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For Professor Harry White

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Acknowledgements

Since its inaugural edition in 2004, *The Musicology Review* has sought to nurture and promote the exciting work undertaken by undergraduate and postgraduate research students. Almost two decades later, the journal continues to thrive on the musicological research being carried out in numerous educational institutions in Ireland and beyond.

Just as it takes a village to raise a child, it takes a large support network to bring a journal to life. Conceived and gestated in the midst of a global pandemic, Issue Ten is the product of a committed and enthusiastic editorial team, which—despite the capriciousness of Covid-19—carried on undeterred, buoyed up on those dark days by the level of interest expressed by so many from the moment the call for papers was released.

The level of expertise, knowledge, and goodwill that was afforded to the editors by very many since they first embarked on the journey deserves special mention. We extend our particular thanks to Dr Ciarán Crilly, Head of the UCD School of Music, for his valuable contribution and steadfast commitment to the project. We would also like to thank all of the academic and administrative staff of the School of Music for their forbearance and support behind the scenes during the lengthy production process; one could not imagine or wish for a more congenial and encouraging environment in which to bring a publication like this into being.

We are extremely proud of the content featured within this volume, and we are commensurately grateful to all authors for the time and effort that they put into their articles and reviews. Each and every contributor gave generously of their talents to ensure that the tenth edition of the journal—returning after a five-year interlude—would be as intellectually stimulating as those which came before. We thank most sincerely our panel of peer-reviewers for their careful reading of articles and reviews, and for providing such insightful and thoughtful feedback to the authors.

The editors would also like to thank Dave Lockey in UCD Copi-Print for his efficiency and care in bringing this handsome hard-copy journal to life.

Finally, we express our sincere and heartfelt gratitude to Professor Harry White for his unwavering support and sage (and good-humoured!) advice from the outset. To this end, we believe it is only right and fitting that we should dedicate the fruits of our labours to him, the founding-father of *The Musicology Review*.

Anika Babel, Fiona Baldwin, Eoghan Corrigan
Editors, *The Musicology Review*, Issue Ten
UCD School of Music

Foreword

It is a singular pleasure to welcome this tenth volume of *The Musicology Review*, especially after an absence of some five years. Its appearance now could scarcely be more opportune: it is not too much to suggest that since the last issue appeared (in 2016), there has been a sea-change in Irish musicology that reflects a more general upsurge (especially within the domain of Anglo-American musicological discourse). In particular, women's studies (together with the relationship between music, politics and gender), film studies, the study of music in video games and gaming generally (elegantly coined as *ludomusicology* by an erstwhile member of the UCD School of Music), and popular music studies now burgeon on the Irish musicological landscape. The strong seam of papers on these subjects which has so strikingly featured in recent graduate and plenary meetings of the Society for Musicology in Ireland suffices to attest this richly interesting phenomenon. But this does not mean that older preoccupations with Western musical culture lie submerged, like a sunken cathedral, beneath the glittering surface of these more recent enterprises. Even a glance at the table of contents of this new volume would elegantly affirm otherwise. Alongside essays on aesthetics in relation to improvised music and on the symbolic meaning of popular music in film, this volume also comprehends the work of three composers (Ethel Smyth, A. J. Potter and Antonio Salieri), as well as an archival and cultural study of psalm tunes in eighteenth-century Dublin. And the issue opens with a close reading of Tchaikovsky that effortlessly reflects the growing intimacy between performance and research which has of late so markedly enriched the complexion of musical studies in UCD.

These essays represent, for the most part, the peer-reviewed research of a younger generation of musicologists. In that respect, they afford a future tense for the discipline itself. The idea of thinking seriously about music as a self-standing profession remains of fragile account, not least in the present moment. The aesthetics of entertainment come loud, and more than occasionally at the expense of serious scholarship, including (most emphatically) scholarship devoted to popular musical culture. This means in turn that the futurity of this scholarship, so impressively signified by the plural engagements contained in this volume of *The Musicology Review*, must not only be acclaimed but actively secured. That responsibility largely lies, perhaps, with an older generation of scholars, but it also lies within the more general domain of the humanities, not as a belaboured (or soothing) refuge and nostalgia for times past, but as a dynamic agent of historical, theoretical and cultural inquiry. Interdisciplinarity is almost certainly key to the fulfilment of this inquiry. Nevertheless, as I once remarked elsewhere, interdisciplinarity must function on equal terms. To ignore this imperative, most acutely in the case of musical studies, is to imperil the subject itself. The science and grammar of five lines and four spaces (for example) will not survive without this vigilance. And nor will literate access to the music which this science so miraculously allows. It is a commonplace that music is inscribed in history, but history is also inscribed in music. And there are other literacies and other grammars, for that matter, which musicological comprehension requires, especially when music intersects with different agents of cultural discourse, most obviously, perhaps, in the dominant art forms of our own day. (Can there be any artistic domain of greater significance for current musicological discourse than cinema?).

The upheavals and strenuously revisionist impulses of contemporary political thought also represent a distinct challenge to musicology, especially when these appear to undermine the legitimacy, and sometimes even the moral probity of continuing to engage with a repertory that is somehow discredited as an agent of colonial or even racist discourse. I don't discount the gravity of these upheavals. I merely resist the suggestion that these be allowed to govern the nature and purpose of musicological scholarship without the debate that is their due. Indeed, it is to be hoped that future volumes of this journal will attract thoughtful commentary on this decisive (and often divisive) issue, if only because its impact is already in evidence in neighbouring disciplines, as well as in the reformation of music curricula in the UK, the United States and Canada.

'Meanwhile, we continue': the contents of this volume (and here I also salute the authors of the Reviews Colloquium) are a signature of grace, as well as of intellectual well-being, insofar as we continue to attach value to the very enterprise of musicological thought. In this connection, I cannot resist the disclosure that one of the contributors to this issue also prepared the music copy for the very first volume of Irish Musical Studies (*Musicology in Ireland*), back in 1990. That kind of continuity, fortuitously or otherwise, seems meaningful to me, because it reminds us that musicology in Ireland has a past as well as a present, and even a micro-history of its own. As we add to that history, we must congratulate not only the contributors to this issue, but also the editors, whose sovereign efforts to renew this journal have been so handsomely repaid. To emerge (one ardently hopes) into a post-pandemic climate of physical and mental well-being is a condition of feeling which music especially reverences and actuates. To celebrate likewise the publication of this volume of essays is no less important. It is an inspiring achievement.

Professor Harry White, FRIAM MRIA MAE
Chair of Music
University College Dublin

The Grand Illusion: Listening to Tchaikovsky's *Symphonie Pathétique*

Ciarán Crilly

Foreword: Closer Reading

This article is based on a public talk that was delivered in advance of a live performance of Tchaikovsky's *Symphonie Pathétique* for one of the UCD Symphony Orchestra's *Closer Reading* concerts. Presented at the Astra Hall on the UCD campus on 15 November 2019, this was the second in a planned series that was subsequently paused due to post-pandemic restrictions for music performance.[1] In revisiting it for the new iteration of *The Musicology Review*, certain content that might be considered a form of 'public musicology' has necessarily been subjected to elisions and alterations in order to address a readership rather than an audience. Thus, instead of being a broad commentary on the background and content of the work in question, alighting upon 'leading' themes and ideas contained therein for the purposes of a live listening experience, what is offered here is a context for interpretation, retaining elements of analysis, history, and hermeneutics that informed the original talk.[2]

The *Closer Reading* introductions are interspersed with key excerpts performed by the orchestra, and occasionally at the keyboard. Many of these can be represented in print in the form of score samples, but as some are demonstrated live in order to elucidate matters of voicing or orchestration only, their impact cannot be adequately conveyed within these pages.[3] This hints at significant questions on the nature of listening—as opposed to addressing content via the purely visual form of the printed score—that shall be explored later in terms of the listener's role within live performance contexts in particular. In appraising Tchaikovsky's final symphony, the subsequent text is indebted to major exegeses on the work by Timothy L. Jackson and Marina Ritzarev, whose ideas are expounded in dedicated monographs published in 1999 and 2014 respectively. It is also reliant upon the documentary evidence of the composer's final months as recorded by the celebrated Tchaikovsky scholar Alexander Poznansky.[4]

(Re)Writing History

A mythology has enshrouded the conception and first performance of the *Symphonie Pathétique* like almost no other in the history of Western art music. Perhaps only Mozart's

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[1] The first such concert (27 March 2019) was on Shostakovich's Piano Concerto No. 2. A third was planned to take place with a guest orchestra as part of the 18th Annual Plenary Conference of the Society for Musicology in Ireland in June 2020; the subject of which was to be Beethoven's Symphony No. 7.

[2] In an appraisal of topic theory, Julian Horton notes how the application of such a method can 'bridge the gaps between, analysis, hermeneutics, and history', but that it is more challenging when applied to music of the nineteenth century rather than the classical era. Julian Horton, "Listening to Topics in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Oxford Handbook of Topic Theory*, ed. Danuta Mirka (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2016): 642.

[3] One such example would be the interwoven lines at the beginning of the last movement when an 'aggregate' descending theme is heard between the two violin sections when playing together, but fragmented when heard separately. This is cited later in Example 8.

[4] Timothy L. Jackson, *Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 6 (Pathétique)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Marina Ritzarev, *Tchaikovsky's Pathétique and Russian Culture* (Oxford and New York: Ashgate, 2014). Alexander Poznansky, *Tchaikovsky's Last Days: A Documentary Study* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press 1996).

Requiem would rival it for tantalizing levels of intrigue and uncertainty, which in Mozart's case is further heightened by a quasi-supernatural tone, originating from the well-worn tale of a mysterious 'grey-clad emissary' who arrived at his door to commission the work. The Sixth Symphony was of course Tchaikovsky's final major composition, sketched between February and April 1893, orchestrated and completed in August.[5] The first performance took place in St Petersburg on 28 October, with the composer's death occurring just nine days later, on 6 November. Public interpretations of its message sprang up almost immediately: was it, for example, 'a kind of musical suicide note, a personal requiem, as was widely believed after the second, posthumous performance?'[6] The persistent enigma proved too irresistible for commentators in subsequent decades. Any gaps or inconsistencies in the chronicling of his final days fuelled curiosity and over-imaginative responses, as 'speculating biographers tried to find traces of conspiracy and cover-up among Tchaikovsky's doctors and relatives'.[7]

Interest was piqued in the 1970s when the Russian scholar Alexandra Orlova popularized the hypothesis that Tchaikovsky was urged to commit suicide in order to avoid national condemnation as a result of his supposedly improper lifestyle by a 'court of honour', constituting some of his classmates from the School of Jurisprudence. It was codified in an article co-written with David Brown in 1981 for *Music & Letters*, and a widespread embrace of this account naturally fanned the flames of lurid speculation surrounding the composer's life and death, primarily his acquiescence to the call for such a drastic measure by ingesting unboiled water during a rampant cholera outbreak.[8] That he died of cholera is almost certain, as supported by contemporaneous testimony from his physician and others, and it follows that the disease may well have been contracted from drinking infected water, although this may have been done so carelessly rather than impulsively or under duress.[9]

With the composer's death following the premiere so closely, it was reasonable to view the symphony as a public suicide note, with its progressive revocation of a traditionally jubilant denouement in favour of a valedictory one. A creative approach to recording history easily followed, conflating myth with myth, and even encroaching into literary realms. The most obvious parallel was the familiar Socrates legend, with a trial and the damning accusation of corrupting youth, leading to an enforced suicide by drinking hemlock.[10] An arch-romantic reimagining might absorb the real lives of Lord Byron and

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[5] These adhere to the Julian Calendar dates as referenced by Jackson, which he notes were used in Russia until 1918. See: Jackson, *Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 6*, 122, n. 2. Poznansky, Ritzarev, and Philip Ross Bullock employ the Gregorian Calendar, which would place the specified dates twelve days earlier. See: Philip Ross Bullock, *Pyotr Tchaikovsky* (London: Reaktion Books, 2016).

[6] Jackson, *Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 6*, 2. The concert referred to here was the memorial concert arranged by the Imperial Russian Musical Society on Saturday 18 November that also featured performances of the Violin Concerto and *Romeo & Juliet.* See: Poznansky, *Tchaikovksy's Last Days*, 186–187.

[7] Poznansky, *Tchaikovksy's Last Days*, 118.

[8] Alexandra Orlova and David Brown, "Tchaikovsky: The Last Chapter," *Music & Letters* 62, no. 2 (April 1981): 125–145.

[9] For more, see: "Illness: 21 October–22 October", in Poznansky, *Tchaikovksy's Last Days*, 79–101.

[10] This is addressed during a brief postlude in Jackson, 114–115. He states: 'There are many similarities between Orlova's Tchaikovsky and Plato's Socrates: both are elderly homosexuals who surround themselves with coteries of adoring young men, both worship beauty and are prepared to sacrifice everything for it, and, ultimately, both are forced to commit suicide for "corrupting youth"'.

Oscar Wilde, both subject to sexual scandal and ultimate exile. There are resonant overtones too in Thomas Mann's *Death in Venice* (1912), which confronts infatuation with a youth and death by cholera. Its postlapsarian tragedy is accentuated in Luchino Visconti's dreamlike film version (1971), in which Aschenbach the novelist is transformed into a fêted composer, with intimations of Gustav Mahler, but Tchaikovsky cannot have been far from the director's mind.[11]

A case against interpreting the symphony as a suicide note is compellingly made by reports of the composer's generally buoyant mood in the weeks before his death, and his reverence for the work itself, which he claimed to love 'as I have never loved any other of my musical offspring'.[12] In a letter from August 1893, Tchaikovsky wrote: 'I do not suffer from want and can in general consider myself a happy person'.[13] Poznansky, based on his thorough documentary evidence from this period, reported: 'Several eyewitnesses concur that Tchaikovsky was in exceptionally fine form during the days immediately preceding his illness.'[14] The escalating mythology continued to feed interpretations of the music nonetheless: reading and rereading the 'text' in search of hidden clues. Of primary significance is the composer's dedication of the work to his nephew Vladimir Davidov, known as Bob. Jackson asserts that 'the narrative programme of the Sixth Symphony *is* intimately related to Tchaikovsky's relationship with Bob Davidov' and explores the spectre of inappropriate contact, not because of sexuality but rather their difference in age and close kinship.[15] Tchaikovsky first acknowledged feelings for Bob in 1878, at which time the composer was 44 and his nephew 12. A diary entry from May that year reads: 'As soon as I stop working or go out for a stroll... I begin to long for Bob and grow melancholy without him.'[16] Jackson observes that the composer 'engaged in behaviour that might be condemned today as paedophilia', and that his known relationships with much younger men were potentially very damaging; Bob himself committed suicide in 1906 at the age of 34.[17]

Discarding the suicidal narrative, the quasi-autobiographical nature of a doomed, taboo love story surely remains. Bob's centrality to the symphony's possible programme—and note that Tchaikovsky had reportedly claimed that there was one but did not wish it to be revealed—can be read as central to the Byronic hero type so prevalent nineteenth-century literature and music.[18] The last line of the following passage from Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, written in 1812, encapsulates the forlorn hero who is tormented by a forbidden love in which sinfulness, or amorality, is implicated:

> For he through Sin's long labyrinth had run,
> Nor made atonement when he did amiss,

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[11] Visconti's film was released in the same year as Ken Russell's lurid and surreal Tchaikovsky biopic *The Music Lovers* (1971), which he memorably pitched to studio executives at United Artists as being about 'a nymphomaniac who falls in love with a homosexual'. From Ken Russell, "A film about Tchaikovsky? You must be joking," *The Guardian*, July 1, 2004, https://www.theguardian.com/film/2004/jul/01/1.

[12] Quoted in Jackson, *Tchaikovsky*, 1.

[13] Ibid., 19.

[14] Poznansky, *Tchaikovsky's Last Days*, 76.

[15] Jackson, *Tchaikovsky*, 36.

[16] Quoted in Ross Bullock, *Pyotr Tchaikovsky*, 134.

[17] Jackson, *Tchaikovsky*, 38.

[18] See: Poznansky, *Tchaikovsky's Last Days*, 63.

> Had sighed to many, though he loved but one,
> And that loved one, alas, could ne'er be his.[19]

This is also reflective of nineteenth-century—and later—operatic tropes in which perceived 'otherness' or non-conformity is ultimately punished. In the symphony, there are musical materials that sit outside comfortable norms—the lopsided 5/4 metre of the second movement, the ambivilent half-diminished sevenths so pervasive in the outer movements—that readily align with an 'incurable dysfunctionality' associated with Tchaikovsky's sexual orientation.[20] For a society not entirely at ease with the practice of homosexuality, the trial and suicide myth tidily affirmed his guilt and his contrition; thus, through a perceived martyrdom, he could be rehabilitated as a national composer, perhaps *the* national composer. However, it remains a myth and nothing more: in 1998, Poznansky was able to attest that a 'series of documents found in recent years present solid evidence against the historical, psychological and medical foundations of the suicide theories, while no new evidence in their support has been discovered'.[21]

Only Connect

On first listen, the most striking aspect of the *Symphonie Pathétique* is its structural plan. Richard Taruskin notes how it 'was (apart from a few then-unknown early eccentricities by Haydn) the first complete four-movement symphony ever to put the slow movement last', and it had also been a rarity for a symphony to end in a minor key.[22] The *per ardua ad astra* formula, whose standard prototype is Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, was driven, in part, by an overarching goal of arrival in glorious major from austere minor key beginnings. This is now subverted, as is another great triumphant schema initiated by Beethoven's *Sinfonia Eroica*, a work in which a valiant protagonist seems to be actively present throughout. Subjective experience is enhanced in Tchaikovsky's music by the favouring of a literary narrative over a purely symphonic one. Cora Palfy argues how composers such as Schumann, Berlioz and Tchaikovsky 'refined the musical Beethoven hero to suit the needs of a novel literary hero'.[23] This is most explicitly evidenced in Tchaikovsky's adherence to a proper chronology, with his 'lament' reserved for the ending, in contrast to the positioning of the *Marcia Funebre* as the second movement of the *Eroica*, which thus favours a musical-structural teleology above all.

Another pervasive feature of note is how choices of tempo divulge much about form and the nature of the inherent musical material. The tempo outline of the first movement (*Adagio – Allegro non troppo – Andante – Allegro vivo – Andante – Andante mosso*) corresponds to thematic/structural divisions: introduction, principal subject area, second subject area, development and recapitulation, return of second subject area in tonic major, coda. These also highlight the fundamental topics employed that might be labeled 'lugubrious' (*Adagio*),

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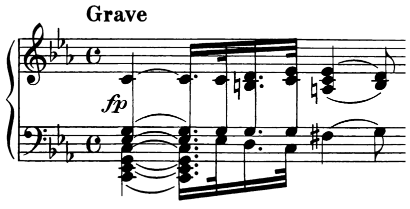
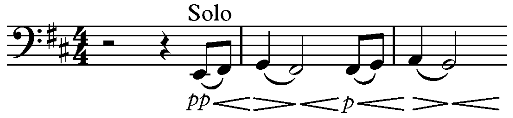
[19] Quoted in Cora Palfy, "Anti-hero Worship: The Emergence of the 'Byronic hero' Archetype in the Nineteenth Century," *Indiana Theory Review* 32, no. 1–2 (Spring/Fall 2016): 163.
[20] Jackson, *Tchaikovsky*, 57.
[21] Alexander Poznansky, "Tchaikovsky: A Life Reconsidered," in *Tchaikovsky and his World*, ed. Leslie Kearney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998): 50.
[22] Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music: Music in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 799.
[23] Palfy, "Anti-hero Worship," 194.

'tempest' (*Allegro*), and 'appassionato' or 'bel canto' (*Andante*).[24] In terms of the organization of material in the overall structure, there are two *Adagios*—the premonitory opening bars and the final movement (*Adagio lamentoso*), three *Allegros*—the principal subject area of the first movement (*Allegro non troppo*), and the two middle movements (*Allegro con grazia* annd *Allegro molto vivace*). The 'outlier' is the *Andante*, which incorporates the explicitly conveyed love music and its—perhaps premature—approbation in the coda.

As for the name *Pathétique*, it was long assumed that the composer's brother Modest had suggested it the day after the premiere, a claim made in the biography he published around a decade later; Poznansky again is able to supply evidence to refute this, and surmises that the title was actually decided upon by Tchaikovsky himself weeks earlier.[25] The employment of this particular sobriquet invokes Beethoven once more, and the similarity between the opening of the B minor symphony and the C minor piano sonata is regularly cited, with its contour of a rising tone and semitone, followed by a falling semitone (Examples 1 and 2).

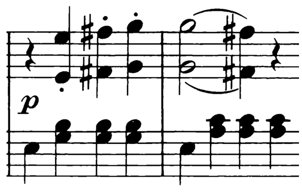


Example 1: Opening of Beethoven's *Grande Sonate Pathétique.*

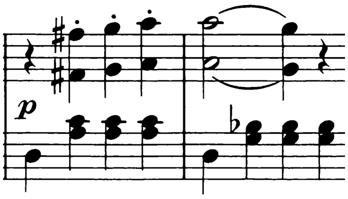


Example 2: Opening bassoon solo in the symphony.

This is more conspicuous when the symphony's opening is compared with two statements from the development section in the first movement of the sonata, which occur with the same pitches (E–F♯–G–F♯), although in different registers (Examples 2, 3 and 4).



Example 3: Beethoven's *Pathétique*, bars 140–141.



Example 4: Beethoven's *Pathétique*, bars 146–147.

The bassoon solo sets forth a relatively rudimentary basic idea, akin to a conflation of the two 'prime cells' identified in Rudolph Reti's analysis of the piano sonata featured in his book *Thematic Patterns in Sonatas of Beethoven*, published posthumously in 1967; the first cell is C–D–E♭, the second A♭–D–E♭.[26] The following statement from Reti could apply equally to either work: 'The basic thematic idea of the *Pathétique*, the core of its structural life, will be found to be a combination of these two cells'.[27] It would be simpler, perhaps, to reduce the two to a single prime cell, founded upon the first four notes of the sonata in the treble voice (C–D–E♭–D), especially on account of the significance of the falling semitone throughout the transition (bars 35–50) and the bass figure in bars 149–158 of the development. So a prime motive is generated in the first two bars of the symphony, although commencing in the key of E minor rather than the eventual home key of B minor. We can identify it as a 'longing' motive, as it contains gestures of expectation (rising) and resignation (falling), or perhaps simply the '*Pathétique*' motive, which also stresses its correspondence to Beethoven. It is heard as a discrete idea, now in B minor, at the start of the exposition in violas (Example 5).[28]

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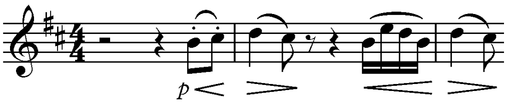
[24] From Julian Horton's list of nineteenth-century topics, collated from Agawu and others. Note that Tchaikovsky's *Francesca da Rimini*, composed in 1877, commences with an *Andante lugubre.*

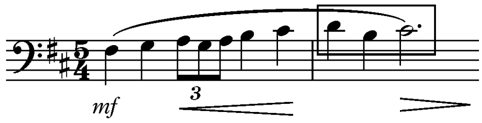
[25] Poznansky, *Tchaikovsky's Last Days*, 63.

[26] Rudolph Reti, *Thematic Patterns in Sonatas of Beethoven* (New York: Da Capo, 1992), 17.

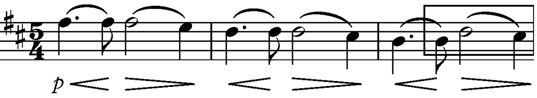


Example 5: Beginning of the first movement *Allegro non troppo*, statement, upper violas (rewritten in treble clef).

It reappears in varied guises, as part of a subtle cyclical strategy, in the second and fourth movements. In the second movement, a reordered D–B–C♯ version completes the first melodic phrase (Example 6) and a contracted form (minus the initial C♯) occurs in the third bar of the middle section at letter E (Example 7).



Example 6: Opening melody of the second movement, cellos.



Example 7: Theme from middle section of the second movement.

