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## articles

### The Invitation to the Puy d'Évreux\*

By E. C. Teviotdale

In 1575 the Confraternity of Saint Caecilia of the town of Évreux in Normandy established a Puy de Musique, or music competition, and prizes were awarded from 1575 to 1589. We owe our knowledge of the Puy entirely to documents preserved in the departmental archives at Évreux. The most important of these are (A) a bound manuscript, the bulk of which is given over to financial matters, but which also includes descriptive material of great interest<sup>1</sup> and (B) a copy of the foundation charter of the Puy.<sup>2</sup> Although these documents were published more than 150 years ago,<sup>3</sup> they have attracted little attention and still less serious scrutiny from the musicological community.<sup>4</sup> I propose to examine here the invitation to the competition, addressing the questions of who was invited to compete, how they came to be invited, and what they were invited to do.

Évreux's Confraternity of Saint Caecilia was founded in 1570 to support Saint Caecilia day celebrations at Évreux cathedral. The twenty-one founding members included local professionals (mostly lawyers), a number of officials of the cathedral (among them presbyters, canons, and the treasurer), and seven musicians (five of whom were in the employ of the cathedral).<sup>5</sup> One outstanding musician numbered among the founders: Guillaume de Costeley, composer and organist at the French royal court and *valet de chambre du Roy*. He had moved to Évreux in the year of the confraternity's establishment, when he went into semi-retirement from the court.<sup>6</sup> The members of the confraternity all contributed to an endowment that financed the Caecilian celebrations. Each year a "prince" was elected from among the founders. He was responsible for arranging special services on the eve and on the feast day of Saint Caecilia (21 and 22 November) and a Requiem Mass on the day following Saint Caecilia's day (23 November). All of these services called for extensive music.<sup>7</sup>

Five years later, in 1575, the confraternity inaugurated its musical competition in connection with the Saint Caecilia's day festivities. At this time, the duties of the prince were expanded to include the arrangements for the competition. Prizes were to be awarded in five categories described in the charter, dated 1576, as follows:

Le vingt-troisiesme jour de novembre, par chacune année à venir, lendemain de lad. feste et solemnité . . . sera célébré un Puy ou concertation de musique en la maison des enfantz de choeur dud. lieu.

Auquel Puy seront receuz motetz latins, à cinq parties et deux ouvertures, dont le texte sera à l'honneur de Dieu ou collaudation de lad. vierge, et sera délivré au meilleur motet l'orgue d'argent, et au débatu qui et le meilleur d'après, la harpe d'argent.

Item, seront receues chansons à cinq parties, à tel dict qu'il plaira au facteur, hors texte scandaleux partout. La meilleure aura pour loyer le lut d'argent; celle qui fera le débatu, la lyre d'argent.

L'air à quatre parties trouvé le plus agréable, sera gratifié du cornet d'argent.

La meilleure chanson légère-facescieuse, aussi à quatre parties seulement, emportera la flutte d'argent.

Au plus excellent sonnet chrestien françois, faict à deux ouvertures, sera donné le triomphe de la Cécile, enrichy d'or, qui est le plus grand prix.<sup>8</sup>

The exact form of the prizes is unknown to us. They were probably rings with oval signets. The face carried a picture of the appropriate musical instrument surrounded by a Latin motto, and on the back was inscribed the name of the prince and the year. One of the duties of the prince was to contact the Parisian goldsmith Jean Laurens two months before the competition so that the prizes would be ready in good time.<sup>9</sup>

Although we know the identity of the prince for each year of the Puy, the names of the judges have not been preserved. We know only that the judge was to be selected "from among the founders and the brothers and should have good musical knowledge."<sup>10</sup> The pieces were to be performed by the choirboys and singers of the cathedral. The cathedral's musical forces were frequently augmented by singers brought to Évreux specifically to participate in the Caecilian services and in the Puy. The identities of the composers were to be known only to the choirmaster, who was responsible for receiving the entries and arranging for their performance at the Puy. All members of the confraternity would be present at the judgment and were expected, along with the singers and others present, to offer their opinions in order to help the judge reach a decision.

The prince was responsible for the invitations for the submission of compositions. The charter devotes two paragraphs to the notification of potential competitors:

Item, affin que l'exercice dud. Puy ne soit ignoré des compositeurs musiciens, tant de ce royaume que de circonvoisins, sera, par led. prince et trésorier, faict imprimer le nombre de deux cens attaches ou affiches, en la maison d'Adrian Le Roy, imprimeur du Roy, demeurant à Paris, au Mont Saint-Hilaire, enseigne du Mont-

Parnasse, lequel a pardevers luy le moule de la figure de Scte. Cécille, ordonné à cest effect.

Et pour ce qu'il est très-séant et nécessaire pour la décoration dud. Puy, de faire, par chacun an, nouvelles invitations aux musiciens, le prince, en son année, aura le soing d'employer quelque gentil esprit à composer nouvelles semonces, en latin et françois, comme le motet est latin et la chanson françoise. Lesquelles il fera délivrer correctes et en temps opportun aud. Adrian Le Roy, pour de bonne heure les imprimer et les envoyer aux maistres musiciens des villes prochaines et eslongnées, qui par ce moyen seront advertis de la célébration et continuation dud. Puy.<sup>11</sup>

A description of the expansion of the duties of the prince following the establishment of the Puy, dated 1575, also includes a passage on the invitation:

Sera par led. Prince et trésorier faict imprimer pour le moins le nombre de deux cens attaches, affiches, ou semonces chez Adrian Leroy, imprimeur de musique du Roy, demeurant à Paris, affin que par icelles plusieurs musiciens soient invitez d'envoyer de leurs oeuvres aud. Puy, et seront lesd. semonces ou invitations achevées d'imprimer trois mois devant lad. feste au plus tard, pour les envoyer de bonne heure en divers lieux.<sup>12</sup>

We can surmise from these descriptions that 200 invitations (at least), printed by Le Roy, were to be sent out around the end of August for a competition to be held on 23 November. These were intended to serve both as public notices and as direct invitations to individual composers. The invitations would have been rather large, large enough to be affixed to a wall as a public notice. They included a picture of Saint Caecilia, either a woodcut or a metalplate engraving.

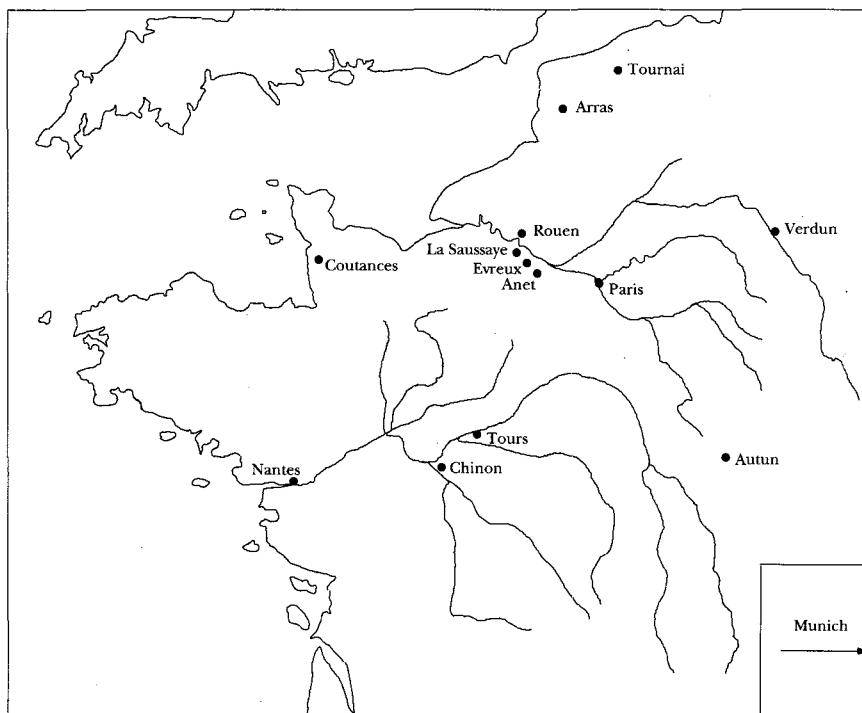
Our only evidence for who was invited is a list of winners included among the Puy documents.<sup>13</sup> This list was maintained for the years between 1575 and 1589. A typical citation includes the incipit of the piece, the composer's name, and his position of employment. Most, but not all, of the decorated compositions are cited. Sometimes we are told only that a prize was awarded, without the successful composer being named.<sup>14</sup>

It was the intention of the founders that the Puy be international in scope and that invitations be sent to musicians of "cities near and far," "both of this realm and of the surrounding ones." Most of the successful competitors, however, were minor French composers. Of the forty-one musicians decorated at the Puy d'Évreux, only fifteen merit an entry in



the *New Grove*.<sup>15</sup> No music at all survives from the pens of twenty-five Puy winners. The vast majority were employed in northern France (see figure 1), many holding positions at the French royal court.<sup>16</sup> Costeley would have known many of the court musicians, and he may have encouraged them to submit compositions. Both Costeley and Jacques Mauduit (whose motet was decorated in 1581) were members of Jean-Antoine de Baïf's *Académie de Poésie et de Musique*, although not necessarily coevally.<sup>17</sup> Only four composers are described in the Évreux list as non-French: Fabrice Caietain, Regolo Vecoli, Georges De La Hèle, and Orlande de Lassus.

Figure 1. Known places of employment of winners of the Puy d'Évreux.



The Italians, Caietain and Vecoli, both resided in France. Caietain was *maître de la chapelle* in the household of Henri of Lorraine, duc de Guise, when his chanson was awarded the silver horn in 1576, and he had been employed in France since the beginning of the decade. Furthermore, Caietain seems also to have come into the circle of Baïf's academy and may have known Costeley.<sup>18</sup> Vecoli, described in the Puy documents as "from the city of Lucca in Italy," was in fact in Paris at the time his motet

was decorated (1586) and had been there for some five years.<sup>19</sup> De La Hèle was a Flemish composer serving as choirmaster at Tournai cathedral, a foreigner both by birth and by employment.<sup>20</sup> Lassus was Flemish by birth and had been employed for nearly twenty years at the Bavarian court in Munich by the time the Puy was inaugurated.<sup>21</sup> His relationship to France, and to the French royal court in particular, is a vexing question.<sup>22</sup> It suffices to say, for our purposes, that Lassus and his music were admired by Charles IX and that Lassus received at least one generous payment from the French king even though he never held a post at court. But Lassus visited France only once, in 1571, and we should see him as a foreign competitor in the Puy.

The Puy, therefore, barely realized its founders' intention that it be an international competition. The Italians had both been in France for some time. De La Hèle was a Netherlander, to be sure, but not from a place very distant from Évreux. In Lassus, on the other hand, the Puy had succeeded in attracting not only a competitor employed at a geographically distant foreign court but also a composer of international reputation.

Three successful competitors lived in Évreux. Jean Boette, who won the *triomphe de la Cécile* in 1575, was the choirmaster at the cathedral and a charter member of the confraternity.<sup>23</sup> Jean Girard was a singer in the cathedral choir and joined the confraternity in 1580, the same year his chanson was decorated.<sup>24</sup> Jean Boette the younger, son of the cathedral's choirmaster, won the silver organ in 1589. He was to become a member of the confraternity later, in 1605.<sup>25</sup>

Two other competitors, Pierre Quitrée and Robert Goussu, although not residents of Évreux, were to become members of the confraternity after their successful competition at the Puy. Pierre Quitrée was choirmaster at La Saussaye, less than thirty kilometers from Évreux. He won the silver lyre in 1585 and became a member of the confraternity ten years later.<sup>26</sup> Robert Goussu, the most frequently decorated composer in the history of the Puy, was *maître de la chapelle* in the household of Charles of Lorraine, duc d'Aumale, and resided at Anet, not far from Évreux. Goussu had his first success at the Puy of 1578, the year that his patron became a member of Évreux's Confraternity of Saint Caecilia.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, the duchess of Aumale attended the Puy that year, and we can well imagine that the musician accompanied her.<sup>28</sup> More Goussu compositions were decorated in subsequent years, and he became a member of the confraternity himself in 1586.<sup>29</sup>

Five more competitors are known to have attended the Puy. Claude Lepeintre directed the chapel of Nicolas de Neufville, seigneur de Villeroi, at the Puy of 1576, the year that his chanson won the silver flute.<sup>30</sup> Toussaints Savary, who conducted the singers of François, marquis d'O, at the 1584

Puy, won the silver organ in the same year.<sup>31</sup> Pascal de L'Estocart also attended the Puy in 1584, when his motet won the silver harp.<sup>32</sup> Jacques Salmon, who had been awarded the silver lute in 1575, later sang at the 1581 Puy together with other court musicians.<sup>33</sup> Michel Fabry, who had been in the chapel of the Queen Mother, Catherine de Médicis, when he was decorated at the Puy of 1577 and 1581, subsequently attended the Puy as director of the chapel of Louis de Lorraine, Cardinal of Guise, in 1583.<sup>34</sup>

We have strong evidence, therefore, that ten of the successful competitors had direct experience of the confraternity and of the Puy. Furthermore, many composers living in Rouen or Paris might well have attended the Puy. It is recorded in the Évreux documents that six court singers attended the Puy in 1581, one singer from the household of the Queen Mother, the 1585 Puy, and one court singer, the 1589 Puy.<sup>35</sup> It is hardly surprising that Parisian musicians, either at court or holding other positions, should have known about the Puy, for the invitations were printed in Paris.

It is never explicitly stated in the Puy documents by what means the invitations were to be sent. It seems very likely that Adrian Le Roy played a role in their distribution. This is not only probable on a practical level (he physically held them, at least for a time), but it is also quite possible that it was the intention of the Puy's founders that Le Roy send out the invitations. Indeed, the question should be asked why Le Roy would have been chosen to print the invitations at all, unless it were intended that he distribute them. We have no evidence that the invitations included any printed music; nevertheless, the most important music printer in all of France was contracted to print them, and the reason for this may well have been that he knew to whom they might be sent.

This hypothesis is supported in some measure by the incidence of composers published by the firm of Le Roy & Ballard among the Puy winners. Fabrice Caietain, Orlande de Lassus, Jean Maletty, Nicolas Millot, Claude Lepeintre, and Regolo Vecoli had all had music published by Le Roy & Ballard by the time of their success at the Puy. Among these composers, three deserve special attention. Jean Maletty published only one collection with Le Roy & Ballard, settings of the *Amours* of Ronsard for four voices.<sup>36</sup> It appeared in 1578, the year that saw his success at the Puy. Likewise, Regolo Vecoli's only print issued by Le Roy & Ballard, his second book of madrigals, was published in the year of his participation in the Puy, 1586.<sup>37</sup> It seems most probable that Maletty and Vecoli learned of the Puy through their publisher. Le Roy & Ballard had been publishing the music of Lassus, and in large quantity, since 1559.<sup>38</sup> Indeed, Le Roy and Lassus had developed a friendship intimate enough by 1574 that Charles IX enlisted Le Roy's aid in attempting to lure Lassus to the French court.<sup>39</sup> It is inconceiv-

able to me that Lassus could have found out about the Puy d'Évreux from a source other than Le Roy.<sup>40</sup>

Politics also played a role in who was invited to participate in Évreux's Puy, and it would be worth our while to glance at the careers of some of the patrons of composers decorated at the Puy. Henri de Guise, in whose household Fabrice Caietain was employed, was a major figure in the formation of the Catholic League and its most prominent and charismatic leader.<sup>41</sup> Nicolas de Villeroy, the employer of Claude Lepeintre and of Denis Caignet, was a partisan of the League and was instrumental in affecting a compromise between the League and Henri IV in the 1590s.<sup>42</sup> Charles d'Aumale, who was the patron of Robert Goussu and a member of Évreux's confraternity, was a prominent Leaguer.<sup>43</sup> The Catholic League found an ardent sympathizer in Claude de Sainctes, bishop of Évreux from 1575 to 1591.<sup>44</sup> Sainctes was active in Catholic liturgical reform and openly supported the League. Indeed, Sainctes was arrested in 1591 and convicted of complicity in the murder of Henri III and the attempted murder of Henri IV. It seems to me that the bishop's ties to the Catholic League probably led to the attendance of Villeroy's chapel at the Puy of 1576 and to Aumale's membership in the confraternity and ultimately contributed to the participation of Lepeintre, Goussu, and Caignet (and perhaps also Caietain) in the Puy.

I have proposed six agents through which composers may have come to know about the Puy and to be invited to participate: membership in Évreux's confraternity; attendance at the Puy; geographical proximity; the *confrère* Guillaume de Costeley (and the royal court and Baif's academy); the music printer Adrian Le Roy; and Bishop Claude de Sainctes (and the Catholic League). Undoubtedly, invitations also were simply sent, as the charter states, "to master musicians of cities near and far." The year 1585 provides an interesting case in point for this more random method of notification. In that year the silver organ was taken by Adrian Allou, choir-master at St. Martin's at Tours, and the silver harp by François Habert, *maître de musique* at the cathedral church of the same city.<sup>45</sup> Musicians from Tours are known to have participated in the Puy only in this year, and it seems probable that a single invitation prompted both musicians to submit compositions. Perhaps both read a notice posted in a public place, or alternatively, perhaps one learned of the competition from the other.

Let us return now to the invitation itself. The charter states that each year a *gentil esprit* was to compose "new invitations in Latin and French, for the motet is in Latin and the chanson is in French." The employment of a *gentil esprit* might seem to imply that the invitations supplied the composers with texts to be set.<sup>46</sup> In other words, because the motet is in Latin and the chanson is in French, a *gentil esprit*, someone who could compose verse

in both languages, had to be found to write the invitation. The *gentil esprit* might either compose the texts himself or choose them from the work of other poets. Several factors, however, speak against this interpretation.

The *gentil esprit* certainly did not himself compose verses to be set. Among the decorated motets that survive are settings of liturgical and Biblical texts.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, the incipits of most of the Latin language pieces can be identified with liturgical texts, including a significant number of texts for Saint Caecilia's day and for the Office of the Dead,<sup>48</sup> or with passages from the Vulgate.<sup>49</sup> Among the French language pieces that survive are settings of Pierre de Ronsard, Claude Billard, and Jacques de Billy.<sup>50</sup> Where the pieces themselves are not extant, the incipits of some of the pieces awarded the silver lute, the silver lyre, and the silver horn can be identified with published works of Ronsard and Philip Desportes,<sup>51</sup> poets favored by French musicians in this period. Still others can be identified with unattributed poetry set by other composers.<sup>52</sup>

But might the *gentil esprit* have chosen texts that were to be supplied to the competitors in the invitation? This certainly should not have been the case for the five-voice chanson. The charter expressly states that the chanson texts shall be of the composer's choosing. Furthermore, we do not find two settings of the same text taking first and second prize in the five-voice chanson category in a given year. We can be reasonably certain that the motet texts also were not supplied, for motets on the same text generally were not awarded the first and second prizes in a given year. There is one exception, however, and it is instructive.

In 1588, two settings of "Dum aurore" were cited. "Dum aurore" is the incipit of an antiphon for the feast of Saint Caecilia. Two composers may have chosen this text independently in response to an invitation that solicited motets "whose text shall be to the honor of God or in praise of [Saint Caecilia]," as the charter describes it. Perhaps the competitors in the 1588 Puy had been inspired to their choice by the success of a setting of "Dum aurore" in the previous year's Puy.<sup>53</sup> We would have to suppose, in that case, that the invitation included a mention of the pieces decorated at the last Puy. It seems most probable, however, that this text was chosen independently by composers invited more specifically to set antiphons for Saint Caecilia's day.

Although the invitation almost certainly did not directly supply the texts to be set, it must have been a fairly ambitious bilingual literary affair to have required the services of a *gentil esprit*. That the invitation was probably bilingual is not remarkable in itself. Just as sixteenth-century music printers found a multilingual title page appropriate for mixed collections,<sup>54</sup> so might the founders of the Puy have considered it appropriate that their invitation be in Latin and French.

The invitation must have defined the requirements for each category. It is manifest from the list of winners that the four-voice air and chanson categories were discontinued after 1577 and that the spiritual chanson category was discontinued after 1579. It is not immediately apparent whether the remaining categories might have undergone some revision in the process or whether the requirements described in the charter would have been strictly adhered to throughout the history of the Puy. A comparison of the charter's definitions of the categories with the extant music should provide some clues.

