

# Sixth Biennial North American Conference on Nineteenth-Century Music

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

10–12 July 2019

## ABSTRACTS

Wednesday, July 10

### Session 1a (10:00–11:30) Music, Materialism, and Capitalism (Hill Hall 103)

A Whale and the Nightingale:  
Hearing Wealth and Class in Jenny Lind Scrimshaw  
Katie Callam

At some point during the mid-nineteenth century, a whaleman sailing on the open ocean carved the likeness of Swedish soprano Jenny Lind (1820–1887) into the tooth of a sperm whale. The tooth was purchased decades later by New York-based playwright Leonidas Westervelt (1875–1952), becoming part of his enormous collection of Lindiana. This paper explores the shifts in meaning of this piece of scrimshaw from its creation to the early twentieth century, contextualizing a hand-made tribute within the dizzying array of Lind-inspired objects produced and sold in the U.S. during Lind's 1850–52 American tour. I contend that while this item began as a personal response to Lind during the nineteenth century, by the time of Lind's centennial the tooth was no longer seen as valuable on its own: its significance instead came from its being one piece out of hundreds of objects which together stood as a testament to Westervelt's wealth while also serving as a nostalgic tribute to U.S.-American musical life during the 1850s.

Drawing on the Westervelt collection housed at the New-York Historical Society, my paper situates Lind objects, and scrimshaw in particular, within the musicological discourse surrounding the famous singer in order to probe issues of class and taste central to her reception both during her lifetime and after. Unlike the pristine porcelain figurines and elegant glass bottles also found in Westervelt's collection, this piece of scrimshaw depicts Lind with a disproportionate body on a marred and nicked tooth, made by a man whose socio-economic status contrasted sharply with the wealthy collector who would later own his work. While both men crafted their own imaginings of Lind, the scrimshaw recalls that those with the means to buy history often hold the power to shape it.

Beethoven in Walmartland: A Pastoral Travesty  
Erin Pratt

As I watch my fellow concertgoers flow into the concert hall through the building's Walmart Lobby, I ascend the JB Hunt Transport Staircase to my seat in the balcony. The CEO of the Walton Foundation, the nonprofit that runs the concert hall, pops up to deliver a jocular curtain speech praising the event's sponsors, which include Wal-Mart and Tyson Chicken. Once the last applause for these corporate benefactors fades, a conductor emerges, beginning the evening's all-Beethoven program amidst the crinkling of candy wrappers and the Pavlovian hiss of soda bottles.

The concert described above occurred last year in Fayetteville, Arkansas. Fayetteville is located in the northwest portion of the state, a region that boasts the headquarters of Wal-Mart, Tyson Chicken, and JB Hunt Transport. Over the past few decades, these corporations have begun "giving back" to their communities, spurring a rapid process of development and urbanization that has resulted in the flowering of the region's arts scenes. This paper considers one direct consequence of such corporate largesse: the annual Artosphere Festival, an environmentalist music festival sponsored by Wal-Mart and the region's other local corporate citizens. I focus on a performance of Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony featuring live animation by French cartoonist Grégoire Pont. Pont's drawings, I argue, overwrite the program of the symphony, modernizing and polemicizing the music even as the corporate sponsorship of the event undercuts and complicates his environmentalist message. Furthermore, I explore how this Beethoven concert illustrates the uneasy affinities between the embedded values of nineteenth-century music and the corporate interests of late-capitalist America.

**Session 1b (10:00–11:30): Music and Nature (Person Recital Hall)**

Mozart in Jena: *Naturphilosophie* and Genius in Early Romantic Criticism  
Edmund Goehring

Leading critiques of genius isolate a Gnostic strain in early Romanticism, as in Hoffmann's famous paean to Mozart's Symphony K. 543, which summons us "into the spirit-realm" and gives "an intimation of eternity." But Romantics were hardly univocal on genius and its bearing on nature and subjectivity. The Jena circle, in particular, aired strong dissents from a Hoffmannesque idealism, ones that, as this talk will show, shaped Mozart reception.

The spur for this reevaluation is a biography by Ignaz Arnold, *Mozarts Geist* (1803). The year following, Caroline Schelling reviewed it in Goethe's *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*. What caught her eye was Arnold's chapter on genius, which deploys a quasi-Kantian aesthetics. Some Jena Romantics, in contrast, had been seeking alternatives to Kant, not least regarding the relationship between nature and self-consciousness. Schelling projects that ambition by identifying a person's life and works as the "feste Punkte" in which "the real and ideal combine anew in a pure image of a person's *Geist*." If such abstractions seem to portend a cultish sense of creative activity, Schelling immediately

turns to the world of fauna for archetypes. Artistic genius, she continues in this materialist vein, marks the highest “*Naturproduct*,” a position that invokes her husband’s *Naturphilosophie* along with some of Goethe’s scientific thought. For all of their differences, both figures rejected the Cartesian *res extensa*—where matter is regarded as inert and quantifiable—for a non-mechanistic materialism. Further, archetypes do not refer to ethereal ideals dwelling prior to or at the culmination of history. Instead, they are immediately accessible in the sensuous, observable world. Thus, contrary to a contention of the critique of genius, Schelling is saying that the task of relating life to art must acknowledge genius as part of the natural world—a living organism whose experiencing self is embodied in nature.

*Aurora*: Composing Nature in the Service of Faith  
**Bonny H. Miller**

In one of her boldest acts as a composer, Augusta Browne (ca. 1820–1882) mailed an unpublished piano solo, *Aurora, Romance on Original Melodies*, to Franz Liszt sometime around 1870. Any related correspondence does not survive, thus Liszt’s reaction to the piece is unknown, but the manuscript was retained in Rome in the holdings of Liszt’s protégé Giovanni Sgambati. The title, *Aurora*, and the epigraph, “the breezy call of incense breathing morn,” indicate that this character piece depicts dawn. The music paints the splendour of the sunrise, yet the epigraph comes from Thomas Gray’s “Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard” (1750). The poem, which does not include the word “aurora,” meditates on the end of day and the end of life.

The title *Aurora* seems at odds with the *fortissimo* crash that begins Browne’s music. The thick opening chords announce that this is no gentle dawn, but a resplendent awakening to the day. The composer’s published prose reveals the meaning of this contradiction. Browne became an increasingly ardent evangelist over her lifetime. In multiple prose publications, she incorporated the metaphor of dawn for Christian resurrection. *Aurora* translated her faith in the “morning of a glorious eternity” into music that she believed would resonate with Liszt’s deep religious convictions. In *Aurora*, the composer sought to fashion a large, single-movement work that relied less on variation technique than most of her keyboard solos. The composition alternates contrasting sections with returning material. Mannerisms of Liszt’s bravura pianism include thick chords at the extremes of the instrument, passages of thundering double octaves, and double-dotted rhythms. The coda suggests triumph over death with a cascade of octaves followed by a crashing cadence.

The presentation includes a performance of *Aurora*.

Session 2a (1:00–3:15): Brahms (Hill Hall 103)

The Arranger Brahms on the Concert Stage  
Valerie Woodring Goertzen

Of the dozens of piano arrangements that Johannes Brahms crafted, eleven were developed for his own solo performances. These include arrangements of several organ works of J. S. Bach, the finale of Beethoven's String Quartet Op. 59, No. 3, two four-hand marches by Schubert, the Scherzo from Schubert's Octet, a Gavotte from C. W. Gluck's *Iphigénie en Aulide*, and Chopin's F-minor Etude, Op. 25, No. 2. Brahms published only two of these: the Gavotte, which he notated for Clara Schumann's concerts and which she saw through to publication in Germany and England; and the Chopin Etude, the publication of which seems to have been motivated by the printing of a similar arrangement inspired by Brahms's playing. Brahms shared the other arrangements with the public and with friends through live performance, but not, as far as is known, through manuscript or printed scores.

Reviews and eyewitness accounts offer clues about these unwritten arrangements. Further, for the two Bach organ works that Brahms performed most frequently, the F-Major Toccata BWV 540 and the G-Major Fantasy BWV 572, printed scores in a volume once belonging to the Schumanns and now in the Riemenschneider Bach Institute contain pencil markings by Brahms and Clara Schumann relating to the playing of these works on piano (first described by Russell Stinson in 2008). In this paper I examine these materials and other evidence of Brahms's concert arrangements and evaluate the role of these performances in Brahms's positioning of himself as a composer-pianist. In presenting works by past composers at the piano, Brahms invited audiences to witness his powers of musical invention even as he presented himself as a guardian and faithful interpreter of this repertoire.

Who was Brahms's Strong Man Armed?  
David Brodbeck

Brahms's *Fest- und Gedenksprüche*, op. 109, were composed in 1888 to biblical verses chosen to evoke patriotic feelings. The second movement, Brahms tells us, commemorates the anniversary of the Battle of Sedan, the decisive German victory over the French military on 2 September 1870 that had paved the way to the founding of the German Reich and its annexation of Alsace and Lorraine, formerly German lands that had long since been lost to France. The text begins: "When a strong man armed guards his palace, his goods are in peace." Modern scholars have quite naturally wondered who, in this patriotically motivated setting, the "strong man armed" might be, citing Otto von Bismarck, the imperial chancellor, and the newly crowned German Emperor Wilhelm II as likely candidates. More convincing, in my view, is the supposition made in 1890 by Brahms's friend Joseph Viktor Widmann that the "strong man" represented the German military at large. French revanchism had been at a fever pitch when Brahms composed the *Sprüche*, and the possibility of a French invasion like that which had precipitated war in 1870 seemed real. Only a strong defense, as Brahms reasonably assumed, could ensure that the new Imperial Territory of Alsace-Lorraine

would not now be lost once more to France. Yet the internationalist pacifist Widmann and the German patriot Brahms had once quarreled fiercely over this very matter. My close reading of contemporaneous press reports suggests that Widmann was misinformed about the emperor's bellicose rhetoric at the time of the work's genesis and because of that misjudged the composer's heated defense of it, leading to his characterization of Brahms as an "unimaginatively chauvinist German." This misperception not only lay at the root of the friends' row; it has unfortunately become an article of faith in much of Brahms historiography.

