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articles

The *Compagnia dei Musici di Roma*, 1584–1604: A Preliminary Report.

By William J. Summers

On 10 April 1585, the thirteen-year pontificate of Pope Gregory XIII came to an end. Gregory is considered by historians of the papacy to be one of the most significant post-reformation popes, specifically for his implementation of the multitude of reforms ordered by the Council of Trent.[1] In addition to his reforming zeal, he also exercised considerable influence over the enhancement of the physical beauty of Rome and the promotion of learning and the fine arts in that city. Some of his most significant support for the arts was bestowed upon the *Compagnia dei virtuosi del Pantheon*. His canonical recognition of this society of artists in 1577 was a pivotal event in the life of the confraternity, whose members contributed immensely to the artistic life of Rome during the final third of the 16th century.[2]

In the year of Gregory's death (or possibly the year before), Alessandro Marino, a Venetian Augustinian, petitioned the Vicar of State for Religious Affairs, possibly Tolomeo Galli,[3] for papal recognition of the *Compagnia dei Musici di Roma*. Though the original constitution and statutes submitted by Marino have not yet been discovered, their existence and general character can be deduced (at least in part) from the papal response. Gregory unfortunately did not live long enough to complete his plan to fully recognize the *Compagnia*, but the Bull *"Rationi congruit"* promulgated by Pope Sixtus V on 1 May 1585, leaves no doubt that this was, in fact, Gregory's intention.[4] Even more significant is the fact that of all the business left pending at the end of Gregory's life, this was some of the very first taken up by his successor. *"Rationi congruit"* appeared just seven days after Sixtus's election on 24 April.

The full Latin text of the Bull has been published at least twice, and an English version was very recently made available by Robert Hayburn.[5] This document provides a precise date for the creation of the canonical organization, but leaves unanswered a number of questions, the most obvious being the actual date that the confraternity was formed. The Pantheon (St. Mary's Rotunda) is explicitly named as the church of residence, but there is nothing to indicate the length of tenure in this church.[6] Another puzzling circumstance involves the petitioner. How did a presumably minor musical figure like Alessandro Marino come to be the official "spokesman" for the confraternity to the Vicar for Spiritual Affairs in Rome, especially in the light of the eminence of the membership in 1589 (see below)? Who were the "original"

members, and were any of them women, as Gustave Reese implies?[7] What kind of activities did the *Compagnia* undertake? Lastly, what effect, if any, did this organization have on the careers of its members, and on the musical life of Rome at the close of the 16th century?

The early history of the *Compagnia* has never been entirely elucidated.[8] The first accounts to deal with the years 1584–1604 were made in the mid-19th century. These were specifically intended to document the history of the *Academia di Santa Cecilia*, and thus their focus was not musicological. The only specific documentation relevant to the period prior to canonical recognition was made known at that time. In addition to the inferences which can be drawn from the Bull of erection, two entries in the diary of the Papal Choir may refer to the *Compagnia dei Musici*. The first, from 6 July, is a categorical instruction to the members prohibiting them from joining a newly formed music sodality in Rome.[9] The significant features of this entry are the fact that the *Compagnia* was considered a sodality which had been newly formed, and that it faced strenuous opposition from the leadership of the Papal Choir. Unfortunately it is impossible to determine precisely what is meant by the expression "newly erected." Did the confraternity coalesce within the year 1584, or did it exist before that time? The opposition from the leadership of the Papal Choir is also not explained. Any number of circumstances could have caused the hostility, not the least of which was the existence of a specific constitution and statutes which would have been considered to be in conflict with the duties of the singers in the Choir. The promulgation of "*Rationi congruit*" in categorical terms cleared the way for singers of the Choir to be admitted to the *Compagnia*.

The second entry, from 7 September, is longer and deals with the censure of Giovanni Giacomelli for his involvement with the forbidden society.[10] It does enrich our knowledge about the pre-history of the *Compagnia* by pointing out that Giacomelli was an officer in the new society and that the leadership of the Papal Choir was not aware of, or was unwilling to recognize the movement undoubtedly underway to seek papal recognition for the *Compagnia*.[11]

The Bull of erection and these two entries from the diary of the Sistine Choir constitute the existing information about the pre-history of the *Compagnia*. They suggest an organization of musicians which was founded before July 1584, located in the Rotunda, that sought and received a Papal mandate to enhance the place of music in the service of the Church and the people of God in Rome. The confraternity had been in existence long enough to evolve a working structure, evident from its constitution and statutes, and also to consider itself functioning sufficiently well to seek papal sanction. Its members, if diligent in observing their self-imposed obligations to the saints invoked for protection, would receive a plenary indulgence. Further merits could be won by rendering assistance to any member who was ill or impoverished, or to the survivors of a member recently deceased. Theoretically the society was open to members of both sexes willing to work towards these ends.

There is no documentation concerning the *Compagnia* from 1585–1589.

1589, a book of madrigals compiled by Felice Anerio and enti-*ie*, was published in Venice and the contributors (listed in Table I) ribed in the volume's letter of dedication as members of the *vertuosa gnia dei Musici di Roma.*[12] The collection was dedicated to Pietro Orsino, op of Spoletto, who was honored as the patron of the society. Anerio dicates in the dedication that he was Maestro di Cappella of the confrater-ity. The list of contributors is significant for two reasons: it is the only document from the period under consideration which provides the names of members and it leaves no doubt that the pre-eminent figures in Roman musical circles such as Palestrina, Marenzio, the Naninos, and Anerio, were members. The major musical positions in Rome in 1589 were also in the hands of members of the society (see Table I). Among the contributors are the Maestri di Cappella of St. John Lateran, St. Mary Major, San Luigi de Francesi, Julian Chapel, English College, and the German College. Some of those members not in Rome in that year were Maestri di Cappella of the Viceregal Chapel in Naples and the Medici Court in Florence.[13]

TABLE I

Membership of the *Compagnia dei Musici di Roma,* 1589.

Felice Anerio, MDC *Compagnia dei musici di Roma*
Paolo Bellasio, Organist, Orivieto Cathedral
Archangelo Crivelli, Papal Choir
Giovanni Dragoni, MDC St. John Lateran
Ruggerio Giovanelli, MDC St. Luigi de'Francesi
Orazzio Griffi, Papal Choir
Bartolomeo Le Roy, MDC Viceregal Chapel, Naples
Giovanni Lucatelli, Rome?
Giovanni de Macque, Second Organist, Naples?
Cristofano Malvezzi, MDC Duke of Tuscany?
Luca Marenzio, MDC Medici, Florence (Rome)?
Giovanni B. Nanino, Rome?
Giovanni M. Nanino, Papal Choir
Giovanni Palestrina, Julian Choir MDC
Paolo Quagliati, Rome, organist?
Francesco Soriano, MDC St. Mary Major, St. John Lateran
Annibale Stabile, MDC German College
Giovanni Troiano, ?
Annibale Zoilo, MDC Santa Casa, Loretto

Source: *Le gioie*, (Venice, 1589) compiled by Felice Anerio (*RISM* 1589[7]). (Names given in alphabetical order with position held in 1589.)

Inventories of the membership for the first two decades have been drawn up since the publication of *Le gioie*, but none can be considered completely reliable. The one most often cited is that compiled between 1830 and 1851 by

Luigi Rossi, the secretary of the Academy of Saint Cecilia during
(see Table II).[14] The two most distressing problems with Rossi's list
the fact that the documents he apparently consulted in reference to
two decades of the confraternity's existence have not been recovered
second, that 14 of the 19 contributors to *Le gioie* are not on his list (see Ta
II). Rossi was clearly not aware of *Le gioie*. To his credit, it must be noted th
his documentation of the *Compagnia* after approximately 1630 has proven t
be more accurate, and rests on preserved information.[15]

Another inventory made in 1845 by Pietro Alfieri relies heavily on Rossi, though not exclusively.[16] Both of these 19th-century accounts suggest that the membership of the confraternity was larger than the number of contributors to *Le gioie,* though research into the extant biographical accounts of a number of those named by both Rossi and Pietro Alfieri has revealed precious little confirmation of their membership. In addition to the 19 from *Le gioie* can be added with certainty Alessandro Marino and Giovanni Giacomelli. Other strong possibilities for membership are Curzio Mancini, Prospero Santini, Giovanni Ancina, Giovanni Moscaglia, Nicolo Pervue, Josquino della Sala and Francisco Soto de Langa, though the evidence for these seven is admittedly circumstantial. Even omitting the seven, this leaves without a doubt the largest number, as well as the most illustrious group of composers to belong to a musical confraternity in the 16th century. No mention whatsoever is made of female members.

Another inference can be drawn from *Le gioie:* that at least one function of the *Compagnia* was the publication of music composed by the members. In *Le gioie* the music was secular and intended to honor a patron. A further speculation can be made that Anerio was responsible for musical productions of some kind as the Maestro di Cappella of the *Compagnia.* Though no evidence has appeared to confirm this, the implication is nonetheless a strong one. According to the statutes of the Bull of erection, the members were obligated to attend liturgical celebrations at their altar from First Vespers on the feasts of the Visitation of the Virgin (22 July), of St. Gregory (12 March), and of St. Cecilia (22 November), to receive the indulgence granted in the Bull (presumably in the Rotunda). It can hardly be questioned that music would have been performed during these observances. The confraternity may have also assembled on the Nativity and the feast of the Assumption (15 August), as an additional indulgence could be gained by marking these days with special solemnity.[17] These latter obligations may have been difficult or virtually impossible for those musicians who had heavy responsibilities on these obviously important feasts. Certain other occasions must have brought the membership out in force as well. Two of the most likely are the rediscovery of the tomb of St. Cecilia in October 1599 and her solemn re-burial in her church on 22 November of the same year, an event marked with great solemnity by Pope Clement VIII. Again in special veneration of Cecilia, Clement celebrated Mass on her feast day in her church in 1603 and 1604.[18] It would be unthinkable for the *Compagnia* to be absent from solemnities such as these, though what official role they may have had is unknown. Another occasion

TABLE II
19th-Century Accounts of the Membership, 1584–1604

Member's Name	Date of Entry	Alfieri[1]	*Le gioie*[2]	Reese[3]	Rossi[4]	Strong Possibility	I[5]	II[6]	III[7]
Francesco Adriani		X							
Giovanni G. Ancina						X			
Felice Anerio	1586	X	X	X	X			X	
Giovanni Anerio	1584			X	X				
Abondio Antonelli	1598	X			X				
Giovanni Artusi	1596				X				
Giovanni Bardi	1593				X				
Paolo Bellasio	1589		X		X			X	
Giacomo Benincasa	1588	X			X				
Ercole Bottrigari	1590				X				
Giulio Caccini	1584				X				
Orazio Caccini		X							
Dionisio Cavallari	1603	X			X				
Antonio Cifra	1599	X			X				
Archangelo Crivelli			X					X	
Roberto di Fiandra	1602				X				
Federico Donati	1589				X				
Giovanni Dragoni	1585	X	X		X				
Stefano Fabbri	1584	X			X				
Girolamo Frescobaldi	1604				X				
Giovanni Giacomelli						X			X

Member's Name	Date of Entry	Alfieri[1]	*Le gioie*[2]	Reese[3]	Rossi[4]	Strong Possibility	I[5]	II[6]	III[7]
Ruggerio Giovanelli		X	X					X	
Orazzio Griffi			X					X	
Cristoforo Guizzardi	1590	X			X				
Orlando Lasso	1584	X			X				
Bartolomeo Le Roy			X					X	
Giovanni Lucatelli (Locatello)			X					X	
Giovanni de Macque			X					X	
Alberto Magni	1600				X				
Cristofano Malvezzi			X					X	
Curzio Mancini	1584	X			X				
Luca Marenzio			X					X	
Alessandro Marino							X		
Vergilio Mazzocchi	1603	X			X				
Vincenzo Mirabella	1591				X				
Claudio Monteverdi	1590				X				
Giovanni Moscaglia						X			
Giovanni B. Nanino		X	X					X	
Giovanni M. Nanino		X	X					X	
Asprilio Pacelli	1587	X			X				
Giovanni Palestrina	1584	X	X	X	X				
Dominico Patatoni	1585	X			X				
Nicolo Pervue	1584	X			X				
Constanzo Porta	1587				X				
Paolo Quagliati			X					X	

Francesco Rosselli		X						
Josquino della sala						X		
Prospero Santini						X		
Francesco Soriano	1584	X	X	X	X			
Francesco Soto de Langa						X		
Annibale Stabile	1584	X	X	X	X			
Paolo Tarditi	1597				X			
Ippolito Tartaglino		X						
Giovanni Troiano	1591	X	X	X	X			
Vincenzo Ugolini	1595	X			X			
Tomas L. Victoria		X						
P. Luigi Zacconi	1586				X			
Annibale Zoilo			X					X

KEY

[1] Indicates that the person is named by Pietro Alfieri, *Brevi notizie storice sulla Congregazione ed Accademia . . . di Santa Cecilia,* 1845, pp. 15–19.

[2] Indicates that the person is named as a member in *Le gioie,* 1589.

[3] Named by Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance,* p. 424.

[4] Indicates person is named as a member in Luigi Rossi's list, *Stato nominativo . . .* , (1830–1851), pp. 1f.

[5] Named in the Bull of erection.

[6] Person missing from Rossi's inventory of membership.

[7] Membership indicated in the diary of the Papal Choir.

which may have been celebrated by the membership yearly was the anniversary of the consecration of Bishop Orsino.[19] Without recourse to documents of the society, nothing more conclusive can be said about any of these celebrations. If the 1589 list of membership is any indication, there was certainly no dearth of musical talent available to enrich the most elaborate or important festival.

The confraternity's activities probably did not all take place in the context of religious ceremonies. In addition to having a maestro di cappella, a secretary and treasurer are known for the society, as well as an officer with unidentified duties, Giovanni Giacomelli. The preservation of early 17th-century financial records and election results demonstrates that business meetings of a strictly functional nature were held by the later society,[20] though this in no way can be construed as normal for the pre-1600 confraternity. Other likely forums for involvement by the membership were the many and varied activities which became popular in the Roman oratories in the final third of the century. The Anerio brothers, Victoria, Griffi and Palestrina were known to have been directly involved with Neri and with music in his oratory, while Palestrina, Marenzio, G. Anerio, Quagliati and Giacomelli can be linked with the Oratory of Crocifisso.[21] It is also a strong possibility that contact was established through common members with other academies dedicated to music outside of Rome. For example, Paolo Bellasio had extensive involvement with, and was elected Maestro of, the *Accademia filarmonica* of Verona.[22] Le Roy and Macque very likely remained in contact with the court at Gesualdo after leaving there in 1580, thus providing direct exchange with the *Compagnia* as well as with the courts at Naples and Gesualdo.[23]

In addition to the contacts members had with organizations inside and outside of Rome, there are many instances where their music appears in collections or where they collaborated on joint publications (see Table III).[24] Two specific instances are worth mentioning. The first is the 12-voice parody mass, *Missa Cantantibus Organis, Caecilia.*[25] This "group composition" was almost certainly completed under the auspices of the confraternity, and it is an important demonstration of the collaborative efforts of the membership. The various movements and parts of movements were composed by Palestrina, Dragoni, Giovanelli, Stabile, Soriano, Curzio Mancini and Prospero Santini. The model is Palestrina's motet of the same name which first appeared in his 1575 book of motets. The text for the *prima pars* is the first antiphon for Second Vespers on Cecilia's feast day. No indication exists in the manuscript copies of this mass, now in the Lateran and Giulian Libraries, to indicate the person responsible for the assignment of specific textual passages to the individual composers, but each composer's contributions are clearly marked. Anerio would be the most likely candidate as coordinator of the project. This exercise not only served as homage to Palestrina, but also provided a work which was very probably performed at Mass by the *Compagnia* on Cecilia's feast. While it is a unique example of a group composition in the Renaissance, its structure is consistent with the popular practice in Rome of composing sacred music for multiple choirs.[26]

TABLE III
Printed Collections Containing Music Composed by Members of the *Compagnia dei Musici di Roma*, 1584–1607

RISM No.		Composers
1584[5]		Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina.
1584[12]		Macque, Palestrina.
1584[15]		Dragoni, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Zoilo.
1585[5]		Le Roy, Palestrina.
1585[7]	A	Dragoni, Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Quagliati.
1585[16]		G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Zoilo.
1585[19]		Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Macque, (Moscaglia).
1585[29]	A	Bellasio, Crivelli, Dragoni, Giovanelli, Macque, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Le Roy, Stabile, Zoilo.
1586[2]	C	F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Soriano.
1586[3]	C	F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Soriano.
1586[7]		Malvezzi, G.M. Nanino, Stabile, Zoilo.
1586[8]		Dragoni, Macque, Stabile, Zoilo.
1586[9]	A	F. Anerio, Dragoni, Griffi, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Zoilo.
1586[10]		Giovanelli, Marenzio.
1586[11]		Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina.
1586[18]	A	G.B. and G.M. Nanino.
1587[5]	B	Dragoni, Macque, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Le Roy, Soriano, Troiano, Zoilo.
1587[6]		F. Anerio, Bellasio, Giovanelli, Griffi, G.M. and G.B. Nanino.
1587[14]		Marenzio, G.M. Nanino.
1588[2]		F. Anerio, Marenzio, Stabile.
1588[3]		Palestrina, Zoilo.
1588[17]		Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Zoilo.
1588[19]		G.M. Nanino, Palestrina.
1588[20]		F. Anerio, Giovanelli.

1588[21]		Macque, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Soriano, Zoilo.
1588[22]		G.A. and P. Dragoni.
1589[7]	B	*Le gioie.*
1589[8]		F. Anerio, Marenzio.
1589[11]	B,C	F. Anerio, Crivelli, Giovanelli, Locatello, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Quagliati, Soriano, Stabile.
1590[5]		Palestrina, Stabile.
1590[11]		Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino.
1590[15]	B,C	F. Anerio, Bellasio, Crivelli, Dragoni, Giovanelli, G.M. Nanino, Le Roy, Soriano, Stabile, Zoilo.
1590[17]		Lucatelli, Macque, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino.
1591[7]		Malvezzi, Marenzio.
1591[8]	A	Bellasio, Giovanelli, Le Roy, Lucatelli, Macque, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Soriano, Stabile.
1591[10]	A	F. Anerio, Bellasio, Giovanelli, Macque, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Zoilo.
1591[12]	B,C	F. Anerio, Bellasio, Dragoni, Giovanelli, Griffi, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Quagliati, Soriano, Stabile.
1591[13]	B,C	F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Griffi, Macque, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Pacelli.
1591[14]	A	Crivelli, Giovanelli, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Stabile.
1591[15]	A	F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Quagliati, Soriano.
1591[16]		G. Anerio, Lucatelli, Marenzio.
1592[2]	B,C	F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Quagliati.
1592[5]	B,C	F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Griffi, Macque, G.B. and G.M. Nanino, Pacelli.
1592[11]		F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Macque, Marenzio, Palestrina, Stabile.
1592[13]		F. Anerio, Giovanelli, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Zoilo.
1592[14]		Bellasio, Giovanelli, Marenzio.
1592[15]		Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina.

1592[23]		Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina.
1593[3]		F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Stabile.
1593[4]	A	Macque, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Quagliati, Stabile.
1593[5]	A	F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Macque, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Le Roy, Soriano, Stabile.
1593[11]		Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina.
1594[19]		Bellasio, G.M. Nanino.
1595[5]		Bellasio, Crivelli, Giovanelli, G.M. Nanino.
1595[6]	B,C	F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Macque, G.B. and G.M. Nanino.
1596[2]		Palestrina, Stabile.
1596[8]		F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino.
1596[10]	A	F. Anerio, Bellasio, Giovanelli, Macque, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Stabile, Zoilo.
1596[11]		F. Anerio, Bellasio, Malvezzi, Marenzio, Palestrina.
1597[13]		Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Soriano.
1597[14]	B	F. Anerio, Bellasio, Dragoni, Giovanelli, Griffi, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Quagliati, Soriano, Stabile.
1597[15]		F. Anerio, Bellasio, Crivelli, Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina.
1597[24]		Marenzio, G.M. Nanino.
1598[2]		Marenzio, Palestrina.
1598[8]		F. Anerio, Dragoni, Giovanelli, G.M. and G.B. Nanino.
1599[2]	A	F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina.
1599[4]	B	Giovanelli, Palestrina, Zoilo.
1599[6]	B,C	(Ancina), F. and G.F. Anerio, Crivelli, Dragoni, Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.B. and G.M. Nanino, Quagliati, Le Roy, Soriano.
1599[16]	B	G.B. Nanino, (V. Ugolino).
1599[19]		Dragoni, Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina.

1600[2]		F. Anerio, Giovanelli, Marenzio, Palestrina.
1600[4]	B,C	Crivelli, Dragoni.
1600[6]		Marenzio, Stabile.
1600[8]	A	F. Anerio, Dragoni, Griffi, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Stabile, Zoilo.
1600[11]		Giovanelli, Malvezzi, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Le Roy.
1600[18]		Giovanelli, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina.
1601[8]	B	F. Anerio, Crivelli, Giovanelli, Lucatello, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Quagliati, Soriano, Stabile.
1601[18]		Giovanelli, Marenzio, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina.
1603[1]		Giovanelli, Marenzio.
1603[6]	A	Giovanelli, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Zoilo.
1604[2]		Marenzio, Pacelli, Stabile.
1604[8]	A	F. and G. Anerio, Crivelli, Giovanelli, Pacelli.
1604[11]		Giovanelli, G.M. Nanino, Palestrina, Le Roy, Zoilo.
1604[13]		F. Anerio, Bellasio, Giovanelli, Griffi, G.M. and G.B. Nanino.
1607[2]	B,C	F. Anerio, Crivelli, Giovanelli, G.B. and G.M. Nanino, (S. Sacchi), Stabile, Soriano, Troiano, (C. Zoilo).

KEY:

A indicates that a number of the members of the *Compagnia* contributed to this collection.

B indicates that a substantial amount of the collection was contributed by members.

C indicates that the collection was printed in Rome.