When the first and second violin lines from the opening of the *Adagio lamentoso* are expressed as a melodic 'aggregate', representing what is heard cumulatively between each part, the result is a descending line whose two-bar consequent statement ends with another version of the prime motive (Example 8). In this instance, bars 3–4 match the pitch outline of the middle section theme from the second movement (Example 7) with an altered harmonic context in terms of chromatic richness and the rate of harmonic change, although half-diminished seventh chords are common to both. The final phrase also links to the isolated cadential figure in the symphony's introduction (bars 12–15) that effects a prolongation of the dominant seventh in B minor over the last eight bars before the *Allegro non troppo* commences.

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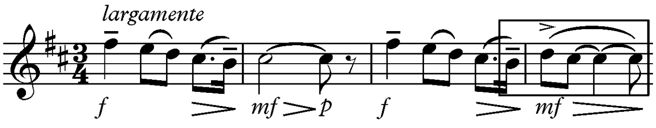
[27] Ibid.

[28] Bar numbers and rehearsal figures refer to Breitkopf & Härtel's 1994 edition of the score.



Example 8: 'Aggregate' melodic opening of the *Adagio lamentoso.*

There are other cyclical connections within the symphony, notably the stepwise ascent from mediant to tonic in the major mode that opens the second movement (Example 6), complemented or completed by the descending F♯–E–D that begins the middle section at Letter D (Example 8). It is inverted in the third movement with an assertive stepwise descent from tonic to mediant heard in antiphonal statements from the third bar of Letter E. However, the cyclical nature of the Sixth is not as pronounced as in the Fourth and Fifth symphonies, both of which employ introductory motto themes associated 'with the agency of fate'.[29] Jackson argues that not only is the Sixth bound by a 'macro-symphonic super-sonata form comprising over one thousand measures', but it is also part of a meta-symphonic structure that unifies the three late symphonies. To conceive of the *Pathétique* in this light helps to account for the opening in E minor, the key of his Fifth Symphony, rather than the global tonic of B minor, implying a very deliberate tactic of contextualizing the work within his oeuvre, especially within his cycle of symphonies. The thematic association with Beethoven in turn conveys its 'meta-canonic' status, which is consistent with the esteem in which he held the work.

The play of E minor and B minor invokes some of his other major narrative symphonic works. E minor is also the tonality of the dark literary 'Symphonic Fantasy' *Francesca da Rimini*, based on the character—although a real historical figure—from Dante's *Inferno*, while B minor is the key of the *Manfred Symphony*, whose hero is 'tormented by hopeless longings and the memory of past crimes'.[30] Ritzarev observes that, in the Sixth Symphony, Tchaikovsky 'did not construct a grandiose *Manfred*-like tone-drama, an attempt to convey an objective narrative through the subjective world of the protagonist', but it is credible that he wished for the link to be made regardless.[31] A more compelling tonal-harmonic ancestry can be found in *Tristan und Isolde*, with the *Tristan Chord* acting as a specified metaphor for sexual dysfunctionality in Jackson's reading.[32] The half-diminished seventh, upon which it is based, is heard no fewer than ten times in the finale alone, including its opening harmony, and as part of the final cadence: a half-diminished seventh on C♯ resolving to B minor over a pulsating tonic pedal. In the first movement, it occurs twice featuring the pitches (F–G♯–B–D♯) of the original, but not its spacing. These are in the final statement of the *Andante* theme two bars before Letter S, and again four bars later, this time tellingly marked *sff*.

Expectation – Resignation – Lamentation

The '*Pathétique*' motive, as previously suggested, signifies expectation and resignation in a compact form. The expectation of upward motion is even more pronounced at the beginning of *Tristan*, for which a rising chromatic step (G♯ to A) constitutes a 'longing' motive: 'a literal representation of painful yearning'.[33] Tchaikovsky had offered his own version in his fantasy overture *Romeo & Juliet*, in which the celebrated love theme begins in three different ways. It is first heard diatonically, commencing on the dominant degree of the scale (Example 9), then preceded by a raised fourth (Example 10), and finally a flattened sixth (Example 11), charting a progression from innocence (a first glance perhaps), through expectation and yearning, to resignation and acceptance.

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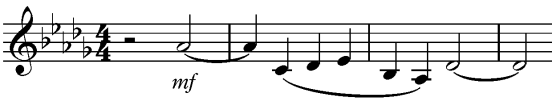
[29] Julian Horton, "Cyclical thematic processes in the nineteenth-century symphony," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Symphony*, ed. Julian Horton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 212.

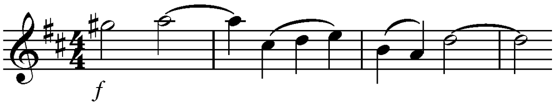
[30] Tchaikovsky's programme for *Manfred*, quoted in Ross Bullock, *Pyotr Tchaikovsky*, 142.

[31] Ritzarev, *Tchaikovsky's Pathétique and Russian Culture*, 47.

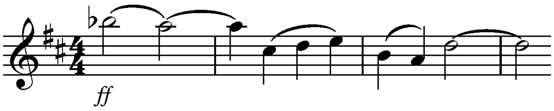
[32] Jackson, *Tchaikovsky*, 57.



Example 9: First statement of the *Romeo & Juliet* love theme in D-flat major, cor anglais, and violas.

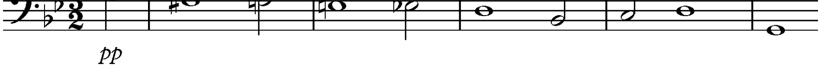


Example 10: Third statement now in D major, unison strings.

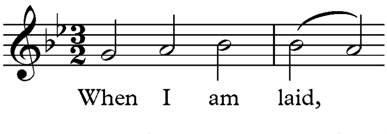


Example 11: Final complete statement, unison strings with additional doublings.

The next stage is lamentation, insinuated by the *Adagio lamentoso* tempo/mood designation of the finale, which points to the thematic relevance of the *basso lamento*: a stepwise descent, whether chromatic or modal, from tonic to dominant that was particularly significant in music of the Baroque era. It appears, for example, in the sigh-infused 'Crucifixus' from Bach's *B Minor Mass*, but its most celebrated manifestation is probably in 'When I am laid in earth' from Purcell's *Dido & Aeneas*, popularly known as 'Dido's Lament'. Here it forms part of a chromatic–cadential ground bass that underpins the entire aria (Example 12).



Example 12: Ground bass from Purcell's 'When I am laid in earth'.



Example 13: Opening of the vocal line of Dido's lament.

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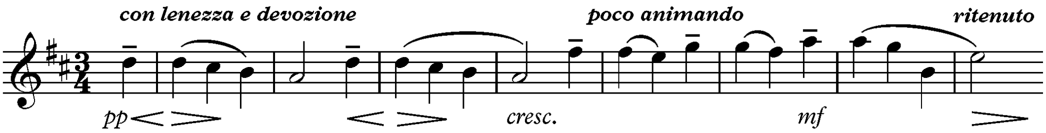
[33] Steven Huebner, "Tristan's Traces," in *Richard Wagner: Tristan und Isolde*, ed. Arthur Groos (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 146.

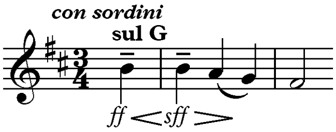
Coincidentally, in the first phrase of Dido's vocal line, we again encounter the pitch contour of Tchaikovsky's—and Beethoven's—'*Pathétique*' motive (Example 13).

The symphony's 'lament' theme, initially heard in D major, is constructed upon the modal form of the *basso lamento*, and later includes a sequence of miniature descents that will eventually yield a terminal decline towards the depths from which the symphony first emerged (Example 14).

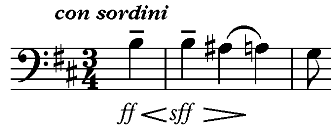


Example 14: 'Lament' theme in D major from the *Adagio lamentoso*, violins and violas.

Alex Ross has noted how Tchaikovsky 'combines the modal and chromatic forms of the lament pattern, creating a hybrid element of grief'.[34] This is achieved by means of antiphonal statements between violins (modal) and cellos (chromatic), now in the tonic B minor (Examples 15 and 16).

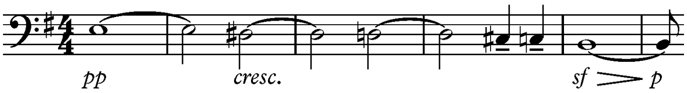


Example 15: 'Lament' theme in B minor, violins.



Example 16: Chromatic antiphonal response, cellos.

What should not escape our notice is that the *basso lamento* is present from the very beginning of the *Pathétique*, describing a chromatic descent from E to B in lower double basses beneath the bassoon solo (Example 17).



Example 17: Opening of the first movement, lower double basses.

Occurring at the outset in this way, in combination with the '*Pathétique*' motive, it establishes a despondent tone that foreshadows the hero's inescapable destiny.

The Grand Illusion

Returning to the *Tristan Chord*, its vagrant uncertainty remains improperly resolved throughout the opera, akin to Tristan's unhealed wound, that is until the final scene; the eventual arrival in B major equates with the death of the eponymous lovers and their idealized spiritual transfiguration. So in the symphony, the final chord of the introduction—a first inversion dominant seventh in B minor—is not permitted to fulfill its harmonic goal until the coda of the finale. Before this, there has been no authentic cadence in B minor, just the false hope expressed by the stable B major coda of the first movement. The signal moment in the finale is the solitary tam-tam stroke (letter L) that heralds a prolongation of the dominant before a final resolution in death and descent. It is an epic suspension that—like *Tristan*—has spanned almost the entirety of the work. It can be suggested that this harmonic suspension has a dramatic analogue in Alfred Hitchcock's psychological thriller *Vertigo* (1958), based upon a classic interpretation that dates back to Robin Wood's 1965 study *Hitchcock's Films*.[35] Musing on the principal character Scottie, as he hangs precariously from a gutter atop a tall building at the end of the first scene, Wood writes: 'There seems to be no possible way he could have got down. The effect is having him, throughout the film, metaphorically suspended over a great abyss.'[36] The idea was later embellished by James F. Maxwell:

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[34] Alex Ross, "Chacona, Lamento, Walking Bass: Bass Lines of Music History" in *Listen to This* (New York: Picador, 2011), 47.

> I am therefore going to pursue the perhaps radical notion that *Vertigo* may best be regarded as an extended equivalent of Ambrose Bierce's story ... *An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge*: that everything after the opening sequence is the dream or fantasy of a dying man (it makes no difference whether the dream occurs while he hangs from the gutter, as he falls to the street, or when he lies dying on the pavement).[37]

Bierce's extremely popular and influential tale was published by the *San Francisco Examiner* in 1890 and is set during the American Civil War. The protagonist's predicament is rapidly established at the very beginning, as follows:

> A man stood upon a railroad bridge in northern Alabama, looking down into the swift water twenty feet below. The man's hands were behind his back, the wrists bound with a cord. A rope closely encircled his neck.[38]

This is succeeded by a fortuitous twist as the rope breaks and falls into the stream. He thus evades death and proceeds to make a daring escape, spurred by the possibility of seeing his wife and family once again. Eventually he reaches his wife, who wears 'a smile of ineffable joy', then another twist:

> As he is about to clasp her he feels a stunning blow upon the back of the neck; a blinding white light blazes all about him with a sound like the shock of a cannon – then all is darkness and silence!
>
> Peyton Fahrquhar was dead; his body, with a broken neck, swung gently from side to side beneath the timbers of the Owl Creek bridge.[39]

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[35] Robin Wood, *Hitchcock's Films* (London: Tantivy Press, 1965). Quoted in Charles Barr, *Vertigo* (London: British Film Institute, 2002), 32.

[36] Ibid.

[37] James F. Maxwell, "A Dreamer and his Dream: Another Way of Looking at *Vertigo*," *Film Criticism* 14, no. 3 (Spring 1990), 4.

[38] Ambrose Bierce, "An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge," in *The Devil's Dictionary, Tales & Memoirs* (New York: The Library of America, 2011), 10.

[39] Ibid., 19.

His death delivers a shock to the reader that parallels with the brusqueness of the opening and the brutality of the story's return to reality from an untroubled fantasy. *An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge* has been subject to numerous adaptations, and variations on its theme have materialized repeatedly in popular culture.[40] Perhaps the *Pathétique*, like Bierce's disquieting story and Hitchcock's haunted film, is the dying fantasy of a doomed individual, with visions of sensual bliss and public condemnation (in the first movement), dysfunctionality (second movement), heroism and triumph (third movement), despair and death (finale). Rather than a *Symphonie Pathétique*, it may be reclassified as a *Symphonie Fantastique*, a grand illusion played out in the composer's mind alone. The hero, rather than representing the creator, becomes a romanticized and idealized upgrade. Thus the story can compellingly adhere to a dramatic and poetic arc without recourse to prosaic reality, and the protagonist can wonder:

> Was it a vision, or a waking dream?
> Fled is that music:—Do I wake or sleep?[41]

Coda: Modes of Listening

In assessing the influence of topics on musical expression, Robert L. Martin has suggested that 'the real and important effect of the topics is to give to the work a feeling of being connected to other experiences of life'.[42] The recognition of, or identification with, topics is therefore an integral of listening, but the nature of their application was transformed during the nineteenth century according to Kofi Agawu:

> When a composer prefers ambiguously defined topics to precisely defined ones – such as dances – the "romantic" tendency becomes quite pronounced in his music... what I am getting at is a larger historical point – that along with the nineteenth century comes an emphasis on topics that are increasingly less concerned with stylized identity and that therefore take one aspect of a work's discourse out of the public realm into a composer's private world. This is not, however, a claim that there are no public codes in nineteenth-century music, or, conversely, that private codes are missing from late eighteenth-century music. There is, rather, a shift in emphasis from public meanings to private.[43]

This shift is crucial to our engagement with the *Pathétique*, as universal messages are wilfully obscured: the waltz is disfigured by being cast in 5/4 rather than 3/4, while the march is amalgamated with a bustling scherzo, over which it eventually triumphs. The success of the march, however, is weakened by its adherence to the tempo set by the scherzo material with which the movement begins (*Allegro molto vivace*).[44] If a triumph is grasped too hastily, it is no triumph at all: the hero has merely won the battle, but not the war. Ultimately, Tchaikovsky's topical distortions affirm his commitment to the perceived private world of the composer, granting the listener greater subjectivity verging on interactivity.

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[40] The final part of Martin Scorsese's *The Last Temptation of Christ* (1988), for example, based upon a novel by Nikos Kazantzakis, betrays elements of the dying man's fantasy as Christ succumbs to the 'temptation' of an alternate reality that he eventually rejects in order to fulfill his messianic destiny. Taking a lead from Marina Ritzarev (*Tchaikovsky's Pathétique and Russian Culture*), a further link could be made with the *Pathétique*, as she advances a narrative reading of the symphony depicting the Passion and Death of Christ as portrayed in the gospels.

[41] From John Keats, "Ode to A Nightingale," quoted in Saviour Catania, "'Truth Beauty' as 'Waking Dream': Hitchcock's 'Vertigo' and the 'Mystic Oxymoron' of Keats's poetry," *Literature/Film Quarterly* 44, no. 1 (2016), 19. This article proposes Keatsian themes within Hitchcock's *Vertigo*.

[42] Robert L. Martin "Musical 'Topics' and Expression in Music," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism*, Autumn 53, no. 4 (Autumn, 1995), 420.

[43] V. Kofi Agawu, *Playing with Signs: A Semiotic Interpretation of Classic Music* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 1991), 51.

Nicholas Cook recently observed that 'musicology has traditionally focused on scores rather than performances'.[45] In the same text, he asserted that 'live performance brings performer and listener into co-presence and establishes a relationship that works in both directions', and later that 'listening is an embodied experience'.[46] These latter statements hold true as a general rule for all live music, regardless of specific sets of performers or a particular interpretation. When listening to Tchaikovsky's symphony, the incompleteness of narrative specificity is actually preferable. With an explicit diegesis in place—whether in the form of a 'texted' narrative or a narrative text—the demand for a psychophysical response would be rejected in favour of an alternative, lesser mode of engagement. Without that diegesis, the listener is granted quasi-directorial authority: the musical equivalent of a point-of-view shot, implicating our participation and influencing our response. The symphony may be considered to display proto-cinematic overtones, and these are recognized by Marina Ritzarev when she notes that: 'like a modern cameraman, the composer plays with different facets, focusing on one or the other or generalizing the whole picture'.[47] Even one of its earliest critics acknowledged how the closing *Adagio lamentoso* seemed to be 'accompanying something taking place on stage'.[48]

Because of the *Pathétique*'s dramatic subjectivity and location in a private rather than overtly public realm, we are more prepared to assume a role akin to cinematic surrogacy, empathizing with the 'hero' precisely because his/her identity is so imprecise. Further still, as a member of the audience in a live performance, we can thus *embody* this role. The condition is accentuated by the impact of registral and dynamic extremities perceived at a physical as well as an auditory level, and the implied entrainment of a waning heartbeat that constitutes its final gesture. The illusory, oneiric nature of the symphony allows us to become a 'surrogate body' as defined by Christiane Voss in reference to the immersive phenomenon of movie-going.[49] She argues that the 'spectator constitutes, as a resonating body in need of further determination, the illusion-forming medium of cinema'. Similarly, as listener-spectators, we are incorporated into the illusion-forming medium of music. Our ignorance of the unrevealed programme, known only to the composer, generates the perfect conditions for this engagement, which happens in a space between literary narrative and abstract musical gestures. The 'grand illusion' can thus signify both the fantastical nature of the composer's creative imagination and the reassessed (inter)active role of the listener-spectator in experiencing the symphony as an untexted narrative.

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[44] While some conductors have exercised an interpretative license to convey the final statement (the second bar of FF) at a more suitable 'martial' speed, there is no such instruction in the score.

[45] Nicholas Cook, "Making Music Together" in *Music as Creative Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), iBook.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ritzarev, *Tchaikovsky's Pathétique*, 109.

[48] St Petersburg-based critic Herman Laroche (1845–1904) quoted in ibid., 47–48.

[49] The term 'surrogate body' is a translation of *Leihkörper*, literally meaning 'loan body'. See: Christiane Voss, "Film Experience and the Formation of Illusion: The Spectator as 'Surrogate Body' for the Cinema," trans. Inga Pollmann and Vinzenz Hediger, *Cinema Journal* 50, no. 4 (Summer 2011): 136–150.

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Abstracts

The Psalm Tune Repertory of Eighteenth-century Dublin: Sources, Concordances, and Cultural Significance

Eleanor Jones-McAuley

Although it is a practice that has almost disappeared today, for centuries the congregational singing of metrical psalms was the cornerstone of Protestant worship music. This primarily oral tradition, which in most cases consisted of unaccompanied monophony by untrained voices, stood in stark contrast to the grand cathedral tradition of robed choirs and complex harmonies with which it co-existed within the Established Church. In eighteenth-century Dublin, metrical psalmody could be heard not only in the city's parish churches but also in its non-conformist meeting houses and even among its immigrant communities.

This article will take a closer look at the tunes to which these metrical psalms were sung, beginning with an overview of the sources in which these tunes have survived; though this was an oral tradition first and foremost, psalm tunes were on occasion committed to paper. This allows the provenance of tunes to be traced, and raises tantalising questions about the purposes for which these psalm tunes might have been printed. Comparing sources drawn from multiple different Protestant denominations in the city, it can be seen that certain tunes crossed denominational lines, contributing to a shared musical culture among Dublin's Protestant communities. This article concludes by discussing the significance of this shared culture in the context of the eighteenth century, a turbulent era in which the religious allegiances that had divided Europe since the Reformation remained dominant not only on the field of war, but also in the cultural landscape of everyday life.

Eleanor Jones-McAuley is a final-year PhD student at Trinity College, Dublin, where she is researching eighteenth-century church music and identity under the supervision of Dr Andrew Johnstone. She received a first-class BA in Music and Modern Irish from Trinity in 2013, and also holds an MPhil in Early Modern History, for which she submitted a thesis on the role of music in state propaganda during the French Revolution.

Antonio Salieri's Musical Recycling: *Europa Riconosciuta, Cesare in Farmacusa, and Tarare*

Ellen Stokes

The inaugural performance at Milan's La Scala theatre in 1778 represents one of the pivotal moments of Antonio Salieri's long and esteemed career. Imperial Kapellmeister to the Viennese Court from 1788–1824, and Director of the Italian Opera from 1774–1792, Salieri was one of the highest-ranking musicians in Europe during the latter half of the eighteenth century. His opera *Europa Riconosciuta*, commissioned for this inauguration on the recommendation of Gluck, begins one of the most interesting cases of musical re-use in his career. This article will explore the appearance of sections from *Europa Riconosciuta* in two of Salieri's later operas that achieved success in both Paris and Vienna: *Tarare* (1787, revised 1819) and *Cesare in Farmacusa* (1800).

Guiding this article are the following key questions:

1. How did Salieri re-contextualise the music of *Europa Riconosciuta* for these new works in terms of instrumentation and dramatic intent?
2. What could be some of the reasons for this reworking of music for three different operatic productions?

The most striking feature of this case is that both recycled sections consist of instrumental music. Salieri's manuscript *Ballettmusik*, held in the Austrian National Library, will form the basis of this investigation, raising questions of changes to instrumentation and possible structural reorganisation. Re-emerging as part of *Tarare*, the ballet manuscript and its contents present a contrasting process of revision to that of Salieri's re-orchestration and re-contextualisation of the overture for use in *Cesare in Farmacusa*. The use of this music in three separate operas, and the manuscript evidence that is left behind, can provide important insight into the compositional mind of Vienna's most senior musical figure.

Ellen Stokes is a PhD student at the University of Huddersfield, researching the instrumental manuscripts of Antonio Salieri and funded by the Steinitz Scholarship in Musicology. Ellen has also been awarded funding by the German History Society for a research trip to Vienna. Previously, Ellen studied at Bangor University, achieving a First Class BMus degree in 2017, and a Distinction Music MA in 2018, focussing on the music of Salieri. Ellen also teaches analysis at the University of Huddersfield, is an accomplished flautist, and her other research interests include folk and traditional Celtic music, and music for film and theatre.

1910: Ethel Smyth's Unsung Suffrage Song

Hannah Millington

Ethel Smyth's (1858-1944) decision to join the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) in 1910 had a significant impact on how she has been portrayed in historical narratives. In addition to being a successful composer and writer, she gained a reputation as a militant suffragette and spent time in prison as a result of her actions. It was during a stint in Holloway Prison that Sir Thomas Beecham famously observed Smyth conducting her song 'The March of the Women' from her cell window, while her fellow inmates processed around the quadrangle. 'The March of the Women' is the final piece in Smyth's Songs of Sunrise, published in 1911. After presenting this rousing call to arms to the WSPU, they adopted it as their suffrage anthem, helping to secure its place in history. The two preceding songs, 'Laggard Dawn' and '1910', are often overshadowed by the success of the march and historically have received mixed reviews. '1910' is a mini-operetta inspired by the Black Friday suffrage demonstration, which took place on 18 November of the titular year. As such, the song provides the twenty-first century listener with an insight into the suffragettes' sound-world. It remains the only one of Smyth's *Songs of Sunrise* to still be recorded and it is often overlooked in scholarship on this area of her output. This article contextualises '1910', explores its critical reception, and examines its musical content in order to bring this song to the forefront of the discussion.

Hannah Millington is a doctoral candidate researching the early vocal works of Dame Ethel Smyth at Dublin City University. Supervised by Dr Róisín Blunnie, Hannah's thesis aims to highlight the under-explored choral and solo vocal works within Smyth's oeuvre from an interdisciplinary perspective. Hannah's broader research interests include the role of women in music; women's networks; vocal works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; and the relationship between music and literature. Hannah is the Student Representative for the Society for Musicology in Ireland (2021–24) and is the Social Media Officer for the Women in Global Music Network and the Dublin Musicology Collective.

