



NEWSLETTER

ISSUE NO. 18

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The Man in the Red Coat

Daniel N. Leeson

On Sunday, January 22, 2006, I made the first public announcement of a previously unknown collection of Mozartiana in the San Jose *Mercury*, a Northern California newspaper. Images of a number of the items, including the one shown here, were included in the newspaper article. Subsequently the collection became the subject of my book, *The Mozart Cache*.¹

In 2009, Cliff Eisen supervised a multi-week display of some pieces from the collection at Milan's Museo Teatrale alla Scala in 2009. In both cases, Eisen and I made particular note of one portrait that we both believed (though for different reasons) to be the c. 1782 image of Mozart shown here. Eisen also prepared three additional publications on the collection with special attention paid to this portrait.²

So as not to show a predetermined conclusion about the identity of the sitter, I gave the portrait a title of *The Man In The Red Coat*.³

Traveling different paths, Eisen and I came to the same conclusion about the sitter's identity, he by a large circumstantial argument that included documentary evidence, substantiation from letters, contextual evidence derived from the nature and contents of the collection, and also by meetings with a member of the Hagenauer family who may have had knowledge of his family's ownership of the portrait.⁴ My conclusion was



originally derived using biometric facial identification, a method that is criticized by some historical musicologists and art historians. Currently, whenever either of these two disciplines need to identify a portrait's sitter, it is generally done by personal opinion, subjective judgment, style criticism, or connoisseurship, which in this context are almost synonymous expressions implying expertise derived from informed, discriminating taste. Biometric facial identification is completely consistent with all scientific research using quantitative probability estimates, and is very much an established scientific discipline. At a later stage of my investigation, I was fortunate to find an alternative to the use of biometrics, one that enabled the gathering of forensic evidence from Mozart's own words. That evidence was derived from an examination of a different part of the painting, namely the area around the waist.

Under ordinary circumstances, this area of clothing might not generate a second glance. But to ignore it would have been a serious mistake. I refer to a letter dated Sept. 28, 1782 from Mozart to Martha Elisabeth Baroness von Waldstätten. At the time, Mozart was 26 years, 8 months, and 1 day old, the age being consistent with the image in the portrait, and in which he speaks of a beautiful red jacket that he wanted very much to own. The letter reads: "As for the beautiful red jacket that is tickling my heart so mercilessly, please let me know where it can be bought and how expensive it is, for I completely forgot to check how much it was; my attention was totally drawn to its beauty and not to its price.—I simply must have such a jacket so it will be worth

my effort to get those buttons, which I can't get out of my mind.—I saw them some time ago in the Brandau Button Shop opposite the Milano [on] the Kohlmarkt when I bought some other buttons for a suit. They are made of mother-of-pearl with several white stones around the edge and a beautiful yellow stone in the middle.—I would like to have all things that are good, genuine, and beautiful!—I wonder why it is that those who cannot afford it

tor, Johann Baptist Hagenauer, whose wife, Rosa Barducci Hagenauer, is said (though disputed) to have painted a portrait of Mozart's mother, c. 1775.

1. Daniel N. Leeson, *The Mozart Cache* (Bloomington, IN: Author House, 2008).

2. Cliff Eisen, "Ein neu entdecktes Mozart-Portrait," *Acta Mozartiana* 55/1–2 (2008): 55–73. See also Eisen, "Mozart in Italy and the Enigma of a Collection," at http://www.aproposmozart.com/eisen_mozart_in_italy_2_.pdf, and his article on the collection in the Dec. 2009 issue of *Apollo—The International Magazine for Collectors*.

3. High-resolution photo of "The Man in the Red Coat" courtesy of Christies, London.

4. The member of the Hagenauer family that Eisen met with was not a descendant of Johann Lorenz Hagenauer, Mozart's landlord. Hagenauer's grandfather was Georg Hagenauer (1649–1736) whose older brother Paul Hagenauer (1647–?) was the progenitor of the Hagenauer lines about whom Eisen wrote. That branch produced the Salzburg court sculp-

tor, Johann Baptist Hagenauer, whose wife, Rosa Barducci Hagenauer, is said (though disputed) to have painted a portrait of Mozart's mother, c. 1775.

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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 (jasonmasonma@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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Message from the President

Mary Sue Morrow

Greetings all!

Just in time for the start of school, I have a few announcements for you:

1) All members in good standing will be receiving with this (expanded) issue of the SECM Newsletter their complimentary copy of the proceedings of the 2008 SECM/HSNA conference in Claremont, California.

2) The SECM, together with the HSNA, MSA, and the American Bach Society have reserved a booth in the exhibitor's hall at the San Francisco AMS. We hope to have members helping to staff the booth and would welcome suggestions for material to include. Please email me to volunteer and/or to make suggestions.

3) The CFP for the joint conference of the SECM and HSNA in Charleston, April 13–15, 2012 was emailed in mid-August (and is posted at the SECM web site). I urge you to consider sending your best proposals to the program committee, and so have included the CFP again here:

The Society for Eighteenth-Century Music and the Haydn Society of North America will hold a joint conference 13–15 April 2012 at the College of Charleston, Charleston, South Carolina. We seek to incorporate a wide variety of presentation types, including papers, lecture recitals, panels with several short papers and a respondent, and reports on ongoing projects. Proposals for papers or other activities on any topic relating to music of the eighteenth century are welcome, and we hope to have at least two sessions devoted to Joseph Haydn. The SECM Student Paper Award will be given to a student member for the outstanding student paper at the conference. Student members of the society who have not received their doctorate before the date of the conference are eligible for the award.

The conference will include a special “dissertations in progress” session for students working on dissertations on eighteenth-century topics who would like to receive feedback from members of their society. Students wishing to participate in this portion of the conference should submit the following items:

a 250-word dissertation abstract that clarifies the thesis, nature of source material, format, methodology and scope of the project. The abstract must also include a specific statement of one particular aspect/problem/challenge the author is currently confronting as a focus for feedback.

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Abstracts of 250 words for all proposals must be submitted by 1 November 2011 to James MacKay, Program Committee Chair, by e-mail at: jsmackay@loyno.edu. Only one submission per author will be considered. Please provide a cover sheet and proposal in separate documents, in MS Word format. The cover sheet should include your name, address, email address, phone number, and proposal title. The proposal should include only the title, abstract, and audio-visual needs. While membership is SECM or HSNA is not necessary for an initial proposal submission, membership in at least one of the societies is expected of those who present at the conference.

Additional information on the conference will be available soon at: www.secm.org and www.haydnsocietyofnorthamerica.org.

Members' News

In Oxford University's recent Recognition of Distinction, **Michael Burden**, Fellow in Music at New College, has been appointed Professor of Opera Studies. Michael is also currently president of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (<http://www.bsecs.org.uk/>).

Jane Schatkin Hettrick received a grant from the Chicago 2006 Foundation of the American Guild of Organists to edit motets by Franz Schneider. At the symposium "The Mystagogy of the Church Fathers" (May 2011, Center for Patristic Research, Utrecht, Netherlands), she performed the organ program "Music for the Catechism: Settings of Hymns by Martin Luther on the Six Parts of the Catechism." She gave a paper "Sacred or Secular: Criticisms of Church Music in Late 18th-Century Vienna" at the winter 2011 meeting of the Greater New York Chapter of AMS. Her reviews (headed "Whither Church Music?") of *Joyful Noise: A Guide to Music in the Church for Pastors and Musicians* by William S. Smith and *From a Mustard Seed: Enlivening Worship and Music in the Small Church* by Bruce C. Epperly and Daryl Hollinger appeared in the April 2011 issue of *The American Organist*.

Beverly Jerold announces two recently published articles: "Eighteenth-Century Stringed Keyboard Instruments from a Performance Perspective," *Ad Parnassum* 9 (April 2011): 75–100. Findings include a very stiff keyboard action for harpsichords, clavichords, and some pianos; and considerably more volume than thought today; and "The Bach/Scheibe Controversy: New Documentation," *BACH, Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 42/1 (2011): 1–45, corrects misconceptions about the controversy and demonstrates that the anonymous criticism in Scheibe's journal concerned not the quality of Bach's church music, but its overwhelming difficulty for singers and instrumentalists.

Charles Gower Price, professor emeritus at West Chester University of Pennsylvania, has been selected as the Carruthers Distinguished Chair in the Honors Program at the University of New Mexico for the 2011–2012 academic year. He will be teaching upper division honors seminars in interdisciplinary arts.

Paul Rice announces a new CD recording which features eighteenth-century music recorded from his editions. It is called *Great Britain Triumphant!* (Centaur CRC 3073) and will be released in the early autumn of this year. It features music by Shaw, Attwood, Storace, Hook, Shield, and Atterbury, all composed at the time of the French Revolution and the early years of the subsequent war with France. All are first recordings. The soloists are Caroline Schiller, Stefanie True and Mária Zádori (sopranos), Zoltán Megyesi (tenor), and Reid Spencer (baritone). The Capella Savaria orchestra (playing original instruments) is conducted by Mary Térey-Smith.

