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Jommelli's Last Opera for Germany: The Opera Seria–Comica *La schiava liberata* (Ludwigsburg, 1768)

By Marita P. McClymonds

Jommelli terminated his sixteen-year attachment to the Württemberg court in 1768 with the opera seria-comica *La schiava liberata.*[1] Some two centuries later, revivals of the work are generating renewed critical interest. The opera is worthy of our attention for several reasons: among these, it illustrates the theatrical style at midcentury as practiced by one of its most admired composers, and it illuminates the extent and sophistication of that legacy and its influence not only on Mozart, but also on Italian composers working well into the nineteenth century.

The aspect of *La schiava liberata* that appears most striking at first glance is the blending of the normally quite separate Italian opera seria and buffa traditions. Jommelli's librettist, Gaetano Martinelli, introduced, into what is primarily a comic harem-rescue story, a noble hero involved in a conflict that could have been taken from a Metastasian libretto. Under such circumstances, one could expect the comic characters to be of low birth and to carry on a plot quite separate from that of the nobility, but such is not the case. Martinelli, who had recently written a number of successful comic libretti for Guglielmi and Paisiello in Venice,[2] succeeded in blending the comic and the serious into a natural and convincing whole. One of the comic characters, Albumazar, is actually a member of the ruling class, and his daughter, Elmira, is a seria character. These serious and comic characters interact freely; everyone participates in the finales; and outrageous, comical shenanigans coexist with the expressions of high-flown sentiment and the contrasting emotional extremes typical of opera seria.

Plot Synopsis

Selim, son of the Bey of Algiers, is welcomed home in triumph after the successful seizure of a Spanish vessel. Among his captives is Dorimene, daughter of a nobleman of Cadiz, who had set sail for Barcelona, home of her fiancé, Don Garzia. Her betrothed servant couple, Giulietta and Pallottino, have also been taken captive. During the trip home, Selim has fallen hopelessly in love with Dorimene, but his father, Solimano, has arranged to reward his courage with the hand of Elmira, the beautiful daughter of the irascible Circassian ruler, Albumazar. Determined to have his Dorimene, Selim engages Pallottino to pose as an Armenian merchant interested in buying the beautiful Spanish woman. His plot is subverted when Pallottino proves more interested in diverting Albumazar's attentions from his Giulietta. Both men are discovered in the harem in female disguise at the close of act 1.

In the second act, Don Garzia arrives and offers a ransom to Solimano in an attempt to free Dorimene, but to no avail. Meanwhile, Elmira, in a jealous rage, nearly succeeds in stabbing the sleeping Selim. Dorimene snatches the dagger from her hand just in time for Selim to awaken and misunderstand the situation. Hurt but undaunted by Dorimene's apparent treachery, Selim again engages Pallottino's aid in obtaining Dorimene, this time with Pallottino posing as a French consul. Albumazar, having learned of the plot, arrives in the same disguise thus providing the requisite confusion for a second finale.

Elmira, recognizing that Dorimene will no longer pose a threat once she is safely on her way home with her fiancé, persuades Solimano to free the captives and thus paves the way for a happy ending.

Comic opera came to Württemberg late in Jommelli's career. During the first decade of his tenure there, roughly 1752–62, opera seria had dominated the musical theater, with lighter diversions taking the form of a series of pastorales and serenatas. By the 1760s, Goldoni's *drammi giocosi,* which both incorporated serious characters into comic opera and concluded each act with multisectional, action-ensemble finales (the product of a collaboration with Galuppi in the early 1750s),[3] had raised the comic genre to new levels of respectability as a courtly entertainment. As a sign of this new respectability, the Württemberg court theater maintained a group of specialists in comic opera after 1766. This group included the librettist Martinelli and five to eight singers. Thus Jommelli had at his disposal the resources of both opera seria and opera buffa.[4]

The fusion of seria and buffa traditions resulted in a greater variety of characters, for the incorporation of a serious plot permitted the introduction of nobility and gentry on the comic stage. Only common folk had previously populated comic opera, since members of the aristocracy could not be made to look foolish or ridiculous or appear in compromising positions. Martinelli's libretto to *La schiava liberata,* like Goldoni's *drammi-giocosi* libretti, has three types of characters, their roles ranging from serious to comic. These have familiar counterparts in Mozart's *Don Giovanni:* there are serious characters, Don Garzia, Solimano, and Elmira, to be compared with Mozart's Donna Anna, Don Ottavio, and Il Commendatore; buffa characters, including Albumazar and the couple Pallottino and Giulietta, like the servant couple Zerlina and Masetto, and Don Giovanni's side-kick Leporello; and finally those of *mezzo carattere,* Selim and Dorimene, who take part in both the comic and serious events of the plot, like Donna Elvira, and Don Giovanni himself.

Contrary to the practice in Italian theaters, the Württemberg court theater assigned singers from the opera seria to serious and semiserious roles in the comic operas. The use of such capable virtuosi permitted the composer to write pieces of unusual difficulty. For *La schiava liberata,* Jommelli composed the semiserious part of Selim, young Algerian hero, for the *primo soprano* Giuseppe Aprile, whom both Mozart and Burney heard singing principal roles in Jommelli's serious operas at Naples in 1770. Monaca Buonani, *seconda donna* of the opera seria, sang the semiserious role of the Spanish noblewoman Dorimene. Giovanni Rubinelli, *secondo uomo* and a contralto, sang the serious

part of her betrothed Don Garzia, and the opera seria tenor, Salvatore Casetti, was cast in the serious role of the Bey of Algiers, Solimano. Surprisingly, Anna Cesari Seemann, *terza donna* of the opera seria, sang the comic role of Giulietta, while Caterina Bonafini, who was hired for the buffa company from Venice where she had appeared in Martinelli's comic operas, sang the serious role of Elmira, Selim's scorned intended. The role of Albumazar, Circassian Turk, was created for the buffo bass Antonio Rossi, and the role of Pallottino for the buffo tenor Giuseppe Cosimi.

The plot of *La schiava liberata* is similar to many harem-rescue stories popular during the period, but it seems to have no direct predecessor. Martinelli's libretto was never performed in Italy, but Joseph Schuster set it for Leipzig in 1777, and it is quite likely that it served as a model for Christoph Bretzner's *Belmont und Constanze oder Die Entführung aus dem Serail.*[5] *La schiava liberata* bears a striking resemblance to Mozart's *Entführung,* in which Bretzner's libretto was recast for Mozart by Johann Gottlieb Stephanie as a *komisches Singspiel.* Both plots deal with European women attempting to remain faithful to their far-distant fiancés, who eventually appear and manage to rescue them with the help of clever servants.

Just as the characters of *La schiava liberata* and Mozart's *Entführung* fulfill buffa, seria, and semiseria operatic roles, so they serve distinct functions in the two plots. Jommelli's Spanish couple, Dorimene and Don Garzia, like Mozart's Belmonte and Constanza, epitomize in their heroic constancy and unwavering devotion the ideal in aristocratic behavior. Don Garzia, unlike Belmonte, however, receives a minimum of musical characterization—only a single, exceptionally beautiful aria at the beginning of act 2. Mozart's comic foil, the servant couple Pedrillo and Blonde, are comparable to Jommelli's Pallottino and Giulietta: Blonde cleverly allays the unwanted advances of Osmin in the same way that Giulietta discourages Albumazar's, and Pedrillo and Pallottino prove to be equally valuable, if zany, assistants to their masters. Both operas have a bully and womanizer in Osmin and Albumazar, though Mozart endowed Osmin with a much meaner character than poor old pompous, bungling Albumazar could ever muster.

Mozart's Selim resembles a composite of Jommelli's Solimano and his son Selim. Though wrong in his insistence on the love of his slave Constanza, Mozart's Selim shows himself in the end to be wise and magnanimous, as all rulers had to be portrayed in the eighteenth century. As such, he is closer to Jommelli's Solimano. Both characters are given a minimum of musical portrayal: Mozart's Selim sings no aria at all, and Jommelli's Solimano has only one.

Just as subsequent settings of Goldoni's operas frequently omitted the serious characters, Mozart's opera has no pair of seria characters comparable to Jommelli's noble couple, Selim and Elmira. Selim, while principally a serious character suffering from unrequited and ill-advised love for Dorimene, becomes involved in the comedy through his intrigues with Pallottino and his encounters with Albumazar. Elmira, on the other hand, does not partici-

pate in the comic plot, but instead portrays the outraged, hysterical, rejected betrothed to the point of parody. She also serves the important function of completing the third couple necessary for a happy ending.

In the overall plan of *La schiava liberata,* Martinelli followed Goldoni's format for the most part. The main body of the work consists of a succession of recitatives and exit arias. Besides the *Introduzione* and the finales concluding each act, Martinelli provided Jommelli with only one other ensemble, a trio. This is an action piece for the comic characters in which Giulietta plays off Albumazar against Pallottino—the type of internal, action ensemble once believed to have originated with Mozart. The comic situations in finales are typical of the buffa genre. In the first finale both Pallottino and Albumazar are discovered dressed in harem disguises so that they might search for Giulietta in the forbidden quarters. In the second, the same two comic characters attempt to pose as the identical French consul. The third finale involves sorting out all of the couples in order to arrive at the required happy ending, but it contains some unusually serious sections as Selim gradually realizes he must bid farewell to his beloved Dorimene.

In his borrowings from the *opera seria,* Martinelli went far beyond the ordinary *opera giocosa.* From the productions of Metastasio's *Semiramide, Didone abbandonata,* and *La clemenza di Tito,* he borrowed pretentious, grand, and stately stage settings to replace the normally domestic scenes of the opera buffa.[6] A celebration for the triumphant return of a noble young hero opens more than one serious opera, but Martinelli's *Introduzione* is considerably more extensive than the static pieces Goldoni was writing at the time. It takes the form of a multi-sectional, action ensemble with chorus, more reminiscent of a finale than an introduction. The chorus was an infrequent component even in serious opera of the period, though not uncommon at Württemberg. Following the *Introduzione,* Jommelli composed grand opening arias for both Solimano and Selim in a style that would have been at home in any opera seria.

From Mattia Verazi, court poet at Mannheim and long-time collaborator with Jommelli, Martinelli borrowed the finale with diminishing personnel. This form is based on the construction of the first two acts of an opera seria, in which all of the characters gradually sing and exit, leaving a single character on stage to close the act.[7] In the finale to the first act of *La schiava liberata,* Albumazar, his harem disguise in disarray, is left alone and deserted on stage to fume and bluster in rage and humiliation. The character of Albumazar proves a most difficult one to portray, for he is found in compromising positions, and he does make a fool of himself, yet his station, the exalted position of his daughter Elmira, and the obvious respect he commands lends him a dignity that rules him out as a stock operatic buffoon.

Aria texts in *La schiava liberata* follow the Goldonian model, and Jommelli's settings combine standard comic forms with seria sentiment. Textual and musical rounding (as typified in the five-part da capo and its many subsequent permutations), which still prevailed in opera seria, were not character-

istic of comic forms after midcentury. Furthermore, two comic opera forms found in *La schiava liberata* that do not contain musical rounding, the double binary aria and the two-tempo aria beginning in a slow tempo and ending in a fast one, are soon to be assimilated into the opera seria as well.

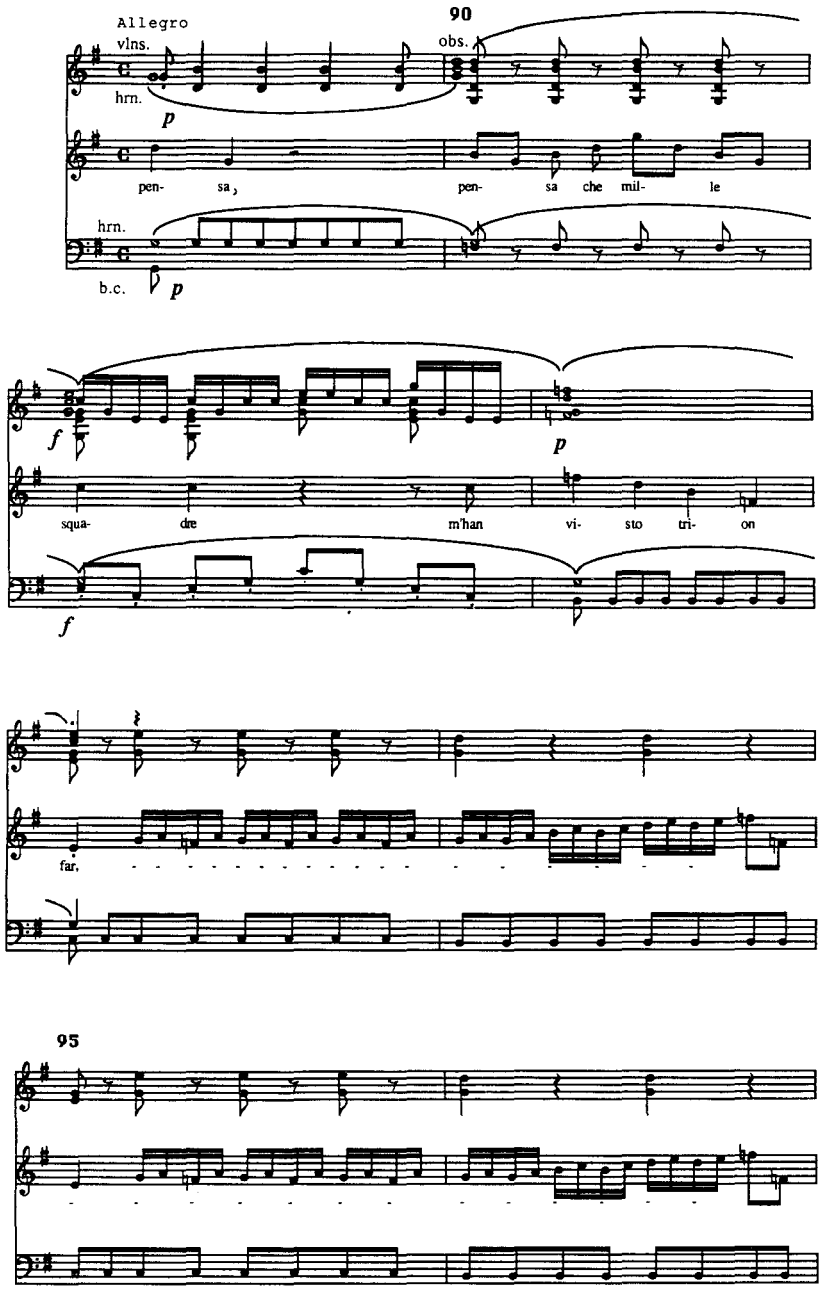
The double binary forms found in *La schiava liberata* are based on long aria texts frequently divided into two strophes generally of unequal lengths, which Jommelli, following contemporary practice, set twice through (ABA'B'). Saverio Mattei, court poet in Naples, called this double binary form a "shortened rondo." He preferred this, the predominant type of aria form in comic opera because it preserved the original order of the poetry, and he took credit for persuading Piccinni to introduce it into the opera seria in the 1770s.[8] In the 1760s, however, only the serious arias in the comic opera retained the poet's original form as Mattei advocated, that is, without textual and musical rounding. Since the practice of rounding still characterizes all full-length seria aria forms of the day, the two serious arias in shortened rondo form for Selim and Solimano at the beginning of *La schiava liberata* are still comic forms in spite of their high-flown seria style. Selim's aria "Se il mio valor" (act 1, scene 1) is based on six lines of text set twice:

Se il mio valor t'è caro
Non cimentarmi o Padre
(Oh Dio, quel pianto amaro
M'induce a delirar!)
Pensa, che mille squadre
M'han visto trionfar.

If you value my courage
Do not try me, o father.
(Oh God, that bitter weeping
Makes me delirious!)
Think that a thousand squadrons
Have seen my triumph.

The outer duplets, strong and defiant, are addressed to Solimano and contain some astonishing *fioritura* composed for the great *primo uomo* Aprile. In contrast, the text of the central duplet, responding to the weeping Dorimene, is fragmented to heighten the dramatic effect, a technique common to Jommelli's work (see example 1).

The two-tempo aria beginning in a slow tempo and concluding in a faster one, a common option in comic opera, was soon to become fashionable in opera seria as well. It is undoubtedly the predecessor of the nineteenth-century cantabile and cabaletta combination. By far the most frequent form of two-tempo aria in comic opera was Mattei's shortened rondo (ABA'B'), in which the A sections are slow and the B sections faster. In light or comic arias the faster sections simply provide a sprightly interlude on the first hear-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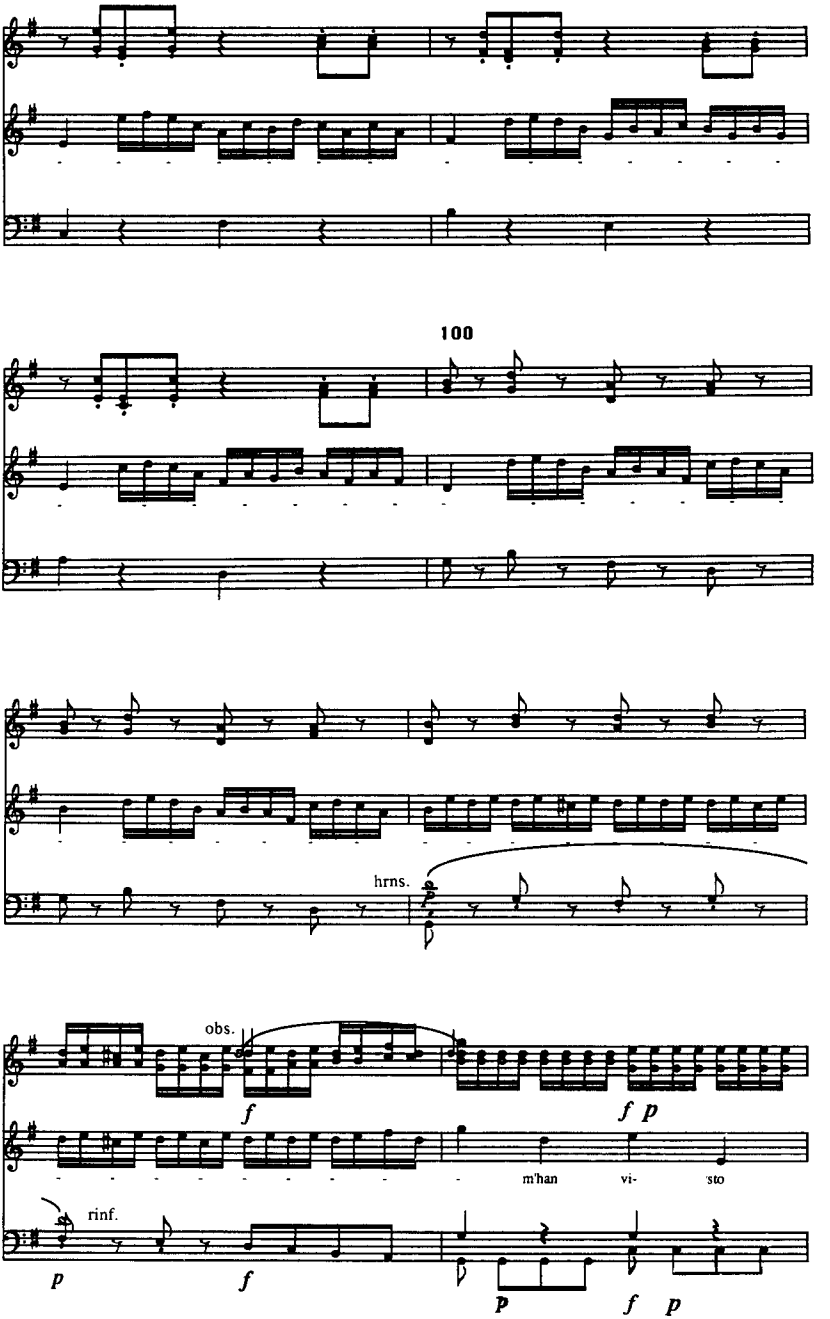
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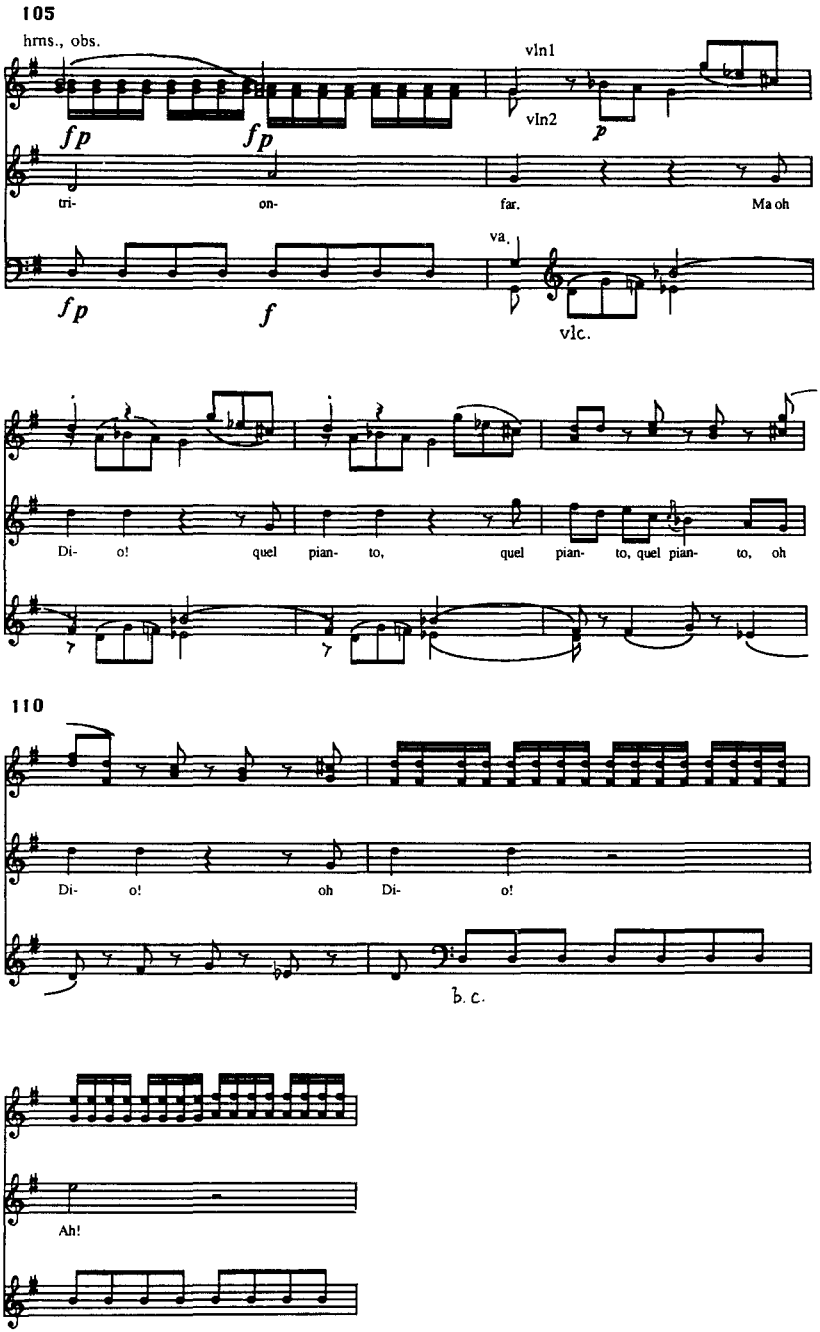


Example 1. Selim, "Se il mio valor t'è caro," mm. 89–112. *La schiava liberata,* I, i. Source: *I-Nc* Rari 7.9.4, fols. 27–28v.

ing and a lively conclusion on the second. In serious arias involving strongly contrasting emotions, the frequent and extreme changes in tempo and style can create a violent, wrenching effect. When combined with Jommelli's dramatic declamatory style, the form becomes a powerfully expressive vehicle. This is true of Dorimene's first aria, "Sfortunata non ritrovo" (act 1, scene 7), in which she moves from pitiful pleading in the minor mode, enhanced with the sweet sounds of the flutes and oboes, to outraged accusations, with strong harmonies, dynamic contrasts, and agitated string textures alternating with unison accompaniments.

Jommelli used a second, less frequently occurring two-tempo form for Elmira's first aria, "Parto, ma timada" (act 1, scene 9), in which the slow, first strophe is repeated before moving to the second strophe and to the faster tempo for the second half of the aria (AA'BB'). This form came very close to that of the two-tempo Rondeau, which would become the prerogative of the principal roles in the opera seria by the late 1770s.[9]

The plot of *La schiava liberata* contains many of the old standard gags: disguises—transvestite and otherwise—inept impostors, fractured foreign language, pomposity deflated, and clever female manipulation of males on the make. The harem location gives an opportunity for some exotic costumes,[10] but Jommelli did not try his hand at writing pseudo-Turkish music as Mozart did, nor as Haydn did in *Lo Speziale.* Albumazar's combination catalogue and patter arias, for example, "Sono il grande Albumazar" (act 1, scene 13), in which he brandishes cannons and artillery or threatens terrible corporal punishments designed to terrorize his enemies, are standard components of every comic opera. While Albumazar personifies the stock bully who impresses no one but himself, Pallottino's inflated view of his attractiveness to women serves as an equally common subject for parody. His strutting and preening are delightfully spoofed in his dressing-room scene and in his last aria. Martinelli showed more originality in Pallottino's aria for act 1, "Parmi sentir sul collo" (act 1, scene 5), where the poor fellow imagines himself headless, in a masterpiece of buffa program music.

The scene in which Selim falls asleep on stage, thus leaving himself open to an attempted assassination is a situation as old as opera itself. Jommelli did not miss the opportunity to write some wonderful, sleep-inducing music for Selim. In fact Jommelli wrote some of the most beautiful music in the opera for this character, played by Aprile, his good friend and supreme interpreter of his music. As *primo soprano,* Aprile would have demanded more arias than the others, and he was given four of them, three following one after the other in act 2. The first of these is a beautiful love song, "Placida avretta spira" (act 2, scene 7), lavishly tinted with the colors of the oboes and flutes, that allowed Aprile ample opportunity to show off his beautiful voice. In the second aria, "Dolce sonno, amor pietoso" (act 2, scene 7), Selim sings as he sinks into sleep. This hauntingly lovely cavatina exploits yet another side of Aprile's art, his expressive cantabile. At this point in the act, Elmira attempts to murder Selim, but Dorimene snatches the knife from her hand.

Awakened by the scuffle, Selim misinterprets the scene and sings a dramatic two-tempo aria, "So che pietosa sei" (act 2, scene 8), in which he first tenderly begs Elmira's forgiveness, believing she has saved his life, and then turns to harshly denounce Dorimene for the deed he mistakenly believes she was attempting to commit.

In contrast to these rather standard operatic situations, however, Jommelli's score to *La schiava liberata* reflects many of the innovations that he brought to opera. Jommelli seems most modern and closest to Mozart in his ensembles and finales. In fact, for a writer of opera seria, he was unusually adept in the practice of composing ensembles, as they became a routine part of his operas long before most of his contemporaries were composing them regularly. In collaboration with Verazi, he had composed the first multi-sectional, action finale ever written for a serious opera. It closes his *Fetonte,* produced in 1768, the same year as *La schiava liberata.*[11] In his finales, Jommelli called into play all of his musical dramatic skills, polished over years of concern for devising ever more effective means of realizing and enhancing textual meaning in his music. Each character receives his own musical portrayal, each new event a new musical dramatization. Here we find Jommelli's rich harmonic language, his talent for musical characterization, his celebrated dynamic contrasts, coming together in a masterful blending of the comic and the serious.

Jommelli was not satisfied to write the conventional succession of juxtaposed closed sections, still found in Mozart's *Le nozze di Figaro,* where the beginning of each section coincides with the arrival of a new character or marks a significant turn of events in the progress of the plot. Rather he preferred to write fluid constructions that respond more directly to the action through changes in the style of the melody and accompaniment and through changes of key, just as Mozart did in his finales after *Figaro.*

Jommelli's key associations are also akin to Mozart's. For negative events and to express soft, tender emotions, he moves either to the subdominant, to a flat key, or to the minor mode. A move to the sharp or dominant side coincides with positive events or depicts military presence, authority, and happy endings. In the *Introduzione* of act 1 the supplications of the unhappy slaves signal a move into the minor mode for a striking contrast with the otherwise triumphant D major. In the finales of the second and third acts of *La schiava liberata,* the central sections emphasize the subdominant. In the second act finale, the move to the subdominant coincides with the realization that at least one, if not both, of the supposed French consuls must be an impostor. In the third act finale the subdominant is used to depict Selim's unhappiness at losing Dorimene and his uncertainty about his feelings for his intended, Elmira.

A close look at the finale of act 1 will serve to illustrate Jommelli's dramatic use of textural climax, modal contrast, and abrupt changes of tempo and tonality to set Verazi's novel "ensemble of diminishing forces." Here one can clearly see how Jommelli continually frustrates moves to conventional musi-

cal and formal closure at the the conclusion of each textural climax, a practice that Platoff has singled out as exclusively characteristic of Mozartian finales even in the 1780s.[12]

The finale of act 1 begins and ends in G major, the subdominant of the principal tonality of the opera, which begins and ends in D major. It is divided into five distinct sections, which are not consistently delineated by a change in either tempo or tonality. The third section has two tempos, the second of which is held over into the fourth section. While all but the second section begin and end in the same key, all sections also contain sizable segments in at least two other keys. Both the third and fifth sections continue the concluding tonality of the preceding section. The most fluid of all the sections, the fifth, has three tempo changes, six exits, and establishes five tonalities. New sections in Jommelli's finale are marked as well by textural climaxes or by the entries of one or more additional characters to the scene (sometimes by both textural climax and a new character). Textural climaxes articulate the first three sections, the first culminating in a trio, and the second and third with quintets. Entries of additional characters mark the beginning of sections two, three, and five.