### **Session 2b (1:00–3:15): Sheet Music Albums (Person Recital Hall)**

#### **The Liceo Album of María Cristina de Borbón: A Case Study in Romantic Aesthetics and Patronage of 1830s Spain Christine Wisch**

In 1838 the Liceo Artístico y Literario de Madrid, a recently founded arts organization, gifted its patroness and protectress, Regent Queen María Cristina de Borbón, a manuscript album containing original artwork, poetry, and music by its members. This album, which has gone unstudied until now, documents the close relationship between the queen and the Liceo— participating in both Romantic album culture and the long-standing tradition of presentation manuscripts. In this paper, I demonstrate how the album's musical compositions represent the aesthetic values promoted by the Liceo while simultaneously appealing to María Cristina as both a royal female patron and likely performer of the works themselves.

The extant album contains nine works of art, eight poems, and four musical compositions. Some poems and images are reflective of broader Romantic styles and genres, while others depict unambiguously Spanish themes and ideas that speak to María Cristina's role as the leader of the Spanish nation and mother of the future queen. In contrast, the four musical works are imported-style salon pieces: two waltzes and two Italian-texted romanzas. That these compositions are interpolated among the album's politically charged poetry and artwork raises significant questions about their genres and function within the collection as a whole.

Drawing upon contemporary critical writings related to the Liceo and an intertextual reading of these compositions against the album's non-musical contents, I show that although these musical works contain no overt markers of Spanishness, they reflect the organization's foundational goals, which were strongly nationalist in conception. Furthermore, I argue that these pieces were selected also to accommodate María Cristina's own performing abilities as a singer, harpist, and pianist and represent the musical aesthetics shared between and promoted by the Liceo and the regent queen.

Reconstructed Women Playing a Reconstructed Repertory: Beethoven as a Sign  
of Women's Independence in the Post-Civil War South  
**Candace Bailey**

Women's musical culture of the nineteenth century has long been described as something belonging to the parlor—something distinct from and, judging from the secondary literature on the period, essentially separate from the narrative of Romanticism. This attitude derives mainly from simplistic acknowledgments of music as material culture, with a nod toward thousands of extant bound music volumes that belonged to women. For music in the USA, it has produced a considerably uneven survey that relies on presumed binaries (based on race and gender) yielding misleading conclusions about what music Americans performed.

This paper interrogates the same material evidence but contextualizes the data with evidence collected from numerous microhistories to interpret women's use of Beethoven as a marker of independence in the post-Civil War period. I demonstrate that Beethoven's music was both known and available in the antebellum South, but it was not favored by women pianists. After the war, they embraced it, and its acceptance coincided, not incidentally, with modifications to genteel culture. Alongside the increasing frequency with which women took the stage and tackled a new repertory came a public acceptance of their doing so. The printing of names and the terms employed to describe women in the press reflect acceptance of women's new role in society. Accordingly, I evaluate factors such as circulation, public performances, and music collection to determine markers of social identity. The performance of Beethoven's music signified a new concept of what women musicians could perform, which in turn embodied expanded self-perception and public understanding. His *oeuvre* frames this discussion, but it serves as an umbrella encompassing the repertory that eventually coalesced into the canon that dominates recital halls even today.

Otto, Louise, and Alma:  
Fashioning German-American Identities in Sheet-Music Albums, c. 1850–1880  
**Molly Barnes**

In the great wave of “Forty-Eighters” who fled Germany under threat of political persecution and immigrated to the United States in the late 1840s, two men who shared the name of Otto Dresel arrived within a year of one another. The first Otto Dresel (1826–1890) is relatively familiar to scholars of nineteenth-century American musical culture. An accomplished pianist and composer who had studied with Liszt and had been mentored by Mendelssohn and Robert Schumann, he built a successful career in Boston as a performer, critic, and teacher.

The other Otto Dresel (1824–1881) has fallen into relative obscurity. Trained as a lawyer at Jena, he settled in Columbus, Ohio, where he served in the state legislature until he was forcefully removed after the revelation that he was a “Copperhead” who opposed the Civil War. Though this Dresel did not earn his living through music, he was an able violinist and a proud sustainer of the German singing society tradition, serving as

a director of the Columbus *Männerchor*, as permanent president of a local orchestra, and as conductor of a community band.

Dresel's wife Louise and daughter Alma evidently shared his musical enthusiasm, having assembled lovingly bound collections of sheet music stamped with their names. This paper seeks to understand the musical predilections, aspirations, and self-fashioning of these three members of the Columbus Dresel family through a study of these remarkably well-preserved collections. The five collections, now the property of this author, contain music of well-known and minor composers published both in Germany and the United States, including music for solo piano, arrangements of arias for piano, music for violin with piano accompaniment, Lieder, and parlor songs. These sheet music compilations provide significant insight into the musical self-fashioning of a German-American family, and of its separate personalities, during the mid-nineteenth century.

### **Session 3a (3:45–5:15): Intertextuality in French Piano Music (Hill Hall 103)**

#### **Chopin Listens: The Formation of the Études through Historical Dialogue Tom Croke V**

Chopin's Études have long been understood to be deceptively didactic in title but rich in expressive content. According to scholars like Jim Samson and Simon Finlow, Chopin's Études stand as a one-sided historical conversation of genre creation, or of Chopin speaking and composers after him listening. According to this line of thought, Chopin's Études are a masterful creation and Études from before or during Chopin's time are less sophisticated exercises, proper for technical development alone. Rather than delineating Études from before Chopin's as un-musical as a matter of taste, this paper extends the methodology of Samson and Finlow but reverses their arguments by investigating how Chopin's Études stand in a full historical conversation, a statement to the future shaped by an attentive listening to the past and present. To examine this dialogue between pieces in detail, Chopin's Études will be placed in comparison to selections from Cramer's Opp. 39 and 40, Clementi's *Gradus ad Parnassum*, and Moscheles' 24 Études Op. 70. This comparison brings to light a process of composition through historical dialogue, where pianist-composers would consider the same kind of technical issues or repetitive figurations in different musical ways. An example of this is Op. 25 no. 7, which has an orchestral quality and attenuation to melodic invention that shares figurations and technical considerations with the slow movements of *Gradus ad Parnassum*'s suites. Providing this context to the Études demystifies the notion that Chopin was an unaware or uninterested composer and gives a new, intertextual way to understand Chopin's Études, one that shows Opp. 10 and 25 as statements in a long diachronic conversation rather than a single, synchronic utterance of brilliance.

Thoughts on the Potential Meanings of Opus Numbers:  
Louise Farrenc and her Consecutive-Opus Pairs  
Jonathan Spatola-Knoll

Scholars have only recently begun to recognize the practice of pairing related works of similar genre with consecutive opus numbers. Reynolds (2012) suggested that Beethoven and Brahms occasionally did so, even if publishers sometimes interfered with their intentions. Although Weber, Mendelssohn, and others also practiced this technique, Louise Farrenc (1804–1875), uniquely, composed the majority of her sixteen orchestral and multi-movement chamber works as contrastive pairs of this type. She linked individual pairs through melodic, textural, and structural references, not unlike Brahms in his Piano Sonatas, opp. 1 and 2.

Farrenc's practices in organizing her own catalogue suggest that she had carefully considered the potential for consecutive opus numbers to signify intertextual groupings. She assigned opus numbers to unpublished compositions, including her three symphonies and her overtures, a consecutive opus pair. A letter from her husband (also one of her publishers) also implies that they had once hoped to publish these overtures together. A twenty-three-volume collection of historical keyboard music that the couple edited together, moreover, preserves the consecutive-opus groupings of Beethoven and others. Sisman (2007, 2008) has identified the eighteenth-century multi-work opus as a type of "rhetorical field," an assemblage within which several pieces communicate with one another intertextually. The multi-piece opuses of Farrenc and others show how this method of grouping extended into the Romantic era, and I argue that a consecutive-opus pair may function much like this type of opus. Using Farrenc's oeuvre to develop further the concept of a rhetorical field, I demonstrate that composers may construct these groups additively by composing new works that react to previous ones written in the same genre. Thus, Farrenc linked her violin sonatas much like her other pairs, although she neither assigned them consecutive opus numbers nor composed them alongside each other.

**Session 3b (3:45–5:15): Power, Politics, and Race (Person Recital Hall)**

Mauro Giuliani and the Congress of Vienna:  
Musical Representations of Power and Politics  
Lindsay Jones

If, as was famously said, the Congress of Vienna "did not march, it danced," it waltzed its way through the negotiation of power and territory to the music of Italian-born guitarist Mauro Giuliani (1781–1829), a figure typically marginalized in a musicological historiography that has prioritized the Beethovenian symphonic tradition. However, Giuliani's status as a foreign guitar virtuoso with footholds in Vienna's public and private music cultures suggests that surveying this momentous event in the history of diplomacy from the vantage point of his sphere offers new insights into a range of cultural activities associated with the Congress. Such an alternative Congress narrative touches on the small-scale and the private, offering insight into the less mainstream aspects of Vienna's music culture. This paper presents an alternative narrative of

musical events surrounding the Congress of Vienna through the lens of Giuliani's career, while exploring the broader political implications of Congress-related music.

