articles

Haydn and Gellert: Parallels in Eighteenth-Century Music and Literature*

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During the 1780s, Haydn's approach to the symphony underwent a significant change. While one could look at this change simply as another step in the composer's stylistic development, it is possible that there was an important cause for transforming the symphony at this time. During the early '80s, Haydn's personal contacts and reading made him very much aware of the tenets of the Enlightenment. This can be seen in his association with persons such as Franz Sales von Greiner, Gottfried van Swieten, and Johann Caspar Lavater; by his attendance at literary salons which brought him into contact with Johann Baptist von Alxinger, Aloys Blumauer, Michael Denis, Lorenz Haschka, Tobias Philipp Gebler and Ignaz von Born;[1] and by his eventual membership in the Masonic Lodge "*Zur wahren Eintracht.*" As a result of these social and literary influences, it is entirely possible that Haydn revised his symphonic approach to bring it into line with the prevailing attitude towards literature. This attitude, very simply, was that literature should serve the goals of the Enlightenment. To be sure, a symphony has obvious limitations in achieving this aim, but there are, nevertheless, various ways in which it can. One could argue that the most notable change to the symphony in the mid-'80s was its new dramatic intelligibility, and that it is this, along with Haydn's new relationship with his audience, which places his late symphonies within the tradition of the Enlightenment.

If literature had a bearing on Haydn's symphonic writing, then one must be prepared to say which writers or literary trends influenced him. Traditionally, studies of this type have been of a general nature, looking at a body of works in relation to a "*Zeitgeist.*" This usually involves the comparison of notable contemporaries, and in the case of Haydn, Goethe comes readily to mind.[2] There is a pitfall here, however, and any attempt to compare Haydn and Goethe bears this out. Austria was very much behind Germany in its literature as a result of the strict censorship which lasted until about 1780. The works of Lessing, Wieland, Voltaire and others had for the most part been restricted in Austria, and with the lifting of strict censorship, the Viennese literary appetite was for the earlier literature of the Enlightenment rather than the contemporary literature which pointed towards Romanticism.[3] The concerns of the earlier writers of the Enlightenment were no longer those of Goethe's age. The attitude towards which Haydn gravitated was expressed by his fellow Freemason Aloys Blumauer in his extended essay *Beobachtungen über Oesterreichs Aufklärung und Literatur* (Wien, 1782). Here

Blumauer spoke of literature as a vehicle for the education or "enlightenment" of the people, and of the primary importance of dispelling superstition and intolerance.[4] The writer of the Enlightenment concerned himself with virtue, and a tacit connection was drawn between moral and intellectual development.[5]

Haydn's exposure to the circle of Viennese literati cited above had an important influence on his choice of books for his personal library.[6] Many of his books were by writers of the Enlightenment and some of those whose poems were set to music by Haydn include Gellert, Lessing, Gleim, Hagedorn, Bürger, Lichtwer, Gotter, and Ramler. Haydn's real preference was for mid-century writers, and his declared favorite was Christian Fürchtegott Gellert, the most popular writer of the mid-18th century. We have it on the authority of the Swedish diplomat Frederik Samuel Silverstolpe, who visited Haydn in 1797, that Haydn considered Gellert to be his hero.[7] As further evidence of Haydn's keen interest in Gellert we can look to Haydn's part-song settings of a number of Gellert's *Geistliche Oden und Lieder* or the fact that Haydn owned Gellert's complete works in a 1782 Viennese edition.[8]

That Haydn had much in common with Gellert did not escape the notice of his contemporaries. As early as 1766 the *Wiener Diarium* reported that, "in short, Haydn is that in the music which Gellert is in poetry."[9] Much later, in 1786, in a conversation between Dittersdorf and Joseph II, the two agreed that while Mozart could be compared with Klopstock, Haydn had more in common with Gellert.[10] The documentary evidence seems sufficient to merit an exploration of similarities between Haydn and Gellert, and this will be prefaced by first outlining some of Gellert's views on literature.

In Gellert's scheme of things, a special relationship existed between the writer and his reading public or audience. Gellert believed that literature should both educate and entertain, and that it should improve society in matters of morals, taste, and intellect, all of which were intimately bound together. But the room for improvement was relatively limited since the audience or society towards which Gellert directed his literature was not the common masses but rather a middle-class audience which was capable of understanding. The special relationship between writer and audience was that the two sustained each other: the writer appealed to a segment of society whose morals and intellect he believed to be exemplary, and the audience had its morals, intellect, and sense of taste reinforced by the writer's literary characters, situations, and moral writings. While this may seem a rather comfortable approach to morality, there is much more to it. The adulation of the middle class in literature around the middle of the eighteenth century was a significant step forward, and called for the formation of entirely new literary genres such as the sentimental comedy and the novel, both of which Gellert was instrumental in developing. Furthermore, while virtue was always reinforced, it was possible to place virtuous characters in impossible situations where correct solutions did not exist. This happens more than once in Gellert's novel *Leben der Schwedischen Gräfin*, in which characters necessarily commit evil regardless of the options they choose. This type of liter-

ary situation both challenges the intellect and addresses a fundamental issue of the Enlightenment, that of intolerance. By showing that a solution may not exist, the writer is demonstrating a need for tolerance and is repudiating dogmatism. The same general literary situation could then be applied to ideas, beliefs, religion or politics.

Although Gellert directed his works towards a specific audience, he nevertheless was a "populist," believing his literature should be accessible to all. The new genres were, in effect, the result of developing a new literary language, one which had a "natural" sense about it and was derived from the middle class.[11] Gellert believed his works should have a sense of universal applicability and in this respect their prime function was to express and impart lasting values.[12] A literary work would achieve its lasting value through its didactic approach and consequently would be of use to the world in making it a better place. This view was also put forward by Sulzer, who saw the writer in his *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* as an educator, prophet and benefactor to the nation.[13] At the center of Gellert's concept of betterment was his emphasis on taste. For Gellert and the eighteenth century, taste was not the ephemeral thing it is for our century. It embraced reason, feeling, virtue, and morals, and consequently was the cornerstone of social relevance. In his own words, taste is, "*eine richtige, geschwinde Empfindung, vom Verstande gebildet*" ("a genuine, immediate feeling, shaped by intellect").[14] A particular type of taste was "*moralischer Geschmack*," and to cultivate this he presented portrayals of moral characters. Sketches of moral characters were commonplace in the Enlightenment, appearing profusely in the moral weeklies which abounded in France, Germany, and England.[15] Of course it was possible to portray evil characters as well, but in teaching virtue, their use was severely limited because only their negative characteristics could be shown. In plays, both virtue and vice would be present in different characters in order for drama to exist.

Taste serves to balance between feeling and reason, and when also applied to a work of art, taste must arbitrate between impulsive expression and artistic rules.[16] In an age which spawned Anacreontic poetry, rules were to be taken seriously. Gellert's view, which closely resembled Pope's in the *Essay on Criticism*, was that the creation of great works of art precedes the rules, and hence, the rules are derived from the works themselves. While a knowledge of the rules was essential to the artistic process, an assiduous following of them would probably yield nothing more than a dull, insipid work. Each work demands its own rules and the rules will be determined by the conditions of the work.[17]

In tailoring his works to fit the sensibilities of his middle-class audience, Gellert needed to avoid certain traditional literary types as well as achieve certain balances. The sentimental comedy avoided that which was heroic or tragic or had other aristocratic leanings, using language, characters, and situations appropriate to the humbler classes. Similarly, farce and comedy of ridicule were avoided although it was still common to include silly characters who could be contrasted with virtuous characters. The extent to which silli-

ness and laughter were permissible sparked considerable debate, and Gellert's view was that while decorum should prevail, laughter should not necessarily be excluded.[18]

The middle class saw itself as the purveyor of morality, but being politically confined, its emphasis was placed on the family circle and small social gatherings. Its authority expanded from there to learned societies, clubs and secret organizations such as Masonic Lodges, which saw themselves as defenders of virtue against a negatively perceived aristocracy.[19] Gellert was a deeply religious person but the important religious goals became intertwined with those of the Enlightenment and found their more convincing expression in secular forms. The final aim of this entire process of education, refinement of taste, and moral instruction was a more dignified and happy life. Along the way certain balances were perceived as being necessary including those between imagination and reason, and between heart and mind.[20] A work of art should be both instructional and entertaining: if it failed to entertain, its didactic purpose would probably be ignored. While one should strive for unity, diversity was essential, and, in fact, various writers such as Lessing and Blumauer did not believe unity was possible to achieve.[21] A contrived unity, then, was unsatisfactory; a much higher form of unity was an ability to allow conflicting forces to coexist.

While there appears to be no specific documentation of a declaration by Haydn concerning his subscribing to the goals of the Enlightenment, his various related remarks and musical approaches in the 1780s and thereafter provide a very substantial substitute. Like Gellert much earlier, Haydn consciously appealed to a new audience in the '80s, one which did not exclude the aristocracy but nevertheless an audience in which the aristocracy simply constituted one part rather than being at the center. This new audience consisted of the concert societies, and its core was the middle or upper middle class. In Haydn's symphonies, the most notable change occurred with the Paris Symphonies which were commissioned by the *Concert de la Loge Olympique*.[22] The commission from this Masonic organization came precisely at the time of Haydn's dealings with the Viennese Lodge "*Zur wahren Eintracht*," and it does not seem an unreasonable assumption that Haydn may have taken the opportunity to present works with a particularly humanitarian appeal. This is not to suggest there is anything directly "Masonic" about these works. Rather, the connection is indirect in that Freemasons were advocates of the Enlightenment, subscribers to the new morality and intellectual independence.

Haydn's own initiation to Freemasonry took place early in 1785, and prior to that event he wrote the following comment to the secretary of the Lodge: "The highly advantageous impression which Freemasonry has made on me has long awakened in my breast the sincerest wish to become a member of the Order, with its humanitarian and wise principles."[23] This statement seems a better indicator of Haydn's interest in Freemasonry than the fact that he did not attend any meetings after his initiation, particularly in the light of the fact that the dissolution of the Viennese Lodges began shortly

thereafter. In some respects the Masonic Lodges were not unlike the literary salons. In fact, it has been argued that Ignaz von Born succeeded in turning the Lodge "*Zur wahren Eintracht*" into a type of fashionable club for supporters of the Enlightenment.[24]

Haydn's interest in the middle class involved much more than the necessity of coming to grips with the new European audience. His own strongest inclinations were to be an active participant in the new middle- to upper-middle-class way of life. His circle of friends in Vienna points to this: the Genzinger family, Greiner, Swieten and others were active in the new order, and through these persons Haydn was drawn into Viennese society and the musical and literary salons. As his letters to Maria Anna von Genzinger attest, one of his favorite pastimes was the small social gatherings which involved good food, conversation, and music.[25] The importance of the family circle was also of concern to Haydn. It was in this milieu that values were cultivated, and the thought that his music could have a role here gave him particular pleasure. In a letter to Jean Phillip Krüger of the *Musikverein* in Bergen, he wrote, "you happily persuade me . . . that I am often the enviable means by which you, and so many other families sensible of heartfelt emotion, derive, in their homely circle, their pleasure—their enjoyment."[26]

The type of musical composition ideally suited for small social gatherings was the string quartet. In issuing the Op. 33 Quartets in 1781, Haydn wrote to potential subscribers that these quartets were "written in a new and special way."[27] One of those who received this notice was Johann Caspar Lavater, a notable figure of the Swiss Enlightenment whose works on physiognomy, religious and political subjects, and collections of aphorisms were read widely. In fact, in the same correspondence, Haydn pointed out that he loved and happily read Lavater's works.[28] Haydn's claim about this set of quartets has been dismissed by some writers as mere sales promotion.[29] That something genuinely new does happen in these works, however, is most convincingly demonstrated by Charles Rosen.[30] It involves the new ability of the accompanying voices to carry the thematic or melodic material, giving all voices equal importance in the makeup of the whole. The often witty exchanges between the parts in these and other quartets are compared by Rosen to the conscious cultivation by the eighteenth century of the art of conversation.[31] The social implications in these musical procedures could suggest that Haydn's reference to "a new and special way" could have another meaning, one which places these works in the context of the Enlightenment. The music places four intelligent persons in a "harmonious" setting, sharing both an intellectual and heartfelt experience. The ability to share and exchange the important material offers a strong sense of unified purpose, one in which the player is both aware of his individual importance and the role he plays in creating the whole. In a very real way, then, the quartet becomes a realization of the highest goal of the Enlightenment.

In aiming towards the new audience not only do Haydn's works of this time pursue a new dramatic intelligibility but the musical language itself is revised. Just as Gellert developed a more natural language, Haydn's later

works draw on source material which makes them more accessible to the humbler classes. In first movements of late symphonies, for example, one finds many themes derived from folk sources, frequently folk dances (in the case of allegro themes), and even folk and ecclesiastical sources for some slow introductions.[32] As well as giving these symphonies a more universal appeal, this material provides another basis for expressing the dramatic polarities present in these movements. With the greater use of folk-like themes, there is also a decrease in thematic material which could be said to have a "heroic" quality. Haydn's "populist" approach and wish for his works to be universally accessible receive further verification in his letter to William Forster concerning the *Seven Last Words*: "Each Sonata, or rather each setting of the text, is expressed only by instrumental music, but in such a way that it creates the most profound impression even on the most inexperienced listener."[33] Central to the thought of the writer of the Enlightenment was the belief that the work of art should have a role in the betterment of society and, in Gellert's framework, to do this very directly. Haydn's remark to his biographer Georg August Griesinger on this subject is very strong: "I also believe I have done my duty and have been of use to the world through my works."[34] Gellert's preoccupation with taste, moral characters, and rules are also addressed by Haydn. The context in which Haydn uses the word "taste" in his famous remark to Leopold Mozart suggests special significance, since Haydn singles out taste along with knowledge of composition in declaring Mozart to be the greatest composer known to him.[35] Haydn made this statement precisely at the time of his Masonic initiation, and it is quite possible that he was using the word "taste" in its correct context, implying those qualities of judgment and intellect so fundamental to the Enlightenment.

In view of Haydn's belief that his works were of use to the world, a crucial question must be asked: can a symphony address issues similar to those of a literary work and hence be of use in bettering society? The symphonist must, of course, rely on means other than those of the playwright, but he is, one could argue, no less a dramatist. In presenting a drama using strictly musical material and developing in an intelligible way which can be followed if one listens reflectively, the composer is not only presenting an intellectual challenge (which in itself fulfills a goal of the Enlightenment), but is also making the assiduous listener aware of a universal truth. The question of what meaning was possible to convey in symphonies was raised by Haydn's biographers, and the reply to Griesinger was that "he oftentimes had portrayed moral characters in his symphonies."[36] The choice of the precise term used by Gellert and the moral weeklies was not coincidental. While it is possible that Haydn may have intended particular movements (especially slow ones) as musical portrayals of moral characters, it seems more probable that his remark was intended in a general sense—indicating that morality in the Enlightenment sense was central to his symphonies.

Haydn's awareness of morality or virtue in the Enlightenment context was by no means confined to his knowledge of Gellert's works or those of other literati. One of the earliest influences on Haydn was Johann Mattheson's

Der vollkommene Capellmeister (1739). Haydn acquired this text at a formative age, and while he found the exercises dry and dull, he nevertheless worked out all of the examples in the book.[37] In the process of studying this text, he undoubtedly encountered Mattheson's ideas concerning affect and rhetoric. Mattheson is not only important to the music historian but he also played a crucial role in the development of the moral weeklies. The first of the moral weeklies in Germany, *Der Vernünfftler,* published in Hamburg in 1713 and 1714, aspired to be a German equivalent of the works by Addison and Steele, and in fact many of the articles were direct translations from *The Spectator* or *The Tatler.* The editor of this journal was none other than Johann Mattheson,[38] and the moral thought propagated in *Der Vernünfftler* is still very much evident in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister.* In Part I, Chapter 3, Mattheson makes the following statement concerning the purpose of music: "For it is the true purpose of music to be, above all else, a moral lesson [*Zucht-Lehre*]."[39]

While Haydn's comments on rules are not systematic as is the case with Gellert, he nevertheless states the same point of view. A narrow adherence to rules would, he believed, yield works devoid of taste and feeling.[40] But there was a balance: "Once I had seized upon an idea, my whole endeavor was to develop and sustain it in keeping with the rules of art,"[41] implying that the rules relate to the context of the work but in no way determine the work. Griesinger further notes that strict theoreticians took exception to Haydn's comic fooling and that Haydn was not particularly put off by this. Comic gestures such as the "great bassoon joke" of Symphony No. 93 or the "clucking" theme in Symphony No. 83 could be accommodated in the same way that Gellert believed laughing should not be completely restricted. In fact, the fusion of comic and serious elements allowed the new sentimental genre to find its distinctive tone, and one can see Haydn operating on this principle.

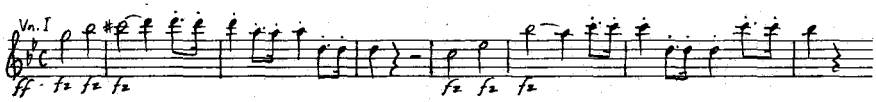
Like Gellert, whose religious thoughts were frequently given secular expression, there was no doubt in Haydn's mind that religious truths could sometimes be expressed best through non-religious means. He argued this point vehemently in his letter to Charles Ochl, refuting the claim by the parish priest of St. Johann that *The Creation* was a desecration of the Church:

> The story of the creation has always been regarded as most sublime, and as one which inspires the utmost awe in mankind. To accompany this great occurence [*sic*] with suitable music could certainly produce no other effect than to heighten these sacred emotions in the heart of the listener, and to put him in a frame of mind where he is most susceptible to the kindness and omnipotence of the Creator.—And this exaltation of the most sacred emotions is supposed to constitute desecration of a church? . . . No church has ever been desecrated by my *Creation.*[42]

Concerning the usefulness of his works to the world, Haydn offered some clarification of this in his letter to the *Musikverein* in Bergen: "There are so few happy and contented peoples here below; grief and sorrow are always

their lot; perhaps your labours [his own works] will once be a source from which the care-worn, or the man burdened with affairs, can derive a few moments' rest and refreshment."[43] The subject here, like that for Gellert, is happiness, and if it cannot be possessed, at least moments of it should be permitted.