As defined in the charter, the competitors for the silver organ and the silver harp were to submit "Latin motets for five voices and in two parts whose text shall be to the honor of God or in praise of [Saint Caecilia]." All of the extant pieces that took prizes in this category are five-voice motets in two parts. Their texts are Biblical, or liturgical, or (in one case) a prayer. These all could well have been offered in response to an invitation that solicited settings of texts to the honor of God or in praise of Saint Caecilia.

According to the charter, composers were to submit five-voice chansons on texts of their own choosing for the silver lute and the silver lyre. De La Hèle's *Mais voyez mon cher esmoy* (silver lute, 1576) is a five-voice setting in two parts of a Ronsard chanson. Although the poem is in quatrains, De La Hèle's setting is through-composed imitative polyphony. Pennequin's *Dieu vous gard* (silver lyre, 1577), only the superius of which survives, is a five-voice setting of two stanzas of an ode by Ronsard. Du Caurroy's *Beaux yeux* (silver lute, 1583) is a five-voice setting of an anonymous Alexandrine sextain.<sup>55</sup> These pieces, none of them on a text that could be termed "scandalous," all fulfill the terms of the category as it is described in the charter. It is interesting to note the success in 1585 of Robert Goussu's chanson *Quand l'infidèle usait*, whose incipit suggests a religious text. There is certainly no trend, however, in favor of devotional poetry in this category, even following the discontinuation of the awarding of the *triomphe* in 1580. The identifiable texts in this category are generally secular, and often amorous.

Competitors for the silver horn were to submit four-voice songs, described by the term "air" in the charter. We know from the subtitle of a group of pieces in Costeley's *Musique* published by Le Roy & Ballard in 1570 that the term "air" meant a homorhythmic strophic chanson to him.<sup>56</sup> It must have implied the same to Fabrice Caietain. His *C'est mourir mille fois*, awarded the silver horn in 1576, is a four-voice homorhythmic setting of octosyllables in stanzas of four lines with a two-line refrain. Although Du Caurroy's decorated piece in this category, *Rosette pour en peu d'absence*, does not survive, its text was almost certainly Desportes's "villanelle," set

also by Lambert (or Girard) de Beaulieu and Jean Chardavoine,<sup>57</sup> and its musical setting was probably strophic.

The silver flute was awarded only twice, in 1576 and 1577. This category, the four-voice chanson *légère-facétieuse*, was almost certainly created in 1576 and would not have been a part of the competition in the inaugural year of the Puy. Not only was the silver flute not awarded in 1575, but in the Puy's charter the motto to be engraved on the prize appears as an addition, having been added in the outer margin.<sup>58</sup> Neither of the winning compositions survives, nor have I been able to identify their texts. If the invitation defined the category as it is described in the charter, then we can imagine that the founders meant to attract pieces in the style of the typical mid-century Parisian chanson. We do not know why the silver horn and the silver flute ceased to be awarded. Perhaps the confraternity discontinued these categories because the response was meager or because the four-voice chanson was judged insufficiently serious a genre to warrant maintaining competition in these categories.

The only surviving winner of the *triomphe de la Cécile*, Planson's *Ha! Dieu que de filets*, is a confused setting for seven voices of a spiritual sonnet of Jacques de Billy without division into parts. If the category was described in the invitation of 1578 in the terms in which it had been defined in the charter, then we would expect Planson's chanson to be in two parts in accordance with the requirements of the category. Perhaps the invitation did not specify that the sonnet should be set in two parts, or perhaps Planson's sonnet was decorated despite its failure to meet the details of the category's requirements. Certainly Planson's composition fulfills the most important requirement, that it be a setting of a French Christian sonnet. The spiritual chanson category probably was discontinued for practical reasons. The number and quality of submissions may have been considered inadequate for the continuation of the competition. Although it is impossible to say with certainty why the competitions for the silver horn, the silver flute, and the *triomphe* were discontinued, it appears that the expectations in the remaining categories were not altered as a result.

We know that the Puy was not held in 1590 or 1591, as the documents express it, "because of the troubles."<sup>59</sup> The cathedral would have seen troubles indeed in this period: Évreux was captured by the forces of Henry IV on 25 January 1590, and the bishop fled the city.<sup>60</sup> The Puy most probably was not held in 1592 either, for the documents describe the saying of a low Mass for the Dead in that year.<sup>61</sup> If the confraternity could not muster the forces necessary for a sung Mass for the Dead, it is very difficult to imagine that the Puy would have been celebrated. We have no direct reference to the re-establishment of the competition in the manuscripts preserved at Évreux. The names of members of the confraternity

admitted before 1613 and the names of the princes until 1602 are recorded, but there is no mention of the Puy in the years following 1591.

Thanks to surviving invitations, however, we know that the Puy was celebrated again in the seventeenth century. I have had the opportunity to examine only one of these, the bottom half of an invitation for 1667 (see figure 2).<sup>62</sup> It should be approached with caution as a guide to the sixteenth-century invitation, but it merits consideration. Judging from the extant portion, the whole would have been about 600 x 400 mm, large enough to serve as a public notice. It had an illustration, only the bottom edge of which can be seen on the fragment. The invitation is bilingual and includes a Latin poem in hexameters, a French ode, and a French sonnet, all in praise of the prince for that year, Henri Cauchon de Maupas du Tour, Bishop of Évreux. It mentions the names of the previous year's winners but does not give the incipits of their decorated compositions. A description of the requirements for submissions occupies the last few lines of the invitation:

Les compositeurs sont advertis de prendre pour sujet cette année les paroles seulement d'un des répons de Matines du jour de la feste, & non d'autres, pour le motet. Et pour les chansons, prendront des vers de l'ode, & du sonnet cy-dessus, tant & si peu & par où ils adviseront bon estre, & de quel ton il leur plaira; pourveu que les chansons ayent plus d'air que les motets, le tout en sera plus considéré.<sup>63</sup>

In 1667, therefore, the composers were restricted in the texts they were permitted to set.

It is interesting to note that the direction to set *Matins* responsories for Saint Caecilia's day is explicitly limited to that year, suggesting either that more freedom was allowed in other years or that other liturgical genres were solicited in other years. A comparable request in 1588 may have led to the success of two settings of "Dum aurore;" perhaps the invitation specified that antiphons for Saint Caecilia's day should provide the texts for that year's motet competition. Although 1588 is the only year in which pieces of the same liturgical genre took the first and second prizes in the motet category, there is a fairly high incidence of Caecilian responsories and antiphons among the motets decorated at the Puy.<sup>64</sup> These may have been encouraged but not strictly required, or composers may have independently chosen Caecilian texts as appropriate to a competition held in honor of Saint Caecilia. The prescription to set the commemorative verse in the 1667 invitation cannot have obtained in the sixteenth century, although poetry of this sort may well have been featured as a part of the invitation.



Ebroicam in folio, cunctas vt luce repleret  
 Christidam mentes peccatorumque tenebras  
 Diffusetur quat longa facris incuria rebus  
 Intolerat, Cleroque Dei renouaret honorem.  
 Si pietate micat Præful, splendescit & armis  
 Inclita progenies huius : Quis nescit in aruis  
 Hungaricæ immenso confoslos agmine Turcas ?  
 Iam toti Europæ sunt cognita facta Nepotis,  
 Et velut hic Præful factanda periclit arte  
 Rex glionis opus, stygios & conterit hostes,  
 Rex Mariis virtute Nepos dextraque potentii  
 Confosidit Otomanos & dextra forte fidelis  
 Eximit. Huius stirpis præconia debita dentur  
 Ex qua percipiunt vitamque animæque salutem  
 Christicolæ & post hac semper producta fauente  
 Numine percipiunt bona : Nunc effundite vires  
 Carminibusque nouis aures mulcete paratas :  
 Vos rogat HENRICVS, cuius veneranda labo-  
 rem

Majestas possit: Quis non tentauerit vltra  
 Ingenij vires aliquid, quo gratia tanti  
 Præfuls eueniat; nec deest debita merces.  
 Quale decus tanto sub Principe dona mereti  
 Musica; cui cantus victoria cesserit, ille  
 Nomen in astra suum extollet quod Præfide ludi  
 Et spectante viro cuius iam gloria finde  
 Excellit patrios, sacro certamine vocis  
 Præmia digna ferat certamque ornauerit arte  
 Cuius decantat præconia Gallicus axis.

**NOMS DE CEUX QVI ONT  
 emporté les Prix en l'année 1666.**

Maître Innocent Boutry Maître de la  
 Musique du Mans, le second Prix du Mo-  
 tet, la Harpe, luy a été adjué.

Maître Nicolas Fernon l'aîné Chantre  
 ordinaire de la Musique du Roy a rempor-  
 té le Luth, premier prix de la Chançon.

Les autres Prix n'ont point été adju-  
 gés, pour y auoir peu de Motets & Chan-  
 sons.

**L**es Compositeurs sont aduertis de prendre pour sujet cette année les paroles seulement d'un des Répons de Matines du jour de la Feste, & non d'autres, pour le Motet : Et pour les Chançons, prendront des Vers de l'Ode, & du Sonnet cy-dessus, tant & si peu & par où ils aduiferont bon estre, & de quel ton il leur plaira; pouruë que les Chançons ayent plus d'air que les Motets, le tout en sera plus considéré.

**EN FAVEUR D'ILLVSTRISSIME  
 ET REVERENDISSIME PERE EN DIEV MESSIRE  
 HENRY DE MAVPAS DV TOVR  
 EVESQVE D'EVREUX. ABBE'  
 DE S. DENIS DE REIMS, CONSEILLER  
 D'ESTAT ORDINAIRE, &c.  
 PRINCE DV PVY.**

**S O N N E T.**

**O** Dieu! le beau concert; la diuine harmonie  
 Des vœux de l'illustre & du grand DEMAVPAS!  
 Parlez, Musiciens, vous charment-elles pas?  
 Imitex en l'accord dans vostre Symphonie.

Sçavez-vous que son ame au Ciel toujours vnice  
 Entend bien d'autres voix, que les voix d'icy bas?  
 Les vôtres soussous ont pour luy des apas;  
 Mais les prix qu'il vous tend veulent un beau Genie.

Ta gloire va trop haut, vante soy nôtre PVY;  
 Vn second saint François est son Prince aujourd' huy:  
 Fais éclater par tout ce brillant auantage.

Prélat, pardonnez-moy; mais jamais les couleurs  
 N'en formeront si bien les traits & le visage,  
 Que vous en faites voir & l'Esprit & les mœurs.

Vous leur en presentez une viuante Image.

C'est pourquoy du beau choix de nôtre puissant  
**ROY,**  
 Qui vous honore auant que sit la **KEYNE**  
 Mere; (employ,  
 Du beau choix du **CLERGE'** vous eûtes été  
 Jugé digne entre tous d'un si haut ministère.  
 C'est ainsi que l'Honneur dans vostre illustre sang,  
 A toujours maintenu son rang,  
 Et que tous vos Ayeux ont vécu dans la gloire.  
 Ah! l'est qu'ils scauoient bien que l'Art d'estre  
 Estoit celuy de viure tel, (immortel,  
 Qu'on pût s'éterniser par le marbre & l'histoire.

Que ne lisons-nous point de **CHARLES  
 DE MAVPAS!**

Il fut Ambassadeur trois fois en Angleterre;  
 Amiens dans la ligue éprouua de son bras,  
 Ce qu'on peut éprouuer d'un vray foudre de guerre.  
 (Tel parut **COLIGNY** contre les Osmans.)

Tirons d'autres loucements,  
 Son Corps apres sa mort fit paroître un Ciel;  
 Ce qui vous doit apprendre, ô genereux Guerriers,  
 Qu'il n'est point de plus beaux Lauriers,  
 Que ceux que la vertu remporte sur le Vice.

Par ce léger crayon & du Pere & du Fils,  
 Jugez, Musiciens, quel Prince vous anime:  
 Que mille accents nouveaux vous méritent le prix,  
 Que vos plus beaux efforts témoignent votre estime:  
 Faites d'oc pour **CECILE** un miracle d'accord,

Que les Esprits quittent les Corps,  
 Dans les rauissements d'un si charmant mystere.  
 Mais, pour estre icy bas, & la haut devant anges,  
 A ceux du Ciel joignez vos Chœurs;  
 C'est l'accord le plus de ta qu'on scauroit jamais  
 faire.

**L**es Fauteurs enuoyeroient leurs Compositions, avec leurs  
 Partitions bien correctes, au ne, & chiffrées, & seront  
 auertis de ne mettre leurs noms au bas de leur Musique, mais  
 seulement yne marque ou deuisé, telle qu'ils voudront choisir;  
 & pour leurs noms, les écriroient en vn papier qu'ils cachetero-  
 rent soigneusement: écriroient au dessus leur ma: que ou deuisé,  
 qu'ils auroient mise au bas de leur Musique, & enuoyeroient tout  
 quinze jours auant la Feste, à Maître Eustache Chaumont  
 Maître de la Musique de l'Eglise Cathédrale Nôtre-Dame  
 d'Évreux. Que s'il se trouue quelqu'un qui preende tout vn  
 nom supposé remporter vn Prix, il en est déclaré déchu.

It is very difficult to evaluate the requirement that the chanson have *plus d'air* than the motet in relation to the Puy's early history. The founders of the confraternity may also have preferred that the chansons be lighter in character than the motets, but they discontinued the very categories, the four-voice air and chanson, in which they stood the best chance of attracting lighter pieces. Furthermore, the silver lute was awarded in 1576 to Georges De La Hèle for *Mais voyez mon cher esmoy*, which is in a distinctly un-airy motet style.

The 1667 invitation devotes a paragraph to practical considerations:

Les facteurs enverront leurs compositions, avec leurs partitions bien correctes, au net, & chiffrées; & seront avertis de ne mettre leurs noms au bas de leur musique, mais seulement une marque ou devise, telle qu'ils voudront choisir; & pour leurs noms, les écriront en un papier qu'ils cachetteront soigneusement, écrivant au dessus leur marque ou devise, qu'ils auront mise au bas de leur musique, & enverront tout quinze jours avant la feste, à Maistre Eustache Chaumont, Maistre de la Musique de l'Eglise Cathedrale Nostre-Dame d'Evreux. Que s'il se trouve quelqu'un qui pretende sous un nom supposé remporter un prix, il en est déclaré déchu.<sup>65</sup>

The competitors in the sixteenth century may have been instructed similarly. We know that the pieces were to be performed anonymously, and it is entirely possible that a system for maintaining anonymity was in force throughout the history of the Puy. The fragmentary 1667 invitation, therefore, may give us a notion of the physical aspects and literary pretensions of the sixteenth-century invitations, and it may also provide a few clues as to what sort of information was included in the earlier invitations.

In summary, we can speculate that the sixteenth-century invitation to the Puy d'Évreux was large enough to serve as a public notice and carried a picture of Saint Caecilia. It was most probably bilingual and included some verse, although it would not have supplied verse to be set to music by the competitors. Poems in praise of Saint Caecilia or in praise of the prince or extolling the ideals of Évreux's confraternity and its Puy could well have embellished the invitation. It seems that the invitation described the categories much as they are defined in the charter and that the requirements remained essentially unaltered throughout the sixteenth-century history of the Puy. The invitation must have conveyed some practical information about the submission procedure and may have included a notice of the previous year's winners.

Most of the successful competitors in the Puy d'Évreux were employed in northern France, and fully 25% of them can be shown to have had

direct experience of the Puy, being members of Évreux's Confraternity of Saint Caecilia or having performed at the celebration of the Puy. Still more composers employed in the Seine valley may have known about the Puy through personal experience. The royal court and the Catholic League most probably provided networks through which composers came to be invited to participate in the Puy. In addition, composers would have received invitations to submit compositions without the benefit of personal contact with the circle of the confraternity. Finally, although the Puy did not fully realize its potential as an international competition, the founders were not merely indulging in hyperbole when they wrote of inviting musicians from cities near and far, within and without France's borders. By engaging Adrian Le Roy to print the invitations, the founders secured the services of someone who knew many composers active throughout Europe, and it was almost certainly through Le Roy that the Puy gained its most distinguished competitor, Orlande de Lassus.

\* \* \*

### Appendix

The following list of prize-winning compositions is based on Série D<sup>3</sup>, ff. 123r–126r. The original orthography has been respected, except that consonantal *u* has been rendered as *v* and the capitalization has been regularized. The notes provide information about contemporary sources for and modern editions of the extant compositions.

1575

orgue	Orlande de Lassus, <i>Domine Jesu Christe qui cognoscis</i> <sup>66</sup>
harpe	Raymond De La Cassaigne, <i>Quis miserebitur tui Jerusalem</i>
lut	Jacques Salmon, <i>Je meurs pensant en ta douceur</i>
lyre	Nicolas Millot, <i>Les espicz sont à Cérès</i>
cornet	Eustache Du Caurroy, <i>Rosette pour un peu d'absence</i>
triomphe	Jehan Boette, <i>Heureux qui d'équité</i>

1576

orgue	Eustache Du Caurroy, <i>Tribularer si nescirem</i>
harpe	Georges De La Hele, <i>Nonne deo subiecta erit anima mea</i> <sup>67</sup>
luth	Georges De La Hele, <i>Mais voyez mon cher esmoy</i> <sup>68</sup>
lyre	Claude Petit-Ian, <i>Ce riz plus doux</i>
flutte	Claude Le Painctre, <i>Un compaignon frisque et gaillard</i>
cornet	Fabrice Cajetain, <i>C'est mourir mille fois le jour</i> <sup>69</sup>
triomphe	Barillault, <i>Race de roys</i>

1577

orgue Michel Fabry, *Aspice domine*  
 lyre Jehan Pennequin, *Dieu vous gard*<sup>70</sup>  
 flutte André Sonnoys, *J'ay un ioly courtaut*

1578

orgue Etienne Testart, *Ceciliam intra cubiculum*  
 harpe Jehan Planson, *Aspice domine*<sup>71</sup>  
 lut Jehan Maletty, *Veux la douleur*  
 lyre Robert Goussu, *Aux créanciers*  
 triomphe Jehan Planson, *Ah! Dieu que de filetz*<sup>72</sup>

1580

harpe Robert Goussu, *Aspice domine*  
 lyre Jehan Girard, *De mon feu, de mes pleurs*

1581

orgue Jacques Mauduit, *Afferte domine*  
 harpe Michel Nicole, *In voluntate tua*  
 lut Germain Le Boudier, *Et la fleur vole*  
 lyre Michel Fabry, *O, beau laurier!*

1582

harpe Michel Malherbe, *Heu michi domine*  
 lyre Nicolas Mazouyer, *Mon dieu, mon dieu que i'ayme*

1583

orgue Orlande de Lassus, *Cantantibus organis*<sup>73</sup>  
 harpe Abraham Blondet, *Tu domine benignus es*  
 lut Eustache Du Caurroy, *Beaux yeulx*<sup>74</sup>  
 lyre Robert Goussu, *O, beau laurier*

1584

orgue Toussaintz Savary, *Ne recorderis*  
 harpe Pascal Delestocart, *Ecce quam bonum*  
 lut Robert Goussu, *Le boiteux mary*  
 lyre Nicolas Morel, *Je porte en mon bouquet*

1585

orgue Adrian Allou, *Gustate et videte*  
 harpe François Habert, *Dum aurore*  
 lut Robert Goussu, *Quand l'infidelle usoit*  
 lyre Pierre Quitrée, *Bonsiour mon cueur*

1586

orgue	Robert Goussu, <i>Respice in me</i>
harpe	Regolo Vecoli, <i>De profundis</i>
lut	Nicolas Morel, <i>D'où vient hélas</i>
lyre	Pierre Le Martinel, <i>Pourroyis-ie sans mourir</i>

1587

orgue	Raymond De La Cassaigne, <i>Lauda Jerusalem</i>
harpe	Abraham Fourdy, <i>Dum aurore</i>
lut	Denys Caignet, <i>Las ie ne voirray plus</i>
lyre	Pierre Le Terrier, <i>Ravi de mon penser</i>

1588

orgue	Nicolas Vauquet, <i>Dum aurore</i>
harpe	Daniel Guichart, <i>Dum aurore</i>
lut	Jacques Péris, <i>Ceux qui peignent amour sans yeulx</i>
lyre	Toussains Savary, <i>Dybedybedon</i>

1589

orgue	Jehan Boette, le jeune, <i>In hymnis et confessionibus</i>
harpe	Jacques Péris, <i>O regina, reum miseratrix</i>
luth	Jacques Péris, <i>Mon oeil tremblant</i>
lyre	Raulin Dumont, <i>Rossignolet du boys</i>

## NOTES

\* An embryonic version of this article was presented in 1989 at the Warburg Institute; I am especially grateful to Philip Weller for the insights he offered at that time.