David Schulenberg plays harpsichord on a new CD (Hungaroton Classic HCD 32617) containing seven previously unrecorded sonatas by Johann Joachim Quantz, with Mary Oleskiewicz, baroque flute, and Stephanie Vial, cello. It is available from Qualiton.com. The works include a version of the so-called Sonate auf Concertenart QV 2:35, originally a trio sonata, for flute and obbligato keyboard. In addition to teaching at Wagner College in New York, Schulenberg has joined the faculty in Historical Performance at The Juilliard School. During the 2011 Boston Early Music Festival he and organist Christa Rakich played a concert of music for two clavichords, sponsored by the Boston Clavichord Society. The

score of his reconstruction of the Handel Suite for two keyboard instruments can be downloaded from his website (www.wagner.edu/faculty/dschulenberg/).

Dean Sutcliffe announces the publication of the book *Domenico Scarlatti: musica e storia*, edited by Dinko Fabris and Paologiovanni Maione (Naples: Turchini, 2010). These are the proceedings of a conference held in Naples in 2007 to mark the 250th anniversary of the death of the composer, and contains a chapter by Dean entitled "Domenico Scarlatti and an Iberian Keyboard 'School'? A Comparison with Albero."



A Special Issue of *Music in Art*

Michael Burden and Jennifer Thorp have been guest editors for a special issue of *Music in Art*, the *International Journal for Music Iconography* (vol. XXXVI (2011)) on 18th-century dance entitled "Dance and Image." The issue looks at images of dancers from a number of different angles: dancers' views of themselves; dancers using those images for self-promotion; audiences' view of dances in progress; and the use of dancing in presenting other ideas through satire and character typing.

The essays include: Jennifer Thorp, "Borrowed Grandeur and Affected Grace': Perceptions of the Dancing-Master in Early Eighteenth-Century England"; Judith Milhous, "Picturing Dance in Eighteenth-Century England"; Olive Baldwin, Thelma Wilson, & Michael Burden, "Images of Dancers of the London Stage, 1699–1800"; Michael Burden, "Visions of Dancing at the King's Theatre: Reconsidering London's 'Opera House'"; David Francis Taylor, "Coalition Dances: Georgian Caricature's Choreographies of Power"; Linda J. Tomko, "Framing Turkish Dances"; and Jed Wentz, "Deformity, Delight and Dutch Dancing Dwarfs: An Eighteenth-Century Suite of Prints from the United Provinces."

For more information and copies, contact the *Music in Art* editor, Zdravko Blažeković, at:

Research Center for Music Iconography
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<http://rcmi.gc.cuny.edu>



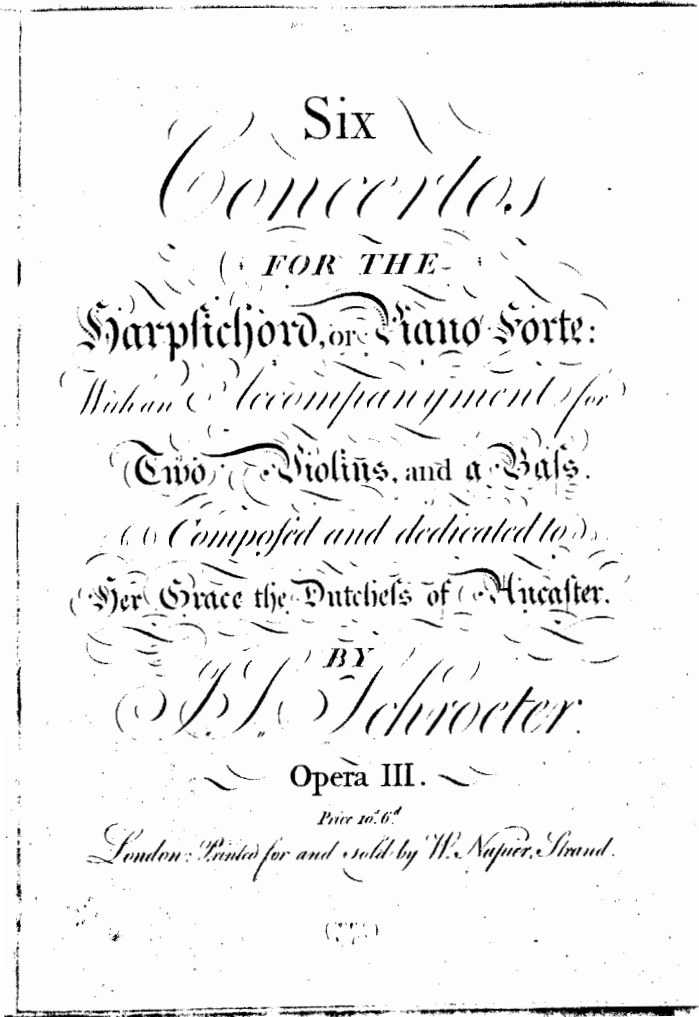
The New Esterházy Quartet

San Francisco's New Esterházy Quartet began its fifth season in September playing music of Haydn's students and admirers, with Haydn and quartets dedicated to Haydn by Mozart and Bernard Romberg. Other highlights of the season include Haydn's *Seven Last Words* with homilies by Dean Alan Jones, two quartets by Beethoven, the last of Mozart's quartets dedicated to Haydn, and music by Nicholas Zmeskall, Anton Wranitzsky, Peter Hänsel, and Anton Reicha. Additionally there will be a January concert in Tucson of early & late quartets by Haydn & Mozart, and a concert of quintets in Brisbane, California with cellist Elisabeth Le Guin: Boccherini, Onslow, and Schubert. For further information and details, please consult www.newesterhazy.org.

Johann Samuel Schroeter and the English Piano Concerto

Evan Cortens

This article is the second in a two-part series in this Newsletter; the first installment can be found in issue 17.



It has often been noted that the musical culture of eighteenth-century England, and especially London, differed in significant ways from its continental counterparts. The reason for this seems to have more to do with politics and economics than with anything musical. At the risk of oversimplifying a complex economic phenomenon, the Industrial Revolution took hold faster in eighteenth-century England, and in a variety of ways led to the emergence of a significant middle class. Cultural norms being an important part of class identity, these nouveau (semi)-riche eagerly adopted those of the nobility, music included. Unlike the nobility, however, middle-class citizens were unable to fund their own theaters, with music provided by their own orchestras. Instead, they pooled their funds together, through ticket sales, to form concert societies and ensembles. In their book *The Birth of the Orchestra*, John Spitzer and Neal Zaslaw summarize this development: "Yet although the orchestra in England looked the same as it did in the rest of Europe, it meant something different. In England the orchestra signified the access that wealth and prosperity could provide to the finer and grander things in life" (265).

Perhaps the most significant development in this area was the creation of the subscription series in 1765, with the Bach-Abel Concerts held at the newly built Hanover Square Rooms. With individual tickets costing just a few shillings, these concerts, and others like them, were a relatively affordable way for the middle class to hear orchestral music. Even a cursory glance at programs for events of this nature from the 1790s reveals that concertos—and often more than one—were found on nearly every one. While concertos for the violin were the most common, the then new pianoforte was a close second. This is especially noteworthy given that, while composers had been writing violin concertos for several decades, the earliest concertos specifically for the pianoforte date only from the 1760s.

The Piano

The sudden proliferation of music for the pianoforte in London at this time certainly owes something to the development of affordable instruments. While Bartolomeo Cristofori developed the first piano around 1700, this instrument—or Silbermann's later instrument inspired by it—was scarcely heard in England until the 1760s. In 1763, two years after Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz became queen of England, she selected Johann Christian Bach to be her music master; according to Burney, it was this event that seems to have spurred piano construction in London. The instruments were relatively large and unwieldy until Johannes Zumpe, a German émigré, set up shop in London in 1761 and shortly thereafter began producing his square piano. This instrument was smaller, lighter, and simpler, and therefore much cheaper than its predecessors. It quickly came to dominate the marketplace, patronized primarily by middle-class consumers. It was in 1766—the year from which, coincidentally, the first surviving Zumpe piano dates—that J. C. Bach published his op. 5 sonatas "for harpsichord or piano forte," the first piece published in England to call specifically for this instrument.

Zumpe's square piano used a single action, a simplification of Cristofori's mechanism. The keyboard spanned four-and-a-half octaves (G1, A1–F6), and was therefore approximately the size of the average clavichord. Zumpe never patented his design and since demand for the instrument quickly outpaced supply, several other makers—in London, Paris and elsewhere—soon began making them. By 1784, Zumpe-type pianos were being made across Western Europe and North America. In 1771 Americus Backers, another European émigré, announced his version of the piano, which contained the mechanism that would come to be known as the English action, and which was later incorporated into Broadwood's pianos. This piano was also the first to make use of sustain and *una corda* pedals in the configuration used today. These pianos were used by J. C. Bach and J. S. Schroeter and were certainly known to Clementi, who modeled the pianos he manufactured after them. Though Backers died only a few years later in 1778, the Scotsman John Broadwood continued his work. Broadwood had been making square pianos since 1780—he began making grand pianos, of the Backers type, by no later than 1786.

The eighteenth-century English piano, especially the square piano, was the quintessential middle-class instrument. It was designed simply so that it could be built cheaply—perfectly in line with the values of Industrial-Revolution England. In the late 1760s, Zumpe may have sold square pianos for as much as £50. By the 1780s the price had dropped to £21 and by 1815 to £18.3s. Broadwood's firm alone produced 8,000 pianos between 1782 and

1802. Thus the piano was within range for the average “middle class” family, and only became more affordable into the nineteenth century.