While the biographical material presents strong "circumstantial" evidence that the symphonies of or after 1785 can serve the goals of the Enlightenment, the burden of proof must lie with the works themselves. This "enlightening" function of the symphony is achieved through the dramatic process apparent primarily in first movements but in other movements as well. Symphony No. 83 is an early and very fine example of the new procedures with Haydn's new dramatic approach particularly evident in the first movement.[44] Much more so than for any earlier symphony, the listener is now put in a position of having to remember details and relating that which has been heard to new events. The intellectual challenge begins with the material of the first two measures, and a problem which is presented in these measures remains at issue throughout the movement. Haydn condenses the dramatic problem into four thematic notes, offering something epigrammatic upon which the listener can easily seize. The problem, very simply, is this: the first measure suggests a tonic triad figure but the strong beat of the second measure gives a raised fourth degree before the expected tonic frame note is reached.

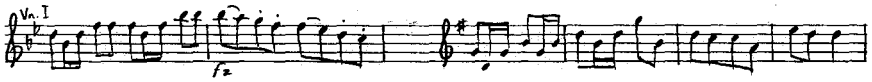


Example 1: mm. 1–8

In symphonies both before and after 1785 a figure arpeggiating the tonic triad was a very normal way for the first theme of the first movement to begin. The effect is one of considerable stability and the usage of this type of figure in a newly-heard work creates an expectation of the same type of stability. It is, however, less likely for Haydn's initial minor themes to be stable, and in the case of No. 83 he chooses to emphasize a tritone rather than a fifth. The result is a type of dissonance, a broken diminished chord emphasized by forzato markings. The expected fifth arrives on a weaker beat without a forzato marking, and the arrival of consonance therefore takes a subordinate position to the dissonant figure. The dissonance and the consonance are, in a sense, superimposed upon each other in these four notes, setting up a duality or conflict within a very small thematic unit.

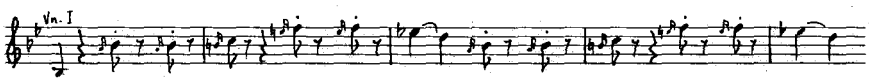
The dark character of this theme is clearly abandoned with the first theme in the relative major at m. 33 (Example 2a). Haydn now focuses on simple triadic material and further emphasizes stability by giving this theme a dance character, as can be seen in the comparison with the "Rutscher" in Ex.

2b.[45] The next theme, at m. 45, is even lighter in character and gives this work its epithet "La Poule" (Example 3). Before the exposition ends, however, there is further reflection on the unstable nature of the first theme as the figure at m. 59 again outlines a tritone and can also be heard as an inversion of the first variant of the first theme (Example 4). The first and last themes of the relative major, then, address the problem of the first epigrammatic theme.

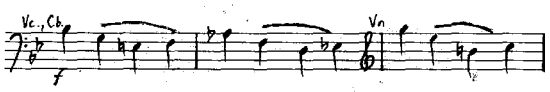


Example 2a: mm. 33–34

Example 2b: "Rutscher"



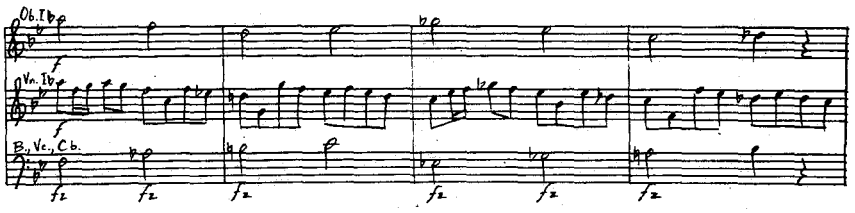
Example 3: mm. 45–49



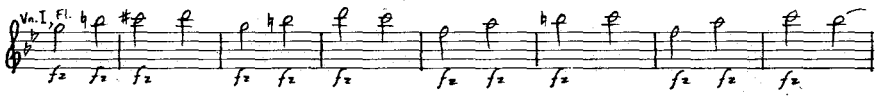
Example 4: mm. 59–61

In the development, Haydn uses a contrapuntal style which again is new in the symphonies.[46] The arrival of the counterpoint at m. 83 is emphasized by an abrupt change to *forte* and a fuller texture (Example 5). Two of the previous themes are readily apparent: the initial theme is in the lower strings and bassoon while the inverted theme is in the first oboe. The violin part between these suggests the rhythm of the dance theme but strictly follows the contour of the first oboe part. The bright dance theme seems to give way to the darker thematic material. The theme given in Ex. 3 is not present in the counterpoint and thus does not participate in the dramatic unfolding. Its role seems to have been that of comic relief, although it is integrated into the movement by the ubiquitous dotted rhythm that accompanies it. The treatment of the counterpoint here seems similar to those points in the ensembles of comic opera where characters are embroiled in conflict. Emerging from the counterpoint at m. 97 the problem of the opening of the work is again presented, now with both the problem and its apparent solution given in two-measure units (Example 6). In dramatic works it is not unusual to find intransigent opposing forces, such as Don Giovanni and Donna Anna in Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, and some other character with the capacity for change, such as Donna Elvira. Capacity for change is found in this development

section in the rhythmic violin part which gravitates towards the unstable thematic material at m. 83 but gradually returns to its original dance character towards the end of the development.



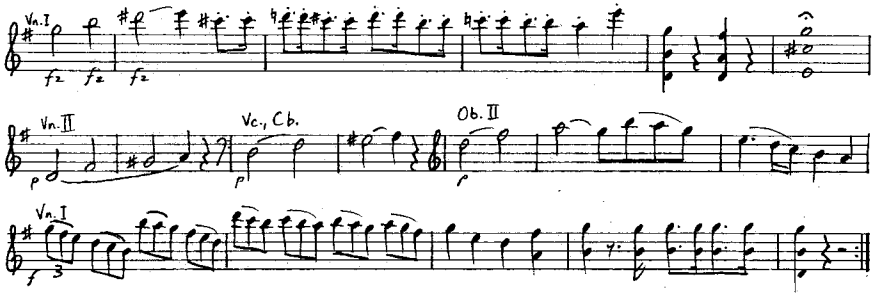
Example 5: mm. 83–86



Example 6: mm. 97–104

The recapitulation repeats the first sixteen measures of the work but then omits the second sixteen and proceeds with the dance theme, now in the tonic major. Some tension-generating material is therefore removed and the sense of stability is further emphasized by the fact that the dance theme at m. 146 outlines a root position triad rather than the first inversion found at m. 33. The particular treatment of the fermata at m. 181 (Example 7), demands the listener's attention, and the material which follows is of crucial dramatic significance to the preceding events. After the fermata Haydn gives two statements of the problem in two-measure units and follows this with the solution in the oboes at mm. 186–7. The reference to mm. 97–104 (Ex. 6) is clear and, as in various other late works, points to something earlier in the movement which may have escaped notice then but has become of central importance.

The conclusion of the movement (mm. 182–7) presents a solution, but within that solution the forces which generated the initial conflict are placed side by side in an antecedent and consequent relationship as they were earlier, yielding a compatible coexistence. Haydn can thus be seen to follow an approach consistent with that of Gellert and other writers of the Enlightenment. A work such as Symphony No. 83 demands both intellect and feeling from the audience, qualities which Haydn, no doubt, was confident his new audience had. By following the events of the first movement carefully, the listener would be engaged in a process of understanding, a process yielding a truth at the end. The forces used here are genuinely dramatic ones. In strictly musical terms, the opposition can be reduced to a conflict between stability and instability, a process not unlike that of any significant dramatic work.



Example 7: mm. 176–193

But instead of using characters or ideas or beliefs, the symphonist embodies his conflict in musical gestures, gestures which, in an archetypal way, adumbrate human conflict. In the conclusion of the first movement of Symphony No. 83, Haydn can be seen to be demonstrating a very fundamental yet difficult truth: that opposition is inevitable and the highest form of unity is not the one which eliminates conflict but rather is one in which opposing forces can coexist. The aspiration of the best minds of Haydn's age was tolerance, not dogmatism, and it is precisely this point which can be seen in many of Haydn's late symphonies.

The potential for understanding generated by a symphony could, in Haydn's scheme of things, yield an intellectual challenge, a lesson in taste, and virtue in the very highest sense. Haydn's statement that he had done his duty and been of use to the world through his works takes on a new meaning when his later works are subjected to the type of exegesis which has been attempted here. Very much in line with the thinking of Gellert and other advocates of the Enlightenment, Haydn saw the possibility that his works could play a role in the intellectual and moral betterment of mankind.

NOTES

* A version of this paper was read at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Ann Arbor, Michigan, November 1982.

[1] See Roswitha Strommer, "Wiener literarische Salons zur Zeit Joseph Haydns," *Joseph Haydn und die Literatur seiner Zeit*, Herbert Zeman, ed. (Eisenstadt, 1976), pp. 97–121.

[2] See for example Robert Sondheimer, *Haydn: A Historical and Psychological Study Based on his Quartets* (London, 1951), pp. 148 and 171.

[3] Strommer, pp. 97–121.

[4] Blumauer, *Beobachtungen*, p. 30.

[5] See Ladislaus Löb, *From Lessing to Hauptmann: Studies in German Drama* (London, 1974), p. 6.

[6] See Maria Hörwarthner, "Joseph Haydns Bibliothek—Versuch einer literarhistorischen Rekonstruktion," *Joseph Haydn und die Literatur seiner Zeit*, pp. 157–207.

[7] See H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. IV (London, 1977), p. 256.

[8] See Hörwarthner, p. 177.

[9] Landon, vol. II (London, 1978), p. 130.

[10] Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Lebensbeschreibung. Seinem Sohne in die Feder diktirt* (Leipzig, 1801), p. 213.

[11] See Eric Blackall, *The Emergence of German as a Literary Language, 1700–1775* (Cambridge, 1959), p. 204.

[12] See Heidrun Arnason, *Christian Fürchtegott Gellert's Literary-Critical Ideas* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Waterloo, 1976), p. 22.

[13] See Bruno Markwardt, *Geschichte der Deutschen Poetik*, vol. II (Berlin, 1956), p. 151.

[14] "Wie weit sich der Nutzen der Regeln in der Beredsamkeit und Poesie erstrecke," *Sämmtliche Schriften*, vol. V (Leipzig, 1769), p. 174.

[15] See Ute Schneider, *Der Moralische Charakter: Ein Mittel aufklärerischer Menschendarstellung in den frühen deutschen Wochenschriften* (Stuttgart, 1976), pp. 53–64; Wolfgang Martens, *Die Botschaft der Tugend: Die Aufklärung im Spiegel der deutschen Moralischen Wochenschriften* (Stuttgart, 1968), pp. 168–284; and Blackall, *The Emergence of German*, pp. 59–101.

[16] See Arnason, p. 36.

[17] Ibid, pp. 44–5, 48, and 55.

[18] See John Van Cleve, *Harlequin Besieged: The Reception of Comedy in Germany During the Early Enlightenment* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1978), pp. 187–9 and 209–10.

[19] Ibid., pp. 5–6.

[20] Arnason, p. 272.

[21] See Henry E. Allison, *Lessing and the Enlightenment* (Ann Arbor, 1966), p. 138; and Bärbel Becker-Cantarino, *Aloys Blumauer and the Literature of Austrian Enlightenment* (Bern, 1973), p. 15.

[22] One can, however, see the new procedures taking shape in symphonies of the previous five years and perhaps even earlier.

[23] *The Collected Correspondence and London Notebooks of Joseph Haydn*, H.C. Robbins Landon, ed. (London, 1959), p. 48.

[24] See Paul Bernard, *Jesuits and Jacobins: Enlightenment and Enlightened Despotism in Austria* (Urbana, 1971), p. 75.

[25] See for example the letter dated 9 February 1790 in *The Collected Correspondence*, pp. 96–8.

[26] Ibid., p. 209.

[27] Ibid., p. 33.

[28] Ibid., p. 32.

[29] This is summarized by Landon in *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. II, pp. 578–9.

[30] *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York, 1972), pp. 115–20.

[31] Ibid., p. 142.

[32] This is explored in detail in my article "Melodic Source Material and Haydn's Creative Process," *The Musical Quarterly* 68 (October 1982), pp. 496–515.

[33] *The Collected Correspondence*, p. 60.

[34] G.A. Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen über Joseph Haydn*, in *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits*, Vernon Gotwals, transl. and ed. (Madison, 1968), p. 56.

[35] *The Collected Correspondence*, p. 50.

[36] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, p. 62.

[37] A.C. Dies, *Biographische Nachrichten von Joseph Haydn*, in *Haydn: Two Contemporary Portraits*, p. 96.

[38] See Martens, *Die Botschaft der Tugend*, p. 24; Blackall, *The Emergence of German*, p. 60; and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, s.v. "Johann Mattheson," by Hans Turnow.

[39] Quoted in Hans Lenneberg, "Johann Mattheson on Affect and Rhetoric in Music," *Journal of Music Theory* 2 (April 1959), p. 51.

[40] Griesinger, *Biographische Notizen*, p. 13.

[41] Ibid., p. 61.

[42] *The Collected Correspondence*, p. 187.

[43] Ibid., p. 209.

[44] A more complete examination of this in Haydn's late symphonies will be presented in my forthcoming book on Haydn and the Enlightenment.

[45] The dance given for comparative purposes in Ex. 2b is a "Rutscher" found in F.M. Böhme, *Geschichte des Tanzes in Deutschland*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1886), p. 164.

[46] This was suggested in the symphonies of 1782–84 but these examples still lack the clear implications of No. 83.

Genesis of a Trio: The Chicago Manuscript of Fauré's Opus 120

By Denise Boneau

In January 1922, the publisher Durand approached Gabriel Fauré about writing a trio for violin, cello, and piano.[1] Eight months later (September 1922) Fauré was indeed writing a trio—for clarinet, cello, and piano.[2] Eight months after that, the new trio was performed for the first time at the Société nationale de musique by Robert Krettly, violin, Jacques Pathé, cello, and Tatiana Sansévitch, piano, on 12 May 1923, Fauré's 78th birthday.[3] Fauré apparently transformed Durand's original suggestion into a clarinet trio but eventually conformed to the original request.

While the location of autograph material for the first two movements of this trio, Fauré's Opus 120, remains unknown, the University of Chicago Library owns an autograph draft for the third movement which, because it differs from the final version, provides some insight into Fauré's creative processes. A description of the Chicago manuscript and a discussion of some structural aspects of the movement based on the sketch have been published recently.[4] The present article proposes to examine the manuscript in the light of the compositional process. As well as showing Fauré's way of thinking about musical structure, this sketch also provides insight into his choice of instrumentation and other aspects of the piece, such as meter, tempo, and the chronology of its composition.

The Chicago manuscript differs significantly from the published version of the piece in a considerable number of details.[5] Most obviously, the time signature and tempo of the published version have been changed from the 3/4 and ♩. = 88 of the manuscript to 3/8 and ♩. = 96. *Allegro molto vivo* in the manuscript has become *allegro vivo* in the edition. Some differences can be attributed to the manuscript's being a first draft. The manuscript lacks refined dynamic and expression markings and performance indications. Measures in which instruments do not play are blank, devoid of rests. The published version is slightly longer—417 measures instead of the 414 in the manuscript, because of the insertion of an additional three-measure phrase at the very end of the piece. From m. 403 to m. 414 of the published version, the same three-measure phrase is stated four times with growing intensity. In the manuscript this phrase is stated only three times. The significance of this detail will be shown below.

Frequent differences occur in the piano parts of the two versions. At the beginning of an arpeggiated section, a chord is sometimes struck and held through the entire measure in the published version but held for only one beat in the manuscript (see mm. 31, 34, 44, 46, and so on). The opposite occurs in mm. 52, 187, and 193, where the notes are held according to the manuscript but struck and released in the published edition. Yet these are superficial details and not crucial to the central issues raised by the manuscript.

Some of the seemingly superficial differences between the manuscript version and the published edition, upon further investigation, yield deeper insight into the compositional process. The most important of these occurs in m. 66, and again in m. 72.[6] In m. 66, the manuscript has a low F (below middle C) in the violin part (see Figure 1). In the published version, the F has become a B♭ , the root of the chord. In m. 72 of the manuscript, another low note appears, this time an F♯ . In the edition this note is an octave higher. Although it had been the lowest note in a descending line, an upward leap of a seventh is now called for to complete the phrase. Another seemingly superficial but significant difference is in the arpeggiated figures in the violin part near the end of the piece. While the harmony is the same in each case in both versions, the figuration differs (see mm. 265 and 390). The lack of doublestops in the manuscript until the very end is noticeable, too.

In Fauré's manuscript the measures are numbered throughout at the end of each page. Fauré ended up with a count of 415, but there are really 414 measures. On folio 4^{v} (Fauré's p. 5) he wrote the number 128 at the bottom, which was the correct total before he decided to cross out a measure (after m. 120) in the last system. With that measure deleted, the correct number at the bottom of the page should have been 127; thus the count is off by one measure throughout the rest of the manuscript. The change has a structural function, keeping the canonic theme in the violin and cello to six bars instead of seven.[7] The theme in its final version is elided at both ends; the violin comes in over the piano's last measure. In the next measure the cello enters in canon and ends the phrase in its own sixth bar (seventh bar for the violin), which is the measure in which the piano enters again.

