Articles

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Nineteenth-Century Music
Quantity, Quality, Qualities

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Research on music and musical life in nineteenth-century Europe and North America has been increasing at a smart pace over the past few decades, revealing an admirable variety and welcome sense of fresh initiative. But many of these efforts – especially ones dealing with pieces that are rarely if ever performed today – have proceeded in relative isolation or have not been granted the attention that they deserve. And many important topics – including whole forgotten repertoires – remain to be explored.

In this essay I offer a big question to the community of scholars, critics, and music lovers passionately interested in Western musics of the nineteenth century, one that may help relate some of these various dispersed efforts and may also encourage exploration of some of the topics still neglected. This question, hinted at by the resonant Q words in my title (which I shall explore a few pages hence), could be phrased as 'What is the relative importance of, and relationship between, the musical masterpieces and "the rest", and how do we convey this to our readers?'

Big Questions

The big question can be broken down into four not much smaller ones:

1. How much should we scholars who write on nineteenth-century music be focusing primarily on the musical masterpieces that are still very much 'alive' for significant numbers of musicians and music lovers today and that lend themselves to rich analytical study? And what are the implications of our doing so? (I trust that readers of this essay who fall into some other

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category – performers, laypersons, scholars in non-musical fields – will not feel excluded by such phrases as 'we scholars of nineteenth-century music'; my concern is simply to avoid suggesting that I somehow stand apart from that community of scholars, have had a magic touch for resolving the problems or skirting the traps.)

2. How much should we be studying, instead, whatever musical works and other music-related practices (such as aspects of concert life) were important at the time, even if they are forgotten today, seem unremarkable in themselves, or (in the case of certain trends in nineteenth-century musical aesthetics, criticism, and music-historical writing) feel dated or totally overtaken? And, again, what are the ramifications: in particular, how might we best carry out such (often pioneering) studies?
3. In what ways and to what degrees do the two categories of questions 1 and 2 – the memorable and the ephemeral – intersect? Was the one sometimes relying on the listener's knowledge of the other, or at times reacting against the other? Can one illuminate the other for us today?
4. Speaking of today, who are we writing for, anyway? Musicians? audience members? the educated layperson? university students and faculty in music, or in other fields? And how can we best interest and enrich those various readers?

In the first half or so of this essay I shall explore all four of these questions, though, because they are interrelated, I will not feel compelled to discuss them in the stated order. For example, question 4 – For whom are we writing? – links back to question 1 – Should we devote ourselves mainly to the great works that many people love and know something about? And question 3 problematizes the distinction that I set up in questions 1 and 2 (the distinction between studying great, durable works and lesser, half-forgotten ones), in part by suggesting that study of one category of works enriches our understanding of the other category.

The latter half of the essay focuses specifically on question 3, through six mini-studies of how 'lesser' works might be seen as relating to 'greater' ones. The essay concludes with a 'coda' that explores, now more explicitly, question 4: to whom are we addressing ourselves, and how might the type of work laid out in the six mini-studies help justify to the reader the enterprise of looking at lesser works, which might otherwise strike her or him as dubious?

Half-Forgotten Works

Let me start, not with any one of the questions, but with a quick glance at a few works that are, by common consent, *not* clear-cut and officially sanctioned masterpieces and at the way each has tended to be framed and viewed by scholars, critics, and the musical world, generally:

- The nocturnes of John Field – an almost emblematic second-rank composer – tend to become interesting to listeners – or, indeed, to pianists – once one stresses that they exerted some influence on a composer whose nocturnes many people already care about, namely Chopin. In the Grout/Palisca textbook and its anthology, Field's Eighth Nocturne (in A major)

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is juxtaposed with Chopin's E flat Nocturne (op. 9 no. 2) precisely in order to reveal striking similarities and equally important differences.[1]

- The French Grand Operas of Meyerbeer are nowadays considered important in large part for their formative impact on such works as Wagner's *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* and Verdi's *Aida*.
- Contemporaneous arrangements (of masterpieces, say) for piano four-hands, for piano trio, for band, for salon orchestra, and so on, are generally ignored nowadays. Yet an arrangement can suddenly become exciting and contentious – can even make the pages of the *New York Times* – when somebody claims that it derives from the composer himself, as was the case in the 1970s regarding the cello adaptation of Brahms's G major Violin Sonata that had been published, with no arranger named, during Brahms's lifetime. (The claim, in this case, was quickly rejected by most Brahms scholars. This hasn't stopped cellists from taking the arrangement into their repertoire, and I think that's just fine; in fact, I would encourage *more* playing of arrangements, whether they were made by the composer or someone else. An arrangement can offer pleasure and gratifying opportunities to talented performers, can help vary the historically limited repertoire of a given instrument or ensemble, and, for both the performers and the listeners, can at times reveal fresh aspects of the musical work in question.)
- Another instance: Rimsky-Korsakov ranks higher as a composer than he used to, now that Richard Taruskin, Pieter van den Toorn, Steven Baur, and others have helped us appreciate the significance of octatonicism in his works and traced its impact on Stravinsky or Ravel.[2]

Fortunately, the published scores of many of these works have long been or are finally available in libraries and for rental (thanks, in part, to the efforts of musicologists and scholarly publishers), and many of them have had some performing history, allowing them to make their own case (thanks in part to dedicated performers, such as, in the case of Rimsky-Korsakov, conductor Valery Gergiev) and to be freshly judged.[3] So I'd next like to illustrate what happens when scholars dare to explore a particularly dark and silent corner of nineteenth-century musical life (in this case from the very beginning of the century).

Fully Forgotten

In *Opera News*, the magazine of the Metropolitan Opera Guild, a review of a recent book on French women opera composers from 1770 to 1820 complains

1 Donald Jay Grout and Claude Palisca, *A History of Western Music*, 6th edn (New York, 2001), 579–80. Claude Palisca, ed., *Norton Anthology of Western Music*, 4th edn (New York, 2001), 353.

2 See, for a recent overview and application, Steven Baur, 'Ravel's "Russian" Period: Octatonicism in His Early Works, 1893–1908', and Baur's subsequent exchange of letters with van den Toorn, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52 (1999): 531–92 and 53 (2000): 445–50.

3 Or used to be available. Four-hand arrangements, at least, are being discarded by US libraries at an alarming rate and sold off for pennies or even thrown away.

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of 'the extreme obscurity of the operas under consideration . . . [some of which have] not even survived'. It continues:

> While one's heart aches for such brave, resourceful women – Sophie Bawr, for example, who overcame illegitimate birth, maternal abandonment and numerous calamities to become a respected composer and 'the first woman historian of music' – the sad fact is that in the absence of the works themselves, the many names, dates and stories . . . can seem like so much scholarly clutter.[4]

This passage is precisely the kind of public grumble that led me to pose question no. 4: namely, how do we musicologists interest readers, make them care? In other words, how do we prevent the reader – even another musicologist specializing in the nineteenth century who doesn't happen to be obsessed about the same bit of terrain that we are – from thinking 'So what?' and closing the book?

And the 'So what?' feeling is likely to set in even more rapidly in response to our studies of the institutions of musical life or of social practices associated with them: studies of, say, habits of concert listening (preparing to listen; maintaining silence and bodily stillness during the music; responding to the final chord with applause or whistling); studies of the ways in which concert halls were funded and designed (acoustically, visually); studies of trends in musical aesthetics and criticism (biographies, programme notes, pedagogical writings); or studies of the ways in which orchestras and concert series, including chamber music concerts, were organized, publicized, received.[5]

The Tyranny of the Masterpiece (and the Masterpiece Ethic)

The 'So what?' response is one that scholars working on music of any place and time other than the present (and very recent past) may well expect. (Scholars in almost any field, really.) Still, the challenge of the 'So what?' takes on particular urgency for scholars interested in music of the nineteenth century because we all labour in the shadow of the great composers and their canonical works, and our likely readers carry certain expectations and prejudices likewise

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4 M. Lignana Rosenberg, review of Jacqueline Letzter and Robert Adelson, *Women Writing Opera: Creativity and Controversy in the Age of the French Revolution* (Berkeley, 2001), *Opera News*, Feb. 2002, 94.

5 Among the few studies of concert behaviour, I must at least mention Hanns-Werner Heister, *Das Konzert: Theorie einer Kultform*, 2 vols (Wilhelmshaven, 1983); and James H. Johnson, *Listening in Paris: A Cultural History* (Berkeley, 1995); insightful objections to the latter are offered in the review by Mary Ann Smart, in *19th-Century Music*, 20 (1996–97): 291–7. On how to 'read' concert attendance and behaviour, see various passages (e.g. 161–5) in my 'Music Lovers, Patrons, and the "Sacralization" of Culture in America', *19th-Century Music*, 17 (1993–94): 149–73; corrigendum in 18 (1994–95): 83–4; and my contribution (untitled) to the Round Table on 'Directions in Musicology' in *Musicology and Sister Disciplines: Past, Present, Future: Proceedings of the 16th International Congress of the International Musicological Society, London, 1997*, ed. David Greer, Ian Rumbold, and Jonathan King (London, 2000), 209–17. On the value and impact of music criticism, even or especially by 'amateurs' (non-musicians), see the remarks in Roger Parker's introduction to *Reading Critics Reading: Opera and Ballet Criticism in France from the Revolution to 1848* (Oxford, 2001), 1–9.

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related to that performance canon.[6] I should add that I tend to find that the canonical works mostly deserve (if any works do) the canonical status that they have been granted: I am not seeking to lessen anyone's fascination with Beethoven's 'Eroica' or the Razumovsky Quartets nor, mostly, to promote the regular performance of works of minor masters (or lesser works of the masters), though I would welcome *some* greater variety in the playlists of our concerts and radio broadcasts, as I shall indicate in a few spots below. My main concern is, rather, to free our scholarly approaches, the way we *think* and *write* about nineteenth-century works, from the overly hierarchical ethics and values that helped create, and still buttress, that highly selective list of what gets performed.[7]

I said that the shadow of the canon hangs over scholars of nineteenth-century music more than over other musicologists. This is equally true of the scholar who focuses on those works themselves (as suggested in my question 1 above) and of the scholar who focuses on lesser ones (question 2). But it is true in different ways, and brings different advantages and disadvantages.

Those of us who work on one or more of those recognized masterpieces have the advantage of addressing a repertoire that many readers already know, sometimes well, and feel is important. As I have argued elsewhere, an individual's status within the field of musicology may catch some reflected glow from the music on which he or she focuses.[8] In addition, writing on the masterpieces can give us the challenge and excitement of interacting with prior scholars: sparring with them, elaborating on their offhand observations, disproving their grandest claims, or questioning their often-unspoken assumptions. And all this

6 Concepts of canon and 'standard repertoire' grew in close tandem, across the nineteenth century and into the twentieth, with the professional orchestra, the opera industry (with its contrasting *stagione* and repertoire systems), the oratorio society, the piano, violin, and song recital, and the chamber music concert. A bare-bones list of stimulating and relevant writings might include Simon McVeigh, *Concert Life in London from Haydn to Mozart* (Cambridge, 1993); William Weber, *Music and the Middle Class: The Social Structure of Concert Life in London, Paris and Vienna (*London, 1975); John Rosselli, *The Opera Industry in Italy from Cimarosa to Verdi: The Role of the Impresario* (Cambridge, 1984); Arthur Loesser's still valuable (well-researched though, alas, under-documented) *Men, Women, and Pianos: A Social History* (New York, 1954); Joël-Marie Fauquet, *Les Sociétés de musique de chambre à Paris de la Restauration à 1870* (Paris, 1986); on Fauquet's book, see my review in *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 43 (1990): 505–13, and 45 (1992): 546.

7 The masterpiece ethic, with its hierarchical system of value, is closely related to the ideas (or myths) of absolute music and of music's quasi-religious powers of spiritual uplift that flourished in the nineteenth century, as the eighteenth century's 'acknowledgement of excellence' (within accepted conventions) was gradually replaced by 'recognition of [a] greatness . . . capable of remaking the conventions'. See, for extensive discussion, chs 2, 10, 11, and 12 in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson (Cambridge, 2002) – the quotation is from Samson's own chapter, 'The Great Composer', 259 (259–84) – and three recent books regarding Germany in particular: Hermann Danuser and Herfried Münkler, eds, *Deutsche Meister – böse Geister? Nationale Selbstfindung in der Musik* (Schliengen, 2001); David Gramit, *Cultivating Music: The Aspirations, Interests, and Limits of German Musical Culture, 1770–1848* (Berkeley, 2002); and Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, eds, *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago, 2002).