While Giuliani's creative activity is not associated with the monumentality typically attributed to the Congress's large public events, I argue that his performances alongside Vienna's other most notable instrumentalists nonetheless served as musical embodiments of the Congress's mandate of international cooperation and conversation. Giuliani's public Congress activities included his participation in the "ducat concerts"—public performances, held in small venues, which could be attended for the price of one ducat—and subsequently, a series of evening serenades hosted by Count Palffy at the Schönbrunn Palace gardens. In this paper, I will consider how some of Giuliani's performances and publications during the period 1814–15 engaged with aspects of the Congress's political agenda. Although music was associated with some of the more frivolous activities that took place during the Congress, it played an integral role in communicating the goals of the Congress and the emerging Austrian state.

### The Paradox of the Black Prodigy: The Case of Thomas Wiggins Lindsay J. Wright

In the 1860s, one of the most debated classical pianists of the nineteenth century began to tour the United States at a very young age. His name was Thomas Wiggins, but most knew him as "Blind Tom." Like other touring prodigies, Wiggins performed well-known piano repertoire alongside his own compositions. But unlike any other young pianist American audiences had witnessed, Wiggins was born to slaves on a Georgian plantation. He was not only blind, but "idiotic" (Strauss 2014, Southall 1999), captivating millions across the U.S. and abroad.

Increasing scholarly attention has been devoted to the figure of the child prodigy (McPherson 2016), but few studies have considered how its construction was fundamentally racialized. In this paper, I analyze the abundant body of discourse about Wiggins to demonstrate how the social categories of childhood, blackness, and musical talent were invented in tandem in the late nineteenth century. To be a black prodigy during Wiggins' lifetime was to perform a complex contradiction—one that threatened to dismantle the familiar racialized archetypes of the "de-childed pickaninny" (Bernstein 2011) and the childlike genius. Tensions over childness as either a bane or a boon to a musician's exceptionalism were situated within a larger constellation of shifting, racially-specific understandings about children's abilities and dis-abilities. Descriptions of Wiggins oscillated between denigrating designations of his intellect as childlike and flattering declarations of his musicality as evidence of his prodigy, revealing the fundamentally racialized nature of contemporary debates over whether the experience of childhood was an essential pathway or a compulsory impediment in the realization of exceptional musical abilities.

While Thomas Wiggins' story merits further consideration in its own right, the extensive discourse surrounding his career offers a rare opportunity to examine the intertwined invention of childhood, and race, and musical talent.

Thursday, July 11

**Session 4a (9:15–11:30): German Musical Aesthetics (Hill Hall 103)**

*Unverständlichkeit* in Robert Schumann's Reviews of Schubert and Berlioz  
**Jacques Dupuis**

In his widely known review of Franz Schubert's "Great" C major Symphony, Robert Schumann famously referred to the piece's sublime, "heavenly length" while prominently dwelling on the music's theoretical audience, who meets the piece with disorientation, as assumptions and knowledge are befuddled: "Everyone will feel a little embarrassed by...[its] length and breadth of form...just as the first glance at anything to which we are unaccustomed, embarrasses us...[but] after a time, its intricacies and connections all become clear to us." Thematically, uncertainty is not obscure to Schumann's life and works; as John Daverio (1993), David Ferris (2003, 2005) and others have explained, since the composer's own time, writers have commented on the experiential difficulty of Schumann's music, though focusing primarily on the piano music.

This paper expands on such studies by turning to Schumann's own discussions of incomprehensibility, primarily in the reviews of Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* (reviewed 1835) and Schubert's "Great" C major Symphony (reviewed 1840). I scrutinize Schumann's connection of incomprehensibility to generic and formal conventions, and its impact on the listener. Viewing such discussions through the lens of Friedrich Schlegel's 1800 essay "On Incomprehensibility," which has only recently drawn significant musicological attention (Bonds 2017), I contend that Schumann's commentary extends beyond experiences of single pieces to argue that music like Schubert's and Berlioz's symphonies promotes self-cultivation. Initial confusion forces listeners to dig deeper in pursuit of understanding, though the goal is not definitive answers, but, per Karl Solger, "to cultivate [listeners] more and more, for art shows the ordinary man the way to raise himself to a higher realization of understanding" (Wheeler 1984). The paper closes by considering the paratactic, "incomprehensible" shifts in the finale of Schumann's String Quartet in A minor, Op. 41/1 as end-oriented, Heinian irony that similarly forces self-reflection, and thus self-cultivation.

The Limits of Wagnerian Aesthetics:  
Sacher-Masoch, Nietzsche, and the Assault on Art-Religious Ideology  
**Laurie McManus**

By the early 1870s, Wagner's music dramas, writings, and general notoriety had contributed to what many German-language commentators began to see as a cultural movement. Although Wagner's own views on the role of art changed over time, the public imagining of Wagner's aesthetics rose to an almost hysterical level. For some, including Clara Schumann and the psychiatrist Theodor Puschmann, the "Wagner phenomenon" was a material manifestation of a sick society. Critics routinely associated any artist whose work dealt in lurid color, fleshy sensuality, or Dionysian theatricality with Wagnerism's supposed assault on the very moral underpinnings and absolute value of "good art."

I suggest in this paper that the Wagner phenomenon forced into popular consciousness a critical re-evaluation of art's relationship to morality. Wagner earlier had attacked the Romantic notion of art religion, in which art itself replaced dogmatic religiosity as a means of transcendental escape. By the 1870s, the Austrian author Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (1836–95) after whom the psychosexual condition “masochism” was named, yet whose writings on music have gone largely unnoticed could argue that the “truth” of art lay in redefining moral values for each generation. Thus, despite suggesting the cultural contingency of morality, he nonetheless tried to legitimize the works of Wagner and himself with an appeal to an absolute truth. After Wagner's own return to art-religious ideology with *Parsifal* (1882), it was his former acolyte Friedrich Nietzsche who divorced aesthetics from morals entirely in a scathing critique of “ascetic ideals.” In focusing on these two authors, I hope to demonstrate how the public's hysterical reception of Wagnerism was in some sense justified, in that the phenomenon freed art from the moral imperative of art religion and opened the doors to the more critical, psychological interpretations of modernism.

Schopenhauer's Influence on Early Schenker (1895–1906)  
Diego Cubero

Schopenhauer's influence on Schenker is “unmistakable” (Cook 1989), but it “has not been researched systematically” (Drabkin 2002). This paper fills this gap by drawing a connection between Schopenhauer's view of music as a copy of “the will” and Schenker's idea that music possesses a procreative urge—a central theme of his early writings. To appreciate the similarity between these positions one must recognize that for Schopenhauer it is “a mere pleonasm if, instead of saying ‘the will,’ we say ‘the will-to-life,’” for he sees the desire of living beings to survive/procreate as the clearest manifestation of the will, summing up his view with the old maxim: “Omnis natura vult esse conservatrix sui.” In his 1895 essay, “Der Geist der musikalischen Technik,” Schenker used this same exact phrase to describe the tendency of musical patterns to repeat themselves, and in *Harmony* (1906) he saw this tendency for repetition as a manifestation of the procreative urge of music. As Schenker's moves on to discuss issues of harmony the influence of Schopenhauer becomes clearer, for much like Schopenhauer argues that the individuation of the will brings beings into conflict, Schenker observes that the urge of every tone to procreate its own major triad (from its overtones) drives each tone into conflict with another. Finally, echoing a passage on jurisprudence where Schopenhauer discusses the difficulties of building a state given the egotism of most individuals, Schenker discusses the various “social contracts” necessary for building a “community of tones” (diatonic system) where every tone has its own egotistic urges. As this proposal begins to show, the influence of Schopenhauer on Schenker's early writings was subtle but systematic. Ultimately, recognizing the extent and depth of this influence invites us to see Schenker's theories through the lens of Schopenhauer's dynamic and conflict-laden view of the world.

**Session 4b (9:15–11:30): Fidelity and Transgression (Person Recital Hall)**

The “Faithful Female” of *The Pirates of Penzance*:  
Mabel as a Nineteenth-Century Operatic Trope  
Mary Beth Sheehy

The nineteenth-century operettas of Gilbert and Sullivan famously ridiculed Victorian culture and well-known devices of opera. One such parody focuses on Mabel Stanley, the ingenue protagonist of *The Pirates of Penzance* from 1879. The satirical approach to Mabel’s character in the text and music of the operetta exposes the complexity of Gilbert and Sullivan’s depiction of gender. As this paper shows, the operetta simultaneously preserves and criticizes the patriarchal gender norms of Victorian society, particularly through Mabel’s embodiment of the “faithful female,” a term I use to describe the operatic trope of a woman sacrificing her life for her male counterpart. Mabel, forced to forfeit her youth and stay faithful to her lover, Frederic, until old age, characterizes a mockery of—and yet a conformation to—this trope.