In the moments just preceding the finale, Pallottino has been discovered in the harem wearing feminine attire. The first section begins and ends in G major with a move to D major as Elmira delivers her accusations of treachery, and a subsequent move to A minor as Pallottino and Giulietta beg for pity. Solimano and Dorimene add their voices to the second section, which moves from C major through G major to D major in a crescendo of accusations, with a touch of E minor color as the captives maintain their innocence. At the beginning of the third section, Selim breaks in forcefully, accompanied by a slower tempo and a calming move from D major to G major. As the antagonists reiterate their grievances, the tempo quickens and the tonality again moves from G major (through E minor and C major) to D major for the third textural climax. Once more, Selim breaks in, his entry marked by a return to G major. The fourth section is entirely his: he first addresses Dorimene in G major, then Pallottino in A minor, and finally the entire company in C major. The tonality returns to G major in order to prepare for the final section, which is marked by a slower tempo and the surprise entrance of Albumazar. At a sign from Selim the disgraced captive enters in chains, his disheveled harem disguise adding to the shameful sight. The tempo quickens and the tonality moves aggressively toward the sharp side of the tonal spectrum (from G major to D major and finally to the first appearance of the key of A major) as first Selim and then Solimano and Elmira together, heedless of Albumazar's pleading, angrily rebuke him and walk out. In the key of B minor, Albumazar turns to Dorimene, who also denounces him and leaves. Next, in the key of E minor, he turns to Giulietta and Pallottino. In a final return to G major, the servant pair first deride him and then leave him to conclude the act alone in a sputtering, raging Presto.

The key scheme of the opera as a whole shows the same concern for tonal

planning that one finds in Mozart's operas. The sinfonia is set in the bright, military key of D major, with a middle movement in the subdominant. Flat keys and the subdominant prevail in act 1 and most of act 2. As the skies clear at the end of act 2, the tonality moves to the sharp side, and the dominant and tonic keys of A and D are reestablished. These anticipate the prevailing mood of reconciliation in act 3. Jommelli closes the finale in D, the key of the sinfonia that opens the opera.

The many experiments and departures from the norm that are found in Jommelli's operas for Germany illustrate the latitude permitted an imported art form in a foreign court. Of all Jommelli's operas composed for Germany, only his setting of Martinelli's conventional comic opera *Il matrimonio per concorso* was ever produced in Italy.[13] Both Jommelli and Mattia Verazi, with whom Jommelli often collaborated, found their innovations unwelcome upon returning to their homelands—Jommelli to Naples in the early 1770s, and Verazi to Milan for the opening of La Scala in the late 1770s. On the other hand, Martinelli went as Jommelli's representative to Lisbon, another foreign importer of Italian opera, where Jommelli's works were preferred over all other composers and where Martinelli continued to write libretti for the rest of his life.[14]

Jommelli's rich harmonies and orchestrations have always been among his most immediately noticeable departures from Italian practice. Upon his return to Italy after sixteen years of service to the duke of Württemberg, he found that his thick, intricate textures and far-ranging modulations faired badly indeed in the hands of his undisciplined countrymen, nor was he able to depend on superb wind players, as he had in Württemberg. Verazi was specifically criticized in Milan for "interrupting" the flow of his arias with the kinds of dramatic declamation characteristic of Jommelli's serious style.[15] Jommelli's rhythmically complex textures are a trademark; he was, however, equally skillful at the light, minimal accompaniments required for successful buffa arias, contrary to the assessments of Hermann Abert and Andrea della Corte, who called his music too heavy for comic opera.[16]

Charles Burney, writing in the early 1770s, considered Jommelli to be the greatest of living Italian composers for the theater.[17] Certainly the music of Jommelli's *Armida abbandonata* (Naples, 1770) would still have been in the young Mozart's memory when he arrived in Milan late in 1770 to write his first opera seria, *Mitridate*. To find such a worthy predecessor of Mozart coming from a period in musical history that has been characterized as a time of stumbling around in search of a style may at first astound us, but it should also encourage us to select and foster performances of other eighteenth-century masterpieces yet to be welcomed into our modern repertory. The successful twentieth-century premier of *La schiava liberata* by the Nederlandse Operastichting, Amsterdam, in 1982, and its subsequent Italian premiere by the Teatro San Carlo, Naples, in 1984, has demonstrated that Jommelli's operas are still stageworthy, and worthy of critical attention today.[18]

NOTES

[1] Niccolò Jommelli and Gaetano Martinelli, *La schiava liberata,* musical manuscript in *I-Nc,* Rari 7.9.4–5, libretto in *D-Sl,* fr. D. 234c.

[2] The five libretti that Martinelli wrote for Venice were all performed at the Teatro San Moisè. The first two were widely performed. All libretti are in *US-Wcm* except *Li rivali placati,* which is found in *I-Bc* and *Mb.* The five libretti are: Pietro Alessandro Guglielmi, *Li rivali placati* (Autumn, 1764); ibid., *Il ratto della sposa* (Autumn, 1765); ibid., *Lo spirito di contradizione* (Carnival, 1766); Giovanni Paisiello, *Le nozze disturbate* (Carnival, 1767); Felice Alessandri, *Il matrimonio per concorso* (Carnival, 1767).

[3] Daniel Heartz, "Vis comica: Goldoni, Galuppi, and *L'Arcadia in Brenta,*" in *Venezia e il Melodramma nel Settecento,* a cura di Maria Teresa Muraro, Studi di Musica Veneta, no. 7 (Firenze: Olschki, 1981), pp. 33–74.

[4] See yearly volumes of the *Württembergisches Adress-Buch,* 1767–1769, held in the Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart.

[5] Joseph Schuster, *La schiava liberata* (Dresden, 1777), libretto in *US-Wcm,* Schatz 9754. Libretto for Johann André's setting of Christoph Bretzner's *Belmont und Constanze oder Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (Leipzig, 1781), in *US-Wcm,* Schatz 183.

[6] According to records in the Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart (Oberhofmarschallamt, A 21, Büschel 620, Items 238r–239r), only the third scenes in act 1 and 2, and the first scene in act 3 were borrowed from the comic opera. All the rest were borrowed from the opera seria:

ATTO PRIMO	
1. Porto di mare con navi pratticabili	Il fondo del mare da ritrovarsi ed adgiunger di nuovo.
alla destra	Sei scene della Semiramide: due del porto di mare ed una farsi di nuovo.
alla sinistra	Quattro scene della citta: Due del porto di mare del teatro di Stutgardt e tre a farsi di nuovo.
	Le barche de ritrovar ed ornarle con barbareschi ornamenti e bandiere.
	pieno teatro.
2. Appartamento terreno	Atrio dell'opera di Didone di 6. scene ed il prospetto.
3. Stanza con due porte la Seralio	Gabinetto del philosopho maritato di 3. scene con due porte pratticabili.
ATTO SECONDO	
7. Galleria, che introduce all' appartamenti di Solimano.	Appartamento dell'opera di Tito de 2. scene.
8. Giardino	Campi Elisi di 6. scene da farsi un pezzo di palazzo con porta e scala pratticabile.
9. Gabinetto di Selim	Camera della comedia da farsi un toletta.
10. Salone d'udienza	Galleria di Didone di 6. scene.
ATTO TERZO	
15. Gabinetto di Solimano.	Gabinetto dell'atto primo.
16. Porto di mare.	Il sudetto porto di mare.

[7] For an in-depth discussion of Verazi's ensembles and finales with diminishing personnel, see McClymonds, "Mattia Verazi and the Opera at Mannheim, Stuttgart, and Ludwigsburg," in *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* 7, no. 2 (1982): 99–136.

[8] Saverio Mattei, "La filosofia della musica o sia La riforma del teatro," *Opere del Signor Abate Pietro Metastasio* (Napoli: Orsini, 1804), vol. 3: xxxvn.

[9] Daniel Heartz discusses this aria type in, "Mozart and his Italian Contemporaries: *La clemenza di Tito*," *Mozart Jahrbuch* 1978–79 (Kassel-Basel: Bärenreiter, 1979): 275–293.

[10] According to records in the Hauptstaatsarchiv, Stuttgart (Oberhofmarschallamt, A 21, Büschel 620, Items 250–52), Aprile as Selim was to have a new Turkish costume made up of a cherry-colored satin dolman, with a fur lining, a white satin shirt, a blue satin culotte and turban. Trimmings were of gold braid and Italian white gauze. Bonafini as Elmira was to have a satin dress and corset, a cloak of an unspecified fabric and a white gauze veil. The colors were yet to be determined. Buonani as Dorimene was to have a blue satin dress and corset with white satin trimming and a blue cloak. Trimmings of small gold braid were also specified. Seemann as Giulietta was to have a black satin dress and corset trimmed in pink satin. Trimmings also included small gold braid and six silk ribbons: two red, two white, and two blue. The remaining costumes were to be taken from the theatrical wardrobe. Both Don Garzia and Albumazar were to have blue costumes, the one for Albumazar having been made for a pastorale. Pallottino was to have a valet's costume, an Armenian costume with a blue dolman, and a dandy's costume. Both Pallottino and Albumazar were to have new serge skirts.

[11] Niccolò Jommelli, *Fetonte,* herausgegeben von Hermann Abert, *Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1907), vols. 32–33.

[12] John Platoff, "Music and Drama in the Opera Buffa Finale: Mozart and His Contemporaries," paper read at the national meeting of the American Musicological Society, Louisville, 1983.

[13] Gaetano Martinelli, *Il matrimonio per concorso,* music by Jommelli (Milano: Montani, 1768), libretto for performance at the Royal Ducal Theater of Milan, in *I-Bc.*

[14] For details concerning the reception of Jommelli's music in Naples, see McClymonds, *Niccolò Jommelli: The Last Years, 1769–1774* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), pp. 59–126; for Verazi's reception in Milan, see idem, "Mattia Verazi and the Opera at Mannheim . . . ," pp. 123–27, and idem, "Verazi's controversial *drammi in azione* as realized in the music of Salieri, Anfossi, Alessandri and Mortellari for the opening of La Scala, 1778–1779," in the forthcoming *Mélanges* in honor of the seventieth birthday of Claudio Sartori; for Jommelli's operas in Lisbon, see idem, *Niccolò Jommelli* . . . , pp. 19–150, 403–4, 419–36; for Martinelli in Lisbon, see ibid., pp. 52–56, 96–102, 399–400, 405–8.

[15] Mattia Verazi, *Troja distrutta* (Milano: Bianchi, 1778), pp. 7–10.

[16] Hermann Abert, *Niccolò Jommelli als Opernkomponist* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1908), p. 404; Andrea della Corte, *L'opera comica italiana nel '700: Studi ed appunti* (Bari: Laterza, 1923), vol. 1: 525.

[17] "I went away in good humour with this truly great composer, who is indisputably one of the first of his profession now alive in the universe; for were I to name the living composers of Italy for the stage, according to my idea of their merit, it would be in the following order; Jommelli, Galuppi, Piccini, and Sacchini." Charles Burney, *The present state of music in France and Italy: or, The journal of a tour through those countries, undertaken to collect materials for a general history of music,* second edition corrected (London: Becket, Robson, and Robinson, 1773), pp. 327–31.

[18] These premieres of *La schiava liberata* were under the direction of Maestro Alan Curtis, who unflaggingly promoted the opera's revival and continues to conduct further performances.

Otto Luening (1900–) and the Theories of Bernhard Ziehn (1845–1912)*

By Severine Neff

> The present-day harmony and that of the future interest me as they do the musical world and with similar intensity. At present there is a searching and a groping but I see the roads. The first new harmonic system rests upon chord formations according to customary scales. . . . By the symmetrical inversion of the harmonic order Bernhard Ziehn shows me the second way.[1]
>
> (Ferruccio Busoni, "The New Harmony")

This paper will explore the influence of the theory of Bernhard Ziehn (1845–1912) on the work of Ferruccio Busoni's student, the American composer Otto Luening.

Born in Erfurt, Thüringen, Ziehn was one of the first major theorists to address the techniques of late-nineteenth-century chromaticism. In 1868 Ziehn moved to Chicago, the most renowned American center for German immigrant musicians, where he became the close friend and colleague of the conductor Theodore Thomas. Ziehn taught piano, organ, theory, and composition privately in Chicago from 1870 to his death in 1912. His foremost student was Wilhelm Middelschulte (1863–1943), the virtuoso organist of the Chicago Symphony.[2]

Busoni met Bernhard Ziehn and his protégé Wilhelm Middelschulte in Chicago in January, 1910. At this time Busoni was composing a keyboard piece, the *Fantasia Contrappuntistica,* which was to include a completion of the unfinished fugue from Bach's *Art of Fugue.*[3] Ziehn gave Busoni his own solution to the fugue, and in appreciation Busoni wrote an essay for the journal *Signale,* entitled "The Gothics of Chicago," in which he praised Middelschulte and Ziehn as contrapuntalists and harmonists without peer.[4] He subsequently dedicated the *Fantasia Contrappuntistica* to Middelschulte, who arranged it for organ.[5]

Otto Luening studied composition with both Busoni and his disciple Philip Jarnach in Zurich from 1917 to 1920. His instruction consisted of weekly meetings with Jarnach and less frequent sessions with Busoni, who expected his students to emulate his daily routine of contrapuntal studies and composition. For each of his meetings with Jarnach, Luening was expected to show at least two canons, part of an invention, or the composition of a given fugal exposition in up to six parts.[6]

Busoni's lessons featured mystical-philosophical comments on the principles of composition. It was Busoni who suggested Luening read Ziehn's writings. He drew Luening's attention to Ziehn's mastery of contrapuntal

techniques and to his theory of symmetrical inversion.[7] When Luening returned to America in 1920, Busoni asked him to convey regards to Wilhelm Middelschulte, with whom Luening subsequently studied Ziehn's theories. Later Luening himself taught Ziehn's theories at his own Chicago Musical Arts Studio. Figure 1 reproduces a portion of an advertisement for Luening's school.[8]

Mme. Bernhard Stavenhagen - - - - *Piano*

Rudolph Mangold - - - - - *Violin*

Marguerite Lamar - - - *Voice and Diction*

Otto C. Luening - *Musical Theory* (Ziehn)
Composition and Musical Appreciation

Orchestral Instruments by Members Chicago Symphony Orchestra

ENSEMBLE

Rudolph Mangold - - - - *Chamber Music*

Marguerite Lamar - - - - - *Stage Presence*

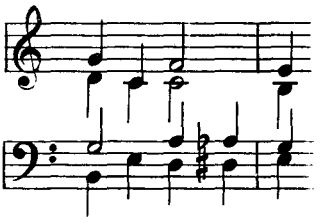
Mme. Stavenhagen - - - *Concert Accompanying*

Theodore Stearns *Opera, Operetta, Drama and Musical Criticism*

Figure 1. Advertisement for the Chicago Musical Arts Studio.

His studies with Middelschulte inspired Luening to use certain aspects of Ziehn's theory in his own compositions: the First Symphonic Fantasia, the Second Violin Sonata, the Sonata *in Memoriam Ferruccio Busoni,* and the Second Short Sonata for Flute and Piano.[9] Only these works will be mentioned in the present paper. They do not form a complete list of Luening's pieces using Ziehn's techniques, but rather a list of pieces in which Ziehn's theories contribute to both formal and structural coherence.

Ziehn drew upon his knowledge of the standard tonal literature, the "new music" of his day, and approximately two thousand pieces of pretonal literature in devising a scheme for classifying highly chromatic material.[10] From this music he extracts five operations of pitch and chord generation: diatonic and chromatic "plurisignificance," "irregular" cadence, order permutation, "figuration," and symmetrical inversion.[11] The use of these operations can



Example 1.

produce tonally ambiguous chord progressions. Example 1 shows a typical progression of Ziehn's which defines no triad as tonic and ends with a non-traditional cadence (i.e. not V–I or IV–I).

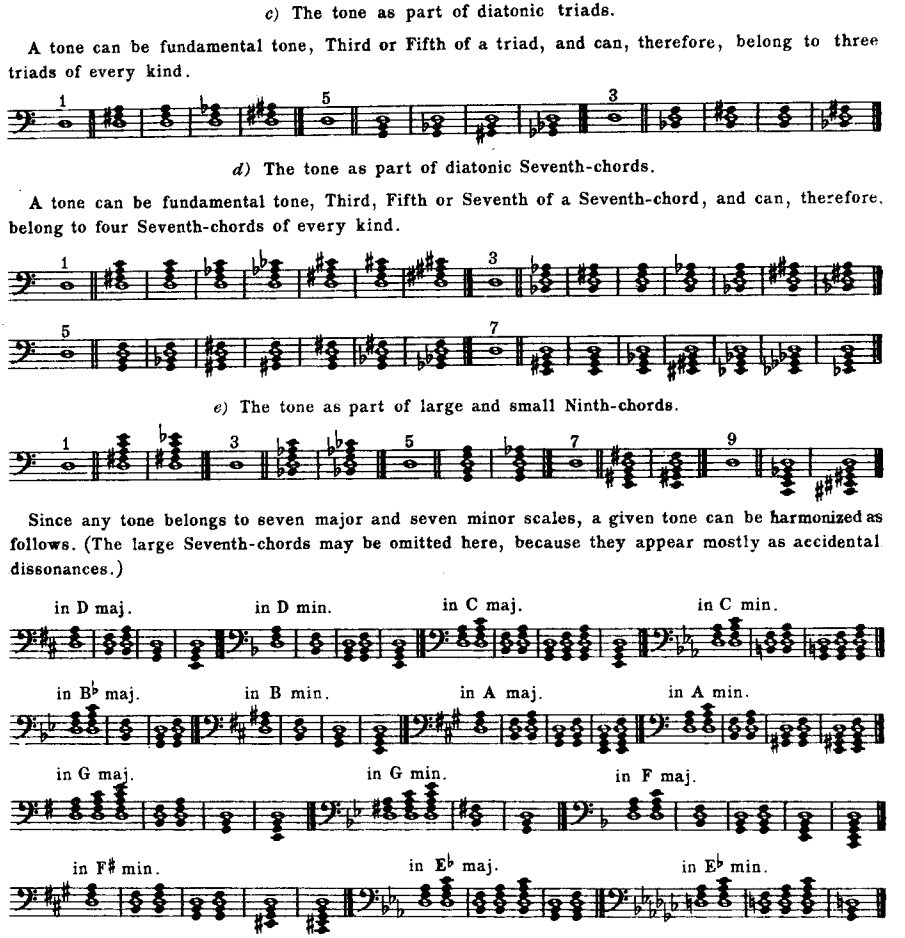
Otto Luening was fascinated with such tonally progressive materials and immediately attempted to incorporate them into the framework of his pieces. Specifically, Ziehn's theories helped Luening generate and vary chromatic pitch material. The result was the triadic but often tonally ambiguous sound that is characteristic of Luening's works of the early twenties.

Consider the following theoretical concepts of Ziehn and Luening's interpretation of them. Ziehn defines a harmony as "whatever sounds simultaneously," but for him, as for Rameau, a chord is "a harmony which consists of thirds placed above each other, or which can be reduced to such a structure of thirds."[12] What interests Ziehn about these chords is their diatonic *Mehrdeutigkeit* or "plurisignificance."[13] Ziehn never defines this term. Instead, through examples, he shows diatonic plurisignificance to be the structural and functional reinterpretation of an invariant pitch or an invariant major or minor third in different diatonic chords. Example 2, taken from Ziehn's *Manual of Harmony,* shows how, through plurisignificance, the pitch D can belong to twelve distinct triads, twenty-eight seventh chords, and ten ninth chords in seven keys.

Ziehn also applies plurisignificance to four-part writing: the voice-leading rule of "keeping the common tone within the same voice" is seen as a manifestation of diatonic plurisignificance. The plurisignificant common-tone pitches or intervals in example 3 are indicated with whole notes. A plurisignificant progression such as the circled one in example 3 can be interpreted in both G major and C major.

Luening finds Ziehn's operation of plurisignificance compositionally suggestive in that diatonic triads and sevenths not closely associated through key can still be related through invariant structure—through common pitches or intervals. For instance, through "plurisignificance of the third," the interval C–E flat can belong to the C-minor triad, to the C half-diminished seventh, the dominant seventh on F, and the A-flat-major triad: chords forming the opening progression of Luening's First Symphonic Fantasia (see example 4).

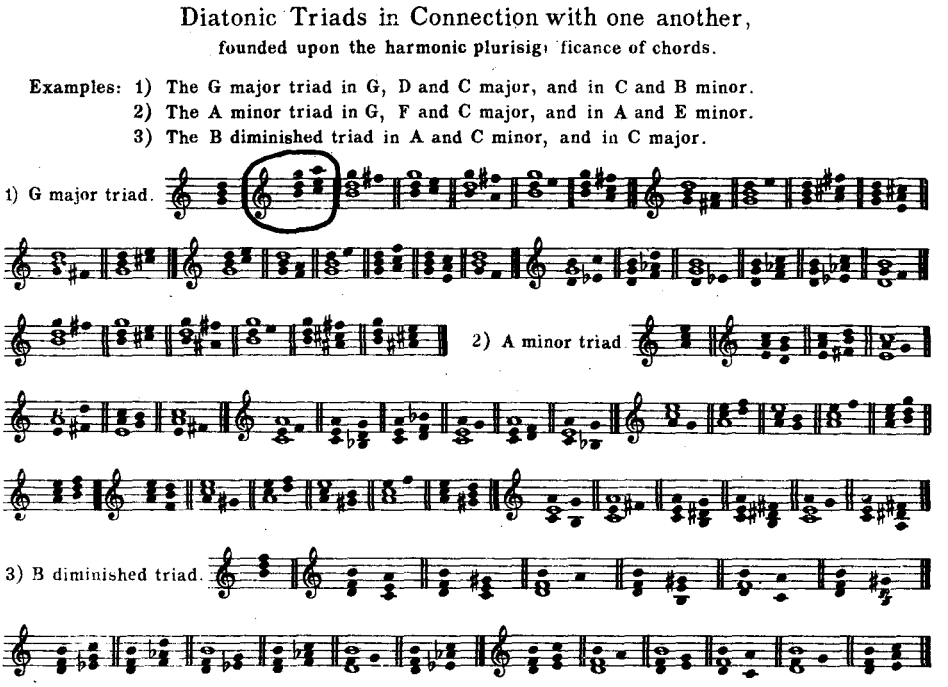
The initial tonic C-minor triad of the progression is immediately contradicted by the pitch G flat, substituted for the dominant degree in the next half-diminished seventh. We can assume that the G flat is leading to D-flat



Example 2. From Bernhard Ziehn's *Manual of Harmony,* p. 6.

major or minor. But the A natural in the subsequent dominant seventh chord on F immediately contradicts this assumption. In turn, the dominant seventh on F in m. 4 implies B-flat major, but the subsequent A-flat-major triad contradicts the implied leading tone, the A natural, in m. 4. Note that the lowest A flat in the A-flat-major triad of m. 5 descends directly to G in register, while the higher A flats are left unresolved, hanging in the air (see bracket). Despite these nontraditional chordal connections, the C-minor triad and A-flat-major triad still allude functionally to C minor.

The opening phrase is given structural coherence through the timbral and registral repetition of the plurisignificant third C–E flat. As Luening himself explains: "One must hear the passage as a variation on a constant."[14] Specifically, while C–E flat remains stationary in the timpani and strings, all other instrumental parts move through different chordal settings of the interval.



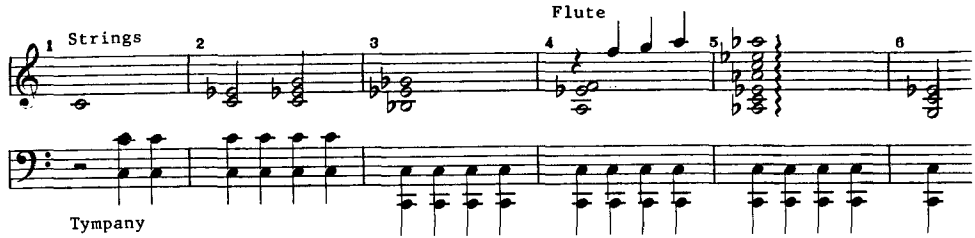
Example 3. From Bernhard Ziehn's *Manual of Harmony,* p. 8.

When Luening repeats this opening to the Symphonic Fantasia at the end of the work, he leaves a suspended A flat unresolved at the final cadence (see example 5).

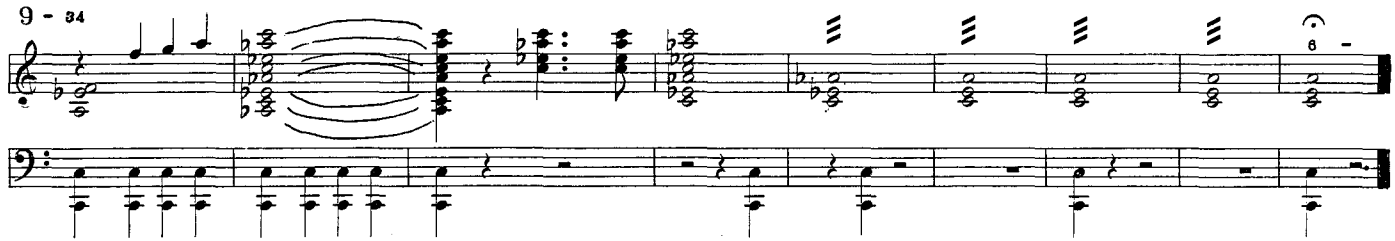
This ending illustrates a second theoretical concept of Ziehn's: the "irregular cadence" in which a dissonant pitch is left unresolved. For instance, in a cadential passage of Bruckner's Seventh Symphony, quoted in the *Manual of Harmony* (see example 6 below), the next-to-last chord contains two dissonant pitches: the seventh C and the suspension B which find no stepwise resolution. Ziehn was the first major theorist to classify such a cadence.[15]

The initial transition of the First Symphonic Fantasia, mm. 18–21 (see example 7), contains six registrally isolated progressions—two repeated exactly with respect to pitch class (see letters B and C in example 7) and one repeated with F natural instead of F sharp (see letters A and then A′). Luening calls each of these progressions a "harmonic area," which he defines as a registrally or articulatively isolated series of at least three chords (stated at a tempo of approximately a quarter note equals 100), producing tonal ambiguity through the operation of chromatic substitution.

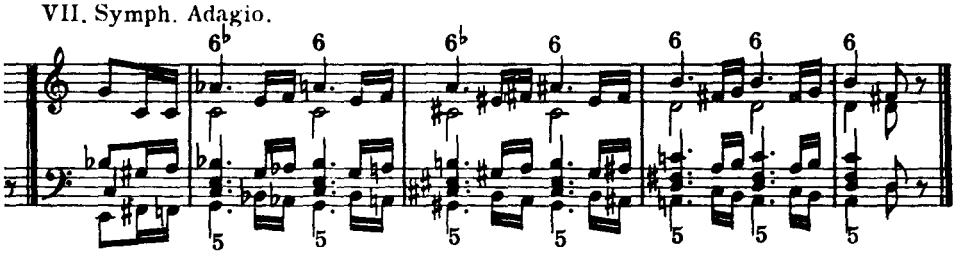
Luening's interest in chromatic variants stems from Middelschulte's concept of chromatic plurisignificance, derived from Ziehn's operation of the same name. For Ziehn's pupil Middelschulte, chromatic plurisignificance was the process of varying a diatonic third through chromatic substitution



Example 4. Otto Luening, First Symphonic Fantasia, mm. 1–6.



Example 5. Otto Luening, First Symphonic Fantasia, rehearsal no. 9, mm. 34–42.



Example 6. Anton Bruckner, from the Seventh Symphony, cited in Bernhard Ziehn, *Manual of Harmony*, p. 93.

and then combining such thirds to form multiple chromatic chords. For instance, a lesson sheet of Middelschulte's saved by Luening (see example 8a) shows nine sevenths built out of the chromatic variants of three diatonic thirds D–F, F–A, and A–C, and ten triads built in the same way from G–B and B–D. Thus for Middelschulte any thirds related through chromatic substitution show chromatic plurisignificance.

The thirds in mm. 18–21 of Luening's First Symphonic Fantasia are also chromatically plurisignificant: they are generated by chromatically varying the stack of thirds, E flat–G, G–B flat, B flat–D, as example 8b shows.

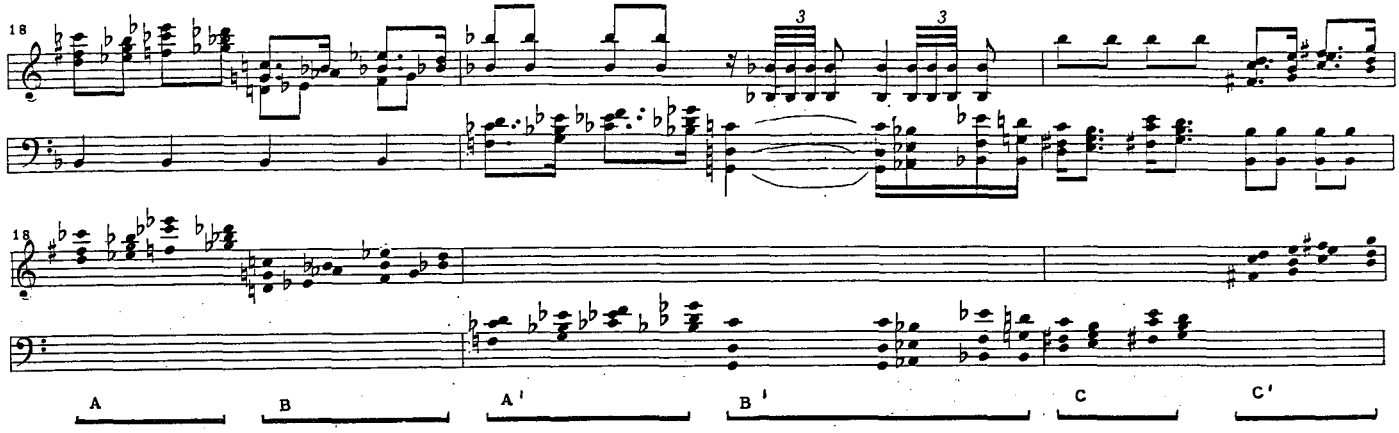
Chromatic alterations of the third G–B are used in all "harmonic areas" of these measures. Example 9a shows alterations of G–B in the second and fourth chords of area A. A similar substitution appears in area B (see example 9b). Consider also the chromatic variation of the thirds E–G and G–B in areas A, B, and C (see example 9c).

