-------|-----------------------------|-------------------|------|------|------|----------|
|   |   |              | I            | II    | III    | IV    | I                           | II                | III  | IV   | V    | Coda     |
| St. Edmund<br><i>Ave miles</i>                    | Ob 7, 7   | D            | c-d'         | c-d'  | g-c''  | g-c'' | 2x14                        | 2x5               | 2x8  | 2x9  | 2x9  | 5        |
| (Epiphany? )<br>[C?]uius de ...                   | Ob 7, 11  | C            | Bb-c'        | Bb-c' | g-a'   | g-a'  | 2x12                        | 2x6               | 2x7  | 2x8  | 2x11 | 7        |
| St. Bartholomew<br><i>O pater excellentissime</i> | ONC 57, 1   | F            | f-f'         | f-f'  | b-d''  | b-d'' | 2x12                        | 2x14              | 2x14 | 2x16 | 2x14 | 10?[2x5] |
| St. Lawrence<br><i>Triumphat hodie</i>            | Lbm 24198, 7;<br>ONC 3                                  | D            | c-a          | c-a   | (g-a') | g-a'  | 2x7                         | 2x4               | 2x7  | 2x4  | 2x7  | 2x7      |
| St. Nicholas<br><i>Salve cleri speculum</i>       | OHa 81, 4   | D            | c-d'         | c-d'  | g-a'   | g-a'  | 2x13                        | 2x13              | 2x12 | 2x12 | 2x12 | ....     |
| St. Katherine<br><i>Rota versatilis</i>           | Lbm 24198, 1;<br>Lbm 40011B;<br>Lbm 4009;<br>Obo 652, 1 | C            | Bb-g         | e-c'  | g-a'   | b-a'  | 2x54                        | 2x38<br>or [2x27] | 2x18 | 2x40 | 2x27 | ....     |

controlled counterpoint that elaborates a very limited harmonic vocabulary. There is essentially just root motion by step from chords on C (and occasionally E) to chords on D or B-flat—the English supertonic or subtonic “pes” harmony so familiar from the *Sumer Canon*, etc. The composition opens on a full triad, and this sonority is a common one. There is extensive motion in parallel six-three chords, and one sees the constant employment of voice-exchange not just as a formal device, but also on a more local scale between paired voices, to animate a static harmonic environment (e.g., in bars 9-10, 11-12, 26, 43). On the other hand, the elastic rhythms, alternating sustained motion in breves with lively stretches of semibreves and minims, along with the occasional harsh dissonances in the four-part writing (characteristic and most prominent in the final cadence) indicate some stylistic indebtedness to the continental *Ars Nova* idiom.<sup>27</sup>

The English propensity for four-part writing allows for pieces with a wide variety of voice configurations. Out of the over fifty such complete pieces and fragments in the 13th- and 14-century English repertory, approximately a quarter have three texted voices and a tenor cantus firmus. Another quarter have two texted voices, a tenor cantus firmus, and a fourth voice that acts in a flexible manner as harmonic fundament or filler. Depending from moment to moment on the course of the cantus firmus and the upper voices, it overlaps their ranges and matches their melodic-rhythmic styles. The largest portion of these pieces consists of compositions with a clearcut stratification of parts into two pairs of voices associated by range, activity, and interchange. With few exceptions, these pieces are monotextual, and again with few exceptions, they are freely composed. Some have the look of song settings that were composed “from the top down” and others emphasize voice exchange.

Are these latter motets, conductus, or rondelli (or hybrid crossings)? I would argue that they are motets, even if they have only one text and no cantus firmus, because they have a structural stratification—a clearly subordinate support and a prominent superstructure. It is different from the texture of a conductus or rondellus, where all voices are by nature equal. In the English tradition these motets do not emerge from the conductus/rondellus repertory so much as from the 13th-century pes motet, especially those with voice exchange. There are at least two Worcester fragments, WF 11 and WF 73, with one texted voice supported by two lower untexted ones; other intermediaries in three voices in this process (if it is safe to identify any with security) are more likely to be motets like ONC 5, (*Excelsus in numine*) or Lbm 24198, 6 (*Te domina*) than the conductus and rondelli notated in separate parts in the same MSS.

This study has been an attempt to give, within a descriptive overview of a single important motet source, some idea of the variety found in the 14th-century English motet repertory and the way in which some clarity can be brought to a jumble of whole pieces and fragments by a con-



sideration of certain types of compositional and formal procedures. Questions of notation, word-music relationships, textual content, and historical context all demand more attention than they were given here.

Bukofzer had written about Ob 7, 7 (*Ave miles*) as follows: "The structural features of the motet are, as far as is known today, very exceptional if not unique. The entire repertory of compositions with interchange should be re-examined for similar examples." The "strangely abstract cantus-firmus treatment" in that piece is in no way rendered less perverse or arbitrary when compared with the behavior of the two lower supporting voices in Ob 7, 11 and other similar pieces written freely or with a cantus firmus that we can identify today. But Bukofzer's preoccupation with the mechanical chopping up of the chant, and its loss of identity for anyone but the performer, is an approach that leads to a very constricted way of thinking about the piece. For example, the curious quotation of one of the *differentiae* of the first psalm tone in the coda (identified in the manuscript by the textual abbreviation "EVOVAE") can now be seen not as an attempt to provide a liturgical specification for the motet, but rather as an attempt to extend cantus firmus treatment to the "coda." The composer was working within a tradition, or had in mind a prototype of a five-part voice-exchange motet with coda, a genre that is a subset of a more general type of four-voice English motet characterized by its harmonic-textural idiom.

Another point of significance raised by Ob 7, 11 (and echoed by no. 14) is its presence in a seemingly "continental" fascicle of motets with strong notational and stylistic links to France. This means we cannot any longer hold that "the indigenous English repertory between the Worcester Fragments and Old Hall has no demonstrable continental links, and seems to have remained quite separate in style, techniques, and notation until the very late 14th century."<sup>28</sup> Rather, a picture of a more complex interaction or English response to continental developments in roughly mid-century, is suggested.

I APPENDIX Ob 7, no. 11—transcription.

The first system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The second and third staves are in alto clef (C-clef on the second line). The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat. The music features a variety of note values including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, along with rests and slurs. A dynamic marking of *mf* is present at the beginning of the system.

The second system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The second and third staves are in alto clef. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat. The music continues with similar rhythmic patterns. A dynamic marking of *mf* is present at the beginning of the system. A measure number '12' is written above the top staff at the end of the system.

The third system of the musical score consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat. The second and third staves are in alto clef. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat. The music continues with similar rhythmic patterns. A dynamic marking of *mf* is present at the beginning of the system.

24

Musical score for measures 24-29. The score is written for four staves in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music features a melody in the upper staves and a bass line in the lower staves. A bass clef is indicated in the second measure of the bottom staff. The notation includes quarter notes, eighth notes, and rests.

II

30

Musical score for measures 30-35, marked with a Roman numeral 'II'. The score continues from the previous system with the same four-staff layout and key signature. The notation includes quarter notes, eighth notes, and rests.

36

Musical score for measures 36-41. The score continues with the same four-staff layout and key signature. The notation includes quarter notes, eighth notes, and rests.

# III

Musical score for section III, measures 37-42. The score is written for four staves in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The music features a variety of rhythmic patterns, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The first staff has a melodic line with some grace notes. The second and third staves have more active lines with eighth and sixteenth notes. The fourth staff provides a steady accompaniment with eighth notes.

Musical score for section III, measures 43-49. The score continues with four staves. Measure 43 is marked with the number '43'. The music continues with similar rhythmic patterns and melodic lines as the previous section. There are some rests and dynamic markings throughout the passage.

Musical score for section IV, measures 50-54. The score begins with measure 50, marked with the number '50'. Section IV is indicated by the Roman numeral 'IV' above the staff. The music continues with four staves, showing a continuation of the melodic and rhythmic themes from the previous sections.

System 1: Four staves of music. The first two staves are treble clef, and the last two are bass clef. The music consists of quarter and eighth notes with stems, and some rests.

System 2: Four staves of music. The first two staves are treble clef, and the last two are bass clef. This system begins with a measure number '58' and a key signature change to one flat (B-flat). The music features eighth-note patterns and quarter notes.

System 3: Four staves of music. The first two staves are treble clef, and the last two are bass clef. This system begins with a measure number '66' and a key signature change to two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The music continues with eighth-note and quarter-note figures.

V

System 1: Four staves of music. The top staff (treble clef) features a melodic line with eighth and quarter notes. The second staff (treble clef) has a more active line with eighth notes and rests. The third and fourth staves (both bass clefs) provide a steady accompaniment with eighth notes.

77

System 2: Four staves of music. The top staff (treble clef) has a melodic line with eighth notes and rests. The second staff (treble clef) has a more active line with eighth notes and rests. The third and fourth staves (both bass clefs) provide a steady accompaniment with eighth notes. A flat symbol (b) is present in the third staff.

System 3: Four staves of music. The top staff (treble clef) features a melodic line with eighth and quarter notes. The second staff (treble clef) has a more active line with eighth notes and rests. The third and fourth staves (both bass clefs) provide a steady accompaniment with eighth notes.

Musical score for page 88, featuring four staves of music in 8/8 time. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals, with a 'b' marking in the bottom staff.

## [CODA]

Musical score for the CODA section on page 88, featuring four staves of music in 8/8 time. The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals, with a '95' marking in the top staff.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Bent, "A Preliminary Assessment of the Independence of English Trecento Notation," *L'Ars nova italiana del trecento*, ed. Agostino Ziino (Certaldo: Centro di studi sull'Ars nova italiana del Trecento, 1975), p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> The only major exceptions are the 11th fascicle of W1 and the English language songs in the late 14th-century Winchester songbook, Cu 5943. The former have been edited by Edward Roesner as Volume 2 of his 1974 NYU dissertation, "The Manuscript Wolfenbützel, Herzog-August Bibliothek, 628 Helmstadinensis: A Study of Its Origins and of Its Eleventh Fascicle." The latter are to appear in Frank Ll. Harrison and Eric J. Dobson's *Medieval English Songs* (London: Faber, 1979).

<sup>3</sup> All manuscripts will be cited here using the sigla of the volumes of RISM B IV. Relevant Worcester materials include Worc[78]-[80], which is fragment xii of Worcester Cathedral Library, Additional 68; and the palimpsests Worc[53] and Worc[67]. For fuller information, see the bibliography in RISM B IV1, pp. 541-42, 595-96.

<sup>4</sup> Roger Bowers, "Choral Institutions within the English Church: Their Constitution and Development, 1340-1500" (Ph.D. diss., University of East Anglia, 1975), esp. pp. 2051, 2062ff.

<sup>5</sup> In what may be interpreted as evidence of fairly "recent" loss, OW 591 has written upside down at the foot of fol. iiv the following notation: "1660 feb. 9. with this may be bound pettyes pallace of pleasure." The musical flyleaves are actually part of the binding of *The Pallace of Pleasure Beautified* by W. Painter (London, 1569).

<sup>6</sup> Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2d ed. (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964); Margaret Bent, "The Transmission of English Music, 1300-1500: Some Aspects of Repertory and Presentation," *Studien zur Tradition in der Musik*, eds. Hans Eggebrecht and Max Lütolf (Munich: Katzbichler, 1973), pp. 73-74.

<sup>7</sup> This work is an outgrowth of the project initiated in his dissertation. See note 4.

<sup>8</sup> There is a detailed discussion of Lbm 24198 in Margaret Bent's article, "Rota versatilis—Towards a Reconstruction," *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: A Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. Ian Bent (London, 1979).

<sup>9</sup> Manfred Bukofzer, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Norton, 1950), pp. 17-33 and esp. p. 24, n. 22.

<sup>10</sup> The following information draws on three sources to which the reader is recommended for some details: RISM B IV<sup>2</sup>, pp. 257-61; Sir John Stainer, *Early Bodleian Music*, vol. 1 (London: Novello, 1901), pp. xviii-xix; and Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> RISM B IV<sup>2</sup>, p. 257; Stainer, *Early Bodleian Music*, p. xviii.

<sup>12</sup> A similar segregation of material is found in a roughly contemporaneous source from Durham: DRc 20. See RISM B IV<sup>2</sup>, pp. 218-22 and Frank Ll. Harrison, "Ars Nova in England: A New Source," *Musica Disciplina* 21 (1967):67-85. Harrison's dating of Ob 7 to ca. 1340 and of DRc 20 to ca. 1350-60 (*Ibid.*, p. 69) is reasonable on paleographic and repertorial grounds, but the question of the dating of these sources is still open.

<sup>13</sup> This assumption seems reasonable for the parallel situation in DRc 20 (see note 12), though a separate origin cannot be completely discounted there either. In another case where separation of leaves into front and rear sets of widely differing appearance and contents calls into question their relatedness, Cb 228 (a Pembroke College MS now housed in the Cambridge University Library), the front leaves preserve motet fragments, and the rear leaves preserve discant and cantilena settings in score. Front and rear leaves both have concordances to the same source, CGC.

<sup>14</sup> Confirmation that this piece is indeed a Kyrie was made by Dr. John Caldwell of Oxford University, who recognized the monophonic Kyrie in ORL 3, fol. 72<sup>v</sup> as the source of the cantus firmus. I thank Dr. Caldwell for sharing this information with me.

The 13th staff on this page, added in order to accommodate the last line of the Kyrie, is evidently a later addition, drawn in using black rather than the usual red ink. The Kyrie was clearly added after the motet items, and uses the typical notational features of its genre: presentation in pseudoscore, heavy ligation, and occasional use of minims which imply that the underlying mensuration is conceived of as *tempus imperfectum, prolatio maior*. Since English notational habits appear to have been genre-dependent, it may be rash to assume that the composition of this Kyrie significantly postdates the repertory of the front leaves, despite the seemingly "conservative" Petronian notation of the latter. The chronology of the English discant repertory is another open question, even up through the corpus in Old Hall.

<sup>15</sup> Stainer, *Early Bodleian Music*, p. xviii, esp. n. 1.

<sup>16</sup> The stemming of semibreves in DRc 20 is most likely the work of the original music scribe. Margaret Bent argues that DRc 20, 1 is purely French in notation and hence must be considered "Anglo-French" rather than "English" ("The Transmission



of English Music," p. 67 and p. 80, n. 11). However, the notation of this piece (Petronian, with stemming of three and four semibreves in the triplum following deVitry) cannot be a reliable guide to provenance. Though the counterpoint is harsh, the underlying second-mode rhythms, the "double-structure" of the duplum against the tenor and triplum, and the assonance between all three textual incipits, as well as location in an "English" fascicle, all argue more strongly for English than continental origin.

17 Only No. 2, with its scheme on 9, has become well known. It is printed in facsimile and transcription by Stainer in *Early Bodleian Music I*, plates X-XI, and II, pp. 24ff., and has been partially transcribed and commented on by Gustave Reese in *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York: Norton, 1940), p. 404; by Frank L. Harrison, "English Church Music of the Fourteenth Century," *NOH III* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960) p. 93; by Ernest Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," *Gattungen der Musik I*, ed. Wolf Arlt et al. (Bern, Munich: Francke, 1973), p. 544. For the clearest discussion of the meaning of isoperiodicity, see Sanders, *ibid.*, pp. 543-46.

18 For example, the voice texted "Candens lilium columbina" in Worc[53] has this structure: AxAy BxBy AxAy CxCy AxAy.

19 Margaret Bent discusses this process of contrafacture in "The Transmission of English Music," pp. 66-67. Reference is made there to the interesting remark confirming such text alterations as an English preference, which appears at the end of the text of the uppermost voice of Lbm 57950 (Old Hall), 146—a French motet made into a Deo gratias substitute.

20 For an explanation of the *fatras* as a poetic genre, and modern editions of the *fatras* of Watriquet, see Lambert C. Porter, *La fatrasie et le fatras: essai sur la poésie irrationnelle en France au moyen age* (Paris and Geneva, 1960). The couplet beginning *Doucement me reconforte* is listed as no. 618 in Nico H. J. van den Boogaard, *Rondeaux et refrains du xii<sup>e</sup> siècle au debut du xiv<sup>e</sup>* (Paris, 1969). I thank Professor Frank L. Harrison for the above reference. The couplet, and the *fatras* made on it, probably date to ca. 1328-1340.

21 Bukofzer, *Studies*, pp. 23-24.

22 Roger W. Aberly was the first, to my knowledge, to draw attention to this fragment, and he provides a transcription and discussion of the Bartholomew motet in his dissertation, "English Polyphonic Music of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries: A Reconstruction, Transcription and Commentary" (Ph.D. thesis, Oxford, 1978). Bartholomew may be identified as the subject by references to the king Polimius and other events from the saint's legend.

23 This piece is widely known through a truncated and contrapuntally incomplete version in *The History of Music in Sound*, vol. 2, "Early Medieval Music Up to 1300" (London: Oxford University Press, 1955), booklet pp. 58-60.

24 Half of the text of this secular song is preserved in each source; when combined, the verses run consecutively, so that there is no alternative French text, nor any question of a French-language contrafactum here.

25 Frank L. Harrison gives a more detailed description of this motet in "Rota and Rondellus in Medieval Music," *PRMA* 86 (1959-60): 103. I am uncomfortable with Harrison's "rondellus-motet" terminology, because I believe the distinction between voice-exchange and rondellus ought to be preserved, and I would argue that conceptually such pieces as *Salve cleri speculum* and the others under discussion ought to be regarded as dealing in voice-exchange rather than rondellus. The latter term ought to be reserved for those compositions, whether notated in score or parts, which have three equal voices undergoing the kind of procedure described, with an example, by Walter Odington. See the article "Rondellus/Rondeau, Rota" by Fritz Reckow in *Handwörterbuch der Musikalischen Terminologie*, ed. Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht (Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1972).

<sup>26</sup> Margaret Bent's article, "Rota versatilis—Towards a Reconstruction," is an exhaustive accounting of this motet's source preservation problems, style, notation, and text. Despite the recurrence of the term *rota* in the text, this piece is neither *rota* (round canon, following the use of this word in the instructions to the singers of the *Sumer Canon*) nor *rondellus*, but takes its rotational musical form from exchange. Its length is the equivalent of 336 perfect longs.

The design of the Katherine motet is most closely related to three compositions (OHa 81, 1-3) that have two or four, rather than five, sections. It is possible that the numerology of "5" has to do with saints; I have discussed motets with texts on Edmund, Bartholomew, Lawrence, Nicholas, and Katherine. Of course, some saints' motets in the repertory do not exhibit either voice-exchange or a structure consisting of five sections, while the latter feature appears elsewhere. For example, *Suspiria merentis* (CGC 5) has a full refrain which repeats five times; *Candens crescit* has five sections (see note 18) and is closely related to the above settings in melodic design, though without voice-exchange. Worc[18/66] has a fourfold exchange structure with coda; other settings with similar phrase designs and coda include Lwa 12185, 1 and ONC 57, 2.

