

From Posters to Concert Reviews in Enlightenment Paris

Beverly Wilcox

The first Concert Spirituel entrepreneurs, in 1725, envisioned public concerts as a means of earning a living. But they had a problem: how to lure an audience into their concert hall. Without sufficient ticket-buyers, expenses could exceed revenues, sending them to debtors' prison and disgrace. In the absence of daily newspapers, which did not yet exist, these entrepreneurs used posters in the streets, inviting all and sundry to attend. In fig. 1, we see an *afficheur* (poster hanger) with the tools of his trade: glue bucket, ladder, and an apron stuffed with posters. These posters presented the Concert Spirituel as something new: in contrast with salons and concert societies, where an invitation was necessary, anyone who could afford the price of a ticket might attend these concerts.

A less direct form of publicity also existed: reports of concerts in the *Mercure de France*, a state-sanctioned monthly newspaper that reported, in its "Spectacles" section, on the opera, spoken theater, and court concerts.¹ It described the first Concert Spirituel in detail, and thereafter included it in the "Spectacles." These two forms of publicity—posters and concert reports—interacted in ways that are not entirely obvious.

Posters

Louis-Sébastien Mercier, that voluble observer of Paris in the 1780s, devoted the 961st of his little articles to *affiches*:

If the hand that pastes them up didn't pull them down, the streets would be totally obstructed by a kind of cardboard, a rude mix of sacred and profane: decrees, charlatan's handbills, orders by the court of Parlement, orders of the [king's] council that annul them; debtor's goods, estate sales . . .²

1. Private concert series such as the Crozat concerts (1715–1725), the Concert des Amateurs (1769–1781) and the Concert de la Loge Olympique (1781–1789) were never reported in the *Mercure*.

2. Louis Sébastien Mercier, *Tableau de Paris* (Amsterdam, 1782–1788; repr. Paris: *Mercure de France*, 1994), 1:804–805. "Si la main qui les colle

ne les déchirait pas, les rues à la longue seraient obstruées par une espèce de carton, grossier résultat du sacré et du profane mêlés ensemble : comme mandements ; annonces de charlatans ; arrêts de la cour de Parlement; arrêts du Conseil qui les cassent; biens en décret, ventes après décès . . ."

3. Posters for August 15, 1754, F-Pn Rés Atlas-Z-46(15); for February 2, 1779, F-Po Aff. Rés. 29; for December 8, 1787, Musée Carnavalet (Paris), Aff. 1496.

4 F-Pan AJ¹³ 36 (I), "Depenses divers 1745-1757."

5. Mercier, op. cit., 2:71: "L'orchestre de l'Opéra, les chanteurs et les chanteuses vont sur un autre théâtre qu'on appelle Concert spirituel, et sous de nouvelles affiches en lettres rouges débitent toutes les modulations de leur gosier harmonieux."



Figure 1.

Posters and Reviews in the 1750s

The earliest surviving poster announces the concert of August 15, 1754, which was the feast of the Assumption. The performers and works were, and still are, not well known. Since Parisians fled the city during the heat of summer, as they

From the Editor

The SECM Newsletter is published twice yearly, in October and April. Submissions in the following categories are encouraged:

- News of recent accomplishments from members of the society (publications, presentations, awards, performances, promotions, etc.);
- Reviews of performances of eighteenth-century music;
- Reviews of books, editions, or recordings of eighteenth-century music;
- Conference reports;
- Dissertations in progress on eighteenth-century music;
- Upcoming conferences and meetings;
- Calls for papers and manuscripts;
- Research reports and research resources;
- Grant opportunities.

Contributions should be submitted as an attachment to an e-mail message (preferably in Microsoft Word format) to the SECM Newsletter editor (alisoncdesimone@gmail.com). Submissions must be received by July 1 for the October issue and by January 1 for the April issue. Claims for missing issues of the Newsletter must be requested within six months of publication. Annotated discographies (in the format given in the inaugural issue, October 2002) will also be accepted and will be posted on the SECM web site. Discographies should be sent to mknoll@steglein.com.



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President's Report

Sarah Eyerly

It was wonderful to see so many of our members in February for the Society's Eighth Biennial Conference at Mission San Luis in Tallahassee, Florida. The study of eighteenth-century music was well represented in the depth and breadth of the conference program. Attendees also had a chance to tour the mission site, and to learn about archaeological research on the history of Florida. I want to thank Bertil Van Boer, Michael Ruhling, and Stewart Carter for helping the State of Florida's archaeologists to reclassify a section of fingerboard found in a shipwreck off the coast of Florida from "violin" to "mandora." This was surely one of the most memorable moments of the conference! In fact, I was reminded throughout the conference of the collegiality of our Society, and of the valuable contributions of our members to the activities of the Society and to the professional study of music and musical culture in general. I'd especially like to thank those who made the conference possible through their service on the various conference committees:

Program committee: Drew Edward Davies (chair), Stewart Carter, Caryl Clark, Danielle Kuntz

Local arrangements committee: Rachel Bani, Laura Clapper, Rebekah Taylor, Mark Sciuchetti

Student paper prize committee: Stewart Carter (chair), Danielle Kuntz, Janet Page, Sterling E. Murray

Sterling Murray Travel Award committee: Janet Page (chair), Matteo Magarotto

I'd also like to thank several local organizations in Tallahassee for their assistance with funding or resources for the conference: the staff of Mission San Luis and the Florida Department of State's Division of Historical Resources; Leon County, Division of Tourism Development (Visit Tallahassee); and the Florida State University, College of Music and Musicology Area (Patricia Flowers, Dean; Denise von Glahn, Musicology Area Coordinator).

In conclusion, I would also like to thank Sterling Murray for his inspiring keynote lecture, "Music in Context: A Reflection on the Study of Eighteenth-Century Music," which generated a very important discussion about the future direction of scholarship in eighteenth-century music. For those who were not able to attend the conference, I would like to dedicate the Society's session at AMS in San Antonio to continuing the discussion that followed Sterling's lecture. As always, I invite members to contact me with questions, comments, or suggestions about any of the Society's activities. I also welcome those who are interested in serving the Society to contact me. There are many opportunities for service that arise throughout the year, and your active participation in the Society is always welcome and encouraged. I look forward to seeing many of you at AMS in San Antonio.



Member News

Evan Cortens announces that the latest volume of *Bach Perspectives* (No. 11) was released in November 2017. It includes the following articles: “Father and Sons: Confronting a Uniquely Daunting Parental Legacy” (Robert L. Marshall); “Keyboards, Music Rooms, and the Bach Family at the Court of Frederick the Great” (Mary Oleskiewicz); “C.P.E. Bach’s Keyboard Music and the Question of Idiom” (David Schulenberg); “Voices and Invoices: The Hamburg Vocal Ensemble of C.P.E. Bach” (Evan Cortens); and “Recently Rediscovered Sources of Music of the Bach Family in the Breitkopf Archive” (Christine Blanken).