In terms of the horizontal relations between chords, in area A the linear seconds connecting the first two chords are identical to or chromatic variants of the linear seconds connecting the remaining two chords (see example 10a). Example 10b shows that the lowest lines of areas A and B are identical, while the top lines of all three areas are chromatic variants of each other.

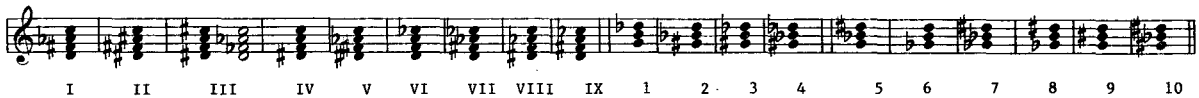
The network of chromatically varied lines and harmonies in all three harmonic areas cannot produce one clear tonal reference. Example 10c shows how, instead, in the A area, these lines allude to the E-flat-minor scale, in the B area to the E-flat-major scale, and in the C area to the E minor and the G-major scales.

Since the E-minor scale in area C tonally contradicts the E-flat-major and -minor scales in areas A and B, the passage remains tonally ambiguous. However, the E-flat-major, G-major, and E-minor key areas suggested by these regions are clearly stated later in the work (see table 1 below). At the local level, the opening parts of the piece thus reflect aspects of the large-scale form and produce a structural and formal coherence.

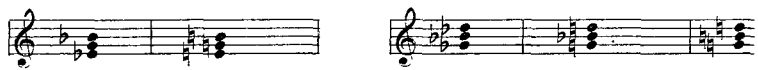
Luening both reorders and ornaments his original melodies to form the larger themes of his First Symphonic Fantasia. Such procedures are rooted in Ziehn's concepts of order permutation and "figuration." Example 11 shows



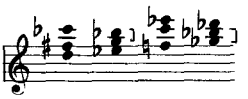
Example 7. Otto Luening, First Symphonic Fantasia, mm. 18–20.



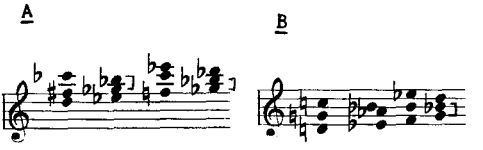
Example 8a.



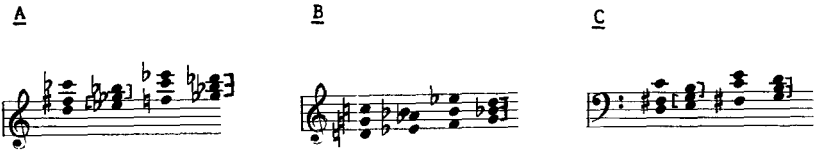
Examples 8b. From Otto Luening, First Symphonic Fantasia, mm. 18–20.



Example 9a.



Example 9b.

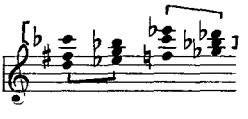


Example 9c.

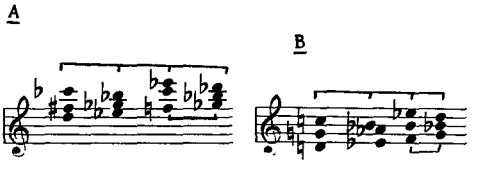
Ziehn's studies of order permutations in a single melodic fragment. Ziehn labels the variants as retrogrades of each other and suggests their possible contrapuntal combinations.

Example 12 illustrates Ziehn's concept of figuration, in particular the creation of surface ornamentation through local dissonance.

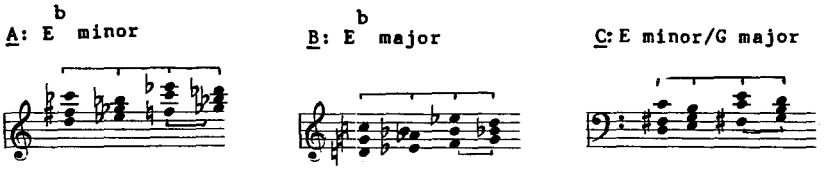
In the First Symphonic Fantasia, Luening uses these procedures to generate melodic variants of the flute melody in mm. 4–5, a melody which consists of an arpeggiated triad plus a passing tone (see example 13a). When permuted in order and transposed, the initial flute line forms G–D–A–B, a secondary theme of the work, and its later variant (see example 13b). In turn, G–D–A–B is varied with passing tones and suspensions to form yet another theme in the trumpet (see example 13c). Yet another version of the original flute line is reordered as F–G–A flat–C and extended through a chain of



Example 10a.



Example 10b.



Example 10c.

TABLE 1
Formal Structure of the First Symphonic Fantasia

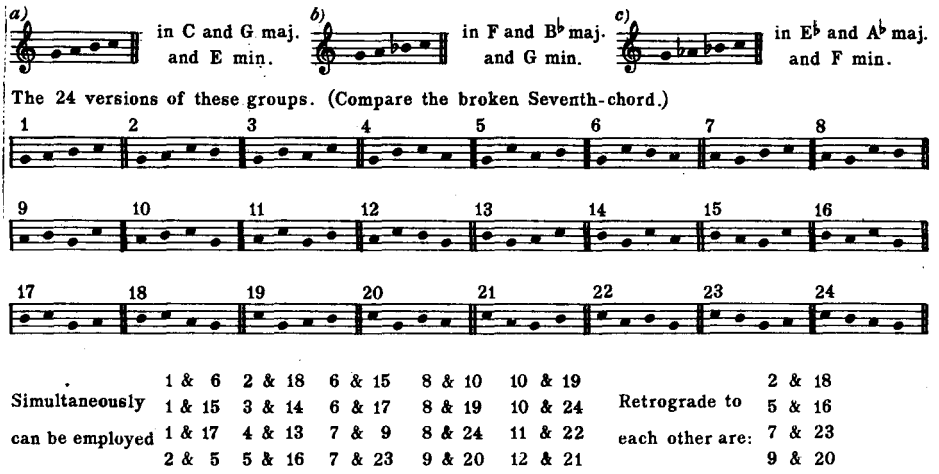
Section	Measures	Discernible Key
A	1–14	C Minor
A′	15–17	C Minor/E-flat Major
B	18–*1*,7	none
B′	*1*,8–*2*,1	E Major/E Minor
C	*2*,1–*2*,17	G Major/G Minor
C′	*2*,18–*2*,20	G Major/G Minor
D	*3*,1–*3*,20	E Major/E Minor G Major/G Minor E-flat Major/ E-flat Minor
A″	*4*,1–*4*,16	E Major
B″	*4*,17–*5*,5	E Major
C″	*5*,6–*6*,1	G Major/D Major
E	*6*,2–*6*,10	E Major
F	*6*,11–*6*,15	C Major/C Minor E Minor E-flat Major
G	*6*,16–*7*,25	A Minor
H	*7*,26–*8*,14	C Major
I	*8*,15–*8*,30	C Major
A	*8*,31–*8*,42	C Major

NOTE: Rehearsal numbers from the score are italicized in table 1.

thirds with further variation by suspensions and other chromatic pitches (see example 13d).

Ziehn extended the concept of hexachordal inversion around D to include chromatic relationships. He did so by generating pitch structures balanced around the axis of D–A flat (G sharp). He felt that the piano best visually demonstrated his concept, both D and A flat (G sharp) being centrally positioned with respect to the black and white keys. Indeed, Ziehn first published his theory as a piano exercise, thus aptly demonstrating the practicality of his work.[16]

With example 14d, subtitled "Chord Progression," Ziehn shows the inversion of a harmonic progression around the D–A flat (G sharp) axis. The first note of the soprano, in this case, B flat, becomes F sharp in the bass of the symmetrical inversion. E sharp in the alto becomes C flat in the tenor, D in the tenor becomes D in the alto (an axis of symmetry), and G sharp in the bass becomes A flat in the soprano (the other axis of symmetry). Ziehn's text



Example 11. From Bernhard Ziehn's *Manual of Harmony,* p. 19.

Canonical Studies also demonstrates the symmetrical inversion of scales, chords, suspensions, and canons (see examples 14a, b, c, and e).

Ziehn believed his operation of symmetrical inversion would interest composers: the subtitle of *Canonical Studies* is "A Technique in Composition." And indeed, in 1910, the year he met Ziehn, Busoni wrote a symmetrical, wedge-shaped canon in mm. 81–93 of his *Berceuse Élégiaque* (see example 15). This passage inspired Otto Luening to begin the second movement of his Sonata *in Memoriam Ferruccio Busoni* with a chordal canon symmetrically inverted about A–G (in turn symmetric to D–A flat) (see example 16).

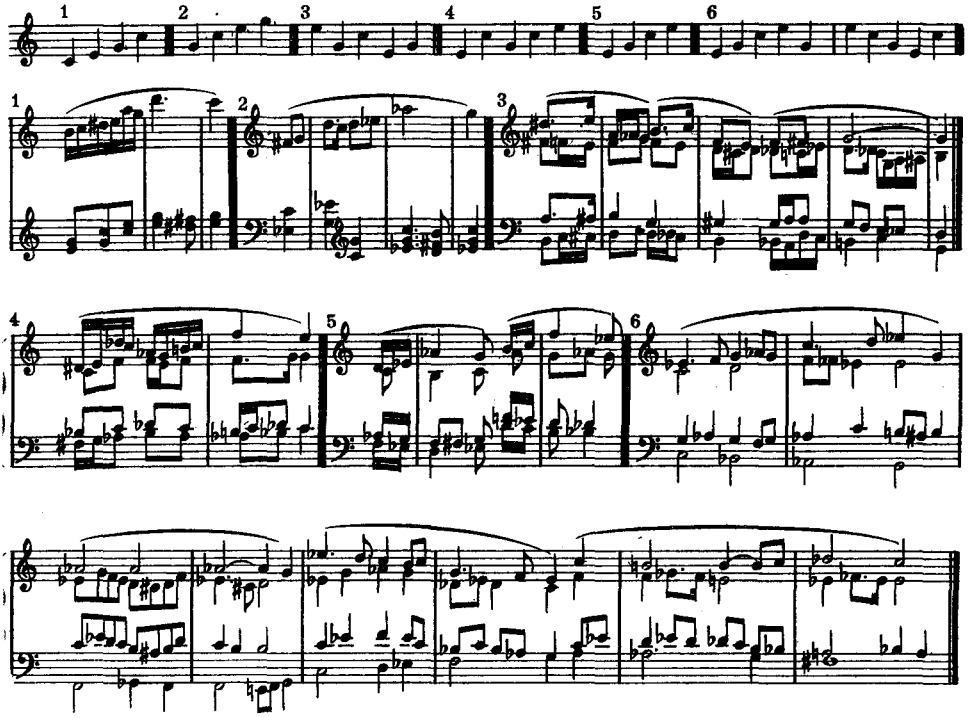
Luening utilized Ziehn's operation of symmetrical inversion in at least three other pieces. Luening symmetrically inverts an entire section of the Second Violin Sonata, a work written in the same year as the First Symphonic Fantasia (see example 17).

Another work written in 1922, the Fugue and Chorale Fantasy for Organ, uses an extension of Ziehn's theory in its chorale-like sections. For instance, the first phrase of the work (see example 18) contains nine chords. The thirds in the first chord are chromatic variants of those in the last; the thirds in the second chord are varied in the eighth; the thirds in the third chord are varied in the seventh; and the thirds in the fourth chord are varied in the sixth. Luening thus arranges the chords that share chromatically variant thirds in a wedge-shaped order around the fifth chord.

In turn, the chords in the second phrase (again see example 18) share chromatically varied thirds with chords in the first phrase. The first chord of the second phrase shares thirds with the last chord of the first phrase, the second chord with the next-to-last chord, and so on. In this sense the order of chords in the second phrase is a retrograde of the order in the first phrase, this being yet another type of wedge-shaped arrangement.

The Broken Triad extended through an Octave, with Accidental Dissonances, employed as Melody (in the Soprano).

For the following models six out of an indefinite number of versions are taken.

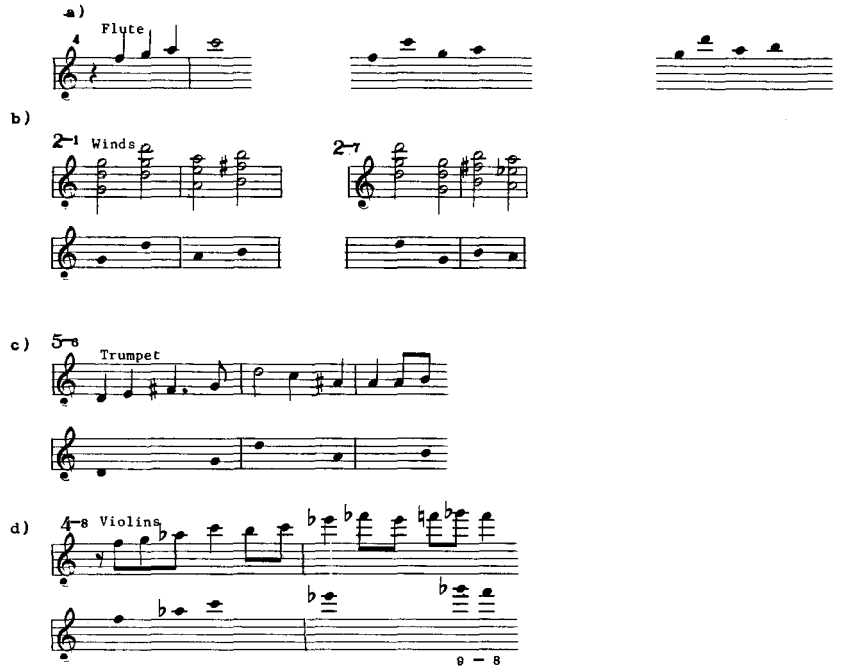


Example 12. From Bernhard Ziehn's *Manual of Harmony,* p. 77.

Otto Luening's Second Short Sonata for Flute and Piano was composed many years later in 1971. The melody lines of the first, second, and third movements (see examples 19, 20, and 21 below) are "figured" variants of each other. Furthermore, the accompanying chords in the second and third movements generate a wedge around A–G, just as they do in the Sonata *in Memoriam Ferruccio Busoni* (see the additional staves below examples 20 and 21).

The symmetrically inverted accompaniment chords continue throughout the second movement. Midway through the same movement, the relationship of the chords is registrally inverted: the lower chord becomes the higher and the higher the lower (see example 22). Thus through procedures of invertible counterpoint, Luening creates the symmetrical inversion of a symmetrical inversion.

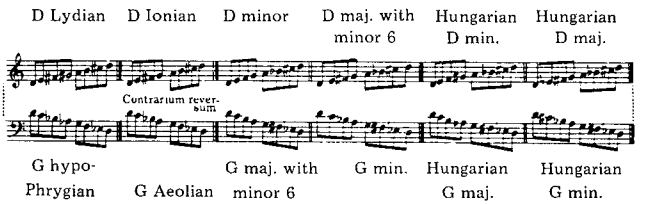
Otto Luening has composed over three hundred compositions, truly a large and varied repertory. The pieces analyzed date almost exclusively from his early years. Exceptions to this group are the Sonata *in Memoriam Ferruccio*



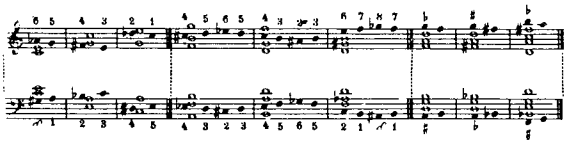
Examples 13a, b, c, and d. Otto Luening, from the First Symphonic Fantasia.

Busoni, written in 1955, and the Second Short Sonata for Flute and Piano, written in 1971, which show that Luening's interest in the compositional potential of Ziehn's theories has resurfaced in recent years. Another recent work, Three Short Canons for Two Flutes (1985), also makes use of Ziehn's symmetrical inversions. Applications of Ziehn's theories thus offer at least one aspect of continuity through Luening's varied and extraordinarily large output. Moreover, the careers of Bernhard Ziehn and Otto Luening also demonstrate the vital connection between the German theoretical tradition and contemporary American music.

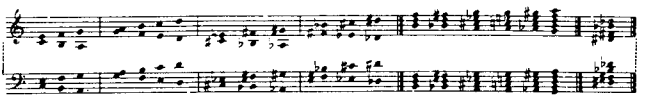
a. Scale



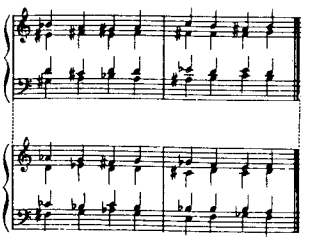
b. Suspensions



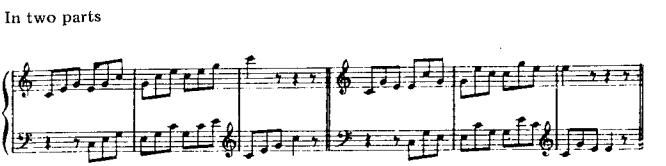
c. Chord



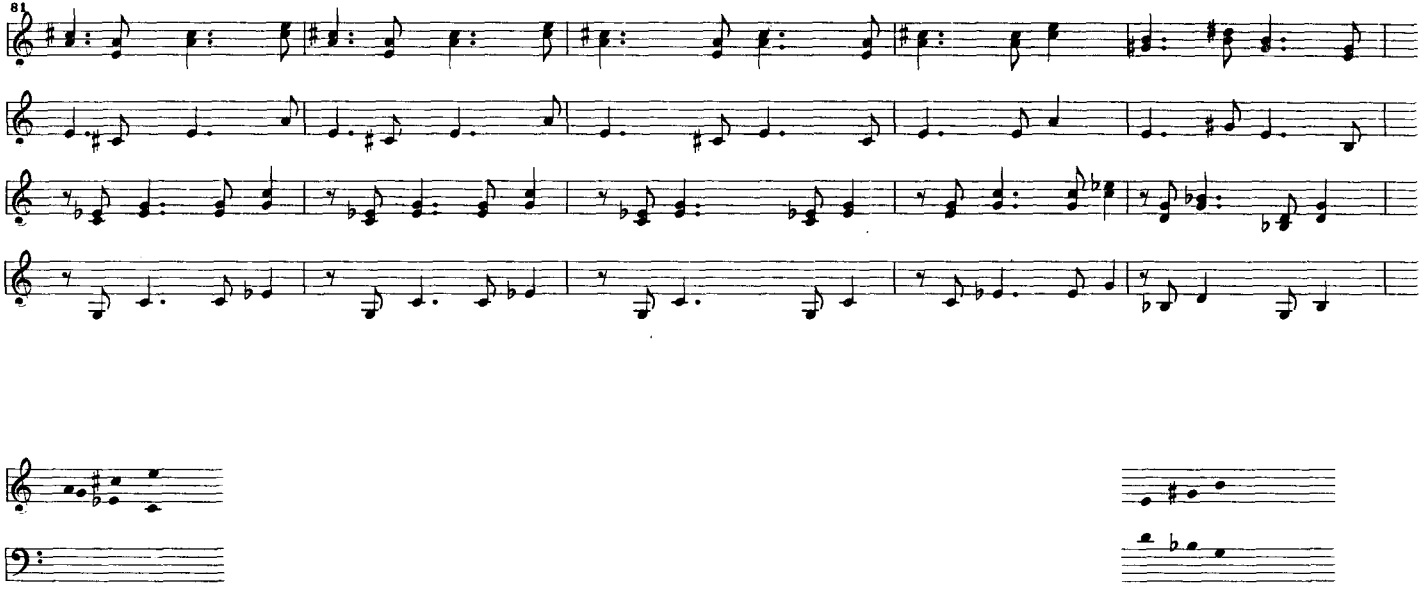
d. Chord Progression



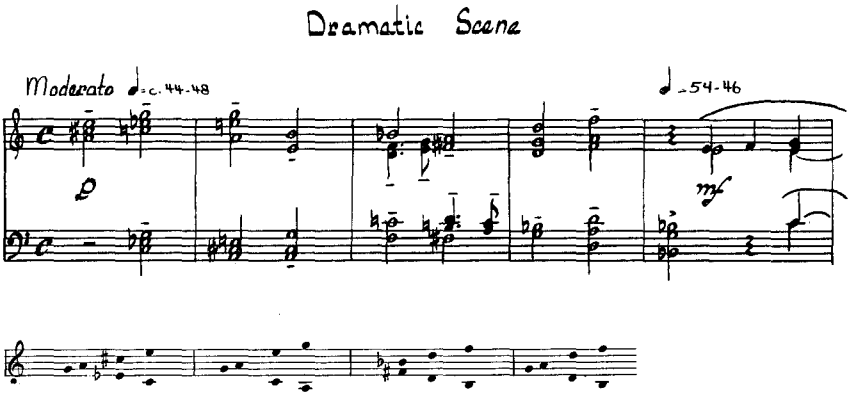
e. Canon



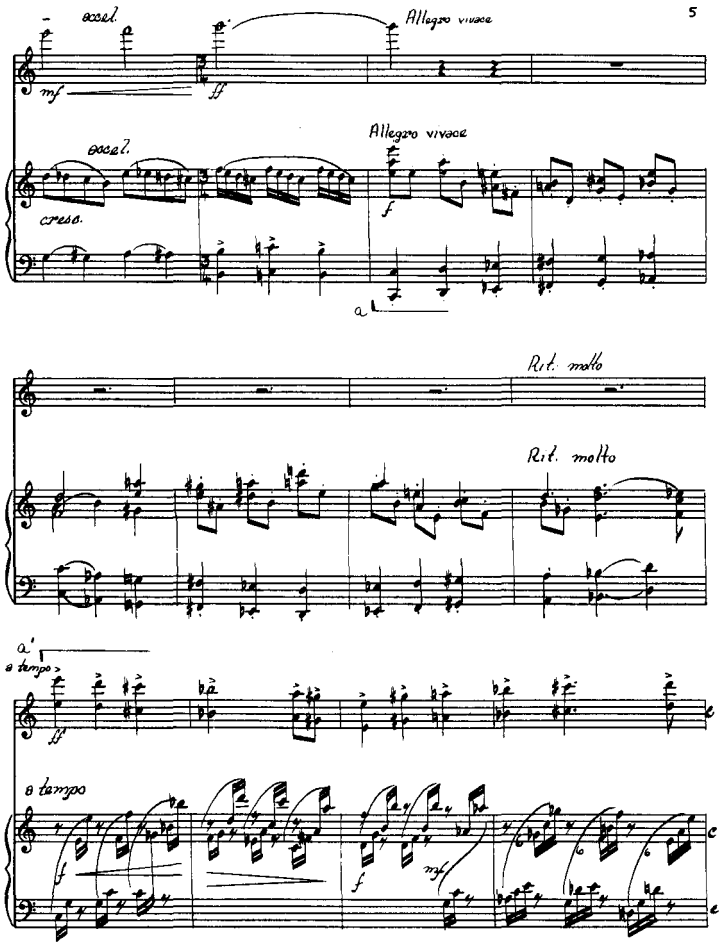
Examples 14a, b, c, d, and e. From Bernhard Ziehn's *Canonic Studies,* pp. 24, 25, 28, 30.



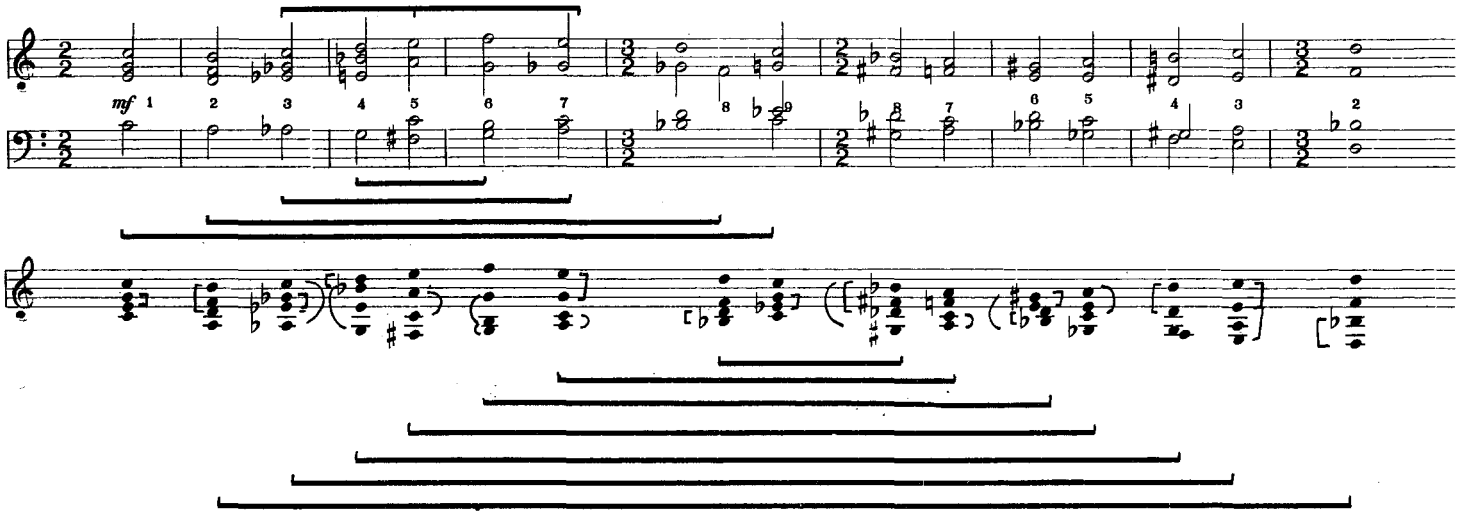
Example 15. Ferruccio Busoni, *Berceuse Élégiaque*, mm. 81–93.



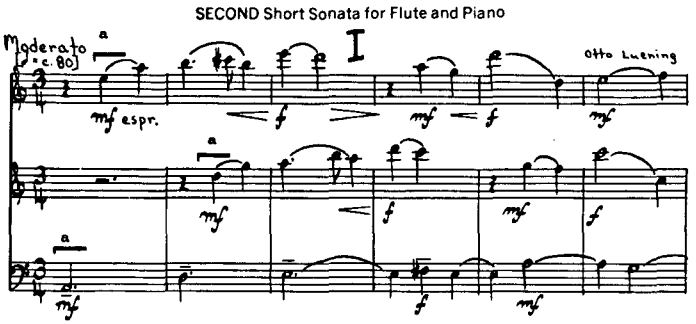
Example 16. Otto Luening, Sonata *in Memoriam Ferruccio Busoni,* second movement, mm. 1–5.



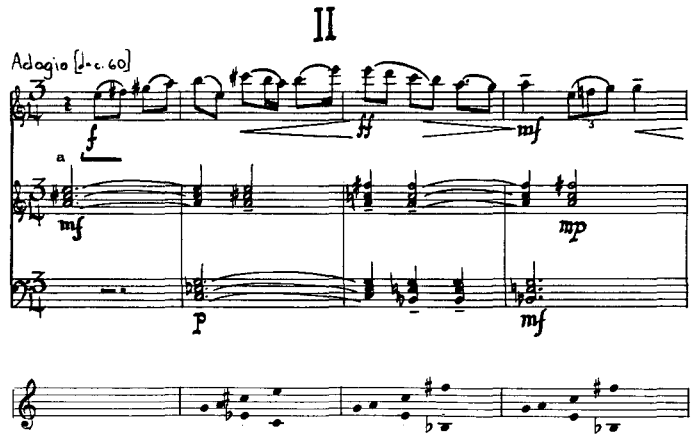
Example 17. Otto Luening, from the Second Violin Sonata.



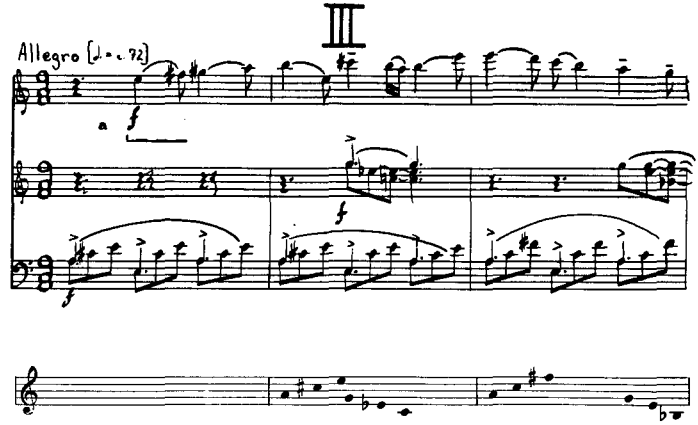
Example 18. Otto Luening, Fugue and Chorale Fantasy for Organ, mm. 1–9.



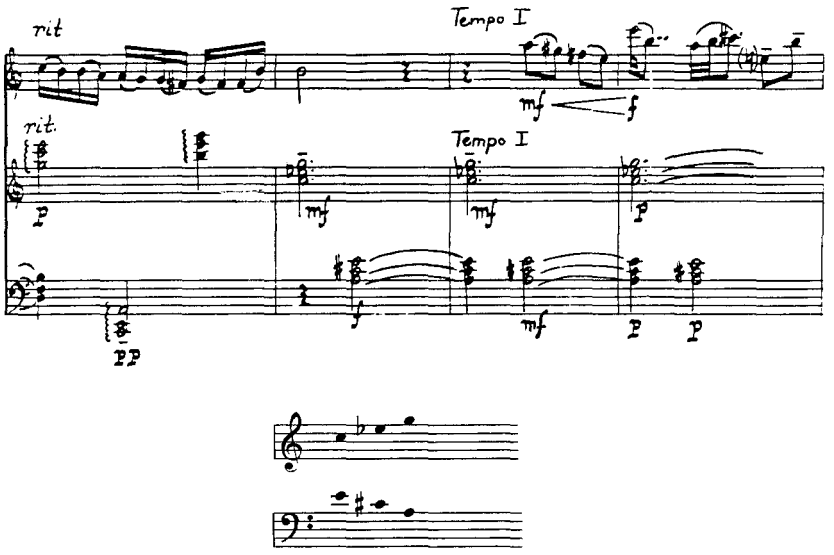
Example 19. Otto Luening, Second Short Sonata for Flute and Piano, first movement, mm. 1–6.