The Concerto

It should be no surprise then to see that, alongside the rise of this new instrument, there was a corresponding development of repertoire expressly for it. Naturally, this entailed solo sonatas for the piano, but there were an abundance of concertos published at this time as well. One of the most popular examples of this new genre was Johann Samuel Schroeter’s *Six Concertos for the Harpsichord or Piano Forte: With an Accompaniment for Two Violins and a Bass*, published in London by William Napier, around 1774. Perhaps contrary to some expectations, Schroeter’s concertos are more nearly chamber music than the compositions for large orchestra the modern listener might anticipate. That is to say that while they are suited to performance in the concert hall with a larger group, they were just as effective in the private salon or residence. One can well imagine that the concert-going public would see the composer perform a concerto of his (or, less often, her) own, and then decide to purchase the printed sheet music, in the same manner in which nowadays we buy a recording of a work we’ve just heard.

It would thus have been entirely commonplace for a group of amateur musicians, in this case two violins, cello and piano, to gather for a private performance of these concertos. However, to ensure the largest possible market for this music, Schroeter prepared a piano part that contains the full musical material of the entire composition. This is to say, the pianist’s right hand consists of a reduction of the two violin parts during the tuttis, and that the part is usable even by a musician unable to realize continuo. For the professional pianist, however, the clearly differentiated solo and tutti markings mean that chordal accompaniment in the tuttis remained. Though not provided for explicitly, these concertos are also performable with only one violin.

Form and Structure

Mozart was familiar with and admired Schroeter’s op. 3 concertos, writing to his father in 1778, “... tell me whether you have Schroeter’s concertos in Salzburg ... If not, I should like to buy them and send them to you.” Whether one can speak of Schroeter influencing Mozart, however, is uncertain. This uncertainty arises at least in part from present-day disagreements about, for instance, the nature of first-movement concerto form: some argue that it derives from aria forms, others for an evolution of Baroque ritor-

nello forms, and still others for departures from sonata form. In Schroeter’s concertos we find similar issues.

Daniel Leeson and Robert Levin, in a 1976 article in *Mozart-Jahrbuch*, describe a six-part form as standard in Mozart’s concerto first movements: 1) initial ritornello; 2) modulating solo; 3) confirming ritornello; 4) developmental solo; 5) recapitulatory solo; 6) closing tonic ritornello. This form is often described as “double exposition”, for (2) is virtually a repeat of (1), except that the transitional section modulates in the solo. In Schroeter, as in Mozart, the transitional group concludes with a half cadence, in the tonic for the orchestra and in the dominant for the soloist. Konrad Wolff, writing in 1958 in the first (and indeed only) significant study of Schroeter in English, says that “it comes as a surprise that [Mozart and Schroeter] were actually the first to adopt [the double exposition scheme] generally for the field of the piano concerto, and also that they reached this solution independently.”

In *Elements of Sonata Theory* (Oxford, 2006), James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, following the work of Joel Galand (2000), discern formal differences between Mozart’s standard form and the form most common in Schroeter’s opus 3. In sonata-theory terminology, Schroeter’s nos. 2 through 5 are instances of Type 5 Sub-type E. In this variant, the tonal return is not contemporaneous with the return of the opening theme (the “double return”); James Webster has argued against even calling it “sonata form” for this very reason. In no. 4, the tonal return begins with the restatement of the second group. In no. 2, the tonal return begins with material first found in the closing section of the opening ritornello, material that lacks a strong thematic profile entirely, being rather virtuosic arpeggios. Mozart uses this form only once in a keyboard concerto, in K. 107/2, which is itself an adaptation of J. C. Bach’s sonata op. 5, no. 3. That is to say, Mozart does not use the form voluntarily, but rather out of respect for the model sonata’s Type 2 aspect.

There is comparatively less variety in the forms of the middle and final movements in opus 3. Indeed, only three of the six concertos have middle movements: two marked “Grazioso” (nos. 3 and 4) and one marked “Larghetto” (no. 6). These movements are always in the dominant key, with nos. 3 and 6 showing traces of an abbreviated sonata form. In all six cases the finales are rondos, and every time ABACABA, where the final ABA is a written-out da capo. The graceful tunes used in the A sections, often eight-measure antecedent-consequent phrases, are evidence of Schroeter’s gift for memorable melodic writing, as we can see in the second movement “Rondo” of Concerto no. 2 (see ex. 1). Wolff reminds us that though the structure of these final movements may

Example 1. Schroeter op. 3/2, movt 2, mm. 1–8

seem “static” in comparison to Mozart’s and Beethoven’s sonata rondos, “for Schroeter’s generation a finale was not supposed to produce a climax to the whole work, but on the contrary, to act as a tranquilizer.” While Alfred Einstein criticized the concertos as “simple in structure” and “primitive,” he nevertheless admitted that they have “the greatest melodic charm and innocence,” continuing on to say that “at times they seem to speak with the voice of Mozart himself.”

Cadenzas

A wide variety of cadenzas, from Mozart and three separate anonymous sources, survive for Schroeter’s opus 3 concertos. Previous scholarship often simply notes that Mozart wrote cadenzas for four of the six concertos, but this understates his contribution. There are eight separate movements in these six concertos that can accommodate a cadenza, and Mozart wrote cadenzas for six (possibly seven) of these. Konrad Wolff thought all but one of these (K. 626a Anh D) lost, but in the intervening decades they have been rediscovered, and will be published together for the first time in the forthcoming edition from A-R Editions. Together they show Mozart’s commitment to these works in his teaching, and perhaps even performance. The three anonymous collections are found today in London, Dresden, and Berlin. The London source, identified by Cliff Eisen, is one page from an eighteenth-century musical commonplace book. In Dresden, we find a six-page handwritten manuscript containing eighteen “Cadenze e Fermate” for all eight cadenza movements. This means there is often more than one cadenza per movement—in the rondo of no. 3, there are four separate, albeit brief, cadenzas preceding each recurrence of the theme. Finally, in Berlin there are two cadenzas written directly into a hand-written copy of the six concertos. It is quite likely that there are more written-out cadenzas, still waiting to be found in libraries and private collections. Neal Zaslaw has told us that Mozart’s written-out cadenzas were intended for students, rather than for himself. Thus, this proliferation of cadenzas gives us yet more evidence of the wide circulation and popularity of these six concertos in amateur circles.

Schroeter’s opus 3 concertos provide us significant insight into the world of amateur music-making in late-eighteenth-century London, a world which has often been undervalued. Through continued study of these and similar works, we can come to a fuller understanding of the relationship between composers and their concert-going and concert-giving public.

[The author would like to thank Stephen Fisher for noting an error in his previous article. Not only is the maiden name of Rebecca Schroeter (1751–1826) known (Scott), there is both a short article on her (by Tony Scull) and a full monograph (by Peter Hobday).]

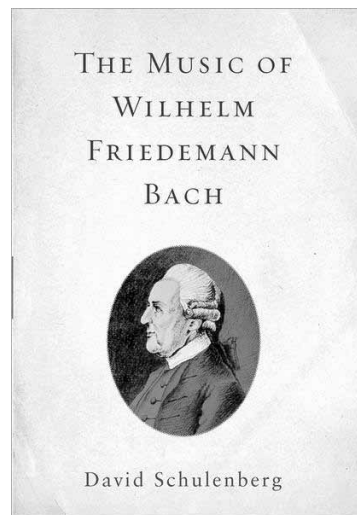
Evan Cortens (epc44@cornell.edu) is currently a doctoral student in musicology at Cornell University, and is completing an edition of Schroeter’s op. 3 concertos, forthcoming from A-R Editions. His short biography of Schroeter appeared in the April 2011 issue of the newsletter.



Book Review

Douglas A. Lee

David Schulenberg. *The Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2010.



As a timely celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach (1710–1784), David Schulenberg has presented an exhaustive study of Friedemann’s music complementing his earlier efforts addressing music of the Bach family: *The Instrumental Music of C. P. E. Bach* (1984) and *The Keyboard Music of J. S. Bach* (1992). Of the three publications this exploration of the music of Friedemann Bach is easily the most comprehensive and should be regarded as a significant contribution to the already abundant Bach literature and to the broader context of Western art music in the last half of the eighteenth century.

Until the recent past, studies of Friedemann and his music have been less voluminous than those addressing J. S. Bach and Friedemann’s younger brothers, C. P. E. Bach (1714–1788) and Johann Christian Bach (1735–1782). C. H. Bitter’s *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und Wilhelm Friedemann Bach und deren Brüder* (1868) was an early confirmation of Friedemann’s name in the expansive Bach bibliography, but no equally significant study followed until Martin Falck’s *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach, sein Leben und seine Werke* (1913) which included a numbered thematic index still used to identify Friedemann’s compositions. It was eighty years before a comparable study came forth, Peter Wollny’s Harvard dissertation, “Studies in the Music of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach: Sources and Style” (1993). Wollny continued his work with a number of journal publications and currently is preparing a *Gesamtausgabe / Collected Works* (2009–) and a new thematic index to appear as part of the forthcoming *Bach-Repertorium*. To these items we should mention the recovery in 2001 of the archives of the Berlin Sing-Akademie, an extended collection including many works by Friedemann.