Mabel parallels two notable faithful females from well-known nineteenth-century operas, and I draw comparisons in both plot and music to analyze Gilbert and Sullivan’s mixture of parody and sophistication. First, I examine the similarities between Mabel’s cavatina “Poor Wand’ring One” and Violetta’s aria “Sempre libera” from Verdi’s *La Traviata*. The musical resemblance between the maiden and the courtesan reveals a sexual element that is seemingly unfit for Gilbert and Sullivan’s wholesomeness, but in fact accords with Victorian ideas about faithful females’ carnal duty to their male lovers. Secondly, I compare Mabel and Frederic’s second act duet “Stay, Frederic, Stay!” with the Raoul and Valentine’s fourth act duet from Meyerbeer’s *Les Huguenots*. This comparison exposes nineteenth-century faithful females’ powerlessness and their subordination to male characters’ pursuit of duty. Finally, I consider the first act “interrupted” duet “How Beautifully Blue the Sky”—a number that contradicts Mabel’s confinement to a gendered trope—and propose Mabel’s ultimate redemption from her deathly fate as a “faithful female” through the subversion of operatic conventions through musical satire.

*Klavier Amazone*: Interpreting Caroline de Belleville’s  
Virtuosity through Her Concerts in the 1830s  
Peng Liu

With the flourishing of public concert life and widening educational opportunities since the late eighteenth century, more and more female musicians, particularly virtuoso pianists, broke through the social confinement of their public activity and achieved professional success. Titled by the Princess Louise of Prussia as the “Chamber Virtuoso of Her Royal Highness” and nicknamed by Paganini as “The Queen of the Piano,” the highly esteemed German virtuoso pianist Caroline de Belleville (1806–1880) was often greeted with enthusiasm by music critics during her touring concerts, which started in the 1820s, throughout Europe. Although a few German biographical entries (Silke Wenzel, 2009; Uta Goebel-Streicher, 2011 and 2016) have provided a general introduction to Belleville’s life and career, there is still a lack of critical examination of her virtuosity within the context of early nineteenth-century

musical culture. Drawing on periodicals, magazines, correspondence, memoirs, and contemporary writings, this paper attempts to reconstruct Belleville's early virtuoso concerts and evaluate her virtuosic style in the 1830s through the lens of her performance repertoire and concert reviews. I argue that although Belleville's repertoire in the 1830s generally represents a typical model of early virtuoso practice by particularly focusing on the virtuosic genres (i.e. variations, rondo, fantasy, and concerto) written by such pianist-composers as Hummel, Kalkbrenner, Pixis, Moscheles, and herself, it is her "rarely heard" playing style that made her stand out among other virtuosos. As revealed in many concert reviews, Belleville's performance does not only present bravura and masculine features, such as strength, power, certainty, technical dexterity, boldness, and "manly" control of tone color, but also delicacy, beauty, sentiment, intimacy, and soulfulness—a series of characteristics often gendered as feminine in the nineteenth century. The unity of this external masculinity and inner femininity ultimately crowns Belleville as an "incomparable pianist" in her time, who has been undeservingly neglected.

Teresa Carreño's Private Concerts  
in Venezuela, Cuba, and the United States 1862–1866  
Laura Pita

In November 1862, the Venezuelan-born pianist Teresa Carreño had her concert debut at the age of eight in New York City's Irving Hall. The success of this concert opened the possibilities for furthering her career as a prodigy. When she left for Europe in 1866, she had been offered fifty concerts in musical venues in various U.S. cities and Havana.

Nonetheless, her personal papers and newspaper commentaries appearing in the 1860s reveal that her private concert-making was just as significant as her public career. Indeed, earlier in 1862, while still in Venezuela, she performed for private gatherings of intellectuals, politicians and elite amateurs. The attendees of her concerts at her New York home included prominent Latin American émigrés and intellectuals, as well as local musical and political authorities, including L.M. Gottschalk, the Colombian writer Rafael Pombo, the Chilean statesman Antonio José de Irisarri, and John A. Dix, former U.S. Secretary of the Treasury. Additionally, she performed at the residence of Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase, and also in Havana for various political and cultural personalities related to the prestigious Liceo Artístico y Literario. Commentaries on these events reflect substantial differences from her public concerts regarding format, perceptions of the value of her virtuosic repertory, and the cultural significance of her music-making.

This presentation discusses Carreño's private concerts in the Americas the 1860s. It aims to illuminate the musical conventions and values that framed them in connection with the Latin American practice of the literary-musical *tertulia*. It also explores the cultural differences that influenced her reception among American and Latin American audiences, and how these often-contradictory perceptions shaped her identity as a young virtuosa. Finally, it challenges the authenticity of the concert she supposedly offered at the White House for Lincoln, which is an iconic story of her childhood.

**Session 5a (1:00–3:15): Clara Schumann’s Musical Partnerships (Person Recital Hall)**

**Clara Schumann and Joseph Joachim:  
A Partnership Begins  
Robert Eshbach**

Clara Schumann enjoyed a musical partnership with Joseph Joachim that lasted from 1853 until the end of her life. Descriptions of their musical personae and artistic trajectories are strikingly similar—from early performers of virtuoso showpieces to “priests” of music. Nevertheless, Clara Schumann’s influence on Joachim’s development remains largely unexplored. Recent scholarship has revealed that Joachim’s *Virtuosenzeit* lasted longer than is generally acknowledged. His famous public identification with Beethoven did not become a personal passion until his acquaintance with Bettina and Gisela von Arnim in late 1852; Katharina Uhde’s recent recovery of Joachim’s Hungarian and Irish (Scottish) Fantasies shows that, despite significant misgivings, Joachim was still composing and performing virtuoso works until shortly before he grew close to the Schumanns in early 1853. Robert Schumann attempted to steer Joachim to composition (“I believe it – the virtuoso caterpillar will gradually be shed and a magnificent composition-butterfly will fly out”). Though Clara was also a composer, and wrote her three violin-piano Romances for Joachim in 1853, it is evident that her influence at this critical juncture helped confirm Joachim as a performer of canonic works, strengthening his commitment to *Werktreue*, deepening his interpretive musicianship, and steering him away from Liszt and his ‘progressive’ circle. As with Brahms, Joachim’s association with Clara Schumann during the years of her husband’s illness and death is rightly seen as noble and self-sacrificing—a young man coming to the aid of a bereaved wife and widow. This paper will view their relationship from a different perspective, however, and examine how, at a difficult time of her life, and conscious of her husband’s threatened legacy, Clara Schumann mentored and shaped her younger colleague, who would thereafter become her life-long partner in art.

**Between Fantasy and Romance: Revisiting the Schumanns’ Musical and  
Romantic Worlds (Lecture-Recital)  
Emily Shyr**

On the bicentennial of Clara Schumann’s birthday, I propose a re-examination of her compositional relationship with her husband, Robert Schumann. The two shared a long, mutually enriching, musical life, in which Robert relied on Clara to play his pieces, Clara enlisted Robert for help on her works, and both liberally quoted from each other’s compositions and found inspiration in each other. Although Clara was a formidable pianist and talented composer, she often lacked confidence in her abilities; indeed, in the dedication of her Op. 20 to her husband, she wrote, “to my beloved husband on June 8, 1853, this weak attempt once more from your Clara.”

If we keep in mind that Clara undoubtedly looked up to Robert as the composer of the household and often solicited her husband for compositional advice, and that both wrote music within the romance genre, then the question of influence arises. Robert Schumann’s Romances for Oboe and Piano, Op. 94 (with an alternate version for violin and piano), was written in 1849 and presented as a Christmas gift for Clara. Her

Romances for Violin and Piano, Op. 22, written in 1853, was her last chamber piece, and raises the possibility that she kept her husband's Op. 94 in mind as a model for her work. This paper will examine the formal, harmonic, and melodic similarities and divergences between the two, as well as possible quotations and allusions, and will contextualize the two compositions within the broader genre of the romance. This presentation will include a performance of Robert Schumann's Romances for Oboe and Piano, Op. 94 (performance time ca. 12 minutes).

**Session 5b (1:00–3:15): American and British Musical Theatre (Hill Hall 103)**

“Blending Dovetailing Intertwining”:  
Formal Innovation and Social Encounter in the Mulligan Series  
**Sarah Gerk**

In 1870s and 1880s New York, a series of variety sketches and full-length musical plays about fictitious residents of the Lower East Side achieved unprecedented success in the American theater. The works in the Mulligan Series, featuring the comedic duo of Edward Harrigan and Tony Hart, and music by David Braham, did not fit existing genre categories. Lacking the narrative tropes of comic opera, the hackneyed stereotypes of farce, the emotional force of melodrama, or the formal conventions of the minstrel show, the Mulligans' entrée into US theatrical culture illustrated possibilities for a new style of entertainment. Many plots of plays in the Mulligan Series revolve around inter-group relations in New York City's working-class neighborhoods, providing a perspective on social life in these spaces. Frequently, groups that formed along national, racial, and religious lines try to avoid each other. The Mulligans included communities of Irish, German, black, Italian, and Jewish people—but never wealthier Anglo-Americans. Groups inevitably come crashing into contact and they are pressed to navigate the conflicts that arise from the encounter. Elements of the plays' structure, along with Braham's music, all work to explore the complicated world of the play.

In this paper, I deploy musical analysis, literary inquiry, and research on print reception of the Mulligan series to illuminate the interface between depictions of working-class, urban American life on the one hand, and musical and dramatic innovation on the other. I argue that the two are inherently linked: the new styles freed the Mulligan plays from the narrative baggage of older theatrical genres.