Example 20. Otto Luening, Second Short Sonata for Flute and Piano, second movement, mm. 1–4.



Example 21. Otto Luening, Second Short Sonata for Flute and Piano, third movement, mm. 1–3.



Example 22. Otto Luening, Second Short Sonata for Flute and Piano, from the second movement.

NOTES

*In honor of Otto Luening's eighty-fifth birthday.

[1] Ferruccio Busoni, *The Essence of Music and Other Papers,* Rosamund Ley, trans. (London: Salisbury Square, 1957), p. 47.

[2] Additional biographical data about Ziehn appears in: Hans Joachim Moser, *Bernhard Ziehn: Die deutsch-amerikanische Musik-Theoretiker* (Bayreuth: Verlag Julius Steeger, 1950); *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* s.v. "Ziehn, Bernhard"; Bernhard Ziehn, *Canonical Studies,* Ronald Stevenson, ed. (New York: Crescendo Press, 1976); Winthrop Sargeant, "Bernhard Ziehn, Precursor," *Musical Quarterly,* 19 (1933): 169–177; Bernhard Ziehn, *Doric Hymns of Mesomedes* (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1979). For information on Middelschulte see John Becker, "Wilhelm Middelschulte, Master of Counterpoint," *Musical Quarterly,* 14 (1928): 192–202.

[3] For information on Busoni and Ziehn see: Ferruccio Busoni, *Letters to his Wife,* Rosamund Ley, trans. (London: Edward Arnold, 1938), p. 154.

[4] "The Gothics of Chicago" is reprinted in Moser, *Bernhard Ziehn.*

[5] Frederick Stock arranged the work for orchestra. Busoni also made a two-piano version in 1922.

[6] I wish to thank Otto Luening for granting me many interviews during the writing of this paper, for reading and commenting on this essay, and for his infinite kindness and patience. His description of study with Busoni is from an interview granted on April 17, 1984.

[7] Otto Luening, interview with author, March 17, 1984.

[8] For more biographical data on Luening see Otto Luening, *The Odyssey of an American Composer: The Autobiography of Otto Luening* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), pp. 11–13.

[9] The First Symphonic Fantasia and the Sonata *in Memoriam Ferruccio Busoni* are published by ACA, the Second Violin Sonata by Galaxy Press, the Second Short Sonata for Flute and Piano by New Valley Music Press, Smith College, and the Fugue and Chorale Fantasy for Organ by World Library Publications, Inc. The First Symphonic Fantasia and the Sonata *in Memoriam Ferruccio Busoni* are recorded on CRI.

[10] See Thorvald Otterström, "Personal Recollections of Bernhard Ziehn," *Jahrbuch der deutsch-amerikanischen historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois,* Julius Goebel, ed., Bd. 26–27 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), p. 20.

[11] Ziehn's major works are: 1) *System der Übungen für Klavierspieler, Ein Lehrgang für den ersten Unterricht* (Hamburg: Verlag Hugo Pohle, 1881); 2) *Harmonie-und Modulationslehre* (Berlin: Verlag Chrs. Friedrich, 1887, 1888, 1910); 3) *Manual of Harmony* (Milwaukee: Wm. A. Kaun, 1907); 4) *Five- and Six-Part Harmonies and How to Use Them* (Milwaukee: Wm. A. Kaun, 1911); 5) *Canonical Studies: A New Technique in Composition* (Milwaukee: Wm. A. Kaun, 1912; reprinted New York: Crescendo Press, 1976); 6) Various essays appear in *Jahrbuch der deutsch-amerikanischen historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois,* Julius Goebel, ed., Bd. 26–27 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927).

[12] Ziehn, *Manual,* p. 3.

[13] The concept of plurisignificance can be traced to the following earlier theorists: Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler, *Handbuch zur Harmonielehre und für den Generalbass nach den Grundsätzen der Mannheimer Tonschule* (Prague: 1802), pp. 101–110; François Fétis, *Traité Complet de la Théorie et de la Pratique de l'Harmonie* (Paris: Brandus et Cie., 1875), pp. 177–185; Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *The Art of Strict Composition,* David Beach and Jurgen Thym, trans. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 299–305; *Mehrdeutigkeit* is also discussed by Gottfried Weber in his *Versuch einer geordneten Theorie der Tonkunst* (Mainz: B. Schott, 1817–21), vol. 2, pp. 72–80.

[14] Otto Luening, interview with author, April 11, 1984.

[15] A similar concept is alluded to in Weber, *Versuch,* vol. 2, p. 281.

[16] *System der Übungen,* vol. 1, pp. 1, 12.

Some Neglected Women Composers of the Eighteenth Century and Their Music

By Deborah Hayes

The study of Classic music in the eighteenth century has concentrated on compositions by men, but another repertoire has often been overlooked, namely compositions by women. To determine why this is so, whether by accident or intent, lies beyond the scope of this paper. Its purpose is instead to examine selectively a neglected repertoire, one with much potential for further research.

The survey that follows summarizes the lives and examines the musical works of several women. It suggests that female composers had much in common with their male counterparts. Their music shows various familiar aspects of Classic music composition: it serves Classic functions at court, in the concert hall, and the growing amateur market; it demonstrates familiar characteristics of Classic style; and it is set in the recognizable Classic genres. The survey will proceed geographically, by country—Italy, Germany, Austria, France, England—and roughly chronologically within each country.[1] The women discussed in this preliminary survey of the repertoire were selected on the basis of several criteria: the composer's apparent renown in the eighteenth century, the variety and number of works published or preserved in manuscript, the existence of modern editions, studies, and commercial recordings, and ultimately the quality of the works in terms of the standards of the Classic era.

Italy

It has been recognized for some time that the beginnings of Classic style are evident by midcentury in music of Italian composers, many of whom directly influenced music composition and performance north of the Italian peninsula. Of the notable women composers of the time I have chosen three as representative: Anna Bon, Maria Teresa Agnesi, and Maddalena Lombardini Sirmen.

Venetian composer Anna Bon served as harpsichordist at the Brandenburg court of Frederick the Great from the 1750s. Three sets of Bon's sonatas were published:[2] *VI sonate da camera per il flauto traversiere e violoncello o cembalo,* op. 1 (1756), a melody and figured bass published in score; *Sei sonate per il cembalo,* op. 2 (1757); and *Sei divertimenti per due flauti e basso,* op. 3 (1757). Anna Bon is one of the four women among the 190 sonata composers named in J. A. P. Schulz's article, "Sonate," in Sulzer's encyclopedia, published in the 1770s in Leipzig.[3] Her sonatas, however, are only now being revived.[4]

Little is known of Bon's life besides what appears on the title pages and dedications of her published works, which say she is from Venice and give her age: sixteen in 1756 for op. 1, seventeen in 1757 for op. 2, but nineteen in 1757 for op. 3. Judging from this last source, Eitner took her birth year to be

1738.[5] The six sonatas for transverse flute and violoncello or harpsichord, op. 1, are dedicated to Frederick the Great, the six sonatas for solo harpsichord, op. 2, are dedicated to Ernestina Augusta Sophia, Princess of Saxe Weimar, and the six trio sonatas, op. 3, are dedicated to Karl Theodor, Elector of Bavaria. Only the title pages of opp. 1 and 2 identify the composer as a chamber music virtuosa in Frederick's court; the dedicatory preface to op. 1 includes the composer's statement, "my instrument is the harpsichord."

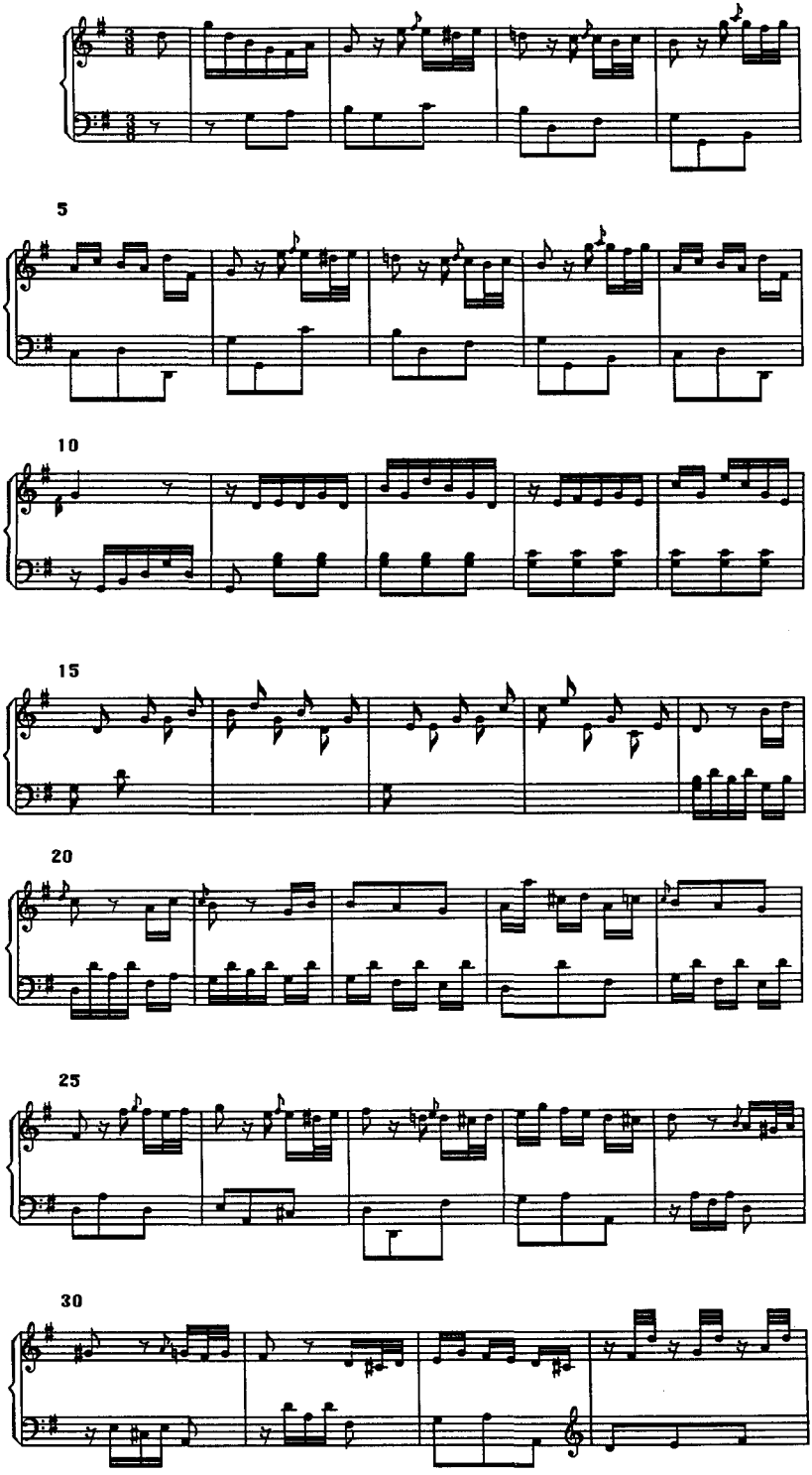
The sonatas of op. 1 illustrate the flexibility of music meant to reach a wide market including amateur players. According to the title page and in light of the eighteenth-century chamber music practice, the sonatas could be performed in several ways: by flute and cello; by flute and harpsichord continuo, perhaps with cello; or by harpsichord alone; or even by harpsichord with flute doubling the right-hand part. Whether these pieces are played by two essentially solo instruments, flute and cello, or with the continuo realization, the harmonic functions of tonic, dominant, and subdominant and the tonal shape of each phrase are clear, in either arrangement. In this regard, Bon's music illustrates the transition from Baroque continuo practice to the tonal clarity of the Classic style.

Maria Teresa Agnesi (later Pinottini) (1720–1795) composed operas for Milan's ducal theater and elsewhere as well as keyboard concertos and sonatas. Collections of her arias and instrumental pieces were dedicated to the rulers of Saxony and Austria, and manuscript copies of her works are preserved in many libraries in Europe.[6] Two of Agnesi's harpsichord sonatas and two harpsichord concertos appeared in the Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue, Supplements I (1766) and II (1767),[7] and her name was on Schulz's list of representative sonata composers, as noted above. Eitner described her as a distinguished harpsichordist as well as composer,[8] and biographical material has continued to appear in Italian as well as German and English histories and encyclopedias.[9] Her music, however, has yet to be printed in modern edition.

Agnesi's one-movement Sonata in G (example 1)[10] demonstrates the clear Italianate texture and strongly articulated phrases of early Classic or galant style. The sonata is in triple meter in the style of a minuet and uses a variety of related motives as the basis for an inventive approach to two-reprise or sonata form. The sonata develops logically from the opening material, which is restated in both the dominant—at the beginning of the second part of the sonata, where it soon moves into other keys—and in the tonic at the beginning of the recapitulation. The substantial tonic recapitulation restores tonic balance in the second section and creates a Classic symmetry.

Violinist and composer Maddalena Laura Lombardini (Sirmen) (1735–after 1785)[11] also achieved fame outside Italy. She was born in Venice and first studied violin at the Mendicanti and then, beginning in 1760, by correspondence with Tartini in Padua. Tartini's first lesson for her was published in Venice after his death in 1770 and translated into English (by Charles Burney, 1771), French, and German.[12] She began a performing career with

(Example 1)



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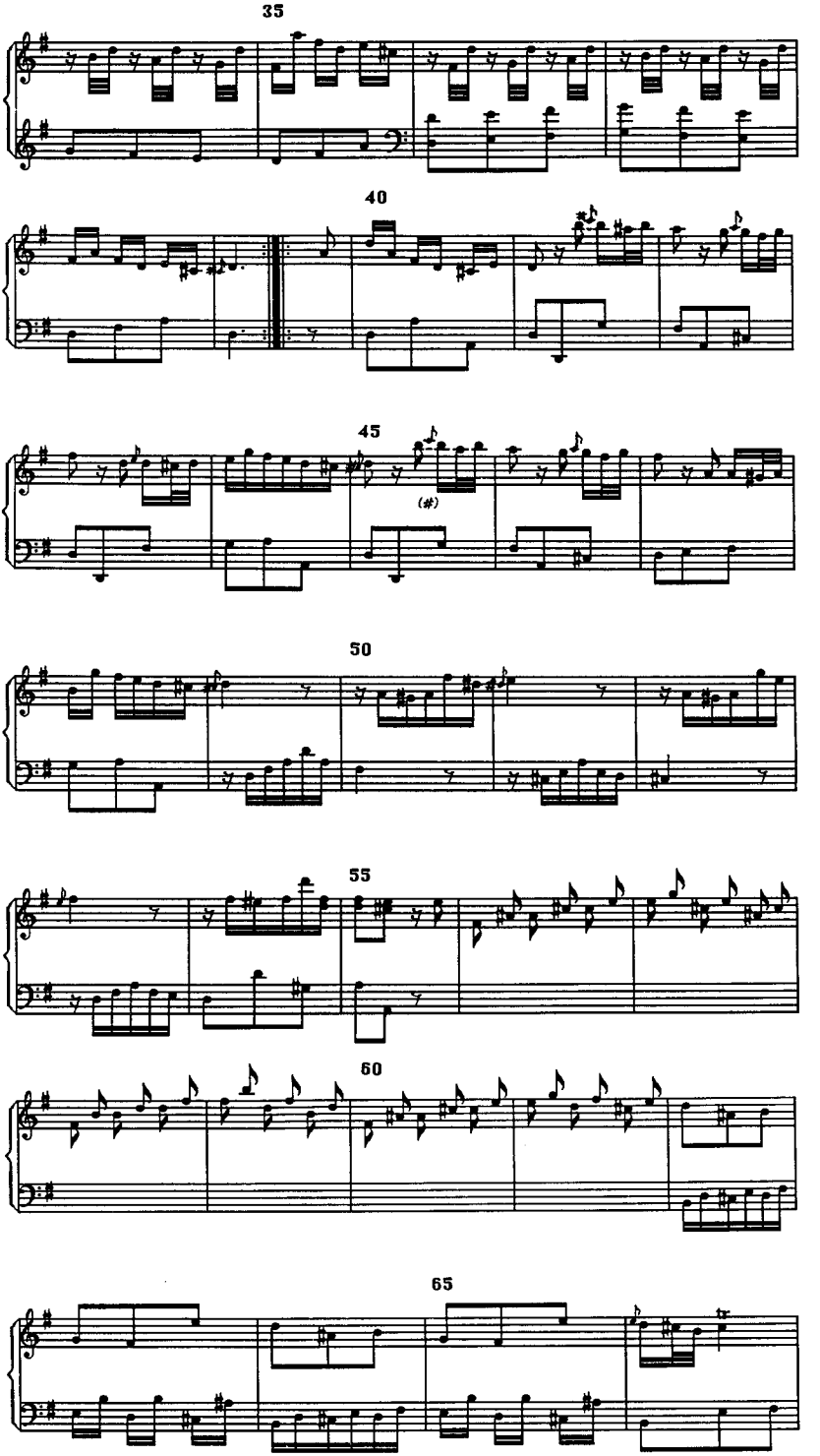

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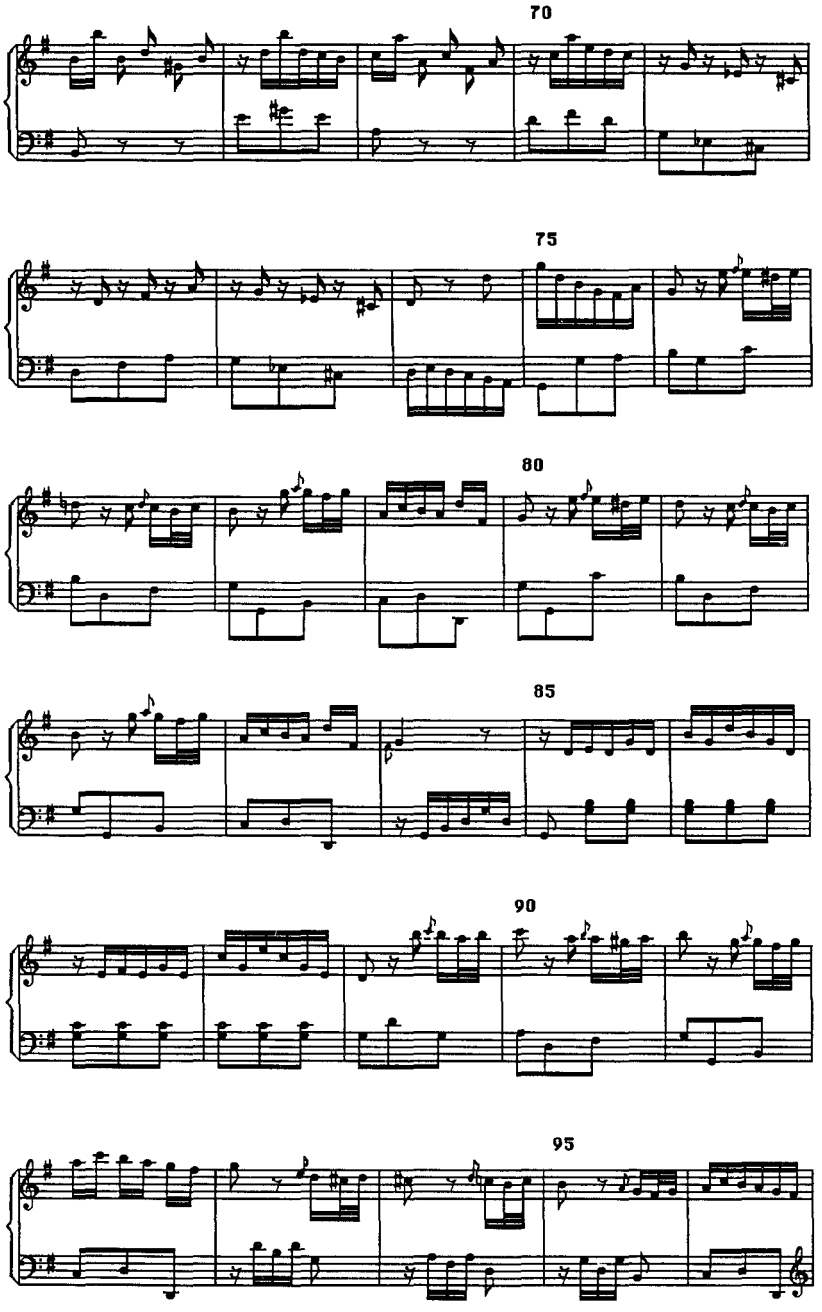
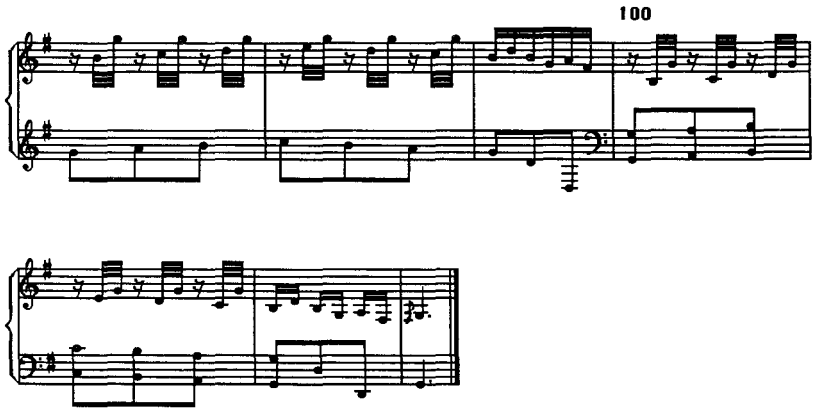




Example 1. Maria Teresa Agnesi, Sonata in G.

concert tours in Italy, followed by concerts in Paris, where she first performed at the Concert Spirituel in 1768, and in London for the 1771–1772 season. Her compositions, which include sets of trios, string quartets, violin concertos and violin duets, were published in the 1770s in London, Paris, Leipzig, and Berlin.[13]

In 1772 and 1773 William Napier in London published instrumental parts for *Six Concertos in Nine Parts* (principal violin, violin 1 and 2, viola, bass, oboe 1 and 2, horn 1 and 2) "composed by Madelena Laura Syrmen," op. 3.[14] In 1773 the publisher offered a transcription of the concertos for solo harpsichord by "Sgr Giordani";[15] the two-part Italianate writing of the keyboard transcription was designed to appeal to the amateur market, which was especially important in London. On the title page, the publisher also suggested a third performance alternative, as a harpsichord concerto using Sirmen's instrumental parts, but minus principal violin, to accompany Giordani's harpsichord transcription.

Germany

Five of the German women composers to be discussed in this survey were members of ruling families. So far they are the principal ones known from histories, modern editions, and commercial recordings. These women had the advantages of access to good musical training and to good performers for their works. Their social status has probably also contributed to historians' interest in their musical achievements.

The earliest of the five is Maria Antonia Walpurgis, Electress of Bavaria (1724–1780) whose pseudonym is Ermelinda Talia Pastorella Arcada. Her Italian pastoral drama, *Il trionfo della fidelta* (1756), was the first large work published by Breitkopf using the new method of printing from type by one impression, a method that was widely imitated for the next fifty years with the growth of music publishing.[16] The *Breitkopf Thematic Catalogue* lists, in Supplement I (1766), instrumental parts for the overtures to this opera and

to her opera *Talestri* and, in Supplement II (1767), harpsichord versions of both.[17] Burney reported hearing her sing a scene of *Talestri* and being favorably impressed.[18] Her operas, however, have yet to be reprinted and revived.

The second German composer is Marie Charlotte Amalie, Duchess of Saxe-Goethe, Princess of Saxe-Meinungen (1751–?). Her works include a symphony for ten instruments, variations for harpsichord, songs, and church music, none of which have been revived. She was considered one of the most talented musicians among the eighteenth-century aristocracy.[19]

Margravine Wilhelmine of Bayreuth (1709–1758) and Princess Anna Amalie of Prussia (1723–1787), both sisters of Frederick the Great, were accomplished musicians.[20] Princess Anna Amalie is well known for her four *Regimentsmarche,*[21] a three-movement *Sonata per il flauto e basso* (1771), and a *Trio Sonata in D.*[22] The famous Amalien-Bibliothek in Berlin contains her music library; the music of J. S. Bach, an especially noteworthy aspect of the collection, reflects the musical preferences of one of her teachers, the noted theorist, J. P. Kirnberger. Her compositions also include songs, a cantata, and chorale settings for four and five voices.

Duchess Anna Amalie of Saxe-Weimar (1739–1807), niece of Princess Anna Amalie, composed songs, motets, an oratorio, *Singspiele,* and instrumental chamber music. She acted as regent for seventeen years, from 1758 until the accession of her elder son Karl August as Grand Duke in 1775. Under her sponsorship Weimar became an important artistic center: she surrounded herself with poets—Herder, Goethe, among others—and musicians.[23] Her *Singspiel* entitled *Erwin und Elmire* (libretto by Goethe) was produced at the Weimar court in 1776 and in numerous revivals thereafter.[24] A piano quartet, the *Divertimento per il pianoforte, clarinetto, viola e violoncello,* was published in Weimar around 1780.[25] It is in two movements, Adagio and Allegro, both two-reprise forms in the key of B-flat.

Other German female composers include Corona Schröter, Juliane Benda, Franziska Lebrun and Margarethe Danzi. The sonatas by the last two were included by Riemann in his study and thematic catalog of the Mannheim school.[26] Recent scholarship has given us a new edition of Danzi's op. 1, no. 1 and a German recording of the same sonata, as well as Lebrun's op. 1, no. 3, second movement; both score and recording have been published with extensive biographical and historical notes.[27] A facsimile edition of Lebrun's *Six Sonatas* op. 1 is also in preparation.[28] Both Lebrun and Danzi write extremely melodically in a vocal, even operatic style attributable to their experience as singers. Moreover, Danzi's sonatas are remarkable for a sophisticated melodic and contrapuntal relationship of piano and violin. Harmonic and chord relationships in her music are expressively chromatic in the manner of early Romanticism.

Austria

Three of the most prominent women musicians in Vienna in this period were Marianne Martinez (1744–1812), Josepha Barbara von Aurnhammer

(or Auernhammer) Bessenig (1758–1820) and Maria Theresia von Paradis (1759–1824). Marianne Martinez was a member of an Austrian family of Spanish descent, but since her family had come recently to Vienna from Naples, and her education was largely the responsibility of Metastasio, she was considered an Italian musician. Her musical training also included studies with Haydn and Porpora. In the 1760s the enterprising Nuremberg publisher Johann Ulrich Haffner included two of her sonatas in a collection of "famous Italian composers,"[29] and in 1773 she was elected a member of the Bologna Accademia Filharmonica. Martinez was known also as a keyboard performer, singer, and vocal teacher. Almost all of her works remain in manuscript.[30] Charles Burney requested and received copies of her works after hearing her play,[31] and Eitner reported an estimate that she had composed thirty-one sonatas, twelve concertos and 156 arias.[32]

Josepha von Auernhammer was a concert performer as well as a prolific composer. She was a piano student of Mozart, who in 1781 dedicated to her the six accompanied sonatas published by Artaria as op. 2; she performed the piano part and he the violin part on a second piano.[33] Mozart was enthusiastic about her ability and often played with her in concerts. Like him, she was considered an expert at extemporizing and varying a given theme. As a composer she published several sets of keyboard variations, particularly on themes from operas by Mozart, Salieri, and Paisiello, and she wrote sonatas for piano solo and for piano and violin.

Maria Theresia von Paradis, internationally renowned concert pianist, composer, organist and singer, was granted the patronage of Empress Maria Theresa. Paradis was associated with many leading figures of the time: she was taught by Salieri and Vogler, and Mozart may have dedicated his piano concerto in B-flat, K. 456, to her in 1785.[34] Her life and works are, fortunately, undergoing investigation.[35] An unusual facet of Paradis's renown is that her best known work, the short instrumental *Sicilienne* arranged for violin and piano, solo piano, or cello and piano, and recorded on about thirty different commercial discs, is almost undoubtedly spurious, perhaps the work of its twentieth-century "arranger," violinist Samuel Dushkin.[36] Compositions that may be attributed with certainty to Paradis include songs (in German and Italian), cantatas (in German), operas and an operetta for the popular theater of Vienna and Prague,[37] piano sonatas, variations, and a piano trio with violin and cello (1800).[38]

France

There are about fifty women in Cohen's list of French composers, many of whom published without first name, only as Mademoiselle or Madame followed by their family name. Marie-Emmanuelle Bayon, later Mme Louis, (1746–1825) was a keyboard performer and teacher and published a set of six sonatas, op. 1, around 1770 as Mlle Bayon.[39] This is a mixed set of three solo keyboard sonatas, all in two movements, and three sonatas with "obbligatory" violin, one in two movements and two in three movements. In 1770

Mlle Bayon married a prominent architect, Victor Louis. Under the name Mme Louis she composed a comic opera, *Fleur-d'épine,* produced at the Théâtre-Italien to favorable reception.[40] It is a two-act tale of love and magic, with an overture and twenty musical numbers—mostly arias, some ensembles—in a melodic, expressive, Italianate style. The full score was published and is available in several libraries;[41] a keyboard arrangement of the overture by a M. Benaut with optional violin and cello accompaniment was also published, as were several collections of airs and ariettes. The composer presided over a distinguished literary and artistic salon and is credited with making the piano a fashionable instrument in France.[42]

Another Parisian composer is Emilie Julie Candeille or Simons-Candeille (1767–1834), a concert performer[43] and a composer of sonatas, a concerto for piano with large orchestra, instrumental music, songs with harpsichord, harp or guitar accompaniment, operas, and various other forms of vocal music. In 1792 her comic opera *Cathérine ou La fermière* had 154 consecutive performances. It was even translated into several languages and the score published. For Julie Candeille, the price of popularity was, as it has been for others, to be accused of having plagiarized a man's work. She convincingly defended herself, describing her work as her only means of livelihood, in the *Journal de Paris* in 1795.[44]

England

Over sixty English women composers may be identified in the second half of the eighteenth century, many of whom—primarily pianists and singers, amateur and professional—participated in the public and private subscription concerts which were an important part of musical life in London and other centers.