The second example of a collaborative effort is not so easily linked to the *Compagnia*. This is the second book of madrigals for four voices, collected by Giovanni Moscaglia. The letter of dedication is dated 1582, but the music was printed in 1585. The contributors are described as "*alcuni di diversi eccelenti musici di Roma.*"[27] While all of the texts are apparently Moscaglia's, only 11 of the 25 madrigals are his. The remainder were composed by G.M. Nanino, Giovanelli, Marenzio, Giovanni Pellio, Lucatelli, Bellasio and Dragoni. The correspondence between the list of contributors to this volume and that in *Le gioie* is very high and it is therefore tempting to suggest that Moscaglia, Pervue, della Sala and Pellio may have been members of the society. These latter composers are well represented in collections printed in Rome which contain music by known members of the confraternity. It is not unthinkable that Moscaglia's contributors list may actually be one indication of the *Com-*

pagnia's membership prior to 1584. There are some important persons missing, such as Palestrina, Griffi, Macque, Quagliati, Troiano, Malvezzi, the younger Nanino and Soriano. If nothing else, this anthology makes it clear that composers in Rome were willing to contribute to collections such as Moscaglia's and were cooperating on projects such as this before the documented existence of the *Compagnia*.

The final publication to be discussed was not drawn up under the auspices of the confraternity, but may have been dedicated to its members. This is *L'amorosa caccia de diversi eccelentissimi musici mantovani*, compiled by Alfonso Preti in 1588[28] and dedicated to *Alli Eccelentissimi Signori Musici di Roma*. This volume illustrates graphically that the members of the Society (if not the organization itself) were held in high esteem by Mantuan composers. It is also significant that their recognition came just three years after papal confirmation. It has been pointed out before that a number of the members of the confraternity were associated with the court at Mantua, yet it seems that the suggestion has not been made that the tribute paid in the dedication of this volume of caccia is to the *Compagnia*.[29] None of the contributors to this collection (given in Table IV) appears on any inventory of the membership of the society. In fact, most of them, with the exception of Francesco Rovigo and Alessandro Striggio, are little known.[30] What connection, if any, existed between this group of musicians (probably mostly amateurs) and the *Compagnia* in Rome? This question again indicates how little is known about the influence of the *Compagnia* in Rome on the musical life of Italy at the end of the 16th century. What were the relationships between the *Compagnia* and academies and courts throughout Italy?

TABLE IV

Contributors to *L'amorosa Caccia de diversi eccelentissimi musici mantovani nativi, a cinque voci* (Venice, A. Gardano, 1588)

Cesare Accelli
Giovanni Maria Bacchino
Hippolito Baccusi
Hippolito Borelli
Paolo Cantino
Cesare Ceruti
Hercole Ceruti
Annibale Coma
Semideo Cressoni
Ottavio Grassi
Paolo Marni
Paolo Massari
Giacomo Moro
Stafano Nascimbeni
Alessandro Nuvoloni
Giovanni Battista Orto
Nicola Parma
Alfonso Preto
Francesco Ramesini
Giovanni Battista Recalchi
Francesco Rovigo
Alessandro Striggio
Ruggier Trofeo
Cesare Zucca

In Rome the pre-eminence of its members made it impossible for the *Compagnia* not to affect the musical life. Music which was both artistically and technically significant and innovative, as well as a continuing stream of com-

positions in the style of Palestrina, issued from its members. By its structure and apparent purpose, it must have posed an effective challenge to the Papal Choir's domination of musical matters. The confraternity was undoubtedly an important forum for the dissemination of the emerging innovations which were to characterize the Roman Church's musical response to the counter-reformation, especially in the early 17th century. Just how powerful the *Compagnia* was to become over music in Rome can be seen in the privileges granted to it by Pope Urban VIII in 1624, to license *all* music printing as well as all schools of music in Rome.[31] Though these privileges were revoked two years after they were granted, the very fact that they were granted at all demonstrates the magnitude of the power accumulated by the confraternity.

Another important musical event which did not escape the influence of the *Compagnia* was the long and tedious process surrounding the revision of the Roman Gradual and Antiphonal which lasted from 1577 to 1612. After the death of Palestrina in 1594, the first of two commissions appointed to deal with this matter was convened by Cardinal Francisco del Monte in 1597. Charged with the task of inspecting the revised plainsong materials of Palestrina submitted to the Pope by Iginio Palestrina (which were revealed to be fictitious), it consisted of G.M. Nanino, Troiano, Dragoni, Marenzio, and Fulgentio Velasio.[32] Except for Velasio, all are confirmed members of the confraternity. Though this commission did not actually affect the eventual promulgation of the Medician versions of the Gradual and Antiphonal, it did save the church from promulgating Iginio Palestrina's hoax.

The second commission appointed by Pope Paul V in 1608 consisted of G.B. Nanino, C. Mancini, Soriano, Giovanelli, Felice Anerio, and Pietro Felini.[33] Again, except for Felini and Mancini (and Mancini may well have been a member), all were known members of the confraternity. Their duty, which was to provide the corrections to the plainsong proposed for printing by Raimondi, was never fulfilled. Instead, Soriano and Giovanni Anerio stepped into the breach and were credited with the revised chant volumes issued in 1614–15, known as the "Medician Edition." Their progress was apparently not materially affected by the 1608 commission. Still surprising is the degree to which the final result of this long reform process reflected the hopelessly insular attitude of the church in Rome regarding the history of the development of plainsong. Despite the obvious musical expertise of Soriano, G. Anerio, and the members of the commission, the end result was nonetheless a disaster for the history of plainsong.

If there is a conclusion that can be tendered unequivocally concerning the first two decades of the life of the *Compagnia dei Musici di Roma,* it is that the information relevant to this period is scattered, fragmentary, and circumstantial. What does remain indicates clearly that these years were not only of considerable importance for the history of this confraternity, but also for the history of music in Rome. Quite simply, this was the first academy of music in Rome in the late Renaissance. The formative years were a time when the most celebrated musical figures in Rome were members. Like many counter-reformation confraternities, this society sought to promote the musical as

well as the spiritual development of its members. As all of the identified members were composers, it is not surprising that they were engaged in joint compositions and publications. Individually, and quite possibly collectively, they were involved in the activities of the ecclesiastical institutions, the major churches and oratories. They held not only the major musical posts in Rome but in other important cities as well. Their existence as a body prepared the way for a unified musical response to some major post-reformation questions concerning music in Rome and the Roman Church, such as the reformation of the use of plainsong. They eventually became, in less than three decades, the most important musical organization in that city, surpassing even the Sistine choir in power and prestige.

While the questions posed above have by no means been fully answered, it is now possible to determine with some certainty a good portion of the membership for the first two decades of the confraternity's life. The activities of the society have been further clarified, as has the early government, by the identification of at least three elected officials, only one of whom had been clearly identified in the past. Also becoming more clear is the extent of the confraternity's musical activities, both in composition and performance. The gaps in the information are numerous, yet it is hardly presumptuous to expect that they can and will be filled in the future.

NOTES

A shorter version of this paper was presented at the 1980 National Meeting of the American Musicological Society, in Denver, Colorado.

[1] See Ludwig Pastor, *The History of the Popes* (hereafter *Popes*), translated by Ralf F. Kerr et al. (London, 1930), vol. XIX and XX, especially vol. XIX, pp. 61–108, for the extent of Gregory's reforming zeal; his patronage of learning, vol. XIX, pp. 259–82 (including an inaccurate reference to the Academy of St. Cecilia), and vol. XX, pp. 550–643, for his artistic campaigns. Four popes reigned during the years 1585–1604: Sixtus V, 1585–1590; Gregrory XIV, 5 Dec. 1590–15 Oct. 1591; Innocent IX, 29 Oct. 1591–30 Dec. 1591; Clement VIII, 30 Jan. 1592–5 Mar. 1605. See vol. XXI–XXIII for a discussion of each pontificate.

[2] Ibid., vol. XX, p. 562, for a brief description of Gregory's recognition of this organization. For a full account of the Academy, see Ludovico Visconti, *Sulla Instituzione della Insigne artistica Pontificia dei Virtuosi del Pantheon* (Rome, 1869).

[3] Gregory's Vicar of State, see Pastor, *Popes*, vol. XIX, pp. 55f.

[4] The Bull has been discussed in many places. It appears in full in *Bollettino ceciliano* 13 (31 Dec. 1918), cols. 68ff, and again in Remo Giazotto, *Quatro secoli di storia dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1970), vol. I, pp. 9–11.

[5] The Latin text is in *Bullarium Sixtus V,* Libro I (1585), ff. 361–63, and in Giazotto, *Quatro secoli*, pp. 9–11. An English translation is given in *Papal Legislation on Sacred Music 95 a.d. to 1977 a.d.* (Collegeville, 1979), pp. 70–72.

[6] Giazotto, *Quatro secoli*, vol. I, p. 9.

[7] Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (hereafter *Renaissance)*, rev. ed. (New York, 1959), p. 424.

[8] Descriptions of the formation are numerous. Not all of them are noted here. The most important are given in chronological order (no attempt will be made to correct the inaccurate founding date of 1566 encountered often in secondary sources. The emergence of this problem is well summarized by Giazotto, *Quatro secoli*, vol. I, pp. 17ff): Luigi Rossi, *Stato nominativo degli aggregati alla Congregazione. . .* , (1830–1851), manuscript copy in the Archive of the Academy of St. Cecilia, Rome; G. Moroni, *Dizzionario erudizione Storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*, 103 vols. (Venice, 1840–1879), especially vol. II, p. 306, and vol. XI; Anon., *Transunto dei*

Decreti della Congregazione ed Accademia dei Maestri e Professori di Roma . . . (Rome, 1840) [This volume deals directly with materials which relate to the years 1658 and following.]; Pietro Alfieri, *Brevi notizie storiche sulla Congregazione ed Accademia de'Maestri e Professori di musica di Roma sotto L'invocazione di Santa Cecilia* (Rome, 1845); Enrico Tosti, *Appunti storici sulla R. Accademia di S. Cecilia, dalla sua fondazione fino al 1883* (Rome, 1885); Angelo De Santi, "L'antica Congregazione di S. Cecilia," in *Civilta Catolica* (15 June 1918), pp. 514–31, (21 Dec. 1918), pp. 482–94, (18 Jan. 1919), pp. 111–19, (21 Oct. 1921), pp. 28–41, and (5 Nov. 1921), pp. 217–29; Peter Wagner, "Die romische Musikerzunft unter Gregory XIII, und Sixtus V," in *Zeitschrift für Müsikwissenschaft* I (1918–1919), pp. 642–45; Rafael Casimiri, "L'antica Congregazione di S. Cecilia fra i musici di Roma nel sec. XVII," in *Note d' archivio per la storia musicale* I (1924), pp. 116–29; Pietro De Angelis, "Chiese e case di S. Cecilia in Roma, Le sedi dell'Instituto musicale; al Pantheon e a San Paolino alla Colona," in *Annuario dell'Accademia Nazionale di Santa Cecilia* (1953/1954), pp. 1–29; R. Ruotolo, *Dall'antica Congregazione di S. Cecilia all'attuale Assoziazione Italiana di S. Cecilia* (Rome, 1955); Remo Giazotto, "Storia dell'Accademia nazionale di S. Cecilia," in *Studi Musicali* V (1972), pp. 237–84 (an abridged version of the 1970 publication); Nino Pirrota, "Rome," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (hereafter *NG*), vol. XVI, p. 159; Sergio Pagano, "La Congregazione di S. Cecilia e i Barnabiti; Pagine inedite della prima attivita Ceciliana," *Nuova revista musical italiana* X (1981), pp. 34–49.

[9] See Pietro Alfieri, *Brevi notizie*, p. 8. "Friday, 6 July, after the celebration of Mass the Congregation of the choir, for numerous worthy reasons, decreed that no one of our college should be enrolled in any recently established (*noviter erecta*) musical society whatever."

[10] Alfieri, *Brevi Notizie*, p. 9. "Friday, 7 September: Since it had been discussed in our congregation whether our own members might fittingly be enrolled in a certain newly established society of musicians, we decreed after due consideration that, since it would be neither appropriate nor in accord with the bylaws of our own chapter, no member of our Congregation ought either actively to seek admission into that association nor indeed allow themselves to be enrolled in it. . . . Yet, when, after having rendered this judgement, it was brought to our attention that John Baptist Gacomellus had entered the above-mentioned society without the knowledge of our College, and that he indeed held an office of some kind within it, in order both to punish such a serious act of disobedience, as well as to provide a timely example to others who might be contemplating a similar move, we formally declared by a unanimous vote that the said individual should be fined and required to pay within a period of thirty days a sum of nine gold pieces, which payment the congregation would be free to use at its own discretion." These texts are available in Latin in Alfieri, *Brevi Notizie*, pp. 8–9, and more readily in Giazotto, *Quatro secoli*, vol. I, pp. 8, 49–50.

[11] Giacomelli's censure did not apparently bring about his resignation from the society, nor did it impede his career. See Pierre Tagman, *NG*, vol. VII, p. 345, where unfortunately no mention is made of his involvement in the Papal Choir or the Confraternity.

[12] See Emil Vogel et al., *Bibliographia della Musica italiana vocale profana*, (Il nuovo Vogel, hereafter *Vogel)*, 3 vols. (Rome, 1977), vol. I, pp. 36–44, and *Répertoire Internationale des Sources Musicales (RISM)*, vol. B/I/ (1960), p. 344; vol. A/I/1 (1971), pp. 63–64.

[13] Biographical information on the 19 persons named in *Le gioie* can be found in the following sources; Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexicon* (hereafter *QL*), (Leipzig, 1900–1904, reprinted Graz, 1959), 11 vols.; Friedrich Blume et al., *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (hereafter *MGG)*, (Kassel, 1949–1979), 16 vols.; *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* (hereafter *DBI*), (Rome, 1960–), 22 vols.; *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (hereafter *NG*), (London, 1980), 20 vols.

Felice Anerio: *QL*, vol. I, pp. 146–47; *MGG*, vol. I, cols. 470–74; *DBI*, vol. III, pp. 173–75; *NG*, vol. I, pp. 417–19. **Paolo Bellasio**: *QL*, vol. I, pp. 421–22; *MGG*, vol. XV, cols. 621–22; *DBI*, vol. VII, pp. 610–12; *NG*, vol. II, p. 440. **Archangelo Crivelli**: *QL*, vol. I, pp. 437–38; *MGG*, vol. XV, cols. 1643–44; Orland W. Johnson, Jr., *The Masses of Archangelo Crivelli* (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Texas, 1965); *NG*, vol. V, pp. 50–51. **Giovanni Dragoni**: *QL*, vol. III, p. 248; *MGG*, vol. III, cols. 740–42; *NG*, vol. V, pp. 608–9. **Ruggerio Giovanelli**: Carl Winter, *Ruggerio Giovanelli (1560–1625)* (Munich, 1935); Ruth De Ford, *Ruggerio Giovanelli and the Madrigal in Rome, 1572–1599* (unpublished Ph.D diss., Harvard University, 1975); *NG*, vol. VII,

pp. 399–400. **Orazzio Griffi**: *QL*, vol. IV, p. 367. **Bartolomeo Le Roy**: *QL*, vol. VI, p. 148; *MGG*, vol. XI, cols. 1025–26; *NG*, vol. XVI, pp. 281–82. **Giovanni Lucatelli** (Locatello): *QL*, vol. VI, p. 195; *MGG*, vol. VIII, cols. 1079–80; *NG*, vol. XI, p. 107. **Giovanni de Macque**: *QL*, vol. VI, pp. 266–68; *MGG*, vol. VIII, cols. 1406–10; William Richard Shindle, *The Madrigals of Giovanni de Macque* (unpublished Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1970); *NG*, vol. XI, pp. 450–51. **Cristofano Malvezzi**: *QL*, vol. VI, pp. 289–90; *MGG*, vol. VIII, cols. 1554–55; *NG*, vol. XI, pp. 590–91. **Luca Marenzio**: *QL*, vol. VI, pp. 320–26; *MGG*, vol. VII, cols. 1634–42; *NG*, vol. XI, pp. 667–74. **Giovanni Bernadino Nanino**: *QL*, vol. VII, pp. 139–40; *MGG*, vol. IX, col. 1258; *NG*, vol. XIII, pp. 19–20. **Giovanni Maria Nanino**: *QL*, vol. VII, pp. 140–42; *MGG*, vol. IX, cols. 1256–1358; Richard J. Shuler, *The Life and Liturgical Works of Giovanni Maria Nanino (1545–1607)* (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1963); *NG*, vol. XIII, pp. 20–21. **Giovanni Palestrina**: *QL*, vol. VII, pp. 295–99; *MGG*, vol. X, cols. 658–706; Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1828); *NG*, vol. XIV, pp. 118–37. **Paolo Quagliati**: *QL*, vol. VIII, pp. 96–97; *MGG*, vol. X, cols. 1794–97; *NG*, vol. XV, pp. 491–92. **Francesco Soriano**: *QL*, vol. IX, pp. 209–11; *MGG*, vol. XII, cols. 931–34; Philip Kinseley Sherman, *The Masses of Francesco Soriano: A Style Critical Study* (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1964); *NG*, vol. XVII, p. 538. **Annibale Stabile**: *QL*, vol. IX, pp. 236–37; *MGG*, vol. XII, cols. 1102–04; *NG*, vol. XVIII, pp. 37–38. **Giovanni Troiano**: *QL*, vol. IX, p. 459; *MGG*, vol. XI, cols. 715–16 (Troiano is named in the list of maestri di capella of St. Mary Major, 1596, but no separate entry is given for him.). **Annibale Zoilo**: *QL*, vol. X, p. 359; *MGG*, vol. XIV, cols. 1386–88; *NG*, vol. XX, p. 704.

[14] See Luigi Rossi, note 8 above. The names given by Rossi as members up to 1604 are supplied in Table II, with date of entry into the society. They also appear in Giazotto, *Quatro secoli*, vol. I, p. 129 (but corrected here). The following are named as members either by Rossi or Pietro Alfieri, *Brevi notizie*, pp. 15–19 (or are very strong possibilities): **Francesco Adriani**: *QL*, vol. I, p. 45; *MGG*, vol. XIV, col. 42; *NG*, vol. I, p. 113. **Giovanni G. Ancina**: *QL*, vol. I, 147–50; *DBI*, vol. III, pp. 40–43; Pietro Damilano, *Giovanale Ancina, musicista filippino (1545–1604)*, (Florence, 1956); Howard Smither, *A History of the Oratorio* (hereafter *Oratorio*), 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1977), vol. I. pp. 50–51, 61–62; *NG*, vol. I, p. 395. **Giovanni Anerio**: *QL*, vol. I, pp. 147–50; *MGG*, vol. I, cols. 470–74; *DBI*, vol. III, pp. 175–79; Nyal Zeno Williams, *The Masses of Giovanni Francesco Anerio: A Historical and Analytic Study* (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1971); *NG*, vol. I, pp. 419–20. **Abondo Antonelli**: *QL*, vol. I, pp. 170–71; *MGG*, vol. XV, cols. 233–36; *DBI*, vol. III, pp. 479–80; *NG*, vol. I, pp. 491–92. **Giovanni Artusi**: *QL*, vol. I, pp. 213–14; *MGG*, vol. I, cols. 747–49; *DBI*, vol. IV, pp. 366–67; (*MGG*, vol. XV, col. 304); *NG*, vol. I, pp. 646–48. **Giovanni Bardi**: *QL*, vol. I, pp. 340–41; *MGG*, vol. I, cols. 1255–59; *DBI*, vol. VI, pp. 300–03; *NG*, vol. II, pp. 150–52. **Giacomo Benincasa**:† *QL*, vol. I, p. 447. **Ercole Bottrigare**: *QL*, vol. II, pp. 149–50; *MGG*, vol. II, col. 154; *DBI*, vol. XIII, pp. 491–95; *NG*, vol. III, pp. 93–94. **Giulio Caccini**: *QL*, vol. II, pp. 263–64; *MGG*, vol. II, cols. 609–12; Smither, *Oratorio*, vol. I, pp. 79–80; *NG*, vol. III, pp. 576–81. **Orazio Caccini**: *QL*, vol. II, p. 264; *NG*, vol. III, p. 582. **Dionisio Cavalari**(?).† **Antonio Cifra**: *QL*, vol. II, pp. 442–44; *MGG*, vol. II, cols. 1434–38; *NG*, vol. IV, pp. 394–95. **Roberto di Fiandra**.† **Federico Donati**.† **Steffano Fabri**: *QL*, vol. III, pp. 347–48; *MGG*, vol. III, cols. 1697–99. **Girolamo Frescobaldi**: *QL*, vol. IV, pp. 72–74; *MGG*, vol. IV, cols. 912–26; *NG*, vol. V, pp. 824–35. **Giovanni Giacomelli**: *QL*, vol. IV, pp. 232–33; *NG*, vol. VII, p. 345. **Cristoforo Guizzardi**:† *QL*, vol. III, p. 424; *NG*, vol. VII, p. 843. **Orlando Lasso**: *QL*, vol. VI, pp. 59–67; *MGG*, vol. VIII, cols. 251–92; *NG*, vol. X, pp. 480–502. **Alberto Magno**: Giazotto, *Quatro secoli*, vol. I, pp. 116–22. **Curzio Mancini**:† *QL*, vol. VI, p. 293; *NG*, vol. XI, pp. 601–02. **Alessandro Marino**: *QL*, vol. VI, p. 334; *MGG*, vol. VIII, cols. 1865–66; *NG*, vol. XI, p. 687. **Vincenzo Mirabella**: *QL*, vol. VII, p. 6. **Claudio Monteverdi**: *QL*, vol. VII, pp. 43–47; *MGG*, vol. IX, cols. 511–32; *NG*, vol. XII, pp. 514–34. **Giovanni Moscaglia**: *QL*, vol. VII, p. 77; *MGG*, vol. IX, cols. 616–17; *NG*, vol. XII, pp. 598–99. **Asprilio Pacelli**: *QL*, vol. VII, pp. 270–71; *MGG*, vol. X, cols. 539–40; *NG*, vol. XIV, pp. 45–46. **Domenico Patatoni**.† **Giovanni Pellio**: *QL*, vol. VII, p. 352; *NG*, vol. XIV, pp. 346–47. **Nicolo Pervue**:† *QL*, vol. VII, p. 384. **Constanzo Porta**: *QL*, vol. VIII, pp. 26–28; *MGG*, vol. X, cols. 1464–71; *NG*, vol. XV, pp.