“Marvel of the Common Song”:  
New York Entertainment and the Social Geography of Tin Pan Alley  
**Samuel Backer**

During the late nineteenth century, a new type of music industry developed in the industrial cities of the American Northeast and Midwest. Settling around the few Manhattan blocks that would come to be known as Tin Pan Alley, upstart firms like M. Witmark & Sons created a system able to sell sheet-music to consumers across the nation at a previously unimaginable scale and rate. While historical narratives of Tin Pan Alley dwell on its firms' revolutionary attempt to transform music into a mass commodity alienated from the context of its production, they tend to separate these

activities from the specific social structures that made their success possible. As a result, little attention has been paid to the broader ways in which Tin Pan Alley interfaced with the world of commercial amusement that flourished in turn of the century Manhattan.

By the end of the nineteenth century, New York had grown from a major theatrical center to the undisputed capital of American entertainment, housing the management offices, booking agencies, and business owners who could send a performer—or a song—out to hundreds of cities across the country. Because of this, musical life took on a complex double meaning, simultaneously local and national. Friendly doormen, bribable orchestra leaders, prostitute-friendly bars with a good piano and a cheap lunch special—such details took on profound importance during these years, shaping the social and business landscape that birthed the modern American music industry. Using published and unpublished biographical materials, newspapers, booking correspondence, and theater programs, this paper seeks to reconstruct this social geography, tracing the broad array of settings, individuals, and urban dynamics that exerted a previously unexamined influence on the development of popular song in the United States, and considering the relationship between this unique environment and the intentionally placeless music it produced.

Good American Boys:  
Operatic Stereotypes and Nationalism in American Popular Entertainment  
Kristen Turner

On September 6, 1900, Joseph Weber and his vaudeville-act partner, Lew Fields, opened their fifth New York season at their own Music Hall on Broadway. They had pioneered an evening-length entertainment that combined musical comedy, burlesques of popular plays, and vaudeville-style acts. That season they produced a new musical comedy, *Fiddle-dee-dee*, which they paired with a revolving set of burlesques of contemporary plays all with lyrics and book by Edgar Smith and music by John Stromberg. In *Fiddle-dee-dee* and two of the burlesques from that season, *Captain Jinks of the Horse Marines* and *The Gay Lord Quex*, Smith and Stromberg used stereotypes related to opera as a type of cultural shorthand they could manipulate to further the ethnic and class-based humor that characterized most Weber and Fields' productions.

In *Fiddle-dee-dee*, comic opera stars Lillian Russell and De Wolf Hopper performed a duet that parodies the formulaic plot devices and fussy European-style music of late nineteenth-century operetta. Meanwhile, in the two burlesques, it is opera audiences and performers who are satirized. The strong-willed prima donna Madame Trentoni and her submissive love interest Captain Jinks are presented as dim-witted and narcissistic in *Captain Jinks*. Comedian Fay Templeton's big song in *Quex*, "I'm a Respectable Workin' Girl," portrays opera goers as corrupted by their wealth and power, and Templeton's cockney narrator as justly suspicious of her date's intentions. Using scripts, sheet music, and contemporary reviews as evidence, I argue that the way opera and people associated with opera are portrayed in these productions served to promote a particular vision of middle-class American nationalism that valued robust

but respectable masculinity, even as the heterogeneous shows combined many different styles of humor, music, and dancing so as to appeal to a wide audience.

**Session 6a (3:45–5:15): Mass Media and Music Journalism (Hill Hall 103)**

Maurice Schlesinger and the Artificial Media Event  
**Shaena Weitz**

Maurice Schlesinger (1798–1871), music publisher and founder of the *Gazette musicale*, is a shadowy figure in the history of nineteenth-century French music. He is in some ways the “man behind the curtain” of more familiar history: he was the French publisher of not only Beethoven’s late string quartets but also grand operas such as *Robert le Diable* and *La Juive*, he was an early promotor of Chopin, and he introduced Harriet Smithson to Berlioz. Modern scholarship on Schlesinger to date has been focused on his bellicose personality, his feuds with Liszt, and his publishing business. But Schlesinger was more than a “hot-headed” editor; he was a natural savant in the ways of media manipulation, able to retain power despite his often failing business. Understanding his craft as the *Gazette*’s manager is more than a tour through nineteenth-century shenanigans: it offers a crucial insight into the methods of early publicity and the means by which musical careers were established.

This paper investigates Schlesinger as a master of the “artificial media event,” a term used in media and celebrity studies to denote a preplanned non- or pseudo-event designed to capture and sustain the public’s attention. Focusing both on well-known artificial events, such as the Liszt/Thalberg piano duel, and lesser-known ones, such as Schlesinger’s campaign against Henri Herz, this paper will analyze Schlesinger’s tactics in managing a nascent economy of attention, offering new insight into the risks and rewards of scandal. Drawing on recent research in celebrity (Robert van Krieken 2012) and media studies (Marshall Soules 2015), this paper situates Schlesinger and the work of his journal, the *Gazette musicale*, in an emergent media discourse, illuminating nineteenth-century publicity tactics and offering a new avenue for understanding music reception more broadly.

Hugo Wolf On and In Mass Media  
**Timothy R. McKinney**

The careers of young musicians such as aspiring composer Hugo Wolf (1860–1903) could be affected profoundly by the ever-broadening reach of mass media in the long nineteenth century. As musicians moved from the traditional economic model of supporting their art and earning their livelihood through employment by specific patrons or institutions toward making their living as artists on a more independent basis, being viewed favorably in the public eye through the lens of journalism became increasingly vital to their success. Although from Beethoven’s day music criticism held an important place in major newspapers and journals, by mid-century the significance of mass media had increased to the point where music critic and aesthete Eduard Hanslick could become a prominent figure in his own right not by writing or performing music, but by writing *about* music. Before achieving the artistic success and fame that he so desired, Hugo Wolf himself fed the flourishing media machine by

serving as the music critic for the weekly *Wiener Salonblatt*. His bold and vitriolic attacks on the conservative Viennese media as he championed progressive music certainly did not aid his attempts to gain recognition and acceptance of his own gifts as a composer. Whether not completely understanding the lasting effects mass media could exert on his career or simply not being able to refrain from scorn and mockery, the young Wolf did not build a media image that could have furthered his artistic goals; quite the opposite. The proposed presentation draws upon Wolf's critical writings and surviving letters to trace his views on the increasing importance of mass media and its influence on artistic success and freedom of expression. Wolf's views will be counterbalanced by those of Hanslick and other prominent critics concerning the role and effect of mass media relative to musical practice.

### **Session 6b (3:45–5:15): American Identities (Person Recital Hall)**

“A real figure in American music”:

Daniel Gregory Mason, John Powell, & the Paradox of Progress  
**Ryan Weber**

In his essay “Music Patronage as Art,” Daniel Gregory Mason declared that musical progress depends on “two mutually reacting forces, collective public taste and the individual efforts of composers.” Shaped in large part on his reading of Emerson and Thoreau, the themes of self-reliance, universalism, and democracy served to bolster the careers of American composers from Edward MacDowell to Arthur Whiting. And while Mason's connection to these figures has now been widely studied, his relationship with another American contemporary, John Powell, has received much less attention. Alain Frogley's 2007 study demonstrated the extent to which both composers adopted an ideological stance toward Anglo-Saxon identity that shaped their shared embrace of British music. However, what remains to be explored is the extent to which the themes that brought some American and British artists into closer proximity drove others apart. At the heart of these overlapping centripetal and centrifugal forces rests a number of paradoxes precipitated by the tensions between the principle of equality, which emphasizes sameness, and the principle of freedom, which emphasizes difference.

Therefore, this paper will compare the unstable category of “Anglo-Saxon” in the life and works of Mason and Powell. In doing so, I will first reveal how the clash of transnational communities yielded a spectrum of eugenic “solutions” as both a sociological perspective and a set of artistic practices at the end of the long nineteenth century. Second, I will analyze how the strategy of aesthetic forecasting became integral to imagining a narrow American soundscape upon which various stereotypes were absorbed, contested, and created as a means of molding public taste. Finally, I will demonstrate how Powell transferred the site of mediation from written criticisms to musical scores—a process that did not resolve but only exacerbated the underlying the paradoxes.

A.J. Goodrich and the Construction of an American Music Theory  
Douglas Shadle

Scholars have long acknowledged that loosely-affiliated performers, musicologists, and music theorists working in the United States—often of German heritage—constructed and reified a canon of Austro-German masterworks during the first half of the twentieth century. Critics of this canon formation process have tended to focus on the ideological and institutional mechanisms behind it, as well as potential ways to dismantle it. But they have paid less attention to concrete historical alternatives or why they failed to take hold.

This paper examines the work of Alfred John Goodrich (1847–1920), an American-born music theorist who developed analytical methods that diverged significantly from the received German tradition. Goodrich openly rejected theories of tonality developed by Weber, Marx, Weitzmann, and Riemann, which he deemed insufficient for elucidating the complex tonal structures of contemporary music. He also dismissed prescriptive theories that assigned aesthetic value based on adherence to rules. Goodrich believed instead that an analysis should “show the esthetic effect (and, consequently, the object) of certain chords and progressions.” That is, it should attempt to explain what a composer was trying to convey, not simply the how.

Though quaint by today’s standards, Goodrich’s flexible hermeneutic approach informed dozens of illuminating analyses, many of which he wrote for the general public in daily newspapers. Coupled with a catholicity of taste, Goodrich’s pragmatism also led him to tackle pieces by several of his contemporaries, including American composers whose music has largely been forgotten, and in some cases is no longer extant. Indeed, we should consider Goodrich a precursor and foil to ideologically narrow figures like Heinrich Schenker and Donald Francis Tovey, who Joseph Kerman, nearly forty years ago, famously complained “got us into analysis.” Perhaps ironically, Goodrich’s methods also anticipated the modes of music criticism that Kerman thought would “get us back out.”