Schulenberg draws on these and ongoing studies for a detailed discussion and analysis of many of Friedemann’s surviving works in a concise biographical sketch and a chapter comparing the music of Friedemann to that of his father, J. S. Bach, and more famous younger brother, C. P. E. Bach. The next three chapters survey three broad categories of Friedemann’s music—works for solo keyboard, music for instrumental ensemble, and church music arising from his years as organist and director of music at Halle from 1746 to

1764—and are followed by two appendixes, the first a commentary on performance, the second a list of works.

Before discussing the substance of any of these chapters we wish to offer a word on the abundance of musical illustrations distributed liberally throughout the book. It may seem out of order to address here material usually considered supplementary in a scholarly work, but the character, quality, abundance, and more importantly, the pertinence of the printed and audio examples combine to make of them a major feature in this endeavor. One could wish for a larger type in these musical sketches, as indeed one might wish for a larger font in all the printed material, but considering the length of the present text and attendant costs, some compression is understandable. That caveat aside, the musical examples are of high quality and well chosen to serve their intended purpose. The author makes a good case for the luxury of so many examples, pointing out that Friedemann's music is less well known than the music of Sebastian or Emanuel Bach and therefore calls for illustration. Also, a relatively small amount of his music is available in print, therefore less accessible than other composers of comparable stature. But probably most important are those qualities in Friedemann's music, particularly in the keyboard works, which have variously been described by other writers as "awkward," "erratic," "unconventional," "disjunct," "unexpected," or simply "difficult," characteristics which Schulenberg efficiently describes as "counterintuitive" (p. 63), a term which seems particularly appropriate here. It is in this context that a proliferation of printed examples becomes particularly useful when discussing atypical musical gestures. Schulenberg goes beyond printed examples in the text by offering on his personal website (www.wagner.edu/faculty/dschulenberg) further illustrations. On his "W. F. Bach Page" he provides another list of examples taken from the text, supplemented by an audio file of the same material. A second entry offers the musical texts of many other works discussed, supported by an audio version of the same material and further printed commentary on that music. A third heading leads to a file for updating, clarification, and corrections to the book. At the very least, this stands as an imaginative example of technology working in the service of scholarship; without qualification it sets a high standard in the practice of illustrative musical examples.

The opening chapter, "The Enigmatic Bach," is divided into three sections, each offering an overview from a different perspective. Schulenberg provides a summary of the state of research on Friedemann Bach and his music, followed by a biographical sketch of his training and early career. Among many minutiae, Schulenberg addresses a long-standing question concerning the authenticity of Friedemann's portraiture. The frequently circulated portrait which adorns many record jackets, much printed music, and at least one major reference work, attributed to a Wilhelm Weitsch, is in fact the work of Friedrich Georg Weitsch and in all probability depicts Johann Christian Bach of Halle (not to be confused with J. C. Bach of London). The author proposes that the paintings of Friedemann by P. Gülle, one appearing as the frontispiece to Martin Falck's biography and the other at the head of his accompanying thematic index, are more likely to be accurate representations of Friedemann. The second of these is given prominence on the dust jacket of the book at hand. The chapter concludes with an overview of Friedemann's works, offering many thoughtful, sometimes provocative, observations. Schulenberg discusses problems of chronology and points out that the relatively small number of

Friedemann's surviving compositions may be due in part to his preference for improvising, a skill in which he excelled and a facet of his keyboard prowess in which he indulged to the point of neglecting the tedium of writing down many of his creative efforts. Schulenberg closes the chapter with the apt observation that both Friedemann and Emanuel Bach were motivated to develop their own original styles in order to differentiate their musical identity from each other and from the overpowering influence of their father, an observation which warrants further thought from most scholars of eighteenth-century music.

To describe further Bach's formative milieu, the author turns to a detailed comparison between Friedemann's music and that of his father, Sebastian, and younger but more famous brother, Emanuel. Many writers have alluded to what some propose as Sebastian Bach's preference for the talents of his oldest son, a premise one still encounters in casual commentary. Sebastian compiled the *Clavier-Büchlein vor Wilhelm Friedemann Bach* partly as a tool for keyboard instruction, but more likely as an introduction to composition. That he prepared no comparable study book for his other sons might be a reflection of his regard for their musical abilities but just as well might represent a father's greater interest and focus on his first-born son. It is to J. N. Forkel that we owe much of this evaluation. In his biography of Sebastian, *Über Johann Sebastian Bach's Leben, Kunst und Kunstwerke* (1802), he described Bach's sons as their father's most distinguished pupils, declared Friedemann to be the closest to his father in matters of originality, and wrote glowingly about his melodic talents. And Carl Friedrich Cramer in 1792 claimed that Sebastian was satisfied only with Friedemann and that he described Emanuel's work with the observation that "'Tis Berlin Blue! It fades easily!" [*The New Bach Reader*, 413]. Cramer acknowledges these observations came directly from Friedemann, so some fraternal envy may have been at work. The chapter continues with an examination of Friedemann's counterpoint studies, his violin studies with J. G. Graun, and comparisons with the training given Emanuel Bach. These comparisons between Friedemann and Emanuel appropriately dominate this section, but similar comparisons permeate much of the book, leading a reader to wonder at times whether the older brother needs to be described in terms of the younger.

"Crossing Hands and Confounding Expectations" is a delightful treatment of Friedemann's keyboard music bespeaking the experience of a keyboard player who has intimate knowledge of these works from personal experience as a performer. The distinctive passagework which dominates much of Friedemann's music often is compared to the always unpredictable Domenico Scarlatti. Excerpts quoted in the accompanying examples show Friedemann's writing to be thoroughly idiomatic for the keyboard, even if it is, as described earlier, original to the point of being counterintuitive. Schulenberg's separate treatment of chorales, character pieces, sonatas, unaccompanied concertos, polonaises, fantasias, and fugues reflects a grasp of this literature derived from the author's own performances. Friedemann's expertise as an organist comes to the fore and we are reminded that, after his father, he was widely regarded as the greatest German organist of his age.

The compositions for instrumental ensemble are addressed by genre: sonatas, duos and trios, solo works, sinfonias, and concertos. Schulenberg rightly observes that "the concerto was the genre in which Friedemann made his most important contribution to music for instrumental ensemble" (p. 165). The musical examples illus-

An Eighteenth-Century Organ Is Reconstructed at Cornell

David Schulenberg

trate further Friedemann's command of the keyboard, particularly in matters of passagework distributed between the hands and some dense passages involving double notes and parallel triads. Discussion of the formal structures of individual concertos are both thorough and perceptive; any reader familiar with concerto literature of this period will appreciate and understand the problems inherent in describing a genre which, for reasons of both history and practice, was very much in a state of continuing evolution. At the same time, any writer addressing this literature needs to keep an eye on the long view of this genre, otherwise the many variables of form, solo passages, and instrumentation can lead one astray into details which may detract from a grasp of the whole musical statement. To his credit, Schulenberg manages this task with an even hand.

Friedemann's vocal music comes from his years at Halle where he served as director of music and organist at the Liebfrauenkirche. He had access to the manuscripts of Sebastian's cantatas, used many of them in his work as director and, understandably, modeled many of his own compositions on them. The author describes many of these individually and then turns to a broader discussion of "Words and Music." Inevitably there are comparisons with practices of Sebastian Bach, whether the works at hand be identified as cantatas or by any other name. Friedemann's organ playing comes into discussion for the degree it is integrated into the vocal works, both as a support for the voices and as a solo instrument. In a section devoted to "Individual Vocal Works," the author explores specific examples of Friedemann's style in setting sacred texts, particularly in those instances when he shows originality in departing from the overwhelming influence of Sebastian Bach, not an easy task for any member of the family.

The first of two appendixes opens with a substantial essay titled "Notes on Performance," largely a discussion of practical problems to be addressed in the performance of Friedemann's music: instrumentation and voices, choice of keyboard instrument, use of organ pedals, and realization of the continuo. The following "Challenge of Performance and Interpretation" apparently reflects Schulenberg's own experiences as performer, particularly well illustrated in his observations on keyboard fingering.

Appendix Two is a List of Works in tabular form, without musical incipits. "Only authenticated works are listed. Spurious works are omitted, as are a few minor, doubtful, and lost works not seen here. Earlier and later versions of individual works are listed only where these show significant differences. Most dates are approximate. . ." (p. 279). Each entry gives the appropriate number from Falck's earlier index, followed by the *Bach-Repertorium* number, title, key, date, sources, edition (when applicable), pertinent comments, and page references to the discussion of that work in the main body of the book. Interested readers will find very informative a comparison of this list with those given by Peter Wollny in *Grove Music Online* and *MGG*; any such comparison should keep in mind that this list is designed to apply directly to the work at hand, a mission it fulfills admirably.

Schulenberg's book on Wilhelm Friedemann Bach is an important work, one well conceived and organized, thoroughly executed, with generous examples to illustrate by printed and aural means the substance of the literary text, the whole carried out by an active musician who demonstrates throughout the text his intimate knowledge of the music he describes. It should stand as a lasting and generous complement to the forthcoming thematic index and collected edition of Wilhelm Friedemann Bach's works.