<sup>27</sup> An equivalent to the style of Ob 7, 11 in the wider English repertory is the marvelous four-voice *Deo gratias* in the Pierpont Morgan leaves (US-Morgan 978, 9).

<sup>28</sup> Margaret Bent, "A Preliminary Assessment," p. 65. Her most easily available expansion of this topic is in "The Transmission of English Music," pp. 65-67.

## THE INFLUENCE OF OPERATIC REFORM IN HAMBURG, 1700-38

Robert Lynch

The three principal sources for the librettos of operas performed at Hamburg between 1700 and 1738 were native north German texts, German texts based on Italian librettos, and German translations of Italian librettos. The Hamburg librettists were expected to transform their Italian text sources to suit the taste of their audience. The operas based on these librettos, performed on the Hamburg stage, provide an excellent basis for gauging the influence of Baroque operatic reform in a provincial city that was distant from the southern centers of operatic activity.

Because of previous research and analysis by Max Fehr, Nathaniel Burt, Harold Powers, Robert Freeman, and others, we are able to define the principal elements of Baroque libretto reform.<sup>1</sup> Briefly, they can be divided into two areas: the structural or formal aspects and the aesthetic or literary aspects. The most important structural characteristics of reform librettos were: a low number of arias (an average might be 30), the preponderance of scene-ending exit arias (in other words, most arias ended with the exit of the singer), and few breaks in the liaison of scenes (which meant that each scene retained at least one character from the preceding scene).<sup>2</sup> The reform libretto also included a low number of set changes and the avoidance of arias consecutively sung by one character. The chief characteristic of aesthetic reform was the sophistication of plot; this included greater characterization and plot development, as well as stories that emphasized reality while avoiding frivolous love intrigues and comic episodes.

It can be easily established that the reform libretto was known in Hamburg. A number of important librettos by the two most influential reform librettists, Zeno and Metastasio, were translated or used as model librettos in Hamburg—to mention only a few, Zeno's *Lucio Vero* and *L'Astarto*, and Metastasio's *Siface* and *Didone abbandonata*.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, one of Hamburg's most famous citizens, Johann Mattheson, acknowledged in a 1722 defense of Italian opera the "incomparable Zeno" and the importance and high quality of his librettos.<sup>4</sup>

Although the domination of Italian opera was the most striking feature of the final twenty years of Baroque opera at Hamburg (1718-38), its acceptance was gradual. Only 26 of the operas produced on the Hamburg stage from 1700 to 1718 were original Italian operas or German operas based on Italian librettos. Fifteen of these were performed between 1715 and 1718.<sup>5</sup> However, only 4—all written by composers who

were not associated with the opera house in Hamburg—had primarily Italian arias: Handel's *Rinaldo* and *Amadigi di Gaula*, Heinichen's *Calpurnia*, and Conti's *Il trionfo dell'amicizia e dell'amore*. The 22 others, predominantly with German arias, were settings of librettos that had been translated from Italian originals.

Each of these Italian librettos underwent a series of alterations. One change that was almost always made was the even redistribution of arias among the characters of the opera. This is the case with Heinrich Hinsch's revision and translation of Zeno's *Lucio Vero*. Figure 1 compares act 3 of Zeno's libretto with Hinsch's Hamburg version, entitled *Berenice*. We can see from this diagram that there is no change in the *sceneggiatura* but a slight decrease of consecutive arias sung by the same character—indicated by an arrow. (Note that the scene numbers of each opera are in alignment. This indicates that the content of each scene is roughly equivalent—in fact, in these two operas, the content of each scene is identical.) The most interesting change, however, is the redistribution of arias. One can see from the aria totals on the right that Hinsch eliminated the disproportionately large number of arias for the heroine of the opera, *Berenice*. This redistribution is accomplished simply by decreasing the total number of arias even though a minor character (the soldier), who takes part in a duet, is added. (As can be seen in Figure 1b, Hinsch also decreased the number of ensembles and increased the number of arias for Volgesus.) The *Opernhaus am Gänsemarkt* (as the Hamburg opera house was called) employed a repertory company of singers who sang in each performance of every opera. Unlike such companies as Handel's Royal Academy of Music in London, Hamburg relied on local singers and, with some later exceptions, never had singers with international reputations to compare with Handel's famous Senesino, Cuzzoni, or Faustina Bordoni. Hamburg's singers made up a company of equals, and the librettists and composers took special care to distribute arias evenly among the singers of each opera. In practice this often meant that the bass roles were expanded from the original Italian libretto.<sup>6</sup>

*Berenice* is unusual because of the decrease in the total number of arias. Ordinarily the addition of characters in Hamburg revisions not only allowed for an even distribution of arias but also caused an increase in the total number. For example, in Feustking's reworking of the popular libretto *L'Almira*, he added the character of Bellante (see Figure 2, which is a comparison of Pancieri's *L'Almira* with Feustking's version). It is because of Bellante that, despite the increase in the total number of arias, no single character sings the largest number of arias (which had been the case in the original Pancieri libretto), and the difference between the number sung by each character is considerably lessened. (The largest number of arias sung by one character in Pancieri's libretto is 12 arias plus 1 duet—by Almira—and the smallest, 3—by Consalvo.

FIGURE 1a: Zeno's *Lucio Vero* (Venice, 1700, music by C. F. Pollarolo), act 3.

| Scene    | 1   | 2  | 3 | 4         | 5 | 6 | 7   | 8       | 9 | 10  | 11  | 12  | 13  | 14  | 15 | 16 | Total arias (ensembles) |            |
|----------|-----|----|---|-----------|---|---|-----|---------|---|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|----|----|-------------------------|------------|
| L. Vero  |     |    |   |           |   |   |     |         |   | 34i | 35i |     |     |     |    |    | 39i-                    | 5 (3) = 8  |
| Vologese |     |    |   |           |   |   |     |         |   |     |     |     |     |     |    |    | "D" 39i-                | 3 (4) = 7  |
| Berenice |     |    |   | 31i → 32i |   |   |     | "C"**** |   |     |     |     | 37i |     |    |    | 39i-                    | 8 (4) = 12 |
| Lucilla  | 30i | ** |   |           |   |   |     |         |   |     | 35i |     |     | 38i |    |    | 39i-                    | 6 (4) = 10 |
| Aniceto  |     |    |   |           |   |   | 33i |         |   |     |     |     |     |     |    |    |                         | 6 (1) = 7  |
| Claudio  | 30i |    |   |           |   |   |     |         |   |     |     | 36i |     |     |    |    |                         | 4 = 4      |
| Niso*    |     |    |   |           |   |   |     |         |   |     |     |     |     |     |    |    |                         | 0          |

FIGURE 1b: Hinsch's *Berenice* (Hamburg, 1702, music by Bronner and Mattheson), act 3.

| Scene     | 1  | 2 | 3 | 4  | 5 | 6 | 7  | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | Total arias (ensembles) |
|-----------|----|---|---|----|---|---|----|---|---|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|-------------------------|
| L. Verus  |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   | 32 | 33 |    |    |    |    |    | 6 (1) = 7               |
| Vologesus |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    | 37 | 5 (2) = 7               |
| Berenice  |    |   |   | 30 |   |   |    |   |   |    |    |    | 35 |    |    |    | 7 (2) = 9               |
| Lucilla   | 29 |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    | 33 |    |    | 36 |    |    | 6 (2) = 8               |
| Anicetus  |    |   |   |    |   |   | 31 |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 5 = 5                   |
| Claudius  |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |    | 34 |    |    |    |    | 4 = 4                   |
| Nisus*    |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | 0                       |
| (Soldat)  | 29 |   |   |    |   |   |    |   |   |    |    |    |    |    |    |    | (1) = 1                 |

\*comic character

\*\*brackets designate ensembles

\*\*\*text in "virgolette"

FIGURE 2a: Pancieri's *L'Almira* (Venice, 1691, music by Boniventi), act 3.

| Scene    | 1           | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5       | 6       | 7 | 8   | 9   | 10 | 11  | 12  | 13 | 14  | Total arias   |
|----------|-------------|---|---|---|---------|---------|---|-----|-----|----|-----|-----|----|-----|---------------|
| Almira   |             |   |   |   | 45i→46i |         |   |     | 52i |    | 53i | **  |    | 55i | 12i (1i) = 13 |
| Edilia   |             |   |   |   |         | 48i→49i |   |     |     |    |     |     |    | 54i | 11i (1i) = 12 |
| Consalvo |             |   |   |   |         |         |   |     |     |    |     |     |    |     | 3i = 3        |
| Osmano   |             |   |   |   |         |         |   | 50i |     |    |     |     |    |     | 5i (2i) = 7   |
| Raimondo |             |   |   |   |         |         |   | 50i | 51i |    |     |     |    |     | 6i (1i) = 7   |
| Fernando | 42i→43i→44i |   |   |   |         |         |   |     |     |    |     | 53i |    |     | 10i (1i) = 11 |
| Tabarco* |             |   |   |   |         | 47i     |   |     |     |    |     |     |    |     | 5i = 5        |

FIGURE 2b: Feustking's *Almira* (Hamburg, 1704, music by Handel), act 3.

| Scene    | 1  | 2  | 3  | 4  | 5  | 6     | 7 | 8   | 9 | 10    | 11 | 12    | 13 | 14 | 15 | 16 | 17 | 18 |                 |
|----------|----|----|----|----|----|-------|---|-----|---|-------|----|-------|----|----|----|----|----|----|-----------------|
| Almira   |    |    |    |    |    |       |   | 47i |   | 49→50 |    |       |    |    |    | 54 |    |    | 7i + 3 (1) = 11 |
| Edilia   |    |    |    |    | 41 |       |   |     |   |       |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    | 2i + 3 (1) = 6  |
| Consalvo |    |    | 39 |    |    | 44    |   |     |   |       |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    | 6 = 6           |
| Osmano   |    | 38 |    |    |    |       |   |     |   |       |    |       |    |    |    |    | 56 |    | 1i + 7 (2) = 10 |
| Raimondo |    |    |    |    | 42 |       |   | 48  |   | 51i   |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    | 2i + 3 = 5      |
| Fernando | 37 |    |    |    |    | 45→46 |   |     |   |       |    | 52→53 | 54 |    |    |    |    |    | 1i + 9 (1) = 11 |
| Tabarco* |    |    |    | 40 |    |       |   |     |   |       |    |       |    |    |    |    |    |    | 1i + 4 = 5      |
| Bellante |    |    |    |    |    | 43    |   |     |   |       |    |       |    |    |    | 55 | 56 |    | 1i + 3 (1) = 5  |

\*comic character

\*\*ensemble

Feustking's characters sing from 10 plus 1 duet—Almira and Fernando, to 5—Raimondo, Tabarco, and Bellante, if the duet is included.)

The addition of Bellante in Feustking's version also ensures that every unmarried serious character may live happily in the future with his or her beloved. It is a major addition of material but in fact has little influence upon the basic plot, which can be briefly summarized as follows. After being crowned Queen of Castile, Almira, prodded by her advisor and tutor Consalvo, must choose a husband. The two princes who court her are Osmano and Raimondo, sons of Consalvo. However, Almira secretly loves her secretary Fernando, who is a commoner unsuitable for marriage with a queen. At the end of the opera, we finally learn that Fernando is actually another son of Consalvo and, therefore, a proper candidate to marry Almira. The princess Edilia, meanwhile, loves Osmano, but she is constantly frustrated, since he resolutely spurns her and courts Almira during most of the opera. Consalvo offers fatherly advice throughout, but wisely remains emotionally uninvolved in Almira's dilemma. The remaining character, Tabarco, is Fernando's servant and plays the only comic role in the opera; he remains outside the main plot. The final resolution of the opera as Pancieri originally wrote it is diagrammed in Figure 3a. (The solid arrow is requited love and the broken arrow is unrequited love. Serious characters left at the end of the opera without a lover have circled names.) In Feustking's edition (diagrammed in Figure 3b), Raimondo, and not Osmano, is to marry Edilia at the end of the opera, and Osmano will marry the added character, Bellante. The attempt to match each serious character with a spouse (or future spouse)

FIGURE 3a: Final resolution of Pancieri's *L'Almira* (1699).

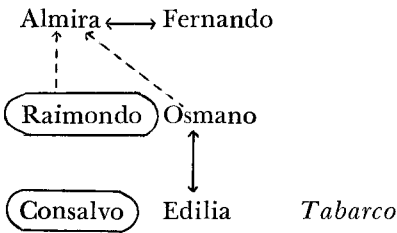
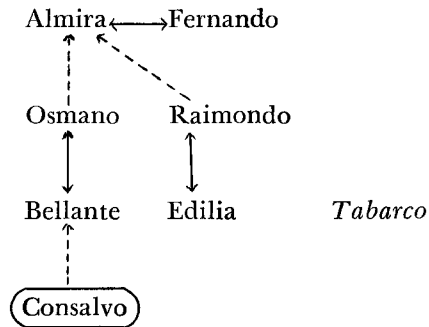


FIGURE 3b: Final resolution of Feustking's *Almira* (1704).



by the end of the opera is a feature characteristic of Hamburg operas—a concern that often taxed the imagination of Hamburg librettists.

One can see in this second diagram (Figure 3b) that Bellante also serves as an object of love for Consalvo. The passion of an older man for a younger woman is the theme of many comic scenes and intermezzos during the first half of the 18th century in Hamburg and throughout

Europe. Because of Consalvo's rank and dramatic function, however, he never becomes a comic figure himself, but is often the object of the comic ridicule expressed by Tabarco. This is one of the earliest examples of a theme that would become a feature common to the added comic scenes of Hamburg opera: the harsh and often cruelly comic criticism and ridicule of the frivolous and meaningless life style of the aristocracy by characters of the lower classes.<sup>7</sup> Pancieri's original libretto was produced in Italian with few changes by Fedeli in 1703 at the court of nearby Brunswick. It had no trace of this type of comedy. But Hamburg's audience, in a free city, full of independent and wealthy businessmen, apparently enjoyed comedy at the expense of the aristocracy. This strong emphasis on love and comedy ran counter to the reform ideas of the time, as I have already mentioned.

The addition of characters continued to be important in Hamburg libretto revisions. In the reworking of Handel's *Amadigi di Gaula*, five new arias were added to the entire opera, which was retitled *Oriana* and performed at Hamburg in 1717 (two years after its London premiere). The new arias were inserted into scenes that had not originally been in the London version. Since there was little alteration in the other scenes, these new scenes created six breaks in the dramatic continuity—at a time when this, the liaison of scenes, was one of the chief elements of the new libretto reform. Furthermore, the additional arias were placed in the middle or at the beginning of scenes. As mentioned earlier, the scene-ending exit aria was one of the principal formal elements of the new libretto style. To have 11 medial and 2 entrance arias out of a total of 35 in this revision of Handel's opera was a complete rejection of this reform ideal.

In the same sentence in which Mattheson had praised Zeno's librettos in 1722, he also mentioned some very old operas that deserved praise. One of those works was a German translation of Minato's *Creso* entitled *Der hochmüthige, gestürzte, und wieder erhabene Croesus* (*The Haughty, Defeated, and Restored Croesus*). The libretto was first translated by Lucas von Bostel in 1684. The setting with which Mattheson was no doubt familiar was by Reinhard Keiser, whose first version of the opera was produced at Hamburg in 1711. In this version Bostel created a typical Hamburg libretto, consisting of a large cast (14 principal characters) and 13 set changes, ranging from magnificent royal rooms to farmers' huts and from princely chambers to battlegrounds. The 1711 *Croesus* had 47 arias in 45 scenes. More than one aria per scene, as in this case, was a conservative feature of the early 18th-century libretto. Furthermore, in *Croesus* there were only 12 scene-ending exit arias, but 16 entrance arias. Finally, during the course of its three long acts, only about a third of the opera's scenes concern themselves with the main story: the attempt of the haughty Lydian king Croesus to conquer Persia, his defeat and capture by Cyrus in 546 b.c., and, with the aid of the gods,



his eventual rescue. The rest of the opera follows various love affairs of his son, Atis, and of his enemy, Orsanes, and the comic meanderings of two superfluous servants.

During the first two decades of the 18th century the similar and consistent revisions of early Italian librettos resulted in an increase in the number of arias, in the number of scenes, and in the number of characters; the additional scenes created breaks in the liaison of scenes, and finally, plots tended to concentrate on comedy and various love intrigues to such an extent that they frequently dominated the stage action. There was, in short, in the Hamburg revisions of Italian librettos little attempt to incorporate new reform ideas that began to dominate the librettos conceived for the stages of southern Europe.

During the final twenty years of Baroque opera at Hamburg, the Italian reform librettos traveled north. 1718 marks an important turning point in the history of opera at Hamburg; the opera house collapsed financially that year, and for a short time the stage was dark. As a result, Reinhard Keiser, until that time Hamburg's principal and most popular composer, decided to leave and seek employment elsewhere. He was soon replaced by Telemann, and it was under his direction that Italian opera came to dominate the Hamburg stage—at precisely the same time that the reform ideals of Zeno and other Italian librettists were gaining wide acceptance.<sup>8</sup>

Between 1718 and 1738 there were 32 Italian operas performed in Hamburg, and most of these operas (like those performed before 1718) were significantly altered in comparison with their original Italian or London productions. (I mention London because Handel was the most popular composer in Hamburg during this period, and he had more operas produced at Hamburg than any other composer.) These revisions were neither arbitrary nor meaningless; they were made with care and often required extensive rewriting of the original. The recitative was translated and reset (a feature of almost every Italian opera performed at Hamburg), arias were added, others were deleted or replaced, choruses and dance numbers were added, and significant changes were made in the *sceneggiatura*. Few changes, however, reflect any progressive reform elements.

This is perhaps most conspicuous in the 1729 Hamburg production of *Richardus*. The original libretto, *Riccardo Primo* by Paolo Rolli, possessed many characteristics of Zeno's post-1718 Viennese reform librettos: a small number of characters (6), a low number of arias and scenes (26 of each), no consecutive arias sung by a single character, a preponderance of scene-ending exit arias, few breaks in the liaison of scenes (only 2), and no comic interruptions of the principal action. At Hamburg many of these essential reform features disappeared in the production of *Richardus*: the number of characters increased (to 9), the main bass role (again a wise old man) was greatly expanded, arias and

scenes were added (for a total of 39 arias in 33 scenes), and not only were most of the new arias not scene-ending exit arias, but one was changed from a scene-ending aria to a medial aria. Other changes increased the number of breaks in the liaison of scenes (to 6) and required that serious characters take part in essentially comic scenes. It is, once more, the comic additions that destroyed many of the reform elements of the original libretto. The two comic servants, added in scenes that form three intermezzos, contribute little to the basic plot of *Richardus*. On the other hand, Wend, the Hamburg librettist who wrote these scenes, avoided the awkward breaks inherent in comic interruptions, primarily by providing interaction of comic and main serious characters.