<sup>1</sup> Évreux, Archives départementales de l'Eure, Série D<sup>3</sup> (152 paper leaves [275 x 185 mm]; 1<sup>7</sup>, 2–14<sup>10</sup>, 15<sup>9</sup>, 16<sup>6</sup>; foliated upper right corner of rectos [f. 1 unnumbered; ff. 50–51 mislabeled 49–50 and corrected; ff. 54–61 mislabeled 53–60 and corrected; f. 64 mislabeled 63 and corrected]).

<sup>2</sup> Évreux, Archives départementales de l'Eure, Série D<sup>4</sup> (single gathering of 12 paper leaves [230 x 175 mm]; paginated [p. 4 mislabeled 3]).

<sup>3</sup> *Puy de musique érigé à Évreux, en l'honneur de madame sainte Cécile; publié d'après un manuscrit du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Th. Bonnin and A. Chassant (Évreux: Ancelle Fils, 1837). A translation and paraphrase of the Puy documents was published by H.M. Schletterer as "Musikalische Wettstreite und Musikfeste im 16. Jahrhundert," *Monatshfte für Musik-Geschichte* 22 (1890):181–96 and 197–207.

<sup>4</sup> Short considerations of Évreux's Puy are contained in Jean Mineray, *Évreux: Histoire de la ville à travers les âges* (Luneray: Bertout, 1988), 158–61 and Isabelle Cazeaux, *French Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: Praeger, 1973), 121–24. More extensive and intelligent discussions of these documents are contained in Vladimir Féodorov, "Évreux," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1949–86), vol. 3 (1954), cols. 1638–41, and Horst Leuchtmann, *Orlando di Lasso*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1976–77), 176–81. I understand that Geneviève Gantès is currently preparing a dissertation on the Puy d'Évreux.

<sup>5</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, ff. 16r–38r.

<sup>6</sup> Irving Godt, "Costeley, Guillaume," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie, vol. 4 (London: Macmillan Publishers, Ltd., 1980), 825.

<sup>7</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, ff. 8r–17v.

<sup>8</sup> Série D<sup>4</sup>, pp. 1–2: "On the 23rd day of November of each year to come, on the day after the aforementioned feast and ceremony [i.e., St. Caecilia's day], a Puy or music competition shall be celebrated in the house of the choirboys of the aforementioned place [i.e., the cathedral]. At each Puy, Latin motets for five voices and in two parts shall be accepted, whose text shall be to the honor of God or in praise of the aforementioned virgin [i.e., Saint Caecilia]; and the silver organ shall be awarded to the best motet and the silver harp to the second best. Also, chansons for five voices shall be accepted, on words of the composer's choosing excepting scandalous texts. The best shall have the silver lute; the runner-up shall have the silver lyre. The song for four voices found the most pleasing shall be presented the silver horn. The best witty chanson, also for only four voices, shall take the silver flute. To the most excellent French Christian sonnet [i.e., spiritual chanson], composed in two parts, shall be given the *trionphe de la Cécile*, decorated in gold, which is the highest prize."

<sup>9</sup> Série D<sup>4</sup>, pp. 2–4.

<sup>10</sup> Série D<sup>4</sup>, p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Série D<sup>4</sup>, pp. 4–5: "Also, in order that the Puy shall be known to composers, both of this realm and of the surrounding ones, the aforementioned prince and treasurer shall have printed two hundred notices by the firm of Adrian Le Roy, printer to the King, residing in Paris, at Mont Saint-Hilaire, at the sign of Mont-Parnasse, who has in his possession the plate of the figure of Saint Caecilia ordered for this purpose. And because it is very fitting and necessary to make new invitations to the musicians each year for the decoration of the Puy, the prince shall take care in his year to make use of a *gentil esprit* to compose new invitations in Latin and French, for the motet is in Latin and the chanson is in French. He shall have them delivered, corrected and punctually, to the aforementioned Adrian Le Roy, in order for them to be printed early and sent to master musicians of cities near and far, who shall by this means be advised of the celebration and continuation of the aforementioned Puy."

<sup>12</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, f. 17r: "The aforementioned prince and treasurer shall have printed at least two hundred notices or invitations by Adrian Le Roy, music printer to the King, residing in Paris, so that through them many musicians might be invited to send their works to the aforementioned Puy, and the aforementioned invitations should reach the printer three months before the aforementioned feast at the latest, in order to send them early to diverse places."

<sup>13</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, ff. 123r–126r. An annotated list of the winning compositions based on this material appears as an appendix to this article.

<sup>14</sup> For the year 1579, we know only that five prizes were awarded.

<sup>15</sup> They are: Fabrice Marin Caietain, Denis Caignet, Eustache Du Caurroy, Georges De La Hèle, Pascal De L'Estocart, Orlande de Lassus, Jean Maletty, Jacques Mauduit, Nicolas Millot, Nicolas Morel, Jean Pennequin, Claude Petit-Jean, Jean Planson, Jacques Salmon, and Regolo Vecoli.

<sup>16</sup> Puy winners are listed in the documents as being employed in the following places: Anet (Robert Goussu), Arras (Jean Pennequin), Autun (Nicolas Mazouyer), Chinon (Daniel Guichart), Coutances (Pierre Le Martinel, Michel Malherbe), Évreux (Jean Boette, Jean Boette the younger, Jean Girard), La Saussaye (Pierre Quitrée), Munich (Orlande de Lassus), Nantes (Germain le Boudier), Paris (Abraham Blondet, Raymond De La Cassaigne, Eustache Du Caurroy, Michel Fabry, Jacques Mauduit, Nicolas Millot, Michel Nicole, Jean Planson, Jacques Salmon, Étienne Testart, Nicolas Vauquet), Rouen (Raulin Dumont, Nicolas Morel), Tournai (Georges De La Hèle), Tours (Adrian Allou, François Habert), Verdun (Claude

Petit-Jean). The following composers are described as holding a position at court in the Évreux documents: Eustache Du Caurroy (a singer in the royal chapel), Michel Fabry (a singer in the chapel of the Queen Mother), Jacques Mauduit (*greffier aux requestes* of the royal palace), Nicolas Millot (one of the *maîtres de la chapelle*), Jacques Salmon (singer and *valet de chambre*), Étienne Testart (choirmaster at the Sainte Chapelle).

<sup>17</sup> Costeley was a charter member of the *Académie*, but Mauduit may not have come into the circle of the *Académie* until some years later. See Godt, 825; Frank Dobbins, "Mauduit, Jacques," *New Grove*, vol. 11, 840; Howard Mayer Brown, "Vers mesurés," *New Grove*, vol. 19, 680–81.

<sup>18</sup> Frank Dobbins, "Caietain, Fabrice Marin," *New Grove*, vol. 4, 607.

<sup>19</sup> Steven Ledbetter, "Vecoli," *New Grove*, vol. 19, 587.

<sup>20</sup> Lavern J. Wagner, "Hèle, George de la," *New Grove*, vol. 8, 451.

<sup>21</sup> James Haar, "Lassus," *New Grove*, vol. 10, 481.

<sup>22</sup> Leuchtman, *Orlando di Lasso*, vol. 1, 51–52, 155–57, & 166–70; Adolf Sandberger, "Roland Lassus' Beziehungen zu Frankreich und zur französischen Literatur," *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* 8 (1906–07):355–401.

<sup>23</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, f. 28r. Leuchtman's speculation that founding members of the confraternity might have been ineligible to compete cannot be sustained (*Orlando di Lasso*, vol. 1, 178).

<sup>24</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, f. 102r.

<sup>25</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, f. 136r.

<sup>26</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, f. 136r.

<sup>27</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, f. 92r.

<sup>28</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, ff. 80r & 92r.

<sup>29</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, f. 103r.

<sup>30</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, f. 42r.

<sup>31</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, f. 36r.

<sup>32</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, f. 36r.

<sup>33</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, f. 20r.

<sup>34</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, ff. 32r, 123v, & 124r.

<sup>35</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, ff. 20r, 56r, & 97r.

<sup>36</sup> *Les Amours de P. de Ronsard, mises en musique à quatre parties par Jehen de Maletty* [RISM M 243].

<sup>37</sup> *Il secondo libro de madrigali a cinque voci* [RISM V 1086].

<sup>38</sup> The first Le Roy & Ballard volume to contain music by Lassus is the *Douzième livre de chansons nouvellement composées en musique à trois, quatre, & cinq parties par plusieurs auteurs, imprimées en quatre volumes* [RISM 1559<sup>12</sup>].

<sup>39</sup> See Samuel F. Pogue, "Le Roy, Adrian," *New Grove*, vol. 10, 687.

<sup>40</sup> Leuchtman has already suggested that Lassus would have learned of the Puy through Le Roy (*Orlando di Lasso*, vol. 1, 178).

<sup>41</sup> "Guise, Henri, troisième duc" *Dictionnaire de biographie française* (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Ané, 1933–), vol. 17 (1989), cols. 327–29.

<sup>42</sup> "Villeroi, Nicolas de Neufville, seigneur de," *Nouvelle biographie générale* (Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1852–66), vol. 46 (1866), cols. 210–12.

<sup>43</sup> "Aumale, Charles de Lorraine, duc d'," *Dictionnaire de biographie française*, vol. 4 (1948), cols. 603–6.

<sup>44</sup> "Saintes, Claude de," *Nouvelle biographie générale*, vol. 42 (1863), cols. 1016–17; Mineray, *Evreux*, 142–46.

<sup>45</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, ff. 124v–125r.

<sup>46</sup> Leuchtman assumed this (*Orlando di Lasso*, vol. 1, 177), and Ignace Bossuyt followed him (*Orlandus Lassus, 1532–1594* [Louvain, 1982], 47–48).

<sup>47</sup> Lassus's *Cantantibus organis* is a setting of an antiphon for Saint Caecilia's day; the text of Planson's *Aspice domine* serves as a responsory or Magnificat antiphon; De La Hèle's *Nonne deo subiecta* is on a text taken from Psalm 61.

<sup>48</sup> *Caecilia inter cubiculum* is a responsory for Saint Caecilia's day; *Dum aurora* is an antiphon for St. Caecilia; *Heu mihi Domine* and *Ne recorderis* are responsories for the Office of the Dead; and *De profundis* is a responsory verse for the Office of the Dead.

<sup>49</sup> The text of *Quis miserebitur tui Jerusalem* was most probably taken from Jeremiah.

<sup>50</sup> The text of *Mais voyez mon cher esmoy* by Georges De La Hèle is a Ronsard chanson (published in the version set by De La Hèle in the *Nouvelle continuation des amours* of 1556); Pennequin's *Dieu vous gard* is a setting of a Ronsard ode (published in the fourth book of *Odes* in 1550); the text of Fabrice Caietain's *C'est mourir mille fois* is attributed to "Billard" (presumably Claude) in the Le Roy & Ballard print in which it appears; Jean Planson's *Ha! Dieu que de filetz j'en voy* is a setting of Jacques de Billy's "De la force d'humilité" (published in his *Sonnets spirituels* of 1577).

<sup>51</sup> The possible Ronsard settings are: "Les espics sont à Cérés" (odelette published in the fourth book of the *Odes* in 1550); "Ce ris plus doux" & "Veu la douleur" (both sonnets from the *Amours* of 1552); "Aux creanciers" (a translation of a Greek epigram published with the *Livret de folastries* of 1553); and "Le boiteux Mary" (ode from the fifth book of *Odes* of 1552). The possible Desportes settings are "Ravy de mon penser" (sonnet published in 1573 in the *Amours d'Hippolyte*) and "Ceux qui peignent Amour sans yeux" and "Mon Dieu! mon Dieu! que j'aime" (both from the *Amours de Diane* of 1573).

<sup>52</sup> "Et la fleur vole" was set by Jean Planson and published in 1587 (RISM P 2507); "O beau laurier" was set by Guillaume Tessier (published 1582; RISM T 597), Jacques Salmon (published 1583; RISM 1583<sup>9</sup>), and Pierre Bonnet (published 1585; Lesure-Thibault 270); "Rossignolet du bois" was set by Arcadelt and published in 1565 (RISM 1565<sup>5</sup>).

<sup>53</sup> Abraham Fourdy took the silver harp in 1587 with a setting of this text.

<sup>54</sup> For example: RISM L 860 (Lassus's famous multilingual collection); RISM 1587<sup>14</sup> (Latin and German songs); RISM 1583<sup>21</sup> (dances); RISM 1575<sup>18</sup> & 1578<sup>25</sup> (intabulations of vocal music).

<sup>55</sup> This poetic form was revived by Baïf and the Pléiade.

<sup>56</sup> *Musique de Guillaume Costeley* (RISM C 4229); see Godt, "Costeley, Guillaume," *New Grove*, vol. 4, 824.

<sup>57</sup> The Beaulieu setting is in *Airs mis en musiques à quatre parties par Fabrice Marin Caietain* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1576) [RISM 1576<sup>3</sup>]. The Chardavoine setting is in *Le Recueil des plus belles et excellents chansons en forme de voix de ville* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1588) [RISM 1588<sup>13</sup>]; originally published in 1576].

<sup>58</sup> Série D<sup>4</sup>, p. 3.

<sup>59</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, ff. 58r & 72r.

<sup>60</sup> See note 44 above.

<sup>61</sup> Série D<sup>3</sup>, f. 76r.

<sup>62</sup> Évreux, Archives départementales de l'Eure, Série D<sup>5</sup> (paper, 288 x 417 mm, mounted on paper). A reproduction from another seventeenth-century invitation has been published by Féodorov in *MGG* and Mineray in *Evreux*, but I failed to locate this invitation in the departmental archives.

<sup>63</sup> Série D<sup>5</sup>: "The composers are advised to take for a subject this year only the words of one of the Matins responsories of the feast day, and no others, for the motet. And for the chanson, [they] shall take the verse of the ode and sonnet above, as much and as little and which part they think to be good, and in which key as pleases them; so long as the chansons have *plus d'air* than the motets, all shall be considered."

<sup>64</sup> *Caecilia intra cubiculum*, *Cantantibus organis*, *Dum aurora*, and *In hymnis et confessionibus* are all Caecilian pieces.



<sup>65</sup> Série D<sup>5</sup>: "The composers shall send their compositions, with their scores corrected and in fair copy; and [they] are advised not to put their names at the bottom of the music, but only a mark or emblem, such as they shall choose; and for their names, [they] shall write them on a paper that they shall seal carefully, writing on top their mark or device that they have put at the bottom of their music, and [they] shall send it all fifteen days before the feast to Maître Eustache Chaumont, *Maître de la Musique* of the cathedral church of Notre-Dame at Évreux. If there is someone who claims a prize under a false name, he shall be declared disqualified."

<sup>66</sup> Sixteenth-century sources: D-Mbs Mus. 15 (dated 1577); *Moduli quatour 5. 6. 7. 8. et novem vocum* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1577) [RISM L 904]; *Sacrae cantiones, quinque vocum* (Munich: Berg, 1582) [RISM L 938]; *Moduli quinque vocum* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1588) [RISM L 986]; *Tertium opus musicum, continens lectiones Hiob et motectas seu cantiones sacras, quatour, quinque et sex vocum* (Nuremberg: C. Gerlach, 1588) [RISM 1588<sup>8</sup>]. Modern edition: Orlando di Lasso, *Sämtliche Werke* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1894–1926), vol. 5 (ed. F. Haberl, 1895), 91–95.

<sup>67</sup> Sixteenth-century source: *Sacrarum cantionum, omnis generis instrumentis musicis, et vivae voci accomodatarum, hactenusque non editarum, liber primus* (Prague: Nigrinus, 1593) [RISM S 394]. Modern edition: George De La Hèle, *Collected Works*, ed. L.J. Wagner, CMM 56 (AIM, 1972), 307–13.

<sup>68</sup> Sixteenth-century source: *Le rossignol musical des chansons* (Antwerp: Phalèse, 1597) [RISM 1597<sup>10</sup> (= 1598<sup>5</sup>)]. Modern edition: De La Hèle, *Collected Works*, 314–23.

<sup>69</sup> Sixteenth-century source: *Second livre d'airs, chansons, villanelles napolitaines & espagnolles mis en musique à quatre parties* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1578) [RISM C 29].

<sup>70</sup> Sixteenth-century source: *Chansons nouvelles à quatre et cinq parties et une à huit* (Douai: Bogard, 1583) [RISM P 1193]. Only a single copy of the superius partbook of this print survives (in the Bibliothèque municipale at Douay).

<sup>71</sup> Sixteenth-century source: *Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac, ensemble quelque sonetz et motetz* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1583) [Lesure-Thibault 260]. I have been able to locate only one partbook of this print (in the Collection Mancel housed in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Caen). It is defective, and the beginning of this piece is missing.

<sup>72</sup> Sixteenth-century source: *Quatrains du Sieur de Pybrac, ensemble quelque sonetz et motetz* (Paris: Le Roy & Ballard, 1583) [Lesure-Thibault 260]. I have been able to locate only a tenor partbook of this print (in the Musée des Beaux-Arts de Caen). It preserves two of the seven voices of the piece.

<sup>73</sup> Sixteenth-century sources: D-Mbs Mus. 11 (dated 1579); *Sacrae cantiones, quinque vocum* (Munich: Berg, 1582) [RISM L 986]; *Tertium opus musicum, continens lectiones Hiob et motectas seu cantiones sacras, quatour, quinque et sex vocum* (Nuremberg: C. Gerlach, 1588) [RISM 1588<sup>8</sup>]. Modern edition: Lassus, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 5, 164–67. I do not share Sandberger's and Wolfgang Boetticher's doubt concerning the identity of this piece with the one that was decorated at the Puy (Sandberger, "Roland Lassus' Beziehungen zu Frankreich," 374 and Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und seine Zeit, 1532–1594* [Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958], 483).

<sup>74</sup> Source: *Meslanges de la musique* (Paris: Ballard, 1610) [RISM D 3616].

## Luigi Boccherini and the Court of Prussia

By Mara Parker

The question of Luigi Boccherini's whereabouts during the time he served as *Compositor di Camera* to Friedrich Wilhelm II, King of Prussia (reigned 1786–97) remains unanswered. One theory contends that Boccherini lived in semi-seclusion in Spain during the years 1787–96, devoting himself exclusively to composition. Others argue that Boccherini went to the Court of Prussia on the basis of a letter thought to be written by the composer while in Breslau. Did he stay in Spain or did he take up residence at Friedrich Wilhelm's court? My examination of the autograph scores, originally part of the Prussian Royal Library and now housed at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, reveals that Boccherini used Spanish paper exclusively and thus supports the theory that he remained in Spain.

Prior to his engagement with Friedrich Wilhelm II, Boccherini held the position of "Violoncellist of his [Infante Don Luis's] Chamber and Composer of music" [*virtuoso di camera e compositore di musica*] in Madrid from 1770 to 1785. His contract stipulated that he compose only for his Spanish patron. Toward the end of this period (c. 1783), Frederick the Great's ambassador was in Madrid, and the six quartets of Boccherini's opus 33 were performed in his honor. The ambassador, hoping to curry favor with the Crown Prince, sent a copy of these works to Berlin.