Italian music and musicians were just as popular in England as in Germany, and around midcentury an Italian musician, Elizabetta de Gambarini (1731–?), published *Six Sets of Lessons for the Harpsichord,*[45] a collection of *Lessons for the Harpsichord, Intermix'd with Italian and English Songs, opera 2da* (1738), and *Twelve English and Italian Songs for a German Flute and Thorough Bass,* op. 3. The mixed repertoire of the op. 2 collection is worth closer examination. The volume is dedicated to His Royal Highness Frederick, Prince of Wales, with a dedicatory letter in Italian and a list of over 150 subscribers. Op. 2 is notated on two staves throughout, either for harpsichord (in lessons, introductions, and interludes of songs) or for voice and figured bass. The first selection is a da capo aria (in English); then follow two lessons, Allegro and Andante (in two-reprise forms), an Italian canzonetta (again, a two-reprise), a minuet with two variations for harpsichord, a long Italian song in da capo form, a *Tambourin* and *Cariglion* for harpsichord, another Italian canzonetta, a theme and two variations, and a final *giga.*[46] Gambarini, later Mrs. Chazal, was also a soprano, organist, and concert director. Her compositions include orchestral, piano, violin, and vocal music, most of which has yet to be revived.

Three names from the 1770s are familiar: Elisabeth Weichsell, Harriet

Abrams, and Mary Barthélemon, all professional singers as well as composers of keyboard and vocal music. Elisabeth Weichsell, or Mrs. Billington, later Felissent, (ca. 1765–1818), was a child prodigy. Burney described her as "a neat and expressive performer on the pianoforte" who "appeared all at once, in 1786, a sweet and captivating singer" and he praised her highly.[47] As a child she composed two sets of keyboard sonatas and lessons which were published in 1773 and 1776, with title pages announcing her age as eight and eleven.[48] She published the *Memoirs of Mrs. Billington* in 1792, but no further music.

Maria Barthélemon, formerly Mary (Polly) Young (ca. 1749–1799), while establishing herself as an outstanding singer in her London appearances, composed and published vocal and keyboard music. She first published six sonatas for the harpsichord or piano with an accompaniment for violin (1776), "most humbly dedicated to Her Majesty" Queen Charlotte; they are in two movements and show much concertante violin writing which makes the violin more than an accompanying instrument in spite of the title page.[49] Subsequent compositions included six English and Italian songs, published as op. 2, with an accompaniment for violins and pianoforte, three hymns and three anthems, published as op. 3, for two voices with organ accompaniment, and other vocal music.

Harriet (or Henriette) Abrams (1760–ca. 1825), like many of the foremost singers, composed vocal music. Her setting of "Crazy Jane" (Why fair maid in ev'ry feature) was published in numerous editions, including an edition issued in Philadelphia. Abrams also published collections of Scottish songs and Italian and English canzonets for vocal ensemble with keyboard accompaniment.[50]

One of the foremost English pianists of the time, Jane Mary Guest, later Mrs. Miles (ca. 1765–ca. 1830), composed sonatas, concertos, other keyboard music, and songs. The British Library catalog of printed books lists twenty titles, many in multiple editions. Like Weichsell, she was a child prodigy, appearing first in her native city of Bath when she was not quite six years old, and then in London at the Professional Concerts and Willis's Room concerts beginning in 1779.[51] She studied with Johann Christian Bach, music master to the family of George III. Guest often performed her own concertos, which were evidently never published and have yet to be located. Her Six Sonatas for the Harpsichord or Pianoforte, with an accompaniment for a violin or German flute, were published in London around 1783 and were dedicated to Queen Charlotte.[52] Subscribers number around 475, and the list, which occupies seven pages of the edition, includes prominent musicians, members of the Royal Family and the nobility, and music sellers. The sonatas were soon reprinted in Paris and Berlin. In 1806 or 1807 Guest was appointed music instructor to Princess Charlotte, daughter of George IV. Sainsbury's *Dictionary* of 1825 included the following comments:

The publications of this lady are not numerous, but her sonatas . . .

have been handsomely reviewed, and require no further comment. Her manuscript concertos, which she reserved for her own performance . . . , have given such proof of genius in composition, that we lament they should remain unknown to the lovers of music.[53]

Guest's op. 1 sonatas are two-movement works; the first five are accompanied sonatas and the sixth—in the tradition of the mixed set—is solo. Example 2, Sonata no. 4, has the variety of textures and wealth of musical allusions valued in the Classic sonata and demonstrates the elegant assurance of Guest's style. The attractive opening idea, *piano,* consists of three open-ended four-measure phrases. Three contrasting statements follow: the first, a more agitated sixteenth-note motive, *forte*; then a march-like chordal motive, *piano*; and finally a cadential motive in eighth notes over a repeated tonic and dominant bass.

Mentioning "Miss Guest" and six other names, Burney wrote that "keyed-instruments are perhaps nowhere on the globe better played, in every different style, than at present in this country." Performers, he continued, included "not only professors but dilettanti, who, though not public performers, are heard with great pleasure in private."[54]

Prominent women composers of the 1780s include Maria Hester Reynolds, who published six two-movement accompanied sonatas, op. 1, and three solo sonatas, op. 2, around 1785. Another is virtuosa performer Jane Savage whose music enjoyed great popularity and included songs and other vocal music, keyboard lessons, rondos and duets.[55] In the 1790s Margaret Essex published three accompanied sonatas, op. 1, as well as canzonets for piano or harp, and songs. Another important figure was Ann Valentine (1762–1842), organist of St. Margaret's Church, Leicester.[56] She published *Ten Sonatas for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord with an Accompaniment for the Violin or German-Flute,* op. 1. A subsequent publishing issued only the first six as op. 1. A rondo on a Scotch air "Monny Musk," and three waltzes were published in the 1790s.

Women who were active as well in the 1790s will complete this survey. The first is Celia Maria Barthélemon or Mrs. Henslowe (b. 1770?), a singer and harpist, daughter of Maria Barthélemon and violinist François Hippolyte Barthélemon. Celia Maria Barthélemon composed a set of three piano sonatas, op. 1, the second with violin accompaniment. The volume, published in 1791, includes a list of about 300 subscribers including the members of the Royal Family. Subsequent publications included the following: two accompanied piano sonatas, op. 2 (1792?), the first with cello and violin and the second with cello and flute; a solo sonata "dedicated to Joseph Haydn," op. 3 (1794); an accompanied sonata, op. 4 (1795); as well as piano music with programmatic titles such as "Capture of the Cape of Good Hope" and "Overture of the Mouth of the Nile."[57]

Another musician prominent during the last decade of the eighteenth century was Maria Hester Park(e) or Mrs. Beardmore (1775–1822), a pianist and composer. Miss Parke was a child prodigy who made her first appear-

ance as a pianist in 1785 and as a singer in 1790.[58] Like Barthélemon and Valentine, she was from a family of musicians: her father was an oboist, as was her uncle, William T. Parke, whose *Musical Memoirs* are a good source of information on London concert life.[59] The Parke family was friendly with Haydn, and Maria appeared in several concerts with him in 1794 and 1795, usually as a singer but sometimes also as a pianist. At a concert in the Hanover Square Rooms on 19 May 1794, Haydn directed a new overture and Maria Parke played one of her own piano sonatas and sang. A reviewer wrote of the "highly beautiful" compositions and the "taste and judgement" of the selection.[60] Haydn later sent her the manuscript of his Piano Sonata in D, H. XVI:51, from 1794.[61]

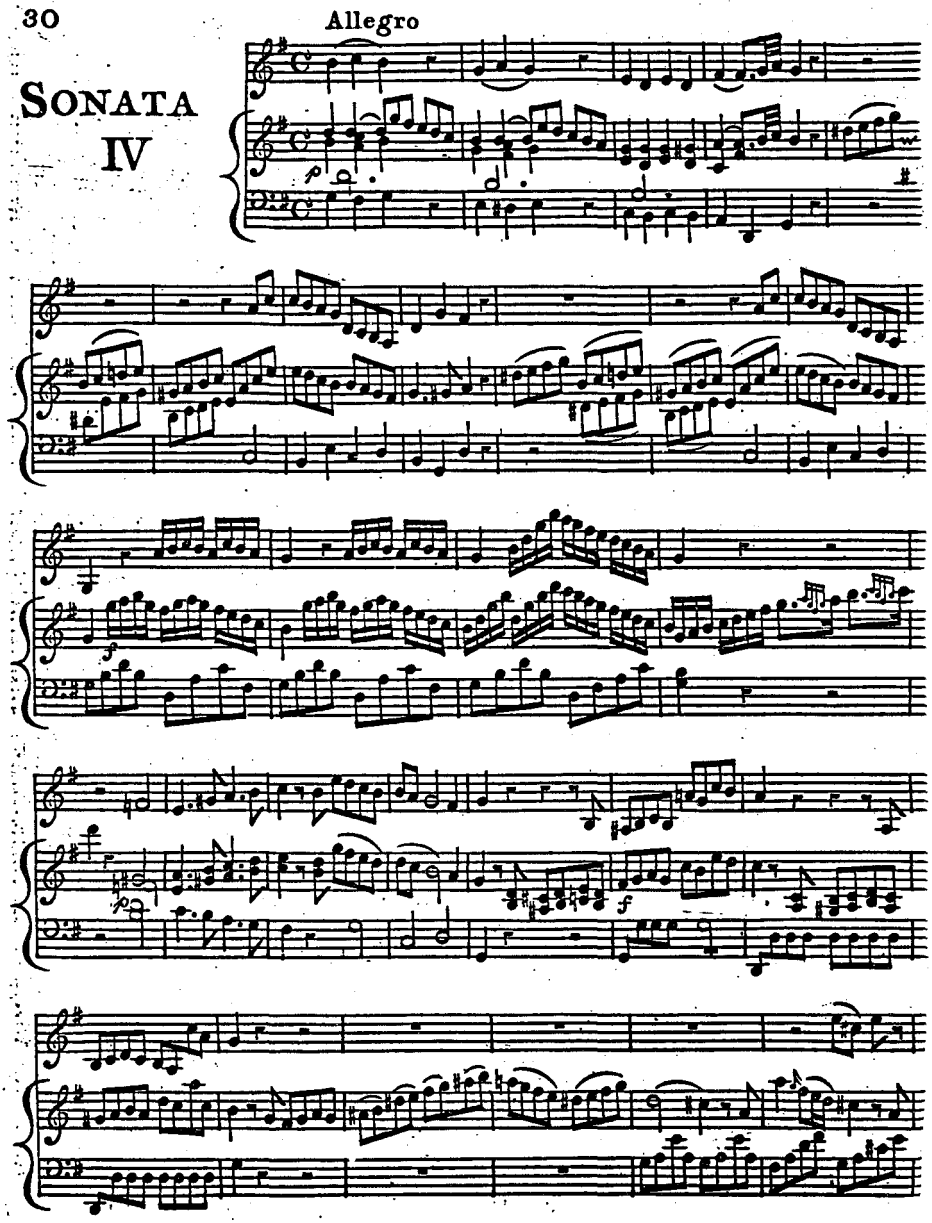
Beginning in the 1790s, Maria Hester Parke published several titles. For opp. 1–3 there exists some confusion about the sources, there being two conflicting attributions, M. H. Parke or M. F. Parke.[62] A piece called *A Divertimento for the Piano Forte* (London, ca. 1810), not listed in RISM, was recently acquired by the University of Michigan.[63] Two solo piano sonatas, op. 4, are of contrasting character. Example 3 contains the first movement of op. 4, no. 1,[64] and demonstrates the skill and rhythmic energy of Parke's approach to sonata writing. From the beginning, phrases are uneven, propelling the material forward, and motives from the first reprise reappear in the second in different contexts to reveal new formal sense.

Parke's three-movement piano concerto, op. 6, in E-flat, requires only string orchestra—violin 1 and 2, viola and cello—as accompaniment. Like other Classic concertos it can be easily rearranged as a solo keyboard piece. A sonata for pianoforte, op. 7, is "respectfully inscribed to Mr. W. Dance, Musician in Ordinary to His Majesty, &cc."[65] Parke's opp. 4, 6, and 7 have yet to be reprinted, and further investigation is needed to establish definite attributions for opp. 1–3 and to find op. 5 and other missing works.

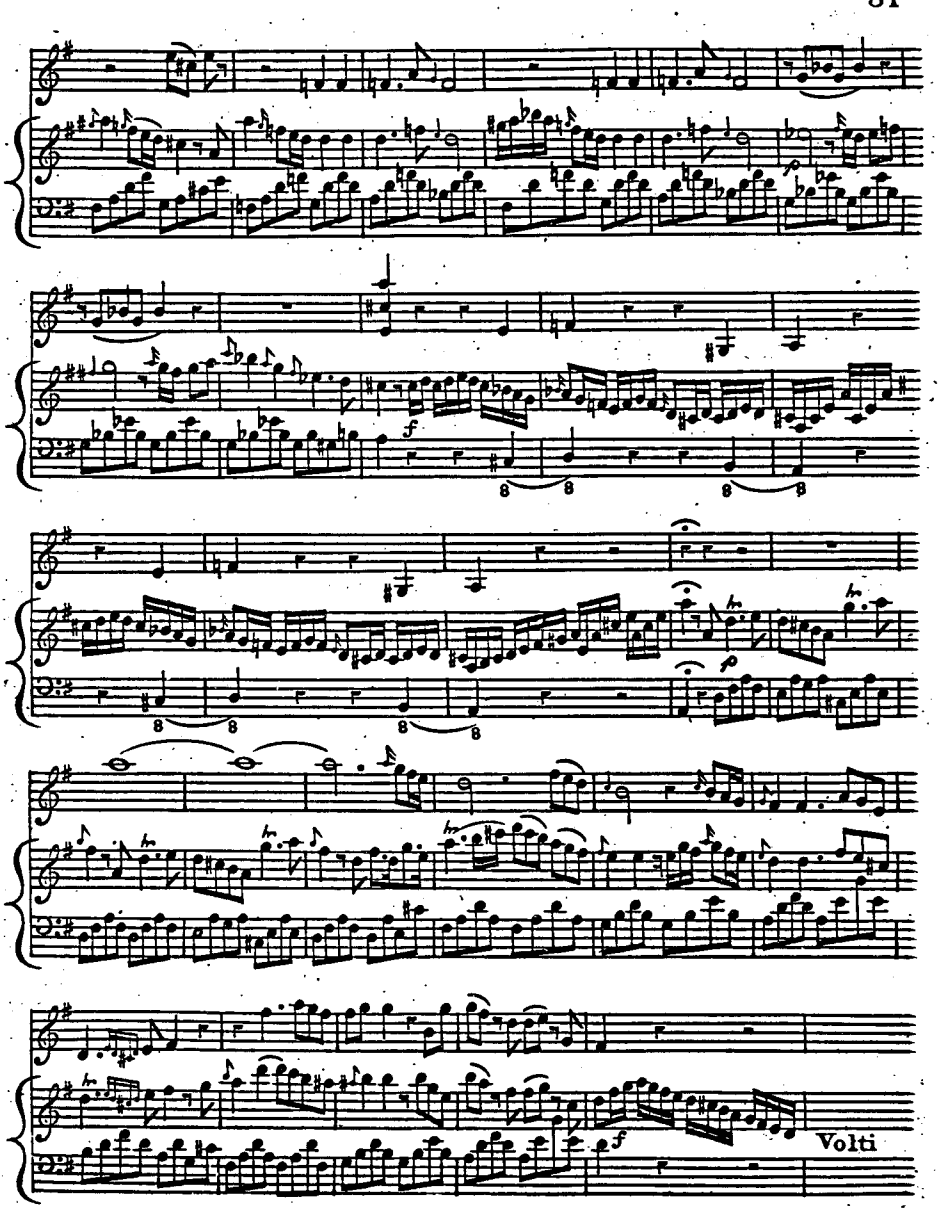
Conclusions

From this survey we can see that women composers contributed to the repertoire of the eighteenth-century Classic era. The music, however, has not been accorded the interest of nineteenth-century scholarship, and only recently has it begun to receive the attention of modern scholars, which it so deserves. Research is still far from extensive on important figures such as Martinez and Parke, whose work exemplifies major trends in music writing and publishing. It is hoped that this survey will encourage further research: a large body of music awaits rediscovery.

(Example 2)



(Example 2 cont.)



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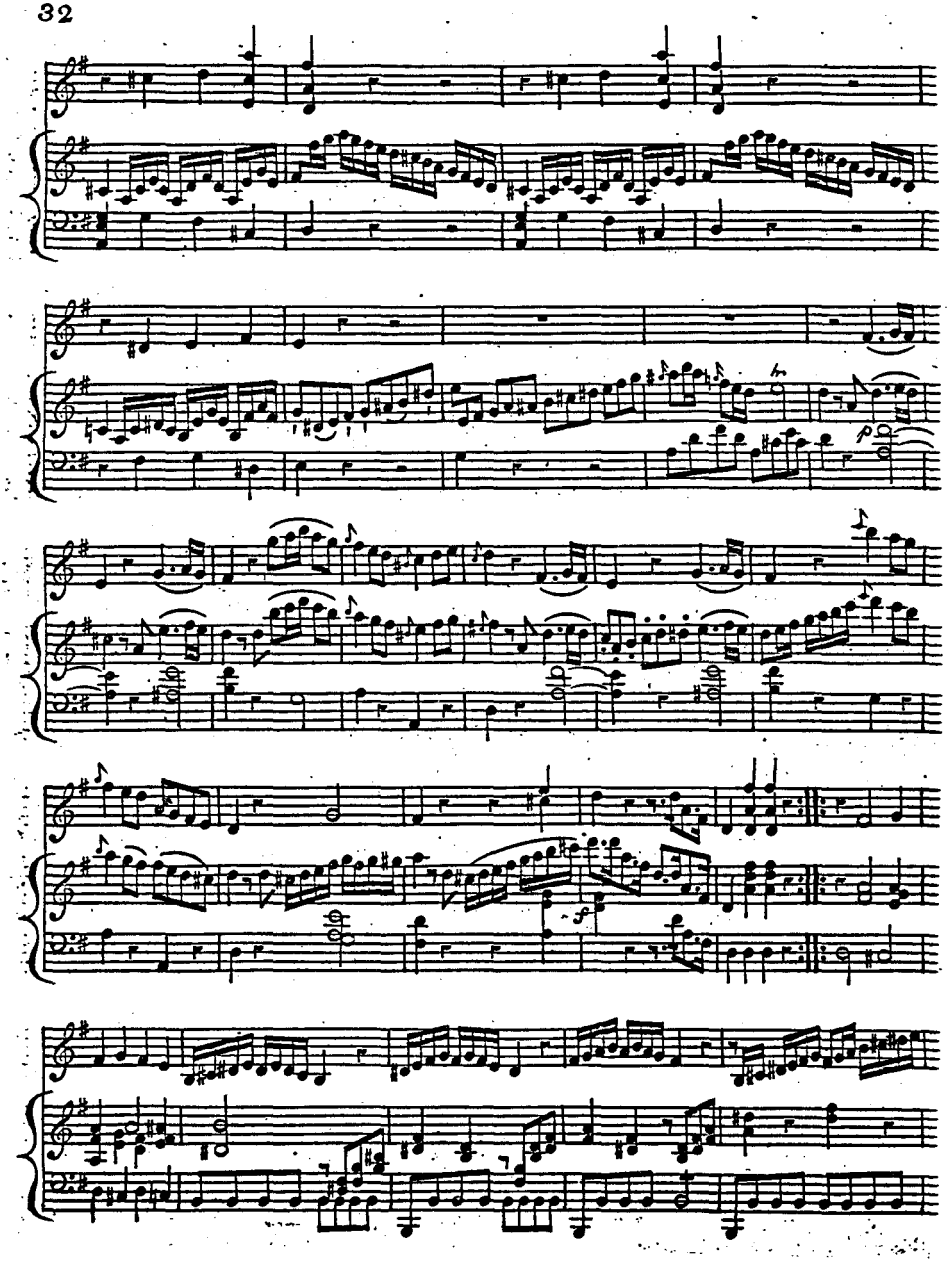

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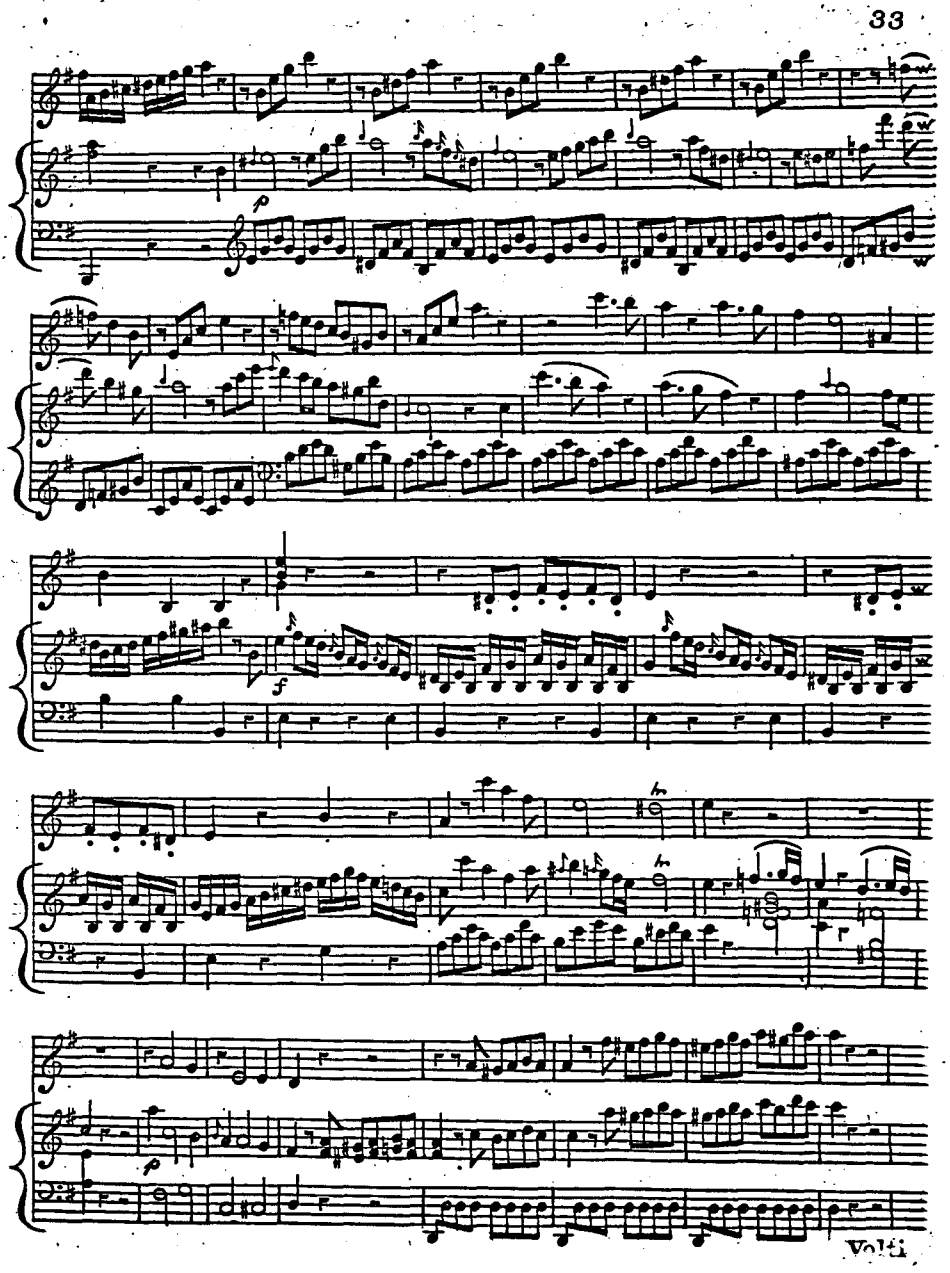