Modern theatrical sensibilities do not accept as the best dramatic solution such reform features as the scene-ending exit aria and the mutual exclusivity of comic and serious elements. However, in the light of the progressive theories of the period, the rejection of these features at Hamburg must be seen as old-fashioned and less dramatically acceptable. The alterations made in Handel's operas performed at Hamburg resulted in a type of opera whose features were consistent with the indigenous German opera composed principally by Keiser and Telemann.

Telemann began his Hamburg operatic career with the performance of his comic opera *Der gedultige Socrates*.<sup>9</sup> During his tenure as director of the opera house the number of comic operas and comic intermezzos performed there increased. Comic opera and the insistence upon comic scenes at Hamburg were, as we have seen, often incompatible with libretto reform. This was not necessarily true of the Italian comic opera performed at, for example, Vienna.

Telemann's *Socrates* is a version of Minato's 17th-century Italian libretto *La pazienza di Socrate*.<sup>10</sup> The libretto was also revised and set to music ten years after Telemann's version by Caldara (which is an indication of the remarkable lifespan of some of the better 17th-century librettos). Caldara's 1731 version is a clear response to reform ideals: it is characterized by a reduction in the total number of arias, the predominance of scene-ending exit arias, and the considerable tightening of Minato's rather loose plot. These progressive features are conspicuously absent from Telemann's setting, which has a large number of characters, many arias and scenes, and, particularly in comparison with Caldara's version, a large number of arias per scene. There was also an even distribution of arias among the characters and an emphasis on medial arias, as Figure 4 illustrates.

When *Der gedultige Socrates* was revived in 1730, only three arias and one duet were cut. From 1721 to 1730 the formal elements of Telemann's operas—both comic and serious—remained remarkably consistent. *Das Ende der Babylonischen Monarchie . . . Belsazer*, part one (of 1723), has 12 characters, arias consecutively sung by the same character in 7 instances, 2 breaks in the liaison of scenes—fewer than

FIGURE 4: Position of arias in *La pazienza di Socrate* (Draghi, 1680), *Der gedultige Socrates* (Telemann, 1721), and *La pazienza di Socrate* (Caldara, 1731).

| Aria Position                      | Draghi | Telemann | Caldara |
|------------------------------------|--------|----------|---------|
| Scene-ending exit arias            | 14     | 11       | 19      |
| Exit arias (not scene-ending)      | 2      | 1        | 0       |
| Scene-ending arias without an exit | 5      | 9        | 2       |
| Medial arias                       | 10     | 20       | 4       |
| Entrance arias                     | 14     | 8        | 6       |
| Total arias/total scenes           | 45/45  | 49/37    | 31/45   |

in most operas heard at Hamburg—and 36 arias, 17 of which are medial, and only 10 of which are scene-ending exit arias. Furthermore, the opera shows other conservative features in having 6 choruses, 8 dance numbers, and 9 set changes. *Der neumodische Liebhaber Damon* (performed in 1724) has 9 characters, 6 choruses, 6 dances, and 40 arias, mostly medial, in 40 scenes. Finally, *Emma und Eginhard* (of 1728) is structurally similar, with 12 characters, 4 choruses, 4 dance numbers, 9 set changes, 9 breaks in the liaison of scenes, and 47 arias in 38 scenes, with 19 medial and only 17 scene-ending exit arias.

Opera in Hamburg between 1700 and 1738 was international in repertoire but provincial in its insistence on preserving local standards and taste. The Baroque libretto reforms, culminating at the time in the works of Zeno and Metastasio, were acknowledged, but seldom imitated. The Italian operas produced at Hamburg were altered to resemble the native German operas; they were changed and revised, and the resulting image reflected a relatively consistent performance practice during the final decades of Baroque opera at Hamburg.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See Max Fehr, *Apostolo Zeno und seine Reform des Operntextes: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Librettos* (Zürich: A. Tschopp, 1912); Nathaniel Burt, "Opera in Arcadia," *Musical Quarterly* 41 (1955):145-70; idem, "Plus ça change: Or, the Progress of Reform in the Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Operas Illustrated in the Books of Three Operas," in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 325-40; Harold Powers, "Il Serse trasformato," *Musical Quarterly* 47 (1961):481-92, and 48 (1962):73-92; 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. diss., Princeton University, 1967); idem, "The Travels of *Partenope*," in *Studies in Music History: Essays for Oliver Strunk*, pp. 356-85.

<sup>2</sup> The growth in the length of the arias during this period certainly contributed to a decrease in the total number. The phenomenon of scene-ending exit arias was also related to changes in musical style: the emphasis on coloratura and corresponding importance of the singer. This doubtless brought about a greater need for pauses in the dramatic action, during which the singer could receive applause. Many of the reform ideas continued a long theatrical tradition; as early as 1657, for example, d'Aubignac discusses at some length the importance of the linkage of scenes. See François Hédelin and Abbé d'Aubignac, *The Whole Art of the Stage*, trans. anonymous (London, 1684; reprint ed., New York: B. Blom, 1968), pp. 89-93.

<sup>3</sup> Other reform librettos that were used as models for Hamburg operas include David's *La forza della virtù* (Venice, 1693; trans. by Bressand with music by Keiser, Hamburg, 1700), Noris's *Catone Uticense* (Venice, 1701; trans. and revised by Feind with music by Keiser, Hamburg, 1711, entitled *L'amore verso la patria*), Piovene's *Nerone* (Venice, 1721; produced at Hamburg as a *pasticcio* in 1723), Zeno's *Gianguir* (Vienna, 1724; text trans. by Johann Samuel Müller, Hamburg, 1728, entitled *Pharao und Joseph*), Metastasio's *Issipile* (Vienna, 1732; produced at Hamburg as a *pasticcio* in 1737 entitled *Sieg der kindlichen Liebe*).

<sup>4</sup> Johann Mattheson, *Critica musica* (Hamburg, 1722-1725; reprint ed., Amsterdam: F. Knuf, 1964), part 2, p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> These figures are based on a survey of all extant librettos and manuscript scores, as well as two important contemporary records of performances at Hamburg kept by Wilhelm Willers and Johann Mattheson. See Paul Alfred Merbach, "Das Repertoire der Hamburger Oper von 1718 bis 1750," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 6 (1924):354-72, and Friedrich Chrysander, "Mattheson's Verzeichniss hamburgischer Opern von 1678 bis 1728, gedruckt im *Musikalischen Patrioten*, mit seinen handschriftlichen Fortsetzungen bis 1751, nebst Züstazen und Berichtigungen," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 13-18 (1877):198-200, 213-20, 234-36, 245-51, 261-66, 280-82.

<sup>6</sup> One reason for this might have been the availability and popularity of bass singers in Hamburg. The bass was scarce in Italy, and rarely more than one bass sang in any single London opera. In Hamburg, however, they were so common that at least two operas, *Don Quixotte* (1722) and *Der lächerliche Printz Jodelet* (1726), included five bass singers in each of their casts.

<sup>7</sup> For example, in act 3, scene 3, Tabarco ridicules Consalvo with the following words: "Age does not deprive one of foolishness; if an old countenance kisses a young girl, he must know that his passionate waste of time breaks his body and the thread of his life."

<sup>8</sup> While the actual number of Italian operas produced increased only slightly, the percentage of performances devoted to Italian opera rose dramatically: from 2% (1700-17) to 51% (1718-38) of the total performances.

<sup>9</sup> Libretto based on Minato by Johann Ulrich König; the opera was first performed at Hamburg in 1721.

<sup>10</sup> First set by Draghi and performed at Prague in 1680.

## BENEDETTO MARCELLO'S ORATORIO JOAZ: MUSIC DRAMA "REFORMED"

*Helen Baker*

Benedetto Marcello is perhaps best known today as a critic of early 18th-century opera. His scathing satire, *Il teatro alla 'moda*, has been repeatedly cited, quoted, imitated, and reprinted since its anonymous publication in Venice in 1720.<sup>1</sup> Yet his more positive contributions to musical-dramatic reform have remained virtually unrecognized. In his dramatic compositions he attempted to incorporate the improvements he had facetiously implied in *Teatro*, improvements more soberly promulgated by Arcadian poets and philosophers in the learned treatises from which Marcello culled many of his ideas.

Benedetto Marcello was born in 1686, one year after Bach, Handel, and Domenico Scarlatti, and predeceased them in 1739.<sup>2</sup> On the title pages of his published compositions he styled himself "nobile veneto, dilettante del contrappunto, Accademico filarmonico ed arcade." An independently wealthy member of a prestigious Venetian family, Marcello served the Republic as a magistrate, judge, and provincial chamberlain. Economically and socially, Marcello was free to delight in the art of composition, having no obligation to please anyone—a princely patron, greedy impresario, or fickle public—but himself. That he was no mere dabbler but a master of his musical craft is made clear by his acceptance in 1711 into the exacting Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna, open only to those able to meet its high standards in both the practical and speculative aspects of music, especially traditional counterpoint.<sup>3</sup> That he was committed to the improvement of Italian literature and music is attested by his reception in the same year into the Accademia de'Arcadi in Rome.

The Arcadian Academy was the prime agitator for a mitigation of the abuses abounding in Italian opera at the turn of the 18th century.<sup>4</sup> Like the milieu that had given birth to the genre some hundred years before, it was an exclusive, aristocratic circle with primarily literary and humanistic concerns. Founded in Rome in 1690, the academy had taken upon itself the task of restoring good taste to Italian literature. In this the Arcadians were motivated as much by a sense of national honor as by high literary principles: the Arcadian movement was essentially a reaction against attacks on Italian poetry by 17th-century French critics. The French alleged that the literary heritage of antiquity had passed to them, the Italians having forfeited their birthright by indulging in poetic excess and irrational bombast. By the 1670s French criticism was more explicitly directed at Italian opera, considered by the French the epitome of Italian sensual excess and irrationality.

A tradition of spoken tragedy comparable to that established by Corneille and Racine in France had not emerged in 17th-century Italy. Italians persisted in viewing their opera as the counterpart of ancient drama. As such, it was a prime target for critical attack by those Arcadians intent on the creation of Italian spoken drama. In a collection of Arcadian dialogues first printed in Rome in 1700, *La bellezza della volgar poesia*, Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni, Arcadia's *custode generale*, singled out Giacinto Andrea Cicognini's libretto for *Giasone* (produced with music by Cavalli in Venice, 1649) as marking the onset of a decline in Italian drama that would continue over the course of forty years.<sup>5</sup> Crescimbeni mentions the subservience of tragic declamation to the claims of music and the overemployment of arias to the detriment of dramatic effect among the abuses to which the work led. Elsewhere he enlarges upon what he deemed to be improvements in opera: the provision of more opportunities for expressing various *affetti* in recitative and an abatement in the immoderate use of arias.<sup>6</sup> Though he conceded that arias contributed to the musical interest of opera, he considered their length destructive of poetic eloquence and dramatic continuity.

Despite his criticism, Crescimbeni did not entirely oppose *dramma per musica*. More radically censorious was another Arcadian shepherd, Ludovico Antonio Muratori, the historian, critic, and librarian of the Duke of Modena. In his *Della perfetta poesia italiana* (Modena, 1706) Muratori utterly condemned not only opera but all the music of his time for having degenerated into boundless effeminacy, enervating the hearer instead of purging and elevating him.<sup>7</sup> Muratori urged a return to the basic premise of the originators of opera: music should be the servant of poetry. He was a proponent of naturalness and decried the absurdities to be found on the stage, foremost among them the practice of assigning virile and heroic roles to castratos. He hoped for a wiser time when music would be reformed and its former majesty restored. Significantly, he suggested that a movement for moderation and reform should begin with opera's sacred counterpart, oratorio.

Other distinguished *litterati*—Arcadians or those sharing Arcadian aspirations—made their mark on Marcello: Pier Jacopo Martelli, Gian Vincenzo Gravina, and Antonio Schinella Conti. In *Teatro alla moda* Marcello is highly indebted not only to Muratori's *Perfetta poesia* but to Martelli's *Della tragedia antica e moderna* of 1715.<sup>8</sup> Gravina wrote plays modeled on Greek tragedies and in a valuable theoretical treatise, *Della tragedia* (Naples, 1715), reopened the question of the nature and function of music in Greek drama. His disciple Conti—cosmopolitan scientist, critic, and dramatist—provided Marcello with texts for the innovative chamber cantatas *Timoteo* (a translation of Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*) and *Cassandra*, in which Marcello attempted to recapture the affective power of the music of antiquity.<sup>9</sup>

Surprisingly, or perhaps not so surprisingly in view of his disdain for

the operatic scene, Marcello appears never to have composed an opera as such. A number of operas have been falsely attributed to him, as librettist, composer, or both, in one source or another over the years. Only one of his extant works, *Arianna* of 1727, comes close to being an opera, and this he euphemistically subtitled an "intreccio scenico-musicale."<sup>10</sup> Perhaps Marcello despaired of ever reforming a genre so hopelessly subject to the tyranny of singers, impresarios, and the *cattivo gusto* of the general public. Instead, he concentrated his efforts on related dramatic types, oratorio and serenata, composing four of each for the aristocratic and academic circles he knew.

Of the oratorios, the first two, *Giuditta* (Rome, 1710) and *Joaz* ("per Vienna," 1726), are dramatic, while the last two, *Il pianto e il riso delle quattro stagioni* (1731) and *Il trionfo della poesia e della musica* (1733) are allegorical oratorios written to celebrate "la morte, esaltazione, e coronazione di Maria sempre Vergine, assunta in cielo."<sup>11</sup> During the sixteen years that elapsed between *Giuditta* and *Joaz*, Marcello formulated his fundamental aesthetic position, Arcadian in its insistence on music's subservience to poetry and drama. This principle underlies his settings of Italian paraphrases of the first fifty psalms, published in Venice from 1724 to 1726 in eight volumes under the title *Estro poetico-armonico*, a work generally considered to be his masterpiece.<sup>12</sup> In his psalms Marcello attempted to forge a flexible, text-responsive style inspired by the ideals of ancient Greek music. The result was both reminiscent of the musical procedures of the early Baroque and prophetic of Gluck's reforms: a fluid continuity of highly affective declamatory recitative passing into arioso episodes at appropriate moments, interspersed with simple but expressive arias (rarely da capo) and choruses ranging from unison to four-part texture. While in *Il teatro alla moda* Marcello directed his satire specifically at the facile, ear-pleasing style he saw emerging in opera as early as 1720, he apparently did not object to the fundamental mechanism of contemporary opera, the regular alternation of recitative and aria. In *Joaz* he retained this convention, but imposed on it elements of the vocabulary he had devised in the psalms: heightened declamation, a direct, less ornate aria style, and a more varied approach to choral writing.

Marcello composed *Joaz* in 1726 "per Vienna," that is, for the Hapsburg court of Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor. Marcello's birthday tribute to the emperor, a *Serenata ad uso di scena*<sup>13</sup> for which he also wrote the encomiastic libretto, had been presented there the previous year, and the emperor himself had enthusiastically presided at the cembalo when several of the psalms were performed at court. Yet there is no record of Marcello's *Joaz* ever having been given at the imperial palace. Instead, a setting of the same libretto by assistant chapel master Antonio Caldara was performed on 4 April 1726.<sup>14</sup> One can only speculate concerning Marcello's reasons for composing *Joaz*. Perhaps he

did so at the behest of the librettist Apostolo Zeno to provide a "reformed" setting for what was a "reformed" libretto. Zeno, a fellow Arcadian and Venetian, was an old friend of the Marcello family. In his letters he alludes favorably to *Il teatro alla moda*; in fact, we owe its attribution to Marcello and dating to Zeno's reference. Concerning the birthday serenade, he reported to his brother Pier Caterino in Venice:

Signor Benedetto Marcello, our patrician, has sent here a serenade of his. They plan to perform it on the first of October [1725]. Both poetry and music are by him. I expect it will be a most beautiful celebration for, in the judgment of many who heard it with me in rehearsal, the music in particular could not be more noble and pleasing. It embarrasses many a professor of music here that it is regarded as having great depth of discernment and truth.<sup>15</sup>

Although many at court may have found Marcello's music "noble and pleasing," it is not likely that Antonio Caldara was among them. Pietro Metastasio, Zeno's successor as court poet and frequent collaborator in opera with Caldara, reports in one of his letters that:

The celebrated Caldara . . . weary one day of the prolix and excessive praise of [Marcello's] psalms . . . said . . . in my presence, "I am unable to find anything exceptional in these psalms but eccentricity."<sup>16</sup>

Caldara, a distinguished, diligent craftsman who served the emperor from 1716 to 1735, was the composer of forty oratorios and close to a hundred operas.<sup>17</sup> By his very nature he could have little sympathy with the "eccentricities," as he put it, to be found in the music of the noble dilettante. Elsewhere, Metastasio had described Caldara as a "renowned master of counterpoint, but exceedingly negligent in expression and in concern for what pleases."<sup>18</sup> A comparison between the two versions of the same libretto brings into sharp relief the divergence of musical-dramatic outlook to be found in these composers: Caldara's oratorio exemplifies many of the contemporary operatic conventions satirized by Marcello in *Teatro*, while Marcello's version embodies many of the reforms he and his fellow Arcadians advocated.

Muratori had attempted to enlist Zeno's unqualified support in his drastic program of operatic reform, but failed. After all, Zeno earned his bread writing opera librettos and could not afford to completely alienate his patrons and public.<sup>19</sup> Zeno did concur with Muratori, however, on the need for reform in oratorio. His correspondence reveals that he valued his oratorio far more than his opera librettos, which he virtually despised.<sup>20</sup> In his oratorios Zeno preserved the Aristotelian unities of place, time, and action favored by the Arcadians and strove to develop nobility of characterization. He preferred oratorio because it afforded him the opportunity of expressing strong and varied *affetti*, instead of



that single, effeminate passion—love—prevailing on the opera stage. Zeno's dramatic concern is revealed in his choice of the term *azione sacra* for his oratorios.

*Joaz* is one of Zeno's finest oratorio librettos. Its basic plot is taken from the Old Testament, Kings 4:11 and Chronicles 2:22-23; whatever Zeno added to the biblical story he candidly admitted having borrowed from Racine's last tragedy, *Athalie* (1691). In *Joaz* Zeno heeded the suggestions of the Arcadian reformers by expanding the role of the recitative and reducing the number of arias: there are about 500 lines of recitative and 15 arias, as opposed to approximately 400 lines of recitative and 25 to 30 arias or small ensembles—the norm for the typical oratorio in Italy and Vienna earlier in the century.<sup>21</sup> Zeno succeeds in maintaining a completely unbroken *liaison des scènes* and avoids the rigid operatic convention of the scene-ending or exit aria, placing his arias instead at dramatically appropriate moments. The result is an admirably taut dramatic coherence.