Beverly Jerold reports that she recently published the following articles: “Performance conditions, standards and Bach’s chorus,” *The Musical Times* 158, no. 1941 (Winter 2017): 55–70; and “Gluck and the Prosodic Appoggiatura,” *Journal of Singing* 74, no. 2 (Nov/Dec 2017): 143–54. She has also presented the following papers in the past year: “Beethoven Reception as Affected by Performance,” New York City Chapter, American Musicological Society, September 2017; “Performance Criticism in Late Eighteenth-Century Paris,” Francophone Music Criticism Conference preceding the American Musicological Society annual meeting, Rochester, 2017; “Reichardt’s Review of Handel Concerts in London,” American Handel Society, Princeton University 2017; and “The Myth of the Inferior Amateur,” Pardessus de viole Conference, Boston Early Music Festival, 2017.

From **Christina Fuhrmann**: I have started a new position at Baldwin Wallace University, where I am Professor of Music and Editor of *BACH: Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute*. I am excited to promote the Riemenschneider Bach Institute (RBI) and I encourage members to apply for the Martha Goldsworthy Arnold Fellowship to come and work with our materials; applications are due each April 1 and October 1. The *BACH* Journal has many new features. The first issue will offer a tribute to Gustav Leonhardt and the second issue will contain a roundtable on “Bach in the Music Theory Classroom.” The 2019 issues will be devoted to articles from the recent “Bach on Screen” conference at Baldwin Wallace and the 2020 issues will celebrate the journal’s 50th anniversary. I welcome SECM members to send me their submissions about Bach and his world.

Jane Schatkin Hettrick completed two critical editions of liturgical music by Antonio Salieri: Plenary Mass in C with *Te Deum* (2016) and *Requiem With Two Related Motets* (2017), both published by A-R Editions. At a conference in Wittenberg Germany marking the 500th anniversary of the Reformation (2017) she presented a paper entitled “A Lutheran Hymnal of the Enlightenment.” She also gave a paper at the conference “Early Christian Mystagogy and the Body,” held in Utrecht, Netherlands, on the topic “Et exspecto resurrectionem mortuorum: A Composer of the Enlightenment Thinks on His Mortality.” Recent review/articles appearing in *The American Organist* include “Music as the Supreme Gift of God” (review of Miikka Anttila’s *Luther’s Theology of Music: Spiritual Beauty and Pleasure*, Berlin, 2013).

Alison DeSimone has been appointed a co-editor of the journal *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* starting in the summer of 2018.

Guido Olivieri has been invited as 2018 Trotter Visiting Professor at the University of Oregon. During his residency, he has presented on Italian opera and on the history of the Neapolitan conservatories. He has also given lectures on Neapolitan instru-

mental music at the Universidad Autónoma de México (Mexico City) and at Georgetown University (Washington, DC). In an effort to make the eighteenth-century Neapolitan repertory widely accessible, he has collaborated on and wrote the booklet for three recent CDs: “The Fiery Genius,” string sonatas by Neapolitan composers performed by Enrico Gatti; “Cello Napoletano,” cello concerti by Nicola Fiorenza performed by the Van Diemen’s Band; and “A Due Viole,” Emanuele Barbella’s duets performed by Stefano Marcocchi and Simone Laghi. He is currently working in collaboration with Federico Gon and the University of Vienna at the critical edition of Domenico Cimarosa’s *Il matrimonio segreto* to be published by Bärenreiter.



Mary Sue Morrow: A Career in Eighteenth-Century Music

Mary Sue Morrow received her BA from Southwestern at Memphis (Rhodes College) in 1975, her MM in Music History from Northwestern University in 1976, and her PhD in musicology from Indiana University in 1984. She taught piano and music theory at the College of the Ozarks in Clarksville, Arkansas from 1977–1979. Upon deciding to pursue the PhD, she moved to Bloomington, Indiana, where she was a teaching assistant from 1979–1981. With the help of a Fulbright Fellowship and a Fulbright teaching assistantship, she spent two years in Vienna, then returned to Bloomington to complete her dissertation in 1984. Honored by the academic societies Phi Beta Kappa and Pi Kappa Lambda, she has also held fellowships (in addition to the Fulbright), from the University of Cincinnati, the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung, and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

In 1984 she accepted a position at Loyola University New Orleans, where she spent fifteen years teaching, and doing research (some related to New Orleans in the nineteenth century). In 1999, she accepted a position at the College–Conservatory of Music at the University of Cincinnati, where she taught a variety of courses such as “Opera and Society in the Eighteenth Century,” “Music and National Identity,” and “Convention and Originality in Eighteenth-Century Music,” while also advising numerous theses, documents, and dissertations.

Her three books include *The Eighteenth-Century Symphony* (co-edited with Bathia Churgin, Indiana University Press, 2012), *German Music Criticism in the Late Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), and *Concert Life in Haydn’s Vienna* (Pendragon Press, 1989)—all have been reviewed in multiple publications. She has mainly focused on eighteenth-century topics, such as “Eighteenth-Century Music in a Twenty-First Century Conservatory of Music, or Using Haydn to Make the Familiar Exciting,” published in *The Journal of the Haydn Society for North America* (Spring 2016) and “Late Eighteenth-Century Instrumental Music from the Perspective of the Italian Press” published in *Florilegium Musicae: Studi in onore di Carolyn Gianturco* (2004). She has also written about the cultural phenomenon of German male choral societies in nineteenth-century America in articles such as “Das Männergesangswesen in Amerika: ein Überblick mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von New York, New Orleans, und Cincinnati” and “Berliner Klassik. Eine Großstadtkultur um 1800». She has

also been invited to present lectures at the Bard Music Festival, Duke University, the University of Texas, Iowa State University, Franklin College in Indiana, Florida State University, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and the Holbergdagene (Holberg Symposium) in Bergen, Norway.

Mary Sue Morrow will retire from the University of Cincinnati on May 1.

Recollections from Friends and Former Students...

Mary Sue handled advising with wisdom and grace: she knew when to push me and when to let me be. Assistance was there when efforts were exhausted, but never given simply to ease the challenge. Mary Sue supported the arguments and methods I wanted to put forward, but was the first to point out when they fell short of convincing. Of course, scrapping pages of work to restart things anew was frustrating at times; however, the experience prepared me for rethinking my goals and priorities as a teacher and scholar so I could succeed in the academic job market and in my early career.

Kevin Burke

With the advice and guidance from Mary Sue Morrow as my dissertation advisor, I became the first member of my family to earn a Ph.D. Throughout the process from proposal to defense, I knew I could trust that if my work met her standards it meant I would be successful. Her commitment to and support of her students' development was present on the page and through her work ethic. Though her retirement may mark an end to the immediate and direct influence she has on musicology students, those of us who studied and worked with her carry on the lessons and tools acquired from her. An example of this came after I presented at a conference on an early nineteenth-century topic. One of the attendees who knew her (I regrettably cannot recall her name) said to me that she heard some of Mary Sue in my presentation. Congratulations on your retirement, and thank you for all you have done for your students!

John Stine

I had the privilege of taking many of Dr. Morrow's graduate courses at CCM, and my discovering my own passion for musicology was due in no small part to her instruction. Never one to simply settle for the dull or stuffy, Dr. Morrow possessed a keen ability to draw out and emphasize the aspects of history—most especially those of eighteenth-century music and society—that students found relatable and therefore exciting. Whether it was an intriguing reading assignment about bawdy audience behavior and the allure of pants roles in eighteenth-century opera, a class debate on the particulars of musical form in one of Haydn's symphonic movements, or students writing and performing our own schemata-based compositions (to name only a few examples), her classroom activities always kept me happily on my toes. Her extensive use of quality listening examples and exercises—as part of her unconcealed mission to expose students to the music of less familiar composers—also made a significant impression upon my understanding of the musical and stylistic breadth the eighteenth century has to offer.