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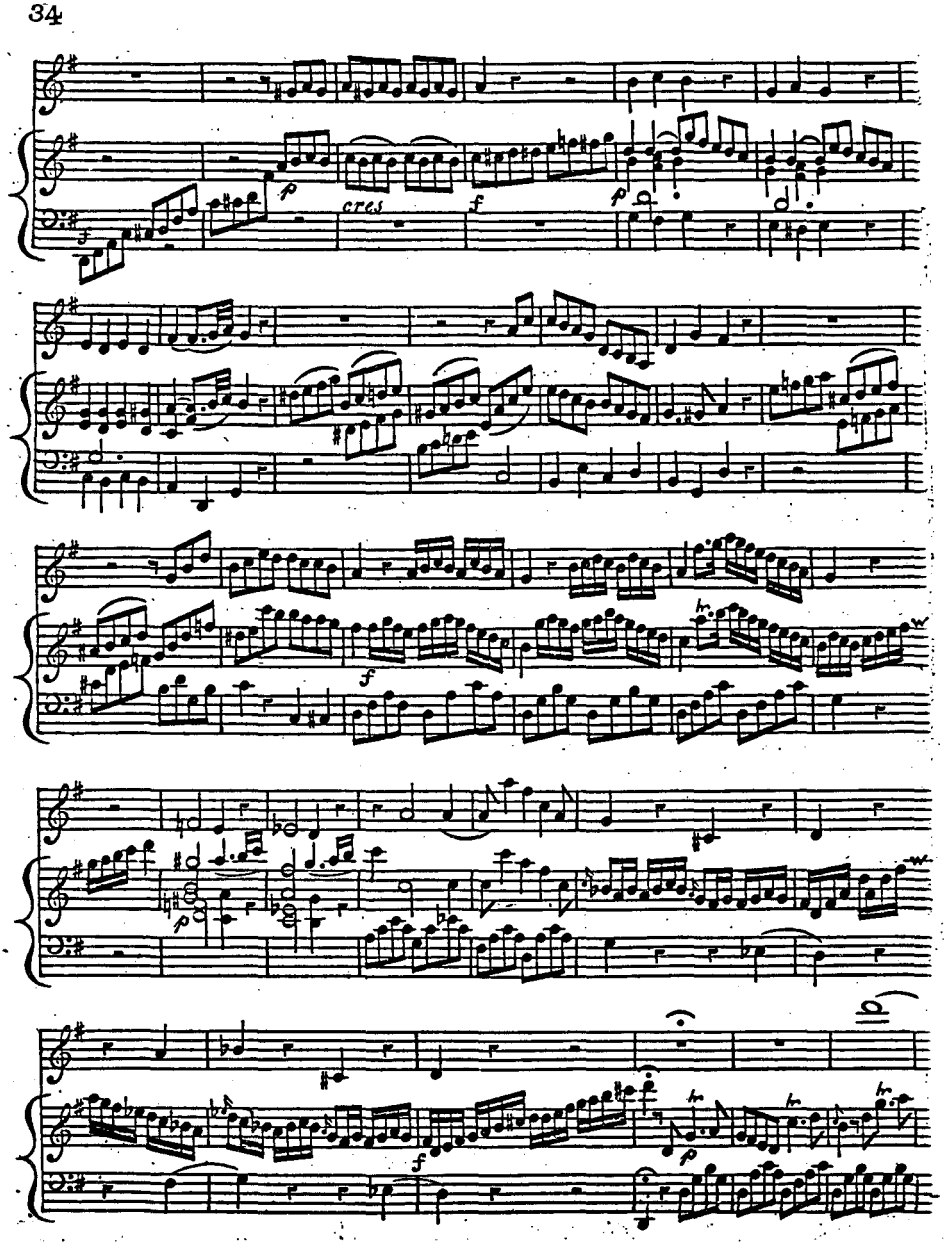
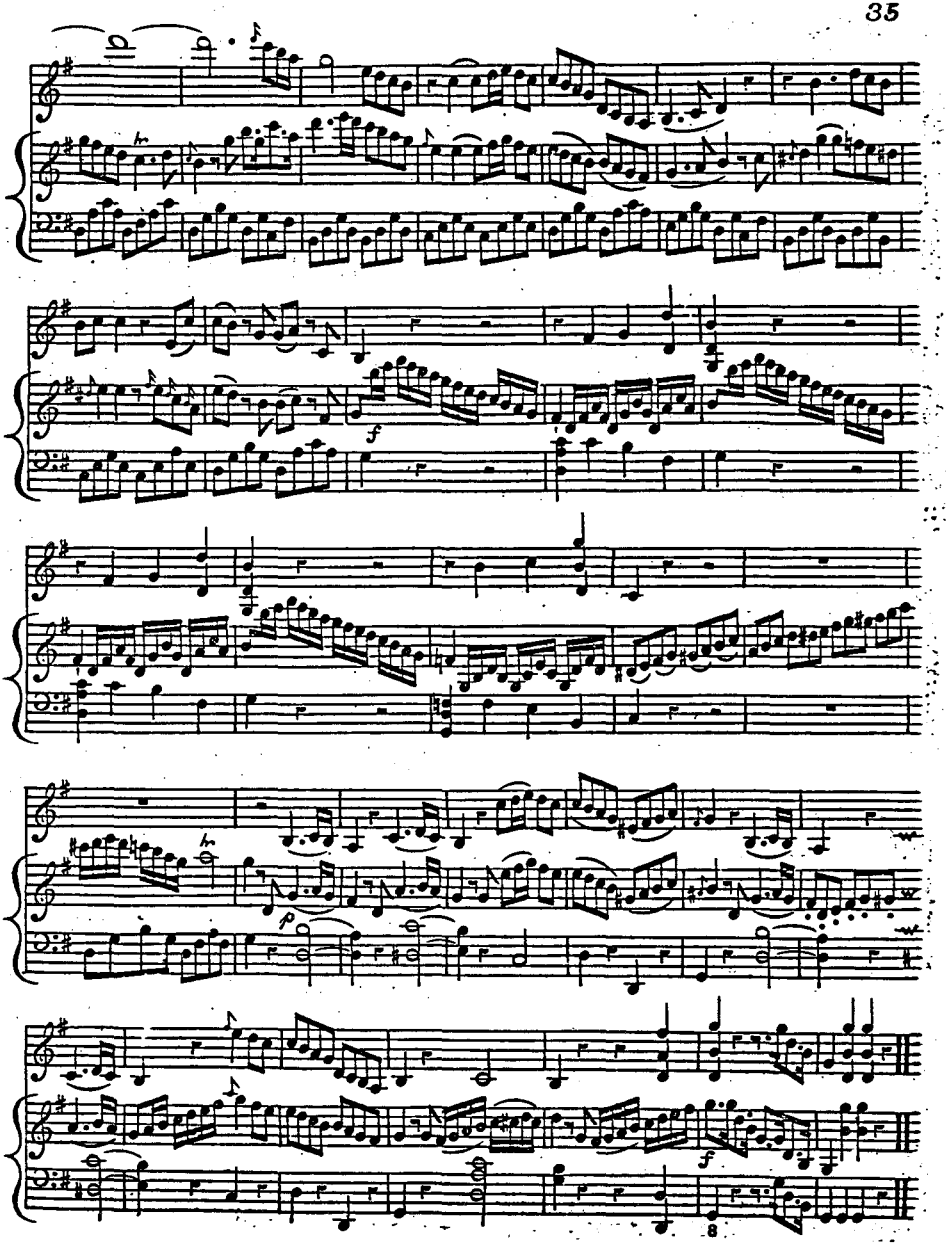
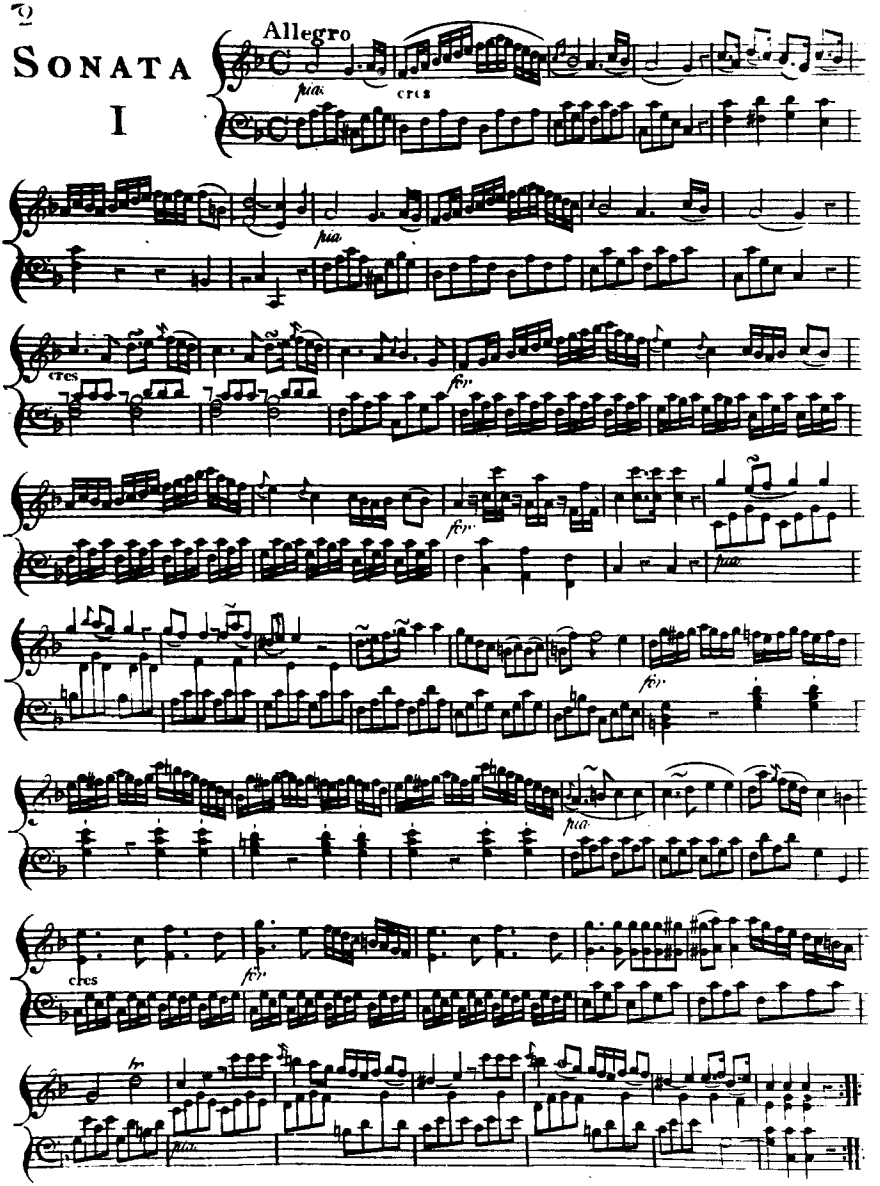


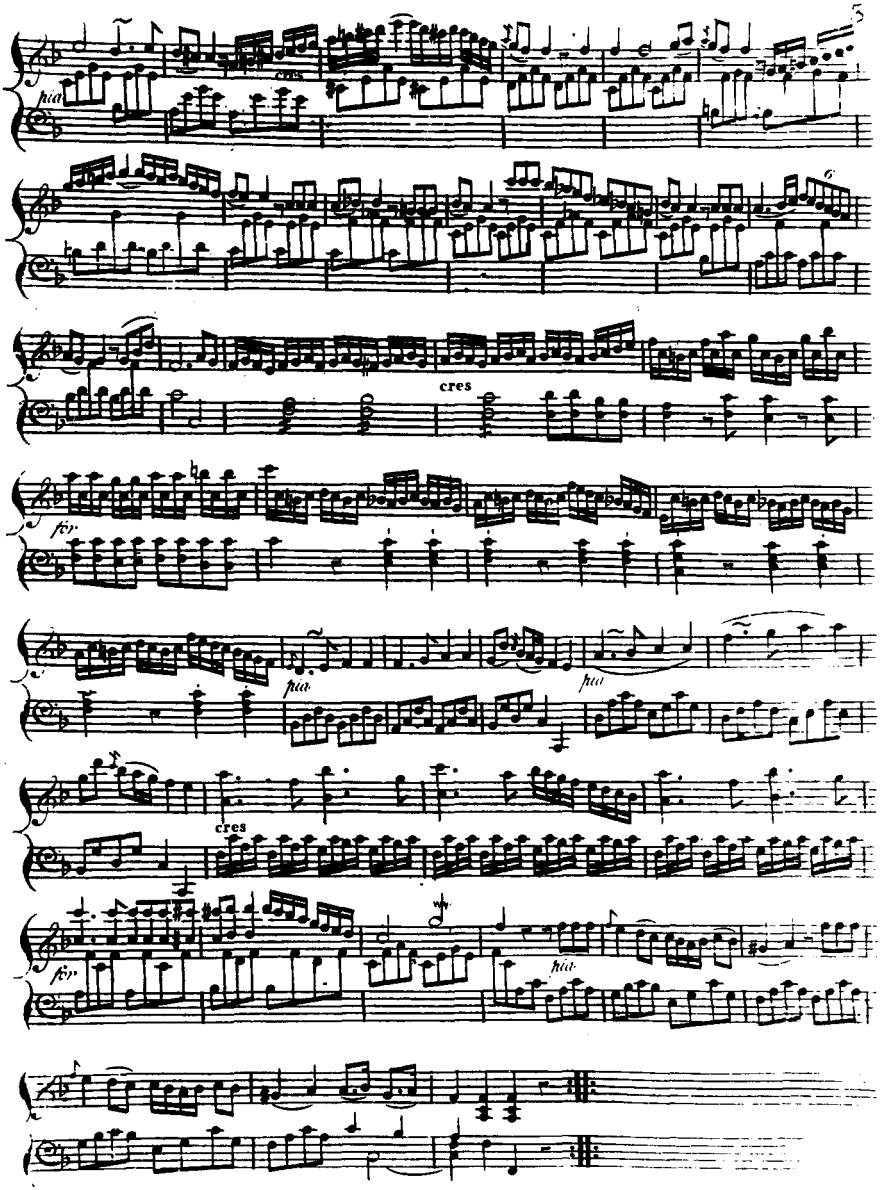


Example 2. Jane Mary Guest, Sonata no. 4 of Six Sonatas, op. 1.

2

SONATA I





Example 3. Maria Hester Parke, Piano Sonata op. 4, no. 1, first movement.

NOTES

[1] The starting point for this survey was Aaron Cohen's *International Encyclopedia of Women Composers* (New York: Bowker, 1981). On the basis of Cohen's compilation of information and sources for further investigation, around 175 names from the Classic era can be identified. Most of these—about 160—are from five countries: Italy (12), Germany (26), Austria (10), France (50), and England (62). The remaining fifteen names represent Belgium, Bohemia, Denmark, the Netherlands, Poland, Russia, Spain, Switzerland, and the United States. For each composer Cohen gives a brief biography, a list of works, and a list of his sources, referring to 435 numbered titles (catalogs, indexes, encyclopedias, biographies, histories and dictionaries) of which around two-thirds, or almost 300, are relevant to the Classic era. His Appendix I lists composers by country and century. For this survey Baroque composers were removed from Cohen's list of eighteenth-century composers, and names from Appendix II, "Information Wanted," were added when re-examination of sources—especially Karlheinz Schlager, *Einzeldrucke vor 1800* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1971–1981), in *RISM,* Ser. A —showed that they were part of the Classic period. Cohen's second edition, now in preparation, will incorporate many of these revisions. In the meantime a list of names is available from D. Hayes, Campus Box 301, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado 80309.

[2] By Balthassar Schmidt's widow in Nuremburg.

[3] See J. A. P. Schulz, "Sonate," in J. G. Sulzer, *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste,* 4 vols. (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1771–1774; reprint of 1792 ed., Hildesheim: Olms, 1967).

[4] Material in this section is based on a paper read to the Rocky Mountain Chapter of the American Musicological Society, April, 1984, by D. Hayes: "Anna Bon, Composer and Chamber Music Virtuosa of the Mid-Eighteenth Century." Bon's sonatas op. 1 are the subject of an undergraduate honors project written in 1985 by Kathy Abromeit at Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin.

[5] Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-Bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten . . .* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1898–1904) lists only the op. 1 and op. 3 sonatas; Cohen also lists a Danish edition of op. 1. Eitner placed the composer in Venice instead of Brandenburg, apparently because the op. 1 title page says she is "all'attuale Servizio dell' Altezza Serenissima sudetta" and he understood "La Serenissima" to mean the republic of Venice. The word "sudetta" in that phrase, however, refers to the dedication "all' Altezza Serenissima Di Federico."

[6] In Dresden, Vienna, Berlin, Karlsruhe, Brussels, Naples, and Milan.

[7] *The Breitkopf Thematic Catalogues 1762–1787,* ed. Barry S. Brook (New York: Dover, 1966), p. 253 (concertos), p. 282 (sonatas).

[8] Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon,* s.v. "Agnesi, Pinottini Maria Teresa," "Sie genoss den Ruf einer ausgezeichneten Klavierspielerin und Komponistin und schrieb 4 Opern, Kantaten und vieles andere."

[9] Dr. Carolyn Britton of the University of Wisconsin, River Falls, has compiled a list of Agnesi's works and their location, microfilm copies of much of the music, and an extensive bibliography.

[10] Copied by Dr. Britton from Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Mus. MS 5. This is a different sonata from either of the two in the Breitkopf catalog.

[11] Dates from *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* s.v. "Sirmen [Syrmen; née Lombardini], Maddalena Laura." Cohen's *Encyclopedia,* s.v. "Sirmen (Syrmen), Maddalena Laura di (née Lombardini)" gives ca. 1798 or 1800 as her death year. Jane L. Berdes, who is presently engaged in research on the Mendicanti, gives 1745 as Lombardini-Sirmen's birth year.

[12] *A Letter from the late Signor Tartini to Signora Maddalena Lombardini (now Signora Sirmen) Published as an Important Lesson to Performers on the Violin,* translated by Dr. Burney; reprinted as an appendix in Giuseppe Tartini, *Traité des agréments de la musique* (Celle; New York: H. Moeck, 1961), pp. 131–139. This edition also includes a facsimile of the title page of the first edition of her *Sonatas for Two Violins,* op. 4.

[13] Marion Scott, "Maddalena Lombardini, Madame Syrmen," *Music and Letters,* 14, no. 2 (April, 1933): 149–163, discusses the composer's training, concert career, and compositional style. Although the writer's approach may seem dated, the discussion is based on close inspection of the music itself.

[14] A copy of a 1773 London edition is in the British Library.

[15] Tommaso Giordani, 1733–1806; see *The New Grove,* s.v. "Giordani, Tommaso."

[16] The first part of the recitative opening of Act I is reprinted in A. Hyatt King, *Four Hundred Years of Music Printing* (London: British Museum, 1968), plate XIX, to show the sharp, improved appearance this printing method gave to music.

[17] See [7]. The "II Sinf. di E.T.P.A."—overtures to the two operas—are listed with incipits on p. 205, and the two "Sinfonie di E.T.P.A. accomodate per il Cembalo Solo" are on p. 286.

[18] *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands,* vol. 2 of *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe,* ed. Percy A. Scholes (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 46–51. Burney reports his visits to Munich and to Nymphenburg, the summer residence of the Munich court, in August, 1772, where he met the Electress dowager. Pages 50–51 describe her music and singing.

[19] Aaron Cohen, *International Encyclopedia,* s.v. "Amalie, Marie Charlotte."

[20] Wilhelmine's Harpsichord Concerto in G minor has been recorded, reconstituted by the performers from the version in the Wolfenbuettel Library. The recording is Musical Heritage Society 660.

[21] The first three marches—for the regiments of Count Lottum (1767), General von Buelow (1767), and General von Saldern (1768)—are performed by string quartet and double bass on the album "Women's Work," Gemini Hall Records RAP 1010. All four —with the General von Moellendorf march (1777)—are performed in an arrangement for wind band on MHS 660 (with Wilhelmine's concerto).

[22] Ed. Gustav Lenzewski sen. (Berlin: C. F. Viewig, ca. 1927/28), available from C. F. Peters, New York.

[23] Otto Heuschele, *Herzogin Anna Amalia* (Munich: Münchner Verlag und graphische Kunstanstalten, [1947]), writes exclusively of her inspiration to artists. See *The New Grove,* s.v. "Anna Amalia" and *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* s.v. "Anna Amalie," by Anna Amalie Abert, who assesses the composer's music as well.

[24] Score: *Erwin und Elmire, nach der in der Weimarere Landesbibliothek befindlichen handschriftlichen Partitur bearbeitet und zum erstenmal herausgegeben von Max Friedlaender* (Leipzig: C. F. W. Siegel, 1921). Recordings: "Ein Veilchen auf der Wiese stand" (Elmire) is recorded on Gemini Hall 1010 with orchestral accompaniment; "Auf dem Land und in der Stadt" (Erwin, Bernardo) and "Sie scheinen zu spielen" (Bernardo) with piano accompaniment are on Deutsche Grammophon 2533-149, "Early Goethe Settings," released in the 1950s.

A. A. Abert, in her essay on the Singspiel for *The Age of Enlightenment, 1745–1790,* vol. 7 of *The New Oxford History of Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), p. 85, identifies *Erwin und Elmire* (1773–74) as one of the librettos Goethe wrote to vary the theme and improve the literary quality of the *Singspiel,* for performance in the "highly cultivated atmosphere of the Court of Weimar, where he had no need to take into account the financial considerations of a travelling company, for instance the need to appeal to a wide range of tastes."

[25] An arrangement of the work is available on a recent recording, Turnabout 34754, reissued in 1983 on Fono 53042.

[26] *Mannheimer Kammermusik des 18. Jahrhunderts,* ed. Hugo Riemann, in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern,* 2. Folge, Band 28, 2. Teil, Jhrg. XVI (1915), xxxii and xl–xli.

[27] Margarethe Danzi, *Sonata Op. 1, Nr. 1,* ed. Robert Münster (Giebing: Katzbichler, 1967). The recording is "München Komponistennen der Klassik und Romantik," liner notes by R. Münster, Musica Bavaria 902.

[28] New York: Da Capo Press, 1987, with new introduction by D. Hayes.

[29] *Raccolta musicale contenante VI sonate* (in each volume) *per il cembalo solo d'altretanti celebri compositori italiani . . . ,* 5 vols. (Nuremberg: Haffner, 1756–ca. 1765). Martinez's sonatas are in vols. 4 (ca.1762) and 5 (1765), according to William S. Newman, *The Sonata in the Classic Era,* 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1972), p. 552. These were also published in the nineteenth century in *Alte Meister,* ed. Ernst Pauer (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, [1868–85]).

[30] Manuscripts of her works remain in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde and in German and Italian libraries. They include cantatas, oratorios, motets, symphonies, two concertos and smaller works.

[31] Charles Burney, *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and the Netherlands,* vol. 2 of *Dr. Burney's Musical Tours in Europe,* ed. Percy A. Scholes, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 106–107, 117. Reprinted in *Women in Music: An Anthology of Source Readings from the Middle Ages to the Present,* ed. Carol Neuls-Bates (New York: Harper and Row, 1982), pp. 80–84.

[32] Eitner, *Quellen-Lexikon,* s.v. "Martines (Martinez), Marianna (Marie Anna)." *The New Grove,* s.v. "Marianne Martinez," lists only twenty-six arias. In recent years, commercial recordings have appeared of the Sonata in A Major, a keyboard concerto, and a symphony.

[33] W. A. Mozart, Sonatas K. 296, 376–380 (the violin accompanies the piano in the earliest examples, but is otherwise an obligatory part). Otto Erich Deutsch, "Das Fräulein von Auernhammer," *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1958: 14, quotes Maximilian Stadler on a performance at the Auernhammer residence: " . . . die Auernhammer spielte das Fortepiano, Mozart begleitete statt auf der Violine auf einem zweiten nebenstehenden Fortepiano, ich war ganz entzückt über das Spiel des Meisters und der Schülerin, ich habe niemals mehr in meinem Leben so unvergleichlich vortragen gehört." Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos: A Social History* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1954), p. 123, discusses her solo performances.

[34] Cohen, *International Encyclopedia,* s.v. "Paradis, Maria Theresia von."

[35] Information for this section is from Hidemi Matsushita at Brigham Young University who is currently preparing a doctoral dissertation on Paradis. He is re-examining the sources and conclusions of Hermann Ulrich, whose many biographical articles of 1946–1966 are listed by Rudolph Angermüller in *The New Grove,* s.v "Paradis [Paradies], Maria Theresia von." Mr. Matsushita has discovered that the two sonata collections listed in the Grove article are not by Paradis but perhaps by Domenico Paradisi, with whom her name is often confused.

[36] Mr. Matsushita bases this conclusion on stylistic as well as bibliographic grounds. For lists of recordings, see James Creighton, *Discopaedia of the Violin 1889–1971* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. 890 (twenty-two recordings of the violin–piano version), and Aaron I. Cohen, *International Discography of Women Composers* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1984), p. 87. The *Toccata* Cohen lists is actually by Domenico Paradisi.

[37] Edith Borroff, "Women Composers: Reminiscence and History," *College Music Symposium,* 15 (1975): 31.

[38] Listed in *The New Grove* as lost.

[39] *Six Sonatas pour le clavecin ou le pianoforte dont trois avec accompagnement de violon obligé, oeuvre 1,* dedicated to the Marquise de Langeron (Paris: auteur). A facsimile edition is in preparation (New York: Da Capo Press, 1987).

[40] *Fleur-d'épine; Comédie en deux actes, mêlée d'ariettes, répresentée pour la première fois par les comédiens italiens ordinaires du Roi le 22 aoust 1776* (Paris: Huguet). François Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique,* 2nd ed. (Paris: Firmin Didot Fréres, 1873–75), s.v. "Louis (Mme)," reports that Antoine-Jean-Baptiste D'Origny (*Annales du Théâtre-Italian,* t. II, p. 104) found that the music "a des beautés réelles. Celles qui ont frappé le plus sont un trio en dialogue, un air du sommeil et un grand air d'exécution."

[41] These include the Library of Congress, British Library, Bibliothèque nationale, and libraries in East and West Germany.

[42] Biographical information is documented in Charles Marionneau, *Victor Louis* (Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhou, 1881). The composer also figures in the writings of Dénis Diderot (1713–1784) as friend and teacher of his daughter.

[43] Loesser, *Men, Women, and Pianos,* pp. 318 and 325.

[44] In English translation in *Women in Music,* ed. Neuls-Bates, p. 88, from Arthur Pougin, "Une charmeuse: Julie Candeille," *Le Menestrel,* 49 (Nov. 4, 1883): 388–389.

[45] Lesson no. 3 in F, Allegro moderato, is sonata no. 12 in vol. 2 of Roger Kamien, "The Opening Sonata-Allegro Movements in a Randomly Selected Sample of Solo Keyboard Sonatas Published in the Years 1742–1774 (Inclusive)" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1964).

[46] Three copies are in British libraries, and one, missing pp. 9–10 and 27–28, is in the Music Library of the University of California, Berkeley. A performance of instrumental music from this volume was programmed at the Opus 3 Conference on Women in Music in Lawrence, Kansas, March 1985, by Barbara Harbach of the State University of New York at Buffalo.

[47] *A General History of Music* (1789) (New York: Dover, 1957), 4: 1021. Leon Plantinga, *Clementi: His Life and Music* (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 288, refers to her many London appearances which begin about 1775.

[48] Her Sonata no. 1 in D, Allegro, from *Six Sonata's for the Piano Forte or Harpsichord . . . composed by Elisabeth Weichsell in the Eleventh Year of Her Age, Opera 2da* (London: author, ca. 1776) is sonata no. 70 in vol. 2 of the Kamien dissertation (see note 45 above).

[49] Copies in the Sibley Library of the Eastman School of Music, the Library of Congress, and the British Library.

[50] Schlager, *Einzeldrucke vor 1800,* gives a long list of songs and locations. In most cases a title is available in several libraries in England and the United States.

[51] *The New Grove,* s.v. "Guest [Miles], Jane Mary." The date of death given there, "after 1814," is too early, however, according to Dan Raessler of Randolph-Macon Women's College in Lynchburg, Virginia, who is undertaking an intensive study of Guest's life and works. The announcement of her 1779 concert in the *Public Advertiser,* 15 April 1779, is also referred to in Plantinga, *Clementi,* p. 288.

[52] Copy in New York Public Library, also in the Library of Congress, British Library, and libraries in Dresden and Paris.

[53] "Miles (Mrs.) late Miss Guest," *A Dictionary of Musicians from the Earliest Times,* ed. John S. Sainsbury (London, 1825; New York: Da Capo Press, 1966), 2: 161.

[54] *History,* 2: 1021–22.

[55] *The New Grove,* s.v. "Savage, Jane."

[56] This information comes from Dr. Karl Kroeger, Music Librarian at the University of Colorado, Boulder, who has researched the musical activities of the Valentine family in Leicester.

[57] Reprinted in *Works for Pianoforte Solo by Late Georgian Composers, Samuel Wesley and Contemporaries: Published from 1776 to 1830,* vol. 7 of *The London Pianoforte School 1766–1860* (New York: Garland, 1985–).

[58] *The New Grove,* s.v. "Parke [Park]. (3) Maria Hester Park(e)," Cohen, *International Encyclopedia of Women Composers,* s.v. "Parke (Park), Maria Hester."

[59] William Thomas Parke, *Musical Memoirs* (London, 1830; New York: Da Capo, 1970). Parke reports on Guest's piano playing and the singing of Mrs. Billington, Le Brun, Abrams, and Miss Parke, among others, but not on their compositions.

[60] H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn in England 1791–1795,* vol. 3 of *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), p. 255, gives the program, the concert notice ("Miss Parke respectfully informs the Nobility and Gentry . . . ") and quotes from the review—from the *Morning Herald* of 22 May.

[61] Haydn later described Hoboken XVI: 51 (with 50 and 52) as "3 Sonatas for Ms. Janson," that is, Therese Jansen or Mrs. Bartolozzi. See Anthony von Hoboken, *Joseph Haydn: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis, Instrumentalwerke,* vol. 1 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1957), pp. 775–778.

[62] Cohen lists *Three Grand Sonatas for the Piano Forte,* op. 1, under her name (and gives no listing "M. F. Parke"), while Schlager lists these under "Miss M. F. Parke" with a note "vgl. Park, Maria Hester." Cohen dates op. 1 as 1790, Fiske as 1799—identifying M. F. Parke as the younger sister of M. H. Parke. Op. 2 may be *Two Sonatas,* ca. 1805 (Fiske, "M. F.") or *Three Grand Sonatas,* 1794 (Cohen). Op. 3 may be the *Two Grand Sonatas* Eitner attributes to Miss M. Parke but Cohen attributes to Miss M. H. Parke, or else *A Set of Glees* which Schlager lists under M. H. Parke.

[63] Burnett & Simeone, Ltd., catalog no. 9 (October 1983), describes this as a six-page work for piano and violin. It was purchased by the University of Michigan in 1985.

[64] Copy in the British Library. The sonata was performed by Nancy Fierro, piano, at the Third International Congress on Women in Music in Mexico City in March, 1984.

[65] William Dance, 1775–1840, violinist, pianist, and composer of piano sonatas and preludes.

Joseph Kerman. ***Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology.*** Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1985.

Karl Kraus's words at the funeral of the architect Adolf Loos in 1933 could serve as a motto for Joseph Kerman's most recent book, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology:* "All that Adolf Loos and I did, he literally, I linguistically, was to show that there is a difference between an urn and a chamberpot, and in that difference there is leeway for culture. But the others, the 'positive ones,' are divided between those who use the urn as a chamberpot and those who use the chamberpot as an urn."[1] Most musicologists know the difference between urn and chamberpot and concentrate their scholarly attention on the former. But Kerman wonders why more scholarship does not reflect a keener aesthetic awareness, why the distinction between pot and urn is so often tacit. In answer, he points his finger at the predominance of "positivist" methodologies and the lack of "criticism." That Kerman never satisfactorily defines these terms leads to some confusion. Positivism becomes a tag for poor musicology done with a scientific bent. Criticism, on the other hand, offers the ideal musical insight, insight that differs in kind from analysis, but emulates its rigorous, serious, and respectable qualities.

Ever since his second nationally published article at the age of twenty-five in *The Hudson Review,* Kerman has been arguing for a vision of musicology at odds with the mainstream of German *Musikwissenschaft* and Anglo-American music scholarship.[2] *Contemplating Music* expands upon the issues adumbrated in the 1960s in his exchanges with Lowinsky and Rosen,[3] and in numerous critical writings throughout his career. The major argument of this book—that a critical stance is a necessity for a musicologist—is a predictable one given these previous writings; the issue has been talked about, it seems, at endless length. But this does not diminish the desirability of a more sustained critique. One of Kerman's strengths, after all, is that he doesn't just gripe, but presents alternatives.

Despite his disarming style, some will view the book as primarily an attack. But it is really a fairly tame affair, proceeding neither from political motives nor from a trendy methodology. Kerman is a revisionist working within the boundaries of a long established scholarly discourse, a tradition that rarely questions the assumptions behind it. Besides, as Kerman readily admits, his sole interest is Western art music—the almost exclusive domain of white male composers. The canon of Western art music (about which Kerman has written elsewhere), the impact of popular culture, non-Western influences, feminism—all these issues are increasingly playing a significant

role in the reevaluation of the humanities, but these issues are not Kerman's major concern. In short, while some will find Kerman's offering provocative, it will be viewed as too conservative by many others, especially scholars from disciplines recently subjected to more radical critique.

Kerman devotes chapters to "Analysis, Theory and New Music," to ethnomusicology, and performance practice, but the topics of criticism and positivism are Kerman's principal concern; his praise for the former and attacks on the latter provide the most spirited moments of the book. He writes from the perspective of his own career and therefore concentrates on postwar musicology, but Kerman could have amplified his quarrel with positivism by a more historical consideration of the discipline's roots. From its very beginning, limits were set for both the object and method of positivism in musical scholarship. The primary object of study was Western art music, and it was to be examined using scientific methods whose shibboleth was "verification." There are numerous prewar examples of the positivist orientation of German *Musikwissenschaft* and its offshoots in America; nor, one might add, is such a positivistic hegemony unique to musicology.