The action takes place within the precincts of the Temple of Jerusalem during a single day. Athalia, daughter of the infamous Jezabel and mother of the dead King Ocazia, has slain all her grandsons, the royal princes, and has usurped the throne. She has spurned the God of Israel for Baal, and the Jewish nation suffers under her tyranny. At the beginning of the drama Athalia relates a dream to her counselor Mathan, apostate high priest of Baal. She has had a vision of a young boy dressed as a Jewish priest, who, confronting her with her crimes, attempts to plunge a dagger into her breast. Athalia and Mathan visit the Temple and find there a foundling, Eliacim, whom Athalia recognizes as the child in her dream. He is actually Joaz, sole survivor of Athalia's massacre, rescued by Josabet, wife of the Jewish high priest, Jojada. The wicked queen questions the child closely and tries to entice him to her palace, but the child spurns her. Enraged, Athalia departs in fury. In part 2 of the oratorio, Jojada reveals to the Levites Eliacim's true identity as Joaz, heir to the throne of David. The coronation of the nine-year-old king succeeds in uniting and mobilizing the Levites to rise up against the tyrannous yoke of Athalia. The queen returns, her troops close behind, and demands the boy. Jojada throws open the Temple doors to reveal Joaz crowned upon the throne of David. As the queen shouts defiance and vengeful curses, the Levites seize her and put her to death. The work concludes with a triumphant chorus of Levites.

In this libretto Zeno has succeeded in creating clearly defined, dramatically credible characters, for which he is indebted to Racine. Only the role of Joaz seems undeveloped and one-dimensional: once crowned and revealed as king to Athalia, the title character no longer participates in the action. A greater concern for the dramatic situation is evident in Marcello's adaptation of the libretto, in which the role of Joaz is expanded. Taking as his point of departure the boy king's brief final speech

in Racine's play (omitted by Zeno), Marcello inserts an important scene for Joaz just before the concluding chorus. Comprising a simple recitative, an extended accompanied recitative, and a da-capo aria, the scene adds to the role weight and dimension absent in Zeno's libretto, a breadth of characterization that helps to justify the oratorio's title. Although the added verses are without attribution, the inclination is to ascribe them to Marcello, who as a poet had provided his own libretto for *Giuditta* and the emperor's birthday serenade. If this was indeed the case, the addition reveals Marcello's familiarity with Racine's play and his concern for character development.

In casting the roles, Caldara seems to have been motivated more by convention and the rank of the Viennese court singers than by dramatic considerations. He assigned the part of Joaz to a soprano castrato; that of Athalia to a contralto; Josabet to a soprano; the High Priest, Jojada, to an alto castrato; Azaria, commander of the Levites, to a tenor; and Mathan, Athalia's confidant, to a bass. Thus he punctiliously observed the facetious advice given by Marcello in *Teatro*: that the principal male roles must be given to castratos, and the bass and tenor parts should be left to such minor characters as captains of the guard, friends of the king (queen, in this instance), etc.<sup>22</sup>

Marcello's fidelity to Arcadian ideals of verisimilitude and naturalness is apparent in his assignment of the roles to voices in a range appropriate to the character: Joaz, alto; Athalia and Josabet, sopranos (dramatic and lyric respectively); Jojada and Azaria, basses; and Mathan, tenor. Marcello had an outspoken antipathy for castratos; he did not restrict his jibes against them to *Il teatro alla moda*, but mockingly derided their extravagant embellishments in two satirical madrigals written in late 16th-century polyphonic style.<sup>23</sup> With the exception of the early oratorio *Giuditta*, in which castratos appeared in secondary male roles, Marcello consistently excluded them from his dramatic works. Indeed, for his principal males, Marcello favored the bass over the tenor voice. Thus on the basis of casting alone, Marcello's *Joaz* represents a major revolution in 18th-century Italian oratorio and opera, a departure from convention possible only for an amateur, gentleman composer unconstrained by the demands of singers or impresarios.

Caldara's *sinfonia* to his *Joaz* is a single fugal movement, in deference to the taste of Emperor Charles VI and the lofty contrapuntal standards established by the Hapsburg chapel master, Johann Josef Fux. On the other hand, Marcello's is of the so-called three-movement Italian type. The structure of its initial movement is a rudimentary but striking example of what would later be known as "sonata allegro" procedure, indications of which began to appear in scattered Italian overtures of the 1720s. In Marcello's "expository" section of thirty-two measures, the bold opening theme in the tonic, D major, is contrasted with more conjunct thematic material in the dominant (see Example 1a). In the "de-

velopment" section, Marcello explores the key areas of the relative minor, expanding the octave leaps of the opening theme into tenths and conducting the "sigh" motifs chromatically rather than diatonically (see Example 1b). The movement concludes with a compressed "recapitulation" with all material in the tonic. The binary, *adagio* second movement is scored for solo violin and strings without basses and features the fashionable Lombard rhythm. The concluding *presto* begins with a fugal exposition of a sprightly, syncopated subject. After a sequential episode, it yields to a passage created of chromatic scale fragments (see Example 1c).

EXAMPLE 1a: Marcello, *Joaz*, sinfonia, 1st movement, opening mm. (I/Vnm It. 958, fol. 1r; Benvenuti, p. 3).

EXAMPLE 1a: Musical score for the opening of the first movement of Marcello's *Joaz* symphony. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It features two violin staves (V. 1 and V. 2) and a string section. The tempo is marked *Presto*. The first staff has *Sr* markings above it. The second staff has *Sr* markings above it and *Vc. 8va basso* below it. The third staff has *piano* and *forte* markings above it and *Va.* below it. There is a *(a2)* marking under the first staff.

EXAMPLE 1b: Marcello, *Joaz*, sinfonia, 1st movement, mm. 37-45.

EXAMPLE 1b: Musical score for measures 37-45 of the first movement of Marcello's *Joaz* symphony. The score is in G major (one sharp) and 3/4 time. It features two violin staves (V. 1 and V. 2) and a string section. The tempo is marked *Presto*. The first staff has *Sr* markings above it. The second staff has *Sr* markings above it. The third staff has *Va.* and *Vc. 8va* markings below it.

EXAMPLE 1c: Marcello, *Joaz*, sinfonia, 3d movement, opening mm. and conclusion.

The image shows a musical score for two violins, labeled V. 1 and V. 2. The tempo is marked 'Presto'. The music is in 2/4 time and has a key signature of two sharps (D major). The score consists of three staves. The first staff shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef, a key signature of two sharps, and a 2/4 time signature. The second and third staves continue the musical line with various rhythmic patterns and dynamics.

Later in the history of opera aesthetics, the role of the overture came under discussion: should it have some relationship to the work it precedes, or should it merely serve to quell the gossip of the audience in preparation for the beginning of the dramatic action? Mattheson wrote in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* in 1739 that the overture “should provide some indication in an abbreviated sense and serve as a prologue to what follows,” while Quantz in 1752 prescribed that “a sinfonia should have some connection with the contents of the opera, or at least with the first act.”<sup>24</sup> Such an integral relationship between the overture and opera did not become an accepted practice until after 1750. While there are no obvious thematic references in Marcello’s overture to the music that follows, there are affinities, particularly with Athalia’s music. The wicked queen’s arias exhibit elements of syncopation suggestive of her arrogance or deceit and are suffused with a linear chromaticism that may well be intended to symbolize her sinister nature. Excerpts from Athalia’s arias demonstrating these traits are shown in Examples 2a and 3b. When these qualities appear in the music of other characters, the text alludes to Athalia, as in Jojada’s aria “Per mille ferite,” a phrase of which appears as Example 2b. Such consistency in musical delineation of character is absent in Caldara’s arias for Athalia.

EXAMPLE 2a: Marcello, *Joaz*, "Die mie ricchezze" (Athalia) mm. 8-10, 13-16 (I/Vnm It. IV 958, fol. 37v-38r; Benvenuti, pp. 72-73).

**Allegro**

*Athalia:*

Di mie ric - chez-ze, Di mie gran-dez-ze, ...

Qual pro - prio fi - glio, gli - ampite so - ri, gli ec - cel - si - a -

no - ri a - vrai qual ca - ro.

EXAMPLE 2b: Marcello, *Joaz*, "Per mille ferite" (Jojada), mm. 34-38 (I/Vnm It. IV 958, fol. 93r; Benvenuti, p. 179).

**Presto**

*Jojada:*

E gli alti stri - do - ri del or - ri - do

Di - te, Fra in - cendie martori, fra in cendie mar to - ri,

Caldara frequently employs expansive florid passages in his arias for the virtuosic singers of the imperial court. His lengthy ritornellos feature lavish obbligato parts for such instruments as the *scialmo*, violoncello, and even a combination of bassoon and trombone.<sup>25</sup> Marcello attempts to override the dramatic limitations of the da-capo aria by cultivating brevity. To this end he uses fewer and less ornate vocal melismas, about one to every three of Caldara's, and only on appropriate words. His relatively brief ritornellos are limited to string orchestra. He frequently favors a declamatory rather than cantabile vocal line and avoids meaningless text repetition. Marcello's arias are generally a third shorter than Caldara's; that is, where Caldara's A and B sections total one hundred measures, Marcello's add up to about sixty-seven. Representative of each composer's vocal style is his setting of the B section of Athalia's aria, "Sta languendo" (see Examples 3a and 3b). Caldara's response to the

EXAMPLE 3a: Caldara, *Joaz*, "Sta languendo" (Athalia), mm. 75-91 (A/Wn, Cod. 17129, fol. 20v-21r).

**Andante**

V1  
V2  
piano

Va

**Solo** *Athalia:*

(senza bassi) Ma fre - schez - za e bel - tà da lei

etc.

etc.

fug - ge, e la tur ba, la ro - de, la strugge,

un reo ver -

me, chein se - no le sta.

**Allegro**

V1  
V2  
Va

(V2 colla parte)

Solo Athalia:

Ma fre schez-gae bel-tà da lei fug-ge, E

Bc

Va piano

V2

la tar-la, la ro-de la strug-ge, Un reo ver-me che in so-

- no le sta, la tar-la la ro-de la ro-de la strugge un reo

7  
 ver - me chein se - no le sta.

text is limited to melismatic word-painting on *verme*, while Marcello's version, with its rising chromatics and increasingly intense declamation, emphasizes the anxiety and guilt gnawing at Athalia's heart, like a worm in a garland of flowers. He restricts word painting on *verme* to a brief flourish by the first violins. In this passage, Caldara's concession to the modern style is evident in the absence of cellos and basses, a trend unsparingly satirized in Marcello's *Il teatro alla moda*. Marcello himself never succumbed to modern fashion by abandoning a melodically independent bass line.

While Marcello takes advantage of every opportunity to express the text, Caldara seems concerned not only with catering to the virtuosic propensities of the court singers and instrumentalists, but also with accommodating his employer's predilection for contrapuntal tours de force.<sup>26</sup> In the first aria, addressed by Mathan to Athalia, Caldara chooses to set the verses as a double fugato, despite their vivid imagery (Example 4a):

Dalla faccia della terra  
 Dileguar, qual polve al vento,  
 Ei faria la tua grandezza.

(Baal) will scatter your greatness  
 over the face of the earth  
 like dust by the wind.

Il suo sdegno i regni atterra,  
 Più che grandine le spighe;  
 Nè perdona a chi lo sprezzal

His wrath has brought down  
 kingdoms  
 more than hailstones the grain;  
 nor does he forgive those who  
 scorn him.



EXAMPLE 4a: Caldara, *Joaz*, "Dalla faccia della terra" (Mathan), mm. 17-27 (A/Wn, Cod. 17129, fol. 8v-9r).

**Allegro**

V1  
V2

Va

Solo

Bc

Mathau:

Da la faccia de la

Detailed description: This system contains the first five staves of the musical score. The top two staves are for Violins 1 and 2 (V1, V2) in treble clef. The third staff is for Viola (Va) in alto clef. The fourth staff is for the Solo voice in bass clef, with the lyrics 'Da la faccia de la' written below. The fifth staff is for Bassoon (Bc) in bass clef. The tempo marking 'Allegro' is placed above the first staff. The music is in 3/4 time and the key signature has one sharp (F#).

ter - ra di - - le guar di - - le guarquar pol-ve al

Detailed description: This system contains the next four staves of the musical score. The top staff is for Violins 1 and 2 (V1, V2) in treble clef. The second staff is for Viola (Va) in alto clef. The third staff is for the Solo voice in bass clef, with the lyrics 'ter - ra di - - le guar di - - le guarquar pol-ve al' written below. The fourth staff is for Bassoon (Bc) in bass clef. The music continues in the same 3/4 time and key signature.

ven-to, ei fa-ria la tua gran-dez

Example 4b demonstrates Marcello's graphic use of the orchestra to depict earth, gusts of wind, and scattered dust in a programmatic fashion reminiscent of Vivaldi.

EXAMPLE 4b: Marcello, *Joaz*, "Dalla faccia della terra" (Mathan), mm. 26-35 (I/Vnm It. IV 958, fol. 13v-15v).

**Allegro**

V1 forte

V2

Va

Solo Mathau:

Dal - la fac - cia del-la

Be piano

ter - ra del - - la ter-ra, di - le - guar, — qual

pol - ve al ven - to qual pol - ve al ven - to,

ei fa-ria la tua — gran-dez - za,

In his flexible response to every emotional and pictorial nuance of the text, Marcello seems to be striving to supply the stage action and scenic effects absent in oratorio performance. In this respect he anticipates a recommendation made by Francesco Maria Veracini (1690-1768), who had played first violin at the performance of Marcello's *Joaz* in Florence in 1729.<sup>27</sup> Veracini, himself a composer of oratorios, had become acquainted with those of Handel during a sojourn in London from 1735-45. In his unpublished treatise, "Il trionfo della prattica musicale," which he probably began while in London and apparently completed by 1760, Veracini wrote:

The vocal Arias put into Oratorios or in other Dramatic Compositions not to be acted, but to be sung with Part in hand, *ought to express, with Music, the meaning of the words even more than the Arias to be sung in the Theater.* The reason for this is that in Oratorio one must convince the Listeners with Music, since they cannot see the changes of facial expression, the drying of tears, the stamping of feet, the alternated gazing to heaven and earth, and all the other actions which serve to help the expression and further the communication with those who listen and watch.<sup>28</sup>

No less expressive than his arias are Marcello's recitatives. Far more dramatic and highly inflected than Caldara's, they reflect exceptional

sensitivity to prosody and the accents of intensely emotional speech. Example 5a represents Caldara's recitative at its most dramatic: such wide, dissonant intervals as a major seventh at *abissi* and an augmented fourth at *il sanguinoso*. Caldara's recitative rarely exceeds a sixth and covers at most an octave in its compass. In Marcello's setting of the same text, shown in Example 5b, the range is an eleventh; the line is wildly

EXAMPLE 5a: Caldara, *Joaz*, (A/Wn, Cod. 17129, fol. 164v).

Solo *Tojada:*

Fuggi dunque da noi. Riem-pi al-tro-ve twai-ni-qui-

-tà. Teal-len-do-no glia-bis-si d'A-bi-ron e Da-

[sic]  
-than: te gli afta - ma - ti ca-ni di Je-za-bel,

Va. Froddo indugi a la lor rab-bia il son-qui-no-so pa-sto

EXAMPLE 5b: Marcello, *Joaz*, (I/Vin It. IV 958, fol. 88r; Benvenuti, p. 175).

Solo  
Fuggi dun que da moi. Riempi al -

Bc

tro-ve tua i-ni-qui-ta. Teat - ten - do-no gli abis-si Di A-bi -

-ron e Da-thar; Te gli af-famati Ca-ni di Ge-za bel. Va!

Troppo in-dugi Al-la lor rab-bia il san-qui-no-so pasto.

disjunct and rich in its harmonic implications. Moreover, Marcello turns to the pliable dramatic resource of orchestrally accompanied recitative in six extended scenes comprising more than one-fifth of the recitative verse in the libretto, far in excess of the two or three passages occasionally found in contemporary opera or oratorio. In *Joaz* Caldara employs it only once, as was typical for him, using at times a somewhat more excited instrumental accompaniment in addition to the placid four-part string chords moving at the rate of two chord changes per measure customary in his operas.<sup>29</sup> Marcello's accompaniment style ranges from violins and violas doubling the basses at the octave or sustained string chords *senza cembalo* to string arpeggios and tremolos; frequently he punctuates the vocal line with animated rhythmic motives or flamboyant flourishes. Indeed, Marcello's writing for orchestra, descriptive in the arias, is almost gesticulatory in the accompanied recitatives (see Example 6b), as if to compensate for the acting proscribed in oratorio.

In *Joaz* Marcello partially succeeded in redressing the balance between aria and recitative and blurring the sharp distinction between their increasingly disparate styles by emphasizing affective and dramatic expression in his highly inflected recitative, providing a significant proportion of it with often elaborate orchestral accompaniment, and also by limiting the length of his arias and employing in them a more disjunct, syllabic vocal line. Also significant is his integration of the chorus into the musical and dramatic fabric of the oratorio. By 1720 the chorus in Italian oratorio was little more than a perfunctory madrigalesque ensemble for the principal singers at the end of each of the two parts, a convention to which Caldara adheres in *Joaz*. His choruses are in four parts throughout, with no indication of solo-tutti contrast. Instruments merely double the voice parts. Marcello varies the choral sonority by alternating duets, trios, and solo quartets, a scoring that demands an augmented chorus. He provides an independent orchestral accompaniment for the choral tutti. In addition to these concluding choruses, Zeno's libretto calls for a chorus of Levites to participate in the dramatic

action on two occasions. In the second of these choruses the Levites acclaim the newly crowned boy king. Here Caldara writes a straightforward homophonic statement for the chorus, followed by Athalia's cries of "Tradimento, tradimento," set in simple recitative (see Example 6a).

EXAMPLE 6a: Caldara, *Joaz* (A/Wn, Cod. 17129, fol. 187r-v).

*Coro di Leviti:*

S  
A

Vi - va il Re, vi - va il Re, vi - va

T  
B

*Athalia:*

S

vi - va Jo - az. Tra - di - mento. Tra - di -

B

S

men - to Ahi! Do - ve so - no? O mi - se - ra Re -

B



gi-na! Stanmi per o-sni la - to Ar - mie ne - mi - ci.