129–32. **Francesco Roselli**: *QL*, vol. VIII, p. 319; *MGG*, vol. XI, cols. 928–29. **Josquino della sala**: *QL*, vol. VIII, p. 388; *NG*, vol. XVI, p. 408. **Prosper Santini**: *QL*, vol. VIII, p. 421; *NG*, vol. XVI, p. 482. **Francesco Soto de langa**: *QL*, vol. IX, p. 212; *MGG*, vol. XII, cols. 939–41; *NG*, vol. XVII, p. 643. **Paolo Tarditi**: *QL*, vol. IX, p. 354; *MGG*, vol. XIII, cols. 126–27; *NG*, vol. XVIII, pp. 578–79. **Hippolito Tartaglini**: *MGG*, vol. XIII, cols. 129–30; *NG*, vol. XVIII, p. 583. **Vincenzo Ugolini**: *QL*, vol. X, pp. 3–4; *MGG*, vol. XIII, cols. 1020–22; *NG*, vol. XIX, pp. 319–20. **Thomas L. Victoria**: *QL*, vol. X, pp. 77–80; *MGG*, vol. XIII, cols. 1568–97; *NG*, vol. XIX, pp. 703–09. **P. Luigi Zacconi**: *QL*, vol. X, pp. 316–17; *MGG*, vol. XIV, cols. 953–57.

† These composers appear in the list of Chapel Masters in Rome, and do not have an individual entry in *MGG*. (See *MGG*, vol. XI, cols. 715–16.)

[15] Giazotto, *Quatro secoli*, vol. I, pp. 119–23, 127–29.

[16] *Brevi notizie*, pp. 15–19.

[17] See Robert Hayburn, *Papal Legislation*, p. 71.

[18] See Pastor, *Popes*, vol. XIV, pp. 520ff. The solemnity of the occasion was signified not only by the presence of Clement, but by the attendance of 42 cardinals at the Mass.

[19] Ibid., vol. XIX, p. 80, where Pietro Orsino is named as co-adjutor Bishop of Spoleto. Rossi gives the names of four additional cardinal protectors before 1604. They are Giacomo Savelli, 1584; Fr. Michele Bonelli, 1585; Girolamo Rusticucci, 1587; and Camillio Borghese, 1603. *Stato nominativo*, p. 14. None can be confirmed as a patron of the *Compagnia*.

[20] Archangelo Crivelli was apparently treasurer in 1592 and secretary in 1587 and again in 1605. See Orland W. Johnson, "Archangelo Crivelli," *MGG*, vol. XV, col. 1643, and Giazotto, *Quatro secoli*, vol. I, pp. 81–131.

[21] Smither, *Oratorio*, vol. I, pp. 55–57, 118–19, 121–24, 210.

[22] *DBI*, vol. VII, pp. 610–12. See also Rika Maniates, *Mannerism in Italian Music and Culture 1530–1630* (Chapel Hill, 1979), pp. 484–95, where she discusses the various academies in Italy after 1570.

[23] See Glen Watkins, *Gesualdo, The Man and His Music* (Chapel Hill, 1976), pp. 215, 224–27. Macque and Le Roy were both at Gesualdo, and eventually in Naples. See *MGG*, vol. VIII, cols. 1406–10; vol. XI, cols. 1025–26.

[24] The list in Table III includes collections of sacred and secular music which contain compositions by at least two members named in *Le gioie*. Those printed in Rome are marked by a *C*; those marked by an *A* have a higher than usual number of confraternity members represented; those with *B* have an exceptionally high number of members as contributors (reprints have not been indicated). The extant printed collections of the members indexed in *RISM A/I* and the *New Vogel* are: **Ancina**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 1, p. 60. **F. Anerio**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 1, pp. 63–64; *Vogel*, vol. I, pp. 36–42. **G.F. Anerio**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 1, pp. 64–66; *Vogel*, vol. I, pp. 42–52. **Antonelli**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 1, pp. 74–75; *Vogel*, vol. I, p. 63. **Artusi**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 1, p. 131; *Vogel*, vol. I, p. 107. **Bellasio**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 1, p. 257; *Vogel*, vol. I, pp. 179–83. **G. Caccini**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 2, p. 1; *Vogel*, vol. I, pp. 287–92. **O. Caccini**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 2, p. 2; *Vogel*, vol. I, pp. 292–93. **Cifra**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 2, pp. 122–26; *Vogel*, vol. I, pp. 373–83. **Crivelli**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 2, p. 247; *Vogel*, vol. I, pp. 437–38. **Dragoni**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 2, pp. 438–39; *Vogel*, vol. I, pp. 567–72. **Fabri**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 3, p. 2. **Frescobaldi**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 3, pp. 114–15; *Vogel*, vol. I, pp. 670–72. **Giovanelli**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 3, pp. 264–66; *Vogel*, vol. I, pp. 773–86. **Lasso**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 5, pp. 232–54; *Vogel*, vol. I, pp. 879–927. **Le Roy**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 5, p. 316; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 947. **Macque**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 5, pp. 388–89; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 962–70. **Malvezzi**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 5, p. 400; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 976–80. **Mancini**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 5, p. 402; *Vogel*, vol. II, p. 982. **Marenzio**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 5, pp. 415–22; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 999–1051. **Marino**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 5, pp. 427–28; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 1061–62. **Mazzocchi**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 5, p. 485. **Monteverdi**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 6, pp. 10–13; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 1177–1202. **Moscaglia**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 6, pp. 30–31; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 1210–14. **G.B. Nanino**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 6, p. 290; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 1220–21. **G.M. Nanino**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 6, pp. 290–91; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 1222–26. **Pacelli**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 6, p. 365; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 1281–82. **Palestrina**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 6, pp. 396–404; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 1285–91. **Porta**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 7, pp. 13–15; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 1372–76. **Quagliati**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 7, p. 70; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 1411–16. **Rosselli**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 7, p. 251; *Vogel*, vol. II, pp. 1627–29. **Soto langa**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 8, pp. 118–19; **Stabile**: *RISM A/I*, vol. 8, p. 133; *Vogel*, vol.

II, pp. 1642–44. **Ugolini**: *Vogel,* vol. II, pp. 1730–31. **Zoilo**: *Vogel,* vol. II, pp. 1884–85.

[25] See Rafael Casimiri, *Missa Cantantibus Organis, Caecilia,* vol. I, *Monumenta Polyphoniae Italicae* (Rome, 1930). His description of the contributions of each composer appear on pp. *xi–xiii.* See also Karl G. Fellerer, *Palestrina Leben und Werke* (Düsseldorf, 1960), pp. 122–23, and Lino Bianchi, ed., *Le Opere Complete di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina,* vol. XXXII (Rome, 1972), p. *xi,* for corrections and new information concerning this mass.

[26] The cultivation of polychoral music, especially for the psalms of the common offices, seems to have been widespread in Rome at the end of the century. Notable among the composers are F. Anerio, Crivelli, Dragoni, Giovanelli, Marino, G.B. and C.M. Nanino, A. Pacelli, Quagliati, P. Santini, Soriano, and Zoilo. See Klaus Fischer, *Die Psalmkompositionen in Rom um 1600 (ca. 1570–1630)* (Regensburg, 1979), pp. 477–87.

[27] See Note 14 above for biographical information on Moscaglia, Pervue, della Sala, and Pellio. See also *Vogel,* vol. II, p. 1211, and *RISM B/I,* 1585^{9}.

[28] See *RISM B/I,* 1588^{14}.

[29] I am indebted to Professor Nino Pirrota for calling this volume to my attention, and for his suggestion that it may, in fact, be dedicated to the *Compagnia.* Francesco Soriano, for one, was in Mantua between 1581–1586. See *NG,* vol. XVII, p. 538.

[30] See Reese, *Renaissance,* pp. 435–36; 568–69; and the biographical information in Note 13 above. See also *NG,* vol. XVI, pp. 269–70 and vol. XVIII, pp. 271–74.

[31] See Hayburn, *Papal Legislation,* pp. 72–76, for the decrees granting the privileges (20 Nov. 1624), and their repeal (9 Dec. 1626).

[32] See Raphael Molitor, *Die nach-Tridentinische Choral-Reform zu Rom.* 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1901), vol. II, pp. 41ff, 57f, 226–27. See also Hayburn, *Papal Legislation,* pp. 48–49.

[33] Molitor, *Choral-Reform,* vol. II, p. 234, 68–74; Hayburn, *Papal Legislation,* p. 61.

An Unpublished Cadenza By Gounod For Mozart's Piano Concerto KV 491

By John A. Mueter

The Washington State University Libraries have, over the years, acquired a small but significant collection of music manuscripts.[1] One of the most interesting items in the collection is the manuscript of a cadenza written by Charles Gounod for the first movement of Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 24 in C minor, KV 491. The manuscript was purchased in London just after the Second World War. It had been labelled as an "untitled piece for piano by Charles Gounod" and remained thus for almost 35 years until its recent discovery and identification by this author. The cadenza is especially valuable in light of the fact that Mozart himself did not provide any original cadenza for this concerto, undoubtedly one of the greatest in the repertoire. In comparison with the many cadenzas which have been written by other composers for this concerto movement, Gounod's can be regarded as one of the better attempts.[2]

Although the immediate circumstances of its composition are unknown, the subsequent history of the manuscript is connected with several tangential figures in the musical life of late nineteenth-century Europe, and through them to some of the most important personalities of the time. In October 1849, Frédéric Chopin lay on his deathbed in Paris, surrounded by his most intimate and loyal friends. One of those present was the Princess Marcelina Czartoryska. According to accounts describing the scene Chopin recommended her to the cellist Franchomme, saying: *"Vous jouerez du Mozart en mémoire de moi"* ("You will play Mozart in my memory").[3] It is significant that the name of Princess Czartoryska should have thus been connected to that of Mozart, as it was she who was later given the Gounod cadenza for the first movement of Mozart's C minor Piano Concerto.

Marcelina Czartoryska was born in Vienna on 18 May 1817 and died in Cracow in 1894. After studying with Carl Czerny she became a pupil of Chopin. Although his list of pupils, with its predominance of princesses and countesses, reads like the Paris social register, the Princess Czartoryska was not one of those dilettantes whom Chopin taught out of financial necessity. She was regarded by her contemporaries as a highly competent pianist, albeit a non-professional. She appeared in public on many occasions and in the company of some of the greatest musicians of the time, notably the Belgian violinist Vieuxtemps and the great Liszt himself.[4] In fact, she was looked upon as the foremost exponent of the true Chopin style. The critic Lenz in Berlin considered her to be ". . . a highly-gifted nature, the best pupil of Chopin, and the incarnation of her master's pianoforte style."[5] In 1857, Sowinski, writing of her "fine execution" observed that she ". . . seems to have inherited Chopin's way of procedure, especially in phrasing and accentuation."[6]

The Paris of the mid-nineteenth century offered refuge to an impressive array of émigrés who created a tightly-knit cosmopolitan society. Heinrich Heine, disenchanted with the hopeless reactionism of his native Germany, lived there in self-imposed exile from 1831 until his death in 1856. The celebrated Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz arrived in Paris at the same time as Heine. Both men were members of Chopin's circle as was the Hungarian Franz Liszt. The Russian-Polish War of 1831 had caused thousands of Polish aristocrats, artists and intellectuals to flee their native land and it seems that most of them ended up in Paris.

One of the most influential refugees was Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski who had been head of the Polish provisional government after the revolution of 1830. His Parisian residence, the Hôtel Lambert, became the center of activity for the Poles living in France. The Czartoryski family was one of the most illustrious in Poland, dating back to the fourteenth century. Before his flight to the West, Prince Adam had been a personal friend and an advisor to Czar Alexander I of Russia.[7] Later, in exile, he was even nominated to be King of a free Poland.[8] Prince Adam's son, Alexander, married the Princess Marcelina Radziwill who, as Princess Czartoryska, made her mark upon the musical life of the late nineteenth century.

Chopin was well-acquainted not only with Marcelina, but with other members of the Czartoryski clan in Paris as well. Actually, he had already met the elder Czartoryskis in Poland. The Concert Rondo, Opus 14 ("Krakowiak") is dedicated to the Princess Anna (wife of Prince Adam), while the Four Mazurkas, Opus 30 are dedicated to the Princess Marya de Würtemberg, *née* Czartoryska, sister of the noble Prince.[9]

In a letter from Rome to his uncle Eduard on 22 May 1863, Franz Liszt wrote:

> You will find the Princess Czartoryska possessed of a fine and rare understanding, the most charming figure in society, and a kindly and enthusiastic worshipper of Mozart, Beethoven and Chopin.[10]

The reverence for Mozart was shared by another great figure of this period, namely Charles François Gounod (1818–1893). His writings on music include an essay on Mozart's *Don Giovanni* which he read at the annual October assembly of the Institut de France in 1882.[11] *Don Giovanni* was for Gounod a "kind of incarnation of dramatic and musical infallibility."[12]

It is not known when or under what circumstances Gounod met Princess Czartoryska. Though his autobiography makes no mention of her it is easily assumed that he would have known an aristocrat and pianist as prominent as she. They undoubtedly had mutual acquaintances in the same social circles. But at some point the manuscript of the cadenza for the Concerto KV 491 was presented to her, presumably by the composer and possibly for her own use.

The manuscript, which consists of two leaves each 13½" x 10½", is evidently a first copy (see Appendix A for facsimile). It contains a number of errors (omissions of change of clef, accidentals, and so on) and displays few dynam-

ic markings. This would lead one to assume that the cadenza was written hurriedly without the benefit of even a proofreading. It is unsigned by the composer but has an inscription at the bottom of the second page, in Polish, by Princess Czartoryska. It reads:

To Director Mikuli
I present this autograph of Gounod
as a token of friendship and gratitude
on the day of the concert at the
Society [of Music]
September 29, 1881
[signed] Marcelina Czartoryska

This brings us to another phase in the history of the cadenza, where again the paths of several important figures cross. Carl (Carol) Mikuli, to whom the manuscript was presented by Princess Czartoryska, was born in Czernowitz, Bukovina in 1821. He studied with Chopin in Paris from 1844 until 1847 and was the artistic director of the Galician Musical Society in Lemberg from 1858 until 1888. It is as the editor of the complete works of Chopin that his name is known today.[13] He toured the continent as a pianist, was active as a composer and was a much-respected pedagogue. (One of his pupils in Lemberg was the legendary pianist Moriz Rosenthal who later studied with Liszt). The city of Lemberg (Polish: Lwow; Ukrainian: Lviv) is in a part of Europe that changed hands frequently and has always had a population with a diverse ethnic background.[14] During the latter part of the nineteenth century Lemberg was under the hegemony of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and was the administrative and cultural capital of the region of Galicia. Though exercising political control, the Austrians encouraged the cultural expression of the various ethnic groups living there, particularly the Poles and the Ruthenians (a Ukrainian minority). Hence it is not surprising that the Galician Musical Society, which encompassed the activities of both the Conservatory and the concert season in Lemberg, should have been administered by Carl Mikuli.

In November 1880, Princess Czartoryska, who by then had been acquainted with Liszt for a long time, wrote the venerated pianist a letter from Cracow in which she discussed the political unrest in Galicia and Ruthenia and asked for his participation in a benefit concert for the Ruthenians to take place in Budapest or Vienna. The concert was to raise money for the Red Cross and the founding of a school in Lemberg. Liszt, who was 69 at the time and living in semi-retirement in Rome, was not particularly enthusiastic about participating in yet another benefit concert. "The Princess Czartoryska will speak to you about her Ruthenian concert," he wrote to Princess Marie Hohenlohe.

> It is to bring in even more than the concert for the Dominicans sponsored by the Princess Raymondine Auersperg, with the difference that the Princess Czartoryska plays the piano admirably and will dominate the program—for which I will volunteer my services as accompanist.[15]

In a letter addressed to the Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein on 24 November 1880, Liszt discussed the proposal and its impracticability in Vienna or Budapest:

> . . . a concert for the benefit of the Ruthenians would be a complete fiasco. The *grandes dames,* just like their bourgeoise counterparts, have noble imaginations: these or those are looking for money—they need concerts, balls, souvenir-albums, lotteries—these things are used and abused in the service of their good causes.[16]

But his generous nature won out in the end and the concert took place on 9 April 1881 in the hall of the Ministry for Public Education in Vienna.[17] The concert, attended by the "cream of the aristocracy"[18] featured Marcelina Czartoryska playing a nocturne and several mazurkas as well as the *Larghetto* from Chopin's F minor Concerto. Liszt accompanied on a second piano and said that she played "admirably."[19]

In a letter written just one month before the concert took place, Liszt suggests opening the program with "le grand trio de Beethoven" (Piano Trio in B-flat major, Opus 97, the "Archduke") with the violinist Hellmesberger and probably the cellist Franchomme.[20] However, no mention is made of the trio in his correspondence after the event. Nonetheless the concert, organized by the Princess Czartoryska and graced by her artistry, did take place and was by all accounts a financial and artistic success. The concert mentioned in the presentation remarks on the manuscript of the Gounod cadenza took place in Lemberg six months after the one in Vienna. It may also have been a benefit concert, or at least part of the concert-series of the Galician Musical Society.[21] It is not known what was on the program for that event. Could the princess have played the Mozart C minor Piano Concerto with Gounod's cadenza for the first movement? That would certainly have justified her presenting Mikuli with the Gounod manuscript on the day of the concert. The fingerings in pencil on the manuscript suggest that the cadenza was learned, if not performed at some point.

It is important to bear in mind that a cadenza serves a specific purpose. Occurring before the coda, the cadenza takes its cue from the forceful emphasis of the tonic six-four by the orchestra. It is meant to be a personal commentary, reworking the themes presented in the movement and possibly even containing some additional new material. The cadenza should always be in keeping with the general character of the concerto movement itself. It is not, as is commonly supposed, merely a vehicle for the soloist to flaunt his dazzling technique; nor is it meant to be a potpourri of the themes of the movement, or a second development section. Likewise, a cadenza which is exceedingly long tends to draw undue attention to itself. Most cadenzas written for Mozart concerti in the nineteenth century can be found to be objectionable on one or all of these grounds—not to mention the fault of stylistic impropriety.

Even a brief examination of the cadenzas which Mozart wrote[22] will reveal a few basic characteristics: 1) the cadenza does not wander too far afield

from the tonality of the movement, (Mozart usually presents the themes in the tonic); 2) the principal themes are rarely presented in their entirety but are worked out in a kind of motivic development; 3) the length of the cadenza is in a consistent proportion to the length of the movement; 4) there exists an organic unity in the cadenza: each element, even a transitional or bravura passage, seems to grow out of what preceded it and is justifiable in the context of the whole—but this is true, of course, of all of Mozart's music and is one of its finest qualities.[23]

Perhaps it would be unfair to judge the composers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in their attempts to provide suitable cadenzas for the great C minor Concerto without taking into consideration the fact that their products are the expression of a different aesthetic. Composers of the Romantic period were not concerned with stylistic authenticity. Being the age of almost obsessive preoccupation with the powers of the individual, it is not surprising that the many cadenzas for Mozart's concerti written at this time exhibit what is, to more refined sensibilities, gross excess. The cadenzas provided by Hummel, Reinecke and Brahms in particular are too long, too virtuosic and too overbearing to be considered appropriate today. The Hummel and Reinecke cadenzas are each nearly a hundred measures long. Considering the length of the movement (523 bars), a cadenza written by Mozart would most probably not have exceeded forty or fifty measures.

The cadenza by Gounod (see Appendix B for transcription), 67 measures long, is commendable for its moderation in length and content. Excessive bravura writing, the presentation of too much material or an inordinately elaborate treatment thereof is eschewed here. The cadenza begins with the personal theme, modulates to the key of D-flat and then presents the main secondary themes. Gathering in momentum and intensity, it intones the noble opening figure in A minor. The choice of tonality in the cadenza (D-flat to F to A minor to C minor) is inauthentic to Mozart's style. It is hardly imaginable that in a cadenza Mozart would have strayed so far afield from the tonic C minor to present themes in D-flat or A minor. Where the Classical style emphasizes motivic development, the Romantic seeks expressive power more readily in the realm of harmonic treatment. After the return of the second-inversion tonic and a progression of diminished chords elaborated by brilliant passage-work, the cadenza employs an upward sweeping scale passage as a transition to the re-entry of the tutti instead of the customary trill in the right hand. It is an effective device considering the dramatic impact of this particular moment in the concerto.

Gounod, for all his reverence and deep appreciation of Mozart, is a romantic composer after all. However, his romanticism is largely tempered by restraint, refinement, and a genuine regard for the character of the movement. Gounod's cadenza should be regarded as a welcome addition to the list of cadenzas available for the C minor Concerto.[24]

NOTES

[1] The establishment in 1980 of the Moldenhauer Archives at WSU by the noted musicologist and collector Dr. Hans Moldenhauer has served to enrich the collections considerably.

[2] Cadenzas have been written for this movement by Reinecke, Hummel, Philip Karl Hoffmann, Brahms, Saint-Saëns, and more recently by Soulima Stravinsky, Paul Badura-Skoda, Lili Kraus, Edwin Fischer, Friedrich Wührer, and Geza Anda.

[3] Frederick Niecks, *Frédéric Chopin as a Man and Musician*, 2 vols. (New York: Novello, Ewer and Company, 1888), vol. II, p. 317. There is some difference of opinion as to whom this remark was addressed to—whether to Franchomme alone, or to him and Princess Czartoryska, or to her and Mlle. Gavard. The deathbed scene of Chopin has long since been transformed into a legend. But most of his biographers agree that it was Princess Czartoryska who was the object of this remark.

[4] Jozef Kanski, "Eminent Virtuosi of the XIXth and XXth Centuries" in *Polish Music*, Stefan Jarochinski, ed. (Warszawa: PWN—Polish Scientific Publishers, 1965), p. 130.

[5] Niecks, vol. II, p. 177 refers to an article by Wilhelm von Lenz in the *Berliner Musikzeitung* XXVI (1876).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 176 refers to Wojciech Sowinski's article "Chopin" in his *Musiciens Polanais* (1857).

[7] Prince Adam was born in Warsaw in 1770 and died in Paris in 1861. In fact, he even makes a brief appearance in Tolstoy's *War and Peace*. He fought on the Russian side in the battle of Austerlitz while his brother, the Prince Konstantin, fought under Napoleon.