8 Ralph P. Locke, 'Musicology and/as Social Concern: Imagining the Relevant Musicologist', in *Rethinking Music*, ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford, 1999), 502 (499–530).

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is true, analogously, of the field of nineteenth-century music studies as a whole: *its* stature within the larger world of scholars and readers depends, in large part, on its longstanding and (one hopes) continuingly persuasive preoccupation with works widely deemed great.

But challenge also carries risk of failure: we run the constant risk – individually and, more important, collectively – of seeming like busy gnats, punching our little heads powerlessly against the resistant hide of Beethoven's 'Eroica' (do the four movements lay out a story, a life?), Berlioz's elusive 'Quaerens me' (in the Requiem), or Brahms's disturbing C minor Piano Quartet. Perhaps the music theorists and analysts have a somewhat better chance, on average, of saying something new or significant about the masterworks. After all, the tools of 'analysis' were forged, and are always being reshaped and refined (or so it is usually argued), with an eye towards how well they unlock the secrets of the recognized masterpieces. But, most of the time, even the richest analytical insights likewise remain an esoteric activity. To most listeners and most performers, the great works need little comment, whether analytical or contextual: indeed, the works are perceived as great precisely because they 'sell themselves'. Take the *Ring* cycle, for example: over the past few decades, new audio recordings and stage and video productions of the work have proliferated, most often showing little or no impact of the insights that various Wagner scholars have tried to establish or argue. The brilliant and provocative Boulez/Chéreau Bayreuth production of the *Ring*, originally mounted in 1976 and now viewable on DVD, owed perhaps more to George Bernard Shaw's socialistically inclined commentary on Wagner's work (1898) than to anything that had emanated in the intervening decades from the musicological community.[9]

In contrast, forgotten repertoires, such as those mentioned earlier, clearly do need us. We may regularly find ourselves faced with the gratifying opportunity of being the first to assess a work's or genre's merits (and demerits), tell its stories. Or, as Steven Huebner puts it, regarding now-forgotten operas of d'Indy and others: 'They need all the help they can get.'[10] This, too, carries both challenge and risk; except that, in such cases, we are testing our acumen not against a near-excess of previous literature but a near-vacuum. What constraints do we map out for the discussion; what, in short, do we look for?

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For one thing, we may quickly realize that now-neglected repertoires exerted a central function in the social and cultural life of their age or represented some important or distinctive aspect of it. (In Sophie Bawr's case, her operas might prove interesting in part as examples of a woman's composing musical works in a very public, male-identified genre rather than restricting herself to, say, salon *romances* – though Bawr composed some of those, too.[11]) Musicological

[9] See Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Tétralogies Wagner, Boulez, Chéreau: Essai sur l'infidélité* (Paris, 1983), a response to this Bayreuth production.

[10] Steven Huebner, *French Opera at the fin de siècle: Wagnerism, Nationalism, and Style* (London, 1999), ix.

[11] A few of her librettos for *opéras-comiques* and *mélodrames* survive, as do the titles of a few others (see the article in the revised *New Grove*).

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writing, in general, has always been racked by the tension between, on the one hand, an explication of enduring works of musical art and, on the other, a reconstruction of the history of music and music-making as it was actually practised in a given time and place. This tension was repeatedly alluded to by Carl Dahlhaus in his *Foundations of Music History*; yet, there and elsewhere in his writings, he never gave more than a glimpse of its ramifications for what we might call a truly 'replete' musical history of nineteenth-century Europe and America.[12] Dahlhaus, that is, tended to make relatively little mention of, say, once-popular salon composers; and when he did, as in a chapter of his *Nineteenth-Century Music*, he tended to lump their works together, setting them to one side of the main story that he was choosing to tell, and focus on how little value their works have aesthetically.[13] Yet 'trivial' pieces (as he regularly calls them) are ones that, I propose, we might well want to look at for their concrete connections to pieces better known today. In other words, we should try treating them as revealing threads within the main, ongoing story rather than as a separate catch-all basket of odd items rejected by an intervening century or two of superior taste.

Most standard historical accounts of music in the nineteenth century, including the ones that we tend to present in the classroom (I include my own teaching, to a large extent), are based on the patently absurd notion that – or, at least, they might inadvertently give the impression that – the musical world was then ruled by a small number of great geniuses, mostly Austro-Germans, plus a few outsiders. The list is fairly standard: Beethoven, Schubert, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Brahms, Wagner, Bruckner, plus, say, Rossini, Berlioz, Chopin, Liszt, Verdi, Musorgsky, and Tchaikovsky – worthy gents, all, of course, but hardly an indicative summary of what was heard and loved and sung and danced to in the nineteenth century; hardly, in short, a historical list.[14] To discuss briefly a few formally and harmonically unventuresome salon pieces that were likewise much loved (or even more loved) at the time – such as a Field nocturne or (one of Dahlhaus's standard examples) the theme and variations piece entitled *A Maiden's Prayer* (1856), by the amateur composer (from Poland) Tekla Bądarzewska-Baranowska, whose life was a Romantically brief 27 years (1834–61) – in the midst of a supposedly historical account built

12 I borrow the term from Rose Subotnik's argument in favour of a 'replete' sense of another matter: the concept of structural listening. See her *Deconstructive Variations: Music and Reason in Western Society* (Minneapolis, 1996), 151. On the tension between history based on popularity and wide dissemination and one based on a work's breakthrough properties or significant later influence, see Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J. B. Robinson (Cambridge, 1983), 19–33, 85–107. Significantly, Dahlhaus's examples (few as they are) tend to be recognized complex masterpieces (Haydn's *Creation*) or works that, though poorly received in their day, proved to be steps towards a composer's more mature and lasting works (Wagner's *Rienzi*).

13 Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley, 1989), 311–20. Dahlhaus explored 'trivial music' more extensively in a collection that he edited, *Studien zur Trivialmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg, 1967), and in his book *Analysis and Value Judgement*, trans. Siegmund Levarie (New York, 1983).

14 On possible ways to include more non-masterpiece music (e.g. parlour songs) in a historical overview of nineteenth-century music, see my article 'What Chopin (and Mozart and Others) Heard: Folk, Popular, "Functional" and Non-Western Musics in the Classic-Romantic Survey Course', in *Teaching Music History*, ed. Mary Natvig (London, 2002), 25–42.

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around complex, canonical masterpieces is, I would argue, scarcely more revealing than not to look at such repertoires at all. For one thing, it makes those salon pieces look paltry, lacking in vitality, whereas they obviously did snag the ear and affection of the musical public because of specific, identifiable features – including non-musical associations, such as the devout 'maiden' in the title of the piece by the presumably devout maiden-composer Bądarzewska – that are worth exploring and that readers might well find revealing.[15] After all, there was an enormously large amount of diverse musicking (to use Christopher Small's term) going on in the nineteenth century – music being made, disseminated, enjoyed in different venues, and, let us not forget, practised daily by children and young adults, especially female.[16]

In a recent article, I offered the following list of little-explored repertoires from the nineteenth century, a list that is at once daunting and surely incomplete:

- Simple character pieces for piano, and piano fantasies on operatic airs, whether these pieces incorporate keyboard textures that are 'brilliant but not difficult' (as advertisements of the day often put it) or, quite the contrary, demand transcendental virtuosity.
- Chamber and symphonic music – by Hummel, Gade, Raff, Saint-Saëns, Stanford, Sgambati, John Knowles Paine – that is well crafted though rarely original or searching.
- Instrumental music that (the direct opposite of the above category) is often remarkably original in effect – e.g. works of Berwald, Alkan, or Anthony Philip Heinrich – but at some cost to larger-scale coherence.
- Operatic and other music-theatre works that have little place in the international repertoire: Moniuszko, Pacini, Balfe, Suppé, Marschner, Serov, Ruperto Chapí, not to mention various utterly forgotten composers (some active in America, others in Europe) of music to accompany plays and melodramas.
- Quadrilles, widely used in social dancing.
- The ballets of Adam, Delibes, and Minkus, interesting in themselves and also as context for the masterly contributions by Tchaikovsky.
- Parlour songs, ranging from Gounod's often successfully Schubertian art songs (*mélodies*, as they were known) to turn-of-the-century mass-market ballads about courtship or hard-working immigrants or winsome children – all of these being cultural products rich in social resonance, whatever their limitations as musical 'works'.
- Hymns – or, more generally, the different kinds of sacred music that people learned, used, loved, were stirred by.
- Military and civilian band music, political songs, Männerchor pieces

[15] *A Maiden's Prayer* (*Prière d'une vierge*) is dismissed in both editions of *New Grove* as being 'of no artistic merit' and is perhaps more familiar today through its being quoted (and described – by a tasteless boor – as an example of 'ewige Kunst') in Weill's *Aufstieg und Fall der Stadt Mahagonny* (1930).

[16] For Small's recent thoughts on 'musicking' (all the activities involved in making, disseminating, and receiving/enjoying music) see his 'Why Doesn't the Whole World Love Chamber Music?' *American Music*, 19 (2001): 340–59.

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(there's loads of it by Schubert, little explored),[17] school music, and the like.[18]

If we are truly interested in writing the *history* of nineteenth-century music, we must deal with this astonishing swell-tide of publications and resulting performances – including hesitant or intimate playings in the parlour – and with all the other aspects (habits, institutions, routines) of musical life such as I mentioned earlier. This is what I mean, in the title of this essay, by coming to grips with the *quantity* of music and music-making in the nineteenth century.

But what about *quality*? Some of the pieces in my list above are rarely heard yet could stand shoulder to shoulder with many of the recognized masterpieces. Certain songs of Gounod or Lalo, for example, are, as Frits Noske and others have rightly argued, remarkably effective in ways not all that different from the Lieder of Schubert.[19] Similarly, the symphonies numbered 1 and 2 by Saint-Saëns draw effectively and with refreshing imaginativeness on compositional styles and gestures from the symphonic works of Haydn, Beethoven, Mendelssohn, and Berlioz. (The man clearly knew his 'orchestral lit.' – as the symphonic repertoire has long been known in American conservatories and music schools.[20]) In other words, these are pieces of *quality* that we can very well come to love and cherish, not least as works that can occasionally find a place in the concert and recorded repertoire and thereby allow certain more standard items, such as *Gretchen am Spinnrade* or the Franck D minor Symphony, to take a well-deserved rest. (For that matter, dozens upon dozens of

17 For a thoughtful overview and previous literature, see Margaret Notley, 'Schubert's Social Music', in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, ed. Christopher Gibbs (Cambridge, 1997), 138–54, 308–10.

18 Lightly adapted from Ralph P. Locke (writing under the pseudonym 'Scrivens'), 'The Juice of Life: Getting Romantic with Romantic Music', *Pendragon Review: A Journal of Musical Romanticism*, 1/1 (Spring 2001): 46–7 (45–60). My use of a pseudonym was a response to the editors' call for essays from 'contributors who wish to publish their work anonymously' as a way of reviving an intriguing journalistic tradition of the nineteenth century. 'We welcome opinion pieces ... [but the pseudonymous authors must not] attack or defame the opinions or work of others' (Michael Saffle, 'Isn't It Romantic? or: The First Issue of *The Pendragon Review*', in ibid., 3–6, quote from p. 3). My article, the only one that took up the journal's offer/challenge, generated one lively interchange with a reader, Brahms scholar Styra Avins (*Pendragon Review*, 2/1 (2003), forthcoming). The *Review* is, unfortunately, scheduled to cease publication after vol. 2, no. 2, but contains a number of significant contributions by other authors, e.g. Jonathan Bellman (see below), Peter Bloom, Janice Dickensheets, Valerie Errante, Heather Platt, and Mark De Voto.

19 Frits Noske, *French Song from Berlioz to Duparc: The Origin and Development of the Mélodie*, rev. Rita Benton and Frits Noske, trans. Rita Benton (New York, 1970), 169, 172, 231, 296.