Marcello integrates this choral episode more vividly into the drama: Athalia's cries sound through the acclamations of the Levites, and trumpet-like fanfares in the strings lead directly into a highly charged accompanied recitative between the queen and the Jewish high priest (see Example 6b).

EXAMPLE 6b: Marcello, *Joaz* (I/Vnm It. IV 958, fol. 97v-99v; Benvenuti, pp. 193-96).

VI  
V2  
Va

S  
A

T  
B

Bc

*Athalia:*  
Tra - di - men - to, Tra - di -

Tutti: Athalia: Tutti:  
 men-to! Vi - va, vi - va Tra - di - mento, Tra - di - mento! Vi - va

This system contains four staves. The top staff is a piano accompaniment with chords and eighth-note patterns. The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The third staff is a bass line with eighth-note accompaniment. The fourth staff is a lower bass line with a simple eighth-note accompaniment. The key signature has three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 3/4.

Vi - va, vi - va, vi - va Jo - az!

This system contains four staves. The top staff is a piano accompaniment with chords and eighth-note patterns. The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics. The third staff is a bass line with eighth-note accompaniment. The fourth staff is a lower bass line with a simple eighth-note accompaniment. The key signature has three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 3/4.

*Athalia:*

Ahi! do - ve so - no? O mi - sera Re - gi - na!

*Jojada:*

Stanmi per o - gni la - to ar - mie ne - mi - ci. In van cer - chi lo

scampo. invant'og - gi - ri. T'ha col - ta al var - co il Di - o del - te ven -

presto

(unisoni)

Athalia:

det-te. 'Che fanno i miei sol-da-ti? Eh, pi-gri, oh

#4

vi-li! ver-ran-no e que-sle soglie

Io n'odo i gri-di So-rò an-cor Ata-li-a. Tre-

ma-te, tre-mate, tre-ma-te, o in-fi-di!

In a number of significant aspects, Marcello's "reforms" in *Joaz* anticipate those traditionally credited to Gluck some forty years later, some of which were more immediately heralded by Jommelli and Traetta. Much of Gluck's famous preface to *Alceste* of 1769<sup>80</sup> could serve just as appropriately as the preface to Marcello's *Joaz*. This is not surprising, for a thread of continuity links Marcello and Calsabigi, Gluck's librettist and the instigator of his reform theories. Calsabigi was already a member of Arcadia in 1745. He knew *Il teatro alla moda* well; it provided the basis for his comic libretto, *L'opera seria*, produced in 1769 with music by Florian Gassmann, and in 1771 as *La critica teatrale* with a new setting. It is also likely that he was familiar with Marcello's psalms, which were disseminated widely throughout Europe and seemed to grow rather than decline in fame as the century progressed. Calsabigi was a disciple of Francesco Algarotti, author of the significant treatise on operatic dramaturgy, *Saggio sopra l'opera in musica* (first published in Livorno in 1755). On the basis of Marcello's psalms and experimental cantatas *Timoteo* and *Casandra*, Algarotti had hailed the noble dilettante as:

... a man second in merit to none among the ancients and certainly the first among the moderns. Whoever was more animated with a divine flame in conceiving and more judicious in carrying out his works than Marcello?<sup>81</sup>

Handel's oratorio *Athalia* (1733), likewise based on Racine's play, provided him with the impetus for a radical transformation of the genre. Marcello, on the other hand, failed to pursue with any diligence the cause of reform. After *Il trionfo della musica e della poesia* of 1733, he virtually abandoned composition, devoting his pen instead to writing

devotional poetry and, in the very last months of his life, a few liturgical works in the strict *stile antico*. Perhaps he despaired of ever stemming the dominant trends of early 18th-century opera. However, his oratorios constitute a significant contribution to a temporarily eclipsed musical-dramatic tradition that reemerged in the later decades of the century, when his cause was recognized at last.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Benedetto Marcello's *Il teatro alla moda* was published anonymously without imprint or date ca. 1720. For a commentary and complete translation see Reinhard Pauly, "Benedetto Marcello's Satire on Early Eighteenth-Century Opera," *The Musical Quarterly* 34 (1948):222-33, 371-403; 35 (1949):85-105. Excerpts appear in Oliver Strunk, ed., *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1950), pp. 518-31.

<sup>2</sup> A definitive biography remains to be written. The standard but woefully deficient life is Andrea d'Angeli, *Benedetto Marcello: vita e opere* (Milan: Fratelli Bocca, 1940; reprint ed., 1952). More recent information may be found in Remo Giazotto, *Vivaldi* (Milan: Edizioni Radio Italiani, 1973); citations from an unpublished thesis on the composer by Lidia Raffaello (University of Florence, Faculty of Letters, 1967); and Giulio Ferroni, "L'opera letteraria di Benedetto Marcello, e l'inedita *Fantasia ditirambica eroicomica*," *Rassegna della letteratura* 74 (1970):33-93.

<sup>3</sup> See John G. Suess, "Observations on the Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna and the Rise of a Local Tradition of Instrumental Music," *Quadriumph* 8 (Bologna: Tomari, 1967):51-58.

<sup>4</sup> Brief but informative general accounts of the origins and philosophy of the Arcadian Academy appear in Michele Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols. (Bologna: Capelli, 1926-1930), 1:232ff.; J. G. Robertson, *Studies in the Genesis of Romantic Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1923; reprint ed., New York: Russell and Russell, 1962), pp. 1-23; Walter Binni, "La letteratura nell'epoca arcadica-razionalistica," in *Storia della letteratura italiana*, vol. 6: *Il settecento*, ed. Emilio Cecchi and Natalino Sapegno (Milan: Garzanti, 1968), pp. 371-75. Arcadia's involvement in the reform of early 18th-century opera, particularly the libretto, is discussed in detail by Robert Freeman, "Opera without Drama: Currents of Change in Italian Opera, 1675-1725," 2 vols. (Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton University, 1967), 1:18-79.

<sup>5</sup> Giovanni Maria Crescimbeni, *La bellezza della volgar poesia* (Rome, 1700), repr. in *L'istoria della volgar poesia*, 6 vols. (Venice: L. Basegio, 1731), 6:106-8; trans. in Freeman, 1:21-22.

<sup>6</sup> Crescimbeni, *Comentari intorno all'istoria della poesia italiana*, 5 vols. (Rome, 1702-1711, reprint ed., London: T. Beckett, 1819), 1:234. Marcello, poet as well as composer, dedicated a volume of one hundred sonnets to Crescimbeni (Venice: Gabriel Herta, 1718).

<sup>7</sup> Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Della perfetta poesia italiana*, 4 vols. (Modena, 1706); ed. with annotations by Antonio Maria Salvini (Milan: Societa Tipografica dei Classici Italiana, 1821), 3:52-74. Muratori's chapter 5, devoted to detailed and concrete criticism of opera's defects, provided considerable inspiration to Marcello in *Teatro alla moda*.

<sup>8</sup> Marcello's advice to the librettist in *Teatro alla moda* is modeled substantially after the fifth dialogue in Pier Jacopo Martelli's *Della tragedia antica e moderna* (Rome, 1715), repr. in *Scritti critici e satirici*, ed. Hannibal S. Noce, Scrittori d'Italia,

vol. 225 (Bari: G. Laterza 1963), pp. 189-320. Freeman quotes from it at length in English, pp. 55-67.

<sup>9</sup> Gian-Vincenzo Gravina, *Della tragedia libro uno* (Naples, 1715); repr. in *Opere scelte*, ed. Giuseppe Boccanera (Milan: Silvestri, 1819), chapter 35, especially pp. 340-41. Antonio Schinella Conti, in *Prose e poesie*, 2 vols., ed. Giuseppe Toaldo (Venice: G. Pasquali, 1739, 1756) 2:CXXXII, suggested that Marcello's mission was to restore the spirit of ancient music and purge the modern.

<sup>10</sup> Benedetto Marcello, *Arianna, intreccio scenico musicale*, librettist Vincenzo Cassani, perf. ?Venice, 1727; autograph score I/Fn: MS 246 Landau Finaly; libretto (no imprint or date), B/Bc: 19259, I/Mb, I/Rsc; piano/vocal edition by Oscar Chilesotti (Milan: Ricordi, 1885; repr. Bologna: Forni, 1969).

<sup>11</sup> Benedetto Marcello, *Giuditta*, oratorio, librettist B. Marcello, perf. ?Rome, 1710; copy score, B/Bc: 1090; libretto (Venice: D. Lovisa, 1710), I/Vgc: 58A.82 (6), 59F.17 (16). Idem, *Joaz, azione sacra*, librettist A. Zeno, composed "per Vienna" 1726, perf. Florence: Compagnia di San Jacopo detta del Nicchio, 1729; autograph score I/Vnm: MS It. IV 958 (=10741); libretto, Zeno, *Poesie sacre drammatiche* (Venice: Pasquali, 1744), pp. 178-207, with anonymous emendations (Florence: Anton Maria Albizzini, 1729), I/Mb, I/Vgc; piano/vocal edition by Giacomo Benvenuti (Milan: I Classici Musicali Italiani, 1942). Idem, *Il pianto e il riso delle quattro stagioni del anno*, oratorio, librettist ?G. Vitelleschi, S. J. or ?"Euritemo Creneo, Pastore Arcade," perf. Macerata: Chiesa della Compagnia di Gesu, 1731; autograph score, GB/Lbm: Add. 28172; copy score, US/Wc:M2000.M24P5; libretto (Macerata: Eredi Pannelli, 1731), I/MAC. Idem. *Il trionfo della poesia e della musica, oratorio sacro*, librettist ?G. Vitelleschi, S. J., perf. ?1733; autograph score B/Br: MS II-3931 (*Parte prima* only); copy score, B/Br:MS II-3930 (complete); copy score US/Wc:M2000.M24T7 (*Parte seconda* only).

<sup>12</sup> Benedetto Marcello, *Estro poetico-armonico*, 8 vols. (Venice: D. Lovisa, 1724-26; facs. ed., Farnborough, England: Gregg Press, 1967). This important work, admired over the years by such disparate figures as Johannes Mattheson, Georg Telemann, Charles Avison, Francesco Algarotti, Jean-Benjamin de Laborde, Luigi Cherubini, E. T. A. Hoffmann, and Giuseppe Verdi, has been surprisingly neglected by scholars.

<sup>13</sup> Benedetto Marcello, *Serenata da cantarsi ad uso di scena . . . per la nascita di Carlo VI*, librettist B. Marcello, perf. Vienna: imperial palace, 1725; copy score A/Wn: 17995, A/Wgm: 137088.

<sup>14</sup> Antonio Caldara, *Joaz*, librettist A. Zeno, perf. Vienna: imperial palace, 1726; copy score A/Wn: 17129, A/Wgm: II-16147. See Ursula Kirkendale, *Anton Caldara: sein Leben und seine venezianisch-römischen Oratorien* (Cologne: Herman Bohlaus Nachf., 1966), p. 131.

<sup>15</sup> Apostolo Zeno to Pier Caterino Zeno, Vienna, 29 September 1725, *Lettere di Apostolo Zeno*, 6 vols., 2d ed. (Venice: Francesco Sansoni, 1785), 4:58.

<sup>16</sup> Pietro Metastasio to Saverio Mattei, Vienna, 7 May 1770, in Pietro Metastasio, *Tutte le opere*, ed. Bruno Brunelli, 5 vols. (Milan: Mondadori, 1954), 5:9, no. 1866.

<sup>17</sup> For biography see Kirkendale, pp. 21-94.

<sup>18</sup> Metastasio, 5:402, no. 2254.

<sup>19</sup> See Freeman, 1:32-40, for quotations from the correspondence that took place between Zeno and Muratori in 1701 on the subject of libretto "reform."

<sup>20</sup> Zeno to Marchese Giuseppe Gravisi, Vienna, 3 November 1730, *Lettere* 4:278, no. 256, trans. Freeman, 1:43-44; Zeno to Giusto Fontanin, Vienna, 6 November 1733, *Lettere*, 4:382, no. 810. For a general discussion of Zeno's oratorio librettos see Howard Smither, *A History of the Oratorio*, vol. 1: *The Oratorio in the Baroque Era: Italy, Vienna, Paris* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), 1:382-90.

<sup>21</sup> Smither, 1:389, n. 48.

<sup>22</sup> Benedetto Marcello, *Il teatro alla moda* (Venice: no imprint or date, [ca. 1721];

reprint ed., Milan: Ricordi, 1883), p. 12; trans. Pauly, *Musical Quarterly* 35 (1949):379.

<sup>23</sup> Music and commentary by Marcello in I/Bc: MS GG44; trans. of texts and part of commentary with musical examples in Caroline Sites [Fruchtman], "More on Marcello's Satire," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 11 (1958):143-45.

<sup>24</sup> See Hans Engel, "Ouverture: IV—Die Programmouvertüre und die Klassiker," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 10 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962), cols. 498-99.

<sup>25</sup> Marcello makes pointedly amusing comments concerning *passaggi*, *ritornelli*, and exotic obbligato instruments in his "Avvertimenti utili e necessari a compositori di musica" in *Teatro alla moda*, pp. 16-20; trans. Pauly, *Musical Quarterly* 35 (1949): 380-81.

<sup>26</sup> A self-avowed *dilettante del contrappunto*, Marcello nevertheless regarded counterpoint not as an end in itself but as a valuable expressive resource. For example, in *Giuditta* he employs canon in an aria beginning with the verse "Doppia face il sen t'accende di pietade, e di vendetta." His adherence to the tenets of the *seconda pratica* is made clear in a "Lettera familiare" (I/Bc: MS H46), criticizing duets by Antonio Lotti, and in his various prefaces to the volumes of *Estro poetico-armonico*.

<sup>27</sup> A detailed description of this performance on Easter Sunday, 17 April 1729, at the *Compagnia di San Jacopo detta del Nicchio* is preserved in the diary of this lay confraternity, I/Fas: Compagnie religiose sopprese 1246, no. 10, pp. 352-55. The account is printed complete in John W. Hill, "The Life and Works of Francesco Maria Veracini" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1972), pp. 969-76. A partial English translation is included in an article by the same author, "Veracini in Italy," *Music and Letters* 56 (1975):264-65, 273-74, n. 63.

<sup>28</sup> Francesco Maria Veracini, "Il trionfo della pratica musicale," I/Fc, p. 233. Cited in Hill, *Life and Works*, p. 1033; trans. p. 424. The italics are Veracini's.

<sup>29</sup> For a discussion of Caldara's use of accompanied recitative in his operas, see Freeman, 1:194.

<sup>30</sup> Trans. Strunk, pp. 673-75.

<sup>31</sup> Francesco Algarotti, *Saggio sopra l'opera in musica* (1755); 2d ed. (Livorno: Fantechi, 1763), p. 40; trans. Strunk, p. 672.



## reviews

### ALLEN FORTE—THE HARMONIC ORGANIZATION OF THE RITE OF SPRING

New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978 (151 pp.)

*Richard Taruskin*

Allen Forte's signal contribution to music theory has been to devise the first rigorous and systematic analytical approach to that no man's land of early twentieth-century music that lies between functional tonality, on the one hand, and serialism, on the other. Normally regarded as the very epitome of intuitive, spontaneous creation, "free atonal" music was largely written off as essentially arbitrary in its compositional methods until writers like Perle and Babbitt began demonstrating that such music—early Schoenberg and Webern, mainly—was not arbitrary but "contextual" and "autonomous." In other words, each piece created its own laws and stuck to them. The laws, it further turned out, were based on the use of motivic-intervallic "cells" (as Perle called them; Schoenberg spoke of "working with the tones of a motive"), which in many cases very systematically governed and unified the harmony, texture, and tonal relationships of this repertoire. Moreover, the principles of permutation and complementation that later (with the addition of the ordering principle of the tone-row) formed the basis of twelve-tone technique were already conspicuous in the working out of the motives. The "principle capable of serving as a rule" had a considerable prehistory. The discovery was inspiring and reassuring to those committed to a view of music as a triumph of order.

With the aid of mathematical set theory, Forte has in a sense reversed the direction that inquiries into "free atonal" music (Forte simply calls it atonal music, without the quotes, and from here on we shall follow him) have taken. Instead of starting with the individual atonal composition and discovering its governing pitch-interval constellations inductively, he has started from the other end, by cataloguing all the possible "cells" that can be derived from the twelve pitch classes of the chromatic scale—he calls them (after Babbitt) "unordered pitch class (pc) sets"—and exhaustively classifying their potential relationships a priori. These 220 sets are studied and interrelated according to many of the basic principles of set theory in Forte's seminal *The Structure of Atonal Music* (1973). The book is in effect a vast data processing compendium in which every set is given a reference number and analyzed both for its intrinsic

properties (number of elements, constituent intervals) and its relationship to other sets (in terms of "interval vector," pc similarity, pc complementation, various inclusion relationships). The work is a supremely ambitious undertaking: anything that can happen in a musical composition, from the points of view it treats, is as it were predicted. Forte's tables, as given in *The Structure of Atonal Music*, stand in a relationship to any existing or imaginable piece of music similar to that of a kind of combination dictionary/grammar with respect to any existing or imaginable work of poetry or prose.

In its apparent reduction of the whole field of musical pitch relationships to a finite and controllable set of abstract numerical quantities, Forte's system is very much a child of its positivistic time. In an age that has (in academic circles, anyway) elevated extensive "precompositional work" to the status of a requirement for "responsible composition," it offers the perfect "preanalytic" counterpart. The "autonomy" and "contextuality" of the individual atonal composition now find a home within an autonomous context *sub specie universitatis*. Not the least of the attractions of Forte's method is that it offers an instrument of seemingly total objectivity and epistemological "neutrality," based as it is on numerical relationships that are demonstrably inherent in the material with which it deals. And the results Forte himself has achieved with the system, both within *The Structure of Atonal Music* itself and in such wonderfully illuminating articles as his recent study, "Schoenberg's Creative Evolution: The Path to Atonality,"<sup>1</sup> have amply validated it. One therefore turns to *The Harmonic Organization of The Rite of Spring*, Forte's first full-length study of a single composition, with the highest expectations.

The format of the book reflects the nature of the method. The process is still largely an inductive one, and so after a short introduction to the basic principles of his system and a brief overview of "The Harmonic Vocabulary" the purpose of which is not entirely clear, Forte embarks on an exhaustive "Chronological Survey of the Work" (104 pages out of 151), in which the pc sets are identified and their interrelationships noted as they occur. This section must have been backbreaking work to assemble; one extends one's admiring sympathies to Professor Forte for the sheer labor of score reduction, pitch-counting, and prime-form determination that had to precede any of the actual analytical work. Since Forte's purpose in writing the book seems to have been in part to demonstrate and thereby justify his method, the whole process is set before the reader without stint (some will feel, without mercy). One's patience is rewarded, though, with a perhaps more intimate acquaintance with the nuts and bolts of Stravinsky's masterpiece than could have been achieved in any other way. Following the "Chronological Survey" there is a "Summary of the Harmonic Relations" uncovered in its course. This important section should have been made a chapter in itself, instead of

merely concluding the "Chronological Survey," of which it is not really a part. One should add at this point that Forte has bolstered his argument where he deemed it necessary by a laudable recourse to the published facsimile of Stravinsky's Sketchbook for *The Rite of Spring* (Boosey & Hawkes, 1969).