Eight major changes occur in places where Fauré crossed out one or more measures and decided to continue in a different direction. Because of Fauré's method of neatly cross-hatching out discarded measures, it is possible to read what lies beneath. The eight rejected sections occur after the following measures:

1.	m. 37	two measures
2.	m. 68	two measures
3.	m. 120	one measure
4.	m. 166 ms/165 ed	eight measures
5.	m. 207 ms/206 ed	four measures
6.	m. 270 ms/269 ed	three measures
7.	m. 309 ms/308 ed	four measures
8.	m. 355 ms/354 ed	two measures

Example 1

The changes all have compositional explanations. McKay discusses some with structural significance (1, 2, and 4 in Ex. 1) and one with harmonic significance (7).[8] The other rejections are less significant, but they should be described.

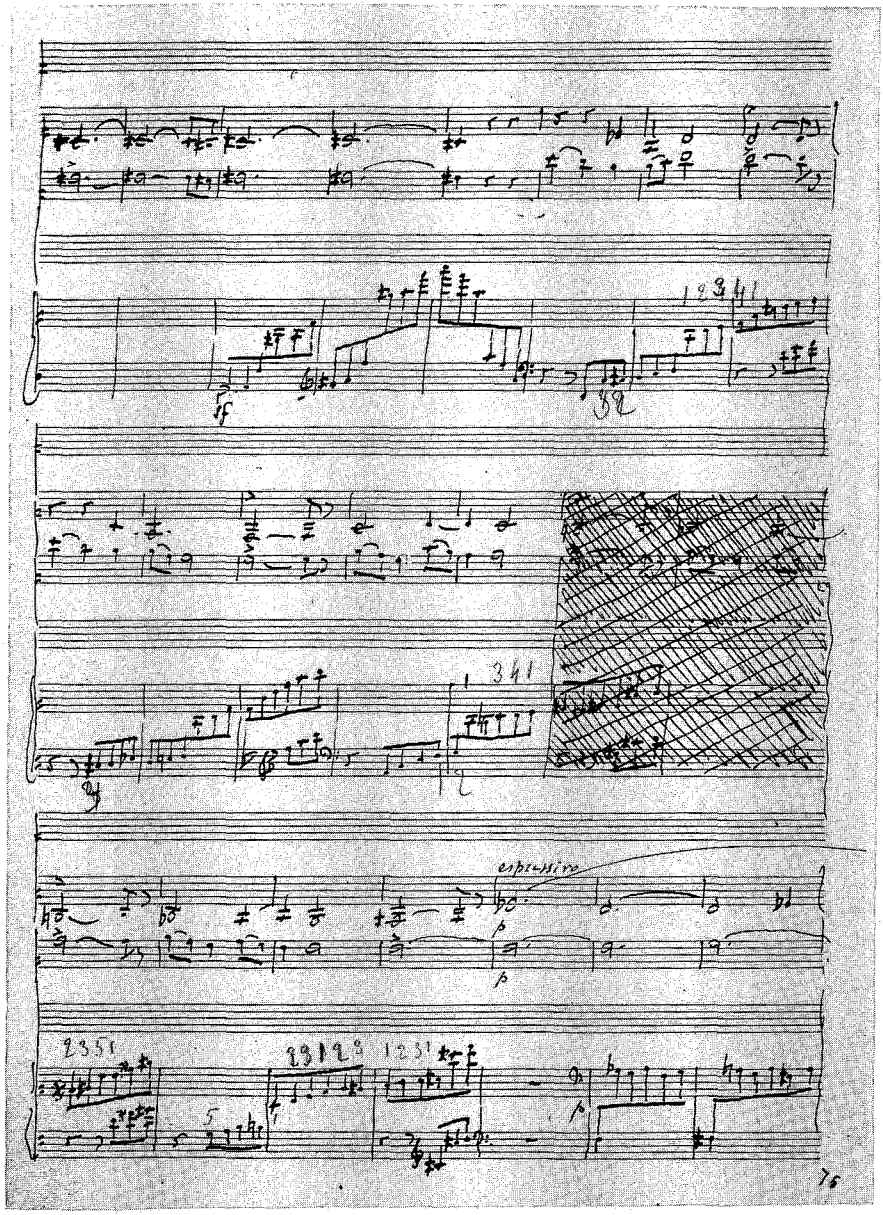
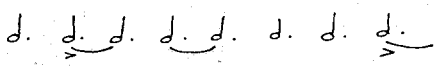


Figure 1: Fauré, Trio Op. 120, finale. (Manuscript 767, Department of Special Collections, University of Chicago Library, p. 3.)

After m. 355, m. 354 in the edition, (8), Fauré realized he had started writing the treble piano part on the bass staff. After m. 270/269 (6), Fauré brought the piano part in one measure too early. He may have miscalculated temporarily the placement of the anacrusis measure of the phrase, an ornament not found previously in the analogous passage (m. 101). The section after m. 207/6 (5) also results from a mistake or miscalculation in the piano part. Fauré momentarily lost his place in the articulation pattern he had set up beginning in m. 196:

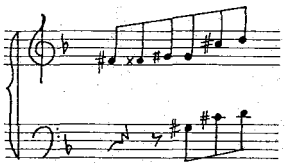


Example 2

and omitted one measure in the pattern (m. 208).

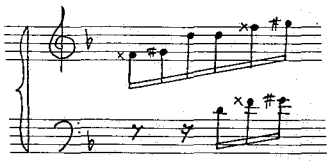
The most significant manuscript change not considered by McKay occurs after m. 68 (2), in the piano part. Although the basic harmony and gesture remain the same in both versions, the actual notes and their range are somewhat different. Range plays an important part in the construction of the piano pattern in mm. 61–72. Each three-measure flourish begins low in the left hand and finishes quite high in the right hand, with the left hand doubling the last three notes an octave lower in the middle range. Thus the three areas are well-defined.

In the crossed-out version, the piano part has:



Example 3

Compare this with the corrected (and published) version:



Example 4: m. 69

Fauré has chosen to reroute the notes in this pattern because in the original choice the left hand's "mid-range" lay too low and the passage ended on a C♯ –D that was premature by one phrase. The section between m. 66 and m. 72, the location of the two seemingly incongruous low notes, shows Fauré's special concern with range. His concern at this particular point is strong evidence that the low F and F♯ are certainly intentional and not merely careless slips.

The chronology of the trio has not been satisfactorily established. Questions such as when was the trio begun and when was it finished, in what order were the movements written, and what can the manuscript tell us about this, remain inconclusively answered. A closer examination of information gleaned from the manuscript can provide more conclusive answers to these questions and also show how matters of instrumentation, tempo, and meter relate to the chronology of the trio.

Fauré first mentioned the idea of a trio in a letter to his wife dated 20 January 1922: "Durand has asked me to produce a Trio for piano, violin and cello. I am going to think about it."[9] In April, however, he reported that he had done little composing in the past four months.[10] By mid-July, Fauré must have committed some thoughts to paper since Philippe Fauré-Fremiet has declared that his father asked him to bring to Argèles some sketches he had left behind, some sketches "not yet fully formed but which became the central episode of the second movement of the trio."[11] In late August or early September, Fauré set to work in earnest on the trio, and by the end of the month a movement was finished—the second, the same movement he had been working on since midsummer, according to Philippe Fauré-Fremiet.[12] In a letter dated 26 September 1922, from Annecy-le-Vieux, Fauré informed his wife that he had undertaken "a trio for clarinet (or violin), cello and piano. One important movement of this trio, begun here a month ago, is finished."[13] McKay considers this evidence that there were two separate movements in existence at this time: one sketched before July, the other written in September. He also believes the sketches delivered in July were for a different movement than the one written between late August and late September.[14]

Philippe Fauré-Fremiet called the sketches he delivered in July 1922 "not yet fully formed." They may have been jottings of incomplete ideas and outlines, small bits not yet joined together, sketches of the type Fauré was known to have made but of which few survive.[15] Although he may have been working on various ideas since July, Fauré may have considered the genuine start of his effort to have been the act of sitting down in September 1922 and writing out a movement in full, hence his statement that "one important movement, begun a month ago, is finished."

Another reason McKay takes the third movement to be the one written in September 1922 is the presence of the low F and F♯ in mm. 66 and 72. These notes, of course, are in the range of the clarinet but not the violin. We know from the letter of 26 September that Fauré was thinking of a clarinet

trio at that time. Thus, if the third movement is the one written in September 1922, the low notes in the manuscript are explained; but how does one explain the doublestops in the "clarinet" part from m. 400 to the end?

It appears, as McKay states, that Fauré was at least thinking of the clarinet when he wrote out the movement in the extant manuscript. But I would suggest that this movement was written last of all, not in September 1922 but in the late winter of 1923. It seems likely that he was considering the clarinet while writing the second and first movements and that the third movement's musical content proved the deciding factor in the instrumentation of the piece, which in turn affected its tempo and meter.

It seems likely from the surviving evidence that Fauré wrote the second movement first, finishing it in late September 1922, and one can well imagine the sonority of a clarinet in this movement. It has something of the same mellow serenity that Brahms' chamber music with clarinet has, music Brahms also wrote late in his life. Quite likely Fauré then wrote the first movement, composing the finale last, as was generally his habit. Fauré himself said, "The finale of a sonata depends somewhat on the preceding movements: these can be engraved without worry. It is up to the finale to maintain itself in the atmosphere that they have created"[16] (in the special case of this trio, Fauré probably would not have wanted the first two movements engraved yet, because he was still undecided about the instrumentation). He also said, "But the conclusions always represent an important point that I no more intend to gloss over than the rest."[17] Thus, one can begin to see how Fauré went about setting up the large-scale structure of a piece. The above statements make it quite clear that Fauré preferred to compose his finales last, since they drew heavily on the previous movements for structure, mood, and content.

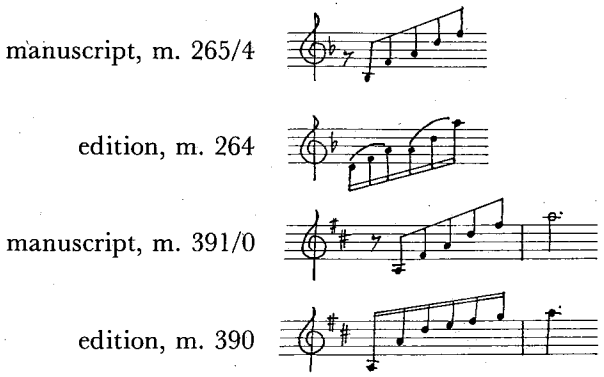
Assuming that Fauré wrote the finale last, when did he write it? In a letter of 8 February 1923, Fauré wrote to Roger Ducasse, "I'm in the midst of a composition in d minor and I haven't yet exhausted the relative majors and minors."[18] McKay points out that this could refer to the first or the third movements of the trio.[19] Considering Fauré's feelings about finales, if we accept that Fauré wrote the second movement in September 1922, then we can say that the third movement was most likely written in February 1923 (if the quote refers to the third movement) or between February and May 1923 (if the quote refers to the first movement).

I propose that when Fauré wrote the trio, he had both instruments, clarinet and violin, in mind; he had not chosen one or the other yet. It was a kind of "abstract" trio before the last page of the finale, where the doublestops are found. The concept of an "abstract trio" could explain why the "violin" part contains the unplayable low F and F♯, as well as why the part is written in C instead of being transposed, as it would have been had Fauré been entirely committed to the clarinet from the start. Clues to Fauré's thinking regarding instrumentation can be found in the lack of idiomatic writing for either instrument (aside from the doublestops at the end) in the manuscript as com-

pared with the printed edition.

In the printed edition, doublestops appear occasionally in the third movement, for instance in mm. 257–62, m. 363, and m. 366, and there is a short pizzicato passage in m. 357. In the case of the doublestops, only the top note is given in the manuscript version; no doublestops occur there before m. 404. Where later the pizzicato occurs in the edition, the measure is simply blank in the manuscript, indicating that the pizzicato in cello and violin is a surface detail and added much later. The first and second movements employ doublestops, and these also could have been added later. These instances show how Fauré altered details to make the part more violinistic after he made the instrumentation decision.

The arpeggiated figure in m. 265 of the violin line in the manuscript beginning after the first beat becomes a more violinistic gesture in the edition (m. 264), although certainly both instruments could have played either version. A similar change occurs in m. 390.



Example 5

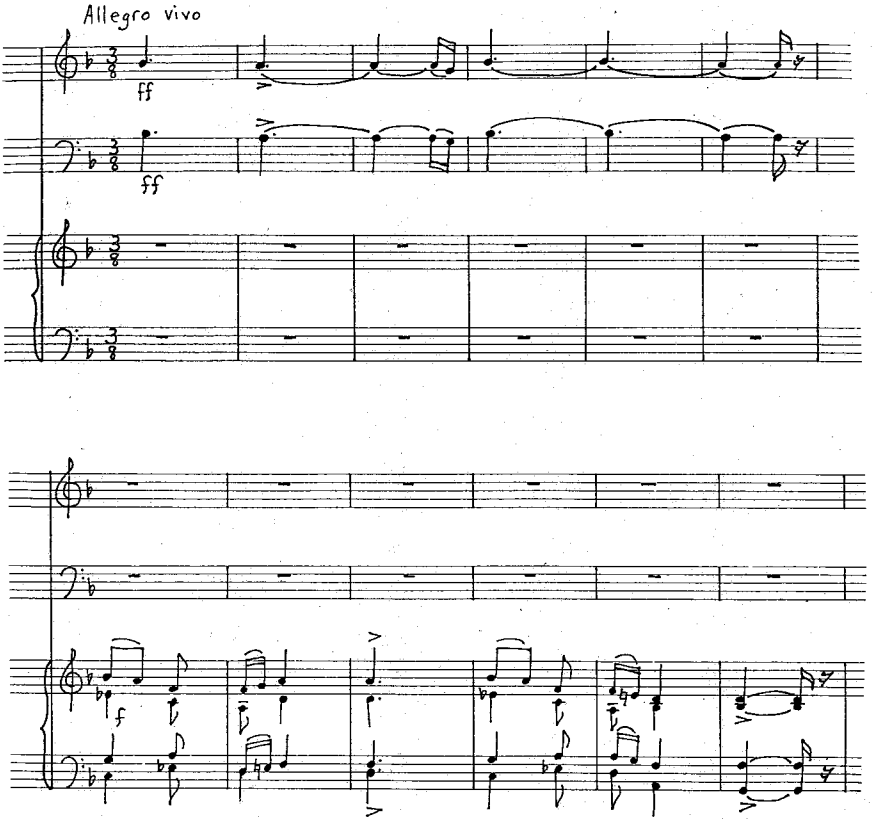
Certainly Fauré could have left the gesture as it was in the manuscript. But the fact remains that he changed it to a more characteristically violinistic passage in the edition.

One aspect of the piece that may indicate an original conception for clarinet, cello, and piano is the considerable use of unison passages between the cello and the treble instrument in all three movements. This is not a typical pairing of voices in a trio for piano and strings. It might be more suitable for a trio in which the two melodic instruments have different sonorities—one a woodwind and one a string, for instance. Moreover, the "violin" part lies relatively low, not exploiting the upper register. The unison passages are nevertheless successful for violin and cello as they stand. At times they form a single voice, or divide and go in separate directions, or the two voices inter-

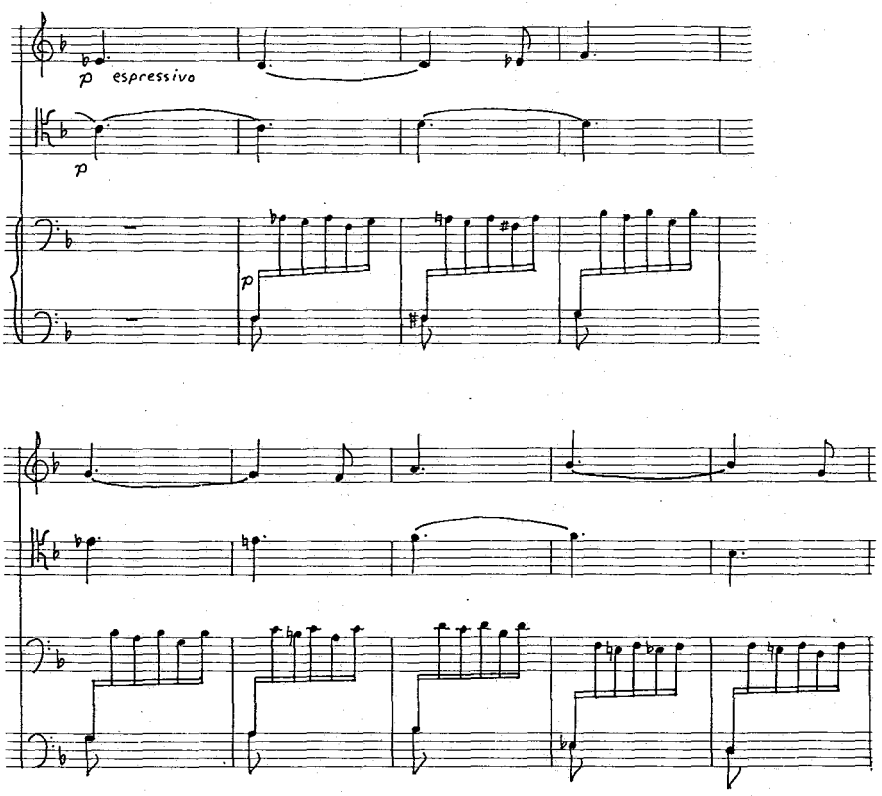
twine for exquisite effect.