20 See Ralph P. Locke, 'The French Symphony: David, Gounod, and Bizet to Saint-Saëns, Franck, and Their Followers', in *The Nineteenth-Century Symphony*, ed. D. Kern Holoman (New York, 1997), 163–94. The early Saint-Saëns symphonies, as well as Gounod's two symphonies and the Bizet symphony, go oddly unmentioned in James Hepokoski's otherwise wide-ranging overview, 'Beethoven Reception: The Symphonic Tradition', in Samson, *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, 424–59. They probably belong in his category no. 1 (traditional symphonies), which they would greatly enrich: the only other major composer listed there is Dvořák (the early symphonies).

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long-neglected songs of Schubert himself have proved well worth hearing in recent years, most notably in the generally splendid recorded performances masterminded by pianist and commentator Graham Johnson on the Hyperion label.)

Other pieces, despite their importance at the time (as attested by, for example, their circulation in published editions), prove, when revived today, to be works of lesser quality, works rightly overshadowed by others of the same era. In such a case, there is (as I suggested in my original question 3) a relationship between a forgotten and revived work and the familiar masterpieces, but a sorry one: the revived work falls short. (The rightly maligned, in some senses, *Maiden's Prayer* appears inept, indeed, next to character pieces and variation sets of Moscheles or Stephen Heller, never mind those of Mendelssohn or Liszt.) As a result, the minor work is best enjoyed for its *qualities* (in the plural): for a certain combination of features that historical knowledge can help to reveal and can help us (music-history writers and teachers) convey to the student or (on the odd occasion when the work might reach live or recorded performance) the listener. I should stress, though, that the line between a work of quality and a work of qualities cannot be hard and fast. Also, a given performance can be well or poorly attuned to those special qualities and thus make an enormous difference in effect. Richard Bonynge's complete recording of Balfe's *The Bohemian Girl*, for example, lacks theatrical flair in much of the singing, though, as one might have expected, it is a bouquet of delights in other respects.[21]

I would like to devote most of the remainder of this essay (except for a concluding return to question 4) to exploring in some detail six aspects of my original question 3 (the relationship between masterpieces and the rest) and to illustrate each with musical instances (some in more detail than others). All six aspects relate large works – operas, piano sonatas, and so on – to one or another of two types of music that were probably heard more frequently than any other at that time but are particularly unknown today: simple (or simple-seeming) dances and songs. In one case, one might better speak of an actively negative, sometimes consciously oppositional relationship: political songs exist in a musical world apart from concert hall and opera and sometimes even define themselves, through attitude *and* stylistic features, in contradistinction to that other world. In other cases, the relationship, a more straightforwardly positive one, has been recognized by scholars and critics but presented too simply, as with the standard observation that Schubert's sonatas and Donizetti's operas feature songlike, self-contained themes. I shall also at times point out, in passing, certain other features of the larger/greater works in question that have not, I think, been adequately understood or emphasized, including some that touch on crucial issues of performance and interpretation that themselves deserve more extended discussion than is possible in the present context.

21 William Balfe, *The Bohemian Girl*, cond. Richard Bonynge, Argo CD set 433 324/326-2.

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Six Aspects

A. Quadrilles

Several scholars have recently surveyed the genre of functional social dance music, especially the quadrille (or, as it was often known early in the century, *quadrille de contredanses*), generally also reprinting a short sample from one or two such pieces.[22] Purely from an aesthetic point of view, a short sample suffices. As James Parakilas notes, social dance music of the nineteenth century (unlike, to some degree, ballet music) is of limited interest for concert performance (much less close analysis) because of its 'long sequences of short segments, many in the same meter and phrase length and most in the same key or closely related ones'.[23] The genre's merits thus lie more in the threads that, as Maribeth Clark has made clear, connect it to other concerns and activities: to dancing practices in the home, to amateur pianism, to the public dance hall, and, in the case of the quadrille, to the repertoire of the opera house.[24] A quick survey of the quadrilles (some solo, some four-hands) that were published more or less monthly by one magazine for girls and young ladies in the 1850s and 1860s reveals that nearly all were based on themes from comic operas of the day – by Clapisson, Hérold, Adam, and so on – and next to none use themes from serious operas.[25] This makes the infamous Wagner quadrilles of Chabrier, Fauré, and Messager, from a few years later, all the more anomalous.[26]

Clark rightly points out that the 'choreographic mold' of the typical quadrille 'allowed the arranger little room for innovation aside from eliminating

22 James Parakilas et al., *Piano Roles: Three Hundred Years of Life with the Piano* (New Haven, 1999), 202–4; Maribeth Clark, 'The Quadrille as Embodied Musical Experience in 19th-Century Paris', *Journal of Musicology*, 19 (2002): 503–26; and Scrivens [Locke], 'Getting Romantic', 47–52.

23 Parakilas, *Piano Roles*, 203.

24 Clark, 'Quadrille'. An important book on salon music, by Andreas Ballstaedt and Tobias Widmaier, focuses primarily on character pieces for piano rather than on dances and operatic arrangements; still, it offers wide-ranging stylistic and contextual observations relevant to the quadrille: *Salonmusik: Zur Geschichte und Funktion einer bürgerlichen Musikpraxis* (Stuttgart, 1989; published as *Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 28), e.g. 258–67 (limited technical demands and stereotyped left-hand patterns), 305–6 (dancing in the private home).

25 *Le Magasin des demoiselles*, musical supplements from various issues of vols 14–28 (from 1857–58 to 1871–72), binder's collection (bound in or after 1902), purchased by me from a book dealer in the 1970s. The musical supplements also include many original dances by minor composers, e.g. a polka-mazurka entitled *Berthe*, by J. E. Legouix (23, no. 6). *Le Magasin* seems not to have been a magazine at all in the conventional sense but – befitting the word 'magasin' in French – an ever-renewable collection of objects of presumed interest to young women, such as sewing patterns, engravings of fashionable clothing (and, occasionally, 'modes anciennes'), watercolours of birds and flowers, illustrated puzzles, a datebook-calendar every year, and, 14 times a year, musical supplements, including numbers from an *opérette* (advertisement to 23 (1866–67), no. 5). Thus what I've here called musical supplements weren't, in a sense, supplementary but, rather, core items.

26 Perhaps tastes varied with time: Clark, looking at quadrilles from the 1830s and 1840s, found a good number that were based on serious operas. See, in her dissertation, 'Understanding French Grand Opera through Dance' (University of Pennsylvania, 1998), the quadrilles reproduced on pp. 240–73, all drawing on Auber's *La Muette de Portici*.

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Ex. 1 Meyerbeer, 'Ombre légère', from *Le Pardon de Ploërmel*



complexities and regularizing rhythmic accompaniments'.[27] Still, the effect is less perverse than in, say, a *Tristan* quadrille because the comic-opera tunes themselves so often lean towards the styles and phraseology of dance music. (One contemporary observed, a bit sharply, that Auber 'seemed to write his operas with arrangements in mind, and with no care to the musical quality of the productions'.[28]) Furthermore, the arrangements are not always as mechanical and unvaried as previous scholars' brief remarks might lead one to expect. This becomes clear when one looks a bit more closely at one such quadrille, based on tunes from Meyerbeer's comic opera of 1859 *Le Pardon de Ploërmel*, a work that held the boards for decades (often under the title *Dinorah*).[29] This Meyerbeer quadrille was composed by Henri Marx, who, as his name suggests, may have been German in origin or, like the Viennese Strausses, Central-European Jewish.[30] Marx was alert enough to notice that Meyerbeer himself had, in the overture, found an ingenious way of turning a waltz – a phrase from Dinorah's famous Shadow Song (Ex. 1) – into a gentle 6/8 quasi-*romance* (Ex. 2), exactly what Marx must have felt he needed for the third movement of his quadrille (marked, as nearly always at the time, 'Poule'): Meyerbeer had simply shifted the accent from the second beat of the melody to the first beat, thereby changing three groups of two notes into two groups of three.[31] Marx,

27 Clark, 'Quadrille', 505.

28 J. J. J. Diaz, summarized (from an article in the *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*) in Clark, 'Quadrille', 519–20.

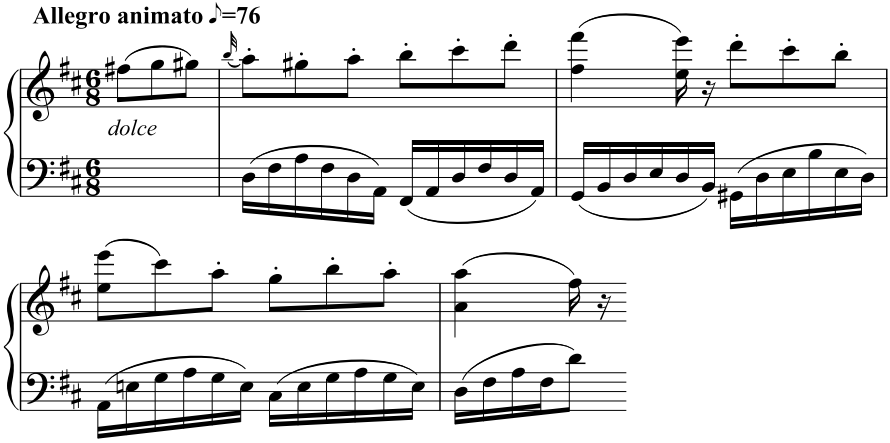
29 *Dinorah* is now available, in a deft modern performance on three CDs, from the invaluable recording firm Opera Rara (ORC 5).

30 On the Jewish background and cultural identity of Johann Strauss, Jr., see Robert Dachs, *Johann Strauss, 'Was geh' ich mich an?': Glanz und Dunkelheit im Leben des Walzerkönigs* (Graz, 1999), 31–5, 141–53.

31 Clark: 'The identity of the quadrille was linked more with the [dance] figures and the formal construction of five movements than with a strict metrical emphasis' and implies that 2/4 and 6/8 were used more or less interchangeably, at least in the 1830s and 1840s ('Quadrille', 504–5). But I notice that, for example, in the first 11 quadrilles in the aforementioned binder's collection (from 1857 to 1862), all the 'Poule' movements are in 6/8 (whereas the 'Eté' movements are always in 2/4), all have a distinctive internal design (involving a coda printed in the middle of the movement; the 'Pantalon' movements often have this design as well), and nearly all contain (printed after that coda) a brief contrasting section in either IV or, in one refreshing case each, III, vi, or flat-VI. (I exclude as announcedly anomalous the two dances in 17, no. 6, that are described

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Ex. 2 Meyerbeer, Overture to *Le Pardon de Ploërmel* (excerpt)



in addition, simplifies the harmony (Ex. 3), presumably to make it even easier for pianists with limited playing and sight-reading skills.[32]

Marx's four-hand arrangement – though rather etiolated in comparison with the tune in Meyerbeer's original in its several guises – remains fun to play together, at least once or twice. It surely would be even more fun to dance to: indeed, only *when* danced does it make total sense, since the score indicates that the contrasting middle section is to be repeated four times, presumably in order to allow each couple in the quadrille or square to have a turn at that particular dance move.[33] But, however one encounters this four-hand music, one's experience (as also of Meyerbeer's overture) will certainly be richer if one is also aware of the original: Dinorah's aria. The shift of metre from 3/8 to 6/8 measure for measure and the more flowing accompaniment constitute a pleasant tease that was not a recondite in-joke at the time but a straightforward allusion to the (quickly well-known) aria, an allusion that the average opera-goer – or purchaser of piano-vocal scores and sheet-music excerpts – could be counted upon to catch.

Other quadrilles published in the *Magasin des demoiselles* – including many of the ones that were *not* based on a stage work and that perhaps therefore needed to offer some novelty to compensate for a lack of beloved tunes – contain distinctive surprises and passing delights: the word 'Chut' printed

as 'nouveau' and contain printed choreographic instructions.) Clearly, the relationship between music (metre, form), mood, and choreographic figures in each of the standard five quadrille movements deserves closer study.

[32] More precisely, Marx's version begins much like Ex. 2 and continues in that mood, but the tune closes itself out more in the manner of an earlier, less developmental passage in the overture (which is likewise in 6/8, but had a skipping accompaniment that clearly was not Poule-ish enough for Marx's needs).

[33] This is made explicit in the instructions for *Le Prince impérial: nouveau quadrille français* (17, no. 6): 'Chaque figure se dit quatre fois en commençant par le couple no. 1' (p. 3). Further on the interaction of steps and musical phrases in nineteenth-century dance, see the comments of A. B. Marx summarized and elaborated in Sevin H. Yaraman, *Revolving Embrace: The Waltz as Sex, Steps, and Sound* (Hillsdale, NY, 2002), 17–41.