The thesis of Forte's book is that "*The Rite of Spring* is unified not so much by literally repeated formations, although there are a few instances of this, or by thematic relations of a traditional kind, as by the underlying harmonic units, that is, by the unordered pc sets, considered quite apart from the attributes of specific occurrences." (p. 28) This, of course, is something that listeners invariably sense; the harmonic unity of the composition is, in view of the novelty and variety of the pitch combinations employed, surely one of its most impressive features. One recalls that Elliott Carter suspected the presence of a kind of "source chord" for the work (he thought it came in the Introduction to Part I),<sup>2</sup> but couldn't get Stravinsky to confirm it (which is not surprising, considering Stravinsky's record of reticence and evasiveness on the "poetics" of his own music).<sup>3</sup> In the "Chronological Survey" an effort is made to support the thesis by uncovering the "significant" sets and noting their interrelationships. The criteria for "significance" are never, unfortunately, spelled out as explicitly as one would like, but they involve, first and foremost, frequency of occurrence, and then a high degree of inter-relatedness with other frequently occurring sets, as determined by the "set theoretic" premises of Forte's system. According to Forte, the "main harmonies" of *The Rite of Spring* consist of four eight-element and three seven-element unordered pc sets, plus their four- and five-element complements (i.e., the sets which, when added to the larger sets, yield the full twelve-element pc spectrum). They are selected as expressing most economically the pc configurations that emerged as "significant" in the course of the "Chronological Survey." Of them, the four- and five-element pc sets occur frequently as actual harmonies, while the larger sets are not so literally present in the sound surface of the work (though one of the seven-element pc sets, 7-32, is the famous ostinato chord at the beginning of the Augurs of Spring—we certainly couldn't exclude that one from any list!). Their presence in the list of "main harmonies" is justified not only on the basis of complementation, but on that of "inclusion" as well. Forte demonstrates all the inclusion relationships (i.e., the presence of all the members of a smaller set within a larger one) inherent in his complex of "main harmonies," and it is evident that it is indeed a closely knit family. Each of the seven-member pc sets contains not only its own complement, but those of the other two as well. All the eight-member supersets of the seven-note harmonies are "significant" in the music, as are all of the constituent hexachords of two of the seven-member sets. Set 8-18 contains all four four-note complements. And it contains a great deal more, as well. In Example 1 I have written out all of the



finding of this calibre, Forte's concluding remark, that "Stravinsky used very special relations in composing *The Rite of Spring*" (p. 148) seems about as understated as he could have made it.

But while insights like this can be accepted with pleasure and gratitude, and while the sober reserve of Forte's manner of presentation and the rigorous honesty—one might even say courage—of his method command the highest respect, I must confess to some strong doubts. They concern the philosophical premises of Forte's method, its suitability to the object under discussion, the way in which the method is applied in specific instances, and the general nature of the results obtained by its use.

Forte's method and approach seem to imply an abrupt disjuncture between tonal music and atonal. They inhabit different worlds in his universe, between which no commerce seems to exist. The analyst's first job, it would appear, is to determine whether a given piece is tonal or atonal, and once that determination is made, it is categorical. And just as the music is viewed as all one thing or all another, so the analytical method employed is all one thing (functional analysis, in Forte's own case Schenkerian) or all another (Forte's "set theoretic" system). It would appear that in Forte's view a synthetic approach is necessarily to some degree subjective (and therefore arbitrary) and would compromise the scientific neutrality, and hence the validity, of the analytical process. But it seems to me that Forte's application of his method, at least in this case, is unnecessarily restrictive and one-sided, and has concealed as much about *The Rite of Spring* as it has revealed.

Furthermore, Forte does not distinguish between atonal musics that originated in revolt against triadic functional tonality and those that are (if the word be permitted) rooted in it. The former type of atonal music is exemplified by the work of the Viennese atonalists. Schoenberg emphasized again and again in his writings the need he felt, at least in the early days, to "avoid a similarity to tonality."<sup>5</sup> This meant a sedulous avoidance of triads and of diatonic progressions, and their replacement in his music (as much in the "free atonal" as in the twelve-tone works) by what Boulez has termed "anarchic" intervals—fourths, seconds, sevenths—and the ceaseless chromatic circulation that is synonymous with his style. Other composers whom Forte categorizes as atonalists, who include besides the Stravinsky of the *Rite* period such figures as Ives and Scriabin, never felt themselves to be under any such constraints. Although their music is often unrelated to a tonal center, and hence, literally speaking, atonal to be sure, it is full of triadic "clangs" and their derivatives, and in the cases of Stravinsky and Ives, of diatonic melodic progressions (and diatonic local harmonic progressions as well). It has always disconcerted me to find patently triadic or diatonic elements labeled with the same set numbers and subjected to the same analytic operations in Forte's writings as chromatic and nontriadic ones.<sup>6</sup> Behind

this—to me—anomalous situation lies Forte's fundamentally ahistoricist, or even antihistoricist attitude, one which he has readily acknowledged. For him, an approach that takes fundamental cognizance of historical development is a prejudiced approach. What I wish to suggest here, however, is that the "set-theoretic" approach is by no means as free of prejudice as Forte evidently thinks it is. The operations Forte applies in his analyses are so thoroughly keyed to the methods Schoenberg employed in "working with the tones of a motive" that a Forte analysis of any composer is in effect a comparison of that composer's work with Schoenberg's, which is thus held up as a tacit, if not unconscious, ideal.<sup>7</sup>

Of course, any analytic system that is truly a system—one with strongly predefined criteria of structural significance—runs a certain risk of circularity. Goodness knows one hears the charge often enough with reference to Schenkerianism. And the risk must be borne if we are to achieve findings that go beyond merely descriptive, desultory obiter dicta. But one can take precautions. The most necessary ones would seem to entail a thorough investigation of style (that is to say, of the salient particulars of the musical sound surface that set one composer's work apart from another's) and of the composer's theoretical environment—his training, the theory books he knew, his ways of looking at his own music (approached with suitable caution and, in the case of Stravinsky, even skepticism), the music he heard, loved, hated, the books he read, etc.—with an attempt to find as many "external" corroborations as one can for the "internal" evidence of the music. This approach has been widely adopted, of course, by investigators of medieval and Renaissance music in recent years (to the point where the opposite strictures might begin to apply). Not by Forte: his analytical method is a great stylistic leveler. The only way one can gain any sense of the style of the music he analyzes is by looking at the musical examples, and then one continually is forced to wonder at the things Forte chooses not to mention. Is it really necessary to wear one's theoretical principles like blinkers? To give one example: Forte discusses, on p. 50, a passage from the *Ritual of Abduction* which is built over a rather prominently displayed circle of fifths, one which the naive ear invariably recognizes in context. Forte never refers to the circle of fifths, but rather to the progression's "remarkable feature," namely, that "its linear substructure [yields] five forms of [the overall set's] complement, and all five are set out as contiguous linear subsets. . . . That is, any selection of four adjacent notes in the line will yield the complement." A footnote then introduces the term "imbrication" to identify the procedure, and reference is made to "more arcane" uses of it in Schoenberg's atonal music. But all this would be as true of a circle of fifths in Vivaldi as in Stravinsky, and so the remark seems arbitrary and the footnote misleading. Sometimes Forte seems a little embarrassed by the apriority of his observations and attempts to relate them directly to Stravinsky's compositional process as

revealed in the Sketchbook. He is rarely successful at this, however, and more often than not produces non sequiturs. Discussing a harmonization of the *khorovod* tune in the Introduction to Part II, he notes—irrelevantly to the thrust of the argument—that two occurrences of one of the most “prominent” sets are “transpositionally related, with  $t = 10$  [i.e., they are a major second apart], one of the two values of  $t$  that yields complete variance (no common pc’s),” and then weakly adds, “the Sketchbook provides ample evidence of the time and thought Stravinsky spent perfecting the harmonization.” (p. 27)

At their worst, these lapses suggest an unconscious identification of the analytical and the compositional processes: any “significant” relation uncovered by the application of “set theoretic” methods is touted as a compositional achievement, while the truth of an observation is often assumed to be a guarantor of relevance. Consider the matter of the “embedded complement.” In treating the transition from the end of the Introduction to Part I into the Augurs of Spring, Forte makes the by no means uninteresting observation that the harmonic ostinato that accompanies the pile-up of all the themes at the very end of the Introduction is the transposed harmonic complement of the harmony that follows it at the beginning of the Augurs (the most famous *Sacre* chord of all). He then affects wonder that “this prominent harmonic configuration has never before been mentioned in the literature.” (p. 35) How, indeed, could it have been, for without corroboration it must be regarded as an artifact not of *The Rite of Spring* but of Forte’s analytical system, and this because the harmony at the end of the Introduction is wholly contained in the larger chord that follows. What is salient to the ear is the continuity, not the complementation. And if arcane relationships are to be uncovered, they must be shown to have a bearing on overall coherence—a bearing that Forte does not succeed in demonstrating. The tones held in common by the two harmonies make up a triad with a double-inflected third. This “clang” the ear grasps as indeed an important unifying sonority in the work, but Forte’s presentation actually obscures this simple and salient audible relationship between the two sections of the work behind the (it seems) factitious one uncovered by applying his method. Another instance of this is Forte’s analysis of the total texture at rehearsal number [26] in the middle of the Augurs of Spring, where he notes that “remarkably, the total texture then becomes . . . the transformed complement of the [ostinato] motive B $\flat$ , D $\flat$ , E $\flat$ .” (pp. 41-42) But the motive goes right on sounding through the passage in question.

The eagerness with which Forte points out these “embedded complements” (perhaps because they form a link with his analyses of “Schoenberg’s atonal music, or Webern’s, for that matter,” as he informs us in a footnote to the preceding quote) seems symptomatic of a mind-over-senses, even eye-over-ear, preference in Forte’s approach—an odd way of approaching the work of a composer whose creative methods at the time

were famously concrete and empirical. There is in fact no a priori reason necessarily to regard an occurrence of an "embedded complement" as other than fortuitous. Nor is it a particularly rare or noteworthy event. Anyone who knows the piano keyboard has observed that the pentatonic scale is the complement of the diatonic scale. So, in the following admittedly trivial example, the second half of the measure is the transposed and embedded complement of the first. True enough—but "remarkable"? (Example 2)

EXAMPLE 2



If the basis of an analytic method is the isolation and comparison of "sets," then it becomes a matter of the most fundamental methodological importance exactly how one decides what in the music constitutes an analytic unit. The criteria are not set forth explicitly, and Forte is in fact rather flexible in his choices. Most of the time he tries to avoid confronting the question of the relative importance of the notes in a given melodic or harmonic context by including them all without discrimination in his tabulations, even though the ear does not—indeed cannot—perceive them as structurally or functionally equivalent. Thus a trill is counted as two notes, and Stravinsky's characteristic grace notes are always included as full-fledged members of sets. (One would be interested to see what difference to the analysis their exclusion would make.) While one could quibble with Forte's decisions from the point of view of the relationship of the analysis to the aural experience of the music, what raises more serious doubts is their occasional inconsistency, in which it is hard not to see a touch of pragmatism. When discussing the superimposition of the chromatic quintuplet motive over the string chords in the middle section of the *Sacrificial Dance* (pp. 117-19), he tabulates them both together when the resulting set is "significant," but ignores the melodic motive when it is not. Similarly, in analyzing the opening of the *Honoring of the Chosen One* (p. 27), Forte counts individually every note of what he calls the "flute slide" to the high G, so that he can label the passage with the "significant" number 8-18, whereas the ear perceives the harmony here as restricted to the bass-note A and the off-beat chord C $\sharp$ -G-G $\sharp$ . The aggregate this yields is 4-5, a set Forte would rather not bother with since "it is not important in any of the other movements and does not relate strongly to any of the fundamental harmonies, [so that] the scope of its relations does not extend beyond the immediate context." (p. 94) But that all depends on how one defines a "strong relationship." The chord Forte labels set 4-5, as it is laid out in this passage, belongs to a class of harmonies that (as I shall suggest



below) is in fact extremely important in *The Rite*. It is a dominant seventh chord (incompletely expressed) with a double-inflected seventh, and as such relates very strongly indeed to many of the most characteristic chords in the work. It would appear that only Forte's determination not to apply conceptual models based on the harmonic vocabulary of older music could have prevented him from noting this, and once again the question arises as to how much is actually concealed by adherence to Forte's methods.

Especially bothersome is the way Forte is able on the one hand to include all the individual notes of the "flute slide" in his tabulation of the chord at the beginning of the Honoring of the Chosen One, and yet at the same time to dismiss the flute scales in the antepenultimate measure of the ballet as merely "gestural." He goes on: "the same is evidently true for all of [the next measure], for the set formed there is 4-6, a new set in the work, and it is unlikely that Stravinsky would introduce new harmonies at this final moment in the work." (p. 130) There is something Humpty-Dumptyish about this: if a harmony does not yield any "significant" results by Forte's methods, then it is not a harmony but a gesture. One might fairly inquire why Stravinsky, who everywhere else in the ballet wrote "harmonies," contented himself with "gestures" precisely at this strategic, climactic point.

The reader will probably have noticed what has seemed perhaps my coy way of surrounding the word "significant" with quotation marks on every appearance. I have done so because Forte's criteria for significance seem to me the most vulnerable aspect of his method. Not only does the tendency toward circularity, already noted, at times painfully obtrude, but set formations which do not meet his criteria (i.e., high statistical frequency and/or interrelatedness on the principles postulated a priori by the system) are dismissed as nonsignificant, no matter how conspicuous they may be. Again we have a kind of parallel with a frequently raised objection to Schenkerian analysis. But while Schenker sometimes sacrificed striking surface detail in the interests of uncovering meaningful long-range relationships, Forte specifically excludes "tonality [and] large-scale linear connections" from the purview of his study. (p. 29) As a result, the overall impression of the "Chronological Survey" is seriously marred by an element of hit-or-miss: where results are positive they are touted as "significant," but where they are negative no possibility of alternative modes of explanation is entertained, and the chord or passage in question is written off as inexplicable, sometimes with the implication that there has been a lapse on Stravinsky's part. The frequency with which this happens cannot but undermine confidence in the method; one misses the assurance that there is a demonstrable connection between the analyst's idea of significance and the composer's.

Alternative explanations are easily discoverable in most cases, and Forte obviously knows this. But most of them involve the invoking of

criteria derived from the common practice, and this is something the author is absolutely unwilling to allow. Thus, not only is functional analysis ruled out, but with it—particularly mystifying in the work of an old Schenkerian—any “linear” consideration whatever. Moreover, no method of relating chords other than that of comparing their specific (rather than generic) intervallic content is recognized. One can only guess at the effort of renunciation required to achieve such pure reliance on a single method. The question nags repeatedly: was the effort worthwhile? Examples chosen from four sections of the work will illustrate the problem.

1. Ritual of Two Rival Tribes. This part of the ballet is harmonically one of the least adventuresome. Of the music at 60, Forte flatly asserts that “it is not structured in terms of functional harmony” (p. 59) and goes on to tabulate the intervallic consistency of the chords on the strong beat. He finds the chord marked with an arrow in Example 3 “anomalous” and lets it go at that. If, on the other hand, one looks at the passage from the point of view of functional harmony (and pretty simple functional harmony at that, allowing Stravinsky his fair share of double inflections and added sevenths), there is no problem. The combinations in the middle of measures one, two, and four are the result of linear functions (accented passing tones), with parallel doubling at the major third (a very common procedure in *The Rite*). The shift of tonal center, involving a progression to the submediant, is standard Russian fare.<sup>8</sup>

EXAMPLE 3

The image shows two systems of musical notation. The first system consists of two staves (treble and bass clef) with a 2/4 time signature. The second system also consists of two staves (treble and bass clef) with a 3/4 time signature. Roman numeral chord labels are placed below the staves: B:I, V\*, I, V(VII) for the first system; I, V, G:I, V\*\*\*, I for the second system. An arrow points to the V\*\*\* chord in the second system. Circled notes in the first system are labeled 'p.t.' and 'ant.'.

\*(or “modally,” VII)

\*\*Stravinsky spells this note B $\flat$

\*\*\*“anomalous”

2. Kiss of the Earth. Forte's treatment of the famous string harmonics chord at the end of this short section is one of the most startling passages in his book. The chord puzzles him, for it does not occur elsewhere in the composition. Not only does this render him powerless to deal with it, he makes bold to question its appropriateness: "The number of harmonies [in the section] is small, and one would expect all of them to be significant, at least with respect to the movements on either side. This, however, is not the case." (p. 65) One is astonished that the author is content with this observation and does not take it as a hint that perhaps he is not applying the proper yardstick. He is reduced to grasping at whatever straws he can find to relate the set created by the string harmonics chord to more "significant" ones (he even quotes Ernest Ansermet on the chord's "mystical significance" [!], perhaps as a way of exempting it from obedience to his rules). Recourse to the Sketchbook turns up a rejected harmony in the analogous place, which does have some connection with the preceding music. The only way Forte can relate the chord to the one that appears in the finished piece, though, is to note that they are both subsets of the very significant "source chord," 8-18. But to assert, as Forte does, that the sketch chord and the final choice of harmony are thus related by a "common origin" is to commit a palpable logical fallacy. It is axiomatic that an origin has ontological priority, while the origin Forte posits for the Kiss of the Earth chord lies not in Stravinsky's work but in Forte's analysis.<sup>9</sup>

In actuality, however, the chord only lacks "significance" if Forte's criteria are accepted as exhaustive. If instead we note that the chord—like countless others in *The Rite*—is reducible to a wholesale superimposition of thirds (or perhaps interlocked triads), we have demonstrated not only a "strong relationship" within the universe of *The Rite of Spring*, but a relationship between Stravinsky's chord and harmonies found in the works of many other composers of the period, including—conspicuously and not at all coincidentally—Scriabin. Example 4 sets the Kiss of the Earth chord side by side with the "mystic chord" from *Prometheus* (maybe Ansermet was not so far wrong!).