Friedrich Wilhelm II, a skilled cellist and avid chamber music player, received Boccherini's compositions with great enthusiasm. His letter of 1 October 1783 to the composer, acknowledging receipt of the quartets, conveyed his interest and pleasure:

Nothing could give me more pleasure, Signor Boccherini, than to receive some of your compositions from your own hands and just at a time when I have begun to perform your instrumental work. It alone gives me full satisfaction and every day I enjoy that pleasure. So that I am willing to believe that the pleasure you find in composition will not shortly come to an end and that we may hope to see something new from your pen, in which case I shall be most grateful if you will communicate it to me. Meanwhile pray accept, Signor Boccherini, this gold box, in memory of me and as a mark of the esteem in which I hold your talents in an art which I particularly value, and be persuaded of the consideration with which I remain, Signor Boccherini,

Your most affectionate,  
Frederick William,  
Prince of Prussia<sup>1</sup>

Although Boccherini could not accede to Friedrich Wilhelm's request as long as his Spanish patron lived, his music remained in the Prussian heir's thoughts. When the Infante died in 1785, the Crown Prince wrote again to Boccherini:

We, Frederick William, by the grace of God Hereditary Prince Royal of Prussia, heir presumptive to the crown, having recognized the eminent musical talents of Signor Luigi Boccherini, have been induced thereby to confer upon him the present Patent, with the title of Composer of Our Chamber, and in consequence we have signed these presents and caused the seal of our arms to be apposed thereto. Berlin, the twenty-first of January, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-six.

Frederick William  
Pr. of Pr.<sup>2</sup>

In return for an annual dispatch to Berlin of quartets, quintets, and trios, Boccherini received a yearly pension of one thousand German crowns.

Before and after the period of Boccherini's Prussian employment, the composer resided in Madrid. His location during the interim, however, has remained unclear. Early biographers such as Louis Picquot wrote that during the questionable years, Boccherini remained in Spain but withdrew from public life:

Ten years passed without bringing a notable change in Boccherini's position. The fact that he had lost his first patron made him even more sensitive to the ingratitude of the Court, [and] had led to a life in retirement, divided between the many needs of [raising] a family, his work, and the practice of [religious] piety . . . He composed . . . but for a long time he did not have the satisfaction of [hearing] his masterpieces performed. Stranger to a world that ignored him . . . wreaked by hemoptysis, renouncing the cello, he sent one composition after another to the Prussian monarch without hearing them.<sup>3</sup>

During the twentieth century, many biographers have held that the Italian composer visited Prussia, although the alleged length of his stay there ranges from a few months to as long as ten years. In 1943, for example, Lindsay and Smith suggested that Boccherini resided in Prussia for nearly two years:

In a court decree dated January 21st, 1786, Boccherini was appointed court composer to the King of Prussia. Shortly after that

date the composer left Spain to take up his new appointment. His German sojourn probably lasted until the beginning of 1788; during this time he lived at Potsdam and Breslau. He entered into intimate relationships with many high personages at the Prussian court, and was apparently held in great esteem by the King himself. . . . The exact date of his return to Madrid from Prussia is unknown. . . . For some reason Boccherini had left the Prussian court, but had not severed his connection with it, for he still drew a large part of his revenue from Frederick William.<sup>4</sup>

The authors place him more definitely in Breslau during the year 1787: "In Vienna, in July 1787, Boccherini's elder sister, Maria-Esther, married the ballet-master and dancer Onorato Vogano . . . we *know* that about this time Boccherini was in Breslau" (*italics mine*).<sup>5</sup> This assumption is substantiated only by a letter that was supposedly written by Boccherini while in Breslau, the text of which is given below:

To the Chamberlain Marchese Lucchesini, in Potsdam

Most Generous Friend,

The departure of the Minister of Hoym (the excellent and worthy Councillor Mustau went with him) makes me despair of ever seeing the great King again. I had had such high hopes of this that I made a large wager that I would see this province again; the recall of the Minister means that I have lost my wager.

It is a great comfort to me to hear that the Frau Marchesa, in her interesting condition, is getting on well. May she bestow upon you successors who resemble you! *Lenisque Ilithyia tuere matrem!* It is with the most sincere satisfaction that I imagine to myself how proudly now she displays those hallowed rights of parenthood which she is shortly to confer upon you.

I have not seen Signora Zannetta for many months. She was in the country for a long time, and when she returned I found myself confined to my room in consequence of frequent blood-spitting, and what was worse, a violent swelling of the feet accompanied by an almost total loss of strength.

I do not venture to importune you with the questions which I should like to ask you, but I cannot refrain from mentioning that I read in a Berlin newspaper that Potemkin has collected 17 scattered regiments of his division and—N.B. with the knowledge of the quiet and peaceable Peppino—proclaimed himself monarch of the Crimea and its dependencies. Incredible as this news appears to me to be, it

would be no less agreeable were it true; for it would convince the two ladies of Tsarskoe Selo of the fidelity of their beloved allies.

What do you say about Birster [?] and Nicolai? What a spirit of tolerance their writings breathe! May God preserve us catholics from patriots and friends of humanity of their kind!

To my mistress the Marchesa my most humble compliments.

Farewell, remember kindly your

Luigi Boccherini

Breslau, July 30, 1787

P.S.—I am enchanted with Herr Graf Munarrini.<sup>6</sup>

This letter, in its German translation, first appeared in *Musikerbriefe*, an 1886 collection of letters. The editor, La Mara, claimed that the original was contained within a group of autographs collected by the Abbate Masseangeli and later bequeathed to the Accademia Filarmonica of Bologna.<sup>7</sup> Inspecting these “autographs”, Germaine De Rothschild found only a manuscript summation of the letter.<sup>8</sup>

In 1958, Alfredo Bonaccorsi contested the authenticity of the document itself.<sup>9</sup> His findings have since won acceptance;<sup>10</sup> thus, current opinion again holds that Boccherini did not leave Spain. This position, however, is based more on the negation of previous claims rather than positive evidence.

The theory that Boccherini remained in Spain during the time 1787–96 is supported by evidence from the manuscripts in Friedrich Wilhelm’s personal collection, now in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. During these nine years Boccherini sent his royal patron eleven trios, twenty-eight quintets, and sixteen quartets, as well as other instrumental and vocal works. Some of these chamber works exist in handwritten parts; others are in score.<sup>11</sup> It is these scores that provide us with crucial information regarding Boccherini’s residence.

Georg Thouret, an early cataloguer of the Royal Library, now the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz, indicated that all the Boccherini scores held there were autographs.<sup>12</sup> Yves Gérard confirmed these findings, but did not explain his rationale:

Only after the years 1771/1772 when the composer entered the service of the Infante Don Luis, have we any reliable information on these points [verification of autographs]. We have reserved the word “autographs,” without qualification, for those manuscripts of which we have absolutely no doubts.<sup>13</sup>

Ellen Amsterdam disagreed with both Thouret and Gérard:

The scores . . . have generally been assumed to be autographs. I have found that this is not invariably the case. The scores are apparently in three hands—those of the composer and two copyists. What will be called the first hand corresponds to that of the excerpts from Boccherini's autograph thematic catalog appearing in photo-reproduction in Arnaldo Bonaventura's book *Boccherini*, published in Milan in 1931. All of these (9) quintets are accurately dated, and all are concluded with the words "Laus Deo," characteristically used by authors. The signature "Copirt v. Schober," with dates, appears on the final pages of some (but not all) of the manuscripts in both the second *and* third hands. We may presume that the copyist Schober had a helper. Or, Schober may have made parts from already existing scores, occasionally (and inconsistently) affixing his signature to the *score*, so that a subsequent copyist would know that the parts had already been made from that score. Indeed the second hand unquestionably belonged to a copyist. The third hand resembles more closely the first hand (autograph) than the second, but the manuscripts themselves differ considerably in appearance. Those in the third hand, in contrast to the autographs, are small in size, coarsely written, and lack the typical concluding words "Laus Deo."<sup>14</sup>

Amsterdam's argument is flawed because she relied solely on the visual appearance of the manuscripts and so arrived at erroneous conclusions. In particular, her mention of the copyist Schober compels us to re-examine the scores.

While the presence of Schober's signature has been verified, the identification of several distinct hands is not supported by an examination of the scores. Table 1 lists, with relevant data, the scores held by the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz for the period 1787–97. Distinctions between those scores with and without the Schober signature are indicated in Table 2.

I do not believe that the absence of "Laus Deo" proves, as Amsterdam implies, that a manuscript is not an autograph. Furthermore, her comparison of musical orthography is not convincing. The primary distinction between the two hands is in the shaping of the noteheads. Although differences can be discerned, one might explain them as a result of variable speed of writing. Variations in ink color, while noticeable, tell us little.

The issue of the notated measure numbers is a complex one. One possible explanation is that these additions were made by a copyist so that the work could be checked as he progressed. A second explanation is that these numbers were made by the composer himself. In the Boccherini

**Table 1**  
Boccherini Scores (1787-96)  
Held by Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz

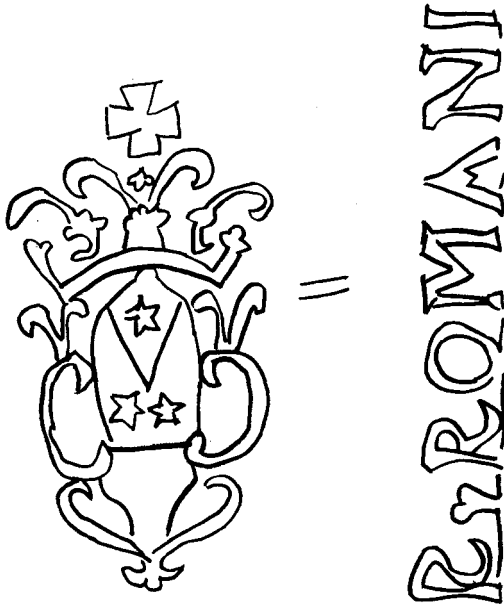
Call No.	Title	Schober Sig. Date	Dimensions (cm)
M.517	Quintetto in B $\flat$	(none)	31.0 x 22.0
M.518	Quintetto in F	(none)	32.0 x 22.0
M.521	Quintetto in D	26 April: 1787	31.0 x 22.0
M.523	Quintettino in A	(none)	15.5 x 10.5
M.538	Quintetto in F	(none)	15.5 x 11.0
M.596	Quartettino in B $\flat$	24 April: 1792	29.5 x 19.5
M.540	Quintetto in c	25 April: 1792	16.0 x 11.0
M.545	Quintetto in E $\flat$	10 Marz: 1794	22.0 x 16.0
M.548	Quintetto in B $\flat$	15 [ ? ]: 1794	22.0 x 16.0
M.550	Quintettino in C	[ ? ] [Nov.]: 1795	15.5 x 11.0
M.604	Quartetto in D	4:30 Mai: 1795	22.0 x 16.0
M.606	Quartetto in G	25 [ ? ]: 1795	22.0 x 16.0
M.608	Quartetto in f	20 Nov.: 1795	22.0 x 16.0
M.610	Quartettino in D	[ ? ] Mai: 1796	22.0 x 16.0
M.552	Quintetto	(none)	21.5 x 15.5

**Table 2**  
Comparison of Scores with  
and without Schober Signature

Unsigned	Schober signature
May conclude with "Laus Deo"	Signed "Copirt v. Schober"
Rounded note heads	Note heads are smaller, less rounded, more angular
Light brown ink	Dark brown ink
May number measures at double bars	Invariably puts measure numbers at double bars
All scores were folded at one time	Most of the scores were folded at one time
Good quality paper, opaque	Good quality paper, opaque

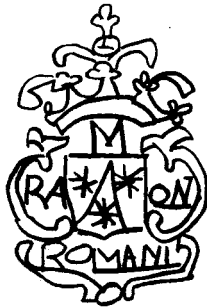
Paris autographs, measure numbers appear at each double bar. Upon comparison, one finds that these numbers bear a remarkable resemblance to those found in the Berlin scores. One can surmise that as Boccherini made his own personal copies from the scores prior to sending them to Berlin,<sup>15</sup> he checked his work to ensure that his copies had the same number of measures as the scores.

Figure 1. Boccherini Scores (1787-96): Watermark Types



Watermark Type 1

Reproduced with the permission of the  
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz



Watermark Type 2

Reproduced with the permission of the  
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz



That so many of the scores show signs of being folded suggests they were so packaged for mailing. Although Amsterdam concluded that the smaller scores were not autographs ("Those in the third hand, in contrast to the autographs, are small in size, coarsely written, and lack the typical concluding words 'Laus Deo.'"), Gérard's comments are more plausible:

This manuscript [G.340/M523] can without exaggeration be described as a pocket score (about 16 cm by 11 cm). It was no doubt for easier transmission through the post that Boccherini adopted this small format or one only slightly larger (about 20 cm by 15 cm) for a large number of works specifically composed for Frederick William II which had to be dispatched from Madrid to Berlin or Potsdam.<sup>16</sup>

In general, the musical handwriting in the scores signed and not signed by Schober is not so clearly different as to suggest that two hands are responsible; moreover, a comparison of the Berlin scores with autograph parts from the Paris collection reveals numerous similarities. The title pages all display a consistent and distinctive shaping of the letters "g," "r," and "i." Uniformity is also evident in the construction of the treble and bass clefs, and the formation of numbers, staff brackets, and colophons. Certain "habits" such as the writing out of dynamic indications and the use of double slashes also contribute to a homogeneous appearance.

Although the evidence given above remains subject to debate, the paper on which these scores were written provides more conclusive proof that we are dealing with a single hand. Two types of paper have been identified; the chief difference between them is that of their watermarks (figure 1). Both watermarks belong to the firm of Romani, a Catalan family of papermakers; each branch of the family, however, had its own peculiar variation of the basic watermark. "Type 1" dates from early in the second half of the eighteenth century and was in use up through the end of the century. "Type 2" is found on Romani paper throughout the entire century. These watermarks were well known and appeared on the majority of Spanish music papers during the 1700s.<sup>17</sup>

Table 3 lists the relevant Boccherini scores with their dates of composition and watermark types. Two scores with incomplete watermarks—M.523 and M.596—are included in this list, since those segments which are visible bear a marked similarity to watermark type 2. Physical evidence (size, paper quality, staves per page) and handwriting characteristics also suggest these works belong in this group. These two scores do appear on the same quality paper as the other manuscripts in question and display the same style of writing. All the scores sent to Friedrich Wilhelm II during

**Table 3**  
Boccherini Scores (1787–96): Watermark Types

Call No.	Date	Watermark
M.517	Jan. '87	1
M.518	Feb. '87	1
M.521	Mar. '87	1
M.523	Feb. '88	2[?]
M.538	Apr. '90	2
M.596	Feb. '92	2[?]
M.540	Mar. '92	2
M.545	Dec. '93	2
M.548	May '94	2
M.550	Oct. '94	2
M.604	May '95	2
M.606	July '95	2
M.608	Sept. '95	2
M.610	Mar. '96	2
M.552	Oct. '97	2

the nine years in question were written on Spanish paper of a particular maker.

Based on this information it is highly doubtful that Boccherini composed these works while in residence at the Court of Prussia; had he been there, he certainly would have used whatever paper was available to him. One can hardly imagine that Boccherini refused to write on anything but Spanish paper, or even more unlikely, that he brought his own large supply with him from Spain. Secondly, one must question some of Amsterdam's conclusions regarding the authenticity of the autograph scores. Although Schober's name appears on ten of the manuscripts, it is improbable that Boccherini sent blank Spanish paper to the Court of Prussia along with an unknown manuscript in order for a score copy to be made. Furthermore, it is just as unlikely that Schober lived with Boccherini in Spain, sending his or an unnamed copyist's work back to Prussia. The fact that Schober had previously attached his signature in a similar fashion to the end of an autograph score by the Italian composer, Carlo Graziani,<sup>18</sup> who resided at the Prussian Court, suggests an established practice.

I conclude that the scores are autographs. The signature, "Copirt v. Schober," indicates that Schober made separate copies and notated his deed on the autograph for future reference. Indeed, all of these works exist in parts on non-Spanish paper, for it appears that Friedrich Wilhelm II routinely had one and sometimes two copies made from the full scores for his own use or for that of his royal chamber players. This also corre-

sponds to part of Amsterdam's hypothesis, that "Schober may have made parts from already existing scores occasionally (and inconsistently) affixing his signature to the *score*, so that a subsequent copyist would know that parts had already been made from that score." In each of these cases however, Schober affixed his name to an *autograph*, and not a copy. Based on the consistent use of a particular make of Spanish paper and similar orthographic characteristics among the Berlin scores and Paris autographs, there is little doubt that Boccherini resided in Spain during the years 1787–96.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in Germaine De Rothschild, *Luigi Boccherini: His Life and Work* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), 48. Originally part of the Boccherini family archives and published by Alfredo Boccherini.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 42. Originally part of the Boccherini family archives, published by Alfredo Boccherini.

<sup>3</sup> L[ouis] Piquot, *Notice sur la Vie et les Ouvrages Luigi Boccherini, suivie du Catalogue Raisonné de Toutes ses Oeuvres, tant Publiées qu'omedotes* (Paris: Philipp, 1851), 17–18. "Dix ans s'écoulèrent de la sorte sans apporter de changement notable dans la position de Boccherini. La perte de son premier protecteur, rendue plus sensible encore par l'ingratitude de la cour, l'avait conduit à une vie retirée, partagée entre les soins d'une famille, nombreuse, ses travaux et l'exercice d'une douce piété . . . Il composait dans son coeur mais quant à l'exécution de ses chefs-a'oeuvre, il n'avait plus depuis longtemps la satisfaction d'en jouir. Etranger au monde qui l'ignorait . . . à la suite d'un crachement de sang, de renoncer au violoncelle, il envoyait successivement, sans qu'il les eût entendues ses compositions au monarque prussien."

<sup>4</sup> Maurice J. Lindsay and W. Leggat Smith, "Luigi Boccherini (1743–1805)," *Music and Letters* 24 (1943): 77. See also Hans Keller, "Mozart and Boccherini," *Music Review* 8 (1947): 245: "We have evidence that in the following year [1787] Boccherini visited Berlin and Breslau."

<sup>5</sup> Lindsay and Smith, "Luigi Boccherini," 77.

<sup>6</sup> Quoted in De Rothschild, *Luigi Boccherini*, 61–62.

<sup>7</sup> La Mara, *Musikerbriefe aus fünf Jahrhunderten*, vol. 1 (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1886), 270.

<sup>8</sup> De Rothschild, *Luigi Boccherini*, 61.

<sup>9</sup> Alfredo Bonaccorsi, "Contributo alla storia di Boccherini," *Rassegna Musicale* 28/3 (1958): 198. Bonaccorsi does not lay out a specific argument. Rather, he simply doubts that Boccherini wrote this letter and points out that no one has yet provided conclusive proof that the composer left Spain during this period.

<sup>10</sup> See De Rothschild, *Luigi Boccherini*, 61; Ellen Iris Amsterdam, "The String Quintets of Luigi Boccherini" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1968), 13; Stanley Sadie, "Boccherini," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, vol. 2 (London: MacMillan Publishers, Ltd., 1980), 826.

<sup>11</sup> See the Appendix for a complete list of the Boccherini manuscripts composed 1786–1797 which are still located at the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Preussischer Kulturbesitz. A number of autograph parts dating from this period are also to be found in the Paris Bibliothèque de l'Opera (Réserve 507, 508); however, there is no evidence to suggest that these works were originally sent to the Court of Prussia and later transferred to France. The Paris manuscripts were originally part of Piquot's library; they have the same physical charac-

teristics (good quality paper, oblong format, 320 x 220 cm, and sixteen staves per page) and all appear on Italian paper. See Charles Bouvet, *Musiciens Oubliés Musique Retrouvée: Documents des XVIIe et XVIIIe Siècles* (Paris: Pierre Bossuet, n.d.), 62.

The contents of Paris Réserve 508, entitled "Manuscripts autographes de Boccherini," comprise a number of string quintets forming part of Janet and Cotelle's complete edition of Boccherini's string quintets. Réserve 507 bears no such heading. It is possible that these particular works come from the collection published by Pleyel at the turn of the nineteenth century. We know that in 1796 Boccherini sold to his publisher fifty-six copies *in his own hand* of compositions previously sent to Friedrich Wilhelm II. See, for example, Boccherini's letter to Pleyel, dated 11 October 1796 from the Pleyel archive, No. 52 (unpublished) and translated in De Rothschild, *Luigi Boccherini*, 105: "The 56 pieces which I have referred to are the most recent of my compositions and are not included in those which I mention later in this letter—of these 56 only the King of Prussia possesses the originals, as their legitimate proprietor, and I possess a copy written in my own hand."