[8] Unfortunately, Poland by that time had already been overrun by the Russians. In *The Letters of Franz Liszt to Marie zu Sayn-Wittgenstein*, Howard E. Hugo, transl. and ed. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971), p. 352, it is erroneously stated that Marcelina Czartoryska was the wife of Prince Adam. As he was 47 years old when she was born, this is highly unlikely.

[9] In his bibliography *Chopin, the Man and His Music* (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1908), pp. 309 and 351, James Huneker mistakenly infers that both these works are dedicated to Princess Marcelina Czartoryska by indexing reference to them under her name. With so many princesses bearing the name Czartoryska at this time it is difficult to keep them apart. The genealogy of the family is further muddled by other inaccuracies of identification. See preceding note.

[10] *The Letters of Franz Liszt*, 2 vols., collected and edited by La Mara, translated by Constance Bache (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1894), vol. II, pp. 47–49.

[11] The essay is included with family letters and notes on music, in Charles Gounod, *Autobiographical Reminiscences*, W. Hely Hutchinson, transl. (London: William Heinemann, 1896).

[12] *Mozart's Don Giovanni, a Commentary by Charles Gounod*, Windeyer Clark and J.T. Hutchinson, transl. (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), p. vi. (Originally published London: R. Cocks and Company, 1895.)

[13] Published in Leipzig by Kistner in 1879, it was long considered to be the definitive edition of Chopin's works. Marcelina Czartoryska assisted Mikuli in the preparation of the edition.

[14] There was also a considerable German-speaking community. Today the city is a provincial capital in the Soviet Ukraine.

[15] *Die Briefe Franz Liszts*, 8 vols., herausgegeben von La Mara (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1893–1905), vol. VIII, letter 397; dated: Budapest, erste Februarhälfte. [Author's translation]

[16] *Franz Liszts Briefe an Fürstin Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein*, La Mara, ed. (n.p.: 1902), letter 299. [Author's translation]

[17] *Briefe Hervorragende Zeitgenossen an Franz Liszt*, 3 vols., La Mara, ed. (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1895), vol. III, p. 380n.

[18] " . . . la crème de l'aristocratie de Vienne fit acte de présence." *Franz Liszts Briefe an Fürstin Carolyne Sayn-Wittgenstein*, letter 312; dated: mardi-matin 12 Avril (1881, Wien).

[19] *Ibid.*, letter 312.

[20] *Ibid.*, letter 310; dated; 8 Mars 81, Budapesth.

[21] It is one of the exquisite ironies of this particular constellation of personalities that Mozart's son, Wolfgang Amadeus, was active professionally in Lemberg from 1808 to 1838. Leshek Masepa and Dmitrij Kolbin, "Lemberg," in *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1979), vol. XVI, col. 1111.

[22] The 36 original cadenzas and lead-ins, KV 624 are available through Edwin F. Kalmus, New York.

[23] See in particular the cadenza for the last movement of the Concerto in B-flat KV 595 and for the first and last movements of the F major Concerto KV 459.

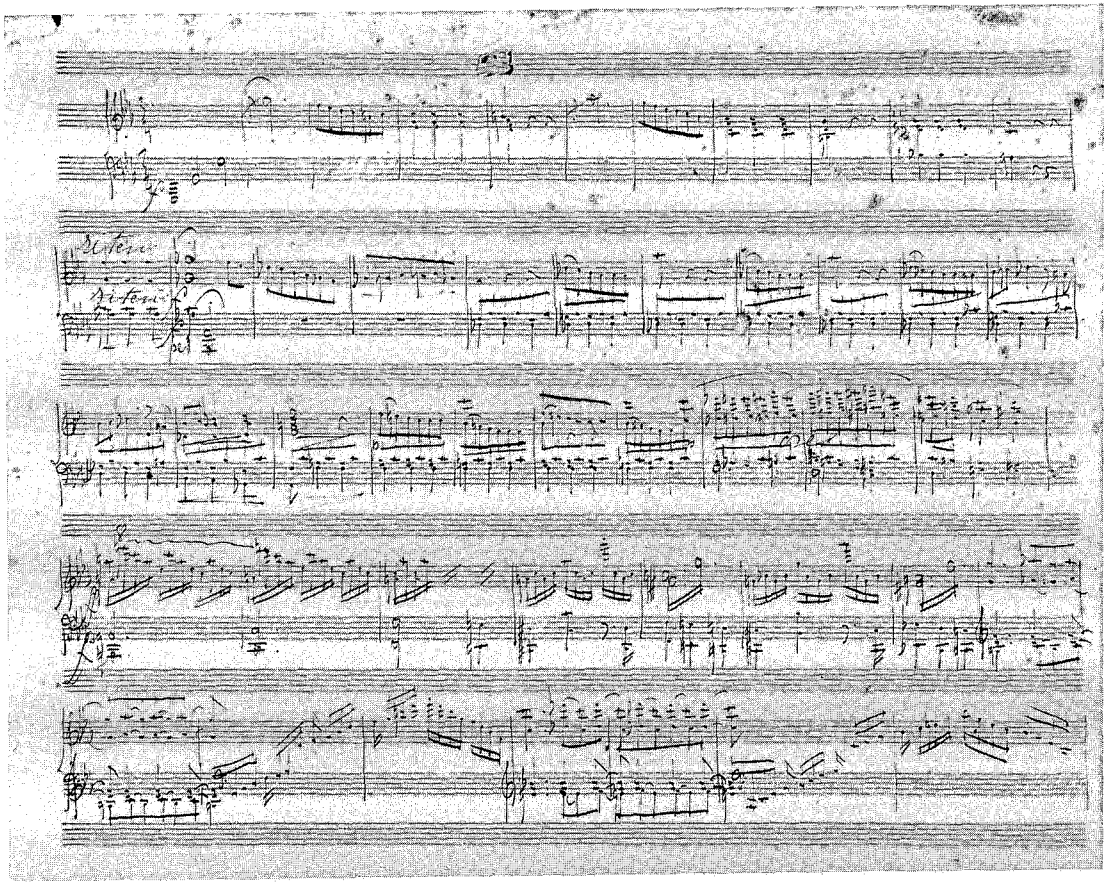
[24] Other cadenzas which deserve serious consideration are those by Paul Badura-Skoda and Soulima Stravinsky.

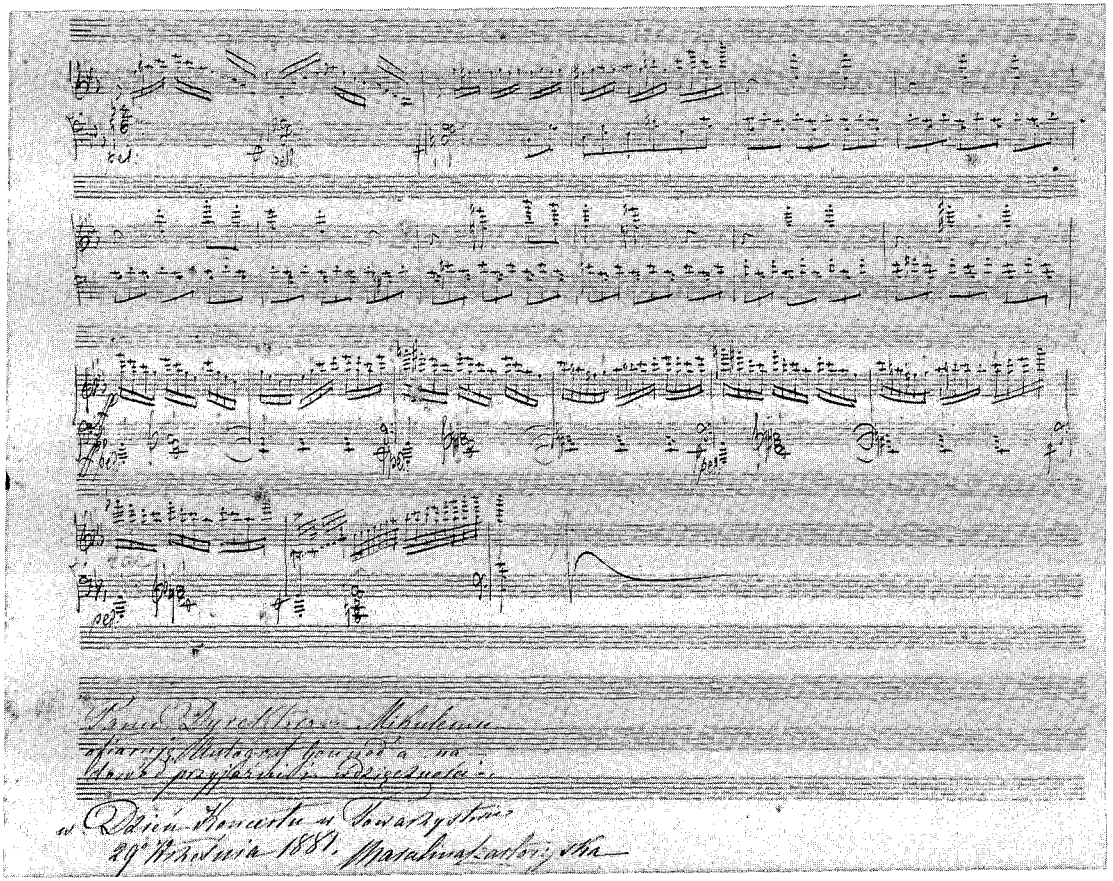
Appendix A

Facsimile of Gounod's Cadenza for
Mozart's Piano Concerto No. 24 in C minor, KV 491
(Property of and reproduced with permission of
Washington State University Library,
Pullman, Washington)

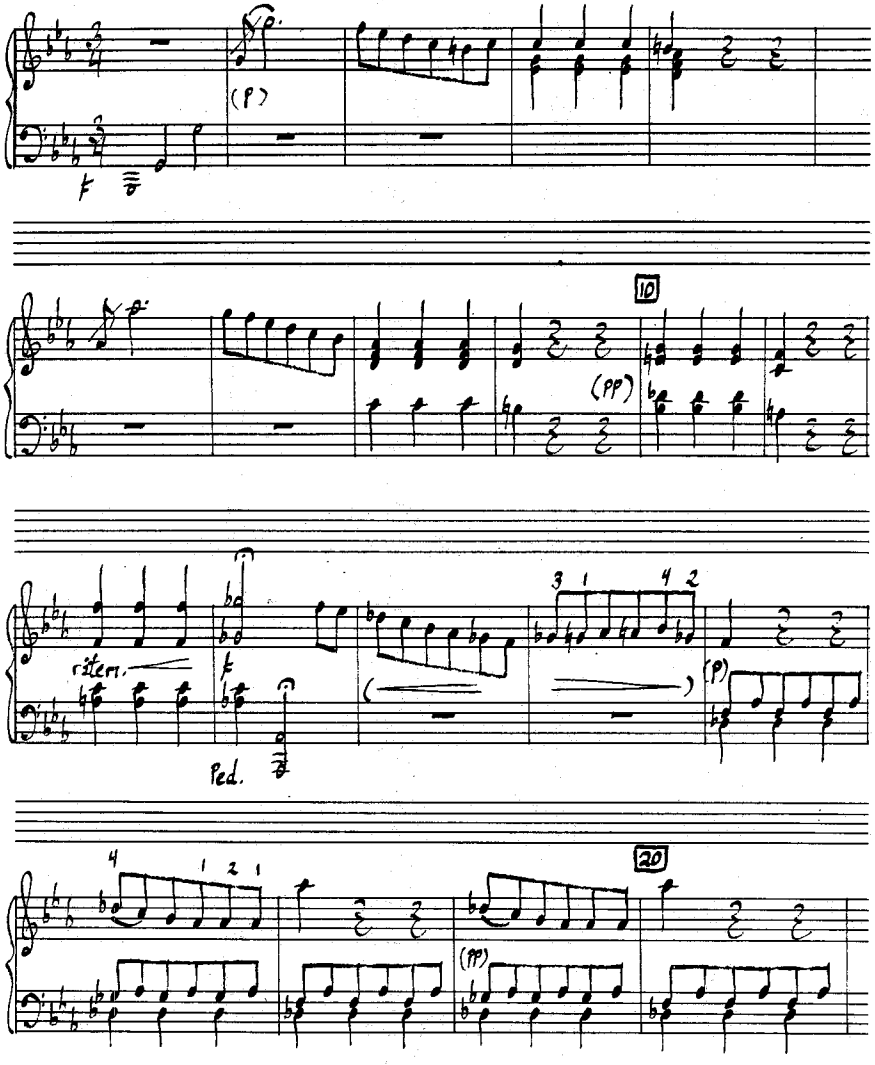
Appendix B

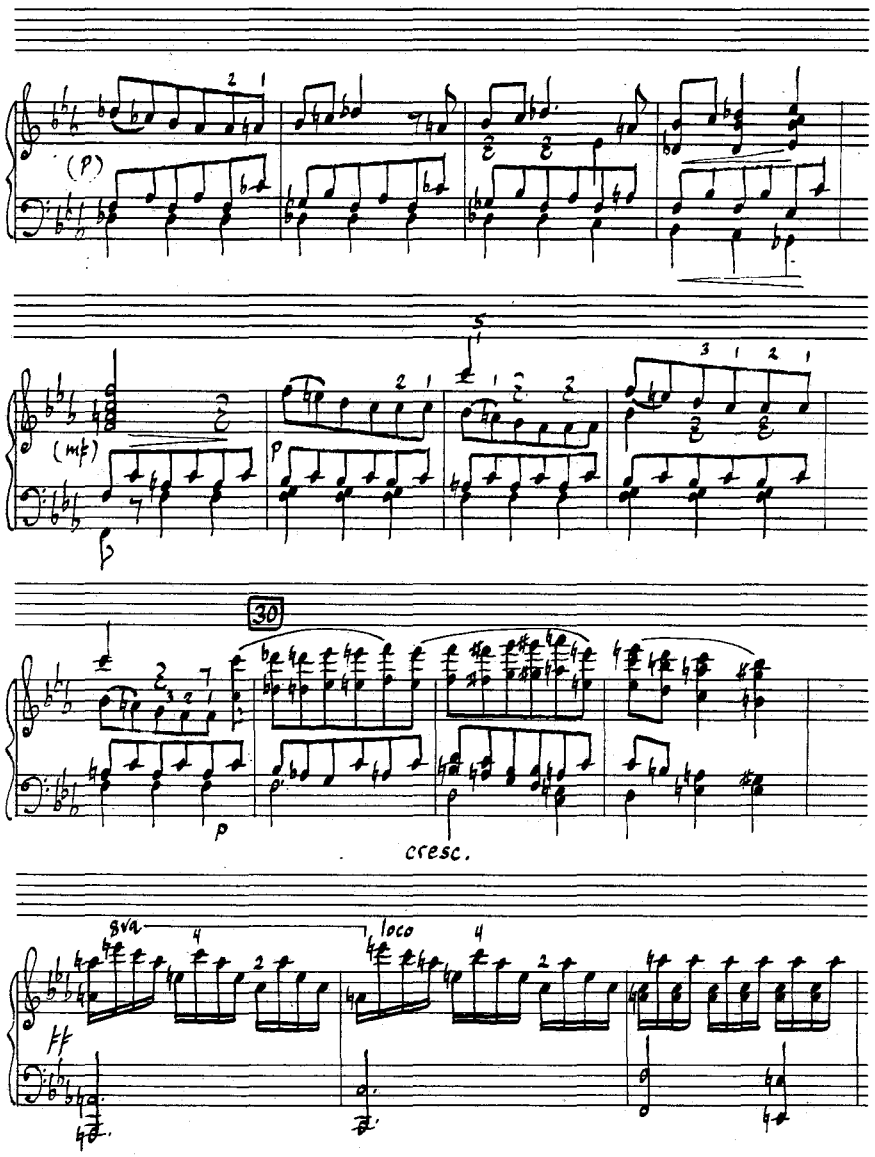
Edited transcription of
Gounod's Cadenza





Cadenza for Mozart's Piano Concerto #24 KV 491
by Charles Gounod transcribed and edited by John A. Mueter

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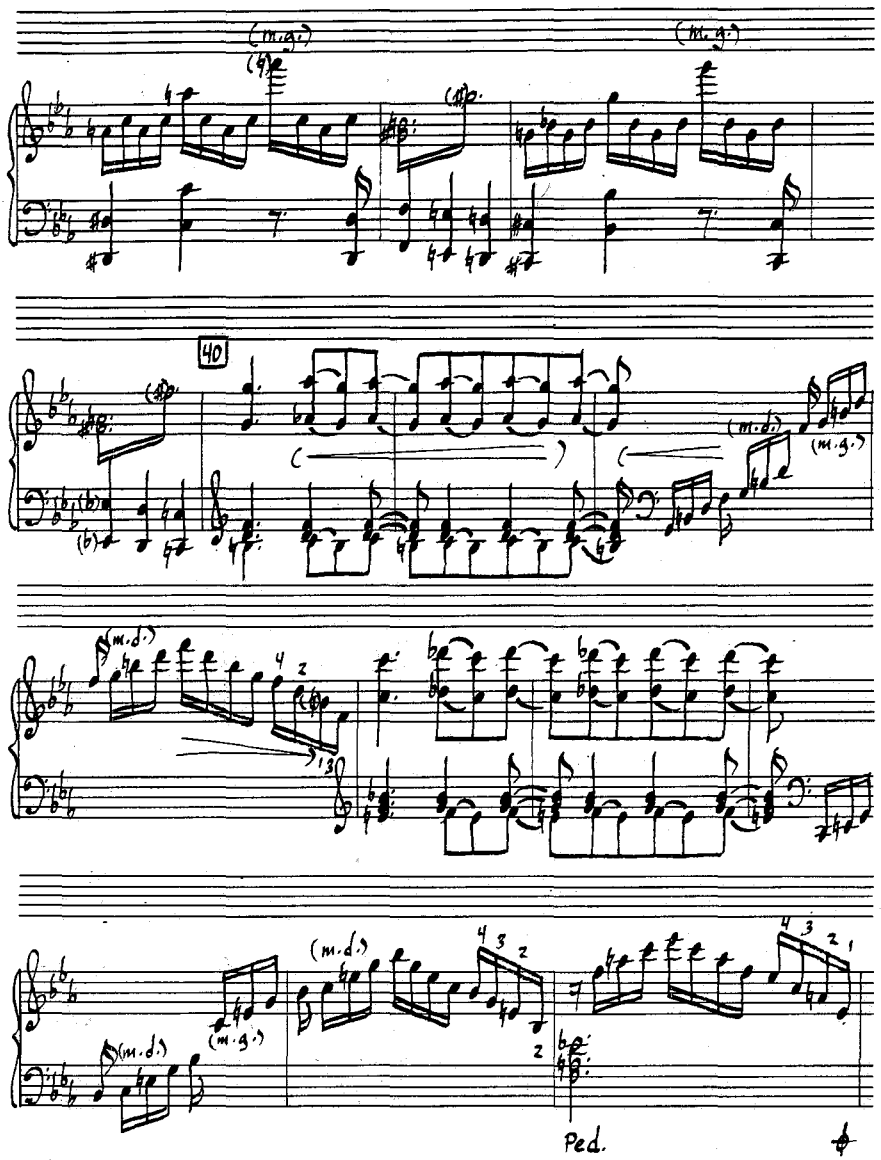
(mf)
p
30
p
cresc.
8va
loco
ff


(m.g.)
(m.g.)
40
(m.d.)
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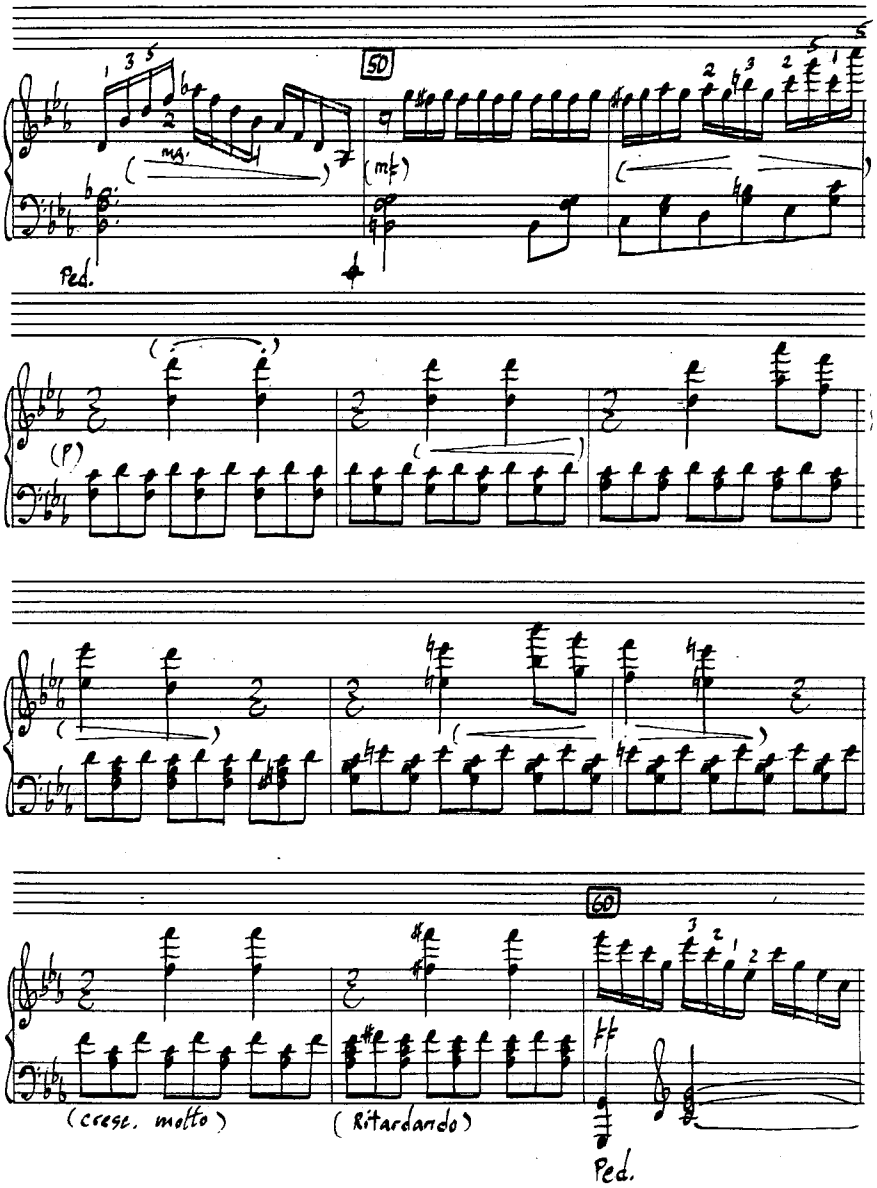
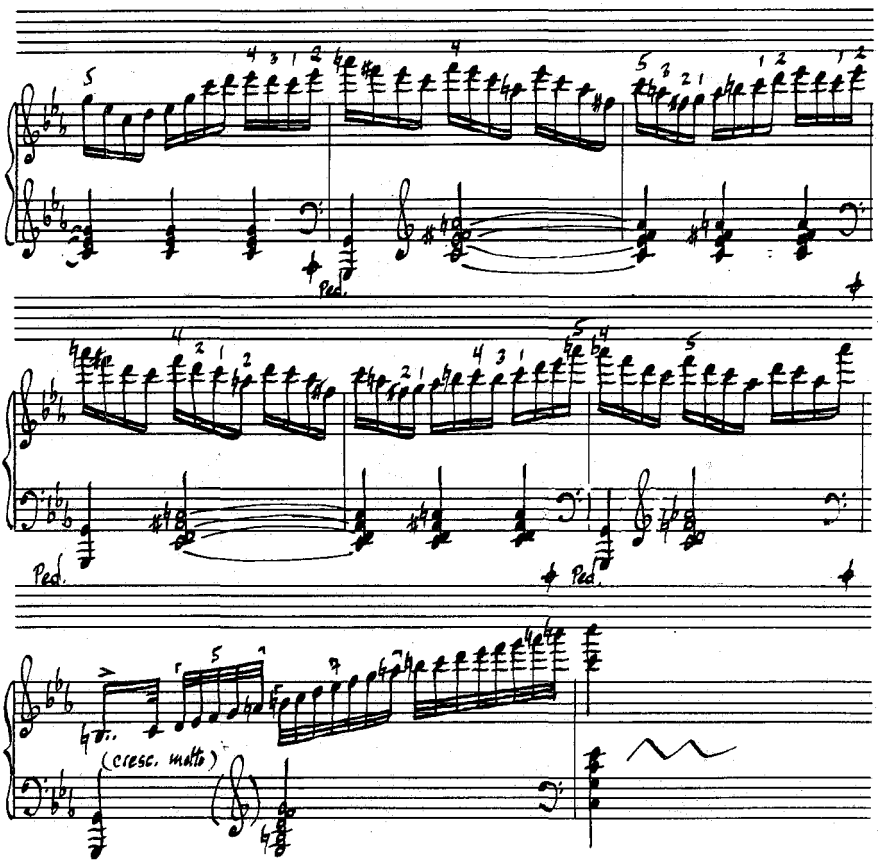
(m.d.)
(m.g.)
(m.d.)
(m.d.)
(m.g.)
Ped.