EXAMPLE 4



Kiss of the Earth

"Mystic chord"

3. Introduction to Part II: Forte complains of the much-admired *chorovod* harmonization in the low strings *divisi*, that “two sets, 4-14 and 5-27, neither relate well at all to the other sets in the passage, nor are they significant sets elsewhere in the music. Furthermore, set 5-27 provides an exception to the generalization that metrically accented harmonies are significant.” (p. 81) Again compositional process and analytical method are gratuitously identified: Stravinsky is under no obligation to adhere to Forte’s generalizations. These strictures betray the limitations of Forte’s approach perhaps more clearly than any other passage in the book. For what is incongruous according to his “set-theoretic preanalysis” is easily understood in terms of common-practice procedures. Surely to call set 5-27 nonsignificant in a passage with a signature of five sharps (one of two places in *The Rite* where Stravinsky employed key signatures) is willfully to blind (deafen?) oneself to the most obvious governing relationships locally in force. And the troublesome 4-14 sonority is the result of all the parts joining with the notes of the accompanying harmonic ostinato (not given in Forte’s example on p. 82), except for the second viola, which in typical fashion doubles

EXAMPLE 5

The image displays two systems of musical notation, each consisting of three staves (treble, alto, and bass clefs). The key signature is five sharps (F#, C#, G#, D#, A#). The first system is labeled '4-14' at the top center. The second system is labeled '5-27' at the top left and '4-14' at the top center. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings. The first system shows a complex texture with many notes, while the second system is more sparse, focusing on specific harmonic sets.



EXAMPLE 6b

The musical score consists of three staves. The upper voice (top staff) contains the following notes: (b.e), (b.e) b, (b.e), b b, b. The middle voice (middle staff) contains: (b.e), b, bb, b, b. The lower voice (bottom staff) contains: (b.e), (b.e). Arched lines connect notes across staves, indicating tertial harmony. For example, the first (b.e) in the upper voice is connected to the (b.e) in the middle voice, which is in turn connected to the (b.e) in the lower voice. Similar connections exist for the other notes.

*Rite of Spring* can omit from consideration the basic fact that its texture largely involves the accompaniment of diatonic conjunct melody with a sophisticated, chromatic, but always “tertial” harmony. For what has an analysis accomplished if it has not determined such norms? This tertial harmony might then be associated with such procedures as extensions (i.e., superimposition of additional thirds over the triad), double inflections, parallel doublings, and—yes—polyharmonic combinations of triads and their derivatives. Theorists today tend to scoff at such language (Forte calls it “arbitrary” and “vague” on p. 37), and it is true that most attempts to deal with *The Rite of Spring* from the harmonic point of view have failed owing to a lack of system and rigor. But there is no reason why they must fail. A view of the work that begins with the sound surface might well achieve a degree of comprehensiveness and coherence comparable to Forte’s, without the apriority that results from a rigid commitment to principles worked out in advance of contact with the music. At all events such an analysis would easily take in its stride phenomena like the Kiss of the Earth chord, where it seems that relatively trivial differences in chord structure between it and the other harmonies in the ballet were able to obscure easily observable generic similarities from Forte’s view. And such a comprehensive approach would clarify the relationship between *The Rite of Spring* and the Russian music from which it sprang. I refer here not to folk music but to the tradition of “triadic atonality” that can be observed in Russian music beginning with Glinka’s whole-tone scale experiments, continuing through such well-known manifestations as Musorgsky’s bell-ringing progressions in *Boris* and the opening of Rimsky-Korsakov’s *Antar*, and traceable (as no one disputes) at least as far as *Petrushka*. Why should a radical disjuncture in Stravinsky’s own development be assumed at the same time as connections are factitiously drawn between his works and those of the Viennese atonalists, none of which he knew at all until much later (with the exception of

*Pierrot*, which he knew only after *The Rite* was fully sketched)? Even the tonal progressions in *The Rite*, so many of which are also "tertrial" (rotations around major and minor thirds, and their compounds like tritones), have their origin in earlier Russian music (cf. my comments above on the Ritual of the Rival Tribes). In short, there is ample external corroboration available for determining the harmonic and tonal norms of the piece,<sup>11</sup> not to mention the evidence of the Sketch-book, which Forte has employed from a perspective as limited as the one from which he approached the work itself.

For in the end, one is not convinced that Forte's book has lived up to its title, even within the narrowly defined purview it adopts. Does the observation of a high statistical incidence of certain pitch combinations, together with the demonstration of relatedness in their intervallic content, constitute, properly speaking, an analysis of harmonic organization? If the work in question were a tonal one, one suspects the answer would be no. The method, for all its complexity and the richness of the relationships it uncovers, tends to stay on the level of description, the set tabulation taking the place in this context of the Roman numerization zealously carried on in the harmonic analyses of old. One suspects that Forte's system, like Rameau's, will not long be practiced with the single-minded but somewhat defeating exclusivity of its inventor, although it may well have a comparable durability. *The Harmonic Organization of The Rite of Spring* shows it to be a powerful tool. It is not, however, the whole tool kit.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Musical Quarterly* 64 (1978):133-76.

<sup>2</sup> See *Perspectives of New Music* 9/2 (1971):4-5.

<sup>3</sup> Stravinsky always resisted analysis. His writings and interviews are strewn with comments skeptical of its value both as a discipline and as a form of explication (see for example, *Dialogues and a Diary*, p. 156), and one suspects that for him it was just another form of "interpretation."

<sup>4</sup> Forte has also found the set expressed as a harmony in a very interesting sketch which he gives as an example on p. 73. This passage of chords contains, in addition to 8-18, three of the other "main harmonies" expressed as chords: 8-28, 7-31, and 5-32. One wishes more external corroboration like this were adduced.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Style and Idea*, ed. Leonard Stein (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), pp. 245-49.

<sup>6</sup> These objections are nothing new to Forte. He underwent quite a grilling on this score after presenting a paper on "Ives and Atonality" at Brooklyn College as part of the Charles Ives Centennial Festival-Conference in October, 1974. Since some of the same objections potentially apply to analyses of early Stravinsky, perhaps some of his answers should be entered in evidence here. To one questioner's objection that one of the examples illustrating an atonal set was actually an innocuous tonal melody in A minor, Forte replied that to see it thus meant taking the example out of context. In other words, a layering or leveling of texture was always to be disregarded in analyzing atonal music. To the objection that some of the atonal examples were actually examples of "polyharmony," Forte emphasized his insistence on

an either-or approach by replying that "I personally have taken the viewpoint that it's better to discard the old terminology of polychords and polyharmonies," since if such terminology is used, "you end up with something that's neither tonal nor atonal." When queried on the apparent apriority of such a view, and whether the music he regarded as atonal was so regarded by its composers, Forte invoked the "intentional fallacy": "I'm not particularly concerned about whether [Ives] did it [i.e., used the techniques Forte described] consciously or not." For the full colloquy, see H. Wiley Hitchcock and Vivion Perlis, eds., *An Ives Celebration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), pp. 185-86.

<sup>7</sup>Perhaps it is not all that tacit, actually. The chapter on "The Harmonic Vocabulary" begins (p. 19) with the observation that "In *The Rite of Spring* Stravinsky employed extensively for the first time the new harmonies that first emerged in the works of Schoenberg and Webern around 1907-08." (Here the manifest equation of pc set with harmony causes a great deal of confusion.) One occasionally hears the sound of ax-grinding, as on p. 56, where Forte says of one relationship he has discerned in Stravinsky, that "the association . . . in this case may well be accidental, but nevertheless it is a demonstrable relation in the music," and then adds in a footnote that "this is a feature that would not be unusual in the atonal music of Schoenberg." Farfetched comments like this can only weaken the arguments they are meant to bolster.

<sup>8</sup>When it suits his purpose, Forte does take voice leading in the traditional sense into account, and recognizes the occasional existence of "nonharmonic" tones. In one passage from the Mystic Circle of the Adolescents he accounts for certain "unfamiliar sets" by interpreting syncopations as suspensions (he attempts to justify his view on the evidence of the Sketchbook, but I do not find the justification convincing), and rewrites the passage so as to eliminate the "displacements," and with them, the non-"significant" harmonies. (pp. 87-88) The special allowance here seems unwontedly pragmatic within a context as rigorously "scientific" as Forte purports to establish.

<sup>9</sup>Another instance of Forte's relation of aberrant harmonies to "significant" ones solely on the basis of fortuitous observations stemming from his "preanalytic" work: "Neither 7-Z12 nor 5-Z12 is important elsewhere in the music [though, Forte points out in a footnote, the latter's "Z-respondent," 5-Z36, is important (and this is the only place in the entire book where the "Z relationship"—i.e., identity of interval content—is invoked)]. Set 7-Z12 is connected, however, to the more fundamental harmony 7-31 in the following way: Both are subsets of 8-13 and both contain 6-Z49—indeed, it is the only hexachord common to both—and 6-Z49, although not an explicit subset of the harmony here, is especially significant as a 'background' event because it is the complement of the first chord in the next movement." (p. 108) "Not close enough for tickets," one hears Mischa Elman saying to the "relative" by multiple marriages and divorces in the famous anecdote—the more so as Forte has elsewhere said of 6-Z49 that it is "not especially prominent" in the work. (p. 68)

<sup>10</sup>Compare Forte's analysis of the passage with a functional one by Robert Moevs, "Mannerism and Stylistic Consistency in Stravinsky," *Perspectives of New Music* 9/2 (1971):95.

<sup>11</sup>One might mention here as well the possibilities for analysis according to the "octotonic" scale, which has been applied to Stravinsky in the past (e.g., by Arthur Berger in "Problems of Pitch Organization in Stravinsky," *Perspectives on Schoenberg and Stravinsky*, rev. ed. [New York: Norton, 1972], pp. 123-54). The octotonic scale may prove a welcome meeting point between Forte and more historically inclined analysts, since it is one of the "modes of limited transposition" that so interested Rimsky-Korsakov during the period of Stravinsky's tutelage, and it is also one of the "main harmonies" Forte has tabulated (i.e., set 8-28).



JURGEN THYM—  
“THE SOLO SONG SETTINGS OF  
EICHENDORFF’S POEMS BY SCHUMANN  
AND WOLF”

Ph.D Dissertation: Case Western Reserve University, 1974  
Ann Arbor: University Microfilms (74-25, 687)

*Michael Saffle*

Unravelling the principles underlying the union of words and music in song is fundamentally a problem in aesthetics, and it is therefore scarcely surprising that few musicologists have attempted to provide a definitive solution to it. But the ways in which words and music can and have been united by particular composers in particular songs is also an historical problem and one which has had an enormous impact upon European musical history. What, after all, was Monteverdi's division of early Baroque music into a *prima* and a *seconda prattica* but an attempt to determine whether text or musical material should reign as “mistress”<sup>1</sup> in certain kinds of sacred and secular compositions? And what could be more germane to the study of Romantic music than an examination of the relationship between words and music in songs by such important and influential composers as Schubert, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Liszt, Brahms, and Wolf?

“The Solo Song Settings of Eichendorff's Poems by Schumann and Wolf,” a doctoral dissertation in musicology written by Jurgen Thym in 1974, addresses itself to this last topic in an unusual way. I stress the word “unusual,” because Dr. Thym not only purports to provide at least a partial solution to the problem of the relationship between poetry and music in the Romantic *Lied*, but also makes a self-conscious attempt to organize a musicological monograph around a poet rather than a composer or compositional *genre*. The nature of Dr. Thym's successes and failures in this ambitious and problematic endeavor will be the subject of this review.

Two important questions confront readers of any dissertation: What is the purpose of the work as a whole, and to what extent does the way in which the work is written make that purpose clear? Before addressing these questions, I want to point out that it would be difficult to exaggerate the magnitude of the tasks Dr. Thym has set for himself in this study; he must not only be both aesthetician and historian, but he must also make himself understood by both aestheticians and historians—at least if his success is to be complete. Unfortunately, however, Dr. Thym sometimes fails in both roles; his thoughts are occasionally so

vague and his English so obscure that any reader will have some trouble understanding what he wants to say. Compare, for example, these two statements: At the beginning of his monograph, Dr. Thym states that his purpose shall be "to illuminate the uniqueness of the two most important Eichendorff composers of the nineteenth century by comparing their general approach to song composition as well as their specific settings" (p. 4). At the end of his study, he states that his dissertation has been devoted to investigating "the concept of *Stimmung* as an aspect of major significance for the Romantic artist" (p. 354). Which of these two statements, the perplexed reader may ask, is to be taken at face value; which defines the central purpose—the thesis—of Dr. Thym's dissertation?<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, how is the reader to interpret some of Dr. Thym's prose? What does the phrase "illuminate the uniqueness" mean? What is *Stimmung* an aspect of? And does Dr. Thym really mean to imply that Schumann and Wolf share a single "general approach" to song composition? (I shall have more to say about this last question below.) Clearly, Dr. Thym's ideas are not so lucidly formulated nor his English so well-written as his readers might have hoped. Sometimes, in fact, it can be downright difficult to understand what he is trying to say.<sup>3</sup>

Another substantial problem facing Dr. Thym's audience is coming to grips with the relationship between the two "theses" his dissertation rather contradictorily purports to argue and the poetic and musical material he actually discusses. Sometimes Dr. Thym examines subjects which have little bearing on either or both of his "theses". In his chapter on "Eichendorff and the Folksong," for example, he reviews "the intimate relationships between the folksong and Eichendorff's poetry" (p. 40) on such levels as thematic and motivic content, diction, imagery, organization, and what is rather unhappily called "singability" (pp. 38ff). Much of this chapter, however (especially those pages devoted to exploring the relationship between Eichendorff's poems and such folk poetry as the *Knaben Wunderhorn*), has little bearing upon the nature of Schumann's and Wolf's Eichendorff songs. Again, much of the chapter on "*Stimmung* in Eichendorff's Poetry" (especially those pages devoted to discussing various poetical devices) is superfluous; many of the devices described in this chapter are redescribed—and more effectively—in those chapters devoted to individual songs by Schumann and Wolf.

More unfortunate, however, is the fact that Dr. Thym occasionally fails to present aesthetic ideas or to define aesthetic terminology in sufficient detail. The *Stimmung* chapter, for example, might more profitably have been devoted—at least in part—to a thorough discussion of the meaning of *Stimmung*, an elusive term Dr. Thym never defines satisfactorily.<sup>4</sup> And Dr. Thym also devotes what appears to me to be too little space and energy to reviewing Schumann's ideas about the aesthetics of music and composition.<sup>5</sup> There can be little doubt, therefore,

that Dr. Thym's study would have been strengthened had he purged it of digressions and instead supplied his readers with clearer and more substantial discussions of aesthetic ideas and terminology difficult enough for philosophers—much less musicologists—to understand.

Finally, Dr. Thym's dissertation suffers from what appears to me to be questionable methodology: he bases his analyses of the aesthetics of certain songs and song-cycles upon the analyses of only *parts* of those songs and cycles. For although Dr. Thym refers in passing or in some details to more than three dozen *Lieder* by Schumann and Wolf, he examines and discusses only one song—Schumann's "Frühlingsfahrt," opus 42, no. 5—as a whole. To make matters more problematic, Dr. Thym claims that his analysis of "Frühlingsfahrt" can "serve as a model for the analysis of songs *in general*" (p. 131; italics added). The question arises: can one—*should* one—speak of songs "in general" within a dissertation of this kind? And if so, how can individual songs be properly distinguished from one another? In other words, Dr. Thym's decision to examine all of Schumann's and Wolf's Eichendorff songs through reference to a paradigmatic analysis of a single song by only one of these composers raises the question whether there really are *fundamental* differences between any of these works, or whether those differences which do exist are merely incidental to some "general" similarity.

The several answers which Dr. Thym supplies to this question are confusing. At times he seems to argue that the differences between the two composers' *Lieder* are differences of degree rather than of kind; thus he writes that "the techniques with which Wolf interprets the various *Stimmungen* of [Eichendorff's] poems are quite similar to those found in Schumann's Eichendorff songs," at least insofar as "harmony, rhythm, melody, texture, and overall-structure [sic] function as a [sic] means of interpreting a poem (p. 360). A few pages later, however, Dr. Thym points out important differences between Schumann's and Wolf's songs, although he qualifies his statements; thus he writes that Wolf's song-settings stand "in sharp contrast to Schumann's," though only insofar as Schumann's "mode of representation . . . does not depend to such an extent [as Wolf's] on a concrete extramusical stimulus" (p. 362). It is unfortunate that neither these nor any other statements in Dr. Thym's dissertation make it clear whether he believes the songs of Schumann and Wolf are essentially similar or essentially different. But even if Dr. Thym does believe that these songs can and should be lumped together in some "general" way, what are we to make of his statement that the elements of Wolf's songs "do not relate to the text as isolated entities, but rather merge into an indissoluble unit in order to reflect the particular *Stimmung* of a poem as a whole, as well as [that poem's] subtler nuances" (p. 360)? If Dr. Thym really believes that Wolf's songs express the meanings of their texts as "indissoluble" units, why didn't he analyze at least one complete song by Wolf, if only to make it clear

—as he does with Schumann's "Frühlingsfahrt"—how Wolf joins words and music together into "indissoluble" wholes?

Dr. Thym's dissertation can thus be seen to suffer from a number of flaws. First, it is rather loosely organized around two "central" theses, each of which is presented as "the" purpose of the dissertation, and each of which (as well as much of the rest of Dr. Thym's study) is written in awkward and ambiguous English. Second, various sections of this work have little to do with each other or with these theses, while other sections fail to present complex aesthetic arguments fully or to define difficult terminology satisfactorily. Finally, Dr. Thym's dissertation suffers from his decision to base his discussion of Schumann's and Wolf's *Lieder* "in general" upon the detailed analysis of only one song by only one of these composers—a decision at once methodologically questionable and apparently inconsistent with some of Dr. Thym's own aesthetic judgments. But these failures are not the whole story; Dr. Thym's dissertation is also filled with "successes" of some importance. In fact, I believe *The Solo Song Settings of Eichendorff's Poems by Schumann and Wolf* may well be one of the more adventurous and thought-provoking musicological dissertations written in America during the past five years.

Most of Dr. Thym's discussions of specific musical and poetic topics and issues are competent, and some are superb. The decision to organize much of his examination of individual songs around the four states of joy, sadness, mystery, and religious sentiment is an intelligent one, and reflects careful study of those elements in Eichendorff's poetry that captured the very different compositional imaginations of Schumann and Wolf. His precise and detailed description of the ways in which Schumann altered the text for "Frühlingsfahrt" in order to make it easier to follow in a musical setting, and then rewrote into the music itself the emotional substance and significance of the poetic subtleties he had discarded, is nothing less than brilliant.<sup>6</sup> Finally, Dr. Thym's analysis of the ways in which Wolf transformed some of Eichendorff's *Rollengedichte* into songs that reflect their dramatic orientation in both simple and complex musical language—the rhythm of horse's hoofbeats in "Der verzweifelte Liebhaber," for example, or the mysterious harmonies of "Nachtzauber"—contributes much to our understanding of the late 19th-century idea of song-as-drama.<sup>7</sup> In point of fact, Dr. Thym is rarely disappointing when he devotes himself to examining the ways in which specific texts and compositional principles came together within a certain aesthetic framework to create some of Romantic Europe's most beautiful songs.