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Ex. 3 Henri Marx, Quadrille on themes from Meyerbeer's *Le Pardon de Ploërmel*, mvt. III ('Poule'), opening



during bar-long rests in the primo part (do the dancers shush each other? does the primo pianist jokingly say it to them, or perhaps to the secondo player, who has notes that s/he has to keep playing despite the intrusion coming from Mr or Miss Lazybones seated to his/her right?); 'Turkish' movements filled with minor-mode moments; a 'menuet'; varied repeats ('pour la 2e et 4e fois'); or – without warning – a violin obbligato.[34] Clearly, some people, including the composers/arrangers, were having fun with this seemingly standardized genre.

B. Simple Songs

Whereas quadrilles have a major, symbiotic relationship – including an economic one, as Clark notes – to a more large-scale, public genre,[35] some other light genres have little or no such relationship. One such genre is the typical

[34] For 'chut', see the quadrille by Arban on Clapisson's *Margot*, in 14, no. 6; for 'Turkish' moments and varied repeats: *Turcos* [i.e. Turks, in Spanish]*: Quadrille militaire*, in 19, no. 5; for 'menuet': *La Duchesse*, a diagonal quadrille, in 20, no. 11; and, for sudden violin, the aforementioned *Le Prince impérial*.

[35] Clark, 'Quadrille', 519. See also Thomas Christensen, 'Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 52 (1999): 255–98.

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modest song, whether crafted to zing a political message out in the streets or to soothe souls in the family home. Still, no two contemporaneous artistic phenomena are probably ever entirely without some kind of relationship. Parlour songs, for example, were sung by many of the same people who also attended operas and concerts, as the sentiments in the words and the style of the music often reveal. And political songs can be seen as almost a shadow counterpart to more official, institutionally buttressed repertoires. One prominent proponent of French political songs at the time (Frédéric Bérat) sang the praises of the folk tunes and other old tunes that the songwriters tended to use, songs whose popularity was unrivalled, whereas (he pointedly added) the supposedly rural songs that current-day composers were writing for characters in many comic operas never manage to 'grasp the physiognomy of the *air du pays*' and thus never become truly memorable and, in his word, *populaire*. As for Pierre-Jean de Béranger (1780–1857), the best-known political songwriter of the day, he 'would have [had] trouble singing a note' of most comic-opera arias yet performed his songs with intense musicality and communicativeness.[36] (One may well imagine this, if one thinks about more recent non-operatic yet, in their own varied ways, vocally skilful songwriters and entertainers, such as Edith Piaf, Jacques Brel, Wolf Biermann, Delta blues singer Robert Johnson, Tom Lehrer, Bob Dylan, Leonard Cohen, Joni Mitchell, Paul Simon – and Flanders and Swann.)

Some simple (or, as I am suggesting here, seemingly simple) nineteenth-century songs get dug up nowadays for what they can show about a given nation's values and cultural predilections in those bygone days. Swedes had their Carl Michael Bellman. (To be accurate, Bellman wrote his songs at the very end of the eighteenth century, but they remained central items in Swedish musical life for decades thereafter.[37]) Spaniards (though quickly also Parisians, turning the national into the exotic) had *habanera*s and *polo*s by Sebastián Yradier and Manuel García (I'll return to these a few pages from now). We Americans have our Stephen Foster and, indeed, a vast range of parlour songs by many songwriters, as has been explored in recent decades by Charles Hamm, Jon Finson, and others.[38] Britons (and Americans, too, for transatlantic repertoires overlapped heavily in the nineteenth century) now have a sense, from Derek B. Scott's wonderful study *The Singing Bourgeois*, of the wide variety of vocal numbers that the English-speaking music-loving public indulged in,

36 Frédéric Bérat, in his editorial comments to *Musique des chansons de Béranger: airs notés et modernes . . . augmentée de la musique des chansons posthumes [et] d'airs composes par Béranger, Halévy, Gounod et Laurent de Rillé*, 9th edn rev. (Paris, 1868), 307, 309. See Ralph P. Locke, 'The Political Chansons of Béranger: Artistry for Progressive Social Change', in *Musik/Revolution: Festschrift für Georg Knepler zum 90. Geburtstag*, ed. Hanns-Werner Heister, 3 vols (Hamburg, 1997), 2: 127 (115–32), and Ralph P. Locke, 'The Music of the French Chanson, 1810–50', in *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties / La Musique à Paris dans les années mil huit cent trente*, ed. Peter A. Bloom, vol. 4 of *La Vie musicale en France au xix^e siècle* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1987), 431–56.

37 Carl Michael Bellman (1740–95) was so well known that King Gustavus III put him on the royal payroll to free him to write his songs. His two best-known collections, *Fredmans Epistlar* and *Fredmans Sånger*, are recorded complete on 10 CDs: Proprius 9131–5 and 9146–9, respectively.

38 Charles Hamm, *Yesterdays: Popular Song in America* (New York, 1979); Jon Finson, *The Voices That Are Gone: Themes in Nineteenth-Century American Popular Song* (New York, 1994).

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ranging from sacred songs to sexually suggestive ones.[39] As for the French repertoire, an eight-volume scholarly anthology, *Histoire de France par les chansons*, was published several decades ago; it emphasizes patriotic, revolutionary and other political songs.[40]

Perhaps oddest of these various song traditions, to us, are the songs written to well-known rather than newly composed tunes – songs that therefore have no composer as such (or, at best, have a composer who didn't know that his tune would later be mated with or give rise to these particular words). This includes the songs of Bellman and also those of most French literary and political chansons of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A semi-political song by the aforementioned Béranger, entitled 'Paillasse', can be taken as fairly typical.

Paillasse is a traditional French street performer, a clown. (The word is the equivalent of the Italian 'pagliaccio', meaning clown or also mattress, from 'paglia', straw.) Béranger, who continues to go unmentioned in most music histories, was the best-selling French songwriter of the 1810s and 1820s. In nearly all his hundreds of songs, Béranger used folk tunes and other melodies long associated with the chanson genre. As a result, his songs have, until very recently, been treated almost exclusively as poems, political broadsides, or publishing commodities, not really as songs to be sung. (Put another way, they've been discussed by scholars of French literature and cultural history but scarcely at all by musicologists.) Nonetheless, Béranger and his fellow songwriters in France (and I bet elsewhere) can be shown to have selected their tunes with a canny sense for how easily singable they were, how easily learned by rote, and what their original or best-known words were.[41]

The charm of the tune that Béranger initially specified for this song (Fig. 1) nicely suits the flippant words: the persona who sings about himself in this song is a street entertainer, willing to do somersaults for coins.[42] The first strophe could be translated roughly as follows (though the working-class dialect is nearly impossible to capture):

I was born Paillasse, and me ol' daddy –
To get me out into the public square –
Gave me a swift kick somewhere or other
And said: 'Jump, Paillasse!
You got good quick legs there,
Though you sure got a fat belly
And a face as red as a beet [from drinkin'];

39 Derek B. Scott, *The Singing Bourgeois: Songs of the Victorian Drawing Room and Parlour*, 2nd edn (Aldershot, 2001).

40 Pierre Barbier and France Vernillat, eds, *Histoire de France par les chansons*, 8 vols (Paris, 1956–61).

41 I discuss this repertoire in two articles: 'The Political Chansons of Béranger', and 'The Music of the French Political Chanson, 1810–50', in Bloom, *Music in Paris in the Eighteen-Thirties / La Musique à Paris dans les années mil huit cent trente*, 431–56. On one particular set of 'utopian socialist' songwriters, see my *Music, Musicians, and the Saint-Simonians* (Chicago, 1986), especially ch. 11 and app. C. The French version of the book gives the original wording of all quoted documents (which are mostly in English in the 1986 version): Ralph P. Locke, *Les Saint-Simoniens et la musique*, trans. Malou Haine and Philippe Haine (Liège, 1992).

42 The tune in Fig. 1 is no. 91 in Bérat, *Musique des chansons de Béranger*, 58.

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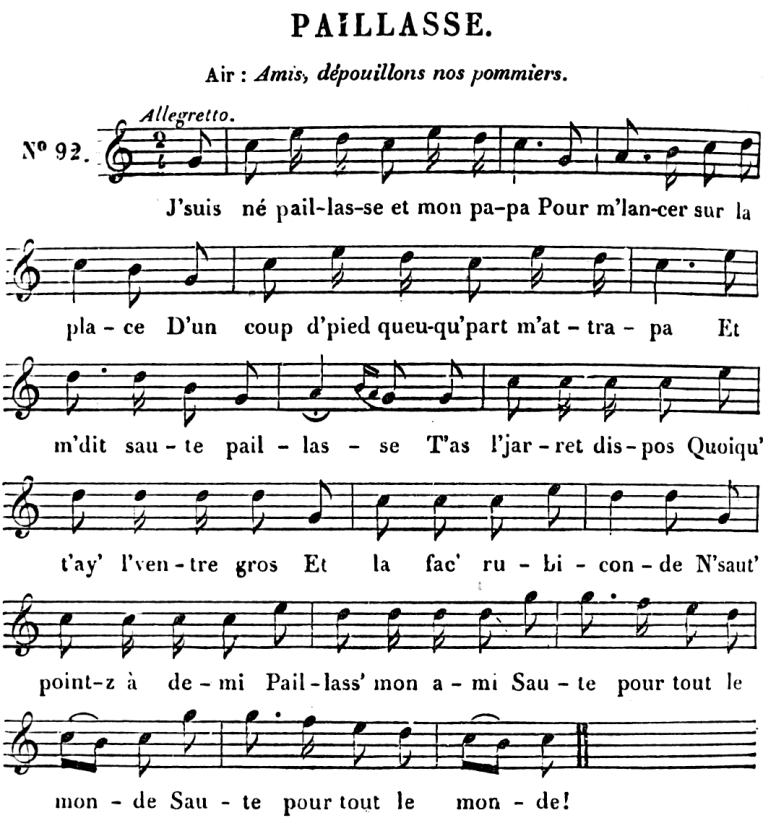


Fig. 1 Pierre-Jean de Béranger, 'Paillasse' (1816), to the tune 'Amis, dépouillons nos pommiers'

Don't jump just halfways,
Paillasse, my pal.
Jump fer ev'rybody!'

Béranger's aim was presumably to satirize individuals who had aligned themselves with this or that political faction for opportunistic reasons. An illustration for the song (Fig. 2) from a few decades later makes the point explicit: Paillasse jumps through a hoop (at the top), holds his cap out for money (in the middle), and has two pots of something or other in his cupboard (at the bottom), one decorated with the N and crown (for Emperor Napoleon), the other with the *fleur de lis* of Napoleon's nemesis, the Bourbon Restoration.[43]

[43] The full text of the song can be consulted in various Béranger anthologies, such as P.-J. de Béranger, *Œuvres de Béranger*, 3 vols, 8th edn (Paris, 1861), or Barbier and Vernillat, *Histoire de France par les chansons*, 6: 67. A sassy recording was once available in the parallel four-LP collection *Histoire de France par les chansons*, Le Chant du Monde LDX 74461/64 (Paul Barré, singer, and Monique Rollin, guitar); it uses an alternative tune (no. 91*bis*) published in Bérat, ed., *Musique des chansons de Béranger*, 58–9.

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Fig. 2 Béranger, 'Paillasse', illustration by O. Penguilly (engaved by Prodhomme), as contained in several widely distributed editions of tunes to all of Béranger's songs, from the 1830s and ongoing

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C. The Light and the Grand in Schubert's Sonata Forms

Though, as I have noted, many relatively modest songs of the nineteenth century float in a realm quite apart from – or perhaps parallel to – the concert hall and opera house, there are sometimes striking stylistic similarities between works from these two realms. Schubert's late sonata-form movements, for example, are famous for their gloriously lyrical second-key themes: passages that, if taken out of context, could have been published – or could *almost* have been published, as we shall see – as independent songs. Indeed, a whole musicological and critical debate has flourished, filled with arguments about whether Schubert's expanded concept of sonata form produced results that are self-indulgent and episodic (the standard view until the mid-twentieth century) or original and satisfying (and productively influential upon the works of Brahms, Bruckner, and others).[44] Who is right, and what are the ramifications for understanding these works?