Friday, July 12

**Session 7a (9:15–11:30): Opera in Nineteenth-Century France (Person Recital Hall)**

Rossini’s *Otello* in Restoration Paris: Shakespeare, Cosmopolitanism, and Race  
Paul Abdullah

Histories of Shakespeare reception in nineteenth-century Paris have typically accorded opera minimal attention, focusing instead on events in the spoken theater, like the 1827 arrival of the *Théâtre-Anglais*, the company credited with overcoming French resistance to Shakespeare, launching the career of Harriet Smithson (muse to Hector Berlioz). Yet, years before Smithson’s arrival, the fantastically successful 1821 premiere of Rossini’s *Otello* at Paris’s Théâtre-Italien, played a crucial and underappreciated role in winning over the French public, hitherto highly skeptical of the English poet. I argue that a key to this success may have been its cosmopolitan vision of Shakespeare that

was crucially facilitated by opera and which touched on leading aesthetic, political, and racial controversies in 1820s Paris.

I focus particularly on Rossini's version of Desdemona's famous act 4 willow song. Whereas Smithson's troupe cut this scene, Rossini's opera makes it a focus, perhaps intentionally in dialogue with an existing French tradition of willow song settings by Grétry and Rousseau. Yet, in a unique departure from Shakespeare, Rossini's willow song is positioned as learned from a slave, a detail (to my knowledge) unaddressed by scholars and with profound resonances in Restoration France, which had recently lost its most profitable colony (St. Domingue) to a slave revolt and which faced international pressure over its illegal slave trade. By reconstructing the aesthetic and racial context of 1820s French reception, I offer a reading of *Otello* that integrates it into some of the most pressing contemporary debates, perhaps explaining some of the opera's controversy and popularity. I also argue that this episode represents an example of musical culture taking a leading role in Shakespeare reception, restoring a scene now viewed as indispensable, as well as engaging creatively with the play's fundamental theme of cross-racial encounter.

What is *opéra-comique*? Asking for a Friend in 1856  
Kelly Christensen

“Opéra-comique, after all, is it anything other than sung vaudeville?” asked Offenbach, whose bicentennial we mark this year. Even in 2019, musicologists fail to answer Offenbach's question. Today's orthodox position is that *opéra-comique* is a form of music drama which mixes speech and song. And yet, as Offenbach asked in 1856, how is this different than nineteenth-century *vaudeville*? If we add the criterion that the music is newly composed, not only do we exclude from our definition the entire oeuvre of Favart, for whom the Opéra Comique's theater was named, we must then defend the decision to conceive of Offenbach's *opéras bouffes* as something generically new, as operetta. I believe a definition of *opéra-comique* has eluded musicologists because we have principally been grasping for formal features, such as the mode of expression, rather than attending to aesthetic criteria.

Offenbach's understanding of *opéra-comique* implies a more aesthetically sensitive definition and is worth reconsidering. He locates *opéra-comique*'s generic identity within a composer-centric historical narrative, “fixing” it to Grétry. I retrace that narrative, not in the actual eighteenth century, but in the opera revivals and memorialization of composers in the 1840s and 1850s which shaped Offenbach's imagination. Whereas Everist (2009) uses the essay to explain Offenbach's subsequent career, I work in the opposite direction. My paper summarizes the daily programming of *opéra-comique*, from Offenbach's arrival (1833) to his historical essay (1856). From this context, I detail the Opéra-Comique's initiative, begun in 1841, to redefine its eponymous genre with a series of eighteenth-century revivals, the most successful of which were anachronistically re-instrumented. The Opéra-Comique, and later the Théâtre Lyrique, curated collections of eighteenth-century works. I argue these recent revivals shaped how Offenbach understood *opéra-comique* in 1856 which, as Everist argues, informed the composer's later career.

Church, State, and an Operatic Outlaw:  
The Mystery of Jules Massenet's *Hérodiade*  
Jennifer Walker

The story of *Hérodiade*'s creation has long been a bit of a mystery. Though the opera has fallen out of the modern repertory, it was easily the most sensational musical work of 1885—not in Paris as might be expected, but rather in Lyon. After an immensely successful (and hardly controversial) premiere at Brussels's Théâtre de la Monnaie four years earlier, Lyonnais audiences were up in arms over the opera's admittedly liberal recasting of Gustave Flaubert's *Hérodiade* and the well-known Biblical characters of John the Baptist, Salome, Herod, and Herodias.

Notwithstanding the opera's enormously successful premiere and its composer's popularity, neither the Paris Opéra nor the Opéra-Comique would stage the work in the French capital; its premiere in Paris and in French would only come eleven years later, in 1893, at the Théâtre de la Gaîté. Herein lies the mystery: why was an opera—whose masterful score and sensationalized libretto virtually guaranteed artistic and financial success—relegated to sporadic performances in Paris's secondary theaters? *Hérodiade* was, in essence, an operatic outlaw.

Popular narratives of the mystery of *Hérodiade*'s creation claim that its licentious libretto kept it off of the most prestigious Parisian stages. As I argue here, however, the controversies spawned by the opera ran much deeper than the stated conundrums of humanized prophets and “indecent” love duets. Instead, the work's musico-dramatic structure symbolized contemporary tensions between Church and State far too accurately to enable its appearance on stages that were still obliged to portray the nation's image to an international audience. In the end, the “mystery” of *Hérodiade* was forged by the intricate complexities of competing ideologies and institutional leadership whose timely coalescence outlawed the opera from what should have been its Parisian operatic home.

**Session 7b (9:15–11:30): Music, Spirituality, and the Sacred (Hill Hall 103)**

Imitative Counterpoint and the Topos of the Sacred:  
Meanings of Fugato in the Secular Music of Berlioz and Schumann  
Christopher Ruth

Despite his well-documented ambivalence toward fugal writing, Hector Berlioz employed fugues and fugato passages with remarkable frequency in his secular dramatic and programmatic works. In spite of his famous criticism that Italian and German music suffered from an “infection” of the fugal style, such passages occur conspicuously in the *Symphonie fantastique* (1830), *Harold en Italie* (1834), *Benvenuto Cellini* (1837), *Roméo et Juliette* (1839), *La Damnation de Faust* (1846), *Les Troyens* (1858), and *Béatrice et Bénédict* (1862). Though on the one hand a unifying element of Berlioz's compositional style, the fugues themselves embody a wide array of representational and topical associations. These associations range from processions and suggestions of learned styles to scenes of the grotesque and chaos.

Robert Schumann commented favorably on the double fugue in the finale of the *Symphonie Fantastique* in 1835 and observed with interest the various dramatic compositions with which Berlioz defied the generic conventions of the day. The influence of Berlioz is clearly evident in Schumann's 1843 secular oratorio *Das Paradies und die Peri*. Though an oratorio in form, Schumann insisted that it was a "new genre for the concert hall" and its title page bears only the designation "*Dichtung*." Also like Berlioz, Schumann's work begins with a fugato, recalling *Harold en Italie*, *Benvenuto Cellini*, and *Roméo et Juliette*. Yet Schumann's use of imitation fulfills a distinctly different function than in those works by Berlioz. In the *Peri* (and in Schumann's subsequent large dramatic works), fugato consistently evokes a topos of the sacred, often associated with themes of redemption and spirituality.

This paper examines the use of fugato in the music Berlioz and Schumann to account for this apparent divergence of signification and to argue that such a comparison can further our understanding of the potential for musical meaning in the works of both composers.

Subverting the Subversives:  
Historicism and Conservatism in Carl Loewe's *Gutenberg* Oratorio  
Rhianna Nissen

On August 13, 1837, over thirty-thousand Germans from across central Europe descended upon the Rhenisch liberal hotbed of Mainz to celebrate the life and legacy of Johannes Gutenberg and his printing press. This was the first of several *Gutenbergfests* throughout Germany during the *Vormärz*, all designed as not-so-covert celebrations of the free press and other liberal tenants in defiance of ever-tightening censorship. To commemorate the occasion, the liberal festival committee commissioned a new oratorio by renowned composer Carl Loewe. Early German liberals had long since appropriated the image of Johannes Gutenberg as the personification of *Pressefreiheit*. Mass choral music, too, took on liberal connotations in celebrating the art of a collective through accessible music. What better way to commemorate Johannes Gutenberg than with a massive choral performance by over four hundred amateur musicians, celebrating the invention of the printing press, Gutenberg's illustrious contribution to the liberal cause?

But that was not the oratorio Carl Loewe composed. In *Gutenberg*, Loewe and librettist Ludwig Giesebrecht abandon the story of the printing press's invention in favor of a tale more obscure and far more foreboding. Loewe and Giesebrecht's *Gutenberg* warns against mob rule, preaches deference to power, and recasts the printing press as an ambivalent machine capable of sowing anarchy and chaos. In examining the *Gutenberg* oratorio, a more nuanced understanding of the *Vormärz* festival emerges, one which challenges the prevailing notion of choral music and festivals as tools of the liberal bourgeoisie. Through strategically deployed historicism, Loewe and Giesebrecht appealed to a broader sense of identity and belonging among the Mainz audience in order to promote a conservative message in direct conflict with the festival's ideological foundations. The temptations of liberalism are presented as at once enticing and dangerous, or as Johannes Gutenberg sings to his invention, "the Christ and Anti-Christ."