From this evidence can be recognized the trio's dual conception as both a trio for violin, cello and piano (as Durand had requested) and a trio for clarinet, cello and piano (as Fauré originally thought of it). The piece could not emerge in its finished form as a trio for piano and strings until Fauré had found some compelling reason to finalize the instrumentation. His choice was made at last when he reached the concluding 18 bars of the piece.

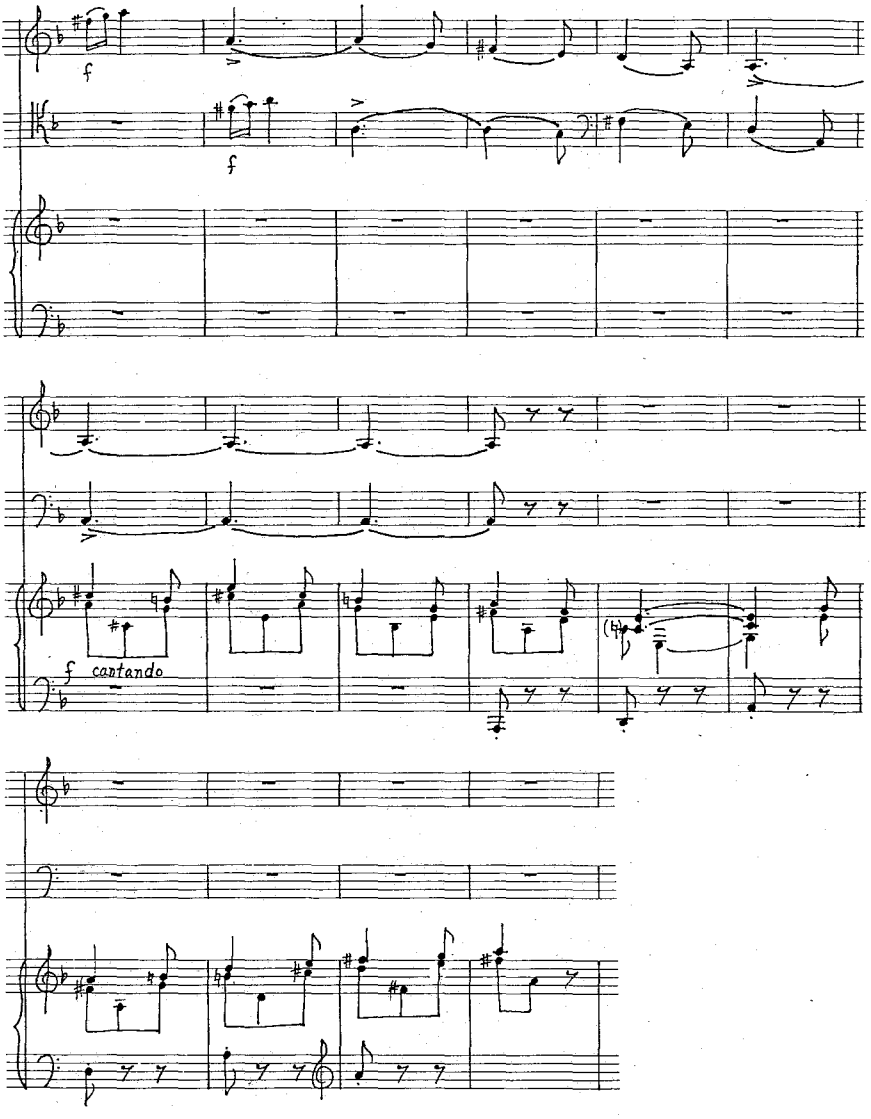
In order to determine what compelled Fauré to finalize his instrumentation so late in the piece, it is necessary to look briefly at some aspects of the movement's thematic structure. There are three basic thematic ideas introduced separately.[20] Each of them is developed separately in the movement, and each returns clearly at the end, providing a very lucid structure.



Example 6a: First theme, mm. 1–12.



Example 6b: Second theme, mm. 73–81.

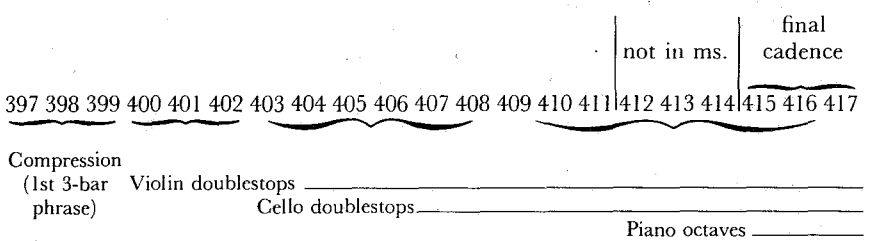


Example 6c: Third theme, mm. 100–15.

Compositional indecision seems to be associated with the material of the first theme. Sections involving this material are more likely than other sections to be altered or subjected to correction. Of the eight crossed-out sections, five occur in sections of first theme material (Nos. 1, 2, 6, 7, 8 in Ex. 1). In addition, the low F and F♯ of the "violin" part occur in the exposition of the first theme and the doublestops at the end occur in the final appearance of first theme material. The short arpeggiated passages which Fauré treated more violinistically in the edition also fall within sections of first theme material. Furthermore, since the second and third themes are closely related to the first theme, one can conclude that the first theme material is the most significant in the movement and that Fauré's compositional decisions are deeply rooted in it.

The first theme material is apparently the impetus for the decision about instrumentation; therefore it is important not only to the finale but to the entire trio. Specifically, the source of the instrumentation decision seems to lie in the condensed three-measure phrases of first theme material found at the very end of the movement, where the doublestops first appear. It must have been here that Fauré decided to use the violin instead of the clarinet. The musical material of the three themes is so closely related and the movement is so tightly knit that Fauré had to manipulate this section in some special way to allow a sense of a climax that would be final and satisfying. By compressing his six-measure phrase into a three-measure phrase, by letting the triad ascend for successive statements and by adding a lower octave in each instrument, Fauré achieved a climactic conclusion.

Fauré is very systematic in his intensification in the published version of the trio. The final section begins at m. 385, and the six-bar phrase is given twice before being compressed at m. 397. The statements at mm. 400 and 403 are on succeedingly higher steps of the triad. The lower octave is added in m. 400 in the violin, m. 403 in the cello, and m. 409 in the piano. When this concluding intensification is represented in a graph, Fauré's systematic approach to it is clearly seen.



Example 7

In the manuscript this intensification is not as fully worked out as it is in the published version. Doublestops in both cello and the treble voice first appear in m. 404 of the manuscript and the piano does not participate in this octave doubling (except in the third measure of each three-measure phrase).

The addition of the extra phrase at m. 412 in the published version is logical in several respects. McKay submits that this added three-measure phrase threw off the symmetrical balance of the final section, but he either miscounted measures or miscalculated the phrases. The section was not symmetrically balanced before Fauré added the extra phrase as McKay claims: there were two six-measure phrases and six three-measure phrases from m. 386/5. McKay groups the phrases 12 + 12 from m. 386 in the manuscript and 12 + 15 from m. 385 in the edition.[21] But the manuscript really has 12 + 18 and the edition has 12 + 21. Thus Fauré did not destroy the equilibrium of the final section by adding three more measures, but rather created a more organically increasing drive to the cadence. In order to continue the momentum of the repeated phrase, he added the lower octave in each instrument, thus creating an impossible "doublestop" for the clarinet, and thereby determining the instrumentation to be violin, cello, and piano. (See Figure 2.) One can see that the first theme material proved crucial to Fauré's decision on instrumentation, as it had already for range, structure, and the thematic fabric of the piece.

The fact that the piece was published only for violin, not for "violin or clarinet" as some trios are, indicates that Fauré was more sensitive to instrumentation than many authors have suggested.[22] His method of composition was to compose absolute music, but its final form was not abstract or equivocal by any means. Robert Orledge has described the genesis of the first piano quintet in similar terms:

> He told his wife that he "believed, *still without being sure*, that the ideas which kept buzzing around in his head, and that he was trying to write down, were for a [second] violin sonata." He hoped anyway that it would turn out to be chamber music. . . . Five days later, Fauré finally identified his sketches as the second movement of the Piano Quintet, and this gradual formulation of ideas in terms of "pure" music which gradually suggested its eventual scoring was not uncommon.[23]

Paul Dukas's observation—that "when Fauré began a movement of a sonata, one felt that he had no idea what would go on the third page"[24]—strengthens the idea that Fauré could make crucial decisions even up to the last stages of composition, an argument that is essential to any discussion of his compositional procedures. As has been shown here, months could go by before the details of the final scoring became clear to the composer.

Fauré's decision to transform his "abstract" trio into a trio for piano and strings may also have prompted the tempo and meter change. Although the difference between pulse $\mathbf{d}_{.}$ = 88 and pulse $\mathbf{♩.}$ = 96 is not great, it is likely that both tempo and meter are related to the decision about instrumentation.

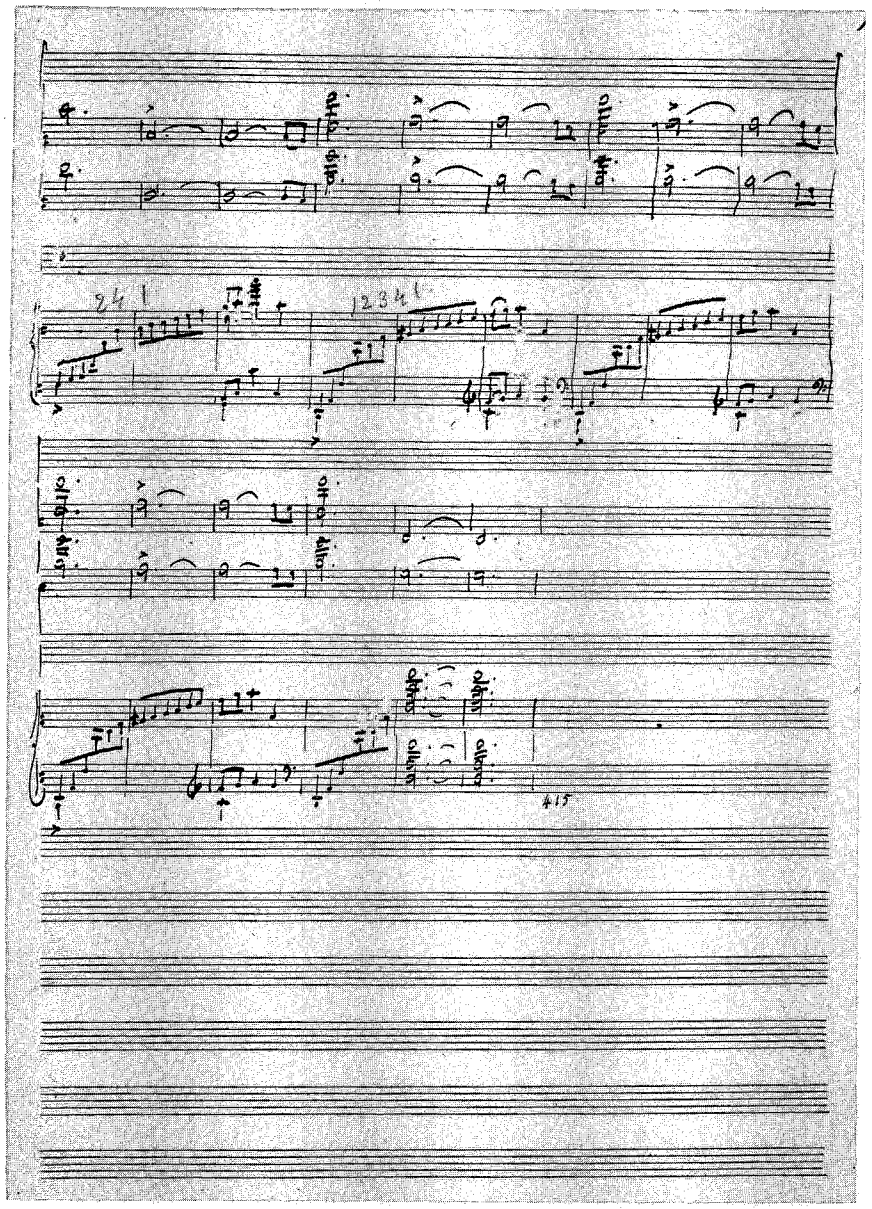


Figure 2: Fauré, Trio Op. 120, finale. (Manuscript 767, Department of Special Collections, University of Chicago Library, p. 18.)

Certainly a good clarinet player would have as little trouble as a good violinist with a 3/8 meter in ♩. = 96. But it seems Fauré was quite aware of the psychological difference between 3/4 and 3/8. He may have felt that the mellow round tone of a clarinet was more suited in character to a 3/4 scherzo, whereas the brisk, sharp tone of a violin might be more suitable to a scherzo written in 3/8. To Fauré the character of the instrument as described by its sonority could dictate basics such as tempo and meter. Fauré's choice of a violin rather than a clarinet demonstrates that meter was related to instrumentation in his compositional thinking. This apparently had to do with his perception of sonority and instrumental character as well as his awareness of the psychological difference between "white notes" and "black notes."

The Chicago manuscript is valuable for the insights it affords us into Fauré's compositional process. It demonstrates that Fauré probably did not make a final decision concerning the instrumentation of the work until late in its composition. That decision helps to illuminate his perception of the relations between the actual musical material, instrumentation, and tempo and meter. Perhaps one day autographs of the other movements of this Trio will come to light and some of the theories about Fauré's compositional methods raised by the Chicago manuscript can be tested and confirmed.

NOTES

The author sincerely thanks Professors Hans Lenneberg and Peter Lefferts of the University of Chicago for their helpful comments on early versions of this paper.

[1] Gabriel Fauré, *Lettres Intimes*, Philippe Fauré-Fremiet ed. (Paris, 1951), p. 276.

[2] Ibid., p. 284.

[3] Jean-Michel Nectoux, *Fauré* (Paris, 1972), p. 165. This performance was over-shadowed by the one that took place 29 June 1923, at L'École normale de musique. The performers then were Jacques Thibaud, Pablo Casals, and Alfred Cortot.

[4] For a description of the physical characteristics and some of the major changes within the manuscript, see James McKay, "Le Trio Op. 120 de Fauré: Une esquisse inconnue du troisième mouvement," *Études Fauréennes*, Bulletin de l'Association des Amis de Gabriel Fauré, no. 19 (1982), pp. 8–17.

[5] These details were discussed by McKay in his article but were first noted by Hans Lenneberg in "Music in the University of Chicago Library," catalog to an exhibition in the Regenstein Library, July–October 1972.

[6] Discussed briefly by McKay, p. 10.

[7] McKay, p. 15.

[8] Ibid.

[9] "Durand me sollicite de faire un Trio pour piano, violon, et violoncelle. Je vais y penser." *Lettres Intimes*, p. 276.

[10] Ibid., p. 280–1.

[11] ". . . non pas du début, mais de ce qui devint l'épisode central du deuxième mouvement du Trio," (text of Philippe Fauré-Fremiet). Ibid., p. 274.

[12] Ibid., p. 285.

[13] "J'ai enterpris un Trio pour clarinette (ou violon), violoncelle et piano. Un morceau important de ce Trio, commencé ici il y a un mois, est terminé." Ibid., p. 284.

[14] McKay, p. 10.

[15] Robert Orledge, *Gabriel Fauré* (London, 1979), p. 202. Orledge devotes an entire chapter (Chapter 6, "Fauré the Composer") to assessing the six extant carnets. See also *Lettres Intimes*, p. 295.

[16] "Le finale d'une sonate est un peu sous la dépendance des premiers morceaux: ceux-ci peuvent donc être gravés sans inquiètude. C'est au finale à se maintenir dans l'atmosphere qu'ils ont créée." (*Lettres Intimes*, p. 234.) Quoted in English in Jean-Michel Nectoux, "Works Renounced, Themes Rediscovered: Éléments pour une thématique fauréenne," *19th Century Music* 2 (1979), p. 239. (He is referring specifically to his First Cello Sonata.) Documentation is also available for the String Quartet, Opus 121, the only work composed after the Trio, and it is known that Fauré composed the finale of that work last. Orledge, *Fauré*, p. 213.

[17] "Mais les conclusions représentent toujours un point important que j'entends bien ne pas plus escamoter que le reste." *Lettres Intimes*, p. 234.

[18] "Je m'attarde dans une composition en re mineur, et n'ai pas encore épuisé les relatifs majeurs et mineurs." Gabriel Fauré, *Corréspondance*, Jean-Michel Nectoux, ed. (Paris, 1980), p. 326.

[19] McKay, p. 10.

[20] For a more thorough discussion of the movement's structure, see McKay, p. 12.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Robert Orledge, "Fauré's 'Pelléas et Mélisande,' " *Music and Letters* 56 (1975), p. 173: "His lack of interest in orchestration is well-known."

[23] Orledge, *Fauré*, p. 195.

[24] Quoted in Nectoux, "Works Renounced," p. 239.

French Grand Opera and the Quest For a National Image: An Approach To the Study of Government-Sponsored Art

By Jane F. Fulcher

In the early months of 1848, just after the establishment of the Second Republic, the directors of the Opéra, then called the "Théâtre de la Nation," prepared a report undoubtedly intended for the Ministry of the Interior. The substance of this document, which opened with the rumor of an imminent financial catastrophe that might force the major theaters to close, is contained within the following passage:

> At a time when everyone is alarmed, . . . when people wonder nervously, when confidence is shaken, when an ill-considered panic weighs on the population, the Opéra would come to the point of suspending its performances. What effect on timid spirits would this sinister news produce, which would seem to be the frightful symptom of a universal ruin: the Opéra itself cannot live under the Republic! The Republic has killed the Opéra! . . .
>
> Beyond this, it is not only a question of politics, it is a question of art and of civilization, it is a question of humanity. The Opéra is still, one has to say, one of the glories of Paris. It is the theater of the greatest artistic magnificence. The Republic, in its advent, cannot repudiate the superb heritage of luxury, of elegance, and poetry that has been bequeathed to it. . . . The Opéra is clearly one of the sources of Parisian prosperity, it is the most beautiful fleuron of the crown that has made Paris the capital of Europe.[1]

For a variety of reasons, this statement may intrigue a cultural historian of France, perhaps because of its fundamental linkage between political credibility and culture. The Opéra, it appears, represents a legacy of literature, of art, and of splendor that, far from being inimical to the image of the Republic, in a time of crisis is central to it. For the Opéra symbolizes French civilization in its most capacious and majesterial sense, and as such, is as essential to the national credibility and image abroad as it is within France.