The inauguration of a major new organ at Cornell University in Ithaca, N.Y. was marked by a conference and series of concerts entitled "Keyboard Culture in Eighteenth-Century Berlin and the German Sense of History." The events, on March 10–13, 2011, were sponsored jointly by Cornell University and the Westfield Center for Historical Keyboard Studies and were organized by Annette Richards of Cornell, who also serves as executive director of the Westfield Center. Participants received warm greetings and enjoyed exceptional hospitality throughout the conference from Richards and her staff, which included a number of Cornell graduate students.

The organ, installed in Anabel Taylor Chapel on the Cornell campus, is a reconstruction of an instrument built in 1706 by Arp Schnitger for the chapel of Charlottenburg Palace in Berlin. The instrument departed from the north-German traditions of earlier Schnitger organs in its low pitch, incorporation of certain reed stops (including a 4' Viol de gamb), and other features. Although destroyed during World War II, it had been amply documented and even recorded, making possible the present meticulously researched project. The reconstruction (described as a "fantasy reconstruction" in the conference program booklet) was a collaboration led by Munetaka Yokota of the Gothenburg Organ Art Center (GOArt) in Sweden and Parsons Pipe Organ Builders of Bristol, N.Y. The Ithaca cabinet maker Christopher Lowe also contributed.

Harald Vogel marked the formal dedication of the instrument on March 12 with a recital of music by Sweelinck, Buxtehude, Bruhns, J. S. Bach, and C. P. E. Bach. The last had undoubtedly known the original instrument and could have composed some of his small number of organ pieces for it; two of these concluded the program. The preceding days also saw performances on the instrument by Jacques van Oortmerssen, Annette Richards, David



Anabel Taylor Chapel

Yearsley, and Jean Ferrard, as well as a concert of solo and chamber music with Kristen Dubenion-Smith (mezzo-soprano) and Steven Zohn (flute). Particularly instructive was the provision of lists of the organ registrations used in each piece on most of the recital programs; in addition, a camera in the organ loft, with simultaneous display on a large screen on the floor of the chapel, allowed the audience to view the players' exertions, a possibility rarely afforded in organ concerts.

The majority of the repertory performed was from seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Germany, emphasizing music associated with Schnitger's instruments and with Berlin. I did not hear a pre-conference joint recital on the organ by Richards and Yearsley that included the four-hand "verse" on *In nomine* by the Elizabethan composer Nicholas Carleton, as well as an arrangement of Bach's fourteen canons on the bass of the Goldberg Variations. Richards's recital during the conference proper illustrated the patronage of Princess Anna Amalia, sister of Prussian king Frederick II ("the Great"), through works by Buxtehude, Bruhns, and J. S. and C. P. E. Bach, all preserved in Berlin sources. An all-Bach recital by Oortmerssen opened with the famous Toccata and Fugue in D Minor, BWV 565; the present writer, in a talk given later in the conference, suggested that the work's emergence as an iconic Bach composition (despite its problematical attribution) might have had something to do with performances by the eighteenth-century Berlin organist Johannes Ringk, scribe of the sole independent manuscript copy.

The chamber music concert demonstrated the possibility of combining the organ (played by David Yearsley) with flute in instrumental works by Krebs, J. S. and C. P. E. Bach, and Frederick II, as well as in cantatas by J. G. Graun and Telemann—the last a secular work "Die Tonkunst" comprising two arias framing a recitative that aptly began "O holder Klang!" (O lovely sound). Also on a Berlin theme was a fortepiano recital by Andrew Willis that included selections by three Bachs as well as Müthel and Georg Anton Benda.

Ferrard offered a program of relatively unfamiliar works from the early seventeenth century, including compositions by Frescobaldi and Scheidt and closing with a remarkable chromatic ricercar by Carol Luython. Harald Vogel's dedicatory recital, on the other hand, demonstrated the practicality of the instrument for a broad range of works, among them selections from J. S. Bach's *Well-Tempered Clavier* and the E-minor prelude by Bruhns, which Vogel fancifully interpreted in his program notes as "Bruhns's Orfeo." Vogel's selections, like Richards's, were united by being preserved in manuscripts now in Berlin. His recital was preceded by the dedication itself, which included the premiere by Richards and Yearsley of Kevin Ernste's *Anacrusis*; this revealed the suitability of the baroque-style organ for music that incorporated tone clusters as well as construction sounds and other contemporary effects.

Earlier on the day of the dedication—which naturally was the crowning moment of the entire series of events—the design, construction, and installation of the instrument had been the subjects of a round-table and multi-media presentation by members of the building team. Catherine Oertel, a chemist at Oberlin College, addressed the problem of the composition (and decomposition) of historic pipe metal, and organologist Joel Speerstra of GOArt spoke on the Prussian blue pigment used to decorate the stop labels. A demonstration of the organ by Yokota and Yearsley fol-

lowed, the latter illustrating the various stops in improvisations that included a three-part fugue on the pedals' 8' Octav.

These presentations of a practical nature had been preceded by three paper sessions. Darrell Berg opened the first of these by describing "the state of music in mid-eighteenth-century Berlin." She was followed by Mathieu Langlois on Marpurg's French-style character pieces and Kerala Snyder on "Seventeenth-Century Organ Music in Eighteenth-Century Berlin." Among the pieces discussed in the latter was a chorale fantasia by Bruhns preserved in an eighteenth-century copy in the Amalienbibliothek. The latter was originally the private collection of Princess Anna Amalia, who was an amateur organist and composer; it contains manuscript sources for much of the music heard during the conference, including Bruhns's fantasia, which Richards performed in her recital immediately afterwards.

A second paper session included talks by Ellen Exner on "Anna Amalia, J. S. Bach, and the Prussian Historical Imagination" and by Martin Küster on "Marpurg's Dream Organist." The present writer addressed the role of eighteenth-century Berlin musicians (including Ringk and W. F. Bach) in the reception and transmission of organ works from the Bach circle. Richard Kramer spoke on "a much theorized moment" in C. P. E. Bach's F-minor sonata Wq 57/6: the point in the second movement where the recapitulation, in F major, is preceded by a C-minor chord and then a long silence.

In the final set of papers, Ulrich Leisinger posited that Mozart's northward trip to Berlin in spring 1789 included a confrontation with Bach's music, inspiring the D-minor fantasia K. 397. Leisinger argued that the latter is therefore not as early a work as is usually thought, and it is probably not a fragment but perhaps was intended to serve as a prelude to another work—possibly the variations K. 573 on a theme by the Berlin cellist Duport. Matthew Head likewise addressed Mozart in a talk on "Aesthetic Terror and Historical Consciousness" in the A-minor rondo K. 511, and Vanessa Agnew spoke on "Reconstructing, Reenacting and Testing, and a Sense of Music History."



Modern Premiere of Johann Christian Bach's *Zanaida*

Paul Corneilson

The theme of the 2011 Bachfest in Leipzig was “nach dem italienischen gout” (according to Italian taste), and along with the usual fare of Bach cantatas, the St. John Passion, and the Mass in B Minor, there were programs that featured Italianate music, ranging from Palestrina and Monteverdi to Vivaldi and Hasse (for a complete program see www.bach-leipzig.de/index). Thus it is only fitting that an opera by Johann Christian Bach (1735–1782)—the only one of Sebastian's sons to travel to Italy—was given its first complete performance since June 1763 at the Goethe-Theater in Bad Lauchstädt on 15 and 16 June 2011 (see fig. 1).

The performance was made possible by the generosity of Elias N. Kulukundis, who in 1986 acquired the autograph score, the only complete copy of the opera. Otherwise, the work only survives in selections including the overture and eight arias that were published in a reduced score as *The Favourite Songs in the Opera call'd Zanaida* (London: Walsh, 1763), though Kulukundis did send incipits of the other numbers to Ernest Warburton for inclusion in his *Thematic Catalogue* (New York: Garland, 2001). (The Kulukundis Collection, which includes letters, prints, and manuscripts of music by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach as well as J.C. Bach, is now on loan to the Bach-Archiv Leipzig for ten years.)

As a prelude to the performance, there was a mini-conference on the opera on Wednesday, 15 June, with panelists Stephen Roe, Wolfram Enßlin, Karl Böhmer, and myself. J.C. Bach came to London in 1762 after spending several years in Italy—his official title was organist at the Milan Duomo—and he had three operas under his belt: *Artaserse* (Turin, Teatro Regio, 1760), *Catone in Utica* (Naples, San Carlo, 1761), and *Alessandro nell'Indie* (Naples, San Carlo, 1762). After having experienced star singers (Carlo Nicolini, Gaetano Guadagni, Anton Raaff, Tommaso Guarducci, and Clementina Spagnoli) on the Italian stage, Bach was less than impressed with the company at the King's Theatre in London. According to Burney:

On his arrival here, he was extremely mortified to find that he had no better singers to write for than Ciardini and the Cremonini, and for some time totally declined composing for our stage, being unwilling, as a stranger, to trust his reputation to such performers. But, at length, having heard the De Amicis sing two or three serious songs in private, it suggested to him the idea of giving her the first woman's part in his serious opera; and having communicated his design to Mattei the impresaria, matters were soon arranged, and the De Amicis, who afterwards held the first rank among female singers in the serious operas of Naples and other great cities of Italy, was now first taken from the comic opera, and invested with the character of principal woman in the serious. And during the rest of the season, on Tuesday nights, she delighted the town as the representative of Thalia, and on Saturdays as that of Melpomene.¹

Thus J.C. Bach deserves credit for discovering Anna Lucia de Amicis, who became a *prima donna assoluta*. Up until 1763, she

had been performing comic roles exclusively. Bach first wrote for her the role of Candiope in *Orione, ossia Diana vendicata*, which had its premiere on 19 February 1763, then in the same season she created the title role in his *Zanaida* (7 May 1763). The young Mozart heard her sing in Jommelli's *Armida abbandonata* (Naples, 1770) and two years later she sang in Mozart's *Lucio Silla* (Milan, 1772), the latter libretto J.C. Bach himself later set for Mannheim in 1775. Burney goes on to praise De Amicis's voice, which could “go up to E flat in altissimo, with true, clear and powerful *real* voice” (not falsetto).² All of her arias in *Orione* and *Zanaida* were included in the respective *Favourite Songs* compilations.