<sup>12</sup> Georg Thouret, *Katalog der Musiksammlung auf der Königlichen Hausbibliothek im Schloss zu Berlin* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1895).

<sup>13</sup> Yves Gérard, *Thematic, Bibliographical and Critical Catalogue of the Works of Luigi Boccherini*, compiled under the auspices of Germaine De Rothschild, trans. Andreas Mayor (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), xv.

<sup>14</sup> Amsterdam, "The String Quintets," 21–22.

<sup>15</sup> See note 11.

<sup>16</sup> Gérard, *Thematic Catalogue*, 386. Gérard adds these same comments for G. nos. 233 (M604), 234 (M606), 235 (M608), 237 (M610), 354 (M532), 355 (M540), and 364 (M545). A number of the Berlin scores (M517, M518, M523, M538, M545, M548, M552, M604, M608, M610) were at one time folded in quarters and one (M596) was folded in eighths. This also might have been done for easier posting. The idea of using smaller paper for the purpose of easier transmission through the mail is not unique to Boccherini. See also Haydn's letter of 8 January 1791 to Maria Anna von Genzinger in which he adds a postscript: "I missed it [Symphony in Eb] yesterday and need it urgently, and so I beg you to get it from my kind friend, Herr von Kees, and to copy it in your own home on *small-sized paper for mailing*" (italics mine). The full letter is quoted in H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, vol. 3, *Haydn in England, 1791–1795* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1976), 36–37.

<sup>17</sup> See Oriol Vallis I Subira, *Paper and Watermarks in Catalonia*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: The Paper Publications Society, 1970), 311–16.

<sup>18</sup> The title page of the Graziani manuscript (M1960) reads as follows: "Sonata a Violoncello solo e Basso / di Carlo Graziani / composta per S.A.R. Principe di Prussia." Schober's signature appears at the bottom of the verso side of the fourth leaf: "Copirt 22 [?]br: 1776 von Schober." Carlo Graziani (d. 1787) served as Friedrich Wilhelm II's cello instructor until 1773, when he was pensioned and replaced by Jean Pierre Duport. Graziani remained in Potsdam, where he continued to compose until his death.

## reviews

**Klaus Kropfnger. *Wagner and Beethoven: Richard Wagner's Reception of Beethoven*. Trans. Peter Palmer. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991. xi, 288 pp.**

Although nearly two decades have passed since its original publication (in the then-flourishing series *Studien zur Musikgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*), this English translation of Kropfnger's study concerning Beethoven's role in the life, works, and thought of Wagner is still a welcome contribution. Both thorough and ambitious, this work goes well beyond a merely documentary approach. The basic biographical facts are by no means slighted, of course, but Kropfnger is also extensively concerned with the impact of Beethoven in Wagner's writings on music and drama, and, naturally, his role in Wagner's famously subjective views on the evolutionary history of the arts. Indeed, Wagner's reading of the Ninth Symphony and its prominence in what one might call his eschatology of absolute music, particularly of the symphonic genre, has always been among the most widely cited motifs of the composer's controversial aesthetic *Geschichtsphilosophie* ever since its formulation in *Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft* (1849). As if by way of compensation, Kropfnger downplays this particular theme, although he later addresses its implications in a closing section, where he assesses the fate of Wagner's world-historical hubris in light of historical developments across his own lifetime ("Wagner as Beethoven's Heir," 243–53). Whatever one chooses to make of such claims to the legacy of Beethoven, Kropfnger has provided an abundant biographical and historical context for their interpretation and evaluation. He also analyzes a variety of related issues in Wagner's writings—Wagner's musical and aesthetic terminology, his fluctuating philosophical conception of music as such, its relation to drama and myth, etc.—and offers analytical observations on categories of musical influence ranging from early instances of thematic, stylistic, and formal "borrowings" from Beethoven (conscious or otherwise) to more speculative regions regarding the assimilation of technical procedures at a deeper level in the mature works. All of this is aptly summed up by what Kropfnger refers to as a "continuous dialogue" that Wagner carried on throughout his life with Beethoven's music as well as with the symbolic image of the composer.

Kropfnger has used the occasion of this new translation to incorporate a number of revisions and (primarily) additions to the original text. Consisting mainly of references to biographical and critical material that has

appeared since 1974, these do not significantly affect the work's overall scope or organization. The principal source of these interpolations is, understandably, Cosima Wagner's diaries, which were first published in 1976–77, several years after the original edition of this book. Other additions address Egon Voss's thesis of "Wagner's symphonic ambition" put forth in a study of the composer's instrumental works from 1977.<sup>1</sup> Kropfingher maintains that—whatever peripheral, fragmentary, or projected instrumental essays one may cite—Wagner never seriously entertained the ambition of following in Beethoven's footsteps as a composer of pure instrumental music. In other words, Kropfingher acknowledges the sincerity of Wagner's belief in the necessary, inevitable sublation of the symphony into the "symphonic" drama of the future—a belief that Wagner refused to relinquish, even after a new generation of symphonists seemed to have refuted him: "There was a time when he had envisaged [the music drama] as fulfilling history; now it would creatively refute history" (p. 253). By far the most apparent change here, however, is the radical suppression of the fairly vast footnote apparatus of the original edition. Well over one-thousand footnotes in the 1974 edition (some of them quite lengthy) have been reduced to a mere 31!<sup>2</sup>

In considering the biographical details of what he calls Wagner's "Beethoven experience," Kropfingher has chosen to defend many points of the picture offered by Wagner himself, resisting the revisionist skepticism of writers like Voss or John Deathridge (in *The New Grove Wagner*, for example). In appealing to the higher psychological truth to be drawn from Wagner's now contested accounts of hearing Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient in *Fidelio* in 1829 or Beethoven's Ninth in rehearsal in Paris under Habeneck by the end 1839, Kropfingher also reconsiders the evidence on purely empirical grounds. Regarding *Fidelio*, he has turned up two suggestive pieces of information: 1) there is a brief gap in the Leipzig theater records for part of April 1829, around the time Wagner claimed to have seen a production with Schröder-Devrient (hence opening up the slim possibility that this might have occurred), and 2) several performances of *Fidelio*, with Schröder-Devrient, were given in Dresden between late August and early October 1829, during which time it is not impossible (at least) that Wagner might have attended (pp. 32–33). In principle one might be inclined to support Kropfingher's resistance to the over-zealous application of merely negative evidence against some of Wagner's autobiographical assertions. But both here and later Kropfingher's assessment of the composer's aesthetic and theoretical self-constructions might be accused of lacking sufficient critical distance from its subject. Wagner's apparently fanatical devotion to a Beethovenian ideal (or an idealized Beethoven) throughout most of his life clearly needs to be taken seriously,

however one interprets the details of it. Yet the very enterprise of devoting a book-length study to Wagner's view of Beethoven may inevitably tilt the scales in favor of the images he strove to construct. This monograph betrays an inherent impulse to vindicate claims about the importance of Beethoven's influence and to locate proof of that influence.<sup>3</sup>

Still, Kropfinger is obviously aware of Wagner's mythologizing tendencies and penchant for self-aggrandizement, and most strictly biographical issues are treated with circumspection and philological rigor. A close comparison of seven different autobiographical accounts of the first encounter with Beethoven's music, sometime within a year of the composer's death, is instructive from both a factual and a psychological perspective (pp. 14–20). An attempt to place Wagner's earlier reactions to Beethoven in the context of early Romantic views of the composer (E. T. A. Hoffmann, A. B. Marx, Amadeus Wendt, Ernst Ortlepp) and speculation on the intriguing, unrealized plan to collaborate on a biography of Beethoven with his pseudonymous fellow exile in Paris, G. E. Anders, also offer careful scrutiny of relevant biographical details. (For just this reason, though, both sections suffer from the excision of a large quantity of annotations.) Wagner's interest in the "historical" Beethoven is seen to merge with a Romantic tradition of Beethoven interpretation, and the projected biography (which Wagner envisioned as a work of imaginative re-creation, a kind of "*Künstlerroman*, yet based on the soundest documentary evidence") is connected here, quite plausibly, with the short Paris novella of 1840, "A Pilgrimage to Beethoven." The desire to shape a biographical picture in accordance with a generalized (and largely preconceived) image of the composer is certainly characteristic of the period, and Wagner adapted this tendency of contemporary critical practice to his own ends in "discovering" [portentous] auguries of the music drama. It is less clear how the 1870 Beethoven centenary essay can be understood as a "spin-off" of this projected biography (p. 66), considering the essay's curious paucity of biographical content. Wagner's oblique approach to the composer in the 1870 essay is, in fact, characteristic; the essay appears to have as little to do with Beethoven in any concrete sense as the 1857 letter "On Liszt's Symphonic Poems" has to do either with Liszt or his symphonic poems. In each case, Wagner takes his purported subject as a springboard for broadly ranging philosophical reflections on music as such and matters of more immediate concern (the composition of *Siegfried* or the Franco-Prussian War).

Wagner's activity as a conductor of Beethoven's music is the only area of biographical connection between the two composers that is treated less thoroughly than one might expect. Kropfinger acknowledges in his introduction that he has chosen to discuss this only secondarily, and, aside from the important performances of the Ninth Symphony in Dresden and

at the foundation-laying ceremonies in Bayreuth, next to nothing is said here about other performances. Considering that this aspect of his Beethoven experience is relatively well documented, such a decision may be ill-founded. Even if one considers the detailed 1873 commentary on performance issues in the Ninth Symphony, for instance, to be of restricted, practical interest, there are surely a number of ways in which Wagner's experience as a conductor of Beethoven might relate to his theoretical understanding of the music and his own music, too. The 1869 essay "On Conducting" offers a number of such possible points of contact regarding the concept of "melody"—a principal concern of Kropfingher's later in the book—and the interrelation of structure, performance, and expressive effect.

The core of this study is the discussion in Chapter 4 of Wagner's writings and Beethoven's role in them (broadly construed). The figure of Beethoven looms very large in Wagner's music-historical mythography, representing at once the symphonic source of the "artwork of the future," its aesthetic antipode (dance-based, abstract, "autonomous" form), and the seeds of future developments (an expressive impulse that occasionally strives to exceed the self-imposed limits of such instrumental autonomy). Hence Kropfingher is justified in moving well beyond immediate references to the composer and his music into such broad areas as Wagner's understanding of melody, theme, and motive, or his relative assessments of "absolute" music, program music, and music drama. Particular attention is devoted in the beginning of this chapter to the transaction of ideas between Wagner and Theodor Uhlig at a time of intense critical reflection in the early Zurich years. During the brief period between Wagner's flight from Dresden and Uhlig's premature death at the beginning of 1853, Wagner had completed his three major theoretical texts (including *Opera and Drama*), while Uhlig was becoming a frequent contributor to the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. Uhlig might be considered a precursor to the so-called New German critics who later propagated the cause of Wagner and Liszt in the pages of that journal, except that—as Kropfingher aims to demonstrate—the exchange of ideas circulated in both directions here. On the basis of close textual parallels and evidence from the correspondence between the two men (of which only Wagner's survives) he suggests that a number of issues in *Opera and Drama*, including interpretations of Beethoven's formal procedures and developmental techniques as well as broader views on instrumental form and expression, can be traced to passages in several of Uhlig's essays for the *Neue Zeitschrift*. He also proposes that certain ideas in *Opera and Drama* may represent traces of a substantial (now lost) essay by Uhlig on the "choice" or invention of musical motives ("Die Wahl der Motive"), which Wagner praised unreservedly.<sup>4</sup>



One could argue that Kropfingher exaggerates the influence Uhlig may have exerted on Wagner's musical thought. What is clear, at least, is that both were grappling intellectually with similar musical issues at the same time, and that Uhlig probably helped to focus Wagner's attention on aesthetic and compositional issues in the instrumental canon from Haydn and Mozart through Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Schumann, all at a time when he was pausing for serious, extended reflection on his relation to inherited operatic and symphonic traditions. Thus the attraction of Uhlig's writings is understandable, especially so in view of Wagner's studied avoidance of substantial technical detail in his own writings. Here, it seems, is a prime opportunity to fill in some of the blanks—the vague, generalizing pronouncements on music that Wagner was either unable or unwilling to substantiate.

It is precisely this problem with Wagner's writings, unfortunately, that affects much of this central chapter itself. Too many references to Beethoven's or Wagner's respective techniques of "thematic construction" or "working-up" (the infelicitous translation of *Verarbeitung* encountered throughout the text) remain vague, ungrounded in any concrete examples. Much energy is devoted to tracking down terminological distinctions between such words as "theme," "motif," and the many compound variants of "melody" employed by Wagner (most of all the famous phrase "infinite melody"). But too often these terms remain abstractions; consequently, the significance of any distinctions between them remains equally abstract or hypothetical.<sup>5</sup> In the discussion of the elusive concept of "infinite melody" we are assured that "Wagner saw melodic 'form' as a function of a quite specific compositional technique" (p. 104), and that "certain formal and technical characteristics of Beethoven's melody are paramount" in the interpretation of this melodic form (p. 105). But what these characteristics or specific techniques might be (beyond some generalized notion of developmental process) is left to our intuition, as is their supposed impact on Wagner's music.<sup>6</sup>

Musical examples are reserved for chapter 5 ("Wagner's Theory and Construction of the Music Drama"), where they turn up in abundance to illustrate a discussion of Beethoven's possible influence on Wagner's music. The chapter is oddly titled. Aside from a few introductory observations, it is not really concerned with Wagner's "theory" of music drama at all (which was the topic of the preceding chapter on the writings). And it can only be said to address construction tangentially, in looking at certain characteristics of Wagner's musical material and its development and transformation in the course of the operas. Instead, the underlying issue of this chapter is the fundamental problem of musical influences. It is only reasonable that a study of one composer's reception of another would have

to address this sticky issue, and one wonders why Kropfnger felt the need to disguise it in this way (from the abbreviated table of contents given in this edition there is no way of knowing that this subject is ever broached at all). In any case, this matter of influences is treated with all due circumspection, and Kropfnger makes the proper distinctions between audible surface borrowings, more generalized stylistic features (rhythmic traits, motivic manipulations, instrumental textures), deeper structural affinities, and questions of conscious vs. unconscious imitation.<sup>7</sup> In setting out these distinctions Kropfnger dutifully notes that "influences affecting the construction of a piece are profounder and more interesting" than superficial thematic or stylistic reminiscences (p. 169). So we are often told. Structure (the invisible, inner, and "ideal") is to be ranked above "surface"—the very word has a pejorative ring. But the facts of the present case only partially bear this out. Kropfnger himself has already aptly noted that the central structural issue Wagner confronted in Beethoven was the pre-eminence of sonata form in the symphonic-instrumental tradition, along with the more general one of an abstract formal principle of reprise. One may speak metaphorically about the dramatic potential of sonata procedures, or even the dramatization of a reprise, specifically, but Wagner was forced to admit that sonata principles were little suited to the music drama as he envisioned it.

In fact, some of the more interesting and convincing instances of influence adduced by Kropfnger involve more or less literal, surface correspondences. Not surprisingly, these are concentrated in earlier works, especially the instrumental *parerga* (as Dahlhaus dubs them), such as the piano sonatas in B flat and A (WWV 21, 26), the C-major Symphony, or the more mature *Faust Overture* (which Kropfnger plausibly connects to the Ninth Symphony—defending Wagner's own intimations on this subject—and the *Coriolan Overture*).<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the most interesting connections suggested in this chapter occur at a kind of middle level between surface and structure, involving parallels of texture and melodic contour between passages from the late Quartets and parts of *Tristan* and *Die Meistersinger* (the chronology of Wagner's involvement with the Quartets lends further credence to these parallels). Particularly intriguing are the traces of a complex of features from the slow movement of the Quartet in E $\flat$ , op. 127—among Wagner's acknowledged favorites—identified in the central scene of Act II in *Tristan* (the connection was originally posited by Heinrich Porges in an unpublished manuscript of 1867, which met with Wagner's enthusiastic approval when he read it). Even the ultimate shape of this scene, Kropfnger suggests, might have been directly inspired by Beethoven's slow movement (pp. 209–17). The lengthy section on leitmotif that follows (drawing mainly on examples from the *Ring*) is less compel-

ling. Here Beethoven fades quickly into the background and, indeed, all but disappears. Certain of Wagner's motifs and their treatment are classified according to categories of "developmental motif," "motivic transformation," "contrasting derivation," "linking through rhythmic convergence," and "*durchbrochene Arbeit*." But even with the benefit of printed examples (from Wagner), the connection to anything specifically Beethovenian remains largely tenuous.

A rather brief concluding chapter sums up the role of Beethoven in Wagner's "philosophy of [music] history" and provides a summary critique of his implicit and explicit claims to the mantle of this composer. Here Kropfnger also addresses the problematic issue of Wagner's relation to later composers, one that amounts to unqualified rejection in almost every case.<sup>9</sup> A dose of critical skepticism seems obligatory here, and is provided; one wishes only that the discussion of the composer's Beethoven reception and mythography throughout the book had been more informed by this attitude. And although the desire to position these reflections on Wagner's construction of his own historical role as an epilogue of sorts is understandable, some of the material here might have been profitably incorporated into the central chapter on Wagner's writings and theories.

The style of Kropfnger's original prose, the present translation, and Wagner's own all-too-characteristic mode of expression all conspire in creating the principal shortcoming of the book, a chronic lack of verbal clarity. I suspect that the translation is most to blame here. Too often the translator has settled for an overly literal approach to a style (not unlike Wagner's, in this respect) that stubbornly resists direct, idiomatic English equivalents. Vagueness or confusion of reference is a continual problem, encountered in numerous loose, drifting pronominal constructions ("this is . . .," "it is . . .," "it was a matter of . . .," etc.). The extensive discussion of Wagner's varying conception of melody, for instance, where Kropfnger has made a significant effort to sort through the vagaries of Wagner's own language, is nonetheless plagued by just this sort of problem, exacerbated in translation. In some cases, this lack of clarity also derives from a tendency to paraphrase rather than interpret Wagner's texts, as when we read about the relation of melodic motives to "emotional values":

The compositional features of this procedure correspond to those features of Beethoven's melody that Wagner had already construed as 'infinite'. It is precisely 'this melody's subtlest and innermost nuances' which are to undergo an 'infinitely richer' development through 'infinite melody'. It is, however, the motivic interrelations which determine the bold extent of the melody (p. 110).

The larger context of this excerpt tells us little more about these “procedures,” “developments,” or “motivic interrelations” beyond what we could derive from Wagner’s text itself. Of course, Wagner himself is often the worst offender in such matters, as in this rather opaque statement from *Opera and Drama*, quoted on page 110: “Such an expression is an expression which encloses the poetic intention within all of its elements, but also conceals it from the feelings within all of them or in other words—realizes it.<sup>10</sup> But neither we nor Wagner are given much assistance here. In one of the more problematic sections of the original text—an excursus on myth, allegory, structuralism, and temporality—the translation has clearly done a further disservice to an already obscure meaning:

Formally and aesthetically, there is a distinction between the ‘structuralistic’ component in Wagner’s drama—the interlocking of presentiment, actualization, and reminiscence—and this combination of the three forms of time in the sonata, which is both shadowy and tied to a frame. Once released from the abstract framework connecting them and made to tie in with poetico-scenic events, themes and motifs acquire a meaning we can follow. What will be banished along with the abstract scheme is, to put it crudely, the regimentation of the musical events, the limitation on the form. The reprise in particular will also go because each configuration, being open to both the past and the future, now points beyond itself and the present moment. Thus the association of myth and music signifies an ‘unleashing’ of that structural component which in sonata writing is tied to the formal scheme (p. 153).

There does seem to be some meaning lurking behind this, but one would probably have to go back to the original in trying to reconstruct it. (The relevance of this section as a whole [pp. 149–54] to Beethoven is, furthermore, far from evident). An unidiomatic tendency to preserve the definite article, which may often function abstractly in German, often adds to the reader’s sense of puzzlement in the translation, where he is led to imagine some (undisclosed) specific reference which never, in fact, existed. Further, the draconian suppression of footnotes has surely exaggerated the elliptical quality of a discourse that was originally mediated by explanatory (if sometimes digressive) references and glosses.<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, there are a few cases where interpolated material has created new problems, however welcome it may be in principle. A newly inserted response to a 1985 article by Carl Dahlhaus on formal issues in Hans Sachs’s *Wahn* monologue, for instance, arrives at a seemingly valid conclusion on the matter of Wagner’s modified recapitulatory processes; but the details of

Dahlhaus's article (and hence of this response) are virtually impossible to deduce from the present context (pp. 202–3).<sup>12</sup> Fortunately, the numerous interpolations from Cosima Wagner's diaries cause little disruption, and are frequently illuminating.