A.J. Potter: New Perspectives and Connections Revealed Through his Life, Words, and Music

Sarah M. Burn

This article presents wider perspectives and new insights into the composer A.J. Potter (1918-1980), utilising a hermeneutic approach to his music and the rich archive of his writings. The focus is on his first symphony, the 1968 Sinfonia 'de Profundis', regarded as one of the most significant works within his output and in twentieth-century Irish music. It is an intensely personal work, which he revealed in his programme notes and correspondence. As it is one of a number of works he wrote to address his reactions to suffering, it is possible to create new categories based on these reactions when assessing his output. My process of critically editing the Sinfonia 'de Profundis' in 2017 enabled me to establish connections between it, his life and other works, exploring Potter's psychological processes; those that lay behind the symphony's composition and those he endeavoured to express in the music. As the semiotic interrogation of his music, correspondence and interviews continued, it revealed hitherto unexplored rhythmic, motivic, thematic and biographical connections between a number of his works and St Patrick's Breastplate. This approach, informed by semiotics, interrogates the composer's voice and affirms and expands the evidence intrinsic to the music. It creates new insights into understanding Potter and his music and demonstrates the elevated inherent emotional and musical authority of specific works, exemplifying Kofi Agawu's words: 'The use of similar topics within or between works may provide insights into a work's strategy or larger aspects of a style.'

A unifying feature of **Sarah M. Burn**'s varied musical career is communication. This includes the communication of a composer's ideas through typesetting and editing music (previously hand copying), including pioneer work on Ina Boyle and A.J. Potter; through writing programme notes, particularly for RTÉ, Dublin International Piano Competition and Wexford Festival Opera (formerly Publications Editor), and through oboe teaching, particularly at Cork School of Music (1979-2005). She gained her MA from Dundalk Institute of Technology in 2008, on the critical editing of music by A.J. Potter, and was awarded her PhD from Dundalk in 2017, supervised by Eibhlís Farrell and Ita Beausang.

Pragmatist Aesthetics as a Framework for Analysing Improvised Music

Charles Watkins

"Our ear is not satisfied, and calls for ever greater acoustical emotions," wrote futurist Luigi Russolo in 1913. The twentieth century subsequently witnessed the abandonment of the western classical tradition, searching for sonic stimulation in more extreme abstraction and noise—of which improvised music offers a paradigmatic example. Its wholesale rejection of rules and tradition seems to leave no common ground on which it can be assessed, making value judgements purely subjective. However, improvisers certainly recognise that there are improvisations of differing quality. This paper attempts to identify a shared basis for assessing improvised music, utilising the discipline of pragmatist aesthetics. It demonstrates that emphasising subjectivity doesn't lead to total arbitrariness and offers suggestions for how we can move towards making shared judgements of improvised music. Pragmatist aesthetics asserts the primacy of dynamic experience in art—first articulated in John Dewey's work *Art as Experience*. The analytical framework proposed in this paper follows the contours of Dewey's work: first by exploring our experience of the world, then how art expresses that experience, and finally how we experience art itself. Each of these stages are explored in relation to the 2012 improvised music recording '… The Worse the Better', by Peter Brötzmann, John Edwards, and Steve Noble. This offers an example of how pragmatist aesthetics functions effectively as an analytical framework, as well as opening up the space for future discussions in the theory and practice of improvised music.

Charles Watkins is a London-based clarinettist on the improvised music scene. Particularly through solo improvisation, his work explores questions of what it means to listen: to sound, to ourselves, and to the Other.

Distinguishing Characters: The Symbolic Use of Pop and Western Art Music in Fernando Meirelles' *The Two Popes* (2019)

Anika Babel

The use of popular and western art music throughout *The Two Popes* exemplifies the efficiency and detail with which music can provide narrative information—specifically through the characterization of the titular pontiffs: Pope Benedict XVI and Pope Francis, played by Sir Anthony Hopkins and Jonathan Pryce, respectively. The contrasting use of these musics immediately set these men apart to establish the underlying dilemma of the film: should the Catholic Church reinforce conservative dogmata (represented by Pope Benedict XVI and western art music) or move towards reform (represented by Pope Francis and popular music). By investigating music that emanates from the narrative—diegetic music—this article traces how works like ABBA's 'Dancing Queen' and Claude Debussy's 'Clair de lune' can progress the narrative, shape our interpretation, and conform to—or deviate from—established tropes associated with popular and western art music.

This research is informed by Jonathan Godsall's *Reeled In* (2019) and Robynn Stilwell's 'fantastical gap' (2007), as well as touchstone-concepts like Claudia Gorbman's 'diegetic music' (1987), David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson's 'fidelity' (1979), and Stuart Hall's 'encoding/decoding' model (1973). Armed with these conceptual tools, this analysis aims to contribute towards our broader understanding of popular and western art music as sociocultural phenomena in both the 'reel' worlds of cinema and the 'real' worlds of our everyday life.

Anika Babel is a doctoral candidate at the UCD School of Music. Her thesis, supervised by Dr Laura Anderson, explores the narrative role of the diegetic piano in contemporary Hollywood cinema and pays particular attention to representational issues surrounding class, gender, and race. Anika is the founding president of the Dublin Musicology Collective and the co-editor of this journal.

CONFERENCE REVIEW: Joint Plenary Conference of the Society of Musicology in Ireland and the Irish Chapter of the International Council for Traditional Music

Fiona Baldwin

Although forced online by the Covid-19 pandemic, the inaugural Joint Plenary Conference of the Society for Musicology in Ireland and the Irish Chapter of the International Council for Traditional Music, which took place in May 2021, was a bountiful and diverse affair. In addition to rejuvenating the relationship between musicology and ethnomusicology, the rich and wonderfully varied program offered plenty of intellectual nourishment.

Fiona Baldwin is a third-year PhD student at UCD School of Music. She holds a first class honours Masters in Liturgical Music from Maynooth Pontifical College, an honours B. Mus in Performance (Conservatory of Music, Dublin Institute of Technology—now TU Dublin) and an honours B.A in Applied Languages (French & German, Translation & Interpreting) from Dublin City University. An experienced mezzo-soprano soloist, choral singer, and a member of Maynooth University's *Schola Gregoriana*, Fiona is also the founder and music director of the *Rathfarnham Gospel Choir*.

BOOK REVIEW: *Music, Pantomime and Freedom in the French Enlightenment* by Hedy Law (2020)

Tomos Watkins

I begin by sharing my appreciation of the book's engagement with a hitherto-neglected genre in eighteenth-century French musical practice, pantomime. Law carnalizes the Enlightenment, returning the movement which had its apogee in works of philosophical abstraction and universal law to its site of origin: the body. In so doing, she furnishes us with many piercing insights, though I question the extent to which she associates particular artistic decisions with specific philosophical concepts. Nonetheless, she analyzes a broad range of concepts in detail through her well-chosen lens, presenting us with a bounty of discoveries. I note how this book contributes to the discourse around the importance of dance and the carnal in studying this period and how this will aid the study of French music within Europe. Law links Enlightenment questions to musical practice in depth and breadth, making a major contribution to scholarship of the movement. I go on to question how

Law's conclusions might be built upon, particularly considering race. This book's insights will be crucial in interrogating the universality to which the Enlightenment lays claim and could provide important groundwork for a musicological critique of the movement. Law's analysis of Salieri's *Tarare*, for example, argues that all his characters have 'natural liberty'. The author's detailed work here is a valuable foundation for asking how natural liberty functions in the highly racialized eighteenth-century operatic discourse: whether, in fact, in a racist milieu, Salieri is upholding the highest ideals of the Enlightenment in his music and doing anti-racist work.

Tomos Watkins is currently an Ad Astra PhD student at University College Dublin, where his work, entitled *À la recherche d'une Zone Blanche: Inventing Whiteness in Mid-Eighteenth-Century French Music*, is being supervised by Dr Tomás McAuley. This is his first large-scale academic project, having previously trained as a conductor. He undertook his MMus in Choral Conducting at the Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama, from which he graduated with Distinction, winning the award for excellence two years consecutively. When he isn't thinking about or doing music, he enjoys cooking and sometimes playing the trombone.

Articles

The Psalm Tune Repertory of Eighteenth-century Dublin: Sources, Concordances, and Cultural Significance

Eleanor Jones-McAuley

It is a truism of history that what is recorded is often what is exceptional rather than everyday. To the observer, the everyday may seem obvious, too widely understood for there to be any utility in recording it. Generations later, this gives rise to the frustrating state of affairs that traditions, customs, and knowledge that were once absolutely central to people's lives become completely forgotten, while the experiences of very few—usually the rich, literate, and powerful—come to dominate the historical record. Music history is particularly vulnerable to this process of distortion. Our image of the musical culture of eighteenth-century Dublin, for example, is of a dazzling world of Castle concerts, ballad operas, oratorio premieres, and orchestral soirées at the Ranelagh Gardens.[1] If this secular picture is extended to include the sacred, it might take in robed choirs accompanied by grand organs, singing against the majestic backdrop of one of the city cathedrals. It is important to remember, however, that even among Protestants, this was the culture of a small elite. Beyond the cathedrals, in the city's parish churches and Nonconformist meeting houses, Protestant Dubliners of humbler means participated in a completely distinct sacred music tradition that ran in parallel to that of the cathedrals and which, owing to its largely oral nature and everyday character, has passed into comparative obscurity. This tradition centered upon the singing of metrical psalms.[2]

Metrical Psalmody

The practice of singing psalms in metre, rather than in prose, dates back to the religious reformations of the sixteenth century. As every aspect of the church came under the intense scrutiny of the reformers, questions arose that had troubled Christian thinkers as far back as St Augustine: what form, if any, should music take in worship, and what value could this music have for the worshippers?[3] For Calvin, the most appropriate form of church music was the unaccompanied, monophonic congregational singing of suitable texts; and what text could be more suitable than one drawn directly from scripture itself?[4] Metrical settings of the Psalms by the French poet Clément Marot were already popular at the French court, and as early as 1539, Calvin began to publish Marot's texts with musical accompaniment for the use of his congregation. By 1562, the complete psalter had been produced in this way, with all 150 psalms having been versified into regular poetic metre and set to music.[5] At this time, many English Protestants had fled to the Continent to escape persecution at the hands of the Catholic Queen Mary. There they came under the influence of the new Calvinist psalm tradition, and combined newly written metrical texts with those that were already circulating in English court circles to create their own wildly popular metrical psalter, the *Whole Book of Psalmes* (1562).[6]

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[1] See, for example: Brian Boydell, *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700–1760* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1988), 11–24.

[2] The authoritative work on English parish church music remains Nicholas Temperley, *The Music of the English Parish Church* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979). For a similar study of the Dublin parish church, see: Denise Neary, "Music in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Dublin churches," in *Irish Musical Studies* iv: *The Maynooth International Musicological Conference 1995 Selected Proceedings: Part One*, ed. Patrick F. Devine and Harry White (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), 103–110.

[3] For St Augustine's thoughts on church music see: Philip Schaff, ed., *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church,* volume 1 (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1994), 156.

[4] Paul Westermayer, "Theology and Music for Luther and Calvin," in *Calvin and Luther: The Continuing Relationship*, ed. R. Ward Holder (Cambridge: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 52.

From this period on, metrical psalmody became an integral part of parish worship in Britain and Ireland, and remained so in the eighteenth century. Every Sunday, psalms were sung before and after the sermon at both Morning and Evening Prayer. In churches that maintained them, organs and singing groups served chiefly to support congregational singing; without them, the congregation would sing unaccompanied. As the average churchgoer at this time was not musically literate—indeed, was potentially not literate in any sense—this relied on their either knowing the tunes by heart or following the lead of the parish clerk, who was responsible for leading the singing.[7] Fortunately, the need to memorize a large number of unique tunes was reduced by the fact that the vast majority of psalm and hymn texts were written using a very limited selection of poetic metres. The most common was the aptly named 'common metre', consisting of four-syllable stanzas of alternating eight- and six-syllable lines (this can be written in the form 8.6.8.6). Other frequently employed metres were 'long metre' (8.8.8.8), 'short metre' (6.6.8.6), and 'double common metre' (eight-line stanzas rather than four). As psalm and hymn texts were not closely tied to particular tunes but could be sung to any tune which fit their metre, a wide variety of psalms and hymns could be performed using just a small number of tunes.[8]

Sources

The reconstruction of any predominantly oral tradition is necessarily difficult, particularly when contemporary commentators wrote about it very little, other than to criticize. In this context, any surviving primary source is something of a godsend, especially one which contains actual printed tunes. Fortunately, no fewer than ten Dublin sources have survived which include printed tunes either incorporated into the body of the text or as an additional supplement. These sources testify to the church music culture of several of the major Protestant communities active in the city at the time, and span the full length of the eighteenth century (plus a little extra). Each source has its own peculiarities, and can reveal much about the social and cultural context in which it was created.

Before examining these sources in greater detail, a number of significant caveats must be put in place. Firstly, it is important to acknowledge that these sources do not necessarily constitute all the printed psalm tune sources that existed in eighteenth century Dublin—only those that have survived to the present day. Secondly, and relatedly, this investigation deals only with sources *printed* in Dublin; it was of course entirely possible to import psalm books from abroad. A third, and weighty, caveat concerns the relationship between printed psalm tune collections and the tunes that were actually sung by congregations. As early as 1594, Thomas East wrote that the majority of congregations in England did not use any of the tunes from the printed psalters but instead sang every psalm using just four totally different tunes.[9] Although the compilers of psalm tune collections make frequent claims of authenticity in their selections, in practice their choice of tunes was as likely to be prescriptive as descriptive; tunes could be chosen for their perceived musical value, for the credentials of their composer (or whoever was believed to be their composer), or even just to fit the metre of a particular text. Editors who were composers themselves might include an overabundance of personal compositions, whether or not those were ever sung. Editors might also source their tunes from whatever other volumes they had to hand, rather than choosing them based on their popularity; a chain of influence such as that observed below between Smith, Boyse, and the compiler of the *Psalms of David* could conceivably result in tunes still appearing in print long after they had ceased to be sung by congregations. The following examination of sources is, therefore, undertaken with all of these caveats firmly in mind.

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[5] Nicholas Temperley et al., "Psalms, metrical" in *Grove Music Online* (2001).

[6] Ibid.

[7] 'By 1750 almost all upper-class [European] men and women could read, but still only a small minority of male or female peasants could … the majority of male artisans could both read and write, but their wives and sisters could not.' Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Early Modern Europe 1450–1789*, second edition, *Cambridge History of Europe* series volume 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 131.

[8] Temperley, *Parish Church*, 60. Temperley et al., "Psalms, metrical."

Thomas Smith, The Psalms of David in Metre (1698/99)

The earliest Dublin source of printed psalm tunes for which a reasonably definite publication date can be ascertained is a psalter compiled by Thomas Smith and published in 1698 or 1699.[10] In fact, this was one of the earliest music books ever printed in Ireland.[11] It contains the complete psalter as translated by William Barton, comprising 169 texts, as some psalms are rendered multiple times in different metres. The first verse of each psalm is underlaid to a printed tune—just the melody is given, with no accompaniment parts—with the remaining verses printed beneath. In total there are nineteen distinct tunes to be found here; the majority are in common metre, while unsurprisingly those tunes of more unusual metres are deployed less often.[12] The 'Psalm 124' tune [123a], for example, which has the metre 10.10.10.10, appears only once.[13] The tune which appears most frequently of all is 'St Mary's' [542a], an early-seventeenth-century tune that appears here twenty-six times (Example 1); for comparison, the next most frequent, 'London' [497b], appears only fifteen times.

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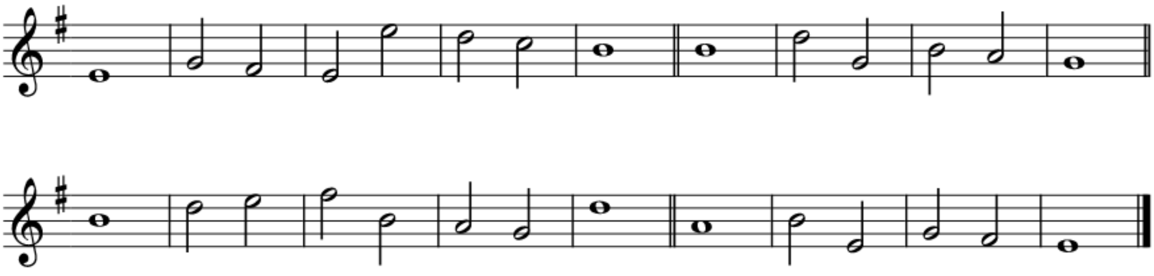
[9] Temperley, *Parish Church*, 68.

[10] Thomas Smith, *The Psalms of David in Metre. Newly Translated with Amendments: by William Barton, M.A. And sett to the best Psalm-Tunes in Two Parts* (Dublin: J. Brent & S. Powell, for Peter Lawrence, [1698/99]). *Early English Books Online.*

[11] "Brent, John," in the Dublin Music Trade database (http://dublinmusictrade.ie/node/33).

[12] Tune information for all English-language sources discussed in this paper is derived both from the sources themselves and from Nicholas Temperley's Hymn Tune Index (accessible at: https://hymntune.library.uiuc.edu). The HTI Source Code for Smith's *Psalms of David* is SmitTPD a.

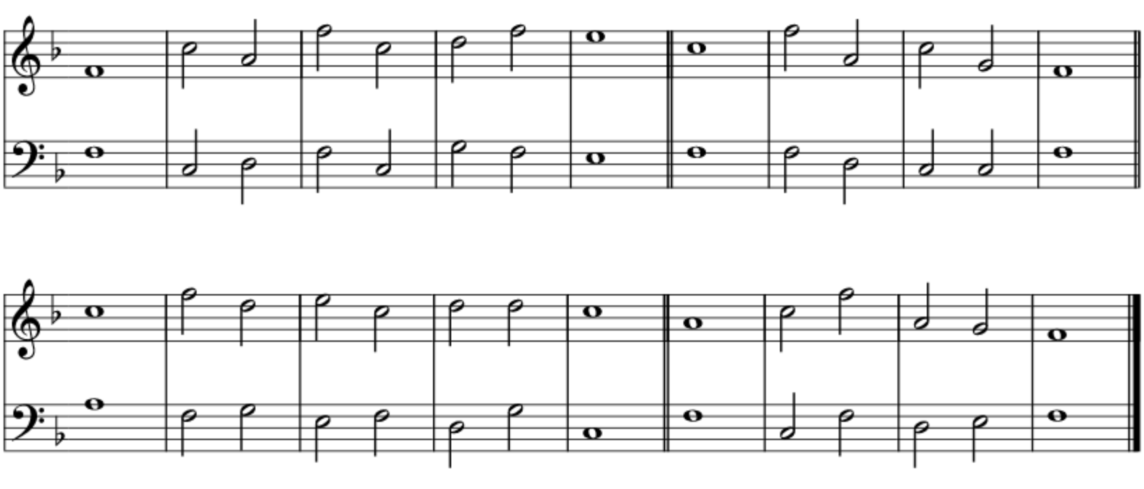
[13] Numbers given in square brackets refer to HTI Tune Codes.



Example 1: 'St Mary's' [542a], transcribed from Smith (1698/99).[14]

Three tunes deserve special attention, as this appears to be their first recorded appearance in print (though see also the entry for source *UC 4 below). Two are variants of pre-existing tunes: 'Southwell' [269j] is a variant of an old sixteenth-century tune, and appears only in this and later Irish sources, while 'Dublin' [271c] is a probable variant of the 'Windsor' tune [271a] which also appears in this collection (though only nine times, while 'Dublin' appears thirteen times). 'Oxford' [585] appears only in Irish sources. These rare tunes and variants are discussed in more detail below.

At the front of the book is a detailed passage on how to sing using eighteenth-century solfa, a complex system which was regularly employed by teachers of metrical psalmody.[15] At the back of the book is a set of bass parts, one for each of the nineteen tunes. These carry no compositional attribution, but it is possible that both they and the book's instructional introduction are the work of the editor, Thomas Smith. The purpose for which the basses were included is unclear, and technically they are simplistic and even ungrammatical, replete with consecutive octaves and inelegant voice leading. Nevertheless, they represent a rare glimpse into the part-singing and instrumental accompaniment conventions that surrounded the performance of metrical psalms (see Example 2).



Example 2: 'London' [497b], with its bass, from Smith (1698/99).

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[14] In all tune transcriptions, rhythms have been modified to reflect contemporary performance practice, especially the use of a long 'gathering note' at the beginning of each phrase. See: Walterus Truron, "The Rhythm of Metrical Psalm-Tunes," *Music & Letters* 9, no. 1 (1928): 29–33.

Thomas Smith, [An Edition of the Psalms, in the Version of Sternhold and Hopkins, with Melodies] ([1700]). British Library A.1233.x.

This source poses particular challenges to the researcher, as only one copy is known to exist and it is lacking its title page.[16] The title, editor, publisher, place of publication, and, most critically, date, are therefore unknown. The British Library suggests a London origin for the volume; the Hymn Tune Index, however, classes it as a Dublin publication under the Source Code *UC 4. A Dublin origin is supported by the volume's introduction, which is signed 'Thomas Smith', and the evidence of the tune contents, which strongly suggest that this is the same Thomas Smith who was involved with the production of the 1699 collection of Barton's psalms.[17] Eighteen of the nineteen tunes from that volume, including the rare variants, also appear in *UC 4, the sole exception being 'Stanford' [591]. Two of the older tunes of Genevan origin also appear here in the same unusual variants as in Smith [111c and 120c].[18] The total of twenty-three tunes in *UC 4 thus comprise only five tunes not found in Smith. This extensive correspondence between the two volumes suggests either that one was copied closely from the other, or that the volumes shared the same editor. The book contains selections from both the 'Old Version' of the psalms by Sternhold & Hopkins, which was in widespread use in the seventeenth century, and the *New Version* by Nahum Tate and Nathaniel Brady which was authorized for use in 1696; as a result, Temperley concludes that its publication must post-date that of the *New Version*.[19] Because of the uncertainty surrounding the publication date of this volume, it is possible that it actually predates Smith; this is discussed in more detail below.

Joseph Boyse, Family Hymns for Morning and Evening Worship (1701)

Joseph Boyse was a Presbyterian minister from Leeds who served as the minister of the Wood Street congregation in Dublin from 1687 until his death in 1728.[20] *Family Hymns* was his second foray into the world of music publishing.[21] Unlike his first book, *Sacramental Hymns,* however, which had supplied only the most generic tune indications ('to the common tunes' and '100th psalm tune'), *Family Hymns* includes thirteen tunes set to fifty-three texts written by Boyse himself. All thirteen of these tunes appear also in Smith and in *UC 4. The relationship between these three prints is discussed further below, but

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[15] See: Bernarr Rainbow, "Fasola," in *Grove Music Online* (2001).

[16] Thomas Smith, *[An Edition of the Psalms, in the Version of Sternhold and Hopkins, with Melodies. The "Instructions concerning the Gammut" Signed: Thomas Smith.]* (London?, [1700]). British Library A.1233.x. HTI *UC 4.

[17] It should be noted, however, that even if these two Smiths are indeed the same person, the appearance of a publication by Smith in Dublin does not necessarily mean he was himself based there. I have failed to uncover any other reference to a musician named Thomas Smith practicing in Dublin during this period.

[18] The Hymn Tune Index is uncharacteristically in error here, recording the Smith variants of these tunes as variants 111a and 120a.

[19] For details of these and various other psalm versions in use during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see: Temperley et al., "Psalms, metrical."

[20] A.W. Godfrey Brown, "Boyse, Joseph, 1660–1728," in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edition (2004), hereafter ODNB. doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3151.

[21] Joseph Boyse, *Family Hymns for morning and evening worship* (Dublin: J. Brent & S. Powell, 1701). Trinity College Dublin library OLS Xerox 6 no. 12. HTI BoysJFH. Boyse's first hymn book was *Sacramental Hymns, Collected chiefly out of such Passages of the New Testament As contain the most sutable matter of Divine Praises in the Celebration of the Lord's Supper* (Dublin: Matthew Gunne, 1693).

if any doubt remained as to where Boyse sourced his tunes for *Family Hymns,* this is dispelled by the set of basses included at the back of the volume, identical in every way to those in Smith, including the faulty voice-leading and parallelisms.