50
mf
Ped.
(p)
60
(cresc. molto)
(Ritardando)
ff
Ped.


Ped.
Ped.
Ped.
(cresc. molto)

CRITICAL NOTES

All editorial markings concerning dynamics and articulation are given in parentheses. Fingerings are those of the editor.

m. 1 The first measure is notated as it appears in the MS. The editor considers these upward-rising octaves superfluous and feels they can only detract from the statement of the theme which follows.

m. 2 It seems only natural that this theme should be played *piano*. Gounod's marking is 'f' in the first measure, below the bass staff.

m. 16 Although not marked in the MS, a return to *piano* is logical here.

m. 67 Bass and treble clefs are omitted in the Ms.

An Investigation Into Arcangelo Corelli's Influence On Eighteenth-Century Spain

By Craig H. Russell

Although it has long been known that Arcangelo Corelli's music was immensely popular across most of Europe, it has not been widely recognized that he was revered and acclaimed by the Spanish. The fact is that they regarded him as one of the preeminent composers of the eighteenth century. His works were copied out into many contemporaneous manuscripts, and the leading Spanish theorists of the time, progressive and conservative alike, mentioned him frequently and always with a tone of admiration and respect.

Theoretical Sources

Spain was engulfed by a series of polemics in the early eighteenth century concerning the virtues and vices of the newly-introduced Italian style.[1] Conservative Spanish theorists accused the Italians of failing to distinguish between sacred and secular styles: the lyrical and tuneful arias of the Italians that were creeping into sacred compositions were intended only to delight and please the senses; the austere polyphonic style of the Spanish masters, in contrast, was meant to inspire noble and reverent contemplation. The Italians were accused of ignoring the laws of counterpoint and composition and were criticized for introducing violins (a secular and "frivolous" instrument) into sacred music. Corelli, however, was so respected for his compositional skills that he was usually exempted from these scathing attacks of the conservative Spanish theorists. Francisco Valls and Padre Benito Feijoo, both of whom launched invectives against the superficiality of the Italian newcomers and their shallow musical style, had kind words for Corelli. As Valls wrote:

> At the present time there is a great abundance of composers of toccatas, sonatas, and symphonies (the majority of which can be said to be compositions that neither connect nor resolve according to the rules) for which reason any mediocre violinist plunges into the composing of symphonies ignoring the rules of music. Some of them come out without any rhyme or reason whatever: any little snippet or passage—that by chance might have occurred to this or that author while playing the violin—is clumsily inserted come what may. They put to it a harsh accompaniment and many times it does not fit. What results, then, is a deformed monster with neither feet nor head. This is not the case with all of Corelli's works and other ancient foreign authors; their music is very good, well-wrought, sonorous, and appropriate for the Temple. This is exactly what is missing in many of the other works we have been speaking about. These authors of the "Fantastic Style" only seek the applause of the mob, caring for nothing more. Many times they fall into tunes more appropriate for dance than for the Church.[2]

nances."[10] Eximeno continued that the cultivation of instrumental music "reaches perfection in the works of Corelli, which are always held in high esteem for the variety of the beautiful and well sustained themes, for the exact observance of the rules of harmony, for the soundness of the bass lines, and for the suitability in training the hand of performers."[11]

The excerpt from Corelli's first solo violin sonata was used by Eximeno in defending his treatise against a biting attack from Pezzuti, the editor and director of the Roman journal *Effemeridi Letterarie*.[12] Pezzuti's letter was vicious, vindictive, and—not surprisingly—unsigned. In it, Pezzuti dismissed *Del origen y reglas de la música* as "silly chatter" and took aim at Eximeno as being a mere mathematician and reactionary who "wants to meddle in musical practice with the 'cute' French invention of the fundamental bass." "What could be more ridiculous," he continued, "than calling a string the bass if it turns all the harmony upside down when it is put at the bottom." Eximeno's response was a more subdued yet eloquent rebuttal:

> I agree that in today's fashion (where the bass is almost always lyrical) if the fundamental were added to a composition it could destroy some of the elegance that derives from the omission of the said bass or its transferral to the treble part, as in the first "Adagio" of Sonata No. 1, Op. 5 by Corelli, that begins with an exchange of parts; the treble part makes the leap up of a fifth normally done by the bass, and the bass moves stepwise as the treble would normally do. This exchange of parts is an elegant touch that would be destroyed if the motion of the [fundamental] bass were put in the lowest-sounding part. Elegance and craftsmanship should not be confused with the basis of harmony.[13]

Modern scholars often credit Corelli with being the teacher of Joseph Herrando, the author of the first violin tutor in Spanish and one of the most prominent Spanish violinists of the eighteenth century.[14] This claim first appeared in Eitner's *Quellen-Lexikon* and subsequently was spread through the influential writings of Rafaël Mitjana.[15] Mitjana bases his claim on an alleged statement by Herrando in his introduction to the *Arte y puntual explicación* that he was, indeed, Corelli's pupil. Marc Pincherle, however, questions the evidence.[16] In no known copy of the treatise has he found any such statement by Herrando.[17] Eitner and Mitjana's claim, then, must be regarded with caution. It is ironic that the one example chosen so often from among so many to illustrate Corelli's influence in Spain, is probably spurious.

Musical Sources

One of the great difficulties in working with Spanish sources of the early eighteenth century is the paucity of primary source material. Andrés Ruiz Tarazona has proposed several reasons for this unfortunate situation; he accurately places much of the blame on the contemporary Spanish publishers who had little interest or skill in music publishing and also on the series of disastrous fires in the eighteenth century that gutted many sacred and secular libraries.[18] One of the greatest of these losses was occasioned by the fire on

Feijoo, in his later writings after he had mellowed toward the Italian style, showed his clear preference for Corelli over the entire French school put together.

> [With respect to the fine arts], the greatest credits are Italian; well for however much the French, as a rule, would like to attribute to themselves considerable advantages in these arts, I believe that all their poets put together do not equal a Torquato Tasso, nor all their musicians combined a Corelli, all their painters a Raphael, nor all their sculptors a Michelangelo.[3]

Not always did Corelli receive such accolades from the conservative Spanish theorists. The anonymous *Manifiesto cargo que haze un inteligente en la música* cautions the Church's chapel masters to avoid "singing and playing music with gaiety and liveliness that the Divine Rites do not require. The liveliness was introduced without method or measure [by those] with the presumption and desire to imitate Corelli's [music]."[4]

Both sides in the polemic, progressive as well as conservative, championed Corelli's works. Writers who enthusiastically welcomed the Italian musical influence into Spain saw in Corelli's music the lyricism and grace of the new style combined with the compositional craft and command over counterpoint associated with the polyphonic school. Juan Francisco de Corominas, the first violinist at the University of Salamanca and one of the most articulate defenders of the modern style, cited Corelli in his rebuttal against Padre Feijoo's assertion that the modern Italians had no skill or art with fugal or imitative writing. He suggested that Feijoo should consult Corelli's works, "especially the fifth and sixth [opuses] of Corelli and all those of Albinoni. With such concertos one will be enlightened."[5] Corominas later listed those composers worthy of praise for their mastery of romantic alterations.[6] With this list, Corominas undoubtedly was addressing an earlier statement by Feijoo that praised Antonio Literes' use of chromaticism to underscore the dramatic sense of the text.[7] Corominas acknowledged Literes' skill but argued that he was not unique in this ability. His equals were to be found in the Spaniards Joseph de Torres, José de Nebra, Juan de Lima Serqueira, and Antonio Yanguas, and in the Italians Tomaso Albinoni, Antonio Vivaldi, and, of course, Arcangelo Corelli.

Later in the century, Antonio Eximeno used an abbreviated version of the first movement from Corelli's Sonata Op. 5, No. 1 as a musical example in his *Del origen y reglas de la música*.[8] Eximeno stated that "at the beginning of the century Arcangelo Corelli contributed to the perfecting of music; he almost can be regarded as the inventor of the art of playing the violin of whose instrument little attention was paid before his time. He discovered the fundamental positions of the hand, studied the way to carry the bow with elegance, and composed many sonatas to exercise the hand and develop good taste in beginners."[9] He praised Corelli's music for "the natural progression of the fundamental bass, the clarity of the modes, the naturalness of the voicings, the regularity of modulations, and the perfect resolution of disso-

Christmas eve of 1734 that completely destroyed the Royal Palace and its entire music holdings.

Of the few extant primary sources of instrumental music from early eighteenth-century Spain, a remarkably high percentage contain pieces by Corelli. The two most important compilers of keyboard music from the time, Antonio Martín y Coll and Francisco de Tejada, include many Corelli compositions in their anthologies.[19] Three trio sonatas ascribed to Corelli are present in the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona.[20] Transcriptions of his works appear in two baroque guitar sources of the time: Manuscript 1560 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico City and Santiago de Murcia's exquisite manuscript collection, the *Passacalles y obras de guitarra por todos los tonos naturales y acidentales* (1732).[21]

Perhaps the strongest link between Corelli and the Iberian peninsula is found in Santiago de Murcia, the foremost baroque guitarist in eighteenth-century Spain. Not only do Corelli's compositions appear in Murcia's manuscript, but it is quite possible that the two men actually met. Recent research by Mario Rinaldi has shown that the famous meeting between Alessandro Scarlatti and Arcangelo Corelli in Naples recounted by Charles Burney probably took place not in 1708, as Burney reported, but in 1702.[22] The two musicians collaborated on Scarlatti's *Tiberio, Imperatore d'Oriente* and a Scarlatti serenade in early May 1702.[23] Philip V of Spain, Murcia's patron, was in Naples at the time and must have been the unnamed king that Burney placed in attendance at the musical performance. In the eighteenth century it was customary for a king to travel with a small entourage of musicians and servants from his own court, and in all probability Santiago de Murcia was included in that circle of musicians.[24] After all, he was the leading guitarist in the Spanish court at the time and would be a likely candidate for such a journey.[25]

Murcia includes numerous Corelli transcriptions in his *Passacalles y obras*. Out of the hundreds of borrowed and transcribed works in Murcia's baroque guitar books, only Corelli wins the privilege of being specifically credited as the composer of a borrowed work.[26] There are four movements in the *Passacalles y obras* that can be traced to Corelli originals:[27]

Murcia, *Passacalles y obras*		Corelli, Opus 5
Tocata de Coreli. Por este mismo tono.		
Grave	fol. 86	Sonata No. 8, I
Allegro	fol. 87	Sonata No. 8, II
Despacio	fol. 87^{V}	?
Giga	fol. 88	Sonata No. 5, VI
Sigue una Giga de Coreli. Dificil, por este termino.		
Giga	fol. 95^{V}	Sonata No. 3, V

One curious aspect of the Tocata is its patchwork or "pasticcio" construction. The various movements are borrowed from different sonatas: the first two movements from Sonata No. 8; the ensuing slow movement not being found in any Corelli work. Its three-voice chords and slow pace, however, are of the same character as some of the adagio sections in Corelli's trio sonatas. This short movement—scarcely two phrases long—ends on the dominant chord to prepare for the final movement, a transposed version of the final gigue from Sonata No. 5. Murcia ornaments the opening "Grave" with trills, mordents, vibrato, appoggiature, and rapid scale runs. He is but one of many eighteenth-century musicians to record ornamented versions of Corelli's solo sonatas: there are ten other sources.[28]

The presence of sixteen movements from Corelli's sonatas in a manuscript anthology of Mexican provenance testifies to his popularity in the Spanish colonies in the early eighteenth century.

Ms. 1560, Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico City		Corelli
Baroque Guitar		
Sonata IX de la Opera V de Coreli.	fol. 27^{V}	Op. 5, No. 9
Largo		Movement: I
Giga Alegro		II
Adagio		III
Tempo de Gavota		IV
Giga de la Sonata 3^{a} de la Opera V de Coreli.	fol. 31^{V}	Op. 5, No. 3, V
De la Sonata X.[29]	fol. 33	Op. 5, No. 10
Sarabanda largo		Movement: III
Gavota Alegro		IV
Giga Alegro		V
Follía. Sonata. 12. de Coreli. (abbreviated)	fol. 34^{V}	Op. 5, No. 12
Violin		
Chiga de Coreli. Opera 5^{a}. (many errors)	fol. 61^{V}	Op. 5, No. 5, V
[Untitled] (The short "Adagio" precedes the "Presto"; the "Grave" is omitted.)	fol. 62^{V}	Op. 4, No. 10 Movement: III
[Untitled] (Violins I and II of the concertino group)	fol. 64^{V}	Op. 6, No. 8, VIII

Lezion del Maestro Corelio Primer Biolin (Violin I of the concertino group, from the "Grave" movement)	fol. 67^{V}	Op 6, No. 2, III
Lezion a solo del M. Jerardo. Allegro. Coreli.[30] (Violin I of the concertino group, from the final "Allegro")	fol. 68^{V}	Op. 6, No. 2, IV
[Untitled] Coreli (Violin I of the concertino group)	fol. 69^{V}	Op. 6, No. 8, V
Folias Coreli.1. Complet.	fol. 73^{V}	*Not* by Corelli

The first half of the anthology is written in tablature notation for the five-course baroque guitar, whereas the latter pages for violin utilize modern staff notation. The baroque guitar arrangements of Corelli's solo violin sonatas draw solely upon the violin part and make no attempt to simultaneously realize the basso continuo line. Awkward silences result in the baroque guitar arrangements whenever the original violin part is resting and the basso continuo line is the part of primary interest. In the famed "Folia," the manuscript simply omits the variations in which the basso continuo is the more active and interesting of the two parts. The violin section of the same manuscript also contains many Corelli works. When both violin parts from the concertino group in Opus 6 appear, they are copied side by side on facing pages: the first violin part is always on the verso side of a folio with the second violin part appearing on the facing recto folio.

The keyboard anthologies of the period—like the baroque guitar sources—make a point to mention Corelli by name when he is the author of a work even though the other pieces in the collection bear no ascription. One such source, Martín y Coll's *Huerto ameno de varias flores*, arranges for keyboard the first three violin sonatas from Corelli's Opus 5.

Huerto ameno de varias flores		Corelli
Tocata. Alegres de Corelli.	fol. 186	Op. 5, No. 1
Tocata Segunda	fol. 191^{V}	Op. 5, No. 2
Tocata 3^{a}	fol. 196^{V}	Op. 5, No. 3

The manuscript's version of Sonata No. 3 is incomplete: it stops after the third movement of the original, omitting the final two allegros.

Another important Spanish keyboard source from the early eighteenth century, the *Libro de música de clavicímbalo* compiled by Francisco de Tejada, ascribes three works to Corelli.

Libro de música de clavicímbalo		Corelli
Alemanda de Coreli.	fol. 13^{V}	Op. 2, No. 1, II
Segunda Parte		III
Tercera Parte		IV
Piesa de Coreli	fol. 19^{V}	?
Aria de Coreli	fol. 22^{V}	Op. 4, No. 1, II

The "Alemanda de Coreli" with its following "Segunda Parte" and "Tercera Parte" are drawn from the Allemande, Corrente, and Gavotte of the first trio sonata in Corelli's Opus 2. The original prelude has been deleted and the trio texture has been reduced to only two functional parts (the basso continuo and first violin). Perhaps Tejada omitted Corelli's second violin part in his keyboard arrangement to assure that the difficulty of the arrangement would not exceed the skill of the novice performer; all of the selections in Tejada's manuscript are designed to be playable by any performer of modest ability. The same texture reduction occurs in the "Aria de Coreli." Other simplifications appear as well: the idiomatic arpeggios of the first violin are reworked into rather bland and less demanding scale runs; the numerals of the figured bass are omitted altogether; and octave displacement of the basso continuo, coupled with an added note or two in the left hand to fill out the texture, obscure the voice-leading in several instances. The "Piesa de Coreli" is a short minuet in D-minor with answering phrases between the top and bottom lines. In spite of the attribution to Corelli, the work bears no resemblance to any known work by him.

Arrangements and transcriptions of Corelli's works in Spanish sources are plentiful, but quite remarkably, only one extant Spanish manuscript preserves intact Corelli's music and its original instrumentation. The "Sinfonia a 3. Due Bioline & Basso de Corelli" (Manuscript 744/38 in the Biblioteca de Catlunya in Barcelona) is an accurate copy of Sonata No. 4 from the Opus 4 collection of trio sonatas. Another source in the Biblioteca de Catlunya (Manuscript 763/15), copied in the same hand, contains two more sonatas ascribed to Corelli:

"Sinfonia a 3. Due Violino & Violone Organo"
(identified on the parts as "Sonata tersa de Coreli")

Adagio	(10 measures)
Allegro	(19 measures, binary with repeats)
Giga Presto	(26 measures, binary with repeats)
Presto	(21 measures, binary with repeats)

"Otra Sinfonia a 3 Due Violini Biolone & Basso di Corelli"

Adagio	(16 measures)
Alegro	(21 measures, binary with repeats)
Adagio	(6 measures)
Adagio Menuet	(8 measures, binary with repeats)

The veracity of the ascriptions should be questioned: the first trio sonata is not found in any other source. The overall structure and imitative violins are not atypical of Corelli's style, but the unimaginative harmonies and cliché passagework argue against the authenticity of this particular work.

The other trio sonata is more problematic and intriguing. If one transposes the opening Adagio to F-major, it replicates the first measure of Corelli's Sonata Opus 3, No. 1. By the second measure, however, the two pieces diverge. Similarly, the manuscript's Alegro [*sic*] mirrors the opening of his Sonata Opus 1, No. 12, only to depart by the second measure. The chains of suspensions, the rich harmonic progressions, and the inventive melodic qualities are all in keeping with Corelli's compositional style. Yet while the quality of the writing in these two movements is elegant and finely crafted, the final movements are another matter. Movements III and IV resemble no known Corelli composition and are so short and simplistic as to arouse one's suspicion over Corelli's possible authorship. Whether or not these two sonatas are spurious, the very fact that the Spanish scribe attributes them to Corelli demonstrates the Italian's importance in Spain at this time.

That Corelli was popular in Spain is not surprising. All of Europe fell under his influence and the Iberian peninsula was no exception. What is particularly significant, however, is the manner in which his influence surfaced in Spain. Of the extant musical sources, relatively few copy Corelli's compositions in an unaltered state; keyboard and baroque guitar arrangements abound whereas relatively few sources preserve the original instrumentation. Yet it is apparent that Corelli commanded the respect of both conservative and progressive theorists: even though most important musicians of the time were identified with one side or the other in the series of polemics that consumed eighteenth-century Spanish theoretical writings, Corelli was elevated above the bickering. Arcangelo Corelli, in the eyes of the Spanish, was one of the great masters of the age.

NOTES

[1] The best discussion of these polemics is found in Antonio Martín Moreno's *El Padre Feijoo y las ideologías musicales del XVIII en España* (Orense: Instituto de Estudios Orensanos "Padre Feijoo," 1976). Moreno includes an invaluable appendix of the authors and the works associated with both sides of the polemics. Francisco José León Tello, in his *La teoría española de la música en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas and the Instituto Español de Musicología, 1974), discusses in great detail the conservative and progressive theorists of the time.

[2] Francisco Valls, "Mapa armónico práctico, breve resumen de los principales reglas de música sacado de los más clássicos autores especulativos y prácticos, antiguos, y modernos, illustrado con diferentes exemplares, para la más fácil, y segura enseñanza de muchachos" (M. 1071 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid), fols. 229^{V}–230.