The first movement of the C minor piano sonata can serve as example. Written in the last year of Schubert's life, the theme in the secondary key (relative major) stands in such sharp contrast to the agitated music that precedes it that one might think one has suddenly landed in a slow movement: an instrumental song/Romanze. Does this tear the movement apart? (See Ex. 4.) How do we describe (justify, defend) such moments of lessened rhythmic activity and increased regularity of phrasing and smoothness of line? 'Songlike' – *liedhaft* – is one of the more obvious, usual, and relatively neutral terms. But, as the Schubert scholar Arthur Godel rightly points out, this passage, 'despite its songlike tone', does not actually generate, as one might expect, a typically 'periodic, closed melody'. Though it begins with 4 + 4 bars (which are in this case not quite an antecedent-consequent pair), it continues with a strong sense of continuity into another 2 + 4 bars, for a total of 14.[45] Similarly, the breathtaking harmonic shift from E flat to D flat (the two-bar unit, after the 4 + 4) leads us out of a world of day-to-day music into realms of compositional and intellectual quest, perhaps even spiritual exaltation. I admit that the word

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44 An extreme, though not unadmiring, instance of this tendency towards emphasizing the looseness in Schubert's forms is Theodor W. Adorno's influential essay 'Schubert', in his *Moments musicaux: Neu gedruckte Aufsätze 1928–1962* (Frankfurt, 1964), 18–33 (essay originally published in 1928). Adorno argues that the (relatively independent) tunes in Schubert's (relatively episodic) instrumental works are like contrasting facets of a crystal (p. 29), without 'dialectical' connection to each other (p. 27), and thereby lend themselves to the 'pot-pourri' treatment that they receive in the operetta *Das Dreimädlerhaus* more than passages from the more tightly constructed works of Mozart or Beethoven would have (p. 22). James Webster emphasizes more forthrightly the novelty and impact of Schubert's procedures: 'Schubert's Sonata Form and Brahms's First Maturity', *19th-Century Music*, 2 (1978–79): 18–35 and 3 (1979–80): 52–71. A related issue, much debated, is whether Schubert is (or is perceived as) a Biedermeier figure (hence, to some degree, sentimental, decorative, weak-spined, or feminized): see various articles in the recent collection *Schubert und das Biedermeier: Beiträge zur Musik des frühen 19. Jahrhunderts: Festschrift für Walther Dürr zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Michael Kube, Werner Aderhold, and Walburga Litschauer (Kassel, 2002).

45 Arthur Godel, *Schuberts letzte drei Klaviersonaten (D 958–960): Entstehungsgeschichte, Entwurf und Reinschrift, Werkanalyse* (Baden-Baden, 1985), 135–6. Godel actually says 2 + 3 (not 2 + 4), for a seeming total of 13; he seems to be momentarily miscounting (easy to do when phrases begin, as here, with long upbeats).

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Ex. 4 Schubert, Piano Sonata in C minor D958, mvt. I (E flat major theme): from storminess to wafting lyricism in an instant, but then what?



'spiritual' may sound excessive to some, at least when used in the context of scholarly enquiry, which we normally imagine as being rooted in a search for objectivity and intersubjective, not individually subjective, validity. But William Kinderman has recently described persuasively, at least to me, how Schubert's piano music, in its recurrent use of a 'divided perspective', contrasts with Beethoven's more 'deterministic approach'; as a result, 'few artists have probed so deeply into the human condition'.[46] And what, after all, is more elemental to the human condition – at least as generally understood in Western philosophy and high culture – than the struggle between matter and spirit, body and mind, reason and feeling, the knowable and the numinous, or, in Kinderman's terms, 'external perceptions and the inward imagination'?[47]

46 William Kinderman, 'Schubert's Piano Music: Probing the Human Condition', in Gibbs, *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*, 173, 155 (155–73).

47 Ibid., 173.

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An emphasis on dividedness and disconnection, though, can easily be overdone in Schubert's case. The relatively abstract hermeneutic readings of Kinderman and the more specific and concrete (sometimes biographically resonant) ones of certain other scholars are valid as far as they go, namely in helpfully noting the stylistic 'break' that occurs when one of those lyrical tunes interrupts an otherwise churning sonata-form movement; but they tend not to deal with what happens when the lovely tune ends.[48] August Gerstmeier, for instance, crafts one evocative phrase after another to capture such sudden shifts: 'deceptive happiness', 'hallucination of escape from the world', or 'something dreamy and unreal', but stops there.[49] To return to the case of the C minor sonata, Eva Badura-Skoda, invoking gender difference, is typical in emphasizing the move *into* the second theme but also in leaving unmentioned what happens afterward: 'In total contrast to the energetic, detached first theme, [the second-key area] has a "feminine" character, tranquil and legato, based on a most beautiful melody in E-flat major.'[50]

Here is a case, in other words, where commentators do tend to emphasize a resemblance between 'simple music' and 'masterpiece' but ignore no less interesting differences. In the C minor sonata, Schubert immediately repeats the tune but now with a triplet accompaniment (see end of Ex. 4). Furthermore, as the passage continues (not shown in the example), Schubert complicates things more, moving briefly to the minor and to semiquavers and fragmenting the tune as transition (and developmental) passages so often do in sonata-form movements of the era. The observations of a historically inclined music analyst such as Godel can be helpful. He posits, quite plausibly, that here Schubert's systematic increase of rhythmic activity (quavers, triplet-quavers, semiquavers) relates to eighteenth-century principles of figural-variation technique.[51] Yet even he does not adequately emphasize that this increasingly turbulent music helps Schubert to work his way out of his songlike reverie and back into the grimly

48 Adorno observes that, in Schubert sonata movements, 'harmonic shifts' rather than 'developmental transition passages' are what lead to 'a region marked by a new landscape' (*ein neues Landschaftsbereich*, i.e. the contrasting theme) – 'Schubert', 28. For more recent instances of this emphasis on the disjunction at the beginning of the lyrical theme, see Susan McClary, 'Constructions of Subjectivity in Schubert's Music', in *Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology*, ed. Philip Brett, Elizabeth Wood, and Gary C. Thomas (New York, 1994), 205–33; Maynard Solomon, 'Franz Schubert and the Peacocks of Benvenuto Cellini', *19th-Century Music*, 12 (1989–90): 193–206 (esp., at the end of the article, Solomon's resonant invocation of struggle and drastic contrasts in Schubert's music); Charles Fisk, *Returning Cycles: Contexts for the Interpretation of Schubert's Impromptus and Last Sonatas* (Berkeley, 2001); and August Gerstmeier, 'Trügerisches Glück: Zur Generalpause bei Franz Schubert', in Kube et al., *Schubert und das Biedermeier*, 91–101.

49 Gerstmeier, 'Trügerisches Glück', 91, 93, 101. Gerstmeier, to be accurate, uses expressions of this sort more or less interchangeably to refer to sudden lyrical moments (as above) and instances in which the opposite happens: an idyll is broken suddenly by a rest and followed by music that is stormy and erratically phrased.

50 Eva Badura-Skoda, 'The Piano Works of Schubert', in *Nineteenth-Century Piano Music*, ed. R. Larry Todd (New York, 1989), 131 (97–146).

51 Godel, *Klaviersonaten*, 136. A similar point is made in Fisk, *Returning Cycles*, 185–6. See also Susan Wollenberg: ' "Dort, wo du nicht bist, dort ist das Glück": Reflections on Schubert's Second Themes', *Schubert durch die Brille: Mitteilungen*, 30 (Jan. 2003): 90–100.

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energetic mood with which the exposition began. Thus, though Schubert's 'song' within this movement began in abrupt contrast to the opening music, it reintegrates itself with that music as it moves along. (So much for accusations of cut-and-paste!) And perhaps these more strictly compositional-technical observations also may help to enrich or complicate some of the aforementioned hermeneutical – extramusical, psychologizing – scenarios that invoke the gender dichotomy (Eva Badura-Skoda, as a modest example) or, for that matter, Kinderman's or Gerstmeier's various contrasts between the spiritual world (inward depth, utopian dreams) and the material world (superficial appearances, real struggles).

I should stress that my emphasis on all this complexity and revivified 'sonata process' cannot deny that the E flat major theme itself *is* songlike, for as long as it lasts (and it seems to last a wonderful eternity). It is therefore worth asking – since there were many kinds of song back then, of course – what *kind* of song this one might be/sound like. I realized, when recently hearing a CD performance of this sonata by Paul Badura-Skoda (playing an 1846 instrument), that the melody and its supportive piano accompaniment do not resemble so much a song in the usual English sense of the word (a folk song, say, or a Lied for solo voice and piano) as it does a sweetly chordal part-song such as Schubert often composed for men's chorus (or several men singing one-to-a-part).[52] I can't put my finger on how the pianist, on this recording, brings me to hear part-song singing in this passage, something that I had never experienced before when playing it or listening to it. Maybe the magic lies in the period instrument he chose to use, or the way he emphasizes the bass line, or a mobile inner voice (against an upper-voice dominant pedal), at one point or another – reminding us of the different 'sections' of a choral group. Perhaps, too, his willingness to lift his hands (and release the pedal) at the ends of certain phrases evokes a body of singers taking a coordinated breath before beginning the next phrase.[53] Whatever the devices that make it possible, once one hears, in one's mind, not a pianist playing but a chorus singing the C minor sonata's second-key theme, one is perhaps all the more attuned to the way that Schubert, less than a minute later, departs from the limitations of a confessedly social genre (the strophic choral song): the chorus, proving to have been all too imaginary, evaporates as the composer moves into the turbulent developmental sequel (described in the previous paragraph).

[52] Schubert, Piano Sonata in C minor D958 (1827), played by Paul Badura-Skoda on an instrument by J. M. Schweighofer (Vienna, *c.*1846), Arcana CD A17 (942 017). For comparison, one might hear the equally remarkable but less frankly rhetorical, less choral-sounding, recording by Alfred Brendel (on a modern piano): Philips Duo CDs 438 703-2.

[53] The Schubert passage thus resembles certain of the *Lieder ohne Worte* of Felix Mendelssohn that scholars have long recognized as being 'choral' in texture – see Louise H. Tischler and Hans Tischler, 'Mendelssohn's Songs without Words', *Musical Quarterly*, 33 (1947): 1–16. Badura-Skoda's interpretive pauses for 'breath' are similar in effect to the *composed* pauses in Samuel Barber's Adagio for Strings op. 11a (1939), which likewise encourages us 'hear' the instrumental ensemble as a kind of chorus. (Barber later arranged the movement as a choral Agnus Dei.)

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D. Lovely (Square) Tunes in Primo Ottocento Opera and in Minstrel Shows

A clearer category of examples of self-sufficient, closed melodies – lovely tunes, in short – set within larger movements of large-scale works would be the big tunes in Bellini and Donizetti arias and ensembles, many of them square in phrasing: 16 bars, often divided AABA. This four-phrase model is, of course, one of the standard formal patterns in much music of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, related to the rounded-binary form used in so many rondo themes, minuets, and scherzos. It finds parallels in much European folk song of that era, a point explored some years ago by such varied scholars as Denés Bartha and Edward J. Dent and more recently by opera specialists such as Friedrich Lippmann, Pierluigi Petrobelli, Harold Powers, Robert Moreen, Philip Gossett, Scott Balthazar, and Steven Huebner.[54] Once again, as with Schubert's 'songlike' themes, scholars tend not to stress adequately that a given section (movement or, in Italian, *tempo*) of an aria tends to consist of more than just the stable 16-bar tune, perhaps repeated once or twice, that in fact it is often enriched by, for example, a tonally more mobile contrasting middle section or a subsequent coda full of expressive darkenings.[55] We will come back to codas in a moment.

But, first, it is worth drawing attention to a similarity less often noted, namely between Italian operatic gems such as tunes from *Lucia di Lammermoor* or *Norma* and a late example of a so-called plantation or minstrel song such as James A. Bland's 'In the Evening by the Moonlight' (1880), whose refrain begins 'In de ebening by de moonlight you could hear us darkies singing'. The similarity proves to be revealing in both directions.