One can trace this positivism back to the founding position papers in the most prestigious German and American scholarly journals. One hundred years have passed since Guido Adler proposed his historical, systematic, and positivist program for *Musikwissenschaft* in the opening pages of the first issue of the *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* (1885), an article whose sixteen brief pages exerted a tremendous influence on the establishment of musicology as an academic discipline.[4]

American musicology was founded on the German-Austrian model. Waldo S. Pratt provided the opening position paper for the first *Musical Quarterly* in 1915, just as Adler had done for the *Vierteljahrsschrift* thirty years earlier.[5] After rehearsing the etymology of the word "musicology," Pratt returned to the famous Adler scheme, finding it "more practically serviceable than theoretically satisfying."[6] Pratt proposed that "'Musicology,' if it is to rank with the other comprehensive sciences, must include every conceivable scientific discussion of musical topics."[7]

England has, until recently, proved the exception to this positivistic thinking. Edward Dent, in a series of early articles, pointed out that most English students planned on becoming church organists or music masters in public schools.[8] Dent argued that most music research pursued in England had proved "quite unsystematic," accomplished for the most part by amateurs.[9] On the occasion of his receiving the first honorary degree of Doctor of Music from Harvard University, Dent stated, "I think their [the English] underlying reason for rejecting the word 'musicology' was that, however keenly interested they might be in music research, they refused to lose sight of the principle that music was an art."[10]

Here lies one of the shortcomings of the book: Kerman concerns himself less with this historical background to musicological positivism than he should. Instead he concentrates on postwar events, particularly at Princeton,

which he terms "the main music-intellectual center" at the time. No doubt the focus on Kerman's personal experience (he was educated at Princeton) enlivens the tone of the narrative, but a more thorough recounting of musicology's intellectual tradition would seem a necessity given the goals that Kerman sets himself. Positivism has long been a part of German and American musicology; a revisionist of Kerman's stripe has to contend with more than forty years of prejudice in those national schools. Nor does Kerman address sufficently the preeminent position of positivism in most of the humanities and social sciences, a position held for over one hundred years. His charges of artistic betrayal aimed at those who spend a lifetime examining watermarks could be leveled equally at philosophers who engage primarily in the analytic sophistries of word games and thus betray the ethical and moral obligations of their discipline. That dissertations, journals, and conferences should pursue their goals "scientifically" appears to be the requirement for academic rigor in most contemporary Western institutions of higher learning. Scientific scholarship is a dominant twentieth-century ideology. Kerman should have emphasized that the musicologist is by no means the sole practitioner of positivism, that musicology is not alone in its dilemma, and that the problems that face musicology may be common to other fields of higher education.

At the heart of Kerman's book is a discussion of musicology and criticism. Thanks to scholars such as Kerman, Leo Treitler, Edward T. Cone, Rose Rosengard Subotnik, and Edward A. Lippman in America, and T. W. Adorno and Carl Dahlhaus in Germany, serious music criticism has made a considerable impact on recent musicology and offers an increasingly plausible alternative and complement to positivism. Again, this change reflects a larger reorientation in the humanities as shown by the decline in fortunes of analytic philosophy and the emergence of various continental systems, including the critical theory of the Frankfurt School and the hermeneutic writings of Hans-Georg Gadamer.

Forty years ago Paul Henry Lang gave an impassioned plea in the *Musical Quarterly,* a plea that was well ahead of its time. It squarely confronted the problem of positivism in a field concerned with art:[11]

> "Science" in German is a term applied not only to the natural sciences, but to all scholarly endeavor, including musicology. Natural science deals with the order of the exterior world, while art interprets the soul. . . . The simple fact [is] that many scholars . . . confound the means—research—with the aim—understanding. The banner carriers of academic literary and art criticism are often dry empiricists, men frighteningly sober and possessed of a calm equilibrium of mind which would not admit of what we might call intellectual lyricism. . . . This positive science deliberately aimed at cold objectivity; the scholar's ego must be left out of his researches. Under such treatment music emerged as a field of endeavor all but cut off from the current of civilization, for in

the eyes of the so-called pure musicologists it is not esthetics that counts but history, not beauty but science, not enjoyment but the rules.

In more recent years Leo Treitler has provided musicology with the most radical challenge to received historical methods. His starting point is the philosophy of history, but his project has increasingly converged with Kerman's critical musicology. The final words of Treitler's article "On Historical Criticism" sound a common theme: "In our quest for the sources of art we neglect its quality. We do so to the disadvantage of our faculty for judging art works, for our standards of judgment have little to do with the ways in which we apprehend works. Then we are left with a history in which esthetics and hermeneutics play no significant part."[12]

Another influential American voice is that of Rose Rosengard Subotnik, the most articulate disciple of Adorno in this country. Kerman takes issue with the "radical, abstract, dialectical" position expressed in her article "A Profile for American Musicology," even though their positions often sound rather similar. Subotnik has provided a service for musicology by amplifying Treitler's and Kerman's positions on ideology. Carl Dahlhaus, the leading figure in contemporary German musicology, earns Kerman's admiration. This brilliant scholar's relentlessly dialectical approach is now getting a larger hearing in North America as his work begins to appear in English translation.

Kerman chooses not to discuss the problem of writing prose about music, of how to achieve rigor without compromising readability, nor does he provide an historical sketch of notable attempts. His hesitancy is understandable, but given Kerman's frequently hazy distinction between analysis and criticism, some consideration of the writings of E. T. A. Hoffmann, of the great nineteenth-century composer-critics, of Shaw, and others might have clarified his argument. One can look hopefully to other disciplines for models of critical writing. In art history "connoisseurship" no longer exerts nearly as much influence as it once enjoyed; other critical modes have supplanted it. Likewise the style of literary criticism Kerman admires (New Criticism, Northrop Frye) is increasingly considered, rightly or wrongly, as old fashioned and ideologically suspect. In some respects the closest parallels to connoisseurship or traditional literary criticism are the many English writers (one does not say scholars) of serious music criticism. This tradition is not always taken seriously by American musicologists because of an apparent lack of rigor. The English tradition of music criticism has always exerted an influence on Kerman's work and yet in this book he seems somewhat reluctant to discuss this heritage at any length. Kerman has written eloquently elsewhere about Tovey, even going so far as to say "Tovey's Beethoven [criticism] stands out as the most impressive achievement, perhaps, yet produced by the art of music criticism."[13] Academic musicology seems to take certain mainstream English critics more seriously than it does peripheral figures like Deryck Cooke, David Cairns, Robert Mann, Andrew Porter, and others. Yet

one gets the feeling that the criticism Kerman desires is more along the lines of this English tradition than he is willing to acknowledge.

Kerman spends less time rehearsing his own previous writings—by now well-known in the field—than the scholarly work that practices what he and others have been preaching. And yet, in his treatment of recent American music criticism, Kerman might have clarified exactly what exemplary music criticism looks like. When he looks to Beethoven studies as indicative of new critical concerns, Kerman makes too neat a contrast with the positivist Bach research he mentions. Both Bach and Beethoven studies use primary sources as their starting point, but whereas performance parts and scores have served for dating Bach cantatas, Beethoven scholars have concentrated on sketches, and sketch material calls for a different, more critical interpretation of the evidence. Kerman sees the possibility of using sketches in two ways, either to study the creative process in general, or to understand better an individual work as it assumes the final form. Both can be used to assemble a chronology, but Beethoven studies more often involve analysis and criticism. He worries about the lack of critical interest on the part of Medieval and Renaissance scholars and hopes that the critical attention lavished on nineteenth-century music in particular (much of it under Kerman's auspices) will find more counterparts in early music scholarship.

Kerman is rather parsimonious in pointing to models that support his vision of critical musicology. For whatever reasons, he neglects to mention his important critical study of Beethoven's string quartets (although he does discuss his studies of William Byrd). He concentrates on Charles Rosen's *The Classical Style* and mentions other authors only in passing. Rosen's book receives extended discussion because Kerman feels it more than any other book has steered musicology towards criticism. Kerman, however, has changed his tune a bit since 1981 when he played down the critical aspects of the book and called it "a wonderfully readable and original essay in musical analysis."[14] Rather than hail Rosen's work as a "model," Kerman now prefers the more sober term "encouragement." He does not fail to notice that Rosen occupies a unique position in relation to academic musicology and higher education. At the end of his discussion of criticism as practiced on the continent, in England, and in America, the problem of the relationship between analysis and criticism remains. Rosen's book and Kerman's various statements about it display Kerman's insufficient distinction between analysis and criticism.

The most problematic aspect of Kerman's book remains the priority he accords to criticism. His exchange with Lowinsky in 1965 hinged on this issue, and the problems that attended that debate have not been successfully resolved in *Contemplating Music*. In this debate Kerman employed a metaphor of a ladder to describe musicology: "Each of the things we do—paleography, transcription, repertory studies, archival work, biography, bibliography, sociology, *Aufführungspraxis*, schools and influences, theory, style analysis, individual analysis—each of these things, which some scholar somewhere treats

as an end in itself, is treated as a step on a ladder."[15] The highest rung of the ladder is criticism. Kerman is less satisfied with this formulation today, but only because the individual steps originally appeared further apart than he now finds them; the path to criticism is now more direct.

Kerman's problems lie in this supposedly all-encompassing formulation. His vision is too narrow and, although he calls himself "eclectic and pragmatic," he could be more so. All ideological programs—including such disparate ones as positivism and criticism—involve limiting healthy humanistic and pluralistic scholarship. Some scholars wish to study early music, others later music; some are content with positivism and do it well; some are primarily analysts, critics, biographers, or historians of culture and ideas; some are fundamentally interested in interdisciplinary studies, aesthetics, or in philosophy. Not everyone is interested in or capable of producing a critical edition of thirteenth-century motets, in writing about Byrd and Beethoven as Kerman has done, or can achieve, in Lang's words, "intellectual lyricism." For some scholars, criticism does not sit at the top of the musicological ladder.

Our current problem is the predominance of certain methods and, at best, only a grudging tolerance of others. The ideal situation is one in which scholars can pursue their interests and exploit their talents without the inhibitions of intellectual fashion and academic acceptance. If only one or two methodologies and only certain areas of study have the official seal of approval, such humanistic breadth is difficult to achieve. While I am sympathetic with Kerman's critical project and do feel that many of his strategies are the most helpful way of illuminating musical compositions, I see in his book a danger of limiting rather than enlarging musicology's horizon, of criticism becoming in its own right an intellectual fashion with its own academic acceptance.

I would make two further amplifications to Kerman's arguments which might have strengthened the book. First, because most musicologists spend a considerable amount of their time teaching, often teaching undergraduate nonmusic majors, I would suggest that the critical-historical approach he advocates can lead to more interesting and engaging teaching and help dispel the notions of the "dry-as-dust" musicologist. (In fact Kerman does not dignify the frequent complaint that musicologists are "failed musicians" with a rebuttal—perhaps because he feels positivistic ideologies are more at the root of the problem.) Secondly, the critique of positivism at the hands of many continental philosophers, particularly the Frankfurt School, has warned us of deeper and more sinister elements of this ideology. If the lessons of a critical-historical musicology were fully explored by all musicologists, the moral and social implications of art and the role of the music scholar as an intellectual humanist might come into sharper focus.

One of the principal attractions of Kerman's project is his desire to confront music as an art. We must remember that for the most part traditional musicological studies are concerned with art, but that posivitism begets aesthetic amnesia. Kerman, to his great credit, is unembarrassed when using

the words "love" and "passion" in describing music. One of the most soul-destroying aspects of positivism is its fundamental betrayal of art. In another discipline, positivistic methods that amass statistical data may be boring, unreflective, and remain uninterpreted, but musicological positivism that looks at musical masterpieces solely in terms of foliation, codicology, rastrology, and watermarks exacts a greater toll. I would suggest that the issue of positivism lies in the interdependence of larger academic ideologies; on occasion one discerns a defensive attitude that musicology can be just as scientific, intellectually respectable, and rigorous as any other discipline. On the other hand, by invoking science, a smokescreen is thrown up: no critical risks need be taken.

Any critique of an entire academic discipline is bound to be fraught with difficulties and challenges. Most endeavors of this sort risk being either too specific or too superficial. Within the essentially conservative limits Kerman sets himself, the difficulty of presenting ideological critiques extends even further than may appear upon first reflection. As historians sympathetic with psychoanalytic theory have long recognized, any account of an academic discipline benefits enormously from an appreciation of what Freud called transference.[16] For Freud transference concerned the relationship of the patient to the analyst; for our purposes, the interaction between the musicologist and his discipline—musicology. The concept helps explain what we study and how we study it; transference accounts in part for many unconscious factors reflected in music scholarship, including unacknowledged prejudices and ideologies. Transference affects our relations with the living—professors and colleagues—and with the dead—the composer about whom we write an article or dissertation.[17] Therefore, I suspect that reactions to *Contemplating Music* may depend in large measure on the individual reader's own relationship to his profession and his objects of study. Among musicologists the book's reception will be different: for the tenured professor, the controversies that Kerman recounts will resonate in personal memory; and for the graduate student, these debates come mainly from the written historical record or as legend. This difference may even be prefigured in one's first encounter with the book: the former will open the back cover in search of his or her name in the index; the latter will more likely begin at the beginning with the table of contents.

Kerman confesses the difficulty of writing such a book and acknowledges the personal nature of his project. At least he is implicitly aware of transference, of the dangers of attacking father figures (referred to as "giants" at one point), and of the fact that every scholar assumes ideological positions. Kerman's training offers an unusual combination of the English tradition of criticism and the positivism of Princeton in the 1950s. Some of Kerman's work over the years has displayed an admirable synthesis of these backgrounds, an extremely difficult task to accomplish. In the end Kerman remains loyal to his early experience of criticism as the top rung of the ladder.

Contemplating Music may be as difficult a book to read as it must have been

to write. By difficult I do not mean complex or obscure; Kerman's style is distinquished by its clarity, elegance, and wit. The difficulty lies in the fact that the book makes us confront intimate issues closely tied to individual self-esteem and worth, to our academic past, to our mentors, professors, and colleagues. Such factors necessarily contribute to our unconscious reactions to a critique of musicology. The complexity of the transference and the attending ideologies combine to make for highly charged reading. Most who read the book will recognize immediately how intimate a story Kerman tells; beyond the names and places, ideologies are called into question and dearly held methodologies scrutinized.[18] Kerman concludes his book with a "coda," the final lines: "A coda is no place for presentiments. I draw attention to the above trends as hopes, not as predictions: as hopes for motion." One could be bolder: If *Contemplating Music* is not read, contemplated, discussed, and acted upon, a valuable opportunity for enriching our discipline will have been lost.

—*Christopher Gibbs*

NOTES

[1] Harry Zohn, *Karl Kraus* (New York: Ungar, 1971), p. 89.

[2] Joseph Kerman, "Music Criticism in America," *Hudson Review* 1 (1949): 557–60.

[3] Joseph Kerman, "A Profile for American Musicology," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 18 (1965): 61–69; "'The Proper Study of Music': A Reply," *Perspectives of New Music* 2 (1963): 151–59.

[4] An English translation by Erica Mugglestone of Adler's article appears in *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 13 (1981): 371–80.

[5] Waldo S. Pratt, "On Behalf of Musicology," *Musical Quarterly* 1 (1915): 1–16.

[6] Ibid., p. 2.

[7] Ibid., p. 3.

[8] Edward Dent, "The Scientific Study of Music in England," *Acta Musicologica* 2 (1930): 83–92; "Music and Music Research," *Acta Musicologica* 3 (1931): 5–8; "The Historical Approach to Music," *Musical Quarterly* 23 (1937): 1–17.

[9] Dent, "Scientific Study of Music," 90.

[10] Dent, "Historical Approach to Music," 1.

[11] Paul Henry Lang, "Musical Scholarship at the Crossroads," *Musical Quarterly* 31 (1945): 375.

[12] Leo Treitler, "On Historical Criticism," *Musical Quarterly* 53 (1967): 205.

[13] Joseph Kerman, "Tovey's Beethoven Criticism," *American Scholar* 45 (1975–76): 795–805; reprinted as "Tovey's Beethoven," in *Beethoven Studies 2,* ed. Alan Tyson (London: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 172–91.

[14] Joseph Kerman, "Academic Music Criticism," in *On Criticizing Music: Five Philosophical Perspectives,* ed. Kingsley Price (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), p. 47.

[15] Kerman, "A Profile," 62–63.

[16] For a discussion of transference in the academy see Peter Loewenberg, *Decoding the Past: The Psychohistorical Approach* (New York: Knopf, 1983).

[17] Freud was aware of this as early as his essay on Leonardo da Vinci (1910) in which he cautions: "In many cases they [biographers] have chosen their hero as the subject of their studies because—for reasons of their personal emotional life—they have felt a special affection for him from the very first. They then devote their energies to a task of idealization, aimed at enrolling the great man among the class of their infantile models. . . ." *The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud,* trans. James Strachey et al. (London: The Hogarth Press, 1957), vol. 11, p. 130.

[18] I suspect *Contemplating Music* will be of little interest to the contemplative conservatory musician or amateur melomane. Kerman is concerned with musicology as an academic disci-

pline and with those individuals who established it here and in England. With a cast of characters larger than that of a Dickens novel, the reader unacquainted with the musicological discipline may well be bewildered.

Drammaturgia musicale veneta. Volumes 4, 6, 12, 18, 24, 26. Milan: G. Ricordi, 1983–84.

Gaetano Andreozzi. ***Amleto*** (Padua, 1792); libretto by Giuseppe Foppa. Facsimile of the manuscript score, edition of the libretto, and introductory essay by Marcello Conati. Drammaturgia musicale veneta, 26. Milan: G. Ricordi, 1984. lxviii, 327 pp.

Pasquale Anfossi. ***Adriano in Siria*** (Padua, 1777); libretto by Pietro Metastasio. Facsimile of the manuscript score, edition of the libretto, and introductory essay by Jacques Joly. Drammaturgia musicale veneta, 24. Milan: G. Ricordi, 1983. lxxxiv, 469 pp.

Geminiano Giacomelli. ***La Merope*** (Venice, 1734); libretto by Apostolo Zeno and Domenico Lalli. Facsimile of the manuscript score, edition of the libretto, and introductory essay by Sylvie Mamy. Drammaturgia musicale veneta, 18. Milan: G. Ricordi, 1984. cxxxii, 389 pp.

Francesco Luzzo (Lucio). ***Il Medoro*** (Venice, 1658); libretto by Aurelio Aureli. Facsimiles of the manuscript score and of Francesco Lucio, *Arie a voce sola* (Venice: Vincenti, 1655), edition of the libretto, and introductory essays by Giovanni Morelli and Thomas Walker. Drammaturgia musicale veneta, 4. Milan: G. Ricordi, 1984. cxcvi, 211 pp.

Antonio Sartorio. ***L'Orfeo*** (Venice, 1673); libretto by Aurelio Aureli. Facsimile of the manuscript score, edition of the libretto, and introductory essay by Ellen Rosand. Drammaturgia musicale veneta, 6. Milan: G. Ricordi, 1983. lxxxvi, 181 pp.

Antonio Vivaldi. ***Ottone in villa*** (Vicenza, 1713); libretto by Domenico Lalli. Facsimile of the manuscript score, edition of the libretto, introductory essay by John Walter Hill, and iconographic notes by Massimo Gemin. Drammaturgia musicale veneta, 12. Milan: G. Ricordi, 1983. lxxxii, 237 pp.

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Until recently, one of the greatest obstacles to the study of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian opera was the general lack of primary source

materials. With the exception of the complete works of composers such as Handel, few scores had been published;[1] during the past decade, however, the paucity of available sources has begun to ameliorate. Harvard University Press's *The Operas of Alessandro Scarlatti* has greatly facilitated the study of that master. One of the greatest boons to scholars of the Baroque and early preclassical periods, however, was the appearance of Garland Publishing's *Italian Opera 1640–1770;* this collection of eighty-one facsimiles of scores and their librettos made accessible the works of the most famous composers (Cavalli, Cesti, Vivaldi, Handel, Porpora, and Hasse, for example) as well as others more obscure.[2] The series includes Italian operas premiered and performed both in Italy and throughout the rest of Europe—in cities such as Innsbruck, Hannover, Vienna, London, Berlin, Lisbon, Stuttgart, Mannheim, Munich, and Copenhagen, among others. Indeed, these volumes reinforce the image of the infiltration of Italian opera into contemporary European culture. The editors' decision to include a number of multiple settings of certain librettos makes possible a comparison of compositional style, changing conventions, and general indications of local taste. Each of the Garland scores begins with a summary of pertinent biographical information, basic stylistic description, performing circumstances, and a brief list of bibliographic references, and is followed by a plot synopsis.

A new series of facsimiles, *Drammaturgia musicale veneta* (the volumes reviewed here are the first six to appear), limits its selection both by geographical origin and by time period—it comprises operas performed in the Veneto during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Venice, of course, has long been recognized as one of the leading centers of Italian opera; this series, by increasing its scope to encompass the Veneto at large, incorporates operas performed in Padua, Vicenza, and Treviso, as well as in various theaters in Venice itself. Published by Ricordi under the joint sponsorship of the Istituto Italiano Antonio Vivaldi and the Dipartimento di Storia e Critica delle Arti of the University of Venice, the project is directed by Giovanni Morelli, Reinhard Strohm, and Thomas Walker. The aim of the series, according to its prospectus, is, through the selection of its titles, "to identify basic themes of the artistic development of opera and of the historical factors underlying major social, cultural, economic, political and psychological aspects of its cultivation." The actual volumes differ from those in the Garland series in two important ways: the facsimiles are preceded by lengthy scholarly essays (either in Italian or English, and followed by a summary in the other language), and the librettos appear (in the same volume) in modern print rather than in facsimile.

The operas fall into three chronological periods: seventeenth century, early eighteenth century, and late eighteenth century. The plan of the series encompasses thirty volumes (the publishers hope to issue three volumes per year), and includes both comic and serious operas as well as several ballets and intermezzi. The first six volumes to have appeared are: Aureli/Lucio *Il Medoro;* Aureli/Sartorio *L'Orfeo;* Lalli/Vivaldi *Ottone in villa;* Zeno/Giaco-

melli *La Merope;* Metastasio/Anfossi *Adriano in Siria;* and Foppa/Andreozzi *Amleto.* Taken as a whole, the series offers a wide range of composers and librettists; naturally, a number of librettists must by necessity remain unrepresented—one regrets, for instance, the absence of Giovanni Faustini, Cavalli's main librettist during the first decade of his operatic career, and of Nicolò Minato, his main librettist during the balance of it. Each volume makes a contribution not only in its own right, but combines synergistically with its companions in this series, as well as in the Garland series and other publications. With the appearance of each successive volume, scholars will be able to undertake further comparisons of thematic content, versification, and musical style.

These six volumes include works by some of the most important librettists of the period. The two earliest operas, Lucio's *Medoro* and Sartorio's *Orfeo,* are settings of librettos by Aurelio Aureli, one of the most important "career librettists" of seventeenth-century Venice; two more are reworkings of Zeno and Metastasio, certainly the most renowned authors of their time; the remaining two are by the Neapolitan Domenico Lalli, who was active in eighteenth-century Venice, and Giuseppe Foppa, a native Venetian and trained musician, who collaborated towards the end of his career with Rossini. Three of the six operas premiered outside Venice itself, in Padua and Vicenza. This proportion of Venetian to non-Venetian productions is atypical of the series as planned, however; most of the operas selected were mounted on the Venetian stage. Numerous *seicento* scores from Venice survive, especially, but certainly not exclusively, in the Contarini collection in the Biblioteca nazionale marciana in Venice; both of the *seicento* scores thus far published in the series are housed in this collection.

Attention was first drawn to Lucio, the composer of *Medoro,* over a decade ago when Thomas Walker, in his essay "Gli errori di 'Minerva al tavolino,'" cited composer Pietro Andrea Ziani's reference to Lucio's *Orontea* of 1649.[3] It is most welcome to have this volume focussing on Lucio, who until now has escaped detailed scholarly examination.

The *Medoro* volume serves the reader well many times over. Giovanni Morelli's essay, "Fare un libretto. La conquista della poetica paraletteraria," examines operatic as well as nonoperatic antecedents of Aureli's libretto—works that pursue the fate of Medoro and Angelica, which Ariosto left unresolved in *Orlando furioso.* Morelli places heavy emphasis on Pietro Paolo Bissari's *Angelica in India,* which was performed in Vicenza in 1656 with music by Francesco Petrobelli. Bissari's libretto proves to be cast, not surprisingly, in the familiar Venetian mold—the author had already written two works for the Venetian stage. Morelli demonstrates how Aureli, in 1658, finally provided a conclusive ending to Ariosto's wandering couple.

Thomas Walker's contribution, " 'Ubi Lucius': Thoughts on Reading *Medoro,*" provides an informative discussion on a wide range of topics: Lucio's biography (with documentation from the Venetian archives) and musical output, a thorough examination of the "*Orontea* problem," and an analysis of

Il Medoro itself. Walker also includes the fruits of his research on the Contarini collection as a whole—a compact discussion of the origins of and interrelationships among the manuscripts of the collection. He lists the scribes responsible for specific scores, speculates on their period of manufacture, and notes that many of the manuscripts extant in Venice (including *Il Medoro*) date from the decades following first performances. In addition, Walker provides his typically incisive perceptions of seventeenth-century musical style. He examines Lucio's recitative and aria styles, and, more importantly, compares and contrasts them with those of the composer's most important and more familiar contemporaries, Francesco Cavalli and Antonio Cesti. As a bonus, the volume also includes a facsimile of Lucio's *Arie a voce sola* (Venice, 1655). Walker has traced a number of these arias to Lucio's earlier operas, *Gl'amori di Alessandro Magno e di Rossane* (Cicognini, 1651), *Pericle effeminato* (Castoreo, 1653), and *L'Euridamante* (dell'Angelo, 1654). The songbook confirms historiographer Cristoforo Ivanovich's attribution to Lucio of two of these three operas,[4] and also provides a basis for stylistic comparison of these compositions with the arias in *Il Medoro*. This volume, then, neatly packages an impressive literary history of the Angelica theme in seventeenth-century opera with biographical data and tools for a comprehensive stylistic analysis of a Venetian opera composer. The editors' choice of *Il Medoro* enables us to understand better Cavalli's strengths and idiosyncrasies, and to gain a better appreciation of musical styles prevalent at midcentury.

The myth of Orpheus and Euridice has been central to the history of opera—the Peri, Monteverdi, and Gluck scores stand out as major milestones. Aureli's and Sartorio's *Orfeo* serves as a measure of the state of opera in Venice in the 1670s.[5] Ellen Rosand's essay, "L'Ovidio trasformato: *Orfeo* by Aureli and Sartorio (Venice, 1673)," provides a multi-faceted guide to the Aureli/Sartorio collaboration: it first explores the role of the Orpheus legend in seventeenth-century Italian opera, and then summarizes the trends in the Venetian libretto during its first thirty years, thus supplying the background necessary to appreciate the eccentricities of Aureli's libretto. The essay concludes with an extended analysis of Sartorio's musical style. Rosand convincingly demonstrates the anti-heroic aspects and role reversals of the libretto and score—how this Orfeo essentially denies his operatic birthright. She details how Aureli (and Sartorio) robbed Orfeo of his classic musical attributes, and played down several of the central incidents of the myth. While strong women had populated operas for decades (and Italian literature and drama for centuries), Sartorio's Euridice demonstrates her substantial musical superiority over her husband in both her recitative and arias. Rosand's essay certainly builds on and surpasses her previous work on this particular opera, and draws as well on her earlier studies of Venetian librettos and scores.

The two Aureli volumes form a well-balanced pair. Morelli's essay provides a most illuminating and instructive comparison to a number of recently published essays from the symposium on Vivaldi's *Orlando furioso* held in

Dallas.[6] Walker's essay focusses most clearly on Lucio—his career and musical *Nachlass*. Rosand, on the other hand, first places Aureli in the context of Venetian librettists, and then places *L'Orfeo* in the context of Aureli's career; her essay provides essential background that will shed light on the other *seicento* scores in the series. Walker succinctly categorizes the variety of verse forms and signals supplied by *seicento* librettists to their composers, and then describes Lucio's responses to typical verse configurations—aria, recitative, and less distinct realms between the two. Rosand, too, organizes her musical discussion according to recitative (with an excursion into the topics of arioso and heightened recitative) and aria. Her investigation stresses both the strengths and weaknesses of Sartorio's musical style, and also the ways in which the composer from time to time digresses from the suggestions of the librettist.

Vivaldi, certainly one of Venice's most renowned composers, is well represented in *Drammaturgia musicale veneta* with two operas (one a *pasticcio*), and two *serenate*. The earliest selection is, appropriately enough, Vivaldi's first opera, and it also provides our initial glance at the work of Domenico Lalli, the author of numerous librettos, and an occasional collaborator with Vivaldi. The volume includes two essays, one on Vivaldi's opera and the second on the representation of Roman subjects in Venetian art of the late Baroque.

In the latter essay, Massimo Gemin discusses the infusion of Roman themes into Venetian art of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. He points out the similarity in the treatment of Roman history in the realms of opera and painting:

> But the "great event," as it passes into opera and painting, undergoes a process of alienation which permits radical transformation from source to treatment: Plutarch's *Otone* becomes *Ottone in villa,* the grandeur of history is translated into sentimental small change. The topics are legitimized by constant use, the sources semantically degraded by a process of anti-intellectual stripping of ideological content.[7]

Surprisingly, Gemin fails to make reference to the "myth of Venice," by which the city traced her origins back to Troy and Rome and saw herself as the heiress to the Roman Republic and Empire; Venetians and visitors to Venice alike constantly drew parallels between ancient Rome and la Serenissima—parallels of government, empire, and even theater.[8] Rosand, in "Ovidio trasformato," discusses how this "politically-motivated myth" undoubtedly contributed to the early use of and later popularity of Roman plots on the Venetian stage.[9]

John Hill's essay, "Vivaldi's 'Ottone in Villa' (Vicenza, 1713): A Study in Musical Drama," explores the circumstances surrounding Vivaldi's commission in Vicenza, the libretto and musical characteristics of the opera, its later revision for a performance in Treviso, and the reuse of several of its arias in other Vivaldi operas. Hill discusses the mounting of the production and the

operation of the Vicentine Teatro delle Garzerie, providing comparisons with theaters in Venice. He then traces the libretto's roots back to Francesco Maria Piccioli's *Messalina* of 1680; he compares the two librettos, and finds ample evidence of the reforming trends of the early eighteenth century: a reduction of the promiscuity, adultery, and hypocrisy all rampant in *Messalina,* the removal of the base character Lismeno, and a winnowing of the number of plot lines.