Ashley Greathouse

I had several terrific classes with Mary Sue, but my favorite was definitely her seminar on convention and originality in the eighteenth century. It gave me a framework for understanding music and aesthetics of the period, and it also shaped the way I think about music of other periods.

Adam Shoaff

I arrived in Cincinnati in 2002, eager to begin my responsibilities as a newly appointed Assistant Professor of Composition at CCM. I was also eager to revive a tennis game that had grown rusty, and was happy to find a fellow enthusiast in my esteemed divisional colleague, Mary Sue Morrow, beginning an on-campus/on-court friendship that continues to this day.

Our first match, needless to say, did not end in my favor, and was described to colleagues in terms this publication would likely regard as unprintable. In fact, for years Mary Sue won all of our matches, which typically ended with her cool as a cucumber and me red-faced and dripping in sweat, having to endure comments such as “you look a little peaked.” As our matches continued, however, my game steadily improved, and at long last I was able to announce to friends, colleagues and grad students alike: “I DID IT! I BEAT MARY SUE!!”

Since that fateful day I have managed to take some additional matches from Mary Sue, but never without a struggle. I lose more often than not, albeit in a distinctly improved fashion. But it is always great fun: a chance to sharpen our games, catch up about life, laugh, and (of course) dish.

So here's to Mary Sue Morrow: educator and scholar extraordinaire, valued friend and colleague – and hell on wheels on the court! I will miss her tremendously at CCM, yet I look forward to continuing to see her on the courts...and winning.

Michael Fiday

Simply put, Mary Sue has been the reason why my doctorate at Cincinnati was stress-free. She was always supportive, always available. She basically taught me how to write in clear English. I remember fondly our meetings, the light-heartedness and the humor. She accompanied me from beginning to finish without a glitch. Un milione di grazie, Mary Sue.

Matteo Magarotto

I had the privilege of working with Mary Sue at CCM a few years ago. I had heard of her—she is, after all, a legend in eighteenth-century music studies!—and had seen her from afar at conferences, but had never mustered up the nerve to speak to her in person. I think I was more nervous to meet her during my interview than I was being interviewed! From our first meeting to my last day at CCM, Mary Sue was a kind and supportive mentor for me as I navigated the challenges of my first academic job outside of my home institution. She graciously observed me teaching so that she could write a letter of recommendation for me; she was always willing to grab a drink, or dinner, and talk through some of the difficulties of the job. She counseled me when I was trying to make some quick decisions about where I would end up the following academic year. Mary Sue continues to be a model for me, not just in terms of my scholarship and professional activities in the eighteenth-century music community, but also in her wisdom, and her mentorship of others. Thank you, Mary Sue, for everything.

Alison DeSimone

2018 Meeting of the Society for Eighteenth-Century Music: Conference Report

Alison DeSimone & Ashley Greathouse

The Society for Eighteenth-Century Music held our eighth biennial meeting at Mission San Luis in Tallahassee, Florida between February 23 and February 25, 2018. This weekend continued our society's past tradition of hosting fascinating conferences in eighteenth-century spaces. The Mission's Visitor Center was our home for two-and-a-half days, during which time we heard papers that invited us to explore music in archives ranging from Mexico, to Vienna, to Sweden; to listen to new works and to re-listen to old favorites; and to reconsider how we contextualize eighteenth-century music both in our own research and in the classroom. As always, the conference was equal parts professional meeting and a reunion with old friends.

Friday morning included a wealth of paper topics; our first session, "Intimacies," presented two considerably different papers that did, indeed, explore very intimate topics. Devon J. Borowski (University of Chicago) examined Bach's *Coffee Cantata* from the perspective of how Leipzigers would have consumed their coffee, and argued for both racial and gendered readings of the composition. This was followed by Laurel Zeiss's (Baylor University) paper on "Haydn's Correspondence and the Century of Letters," delivered in a truly lovely epistolary style. Zeiss argued for how Haydn adapted his letter-writing style to the various people with whom he was communicating. After a short break, our second session, "Genres," included three papers—two of which had to be delivered by conference attendees, due to dreadful Midwestern weather hindering the travel of the authors. Anita Hardeman's (Western Illinois University) paper explored how the prologues to *tragédies en musique*, rather than simply acting as ideological propaganda, actually prepared opera-goers in Paris for the performance. This was followed by Jenna Harmon's (Northwestern University) paper connecting works presented at the opera-comique with lighter, satirical—and often more titillating—vaudeville acts presented in private settings. Our morning ended with a paper that argued for a new reading of how melodrama influenced Mozart, written by Judith Mabary and Julia Coelho of the University of Missouri.

Following a break for lunch and catching up with old friends, the first afternoon of the conference began with two tours: an historical tour of the Mission San Luis grounds and a journey through the Florida Archaeological Collections housed at the mission site. Conducted by Jerry Lee—a senior public-lands archaeologist from Florida's Bureau of Archaeological Research—the walking tour of the San Luis grounds featured stops in the plaza (a center for many day-to-day social activities in the historical village, including a traditional Apalachee ball game), the Apalachee council house, and the church. During our traversal of the Florida Archaeological Collections—led by Marie Prentice and Steve Karacic, senior archaeologists at the Research and Conservation Laboratory of Florida's Bureau of Archaeological Research—we encountered

many artifacts salvaged from eighteenth-century shipwrecks: sword hilts, cannons, Spanish coins, and olive jars (including a fragment of one decorated with a double-headed eagle, the emblem of the Habsburgs). Myriad other items, such as Civil-War-era musical instruments from the United States as well as both prehistoric and historic canoes, were showcased in the collection as well. The gracious archaeologists who guided both tours were eager to participate in interdisciplinary discussion—even permitting Bertil van Boer, Michael Ruhling, and Stewart Carter to help reclassify one artifact, the neck of a stringed instrument (previously believed to be possibly from a violin), as belonging to a mandora.

After everyone toured the mission, Sarah Eyerly (Florida State University) and three Florida State graduate students, Rachel Bani, Laura Clapper, and Mark Sciuchetti, gave a fascinating presentation that reconstructed the soundscape of Mission San Luis. This was truly a wonderful way to connect our conference with its venue. Sciuchetti's maps of where Mission San Luis stood in relation to other Spanish missions from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries revealed new narratives about the purposes of these spaces in the early modern era. Bani and Clapper focused their comments on the soundscapes and music itself. It was illuminating to hear about how the group had reached out to the Apalachee, on whose tribal territory the mission was built in 1633. The mission burned down in 1704, destroyed purposefully as the Spanish fled the approaching British forces. This presentation breathed historical life into our conference setting, and we were all especially impressed by the collaboration involved in the project.

Friday ended first with a lecture recital by Alison DeSimone (University of Missouri-Kansas City) on harpsichord and Kimary Fick (Oregon State University) on Baroque flute, which explored the music of female composers for both instruments. Afterwards, we retreated to the mission's courtyard, where drinks, snacks, and desserts awaited.