One's immediate impulse, of course, is to consider the amount of hyperbole here, and the extent to which such rhetoric was a ploy to increase a suddenly uncertain subvention. But regardless of the extent to which this is true, and whether or not he saw the report, the President of the Republic, Ledru-Rollin, was attuned to its logic and had occasion to invoke it himself. The event was a public ceremony that attended the planting of a "liberty tree," in the courtyard of the Opéra, on 2 April 1848. As reported by the contemporary press, the ceremony was one of imposing magnificence, made even more impressive by the attendance of prominent figures from the arts and state:

> The courtyard was adorned with trophies of arms, and on the raised platforms around it sat the orchestra and the artists. The national guard, a detachment of the urban guard on horseback . . . and a considerable crowd occupied the surroundings of the Opéra. After the performance of the *Marseillaise*, speeches were delivered by M. M. Morel, the curé of Saint-Roch, Duponchel (a director of the Opéra), and Caussedière (Prefect of Police).[2]

By several accounts, Ledru-Rollin's speech was ostensibly the most eloquent and moving. He ennumerated the Opéra's claims to glory, the "effects" of its singers and masterworks; specifically, he cited Auber's *La Muette de Portici*, Rossini's *Guillaume Tell*, Halévy's *La Juive*, and Meyerbeer's *Robert-le-Diable* and *Les Huguenots*. For the peroration, he proudly announced the coming of Meyerbeer's *Prophète*, "the veritable Messiah who would raise the fortunes of the theater, calling all of France and Europe to Paris."[3]

The most striking aspect of this event, once again, is the logic that it displays, as reflected not only in the speeches delivered but in the symbolic accouterments they amplified. The symbolism of the First Republic, commonly invoked in contemporary visual art, is juxtaposed here with French grand opera, a product of the monarchy of Louis-Philippe: thus the imagery of the Republic in the ceremony issues not only from the nation's political past, but from a more recent and resonant patrimony, emblematic of the cultural vitality of France. Clearly, this conceptual linkage between the Opéra and the national spirit accounts for the ardent desire of the state to be associated with an operatic success.

Undoubtedly, the Minister's rhetoric was resonant in the atmosphere of 1848, yet according to later speculation it was guided by an ulterior motive as well. Fearing that the precipitous events of February might have alarmed Meyerbeer, causing him to withhold his new work from France, the panoply and panegyric was intended to reassure him.[4] Although the effects of such blandishments on Meyerbeer cannot easily be determined, the "Prophet" did indeed arrive, although not before 16 April 1849. Delayed not by the bloody June Days of 1848, but by endless complications in procuring the singers and by the composer's exacting rehearsal requirements, by the day of the première, anticipation had reached a high pitch. Despite the worst possible circumstances, coming as it did in the midst of electoral tensions and a virulent outbreak of cholera, attention was riveted upon the work.

According to contemporary perceptions, the discussion of politics practically ceased, replaced by rumors and descriptions of the opera and of the tactics required for obtaining a ticket. The first 40 performances immediately sold out, and soon thereafter only those with extraordinary resourcefulness or political connections were fortunate enough to attend. Thirty-seven performances took place in 1849 alone, with 49 more in 1850, only the beginning of the work's remarkable career. Over the next twenty years, *Le Prophète* became, along with Meyerbeer's other French operas, one of the most frequently performed works in the repertoire, with each new revival an ensured

success.

In the Republic, the opera's success was broad: it won the approbation of artists like Berlioz, of government officials, and of politicians and their constituents along the entire political spectrum. Copious reports of the opera appeared in journals of every persuasion, but to understand their character and what interested them, perhaps the best indicator is *Le Peuple.* Proudhon's left-wing journal had scrupulously reported the opera's progress, and its lengthy review of the first performance offers many reasons why. Purportedly, the review was written in response to the queries of a candidate in forthcoming elections, whose republican opinions made it a necessity that he remain in "the electoral field of battle."

The candidate's questions begin with whether *Le Prophète* was as colossal a success as all the journals reported, then systematically inquire about its components. He asks not only about the music, the poem, the singers, and the "decorations," but about the spectacular skating scene that had already won such wide acclaim. All of these aspects were clearly important in the picture that he wished to form of the work; all helped to shape its message, create its aura, and suggest its "effect."

The reply to these queries begins, significantly, with a rumination on the opera's subject—the volatile story of John of Leyden and the 16th century Anabaptist revolt:

> You know. . . the story of the terrible revolts that signalled the end of the Middle Ages. To the voice of Luther, spirits and arms broke their chains: brows, lowered by ferocious feudal oppression raised themselves again and looked at the heavens: there they read confusedly the words liberty, equality, and fraternity; but the divine law foresaw that they could not formulate and apply it. It was to us that this task was reserved. Our eyes, as those of our fathers, are not lowered before the light, and impure illusions, daughters of light and of vengeance no longer trouble our minds. The first cry of those oppressed by the cloister, the disinherited of the soil, was a cry of war and of blood. Today it is the voice of daily discussion that preaches pardon, concord, and fraternity. John of Leyden . . . wrote, he debated, he was the representative of the people; all that remains of his passing is the cage of iron in which the men of the supression . . . would like to enclose him.[5]

The author carefully points out, however, that this is not the John of Leyden that Scribe presents; his is only a guileless fiancé in search of revenge on a feudal lord. Nevertheless, it is evident that despite this difference, Scribe's libretto provides a framework the reviewer accepts, and which determines the historical significance he sees in the work. The story of the Anabaptist revolt is one of feudal oppression and misguided revenge, which provides an opportunity for the journal to define its political position. The reviewer identifying John with the people and their oppression with the current suppression, makes the opera into a vehicle to trace the historical contours of its political stance.

Yet despite his caveats, *Le Peuple*'s critic goes on to laud the work in terms of its look, its *éclat*, its style, and its arresting and impressive artistic effect. He praises the local color, the grace, and the naïve picturesqueness which, in his view, contribute to its larger veracity, on a different level of historical truth. The standards by which he measures the work, in the end, have to do with its power; with the public image it presents, and with the degree of cohesion of its final effect. Different standards of truth, different conceptions of the relation of historical reality to art, coexist within the review because of what it perceives the Opéra, in essence, to be.

In performance or in print, the Opéra, according to the critic in *Le Peuple*, is a heritage to appropriate, yet at the same time a framework for debate about the character and motives of the government that subsidizes it. His perception is that the attempt of the state to identify itself with the Opéra is an attempt to identify itself, democratically, with the contemporary national spirit. Hence the Opéra is not only a forum for the regime to define itself culturally, but for the response and political definition of the groups that it represents. It appears that the Opéra in the Second Republic provided an image that the state and nation shared, one that was projected by the government but to which the majority of political groups could subscribe. For this reason, critical distance and proud affirmation could coexist in a form of opera that transcended ideology, ritual, entertainment, or low or high art.

Such a picture of French grand opera in the mid-19th century is far from the conventional one contained in most histories of France and of French music. The generally accepted image, derived from selected comments of contemporary artists, and from an elliptical reference to archival materials, is expounded most fully by William Croston. His book, *French Grand Opera, An Art and a Business*,[6] is, as its title suggests, a view of grand opera as an inherently commercialized form. The compromise it effected between business and art was, Crosten implies, a result of the form and character that the institution assumed under the monarchy of Louis-Philippe (1830–1848). Hence the "director-entrepreneur," Véron, to whom the institution was supposedly "leased," was primarily responsible for confecting a product for the bourgeoisie whom he sought to attract.

From this view of grand opera's origins, Croston goes on to derive a perspective on both its nature or characteristics and the mode of analysis that they imply. His presumption is one of compromise, a balance, between novelty and convention, between the legacy of a traditional genre and a superficial use of Romantic techniques: "In the Académie Royale, the bourgeoisie found an art made in their own image, at once revolutionary and reassuring, that extended one hand toward Romanticism and . . . held fast to convention with the other."[7] The aptness of this compromise for the bourgeois public, Croston argues, explains its appeal, which, if aesthetically incongruous, accounts historically for its tenacious success.

But if we adopt an alternative view of the form and approach opera as official art, we again confront the problem of explaining the anomaly of its

vast acclaim in 1849. According to Timothy Clark, in *The Absolute Bourgeois*, "by and large, the art of the Republic, its official efforts to find an image of itself was a failure."[8] The political vicissitudes of the Republic, he proposes, "infected the arts," with an uncertainty exacerbated by "a radical confusion about what kind of art was wanted."[9] But the Opéra, approached not only as an art of the Republic but as a visual image, appears to have escaped the ideological vascillation that paralyzed the other state arts. The question that ineluctably presents itself, then, is what kind of institution the Opéra was; if official, why did it relate more successfully to cultural proclivities in France than the visual arts did? If it conciliated levels and fused areas of culture with a coherence that eluded painting and sculpture, if it arrived at a point of congruity in tastes, what were the institutional reasons for this? Above all, why did the Opéra, of all the institutions through which the state entered the arts, become an arena in which the nation's identity could be debated on a national scope?

It is the success of the Opéra in both fostering identity and in effecting or reaching the nation that contests another set of commonly-held conclusions and raises yet more questions as to its nature. According to Theodore Zeldin's history of France, official institutions had little success in creating a sense of national identity or in profoundly effecting the French. The Opéra would seem to confute his premise as to where such identity was sought and by whom; moreover, it would undermine his methodological premise concerning divisions in French cultural life. The opera, as a form, resists his categorizations into intellectual vs. emotional realms, into entertainment vs. art, into political vs. non-political areas of life. The Opéra, as an institution, raises further questions about official culture, not only about the intentions of the state, but about its range or its modes of intervention in art. For it is a question here not just of patronage or the initiation of a creative act, but of official involvement or interaction with sectors of the nation's culture. Furthermore, the question arises of the results of such state involvement and its effects not only on a nation's art, but on political perceptions and political discourse.

To address these questions, to consider them from the perspective that the Opéra in France provides, and to understand the Opéra more completely through doing so, is the goal of this author's current research: a study of the Opéra from 1830 until 1870, the period when the state associated itself actively with the repertoire called "grand opera." To attempt such a project, it is clear that the perspective of musicology cannot suffice, and neither will a political history or a simple history of the institution itself. What is called for, rather, is a cultural history that integrally relates the opera as an aesthetic phenomenon to the Opéra as an official institution of art. It is the plan of this cultural history and the rationale that lies behind it, or the strategy for approaching these issues, that will here be proposed.

A cultural history, conceived in the tradition of an historian like Johan Huizinga, would posit that there exist "key forms" which provide special

access to a particular culture's experience and that in these forms we can locate a convergence or amalgamation of functions and meanings as they cohere uniquely within the historical experience of a specific group. In the manner of symbolic anthropology, such an approach begins with a specific phenomenon, a set of tensions, or a social dialogue, which it attempts to define and transcribe.

In the case of the Opéra, the dialogue is between the state and the culture around it, from which the state attempts to borrow in order to establish the legitimacy of its own rule. Subsequently the Opéra becomes a dialogue between the state and political groups about the culture that the state promotes and the nature of the state's relation to it. Hence it seems logical to begin with the state and, more specifically, with why it sought to establish rapport with the nation through a subventioned theater like the Opéra.

The immediate point of departure must be the new form that state involvement in the Opéra took in the wake of the 1830 Revolution that enthroned Louis-Philippe. The question here is the state's motivation and the context that determined its specific response, or the cultural challenge it faced in the light of the failures of the preceding regime. The new responsiveness of the state to contemporary culture, and specifically to Romanticism, is a phenomenon that has already been explored in the visual arts by Albert Boime.[10] But for an even broader perspective on the actions and motivations of the new regime, we must turn to the late Restoration, to the Romantic attacks on it, and to the terms in which these attacks were posed.

An essential element of Romantic rhetoric was the equation it drew between cultural vitality and political legitimacy. The public perception of the cultural anachronism of the regime of Charles X translated into accusations of its callous distance from legitimizing sources of emotion and interest. Commonly invoked was the cultural intransigence of the later years of the *Ancien Régime,* in which the government persisted in sponsoring art considered by many to be archaic. This perception of cultural anachronism was especially acute in the subventioned theater, which was engaged in a complex relationship with official image and goals; for the official theaters did not merely enjoy the advantage of financial privilege, they occupied an official capacity and the image they projected was directly associated with the image of the state. This was especially true of opera, which was associated less with rhetoric or with ideological messages than with the ineffable element of "style." Nowhere is this relationship more evident than in the later years of the *Ancien Régime,* when the Opéra insisted on maintaining a repertoire that resulted consistently in financial loss. The *Académie Royale de Musique* thus became a nexus of tense interaction between government policy and a paying public, and as such the symbolic location of cultural–political exchange. The withholding of the public's sanction for a repertoire considered to be "out of touch" was clearly a subtle, but widely understood, remark about both cultural credibility and legitimacy of rule. From this perspective, one can understand why, in the Revolution of 1789, the image projected on the operatic stage was intended to be one of immediacy: a regime that professed to speak

in the public's name evidently considered it appropriate in opera to borrow from the most popular theatrical forms and styles of the day.

All this was apparently in the memory of cultural officials in 1830, in a regime that also professed to speak for the public and sought to prove this by means of art. Boulevard theater and Romantic drama had become emblems of the first revolution, and thus of a spirit and reality in which the legitimacy of the regime was said to reside. The New Regime of 1830 had little choice but to support them and part of the result was the sponsorship of a new kind of opera that integrally drew on them both. Moreover, the Opéra was one of the most potentially useful tools with which to affirm political legitimacy, although simultaneously, it could be the most potentially dangerous.

The grand opera inherited by Louis-Philippe had been the final fruit of the compromise of the late Restoration, a compromise forced by attacks on the Opéra's stodgy repertoire and by the embarrassments its failure had caused. The lack of a well-defined repertoire of current interest was widely perceived as a symptom of the cultural vacuity and archaic vision characteristic of the Bourbon regime. Letters contained in the Opéra's archives implore the director, Lubbert, to attempt to revitalize the repertoire, drawing on new music and scenic techniques. The result was Rossini's invitation to Paris in 1823, as well as the approval of new *mise-en-scènes* and texts that were currently the rage in the boulevard theaters, where the "public spirit" was said to exist. It was in this manner that, despite the well-founded warnings of numerous advisors, the heavily subsidized theater came to produce operas based on the stories of Masaniello and Guillaume Tell. These works, by Auber and Rossini, produced the opposite effect of what officials had hoped, becoming symbols of the revolutionary spirit that toppled the obtuse and repressive regime of Charles X.

In attempting to identify with, yet control and monitor contemporary art, the regime of Louis-Philippe sought compromises within the framework of each institution and its traditions. In opera, its solution was, on one level, perhaps the most successful: the creation of an administrative structure that, while superficially progressive, included new mechanisms of state control. By naming a "director-entrepreneur," it projected the image of businesslike efficiency, making the Opéra a sound institution financially responsible and responsive to the public. Yet this aspect of the state's motivation is too often overemphasized; a careful reading of Véron's *Cahier de Charges* reveals an exacting concern for the image of the state. Véron's freedom was strictly limited: his actions were subject to evaluation and censure both through a powerful "Committee of Surveillance" and the provision of possible heavy fines. Contrary to Croston's picture, the one that emerges from the archival sources is one of compromise between Véron and the state, and of the political consciousness of the institution. It appears that through this collaboration a powerful new aesthetic emerged which was elaborated, codified, and finally associated with the conventions of the new form. Calculated to appeal to "political society," the Opéra sought to relate to that group's heteroge-

neous interests and tastes, however to conciliate or reshape them in order to accord with the goals of the state.

One can trace the evolution of this aesthetic from the success of Meyerbeer's *Robert-le-Diable* in 1831, from which the overseeing committee derived a set of values mutually acceptable to public and state; and one can see that those qualities of vividness, grandeur, and display that Croston associates with Véron and to which composers were henceforth subject, were the final product of this interplay. The creation of French grand opera, then, was the result of the state's attempt to recognize and coopt a new kind of general culture that had grown up around the preceding regime. As such, it was one aspect of the implications of Romanticism, which had taken the lead in relating a vital new popular culture to the traditions of high art; implications which were then realized not only by the state, but by "popular Romanticism," which abstracted new forms, as James Allen has recently shown in his book, *Popular French Romanticism.*[11] Official culture, in opera, was able to draw most visibly on a new popular art, yet to balance it with a cultural patrimony associated with national dignity and political ideals.

That the state was widely perceived as being responsible for this compelling new art is attested to by the attacks it sustained concerning its management of it. In the context of the political tensions of the 1830s and '40s, the Opéra again became the target for attacks on the monarchy, but now in terms of the state's motivations. The criticism primarily took the form of attacks on censorship, as well as denunciations of the government's policies concerning free entries and the purchase of tickets. In inhibiting the Opéra in both these ways, the state, according to the diatribes of the 1840s, was perceived to be abusing a property that now properly belonged to France. It is not surprising that grand opera, the visual incarnation of a national spirit of vitality, patrimony, and public ideals, would become highly emotionally charged once more.