There is a substantial introduction at the front of *Family Hymns* in which Boyse details his intentions for the book; notably, he specifies that it was written primarily for the use of the 'common People', for which reason he avoided making his paraphrases too 'fanciful'. Boyse states clearly that the printed tunes have been provided for 'the Direction and Help of those that are less Skillful', though how this would help the average musically-illiterate congregation member or parish clerk is not clear. Boyse praises psalm singing as a virtuous activity, describing it as having 'a genuine tendency (even above other Duties) to engage [the people's] attention, to quicken their devout affections, to raise and vent their Spiritual Joys, and to give 'em some relish of the inward pleasures of serious Religion'. He also states that 'most of the tunes in this Essay are commonly used in Publick Congregations'. At the end of the introduction is a list of names of senior Presbyterian figures who endorsed Boyse's book; many of these men were ministers of Dublin congregations, and it seems no little stretch to imagine they might have recommended its use to their own flocks.[22]

Boyse's apparent copying of material from another publication, while flagrant by modern standards, was not unusual by the standards of the time. The king's printer's monopoly had lapsed in 1681, and even when a copyright act was introduced in Britain in 1710, no similar act was introduced by the Irish legislature. As a result, authors and composers had no particular rights to exclusive publication of their own material during the period under discussion.[23] It is also unsurprising that Boyse relied on existing tune selections for this volume rather than choosing his own: the sparse tune indications given in his previous book, *Sacramental Hymns,* suggest that Boyse had little practical knowledge of church music-making and was not himself familiar with very many tunes. His copying of Smith's tunes and his statement that the tunes were in common use are not necessarily incompatible—Smith may indeed have chosen popular tunes for his volume, or may even have popularized the tunes by publishing them. Nevertheless, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which Boyse's tunes reflect his own experiences of contemporary practice.

The Psalms of David in Metre (1740)

This unusual psalter, which consists of texts from various different versions of the psalms collated by an unnamed editor, contains twenty-six tunes.[24] These are printed at the back of the book and so not associated with any specific texts, but are grouped by metre: common, short, long, double common and 'particular'. This last category includes two old Genevan psalm tunes [126a and 146a] and the 'Oxford' tune [585] found only in Dublin sources and so prominently represented in Boyse's *Family Hymns*. Five of the tunes have basslines appended, and while three of these are identical to those found in Smith and Boyse, the bass given for 'London' [497b] is different from that found in the earlier books, and the bass for 'Shuston' [750b], does not appear in the earlier sources at all.

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[22] Thomas Seccombe, "Weld, Isaac, 1774–1856," rev. Elizabeth Baigent, ODNB. doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28984. A. W. Godfrey Brown, "Iredell, Francis, d. 1739," ODNB. doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/63662.

[23] James Kelly, "Regulating print: The state and the control of print in eighteenth-century Ireland," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 23 (2008), 142–3. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27806928.

[24] *The Psalms of David in Metre. Collected out of the principal Versions now in Use. To which are Added, Hymns, particularly designed for the Lord's-Supper* (Dublin: S. Powell for Abraham Bradley, 1740). Google Books https://books.google.ie/books?id=XRtavwEACAAJ. British Library 3436.g.24. HTI #PDMPV.

In the introduction, the unknown editor states that the psalm texts were drawn principally from those of the *New Version*, Dr Patrick, Sir John Denham, Sir Richard Blackmore and Isaac Watts, with 'a few of Mr. Barton's preserved'.[25] The editor's intention was to create a superior psalter by drawing together the best texts from the 'principal versions now in use'. With a typical combination of respect and disregard for these authors, the editor has prefixed the initials of the relevant author to each psalm 'that the Reader may know to whom the Translation … is principally owing', but at the same time states that 'a Liberty is all along taken to alter Words, Lines, and sometimes whole Stanza's … either to bring the Sense nearer to the Original [Hebrew], or to render it clearer … or to render it more concise'. Twenty-four hymns are included after the psalms, of which four are attributed to Boyse.

Les Pseaumes de David (1731) and Cantiques Sacrez (1748)

These next two sources are a little unusual: two books in the French language, printed for the use of the French Calvinist diaspora community known as the Huguenots.[26] Although religious hostilities between the Catholics and Protestants in France had formally ended in 1598, when the Protestant minority were granted the legal right to freely practice their religion, tensions remained high between the two groups. Many Huguenots chose to leave France, and Ireland was among the territories where they settled; they were championed by many of the country's elite, in particular James Butler, First Duke of Ormonde, as a kind of early modern 'model minority' who would provide a boost to the Irish economy by their industrious nature.[27] In 1662, a statute 'For Encouraging Protestant Strangers and others to Inhabit and Plant in Ireland' was enacted in the Parliament. This allowed Huguenot immigrants to become Freemen of Dublin, full members of guilds and fully naturalized citizens, as well as granting them seven years free of tax—benefits far more generous than those on offer in England.[28] Ormonde also brokered an agreement with the Archbishop of Dublin allowing the Huguenot community to worship in the Lady Chapel of St Patrick's Cathedral. The Archbishop agreed to this on condition that the Huguenot congregation use the Book of Common Prayer for their services.[29] In 1685, Louis XIV's revocation of the edict that had granted the Huguenots their religious freedom a century earlier resulted in a mass exile of around 200,000 Huguenots from

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[25] The implications of this list for tracing the origins of the tunes in this source are discussed below.

[26] *Les Pseaumes de David Mis en vers François, avec la liturgie, le catechisme, & la confession de foi des églises reformées* (Dublin: S. Powell, 1731). Trinity College Library, Dublin 42.ss.141. *Cantiques Sacrez pour les principals solemnitez Chrétiennes* (Dublin: S. Powell, 1748). British Library 3438.g.54.

[27] Raymond Hylton, "Dublin's Huguenot Refuge: 1662–1817," *Dublin Historical Record* 40, no. 1 (1986) 15–16. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30100772.

[28] Ibid., 16.

[29] J. J. Digges La Touche, ed., *Registers of the French Conformed Churches of St Patrick and St Mary, Dublin* (Dublin: A. Thom & Co, 1893), i. Hylton, 'Dublin's Huguenot Refuge', 16–17.

France.[30] Between 1679 and 1720, the Huguenot population in Dublin grew from approximately fifty to at least 4,000—four or five per cent of the city's total population. Many of these new arrivals were not content to accept subordination to a state church, and as early as 1692 an 'Independent' French church was established near Bride Street.[31]

The original French Genevan Psalter had provided almost every text with its own tune, with few repetitions.[32] By the late seventeenth century, it was felt that the old texts needed an update, and a new version of the texts by Valentin Conrart was approved for use at the Paris Synod of 1679.[33] It is these Conrart texts that can be found in the Dublin *Pseaumes de David,* along with a catechism, confession of faith, orders of service for baptisms, communions and weddings, and various prayers. Strikingly, however, Conrart retained for his 'new version' the same tunes as in the original, paired with the same psalms—meaning that his new settings were obliged to follow metrical patterns of the original in order that the tunes would fit. This subordination of text to tune contrasts with the Anglophone custom of choosing tunes to fit texts. The close relationship which existed between particular psalms and their tunes in the French tradition perhaps owes something to the great diversity of metre present in the original Genevan Psalter, which made it difficult to sing one psalm to the tune of another in the Anglophone fashion.

The second of the two Dublin Huguenot books, *Cantiques Sacrez,* is a slim volume of thirty 'sacred songs', whose metrical texts are paraphrased from other books of the Bible and matched with tunes from the Genevan psalter. Each song is assigned to a particular event or occasion in the church year, such as Communion, Easter, or Pentecost. The tunes are identified by the numbers of the psalms in the Genevan psalter which they accompany, further testifying to the degree to which these tunes were identified closely with particular psalm texts.

A document detailing the rules and regulations of the Lady Chapel congregation around the year 1650 instructs the minister to take to the pulpit 'after the end of the psalm', indicating that as in the Established church, psalms were sung there before the sermon at morning and evening prayer.[34] As the use of organ accompaniments in Huguenot services was recorded in contemporary French churches in London, there is a tantalizing possibility that an organ which was purchased for the Lady Chapel in 1751, while it was still in use by the Huguenot congregation, could have been used to accompany the psalms.[35]

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[30] Owen Stanwood, "Between Eden and Empire: Huguenot Refugees and the Promise of New Worlds," *The American Historical Review* 118, no. 5 (2013): 1319–1344.

[31] Hylton, "Dublin's Huguenot Refuge," 21.

[32] For a discussion of the composers of the Genevan Psalter tunes, see: Temperley et al., "Psalms, metrical."

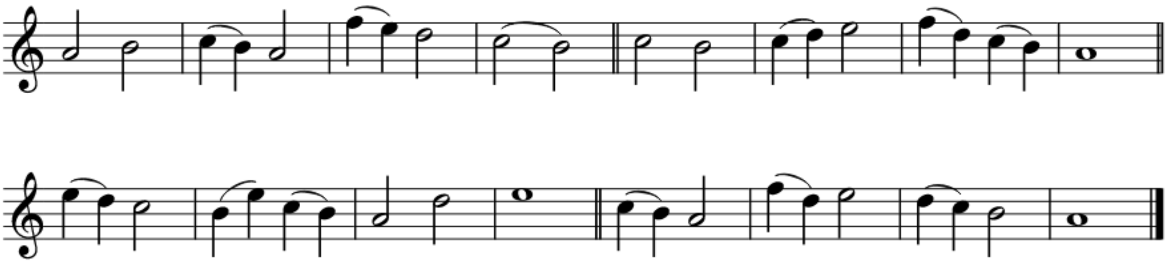
[33] *Les Pseaumes de David,* introduction.

[34] "Discipline pour l'Eglise," c. 1650. Photocopy of manuscript. Irish Huguenot Archive (IHA MS 90). Representative Church Body Library, Dublin.

[35] John Strype, *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* (1720), book 1, 212. https://www.dhi.ac.uk/strype. 'The Cathedral Organ', St Patrick's Cathedral website. https://www.stpatrickscathedral.ie/the-cathedral-organ/

Wesley & Wesley, A Collection of Hymns and Sacred Poems (1749)

The Evangelical Revival came to Dublin in the mid-eighteenth century with the arrival of the Moravians (discussed below) and the Methodists. Methodism, which espoused serious engagement with religion in contrast to what its founder John Wesley saw as the increasing rational detachment of the Established church, took the country by storm, and by the end of the century there were 14,000 Methodists in Ireland and three large meeting houses in Dublin, of which the largest was in Whitefriar Street.[36] John Wesley made twenty-one trips to Dublin, beginning in 1747; his brother Charles visited only twice, in 1747 and 1748.[37] During one of these joint visits, the brothers became acquainted with the printer Samuel Powell, who subsequently became a committed Methodist.[38] This meeting perhaps explains the energy that Powell would then devote to the publication of the Wesley brothers' writing in the following years: the English Short Title Catalogue lists no fewer than fifty-five such publications, including fifteen hymn collections.[39] The majority of these have no tunes or tune indications, but one copy does exist to which is appended a supplement containing twenty-two tunes.[40] It is an unusual selection, comprising an impressive variety of different metres, presumably selected to match the Wesleyan texts. The tunes are also of varying vintages, with representatives from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Two tunes [1934 and 1936a] originate here; another, charmingly named 'Musicians' [1937], appears in only one other publication, an American source dated 1768 in which it is attributed to Thomas Arne; and one [1935] is completely unique (Example 3). The metrical pattern of this last tune would have been ideal for singing the trochaic texts characteristic of Charles Wesley's writing.[41]



Example 3: Trochaic tune [1935], reconstructed from its HTI tune data.

Methodism had not yet formally split from the Established Church during this period, and so meetings were intended to complement rather than replace the services of the parish church. Meetings took place in the afternoons and late evenings, so as not to clash with morning or evening prayer, and Wesley encouraged his followers to attend both his meetings and the regular parish services, and to make their communion in their parish church whenever it was available. A typical meeting was about an hour long, incorporating a thirty- or forty-minute sermon, various prayers, and the singing of one or two hymns.[42] John Wesley was a strong advocate of hymns and his brother Charles was a prolific author of them, producing over 6,500 hymn texts in the course of his career. His creativity in this area, however, lay squarely with language and did not extend to musical composition, and so Charles Wesley's hymn texts were generally sung to whatever tune fit their metre; as Methodist congregations were largely drawn from those of the parish church, it is likely that Dublin's Methodists often recycled tunes already known to them from that context.

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[36] Dudley Levistone Cooney, *The Methodists in Ireland: A Short History* (Dublin: Columba Press, 2001), 39–44.

[37] Kenneth Ferguson, "Rocque's Map and the History of Nonconformity in Dublin: A Search for Meeting Houses," *Dublin Historical Record* 58, no. 2 (2005), 146. https://www.jstor.org/stable/30101574.

[38] Mary Pollard, *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade 1550–1800* (London: Bibliographical Society, 2000), 467.

[39] English Short Title Catalogue, accessed online at http://estc.bl.uk/.

[40] John and Charles Wesley, *A collection of hymns and sacred poems* (Dublin: S. Powell, 1749). Shelfmark Warr.1749, Pittsburgh Theological Seminary, Pennsylvania. HTI #CHSP.

[41] Temperley, *Parish Church,* 212.

Select Psalms, for the Use of the Parish of New St Michan's, in Dublin (1752) and A Collection of Select Psalms (1777)

These two books are in effect two editions of the same book, as their contents are almost identical.[43] *Select Psalms* contains sixty-one psalm texts set to thirty-three different tunes. The metrical variety on offer is very limited; the vast majority of tunes are in common or double common metre, with a few in long or short metre. Just one, 'Psalm 148' [126a], features a more unusual metre (6.6.6.6.8.8). The choice of tunes themselves appears to owe little to the earlier Irish volumes (see below). The second 'edition', *A Collection of Select Psalms*, has identical tune contents except for the inclusion of one additional tune, 'Psalm 149' [657d].

Like many of the parish churches in the city at this time, St Michan's operated a charity school where poor boys could receive an education in either 'Writing' (reading, writing, arithmetic, and religion) or 'Working' (training in weaving cloth).[44] St Michan's had also, since 1725, been possessed of a very fine organ and employed the expensive services of an organist to play at their services.[45] In the organist's contract, the instruction of the schoolboys in how to sing psalms is listed as one of his responsibilities, and the school records for 1753 note that a set of twenty psalm books were bound for the boys' use.[46] This practice of forming a makeshift choir from charity school children, who could assist the congregation in singing the psalms at services, was common in towns and cities at this time.[47] If these psalm books were in regular use by young boys, it might also explain why the volume was reissued after twenty-five years—the original copies having likely degraded considerably.

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[42] Cooney, *The Methodists in Ireland,* 165–170.

[43] *Select Psalms, for the use of the parish-church of New St Michan's, in Dublin* (Dublin: S. Powell, 1752). *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, hereafter *ECCO*; *A collection of select Psalms for the use of parish-churches in general, but particularly intended for that of New St. Michan's in Dublin* (Dublin: G. Bonham, for Thomas Stewart, 1777). *ECCO.*

[44] St Michan's charity school minute book 1751–77, St Michan's Parish Records (P.0276.13), Representative Church Body Library, Dublin. A 1717 report enumerates fifteen charity schools in Dublin; by 1796 this had risen to twenty-seven. Mary Hayden, "Charity Children in 18th-Century Dublin," *Dublin Historical Record* 5, no. 3 (1943): 92–107. ww.jstor.org/stable/30080114.

[45] Barra Boydell, "St Michan's Church Dublin: The Installation of the Organ in 1725 and the Duties of the Organist," *Dublin Historical Record* 46, no. 2 (1993): 101–120. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30101037.

[46] Boydell, "St Michan's Church," 110–111 and 115. St Michan's school minute book 1751–77, 34.

[47] Temperley, *Parish Church*, 129.

David Weyman, Melodia Sacra (1816)

Although it dates from just outside the period under discussion here, it would be remiss not to include this monumental church music collection, which marks a waypoint between the older metrical psalm tradition of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the newer enthusiasm for hymnody that would characterize the nineteenth century.[48] *Melodia Sacra* was published in four separate volumes between 1812 and 1815, then collected together into a single volume in 1816.[49] It contains all 150 psalms, as well as various 'hymns, anthems and chorusses'. The majority of the psalms are set in three parts—air, tenor, and counter-tenor—with a keyboard accompaniment and figured bass provided. The editor of the volume, David Weyman, was a stipendiary singer at Christ Church and a half-vicar choral at St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin, and was responsible for the composition of many of the tunes in the collection, as well as the arrangements and accompaniments for the psalms.[50] Despite his cathedral background, Weyman's introduction makes clear that he did not intend *Melodia Sacra* solely for cathedral use: 'This Work (it is hoped)', he writes, 'will be found particularly useful to Organists and Clerks of Parish Churches; Dissenting Congregations and private Individuals will likewise find it a most useful and valuable Repository of Sacred Melody'.

Weyman's dedication to furnishing each psalm and hymn with a tune used nowhere else in the collection is impressive: the collection includes no fewer than 156 tunes, twenty-three of which were composed by Weyman himself. The selection is so large that it is perhaps more useful to note which tunes from the earlier Dublin sources were *not* included. Few of the old Genevan tunes appear, for example, and, in general, the selection tends rather toward the new than the old. One notable aspect of *Melodia Sacra* is Weyman's transcriptions of the tunes themselves, which are frequently embellished with turns, passing notes and trills, especially on the penultimate notes of phrases. Temperley has suggested that the necessity for unaccompanied congregations to follow the lead of the parish clerk led to psalm tunes gradually slowing and losing their rhythmic interest, and as a result congregations would often embellish the tunes with trills and melismas, a performance practice which Temperley has termed the 'old way of singing'. Temperley draws attention particularly to a 1718 book of psalmody by John Chesham, which includes a version of 'Windsor' [271] embellished in this manner.[51] It is possible that Weyman's melodic embellishments represent a rare record of a similar performance practice which existed in the late eighteenth-century Irish church. It is equally possible, however, that these embellishments are merely Weyman's own innovations, intended to add musical interest to well-worn tunes.

Melodia Sacra seems to have appealed to a wide variety of Protestant groups, including Nonconformists. At the end of Weyman's introduction, there is an extensive list of subscribers which includes the organists of Christ Church and St Patrick's cathedrals, the

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[48] See: Donald Davison, "Hymns and Hymnology," in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland,* ed. Harry White and Barra Boydell, 2 vols (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2013), 510.

[49] David Weyman, *Melodia Sacra or The Psalms of David, the Music Composed by the most celebrated Authors Ancient and Modern* (Dublin: George Allen, 1816). HTI WeymDMS.

[50] Stuart Kinsella, "Weyman, David," in *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland,* 1051.

[51] Nicholas Temperley, "The Old Way of Singing," *The Musical Times* 120, no. 1641 (1979), 945.

Chapel Royal, Trinity College and many of the city's parish churches, as well as a Mr John Kerr of the Methodist Book-Room, William Smith, 'Methodist Preacher', and the Presbyterian minister Philip Taylor. A 'sequel' to *Melodia Sacra* produced after Weyman's death claims that, by that time, Weyman's hymns were in general use in a large number of churches in the city, including the extra-parochial Bethesda Chapel and the Methodist 'Free Church' on Great Charles Street.[52]

Sources without Tunes: John Cennick, A Collection of Sacred Hymns (1752)

Although the many surviving Dublin psalters and hymnals that are without tune indications are naturally less valuable to the researcher than the sources described above, there is still much that can be learned from 'tuneless' books. An examination of the different metres used is particularly instructive, as it gives an indication of the tunes to which the texts could have been sung. An excellent example of this is a collection of hymns by the Moravian preacher John Cennick published in 1752, six years after he established a Moravian community in the city.[53] Although Cennick gave no tune indications in the *Collection*, the metres which he used are unusual and suggest that a wider variety of tunes would have been required to sing all of his hymn texts than can be found in the Dublin sources. Cennick's repeated use of metres such as 8.8.6.8.8.6, 10.10.11.11.4, and 5.5.6.5, all of which appear more than five times, suggests that he had particular tunes in mind when writing the texts; this practice was not out of character for Moravian hymn writers, who often fitted new texts to old, well-loved tunes, especially those of German origin which were well known in the Moravians' European homeland.[54] Cennick's texts, too, suggest a German connection: the metre of his hymn 'What Mercy hath the Saviour shew'd', for example, fits exactly with the tune of 'Wie schon leuchtet der Morgenstern', and his 'O head so full of bruises' is not only clearly derived from the Lutheran hymn 'O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden', but actually appears in a later Moravian hymnal reunited with its familiar German tune.[55] Despite having no printed tunes, therefore, Cennick's hymnal reveals a surprising amount about the specific tune repertory of this small Evangelical congregation.

Comparisons and Concordances

Considered individually, any one of the above sources can provide a wealth of information about the musical, cultural, and social contexts in which it was created. Their value as a historical resource, however, increases significantly when they are compared and contrasted with one another. Even surface-level observations can provide fascinating entry points into eighteenth-century society: for example, of the eleven sources detailed above, eight of them bear the same publisher's name, 'S. Powell'. This, in fact, refers to two men:

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[52] *One Hundred and Fifty Hymns, by Approved Authors, as set to music in the Pocket Edition of the Sequel to Weyman's Melodia Sacra* (Dublin: Marcus Moses, c. 1830).

[53] John Cennick, *A collection of sacred hymns,* fifth edition (Dublin: S. Powell, 1752). *ECCO*..

[54] See: *A Collection of Hymns of the Children of God in all Ages* (London: printed; and to be had at all the Brethren's chapels, 1754), preface. *ECCO.*

[55] Christian Ignatius Latrobe and Samuel Webbe, *Hymn-tunes sung in the Church of the United Brethren* (London: J. Bland, 1775), 30. Internet Archive (accessed 24 June 2021). http://archive.org/details/ssunginc00latr.

Stephen Powell, who operated the press until 1722, and his son Samuel, who took over in 1731 (in the intervening years the press was operated by Stephen's widow, Deborah, under his name).[56] Behind these sources thus lies the story of two generations of this family concern: Stephen's beginnings in partnership with John Brent, his establishment of his own business in 1703, the passing on of the company to Samuel Powell, Samuel's conversion to Methodism, and his death in 1775. On Samuel's death, his daughter Sarah sold the concern to George Bonham, but Bonham does not appear to have taken possession of the Powell's distinctive set of music type—the second of the St Michan's books, printed by Bonham, uses a very different musical typeface. The Powells were not the only music printers operating in the city at the time, but seem to have carved out a niche for themselves in the area of psalter and hymnal publication; the only Dublin sources not printed by them are the two which were produced after 1775 and the orphaned *UC 4.[57]

The most fruitful comparison that can be made between these sources is that of their tune contents, as this helps not only with the discerning of overall trends in the distribution of particular tunes, but also to clarify the relationships between sources, particularly those of a derivative nature.[58] The first three sources—Smith, *UC 4, and Boyse—serve as a case study in this regard (see Table 1). The evidence of the identical basses, discussed above, already presents a strong case for Boyse's having copied his tunes directly from Smith; a direct tune-content comparison makes this even clearer. What is interesting, however, is that Boyse's tunes constitute a subset of Smith's—in other words, some of Smith's tunes have been omitted. This selection of which tunes to leave out was clearly not done on the basis of frequency, as the 'St David's' tune [379], which appears in Smith ten times, appears only once in Boyse, and the 'Bristol' tune [583], which Smith uses fourteen times, does not appear at all. Perhaps here is the supporting evidence for Boyse's claim that his tunes represent those 'commonly used in Publick Congregations'; if Smith's book was popular with Dublin congregations, as claimed by Grattan Flood, it is possible that Boyse knew which of Smith's tunes had proved most popular with the churchgoing public, and that this knowledge informed his selection process.[59] A similar side-by-side comparison can also help to shed a little more light on the mysterious origins of *UC 4, which incorporates all of the tunes from Smith plus five additional tunes. If *UC 4 predates Smith, and if it is indeed, as it seems to be, the work of the same editor, then this may represent a similar 'weeding-out' process whereby the less successful tunes were removed.

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[56] Pollard, *Dublin Book Trade,* 465.

[57] 'Powell, Stephen' and 'Powell, Samuel' entries in the Dublin Music Trade database (www.dublinmusictrade.ie). As the editor of *UC 4 is unknown, it is possible it was also printed by the Powells, but this cannot be stated definitively.

[58] A complete table of tunes contained in the Dublin sources is provided in the Appendix.

[59] W. H. Grattan Flood, "Barton's Psalms (1698): The Earliest-Known Dublin-Printed Music Book," *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 2, no. 3 (1912): 246–9.