Saturday presented another full day of papers that ranged across Western Europe and the Atlantic, from Sweden to Mexico. Beverly Wilcox (Sacramento State University) started us off with a paper examining how the French adapted Pergolesi's *Stabat mater* to fit French tastes around the time of the notorious *querelle des bouffons*. Dianne Goldman (Elmhurst College) then led us through eighteenth-century sources at Mexican archives, providing us with an update on her SECM newsletter article from spring 2017. Halvor K. Hosar (University of Auckland) finished our first session of the day with a paper that questioned prior biographical information about the composer Johann Baptist Wanhal and his early years in Vienna. The second session of the morning turned to string music, as Cameron Davis Steuart (University of Georgia) discussed the poetic and musical improvisations of Signora Corilla, a member of the Arcadian Academy in the mid-eighteenth century. Guido Olivieri (University of Texas-Austin) then pulled our attentions to southern Italy—Naples, specifically—with his presentation on two manuscript sources that reveal approaches to cello pedagogy in the mid-century.



Entrance to the Mission San Luis

After a lunch break, we returned for a full afternoon. First on the docket was Don Fader (University of Alabama), whose paper, “Between Paris and Milan,” showed how both music and musicians circulated between France and Milan during the tenure of Charles-Henri de Lorraine, Prince of Vaudémont, who was governor of the Italian duchy between 1698 and 1706. Bertil van Boer (University of Western Washington) rounded off the session with his paper on Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler, a bit of a musical rascal, who purported to have traveled across the globe collecting music from other territories and nations (such as Greenland and South Africa), later publishing these songs for commercial purchase. Our afternoon ended with John Rice’s lecture recital, performed in collaboration with two students from Florida State—soprano Lily Guerrero and harpsichordist Tyler Tucker. John’s paper discussed the beautiful portrait of Giacinta Orsini, and the cantata text that is featured in the painting. Rice revealed that this text was composed by Giacinta herself, and likely set by Antonio Aurisicchio, upon the departure of her father (a cardinal) from Rome. The performance was beautifully executed, and was a real treat.

Our enjoyment of live music continued after dinner, when Florida State University’s early music ensembles, directed by Valerie Arsenault and Laura Clapper, performed a concert for conference attendees and the Tallahassee community. The program encompassed a diversity of repertoire dating from the early sixteenth through late eighteenth centuries, which was arranged for a variety of ensembles featuring instruments such as cello, harpsichord, recorder, traverso, and violin. Lest the concert leave any attendee’s appetite for vocal music unsatisfied, the otherwise instrumental evening concluded with a repeat performance of the cantata excerpts we had previously heard as part of John Rice’s lecture recital.

A session titled “The Political” launched the final morning of our conference. Amy Dunagin’s (Kennesaw State University) paper highlighted how Italian opera, often seen as effeminate in England, functioned within a British context during the War of the Spanish Succession. Through a tour of operatic reviews, set against a backdrop of intense political turmoil amongst contemporaneous pro-war Whigs and their more fiscally concerned Tory counterparts, Dunagin demonstrated how English performances of Italian operas and their associated commentaries served as means to engage in political debate. In a second paper on the eighteenth-century political relevance of opera—this time in France—Julia I. Doe (Columbia University) argued that Marie Antoinette had perhaps attempted to make up for some of her real-life shortcomings on the stage, by playing peasants and other characters in pastoral operas performed at her theater on the Versailles grounds. Laura Lohman’s (California State University-Fullerton) paper then brought our discourse on music and politics into an early American context, exploring how contrafacta of popular tunes were used in political debates and electioneering around the time of the Federalists’ passing of the Alien and Sedition Acts.

Following our session on the political, James S. MacKay (Loyola University New Orleans) wrapped up the conference program in our final session titled “The Theoretical.” Through examination of sonata-form expositions from Haydn’s Symphony No. 52 and Mozart’s Sonata, KV. 282, MacKay argued for an analytical interpretation in which cadential structures can at times result in a “main theme→transition” (or “main theme ‘becoming’ transition”) unit. After this conclusion of Sunday’s paper sessions, SECM’s Student Paper Prize Committee presented their award to Halvor K. Hosar

(University of Auckland) for his paper, “The Conspicuous Absentee: Wanhal, Ditters, and Von dem Wienerischen Geschmack in der Musik.”

Tallahassee was a beautiful setting for our conference; it helped that it was the perfect temperature while we were there, neither too hot nor too humid—but certainly a relief for those of us coming from northern climates. The students and faculty of Florida State University were so welcoming, and those of us who attended owe a great deal of thanks to Sarah Eyerly, our formidable society president, who organized so much of this event and was a gracious and welcoming hostess. As Bertil van Boer quipped at one point over the weekend, “‘Mission’ accomplished!”



Sarah Eyerly and Stewart Carter present the Student Paper Prize to Halvor Hosar



Sterling Murray Award Winner

Michael Vincent

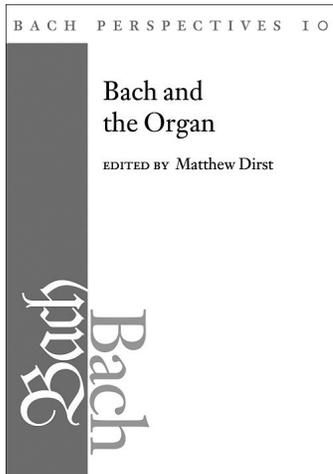
Listening to the papers at the 2018 SECM conference, I thought of my own research and how it fit with questions being asked by other scholars of eighteenth-century music. At the end of the weekend, I sensed that the group shared common historical concerns. Sterling Murray’s plenary lecture articulated a point that seemed well-understood by those in attendance: finding meaning in this century’s music requires looking for context beyond paradigms that obscure more than they enlighten.

The Mission San Luis in Tallahassee proved a wonderful choice as a venue. Sarah Eyerly and the Florida State University graduate students offered us their best efforts in organizing the conference. Tours of the mission grounds and archaeology lab appealed to the crowd’s natural curiosity, while the FSU early music ensemble’s concert sparkled like a crown jewel. I look forward to bringing new energy and ideas to my dissertation, which is (thankfully?) close to completion. I am grateful for receiving the Sterling E. Murray award, which gave me the opportunity to participate in such a lively community.

Book Reviews

Matthew Dirst, ed. *Bach and the Organ*. *Bach Perspectives*, vol. 10. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2016. ISBN: 978-0-2252-04019-1.

Austin Stewart



Among the recent iterations of the American Bach Society's *Bach Perspectives* series, *Bach and the Organ* (Vol. 10) contains thoughtfully compiled, cutting-edge research masterfully edited by Matthew Dirst. The title admits a seemingly unlimited range of topics concerning the "world-famous organist." Yet it skillfully balances topics on production and reception, with studies that consider Bach and the many ways he interacted with the instrument as performer, composer, master pedagogue, and examiner. Four of the essays were presented at the 2012 conference "Bach and the Organ" sponsored by the ABS, the Eastman-Rochester Organ Initiative, and the Westfield Center for Early Keyboard Studies; two additional essays, by George Stauffer and Gregory Butler, were solicited specifically for this volume.