Despite these obstacles, both the translation and the new edition of Kropfing's book remain a valuable contribution to the Wagnerian literature, especially since serious discussion of Wagner's writings remains scarce. While some valuable primary sources have appeared in English in recent times—Cosima's diaries, *My Life*, the collection of correspondence edited by Stewart Spencer and Barry Millington (New York: W. W. Norton, 1988), and a few of Wagner's shorter writings (e.g. *Three Wagner Essays*, trans. Robert Jacobs [London: Eulenberg, 1979])—and translations of some important older critical texts by Mann, Adorno, and Ernst Bloch appeared in the 1980s, relatively little recent foreign-language critical literature has found its way into English.<sup>13</sup> Aside from his contributions to *The New Grove Wagner* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1984) and *Richard Wagner's Music Dramas* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1979), few of Carl Dahlhaus's writings on Wagner, specifically, have yet been translated. A judicious selection of these in English translation would seem like an ideal project and could provide a worthy companion to the present volume.

—Thomas Grey

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Richard Wagner und die Instrumentalmusik* (Wilhelmshaven: Heinrichshofens Verlag, 1977). Kropfing addresses this and other issues from Voss's book throughout the new edition of *Wagner and Beethoven*, most extensively in the introduction ("previous research," pp. 6–10), where his response to Voss is now somewhat disproportionate with the rest of that section. He also raises a passing objection to Dahlhaus's efforts to rescue the music drama in the name of "absolute music."

<sup>2</sup> The transposition of simple bibliographic references into the text accounts for a considerable proportion of this drastically reduced number, but even these have been largely limited to principal sources (the *Gesammelte Schriften*, editions of correspondence, *My Life*, and, additionally, Cosima's diaries). Some material from the more substantial footnotes has also been preserved in the main body of the translated text, but overall these reductions outweigh the new interpolations, with mixed results.

<sup>3</sup> In perhaps the most extreme manifestation of Wagner's spiritual identification with Beethoven, Kropfing presents circumstantial evidence that his acquired interest in the concept of metempsychosis led Wagner to project a literal "transmigration" of Beethoven's artistic soul into his own (deduced partly from Wagner's retrospective accounts of hearing, as an impressionable fourteen-year old, the news of Beethoven's death). It is not entirely clear whether Kropfing intends this as a serious proposition (the linkage of the evidence is precarious), or merely a suggestive hypothesis (see pp. 23–26).

<sup>4</sup> Kropfing seeks access to this lost essay ("Die Wahl der Motive") through other, ostensibly related texts by Uhlig, such as the posthumous "Sinfonie und Ouvertüre" (*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, No. 21 [18 November 1853]: 217–221), whose relevance, however, is not

always apparent. On the other hand, a published essay, "Die Wahl der Taktarten," is not considered in this context, even though its parallel title suggests that it might shed some light on the scope and methodology of its missing companion piece. (This essay is reprinted in Theodor Uhlig, *Musikalische Schriften*, ed. L. Frankenstein [Regensburg: Bosse, 1913].)

<sup>5</sup> The claim presented here that Wagner used the terms "theme" and "motif" interchangeably is, however, both convincing and significant for an understanding of Wagner's music-critical discourse, even at such an abstract level. Also significant, as Kropfnger points out, is the fact that Wagner did not speak of the smaller fragments resulting from Beethoven's developmental processes as "motives," despite contemporary usage along these lines in analytical/pedagogical works by A. B. Marx, J. C. Lobe and others. That is, Wagner apparently distinguished between a motive as a complete idea and the developmental fragmentation it might undergo. On the other hand, the argument put forward that Wagner connected the idea of a concrete "poetic object" with the individual musical "motif" in Beethoven (p. 92) seems to me completely unfounded. The evidence cited from a well-known letter to Uhlig (13 February 1852, on Beethoven's *Coriolan* Overture) includes no mention of the word "motif" at all, nor can one derive this association from any of the contemporaneous Zurich writings.

<sup>6</sup> The lack of musical precision or exemplification in this section is compensated, to a degree, by some interesting points on the "melody" polemic around Wagner at the time this phrase was coined (1860), positions taken both against Wagner (even by Berlioz, as well as many more conservative figures) and in his defense (Champfleury, who reacted to the excerpts [!] of Wagner's music he heard as "one vast melody, akin to the spectacle of the sea" [p. 114]).

<sup>7</sup> Given the impressive scope of Kropfnger's bibliography in general, it is surprising that this issue of "influence" is not grounded more broadly in critical-aesthetic theory. Granted, a couple of brief references in the original edition (to H. R. Jauss, for example) have been suppressed here, but it may have been worth acknowledging work along the lines of Harold Bloom's *The Anxiety of Influence* or any counterparts in German critical theory of the past decades.

<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, I am inclined to think that too much is made of the 1853 "Wesendonck" sonata here, despite its significant chronological position near the end of the great pre-*Ring* hiatus.

<sup>9</sup> The date of 1870 attached to an article by Hugo Riemann ("Hie Wagner! Hie Schumann!") is clearly an error, as it was written in response to Joseph Rubinstein's articles on Schumann for the *Bayreuther Blätter* in 1879 (see p. 248). One other erratum: a quotation from "Music of the Future" (p. 126) is incorrectly cited as coming from the open letter "On Franz Liszt's Symphonic Poems" (the volume and page reference to the collected writings is correct, however).

<sup>10</sup> Translated from Wagner, *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen* (Leipzig, 1907), IV:199.

<sup>11</sup> It seems a merely perverse sense of economy that refuses to annotate a double reference to Fritz Reckow's adaptation of ideas from the nineteenth-century aesthetician Hermann Lotze on Wagner's "infinite melody," for example (p. 111). One can always, of course, have recourse to the German edition, but to require this in so many instances is an imposition.

<sup>12</sup> The Dahlhaus article, "Der Wahn-Monolog des Hans Sachs und das Problem der Entwicklungsform im musikalischen Drama," appeared in the *Jahrbuch für Opernforschung* (1985): 9-25. While "serious" Wagnerians will not object to Kropfnger's citation of measure numbers by act (here and on the previous page), it is surely a mistake not to supplement these with textual incipits, too. The reference (p. 201) to bar 3458 of *Das Rheingold* (scene 4) will hardly be appreciated by many readers—although in this case a nearby text reference is (rather casually) provided somewhat farther on.

<sup>13</sup> One exception is Stewart Spencer's recent translation of Dieter Borchmeyer's *Richard Wagner: Theorie und Theater* (*Richard Wagner: Theory and Theatre* [Oxford: Clarendon Press,

1991]), which, like Kropfnger's study, has undergone a certain amount of revision in the process. A translation of the 1986 *Wagner Handbuch*, ed. U. Müller and P. Wapniewski (Stuttgart: Kroner-Verlag) has just appeared under the general editorship of John Deathridge (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

***Mendelssohn and His World.* Edited by R. Larry Todd.  
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991. xx, 404 pp.**

This commendable volume of diverse materials on Mendelssohn was compiled in conjunction with the Mendelssohn Music Festival held at Bard College in August 1991. It does not espouse a particular viewpoint, nor can it claim to be comprehensive or even representative. Rather, it accomplishes the best that could be hoped for at this stage in the current reassessment of the composer: it helps to complicate our image of the composer and his age.

This complication is an essential step. During his own lifetime, Mendelssohn was generally regarded as an outstanding and important musical leader, and such popularity and fame do not naturally produce objective firsthand evaluations. The first portrayals of the composer, prepared by his family and close associates, were colored by personal affection and carefully expurgated to present the composer in the most favorable light.<sup>1</sup> By contrast, there soon appeared those opposed to the tide of Mendelssohn idolatry, yet their depictions of the composer and criticisms of his music were marred by equally suspect motivations—whether the personal disagreements of Adolf Bernhard Marx and Heinrich Heine, the artistic jealousy and competitiveness latent in Wagner's notorious attacks, or the disdain for the bourgeois/Victorian culture and style Mendelssohn appeared to represent, as in the case of George Bernard Shaw. In the second half of the nineteenth century and the first part of the twentieth, the tendency to regard German music as sharply divided into two camps—progressive and conservative, or pro and contra Wagner—placed Mendelssohn in the position of whipping boy for those who claimed to stand for the virtues of artistic freedom and cultural progressiveness against artificial, academic constraint and social/political repression. By the first half of the twentieth century Mendelssohn's position had become one of relative insignificance to the sophisticated and forward-thinking, though his music retained the affection of music lovers. With the Nazi purge of Jewish musicians, Mendelssohn's reputation (at least in Germany) reached its absolute nadir. The rehabilitation of Mendelssohn and his music began only at the end of the Second World War with the appearance of several new biographies and a trickle of more focused scholarly studies.<sup>2</sup> We still lack, however, many details of the composer's life that would contribute to a reevaluation of his work, free of the past's uncritical admiration or biased antagonism. Much needs to be done, including the editing of substantial quantities of correspondence and music, the writing of a modern biography, and the analysis and critical examination of Mendelssohn's



oeuvre. In the meantime, a collection such as *Mendelssohn and His World* helps identify areas where research and reevaluation is needed and adds to the materials on which these studies must be based.

The first part of the volume contains a group of new or recent scholarly essays on Mendelssohn and his works. It is impossible to generalize about these varied essays, except to say that they demonstrate the range of topics in Mendelssohn studies. Some of them deal with history and biography: Leon Botstein's study of the reception history of the composer, William A. Little's review of the circumstances surrounding the selection of a successor to Carl Friedrich Zelter as director of the Berlin Singakademie, and Nancy B. Reich's discussion of the position of Mendelssohn's sister Fanny Hensel.

Other essays in this section of the book deal specifically with Mendelssohn's music. Among the discussions of vocal works is Martin Staehelin's 1986 study of the aria "Es is genug" in *Elijah*, in which he compares Mendelssohn to Bach.<sup>3</sup> David Brodbeck examines the English anthem "Why, O Lord, delay forever" (posthumously assigned the opus number 96), outlining its history and comparing the music of the original version with keyboard accompaniment (1840) with the expanded orchestral version (1843). Brodbeck ultimately concurs with what he suspects was Mendelssohn's own opinion of the work, that the later version seemed out of proportion in form and scoring. *Antigone* is discussed by Michael Steinberg in a very compelling article in which he relates the work to the political and personal situations surrounding its composition. This is a model musicological study, combining a thorough understanding of the political history, insight into the composer's personality, and analytical observation. These elements come together to produce a convincing critical interpretation of the work based on the argument that Mendelssohn had good reason to empathize with Sophocles's drama.

Instrumental compositions are represented by Claudio Spies's "Samplings" of analytical observations on several works and R. Larry Todd's essay "The Unfinished Mendelssohn." After a review of Mendelssohn's frequent difficulties in completing major works, the latter presents a close study of an unfinished piano sonata in G major. Todd offers the interesting hypothesis that the sonata reflects Mendelssohn's important encounter with Schubert's music in 1839. Specifically, he suggests that it may have been modeled on some of Schubert's works, and he argues that Mendelssohn gave up on the composition because he was unable to make himself comfortable with the breadth of form or tonal range he found in those models.

The remaining two sections of the book contain historical documents, including writings about and by the composer. In selecting these materials

Professor Todd chose a number of valuable items located in out-of-the-way sources and less familiar in the Mendelssohn literature. The translations, most of which are by Susan Gillespie, are commendable for both their accuracy and style. The items are briefly introduced by the editor and generally well supported by helpful footnotes identifying persons and works mentioned. In a few instances an additional or expanded note might have been provided, for example, to identify the "young lady with a Polish name" to whose bedroom the youthful Mendelssohn delivered fruit by climbing onto the roof of an outbuilding (p. 211) or the composer's friend Hanstein, whom Mendelssohn visited at his deathbed (p. 227).

The second section includes reminiscences and extracts from memoirs by some of Mendelssohn's contemporaries. These selections reveal the difficulties in reconstructing the character of the man, for the picture they present is a complex one. Some of them reflect outright hero-worship. Charles Edward Horsley, for example, painted Mendelssohn as the model of the cultivated man and complete artistic genius. Johann Christian Lobe, in his "Conversations with Felix Mendelssohn," took the position of a respectful interviewer attempting to capture an honored master's ideas about art and the process of composition—no easy task, since Mendelssohn resolutely resisted theorizing, despite his holding what was certainly a well-formed aesthetic position. Nevertheless, Lobe was able to distill some valuable insights from Mendelssohn's fragmentary and sometimes teasing comments. He managed to get Mendelssohn to expound his ideas on the importance of formal training for a composer; of discipline, self-criticism, and revisions in the compositional process; of the importance of originality and the greatness of Beethoven; and of the autonomous nature of music as art.

Other memoirs in this collection present less flattering images of Mendelssohn. That of Ernst Rudorff (translated by Nancy B. Reich) gives snapshot-like impressions of the composer and his family in relation to Rudorff's maternal family, and it shows the composer to have been a high-strung young man, quick to take offense when none was intended. Rudorff's portrayal reveals a Mendelssohn family very sensitive about its Jewish heritage and concerned about perceived snubs resulting from anti-Semitism.

An especially difficult reminiscence of Mendelssohn comes from Adolf Bernhard Marx, a close friend of Mendelssohn in his youth, but whose later falling-out with the composer colored his picture of Mendelssohn the man. Marx's portrayal of Mendelssohn bears the advantage of not simply stemming from hero-worship; at the same time, however, its inclination toward self-justification by its author makes it rather less than objective; there is evidence of admiration, but it is tinged with jealousy and a consid-

erable degree of self-aggrandizement. Marx's somewhat defensive and self-serving discussion of his relationship with Mendelssohn must be regarded skeptically, for he resented Mendelssohn both artistically and personally. Marx insisted, for example, that much of the success of the Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was due to his intervention. Similarly, a thread of resentment toward the prosperous and privileged Mendelssohn family runs through Marx's memoir, which depicts the Mendelssohn home as epicurean—perhaps even hedonistic—and the family as shallow.

Two collections of letters make up the third part of the book. Both have been published earlier in German but are little-known today. The correspondence between Mendelssohn and the music collector Aloys Fuchs, first published in 1888 by Eduard Hanslick, offers a good representation of the sort of ties Mendelssohn maintained with many musicians and music-lovers and also shows him as a tireless and obliging friend. The correspondence with Wilhelm von Boguslawski, on the other hand, portrays Mendelssohn as a teacher, giving advice to an aspiring fellow composer. It should be noted that the teacher was six years younger than the pupil in this relationship, only fourteen when he first counselled the twenty-year-old Boguslawski. Clearly, Mendelssohn was a careful critic of Boguslawski's work, generally finding reasons to be encouraging but also frank in stating what he found flawed and why. Rather than offer specific suggestions for changes in an attempt to "correct" Boguslawski's music, Mendelssohn simply made general criticisms and challenged his correspondent to apply himself in diligent and self-critical work. As Bruno Hake pointed out in his 1909 commentary on the correspondence, Mendelssohn eventually became frustrated with Boguslawski's lack of progress, which he attributed to a failure to work hard enough. A characteristic statement is "I would like to see your ideas *expressed* more simply and naturally, but *thought out* more complicatedly and specifically" (p. 326). As was already clear in the Lobe conversations, Mendelssohn vigorously resisted the "romantic" notion that natural expression could arise in instant and uncritical inspiration. Numerous statements and compositional sources document his conviction that naturalness could be achieved only through hard work. Professor Todd's article in this volume lists ample evidence of Mendelssohn's severe judgments of his own efforts.

*Mendelssohn and His World* concludes with examples of Mendelssohn criticism in the nineteenth century. In one of the passages included, Heinrich Heine's comments (1842) on Mendelssohn's *St. Paul* compare the oratorio unfavorably with Rossini's *Stabat Mater* on the grounds that the Lutheran work lacks the simple, mystical expression of faith that characterizes the Catholic one. On the other hand, in another essay, written two years later, Heine granted Mendelssohn's A-minor ("Scottish") Symphony more credit

than it received from Parisian audiences. Otto Jahn's 1848 review of *Elijah* finds fault with Mendelssohn's attempt to create a dramatic plot within a genre that is inherently better suited to epic presentation.

The remaining three of five items in this final section of the book demonstrate the depth of the contrast between Schumann and Mendelssohn in nineteenth-century German criticism. Already in 1845, in an important essay appearing in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* on the development of modern German music, Franz Brendel proposed a view of the two contemporaries as complementary. Throughout his series of comparisons between the two composers Brendel showed how each approached the emerging German Romantic style from his own background and personality.

In an article on the performance of Mendelssohn's piano music, written at the close of the century (1896), Hans von Bülow set up a dichotomy between approaches to Mendelssohn's and Schumann's expression. According to von Bülow, the expressiveness of Mendelssohn's works resides in the notes themselves, and therefore the music requires a carefully accurate, simple and natural execution. By contrast, Schumann's music "encourages melancholy and pathological effusiveness" and calls on the performer to apply expressive means to the music.

Friederich Niecks, writing in the 1870s, viewed Mendelssohn as commendable in his gift for the fanciful, even though his music did not break new ground and was emotionally superficial. In discussing Mendelssohn's reception by his major critics, Niecks seems to have been slightly suspicious of Schumann's favorable evaluations of Mendelssohn's work, pointedly cautioning readers that Schumann was a personal friend of Mendelssohn. Furthermore, Niecks explained that Mendelssohn's real value to Schumann was that he provided an example against philistinism. Niecks briefly cited Wagner's and Liszt's anti-Semitic attacks on Mendelssohn, and concluded with an exhortation to respect Mendelssohn for his virtues rather than dismiss him on account of his weaknesses. This essay leaves the impression that its author was not a great admirer of the composer and perhaps even strained a bit to praise him; this begrudging praise may have stemmed from the article's publication for readers in England, where Mendelssohn remained popular.

Niecks's mention of anti-Semitism against Mendelssohn and his music raises this thorny and weedlike issue, which seems impossible to root out. Troubling as it is, the "Jewish question" became so inextricable from the cultural and artistic discussions of the nineteenth century that present and future Mendelssohn studies will never be able to ignore it entirely. Though we certainly would no longer think of applying a concept of "Jewishness" to the criticism of Mendelssohn's music, the issue itself must be studied as

a phenomenon of the nineteenth century and of Mendelssohn reception.

The articles in *Mendelssohn and His World* make clear that the "Jewish question" has several distinct parts. In discussing the effect of Mendelssohn's Jewish background on his career and place in contemporary culture it is helpful to distinguish between the religious and racial. The self-serving Wagnerian denunciation of Mendelssohn was explicitly racist rather than concerned with religion, employing anti-Semitism to argue that it was impossible for a Jew to go beyond mere talent and craftsmanship in art to creative genius or depth of feeling—i.e., to those characteristics that justified the radical departures from convention in Wagner's defense of his own music. By contrast, Heinrich Heine's writings on Mendelssohn excerpted here include some discussions of the questions of religion. Heine, whose acceptance of his own Jewish heritage was difficult and bitter, disparaged Mendelssohn's adoption of Christianity and assimilation into European society as opportunistic rather than sincere. As noted above, in Heine's view Christianity, if it had any artistic merit at all, ought to be Catholic rather than Lutheran.

The essay by Leon Botstein that opens *Mendelssohn and His World* addresses several problems regarding Mendelssohn's career and reputation. Most prominent is the question of Mendelssohn's religious position. Botstein offers the highly convincing view that Mendelssohn's attitude toward his own Christian faith was certainly sincere, but that it came more from a sort of Enlightenment belief that Christianity represented the reasonable religion for modern Europe than from a profound spiritual experience. As a consequence, it affected his art not in its expressive content but in its moral obligation to a high standard and to universality.