Bland, an African-American born in the New York City area, was active as a 'genuine colored minstrel' in the US but also lived in London for nine years, performing to great acclaim in theatres and music halls there and in other

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54 Denés Bartha, 'Song Form and the Concept of "Quatrain"', in *Haydn Studies: Report of the International Haydn Conference, Washington, D.C., 1975*, ed. Jens Peter Larsen, Howard Serwer, James Webster (New York, 1981), 353–5; and Edward J. Dent, comparing Bellini tunes to 'The British Grenadiers', in *The Rise of Romantic Opera*, ed. Winton Dean (Cambridge, 1976), 169–70. For a more recent taxonomy, see the dissertation (University of Minnesota) by Graham Wood, 'The Development of Song Forms in the Broadway and Hollywood Musicals of Richard Rodgers, 1919–1943' (Ann Arbor, 2000). On structural conventions in *primo ottocento* operatic melodies, see e.g. Robert A. Moreen, 'Integration of Text Forms and Musical Forms in Verdi's Early Operas', Ph.D. diss., Princeton University (Ann Arbor, 1975); Scott Balthazar, 'Rossini and the Development of the Mid-Century Lyric Form', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 41 (1988): 102–25; and Steven Huebner, 'Lyric Form in *Ottocento* Opera', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 117 (1992): 123–47.

55 See, for an example of an enriching coda, the cantabile for Lucia and Edgardo, in Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (1835), Act 1: 'Deh! ti placa, deh! ti frena'. That coda is not unrelated to the tune itself: the primary motif of the coda (5–8–3–6–5, bar 19, on the words 'Santo d'ogni vo[to]') is a lightly coloratura elaboration of the 8–6–5 descent that opened the tune (filled in as 8–7–6–5) and that was made more obvious upon its second statement (bar 5: 8–7–high2–8–6–5). Particularly artful is the two-bar join between the 16-bar AA'BA' tune and the coda: it is based on the B phrase but reconfigured to move not to iii (minor mode suitable to 'pena') but to the subdominant major ('l'amor t'infammi il petto'), and its IV simultaneously becomes the springboard for a cadential progression that is completed by the harmonies that begin the coda: I-6/4 V I.

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Ex. 5a James A. Bland, 'In the Evening by the Moonlight' (widely known twentieth-century version)



Ex. 5b Bland's 'In the Evening by the Moonlight' (as originally published in the late nineteenth century): beginning of the refrain



European cities.[56] His song is generally known today to a four-phrase tune that begins with a tonic arpeggio (Ex. 5a). That rising arpeggio is the most striking feature of this version, being stated at the beginning of three of the four phrases. The early printed editions, though rhythmically very similar to that version, use substantially different melodic pitches and harmonies. The refrain begins with a dominant and was clearly not meant to stand alone (Ex. 5b, which actually follows, not precedes, 5c in the song). The verse does begin in the tonic, but, again, to substantially different pitches from the 'received' version,

[56] The basic facts of Bland's career are well laid out in the various *New Grove* dictionaries (1980, 2001, and *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*, 1986), the one remaining dispute being how many songs he wrote (40 or 600 [*sic*] or some number in between).

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Ex. 5c Bland's 'In the Evening by the Moonlight' (as originally published in the late nineteenth century): beginning of the verse



leaping to the sixth degree in the second bar (Ex. 5c). In whatever version, though, the song resembles, to a greater or lesser degree, any number of gentle Italian opera tunes and genteel parlour songs of the period. (The best-known early printing is marked 'con dolce maniera'.[57]) This is perhaps not surprising:

57 Facsimile (1880s?) in *Popular Songs of Nineteenth-Century America: Complete Original Sheet Music for 64 Songs*, ed. Richard L. Jackson (New York, 1976), 87–90. The most standard version of the tune is the one given in such sources as the *Sing Along with Mitch*, with song arrangements by Jimmy Carroll [and Lenny Carroll] (n.p., 1961), 76–8. Paul F. Wells informs me that the version in the *Kate Smith Memories Song Book* (New York, 1932) begins in the standard way but dips down to the low 6–6–5 for notes 14–16, as if preserving them from bar 14 (not shown in Ex. 5c) of the verse of Bland's original version. Concerning the (today) troublesome words: Mitch Miller's version, popularized on a best-selling LP recording and presumably also on his family-oriented TV show, replaces 'you could hear us darkies singing' with 'you can hear our friends all singing'. Another mass-market version, perhaps more insultingly, opts for 'we could hear those

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minstrel entertainments often parodied Italian opera in an affectionate way or were even performed between the acts of an opera.[58]

One of the features that gives Bland's song an affinity to Italian opera is, I think, its poetic structure. Italian libretti, as we have come to understand thanks to several decades of research by a number of scholars, including several of those just mentioned, use certain verse metres with particular regularity. One of these is *ottonario* or eight-syllable lines, with accents normally on syllables 3 and 7, and with the lines often paired through use of one or another rhyme scheme (for example, *rima baciata*). *Lucia* and other such operas are full of *ottonario* texts, resulting in certain relatively – but not consistently – predictable tune structures;[59] the text of Bland's refrain is almost exactly that as well: a four-phrase *ottonario* quatrain (or, rather, *ottonario doppio* – the lines contain 16 syllables, with a caesura halfway through on an unrhymed word), but with the pleasing oddity, or downhomeness, of a breakdown of rhyme (ringing/singing, listen/moonlight) and verse metre, made exquisitely acceptable to the ear by the fact that the last words, 'In the evening by the moonlight', are the very words that opened the song and also the refrain, thereby closing the loop in a way more powerful than rhyme.[60]

> In de ebening by de moonlight, you could hear us darkies singing,
> In de ebening by de moonlight, you could hear de banjo ringing,
> How de old folks would enjoy it, they would sit all night and listen,
> As we sang in de ebening by de moonlight.

Furthermore, because each line (except the last) has eight-plus-eight syllables, the words of Bland's refrain can be sung to any number of Italian operatic melodies, creating a kind of 'virtual' or counterfactual plantation tune by, say, Donizetti: Ex. 6a uses the tune of the sextet or *largo concertato* from the Act 2 finale of *Lucia*. (I give only the first phrase; if one sings the tune through to the end, allowance has to be made, as often in Donizetti's own practice, for some musical expansion and verbal repetition in the final bars.)

But it is worth turning the comparison around to shed some light on Donizetti's opera. This forced, but not very forced, marriage of Donizetti's *Lucia* tune and Bland's minstrel words helps us notice that even an amateur singer could manage Donizetti's soaring (and long-beloved) tune. Even though *Lucia* is grand opera by almost anyone's definition (unless one restricts that

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people singing [i.e. Negroes with their banjos?]' and, perhaps out of ignorance, suppresses Bland's authorship entirely, labelling the song 'Traditional': *The Famous Choraliers and the Longines Symphonette in the World's Most Honored Family Singing and Listening Songs*, conducted by Mishel Piastro and Eugene Lowell – Columbia Records Special Products 10-LP set, n.d. [*c.*1965], disc 4, XSV86164).

58 Dale Cockrell, *Demons of Disorder: Early Blackface Minstrels and Their World* (Cambridge, 1997); and Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), 29, 90–91.

59 One is the tune from the 'sextet', to be discussed in a moment. In contrast, Lucia's aforementioned 'Deh, ti placa', though set to an *ottonario* text, often creates longer than usual phrases through word repetition. Perhaps Donizetti was adapting the words to a pre-composed melody (as Bellini often, and Verdi sometimes, did).

60 The words 'in de ebening by de moonlight' are freshened by the fact of *closing* a two-bar musical phrase after having *initiated* the first two such phrases.

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Ex. 6a Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, tune of the Act 2 sextet (opening) but with Cammarano's Italian words replaced (hypothetically) by those of Bland's 'In the Evening by the Moonlight'



term to the Meyerbeer type, with massive sets, seven leading roles, and extensive, dramatically motivated interventions of the chorus), this tune from the Act 2 finale restricts its range to an eleventh, far narrower than the two octaves-plus that is demanded by most serious- and many comic-opera roles. The general stylistic resemblance between Donizetti's tune and Bland's 1880 minstrel song – or any number of pleasant parlour songs of the nineteenth century – helps us see that Donizetti has built a consoling folksiness or familiar quality into the music. This tune (the aforementioned Ex. 6a) speaks to our hearts because we realize (on some perhaps unconscious level), as we are hearing it, that it is one that we could make with our own larynxes and lungs and that it sounds like music we've long known, perhaps since childhood. Of course, the tune leads into one of those glorious, enriching codas that I mentioned earlier (one that builds to a particularly gripping 'groundswell'); here, Donizetti takes the heroine up to repeated high B♭s.[61] But this move away from the singing range of mere mortals is a powerful metaphor: the music that we feel to be 'ours' is now entrusted to the angelic soprano, who carries it – or, rather, a crucial motif from it, the three-note scalar descent 8–7–6 – to

61 Joseph Kerman and Thomas Grey, 'Verdi's Groundswells: Surveying an Operatic Convention', in *Analyzing Opera: Verdi and Wagner*, ed. Carolyn Abbate and Roger Parker (Berkeley, 1989), 176 (153–79). The passage is praised (as pure music) by Claude Lévi-Strauss, in *Look, Listen, Read*, trans. Brian C. J. Singer (New York, 1997), 117: 'When I hear *Lucia di Lammermoor* anew on the radio, recalling the plot would, I believe, add nothing to the emotion produced by the fortissimo of the sextuor.'

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a transcendental level, and, with it, carries our feelings: for that tune and for her plight (Ex. 6b).[62]

E. Forgotten Items of Local Colour (For Example, Spanish)

Other connections between light repertoires and aesthetically imposing ones are more direct than this. As the scholarly literature on Bizet's *Carmen* (1875) has long known, though without quite getting the word out broadly enough, two of the Spanish songs that I referred to earlier, a *habanera* by Sebastián Yradier (his name is also sometimes spelled Iradier) and a *polo* by Manuel García, were familiar to and used by Bizet in the opera. In the past few years both tunes have finally appeared on commercial recordings.[63] Yradier's proto-*habanera* (written in, apparently, the 1850s) was incorporated by Bizet recognizably, though in somewhat altered form, as Carmen's *habanera* (or, more properly, *havanaise*) 'L'amour est un oiseau rebelle'.

A close comparison of the music and words of the two songs would prove fascinating. For present purposes, I will restrict myself to commenting on a few striking words that occur near the beginning of Yradier's song: the young man tries to get the young woman to promise to love him ('y enamorados'), but she agrees (at least at first) only to do a little dance with him ('una dancita vamos a bailar').[64] I do not recall any commentator noting that the little dramatic scenario implied in this quick exchange seems to find an echo in a slightly later number in the first act of *Carmen*: the *séguedille.* There, of course, Don José tries to get Carmen to promise to love him, and she responds only with an offer to do exactly what the words of Yradier's song said: go dancing.[65] Might Bizet or his librettists have been struck by the possibilities that could be read in (or even read into, by misunderstanding) Yradier's words and their more or less faithful

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62 More precisely, the high passage for soprano (repeated B♭s followed by A♭ and G♮: a turn around 5 of the tonic to which the music is now returning) grows out of her F E♭ D♮ two bars earlier (a turn around E♭, the tonic of the momentarily prevailing, and anguished, E flat minor harmony); both of these derive, through expressive alteration of the third pitch in the three-note fragment, from the codetta to the tune (beginning D♭ C B♭ A♭: 8 7 6 6 5 ♯4 5 7 6 5 5), which itself derives plainly from pitches 9–11 of the 'Chi mi frena' melody (a descending scale fragment on scale steps 8 7 6), which at a different scalar level began the whole tune (3 2 1 on 'tal momen-').

63 Yradier's *El arreglito* is performed by Noemí Mazoy, soprano, César Carazo, tenor, and other members of Axivil Criollo, directed by Felipe Sánchez on RTVE Música 64073.

64 Even at the end of the song, Pepito is declaring his eternal love and faithfulness and desire to marry her, whereas Chinita declares, with seemingly more restraint (or more appropriateness to a woman?), merely that she is happy to be his match ('tu arreglito') and will never change her mind. A note of caution: deciding which phrases (hence words) are sung by Pepito and which by Chinita is a matter for guesswork, since the voices are both written on a single line, never overlap, and the characters are not named above the staff. (We only know their names/nicknames because the two characters sing them: 'Chinita mia', etc.) Perhaps Yradier or his publisher intended to allow the possibility that the song be sung by a single vocalist using two differentiated voices (as in some Schubert, Schumann, and Brahms songs). My interpretation here follows the sensible but by no means indisputable decisions in the RTVE recording of which passages to assign to the man and which to the woman.