Exploring Bach's role as organ examiner, Lynn Edwards Butler's opening essay reassesses his 1717 report on Johann Scheibe's organ for St. Paul's Church at Leipzig University (*NBR*, no. 72) against archival sources, notably memoranda and contracts between the builder and his employer. Bach's report has long been viewed as a rebuke of Scheibe's craftsmanship, the latter's hiring on the project motivated by a low bid and proximity. It is now understood, however, that this perception stems from sources allied with Gottfried Silbermann (2–3). Butler's systematic and nuanced evaluation of the report, along with the breadth of sources she has compiled, reveals that the instrument was without major fault and that its rare stops distinguished Scheibe's work from contemporaries (4–9, 15)—notwithstanding the intolerable working conditions and indignities suffered by Scheibe (10–14). There is a noble mission to Butler's work here and elsewhere on central German organs as she recovers Scheibe's reputation among his peers.

Considering Bach as organ pedagogue, Robin Leaver resolves several problems concerning the Sibley *Choralbuch* (Eastman School of Music, US-R Ms. 489). He artfully traces the manuscript's provenance, arriving at the tantalizing possibility that this is a routine copy of Bach's practical anthology of chorale harmonizations from which he instructed pupils in the science of accompanying congregational singing—the "important collection" that Philipp Spitta posited then dismissed as "lost," even after ex-

amination (24). The last half of Leaver's essay positions the Sibley *Choralbuch* as a witness to Bach's pedagogy, one which was copied by or for a pupil studying with him around the early 1740s. What it lacks in "Bach's style or spirit" (as Spitta assessed, presumably meaning it wasn't virtuoso enough) it makes up for in restrained and instructive harmonizations the unknown apprentice could emulate. Again, as with the organ report, when looking solely for Bach the master-genius, we miss the fuller picture of him as committed teacher and colleague.

George Stauffer begins his essay by stating that the Six Trio Sonatas for Organ, BWV 525–530, "appear" to be an encyclopedic collection created "out of the blue, without any of the expected gestatory steps" (39–40). But his ensuing cloak-and-dagger revelation of the interconnections between sources for the miscellaneous free organ trios (BWV 21, 583–587) and sonata variants leads to another hypothesis: Stauffer, considering the works as a group, proposes their service to Bach as preparatory exercises in the genre. From 1725–1730, Bach engaged the organ trio on several fronts: first, as pedagogical material for his growing studio; second, to demonstrate the growing number of organs capable of mimicking instruments in chamber ensembles; and third, to exemplify the organ as chamber instrument by transcribing movements of his and others chamber works (50–52). That the Six Trio Sonatas for Organ emerged "as the logical outcome of a period of concentrated study and experimentation with the free organ trio" (59) is another deduction wherein source reevaluation has yielded evidence more compelling than the myth preceding it.

The crux of this volume comes in the distinct conclusions reached by Christoph Wolff and Gregory Butler concerning the source history of Bach's concerted cantata movements with obbligato organ from the third Leipzig cycle. In "Did J.S. Bach Write Organ Concertos?" Wolff argues that the concerted movements of BWV 49, 146, 169, and 188 (1726–1727) originated as early organ concerto versions of BWV 1052 and 1053, performed by Bach on the new Silbermann organ at St. Sophia's in Dresden on the occasion of his recitals there in September 1725. By comparing variants in the principal sources of the D-minor keyboard concerto, Wolff illustrates how Bach could effectively render the solo part on various instruments and for various audiences and purposes (66–73). [Here the handsome musical examples set by Don Giller deserve special praise and emulation.] Wolff also offers a reprisal of observations he made on BWV 1053 in *Bach Perspectives*, vol. 7, suggesting that the E-major harpsichord concerto has antecedents not only in concerted cantata movements, but also the posited "Dresden organ concertos" heard in 1725 (73–75).

Gregory Butler centers his side of this debate on BWV 1053—a paradigm for the interrelationship between Bach's choir loft and chamber compositions (76). Owing to minute but not inconsequential observations on a transposing viola part for BWV 49/1 (=BWV 1053/3) found in SBB-PK Mus. ms. Bach St 55, as well as critiques of Silbermann's tuning of the instrument at St. Sophia's, he concludes that if a version of the E-major keyboard concerto was heard at the Dresden concerts, it would have been a D-major version (77–81). Nevertheless, he remains unconvinced. Butler hypothesizes instead that a D-major version "for solo oboe d'amore and/or solo keyboard (either organ or harpsichord)" was heard on the programs of the Leipziger Collegium during the Michaelmas Fair in October 1726 (82). Butler also presents a compelling case that other cantata movements with obbligato organ originated as

concerted movements for solo violin; if so, Bach was likely prompted to write them by the presence in Leipzig of violinist Georg Heinrich Ludwig Schwanberg from October 1727 to as late as May 1728 (83–85). Though space limitations prevent further examination, it seems unlikely that these are the last two entries to attempt to clarify the murkiness of this group of compositions that depart in style and concept from the first two Leipzig cycles.

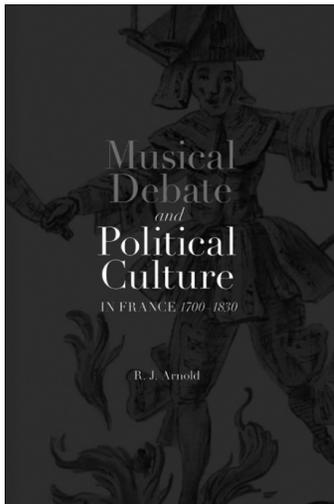
Matthew Cron's closing contribution to *Bach and the Organ* artfully engages iconography, treatises, sermons, and cantata texts used by Bach and his contemporaries to consider the symbolic importance of the organ's use in cantatas with concerted organ movements. As an aural and visual representation of heaven, Cron asserts that the organ prepared original listeners "for service in the heavenly choir while providing a source of solace and joy on earth" (88). His meaning-filled reading of the different versions of *Höchst-wünschtes Freudenfest*, BWV 194, heard between 1723 and 1731, heightens our understanding of the organ's presence in eighteenth-century spiritual consciousness (110–115). A *tour de force*, this essay in particular warrants sharing outside of the scholarly circle, with modern listeners and performers of Bach.

In sum: with *Bach and the Organ*, Matthew Dirst has introduced an array of thought-provoking essays that are both pleasing and absorbing. For scholars and performers of Bach's organ works and cantatas, this is a worthwhile read, and speaks volumes for the present welfare of Bach scholarship.



R.J. Arnold. *Musical Debate and Political Culture in France, 1700–1830*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017. ISBN: 9781783272013.

Katharine Hargrave



Music was a source of dissonance in eighteenth-century France. Opera, in particular, gave rise to several notorious debates that divided the public into factions over differences in aesthetic taste. Is it at all possible that the bipartisan spirit of these musical debates encouraged social change and influenced the unfurling of the French Revolution? R.J. Arnold seeks to answer this question in his ambitious book entitled *Musical Debate and Political Culture in France, 1700–1830*. Beginning with the Raguene-Lecerf controversy in 1702 and ending before the advent of Rossini on the Paris

stage, Arnold retraces the major musical debates of France during the long eighteenth century. Rather than focusing exclusively on the content of these episodes, or *querelles* as they are commonly known, he extends his examination to include the context in which they took place. For the author, musical debates are the product of a specific set of social and political forces that they in turn help to mold.

The intimate link Arnold establishes between politics and music, along with his chosen title, may initially suggest to the reader that this is a book about music's political influence. However, the use of the word "musical" in its adjective form is significant as it captures Arnold's approach to music as a modifier shaping political debate, but not defining it. Distancing himself from theories espousing the notion that *querelles* were political debates in disguise, the author focuses on the manner in which musical debates helped to frame sociopolitical discourse.