Beethovenian Images of Convalescence in Carl Loewe's *Bethesda*  
Tekla Babyak

The first of three *Biblisches Bilder* (1844) for piano, Op. 96, Carl Loewe's *Bethesda* depicts a scene from the New Testament in which Jesus miraculously heals a man who has been paralyzed for decades. The therapeutic moment is marked by a vigorous transformation of the main theme, signaled in the score with the words "sentendo nuova forza" (feeling new strength). These words resonate with an identical subheading in the third movement of Beethoven's String Quartet Op. 132 (1825). This hitherto unrecognized allusion in Loewe's *Bethesda* encompasses the words as well as the musical features of Beethoven's "feeling new strength" section: the D-major tonality, the octave leaps, and the march-like dotted rhythms.

Yet Loewe situates these features in a scriptural context that reflects his theological differences from Beethoven. In the third movement of Beethoven's Op. 132, titled "Holy Song of Thanksgiving from a Convalescent to the Godhead," the invoked deity is an abstract figure who is not overtly linked to Jesus or the Bible. Loewe, however, departs from Beethoven's quasi-pantheistic image of divine grace: *Bethesda* is based on a Biblical passage (John 5:2-9), quoted in full in Loewe's preface.

This reshaping of Beethoven's material reflects Loewe's dual commitments to religion as an organized institution and to the aesthetic of program music. Indeed, *Bethesda* makes use of tone painting: its middle section features rippling sixteenth notes that evoke the water in which some of the convalescents are bathing. As an early proponent of the programmatic sensibility that later became associated with Liszt and the New German School, Loewe thus brings a narrative aesthetic to his reception of Beethoven's enactments of convalescence.

**Session 8a (1:00–3:15): Orchestration, Form, and Narrative (Hill Hall 103)**

"All you have to do is listen":  
Wagner's Associative Orchestration of the *Tristan* Matrix  
Julie Anne Nord

In an interview promoting the Met's 2019 *Ring*, Christine Goerke described her experience singing Brunnhilde as "something [she didn't] even have to think about" because "Wagner... orchestrated this so that all you have to do is listen to what instruments are playing at what time, what colors he provides in the orchestra, and he gives you the emotion." Goerke is responding to the expressive role of Wagner's orchestration—something I have termed Wagner's "associative orchestration."

In *Oper und Drama* (1851) Wagner described the orchestra's expressive role as the "pure organ of the Feeling, [which] speaks out the very thing which Word-speech... cannot speak out" through "the Instruments of the orchestra... [each instrument] more richly in its changeful union with other instruments." My paper explores Wagner's use of associative orchestration in *Tristan und Isolde* by comparing his orchestration of the commonly-labelled "sorrow" and "desire" leitmotifs throughout the work. F.E. Kirby (2004) referred to the combination of these leitmotifs and the Tristan chord as the "*Tristan* Matrix."

My discussion draws on Wagner's middle-stage *Orchesterskizze* (identified by Robert Bailey in 1970) that contains the full vocal parts with 2–4 staves of orchestral reduction. My archival research at the Richard Wagner Nationalarchiv and Forschungsstätte uncovered additional pencil marginalia not discussed by Bailey. In these marginalia, Wagner noted his intentions for the orchestration, indicating specific groups of instruments for particular moments well before he drafted the complete orchestral score.

I consider each statement of the *Tristan* Matrix and its fragments, noting where Wagner indicated specific orchestration in the *Orchesterskizze* and when he retained these voicings in the final score. My analysis considers this alongside the tradition of naming these leitmotifs and describes how Wagner's orchestration ultimately colours the ways in which these themes function rhetorically and expressively throughout *Tristan*.

From Classical to Modern:  
Richard Strauss and the Orchestra at the End of the Nineteenth Century  
Scott Warfield

Anyone studying the evolution of the orchestra from its classical origins into the modern concert ensemble at the dawn of the twentieth century might assume that transformation was simply a matter of steadily increasing numbers. The standard music history textbooks (Bonds, Burkholder/Palisca/Grout, and Wright & Simms) all state in matter-of-fact tones that early nineteenth-century orchestras had about forty members, and then claim that by the end of the century those ensembles had grown to about ninety. Such notions of progress are undoubtedly encouraged and affirmed by historical surveys that emphasize the presumed influence of Richard Wagner's large orchestral forces and the study of orchestral scores by late nineteenth-century composers who used the Wagnerian apparatus.

In fact, smaller double-wind orchestras with limited brass persisted as the standard orchestral ensemble throughout Germany well into the last decade of the nineteenth century. Letters, journalistic notices, and other anecdotal information show that the orchestras of Meiningen, Weimar, and other ensembles in the orbit of Richard Strauss in the mid-1880s remained relatively small and often faced personnel problems, even with conservative repertoire by composers like Johannes Brahms. The hiring of additional players to supply auxiliary instruments (third winds, low brass) and to augment the body of strings was widespread into the 1890s, and only a few orchestras in larger cities expanded their permanent numbers to include third winds, full brass and additional strings before 1900.

Richard Strauss's tone poems, which all require Wagnerian ensembles, were perhaps the only such works that were regularly and widely performed in the 1890s. As such, they undoubtedly encouraged the expansion of regular orchestras everywhere. Strauss's revision of Hector Berlioz's *Treatise on Instrumentation* (1905) also appears to have inspired a new generation of composers, who quickly adopted the Wagnerian orchestra in the years immediately after the *Treatise* appeared.

Rotational Form and Narrative Process in Mahler's Symphony No. 3, Mvt. III  
**Morgan Block**

Much attention has been paid to Mahler's use of sonata form, programmatic content, and the intersections between the two. Though broad issues of musical meaning and narrative, and rigorous details of the musical surface are both present in the literature, there often lacks a thorough connection between the two. This paper extends Seth Monahan's work from movements in sonata-form to ones that are rotational, using Mahler's Third Symphony, mvt. 3, as a case study—investigating the relationships between the rotational form and programmatic elements in order to create a coherent and unified reading.

Unofficially titled by Mahler "what the animals in the forest tell me," this movement contains two different narrative voices and narrative times. The two narrative voices I am positing are that of nature, and humankind. Borrowing from Monelle (2000) and Klein (2004), I will invoke the concepts of narrative and lyric time. Narrative time, which represents the active passing of time, is present during the rotational passages of the piece, and represents the voice of nature. I interpret this as nature for several reasons. First, the primary musical material for this movement is taken from Mahler's *Wunderhorn* song, "Ablösung im Sommer," one which describes the animals of a forest. Lyric time, in which time ceases to move and comes to a standstill, represents the voice of humankind. I interpret this due to the introspective and pastoral quality of these sections, along with consideration of the extended posthorn solos as musical topics that involve humans. Throughout the movement, the rotational form of the piece is interrupted by these posthorn interludes, and narrative time (active, forward motion) becomes lyric time (evocative, standstill). My reading suggests that a teleological close for the piece takes place within the lyric time, outside of the rotational portion of the form, as the voice of humankind has a stronger desire for closure than nature does.

**Session 8b (1:00–3:15): Searching for a National Identity (Person Recital Hall)**

Canonic Constructs, National "Schools,"  
and Jan Ladislav Dussek's Nineteenth-Century Legacy  
**Matthew Leone**

By the early nineteenth century, many European writers and critics were introducing classifications of national "schools" and styles into their discussions of music history. Generally, national schools would be represented by significant composers and genres from different eras, and certain traditions, particularly Austro-German and Italian, were frequently held in higher esteem than others. While scholarship has addressed the relationship between nationalism and the reception of individual composers in their home country or abroad, there is relatively less research examining how conceptions of national music traditions can influence both the musical canon and a composer's legacy in music history more generally.

The reception of the Bohemian-born pianist-composer Jan Ladislav Dussek (1760–1812) offers an insightful case study of how nineteenth-century models of national musical schools can shape a composer's posthumous legacy and placement within a musical

canon. Despite his cosmopolitan lifestyle and career, Dussek was frequently depicted as an English composer alongside figures such as Muzio Clementi and J. B. Cramer due to his decade-long residency and vibrant musical activity in London from 1789 to 1800. This characterization, however, was established at a time when writers generally viewed representatives of an “English national school” as inferior to the Austro-German lineage from Bach through Beethoven. Additionally, Dussek’s Bohemian origins on their own likely had a negative influence on his broader historical legacy, as several early nineteenth-century writers viewed Bohemia as a less significant musical periphery when compared to other national schools. When studied within these contexts, Dussek’s reception demonstrates how a composer’s historical status may be influenced by their national affiliations, and how constructions of musical canons and histories that privilege certain national lineages over others can tarnish the reputations of those who fail to fit neatly into a more prominent or central national tradition.

Local Color and French Patrimony in Massenet’s *Scènes alsaciennes*  
Mark Seto

The concluding movement of *Scènes alsaciennes*, an orchestral suite of four “*souvenirs*” by Jules Massenet, features a striking juxtaposition: a boisterous Alsatian folk tune is interrupted by a drum and bugle call that recedes into the distance. For listeners at the work’s 1882 premiere in Paris, the reference would have been unmistakable. The recent loss of Alsace in the Franco-Prussian War was seared into the national consciousness, and the offstage intrusion vividly evokes France’s humiliating defeat. Revisions to the autograph manuscript of the piece, held at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University, indicate that Massenet devoted considerable attention to the programmatic unfolding of this moment.