Tune Name	HTI Code	Metre	*UC 4 (?)	Smith (1698/99)	Boyse (1701)
Ps 51	111a/c	LM	✓	✓	
Ps 119	120c	DCM	✓	✓	✓
Ps 124	123a	10.10.10.10.10	✓	✓	
Ps 148	126a	6.6.6.6.8.8	✓	✓	✓
Ps 100	143a	LM	✓	✓	✓
Ps 113	146a	LM x3	✓	✓	✓
Lincoln	159a	DCM	✓	✓	
Shrewsbury	166a	DCM	✓		
Cambridge	249a	CM	✓		
Southwell	269j	SM	✓	✓	✓
Windsor	271a	CM	✓	✓	✓
Dublin	271c	CM	✓	✓	✓
Martyr's	330a	CM	✓	✓	✓
York	331a	CM	✓		
(St) David's	379c/f	CM	✓	✓	✓
Litchfield	381b	CM	✓		
Exeter	397b	CM	✓		
London (New)	497b	CM	✓	✓	✓
Lowath	536a	CM	✓	✓	✓
St Mary's	542a	CM	✓	✓	✓
Bristol	583	CM	✓	✓	
Ely	584	LM	✓	✓	
Oxford	585	8.8.8.8.8.8	✓	✓	✓
Stanford	591	SM x2		✓	

Table 1: Tune Contents Comparison

Abraham Bradley's *Psalms of David* (1740) evidently also belongs to this network of influence; even if the anonymous compiler had not specifically named Boyse, the debt owed to him would still be clear from the tune contents. Of the thirteen tunes in Boyse's *Family Hymns*, eleven made it into Bradley's *Psalms of David;* two of these—'Psalm 119' [120c] and 'St David's' [379f]—appear in the same variant forms found in Boyse, rather than their more standard iterations. The two tunes from *Family Hymns* that do not appear in *Psalms of David* are 'Dublin' [271c] and 'St Mary's' [542a]. The compiler may have considered the former too similar to the 'Windsor' tune [241a] of which it is likely a variant, and which was included; 'St Mary's' seems a strange omission, however, given just how frequently it appears in the earlier sources. Fourteen tunes make their Irish debut here; many of these can also be found in an earlier English tune supplement designed to be used with the psalm texts of Isaac Watts or John Patrick, and as texts by both of these writers appear in the 1740 volume, this can be reasonably assumed to be one of the compiler's sources.[60]

International connections can also be discerned behind the supplement to the Wesleyan hymnbook and the St Michan's psalters, all of which share some tunes with the earlier Irish sources but also introduce many new tunes to the surviving printed repertory. In the case of the St Michan's books, the origin of the tunes is clear: every single tune here also appears in the official supplement to the *New Version* by Tate and Brady, first published in 1708 and reissued regularly until 1735.[61] The Wesleyan tunes are a little harder to trace, as many of the newer tunes appear in only a handful of English sources. Unless they were copied wholesale from a source which is now lost, the compiler would have needed to consult multiple sources of English origin in order to put this supplement together. The alternative—that this source actually reflects the compiler's experience of contemporary Methodist practice—is compelling, but as ever, difficult to prove.

The 'Dublin Repertory'

Bearing in mind the caveats discussed above, it is possible to make some tentative inferences as to which tunes were actually being sung in eighteenth-century Dublin's churches and meeting houses. To begin with, it must be noted that the tunes in the St Michan's books effectively constitute a sub-repertory of their own, as those tunes, or at least some of them, were almost certainly sung by the boys at St Michan's church and, therefore, also by the congregation there. As for the rest of the repertory, given that the sources under consideration originate from a wide range of different Protestant communities and cover a long time period, the tunes most likely to have been widely known and performed are simply those that appear most frequently in the sources. Taking into account minor variants, there are nine tunes which appear in five or more of the eight English-language Dublin sources, including the St Michan's books (see Table 2). As this short selection contains tunes in common, long and short metres, it would have been more than adequate for performing the vast majority of hymns and psalms in contemporary circulation.

Strikingly, the old Genevan tunes seem to have had considerable sticking power throughout the period. They are among the oldest tunes in the repertory, and many are lengthy or have awkward metres, yet they remained consistently in use while many newer tunes fell out of favour. It is one of these tunes which enjoys the distinction of being the only one to appear in every single source: the French Genevan tune known as 'Psalm 100', nowadays known as the 'Old Hundredth' (see Example 4). Its Calvinistic origins mean that it also appears in the Huguenot psalter of 1731 and in the *Cantiques Sacrez* of 1748. It was also notably the only tune to be mentioned by name in Boyse's first book. Its dominance in the Dublin sources should come as no surprise, as it had been one of the most popular tunes in the English psalm repertory since the sixteenth century and has remained so to the present day. The hymn tune website hymnary.org has indexed over 1,000 hymnals in which the 'Old Hundredth' appears, and at the time of writing, it is the most frequently searched for tune in their repertory.[62]

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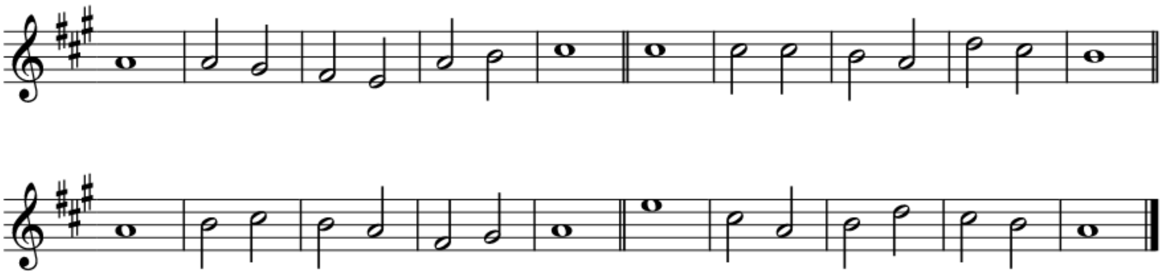
[60] *A collection of tunes, suited to the various Metres in Mr Watt's Imitation of the Psalms of David, or Dr. Patrick's version; fit to be bound up with either,* 2nd edition (London: W. Pearson for J. Clark, 1722). British Library A.1231.jj. HTI LawrWCT 2.

[61] *A Supplement to the New Version of Psalms by Dr. Brady and Mr. Tate* (London: John Nutt, for James Holland, 1708). British Library 1220.g.4(2). HTI *TS TatB 6a.

Tune	HTI	Metre	UC4	Smith	Boyse	Bradley	Wesley	Michan's	Weyman
Ps 119	120c	DCM	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Ps 148	126a	6.6.6.6.8.8	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Ps 100	143a	LM	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ps 113	146a	LM x3	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
Southwell	269h/j	SM	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
Windsor	271a	CM	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓
London	497b	CM	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓
St Mary's	542a	CM	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓
St Ann's	664a	CM				✓	✓	✓	✓

Table 2: Tunes which appear most frequently across the eight English-language sources.[63]



Example 4: 'Psalm 100' [143a], from Bradley's *Psalms* (1740).

Dublin Originals and Exclusives

It is also possible to construct a second 'Dublin repertory' of tunes and variants which make their first appearance in, and in some cases remain exclusive to, the Dublin sources. Several of the tunes from Smith, despite their English place-name nomenclature, appear nowhere else in the international hymn tune repertory, apart from in the other Dublin sources derived from Smith's volume as discussed above, and may have been Smith's own compositions. These are 'Bristol' [583], 'Oxford' [585] and 'Stanford' [585], with this last appearing only in the Smith collection of 1698 and its later re-issues. The 'Ely' tune [584] appears in one later source only, an English collection from 1719, in which it is called 'Handley'. The 'Oxford' tune is of particular interest, both because it is the most frequently occurring of these Dublin exclusives, appearing in four different sources, and also because of its unusual metre (8.8.8.8.8.8). It is suggested in the Hymn Tune Index that this tune may be derived from Martin Luther's 'Vater Unser'—a highly credible theory, given the similarities between the two tunes (see Example 5). The Methodist hymnal of

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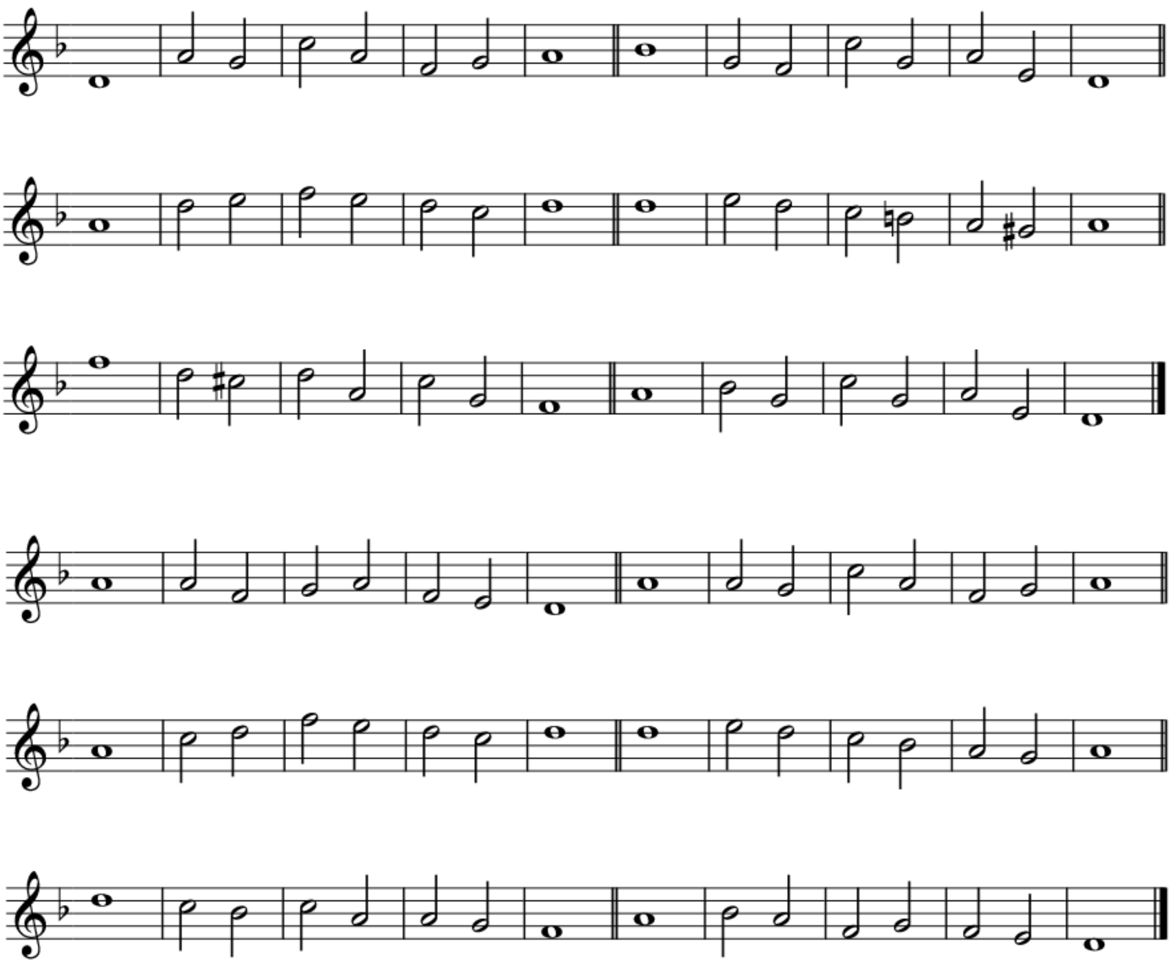
[62] See: https://hymnary.org/tune/old_hundredth_bourgeois, https://hymnary.org/browse/popular/tunes

[63] The St Michan's books are combined into one column for the purposes of this table as their tune contents are almost identical, as discussed above.

1749 is also the earliest known source of a number of tunes (described above), and includes one totally unique tune, 'Hymn 191' [1936a].



Example 5: 'Oxford' [585], from Bradley's *Psalms* (1740), and 'Vater Unser', transcribed from the Hymn Tune Index [130a].

In addition to these 'Dublin tunes', there are also a number of 'Dublin variants' identifiable in these sources. The version of 'Southwell' [269j] which appears in Smith and its derivatives is found nowhere else, and the same sources contain the first instance of a frequently occurring variant of the 'St David's' tune [379f].[64] The most interesting 'Dublin variant' is the tune which is actually given the name 'Dublin' by Smith [271c]; this variant of 'Windsor' [271a] appears side by side with it in three sources, and independently from it in one—the Methodist supplement (see Example 6). In later sources it more often appears under the name 'Coleshill'. Some other tune names are also unique to the Dublin sources: 'Lowath' [536a] is known as 'Litchfield' or 'London Old' elsewhere, and the name 'Uxbridge' for tune 548 is unique to Bradley's *Psalms of David*.

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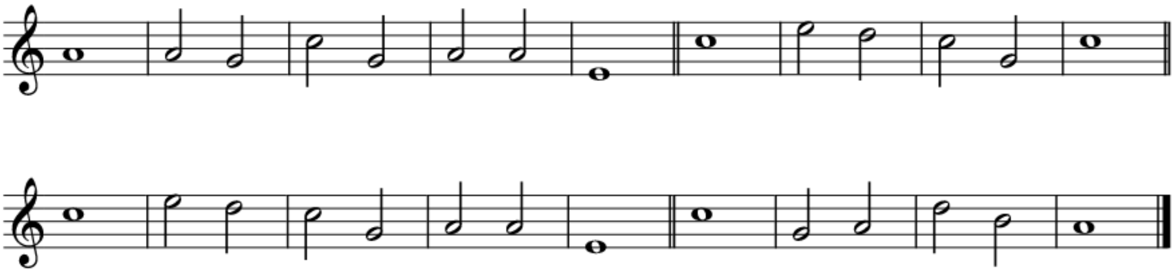
[64] This variant first appears in Smith, not in Boyse, as is incorrectly stated in the Hymn Tune Index.



Example 6: 'Dublin' [271c], from Bradley's *Psalms* (1740).

Significance: The Repertory in Context

The eighteenth century is usually characterized as a period of peace and prosperity in Ireland, and in comparison to the preceding centuries, which were distinguished largely by war, violence, and rebellion, so it was. It was also a period of exponential growth for Dublin in particular, with the city's population increasing from 90,000 in 1715 to 180,000 by 1798.[65] Yet beneath its progressive veneer, Dublin society was still deeply divided along the religious and cultural lines that had run beneath Europe since the Reformation era. Though Ireland was now peaceful following the conclusion of the Williamite Wars in 1689, war continued to rage on the European continent between the Bourbon and Habsburg great houses. The first half of the eighteenth century was correspondingly the period during which the Penal Laws were most strictly and frequently enforced, as Protestants lived in fear of an organized Catholic uprising with assistance from Continental allies.[66] The prevailing climate of fear among Dublin's Protestants was exacerbated by their minority status, at first within the country as a whole and later even within Dublin itself: Patrick Fagan has estimated that forty to fifty per cent of the city's population were Catholic at the beginning of the century, and that by the end of the century this had increased to around sixty per cent.[67]

By the middle of the century, the Jacobite threat had significantly faded, as France no longer supported the exiled Jacobite monarchs, and anti-Catholic legislation began to ease considerably. Nevertheless, a deep cultural and social divide remained between Catholics and Protestants in the city. As well as worshipping in Latin, a large number of Dublin's Catholics spoke Irish, and the city was even home to a number of well-known Gaelic poets.[68] Linguistic diversity was automatic cause for suspicion at a time when even operatic songs sung in Italian had been accused in the English press of potentially incorporating secret 'Popish' messages in an attempt to expose audiences to Catholicism without their knowledge.[69] Meanwhile, despite the relaxation of the ban on the importation of Catholic literature, Catholic books and materials continued to be seized on flimsy pretexts of being 'treasonable', and 'cautionary warnings of the dangers popery posed' continued to appear in print.[70] Even in a more outwardly tolerant era, the perception of Catholicism as an inherently seditious and threatening force persisted in the minds of the Protestant population.

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[65] Patrick Fagan, "The Population of Dublin in the Eighteenth Century with Particular Reference to the Proportions of Protestants and Catholics," *Eighteenth-Century Ireland / Iris an dá chultúr* 6 (1991), 149. http://www.jstor.org/stable/30070912.

[66] David Dickson, *Dublin: The Making of a Capital City* (London: Profile Books, 2015), 107 and 145. Maureen Wall, *The Penal Laws 1691–1760: church and state from the Treaty of Limerick to the accession of George III* (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1961).

[67] Fagan, "Population of Dublin," 156.

[68] Vincent Morley, *The Popular Mind in Eighteenth-Century Ireland* (Cork: Cork University Press, 2017), 6.

[69] Vanessa Alayrac-Fielding and Claire Dubois, ed, *The Foreignness of Foreigners: Cultural Representations of the Other in the British Isles* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), 21.

Protestant Unity

The existence of a 'common enemy' in Catholicism served to draw the various Protestant communities in the city closer together, despite their doctrinal differences.[71] Although Presbyterians, Baptists, and other nonconforming Protestants were, like Catholics, technically 'dissenters' from the established church, in practice they suffered very little discrimination in the city. For example, despite the Corporation Act officially preventing dissenters from holding public office, at least three Nonconformists, including the highly influential merchant and property developer Humphrey Jervis, held the office of Lord Mayor of Dublin prior to the passing of the Irish Toleration Act in 1719.[72] Even when conflict did occur between the Established church and the city's Nonconformists, a conciliatory attitude still generally prevailed; so Joseph Boyse, despite being embroiled in controversy in 1711 when some of his sermons were publicly burnt, nevertheless advocated for fellowship and unity between Protestants in his writings, including advocating for the cause of the Huguenot refugees. In contrast, Boyse reserved nothing but criticism for the Catholic church.[73] This is in line with David Dickson's observation that nonconforming Protestants were often harsher in their treatment of Catholics during this period than their conformist counterparts were.[74]

The case of the Huguenots is illustrative of the fraternal attitude which prevailed among the city's Protestants. Despite their refugee status and the refusal of many to conform to the established church, the Huguenots were warmly welcomed by Protestant society.[75] The Huguenot community enjoyed amicable relations with the established church, and even the nonconforming Huguenots were keen to position themselves on the Protestant side of the divide. Huguenot preachers in Ireland openly employed anti-Catholic rhetoric, and celebrated anti-Catholic church festivals such as Gunpowder Treason Day.[76] In this context of Protestant collegiality, the fact that metrical psalmody was effectively a shared tradition that united Protestants of all stripes takes on a greater significance. In effect, the tunes of the Dublin repertory can be said to constitute a wider, 'Protestant' musical culture rather than being restricted to any one sub-community; even the Huguenots, legally classified as 'Strangers', were connected to this musical culture by the presence in the repertory of several French Genevan tunes.

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[70] Kelly, "Regulating print," 150.

[71] A notable exception were the Quakers, who were discriminated against and harassed by the city's other Protestants during this period. Dickson, *Dublin,* 90.

[72] Dickson, *Dublin*, 89–90.

[73] Kelly, "Regulating Print," 145. A. W. Godfrey Brown, *The Great Mr Boyse: A Study of The Reverend Joseph Boyse Minister of Wood Street Church, Dublin 1683–1728* (Belfast: Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, 1988), 17. Godfrey Brown, "Boyse, Joseph," ODNB.

[74] Dickson, *Dublin*, 90.

[75] Ibid., 113.

[76] Ruth Whelan, "Repressive Toleration: the Huguenots in early eighteenth-century Dublin," in *Toleration and religious identity: The Edict of Nantes and its implications in France, Britain and Ireland*, ed. Ruth Whelan and Carol Baxter (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2003), 179–195.

As well as connecting Dublin's Protestants to one another, the psalm tune repertory also connected them with their co-religionists overseas. Again, the Huguenots serve as a useful case study: as members of a diaspora culture, participation in a musical tradition that was shared by other diaspora members all over the world helped to connect them with their fellow exiles in other countries. In addition, the centrality of psalm-singing to the Huguenots' own foundational myths—Huguenot battalions were said to have used psalms as battle hymns during the Wars of Religion—meant that continuing the same tradition of psalmody provided a link between eighteenth-century Huguenots and the historical events and narratives upon which their religious and community identity was built.[77]

For Dublin's anglophone Protestants, the psalm repertory in effect performed the same functions of geographic and temporal connection with a wider community. By far the most striking characteristic of the repertory is its lack of individuality: save for the very small number of original tunes and variants identified above, the tunes being sung in Dublin's parishes and meeting houses during the eighteenth century appear to have been virtually indistinguishable from those being sung in any parish church in Britain. To Dublin's Protestant community, who often felt isolated in a country where they were surrounded by what they perceived to be a hostile majority, the psalm repertory provided a direct link with their fellow churchgoers across the Irish sea. It also allowed them to participate in a venerable tradition of Protestant music-making that connected them directly with the Reformation-era origins of their church. In musical terms at least, Dublin's Protestants merited the description of them offered by John Wesley, who termed them 'English transplanted to another soil'.[78]

This internationally-shared culture was not restricted to the British Isles. The early modern period, and the eighteenth century in particular, was also an era in which England was emerging as an international power on a global scale. As the second largest city in the British Isles, a political capital, and a cultural and economic hub, Dublin was at the centre of a newly emerging global community, defined by its politics, its language, its mercantilism, and above all its Protestant religion.[79] By singing the same metrical psalms every Sunday to the same tunes that were being sung in far-flung British colonies, Dublin's Protestants could publicly affirm, in a small way, their membership of this exclusive international in-crowd.

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[77] David J. B. Trim, "The Huguenots and the European Wars of Religion, c. 1560–1697: Soldiering in National and Transnational Context," in *The Huguenots: History and Memory in Transnational Context: Essays in Honour and Memory of Walter C. Utt*, ed. David J. B. Trim (Leiden: Brill, 2011): 153–192 (190).

[78] Cooney, *The Methodists in Ireland,* 39.

[79] Boydell, *Dublin Musical Calendar*, 11. For more on the central role of Protestantism in British national identity, see: Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019).

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Appendix: Table of Tunes in Irish Sources

Tunes have been listed under their Hymn Tune Index Source Codes, as the names of tunes often differ between sources. Where a tune appears in the same source multiple times, this has been numerically indicated in the table; for sources in which each tune appears only once, the symbol "✓" has been used. The St Michan's books have been treated as one book for the purposes of this table, as their contents are almost identical (see footnote to tune 657d). Weyman's *Melodia Sacra* and the supplement to the *New Version* have been included for comparative purposes only; tunes which *only* appear in these sources are not listed here. Where these sources do not include a given tune, but do include a variant of it otherwise not listed in the table, a 'V' marking has been used.

'CM' stands for 'common metre' (8.6.8.6), 'DCM' for 'double common metre' (8.6.8.6.8.6.8.6), 'LM' for 'long metre' (8.8.8.8) and 'SM' for 'short metre' (6.6.8.6). 'LM x2' indicates that the long metre pattern is repeated twice (8.8.8.8.8.8.8.8).