To this end, the first chapter examines the structure of the François Raguene and Jean-Laurent Lecerf de la Viéville debate over French versus Italian music. For Arnold, this episode sets the tone for all future *querelles*. While debates over opera had taken place since the mid-seventeenth century, they focused principally on opera's legitimacy as a genre. The Raguene-Lecerf episode distinguished itself by expanding discourse beyond questions of genre to focus on the music itself. However, and of greater significance to the author's study, is the acerbic exchange between Raguene and Lecerf.

Arnold contends that this virulent correspondence in the press between two musical amateurs, which was rife with personal digs and self-righteous indignation, is the embodiment of musical debate in the *ancien régime*. The operatic *querelle* was not a dry presentation of facts, but rather a form of entertainment for a public exploring divergent opinions. Arnold develops this notion of musical debate as an antidote to ennui in the next three chapters, each of which is devoted to a separate episode: the Ramiste-Lulliste *querelle* (1733–51), the *querelle des bouffons* (1752–54), and the Gluckiste-Piccinieste *querelle* (1774–88). Arnold's approach to studying each *querelle* is postmodern in the sense that he avoids a narrative account of events, preferring instead to underscore the specific politico-cultural context that gave rise to each debate. At the same time, he suggests that musical debates before the French Revolution share certain characteristics that dissipate with the fall of the monarchy.

The fifth and sixth chapters, respectively entitled "A Revolutionary Interlude: 1789–1800" and "The End of the Party: New Avenues for Musical Dispute, 1800–30," examine the impact of the Revolution on musical debate. Aligning himself with historians who reject 1789 as a point of rupture with the *ancien régime*, Arnold describes an evolution in the public's perception of *querelles*. They were increasingly viewed as a corrosive product of a courtly culture that encouraged people to ruthlessly defend their opinions in the name of reputation and social standing. In post-revolutionary France, musical debates lost this aggressive bipartisan quality. Nineteenth-century society exhibited a tolerance for diverse opinions that rendered the *querelle*, and the divisiveness it engenders, both trivial and obsolete.

This is a book that is rich in primary source material. It will certainly prove an invaluable resource for any scholar seeking information about operatic disputes in France during the long eighteenth century. Chief among the primary sources analyzed by Arnold are

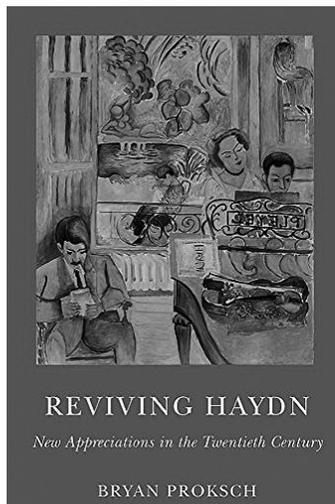
pamphlets and press articles. The bibliography is impressive, so much so that the reader can occasionally feel overwhelmed by the sheer volume of texts presented in a single chapter. At times it becomes challenging to follow the author's main argument given the abundance of different sources and divergent opinions introduced for each *querelle*. Then again, perhaps this speaks to the author's intent.

In his conclusion, Arnold propounds that the *querelle* was not designed as a linear thought process with a clear beginning and end. Instead, he views these musical debates as an organic process that oftentimes turned out to be more about arguing for the sake of argument, rather than reaching a coherent consensus on the topic at hand. Arnold advances the opinion that these disputes oftentimes had little or nothing to do with music itself. Instead, he adopts a seemingly Foucauldian approach to these episodes, preferring to see them as power struggles between individuals vying to be the authoritative voice of operatic reception. As a result, much like the debates he presents, the author seemingly relegates music to a subsidiary role. This provocative perspective adds a sociopolitical dimension to the extant literature on operatic *querelles* that has the potential to ignite a cross-disciplinary debate of its own.



Bryan Proksch. *Reviving Haydn: New Appreciations in the Twentieth Century*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2015. ISBN: 978158-465120.

Mark Nabholz



In this diminutive volume, Bryan Proksch (Lamar University) traces the precipitous decline of Haydn's reputation which began in earnest in the 1840s, and its halting, redemptive ascent through the first half of the twentieth century, with primary attention to the half-century bracketed by the anniversary years 1909 and 1959.

The author's prose is short on hyperbole, yet colorfully engaging. Describing the important place that Heinrich Schenker occupied in the revival, he writes, "Schenker seized the opportunity to analyze Haydn's works from a fresh perspective. His initial volley in Haydn's defense simultaneously criticized contemporary opinion on Haydn, moved to reinstate him to the canon as a German genius, reworked received opinion on his humorous personality and pigtailed wig, and undertook a lengthy exploration of uncharted territory in his music" (116).

Each well-sourced chapter serves as a hub from which dozens of tantalizing spokes radiate, offering the curious reader paths to related investigation. Proksch's tease about "close parallels" between *Creation* and *Gurrelieder* (140–143), and Schoenberg's differentiation between Haydn's use of asymmetrical "theme" as opposed to symmetrical eight-bar "melody" (145) are but two examples inviting deeper exploration.

Throughout the book Proksch returns to the theme of audience more than a dozen times, and the "apparently inverse correlation between the composer's popularity with the concert-going public and his reputation among key musical figures" (87). Based on his arguments, it may be reasonably assumed that without concertgoers clamoring to hear *Creation* and a few of the most popular symphonies, Haydn may have been permanently marginalized. In describing the "lowest ebb" of Haydn's reputation he writes,

By the 1880s the critical reception of the composer was such that he was admired at a distance, tolerated on concert programs to sell tickets, and thought of as a keen artist to be revered but not studied, a great man who happened to have the mind of a child (50).

At least two of the chapters are based upon previously published articles, here retouched and modestly expanded. Chapter 4, "Eccentric Haydn as Teacher," began its life in 2009 as "Vincent D'Indy as Harbinger of the Haydn Revival" in the *Journal of Musicological Research*,¹ and chapter five, "Haydn and the Neglect of German Genius," germinated in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* as "Forward to Haydn!": Schenker's Politics and the German Revival of Haydn."²

Perhaps this recycling explains the book's mild disjointedness; it provides a more satisfactory reading when received as a collection of essays rather than a progressively unified whole. On the other hand, Proksch attempts to do justice to a reputation's decline, collapse, and subsequent revival that was neither monolithically progressive nor unified. We can scarcely fault the author for failing to smooth out the bumps in a road filled with hairpin turns and potholes.

1. Bryan Proksch, "Vincent D'Indy as Harbinger of the Haydn Revival," *Journal of Musicological Research* 28, nos. 2–3 (2009): 162–188.

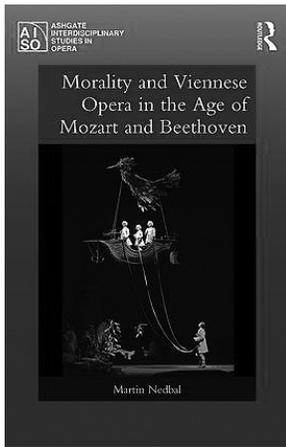
2. Bryan Proksch, "Forward to Haydn!": Schenker's Politics and the German Revival of Haydn," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64, no. 2 (2011): 319–348.