[3] Padre Benito Feijoo, "Disvade a un amigo suyo, el autor el estudio de la lengua griega y le persuade el de la francesa," carta 23 in vol. V of *Cartas eruditas y curiosas en que por la mayor parte se continua el designo de el Theatro crítico universal* (Madrid, 1777), pp. 382–83. See Martín Moreno, *Padre Feijoo,* p. 77.

[4] *Manifiesto cargo que haze un inteligente en la música, a los constituydos en la obtenencia de los magisterios de capilla, y órgano* (n.p., n.d.), p. 15. The only extant copy is in the Conservatorio Eugenia de Granada. See Martín Moreno, *Padre Feijoo,* p. 278.

[5] Juan Francisco de Corominas, *Aposento anti-crítico, desde donde se ve representar la gran comedia, que en su Theatro crítico regaló al pueblo el RR. P. M. Feijoo, contra la música moderna, y uso de violines en los templos* (Salamanca, 1726), pp. 27–28. See Martín Moreno, *Padre Feijoo,* p. 224.

[6] Corominas, *Aposento,* pp. 21–22.

[7] Padre Benito Feijoo, "Música de los templos," discourse 14 from *Theatro crítico universal, o discursos varios en todo género de materias, para desengaño de errores comunes* (1726), p. 296. See Martín Moreno, *Padre Feijoo,* p. 155.

[8] Antonio Eximeno, *Del origen y reglas de la música, con la historia de su progreso, decadencia y restauración* (Madrid, 1796), book 2, plate 9. This publication is a Spanish translation of Eximeno's *Dell'Origine e della regole della musica colla storia del suo progresso, decadenza e rinnovazione* (Rome, 1774). León Tello devotes considerable attention to Eximeno's writings in his *Teoría española,* pp. 266–347. The first of Eximeno's three books in *Del origen y reglas de la música* has been published in a modern edition with an introduction by Francisco Otero (Madrid: Editorial Nacional, 1978).

[9] Eximeno, *Del origen y reglas de la música,* book 2, p. 174.

[10] Ibid., p. 175. See León Tello, *Teoría española,* p. 399.

[11] Eximeno, *Del origen,* book 1, p. 287 in Otero's edition.

[12] Otero, on p. 17 of his introduction to Eximeno's *Del origen,* identifies the author of this letter as being Pezzuti. He includes the entire letter (pp. 297–300) and Eximeno's response (pp. 301–12) in the back of his edition.

[13] Otero's edition of Eximeno's *Del origen,* p. 310.

[14] Joseph Herrando, *Arte, y puntual explicación del modo de tocar el violín, con perfección, y facilidad, siendo muy útil, para qualquiera que aprenda así aficionado como professor aprovechándose los maestros en la enseñanza de sus discípulos, con mas brevedad y descanso* (Paris, 1757). It should be noted that the date of publication is often given as 1756, but the "Privilegio" is dated 25 February 1757.

[15] Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten der christlichen Zeitrechnung,* vol. V (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898), p. 125. Rafäel Mitjana, *La Musique en Espagne,* Part 1, Histoire de la Musique, vol. IV, *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire* (Paris: Librairie Delagrave, 1920), p. 2187.

[16] Marc Pincherle, *Corelli: His Life, His Work,* Hubert E. M. Russell, transl. (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1956), p. 142.

[17] My inspection of copy M. 2539 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid of Herrando's *Arte y puntual explicación* reinforces Pincherle's skepticism. I found no mention of Corelli in the treatise.

[18] Andrés Ruiz Tarazona, "El barroco musical español: música instrumental, el siglo XVII" and "El barroco musical español: música instrumental, el siglo XVIII" (lectures delivered in the Fonoteca of the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid on 15 and 22 January 1980).

[19] "Huerto ameno de varias flores de música recogidas de varios organistas por Fray Antonio Martín[,] año 1709 de Esteva Costa Calvo" (M. 1360 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid). "Libro de música de clav[i]címbalo del Sr. Dn. Francisco de Tejada. 1721" (M. 815 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid). The value of these two anthologies is emphasized if one closely examines the available sources. The Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid has only twenty-eight extant manuscripts of instrumental music of the period. Half of these sources are not anthologies but are volumes dedicated to a single composer or occasionally a pair of composers. There are several manuscripts written for unusual instruments not conducive for Corelli transcriptions: psaltry (sources M. 2310 and M. 2249), harp (sources M. 2478 and M. 816), and fifes and drums (source M. 2791). Source M. 811 for baroque guitar contains no Corelli works. The remaining eight sources are for keyboard. A stylistic analysis of the anthology M. 1250 can safely date the manuscript as coming from the second half of the eighteenth century (by which time interest in Corelli had waned). With the exception of a couple of minuets, passepieds, and a folia, source M. 2262 contains only Italian cantatas making the possible inclusion of Corelli's

instrumental compositions inappropriate. Of the remaining six sources, five are anthologies compiled by Antonio Martín y Coll (M. 1357, M. 1358, M. 1359, M. 1360, and M. 2267) and one by Francisco de Tejada (M. 815). It is therefore quite significant that both men include Corelli transcriptions in their anthologies.

[20] "Sinfonia a 3. Due Bioline & Basso de Corelli" (Manuscript 744/38) and "Sinfonia a 3. Due Violino & Violone Organo" and "Otra Sinfonia a 3 Due Violini Biolone & Basso di Corelli" (Manuscript 763/15) in the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona.

[21] Manuscript 1560 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Mexico City, previously catalogued under the call number 5-4-152. Santiago de Murcia, *Passacalles y obras de guitarra por todos los tonos naturales y acidentales* (1732) (Add. Ms. 31640 in the British Library). For a complete transcription and discussion of Murcia's *Passacalles y obras*, see this writer's dissertation, *Santiago de Murcia: Spanish Theorist and Guitarist of the Early Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1981). A transcription is also available in Neil Douglas Pennington's *The Development of Baroque Guitar Music in Spain, Including a Commentary on and Transcription of Santiago de Murcia's "Passacalles y obras" (1732)*, 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, 1979), recently published under the title *The Spanish Baroque Guitar with a Transcription of de Murcia's "Passacalles y obras"* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International Research Press, 1981). A facsimile edition has recently appeared with a short introduction by Michael Macmeekan (Monte Carlo: Editions Chantarelle, 1979).

[22] Mario Rinaldi was the first to uncover the evidence and put together this convincing argument. See *Arcangelo Corelli* (Milan: Edizioni Curzi, n.d.), pp. 249–50. For discussion and amplification of Rinaldi's remarks see Pincherle's *Corelli*, pp. 34–37 and Frank Stuart Stilling's dissertation, *Arcangelo Corelli* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1956), pp. 25–27.

[23] Pincherle, *Corelli*, p. 37.

[24] I am indebted to Astrid Topp Russell for having suggested this possibility to me.

[25] See Russell, "Santiago de Murcia," vol. I, pp. 38–70.

[26] Murcia borrows extensively from his contemporaries, inserting into his baroque guitar books pieces by Corelli, Le Cocq, Campion, Corbetta, de Visée, Feuillet, and Pecour. See this author's dissertation and his article, "Santiago de Murcia: the French Connection in Baroque Spain," *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 15 (1982), pp. 40–51.

[27] Robert Strizich was the first scholar to mention that Murcia's *Passacalles y obras* includes works by Corelli, but he does not give the precise correspondences. See Robert Strizich, "Ornamentation in Spanish Baroque Guitar Music," *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, 5 (1972), p. 27. Neil Pennington attempts to identify the correspondences but incorrectly claims that the "Giga" (fols. 88–89 of *Passacalles y obras*) is from Sonata No. 4 when, in fact, it is from Sonata No. 5. He fails to identify the "Giga" (fols. 95^{V}–97 in *Passacalles y obras*) as being from Sonata No. 3. See Pennington, "Development of Baroque Guitar," vol. I, p. 311.

[28] For an up-to-date list of ornamented versions of Corelli's violin sonatas see the article by Hans Joachim Marx, "Some Unknown Embellishments of Corelli's Violin Sonatas," transl. by Laurence Dana Dreyfuss, *Musical Quarterly* 61 (1975), pp. 65–76. The appendix on pp. 74–76 has a clear list of the different versions. For complete bibliographic citations, see Hans Joachim Marx, *Die Überlieferung der Werke Arcangelo Corellis: Catalogue raisonné*, Arcangelo Corelli: Historische-kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke, ed. by Hans Oesch (Cologne: Arno Volkverlag, 1980). Besides Marx's article, two excellent articles by David D. Boyden should be consulted: "Corelli's Solo Violin Sonatas 'Grac'd' by Dubourg," *Festkrift Jens Peter Larsen* (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen Musik-Forlag, 1972), pp. 113–25, and "The Corelli 'Solo' Sonatas and Their Ornamental Additions by Corelli, Geminiani, Dubourg, Tartini, and the 'Walsh Anonymous,' " *Musica antiqua Europea orientalis III*, ed. by Zofia Lissa, Festival of Old Music of Central Europe, 3rd, Bydgoszcz and Terun, 1972 (Warsaw: Panstwowe Wy dawnicto Naukowe, 1972), pp. 591–606.

[29] It is curious that only the last half of the sonata is transcribed. The passagework of the opening movements is no more troublesome or inappropriate for transcription than the latter movements.

[30] The attribution "Coreli" on fols. 68^{v} and 69^{v} was apparently added after the music was copied out, for it is not in the same ink as the rest of the manuscript. This explains the confusion in the attribution on fol. 68^{v}; when the scribe first laid out the volume, he clearly intended to write out a work by "M Jerardo." He had misjudged the space needed to continue the Corelli concerto from the previous pages and was later forced to scribble "Coreli" under the "Jerardo" ascription to correct the error. Although the inks are different, all the writing on the page is in the same hand.

An Eighteenth-Century Russian Pocket-Book*

By Gerald Seaman

Musical periodical literature did not make its appearance until the early eighteenth century, the first music journal in the modern sense of the word being the *Critica Musica* of Johann Mattheson (1681–1764), published in Hamburg between 1722 and 1725. Although articles on music had already appeared in England in such journals as *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* in the period 1709–13,[1] Mattheson's periodical was of importance in that it was specifically devoted to music, and it was soon followed by a number of similar publications by J.A. Scheibe, F.W. Marpurg, J.F. Reichardt and others.

It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that music journals appeared in Russia, and although we can gain some insight into the development of musical life through the pages of the early newspapers such as *Moskovskiye vedomosti,* founded in 1703, and *Sanktpeterburgskiye vedomosti,* and through the comments of foreign visitors, one is not able to trace the progress of musical life over a long period, as is possible in the case of Germany and some other countries; nor, for that matter, was musical life nearly so well developed. Even when music journals did appear, they consisted almost entirely of collections of music, and contained neither articles nor reviews of news from abroad, such as were common in the Russian literary journals of the time. On the other hand, a few articles about music did appear in some of the literary periodicals and one or two of them included music supplements. Like their literary prototypes, the music journals were often short-lived and had small circulations; moreover, whereas the literary journals for the most part were edited by Russians, the music journals were almost entirely published by foreigners. Of particular significance, on account of the fact that they contain both compositions and articles on music, are the two "Pocket-books" published by I.D. Gerstenberg in 1795 and 1796. Before examining these in detail, however, it is necessary to take a glance at the development of music book publishing in eighteenth-century Russia.

From the various investigations of the questions by the Russian scholars N.M. Lisovsky,[2] Nicholas Findeyzen,[3] the Soviet researchers Tamara Livanova,[4] Boris Vol'man[5] and Boris Yagolim,[6] and the Swiss scholar R.-A. Mooser,[7] it becomes clear that the first Russian music-book publisher in the full sense was the Moscow bookseller Christian-Ludwig Vever (Weber),[8] who leased the printing office of Moscow University in the early 1770s. He obtained special music type and was thus able to publish his *Klavikordnaya shkola* ("Clavichord School") (1773),[9] his *Metodicheskiy opyt* ("Methodical Experiment") (1773)[10] and the journal *Muzykal'nyye uveseleniya* ("Musical Amusements") (1774–75).[11] Whereas the *Klavikordnaya shkola* was a translation of a German work by Löhlein,[12] the *Metodicheskiy opyt* was translated from the French.[13] The music journal took its name from a literary journal entitled *Poleznyye uveseleniya* ("Profitable Amusements"), which had been published at the Moscow University Press in 1760–62. *Muzykal'nyye uveseleniya* was pub-

lished during the period 1774–76 but only four of its *sobraniya* have survived. As Vol'man informs us, each *sobraniye* consisted of twelve leaves each month, or by paying six roubles, two complete six-monthly *sobraniya.*[14] As its full title suggests, the journal was made up of a wide variety of musical pieces. Boris Yagolim, quoting Vol'man, states that Weber's collaborator in producing the journal was the Moscow composer Johann Kerzelli, a Czech by origin. Kerzelli was the founder of the first special music school in Russia, which, established in Moscow in 1773, was a place of study for "the nobility, commoners and peasantry."[15] The journal included pieces by Kerzelli himself, songs, keyboard arrangements of Ukrainian folk-songs, and the occasional operatic excerpt.

The next attempt at publishing a music journal was made in 1785 by the Czech amateur composer Baron Ernest Vančura de Rehnit (1750–1801), who arrived in Russia in 1785 and soon established himself firmly on the musical scene, being commissioned by Empress Catherine II to compose the music for her opera *Khrabryy i smelyy vityaz' Akhrideich* ("Akhrideich, the Brave Bold Warrior") (1787). In 1785 an announcement of a forthcoming music journal by Vančura appeared in the *Sanktpeterburgskiye vedomosti* (no. 78, September 1785) and the first number of his *Journal de musique pour le clavecin ou piano-forte, dédié aux dames par B.W., amateur,* appeared in October 1785. As Vol'man observes, no copy of this issue is believed to exist, for the copy which Findeyzen described and illustrated in 1928 in his *Ocherki po istorii russkoy muzyki* ("Essays on the History of Russian Music") is lost.[16] What is clear, though, is that for some unknown reason Vančura suddenly ceased publishing his journal and did not resume publication until 1790, continuing, it seems, until 1794. Four numbers of the journal are preserved in the Music Department of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Kiev, while the Leningrad Public Library has a further two numbers published by B. Breitkopf at St. Petersburg. Of particular interest from the point of view of the history of Russian music is that the October issue of 1790 contains a "Sinfonie russe, composée d'airs Ukrainiens," which is almost identical with the Overture to the opera *Mel'nik-koldun, obmanshchik i svat* ("The Miller-magician, Deceiver and Matchmaker"), which was very popular at the time.[17]

Reference may also be made to the *Sanktpeterburgskiy muzykal'nyy magazin,* which was published in the capital in 1794–95 by I.D. Gerstenberg.[18] Appearing monthly, ten numbers are said to have been issued in all, the contents of which (established from contemporary advertisements) included two piano trios by Pleyel, a "grand sonata" in C major by Mozart, and some pieces and variations. However, no copies of this journal appear to have survived.[19]

An attempt at producing a musical reference book was made in 1790, for the ninety-second number of the *Moskovskiye vedomosti* for that year carried an advertisement by the Moscow bookseller Semyon Ivanov, inviting subscriptions to a "Musical and Theatrical Encyclopedia."[20] However, the enterprise proved abortive.

It was not until the arrival in St. Petersburg of Bernhard Theodor Breit-

kopf, son of the Leipzig music publisher, that a music journal of good quality began to be published regularly. Breitkopf's journal was entitled *Giornale musicale del Teatro italiano di St. Pietroburgo,*[21] and his idea was to publish his own arrangements of excerpts from comic operas which had been given with success in the capital—a policy adopted by other journals in western Europe. A complete set of Breitkopf's journal is in the Public Library in Leningrad and, according to Vol'man, consists of five large volumes, with twelve numbers in each.[22] The foreword to the first number is dated 15 November 1795. The journal, which survived for the comparatively long period of two and a half years, had a high subscription price of twenty-five roubles a year (twenty roubles on ordinary paper), and among the composers represented were Paisiello, Cimarosa, Mozart, Martini, Bianchi, Sarti, Astaritta, Guglielmi, and Reichardt.

In 1795 Gerstenberg published a *Magazin obshchepoleznykh znaniy* ("Magazine of Useful General Knowledge"), which appeared each month, with music supplements largely by the Polish composer Józef Kozłowski, who was born in Warsaw in 1757.[23] Among his compositions printed in the journal are several "Russian Songs," polonaises and contredanses.[24]

Mention may also be made of two music journals for the guitar (which was a popular instrument in Europe at that time), compiled by Hainglaise[25] and Millet,[26] also published by Gerstenberg and Dittmar at the end of the century. Their content similarly consisted largely of arias from Italian operas and romances by French composers arranged for two guitars or voice and guitar.[27]

It was in 1795, however, that the first Russian music almanacs began to appear, the compilers of which were S. Selivanovsky and I.D. Gerstenberg. Selivanovsky was a Moscow publisher and bookseller, who had one of the large private printing offices, and he entitled his music almanac *Magazin muzykal'nykh uveseleniy* ("Journal of Musical Amusements").[28] In the first number, it was announced that it was to be published regularly, but the first issue was also to be the last; no others ever appeared. The contents of the almanac, which were collated by an unknown compiler, consist of fourteen numbers written to sentimental texts, of which No. 2, the song "Stonet sizyy golubochik" ("Moans the dark-blue little Dove") is of special interest, since it was especially popular at the time and is a setting of verses by the poet I. Dmitriyev. Another item—"Kak liry zhiteley nebesnykh" ("As the Lyres of the Heavenly Dwellers")—is entitled "a moral chorus," and according to Findeyzen was sung by the Freemasons of Catherine's time.[29]

Of special significance, however, are the two so-called "Pocket-books" for lovers of music published by Gerstenberg and Co. in 1795 and 1796, which were not mere collections of music, but which contained historical material, anecdotes, portraits of musicians and musical games. Born in a town which was renowned for its almanacs (Gotha), I.D. Gerstenberg had been educated in Leipzig, and was by profession a musician and a printer, having published keyboard sonatas and songs of his own composition in Gotha in 1787–88. Like Breitkopf, he came to St. Petersburg in order to make his fortune and

from 1791 he took an active part in the mercantile and publishing life of the capital, selling books, prints, music, barometers, and instruments for musicians and draughtsmen. From 1792–94 he published the journal *Vrachebnyye vedomosti* ("Medical News"). He began to publish music in 1793, and was one of the first music printers in Russia to use copper plate instead of moveable type. Up to 1796 he traded under the name of Gerstenberg and Company, after which—having acquired a partner—the firm became Gerstenberg and Dittmar. Some of his published music carries the imprint "Petersburg and Gotha" under the name heading. He remained in Russia until the end of 1799, after which he returned to Germany, leaving the firm in the hands of his associate. Gerstenberg was an astute man who studied public taste and, having observed what was lacking, did his utmost to rectify the omissions. In the course of six or so years he published more than 200 titles of a most varied nature.

Gerstenberg's first Pocket-book bears the title *Karmannaya kniga dlya lyubiteley muzyki na 1795 god* ("Pocket-book for Lovers of Music for the year 1795") and consists of a twelve-page calendar, fifty-seven pages of text and some forty-five pages of music and diagrams. Its frontispiece portrait of Ignaz Pleyel was engraved, according to R.-A. Mooser, by "Meyer," *i.e.*, J.C. de Mayr.[30] This is followed by the Publishers' Foreword, a Calendar, and seven major sections. Section six consists of variations on two Russian folk-songs and section seven of six songs by F.M. Dubyansky. On the last page is a short list of publications by Gerstenberg and Co.

The Publisher's Foreword is short and to the point:

> In this we have the honour to submit to the esteemed public, but particularly to lovers of music, a first attempt at a musical Pocket-book on the lines of musical almanacs or calendars published in foreign countries. Very few theoretical works on music have been published here and that is why we have ventured to publish this booklet, especially as we have our own music-printing department. A favourable reception to this first effort will encourage us to continue it in future years. Regarding this we most humbly entreat lovers of music to send us real Russian musical compositions and the newest songs of the common people hitherto unpublished, which we will try to communicate to the public by means of a continuation of this Pocket-book. When the number of these songs is sufficiently large, we will have the pleasure of publishing them in a special book.
>
> I.D. Gerstenberg
> and Associate

The Calendar which follows records Holy Days and events almost exclusively relating to the Imperial Family. For example, Saturday 6 January is marked *"Bogoyavleniye Gospodne"* ("Epiphany"), Sunday 4 to Sunday 10 February is marked *"Syrnaya nedelya"* ("Cheese Week"—a Fast), Sunday 25 March *"Blagoveshcheniye Bogomateri"* ("Annunciation"), 1 to 7 April *"Svyataya Nedelya"* ("Holy Week"), while others are "Nicholas the Miracle-worker" (9

May), "Birth of John the Baptist" (24 June), "Transfiguration of Our Lord" (6 August), "Dormition of the Holy Virgin" (15 August), "Exaltation of the Cross" (14 September), "Intercession of the Holy Virgin" (1 October), "Miracle of Archistrategus Michael" (5 November), and "The Nativity of Christ" (25 December). Other entries in the Calendar concern members of the Royal Family. For example the entry for 4 February reads: "Birth of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Mariya Pavlovna." Saturday 21 April reads: "Birth of HER IMPERIAL MAJESTY Empress YEKATERINA ALEKSEYEVNA and Name-day of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Aleksandra Pavl(ovna)," while that of Wednesday 21 November states: "Celebration of the recovery of HER IMPERIAL MAJESTY from smallpox." Apart from entries referring to Holy Days and the Royal family, the only other one is that of Wednesday 27 June: "Anniversary of the Victory of Polt(ava)." Next follows the list of contents and the first major section which is entitled "Historical Description of the Lives of the Most Famous Musicians." The choice of biographies is an interesting one, for J.S. Bach, C.P.E. Bach, W.A. Mozart, Ignaz Pleyel and J. Haydn are included. Beethoven at that time was twenty-five years old and was not well known; Handel is omitted completely, but a biography of Gluck was to appear in the second Pocketbook of 1796.

The fact that Gerstenberg begins his musical biographies with J.S. Bach is noteworthy, since it shows that the composer's fame was by no means in a state of eclipse at that time, as is often supposed. Gerstenberg, moreover, has no doubts about Bach's greatness and states:

> In the chronicles of music the name of Bach is so renowned, and for all those exercising themselves in this art is so esteemed an appellation, that for the best improvement of this little book we have conceived the design of commencing this section with a description of the life of both of the most memorable members of the family of that name.