HTI	*Metre*	**UC 4*	*Smith*	*Boyse*	*Bradley*	*Wesley*	*Michan's*	*Weyman*	*New Version*
93b	LM x2						1		V
109c	DCM						1		V
111a	LM		2						✓
111c	LM	2				✓			
113b	DCM						1	✓	✓
120c	DCM	5	10	4	✓	✓	1		V
123a	10.10.10.10.10	1	1						✓
126a	6.6.6.6.8.8	2	6	7	✓		1		✓
143a	LM	4	13	8	✓	✓	1	✓	✓
146a	LM x3	1	2	1	✓		4	V	✓
158b	DCM						1		✓
159a	DCM	1	10		✓				✓
160a	DCM						2		✓
166a	DCM	7							✓
201e	CM						1		✓
249a	CM	3					1		✓
250h	CM				✓				✓
269h	SM						3		✓
269j	SM	4	5	4	✓				
271a	CM	6	9	2	✓			✓	✓
271c	CM	3	13	4		✓			
276a	CM						1		✓
276d	SM					✓			
279c	CM						1		✓
288a	LM				✓				V
327b	CM						1		✓
330a	CM	1	7	4	✓				✓
331a	CM	1					1	✓	✓

HTI	*Metre*	**UC 4*	*Smith*	*Boyse*	*Bradley*	*Wesley*	*Michan's*	*Weyman*	*New Version*
368a	CM						1		✓
379c	CM	5					1	✓	✓
379f	CM		10	1	✓				
381b	CM	4					2		✓
387b	LM				✓				V
387e	LM					✓		✓	V
397b	CM	2							✓
400	CM				✓				
497b	CM	10	15	4	✓		3	✓	✓
509c	LM						3		✓
536a	CM	5	12	1	✓				✓
538	DCM						1		✓
542a	CM	11	26	5			1	✓	✓
548	LM				✓				
577	SM				✓				
582a	CM					✓	3	✓	✓
583	CM	2	14						
584	LM	1	1						
585	8.8.8.8.8.8	4	10	8	✓				
591	SM x2		3						
598a	LM					✓			
637	CM				✓				
655	DCM						1		✓
657d[80]	5.5.5.5.6.5.6.5						1*	V	V
663a	CM						1		✓
663b	CM				✓				
664a	CM				✓	✓	1	✓	✓
665	SM						1		✓
667a	LM x2						6		✓
668a	LM x2						6		✓
669a	DCM						5	✓	✓
670	DCM						1		✓
672a	DCM						2		✓
685d	11.11.11.11					✓		V	
694b	8.8.8.8.8.8					✓			
750b	CM				✓	✓			
794	CM				✓				
824	LM					✓			
846a	CM					✓		✓	
848b	SM					✓		✓	
995c	CM					✓			
1062a	CM				✓				
1064	CM				✓				
1424	6.6.6.6.8.8					✓			
1545	CM				✓				

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[80] Tune 657d is the only tune that appears in just one of the two St Michan's books: the later volume, published in 1777.

HTI	*Metre*	**UC 4*	*Smith*	*Boyse*	*Bradley*	*Wesley*	*Michan's*	*Weyman*	*New Version*
1830a	LM					✓		V	
1934	CM					✓			
1935	7.7.7.7					✓			
1936a	CM					✓		✓	
1937	8.8.6.8.8.6					✓			

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Antonio Salieri's Musical Recycling: *Europa Riconosciuta, Tarare,* and *Cesare in Farmacusa*

Ellen Stokes

Antonio Salieri's *Ballettmusik* manuscript,[1] held in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek[2] as part of the central collection of Salieri's instrumental music, represents some of the most interesting palaeographic and compositional features in his instrumental oeuvre. Assumed to be a nondescript collection of ballet music, the manuscript defies the assertion by Christoph Wolff that the instrumental works of Salieri and his contemporaries 'invariably added up to a few largely inconsequential compositions'.[3] The music contained in this manuscript does, in fact, constitute a multifaceted work that was central to two of Salieri's international operatic successes, *Europa Riconosciuta* (Milan, 1778) and *Tarare* (Paris, 1787, revised 1819).[4] The score provides a duplicate purpose, spanning four decades and for use in two separate musical centres. Very little is known about the compositional processes and standards for ballet music throughout the late eighteenth century, despite many of the great composers of the period writing substantial amounts as part of operatic and other dramatic works. Salieri's most influential mentors, Gassmann and Gluck, were pivotal figures in the development of ballet music and its role in wider works throughout the period, and so it is unsurprising that Salieri, as one of the most senior figures in European music and a central player in the Viennese musical culture, was also active in this compositional area. *Europa Riconosciuta* appears to have been particularly fruitful for Salieri, as it not only informed the music of *Tarare*, but he also repurposed the opera's 'Tempesta di Mare' overture for his later Viennese work, *Cesare in Farmacusa* (1800). This study will focus on the musical recycling of this ballet music and operatic overture by Vienna's Imperial Kapellmeister, as Salieri adapted the music in various ways, including in terms of instrumentation and dramatic purpose, and these will be explored throughout the course of this article.

Previous scholarly attention to Salieri's instrumental oeuvre as a specific area has been scarce, with even less study given to his ballet music, and the manuscripts held in library collections that are known to definitely, or potentially, belong to this genre. Elena Biggi Parodi's work surrounding the *Ballettmusik* manuscript specifically has proven to be seminal in the understanding of how Salieri composed his ballet music for *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Tarare*, and the work of this article and author's wider PhD research will build upon the foundations laid in her observational work. Parodi has noted that this score, corresponding to the *Ballo primo* of *Europa Riconosciuta*,[5] is 'one of the few ballets incorporated directly into the opera that have reached us from Italian opera of the eighteenth century.'[6] Through this incorporation, the ballet is placed within a dramatic context that aids in the identification of musical structure and purpose, as each movement corresponds with a scene written into the libretto of the opera. The manuscript, as with much of Salieri's surviving instrumental oeuvre, has been preserved in a disordered state: the titular movement, containing all of the marginalia pertaining to the various uses of the music, is found around halfway through the manuscript, appearing as the fifth movement in the current order.

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[1] Antonio Salieri, *Ballettmusik*, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus.Hs.3762 (A-Wn: 3762).

[2] Hereafter, ÖNB.

[3] Christoph Wolff, *Mozart at the Gateway to his Fortune: Serving the Emperor, 1788-1791* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2012), 25.

[4] Permission has been granted by the ÖNB for all manuscript examples used throughout this article.

[5] There were two ballets present in the opera at the opening of La Scala in 1778: the *Ballo primo* at the end of Act 1 was composed by Salieri, whilst the second *Ballo* at the end of Act 2 was composed by Luigi de Baillou.

[6] Elena Biggi Parodi, "Preliminary observations on the 'Ballo primo' of 'Europa riconosciuta' by Antonio Salieri: Milan, La Scala Theatre, 1778," *Recercare*, 16 (2004), 269. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41701428.

It is not unusual for Salieri's instrumental works, in particular those thought to be for ballet, to have survived in a fragmentary state. In fact, another manuscript housed in the ÖNB is catalogued under the title *Bruchstücke zu Ballettmusiken, bzw. Serenaten*, perpetuating the disordered and neglected state of the oeuvre. However, despite the musical disparities within the manuscript, *Ballettmusik* contains seven separate movements, corresponding to the seven scenes of Verazi's *Ballo primo* for *Europa Riconosciuta*. Parodi, in her study of this manuscript,[7] has reorganized these movements in an attempt to plot a clear path through the music in relation to its narrative purposes, and so this study will not focus on that area of analysis, but rather on the specific analysis of the historical, orchestral, and dramatic influences on the manuscript that make it such an interesting study within Salieri's instrumental oeuvre.

To understand these elements, there must first be some understanding as to the current state of the manuscript now housed in the ÖNB, and the impact that this has had on the understanding of the source's purpose and place within Salieri's wider oeuvre. The current structure of the manuscript, as found in the ÖNB today, is as follows:[8]

- Movement '1', in F major, scored for 2 Horns in F; 2 Oboes; Violin I+II; Viola (tacet); Bassoon; 'Cello; Basso.
- Movement '2', in F major, scored for 2 Horns in F; 2 Oboes; Violin I+II; Viola (tacet); Bassoon; 'Cello; Basso.
- Movement '3', in F major, scored for 2 Horns in F; 2 Oboes; Violin I+II; Viola (tacet); Bassoon; 'Cello; Basso.
- Movement '4', in D major, scored for 2 Horns in D; 2 Oboes; Flute (tacet); Violin I+II; Viola (tacet); Bassoon; 'Cello; Basso.
- Movement '5', in E-flat major, scored for 2 Horns in E-flat; 2 Flutes; Oboe; Clarinet; Violin I+II; Viola; Bassoon; Timpani; Basso.
- Movement '6', scored for Oboe (tacet); Violin I+II; Viola; Basso.
- Movement '7', scored for 2 Horns; 2 Oboes; Violin I+II; Viola; 'Cello; Basso.

As previously stated, this manuscript has been hiding in plain sight through a lack of organisation and attention given to the contents. As a result, an important source in Salieri's compositional oeuvre lay tucked away—an unassuming manuscript labelled simply *Ballettmusik*—until almost two centuries after the death of its composer. Parodi has noted that the fact that these autograph scores were 'bound together in a haphazard way, is not at all unusual',[9] and it is now the task of this study to deepen further the lines of enquiry and analysis of how specifically this manuscript was repurposed for a revival production of *Tarare* in 1819, over four decades after its debut in Milan in 1778.

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[7] Parodi, "Preliminary observations," 269.

[8] The instrumental outline of all movements follows the 'most recent' iterations within the manuscripts, and variances between these and any crossed-out instruments will be discussed as the article progresses.

[9] Parodi, "Preliminary observations," 275.

For the purposes of this article, the focus will be upon the fifth movement of the manuscript, 'Andante Maestoso', and its opening page which contains an extraordinary amount of detail pertaining to various performance and historical issues. Its placement is likely a result of the 'haphazard' binding, as the significant amount of extra-musical information present is both unusual in Salieri's manuscript repertoire and indicative of an original placement at the beginning of the ballet narrative that this music accompanies. There are two distinct 'layers' to the manuscript: the first corresponds to the original production of *Europa Riconosciuta* in Milan, and the second to Paris' *Tarare*—in its current state. The information present relates to the music's reworking for *Tarare*; however, if we look beneath the surface, with its scribbled crossings-out and scrubbed musical material, an understanding of the music's original state can be asserted. Here, when using the term 'original', it is in reference to the first incarnation of the music, and not to distinguish ideas of authority or authenticity within the manuscript: both versions of this music are important in the way that they correlate with their respective productions, and 'original' simply refers to the first of these musical iterations, as both are present on the pages alongside each other. From this author's study of other autograph manuscripts in Salieri's repertoire, it is apparent that this working and re-working of music for multiple productions, all housed together within one manuscript, is extremely rare. Salieri has proven to be a meticulous composer, who would often stick pages together with wax or entirely block out lines or errors in the music to create legible and clear manuscript copies. In the case of the shared overture for *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Cesare in Farmacusa*, which will be discussed later in this article, both iterations appear as standalone pieces within the manuscripts of their respective productions. It is not clear why Salieri chose to approach his ballet music for the two productions in this anomalous fashion, however, it provides us with a particularly interesting case for both historical and analytical study. The following analysis will assess the manuscript in terms of these two layers, beginning with that of *Europa Riconosciuta.*

Ballettmusik for *Europa Riconosciuta*

As previously stated, the information present for the *Europa Riconosciuta* version of *Ballettmusik* is crossed out. For this analysis, however, it will now be considered on its own merits, with a focussed lens upon the music prior to its updating by Salieri for *Tarare*. A logical starting point in the study of this marginalia is the inscription of both a place and date: 'In Milano 1778'. The presence of this date alone is extremely revealing when considering both the purpose of this music and how it fits into the rest of Salieri's vast compositional career. It is no coincidence that Joseph II's 'Singspiel' venture and Salieri's period away from Vienna coincided: the dispersal of the Viennese opera buffa troupe[10] in early 1778 freed up the court composer's schedule for perhaps what was the first time since he arrived in Vienna in 1766. There were virtually no Italian opera performances at the Viennese court theatres for the next five years, and Salieri therefore had a musical hiatus there between 1776 and 1781. During this time, he received commissions in Milan, Venice, Rome, Munich, and Paris; the first of these was the focus of the *Ballettmusik* manuscript contents. *Europa Riconosciuta* was dedicated to 'Il serenissimo Arciduca Ferdinando… e la serenissima Arciduchessa Maria Ricciarda Beatrice D'Este,'[11] the brother of Joseph II who held the position of Governor of the Duchy of Milan, and his wife. It is clear from this dedication that Salieri was active within imperial circles beyond Vienna, and this inaugural 'solenne occasione'[12] in Milan was the most appropriate starting point for the Italian tour of Joseph II's Director of Italian Opera and future Kapellmeister.

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[10] John A. Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera* (London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998), 255.

Further to this, there are three other pieces of information present that further consolidate this assertion of purpose for Salieri's Italian debut at La Scala. First, below the place and date, 'd'Ant Salie [sic]' provides an equally unusual indicator that this music is indeed by Salieri. Many of his other autograph manuscripts within the oeuvre do not include such an obvious composer signature: this is unsurprising if we are to assume that their general purpose was for Salieri's own compositional processes and reference, taking place within the Viennese court where he was known to other musicians, copyists, and other colleagues. In this case, however, Parodi asserts that for its later use as part of a *Tarare* production, Salieri 'had sent pages copied by a scribe… [and] if Salieri had neglected to cross out his own name with a line, even this would have been copied'.[13] As the music was itself being inserted into a wider body of Salieri work, this was not necessary, and so explains the reasoning for the implied elimination of this information; however, it does not help us to understand the purpose of its inclusion in the initial version of the manuscript. One can only hypothesize as why this occurred, given its exceptional role within the Salieri repertoire. Perhaps he wished to clarify who the music was by for copyists at La Scala, due to the inclusion of two ballets as part of *Europa Riconosciuta*, each by a different composer. Or, perhaps, due to the timing of the work as part of Salieri's first significant international tour, it was deemed essential by the composer as part of the logistical organisation of his music: it is not known whether the music travelled with him, stayed in Milan, or was sent back to Vienna, so indicating as much as possible within the manuscript may have aided in the immediate organisation of his works composed during this time. Whatever this reasoning may be, the inclusion of a true 'autograph' within this autograph manuscript provides an unusual, yet hugely insightful confirmation of provenance when building a contemporary understanding of Salieri's instrumental oeuvre.

The final two pieces of information included in this 'original layer' pertain to the dramatic purpose of the music and provide pragmatic indicators of location within the work and narrative association. 'Ballo primo' is self-explanatory, denoting the purpose of the music as being for the ballet at the close of Act 1 within *Europa Riconosciuta*. Once again, it is the only known inclusion of a direct indication of ballet music within the oeuvre[14] and also pertains to what can be assumed to have been Salieri's organisational systems when composing large-scale productions with multiple elements. Next to this, there is a legible—yet partially obscured, due to its modern binding— annotation that provides important information as to the narrative purpose of the music, as highlighted and translated by Parodi: 'Gli schiavi vegono condotti all'arena (The slaves are led to the arena).'[15] Dramatic purpose within this manuscript is particularly important in understanding Salieri's compositional decisions and later revisions of the music, and will be discussed in further detail in a later section of this article. Now, the assessment of this source shall move beyond that of the marginalia and focus upon some of the most interesting results of this 'double layer' of composition within the manuscript, that of changes to orchestration and the subsequent understanding of compositional scope and performance practices for both *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Tarare.*

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[11] *Frontespizio Europa Riconosciuta,* La Scala Archives (1778).

[12] Ibid.

[13] Parodi, "Preliminary Observations," 272.

[14] As known to the author at this time. It is possible that more manuscripts may contain similar titles and indications, however these have not yet surfaced throughout the period of research undertaken thus far.

The Instrumental Possibilities of Milan and Paris

Both *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Tarare* were scored for instrumental forces as dictated by La Scala and the Paris Opéra, indicated through these two 'layers' of composition within the manuscript. Table 1 exemplifies these varying orchestral possibilities and forms the basis of discussion and in-depth analysis of the source through providing a window into the lifespan of the manuscript and its multiple musical uses.

***Europa Riconosciuta* 'ballo primo'**	***Tarare* 'Acte 3'**
Trumpet in E-flat I+II	Trumpet in E-flat I+II
Horn in E-flat I+II	Horn in E-flat I+II
Flute I+II	Flute I+II
Oboe I+II	Oboe I+II
Bassoon I+II	Clarinet I+II
Timpani	Bassoon I+II
Violin I+II	Timpani
Viola	Violin I+II
Basso	Viola
	Basso

Table 1: Instrumental forces indicated in *Ballettmusik*, page 38.[16]

Beyond this manuscript, there is also a scribal copy of *Europa Riconosciuta* housed in the library of the Conservatorio di Milano, which once again diverges in instrumental make-up: 2 oboes, 2 bassoons, 2 horns, violins I+II, 2 violas, 'cello, and basso.[17] This reduced scoring raises doubts as to the validity, at least in terms of performance realisation, of Salieri's instrumentation as outlined in *Ballettmusik*. Contemporary accounts have attested to the huge size of the orchestra, upwards of seventy players for this inaugural performance,[18] which does not fully support the scaled-back forces described in the scribal copy, thereby calling into question the purpose of both this Milan copy and the original Salieri manuscript. Unfortunately, there are no surviving orchestral records from La Scala during this period. Important information regarding the orchestra forces employed at the inaugural performance on 3 August 1778 has, however, been preserved in a letter from Pietro Verri to his brother Alessandro. Verri's correspondence spans from 1766 to 1797 and provides insight into many of the key events of Milan during this time. Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell has highlighted this orchestral list as laid out by Verri, and thus we can understand the size and layout of the La Scala instrumental forces for the inaugural performance of *Europa Riconosciuta* as follows:[19]

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[15] Parodi, "Preliminary Observations," 271.

[16] A-Wn: 3762.

[17] Elena Biggi Parodi, *Catalogo tematico delle composizioni teatrali di Antonio Salieri: Gli autographi* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2005), 310.

[18] Alessandra Palidda, "Milan 1790–1802: Music, Society and Politics in the City of Many Regimes" (PhD Thesis: Cardiff University, 2017), 62.

- 30 Violini
- 8 Viole
- 13a Violoncelli/Contrabassi/Bassi (di Ripieno)
- 2 Cembali
- 2 Flauti
- 6 Oboé/Clarinetti
- 2 Fagotti
- 4 Corni da caccia
- 4 Trombe (da caccia)
- 1 Timpani.

This list supports the hypothesis that Salieri's *Ballettmusik* corresponds with the 'Ballo Primo' of *Europa Riconosciuta*.[20] The instrumental forces align almost exactly, with just the 'Cembali' missing from the manuscript. Convention at La Scala dictated that the composer sat at the large harpsichord and directed the proceedings for, at least, the first three performances,[21] suggesting that it was entirely possible that Salieri played for this inaugural event, and therefore may not have needed music beyond this orchestral score. Furthermore, other known Salieri orchestral manuscripts follow a similar outline, so it is not unusual within the repertoire that harpsichord music or figured bass are absent from the source.

Much can be gleaned from the instrumental layout of the manuscript in question, regarding Salieri's potential compositional processes and the development of this music for the later production of *Tarare*. As can be seen from Table 1 and the autograph extract shown in Figure 1 (see Appendix), the only addition to the manuscript for this later production was the inclusion of clarinets—a seemingly quick fix by Salieri to take advantage of the woodwind forces available at the Paris Opéra.[22] These clarinets have been somewhat 'squeezed' into the manuscript, doubling the existing oboe staves in a practice reminiscent of Salieri's mentor, Gluck. Evidence within the manuscript that supports this later addition of clarinets is twofold; the placement of the instrument name within the stave and the lack of a dedicated stave for this clarinet line.

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[19] Kathleen Kuzmick Hansell, *Opera and Ballet at the Regio Ducal Teatro of Milan, 1771-1776: A Musical and Social History* (PhD Thesis: University of California, Berkeley, 1979), 245.

[20] A further in-depth study of these two manuscript sources and their potential uses within the inaugural season of La Scala, particularly in terms of the instrumental disparities, would provide an extremely interesting insight into compositional practices and orchestral forces at work during this period in Milan and beyond. Due to restrictions of both article scope and source access at this time, many of these assertions are based upon historical and scholarly evidence surrounding the sources, and so further assessment of the Milan manuscript would provide further clarity on this issue.

[21] Hansell, *Opera and Ballet at the Regio Ducal Teatro of Milan,* 252.

[22] By the time of *Tarare*, the clarinet would have been well established in Paris, as there is reference to clarinets being utilized as part of the orchestra at the Paris Opéra from the late-1740s onwards, as highlighted in: Colin Lawson, *Mozart: Clarinet Concerto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 6. https://doi-org.libaccess.hud.ac.uk/10.1017/CBO9781139166737

The first of these is most convincing, as the 'Oboe' denotation is included in the centre of the stave, typical of Salieri's practice when outlining his instrumental forces at the start of a piece of music and showing the clear intention of that particular line being for the oboes within the original manuscript purpose. In contrast, the accompanying 'Clarinetti' denotation is rather squashed above, written as 'Clarinetti ed Oboe' to distinguish that this two-instrument line is to be doubled by both instruments. However, there is some overlap of this 'Clarinetti ed' with the already existing 'Oboe', indicating that this was a later addition by Salieri, an assumption that is supported by the composer's use of a single stave for both woodwind instruments. Generally, in Salieri's instrumental manuscripts each separate instrument receives its own stave regardless of whether it is doubling another instrument or not, providing a clear layout that is easy for both composer and performer to follow, if necessary. This 'Andante Maestoso' movement exemplifies this through its 'Flauti' and 'Oboe' lines, as both follow the same melodic line for a significant portion of the movement. The fact that this is not adhered to across the orchestral forces within the movement is indicative that there were changes to this music for a new musical centre and purpose, as explored in the case of the clarinet.

However, the manuscript also features a 'Trombe e Corni in E-flat' stave, once again using two doubling instruments in a way that is unusual in Salieri's instrumental works. In this case, it is believed that the two instruments are present in both *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Tarare*, as not only were horns and trumpets fairly staple instruments in dramatic music by the time of the 1770s, but the written assignment of the two to their stave is in what appears to be the same ink and spaced as if written as one instruction. Furthermore, there are some interesting changes to the top three staves of the manuscript that are anomalous within the repertoire. All three have been crossed out and re-assigned in terms of instrumentation; this is to be assumed to have taken place prior to the music's premiere as part of *Europa Riconosciuta*, the reasonings for which will now be discussed.

If taking the instrumentation crossed out within page 38 of *Ballettmusik*, the manuscript would read 'Trombe – Corni – Flauto – Oboe – Violini – Viole – Fagotti – Timpani – Basso'. Apart from the timpani, which appears here to have replaced the regular cello line, this is the standard layout of many of Salieri's instrumental manuscripts, indicating that these were the general orchestral forces available to the composer at home in Vienna. The dating of this manuscript to 1778 provides further context for these other manuscripts; we can assume that many of the works housed in the ÖNB are from this period. It is important to note that the inclusion of both flute and viola lines does not mean that they were always utilized; in many of Salieri's other instrumental compositions these lines are present, but often labelled 'tacet'. This raises a number of important questions as to the Viennese orchestral layout and Salieri's own compositional process. Parodi has stated that the lack of flutes in the Milan scribal copy is 'exceptional in Salieri's compositions … [and would] explain why the music for flutes in the autograph version conserved in Vienna is clearly an addition'.[23] From the evidence supplied by other Salieri manuscripts, it can be argued that it is actually not exceptional that there is a lack of flutes in the Milan score, but rather that there is a presence of flutes in Salieri's autograph manuscript. Most interesting is the fact that these lines are fully developed within the music, alongside completed viola lines. This would indicate that Salieri was, at least, expecting to have a full complement of orchestral forces at his disposal in Milan, whether or not this actually came to fruition in performance. This is further supported by the orchestral layout as highlighted by Verri. It seems clear that these orchestral changes at the top of the manuscript, from the standard 'Trombe – Corni – Flauto' to 'Trombe e Corni in E-flat – Flauti' were an initial addition to the ballet's music. The 'Flauti' lines are clear and established, with little to no signs of the extensive revising and re-translating that would be necessary to change from an original horn stave. Further evidence to support this is the clear inclusion of a key signature at the start of the flute staves, both in line with those of the rest of the orchestra and not squashed into a space that was not originally meant for them. When surveying all of this evidence, it seems to be clear that Salieri would likely have written his orchestral outline as standard onto manuscript paper ahead of time, and, in this case, decided to change the forces used when composing for a new musical centre at a much later date, for a performance of *Tarare*.

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[23] Parodi, "Preliminary Observations," 275.

Instrumentation in the Overtures of Milan and Vienna

A similar assessment of the orchestral changes between the overtures of *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Cesare in Farmacusa* can also be undertaken. In contrast to the use of ballet music for two productions outside of Vienna, Salieri makes use of the overture to *Europa Riconosciuta* almost twenty years later in his 'home' city, for a work at the very end of his active operatic career. It is well known that Salieri dedicated the last twenty-five years of his life to the revision of existing works, so this recycling of music and its placement within the compositional timeline is particularly interesting. *Cesare in Farmacusa*— a dramma eroicomico that premiered in 1800 and was regarded in part by some as a masterpiece[24]—is right on the cusp of Salieri's original and revisionist periods, providing further context for the possible reasons behind this musical recycling. Both this overture and the 'ballo primo' that was used in a later production of *Tarare* fall within the remit of Salieri's semi-retirement, in the sense that he composed little to no new music from 1800-1825. Parodi highlights that, in the reuse of this overture, Salieri demonstrates a conviction of relevance of the music and its material in its new context,[25] which is an important perspective to remember in the assessment of both cases of musical recycling showcased in this study. The use of the same overture material for *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Cesare in Farmacusa* follows many of the same conventions as that of the 'ballo primo', with similarities in dramatic setting and revisions to instrumentation that reflects the changing centre of performance.