Martin Nedbal. *Morality and Viennese Opera in the Age of Mozart and Beethoven*. London and New York: Routledge, 2017. ISBN: 9781472476579 (hardback).

Mary Hunter

Martin Nedbal's *Morality and Viennese Opera in the Age of Mozart and Beethoven* pursues a chronological journey through German-language opera in Vienna from the 1770s until 1814, looking particularly at the question of how both institutional support for German-language opera and the works themselves dealt with questions of morality over this period. The overarching story that Nedbal tells is that when Joseph II founded the Nationalsingspiel in the court theaters in 1778, abolishing opera buffa in the pro-



cess, the German-language repertory was considerably more high-minded than the Italian repertory had been (even though many of the German works were based on French and Italian models). As is well known, the Singspiels of this five-year period were part of a Josephine attempt to make the theater both a site of German identification and a school of moral education. Once the Singspiel enterprise faltered in the early 1780s and the buffa troupes returned in 1783, Singspiel was largely performed in the suburban theaters where censorship was much more relaxed—the theaters needed to make a profit and audiences could be enticed with more risqué material. (Some Singspiels were performed in the court-sponsored Kärntnertortheater from 1785 on; these retained the stronger censorship regime of the Nationalsingspiel [112].) Singspiel returned to the court theaters in 1795, and was also more heavily censored than the suburban productions (158). In addition, given the events in France, censors added concerns about political insurrection and failures of patriotism to those about sexual freedoms, occasionally allowing more risqué material than would have been the case in the early 1780s. However, from about 1801 onwards, when censorship was put in the hands of the police, questions of private, and especially sexual and marital morality were subject to stricter controls. Overall, Nedbal's story about the vicissitudes of German opera is not hugely surprising, but he has supported his argument with new archival material, and he has connected it skillfully to the institutional and national politics of this period.

Three canonic operas fit into this history: Mozart's *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and *Die Zauberflöte*, and Beethoven's *Fidelio* (in all of its many iterations). In part, Nedbal argues that all three of these operas show notably intense seriousness about moral issues. Nedbal judges intentional seriousness/high-mindedness by the choice of words in the librettos, particularly when they differ from earlier versions of their texts, by the amount of time given to the most morally sententious statements, and by the musical means used to convey these statements, which often include striking dynamic and tonal changes when the relevant sententiae begin, as well as largely homophonic choral singing, ensuring that the sentiments are communal and that the words can be heard. His point about Mozart's *Entführung* is that it was part of a self-consciously Germanizing effort, engaged in by such artists as Ignaz Umlauf and the librettist Johann Gottlieb Stephanie the Younger, to “demonstrate that the emerging tradition of German opera was in lines with the ideals of contemporary theater aesthetics as well as with the social and political needs of the absolutist state and its enlightened monarch” (79). In other words, *Die Entführung*'s high-mindedness was aesthetically and politically motivated. Unlike

Die Entführung, which was part of a cohort of operas serving the same cultural function, Nedbal argues that *Die Zauberflöte*, written for a suburban theater, stood out from its cohort in its greater seriousness and un-ironic high-mindedness. Nedbal argues that Mozart and Schikaneder were “reconstituting the ideals of the theater reformers from a decade [earlier]” (149). His argument about *Fidelio*'s unusually intense moral message is partly based on Beethoven's own comments about his lofty aims, but he also suggests that *Fidelio*'s origins are more strongly rooted in the German Singspiel tradition than has lately been assumed.

Nedbal bolsters his argument with ample contextual evidence. He has looked at dozens of scores of Singspiels from this period, as well as at some French and Italian works. He has scoured the archives and unearthed new information about the workings of the Viennese censors. I don't disagree with his overarching conclusions. But occasionally I find that he over-argues his case: for example, when he describes Prince Alwin's concluding maxim praising the exercise of princely mercy as particularly characteristic of the high-minded Singspiel (73ff) it reminds me of nothing more than the end of *La Clemenza di Tito*, suggesting less distance between the genres than Nedbal might want to find. More seriously, perhaps, I find that Nedbal's apparent definition of “morality” (there is no stated one) is rather limited and a bit over-literal. Until the advent of censorship which dealt with allegiance to the state, he discusses theatrical morality almost exclusively in terms of romantic and sexual behavior—partly what is shown on stage and partly how couples are understood to behave with each other. (Prince Alwin's statement described above is not about sex, but Nedbal also does not go into detail about its political or social meaning.) Now it may be that “obscenity” was in fact the main target of the censors so the record is clearer on this sort of transgression than on other moral failings, but it would be interesting to know whether this is in fact the case. Furthermore, Nedbal elides morality with didacticism, as though moral education could only happen when a character (or several) steps to the edge of the stage and delivers a lecture. He himself notes (though not in so many words) that the Germans tended to drive the morality-wagon with a rather leaden foot; he notes that censors liked clear and unambiguous statements of moral positions rather than the more indirect messages of Italian or French opera (101). But even if this is true (and I have no reason to doubt it), it seems to me that some more acknowledgment of the many other moral realms present in any drama—for example those having to do with rank or class, or with race, or with the proper exercise of power, would have enriched this otherwise valuable book.



continued from page 1

do today, there was no point in paying well to bring in renowned names, and not surprisingly, none of the soloists—the violinist Pierre van Maldere, a young soprano from Caen, and the impeccable Catarina Galli—returned for another engagement.⁶ The “new” motet by Cordelet, *Ommes gentes*, had been already been on the program the previous May, and Mondonville's motets were a

6. On Galli, see Cheryl Duncan and David Mateer, “An Innocent Abroad? Caterina Galli's Finances in New Handel Documents,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 64 (2011): 495–526.

mainstay of the repertoire, with *matériel* rented from the composer by the year. It was a concert of obligation for a day of obligation.

By this time, there were two Parisian periodicals. The newcomer, the *Affiches de Paris*, advertised the concert for three days prior to the event. As its name suggests, it printed almost an exact transcription of the poster. The *Affiches* editor made minor modifications in the first sentence and the royal titles and added a sentence about the soloists for the grand motets. Both the poster and the advertisement employed the same narrative schema: (1) the name, location, and date of the concert; (2) “il commença”—“it will start”; (3) “ensuite”—“after that”; and (4) “le concert finira par”—“the concert will finish with.” The same schema appears in the 1779 and 1787 posters.

What is a bit more unexpected is that this schema also appears in the *Mercur*e review of the concert, and in other concert reports long before and after this date. The following sample, for an earlier concert than the one above, shows the elements of the schema in **boldface italic**:

*Le 2 [février 1731], Fête de la Vierge, il y eut Concert Spirituel au Château des Thuilleries, qui commença par le Motet Exurgat Deus, de M. de Lalande ; il fut suivi d'une Hymne à la Vierge, chanté par la Dlle Le Maire. La Dlle Erremens chanta un petit Motet, mis en Musique par M. Mouret, qui fit beaucoup de plaisir, de même qu'un autre petit Motet nouveau de la composition du sieur Le Maire. Le Concert fut **terminé par** le Motet Dominus regnavit.⁷*

The writer simply converted the verbs to past tense and added a comment that the Mouret motet “gave much pleasure.” It is possible to construct a lexicon of the comments that were added to poster texts to produce concert reports. Table 1 summarizes a sample of all comments published in 1731. Thus, in its first three decades, *Mercur*e “concert reviews” were mere transcriptions of posters with stock phrases inserted.⁸

By the time the 1754 poster was printed, reviewing practices had begun to change. The reviewer still transcribed the text of the poster nearly verbatim, including the Italianisms such as “Signor,” but he also corrected a few things, such as the age of the little girl, a royal title, and the egregious error “corps-de-chasse” (“body-of-the-hunt” for “hunting horn”). He also added observations about the performance. The first, calling the concert “brilliant,” resembles the pro forma praise in the earlier reports. The others were specific to this occasion: Mlle Marchand “does more than just raise hopes: she has learned all it is possible to learn at her age”; Mme Galli has “a fresh voice, sonorous and pleasant”; and van Maldere “has a proud bow . . . and is full of his own unique practices.” To save time, *Mercur*e editor may have simply obtained a copy of the poster, added remarks in the margins, and sent it on to be typeset.