Giovanni Bottarelli's libretto is based in part on Metastasio's first dramma per musica, *Siface rè di Numida* (1723), but it was enlarged from six to nine singers to accommodate the company at the King's Theatre. (See fig. 2 for a facsimile of the dramatis personæ.) The rest of the cast included Domenico Ciardini (Tamasse, the *primo uomo*), a castrato well past his prime; Livia Segantini (Roselane), who had earlier sung the *prima donna* roles now displaced by De Amicis; Giustinelli (Cisseo, the *secondo uomo*), who had sung Sandrina in the premiere of Piccini's *La buona figliuola* (Rome, 1760); and Cremonini (Silvere), a young singer whose voice was already “in decay.”³

Nevertheless, Burney was lavish in his praise for Bach's music, singling out the particular unique qualities of his arias:

There are many admirable airs in the operas he composed for our stage that long remained in favour. The richness of the accompaniments perhaps deserve more praise than the originality of the melodies; which, however, are always natural, elegant, and in the best taste of Italy at the time he came over. The Neapolitan school, where he studied, is manifest in his cantilena, and the science of his father and brother in his harmony. The operas of this master are the first in which *Da Capos* disappeared, and which, about this time, began to be generally discontinued: the second part being incorporated with the first, to which, after modulating into the fifth of the key, the singer generally returns.⁴

Statistics confirm this observation, as Enßlin showed in his presentation: Bach's *Catone in Utica* has a total of 17 arias, of which all have two strophes and all but two of which are in dal segno form. *Zanaida*, on the other hand, has 21 arias, of which only seven have two strophes and none of the 20 surviving arias are in da capo or dal segno form. (See below for more about the missing aria.) Rather, these are all “through-composed” more or less in a modi-

2. Ibid., 2:865n.

3. Burney doesn't have much good to say for the other singers: “GIUSTINELLI had a good voice, and sufficient merit to supply the place of second man on our stage in the serious operas, for several years after; the CREMONINI had more schooling, and attempted more than the Eberardi, as second woman; but was less amiable. Her voice, though a young woman, was in decay, and failed on all occasions of the least difficulty; which, however, did not prevent her from attempting passages that not only required more voice, but more abilities than she could boast.

CIARDINI, a soprano, the serious first man, ... [was] the only performer of whose abilities any expectations were formed, disappointed every hope, by turning out a singer who seemed to have been possessed of no very capital powers, originally, but now wholly in decay.” *A General History of Music*, 2:864.

4. Ibid., 866.

1. Burney, *A General History of Music from the Earliest Ages to the Present Period*, 2 vols., ed. Frank Mercer (New York, 1935; originally pubd. London, 1776–1789), 2:865.



Figure 1. *Zanaida, Act I, Scene III*

Dramatis Personæ.

Zanais, daughter of Soliman, Emperor of the Turks, the intended consort of Tamaffes. Signora de' Amicis.	Rofelan, Mother of Tamaffes, Signora Segantini.
Multapha, Father of Ofira Soliman's Ambassador at the Persian court. Signor Quilici.	Tamaffes, Sophi of Persia under contract of marriage to Zanais, but secretly in love with Ofira. Signor Ciardini.
Ofira, Daughter of Mustapha, left as an hostage in Persia, Signora Carmignani.	Cisseus, a Persian Prince in love with Ofira. Signor Giustinielli.
Aglatis, the confidant of Zanais, betrothed to Janguir, Signora Valfecchi.	Silvera, a Persian Princess, left an hostage in Turkey, in love with Cisseus. Signora Cremonini.
Janguir, Aga, in love with Aglatis. Signor Zingoni.	

Chorus of Persians, and Turks.

The principal Dancers.

Signor Gallini, Mademoiselle Affelin,	Signor Binetti, Signora Binetti.
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The Music is a new Composition by Mr. Bach, a Saxon Professor.

PERSONAGGI.

Zanaida, Figlia di Solimano Imperatore de' Turchi, destinata Sposa a Tamaffe. La Signora Anna Lucia de Amicis.	Rofelane, Madre di Tamaffe. La Signora Licia Segantini.
Multapha, Padre d'Ofira, Ambasciatore di Solimano. Il Signor Gaetano Quilici.	Tamaffo, Sofi di Persia, promesso sposo di Zanaida, amante d'Ofira. Il Signor Domenico Ciardini.
Ofira, Figlia di Mustafa, Ostaggio in Persia. La Signora Carmignani.	Cisseo, Principe Persiano, amante d'Ofira. Il Signor Giustinielli.
Aglatis, Confidente di Zanaida, amante di Janguir. La Signora Marianna Valfecchi.	Silvera, Principessa Persiana, Ostaggio in Turchia, amante di Cisseo. La Signora Cremonini.
Janguir, Aga, amante di Aglatis. Il Signor Giovan Battista Zingoni.	

Coro di Persiani, e di Turchi.

Ballerini Principali.

Il Signor Gallini, Mademoiselle Affelin,	Il Signor Binetti, La Signora Binetti.
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La musica è nuova produzione del Signor Giovanni Bach, Maestro di Cappella Sassone.

Figure 2. *Original cast of Zanaida in London, 1763*

Italian text (Bottarelli),
Zanaida, act 2, scene iv

Se spiegò le prime vele
il nocchiero in lieta calma,
l'aure amiche, il mar fedele
spera sempre ritrovar.

Tal s'accese nel mio core
dolce ardore, e poi si rese
caro oggetto di diletto
quel che pria lo fe' tremar.

English paraphrase
(Anon., London, 1763)

As when the ocean smooths his furrow'd brow
with gentle Zephyrs, or serenest calm,
the sons of commerce, brisk with social cheer,
dread not the tempest, nor the bellowing waves.

So love, who reigns the sovereign of my breast,
prompts the aspiring thought to happiness,
the mind, by gradual use, familiar grows
to schemes of state, whose genuine view gave horror.

Vauxhall Song
(Anon., London, 1777)

See the kind indulgent gales
swelling fill the spreading sails,
smoothly gliding with the tide
o'er bounding waves we ride.

Gay hope our minds to cheer
presents the welcome shore,
no tempests now we fear,
no dangers threaten more.

fied sonata form, as Burney describes them. The arias in *Catone* range between 110 and 241 measures, for a total of 3146 measures; in *Zanaida* the measure counts are much lower, between 40 and 131 measures, for a total of 2085 measures. That means *Zanaida* is only about two-thirds the length of *Catone*, or about two hours of music.

What Burney wrote about *Orione* applies equally to *Zanaida*:

Every judge of Music perceived the emanations of genius throughout the whole performance; but were chiefly struck with the richness of the harmony, the ingenious texture of the parts, and, above all, with the new and happy use he had made of wind-instruments: this being the first time that *clarinets* had admission in our opera orchestra.⁵

The *sinfonia* is scored for two clarinets, *taille* (tenor oboes in F), *corno da caccia*, and bassoons, in addition to the strings. There is no Turkish music *per se* in this opera about Turks and Persians, but Bach makes much use of *Harmonie-Musik* throughout the work.

The autograph score is complete, except one of the arias (no. 2) and a short recitative in act 2, scene v, are entirely missing. In addition, one aria, no. 13b (“Le spiegò le prime vele”), and the first two pages of the *cavata*, no. 14 (“Mentre voglio intorno il piede”), are not in the hand of the composer but appear to have been replaced at a later point by an unknown London scribe. As it turns out, no. 13b was published in *The Favourite Songs* (London, 1763). William Jackson, the English composer and organist, claimed that the young Mozart found an error in the score, “whether of the composer or copyist I cannot now recollect, but it was an instance of extraordinary discernment and readiness in a mere infant.”⁶ This aria was later adapted as a Vauxhall Song, “See the Kind Indulgent Gales” and published as *A Favourite Song sung by Mrs. Weichsell at Vauxhall Gardens* (London, 1777).⁷

Bach thoroughly revised the aria “Se spiegò le prime vele” (sung by Tamasse in the opera) for his pupil, the soprano Fredericka Weichsel (mother of the famous soprano Elizabeth Billington), who was certainly a more accomplished singer than Ciardini. The

overall form of the aria is basically the same, as well as the basic melody and harmony, but with more elaborate passagework (compare ex. 1, mm. 43–57 in “Se spiegò” with ex. 2, mm. 43–60 in “See the kind indulgent gales”). Nevertheless, some of the ornamentation in the revision could be used in the original Italian setting.