After giving details of J.S. Bach's life, Gerstenberg concludes his article with the following:

> His melodies are extremely strange, but always original and diverse. The serious character of this man attracted him to difficult, manly and profound music; none the less he also cultivated the light and jocular. His vision through constant application in the composition of full-voiced *("polnoglasnykh")* pieces became so sharp and penetrating that he could see at once all the acting parts and instruments. His ear was so refined and subtle that he could detect the minutest errors in the richest music. Without doubt Bach may be regarded as the most skilful and expert player of the harpsichord and organ, not only of his time but perhaps of all time. . . .[31]

Then, after describing Bach's unique method of fingering, Gerstenberg ends his article with the words:

> Nowadays his works have become quite rare so that connoisseurs who possess them must guard them as great treasures.[32]

The monograph on C.P.E. Bach is of more modest dimensions, consisting of only three pages; however, that on Mozart runs to five pages and includes the following:

> This great personage, having become acquainted with Harmony almost in his infancy, got to know it in all its fineness; so that to the inexperienced ear it is very difficult to play his compositions. Happily for him in his youth he had the good fortune and opportunity to attain real perfection among the benign muses of Vienna; otherwise his works could have become inarticulate to the greater part of mortals.[33]

The remainder of the Mozart article consists of a listing of some of his works, including two memorable misprints *"Il don Grovanni"* and *"Cosi Janno tutti,"* and a description of the phenomenal success of his opera *Die Zauberflöte.*

The account of Pleyel's life and works extends to just over three pages. Gerstenberg mentions that his compositions, though renowned throughout Europe, were less appreciated in England, where Haydn's music accords better with English tastes. Gerstenberg concludes his description by stating in the final paragraph that:

> The worth of Pleyel's compositions is attested by the fact that the musical public is unanimous in its approval.[34]

Presumably this explains the presence of Pleyel's portrait at the beginning of the Pocket-book.

The biographical section concludes with a short account of Haydn's life and work, in the penultimate paragraph of which Gerstenberg writes:

> Haydn may be numbered among the greatest men of our time. He is great in small things, but even more so in great things: always novel; always rich in ideas and incomparable; always grand, touching and amusing. His themes are all original. Particularly must we thank him for inventing the fortification of the Melody at the octave. This he used for the first time in his quartets of 1760, which gave universal pleasure. All were delighted and astonished by their great attractiveness and simplicity and they began to imitate him in this respect.[35]

The next section is entitled "Musical Dictionary, containing Words and Locutions used in Music." This comprises a total of nearly 200 musical

terms, which are given in Cyrillic transliteration followed by a translation, the original term, and a short explanation. The first entry reads, for instance:

> ADAZHIO, *of long duration, Adagio.* This means in the musical sense that it must be played slowly; however this slowness is one of degree ranging from *Adagio* to *Lento* and *Largo*.[36]

Some of the entries have a naïve ring about them and provide an insight into the musical thinking prevailing in Russia at the time. The definition of the term "aria," for instance, reads as follows:

> ARIA, ARIYA, *Song, aria.* This word does not mean the same thing as "song," called by the French "Chanson." Nowadays "aria" means singing, accompanied by various instruments. Formerly it consisted of two parts, of which the first was extremely long, and the latter extremely short. The composer has to strive in every way to develop the first part, but many make the second part so weak that the first part has to be repeated from the beginning.[37]

The entry for *Balalayka* reads:

> BALALAYKA, *colascione.* An instrument rather like a lute, only with a long neck and having only two strings. This instrument is in common use in Russia and Turkey among simple folk.[38]

Music is described as follows:

> MUZYKA, *musica.* In ancient times this word had much greater significance than now. Ancient writers understood by this name all knowledge and science presided over by the nine muses.[39]

The definition of Opera is:

> OPERA, OPERETTA, *opera, operetta.* A musical theatrical spectacle of serious or humorous content. At the present time serious operas have gone almost completely out of fashion and humorous ones are more in use.[40]

"Orchestra" is defined as "a place in the front of the theatre, where the musicians play," while "Flute" is described as "rarely used in music, but more in use in regiments with the drums." The "Flauto traverso," on the other hand, is "a quite well-known wind instrument, having an extremely agreeable tone and found in all orchestras."

The next section is entitled "Musical inventions," these being the glass harmonica, and an instrument called in Russia a *yevfon* (euphone). The glass harmonica is said to have been invented in America by Benjamin Franklin in Boston, in 1760, after which it spread via England to the rest of Europe, a keyboard being added to it by a certain Mr. Gessel', a native of St. Petersburg. The euphone was the invention of the German physicist Ernst Chladni, born in Wittenberg in 1756, and also utilized glass. The sound of

the glass harmonica is, incidentally, described as being harmful to the health of the performer.[41]

The next section is entitled "Musical Anecdotes" and this consists of four short stories about musicians: the singer Silvestro Palma; an unnamed double-bass player who managed to save himself from a pack of hungry wolves by playing *glissandi* on his instrument; Jommelli, who through his *crescendo* and *diminuendo* managed to raise and lower people from their seats; and C.P.E. Bach who could not bear to hear a discord unresolved.

The fifth section is entitled "A Musical Game with Dice, or a Method of composing Minuets and Trios for the clavichord by means of two Dice." In it we read:

> In England in almost all fashionable societies and assemblies a musical game with dice is in great favor. Anyone able to play the harpsichord even a little and not knowing at all the rules of musical composition can devise an incalculable number of minuets by means of two dice. For the invention of this art we are indebted to the successful innovation of someone skilled in mathematical reckonings and calculations, who intended to entertain for a period some merry folk in their leisure time.[42]

The reader is next referred to four tables, of which the first two are used for the composition of the minuet, employing two dice, and the last two for the trio, using only one. Following the tables are 176 single bars, which are to be utilized in composing the minuet, and 96 which can be employed in the trio. The player throws the dice, writes down the bar number obtained after consulting the table, then repeats the procedure a further eleven times. The bar numbers are then assembled and the aleatory minuet is ready to be performed. A similar procedure is followed in the assembling of the trio.

Such composition with dice was by no means an exclusively Russian phenomenon; indeed, as the *Harvard Dictionary of Music* (1970) informs us in the article "Aleatory Music," J.P. Kirnberger made a contribution to the genre in his *Der allezeit fertige Polonaisen-und Menuettenkomponist* of 1757, while similar publications were ascribed to Haydn and C.P.E. Bach. As the *Harvard Dictionary* also informs us, Mozart's *Musikalisches Würfelspiel* is one of the most famous examples, and although Mozart's authorship is by no means certain, it was published in London in 1806 with the following description:

> Mozart's Musical Game, fitted in an elegant box, showing by an easy system how to compose an unlimited number of Waltzes, Rondos, Hornpipes, and Reels.[43]

The last two sections of the Pocket-book take the form of a music supplement, section six consisting of "Two Russian Songs with Variations for Pianoforte." Of these the first is by the composer Khandoshkin and is based on the folk-song "Vyydu l' ya na rẹchen'ku" ("When I go to the little River"), whilst the second, by Palschau, utilizes the folk-song "Kak u nashego shirokogo dvora" ("As in our wide Courtyard"). Both folk-songs were popular at the time and are included in Prač's celebrated folk-song collection of

1790; "Kak u nashego shirokogo dvora" is also found in one of the first Russian operas, "The Miller-magician," (1779).

Palschau's variations are of particular interest. The theme itself, in G minor, consists of two sections, each six bars in length, and after this has been stated in a straightforward harmonization, it is followed by five variations. In the first variation the theme is heard in the right hand against semiquaver figurations in the left, though in the second variation the semiquaver interest is in the right hand. Variation III consists of lively semiquaver triplet figurations covering a range of four octaves. Variation IV utilizes a syncopated figure with some expressive and effective harmonies, while the final variation is penetrated by a quiet melancholy. Though the Variations are essentially simple and unpretentious, nevertheless they possess a distinct charm and in their balance and proportion may be regarded as a good example of Russian musical classicism.

The final section is made up of six Russian songs by the composer F.M. Dubyansky, which are of interest in that they are his only published works. The composer died in 1796. The songs are all written to accompany sentimental texts fashionable at the time, No. 1 having a decidedly Italian flavor to it with a preponderance of thirds and sixths ("Ty velish'mne byt' ravnodushnym"—"You order me to be indifferent"). No. 2 is marked *Adagio sostenuto e mesto,* is in 6/8 tempo and in the key of F minor. No. 3 is an *Adagio Siciliano* in B flat major, No. 4 an *Andante* in A minor, while No. 5 is an *Andante amoroso* in F major. By far the most effective song, however, is the poignant setting of the words of the poet I. Dimitriyev "Stonet sizyy golubochik" ("Moans the dark-blue little Dove"), in which the plaintive tune and sparse accompaniment well underline the pathos of the text.

The Pocket-book ends with a short "Catalogue de Livres de Musique gravés et imprimés chez I.D. Gerstenberg et Comp," among which one notices with interest an "Englisches Volkslied" entitled "'My Friend and Pitcher'; Russisch, Englisch und Deutsch fürs Clavier: 30 Cop(ecks)."

As a result of the success of the first Pocket-book, Gerstenberg was encouraged to produce a sequel, which was entitled *Karmannaya knizhka na 1796 god* ("Pocket-book for the year 1796"). This volume follows basically the same format as its predecessor and contains a portrait of Mozart, a calendar, biographies of the singer Gertrud Mara, the violinist Antonio Lolli, and the composers Sterkel, Koželuh, and Gluck. Then follows a brief account of the principles of clavichord playing, taken from a book by an unknown author; an article on the origin of Russian songs; anecdotes; composition of music by means of dice; a music supplement (a *Kazachok* consisting of a theme and thirty-one variations for piano by an unknown composer); a Russian song with seven variations; four Russian songs by Kozłowski; a catalogue of books on music engraved and printed by Gerstenberg.

It is apparent that Gerstenberg's Pocket-books performed a valuable function in Russian musical life by making society more aware of developments in contemporary music and by providing them with a medium which already existed in western Europe. That Gerstenberg modelled his own Pocket-books

on similar German almanacs becomes clear if one compares the contents of his publications with such works as J.N. Forkel's *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland*, which was published irregularly in Leipzig from 1782–89, or the *Musikalischer und Künstler-Almanach auf das Jahr 1783*, published in Berlin in 1782. Where Gerstenberg's Pocket-books differ, however, is in their use of Russian materials, and especially folk-songs, a reflection of an ever-increasing national awareness in the Russian society of the period.

NOTES

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[1] An essay by Joseph Addison originally published in *The Spectator* (London, 6 March 1711) is reproduced in Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History: The Baroque Era* (New York, 1965), pp. 151–57.

[2] N.M. Lisovsky, *Muzykal'nyye al'manakhi XVIII stoletiya* (St. Petersburg, 1882).

[3] Nikolay Findeyzen, "Muzykal'nyye zhurnaly v Rossii: Istoricheskiy ocherk (1772–1903)" *Russkaya muzykal'naya gazeta*, no. 1, (St. Petersburg, 1903), cols. 8–11; no. 3 (1903), cols. 78–81.

[4] Tamara Livanova, *Russkaya muzykal'naya kul'tura XVIII veka*, vol. II (Moscow, 1953).

[5] Boris Vol'man, *Russkiye pechatnyye noty XVIII veka* (Leningrad, 1957).

[6] Boris Yagolim, "Russkaya muzykal'naya periodika do 1917 goda," in *Kniga: Issledovaniya i materialy*, sbornik III (Moscow, 1960), pp. 335–59.

[7] Robert-Aloys Mooser, *Annales de la musique et des musiciens en Russie au XVIII^e siècle*, 2nd ed, 3 vols. (Geneva and Monaco, 1954).

[8] Mooser refers to him as Christian-Ludwig Weber (Mooser, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 114.

[9] The full title reads: *Klavikordnaya shkola, ili kratkoye i osnovatel'noye pokazaniye k soglasiyu i melodii, prakticheskimi primerami iz"yasnyonnoye, sochinyonnoye gospodinom G.S. Leleynom, s nemetskago na rossiyskiy yazyk perevedyonnoye Imperatorskago Moskovskago universiteta studentom Fyodorom Gablitsem. Pechatana pri Imperatorskom Moskovskom universitete, na izhdiveniye knigosoderzhatelya Khristiana-Ludviga Vevera, 1773 goda.*

[10] Full title: *Metodicheskiy opyt, kakim obrazom mozhno vyuchit' detey chitat' muzyku stol' zhe legko, kak i obyknovennoye pis' mo. S frantsuzskago jazyka pereveden na rossiyskiy E. S. V Moskve. Pri universitete, na izhdiveniye knigosoderzhatelya Khristiana-Ludviga Vevera, 1773 goda.*

[11] Full title: *Muzykal'nyya uveseleniya, pomesyachno izdavayemyya: Soderzhashchiya v sebe Ody, Pesni, Rossiyskiya kak dukhovnyya, tak i svetskiya, Arii, Duety, Pol'skiye Minuety, Aglitskiye, Kontratantsy, Frantsuzskiye, Kottil'ony, Balety i prochiya znatnyya shtuki; dlya klavikordov, skripok, klarinetov i drugikh instrumentov. Pechatany pri Imperatorskom Moskovskom universitete 1774 goda izhdiveniyem Khristiana-Ludviga Vevera.*

[12] J.S. Löhlein, *Clavier-Schule, oder kurze und gründliche Anweisung zur Melodie und Harmonie, durchgehends mit praktischen Beispielen erläret* (Leipzig, 1765).

[13] *Essai méthodique qui enseigne aux Enfants à lire aussi aisément la Musique, qu'on leur apprend à lire l'Ecriture ordinaire*, nouvelle édition corrigée et augmentée (Liège, c. 1768).

[14] Vol'man, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–87.

[15] Yagolim, *op. cit.*, p. 336, quoting Vol'man, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–56.

[16] N F. Findeyzen, *Ocherki po istorii muzyki v Rossii*, vol. II (Moscow-Leningrad, 1928), pp. 354–55; see Vol'man, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

[17] The "Sinfonie russe" is printed in Vol'man, *op. cit.*, pp. 245–63.

[18] Full title: *Sankt-Peterburgskiy muzykal'nyy magazin dlya klavikordov ili piano-forte, posvyashchennyy zhenskomu polu i lyubitelyam sego instrumenta.* Izd. I.D. Gerstenberga. St. Petersburg, 1794–1795. Monthly.

[19] See Yagolim, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

[20] Ibid., pp. 93–94.

[21] Full title: *Giornale musicale del Teatro italiano di St. Pietroburgo, o Scelta d'arie, Duetti, Terzetti, Overture etc., delle Opere buffe, rappresentate sul Teatro Imperiale di St. Pietroburgo, date in luce ed accomodati per essere accompagnati d'un Cembalo solo de THEODORO BREITKOPF, Dilettante.*

[22] Vol'man, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[23] Full title: *Magazin obshchepoleznykh znaniy i izobreteniy s prisovokupleniyem modnogo zhurnala, raskrashennykh risunkov i muzykal'nykh not.* Izd. I.D. Gerstenburga. St. Petersburg, 1795. Monthly.

[24] Yagolim, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

[25] Full title: *Journal d'airs italiens, français et russes avec accompagnement de guitare par J.B. Hainglaise.* Publ. by I.D. Gerstenberg, St. Petersburg, 1796–1797. Weekly.

[26] Full title: *Journal d'ariettes avec accompagnement de guitare par A.F. Millet.* Publ. by I.D. Gerstenberg and F.A. Dittmar, St. Petersburg, 1796. Weekly.

[27] Yagolim, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

[28] The English translation of the long original title reads: *Magazine of Musical Amusements, or a complete Collection of Vocal Pieces of the best and newest of every Kind, in which are contained: Russian and Italian arias, newly translated, Songs tender, theatrical, pastoral, allegorical, military, Little-Russian, sacred and profane, arranged in the best of Taste; Sacred Choruses, solemn ones for various occasions, theatrical, moralistic and military ones; Odes by Mr. Lomonosov and Mr. Sumarokov; Psalms, adapted by Mr. Sumarokov; Kanty (songs) sung in the most exalted Presence of Her Imperial Majesty Catherine the Great; carefully arranged for three and four Voices with complete Music attached to many.* Part One. Published 1795, Moscow, in the Printing-office of Selivanovsky.

[29] "There is hardly any doubt that this three-voice *kant* [song] was sung by the Masons of Catherine's time and in this respect it is of great historical interest, since the musical part of the Russian Masonic ritual is almost completely unknown and in any case has not been investigated . . .": N.F. Findeyzen, *Ocherki*, vol. II, pt. 6, p. 296.

[30] See Mooser, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 622.

[31] I.D. Gerstenberg, *Karmannaya kniga dlya lyubiteley muzyki na 1795 god* (St. Petersburg, 1795), pp. 5–6.

[32] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 17.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

[40] *Ibid.*

[41] *Ibid.*, pp. 47–48.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[43] *Harvard Dictionary of Music,* Willi Apel, ed., 2nd rev. ed. (London, 1970), pp. 26–27.

Some Thoughts Upon Editing the Music of Carl Nielsen

By Mina Miller

Slightly more than a decade ago, *Current Musicology* devoted a substantial portion of two issues[1] to a topic of direct concern to musicians and musical historians—the functions and interrelationships of musicology and performance. Those articles remain valuable in documenting differing views of the discipline, as well as common concerns for the ways in which the resources and tools of both areas can be used to complement each other. One direct application of this synthesis is the preparation of musical editions. Although many scholars share the belief that the most valuable musical editions are those which combine musicological analysis with interpretive data for performers, surprisingly few critical editions successfully achieve such integration in their treatment of musicological and performance-related questions. This may be explained, in part, by the fact that no editorial method has yet been made explicit for simultaneously addressing the perspectives of the musical historian and the performer.

Recently, this writer completed a critical revised edition of the collected piano works of Carl Nielsen (1865–1931), replacing the earlier editions whose copyrights expired in 1982, fifty years after the composer's death.[2] The purpose of this article is to describe my effort to develop an editorial method that merged analytic tools from a number of domains—the musicological, the theoretical, and the aesthetic—and to illustrate its application to a specific body of music.

In many of Nielsen's musical works, numerous and significant discrepancies exist between the original manuscripts and published editions. Discrepancies involving dynamics, articulation, phrasing, and interpretive markings, as well as frequent cases of apparently misprinted notes, can be found in nearly all of the compositions, including the major orchestral, chamber, dramatic, and vocal works. Such inconsistencies and ambiguities, however, are particularly striking in Nielsen's compositions for solo instruments, especially the works for violin and for solo piano. In many cases these discrepancies have not only led to technical and interpretive problems, but have also had the effect of obscuring Nielsen's musical ideas and compositional style.

Several factors can help to explain these inconsistencies. Nielsen's biographers and intimate associates have noted that he was a notoriously bad proofreader and often failed to detect inadvertant errors made by his publishers. It is likely, in addition, that Nielsen's intense involvement in conducting, teaching, and performing further limited his ability to oversee the printing of his works. Evidence also exists that when Nielsen was under severe time constraints, related to his work or health, he often entrusted the proofreading of his scores to his associates. It is known, for example, that the

composer's son-in-law, violinist Emil Telmanyi, and pianist Henrik Knudsen, accepted this responsibility.[3]

In the case of the piano music, there is the additional fact that Nielsen, himself not an accomplished pianist, frequently allowed performers of his day to introduce their own modifications. In this way, the Danish pianists Henrik Knudsen (1873–1946), Alexander Stoffregen (1884–1966), and Christian Christiansen (1884–1955) are known to have had important influence in the shaping of Nielsen's piano works. In several cases there is evidence that changes made by these individuals were incorporated in the first editions of the piano works without the composer's awareness or acknowledgement.[4]

This background made it clear that a revised critical edition of Nielsen's piano works would require an editorial approach serving the needs of both the music historian and the performer. It soon became evident, however, that no formal editorial method had been made explicit for simultaneously addressing these perspectives. Building on the premise that a critical edition must be faithful to the composer's ideas not only in the accuracy of its musical notation, but also in the consistency of its approach to historical, philosophical, and technical considerations in each work's interpretation, I developed an editorial method consisting of a three-step process involving the following analytic procedures:

1. Comparison of all manuscript and published scores for each composition, and identification of discrepancies in musical notation, performance and interpretive markings, and introductory notes and comments.
2. Completion of a performance analysis for each composition, identification of problems of performance, and determination of the relationship of each problem to questions of manuscript verification.
3. Revision of the musical score for each composition, using methods of theoretical and historical analysis to establish criteria for preserving or re-establishing a correspondence to the composer's original intentions.

The critical revision of the Nielsen piano works was complicated by the fact that primary source materials were often missing or incomplete. Of the ten published piano works, complete pencil and ink autographs are known to exist for only one composition, the *Chaconne*, Op. 32.[5] Complete ink autographs have been located for only five of the compositions, and this modest figure includes a facsimile of the ink autograph of the *Festival Prelude* which appeared on the front page of the Danish newspaper *Politiken* on 1 January 1901. However, because the original copy of the newspaper was poorly preserved, the document's single remaining microfilm offered only a poor reproduction of the source. Primary source material for Nielsen's first published piano work, the *Five Piano Pieces*, Op. 3, is limited to the composer's fragmentary sketches and incomplete pencil autograph.[6] No autographs are known to exist for the *Theme with Variations*, Op. 40, a major work which closely paral-

lels Nielsen's *Fourth Symphony* in its harmonic technique and tonal design. The limitations imposed by these fragmentary original sources exacerbated a problem resulting from the absence of printer's copies for the first edition of the piano compositions.

Because printer's copies were not known to exist, Nielsen's ink autographs, when available, were generally regarded as an important source of evidence of the composer's final intentions. These manuscripts, nonetheless, contained numerous ambiguities and inconsistencies in their musical notation and interpretive markings, as well as in their indications of phrasing, articulation, and dynamics. The state of the manuscripts added to the importance of a method which did not place an exclusive or unquestioning reliance on autograph sources, but which also attempted to establish Nielsen's intentions through evidence provided by historical and archival materials, and with the insights of scholars and musicians possessing direct knowledge of Nielsen and his work.