Hill presents the clues that led to the identification of *Messalina* as a source for the Lalli libretto: the substitution of the names Messalina for Cleonilla (I/9) and Claudio for Ottone (III/7) in the printed libretto, as well as (according to Hill) a single reference to Claudio instead of Ottone in the score (f. 87v). Evidence in the score shows much more substitution of characters' names than the one example Hill cites. At the opening of the aria "Per te non ho più amor" (f. 102r), the abbreviation "Mes" (for Messalina) was mistakenly entered instead of that for Cleonilla. In I/7 (f. 34v) "Otto" corrects the abbreviated "Cla." Moreover, it appears that the score has been corrected at nearly all the occurrences of the names Cleonilla and Ottone (formerly Messalina and Claudio; see ff. 19v–21r, for example). Apparently the text of the opera was at least partially copied from a version of the libretto in which the names had not yet been changed. Happily, Pallavicino's setting of *Messalina* will be published later in the series, and this should facilitate an even closer comparison of the two librettos and scores.

Lalli's *Ottone in villa,* not surprisingly, resounds with at least two distinct echoes of its seventeenth-century past: the fickle, young woman (in this case, Cleonilla) attracted to a number of younger men (while pursuing a relationship with an older ruler), and the disguised, faithful woman (Tullia, in Lalli's work) in search of an errant lover, both of which are conventions dating from the earliest years of Venetian opera. The libretto also makes use of letter reading and writing, two rather common features during the second half of the seventeenth century. Hill demonstrates Vivaldi's skill in bringing to life these conventional themes: one of the highlights (both scenic, dramatic, and orchestrational) of the opera occurs in II/3, where the hidden Tullia provides a disturbing echo to Caio's despairing thoughts. One might add that throughout the opera, Vivaldi's recitative convincingly supports the pathos of Tullia's plight.

Hill examines the structure and character of the arias, and points out Vivaldi's strengths as well as the instances in which the composer's inspiration seems to be lacking, or at least a bit repetitive. Hill presents Vivaldi's testing of the operatic waters in a manner both illuminating and instructive. Vivaldi's operas are finally beginning to receive the attention they deserve. The Foà collection contains many riches, and the appearance in this series of Vivaldi's first opera has provided a yardstick by which we can measure his later operatic endeavors.

Apostolo Zeno, the famous Venetian bibliophile and literary figure who preceded Metastasio as court poet in Vienna, wrote *La Merope* in 1711, and it

was first performed with music by Francesco Gasparini at the Teatro San Cassiano. Geminiano Giacomelli's setting of the libretto, in a *rifacimento* by Domenico Lalli (1734), was the composer's fifth to be performed in Venice, all except *Gianguir* mounted at San Giovanni Grisostomo. Sylvie Mamy's detailed and thorough essay, "Il Teatro alla moda dei rosignoli," opens with a summary of the repertoire of that famously lavish theater, and goes on to discuss an impressive number of topics. A partial list includes the following: the influx of Neapolitan singers and composers (Giacomelli himself hailed from Piacenza and studied with Gianmaria Cappelli at Parma);[10] the rise of the new singing style, focussing on the new virtuosity, in particular that of the castrati Farinelli and Caffarelli; a comparison of Zeno's libretto with Lalli's revision; a summary of da capo aria structure and Giacomelli's formal and melodic tendencies; an examination of each singer's role and his music; and a brief look at the singers' careers and their appearance on the Venetian stage. Mamy contrasts the arias written for the "rosignoli" Farinelli and Caffarelli with the less ornate, more old-fashioned music for some of the other characters; she demonstrates how Giacomelli's music for Merope (portrayed by the Venetian Lucia Facchinelli)—especially the "parlante" arias and impressive accompanied recitatives—contributes to a convincing dramatic portrayal. The author observes that even Farinelli's music is not wholly given over to the highly ornate "bravura" style, however; Giacomelli also provided the star with fewer vocal fireworks where the drama required it—the cavatina "Piagge amiche" and Epitide's final aria, "Sposa . . . non mi conosci," for example. Mamy also compares Giacomelli's music for these singers in *La Merope* with that in his other operas, as well as with that of a number of other composers. The essay serves as a fine introduction to the "new" florid style and to music for the stellar castrati. This volume also includes a bonus: a copy of "Quell'Usignuolo" (II/4) in an ornamented version by Farinelli himself.

Pasquale Anfossi's *Adriano in Siria* represents one of three Metastasio settings in *Drammaturgia musicale veneta*.[11] The volume opens with an essay, "Metastasio e le sintesi della contraddizione," that explores themes and structures in several of Metastasio's most famous librettos. The author, Jacques Joly, has written extensively on Metastasio.[12] His essay analyzes in depth the motivations of a number of Metastasian characters, and links some Metastasian themes with aspects of the poet's life. Joly devotes the greater part, naturally, to *Adriano in Siria*. He discusses Metastasio's two versions of the libretto: the first was written in 1732, and performed in Vienna with music of Caldara, while the second, revised in 1752, was later accepted by the author as the definitive version.

One of the shortcomings of Joly's essay is its lack of documentation. Joly eschews specific bibliographic citations altogether, and merely lists several recent publications at the end of the essay. Metastasio's correspondence contains valuable discussions of the poet's views on his dramas, including principal themes and character motivation; many references to the letters are

unaccompanied by specific citation, either to a date, or to the location in the Brunelli edition. Certain quotations from Metastasio's letters cry out for bibliographic elaboration: for example, "Leggete la terza scena dell'atto terzo del mio *Adriano:* osservate il carattere che fa l'imperatore di se medesimo, e vedrete il mio" (p. xxxvi). Most readers do not share Joly's encyclopedic knowledge of this corpus! The subheading in the essay "Le 'macchine' del gran Brighella" (p. xlii) refers to Metastasio's letter of 20 September 1732 to Giuseppe Riva (Joly does not supply the date). This letter, which Joly summarizes in part, provides welcome insights into Metastasio's views on *Adriano in Siria,* as does the letter to Farinelli of 15 December 1753. An appendix encompassing the whole of Metastasio's correspondence concerning *Adriano* and its revisions would certainly have been welcome.

Joly's essay, while concentrating on literary questions, also explores several facets of the Anfossi score: it includes a summary-comparison of the scenes as they appear in the Metastasio libretto and in the opera, as well as a brief discussion of the comparative musical weight given to the two couples, Farnaspe-Emirena and Adriano-Sabina (Metastasio addressed this very issue in his letter to Farinelli referred to above). The readers would have been still better served by an entirely separate essay on Anfossi and his operatic work, with a focus on *Adriano.* While *Adriano* was performed in Padua, Anfossi's works were staged frequently in Venice: Wiel's *I teatri musicali veneziani del settecento* lists twenty-nine operas, both serious and comic, performed in Venice between 1770 and 1800.[13] Among the more basic questions that need to be addressed are: How does the composer's handling of aria forms compare with that of his contemporaries? How does this setting compare with other versions of *Adriano*? How does Anfossi's music for this group of singers compare to that by other composers? What importance does this role (Farnaspe) and opera have in the career of Luigi Marchesi, who was to become one of the leading castrati of his time? Furthermore, the score of Anfossi's *Adriano in Siria* comprises an unusual mix of several music and text hands; what does this combination tell us about the construction of the manuscript, and are these specific hands present in other contemporary sources? Finally, commentary about the state of opera in Padua during this period, and a comparison of repertoire and casts in Venice and Padua, would lead to a better understanding of this opera's reception and its importance.

Giuseppe Foppa's and Gaetano Andreozzi's *Amleto* provides us with a view of provincial opera at the dawning of the Romantic age. A precursor of later more "authentically" Shakespearean operas such as Verdi's *Macbeth* and *Otello, Amleto* draws on influences of authors such as Melchiorre Cesarotti. *Amleto* was the subject of a great deal of critical discussion in which the librettist himself took part. Marcello Conati, in his essay "Un Sackspear per Jommellino," presents a good deal of this discussion, along with "tentative" work-lists for both librettist and composer that far surpass the respective entries in the *New Grove.*

Conati compares the libretto with the organization and content of the Jean

François Ducis translation of Shakespeare's *Hamlet,* on which it is loosely based. He stresses that the work should not be compared directly with Shakespeare's original, from which it differs greatly. *Amleto* sheds light on emerging themes and trends that would soon reach maturity in Italian Romantic opera. Conati's essay, with its comprehensive overview of the careers of librettist and composer, the critical reception of the opera, and a structural analysis of the score, provides us with the tools necessary to assess this unusual product of a provincial theater.

The manuscripts in *Drammaturgia musicale veneta* are reproduced by two different methods. The majority use high-contrast photography in which all shades of ink in the original appear in the same dark tone. Autographs and scores with revisions, substantial corrections, or a variety of hands are reproduced, instead, in the superior but more expensive half-tone, in which different shades are clearly distinguishable. While isolated pages in Anfossi's *Adriano in Siria* are reproduced in half-tone, Vivaldi's *Ottone in Villa* appears exclusively in this method. This technique makes possible, among other things, a close examination of the many changes that occur in the entering of the characters' names. While the photographic quality of this volume is very high indeed, the occasional apparent extension of the script beyond the border of the actual page is rather puzzling.[14] The quality of the "high-contrast" volumes is also generally good. Areas of certain pages of *Medoro* are nearly illegible, however; surely the publishers could have printed some of these pages in half-tone.

The presentation of the printed librettos at once clarifies the versification as a whole, and highlights the separation between recitative and aria. Short lines of recitative divided among characters are helpfully combined into their "proper" verses of seven and eleven syllables. Most librettos of the seventeenth century indicate a da capo form by citing only the first few words of the opening section, followed by "ecc." The modernized versions of this series reproduce in those cases the entire da capo text in brackets, thus removing any possibility of confusion. Differentiation between recitative and aria appears even more distinctly than in the original libretto: aria verse (Walker's *versi misurati,* which also encompasses groups of only two or three poetic lines clearly intended by the librettist for a measured setting, but without the formal characteristics of an aria) is consistently indented, and is, moreover, spatially separated from the surrounding recitative.[15]

Certain editorial inconsistencies are apparent in these six volumes. Several methods are used in the essays for references to the music: Rosand cites the manuscript's foliation (as the prospectus claims will be the standard for the series), and Walker cites the bracketed, continuous pagination printed at the foot of the page, while the other authors often refer to no pagination at all, but rather to the act/scene designation only. Consistent, frequent page references rather than mere act/scene designations would obviously provide much quicker access to the music under discussion. In the *Medoro* volume, the cover lists the composer as Luzzo (the Venetian form), while the title

page refers to him as Lucio (as do Morelli and Walker). In general, though, the editorial level is quite high; one finds remarkably few errors, for instance, in the English portions of the volumes.

In some cases, more than one source for an opera is extant. For example, Rosand provides a thorough description of the two *Orfeo* scores, one in Venice and one in Vienna. By choosing the Venetian score, the editors thwarted our opportunity to view a Sartorio autograph. The Biblioteca marciana manuscript, however, enables us to judge the scribal resemblance of the *Orfeo* and *Medoro* scores listed by Thomas Walker.[16]

Through the combination of essays and scores, the organizers of *Drammaturgia musicale veneta* forsee the emergence of "an ample history of [Italian] opera." Their ambitious goal is already well on its way towards fulfillment. The prospectus promises many tantalyzing scores and essays; the wide range of topics, which, of course, center around the Veneto, reminds us of just how many areas remain to be investigated in the field of opera at large! The essays of future volumes are slated to offer studies of theatrical staging, the performances of travelling companies, the phenomenon of travelling scores, French influences, and development of new vocal styles, among other topics. Every volume, while presenting a considerable wealth of knowledge, also opens new avenues of research. While each scholar will undoubtedly find greater interest in certain volumes, we can all look forward to the completion of this major contribution to the study of Italian opera.

—*Beth L. Glixon*

NOTES

[1] European series (such as the *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Bayern, Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich, Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst, Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke,* and *I Classici musicali italiani*) included a number of complete and partial scores.

[2] The Garland volumes appeared in two separate series. The librettos are published separately from the scores, in alphabetical order, with four to six works per volume.

[3] Thomas Walker, "Gli errori di 'Minerva al tavolino,'" in *Venezia e il melodramma nel seicento,* ed. Maria Teresa Muraro (Florence: Olschki, 1976), pp. 14–15. Walker (among others) has proposed that Cesti did not compose his version of Cicognini's *Orontea* until the Innsbruck production of 1656.

[4] In his *Minerva al tavolino* (Venice: Pezzana, 1681, 1688).

[5] The editors also plan to publish Bertoni's setting of Calzabigi's *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1776).

[6] Michael Collins and Elise K. Kirk, eds., *Opera & Vivaldi* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984).

[7] Massimo Gemin, "Nota sulla iconografia veneziana tardo-barocca: dalla storia dell'Olimpo all'Olimpo della storia," p. lix. The translation is taken from the English summary.

[8] The theme of Venice as the extension of the Roman Republic and Empire is discussed in Chapter One of D.S. Chambers, *The Imperial Age of Venice, 1380–1580* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1970).

[9] "L'Ovidio trasformato," p. xxvi; see also Wolfgang Osthoff, "Maschera e musica," *Nuova rivista musicale italiana* 1 (1976): 34–35. For a discussion of the importance of "*romanità*" in the repertoire of late seventeenth-century opera in Venice, see Harris S. Saunders, "The Repertoire of a Venetian Opera House (1678–1714): Il Teatro Grimani di San Giovanni Grisostomo,"

(Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1985), pp. 24–25.

[10] Mamy discusses the gradual change in repertoire at the theater. For a more ample treatment of the theater and its repertoire from its inception through 1725, see Harris S. Saunders, "The Repertoire of a Venetian Opera House (1678–1714)."

[11] The others are Hasse's *Artaserse* of 1730, and Galuppi's *Adriano in Siria* of 1759. The Garland Series includes twenty settings of Metastasio librettos, including one *Adriano in Siria,* by di Maio, performed at Rome in 1769. Metastasio has been the focus of two recent symposia for which publications have been issued: "Crosscurrents and the Mainstream of Italian Serious Opera, 1730–1790, A Symposium, February 11–13, 1982," in *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* 7, nos. 1–2 (1982), and *Metastasio e il mondo musicale,* ed. Maria Teresa Muraro (Florence: Olschki, 1986), which contains papers delivered at the Cini Foundation in Venice in 1982.

[12] Recent publications include *Les Fètes théâtrales de Métastase à la cour de Vienne (1731–1767)* and "Il fragore delle armi nella 'Nitteti,'" in *Metastasio e il mondo musicale,* pp. 99–132.

[13] Taddeo Wiel, *I teatri musicali veneziani del settecento* (Venice: Fratelli Visentini, 1897).

[14] See ff. 29r and 33r, for example.

[15] This presentation goes a long way towards thwarting the occasional confusion concerning gradations between the categories of recitative and aria. Walker, in "'Ubi Lucius'" (pp. cxlvii–cxlviii), is one of the few authors to have delineated the shady areas between recitative and aria. He differentiates "normal" aria texts from, in his words, "the odd group of *versi misurati*" without repetitions (intended for "arioso" music without the "articulated structure of an aria"). In my view, it is essential to separate "composer-generated" periods of lyrical, measured recitative (arioso) from "librettist-generated" periods, signalled precisely by "the odd group of *versi misurati.*" I offer the tentative term "arietta" for the latter category (I appreciate that contemporary authors often used this term for our "aria"). The libretto format in *Drammaturgia musicale veneta,* by drawing attention to all *versi misurati* and aria texts, helps to clarify the occasional terminological confusion. Rosand, for instance, discusses Autonoe's "Per te non mai s'aggirono" in her treatment of measured recitative (p. xxxvii). These verses, indented in the original libretto as well as in the modern one, were undoubtedly intended by Aureli to serve as an aria. Similarly, the two "cavate" in the first act (ff. 10r and 11v, discussed on p. xxxviii) are composed to indented *versi misurati,* not "normal" recitative text. Aureli also automatically implied a lyrical setting (and the musical differentiation between the speeches of Aristeo and Euridice) for the verses beginning "Ecco il sol che m'innamora" (f. 41v, described on p. xxxvii), by casting them in verses of six and eight syllables. In a similar vein, Mamy refers to the verses "Piagge amiche, a voi ritorno/Trionfante e vincitor" (set as a cavatina) as recitative (p. xxiv and again on p. xxix): ". . . la cavatina *Piagge amiche a voi ritorno* (l'assunzione del testo 'recitativo' alla piccola forma chiusa è una decisione anche musicale) . . . "; again, the verse form, with its two *ottonari,* suggests a short closed form.

[16] See Walker's summary of scribal assignments, "'Ubi Lucius,'" pp. cxli–cxliii.

Judith Rohr. *E. T. A. Hoffmanns Theorie des musikalischen Dramas: Untersuchungen zum musikalischen Romantikbegriff im Umkreis der Leipziger* Allgemeinen Musikalischen Zeitung. Baden-Baden: Verlag Valentin Koerner, 1985.

In this well-documented study of Hoffmann's operatic aesthetics, Judith Rohr claims to have shown that an autonomous language of instrumental music was considered to be a fundamental prerequisite for Romantic opera, if this opera was to be a true work of art. In the short first part of her book she discusses the autonomy of music and the aesthetics of opera as these were reflected in the first four volumes of the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* of Leipzig at the turn of the century, several years before Hoffmann became a contributor. The lengthy second part of the book is then devoted to Hoffmann's operatic aesthetics, taking up in successive chapters his views of Gluck, Mozart, Romantic opera, instrumental music, music and the theater in general, and the poetic concept of opera, and concluding with a chapter on the relation between Hoffmann's ideas and Wagner's.

The merit of Rohr's work is that it identifies the various aspects of Hoffmann's operatic ideas and arranges them in systematic order. It also enhances our understanding of them by providing them with a background and a context. And the outcome of the work—that an autonomous instrumental language was thought to be the fundamental prerequisite for Romantic opera conceived as a work of art—can hardly be questioned. Yet the complex relationship between musical autonomy and opera is not made entirely clear, in part because it was probably not clear to Hoffmann. Autonomous music does not depict the external world and does not imitate words or affections. But it is intrinsically dramatic in some way. It can also express a dramatic situation and a dramatic course of development, or represent the disturbed emotional state of Agamemnon (pp. 47–49). Yet it participates in the drama as an independent art (p. 47). The difficulty here seems to lie in the imprecise meaning of the term *autonomy,* which Rohr's book challenges us to define more clearly.

—*Edward A. Lippman*

Gerhard Herz. *Bach-Quellen in Amerika/Bach Sources in America.* Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1984.

America can be justifiably proud of its Bachiana. We own more autograph manuscripts and other primary Bach sources than any country outside of the composer's homeland. Yet due to the absence of a catalogue of these materials, they are not as familiar to American musicologists—including American Bach scholars—as one might expect. The recent appearance of Gerhard Herz's paperback, therefore, is a most welcome event. Published by the Neue Bachgesellschaft as a gift to its members worldwide, it is the first comprehensive catalogue of American Bach sources ever attempted.

Bach-Quellen in Amerika is also the first catalogue ever devoted to Bach sources outside of Germany. It is worth noting (by Americans especially), however, that its author is a native German, that it was published in Germany, and that it contains German texts and their translations. The texts and translations, both by Herz, appear side by side (with the German on the left and the English on the right side of the page) except in the foreword and introduction, where the English follows the German. This bilingual format should be especially appealing to English-speaking readers since Herz incorporates a great deal of research previously available only in German.

Assembling a catalogue of the American Bach sources is no small undertaking, even if it is to be restricted almost without exception to pre-1800 documents, as Herz's is. He lists nearly 150 items scattered across the country in thirty different locations. (Most are located along the east coast, but they can also be found in Rochester, Berea, Louisville, Chicago, Spokane, and Stanford.) In addition to being widely dispersed, many are privately owned and, as a result, relatively inaccessible. In view of these daunting circumstances, perhaps we should be impressed that Herz needed only four-and-a-half years to, as he states in the foreword, "find, see, investigate, and describe" this vast collection.

Our Bach sources are important for different reasons. Most significant, a large number of them, including fifteen autograph scores and fifty-five original performing parts of cantatas, are either in Bach's own hand or were prepared under his supervision. The chronological distribution of the holographs is noteworthy too. We possess documents from Bach's pen as early as 1707, as late as 1748, and from four different periods of his career: Mühlhausen (1707–1708); Weimar (1708–1717); Cöthen (1717–1723); and Leipzig (1723–1750). Finally, the sources reveal not only Bach the composer, but also Bach the pedagogue, the Bible scholar, and the family man.

Herz lists these materials in approximately chronological order according to seven categories: autograph scores of cantatas, other holograph scores, original performing parts of cantatas, documents in Bach's hand which are not of a musical nature, further Bach "realia" (the famous Haussmann portrait owned by William Scheide and Bach's personal copy of the Calov Bi-

ble), early manuscript copies of Bach compositions, and "prints up to 1750" (although copies of the second edition of the Art of Fugue, published in 1752, are included). The descriptions of the individual sources are framed by an introductory essay which discusses their significance as a whole and by a 121-page appendix of beautifully produced half-tone illustrations.[1]

The sources are described in essays, which usually begin with data on their physical characteristics and conclude with separate discussions of provenance. Herz supplies detailed information on paper and ink types, fascicle structure, dimensions, and inscriptions, and his formidable knowledge of recent Bach scholarship allows him to provide up-to-date notes on such matters as graphology and chronology. He has not been content to rely on published research alone; much of the material he relates is derived from private correspondence.

The value of these private communications is perhaps most evident in the discussion of Johann Gottfried Walther's copy of the Prelude and Fugue in C Major (BWV 545) and the "Largo" from the Sonata in C Major (BWV 529), currently housed in the Library of the School of Music at Yale University. This manuscript was unanimously believed to date from Bach's Weimar years, as are virtually all of Walther's Bach copies, since he and Walther were colleagues there at the time. Herz, however, informs us otherwise, citing an unpublished observation by Hans-Joachim Schulze that, because of its watermark, the source could not have originated prior to 1726. To this reviewer's knowledge, the Yale manuscript is the only Walther copy which can be assigned to Bach's post-Weimar years with certainty.[2] Still, Schulze's find should prompt new research: perhaps other Walther copies written out after Bach left Weimar still exist. Since Walther's copies are often the earliest surviving sources for Bach's keyboard works, this could ultimately result in a better understanding of the chronology of Bach's instrumental music.

Another item on the Yale campus—and doubtless the most familiar American Bach manuscript—is the *Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*. Herz provides an unusually comprehensive five-page inventory of this volume which is based to a large extent on text-critical research by Wolfgang Plath.[3] Plath's findings on the collection, which substantially improved our understanding of how it evolved from its initial stages, circa 1720–21, to its completion around the middle of the decade, have never been summarized so extensively. The reader will find that Herz's inventory works well both as a guide to Plath's research and as a supplement to Kirkpatrick's facsimile edition.[4]

Any study of such a documentary nature as a source catalogue must be regarded primarily as a reference tool. But it should not go unmentioned that Herz's book is full of lively prose that displays his wit and sense of humor. As unlikely as it may seem, his subject matter lends itself well to this kind of writing. How a "music-loving gentleman" from the Bronx became the proud owner of one of the original flute parts of Cantata no. 9 as the result of a stroll through Greenwich Village is just one of many amusing incidents related. In

other instances, though, sources changed hands due to the anti-Semitic atrocities of the Nazi regime. Herz's comments on these events are poignant indeed.

Without question, this book is a tremendously useful reference work. But its utility could have been greatly enhanced by the inclusion of indices and a bibliography. Its text concludes only with a source list, a list of owners, and an abbreviation list. An index of works cited would have demonstrated that Herz's commentary does not restrict itself to Bach's compositions. More important, an index of names would have doubled as a valuable roster of the dramatis personae of the *Bach-Überlieferung* from the composer's lifetime to the present. The study is copiously annotated, and Herz may have cited too many items for a bibliography to have been worth the effort.

It is also curious, in terms of the book's organization, that prior to the descriptions of the sources by category, there is a separate discussion of the autograph of the Prelude and Fugue in G Major (BWV 541). Herz attaches such prominence to this manuscript because, in his words, "it is so symptomatic" of the American Bach sources. The discussion is, by any measure, excellent. Herz explains Schulze's hypothesis that the manuscript was prepared for Wilhelm Friedemann to perform from at an organ audition, and he then goes on to offer provocative remarks on Friedemann's relationship with his father. Yet it seems strange to highlight this source, when there are several others just as "symptomatic" and at least as important. A further problem is that this discussion does not include detailed data on the manuscript's physical characteristics; for this information, the reader must refer to the description given later in the section on miscellaneous music holographs.

Beyond the organizational matters, there is precious little in Herz's admirable study to fault. He places the composition date of the Goldberg Variations at 1742–1745 (pp. 285–286), even though it was determined over twenty years ago that the original print was almost certainly prepared in 1741.[5] He also subscribes to the timeworn notion that Bach himself was one of the engravers of the original print of Part Three of the *Clavierübung* (p. 282). This belief was successfully challenged over ten years ago,[6] and the engraver thought to have been Bach has recently been identified as Christian Friedrich Boëtius of Leipzig.[7] Further, it is aggravating to see Cantata no. 131 referred to categorically as "Bach's very first cantata" (p. 39), when this is far from clear. I must also object to the use of "writer" (pp. 91–94) to designate copyists.

Herz could have benefited from other research published after his text had gone to press. For example, it now appears that the obbligato organ parts of Cantatas nos. 35, 49, and 169 were surely written for someone besides Friedemann (see p. 32).[8] The reader should be aware, too, that the scribe of two important manuscripts from the "Lowell Mason Codex" at Yale (discussed on pp. 208–210) has now been positively identified as the Gehren cantor, Johann Christoph Bach.[9] Another valuable source, William Scheide's copy of the original print of the so-called *Schemelli Gesangbuch,* was not given an entry

because it was assumed that Bach's compositional involvement in the publication was limited to only two or three pieces. (This source is mentioned in a footnote on p. 293.) Gregory Butler has since shown it is very likely that Bach played a major role in the composition of at least a third of the collection's sixty-nine settings.[10]

Due to no fault of his own, Herz's study is not a completely accurate inventory of America's current Bach holdings. As we are informed in Dorothee Hanemann's "editorial epilogue," shortly after the book went to press, the Hinrichsen family decided to sell its valuable manuscript collection. Five of the Bach autographs in their possession, ironically including that of BWV 541, are now back in Europe. A number of other sources listed by Herz have since changed hands too, but they have remained in this country. Hanemann also reports that two other manuscripts (both autographs, presumably) have recently been purchased by American collectors for the first time. In addition, what may very well be our most significant Bach source—or, at least, the most sensationalized—the Yale volume containing the thirty-three newly discovered organ chorale preludes, surfaced too late to be included.

The discovery of this manuscript, the publication of Herz's catalogue, and the appearance of two tercentenary facsimile editions[11] have generated new interest in this country's important Bach holdings. Hopefully, future research will not only involve our early Bach sources, but will also focus on those items in American collections (most notably, nineteenth-century editions) that provide such thorough documentation of the "Bach revival" and Bach *Rezeptionsgeschichte* in general. The first step toward a critical evaluation of these materials is, of course, the preparation of a comprehensive source catalogue. Let us hope that such a study will be undertaken, and that it will meet the high standards established by Herz's book.

—*Russell Stinson*

NOTES

[1] The introductory essay has also been published in the *Festschrift Alfred Dürr zum 65. Geburtstag,* ed. Wolfgang Rehm (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983) (German version) and the April 1983 *American Choral Review* (revised and expanded English version).

[2] Walther's copy of Book I of the Well-Tempered Clavier, P 1074 (West Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz), probably also stems from the post-Weimar period. Even though it preserves an early version of the collection, it is most likely that Bach prepared this version during his Cöthen period. I would like to thank Dr. Alfred Dürr for this information.

[3] See Johann Sebastian Bach, *Klavierbüchlein für Wilhelm Friedemann Bach,* Neue Bach-Ausgabe, Serie V, Band 5, *Kritischer Bericht,* ed. Wolfgang Plath (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963).

[4] See Johann Sebastian Bach, *Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach,* ed. Ralph Kirkpatrick (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959).

[5] See Walter Emery, "Schmid and the Goldberg," *The Musical Times* 105 (1964): 350.

[6] See Johann Sebastian Bach, *Dritter Teil der Klavierübung,* Neue Bach-Ausgabe, Serie IV, Band 4, *Kritischer Bericht,* ed. Manfred Tessmer (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974), 12–13.

[7] See Gregory G. Butler, "J.S. Bach and the Schemelli *Gesangbuch* Revisited," *Studi Musicali* 13 (1984): 241–257, esp. 255–256.

[8] See Laurence Dreyfus, "The Metaphorical Soloist: Concerted Organ Parts in Bach's Cantatas," *Early Music* 13 (1985): 237–247, esp. 238.

[9] See Yoshitake Kobayashi, "Der Gehrener Kantor Johann Christoph Bach (1673–1727) und seine Sammelbände mit Musik für Tasteninstrumente," *Festschrift Alfred Dürr . . .* , 168–177.

[10] See Butler, "J.S. Bach and the Schemelli *Gesangbuch. . . .* "

[11] See Robert L. Marshall, ed., *Johann Sebastian Bach: Cantata Autographs in American Collections* (New York: Garland, 1985), and Elinore Barber, ed., *J.S. Bach: Autographs, "Bach-Circle" Manuscripts, and other Eighteenth-Century Handwritten Copies, held by The Riemenschneider Bach Institute* (Berea, 1985). Christoph Wolff's facsimile edition of the Yale manuscript, which contains the thirty-three organ chorales, is scheduled to be published sometime in late 1985. The other American Bach manuscripts which have been issued in facsimile are the *Clavier-Büchlein* for Wilhelm Friedemann (see footnote 4); a letter from Bach to his cousin, Johann Elias; and the Bethlehem (Pennsylvania) autograph of the Fantasy in C Minor (BWV 906). On these last two items, see William H. Scheide, ed., *Wine & Taxes: A Letter from Johann Sebastian Bach* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1970) and Robert L. Marshall, ed., *Johann Sebastian Bach: Fantasia per il Cembalo (BWV 906)* (Leipzig: New Bach Society, 1976).