Considering its role in the '30s and '40s, it was almost inevitable that in 1848 the Opéra would provide a national focus and become a highly politicized stage. As in the First Republic, it became a political "center" in which the government sought to elaborate its political identity in artistic terms. But as has been shown, the quest of the state for identity and for legitimacy through opera made the opera a forum for the self-definition of political groups. The focus of discussion was the relation of the state and the people to a commonly resonant source, an aspect of the national culture with which the state sought to identify. For this reason, the Opéra transcended the narrow disputes over image that have been the subject of penetrating studies by both Maurice Agulhon and Timothy Clark.[12] For this reason also the Opéra, in the period of the Second Republic, provided a means of entry into a political discourse of a new and powerful scope.

Although it appears that the Opéra did not substantially change perceptions, through its many modes of dissemination and through the discussion they provoked, it seems to have been a barometer. But that which it regis-

tered must be analyzed not only in the light of changing political realities, but in the context of the way different groups came to know and appropriate the works for themselves. To understand these fully, one would have to investigate different social modes of perception, or the distinctive manners in which groups apprehended the opera and the nature of their relation to it. To explain these socially distinctive modes, one would have to consider the forces that shaped them, first of all, from the standpoint of each group's artistic and cultural experience. But it would also be necessary to study the various means of dissemination, for those who did not actually attend could learn about the Opéra in a variety of ways. One must examine, then, the modes of its experience and transcription, what was abstracted and what was transformed, not only in journals and illustrations, but in printed libretti and *mise-en-scènes*.

The question of the modes of transcription and the variety of experiences and interpretations that such opera comprehended in the Second Republic must lead next to a formal analysis. We must consider what an understanding of grand opera's function and institutional nature imply for an understanding of the genre, of its values, and of precisely how they relate; and the issue of what was valued and why leads us to consider the kind of experience that the Opéra was, not only in a cultural, but more specifically, in a theatrical sense.

The proposal offered for consideration here is to examine the kind of synthetic theatrical medium the Opéra was and to go on to consider how this distinguishes it as an operatic type from other forms of opera; to ask how the libretti, the music, and the various elements of the *mise-en-scène*, in the end, cohere in the context of a theater of the state. From this perspective, we must approach the opera as a total text, and consider the way it was "read" both in its complete performance and abstracted parts. Perhaps balances should then be studied, in terms of the conscious limitations of each component part, and the circumscription of each domain in order to contribute toward the total effect; for the music is tied to a dramaturgy that limits the characterization it can attempt, and tied also to an operatic tradition that limits the formal independence it is allowed. The next question to investigate is how the music defines the libretto, so often an enigmatic sketch, and how the visual language both clarifies and suggests the relation to reality that is proposed by the opera.

Here too arises the issue of style: why a composer like Meyerbeer limits himself to an eclectic concatenation of stylistic and formal types. What we must consider are the kinds of institutional challenges a composer of grand opera faced, and how his goal in the genre related to the stylistic and formal approach he finally took. This inevitably raises the aesthetic question not only of the greatness of these works, but of the cultural and historical relativity of a full empathy with them. It raises, too, the concomitant issue of precisely how much empathy we can re-experience today not only in recordings of the music, but in revivals, and as a result, the form that they should take.

Finally, the issue of revivals leads one back to the Second Empire, a period when revivals abounded, due largely to the encouragement of the state. The first questions to answer here are why the state promoted and fostered these works and why it chose to identify with this segment of the nation's cultural past. What were the nature of these revivals, what did they emphasize or change, and what then was the nature of the shift in values or intentions they revealed?

The evidence in official rhetoric is that the Opéra evoked a national idealism: it was the embodiment of the pride, the patrimony, the spirit of a more heroic France. But beyond this, perhaps, it was associated with that segment of the nation which continued to affirm such ideals, and which the regime chose to recognize as "France." For the Opéra, it appears, was the incarnation of what might be called a certain cultural "norm," a set of values and a way of life that a particular sector of the nation still wished to project: the Opéra was an image of the nation's material ideals, but also of its idealism, and of a national style in a distinctive synthesis that was, for many, still compelling.

Inevitably, this identification of the state with the idealism and culture of an earlier age was perceived on various levels, and with varying degrees of alienation, as false. For artists like Offenbach and Flaubert, the Opéra was a comical icon of convention, although, as can be seen in their satire, it evoked at once fascination and repulsion. That their tactics for dealing with this culture assumed a remarkably similar form would indicate the need for an analysis of the kind of creativity that it helped determine; not only among the satirists, but among the "Realists," who attacked the Opéra's image on the grounds of its insincerity and distance from a legitimizing cultural reality.[13] As we see, once more, the state's identity with the Opéra made it a forum for political debate, an occasion for political identities to define themselves against that of the state. From the debates in the contemporary press, it is evident that, among Realists and their Wagnerian allies, the state's identity was no longer seen to be legitimately based on the "real" society and culture of France: it no longer reflected authentic emotion, located now in the "people," the seat of a more instinctual, a naïve culture, of a more profound and powerful truth.

To reject grand opera was clearly to reject a political authority, but that authority as articulated within the cultural frame in which it defined itself; and thus political dissidents sought an alternative political identity not only by rejecting this frame, but by projecting an alternative operatic model, which they found in Wagner.

As Clifford Geertz has observed, power requires a cultural frame to define itself and to advance its claims, but so does opposition to it.[14] The Opéra, it seems, was such a frame from 1830 to 1870: at once a political and cultural point of reference, a "center" or "arena," to use Geertz's terms. The answer as to why it became such a center, why such a dialogue occurred through opera, may have something to do, in the end, with what this kind of institu-

tion allowed. It allowed for what might be called "commentary," to again borrow a concept from Geertz, a function that historians of the Renaissance have already discerned in 15th and 16th century civic ritual. Such a dialogue or exchange, focused around a central image projected by the state, occurred in 19th-century France, in official theater. For like communal ritual in the Renaissance, it was here that the state could enter or associate with a popular cultural reality in order to identify and legitimize itself. But again, as Renaissance historians have shown, "identities in society are the creation of images or objects around which groups organize themselves."[15]

In defining a national image with which it could identify, the state promoted a frame of reference which its constituents could either reject or claim: the result was not only the development of a community of discourse, but a widening of political discourse and a merger of political and cultural terms. That political goals and a cultural vision were joined so intimately in this way influenced not only political culture, but politicized culture as well. Why? Because institutions of culture, in fact and in perception, fuse the realms of politics and culture in an experientially coherent way. Perhaps this accounts for the active search for identity that occurred within them, one that involved both personal and political motives, confounding self-definition with power.

One possible conclusion that might emerge from a study of the Opéra following the framework proposed above is that a model of the relation of the state to culture that is based on dichotomies cannot suffice: not only the dichotomy of what the state considers political or non-political, but the dichotomy separating the state's cultural conceptions from that of the wider culture. The values or concepts the state "generates" are related, in complex ways, to the culture that supports it and provides it with legitimacy and, as Alain Touraine has observed, institutions cannot be "used": they are mechanisms of "discussion and transaction," of "reproduction and production."[16] Perhaps we should be more aware, as historians of the Renaissance and 18th century now are, of the multiplex nature and multifarious results of the state's engagement in culture. For this engagement effects not only perceptions of political authority and legitimacy, it allows for a reciprocal influence, and thus transforms the culture in far-reaching but subtle ways.

NOTES

[1] A.N. AJ[13] 181.

[2] *La Gazette*, as quoted in J.-G. Prod'homme, "La Musique et les musiciens en 1848," *Sonderdruck aus Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* XIV, Heft 1 (Oct. 1912), p. 161.

[3] Ibid.

[4] *Le Constitutionnel*, 5 July 1869.

[5] *Le Peuple*, 23 April 1849, pp. 1–2.

[6] (New York: Kings Crown Press, 1948).

[7] Ibid., p. 130.

[8] Timothy J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France 1848-1851* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1973), p. 32.

[9] Ibid., p. 35.

[10] Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Phaidon, 1971).

[11] (Syracuse, 1980).

[12] See Maurice Agulhon's study, *Marianne au combat: l'imagerie et la symbolisme républicaines de 1789 à 1880* (Paris: Flammarion, 1979), in which he traces the evolution of "Marianne" as the symbol of the Republic. Timothy Clark, in *The Absolute Bourgeois*, concentrates exclusively on the problem of Republican imagery in the Second Republic.

[13] I have explored this subject in some detail in my article, "Wagner as Democrat and Realist in France," *Stanford French Review* (Spring, 1981).

[14] Clifford Geertz, "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Reflections on the Symbolics of Power," in *Culture and its Creators: Essays in Honor of Edward Shils*, Joseph Ben-David and Terry N. Clark, eds. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

[15] Richard Trexler, *Form and Identity in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press, 1981). See also Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981).

[16] Alain Touraine, *Production de la Société* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1973), p. 9.

Interpreting Berlioz's *Overture to King Lear*, Opus 4: Problems and Solutions

By Deborah M. Adelson

To date there exists no convincing interpretation of Hector Berlioz's *Overture to King Lear,* Opus 4. It is even difficult to find an essay in which a reasonable approach to interpretation has been attempted. Difficulties in understanding *King Lear* are the result of two related factors. First, the relationship between Shakespeare's play and Berlioz's overture is not immediately clear. Second, Berlioz does not discuss the *King Lear* overture in any detail in his prose writings. This study will attempt to point out where and why most commentators fail in their assessment of the overture and will also demonstrate that Berlioz's prose writings, in fact, contain helpful information that is frequently overlooked by writers seeking to interpret *King Lear.*

In the spring of 1831, Berlioz was pursuing his musical studies in Italy after having been awarded the *Prix de Rome.* He was anxiety-ridden when he continued to hear no news from his fiancée, Camille Moke, who had remained in Paris. As a result, he frequently wandered through the hills near Florence, working on sketches for projected compositions, or reading. It was during this period that he first read Shakespeare's *King Lear.*

An attack of quinsy kept Berlioz in Florence, where he received word that his fiancée had married Camille Pleyel. Berlioz later wrote,

> Tears of rage started from my eyes, and instantly I knew my course. I must go post-haste to Paris and there kill without compunction two guilty women and one innocent man.[1]

Berlioz devised a scheme to dress as a lady's maid and gain access to the Moke residence, where he would shoot the offenders and then poison himself. Fate intervened twice, first when he lost his dress, hat, and green veil between Florence and Genoa and later, when the Sardinian police in Genoa suspected him of being a liberation sympathizer. Berlioz was forced to go to Nice, by which time he had been sufficiently thwarted in his scheme to forget the whole thing. He wrote,

> So I lived, and drank deep draughts of the balmy air of Nice. Life and happiness came flooding back to me, music sought me out; the future beckoned. I stayed in Nice for a month, wandering in the orange groves, immersing myself in the sea, dozing on the heather among the hills of Villefranche and watching from their splendid heights the silent traffic of ships coming and going across the shining water. I was entirely on my own. I wrote the overture to *King Lear.* I breathed, I sang, I believed in God. A convalescence indeed.[2]

A major contribution toward Berlioz's "convalescence" was his renewed en-

thusiasm for composition, and the project while he was in Nice was the *Overture to King Lear.* The disturbing events in Florence probably doubled the impact of the characters and plot of the play on Berlioz. Like the jilted and deceived King Lear, Berlioz renounced affection for a loved-one:

> Come not between the dragon and his wrath;
> I lov'd her most, and thought to rest
> On her kind nursery. *(To Cordelia)* Hence, and avoid
> my sight! (I, 1, 122–4)

Lear's banishment by his two daughters Goneril and Regan probably reminded Berlioz that his year of study in Italy amounted to forced exile; he had even petitioned for exemption from the rule requiring residence in Italy.

The following is a partial synopsis of Berlioz's conception of the play as he related it to the police of the Sardinian king in Nice:

> "I am making plans for an overture on *King Lear*: in fact I have made them. The drafting and the instrumentation are complete. In fact I believe he will cause quite a stir when he appears."
>
> "Appears? Who is this King Lear?"
>
> "Alas, a poor old English King."
>
> "English!"
>
> "Yes. According to Shakespeare he lived some eighteen hundred years ago and was silly enough to divide his kingdom between two wicked daughters, who kicked him out when he had nothing more to give them."[3]

The Overture

Donald Francis Tovey writes, "According to the title of the work, you ought to read Shakespeare's *King Lear* to find out the meaning of the music."[4] This is a reasonable assumption, but Tovey goes on to say:

> No one who has any independent power of following Shakespeare as drama and Berlioz as music will waste five minutes over the attempt to connect Berlioz's *King Lear* with Shakespeare's.[5]

Tovey was familiar with the biographical context for the overture, for he wrote, "As for the story Berlioz told about the origin of this overture in a murderous fit of jealousy, if that was true why did he not call it *Othello*?"[6] But as shown above, the events in Florence which occasioned the "murderous fit of jealousy" were subtly but intimately bound up with Berlioz's reading the play and composing the *Lear* overture. For him to have entitled his overture *Othello* would have been entirely inconsistent with, if not excluded by, his immediate frame of reference. R.W.S. Mendl provides the following retort to Tovey:

> After all, if Berlioz was, as Tovey suggests, talking nonsense in calling the work "King Lear," it would be the only instance among his descrip-

tive compositions in which he has done so. He knew what he meant, and he adored Shakespeare. The music fits the character of a king; Berlioz knew that he could not describe the whole play in one short overture; when he wanted to do that, for instance with "Romeo and Juliet," he wrote a two-hour "dramatic symphony" for the purpose.[7]

Tovey's essay fails initially for two reasons: first, he removes the work from its biographical context, which weakens the validity of his observations; second, he does not accurately gauge the scope and intention of the work which is, as Mendl points out, simply an overture and not a lengthy work designed to correspond with every detail of the play. A.E.F Dickinson agrees:

> It is inconceivable that Berlioz should try to force into sonata form a complicated pattern of character and scene. It may be assumed that Berlioz started with an image of the deserted father-king of the first act, and from there proceeded musically, retaining an intention to use the king theme later as a rebarbative component, and possibly to derive a second subject from the character of Cordelia.[8]

Such an assumption would be more consistent with biographical and conceptual information found in the Berlioz *Mémoires*.

It is possible to understand Berlioz's choice of the title "King Lear" by examining the very beginning of the overture for supporting evidence. The introduction of the sonata form (mm. 1–86) consists of two sections. In the first half (mm. 1–37), an 8-measure recitative scored for low strings alternates with two 8-measure "answers" in the upper strings with winds. Instrumentation and melodic construction evoke dialogue between the "male" and "female" members of the string section. Most interpreters maintain that this introduction is a depiction of Act I, Scene 1 of Shakespeare's play, in which Lear asks,

> Tell me, my daughters
> (Since now we will divest us both of rule,
> Interest of territory, cares of state),
> Which of you shall we say doth love us most?
>
> (I, 1, 48–51)

Lear addresses the same question to each of the sycophantic daughters, Goneril and Regan, as indicated by the music. T.S. Wotton says, "Without presuming to possess the ability to penetrate into Berlioz's mental processes, I can imagine him setting out to illustrate the initial idea of the play—Lear's division of his kingdom."[9] Jacques Barzun and Leon Plantinga both find this interpretation reasonable, but add that after m. 37, "the substance of the play is untraceable except in the general character of the headlong allegro."[10]

Other interpreters maintain that the introduction is simply a depiction of Lear's personality. Mendl says,

> The overture was intended to be a portrait of King Lear himself, with

his impulsiveness, his outbursts of fury, alternating with tenderness and gentleness (represented by the lovely second subject in the oboe)—a figure of tragic grandeur, touched with pathos.[11]

If the introduction represents Lear's division of his kingdom, then some evocation of Cordelia would be essential. Wotton acknowledges that the second subject of the introduction expresses Cordelia's reply, but that its repetition (mm. 56–65) has "no eye on a 'programme.' " He believes that Berlioz fell victim to "the desire of a musician to repeat a melody he likes. In its elaborated form, it has almost ceased to represent the youngest daughter."[12] Steinbeck rejects the idea that the second subject portrays Cordelia. In her opinion, association of the oboe song with Cordelia "remains mere conjecture, inasmuch as Berlioz has attached no more precise explanation to his overture."[13] Those writers who reject the idea that Berlioz depicts Cordelia in the second half of the introduction prefer to view the contrast in theme, scoring, and structure as "an equipoise between 'musical and dramatic imagery,' " and claim only that "some connexion can be traced between it and the opening scene of Shakespeare's drama."[14] Donald Ferguson agrees with Wotton that the musical construction is designed to correlate with the general tone and shape of the Shakespearean drama, but that no closer connection can be established between the play and the overture. He explains,

> What he saw in *Lear* is doubtless pictured with vividness. There is, however, no tradition of direct association between the themes of the Overture and any episodes or characters of the drama. But even we can see an appropriateness to the high extremes of feeling and behavior which characterize the play. There is an Introduction in which these extremes are illustrated—a vigorous subject . . . and a lyrical phrase in the oboe. The same high antithesis appears in the main subject-matter of the *Allegro disperato ed agitato assai*. . . . But if you try to make these themes into Wagnerian leading-motives you will be lost.[15]

What transpires in the second half of the introduction, however, should be interpreted as Cordelia's answer. The oboe song (mm. 38–65) is followed by a stern restatement of the opening idea, this time presented by the entire string section, depicting Cordelia's banishment. In his *Treatise on Modern Instrumentation and Orchestration*, Berlioz claims that the oboe is an especially melodic instrument, well-suited for evocations of "tenderness" and "timidity," "candor" and "artless grace."[16] Certainly Cordelia's reply embodies these qualities:

> Good my lord,
> You have begot me, bred me, lov'd me: I
> Return those duties back as are right fit,
> Obey you, love you, and most honor you.
>
> (I, 1, 95–8)

At no point in the play could King Lear be described as timid, tender, or

graceful. On the basis of the orchestration alone, it is impossible to assume that Berlioz means to depict Lear in the oboe song of the introduction. In fact, Berlioz could hardly have been more explicit in evoking the scene of the division of the kingdom, given the explicit reference to Cordelia in the oboe scoring and general style of measures 38–65. It is clear that the unstable harmony and unpredictable melodic direction of the first idea, scored as it is for low strings, is a perfect evocation of a proud but infirm king who in the words of his daughter "hath ever but slenderly known himself" (I, 1, 294). The first eight measures of the overture could well illustrate Lear's confusion:

> Does any here know me? This is not Lear.
> Does Lear walk thus? speak thus? Where are his eyes?
> Either his notion weakens, his discernings
> Are lethargied—Ha! waking? 'Tis not so.
> Who is it that can tell me who I am?[17]
>
> (I, 4, 226–30)

Harley Granville-Barker explains the rationale behind the Shakespearean opposition between Lear and Cordelia in the opening scene as follows:

> Shakespeare has provided in this encounter between Cordelia and Lear that prime necessity of drama, clash of character; that sharpest clash, moreover, of like in opposition to like. He has added wonder and beauty by setting these twin spirits in noble and contrasted habitations. Pride unchecked in Lear has grown monstrous and diseased with his years. In her youth it shows unspoiled; it is in flower. But it is the same pride.[18]

Melodic construction, scoring, and bipartite structure of the introduction capture the contrast between characters; yet the scoring, by virtue of soloistic writing for each theme, also conveys the fundamental similarity between Lear and his daughter to which Granville-Barker has referred. He adds,

> There is not, at any time, much to explain in Cordelia. Nor does she . . . protest her love and expand her forgiveness. She has not changed; elaboration would only falsify her. Not that she is by nature taciturn; she can resolve the harmonies of her mind, and Shakespeare gives a flowing music to them.[19]

The oboe song and its restatement reflect an emotional and harmonic ability to resolve, while Lear's recitative is less harmonically stable. Moreover, the simplicity and regularity of Cordelia's melody, with its lack of ornamentation, reflects her straightforward character.