Often the ink autographs did serve an arbiter's function in reaching editing decisions. While the indications and notation of the ink autographs were restored in a large number of instances, it should be emphasized that these decisions were not made arbitrarily, but rather on the careful consideration of each question in individual terms. In many cases, elements were retained from a work's pencil autograph or its first edition on the basis of specific evidence that these versions most accurately represented Nielsen's wishes for the musical point in question.

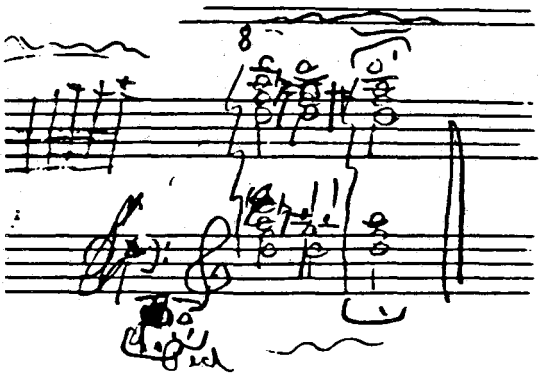
For those works for which no ink autograph or only fragments of one could be located, serious difficulties were often encountered in establishing Nielsen's final intentions and in documenting the authenticity of the first published edition. For these pieces, the first published edition had to be considered as representative of the composer's final intentions.

Each revised musical score was accompanied by extensive annotations demonstrating the application of this editorial method by reference to specific questions of notation and interpretation in the music. Considerable discretion was needed, though, in governing the scope of these annotations. A detailed explanation of every mechanical detail of the editorial process would have seemed pedantic and would have added little to the insight of scholars or performers. Three types of editorial issues, however, did seem of central importance: the existence of ambiguities in the resolution of discrepancies between original manuscripts and previous printed scores; the presence of major performance problems; and the existence of data which could contribute to an understanding of a work's aesthetic, historical or intellectual context. The musical examples below are intended to illustrate the ways in which these issues dictated the inclusion of annotations.

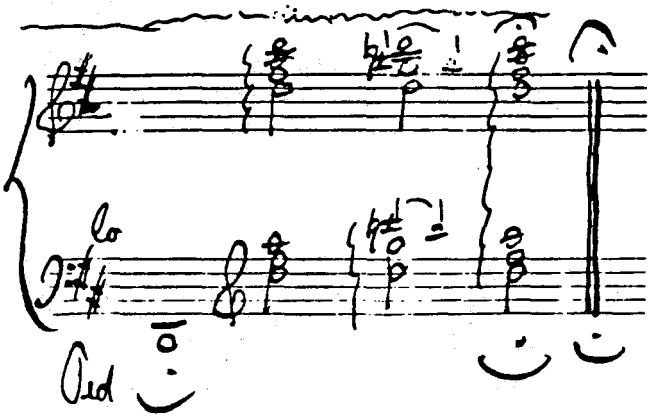
Discrepancies between Nielsen's manuscripts and published scores often represented simple and minor printing errors which could be resolved on the basis of historical and musical research with relative certainty of the composer's original intentions. Where this was clearly the case, it seemed appropriate to correct these errors in the revised score with little or no discussion in

the critical commentary. In other instances, however, these modes of analysis still left substantial doubt concerning Nielsen's intended notations and interpretive indications.

An illustration of this type of problem can be seen in Example 1, which contains the closing chords of the *Chaconne* as they appeared in the original autographs and in the first published edition. As Examples 1a and 1b illustrate, the pencil and ink autographs differ in several minor respects. One of these involves the registration of the bass tone D. In the pencil autograph, Nielsen had originally written this D in the treble clef, but later crossed out the tone and set it in the bass clef, three octaves lower. The ink autograph is far from definitive, containing a "lo" indication so far to the left of the tone in question that it might also have been intended simply as a reminder of the general shift in register from the preceding treble figuration.

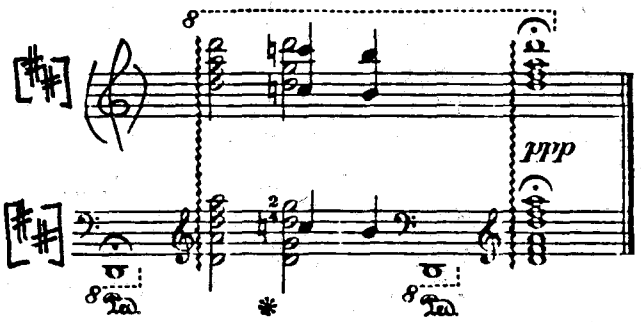


Example 1a. Carl Nielsen, *Chaconne*, Op. 32 (1916). Facsimile of pencil autograph, Coda: m. 202



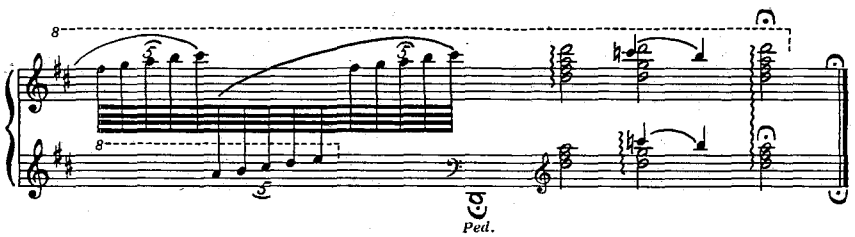
Example 1b. Facsimile of ink autograph, coda: m. 202

An examination of the indications in the first published edition further complicates the matter (Example 1c). The printed score departs dramatically from both of the autographs by its fuller chords and by its inclusion of an additional low D. Historical evidence exists to indicate that the additional bass tone in the first edition was an incorporation of modifications made by pianist Alexander Stoffregen in his première performance of the work.[7]



Example 1c. First published edition, coda: m. 202
(*Chaconne for Piano-Forte*, Op. 32, Copenhagen & Leipzig: Edition Wilhelm Hansen /16732/, 1917, 17 pp.)

In order to represent Nielsen's intentions, it therefore seemed necessary to incorporate elements of both manuscript versions. The choice to restore the pencil autograph's D, an octave higher than the ink manuscript's tone, is illustrated in Example 1d. This decision was heavily based on the fact that the pencil autograph contained the least ambiguous evidence of Nielsen's intention. The registration, in addition, returned to the *Chaconne*'s opening pitch, and was seen as contributing to the aesthetic and theoretical symmetry suggested by Nielsen's re-establishment in the final measures of the work's initial simplicity of structure.



Example 1d. Critical Revised Edition by Mina Miller (Copenhagen: Edition Wilhelm Hansen /4381/, 1982, 34 pp.)

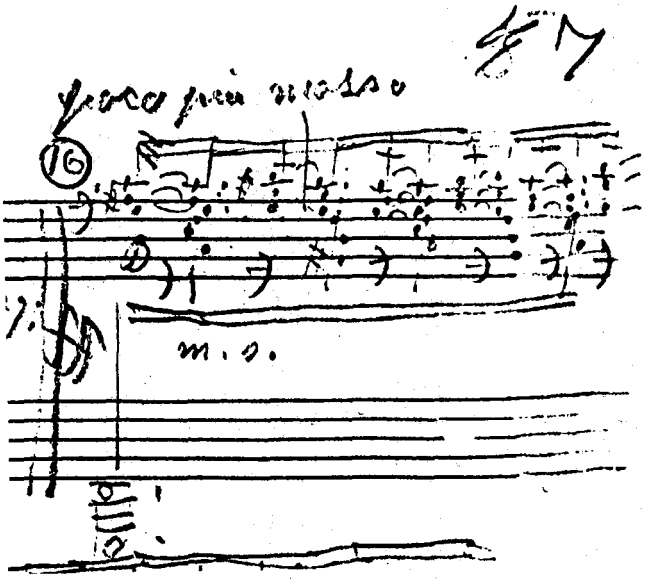
The second criterion—the presence of major performance problems—called attention to the fact that Nielsen was not a pianist and that his piano works revealed little evidence of an excessive concern on his part with limitations of the idiom or of pianistic technique. This magnified the importance of resolving ambiguities resulting from Nielsen's unconventional and frequently unidiomatic style and of discussing performance–related questions in a work's critical notes. Nielsen's own aesthetic ideas, and his conception of the performer's role, were important reference points in this task where historical, theoretical, and technical questions often converged.

Many performance problems in Nielsen's piano music were related to his limited number of performance markings and to his often fragmentary indications of phrasing and articulation. The lack of detail in many of the manuscripts' performance indications seemed consistent with Nielsen's often-stated belief that interpretive decisions, especially those involving the creation of sonoral effects, should be left to the performer.[8] This interpretive freedom, however, places added responsibilities on the pianist, and makes it especially important for the performer to gain a sense of the works as whole units within which decisions can be made with coherence and consistency.

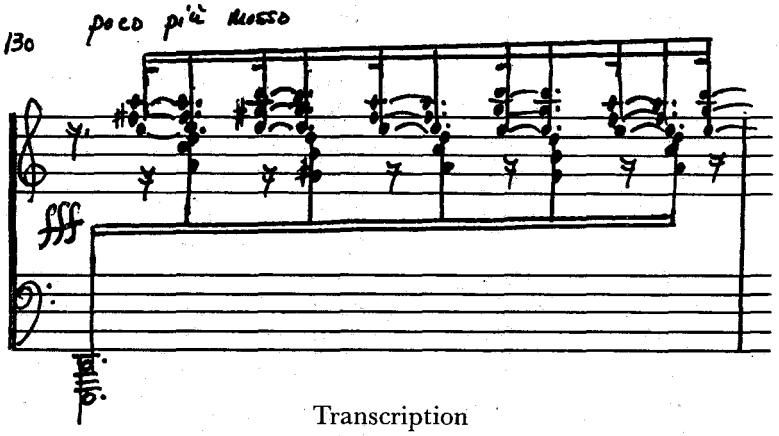
Example 2 illustrates different manuscript versions of the *Chaconne*'s sixteenth variation. The *Chaconne*, as a whole, contains numerous problems of sound and articulation, and these are intensified in variations sixteen and seventeen, the dramatic climax of the work. These variations are set apart from the work as a whole by their *fff* dynamic level, by their homophonic texture, and by their intense harmonic dissonance. In order to maintain the work's continuity through these variations, the pianist must clearly articulate the melodic thread of the chaconne theme which is set, in these two variations, amid a burst of sound.

Nielsen's notation in the autographs offers insight into the desired articulation and sonority in the passage. In the pencil autograph (Example 2a), Nielsen notated the shifting treble chords of these variations on a single staff, calling attention to the harmonic dissonance resulting from the overlapping sonorities. This notation required a sixteenth-note rest in the lower treble voice in order to maintain the measure's rhythmic structure. It also emphasized the variation's predominant rhythmic motive—a thirty-second note followed by a dotted-sixteenth note. Later, in the ink autograph (Example 2b), Nielsen notated these variations on three staves in what was perhaps an attempt to simplify the reading of the variation. The sixteenth-note rests in Nielsen's pencil manuscript, however, offer the pianist a visual reminder of the technique required to execute the passage. In order to produce the intense, jagged, and biting sounds which the variation requires, the pianist must combine a swift wrist action with maximum freedom of the hand. Such leverage between the hands, essential to a convincing articulation, is likely to emerge from the pencil autograph's rhythmic notation.

A further examination of this variation's pencil autograph reveals Nielsen's use of double stemming for the bass voice. The bass in variation sixteen consists of a complete restatement of the original chaconne theme. This nota-



Pencil autograph

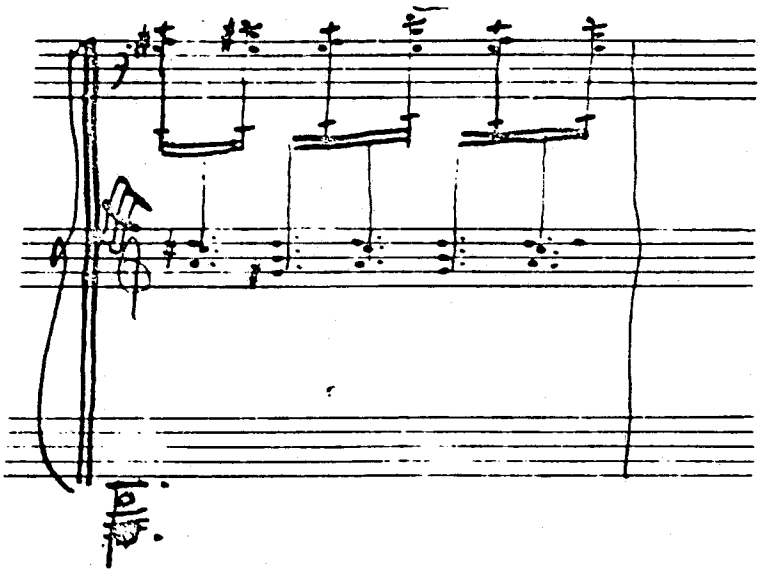


Transcription

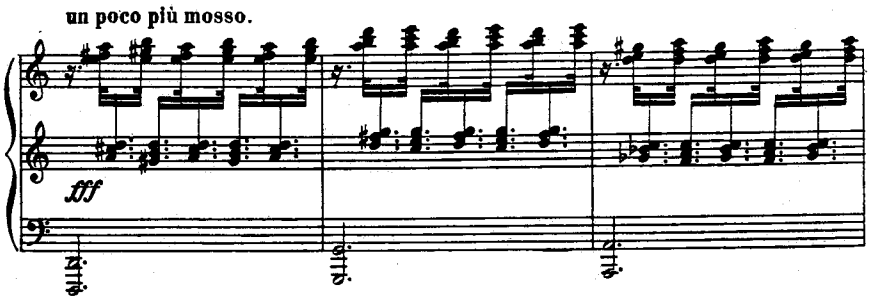
Example 2a. *Chaconne*, Variation 16, m. 130

tion, far more than the ink autograph's indication of this line on a separate staff, illuminates the relation of the bass to the whole.

Because of the chordal activity in the upper voices, the sustaining of the bass tones as indicated requires the use of the pedal. Nielsen, however, provided no pedal indications for this section of the *Chaconne*, leaving the pianist to make important decisions about the production of sound. From the notation in the pencil autograph, a case can be made for sustaining pedal for the duration of the bass tones, thereby maximizing the coloristic potential of the



Example 2b. Facsimile of ink autograph, m. 130



Example 2c. First published edition, mm. 130–33
(Based on ink autograph)

overlapping dissonant sonorities. Such a recommendation was made in the work's critical notes, following a detailed analysis of the performance problem.

This example demonstrates the function, both for pianists and historians, of critical analysis in passages where major problems for performance were found to exist. Recommendations for performance, in most cases, were not simply mechanical solutions for the execution of a musical passage, but rather a set of approaches designed to provide the pianist with a framework for combining the appropriate technical and interpretive considerations. Historical data and musical illustrations were included in these annotations

when they were likely to enhance the pianist's understanding of the context in which the performance problems occurred.

A third major issue in compiling the critical commentary involved the existence of data which could contribute to an understanding of a work's aesthetic, historical, and intellectual contexts. Historical data, Nielsen's original writings, and the insights of Nielsen's surviving students and associates often provided clues to the composer's conception of his piano works in general and to his use of distinctive stylistic techniques in specific compositions and passages. In the case of the *Chaconne*, for example, it is important both historically and pianistically that Nielsen made a conscious effort to directly model the work's structural elements on the form of the Baroque chaconne. Awareness of this fact is vital to a perspective in which the pianist, confronting a number of technical and interpretive decisions, might be able to grasp the aesthetic issues implied by Nielsen's combination of twentieth-century idioms within traditional structural dimensions. In an unpublished letter to his daughter Irmelin,[9] the composer discussed his intention of modelling this work after the Bach *Chaconne* for solo violin. Because this valuable information is inconspicuous and its source relatively inaccessible, neither the performer nor the musicologist would be likely to become aware of this relation unless there were an editorial reference. As a result, information relating to such musical and historical contexts was annotated and discussed in the critical commentary when it was felt that it might contribute to an understanding of specific passages or their interpretation.

Similarly, it seemed clear that a number of interpretive markings, even when represented accurately in printed scores, could be placed in a helpful perspective offered, in part, by Nielsen's ideas on musical expression and the performer's role. The closing measures of the *Theme with Variations*, for example, were indicated by Nielsen with the Italian adjective *"ubbriaco"*—an unusual if not cryptic performance designation when taken only in its literal meaning of "drunk" or "intoxicated." However, in a letter to his friend, Professor Julius Röntgen, Nielsen describes the spirit in which he concluded this work and these remarks illuminate the architectural plan of the work as a whole. Nielsen's vision in the concluding variation, was of a "desperate defense of a man fighting with his back against an iceberg, who in the end staggers away as if drunk or stunned by the fight."[10]

The composer's interpretive and aesthetic ideas must be considered not only in resolving questions surrounding details of notation and specific indications, but also, at a broader level, in maintaining an overall editorial strategy which is coherent in its reflection of the composer's known musical philosophy. Throughout his musical career, Nielsen expressed a commitment to maximizing the performer's interpretive freedom. This fact served as a guide both for the formulation of general editorial policies and for the subsequent resolution of specific manuscript problems. The critical revisions, for example, retain most of Nielsen's broadly-implied performance indications rather than attempting to expand these often inconclusive markings. Similarly, the revised editions contain minimal fingering indica-

tions. Fingerings, as a rule, were inserted only where they were linked to hand positions and compositional structures distinctive to the individual works.

In summary, the editing of a musical composition involves factors that extend beyond the questions of historical and notational authenticity. An additional dimension of this task involves the identification of performance problems, and the proposal of appropriate technical-interpretive considerations for resolving these problems. This area, which often plays only a subordinate role in the editorial method, holds the potential of making scholarly editions relevant to a wider audience. Furthermore, data generated from seeking solutions to these questions can be of important structural significance to the revision itself.

Carl Nielsen's original manuscripts, combined with evidence from other primary sources, provide clues to the composer's musical thought and to the compositional process by which his conceptions were realized. Nielsen's autographs also serve to document his expressed concern about a complementarity between the roles of the composer and the performer. Awareness of these factors played an important role in the establishment of criteria for preserving or reestablishing a correspondence between the revised edition and Nielsen's original intentions. The analytic model developed here for the editorial use of manuscript sources is probably limited in its application to music from 1750 to the present. Within these boundaries, though, it is proposed as a vehicle for simultaneously addressing historical and performance-related questions.

NOTES

[1] See Nos. 14 (1972) and 15 (1973), "The Spheres of Music: Harmony and Discord," parts I and II.

[2] These works include the *Five Piano Pieces*, Op. 3 (1890); the *Symphonic Suite*, Op. 8 (1894); the *Humoresque Bagatelles*, Op. 11 (1897); the *Festival Prelude* (1900); the *Chaconne*, Op. 32 (1916); the *Theme with Variations*, Op. 40 (1917); the *Suite*, Op. 45 (1920); the *Three Piano Pieces*, Op. 59 (1928); and the *Piano Music for Young and Old*, vols. I and II, Op. 53 (1930). The critical revision of each work was published as a separate edition and in a volume of the collected works [see: *The Complete Solo Piano Music of Carl Nielsen* (Copenhagen: Edition Wilhelm Hansen, 1982)].

[3] Emil Telmanyi referred to Knudsen's assistance in his memoires: *Af en musikers billedbog* (Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag-Arnold Busck, 1978), p. 64. The violinist's own participation in this task was also described in his autobiography (p. 174), and in correspondence between Nielsen and members of his family.

[4] For a detailed analysis and discussion of such cases, see, for example, the *Historical Notes* and *Critical Commentary* of the *Chaconne*, the *Suite*, and the *Three Piano Pieces*.

[5] Complete pencil autograph: *Ciaconne*, Carl Nielsen Collection, mu. 6510. 1267 (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, n.d.), 12 p., 2°. Complete ink autograph: *Chaconne for Pianoforte*, Autograph Collection, X:90:2 (Stockholm: The Library of The Royal Swedish Academy of Music, n.d.), 15 p. and title page.

[6] Pencil sketch: in Carl Nielsen's sketch book, Carl Nielsen Collection, CII,10.7503.1161 (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, n.d.), 4 p. Incomplete pencil autograph: untitled, Carl Nielsen Collection, in *Diverse skitser og tidlige kompositioner*, CII,10.1957.1003-I (Copenhagen: The Royal Library, n.d.), 5 p., 2°.

[7] Rather elaborate evidence exists to explain this inconsistency. According to Nielsen biographer Torben Meyer, the additional bass D was related to Nielsen's general apprehension that the piece might be pianistically awkward, particularly in the coda. When the *Chaconne* was completed, Meyer states, Nielsen showed the composition to Christian Christiansen and asked him to practice it. Regarding the coda, Nielsen told Christiansen that if the passage didn't feel comfortable he was free to change it, also adding that he hoped that wouldn't be necessary because he had worked very hard on it. Christiansen found no need for change. Stoffregen, however, later inserted the additional bass tone. According to Meyer's account, Nielsen said to Stoffregen, "Yes, if you think so, just go ahead and insert it" (*Kunstneren og Mennesket* [Copenhagen: Nyt Nordisk Forlag-Arnold Busck, 1948], vol. II, p. 139). It is a well-established fact that Nielsen knew and accepted this change. Whether he liked the alteration, however, is far less certain. In a subsequent conversation with Emil Telmanyi, Nielsen is said to have expressed regret over this change in the score. Stoffregen, in a radio interview in August 1964, admitted to his mistake of adding the additional bass tone in his attempt to assimilate the work into a broad romantic tradition. Excerpts from this radio interview appear in a response to my article on Nielsen's piano works in *Dansk Musiktidsskrift*, 55 (November, 1980), pp. 55–59. See: Torben Herbøl, "Alexander Stoffregen om Carl Nielsens Chaconne for klaver," *Dansk Musiktidsskrift*, 55 (February, 1981), pp. 200–01.

[8] An example of the type of explicit recognition which Nielsen gave to the performer can be seen in his *Twenty Popular Songs* composed between 1917 and 1921. Nielsen included no phrase markings or dynamics in these songs, and explained in his preface that the pianist and singer should mold these elements according to their own interpretation of the meaning of the words.

[9] This letter, dated Copenhagen, 19 December 1916, was first brought to my attention by Professor Torben Schousboe, University of Copenhagen.

[10] Irmelin Eggert Møller and Torben Meyer, eds., *Carl Nielsens Breve* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel Nordisk Forlag, 1954), p. 197. [English translation by this author.]