Anti-Semitism has been cited as a major reason for Mendelssohn's failure to gain the leadership of the Berlin Singakademie as successor to his teacher Carl Friedrich Zelter.<sup>4</sup> William A. Little reconsiders this complicated but crucial event in Mendelssohn's biography and, by providing several convincing reasons for the Singakademie's choice of Carl Friedrich Rungenhagen, downplays the issue of the composer's Jewish background as a factor.<sup>5</sup> Little argues that the result was, in the long run, better for Mendelssohn's development as a musical leader and that it did not permanently embitter the Mendelssohn family toward the Singakademie, as has also been suggested.

\* \* \*

In reading through *Mendelssohn and His World* (an approach to which the character of the volume as a miscellany may not generally lead, however), one encounters several striking and thought-provoking instances of

confusion in the terms by which Mendelssohn has been subjected to criticism. Such an instance appears in the last section, where we find two sharply contrasting applications of the aesthetic concept of the "naive" in judging Mendelssohn. Heine wrote of Mendelssohn's music that it was "characterized by a great, strict, very serious seriousness, a determined, almost importunate tendency to follow classical models, the finest, cleverest calculation, sharp intelligence, and finally complete lack of naiveté. But is there in art any originality of genius without naiveté? Until now there has not been any such case" (p. 360). In contrast, von Bülow used the concept in a very different way: "S[chumann] is a sentimental poet; M[endelssohn] a naive one: one could, *cum grano salis*, go on in an aestheticizing vein to explore in the two composers the contradiction between Nazarenes and Greeks from various points of view. . . . The whole gamut of feelings that are generated and nourished by enthusiasm for the 'sentimental' artists mentioned above will, if transferred to the works of the 'naive' ones, make them quite unpalatable" (p. 392).

What Heine meant by contrasting the "naive" to strictness, seriousness, intelligence, and classical models was that the music did not seem to show enough freedom, spontaneity, or willingness to indulge the emotions. In this respect, he set Mendelssohn in opposition to Rossini. But placing a high value on naiveté might seem an odd criticism from Heine—the last poet one would describe as naive. In regard to Heine's poetry, "naiveté" would probably not be opposed to "classicism" but to "sophistication," and his writing would certainly be characterized by the latter term. Obviously the concept "naive" has more than one opposite.

Von Bülow set up yet another dichotomy, derived from Schiller, between the "naive" and the "sentimental." Schiller distinguished between the naive in poetry, which expressed itself naturally and spontaneously, and the sentimental, which strives toward nature but in which expression is mediated by reflection.<sup>6</sup> In this context, von Bülow found Mendelssohn's music to be naive! He seems to suggest that in "naive" music, such as Mendelssohn's, the expressive content belongs to the music and to us, whereas in a "sentimental" type of music, such as that of Schumann, we encounter the feelings of a very evident, even intrusive, persona.

Heine and von Bülow would have agreed, then, that naiveté was a desirable quality; however, their arguments differ not simply on whether Mendelssohn's art was naive but on the meaning of the term itself. The case becomes a cautionary one, a demonstration that the implications of critical terms must always be carefully examined. This is especially so in the case of Mendelssohn, whose music became a model for a particular aesthetic position and, consequently, attracted slogans and catchwords from both sides.

A related case is the treatment of what apparently was a common expression by the composer himself—that certain music did or did not please him (“Das gefällt mir nicht” or “Das kann mir nicht gefallen”). Some authors took Mendelssohn to task for such statements, which to them seemed to show him as conservative and stodgy, as placing a high value on mere pleasure, or as asserting his personal preference as a criterion for musical judgment. For Marx in particular (p. 211), it suggested that Mendelssohn did not appreciate the deepest and most intense in art—Dante, Michelangelo, and Beethoven: “That gives me no pleasure!”<sup>7</sup> Bruno Hake, writing in 1909 about Mendelssohn’s criticisms of the compositions of Wilhelm von Boguslawski, interpreted the statement, “the conclusion does not please me at all, on account of the modulation into A $\flat$  major and A $\flat$  minor in a piece [the first movement of a symphony] in G major!” as schoolmasterly and intolerant of bold innovation (pp. 315, 316). (It is worth noting that the statement dates from 1823, when Mendelssohn was only fourteen years old.)

In his conversations with J. C. Lobe, however, Mendelssohn made very clear what criteria he applied in rendering such a judgment against his own efforts: “Why does it not please me? Because it goes against some aesthetic rule or other that I have learned by studying the models” (p. 189). In other words, he studied great masterpieces as a means of understanding artistic values, then tested new ideas in relation to those principles. Lobe’s report also quotes Mendelssohn as saying, “if I keep these principles in mind, and *follow them consistently*, I can *lead myself* to the sphere of original creators” (p. 198).

The expression itself may have come from Zelter. Hake wrote, “Here he speaks like his formally strict, even pedantic teacher Zelter, from whose vocabulary ‘pure’ and ‘to the point’ are drawn—these enjoyed particular popularity among the devotees of the ‘Berlin School,’ which strove for simplicity and tidiness. The same may be said of such turns of phrase as ‘carried through properly’ or ‘quite skillful’” (p. 316). Hake’s tone here—he was writing in 1909—resonates with the anti-Mendelssohn factionalism of the New German School.

In fact, it is remarkable how clearly Mendelssohn offered specific reasons for his pleasure or displeasure in his correspondence with Boguslawski. It is evident that he never criticized music that did not please him without offering a precise explanation: “there is much in [the Allegro] that I find pleasing, but I don’t like the fact that it doesn’t really ever come to a proper theme. It plays on, and one has no real point of reference; thus the whole thing appears indistinct, because one doesn’t know how the basic features are meant, and that, too, is why the conclusion comes as too much of a surprise, and as not necessary in its context” (p. 319; see also

the earlier quotation regarding the undermining of the tonality at the conclusion of a movement). Moreover, his criticisms are clearly rooted in general artistic values. In the end, despite Marx and Hake, one comes away with the impression that Mendelssohn was an excellent composition teacher and that his criticisms were pointed and clear.

Readers who traverse the entire volume of *Mendelssohn and His World* will encounter many more such issues and problems. Those with more specialized interests who visit only individual items within it will be pleased to encounter the insightful critical articles and valuable selections of little-known documents it offers. Ultimately, the book suggests that with the resuscitation of Mendelssohn's reputation and the approach of the sesquicentennial of the composer's death, it is time for some of the large scholarly lacunae, particularly a comprehensive edition of correspondence and a critical biography, to be filled.

—Douglass Seaton

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the early published collections of the composer's letters, *Reisebriefe von Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy aus den Jahren 1830 bis 1832*, edited by his brother Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1862; published in English as *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy from Italy and Switzerland*, trans. by Lady Wallace [New York: Leypoldt and Holt, 1869]) and *Briefe aus den Jahren 1833 bis 1847*, edited by Paul and Felix's son Karl Mendelssohn Bartholdy (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1864; published in English as *Letters of Felix Mendelssohn from 1833 to 1847*, trans. by Lady Wallace [Boston: Ditson, 1863]). Among the reminiscences of Mendelssohn's friends are Ferdinand Hiller, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy: Briefe und Erinnerungen* (Cologne: Dumont Schauberg, 1874; published in English as *Mendelssohn: Letters and Recollections*, trans. by M. E. von Glehn [London: Macmillan, 1874]) and Eduard Devrient, *Meine Erinnerungen an Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy und seine Briefe an mich* (Leipzig: J. J. Weber, 1869; published in English as *My Recollections of Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, and His Letters to Me*, trans. by Natalia Macfarren [London: Richard Bentley, 1869]). A major but naturally not objective portrait of the family was prepared by Felix's nephew Sebastian Hensel, son of his sister Fanny, *Die Familie Mendelssohn, 1729–1847: Nach Briefen und Tagebüchern* (Berlin: B. Behr, 1879; published in English as *The Mendelssohn Family (1729–1847) from Letters and Journals*, trans. by Karl Klingemann [New York: Harper, 1881]).

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, K. H. Wörner, *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Leben und Werk* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1947); Philip Radcliffe, *Mendelssohn* (London: Dent, 1954); Hans Christoph Worbs, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1956); Heinrich Eduard Jacob, *Felix Mendelssohn und seine Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 1959); Eric Werner, *Mendelssohn: A New Image of the Composer and His Age* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963); Karl-Heinz Köhler, *Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy* (Leipzig: Reclam, 1966). Among the articles in these years giving new perspectives on Mendelssohn were Ernest Walker, "Mendelssohn's 'Die einsame Insel,'" *Music and Letters* 26 (1945): 148–50; Hans and Louise H. Tischler, "Mendelssohn's Songs without Words," *The Musical Quarterly* 33 (1947): 1–16, and "Mendelssohn's Style: The Songs without Words," *The Music Review* 8 (1947): 256–73; Albert van der Linden, "Un fragment inédit du 'Lauda Sion' de F. Mendelssohn," *Acta musicologica* 26 (1954): 48–64; Eric Werner, "Two Unpublished Mendelssohn Concertos,"



*Music and Letters* 36 (1955): 126–38; Donald Mintz, “*Melusine: A Mendelssohn Draft*,” *The Musical Quarterly* 43 (1957): 480–99.

<sup>3</sup> Translated from an article in the Günther Massenkeil festschrift, “Elias, Johann Sebastian Bach und der Neue Bund: Zur Arie *Es ist genug* in Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdys Oratorium *Elias*,” in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Oratoriums seit Händel: Festschrift Günther Massenkeil zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Rainer Cadembach and Helmut Loos (Bonn: Voggenreiter, 1986), 283–96.

<sup>4</sup> See Eric Werner, *Mendelssohn: A New Image of the Composer and His Age*, 230–31; Herbert Kupferberg, *Felix Mendelssohn: His Life, His Family, His Music* (New York: Scribner, 1972), 85.

<sup>5</sup> One was that Rungenhagen was Zelter’s well-established deputy and more likely than Mendelssohn to preserve the status quo. In addition, it was clear that Mendelssohn’s career would incorporate a wide range of activities, which would prevent him from devoting as substantial an amount of his time and energy to the Singakademie.

<sup>6</sup> See Schiller’s essay, “Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung” (1795–96), in Friedrich Schiller, *Werke in drei Bänden*, ed. by Herbert G. Göpfert with Gerhard Fricke (Munich: C. Hauser, 1966), 2:540–606. Schiller’s distinction may be suggested by the following statements: “Der Dichter, sagte ich, *ist* entweder Natur, oder er wird sie *suchen*. Jenes macht den naiven, dieses den sentimentalischen Dichter” (p. 557). [The poet, as I said, either *is* nature, or he will *seek* it. The former constitutes the naive poet, the latter the sentimental one.] “Da der naive Dichter bloß der einfachen Natur und Empfindung folgt und sich bloß auf Nachahmung der Wirklichkeit beschränkt, so kann er zu seinem Gegenstand auch nur ein einziges Verhältnis haben, und es gibt, in *dieser* Rücksicht, für ihn keine Wahl der Behandlung. . . . Ganz anders verhält es sich mit dem sentimentalischen Dichter. Dieser *reflektiert* über den Eindruck, den die Gegenstände auf ihn machen, und nur auf jene Reflexion ist die Rührung gegründet, in der er selbst versetzt wird und uns versetzt” (p. 560). [Insofar as the naive poet merely follows simple nature and feeling and limits himself merely to imitation of reality, he can have only one true relationship toward his subject, and, from *this* vantage point, he has no choice in his treatment. . . . It is an entirely different matter for the sentimental poet. The latter *reflects* upon the impressions that the subjects make upon him, and the emotion is founded only on that reflection by which he himself is transported and which transports us.]

<sup>7</sup> Marx, unlike the other writers represented here, put into Mendelssohn’s mouth a Frenchified version of the statement, quoting him as saying, “Das macht mir kein Plaisir!” See Adolf Bernhard Marx, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Berlin: O. Janke, 1865), 2:135. The translator, Susan Gillespie, suggests quite reasonably that Marx made a point of using the French word in order to make it seem as though Mendelssohn’s criticism was as insubstantial as possible (see her note 15, p. 219). But it also seems possible that the French word might have been Mendelssohn’s choice in this case. Then the nature of the comment would appear to reflect Mendelssohn’s attempt to capture his perception of aesthetic values, not a statement of personal preference; in other words, the nature of this particular music or art is not to provide the empty pleasure implied by the use of *plaisir*. One can easily imagine that the mercurial and teasing young Mendelssohn could, by means of such subtleties, have drawn his friend into many an argument of which Marx was no master. And certainly Mendelssohn understood the greatness of Beethoven’s music—a well-known letter, written from Weimar to his family on 25 May 1830, reports how he championed it to the dubious Goethe. See Felix Mendelssohn, *Letters*, ed. G. Selden-Goth (New York: Pantheon, 1945), 71.

**Mark Evan Bonds. *Wordless Rhetoric: Musical Form and the Metaphor of the Oration*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991. 237 pp.**

Mark Evan Bonds's *Wordless Rhetoric* ought now to be considered the leading work on eighteenth-century conceptions of rhetoric and musical form. His command of both primary and secondary sources is profound and not likely to be excelled by any subsequent author; his critical readings of these sources is both penetrating and fresh; and his argumentation—if occasionally overstated—is skillful and assured. Yes, I espy some problems, but the merits of this work are such that it ought to be on the bookshelf of every music scholar interested in musical rhetoric, form, and expression.

Sensibly enough, Bonds begins by examining conceptions of musical form and the metaphors used to give expression to these conceptions. He quickly comes to what he sees as the paradox of musical form: that it denotes both “an aggregate of features that many unrelated works have in common, and . . . an element of that which makes an individual work unique” (p. 13). The former idea gives rise to what he calls the “conformational” approach to form, which “. . . looks for lowest common denominators and views individual works in comparison with such stereotypical patterns as sonata form, rondo, ABA, and the like.” The latter idea is responsible for the “generative” approach to form, which “. . . considers how each individual work grows from within and how the various elements of a work coordinate to make a coherent whole” (p. 14). The dichotomy between conformational and generative approaches is, of course, nothing new and has been a vexing problem in music scholarship since the days of A. B. Marx, though its outlines were sensed by earlier authors. It is, in fact, deeply connected to (some might even say a result of) long-standing philosophical debates about the ontology of universals. The generative approach might be characterized as formal nominalism, and the conformational approach, formal realism. Bonds is perhaps wise in not alerting the reader to this connection since—like other philosophical problems—it could easily devour pages of exposition. But the philosophical perspective is missed; it could assist most of the discussion devoted to the advantages and disadvantages of both approaches to form, and would let the reader know that the problem of musical form is a general philosophical problem, not a local musicological one.

In order to make room for his work, Bonds attempts to expose and then de-center various interconnected ideologies about musical form that up to now have been taken for granted. In particular, Leonard Ratner's

achievements are given their first interpretation as historical—not contemporary—acts: they result from a manner of reading eighteenth-century theoretical sources driven by a desire to separate eighteenth-century music from nineteenth-century descriptions of form. According to this view, Ratner fastened upon various texts and passages that offered the greatest contrast with the nineteenth-century view. But he also failed to attach these to larger contexts that either were not so inimical to later views, or were not centrally important to his project. Thus, Bonds describes Ratner's well-known schema of sonata form as a "lowest-common-denominator" definition, one that focuses entirely upon harmonic behavior and structure and that downplays melodic and thematic dimensions. The pages following this forensic gambit enumerate in detail Bonds's criticisms along these lines (pp. 36–52). These criticisms are generally well-argued and, to my mind, conclusive. Bonds succeeds in preparing his audience for a new reading of eighteenth-century sources.

He does not quite succeed, however, in preparing us for a new reading of the twentieth-century sources. His conspicuous overuse of the "lowest-common-denominator" metaphor is a measure, it seems to me, of how much Bonds thinks he needs to place Ratner's ideas within history—as a mid-twentieth-century overreaction to nineteenth-century ideas—and to mark them as ready for displacement.<sup>1</sup> In this process, Ratner is unfortunately depersonalized and becomes merely a historical agent. As a result, aspects of Ratner's work and scholarly personality that play no part in the character Bonds creates are ignored. The missing persona that most strongly affects Bonds's characterization is Leonard Ratner the Pedagogue. Bonds points out that "critical accounts of sonata form have moved from a compositional, didactic context to one that is more analytical and historical in nature" (p. 37), and he means to cite Ratner as an author working in the latter episteme, with "Harmonic Aspects of Classic Form" and *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* as the apposite examples.<sup>2</sup> But Ratner's ideas about form are best seen within the "compositional, didactic context" of *Harmony: Structure and Style*, an innovative and highly original undergraduate textbook that improbably combines eighteenth-century composition manual with nineteenth-century *Harmonielehre*.<sup>3</sup> It is this book that makes the "lowest-common-denominator" approach to formal description sensible and helpful.

Chapter Two, "Rhetoric and the Concept of Musical Form in the Eighteenth Century," is an exhaustive and unmatched survey of authors and ideas. Bonds quotes extensively, even extravagantly, from his sources. Moreover, he supplies the originals to his translated quotations at the end of the book, a twenty-three page courtesy that invites readers to engage the sources as closely as Bonds has. His quotations are introduced and inter-

connected by original and insightful interpretation, and the *apparatus criticus* supporting and supplementing his points is impressively thorough. Bonds's method of piling on strong evidence to support his position is a time-honored mode of argumentation; its only danger is inducing fatigue in the reader, inculcating an "enough already" frame of mind. As a result, Chapter Two cannot be read in one sitting; nor can it be read only once. The complexity and length of the quotations, the careful commentaries, and the wealth of suggestive footnotes dictate multiple and deliberate readings. The pace of exposition is slow but inexorable.

The remaining chapters of *Wordless Rhetoric* are more relaxed and loose-limbed than the seventy-eight-page Chapter Two. His central thesis secure, Bonds launches briefer excursions into associated topics: the declining utility of the metaphor of musical rhetoric during the nineteenth century; the relationship between instrumental music and rhetorical concepts used to describe this music; and the pertinence of rhetorical imagery in constructing a listener-based theory of form. All of these excursions bear the marks of wide reading and careful thought. They do not, however, exert the same argumentative force as does Chapter Two, and are consequently less tendentious and intricate. Designed for breadth instead of depth, these chapters do a fine job of putting the author's ideas into as wide a context as possible, both historical and theoretical.

\* \* \*

Perhaps inadvertently, the concluding chapters allow some problems sensed in the background of Chapter Two to come to the fore. These are not really problems that Bonds makes for himself, but rather problems inherent in the material he brings to our attention and upon which he does not wish (or feel the need) to comment. True to the historian's mission, Bonds presents and interprets the ideas of his sources as best as possible within their contexts, hardly ever taking issue with their statements or exposing problems in their assertions. He means to re-create an aesthetic, not to criticize it. But a present-day reader cannot help noticing the begged questions and vague formulations inherent in this aesthetic.

At the core of the issue is the use of rhetoric to explain form and development and to ignore the nature of content. For most of Chapter Two, Bonds (along with the authors he cites) sidesteps this issue, relying on very shrewd linking of form to rhetoric by means of that suggestive but ultimately undefined relationship that is metaphor. In short, the reader grants Bonds license to develop the trope of "musical form as oration" because the relationship is poetic and thus a product of imaginative and

artistic thinking. It is not, therefore, a relationship meant to sustain close rational inspection—that, of course, would destroy the poetry.

To his credit, Bonds does not shy away from exposing the weakest point of the metaphorical relationship, though he does not seem to recognize just how debilitating a weakness it is. After pointing out that “the metaphor of the musical work as an oration allows for—indeed demands—digressions, secondary ideas, and even genuine contrasts, provided that these ideas are presented within a wider framework of thought that is sufficiently coherent” (p. 101), Bonds points out that “unfortunately, there are no accepted criteria for determining thematic ‘coherence’ or ‘unity’ of any given work.” How true, and what a profound problem it is for the development of a theory of musical rhetoric. In rhetorical terms, coherence depends upon “chains of reasoning” and informal, common-sense logic—what teachers of English composition focus on when dealing with paragraph development. At heart, it is an issue of content: what has been stated that requires, necessitates, makes possible, suggests, etc. any following statement? We are used to evaluating argumentative connections of this type in prose writing; how could we do so in music, where even the metaphorical notion of “musical statement” is vaporous and problematic?