Tovey's "explanation" of the Cordelia question is consistent with his inability to perceive the relationship between the title of the overture and the music itself, and the correspondence between the play and the overture. He writes:

> . . . nobody need quarrel with the suggestion that the beautiful melody

for the oboe in the introduction is worthy of Cordelia; but it is quite another question whether, if Cordelia could ever have expressed herself so freely and attractively, the tragedy would have happened at all.[20]

Tovey exhibits lack of insight by stating that Cordelia's literary response to Lear is anything but free and attractive. It is precisely because Cordelia is such an open and gentle character that Lear's treatment of her strikes the reader as being so unfair. The resultant sympathy with Cordelia permits the play to progress.

Musical evidence, combined with a knowledge of the biographical context for the overture and familiarity with Shakespeare's play, contradicts any interpretation that does not acknowledge close correspondence between the music and the play, especially in the introduction. Tovey's essay is particularly weakened by the following statement:

> In short, we shall only misunderstand Berlioz's *King Lear* overture so long as we try to connect it with Shakespeare's King Lear at all. What Berlioz has achieved is exactly what he has attempted: a magnificent piece of orchestral rhetoric in tragic style, inspired neither by particular passages in literature nor by particular events in Berlioz's life, but by much the same impulses that lead him to tell effective tales of himself, of his friends, and of enemies. . . . Above all, he is inspired by the orchestra itself. You have only to dip into the *Traité d'Instrumentation* to see that even as a prose writer (in which capacity he is more adroit than as a musician) the mere tone of an orchestral instrument inspires him . . . with vivid powers of description and characterization.[21]

Another problem with Tovey's essay, revealed in the quotation above, is his concentration on Berlioz's supposed character defects rather than on the merits and meaning of his composition. As for the meaning of the overture, Tovey offers the following comment:

> No; let us frankly call this overture the Tragedy of the Speaking Basses, of the Plea of the Oboe, and of the Fury of the Orchestra; and let us be content, in the admirable phrase of Sir Henry Hadow, to speak of an 'angry sunset' without troubling ourselves about the cause of the anger.[22]

Dickinson unfortunately agrees with Tovey. He advises that "in the concert-hall it is far better to forget *Lear* and listen, remembering the name as a convenient distinction from the other overture in C, *Le Corsaire*."[23] Dickinson's apparent belief that titles serve no more far-reaching purpose than to distinguish one work from another is an especially untenable viewpoint when discussing 19th-century program music.

Removing *King Lear* from its biographical and conceptual context invalidates any interpretation of it. In addition, if the work is not considered within the context of Berlioz's entire *oeuvre*, observations like the following one made by Plantinga are often risky:

> A comparison with the play . . . is bound to founder in inconsistencies. From what we know of the views of Berlioz and the most articulate of his musical contemporaries, moreover, minute, literal correspondences between instrumental music and literary models or programs were seldom intended. The sound of a head bouncing down the steps of a guillotine in the *Symphonie fantastique* is really a most singular occurrence in the music of Berlioz.[24]

Wotton cites *King Lear* (in an apparently self-contradictory statement) as "an example of a work . . . closely attached to some vague programme."[25] Yet one has only to study *Romeo and Juliet, The Tempest,* and *King Lear* to discover the precise and thoughtful correspondence between Berlioz's instrumental music and his literary models.

The opposition between the headstrong King and his lyrical daughter Cordelia presented in the introduction establishes the governing principle of the overture. In the allegro section, the same opposition is expanded and developed beginning in m. 87. The main theme, according to Steinbeck, represents Lear and the ill fortune which leads him to madness.[26] Vigor, rhythmic differentiation, and downward direction characterize the main theme. Because these were also the governing characteristics of the introductory theme that most writers believe to be a depiction of Lear, the main theme of the allegro should be viewed as an extension of this characterization. By the same principle, the second theme (mm. 151ff), another oboe song, mirrors the Cordelia theme of the introduction in scoring, structure, and placement. The opposition between "Lear" and "Cordelia" melodies continues throughout the development (mm. 226–305), the recapitulation (mm. 306–590), and the coda (mm. 591–637). Further, the fact that these themes always recur somehow transformed reflects the evolutionary nature of the unfolding psychological drama.

The sonata-form structure poses another obstacle to interpretation. Most commentators, in an effort to cope with the sonata-form ideal expected in concert overtures, dismiss the form of *King Lear* as being as abstruse and confusing as its programmatic content. This is because the tonic returns before the end of the development and, in a break with traditional form, the introductory Lear recitative recurs in the recapitulation (mm. 340ff) not in the tonic, but in the subdominant. Moreover, the development is unusually short, and the recapitulation is largely propelled by techniques of development. By failing to see the psychological transformation of Lear as the central idea of the overture, commentors cannot justify Berlioz's emphasis on developmental techniques which reflect Lear's deteriorating mental health.

Most analyses of the programmatic content of the overture fail when critics do not perceive the similarities between the introductory Cordelia theme and the second subject of the allegro. Yet the structure, scoring, and placement, as has already been mentioned, are in clear and consistent opposition to that of the Lear ideas. The inability to perceive this operating principle

causes Tovey to ask:

> . . . What elements or persons in the play are we to connect with the second subject of the allegro? Surely not Cordelia; if the melody in the introduction might perhaps claim to sound the depths of Cordelia's heart and show us the tenderness her father could not find in her sincerity, *this* kind of melody wears its heart on its sleeve. And no one who knows Berlioz's ideas of the beautiful will dare to suggest that these themes are meant to show the specious "tender-hefted nature" of Regan or Goneril; though it would on that theory be easy to explain the furious transformation of [the second subject] . . . as the true unmasking of their character.[27]

Wotton cannot find Cordelia in the allegro, either:

> The whole . . . Allegro is, I am inclined to believe, devoted to a portrayal of Lear. As far as I am aware the only clue that Berlioz himself gave us was in a letter to Liszt, in which he said that he intended to express a "deranged mind" by a passage towards the end of the overture. As this is a transformation of one of the subsidiary subjects, obviously they have nothing to do with Cordelia. . . . Probably both the melodies illustrate the "poor old man, as full of grief as age."[28]

The "deranged mind" passage to which Wotton refers begins in m. 561. According to Wotton, Berlioz's comment to Liszt regarding Liszt's piano transcription of the *Lear* overture was the following:

> Whenever this figure appears you use octave triplets. Now, the triplet is quite insufficient to produce the effect of quavers; ternary rhythm is there irreconcilable with the deranged mind (*caractère échevelé*) that I wish to illustrate.[29]

Jacques Barzun explains that Wotton has been misled by an error in his translation:

> The belief that the triplets toward the end represent a "demented character" rests on a mistranslation of Berlioz's words to Liszt: *le caractère échevelé* refers to the "headlong nature" of the *passage*; the French word for "character" in the sense alleged would be *personnage*. This mistake shows at once how Berlioz understood the embodiment of drama, and how easy it is to misinterpret an artist when some fixed idea of his method has taken root.[30]

After hearing a performance of the *Overture to King Lear*, the blind King of Hanover had no trouble finding musical references to Cordelia. He said, as related by Berlioz,

> It's wonderful, M. Berlioz, wonderful! Your orchestra speaks. You don't need words. I followed it all: the King's entry into his council, the storm on the heath, the terrible scene in the prison, and Cordelia's lament.

> Oh, this Cordelia! How you have portrayed her—such tenderness and humility! It's heartrending, and so beautiful.[31]

Dale Cockrell says, "Berlioz accepted the King's programmatic reading of the piece, and indeed he corroborates the idea that he intended it as program music"[32] in several letters. That the overture plainly refers to the opposition between Lear and Cordelia is evident in the following letter:

> The day before yesterday—laugh or smile if you like—I found myself unable to hold back a tear while conducting *King Lear.* I was thinking perhaps that Father Shakespeare would not curse me for having made his old British King and his sweet Cordelia speak in those strains. I had forgotten the work. . . .[33]

Those commentators who cannot identify musical references to Cordelia often try a different tactic by attempting to find at least a thunderstorm in the overture. Tovey says,

> Even in externals, such as Berlioz enjoyed to handle realistically, you will not be able to fit this work to *King Lear.* Where are the thunderstorms? The drum figure  in the introduction is very impressive; but it is everything else that thunder is not: it is rhythmic, it ends with a crack which does not reverberate, and it is invariable. Berlioz never meant it for thunder.[34]

Tovey is correct in stating that the drum figure in the introduction (mm. 66ff) is not an evocation of thunder. Besides, to preserve the chronology of scene and action in the play, Berlioz would have to place the thunderstorm in a spot corresponding to the end of Act II and continuing through all of Act III. The introduction would therefore not be a suitable spot. But what of the drum figure? In a letter to Baron von Donop dated 2 October 1831, Berlioz himself stated,

> . . . it used to be the custom at the court of Charles X, as late as 1830, to announce the King's entrance into his chambers . . . to the sound of an enormous drum which beats a strange rhythm of five beats. . . . From this I had the idea of accompanying the entry of Lear into his council chamber for the scene of the division of the kingdom by a similar effect on the timpani.
>
> I did not intend for his madness to be represented until the middle of the *Allegro,* when the basses bring in the theme of the introduction in the middle of the storm.[35]

The legitimate outline of the overture's program, therefore, is that the introduction is intended as a depiction of the division of the kingdom, there is indeed a storm in the middle of the overture, and that the reprise of the Lear recitative in the unexpected key of the subdominant should be interpreted as the definitive sign of the King's madness. This interpretation is based on

Berlioz's writings, including the *Treatise on Orchestration*, as well as his letters and information found in the *Mémoires* that reveals Berlioz's thorough knowledge of Shakespeare and dramatic principles.

All of the essays on *King Lear* cited above fail on one or several counts. The most common shortcoming is the failure to understand or accept the programmatic basis for musical choices: the justification for musical choices is often attributed to what interpreters perceive as Berlioz's slightly idiosyncratic personality. Writers remove the work from its biographical context, and even mistranslate the few examples of Berlioz's prose writings that can be brought to bear on the investigation. And because Berlioz does not often refer directly to the *King Lear* overture in the *Mémoires* or other essays, it is assumed that nothing else Berlioz wrote could possibly be useful to interpreters of the overture. Yet there is ample evidence from Berlioz's own words that, if combined with appropriate analysis and an approach free of misconceived prejudices, yields a convincing explanation of the programmatic form and content of the work.

NOTES

[1] Hector Berlioz, *Mémoires,* David Cairns, ed. and trans. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), p. 152. The other guilty woman was Camille's mother, who had arranged for the deception in the first place.

[2] Ibid., p. 157.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis,* Vol. IV: Illustrative Music (London: Oxford University Press, 1937; rpt. ed., 1965), p. 83.

[5] Ibid., p. 83.

[6] Ibid., p. 84.

[7] R. W. S. Mendl, "Berlioz and Shakespeare, Part I" in *The Chesterian* 29/182 (April 1955), p. 99.

[8] A. E. F. Dickinson, *The Music of Berlioz* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 163.

[9] Tom S. Wotton, *Hector Berlioz* (London: Oxford University Press, 1935; rpt. Johnson Reprint, 1969), p. 88.

[10] Jacques Barzun, *Berlioz and the Romantic Century,* Vol. I (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969), p. 188. The quotation is from Barzun. Plantinga's thoughts on the subject are similar in "Berlioz's Use of Shakespearean Themes" in *Yale French Studies* (New Haven: Eastern Press, 1964), pp. 73–4.

[11] Mendl, "Berlioz and Shakespeare, Part I," p. 99. Suzanne Steinbeck also agrees that the overture depicts only Lear. According to her, the introduction foreshadows the tragic decline of the king, while the syncopation and downward motion of the first thematic idea convey the workings of cruel destiny. [Suzanne Steinbeck, *Die Ouvertüre in der Zeit von Beethoven bis Wagner: Probleme und Lösungen* (Munich: Musikverlag Emil Katzbichler, 1973), p. 102.]

[12] Wotton, *Hector Berlioz,* p. 89.

[13] Steinbeck, *Die Ouvertüre,* p. 102n.

[14] Wotton, *Hector Berlioz,* p. 89.

[15] Donald Ferguson, *Masterworks of the Orchestral Repertoire* (Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press, 1954), p. 124.

[16] Hector Berlioz, *Traité d'Instrumentation et Orchestration Moderne* [1842], Joseph Bennett, ed., Mary Cowden Clarke, trans. (London and New York: Novello, Ewer, & Co., 1882), p. 81.

[17] Berlioz later used unpredictable melodic direction, ambiguous harmonic foundation, and scoring for solo instrument to depict "Romeo Alone" in *Romeo and Juliet.* Lear's words quoted

here are remarkably similar to words spoken by Romeo ("This is not Romeo, he's some other where"), hence it is probably not accidental that the music composed for both scenes is quite similar.

[18] Harley Granville-Barker, *Prefaces to Shakespeare*, Vol. II (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946; rpt. ed., 1963), p. 44.

[19] Ibid., pp. 44–5.

[20] Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, p. 83.

[21] Ibid., pp. 83–4.

[22] Ibid., p. 85.

[23] Dickinson, *The Music of Berlioz*, p. 163.

[24] Plantinga, "Berlioz's Use of Shakespearean Themes," p. 74.

[25] Wotton, *Hector Berlioz*, pp. 89–90.

[26] Steinbeck, *Die Ouvertüre*, p. 103.

[27] Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, p. 83.

[28] Wotton, *Hector Berlioz*, pp. 89–90.

[29] Hector Berlioz, letter to Franz Liszt, cited in Wotton, *Hector Berlioz*, p. 123.

[30] Barzun, *Berlioz and the Romantic Century*, Vol. I., p. 188n.

[31] Berlioz, *Mémoires*, p. 472.

[32] William Dale Cockrell, *Berlioz and "le système Shakespearien"* (Ph.D. Diss. University of Illinois, 1978), p. 20.

[33] Berlioz, letter to M. and Mme. Massart dated 19 April 1863. Cited in Cockrell, *Berlioz and "le système Shakespearien,"* p. 49. Also found in Humphrey Searle, ed., *Berlioz, a Selection from his Letters* (New York: Vienna House, 1966; rpt. ed., 1973), p. 183.

[34] Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis*, p. 83.

[35] Cited in Cockrell, *Berlioz and "le système Shakespearien,"* p. 21. Also found in Hugh MacDonald, *Berlioz Orchestral Music*. BBC Music Guide No. 10 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969; rpt. ed., 1978), p. 18.

Keith W. Daniel. ***Francis Poulenc: His Artistic Development and Musical Style*** (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 390 pp.

Defining a composer's style and artistic development is an imposing task. A composer's style is what makes his music his. A definition of that style would determine all the features common to individual works, separating those specific to the composer from those common to his contemporaries. An account of his artistic development would add to the definition of his style the sources and changing nature of that style.

This is the central concern of Keith W. Daniel's book, the first complete survey of the music of Poulenc. Considering both the diversity of sources for Poulenc's style and the size and diversity of his output, Daniel set himself a sizable undertaking. While the resulting study does not reach any great depth in dealing with individual works or with Poulenc's style as a whole, the book is a good introduction to the composer's life and works.

Although not intended as a biography, the book includes a brief outline of the composer's life, concentrating on Poulenc's professional career. Unlike many of his colleagues, Poulenc was not trained at the Conservatoire. Mr. Daniel discusses Poulenc's studies with the pianist, Ricardo Viñes, as well as the composer's place in "Les Nouveaux Jeunes" or "Les Six." Also included are the writers and poets whose texts Poulenc set; the author details Poulenc's professional relations with Cocteau, Apollinaire, and Eluard. As the author himself points out, Poulenc's life and career have already been dealt with more extensively elsewhere, for example, in Henri Hell's *Francis Poulenc, musicien français*.