Bach originally intended the aria no. 2, “Lieta parto e della sorte,” to follow the short recitative for Roselane in act 1, scene ii, as the cue for the aria at the bottom of the page indicates. As is typical, the verso is blank except for the printed staff lines, and normally the aria would begin on the following page, but instead it has the beginning of scene iii. (In this autograph score, J.C. Bach almost always begins new arias on a new recto page of a bifolio, rather than starting on the back page of the recitative. This would enable him to easily remove an aria if, for instance, he wanted to use it in a concert or another opera, as we have seen in the case of no. 13b.) Of course it is possible that Bach changed his mind and decided not to write an aria for Roselane here. Or perhaps he did write the aria but Roselane couldn't sing it well and it didn't make a good impression. On the other hand, Roselane is the *seconda donna* in the opera, and singers generally want their full share of arias, especially their “entrance” aria. For this production we adapted another Vauxhall Song, the rondeau “Cruel Strephon will you leave me,” by substituting the Italian text and omitting the third stanza.⁸

Earlier I mentioned one other short recitative for *Zanaida* in act 2, scene v, that is missing from the autograph score. As this is a solo scena for the *prima donna*, it is very likely that the composer set the recitative with instruments. (Of course we cannot prove this one way or the other.) An obvious question is, why didn't J.C. Bach have this recitative copied with the aria no. 13b and the first two pages of the *cavata* no. 14? I cannot think of a good answer to this question, except that J.C. Bach does not seem to have been the most organized of composers.⁹ Perhaps the recitative was lost.

8. There are two or possibly three arguments against this having been the original music written by Bach for the opera: (1) in London, Bach virtually abandoned da-capo aria settings; (2) “Cruel Strephon” is a typical rondeau melody with a gavotte rhythm, not necessarily suggested by the fluid Italian “Lieta parto e della sorte”; and (3) related to this, the affect of “Cruel Strephon” is somewhat different from the dramatic content of Roselane's scheming on behalf of her son Tamasse. It is likewise entirely possible that Bach adapted “Lieta parto” for one of his other operas or as a different Vauxhall Song.

9. For instance, the second act of his opera *Temistocle* is entirely missing, but whether he lost it, gave it away, destroyed it, or accidentally spilled some coffee on it is impossible to say.

5. *Ibid.*, 2:865.

6. Cited in Stanley Sadie, *Mozart: The Early Years, 1756–1781* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006), 66. Unfortunately, Jackson couldn't say whether J.C. Bach's autograph or the copyist's score had the error.

7. Another example is “Tender Virgins Shun Deceivers” in the *Second Collection of Favourite Songs sung at Vaux-Hall* (London, 1767), a transcription of the aria “Non è ver ch'assise in trono” from J.C. Bach's *Carattaco* (1767).

The image displays two musical examples from an opera score. Example 1, titled "Se spiegò," spans measures 43 to 57. It features a vocal line for Tamasse and a bass line for Bassi. The vocal line includes lyrics: "ri - tro - var, spe - ra sem - pre ri - - tro - - var, ri - tro - var." The bass line includes lyrics: "o'er bound - ing waves we ride, o'er bound - ing waves we ride." The score includes dynamic markings such as *fp*, *f*, and *p*, and various musical notations like trills (*tr*) and fingerings.

Example 2, titled "See the kind indulgent gales," spans measures 43 to 60. It features a vocal line for Soprano and a bass line for Bassi. The vocal line includes lyrics: "o'er bound - ing waves we ride, o'er bound - ing waves we ride." The bass line includes lyrics: "o'er bound - ing waves we ride, o'er bound - ing waves we ride." The score includes dynamic markings such as *fp*, *f*, and *p*, and various musical notations like trills (*tr*) and fingerings.

Example 1. "Se spiegò," mm. 43–57

The only significant change that is evident in the autograph score (aside from some changed pitches or rhythms here and there) comes in act 2, scene ix, where J.C. Bach first wrote the entire recitative on p. 131 but crossed it out and wrote a much shorter version on the verso p. 132. Since the printed libretto includes the revised text, the change must have been made prior to the first performance. (It remains unclear whether this was a decision made by the composer or poet.) The early version has a cadence on B-flat (the dominant key to the Coro in E-flat), but the revised version has a cadence on E-flat (the same key as the Coro). The first version is legible and it will be included in an appendix to the critical report, when the edition is published.

The arias for Zanaida are most varied and brilliant, and they were sung by Sara Hershkowitz with sensitivity and verve. The rest of the cast was not at all disappointing (*pace* Burney), and equally thrilling in their supporting roles: Clémentine Margaine (mezzo soprano, as Tamasse), Chantal Santon (soprano, Roselane), Camille Poul (soprano, Osira), Patrice Verdelet (baritone, Mustafa), Natalie Perez (soprano, Cisseo), Majdouline Zerari (mezzo soprano, Aglatida), Julie Fioretti (soprano, Silvera), and Jeffrey Thompson (tenor, Gianguir). J.C. Bach wrote a quartet at the end of act 1, a forerunner of the famous quartet in *Idomeneo*, in which the four characters (Mustafa, Tamasse, Zanaida, and Roselane) express different emotional states. The choruses at the end of acts 2 and 3 are likewise deftly handled with a nod to his father and (closer to

Example 2. "See the kind indulgent gales," mm. 43–60

London) Handel. The closing chorus, with its four-part imitative counterpoint, stayed with us on the bus ride back to Leipzig.

The mise-en-scène, costumes, and set design were historically authentic, as was the staging by Sigrid T'Hooft (see fig. 1). The gestures the singers used during their recitatives and arias were more appropriate to Handel's era than post-Garrick London, but they were done convincingly to enhance the text. The ensemble, Opera Fuoco, was conducted by David Stern, and his interpretation was stylish, though I would have enjoyed a more relaxed *andante* in the middle movement of the overture. But there was little to complain about in the performance; I attended a dress rehearsal and both performances at Bad Lauchstädt and would have been happy to hear it several more times.

The performing material was provided by The Packard Humanities Institute, and a critical edition of the operas of J.C. Bach is in the preparatory stages. The opera was broadcast on German radio on 9 July, and a CD recording will be released by Zig Zag in summer 2012.

“Handel’s Grandson”: The Augmented Sixth Chord as Emblem of Modernity

John A. Rice

In the fourth and final volume of his *General History of Music* (London, 1789), Charles Burney struggled to reconcile his admiration and respect for Handel’s compositional genius with a feeling that his operas were too old-fashioned, from a musical point of view, to hold the stage. But occasionally he found music that stood the test of time. In a brief description and assessment of *Rodelinda*, first performed in 1725, Burney praised *Rodelinda*’s opening air, “Ho perduto il caro sposo,” “which is of that kind of elegant pathetic (*sic*) which no change in musical taste can injure. Cuzzoni gained great reputation by the tender and plaintive manner in which she executed this song” (*A General History of Music*, vol. 4, p. 299). It was probably his feeling that “Ho perduto il caro sposo” transcended the vagaries of musical fashion that caused Burney to add a footnote in which he acknowledged that in one respect at least Handel’s song *was* old-fashioned, but that what made it so could easily be changed. “There is but one bar in this air which a great singer need modernize to remove every appearance of age: if instead of F natural, in the following passage, it were made sharp, it might pass for a composition of Handel’s grandson.” Burney then quoted four measures of music (melody and bass only) and added a revision of the melodic line in which he replaced Handel’s F natural with an F sharp, recasting the line so that the F sharp is unaccented (ex. 1).

vocal line

vocal line as revised by Burney

bass

Burney quoted, somewhat inaccurately, from mm. 42–45 of “Ho perduto il caro sposo”: a typically Handelian Phrygian cadence in which the G in the bass is approached by a descending half step and the G in treble is approached by ascending whole step (ex. 2). Burney’s revision transformed this Phrygian cadence into a cadence involving an augmented-sixth chord.

(Largo)

viep - più cre - sce il mio pe - nar

Strings

5 7 7 6

Mark Ellis, in his recent book *A Chord in Time: The Evolution of the Augmented Sixth from Monteverdi to Mahler* (Farnham, Surrey, 2010) has identified the 1720s as the decade in which the augmented-sixth chord became “a pan-European phenomenon”: “The augmented sixth is comparatively rare prior to 1720, and mainly associated with Italian repertoires, yet by the mid 1720s it had become part of composers’ *lingua franca*” (p. 38). We might refine this claim by suggesting that it was primarily younger Italian composers—champions of the emerging galant style—who welcomed the augmented-sixth chord in the 1720s and eagerly used it in contexts where older, “learned” composers like Handel preferred the Phrygian cadence. The prominent and frequent use of the augmented sixth in half cadences quickly became a characteristic feature of the galant style, and it remained a hallmark of modern music for the rest of the century and into the next.