65 I discuss that moment, and Carmen's duplicitous 'Oui', in 'What Are These Women Doing in Opera?' in *En travesti: Women, Gender Subversion, Opera*, ed. Corinne Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith (New York, 1995), 69–74 (59–98).

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Ex. 6b Donizetti, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, coda to Ex. 6a (with Cammarano's words; vocal parts other than Lucia's are omitted here)



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French translation and decided to plumb them, not in Carmen's *habanera* itself, but in the scene in which Carmen and the male who desires her are alone for the first time, the *séguedille*?[66]

As for García's *polo* (of 1804), it is a clear instance of the characteristically Iberian tonal procedures that Peter Manuel has recently explored at some length,[67] and equally clearly the source for the entr'acte to Bizet's Act 4. Indeed, Bizet's indebtedness to the García song was admitted in a footnote in early editions of the Heugel piano-vocal score. The quite overt parallels between the two numbers include, first, a melodic descent using the pitches 8–♮7–♭6–5 over an accompaniment oscillating between degrees 5 and ♭6 in the bass (or, indeed, between the major V and VI♭ chords); then a prominent bass descent that repeatedly lowers the seventh degree as well: 8–♭7–♭6–5, for example, at García's words 'Mira que si no fallezco la pena negra me acaba' (and Bizet, bar 100).[68] But at least as interesting – though it doesn't seem to have found its way into the *Carmen* literature – is the derivation of Bizet's enchanting flute passage (Ex. 7). In the version of the García song that Bizet has long been presumed (probably rightly) to have used, the closest parallel is to the startling vocal passages in *cante jondo* style (Ex. 8): both are built more or less entirely of two figures: rapid adjacent-note alternations (*x*) and turns (*y*). But Bizet, rather than rigidly separating figures *x* and *y*, combines them as the passage draws to a close, demonstrating a subtlety of compositional technique that we might not appreciate without the García song for comparison.[69]

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66 *Chansons espagnoles del maestro Yradier (avec double texte espagnol et français)*, trans. Paul Bernard and D. Tagliafico (Paris, *c.*1870), 18–25.

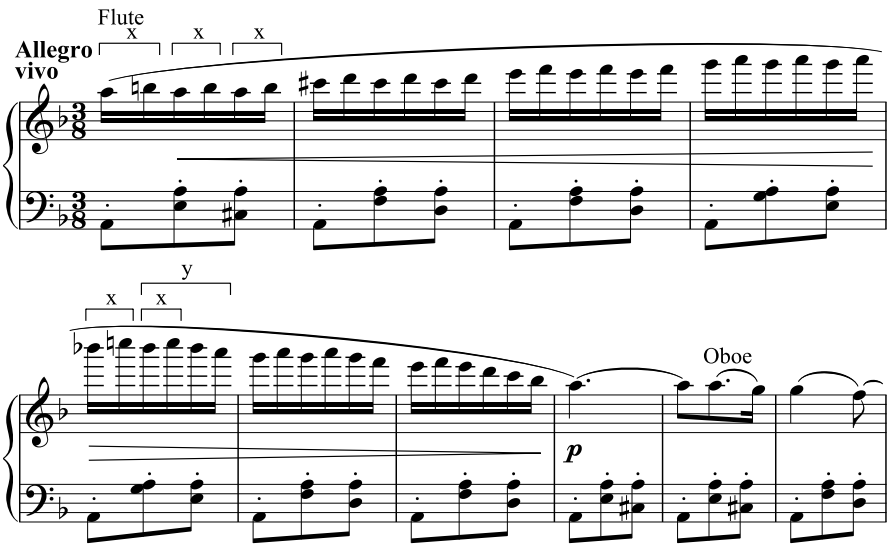
67 Peter Manuel, 'From Scarlatti to "Guantanamera": Dual Tonicity in Spanish and Latin American Musics', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 55 (2002): 311–36.

68 The song, originally included in his theatre work *El criado fingido* (1804), is easily available (in a version that differs in slight but significant ways from the original – for one thing, it consistently raises the fourth degree in the vocal cadenza) in *Spanish Theater Songs: Baroque and Classical Eras*, ed. Carol Mikkelsen (Van Nuys, Calif., 1998), 49–53; this is based on a version published in 1888 by Edoardo Ocón. Bizet probably had access to the version published in *Échos d'Espagne*, ed. P. Lacome and J. Puig y Alsubide (Paris, [1872]), 78–82 (drastically altered instrumental opening, more obviously guitar-like; but the cadenza preserves García's natural fourth degree). For a more reliable modern edition, see James Radomski, *Manuel García (1775–1832): The Life of a* bel canto *Tenor at the Dawn of Romanticism* (Oxford, 2000), 326–41. The recording with tenor Ernesto Palacio and pianist Juan José Chuquisengo (Almaviva CD DS 0114) uses a somewhat different, equally fine edition made by Celsa Alonso, based on the version published by Paccini (*Regalo Lírico*, no. 5; also MS 13337 in the Bibliothèque nationale). Some relatively early (pre-Lacome/Puig and pre-Ocón) version or other of the song was known to Julien Tiersot (from Rafael Mitjana's article in the Lavignac *Encyclopédie*, 1920); he made astute remarks comparing it to Bizet's entr'acte – Julien Tiersot, 'Bizet and Spanish Music', *Musical Quarterly*, 13 (1927): 566–81 (and he prints the text of Bizet's Conservatoire Library book-request slip asking for books of Spanish music but, alas, naming no composers or titles).

69 Radomski draws attention to a possible parallel between Ex. 7 (Bizet's flute solo) and García's piano introduction (not García's vocalises – my Ex. 8) by simply reprinting, without discussion, a few bars of their respective melody lines. Mikkelsen, similarly, is struck by the similarity between the Bizet flute passage and García's introduction (*Spanish Theater Songs*, 49). But *Échos d'Espagne* contains not that introduction but a substantially different one (presumably by the arranger, Puig). True, it is not inconceivable that Bizet did know some version of the original introduction, perhaps through access to the

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Ex. 7 Bizet, *Carmen*, Entr'acte to Act 4: flute passage (bars 26–35)



Pitch content, too, is treated with greater suppleness. Whereas García's quick vocalises are almost entirely built on the top notes of what we might call the descending melodic-minor mode, Bizet (except for one ornamentally raised pitch in the first bar of demisemiquavers) increases variety by beginning Ex. 7 in the ascending minor and switching to the descending minor at the highest notes of the phrase. Indeed, I would suggest that such conventional nomenclature tends to flatten out the felt tension between the raised and lowered versions of the relevant notes (the sixth and seventh degrees), especially as the C♮ in bar 30 effectively turns a dominant seventh chord into a highly unusual dominant-*minor* seventh. We may also note that Bizet was careful to omit the major third of the A7 chord from the orchestral part in that bar, allowing the flute alone to decide the mode of the chord; this careful stratification of texture further enhances the spotlit, soloistic nature of the flute's role, perhaps even inviting a measure of rhythmic flexibility in performance.

In short, the evidence is plain to the eye and ear. Though I suppose it will be a long time before writers stop claiming that there is no even remotely authentic Spanish music used in *Carmen* or stop quoting Noel Coward's couplet about how '*Carmen* by Bizet / is no more Spanish than the Champs Elysées', the fact is that the Yradier and García songs left audible and distinctive traces on the work. One may hope that increasing recognition of Bizet's debt to these two songs will also help gain an occasional hearing for the two songs them-

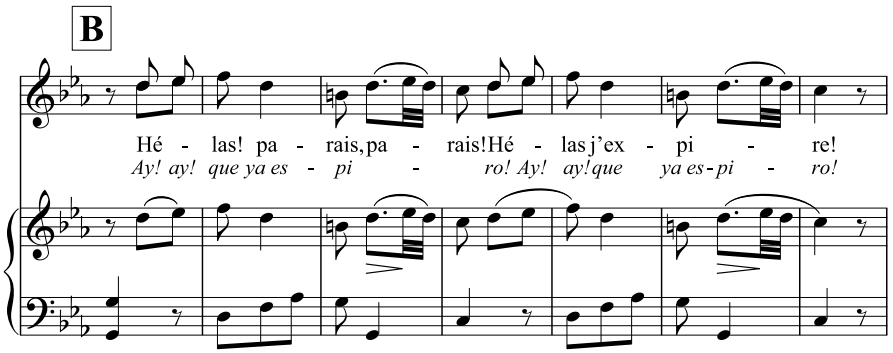
Paccini print or the MS (see previous note); this is not at all unlikely, as he knew García's daughter, the great mezzo-soprano and gifted composer Pauline Viardot. But, given that García's introduction is itself based on the vocalises later in the song and that it differs from Bizet's passage more than the vocalises do (notably in its augmented second between degrees 6 and 7), there seems no reason to grant it any influence. Radomski and Mikkelsen may have been struck by a similarity (perhaps coincidental) of structural function: Bizet's flute solo, like García's introduction, is a kind of 'frame' for the main tune (only it follows the tune instead of preceding it).

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Ex. 8 García, 'Cuerpo bueno, alma divina': flamenco-style vocalises (largely over VI♭–V harmony) from the middle of the song



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selves (as well as for other songs of Yradier, García, and their fellows).[70] Among other things, performers and listeners will delight in discovering that the two songs are not just musically startling, especially given their early date – I am thinking especially of the García song's undermining of certain tenets of common-practice harmony (for example, its aforementioned avoidance of the raised seventh degree)[71] – but also verbally fresh: for one thing, their texts tend to rhyme only approximately (divína/dormida), and certain lines don't rhyme at all (fallezco/acaba).

While we're on the subject of the García song, I'd like to point out that the long florid passage in Ex. 8 (much longer even than the vocalises in García's other widely disseminated song, *El contrabandista* of 1805) is not only built, as I said, on that archetypal Hispanic harmonic formula VI♭–V (or one might call it Neapolitan-to-tonic-major, if one takes the central chord – heard Hispanically – as being the true or at least local tonic rather than the dominant) but also ends with six quick turns around degree 5 (5–♭6–5–4, which, analogously, might instead be heard Hispanically as a quasi-Phrygian gesture: 1–♭2–1–♭7). I suspect that somebody brought this remarkable passage to Verdi's attention as he was composing *Don Carlos* (first performed in 1867), for it is echoed very closely in the vocal flourishes in Eboli's Moorish number in Act 2 (Ex. 9a–b), except that Verdi's long vocalise that precedes this repeated turn (beginning of Ex. 9b) is largely an arpeggiation (of the VI♭ chord).[72] The other striking change that

70 Intriguingly, Bizet's rejected first setting of the *habanera* text has now been reconstructed and recorded for the first time (sung by Angela Gheorghiu on Michel Plasson's recording: EMI Classics 57434).

71 Another García song, *Rosal* (published in Paris in the *Caprichos liricos españoles*, 1830, though the songs were mostly composed years earlier), ends, in aforementioned classic Hispanic fashion, 'on the dominant chord' (as it would be heard in non-Hispanic contexts): Celsa Alonso would, instead, describe such a passage as relying on the *cadencia andaluza.* And *El Riqui-Riqui*, Alonso notes, is an early example of a composed *guaracha* ('Las canciones de Manuel García', booklet notes to the aforementioned recording, DS 0114, pp. 23, 25 (18–25)).

72 The García connection to the Veil Song seems not to have been noticed: Budden, at least, makes no mention of it (*Operas of Verdi*, 3: 69: 'pleasant little mock-Moorish folly . . . [whose] stylized exoticism . . . [includes] the flamboyant pseudo-flamenco cadenza at the end'). For other versions of the cadenza, used in rehearsals or various early performances, see the critical edition of *Don Carlos* (in piano-vocal score), ed. Ursula

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Ex. 9a Verdi, *Don Carlos*, Act 2 scene 2, Chanson du voile (Princesse Eboli), excerpt



Verdi makes is that, once his melody line arrives back down on degree 5, he repeatedly sharpens degree 4. There is precedent for this in García's aforementioned ornamental raising of the low note in a turn (degree 7, in the case of the turn around C at the top of his long vocalise). Still, one wonders if Verdi's refusal to respect the natural degree 4 shows him trying to avoid an excessively modal sound. Or does it, to the contrary, intensify the folkloristic (flamenco? Arabic?) tinge of the music, as is suggested also by the performance indication *comme un murmure, toujours diminuendo* (rivetingly realized on a recording by mezzo-soprano Lucia Valentini Terrani)?[73] One thing, anyway, is clear: such speculations about Verdi's decisions and their implications for how Moorish Spain is represented in this opera are only possible once we have identified the likely source, as I hope I have convincingly done here.