But what I believe to be the most praiseworthy aspect of Dr. Thym's dissertation is its author's sincere and partially successful attempt to "do" music criticism, to climb upward on the ladder of musicological activities toward that "top step" which affords us insights into individual works of art that cannot be understood except within an appropriate

critical context.<sup>8</sup> In Dr. Thym's dissertation that context is defined as the fusion of words and music within the framework of 19th-century attitudes toward the composition and performance of *Lieder*. Some of the rungs on Dr. Thym's ladder may be a little wobbly, but rungs they are, and they support the reader in his climb toward a better understanding of the nature of vocal music. Dr. Thym deserves a special accolade not merely for practicing such varied scholarly activities as bibliography, aesthetics, the theory of poetry, and the analysis of musical structure for their own sakes (and with some considerable skill), but also for using what he learns from these disciplines in order to increase and intensify our perception of the value of certain works of art.

"The Solo Song Settings of Eichendorff's Poems by Schumann and Wolf" is, as I have said, an unusual work, and one which is more unusual—and more *noteworthy*—in its successes than in its failures. For it is one of a very small number of dissertations to display so innovative a spirit, to make so sincere an attempt to break through disciplinary boundaries in order to achieve a more profound understanding of fundamental aesthetic and historical problems and materials. Dr. Thym should feel proud of his exploration, in this dissertation, of that most important and elusive subject: the nature of the interrelationship of words and music in song.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Source Readings in Music History*, ed. Oliver Strunk (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950), p. 406.

<sup>2</sup> In the abstract published by University Microfilms International on page 3043 of the November, 1974, issue of *Dissertation Abstracts* (volume 35A, number 5), Dr. Thym mentions *Stimmung* only in connection with Schumann's songs, and says nothing about "illuminating the uniqueness" of either composer. It is therefore not possible to determine even from this supposedly authoritative source which of Dr. Thym's "theses" holds the more important position in the organization of his dissertation as a whole.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Thym is not a native English speaker, and he admits in his "Acknowledgments" that some of the language in which his dissertation is written was revised by a Miss Holly E. Sterm. I do not want to criticize Dr. Thym for minor mistakes in spelling or punctuation. In any case, his English is generally good by American University standards.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Thym may well be correct in maintaining that the term *Stimmung* is only "vaguely definable" (page 49), but I believe he could have done a somewhat better job than he did had he used analogies. Such definitions as "the disposition of the soul when man is in a state of mutual correspondence with something from outside" are not satisfactory.

<sup>5</sup> Fortunately, Dr. Thym refers his readers to several accomplished essays on this and related subjects; see esp. Edward A. Lippman, "Theory and Practice in Schumann's Aesthetics," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17 (1964):310-45; and Leon B. Plantinga, *Schumann as Critic* (New Haven: Yale University Press,

1967). Both of these works raise issues which Dr. Thym might profitably have incorporated into the body of his dissertation.

<sup>6</sup> It is too bad that Dr. Thym sometimes stops short of grappling with those musical passages that lie outside his analytical categories; he fails, for example, to pay more than passing attention in his discussion of "Frühlingsfahrt" to the role of the piano postlude, though he does mention that mood of "pious submission" (page 159) which is carried over into it from the last line of the song's text. The choice of "Frühlingsfahrt" for analysis is interesting in light of the negative opinions of other scholars concerning that song's aesthetic values: Eric Sams, for example, refers in *The Songs of Robert Schumann* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1967), p. 163, to what he considers its "constrained" emotional character; and Astra Desmond claims in *Schumann's Songs* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972), p. 39, that it is a work of "no especial interest." In my opinion Dr. Thym confutes both of these authorities' opinions, and with considerable aplomb.

<sup>7</sup> On this topic see Edward F. Kravitt's recent article "Theatrical Declamation and German Vocal Music of the Late Romantic Period," *Seminar* 14 (1978):169-86. The information contained in this fascinating article (especially that relating to Wolf's aesthetics of song composition and performance) supplements Dr. Thym's discussions of these same subjects.

<sup>8</sup> Joseph Kerman, "A Profile for American Musicology," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965):63.

*BARBARA SCHWENDOWIUS AND WOLFGANG  
DÖMLING, EDS.—JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH:  
LIFE, TIMES, INFLUENCE*

Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1977 (179 pp.)

*George Stauffer*

*Johann Sebastian Bach: Life, Times, Influence* unites under one cover a series of essays originally issued with Archiv records. Essentially a "coffee-table book," this volume shows the remarkable degree of sophistication attained in current Bach studies—even those aimed at a broad readership. The illustrations have been carefully selected, handsomely reproduced, and meticulously annotated. The text has been painstakingly researched and carefully written. Despite its general nature, this book is a valuable contribution to the Bach literature, for it presents a good deal of new material that hitherto has been unavailable in English.

This accomplishment can be credited to the fact that the essays stem from some of today's leading Bach scholars: Walter Blankenburg, Georg von Dadelsen, Wolfgang Dömling, Alfred Dürr, Jürgen Eppelsheim, Ludwig Finscher, Harald Keller, Hans-Günter Klein, and Christoph Wolff. Drawing from highly specialized studies and isolated articles, these men have weighed and distilled the latest findings on Bach in order to present us with the newly emerging picture of the Leipzig *Kantor*. This book was certainly not intended to compete with Karl Geiringer's *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Culmination of an Era*, the only Bach biography in English incorporating the discoveries of the Dürr-Dadelsen cantata chronology, but it does bring us up to date on a number of significant issues that have been clarified since the publication of Geiringer's volume in 1966. The record is set straight on the apocryphal portraits, the Leipzig *Probe* of 1723, the oboe da caccia, and other matters. The volume thus stands as an abbreviated though nonetheless welcome reappraisal of Bach's life and work.

The illustrations themselves are splendid. Many of them are well known from earlier publications, but they are presented here with exceptional brilliance. The full-page color reproductions of Haussmann's portrait of trumpeter Gottfried Reiche, the 1617 Braun-Hogenberg lithograph of Leipzig (from "Die vornembsten Stät der Welt"), and Bellotto's 1748 painting of Dresden are stunning. Other illustrations focus on less familiar or entirely new items: an Eichentopf oboe da caccia of 1724, the monogrammed title page of Bach's Calov Bible, or the notice in the *Hamburger Relations-Courier* of Bach's inaugural performance in Leipzig. Taken as a whole, the pictures in this book serve

to bridge the gap between Werner Neumann's *Bach: Eine Bildbiographie* (issued in the U.S. as *Bach and His World* and *Bach: A Pictorial Biography*) and the soon to be published Bild-Dokumente of the Bach-Dokumente series.

Although they are understandably concise, the essays tackle central issues. They concentrate on three general areas: central and northern Germany in Bach's time, Bach's life and work, and Bach's influence on posterity. In the first category, Walter Blankenburg's essay, "Religious and Cultural Life," is especially noteworthy. Blankenburg outlines the religious and political climate of Bach's day, a period enlivened by the complex interaction of traditional Lutheranism, Pietism, and the newly evolving ideals of the Enlightenment. Orthodox practices still dominated the public worship service, but Pietistic beliefs greatly influenced private devotion. Bach was brought up in the orthodox tradition and, to judge from the books in his library at the time of his death, he retained his early convictions throughout his life. The recent discovery of his heavily marked copy of the Calov Bible—a staple of orthodox literature—shows that he continued to ponder theological questions late in his life.

But as Blankenburg points out, Bach was also aware of Pietistic trends. His library, while predominantly filled with orthodox volumes, contained several books of a Pietistic bent, most notably *Betrachtung über die Thränen Jesu* by Johann Jacob Rambach, and *Eyfer wieder das Pabstthum* by Philipp Jacob Spener, the founder of Pietism. This appeal to religious sentimentality entered Bach's music through the cantata and passion texts. Picander (Christian Friedrich Henrici), Georg Christian Lehms, Christiane Mariane von Ziegler, and even such orthodox librettists as Salomo Franck and, to a limited degree, Erdmann Neumeister, turned to deeply personal expressions in order to capture the attention of contemporary congregations (Lehms's text "Mein Herze schwimmt in Blut," set to music by Bach in Cantata 199, illustrates this trend well). Moreover, certain changes in wording that appear to stem from Bach himself show that he did not hesitate to use Pietistic emotionalism to make a text more effective. Thus in Bach's thinking orthodox Lutheranism and Pietism enjoyed a fruitful coexistence.

Bach's contact with the Enlightenment is less clear. The books in his library do not reflect Enlightenment views, nor does his struggle with church officials over the curriculum at the Thomasschule (Bach wanted more emphasis to be placed on performance, the church officials on classical studies). On the other hand, Bach counted among his friends Lorenz Christoph Mizler, founder of the Sozietät der musikalischen Wissenschaften, and he used several librettos by Johann Christoph Gottsched. Both men were strong advocates of the Enlightenment. Although Bach may not have espoused such ideals directly, his very career parallels progressive developments. The Enlightenment brought a new interest in municipal music making. As Blankenburg rightly suggests,



Bach's conscious decision to channel his energies into the production of secular music for the Collegium Musicum after 1729 follows an Enlightenment pattern. Blankenburg may be stretching a point when he cites Bach's preference for the title "Director Musices" over "Kantor" as an indication of Enlightenment leanings. "Director Musices," of course, was the more encompassing appellation, and it does not seem unnatural that Bach would wish to present himself in the best possible light in official correspondence. This aside, Blankenburg's discussion is most convincing and serves as an excellent summary of the intellectual ambiance in which Bach labored during his final years.

In the section on Bach's life and work, Christoph Wolff presents an updated picture of musical life in Thuringia. In his essay "The Family," Wolff shows that central Germany was permeated with musical clans in the 17th and 18th centuries: the Wilckes, the Hoffmanns, the Lämmerhirts and, of course, the Bachs. Musically talented kin were a boon to practicing musicians, for one could always turn to a cousin to find a ready substitute (Bach did this several times). The Bach family spanned some 200 years with seven generations and more than seventy-five members. Most were musicians. Wolff presents the family tree in the form of a carefully researched genealogical chart, the most accurate yet available.

For the Bachs, it was a long climb from the *Urururgrossvater* Veit (16th century) to Johann Sebastian. Wolff shows the irony of the ascent: the rise from amateur to professional status brought dissolution as well as success. Entry into the middle class in the first half of the 18th century enabled members of the family to attend universities. (One thinks of Wilhelm Friedemann's and Carl Philipp Emanuel's studies at the University in Leipzig—an opportunity not available to their father thirty years earlier.) This, in turn, opened the door to other professions and set the stage for the disintegration of the Bach family in the next 100 years. It is not insignificant that Johann Sebastian's namesake, Johann Sebastian, Jr., was a painter of landscapes rather than a composer of concertos.

Relying on recent discoveries about the Bach *Überlieferung*, Wolff draws an interesting parallel between the dispersal of the Bach family and the dispersal of Johann Sebastian's manuscripts after 1750. Wilhelm Friedemann wandered from position to position without success. Johann Christian converted to Roman Catholicism and emigrated to London via Milan. Johann Sebastian, Jr., died in Rome, a long distance from Saxony. Bach's precious manuscripts were scattered from home, in many cases irretrievably lost. Only Carl Philipp Emanuel attempted to collect and preserve the family's rich heritage. He retained the *Altbachisches Archiv*, the collection of music by early Bachs that his father had assembled with great care. He gathered together a large collection of portraits and silhouettes of Bachs and other famous musicians. And he accumulated and zealously guarded as many of his father's manuscripts

as possible. At the time of his death in 1788, all these materials were still in his possession. Fortunately for posterity, most of the manuscripts ended up in the Berlin library. A large portion of the *Altbachisches Archiv* and the portrait collection, however, was lost.

In another essay, "Employers and Patrons," Wolff deals with the matter of patronage. In the Baroque era the course of a composer's development was usually determined by the wishes of his employer. Bach seems to have been quite resourceful in this regard, for he was able to work around considerable obstacles and gain a remarkable degree of latitude in his compositional endeavors. Wolff sketches vividly the new portrait of Bach in Leipzig. At the Thomaskirche, Bach was responsible to three different authorities: the rector of the church, the superintendent of the church, and the town council. Given the wide range of ambitions and temperaments of these men, it is no wonder Bach became disillusioned with his job in such short time. After 1729 he turned his back on the church and focused on other projects: the production of chamber music for the Leipzig Collegium, the publication of his own keyboard works, and the composition of secular cantatas on a commission basis. Wolff concludes his essay on a thought-provoking note: towards the end of his life Bach appears more and more as a free-lance artist, absorbed in his personal projects. Beethoven and the Romantic ideal of the independent composer seem but a stone's throw away!

In the essay "Contemporary Printed Editions, Autographs, and Copies" Alfred Dürr provides a much-needed summary of current source-critical research. In recent years a great deal has been learned about Bach's compositional habits through the examination of manuscripts and prints. This work began in earnest in the 1950s with Dürr's and Dadelsen's ground-breaking investigations, and it has continued up to the present with a host of highly detailed studies. These studies are fascinating, but they are frequently difficult reading, even for the specialist. Dürr has extracted the most important findings from this material and gives us a broad survey of recent developments.

Beginning with the prints, Dürr explains why the publication of music remained somewhat provincial in Germany during Bach's lifetime. First, the German economy was still recovering from the ravages of the Thirty Years' War. Second, most composers continued to write for local groups whose make-up was far from uniform. The unique nature of a piece often precluded its performance elsewhere. For instance, the Brandenburg Concertos, tailored primarily for the forces available at the court in Cöthen, were not printed during Bach's lifetime. By contrast, Vivaldi's *L'estro armonico*, written for more standard instrumental combinations, was published in Amsterdam, London, and Paris.

When Bach decided to see a work into print, it was with great caution. Publication was carried out on a very modest scale (100-200 copies seems to have been the norm) and at his own expense. The market in

Germany was so uncertain that Bach issued his first independent publication, the *clavier partitas*, as six separate installments before risking to unite them in a larger, more expensive volume, *Clavierübung* I. As is well known, in some cases Bach was personally involved in the printing process. Dürr is quick to point out that Bach's role was not that of engraver, which involved etching the music backwards onto copper plates. Rather, Bach prepared fair copies which were transferred to the plates by professionals.

Several recent studies not mentioned by Dürr suggest the printing procedure may have been a much more creative enterprise than previously assumed. To judge from evidence presented in a *Current Musicology* seminar report<sup>1</sup> and a paper by Gregory Butler,<sup>2</sup> Bach changed his concept of the *Art of Fugue* and *Clavierübung* III while the plates for them were being prepared. In both cases he expanded his original scheme substantially—a decision calling for considerable adjustment on the part of the engravers. It seems that the printing process itself may have served as a catalyst for Bach's compositional energies.

In discussing the autographs, Dürr gives one of the clearest, most concise summaries of Bach's handwriting styles to date. He shows that the changes in Bach's script reflect the changes in his music. Early in his career, Bach's handwriting is halting and uneven. The compositions from that time often display a similar *pasticcio* style. During his maturity, Bach's handwriting is flowing and confident, as are the extroverted pieces from that period. In the final years, Bach's script becomes stiff and awkward, a trend that parallels the more abstract, inward nature of such late works as the *Musical Offering* and the *Art of Fugue*.

Since relatively little music was printed in Bach's time, the copying of manuscripts was an important matter. In Bach's case, this activity was clearly a family affair. Anna Magdalena, Wilhelm Friedemann, Carl Philipp Emanuel, Gottfried Heinrich, Johann Christian, Johann Christoph Friedrich, and other members of the Bach household helped prepare copies of Johann Sebastian's music. Dürr discusses this pragmatic aspect of Bach's daily life, and he outlines the critical role the *Thomas-schüler* played in the production of performance parts for the cantatas. Finally, he sketches the principal manuscript traditions emanating from Bach's more important pupils, Johann Christian Kittel, Johann Philipp Kirnberger, and others. As Hans-Joachim Schulze recently pointed out in "Die Bach-Überlieferung—Plädoyer für ein notwendiges Buch,"<sup>3</sup> here is a rich field that asks for further cultivation by Bach scholars.

The remaining essays, "Political and Social Conditions" (Ludwig Finscher), "Architecture and the Visual Arts" (Harald Keller), "Predecessors and Contemporaries" (Hans-Günter Klein), "The Instruments" (Jürgen Eppelsheim), "His Sons and His Pupils" (George von Dadelsen), and "The Bach Tradition of the 19th and 20th Centuries" (Wolfgang Dömling), are as informative and interesting as those by Blankenburg,

Wolff, and Dürr. The authors have approached their subjects thoughtfully, and they give new outlooks on many aspects of Bach's career.

Criticisms of this volume are few. The English translations by John Coombs, Lionel Salter, and Gaynor Nitz are quite good, though a few lapses occur here and there. Such phrases as "elderly photographs" (p. 8), "old Böhm" (p. 70), or "yearly runs" (p. 78) might have been rendered differently. Another minor problem stems from the photographs, which do not always correlate with the text. In "The Bach Tradition of the 19th and 20th Centuries," for example, Wanda Landowska, Karl Straube, and Albert Schweitzer appear in large photographs, even though scant reference is made to these leaders of the modern *Bach-Bewegung* in the essay itself. Elsewhere, the captions of certain pictures pose questions that are unresolved in the text. A photograph of the Bach Museum at Eisenach is accompanied by this remark: "The so-called 'Bach House' on the Frauenplan at Eisenach was for a long time considered to have been Bach's birthplace." But no explanation about the real birthplace is given. Was the house destroyed? Can it no longer be found? An explanatory sentence or two might have put the reader at ease.

On the whole, however, this collection of essays and pictures is a remarkable achievement. It demonstrates that a coffee-table book can be done with the same exacting care as a text or specialized study. For this reason, the volume is a fitting tribute to Bach, who approached tiny *Stammbuch* canons and gigantic *recherche* fugues with equally rigorous self-criticism. It is this adherence to the highest standards that makes *Johann Sebastian Bach: Life, Times, Influence* an admirable publication.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> "Bach's *Art of Fugue*: An Examination of the Sources," *Current Musicology* 19 (1975):47-77.

<sup>2</sup> "New Research on J. S. Bach's *Dritter Teil der Klavierübung* (1739)," read at the AMS Convention in Minneapolis, October 1978.

<sup>3</sup> *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 17 (1975):45-58.