In hearing Handel’s operatic music as old-fashioned, Burney was evaluating it in the context of the galant style that shaped his own music taste. In picking out a passage in Handel’s “Ho perduto il caro sposo” as archaic because it lacked augmented-sixth harmony, he pinpointed a stylistic innovation so potent that its presence could, by itself, differentiate music by Handel from music by “Handel’s grandson”—in other words, music that could have been written by someone born fifty or sixty years after (the childless) Handel, and who might have been active in the 1780s.



New Title

The Music Trade in Georgian England, edited by Michael Kassler. August 2011, 576 pages, ISBN 978-0-7546-6065-1. Includes 35 b&w illustrations. 234 x 156 mm. Hardback \$114.95

In contrast to today’s music industry, whose principal products are recorded songs sold to customers round the world, the music trade in Georgian England was based upon London firms that published and sold printed music and manufactured and sold instruments on which this music could be played. The destruction of business records and other primary sources has hampered investigation of this trade, but recent research into legal proceedings, apprenticeship registers, surviving correspondence and other archived documentation has enabled aspects of its workings to be reconstructed.

The first part of the book deals with Longman & Broderip, arguably the foremost English music seller in the late eighteenth century, and the firm’s two successors—Broderip & Wilkinson and Muzio Clementi’s variously styled partnerships—who carried on after Longman & Broderip’s assets were divided in 1798. The next part shows how a rival music seller, John Bland, and his successors, used textual and thematic catalogues to advertise their publications. This is followed by a comprehensive review of the development of musical copyright in this period, a report of efforts by a leading inventor, Charles 3rd Earl Stanhope, to transform the ways in which music was printed and recorded, and a study of Georg Jacob Vollweiler’s endeavour to introduce music lithography into England.

The book should appeal not only to music historians but also to readers interested in English business history, publishing history and legal history between 1714 and 1830.

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About the Editor

Michael Kassler is an Australian musicologist. His works include *Samuel Wesley (1766–1837): A Source Book* (written with Philip Olleson), *Charles Edward Horn's Memoirs of his Father and Himself, Music Entries at Stationers' Hall, 1710–1818*, *The English Bach Awakening: Knowledge of J. S. Bach and his Music in England 1750–1830*, and *A. F. C. Kollmann's Quarterly Musical Register (1812): An Annotated Edition with an Introduction to his Life and Works*, all published by Ashgate.



continued from page 1

would like to spend all they have for this sort of thing and those who could afford it, don't?"⁵

A second letter from Mozart to Waldstätten, dated Oct. 2, 1782, thanks her for her promise to provide a red coat for him (which allows for two interpretations: the first can be viewed as the jacket being a gift from her, and the second, as a purchase she made for him but with the money expected to be repaid). He writes, "I made a major faux pas yesterday!—I constantly felt as if I had to tell you something else—but it did not want to enter into my stupid brains! It was to thank your honor for the effort with the beautiful jacket—and for the kindness of your promise of getting such a coat for me.—I simply did not think of it, which is often the case with me."⁶ Another letter from Mozart to the Baroness dating from the

middle of Oct. 1782 is lost as is one from Dec. 28, 1782. Following a letter to her of Feb. 15, 1783, there are no known letters to her for at least two years.

The two large buttons are not made of solid brass as that would make them too heavy, cause them to hang improperly, and eventually tear the thread at the point of attachment. They are part of the jacket and appear to match Mozart's excited description. The elevation in the center of these buttons is fully compatible with "yellow stone," as the circumference of these buttons is fully compatible with "white stones." These entirely decorative buttons sit opposite the two large pseudo buttonholes, which are not functional and probably sewn shut, though their location is consistent with where they would be if the jacket were to be buttoned.

The significance of the buttons and coat is not immediately apparent. There could have been other red coats with fancy buttons in Vienna at that time. What is most significant is that this coat was probably an entirely unique creation, made to order to Mozart's idiosyncratic wishes. The sequence of events is this: first, Mozart saw the extravagant buttons, and *then* wanted a coat to display them. This progression reduces the probability to almost zero that a second red coat with exactly those buttons could have existed anywhere else in the world. Further, this coat was not an off-the-rack piece of clothing. It was an expensive garment that few could afford, and its appearance in crimson, irrespective of the button types, was a rare event in itself. If Mozart intended to use this garment in his playing career, its fit could not restrict his movements. This coat must be viewed as a conclusive piece of forensic evidence that ties Mozart to the garment. For law enforcement officials, technical evidence of this type, which ties an object to a person, is usually sufficient to decide criminal cases.⁷



Detail of Buttons

was obtained through the generous assistance of Dr. Kathryn Libin, Associate Professor and Chair of Music. An attempt to obtain a facsimile of the equally important letter of Sept. 28, 1782, the text of which was partly presented above, was unsuccessful. The Mozarteum was unable to supply either its location or the identity of the owner.

7. I thank the Swedish biometrician, Martin Braun, for his insightful assistance in this analysis.

5. Bauer/Deutsch, letter 696, pp. 232–33, lines 19–31.

6. Bauer/Deutsch, op.cit. The original letter is owned by the Archives & Special Collections of Vassar College Libraries, Poughkeepsie, NY and

The Baroness' involvement gives rise to two possibilities concerning the buttons. One is that he asked the Baroness to have the coat made for him using the buttons about which he expressed such affection. Alternatively, he could have gotten the coat from the Baroness and then replaced its original buttons with those that he had chosen earlier. Judging from the five pseudo-buttonholes visible on the painting, the jacket must have had five such buttons.

In the painting, the shape of both kinds of buttons appears elliptical. However, they were probably all circular, but painted as oval because of the artist's perspective in the case of a profile portrait. The part of the coat that has the large buttons on it appears unnaturally presented, which may have been caused by the artist being required to paint the buttons into the picture. Had the coat been hanging straight, as is normal, these buttons would have remained totally or partially invisible in a profile portrait. This shows that there must have been a strong desire to have these buttons visible in the painting. Such a request from a sitter is strange indeed, but it is fully compatible with Mozart's wish to have a prestigious red coat as the best possible platform to present the buttons that so captivated him.

I was unaware of this documentary information about the coat at an earlier stage of my research. In my attempt to discern the identity of the sitter, biometric techniques were employed to establish that identity or else disprove the hypothesis that it was Mozart. The results were profoundly conclusive. Probabilities of that surety need an explanation and a formal report. In terms of mathematical probability, what the report says is that it is almost a certainty that the image of the man in this portrait is Mozart.

The only significant remaining uncertainty about the painting is the identification of the artist. A number of painters were considered, with three artists examined: Josef Hickel, Johann Baptist Lampi the Elder, and Johann Heinrich Tischbein the Elder. The portrait by Tischbein shown here is given to demonstrate that there was good artistic reason to consider him as a portraitist-candidate for the Man in the Red Coat.⁸ However, Tischbein was excluded for technical and historical reasons; i.e., Tischbein painted almost exclusively in Kassel, and there is no historical record that Mozart ever visited that city. Also, after 1782, Tischbein's eyesight had become so impaired that he hardly painted at all, and, based on Mozart's letter to Baroness Waldstätten, the Man in the Red Coat had to have been painted after September 28, 1782.

Both Hickel and Lampi remain under consideration for several reasons, not the least of which is that Mozart definitely knew Hickel and may have known Lampi, though Mozart's personal knowledge of an artist is not a prerequisite to being painted by that individual.

I conclude by offering the suggestion that this portrait may be the one mentioned in a letter from Mozart to his father, dated April 3, 1783. The relevant text of the letter reads: "Here also are the two portraits—I hope you will be satisfied with them; I think they are good likenesses, and everybody who has seen them is of the same opinion." The argument that the paintings sent to Leopold were images of his son and daughter-in-law is logical but en-

tirely conjectural. First, Leopold was expecting a visit of the couple to Salzburg—which would occur in a little less than four months—so a preparatory gift of portraits of the two would have shown Leopold what his new daughter-in-law looked like and that his son was in good health. Second, it is unlikely that there would have been a reason to send pictures of any other parties, but were that to have been the case, Mozart would likely have identified them.

While this hypothesis cannot be proven, the portrait fits the circumstances. First it explains how Leopold was in possession of the portrait at the time of his death along with the rest of the Mozart objects in the Cache, and second, the estimated date of the portrait based on Mozart's likely age is consistent with the date of Mozart's letter.



Tischbein Portrait of Johann Georg von Freese

Daniel N. Leeson was a businessman and executive with the IBM Corporation for 30 years. On his retirement in 1987, he taught mathematics at De Anza Community College in Cupertino, California for an additional 15 years. During those 45 years, Leeson was a professional performer with several major symphony orchestras, his specialties being clarinet, basset horn, and bass clarinet. As an amateur historical musician with a special interest in Mozart, Leeson is entirely self-taught. He has more than 120 publications on a variety of subjects including books, articles, editions, reviews, and fiction. He and Professor Neal Zaslaw of Cornell University were co-editors of the NMA volume that dealt with the wind serenades K. 361, K. 375 (in two versions), and K. 388. He can be reached at dnleeson@sbcglobal.net.

8. This 1772 oil on canvas portrait by Johann Heinrich Tischbein the Elder of the Kassel Galerieintendant Johann Georg von Freese, is in the Schloß Wilhelmshöhe in Kassel, Germany. Permission for reproduction was granted by the Museumslandschaft Hessen Kassel, reference number 65540432694.