Günther and Luigi Pettazoni, 2 vols (Milan, 1974), 1: 158–9. All of the versions agree in sharpening the fourth degree in the final bars, thus departing from García's original (and from the version in *Echos d'Espagne* and anticipating the 1888 version and its progeny – see n. 68).

[73] Deutsche Grammophon LP 415 316-1; Polygram 15316 (the opera's first complete recording sung in the original French, conducted by Claudio Abbado).

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Ex. 9b Verdi, *Don Carlos*, Chanson du voile, flamenco-style vocal cadenza (over VI♭–V harmony) and beginning of the refrain (Thibault's part in refrain is omitted)



F. *Music and History*

One last aspect of the relevance of lesser and forgotten repertoires (question 3) that I'd like to explore here involves how music relates to history (in the broad sense, meaning other, larger developments). Take, again, songs. The French political songs mentioned earlier were one strand in a rich and varied lode of musical practice, in which singing, and playing of instruments, were intimately connected to public passions: class conflict, political struggles, nationalistic and patriotic feelings. As the late Alexander Ringer and others have reminded us, it was during the nineteenth century that the nation state became an accepted norm and political ideal in Europe and the United States, leading to the creation of national anthems – more songs, that is – as symbols of patriotism and unity. The fact should certainly be mentioned in our music-history textbooks, but national anthems are rarely mentioned there at all – except, revealingly, when a particular anthem (for example, the Austrian one) was composed by a respected master (Haydn) and/or was used by such a master: Beethoven, Tchaikovsky, Verdi, and Debussy all incorporated 'God Save the King' into a

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piece, either straightforwardly or, as in Debussy's 'Pickwick' prelude, satirically.[74]

But the nineteenth century witnessed not only the rise of political nationalism but also of Europe's great imperialist expansion: Russia moved eastward, France conquered much of North Africa, and England expanded its political, military, bureaucratic, and mercantile hold on India and the Caribbean. Our readers and students might well wonder (in the spirit of question 4), 'What were the musical manifestations of this?' One of these manifestations, obviously, is the tidal wave of musical exotica that flooded the parlour and concert hall – including, again, songs of various kinds – as well as operas, ballets, and incidental music and melodrama for the spoken theatre, works that, inevitably, likewise relied on folk-song melodies and dance rhythms (or distant echoes thereof) to make location and ethnicity audibly evident. The various Spanish numbers just discussed, whether composed by Spaniards or others, are among the more 'authentic' instances of this kind of 'local/national/exotic colouring'; in contrast, the music for, say, the 'Indian' squaws in Adolphe Adam's ballet *Les Mohicans* (Paris Opéra, 1837) is ludicrous, insensitive, or a combination of the two: might we agree to call it 'ludicrously insensitive'?[75]

Scholars and textbook authors have not always had a clear sense of how to handle such deeply encoded, problematic, time-bound cultural products. Simple songs and dances that were transcribed, or purportedly so, by European visitors have gone largely uncatalogued and unexamined until recently – a welcome pioneer case is Gerry Farrell's book on the ways in which music of India became known in the West (for example, the various published 'Hindoo melodies' of around 1800).[76] Even the more artful examples of music evoking the non-European world, such as *Sheherazade* or *The Mikado*, have had been regularly demeaned or ignored in academic and scholarly writing.[77] Until we can free ourselves of liberal guilt or political correctness or whatever it may be that causes some of us to feel disdain, unease, or embarrassment about some of these pieces – including such early twentieth-century instances as Ketèlbey's *In a Persian Market* and Romberg's *Desert Song* – we will never have a full sense of what kinds of music people liked to hear and what it meant to them.

True, we may no longer think that Middle Easterners *should* be portrayed in the manner of the Bacchanale from Saint-Saëns's *Samson et Dalila* – as uniformly slinky females and brutish males – but we should take opportunities to inform our readers that, at the very least, such pieces really *were* some of the most indelible portrayals of non-Westerners at the time, probably outweighing in

74 There are brief references to individual national anthems in *Man and Music: The Early Nineteenth Century: Between Revolutions, 1789–1848*, ed. Alexander L. Ringer (London, 1991), 8, 25, 34, 287, and 290. (The title of the *Man and Music* series was altered to *Music and Society* for the US edition.)

75 My reaction is no doubt coloured by memories of a performance of the ballet – by a well-drilled student orchestra accompanying less-persuasive student dancers – that I attended in April 1976 at the Butler University Romantic Festival (Indianapolis, Ind.).

76 Gerry Farrell, *Indian Music and the West* (Oxford, 1997); Ian Woodfield, *Music of the Raj: A Social and Economic History of Music in Late Eighteenth-Century Anglo-Indian Society* (New York, 2000).

77 See Jonathan Bellman's thoughtful account: 'The "Noble Pathways of the National": Romantic and Modern Reactions to National Music', *Pendragon Review*, 1/2 (Fall 2001): 45–65.

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their impact any more informative and balanced articles in, say, weekly and monthly magazines or the published journals of world travellers.[78]

Coda: Meanings, Technology, and Readers

This question of music and history, though phrased as the last of my mini-studies on 'simple' songs and dances (and on their sometime relationship to 'greater' works), has, inevitably, also led me back to question 4, about us and our readers. I'd like to end with a few more general thoughts on that most important question.

I have noticed that, when we touch upon questions of meaning in nineteenth-century music, we may easily find ourselves (sometimes are surprised to find ourselves) catching the attention of more readers than usual, especially, of course, if we are discussing works that remain vital in today's musical life (for example, Beethoven symphonies) or have become vital again (*bel canto* operas) or are finally finding a hearing at all (long-ignored works of Schubert or Liszt). Questions of 'meaning' in music have stirred much interest in recent years.[79] Arguments have flared (even in newspaper and magazine articles), and show no signs of abating, about whether Wagner's works are irredeemably anti-Semitic in import[80] or, equally, whether sonata form, as practised by Beethoven, Brahms, or Tchaikovsky, is filled with male anxiety towards women or perhaps towards the male creator's own feminine or repressed homoerotic tendencies.[81] Articles and books have placed Brahms in the context of the liberal politics of his day, in which a number of Jews were prominent, and have thereby helped us understand (among other things) why Wagner may have invoked various stereotypes of the Jew in castigating his great rival.[82] It augurs well that *Piano*

78 On Europeans' and Americans' sources of knowledge about distant cultures during the nineteenth century, see my 'Exoticism and Orientalism in Music: Problems for the Worldly Critic', in *Edward Said and the Work of the Critic: Speaking Truth to Power*, ed. Paul A. Bové (Durham, NC, 2000), 257–81, 306–12.

79 See e.g. Richard Taruskin's preface to his *Defining Russia Musically: Historical and Hermeneutical Essays* (Princeton, 1997), xi–xxxii.

80 In addition to oft-cited books by Bryan Magee, Jacob Katz, Mark Weiner, Paul Lawrence Rose, and Lydia Goehr, see two recent studies: Thomas Grey, 'Masters and Their Critics: Wagner, Hanslick, Beckmesser, and *Die Meistersinger*', and Hans Rudolph Vaget, '"Du warst mein Feind von je": The Beckmesser Controversy', both in *Wagner's* Meistersinger*: Performance, History, Representation*, ed. Nicholas Vazsonyi (Rochester, NY, 2002), respectively: 165–89 and 190–208.

81 Marcia J. Citron, *Gender and the Musical Canon* (Cambridge, 1993), 132–45. Susan McClary, 'Getting Down Off the Beanstalk: The Presence of a Woman's Voice in Janika Vandervelde's *Genesis II*', in her *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis, 1991), 112–31, esp. 126–31 (an otherwise unrevised reprint, 2002, contains a new introduction by the author); and, on newspaper and 'general-audience' reactions to issues of sexuality (including homosexuality) in classical music, McClary, 'Constructions of Subjectivity', 206–7. Raymond Knapp, 'Passing – and Failing – in Late Nineteenth-Century Russia; or Why We Should Care about the Cuts in Tchaikovsky's Violin Concerto', *19th-Century Music*, 26 (2002–2003): 195–234. A cautionary note about gendered readings of sonata form is sounded in James Hepokoski, 'Masculine-Feminine', *Musical Times* (Aug. 1994): 494–9.

82 Margaret A. Notley, 'Brahms as Liberal: Genre, Style, and Politics in Late Nineteenth-Century Vienna', *19th-Century Music*, 17 (1993–94): 107–23.

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Roles, the book that James Parakilas put together, with general readers very much in mind, about the place of the piano in social and cultural life, garnered rave reviews in widely read venues such as the *New York Times*.[83] For that matter, even some of the writings that I have cited above in the main text or footnotes do not focus primarily on societal or biographical matters yet do not hesitate to raise issues of striking human import that must, I imagine, speak to many readers. I'm thinking, for example, of Charles Fisk's 'metaphorical interpretation' (as he puts it) of certain distinctive passages in the Adagio of the Schubert sonata discussed earlier, passages that echo Ex. 4 and other moments in the first movement: 'These passages [in both movements] suggest a search, if not for some kind of transcendence, then at least for a loss or forgetting of self, a suspension of familiar motion and emotion, that might ultimately lay open an arena of self-rediscovery and re-creation.'[84] Music-loving readers – regular folks – might well be curious to experience how music can do *that.* (One hopes, though, that they notice the careful words 'suggest' and 'might' and not take speculation for established fact; Fisk's aim is clearly not to pronounce 'the' meaning but, rather, to send listeners back to the music to test it for possible meanings on – and of – their own.[85])

And there are other, more mundane but still powerful ways of reaching out, helping the broader public care about what we music scholars do. Technology, for example. Considering how widely the Compact Disc has established itself by now as the audio medium of choice and how cheap and easy it is to burn CDs, I find it astonishing how rarely still a new book is provided with audible musical examples. One need not be a performer oneself – a Charles Rosen – to be able to compile in some fashion an hour's worth of compelling musical examples that will speak to any musically sensitive reader/listener. The Internet offers further options – as the online version of *New Grove* demonstrates, with its growing number of sound-clips – and these options will doubtless become more varied and attractive and flexible in coming years, especially as institutions and homes move to wireless networks, which enable the user to remain connected no matter where s/he chooses to sit (or, with a handheld mini-computer, stand or walk). I venture that, with these tools and sufficient will, we can even find ways of interesting readers in some of the more obscure composers and genres that I mentioned early in this article.

Ah, but what about those works that, barring the sudden discovery of a cache of manuscripts, must be accounted irrecoverably lost, works such as the operas and *mélodrames* that, we learned, were written by 'brave, resourceful' Sophie Bawr? These will never, can never, find a place in our musical life, not even through the kind of 'reconstruction' for study and concert purposes that is sometimes operated upon a work that survives in fragment (such as certain Schubert sonata and symphony movements). Yet, though the Bawr works cannot be *re*constructed, perhaps they can still can be *constructed* – in the imaginations of our readers – by means of lucid, evocative prose that carefully weaves together sociocultural contexts, relevant evidence (letters, a surviving

83 Parakilas, *Piano Roles*. The 2002 paperback has an altered subtitle (*A New History of the Piano*) and fewer illustrations.

84 Fisk, *Returning Cycles*, 192.

85 See the thoughtful review by Scott Burnham, *19th-Century Music*, 26 (2002–2003): 178–84.

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libretto), and, not least, what we can learn from related contemporaneous works (including any works by that composer that *do* reach us intact).[86]

In the end, technology and its splendid tools can only bring us so far. The rest is history: music history.

[86] The uncomfortable position that such lost works put the music scholar in is well familiar to dance historians because choreographic movement was only sketchily notated before around 1900 and, even after, is not reliably reconstructable until one reaches works that were filmed or videotaped in their original productions. See e.g. Marian Smith, *Ballet and Opera in the Age of* Giselle (Princeton, 2000), and the insightful review by Maribeth Clark, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, 13 (2001): 191–6. Indeed, sometimes the surviving evidence of lost dance works and lost operas, for example, is quite similar (see n. 11).

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