Once again, instrumentation plays an important role in the understanding of the revision and recontextualization of this music for *Cesare in Farmacusa*. Furthermore, the original instrumentation for the overture of *Europa Riconosciuta* can serve as supporting evidence in the ambiguous case of the opera's 'ballo primo'. The orchestration of *Europa Riconosciuta*—outlined in Table 2—the same as in Salieri's 1778 *Ballettmusik* score, with separate flute and oboe parts, and an absence of clarinets. The fact that there are now two separate sources that follow this orchestral layout—one an autograph and the other a scribal copy[26]—further supports the view that Salieri was composing for such an ensemble as documented by Verri in his account of the inaugural La Scala performance.

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[24] Rice, *Antonio Salieri and Viennese Opera,* 585.

[25] Elena Biggi Parodi, "Un caso emblematico della convergenza dei generi: la sinfonia d'introduzione di *Europa Riconosciuta* (Milano, 1778) riutilizzata in *Cesare in Farmcusa* (Vienna, 1800), quale luogo di sperimentazione della corrispondenza fra musica e gesto," in Rudolph Angermüller and Elena Biggi Parodi, *Antonio Salieri (1750-1825) e il teatro musicale a Vienna: convenzioni, innovazioni, contaminazioni stilistiche* (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2012), 118.

Europa Riconsciuta	***Cesare in Farmacusa***
Trumpet in G I+II	Trumpet in D I+II
Horn in G I+II	Horn in D I+II
Flute I+II	Flute I+II
Oboe I+II	Oboe I+II
Violin I+II	Clarinet in A I+II
Viola	Violin I+II
Bassoon	Viola
‘Cello	Bassoon
Basso	Timpani
	‘Cello
	Bassi

Table 2: Instrumental forces in the overtures of *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Cesare in Farmacusa*.[27]

The source that forms the basis of assessment for the *Europa Riconosciuta* overture is a scribal copy (A-Wn: 17836)[28] held in the ÖNB and thought to have originated in Milan in 1778, as identified by both the online catalogue entry for the source and its opening title page. Further supporting this conclusion is the referral from the La Scala archives to the ÖNB for the opera score, presumably assimilated as part of the large collection of Salieri manuscripts held in Vienna. All of these elements, when placed alongside each other, point to the source A-Wn: 17836 being that of the original scribal copy of the opera. When assessing the manuscript itself, there are clear contrasts with that of *Ballettmusik*—in terms of the type of paper used, scribal hand, and musical organisation—that set it apart from Salieri's autograph compositional process. A-Wn: 17836 is extremely clear in its notation; there are no scribbles, scrubbing out, or sheets glued together to disguise errors or altered sections of music. As a result, we can infer that this source was used either as the performance copy or as a commemorative score for the inaugural operatic event of 1778: the title page, shown in Figure 2 (see Appendix), is extremely florid, with a border of cherubs, mermaids, and even sections of the overture featured in miniature scrolls. This is a marked contrast to Salieri's autographs, which often omit a title page. As a result, the authority of this source as a clear scribal copy that was likely written for a purpose within the inaugural performances of 1778 at La Scala can help to inform our understanding of its much rougher counterpart, Salieri's *Ballettmusik* manuscript.

In contrast to the instrumentation of *Europa Riconosciuta*, the later iteration of this ‘Tempesta di Mare' for *Cesare in Farmacusa* employs a larger ensemble, with additional clarinets and timpani. As in *Tarare*, clarinets appear to be the main development in Salieri's orchestral palate. As already seen, timpani did feature in *Europa Riconosciuta*'s 'Ballo Primo', and Salieri is known for his particularly imaginative and attentive writing for the instrument in other operas of this earlier period.[29] In the case of Vienna, clarinets were a common orchestral instrument, featuring in operas since the 1780s, so it is no surprise that Salieri should have included them in his re-orchestration of this overture in 1800. *Cesare in Farmacusa* is one of a trio of Salieri operas that premiered at the turn of the century, sandwiched between his gender-progressive works *Falstaff, ossia Le tre burle* (1799) and *L'Angiolina ossia Il matrimonio per Susurro* (1800). All three premiered at the Kärntnertortheater and all three featured two clarinets in A.

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[26] Both sources are housed in the ÖNB.

[27] Antonio Salieri, *Europa Riconosciuta*, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus.Hs.17836/1 (A-Wn: 17836). Antonio Salieri, *Cesare in Farmacusa*, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus.Hs.16513/1 (A-Wn: 16513).

[28] Reference to the contents of this score throughout this short section will use the library sigla for the manuscript to avoid confusion, as there are multiple versions of the *Europa Riconosciuta* score held at the ÖNB.

Despite the first known appearance in Vienna of clarinettists Anton and Johann Stadler being in 1773,[30] there is little evidence to suggest that the clarinet was widely available in Viennese orchestras during that time—little evidence in Salieri's wider repertoire from this period, at least. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to speculate that, by the turn of the nineteenth century, clarinets had become a staple instrument in the orchestra of the Kärntnertortheater, resulting in their inclusion in Salieri's operatic ventures at that time. If we look beyond the clarinets to the rest of the orchestra featured in the sinfonias of these two other Kärntnertortheater productions, it becomes clear that Salieri's orchestral expansions for *Cesare in Farmacusa* were in response to the orchestral forces available in Vienna. All three opera overtures are written for the instrumentation featured in Table 2: the only difference is that in the scores for both *Falstaff*[31] and *L'Angiolina*[32] the 'cello and basso are not written on separate lines. A most important consideration, however, is that all the wind and brass instruments are universally present across these three scores, indicating that the orchestral forces in Vienna had developed to include both trumpets and clarinets as a standard instrument by this point. This further supports the view that Salieri was composing in a pragmatic style that was dependent upon the resources available and the musical tastes of those who commissioned his works and his royal benefactors.

Dramatic Connections

As a composer for opera and other dramatic musical settings, Salieri was very much narrative-focussed when it came to his compositions and collaborated with a wide range of librettists throughout his career. This is particularly pertinent to this study of his musical recycling in *Europa Riconosciuta, Tarare*, and *Cesare in Farmacusa*—the narrative connections between the subjects can provide further insight to the potential reasonings for this atypical reuse of both overture and ballet music. McClymonds has noted that Salieri's 'musical forms are highly individualized and well suited to the dramatic situation … He is skilled at musical characterization and programmatic imagery.'[33] It is the synthesis of these elements that allows for such effective reprogramming of this music for both *Tarare* and *Cesare in Farmacusa* respectively, as the musical interpretations that first found a home in *Europa Riconosciuta* were applied to specific dramatic narrative elements that were shared with these later works. Whilst utilising these 'highly individualized' musical forms, Salieri was also exercising economic compositional processes. Recycling his own music for use in a similar narrative setting would not only have saved Salieri a significant portion of time but would also have showcased the music to a wider audience that it otherwise may not have reached.

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[29] David Charlton, "Salieri's Timpani," *The Musical Times*, 112 (October 1971), 962. http://www.jstor.com/stable/955039.

[30] Lawson, *Mozart: Clarinet Concerto*, 4.

[31] Antonio Salieri, *Falstaff, ossia le tre burle: Opera comica in due atti.*, Vienna Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus.Hs.16191 (A-Wn: 16191).

[32] *Angiolina*, Dresden Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Mus.3796-F-500 (D-Dl: 3796-F-500).

[33] Marita Petzoldt McClymonds, "Salieri and the Franco-Italian Synthesis: *Armida* and *Europa Riconosciuta*," in *Antonio Salieri (1750-1825) e il teatro musicale a Vienna: convenzioni, innovazioni, contaminazioni stilistiche. Convegno*

Before diving deeper into these specific narrative links, attention will first be given to the idea of a pragmatic recycling of music for reasons of time management. Both *Tarare* and *Cesare in Farmacusa* were composed during busy periods of Salieri's compositional career. The former was written during his Paris sojourn of 1786–1788, with later revisions taking place during a time when original composition had all but ceased. The latter was one of three operas premiered in the space of a year. If Salieri was trying to save some time in the compositional process—and searching for the operatic success for he is so well-remembered today—then it is not inconceivable that he would turn to existing music in his repertoire. This also raises further questions as to other instrumental manuscripts of unknown origin within Salieri's oeuvre—held in the ÖNB—that are beyond the scope of this article; further study of potential cases of 'stock' music or recycled materials within the Salieri repertoire may produce some interesting results.

The Symphonic Overture

In the assessment of Salieri's musical recycling as a response to narrative similarities, we shall first turn to the case of the symphonic overture in both *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Cesare in Farmacusa*. The most conspicuous narrative link between the two operas is the description of a 'Tempesta di Mare' above the start of each overture. Translated as 'Sea Storm', this immediately creates a distinct setting for the drama that is extremely atmospheric within the opening scenes of both productions. The turbulent nature of the storm is evoked through the use of fast-paced tremolos, rising and falling semiquaver movement, and the juxtaposition of forte and piano sections within the music that often is accompanied by a reduction or expansion of the texture. No doubt this musical evocation of the storm was a reflection of Salieri's collaboration with librettist Mattia Verazi in Milan. Known for his incorporation of both ballet and pantomime into operas at numerous points in the narrative (a practice that pushed the envelope of the eighteenth century opera beyond its usual conventions), Verazi also inserted footnotes pertaining to actions, gestures and musical events into his librettos, exercising a larger amount of control over the direction of the work than was usual in the eighteenth century.[34] In this way, he was similar to Salieri's *Tarare* collaborator Beaumarchais, who will be considered later in this article. There is no doubting that the resulting overture for *Europa Riconosciuta* was effective in its dramatic evocations, and perhaps this close collaboration and tight direction from his librettist in 1778 led Salieri to create music that he felt would be just as effective in his later work for a Viennese

Internazionale di Studi, Legnano 18–20 aprile 2000, eds. Rudolph Angermüller and Elena Biggi Parodi, (Lucca: Libreria Musicale Italiana, 2012), 87.

[34] Rice, *Salieri and Viennese Opera*, 259.

audience. This detail is showcased in the original libretto for *Europa Riconosciuta*, in which Verazi sets the scene for the action that will accompany the overture:

> Deserta spiaggia di mare. Selva da un lato: rupi dall' altro; fra le quali sterpi, cespugli, e ferpeggianti edere adombran l'ingresso d' un'oscura, e profonda caverna. Tempesta con lampi, tuoni, pioggia, sibilo di venti, e fragor di sconvolti flutti. (1) Durante la medesima si vede in lontananza numerosa flotta di legni. Alcuni sommergonsi miseramente nell' onde; altri si perdono affatto di vista. Da un lacero vascello, che viene impetuosamente ad urtar contro il lido, sortono…
> *Asterio, Europa, e un picciolo fanciullo, con varie donzelle seguaci d' Europa, ed alcuni guerrieri Cretensi*[35]

> Deserted beach of the sea. Forest on one side: cliffs on the other; among which brushwood, bushes, and ferny ivy overshadow the entrance to a dark, deep cavern. Storm with lightning, thunder, rain, whistling winds, and roar of angry waves. (1) During the storm a large fleet of ships is seen in the distance. Some of them sink miserably in the waves, others are lost from sight. From a ragged vessel, which is impetuously crashing against the shore, emerges…
> *Asterio, Europa, and a small child, with various maidens, followers of Europa, and some Cretan warriors.*

Here, the audience is immediately invested in the characters' plight and their surroundings, as laid out so meticulously by Verazi. From assessing these overtures and their libretto side by side, it is clear that Salieri chose for the musical focus to be on the storm and subsequent shipwrecks. These are the connecting features between the two operas, and arguably provide opening scenes that transcend the genre disparities of *Europa Riconosciuta*'s opera seria and *Cesare in Farmacusa*'s dramma eroicomico. As already mentioned, Salieri was concerned with creating works that portrayed the dramatic narrative, and so issues of genre were of no concern when finding plausible links for the recycling of effective musical material. *Cesare in Farmacusa* also features an opening scene description, and despite it being less evocative in style and more focussed on narrative outline, it lays out, in the words of librettist Prospero de Franceschi, the programmatic 'Tempesta di Mare':

> Veduta di mare. Durante la sinfonia, si vede il mare in burrasca, si scorgono varie navi, che lottano colle onde. Sulle navi si trovano Medistone, Nicanore, ed altri Pirati, i quali pur finalmente approdano, assistiti da Termuti e suo seguito dalla parte dell'Isola. Durate la scena, si conducono successivamente a terra sopra varj battelli parecchi Prigionieri Romani, fra' quali Cesare, come pure d'altre Nazioni, da essi battelli si vedranno pure scaricare varie case, forzieri, involti ec., che formano parte della preda[36]

> View of the sea. During the symphony the sea is seen to be in a storm, and various ships are seen struggling with the waves. On the ships are Medistone, Nicanore, and other pirates, who finally land, assisted by Termuti and his retinue on the side of the island. During the course of the scene, several Roman

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[35] Mattia Verazi, *Europa Riconosciuta: Il libretto originale dell'opera di Salieri e Verazi in edizione facsimile per la riapertura del Teatro alla Scala 7 dicembre 2004* (Milano: Ricordi, 2004), 15.

[36] Parodi, *Catalogo tematico,* 154.

> prisoners, including Caesar, as well as prisoners of other nations, are taken ashore in various boats, from which various houses, chests, wrappings, etc., forming part of the booty, are also unloaded.

In the evocation of this 'Tempesta', there are some revisions to the music for *Cesare in Farmacusa*, which results in a more densely textured overture that really emphasizes the churning nature of the sea and the rising winds of the storm. In particular, Salieri utilizes the wind instruments in an increased capacity, perhaps reflecting their growing importance and place of the section in the orchestra at the turn of the nineteenth century. There are a number of particularly effective upwards glissandi-style runs in the flute and oboes that mimic the rising winds. In *Europa Riconosciuta*, these runs are solely the charge of the violin IIs and bassi, offsetting the forward-pushing, syncopated crotchet rhythms of the rest of the unison orchestra (Figure 3). By contrast, *Cesare in Farmacusa* utilizes the upper strings and woodwind in imitation to further emphasize the whirling nature of the storm, and create a heightened sense of movement and panic within the music (Figure 4). Salieri manipulates the musical texture to serve the narrative purpose; these moments in *Cesare in Farmacusa*'s overture are perhaps some of Salieri's earliest known additions as part of his revisionist period (1800–1825).

Tarare and *Europa Riconosciuta* present another case of narrative similarities at the two points that employ the performance direction 'Andante Maestoso'. As mentioned previously, Verazi was as meticulous with his ballet narrative—and its connection to the musical movements that it accompanied—as he was with his overture. For the purpose of this article, however, the focus shall be on its opening movement. It is most interesting that the narrative of the inaugural 'Ballo Primo' at La Scala is directly tied to that of the wider opera: this was not conventional during the period and further exemplifies Verazi and Salieri's 'path-breaking techniques'[37] employed for such an esteemed event. Customary Milanese practices dictated that a contrasting subject should interject the first and second acts of opera,[38] but in the case of *Europa Riconosciuta* the ballet is incorporated into the drama, presenting a micro-narrative within the wider setting of Cyprus and its prisoners.

As noted previously, a significant point in the featured marginalia on page 38 of *Ballettmusik* is the directive: 'The slaves are led into the arena'. At this point in the narrative, the slaves are being gathered for sacrifice, and the ensuing action is continued in the ballet, realised musically and through movement. An overview of this balletic narrative is provided by Parodi:

> At this point, the events of the opera find their continuation in the Ballo primo … The prisoners of Cyprus are led to the arena, where the valorous Pafio offers to fight against the ferocious beast to save the others. Heedless of the danger, Mirra, his faithful companion, comes to his aid. At the sight of the couple's heroic courage, the spectators force the custodians to help them and stop the sacrifice.
>
> The couple's heroism spurs the populace of Tiro to rise up and kill the ferocious lion, so that the sacrifice necessary to fulfil Agenore's condition is

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[37] McClymonds, "Salieri and the Franco-Italian Synthesis," 77.

[38] Parodi, "Preliminary observations," 266.

> impeded: as a consequence, Asterio's fate, at the beginning of the second act, is still uncertain[39]

If we compare this setting to that of the narrative of *Tarare*, it is this 'Andante Maestoso' movement that provides the most convincing connection, dramatically, between the two opera settings. For *Tarare'*s original 1787 production in Paris, Salieri worked with librettist Beaumarchais, who was infamous for his creative control and insistence on the precedence of the plot above all else. Beaumarchais, grateful for Salieri's cooperation and kinship in their operatic endeavour, dedicated the libretto to him, stating: 'My friend, I dedicate my work to you because it has become yours… when your modesty makes you say to everyone that you are only my musician, I, for my part, am honored [sic] to be your poet, your servant, and your friend.'[40] This original production was a total success in Paris, and led to Salieri creating an Italian version, *Axur re d'Ormus* (1788), with Lorenzo Da Ponte, and much later in his career revising the work further for a revival at the Académie Royale de Musique in 1819. Once again, this highlights Salieri's growing penchant for the revision and recycling of works, both in musical and narrative terms, for the progression of dramatic possibility in various European centres.

It is believed that the 'Andante Maestoso' was reworked for use in this 1819 production—well into Salieri's revisionist period—for the march of the priests at the opening of the third act.[41] Once again, narrative context is important in the understanding of Salieri's approach to this musical recycling, as there is the link of ceremonial importance and processions between the use of the movement in both *Europa Riconosciuta* and *Tarare*. In 1778, Salieri used the split common time signature and expansive opening chords to evoke slaves being led into an arena for a ceremonial slaughter, whereas in 1819 the music accompanied a rather contrasting image of marching priests, some of the most respected members of an ancient, empirical community. Evidence supporting this later recycling of the music beyond the initial Beaumarchais production can be found in a letter dated September 1818, from Salieri to the director of the Académie Royale de Musique, Louis-Luc Loiseau de Persuis, which outlines many of the changes and updates undertaken by the composer and particularly references the music in question at its close:

> P.S Vous trouverez entr'autres plus petits, deux morceaux instrumentals ajoutés aux changemens, un pour le moment qu'on illumine le jardin, l'autre pour la rentré des Pretres au 3me Acte, je vous prie de faire particulierement celui de l'illumination, qu'on le conserve tel que je l'ai compose parce que j'espere qu'il faira un tres bon effet.[42]
>
> P.S You will find among other smaller pieces, two instrumental pieces added to the changes, one for the moment when the garden is illuminated, the other for

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[39] Parodi, "Preliminary observations," 268.

[40] John Rice, "Salieri, Beaumarchais, and *Tarare*." Liner notes for *Tarare [Opera]*, by Antonio Salier. Dubois, Deshayes, Bou, Centre de Musique Baroque de Versailles Choir, Les Talens Lyriques, Rousset. Aparte B07QVNKMZW, 2019, compact disc. 40.

[41] Parodi, "Preliminary Observations," 272.

[42] Rudolph Angermüller, *Antonio Salieri: Dokumente seines Lebens unter Berücksichtigung von Musik, Literatur, Bildender Kunst, Architektur, Religion, Philosophie, Erziehung, Geschichte, Wissenschaft, Technik, Wirtschaft und täglichem Leben seiner Zeit, Band III: 1808-2000* (Berlin: K. H. Bock, 2000), 176.

> the return of the Priests in the 3rd Act, I beg you to do especially the one for the illumination, that it be kept as I have composed it because I hope that it will have very good effect.

Salieri's use of the term '3me Acte' here connects the 'Andante Maestoso' score as that which was contained within the enclosed documents of his letter of 1818, as it corresponds exactly with the new heading that is seen to have replaced 'Ballo Primo'. Particularly interesting is Salieri's request to keep the music as composed due to the hope that it will have 'very good effect'.[43] This final statement by the composer echoes Parodi's sentiment discussed earlier in this article, that Salieri was repurposing music that he found to be particularly relevant to newer works, rather than composing fresh, yet similar movements for these moments. Once again, this speaks to the economical approach that Salieri took towards his later operatic works, as well as his commitment as a composer to the functionality of the music in relation to the drama it was accompanying: the use of existing music in both *Tarare* and *Cesare in Farmacusa* highlight that Salieri was not opposed to 'repeating outfits' for his operas. Rather than ensuring that every work had an entirely new score, regardless of its relevance or suitability to the plot, it mattered more that the music functioned within the context of the libretto and the dramatic direction of a new production as a whole.

Recycling & Revisionism

To conclude, the specific cases of musical recycling discussed throughout this article showcase Salieri's revisionist period in action. It is a well-established fact that for the last twenty-five years of his life, Salieri spent most of his time revising older works, however little has been said on the subject. This article has built upon the foundations laid by Parodi, and further explored the musical, dramatic, and contextual influences upon this recycling undertaken by one of the central figures in European musical life. The fact that Salieri repurposed music from his 1778 opera *Europa Riconosciuta* in two further works, *Cesare in Farmacusa* (1800) and *Tarare* (revised 1819), speaks to the importance that he placed upon this music in terms of his own career as a composer. *Europa Riconosciuta* did not have a particularly spectacular reception, with contemporary accounts focussing much more on the spectacle of the event than the music, however Salieri still held enough stock in his compositions to develop them for further instances of 'Tempesta di Mare' and ceremonial processions in his dramatic works. Thus far, these are the only known cases of musical recycling in Salieri's instrumental oeuvre, and the flexibility shown by him in terms of re-orchestration and re-contextualisation speaks to the mind of a composer with a wealth of experience in professional theatrical settings. Dramatic effect and the utilization of performers was at the forefront of his priorities, as shown throughout the appraisal of both instrumental and dramatic developments in this article. Furthermore, through the assessment of a single page[44] of one of Salieri's autograph manuscripts, information has been explored in depth that pertains to dramatic purpose, compositional date, performance location, and changes in orchestration. This speaks volumes to the importance of close manuscript study of composers during this period, and has further illuminated our understanding of Salieri's practices towards instrumental composition, an area which has been much neglected in wider scholarship of both his oeuvre and the narrative of eighteenth-century Viennese musical life. What would now be interesting to see in further study of this repertoire is whether there are any other cases of musical recycling within Salieri's own repertoire and beyond, in the wider spheres of eighteenth-century operatic and instrumental music.

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[43] This comment was made in relation to the music for a scene outside of the remit of this study, that of the garden illumination. As such, little is understood of the music itself and so this cannot be commented on. However, the statement still speaks volumes to Salieri's involvement in the dramatic framing of his operatic works and his own understanding of the purpose and effect of music upon the libretto and scenic impact within productions.

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[44] A-Wn: 3762, 38.