Most of the book, as evidenced by its title, is given over to the central question of Poulenc's style and the place of individual works within his development as a composer. Mr. Daniel is not entirely successful in dealing with this. The sheer size of the repertoire is perhaps too great for a single-volume study: Poulenc wrote about 150 songs for voice and piano. In his attempt to be comprehensive, Mr. Daniel is sometimes superficial in his treatment of individual works.

One of the central problems in defining a composer's style is an inclination to make sweeping generalizations. "Nevertheless, his style can and ought to be described in order to discover its unique blend of traditional techniques and a modern aesthetic."[1] Mr. Daniel's generalization that Poulenc's compositional techniques were traditional becomes the main flaw in the book. His view of the composer as a traditionalist rather than as an innovator leads to descriptions of the music in analytic terms which are equally traditional. The descriptions of the music are atomistic. The author describes melodic,

harmonic, rhythmic, contrapuntal, formal, instrumentation, and dissonance practices as separate entities. The features obvious to anyone are easily described: Poulenc's conservative choice of genre and instrumentation and the brevity of many of his works. Other features of Poulenc's music are sufficiently similar to older practices that Mr. Daniel's choice of terminology serves adequately as an analogy. It is important to note that he did not set out to analyze individual works and so he does not attempt to explain the coherence of any individual piece. The language is an attempt to describe certain features of the works in terms which will be easily understood by the reader. However, if the reader were unfamiliar with a particular work being discussed, some of Mr. Daniel's statements might prove misleading.

The author's terminology is least clear when he discusses the formal construction of the music and the melodic and harmonic language. He says "Poulenc's formal structures are quite conservative, reflecting the neoclassic tendency to hark back to the conventions of the early 18th century. The most prevalent in the instrumental music is modified ternary form (ABA')."[2] It is true that many of Poulenc's instrumental works follow a pattern of statement–contrast–return. However, Mr. Daniel's assertion needs amplification on two points. First, Poulenc's use of contrast often involved changes in meter and tempo, as well as changes in melodic content. This should be stated as being an integral feature of Poulenc's formal structures, rather than being mentioned later on in the book. Otherwise, the reader might be led to think that Poulenc's instrumental forms resembled classical Menuet and Trio, or perhaps, da capo aria form. Second, models for ternary forms with central sections in contrasting tempi and meter are often found in 19th-century music. Thus, the first movements of Poulenc's Trio and Sextet bear a closer resemblance to some 19th-century piano music, in which two more-rapid sections flank a slow central section. Poulenc's use of this form is a continuation of a 19th-century tradition rather than a return to earlier models. Poulenc's ternary forms do not necessarily indicate a neoclassic influence.

Mr. Daniel's basic view of Poulenc's harmonic language is difficult to fault. "The vast majority of Poulenc's music is unambiguously tonal. Though he did not always employ key signatures (a matter of convenience in a rapidly modulating style), the music nearly always gives a sense of being firmly in a key."[3] Certainly, in the sense that one pitch is felt as a goal, the music is tonal. However, Mr. Daniel adds, "It is also safe to say that Poulenc's harmony is fundamentally diatonic and functional. The functions are often intricate or circuitous, but they can usually be discerned."[4] The difficulty here is with two terms, "function" and "modulation." Mr. Daniel has tacitly taken Riemann's view of function—all chords must fit as tonic, sub-dominant, or dominant—and applied it to Poulenc's music in the narrowest sense possible. His chord registration is restricted to only those passages with easily identifiable diatonic progressions. If the music departs from this at all, Mr. Daniel views the harmonic language as non-functional. He equates chord counting with function.

Mr. Daniel has defined modulation as any departure from the initial key

center, no matter how brief. "The 'game of modulations' which gives Poulenc's music such expressivity and personality, is nowhere better played than in the song '*Tu vois le feu du soir.*' Here he passes effortlessly from C-sharp minor, through such unrelated keys as A-flat minor at bar 9, B minor at bar 11, F minor at bar 14, C minor at bar 20, and B-flat minor at bar 25, finally arriving in E-flat major at bar 33. He returns to minor (E-flat) at bar 38, passes to F-sharp minor at bar 41, and returns to the home key of C-sharp minor at bar 47."[5]

These views of function and modulation yield odd results when Mr. Daniel applies them to Poulenc's music. In discussing the Sextet, Mr. Daniel says of the piano part of the first movement: "Strangely enough, though the A section begins in the key of A, its return . . . is in the key of D, yet the piano accompaniment is the same for both passages; the harmonies suggested by this accompaniment are among the most nonfunctional that Poulenc ever wrote."[6]

This analysis is highly questionable. In the first place, it is only the initial two measures of the two parallel phrases which indicate different tonal areas. Both times the lines lead back to the same pitches in the woodwind parts in the space of eight measures. Second, while a key center of A may be said to be established by the material preceding the entrance of the piano figure mentioned by Mr. Daniel in the first instance, in the second instance the area of D is suggested only by the opening octave leap in the winds. The close of the contrasting "B" section does not suggest D very strongly; if anything it suggests F-sharp.

The difficulty with this as analysis lies with taking such a narrow view of function. The harmonic language of any composer working in the 20th century will not be exactly equivalent to that of earlier composers. The passage Mr. Daniel cites in the Sextet cannot be adequately explained in terms of an analytic method which deals only with a diatonic collection. In part, Mr. Daniel suggests the solution to this difficulty when, in discussing the use of seventh and ninth chords in Poulenc's music, he says: "What is unusual is Poulenc's insistence on added sevenths on the tonic triad, along with the normal seventh chords on the other scale degrees. Though Poulenc might have denied it, this practice can be traced back to Fauré, one of the most, though subtle harmonic innovators of the late 19th and early 20th centuries."[7] The question should be raised as to whether Mr. Daniel's method of chord registration would meet with any great success with music by Poulenc's immediate predecessors, or indeed, how well it works in explaining French, as opposed to German, harmonic practices.

Again, Mr. Daniel is not seeking an analysis of coherence within Poulenc's music; the terms he uses might be justifiable because they convey the sound of the music to a certain extent. The treatment of dissonance and harmony as two separate elements is an awkward compromise between analysis and description. Mr. Daniel develops a distinction in Poulenc's style by suggesting types of dissonance treatment. The first, "wrong-note" dissonance, "involves the addition of one or more notes 'out-of-tune' with their conventionally

determined context."[8] The second, "harsh" dissonance, is described thus: "While 'wrong-note' is dissonant against a conventional background, 'harsh dissonance' is more autonomous, not as easily analyzed or 'cleaned up.' "[9] The third type is Poulenc's use of added note chords, sevenths, ninths, and thirteenths. The question remains that if Mr. Daniel had started from a different premise regarding Poulenc's harmonic language, one which did not see the composer's harmony as basically diatonic, would he be led to make the same distinctions among the types of Poulenc's dissonance treatment? Are sevenths, ninths, and thirteenths really dissonant in the context of Poulenc's music?

These are questions raised by Mr. Daniel's discussion of Poulenc's style. Given the type of analysis used, Mr. Daniel does succeed in uncovering a great deal of the nature of that style. Often he draws interesting comparisons between Poulenc's works and possible sources in other composers' works. In addition to the comparison with Fauré mentioned earlier, a particularly intriguing instance is the discussion of the influence of Claude Le Jeune's choral music on Poulenc. Given Le Jeune's interest in a naturalistic setting of French, and the great number of vocal works, both solo and choral, by Poulenc, this is a comparison which might be fruitful to investigate.

In general, Mr. Daniel's discussion of the background of the works seems more helpful than his description of the music. In his attempt to be all-encompassing, some pieces are treated so briefly and superficially that there seems to be no reason to have included them at all. For instance, the mention of the Impromptu for Piano, "No. 9, in D major, is so fleeting as to be precarious. It tumbles off the fingers in one continuous flow, resulting in melodic snatches rather than characteristic Poulencian 'tunes.' The tail leaves us with a particularly ingratiating final impression."[10] It is difficult to say what this establishes about the piece other than that it would seem to be short and fast. This kind of commentary seems more suited to program notes than to a serious study of a composer. One wishes the author had simply omitted it.

On the whole, Mr. Daniel is to be commended for providing an often provocative study. His method of analysis and discussion raises some questions about our assumptions in dealing with the music of a 20th-century composer who is viewed as basically conservative and traditional. Mr. Daniel has raised many issues worthy of further investigation. It is a fine first step in a better understanding of the composer and his works.

—Howard Meltzer

NOTES

[1] Keith W. Daniel, *Francis Poulenc: His Artistic Development and Musical Style* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), p. 57.

[2] Ibid., p. 58.

[3] Ibid., p. 73.

[4] Ibid., p. 74.

[5] Ibid., p. 88.

[6] Ibid., p. 116.

[7] Ibid., pp. 75–76.

[8] Ibid., p. 89.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid., p. 181.

Wolfgang Hildesheimer. ***Mozart.*** Marion Faber, translator. (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1982)*

Wolfgang Hildesheimer is a self-proclaimed novelist, playwright, painter, and psychoanalytic patient. It is in the last-named capacity that he feels qualified to add to the "unending failure" of attempts to write about Mozart.

> For it is impossible to understand any figure of the past, let alone a genius, if one has never attempted self-understanding. Since there is surely not much affinity between the psyche of a genius and that of his interpreter, the latter must apply the perceptions of psychoanalysis as he himself has experienced it.[1]

To be sure, words like "neurosis," "trauma," and "repression" abound, but only in the introductory pages. It is not at all apparent whether the rest of the book is grounded on a psychoanalytical approach, at least not to the unpsychoanalyzed reader.

The insight into the Mozartian psyche that Hildesheimer achieves is that Mozart's music is not autobiographical.

> Mozart's reactions to the external and internal conditions of his life as revealed in the documents are not illuminated by his works. Moreover, they are obscured, unconsciously but systematically, and sometimes by Mozart himself. This is both a thesis of my essay and one of its conclusions.[2]

This is not exactly a revelation. The same thing could be said about most pre-Romantic creative figures. Hildesheimer, however, seems to have anticipated the unimpressed and uncooperative reader. He attempts to head off, so to speak, any rebellious reaction on the part of the reader right at the outset by suggesting that a critical response reveals a personality disorder:

> I am, then, fully conscious of my dependence on the reader's power of imagination and willingness to imagine; one cannot convince where an iron will refuses to understand, where an automatic defense mechanism rejects a proposed insight before testing it.[3]

NOTES

[1] Keith W. Daniel, *Francis Poulenc: His Artistic Development and Musical Style* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), p. 57.

[2] Ibid., p. 58.

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[4] Ibid., p. 74.

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[7] Ibid., pp. 75–76.

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Mozart grew out of a talk given in 1956. It was twenty-one years in the writing and revising. If one is looking for a scholarly treatment of Mozart, one will not find it here. There is no bibliography. There are back notes, but not many. To Hildesheimer's credit, about half of these refer to material published since the 1956 lecture. They mainly consist of published letters and selected biographies and articles on Mozart. Although Hildesheimer has limited himself to the secondary literature, he has not exhausted it. Maynard Solomon, in his perceptive review of the book,[4] points out sources Hildesheimer neglected, as well as factual errors, distortions, and omissions.

The organization of the book is unusual. There are no chapter divisions. After a 13-page introductory apology, Hildesheimer rolls along in a continuous stream of consciousness: "I would like, as far as clarity permits, to pursue free associations without being bound to a formal structure." Unfortunately, clarity does not always accommodate him. For that reason one could not recommend this book to a reader not already acquainted with at least the outline of Mozart's life. Hildesheimer makes frequent, usually derogatory, references to existing biographies, particularly Einstein's (1953) and Abert's (1973), as though he presumed the reader to be already familiar with them. His mission is to forcibly enlighten the duped reader of these other biographies. He cautions his reader about

> . . . the sorry nature of trite biographies: they find easy explanations for everything, within a range of probability we can comprehend. . . . Given their inequality of powers, the writer's identification with the hero, his fixation on him, makes his effort at representation profoundly untruthful.[5]

Hildesheimer's crusade is the only explanation for the moralizing, contentious tone he maintains throughout the book.

The free associations pursued seem to fall into four indistinct categories: Mozart himself, his appearance, and the key events in his life; Mozart's work, especially, in fact almost exclusively, the operas from *Idomeneo* on; the "secondary characters" in Mozart's life; and digressions.

The digressions range from discussions of "genius" ("Geniuses are rarely healthy") and "humor" to an attack on "purity fanatics," the vigor of which suggests it may be in the nature of an "automatic defense mechanism." But the digression that the writer returns to again and again, like an *idée fixe*, is Mozart's choice of keys and the significance of his use of the minor mode, in particular Hildesheimer's "favorite key in Mozart," D minor. Yet in all of his discussions of the presence or absence of special attributes of certain keys, Hildesheimer betrays no understanding of or even passing acquaintance with non-equal temperaments:

> But we must take into account that there was still no standard concert pitch and that, normally, pitch was somewhat different from our own, perhaps more than a half tone lower, and that the D minor of the time would sound to us like a rather low C-sharp minor.[6]

The single note "d" on Mozart's piano might have sounded like a rather *high* C-sharp to our A=440 ears, but D minor would not sound like C-sharp minor. Even worse: "Abert calls D minor Mozart's 'key of fate' (for Einstein it is G minor). Let us offer Abert one indisputable interpretation of his view: both birth and death are destiny."[7] This indisputable interpretation is based on the Quartet in D Minor, K. 421/417b. Mozart is supposed to have composed this work while Constanze was in labor with their first child and to have included in it her cries of pain. Hildesheimer pinpoints the passage in question as being mm. 31–32 of the Andante. He may be right. But if so, it doesn't reveal very much about the significance of D minor. The Andante is in F major and those two bars are a *i–iv–V–i* progression in C minor.

Hildesheimer begins the discussion of Mozart's life with a "premature summation of the later period." It seems to be necessary to his thesis to exaggerate the rejection and isolation of Mozart's final years and to ". . . keep this ominous, ever-present signpost in mind as the destination of all the highways and byways of our protagonist." The alert reader can no doubt cope with this arrangement. But even allowing for the fact that the ensuing narrative of Mozart's life is fragmented and dispersed among digressions, not all of which are obviously relevant, it might have been better if some sort of chronology had been maintained. It is confusing, for instance, to read on page 76 of the death of Mozart's mother in Paris; then to read about her waiting for Mozart, "bored as she was in her shabby quarters, consumed by longing for Salzburg" on page 130. Hildesheimer's criticism of the 1828 biography of Mozart by Constanze's second husband, Georg Nicolaus Nissen, seems remarkably apt for his own book:

> Obviously neither Nissen nor Constanze took the trouble, and probably did not possess the ability, to put this report into any kind of logical or even chronological order. On the contrary, they have weakened its descriptive power by adding irrelevancies; . . . the mental activity attributed to the hero was not the strong point of the author of the biography; his methodology belongs in a grade-school essay.[8]

The writer is on surer ground in his lengthy discussion of the operas, especially the three da Ponte operas. But he dismisses Schikaneder ("one of the most talented and influential theatre men of his age" according to Peter Branscombe in *The New Grove*) as a dissolute character and makes it sound as though *The Magic Flute* were produced in the most unsavory neighborhood in Vienna. Thus, he views the popular success that it undeniably had as not legitimate and uses the opera as a further example of the total abandonment of Mozart by Viennese society that he is trying so desperately to demonstrate.

Hildesheimer cleverly analyzes several of Mozart's letters in operatic terms. The letter to Michael Puchberg requesting money he calls *recitativo accompagnato* and the one to his father mocking the convention of sending greetings to everyone is comic opera—an "alphabetical debauch." He characterizes Mozart's letter to the Abbé Bullinger asking him to prepare Leo-

pold for the news of his wife's death as being in the language of *opera seria*. Later, Hildesheimer suggests that in a "prepsychological" age, people of Mozart's class expressed "the life of the psyche" in the formulas belonging to *opera seria*. But in Mozart's case, Hildesheimer often unfairly interprets this as a substitute for feeling or as a mask for covering up a failure to feel. One might justifiably come to the opposite conclusion, that in emotionally trying times, everyday vocabulary seems so inadequate that one turns to a more formal mode of expression. In any case, it seems unwise to attempt to judge another person's grief, particularly if the one making the evaluation is as fastidious as Hildesheimer:

> We are only too happy to avoid imagining the necessarily unpleasant smell of any deathbed (I admit I have often wondered how it could be tolerated).[9]

A corollary to this is the treatment of the cast of supporting players in Mozart's life. No one comes off well here, except perhaps Haydn, and Hildesheimer is particularly hard on the women. Mozart's mother is "insignificant," his sister, Nannerl, possessed "a colorlessness that was almost intense," his sister-in-law, Sophie, was "mediocre and, ultimately, as lusterless as her sister," Constanze, who is depicted as a shallow hypochondriac. Hildesheimer describes the suffering of this woman, who was pregnant six times in eight years and who watched four of those babies die, as "imaginary." On the other hand, his assessment of her untidy housekeeping is inadvertently amusing: "The virtue of domestic orderliness rarely comes unattended, but it brings with it other qualities that only Philistines and frigid personalities hold to be virtues."[10] Revealing remarks like this, as well as the inherently fascinating subject of Mozart himself, make this book compelling reading—particularly if one enjoys being annoyed.

—*Jane Adas*

NOTES

* Originally published in German (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1977). 366 pp., illustrations, notes, chronology, indexes of names and works.

[1] Hildesheimer, *Mozart*, p. 6.

[2] Ibid., p. 4.

[3] Ibid., p. 11.

[4] In *The Musical Quarterly* LXIX (1983), pp. 270–79.

[5] Hildesheimer, p. 7.

[6] Ibid., p. 165.

[7] Ibid., p. 164.

[8] Ibid., pp. 265–66.

[9] Ibid., pp. 359–60.

[10] Ibid., p. 254.