Not to deal with musical content and with the nature of its (possible) rhetorical presentation is to accept an impoverished conception of rhetoric, one that allows for the “elaboration” and “development” of “ideas” without being able to specify the argumentative reasons that compel these processes. They become mere aesthetic desiderata and lose all forensic and suatory purpose. Analysis in this regime can then only show manifestations of elaboration and development; it cannot evaluate effectiveness, reasonability, or persuasive power. And even this analytical project is fraught with problems, for—as was mentioned above—“there are no accepted criteria for determining thematic ‘coherence’ or ‘unity’ of any given work.” One then must take it on faith that these features are in fact present in a given work. Analysis then verifies the unverifiable.<sup>4</sup>

Bonds engages in two analyses of this type: one in Chapter Two on the opening of Mozart’s C-major “Dissonant” Quartet, K. 465 (pp. 102–110); and the other at the end of the book on the first movement of Haydn’s Symphony 46 (pp. 192–204). The Mozart analysis perfectly illustrates the limited analytic circumstances in which Bonds finds himself: he can describe or posit connections but cannot suggest rhetorical purposes for these connections other than that they create coherence. Ironically, this analysis is placed directly after the “no accepted criteria” passage and is conceived as an argument for proceeding to analyze even without such criteria.

The Haydn analysis is both more complicated in its approach and more successful. Coming at the end of a chapter dealing with a listener-oriented perspective, it is able to address the tension between the work at hand and formal conventions that the work plays off of and against. This avenue allows Bonds to enter into questions of purpose and effect that are the central function of rhetoric. Though, again, the analysis does not stray far from describing connections, elaborations, contrasts, etc., the reader has a sense that these analytic artifacts relate to a palpable developmental process, and are not merely exhibited to prove a static coherence and unity. Interestingly, it is only in the Haydn analysis that Bonds breaks down the "musical composition as oration" metaphor (which implies a correspondence between the provinces of rhetoric and music larger than that which Bonds can show) into a more accurate, if less poetic, statement about "the . . . eighteenth-century concept of form as a *function* of rhetoric" (p. 199, my emphasis). Indeed, form is an *aspect* of rhetoric—the disposition of material for best effect—yet only an aspect.

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Those who know an article of mine in *Music Theory Spectrum* have already witnessed axe-grinding on this issue.<sup>5</sup> The emphasis I placed there on content and on its *motivational* relationship to form was not without its problems and begged questions, as I freely admitted. Yet I took the testimony of some of the authors Bonds quotes as warning that the eighteenth-century view of musical rhetoric was of aesthetic (and perhaps practical) value to composers and listeners, but that it was also not prepared to support a twentieth-century analytic technique, even one so carefully modeled on the sources as is Bonds's; the results from a present-day perspective are too limited and omit much about other aspects of musical rhetoric.

As I mentioned previously, the issue of form and content in rhetoric is not Bonds's; it is the eighteenth century's (which actually inherited it from Classical times). I have brought it up only to point out that there are limits to Bonds's remarkable achievements, and that more mediation is needed to mesh eighteenth-century theoretical and aesthetic ideas with twentieth-century analytic practices. Within these limits, however, Evan Bonds has proven himself an extraordinarily able advocate and interpreter of the eighteenth-century position, and *Wordless Rhetoric* is likely to be a paradigm-shifting work that will be consulted for many years to come.

—Daniel Harrison

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The first appearance of "lowest-common-denominator" is on p. 36. It resurfaces constantly for the next thirty-odd pages, cropping up again as late as p. 188.

<sup>2</sup> Leonard Ratner, "Harmonic Aspects of Classic Form" *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 2 (1949): 159-168; idem, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1980).

<sup>3</sup> Leonard Ratner, *Harmony: Structure and Style* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1962).

<sup>4</sup> Bonds fully recognizes this quandary but, again, downplays its significance. He does, however, refer the reader to a forthcoming monograph by James Webster on Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony that "... includes an extended and judicious discussion of this problem" (p. 102, n. 162).

<sup>5</sup> Daniel Harrison, "Rhetoric and Fugue: An Analytical Application," *Music Theory Spectrum*, 12.1 (Spring 1990): 1-42.

**Friederich Erhardt Niedt.** *The Musical Guide: Parts 1 (1700/10), 2 (1721), and 3 (1717).* Trans. Pamela L. Poulin and Irmgard C. Taylor. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989. xxv, 282 pp.

**Susan P. Snook-Luther.** *The Musical Dilettante: A Treatise on Composition by J. F. Daube.* Cambridge Studies in Music Theory and Analysis, ed. Ian D. Bent. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992. x, 286 pp.

Ever so slowly, English-speaking musicologists are bringing to light important documents of eighteenth-century musical thought in scholarly, annotated translations. Still, when we consider how long the vast corpus of ancient writings on music theory have enjoyed the attention of scholars (Meibom's "edition" of Greek theory treatises was published, it will be recalled, in 1652), the paucity of editions for more modern writings might seem perplexing. This is especially so for eighteenth-century music-theoretical treatises, given that the music contemporaneous with them is among the most widely performed and analyzed today. Until only recently, though, just a handful of the most important theoretical documents of eighteenth-century music theory was available in published English translations. Of course there are obvious explanations that can be offered. First of all, there are not the overt paleographic and linguistic barriers with the writings of a German or French music theory text from the eighteenth century that one faces with a medieval theory manuscript penned in Latin. Further, a treatise on, say, the thoroughbass presumably needs less exegesis than does a text on mensuration from the fourteenth century. But such complacency, I fear, is misplaced. As the two recent translations reviewed here vividly demonstrate, we still have much to learn about eighteenth-century perspectives on music that can be gleaned by a thoughtful reading of primary documents. Perhaps more to the point, we have a number of persistent prejudices and misconceived notions regarding eighteenth-century music theory that need to be laid to rest.

The present translations of treatises by Friederich Erhardt Niedt and Johann Friedrich Daube can contribute to this enlightenment. Although chronologically distant from one another and, more importantly, separated in stylistic outlook, they share a surprising number of characteristics. These common traits provide telling evidence supporting those historians



who have lately argued for a more unified vision of eighteenth-century music (as opposed to the traditional view in which a stylistic fault line runs across the century at midpoint, polarizing it into "Baroque" and "Classical" periods, respectively).

Niedt's *Die Musikalische Handleitung* is certainly one of the better known thoroughbass treatises of the Baroque, due largely to the fact that J.S. Bach copied out parts of it for his own instructional purposes. In fact, the rules Bach gleaned from Niedt are neither original with Niedt nor reflective of the most interesting aspects of the treatise. Thanks to the efforts of Pamela Poulin and Irmgard Taylor, English-speaking historians can now get a more complete picture of Niedt's work.

The *Handleitung* was issued in three installments in Hamburg over a twenty-year period. Its publication history is somewhat complicated in that both Part 1 (1700) and Part 2 (1706) were reissued in second editions (1710 and 1721, respectively), with the later one edited by Johann Mattheson. Before the revised edition of Part 2 came out, though, Mattheson had meanwhile overseen the publication of Part 3 in 1717. (Niedt died in 1708, never seeing this part into print.) Matters are further complicated in that Mattheson heavily revised Part 2 in the 1721 re-edition, and interspersed the text on almost every page with his own lengthy annotations and additions. Poulin does her best to navigate the reader through this labyrinth by sorting out Niedt's original text from Mattheson's emendations, but the result is still confusing. The main problem is that Mattheson's comments continually undermine Niedt's approach to thoroughbass pedagogy, causing the text virtually to implode from self-contradiction.

Niedt's fundamental thesis—such as we can call it—emerges in the course of a delightful allegorical story that prefaces the *Handleitung*. The tale goes briefly as follows: One day while on a journey through the countryside, our story-teller (presumably Niedt) encounters a group of musicians. Upon learning that the visitor is himself a music lover, they invite him to a nearby gathering of merry music-making. During the evening's festivities, though, an argument ensues between two of the participants, Mopsus and Fidelio. The gist of the argument is whether thoroughbass was a skill that should precede or follow the learning of keyboard performance. Niedt—through the voice of a third intermediary named Tacitus—averts that the thoroughbass is a critical prerequisite for all musicians, as in it is contained "the entire foundation of practical music and composition" (p. 23). Unlike those backwards country organ teachers who have their pupils begin by memorizing fugues and toccatas read from tablature—of which one understands nothing—the thoroughbass makes the student see how music is put together and, moreover, how all varieties of music are but elaborations of harmonic structures conveyed by the figured bass signatures.

It is Niedt's conviction that in the thoroughbass the student learns both performance and composition at the same time. This is why Parts 2 and 3 of the *Handleitung* move well beyond instructions in the realization of simple signatures (the subject of Part 1 copied out by Bach), to address issues such as variation technique and genre. Indeed, Part 2—by far the longest of the three books—is a virtual compendium of Baroque diminution figures that can be applied to thoroughbass patterns in order to produce a wealth of musical forms and genres.

Mattheson was probably not the most appropriate editor to have brought out revised editions of Niedt's *Handleitung*, given that he disagreed fundamentally with this idea. In his ubiquitous and prolix annotations, Mattheson continually takes issue with passages of Niedt's text. At times he sounds like a school-master looking over the shoulder of his pupil and chastising him for wrong-headed ideas and infelicitous examples. Mattheson believed that thoroughbass, far from being the "foundation" of performance and composition, was really only a utilitarian trade (*Handsachen*) that required none of the knowledge or talent composition did, which for Mattheson was above all the art of composing beautiful melodies. (It is ironic how Mattheson ends up sounding at times like Niedt's dim-witted critic of the thoroughbass, Herr Mopsus.) The kinds of variations Niedt proposed, Mattheson claims, are better reserved for "unimaginative composers and organists deficient in improvising" (p. 67). He elsewhere warns that Niedt's description of the thoroughbass as the "foundation of music must not be taken too literally" (p. 75)—despite that Niedt himself was unambiguous about this fact!<sup>1</sup>

Mattheson was right in at least one way, though. The equating of thoroughbass and composition was not universally made in the eighteenth century. For all those theorists who did indeed equate the two (including C.P.E. Bach, Heinichen, and, as we will see, Daube), there were others who viewed composition as a quite different skill from that of chord realizations (for example, Fux, Riepel, Koch, and Georg Michael Telemann).<sup>2</sup> Still, Niedt's coupling of composition with the thoroughbass—or more accurately, with keyboard improvisation—reflected the dominant view in the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> And it is this conception of composition as an elaboration of a figured bass skeleton that will be seen to be a thread running through the century, despite the radical changes in style that meanwhile take place.

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With Johann Friedrich Daube's *Der Musikalische Dilettant* of 1773, we move now toward the other end of the eighteenth century, as well as southward to Vienna. Like Niedt's *Handleitung*, it is a representative document reflecting the musical tastes of its times, in this case, the "galant"

aesthetics of the class of musical amateurs referred to in the title—"The Musical Dilettante." We must not infer anything pejorative about this title. The musical dilettantes Daube is addressing made up the respected class of amateur bourgeois music lovers that were growing to such visibility in the latter half of the eighteenth century. It was this new proto-middle class of musical consumers who supported musicians like Daube by buying their music, attending their newly-inaugurated public concerts, and taking lessons on the harpsichord or fortepiano.

Daube's own life was itself emblematic of this change in musical patronage. As Susan Snook-Luther tells us in her informative biographical introduction, Daube's earliest employment was as a court musician to Frederick the Great in Berlin (as a lutenist), and later in Stuttgart. In 1765 Daube left the secure—but confining—employment of the court to enter the world of the free-lance music teacher and composer. He first worked in Augsburg and in 1769 moved to Vienna, where he was to remain until his death in 1799. Although few details are known of his life in Vienna, Daube left a rich legacy of publications that reflect in detail the changing musical tastes of Vienna during the third quarter of the eighteenth century. With the present volume of *Der Musikalische Dilettant*, we have in English translation what is arguably Daube's most original work, if hardly his best known.

Daube is much better known to music theorists today (thanks to the press he has received by historians such as Fétis, Riemann, and Matthew Shirlaw) for his first book on theory: *General-Baß in drey Accorden* (Leipzig, 1756). The *General-Baß* is a much misunderstood work, being repeatedly misinterpreted as either a blatant plagiarism of Rameau's "triple geometric progression" (in which a mode is constituted by three fundamental functions: the tonic, added-sixth subdominant, and dominant seventh chord), or a prophetic anticipation of nineteenth-century German *Funktionstheorie*. In fact it is neither. The *General-Baß in drey Accorden* is a conservative work and stands much closer to Niedt than to either Rameau or Riemann. It is true that Daube's three chords reflect the absorption of Rameau's ideas. But Daube either did not understand, or did not accept, the broader tonal coherence and functional hierarchy Rameau posited for these three chords.<sup>4</sup>

The filiation of Daube's treatise to Niedt lay in their mutual acceptance of the thoroughbass as a foundation for composition. Just as Niedt did, Daube argues that an understanding of thoroughbass is the very best preparation for a would-be composer, for it teaches one "the knowledge of chords and their succession" (p. 35)—knowledge essential for writing any kind of music. Of course for Daube, chordal components and successions were modeled by his three fundamental chords. Still, it is a structure analogous to Niedt's figured bass skeleton.

One might miss Daube's implicit chordal basis, as the volume translated by Snook-Luther begins with composition in two voices, and proceeds only gradually to music in four or more parts. And in only a few examples does Daube ever introduce figured bass notation. Yet it quickly becomes clear that a chordal understanding rooted in the thoroughbass on the part of the reader is everywhere assumed by Daube (a foundation offered in the first volume of *Der Musikalische Dilettant* not translated here). One learns to put together two voices and elaborate them based upon the harmonic outline of the three chordal functions. So, as one illustration, the opening of example 1 shows a simple two-part counterpoint outlining the three basic chord functions in C major. (The "1st chord" is C major, the "2nd chord" F $\sharp$ , and the "3rd chord" is G $\flat$ .)<sup>5</sup> In example 2, Daube diminishes the bass line, all the while retaining the original harmonic outline.

Example 1.

The image shows two systems of musical notation for Example 1. Each system consists of a treble staff and a bass staff. The first system has a treble staff with notes and a bass staff with notes and figured bass. The first system is labeled with "In the 1st chord", "In the 2nd", "In the 3rd", "In the 1st", "In the 2nd", "In the 3rd", and "In the 1st" under the bass line. The second system has a treble staff with notes and a bass staff with notes and figured bass. The second system has figured bass numbers 2, 3, 1, 3, 1, 3, 1, 3, 1 under the bass line.

The remainder of the text never deviates far from this basic approach. That is to say, the most complex textures and genres of early classical music can be composed out through—and regulated by—a basic harmonic skeleton.

The similarity of approach between Niedt and Daube underscores a unifying thread in eighteenth-century thoroughbass pedagogy that is too often overlooked by current music theorists, particularly by those who adopt more contrapuntal perspectives. Voice-leading considerations were of course important to thoroughbass theorists. But to view thoroughbass theory as but an advanced stage of species counterpoint (as many Schenkerians do) is to distort grossly the tradition of thoroughbass (to say nothing of counterpoint!).<sup>6</sup> With but a few exceptions, thoroughbass in the eighteenth century (and the seventeenth century, for that matter) was

## Example 2.

The image shows two systems of musical notation. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The top system's treble staff contains a sequence of notes: a half note G4, a half note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, a half note D5, a half note E5, and a half note F5. The bass staff of the top system contains a more complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bottom system's treble staff contains a sequence of notes: a half note G4, a half note A4, a quarter note B4, a quarter note C5, a half note D5, a half note E5, and a half note F5. The bass staff of the bottom system contains a more complex rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes, and three measures are marked with a '6' below the staff, indicating figured bass notation.

constantly and uniformly seen as a harmonic/chordal activity. This does not preclude the possibility that someone like Mattheson might not accept the thoroughbass as the “foundation” of music. But there was little dissent from the view that chords formed the primary constituents of the thoroughbass, and voice leading was a secondary matter.

Of course Niedt and Daube had different conceptions as to where these chords came from and how they were put together. Daube was situated thoroughly in the post-Rameauian paradigm, whereas Niedt knew nothing of chord roots or inversional theory.<sup>7</sup> More importantly, perhaps, Daube recognized and was among the first to describe how texture, voicing, spacing, and orchestration might come into play for the articulation of harmonies. As Snook-Luther correctly points out in her introduction, Daube’s discussion of topics like voicing in the string quartet or orchestration in the “free-style” of the symphony opens up new frontiers of music theory (p. 24). Just as Niedt’s book offers a contemporaneous view of Baroque dance genres, so too does Daube give us one of the few eyewitness accounts of Viennese classical music in its formative years. Yet for all the differences between the kinds of music with which each author was concerned, I remain most impressed by their similarities. Whether it is Niedt working out a courante from a preconceived figured bass line (pp. 167–70), or Daube detailing the use of imitation in a quartet using the elaborations and modulations of his “three chords” (pp. 109–11), we encounter a uniform presumption that harmony—the well-regulated succession of chords—forms the foundation of music. The styles and genres of music generated from this harmonic skeleton are all but kinds of variations.<sup>8</sup>

We are fortunate that Oxford and Cambridge University Presses have lavished such care in publishing these translations. (Is this a field that will now be taken over by British presses?) Both Pamela Poulin and Susan

Snook-Luther have produced fluent translations with helpful annotations and bibliographic information (although on occasion I found Poulin's commentaries and extensive etymological digressions a bit intrusive). As the number and variety of writings from the eighteenth century continue to emerge, our understanding of the music of this century will be commensurately enriched and, I suspect, further complicated. But if this means debunking some of the more resilient notions we have tenaciously held to for so long, I do not think that is such a bad outcome.

—Thomas Christensen

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Mattheson's most detailed elaboration of these views is to be found in his *Kleine General-Bass-Schule* (Hamburg: Kießner, 1735), esp. pp. 39–67.

<sup>2</sup> For further discussion of these opposing views of thoroughbass pedagogy, see Walter Heimann, *Der Generalbaß-Satz und seine Rolle in Bachs Choral-Satz* (Munich: Katzbichler, 1973), 20–47.

<sup>3</sup> Bach, too, accepted Niedt's thoroughbass approach; C.P.E. Bach reported that his father always had his students begin with four-part chorale harmonizations rather than the "dry species" of Fux's counterpoint. See C.P.E. Bach's letter to Forkel dated 13 January 1775, quoted in *The Bach Reader*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel (New York: Norton, 1966), 279. Also, in his gloss of Niedt's *Handleitung*, Bach began, as did Niedt, with simple triadic structures (the *radix simplex*) rather than with intervals or contrapuntal rules.

<sup>4</sup> This is why, paradoxically, I do not find it implausible that Daube could have indeed been influenced by Rameau, contrary to Snook-Luther's suggestion (p. 10). That Daube did not know or understand the more contorted arguments of Rameau by which the three primary chords were derived from the geometric triple progression (and more specifically, the *corps sonore*), does not mean that Daube could not have quickly gleaned the idea of "three chords" through a quick perusal of the text and plates of Rameau's *Démonstration du principe de l'harmonie* of 1750—something Daube admitted to have done just before writing his first treatise.

<sup>5</sup> The examples are taken from pp. 56–57 of Snook-Luther's translation.

<sup>6</sup> In his *Handleitung*, Niedt continually refers to counterpoint as a musical ABC—a beginning rudiment of music akin to spelling, but itself only the first step to true mastery of composition, "for mere counterpoint itself contains no beauty and sounds like the spelling of a beginner, where one can hear syllables and words but can discern no complete meaning or context" (p. 237).

<sup>7</sup> It is hence disconcerting that in her commentary Poulin continuously refers to "root-position" and "first-inversion" triads. Niedt never used such terms, and indeed, he would have found the concepts that they represent foreign. He certainly recognized an affinity between chordal inversions, in that the right hand might finger the same notes for each chord. But he would never have considered the 6/3 chord to be "generated" from the fundamental of the 5/3 chord. (This suggests another fallacy often found in current music-theoretical research, which is to conflate a harmonic perspective with Rameau's theory; the fundamental bass is only one subspecies of harmonic theory found in the eighteenth century, and a relatively late one at that.)

<sup>8</sup> A striking confirmation of this view applied to Haydn's compositional technique is found in Elaine Sisman's eye-opening new study, *Haydn and the Classical Variation* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).