7. *Mercur*e de France, February 1731, p. 394 : On the 2nd, feast of the Virgin, there was a Concert Spirituel at the Tuileries Palace, that started with the motet *Exurgat Deus*, by M. de Lalande; it was followed by a hymn to the Virgin, sung by Dlle Le Maire. The Dlle Erremens sang a solo motet, set to music by M. Mouret, which gave much pleasure, as did another petit motet, new, composed by M. Le Maire. The concert ended with the motet *Dominus regnavit*

8. For another instance of copying by the *Mercur*e editors, see Eleanor Selfridge-Field, “Italian Opera, English Letters, and French Journalism: The *Mercur*e de France’s Debts to Joseph Addison,” *Revue de Musicologie* 83 (1997): 185–203.

Table 1. Comments in the *Mercur*e de France on Concert Spirituel Performances, 1731

Performers	très-bien executé (2x)
	parfaitement bien executé (3x)
	execution fort brillante
	habile joueur
Musical works	excellent morceau de musique (2x)
	très belle symphonie
	excellentes pieces de symphonie
	les plus beaux motets
Audience	chanté avec succès
	très applaudi (3x)
	très applaudi par une nombreuse assemblée
	fit beaucoup de plaisir (2x)
	très-goutés et très-applaudis
	beaucoup d’applaudissement

Criticism in the 1770s and 1780s?

A stronger editorial voice and closer engagement with the music can be seen in a *Mercur*e review from 1779.⁹ The writer noted the somber and expressive quality of the first movement of a Haydn symphony, then continued with the audience’s reaction to a famous soprano’s rendition of comic aria by Sacchini, then took a pot shot at an opera overture that relied on brilliance, rather than emotion, for its effect. Yet the narrative schema of the poster remained, unchanged since the 1730s:

*Le Concert exécuté au Château des Tuileries le jour de l’Ascension, a commencé par une nouvelle symphonie de Hayden. Le premier morceau, d’un genre sombre, a paru très-expressif . . . Madame Todi a chanté ensuite un air bouffon de Sacchini ; l’air a produit son effet ; c’est-à-dire qu’on l’a trouvé fort comique : il a fait rire ; & la Cantatrice a su le répéter avec le même succès . . . Ce morceau a été suivi de l’ouverture d’un Opéra de Maïo, où l’on a reconnu une manière plus brillante que pathétique . . . On a **terminé** le Concert par un scène de Traetta.¹⁰*

While these comments are more critically sophisticated, it is still clear that the writer began with the poster text.

Implications

The practice of transcribing posters to create the “bones” of a concert review persisted, in Paris at least, for the rest of the *ancien régime*. A couple of implications are noteworthy.

9. *Mercur*e de France, May 25, 1779, pp. 292–293.

10. The concert performed at the Tuileries Palace on Ascension Day began with a new symphony by Haydn. The first movement, of a somber type, seemed very expressive . . . Madame Todi then sang a comic aria by Sacchini; this air had its effect; that is, one found it very funny: it caused laughter; and the singer had to repeat it, to the same applause . . . This piece was followed by the overture to an opera by Maïo, in a manner that was more brilliant than sentimental . . . The concert ended with a scene by Traetta.

Concert Spirituel Posters

1779

1754



1787

Figure 2.

First, we assume today that music critics actually attend the concerts they report. But eighteenth-century readers probably assumed otherwise. None of the “standard” comments (Table 1) imply that the reviewer was present—the first-person *je* is hardly ever used. Anyone who attended could have told him that the music was excellent, or well performed, or strongly applauded. As a practical matter, the editor of a major newspaper, charged with publishing 200 pages or more per month, could not have attended all of the reported concerts, particularly during the daily concerts of the Easter fortnight. Copies of the posters, annotated with gossip from a “stringer” (a member of the orchestra?), would have sufficed as the basis for the published reviews. Most comments report the reaction of the audience, not the reviewer. Just as no one expected the editor to have seen the battles reported in the *Mercure*, no one expected him to have attended the concerts.

Second, the listings in the *Affiches* and the *Mercure* sometimes differ, indicating a last-minute change in the program. For example, the Concert Spirituel entrepreneurs attempted the famous fifteenth-century a cappella *Miserere* by Gregorio Allegri on April 6, 1756. This legendary bit of early music, rarely if ever heard outside of the Sistine Chapel in Rome, must have caused a stir at a time when most concert music was by living composers, with the exception of the Lalande grand motets. Something must have gone wrong at the premiere: the *Affiches* for April 7 indicated that it would be repeated on the next concert, April 8. But the *Mercure* reviewer passed over the April 6 performance in tactful silence and reported that a Mondonville motet was played on April 8. Such substitutions are easy to spot in the appendix to Constant Pierre’s *Histoire du Concert Spirituel*,¹¹ and they sometimes yield clues about the functioning of the early public concert environment.

Third, these two forms of publicity—posters and concert reports—not only helped the concert series survive for sixth-five sea-

sons, but also influenced the type of music that was programmed. As the *Mercure* put it, “le choix des morceaux brillians que l’affiche annonçoit . . . y attire une nombreuse assemblée.”¹² When the programs included foreign performers or unusual music, the reviews played them up and sometimes set off spirited public debates; the famous *querelle des bouffons* occurred after four years of increasing Italianization at the Concert Spirituel. The entrepreneurs, therefore, had an incentive to present new, foreign, and controversial music to get interesting reviews and draw a wider audience.

We must not make too much of these early experiments in music criticism. In Paris, freely composed criticism based entirely on first-person reactions to performances, and without overt signs of reliance on posters as sources, was rare before the nineteenth century. I do not mean to disparage eighteenth-century editors—their regular and detailed descriptions of concerts are especially valuable for reception studies because they focus on the reactions and behavior of one of the first examples of a mass concert audience.

Traces of poster wording in concert reviews prove that the Concert Spirituel was heavily advertised throughout its history. The efforts of the entrepreneurs to attract a mass audience show that the tastes and desires of the public mattered to them. And while these tastes and desires were manifested directly in the form of applause (or lack thereof) at the concerts, the mediation of the press focused, amplified, filtered, and shaped audience response to create the powerful force that it became in the nineteenth century.

11. Constant Pierre, *Histoire du Concert Spirituel* (Paris: Heugel, 1975, repr. 2000).

12. “The selection of brilliant pieces that the poster announced brought in a big crowd.” *Mercure de France*, March 1751, p. 170.