Massenet’s use of traditional melodies from Alsace—a region where he had ancestral roots—coincided with a growing interest among musicians, intellectuals, and political leaders in the music of the French provinces. As recent scholarship by Jann Pasler, Barbara Kelly, and Sindhumathi Revuluri has demonstrated, the propagation and preservation of regional folk songs served a diverse set of aesthetic and political concerns. The status of Alsace as a “lost land,” however, complicates the region’s role in this nationalist project. In this paper, I argue that the traditional melodies in *Scènes alsaciennes* can be read as both a source of naïve *couleur locale* for a (Parisian) audience and as exemplars of French national patrimony. More broadly, the combination of regionalist and nationalist tropes in *Scènes alsaciennes* demonstrates how folk songs could be used to promote competing political aims in the early Third Republic.

Opera, the Prague National Theater, and Epistemologies of Empire at the 1895  
Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition  
Christopher Campo-Bowen

The Czechoslavic Ethnographic Exhibition (*Národopisná výstava československá*, or NVČ) of 1895 was, at first glance, a celebration of nationalist particularity *par excellence*, even visible in the etymology of the Czech word for ethnography, *národopis*—literally, “nation writing.” The Exhibition’s organizing committee mobilized groups from across the Habsburg Monarchy to help make its vision a reality, including institutions like the

Prague National Theater, whose director—František Adolf Šubert— was also the initiator of the NVČ itself. Šubert’s choices in selecting the theater’s repertoire, including its operas, demonstrate his ability to maintain a delicate balance between nationalist fervor, imperial oversight, and fiscal considerations.

This paper rethinks the relationship between opera, nationalism, and empire in Central Europe by focusing on the Prague National Theater’s performances for the NVČ, which took the form of three major cycles of dramatic works. I argue that these performances, and the Exhibition as a whole, represent a complex intertwining of nationalist efforts and imperial cooptation, a situation belied by the standard focus on specific composers or national schools typical of research on music and opera in Central Europe.

By engaging in a close reading of the operas presented by the National Theater—especially the first two, Bedřich Smetana’s *Libuše* and *The Bartered Bride*—along with National Theater archival records, the reception of the performances, and their Exhibition context, I show how this hyper-nationalist celebration was mixed up with(in) the structures and discourses of empire, both prosaically and ideologically. These sources document an emphasis on categorization, hierarchization, and the need to make Czechoslovak identity legible for internal consumption, regulation, and transnational comprehensibility. Understanding the imperial epistemology at the heart of the NVČ, and Czech music more broadly, has extensive implications for our understanding of music historiography in the Habsburg lands and Central Europe as a whole.

### **Session 9a (3:45–5:15): Touch (Hill Hall 103)**

Toward A History of Tactile Notation:  
Blindness, Music, and Print Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century  
**Michael Accinno**

In 1784, a blind French student named François Le Sueur traced his fingers across a book printed in raised Roman letters. Reading with the help of an embossed printing system invented by his teacher, Valentin Haüy, Le Sueur rallied Parisians to the cause of blind education, which promised to grant blind students enhanced access to print culture. Along with literature, music played an important role in early experiments with tactile printing. Working with a local printer, Haüy introduced embossed staff notation at Paris’s school for the blind, founded in 1785.

As blind education proliferated throughout Europe and North America, experiments with printing embossed music continued. Printers developed three distinct methods: staff-based notation that closely resembled standard scores; alphabetic systems that transcribed notation into a series of raised Roman letters; and dot-based codes, such as braille and New York Point. Braille, a system of six-dot cells that first gained popularity in the 1850s, eventually supplanted competing methods during the “war of the dots” (Irwin 1951), a decades-long struggle to adopt a standard, global literacy system for blind people.

Synthesizing scholarship on the embossed printing of books (Harris 1981, 1986; Irwin 1951) and music (Reuss 1935; Bordonau 2010), this paper traces the role of music in effecting the transatlantic circulation of blind literacy systems. In particular, I focus on two competing dot methods that spread through schools for the blind in the United States during the late nineteenth century: braille and New York Point. Unlike earlier embossed methods, dot systems enabled blind students to write as well as read. Highly adaptable, moreover, braille and New York Point facilitated the printing of both text and music. Attending to the musical contours of blind literacy, this paper enriches scholarship on the history of braille, which has privileged text at the expense of notation.

“Touching” Spectacles: Making Citizens with Jean-Louis Adam’s  
*Méthode de piano du Conservatoire* (1804)  
Michael Weinstein-Reiman

In an 1826 letter to a Monsieur Quérard, Jean-Louis Adam, pianist and professor at the Paris Conservatoire, distinguishes between his two pedagogy manuals. He describes the first, a co-venture with composer Ludwig Wenzel Lachnith, as a “recueil”—a mere collection of short pieces with little text. The second, adopted as the official piano pedagogy manual of the Conservatoire in 1804, is a more comprehensive and useful document; in it, Adam undertakes the task of outlining the art of pianistic touch.

In this talk, I argue that Adam’s favored *Méthode de piano du Conservatoire* exemplifies an epistemology of experiential learning. More specifically, I demonstrate how, by the turn of the nineteenth century, touch was understood as a viable conduit for the acquisition of knowledge. This reconsideration of how bodies receive and transmit information was owed in part to educational reforms during the French First Republic and Empire. My talk hones in on parallel developments at the Conservatoire and the National Institute for the Young Blind, founded in the 1790s and in continual flux until 1815. At both locations, tactility became of signal concern for the creation of systems designed to replace earlier practices, either courtly or ecclesiastical.

Throughout his *Méthode*, Adam aspires to control and teach pianistic touch through short musical drills of graduated difficulty. With the goal of demonstrating the efficiency of universalized education, early-nineteenth-century French pianists disciplined themselves into docile modern citizens, “feeling” their way through military-inspired musical exercises in preparation for public performances. At the same time, students at the National Institute for the Young Blind were conscripted into similar displays of the “usefulness” of their touch. I thus contend that Adam’s manual illuminates the urgency of managing touch for its increasing artistic value and, in the wake of the French Revolution, as a model for tactile industry.

**Session 9b (3:45–5:15): German Lieder, 1830s–1850s (Person Recital Hall)**

Strategic Incompletion in Clara Schumann’s *Lieder*  
Michael Baker

The abstract notion of completion is a central concern for many approaches to music analysis. We regularly speak of the completion of formal sections, the completion of

motivic processes, the completion of narrative journeys, aggregate completion, and so on. Accordingly, the strategic use of musical incompleteness, and purposefully avoiding the completion of a fundamental musical idea, would be a marked musical event, one that could effectively portray similarly marked aspects of a given poetic text. In this paper I examine two songs by Clara Schumann (1819–1896) that explore the notion of strategic incompleteness of the fundamental structure in two interesting ways:

(1) delaying the first appearance of the tonic harmony until nearly the end of the song through an expanded auxiliary cadence, and (2) establishing the tonic harmony early on as expected but concluding the song on the structural dominant, resulting in a “permanent interruption.”

“Der Wanderer in der Sägemühle” is structured in the first manner, beginning with an extensive dominant prolongation and reaching the tonic only in the song’s final measure. The extensive dominant prolongation depicts changes in the poetic persona’s outlook, from carefree, to concerned, and ultimately to dread of what the near future holds. In contrast, “Die stille Lotosblume” establishes the opening tonic but ends on an unresolved dominant seventh sonority, suggesting a permanent interruption of the fundamental structure. The attendant lack of harmonic closure artfully sets the questioning tone of Emanuel Giebel’s poetry for the song. These two techniques represent opposite ends of a spectrum, with structural incompleteness directed either at the opening or conclusion of the song. Such deep-level incompleteness is rich with expressive potential, and in the hands of a creative composer can depict any number of musico-poetic sentiments in a song.

Fanny Hensel’s Lied “Der Fürst vom Berge”  
in Light of Contemporary European Politics  
Laura Stokes

In 1839–1840, the composer Fanny Hensel, her artist husband Wilhelm, and their son Sebastian traveled to Italy. As a memoir of their time in Italy, Fanny and Wilhelm created the *Reise-Album*, a collaborative compilation of artwork, compositions, and texts (SBB-PK MA Ms. 163). The lied “Der Fürst vom Berge,” with music by Fanny and text and pencil vignette by Wilhelm, is the sixteenth of eighteen musical works contained in this album. The text and music present an ambiguous picture of a princely ruler: one who glories in his power and makes (seemingly) arbitrary decisions about who among his subjects will meet with happiness and honors, or punishment and disgrace. Although the martial rhythms of the central motif suggest the monarch’s dignity, Hensel’s adventurous harmonic language, paired with a fading ending, indicate capriciousness and precariousness rather than certainty and stability.

In his edition of this lied, Hans-Günter Klein notes that the chronology of the trip and the mountain motifs in the drawing indicate that this work was likely composed during, or in remembrance of, the Hensels’ travel in the Alps during their return to Berlin in 1840. Fanny Hensel’s journal entries from that time offer clues to a potential interpretation of this lied. She discusses two contemporary political figures: the new king of Prussia, Friedrich Wilhelm IV, who had reinstated the standing of the disgraced scholars known as the Göttingen Seven, and, in a different vein, the

nobleman and revolutionary Federico Confalonieri, whom the Hensels had met in Bellinzona, Switzerland, and who had been exiled from his native Italy. The Hensels' lied thus offers insights into the complex politics of the time, as well as into the nature of the artistic collaboration between husband and wife.