Appendix

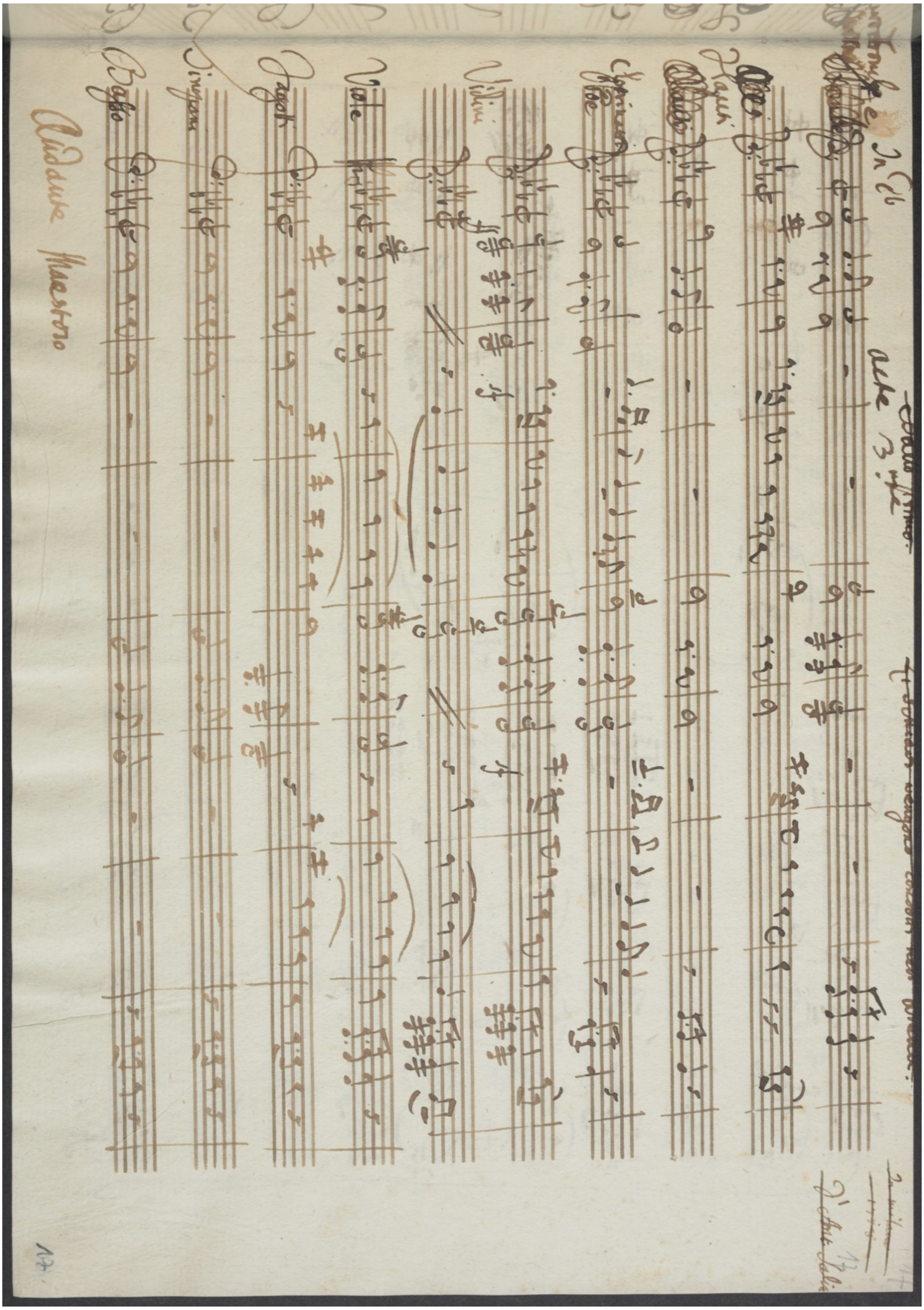

Figure 1: Antonio Salieri, *Ballettmusik*, page 38. [45]

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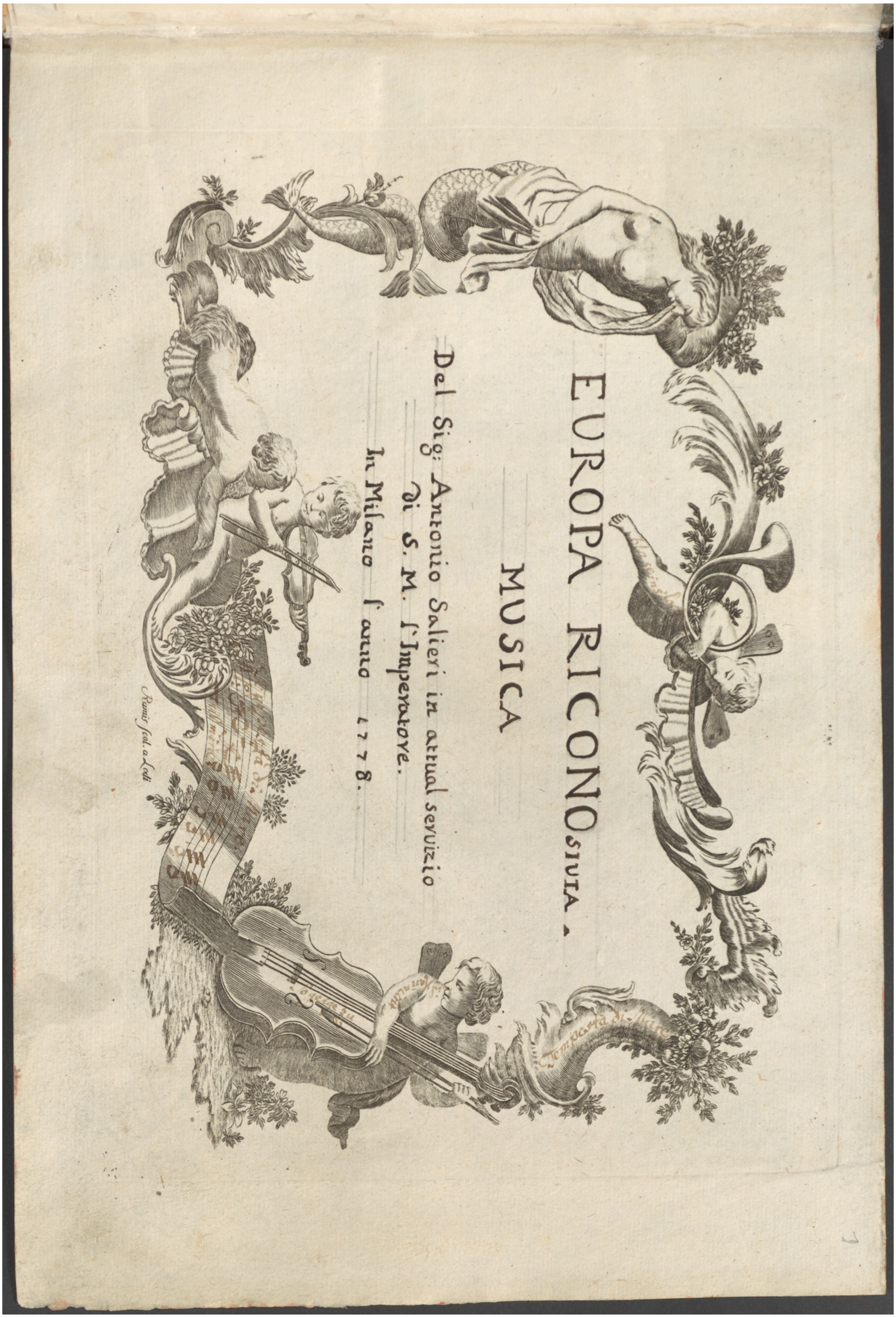
[45] A-Wn: 3762, page 38. ÖNB Vienna + signatures.



EUROPA RICONOSCIUTA.
MUSICA
Del Sig.r Antonio Salieri in attual servizio
di S. M. l'Imperatore.
In Milano l'anno 1778.

Ramis scol. a Lodi

Figure 2: Title page from *Europa Riconosciuta*.[46]

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[46] A-Wn: 17836. ÖNB Vienna + signatures.

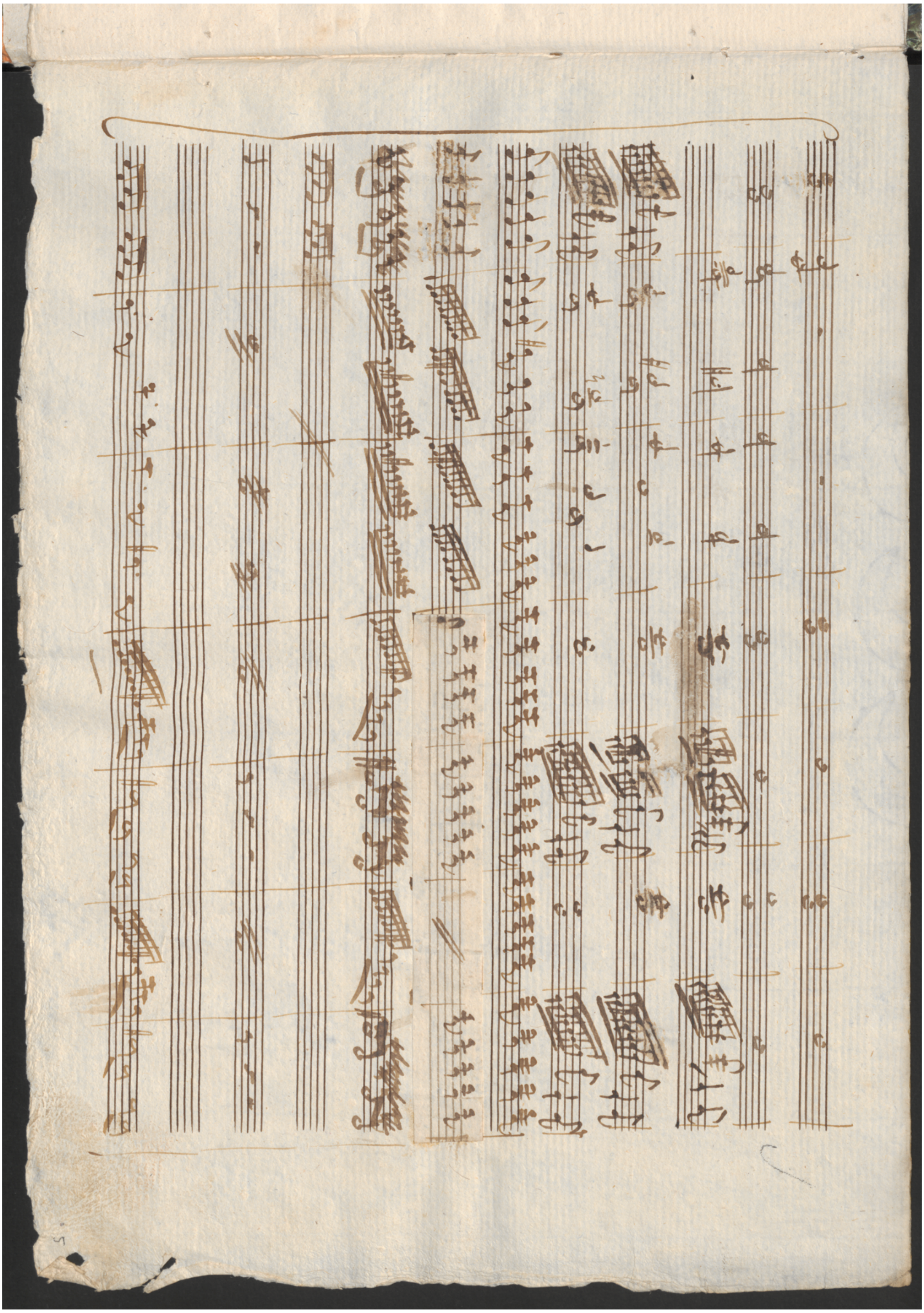

Figure 3: *Cesare in Farmacusa*, 'Tempeste di Mare,' bars 46–52.[47]

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[47] A-Wn: 16513, 5r. ÖNB Vienna + signatures.

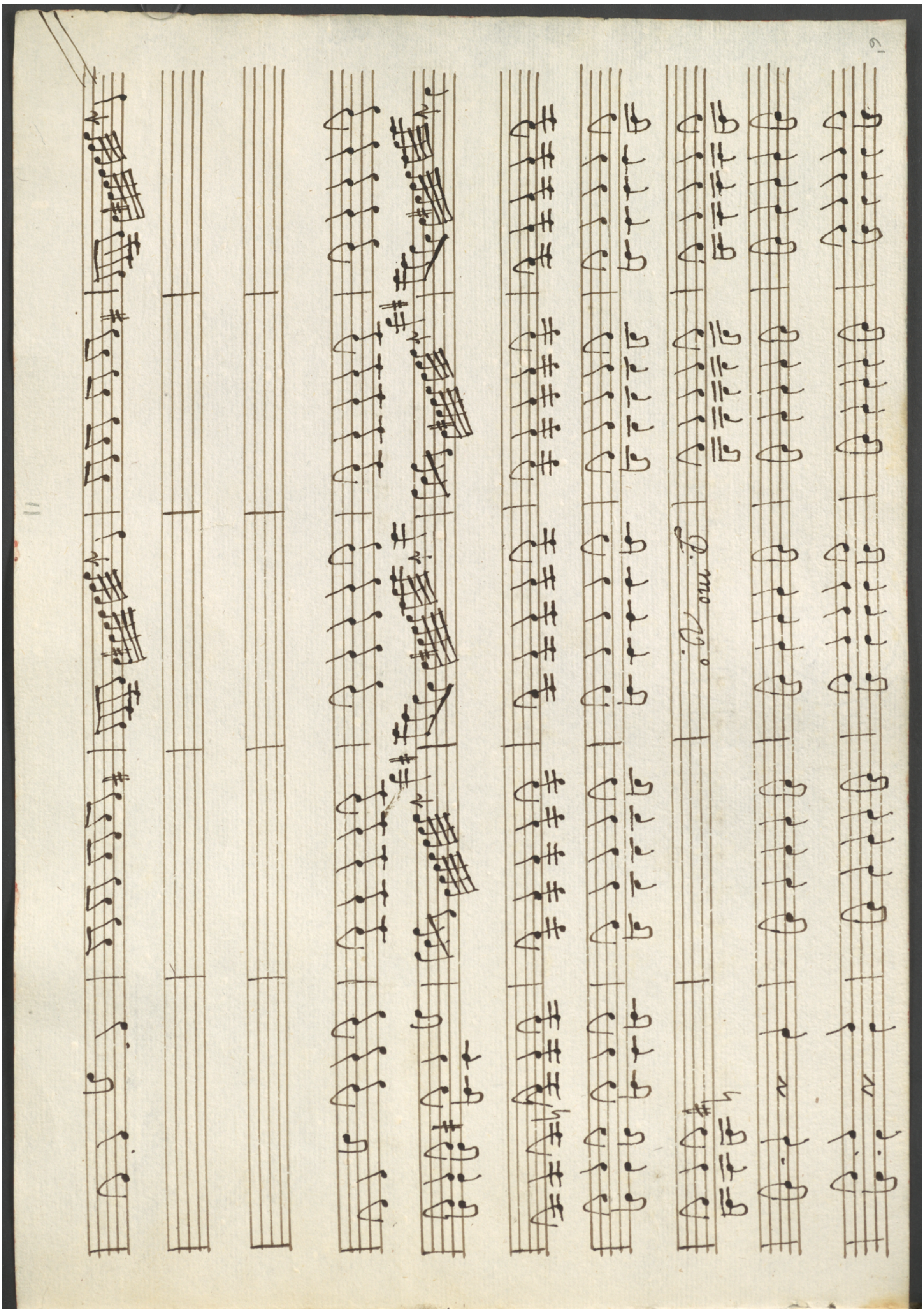

Figure 4: *Europa Riconosciuta,* 'Tempesta di Mare,' bars 48–52.[48]

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[48] A-Wn: 17836, 6v. ÖNB Vienna + signatures.

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‘1910’: Ethel Smyth’s Unsung Suffrage Song

Hannah Millington

Introduction

Dame Ethel Smyth (1858–1944) was an English composer, writer, and social activist.[1] She was born into a military family—her father being a General Major in the Royal Artillery—and was educated at home until the age of fourteen. In 1870, one of Smyth’s governesses ignited her desire to study music more formally and she spent the next seven years persuading her father to allow her to attend the Leipzig Conservatory.[2] Once in Germany she met composers such as Clara Schumann, Brahms, Grieg and Tchaikovsky, and formed connections that would last her lifetime. Her decision to study abroad was to have a significant impact on her musical career, resulting in her being seen as an outsider in both England and Germany.[3] It also shaped her compositional style and the genres to which she gravitated, notably to opera, which she associated with Germany’s subsidised opera houses.[4] Indeed, though she composed a rich body of chamber works, piano pieces, and songs, it is for her six operatic works that she is most well-known. Her decision to turn her attention to this genre was partly influenced by the difficulty she had in securing further performances for her Mass in D (1891) after its premiere in 1893.[5] The English choral scene was difficult to penetrate and annual events, such as the Three Choirs Festival, were markedly male-dominated. Smyth’s contemporaries—notably Edward Elgar, Hubert Parry, Ralph Vaughan Williams, and Charles Villiers Stanford—were programmed alongside the likes of Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms.[6]

Smyth’s frustration with this ‘Inner Circle’ of composers prompted her to ask whether it was probable ‘that the Faculty would see any merit in a work [her Mass in D] written on such very different lines—written too by a woman who had actually gone off to Germany to learn her trade?’[7] She considered her sex and foreign education to be the primary factors behind her exclusion from the English choral scene. Sophie Fuller notes that Smyth’s determination to access the same performance spaces as her male contemporaries set her apart from many other women who were composing at the time. ‘Some women composers, such as [Adela] Maddison or [Maude Valérie] White sought alternatives to the mainstream Renaissance establishment', but Smyth was seemingly reluctant to accept anything but an equal platform.[8] Similarly to Maddison (1862–1929) and White (1855–1937), Ethel Barns (1873–1948) established a chamber concert series with her husband, Charles Phillips, at which she performed her own violin works.[9] She was also a member of the first committee of The Society of Women Musicians (SWM), established in 1911, which offered performance opportunities for women and provided a platform for composers to share their works.[10] Many of the SWM's members were both performers and composers, such as the society's first president, Liza Lehmann (1862–1918). A number of Smyth's contemporaries were members of the SWM, including Augusta Holmés (1847–1903), Cécile Chaminade (1857–1944), Dora Bright (1863–1951), and Adelina de Lara (1872–1961). Smyth was an intermittent member of the society during her career; Laura Seddon suggests that Smyth 'became disillusioned with the "ready-made" community of women musicians including the SWM composing groups'.[11] Her determination to access the same opportunities as her male contemporaries might have contributed to the disillusionment to which Seddon refers.

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[1] An earlier version of this article was presented at the Annual Plenary Conference of the Society for Musicology in Ireland, held jointly with the Irish Chapter of the International Council for Traditional Music in May 2021. I am grateful to Dr Róisín Blunnie and Professor Lorraine Byrne Bodley for reading earlier drafts and offering thoughtful suggestions and advice.

[2] Ethel Smyth, *Impressions That Remained* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1919), 1:85.

[3] For a detailed exploration of Smyth’s reception in England and Germany, see: Elizabeth Kertesz, “Issues in the critical reception of Ethel Smyth’s Mass and first four operas in England and Germany” (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Melbourne, 2001).

[4] Smyth expressed her views on opera in England throughout her career, most notably in her memoir *Streaks of Life* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1921). In *As Time Went On* (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1936) she recalls shifting her attention from England, where she had been trying to secure performances of her Mass in D, to Germany ‘and her hundred Opera Houses’ (49). Her first three operas—*Fantasio* (1892–94)*, Der Wald* (1899–1901), and *The Wreckers* (1902–4)—were premiered in Germany, but World War I disrupted the planned premiere of her fourth, *The Boatswain’s Mate* (1913–14).

[5] Dates of composition are taken from the list of works compiled by Jory Bennet in *The Memoirs of Ethel Smyth*, abridged and introduced by Ronald Crichton (London: Faber & Faber, 2008), 373–381.

[6] Anthony Boden and Paul Hedley, *The Three Choirs Festival: A History*, New and Revised Edition, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2017).

[7] Smyth, *As Time Went On*, 172–173.

Smyth's preoccupation with the women's suffrage movement also may have led to sporadic engagement with the society during its early years. Lady Constance Lytton, member of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), wrote to Smyth in 1910 to try and gauge her opinion on women's suffrage.[12] Smyth had recently been awarded an honorary doctorate from Durham University, which had further raised her public profile. Her initial response to Lytton was never sent, a fact for which the composer was likely grateful when she changed her stance on the issue. She was in Venice at the time and staying with the writer Hermann Bahr and his wife Anna Bahr-Mildenburg, a successful soprano.[13] Bahr expressed surprise at Smyth's 'confession of indifference tinged with distaste and […] ridicule' regarding the women's suffrage movement. He commented:

> the militant movement is the one really alive issue in England… perhaps in Europe, and your Mrs. Pankhurst is in my opinion the most astounding personality that even England—a country that is forever turning out new types of genius—has yet produced.[14]

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[8] Sophie Fuller, "Women composers during the British musical renaissance, 1880–1918" (unpublished doctoral thesis, King's College London, 1998), 138.

[9] Sophie Fuller, "Barns, Ethel," Grove Music Online, 2001, accessed August 9, 2021, https://doi-org.dcu.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.45629.

[10] For more information on The Society of Women Musicians and a number of Smyth's contemporaries, see: Laura Seddon, *British Women Composers and Instrumental Chamber Music in the Early Twentieth Century* (London: Ashgate, 2013), 57–74.

[11] Ibid., 90–91. Seddon explores Smyth's relationship with the Society of Women Musicians more closely in Chapter 4, "The Other Side of London's Musical Society: Adela Maddison, Ethel Smyth and Morfydd Owen," 75–115.

[12] Ethel Smyth, *Female Pipings in Eden*, second edn., (London: Peter Davies Ltd., 1934), 191.

[13] Anna Bahr-Mildenburg (1872–1947) was a successful soprano who came to the attention of the Hamburg Opera in 1895. After an impressive audition, Bernhard Pollini (1838–1897) cast her in a number of roles, including Brünnhilde in Wagner's *Die Walküre*. Her performance sparked a mutually fruitful working relationship with the company's conductor, Gustav Mahler, and Bahr-Mildenburg worked with the Hamburg Opera until 1916. See Desmond Shawe-Taylor, "Bahr-Mildenburg [née Mildenburg von Bellschau], Anna," Grove Music Online, 2001, accessed June 1, 2021, https://doi-org.dcu.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.01784

[14] Smyth, *Female Pipings*, 191.

Bahr's observation appeared to cause Smyth to reconsider her attitude towards the movement and she attended a WSPU meeting two weeks later, meeting Emmeline Pankhurst for the first time. In her essay collection *Female Pipings in Eden* (1934) Smyth remarked: 'Before a fortnight had passed it became evident to me that to keep out of the movement, to withhold any modicum it was possible to contribute to the cause, was as unthinkable as to drive art and politics in double harness'.[15] The question of how to combine art and politics was something that she seemed to grapple with. However, within the month, Smyth had settled her musical affairs and decided that she would give two years to the WSPU, after which she would return to composing.[16] It is evident from her reflections in *Female Pipings* that she felt that her career would need to put on hold while she contributed to the suffrage cause, yet many of the works that emerged from this period—including her *Songs of Sunrise* (1911) and *The Boatswain's Mate* (1913–14)—reflect her involvement with the suffrage cause and unify two facets of her life that she had considered incompatible.

Smyth's decision to join the WSPU has had a significant impact on how she has been portrayed in historical narratives. In April 1958, Sir Thomas Beecham gave a tribute to the composer to mark the centenary of her birth.[17] Here he recalled the now famous image of Smyth in 1912, leaning out of her cell window in Holloway prison and conducting her suffrage anthem 'The March of the Women' with a toothbrush as her fellow inmates processed around the quadrangle.[18] This image of Smyth—which encapsulates her identity as a militant suffragette—has more recently been immortalised by the sculptor Christine Charlesworth, further emphasising its prevalence in perceptions of Smyth's life.[19] This not only reinforces the significance of her service to the women's suffrage movement but also emphasises the importance of 'The March of the Women'. Indeed, it is rare to encounter an introduction to the composer that fails to mention this song, or her involvement with the movement more broadly.

The March, along with 'Laggard Dawn' and '1910', forms the *Songs of the Sunrise*, a collection that was published in 1911. Given their political link, these songs have helped to secure Smyth's place in suffrage history and have received attention in Smyth scholarship. However, researchers have tended to favour the first and third songs in the collection—'The March of the Women' and 'Laggard Dawn'—over the middle piece, '1910'. The March, with its overt dedication to and association with the WSPU has prompted discussion, and 'Laggard Dawn' has been combed for evidence of Smyth's feelings towards Emmeline

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[15] Smyth, *Female Pipings*, 192.

[16] Ibid., 191. Smyth spent closer to three years with the WSPU, having joined in November 1910 and left in the summer of 1913.

[17] Thomas Beecham's tribute was originally aired on the BBC Home Service *Music Magazine* show (*Radio Times* 139 no. 1797, April 18, 1958, 24) and appeared in print later the same year. See: "Dame Ethel Smyth (1858–1944)," *The Musical Times* 99, no. 1385 (1958), 363–365.

[18] Beecham, "Dame Ethel Smyth (1858–1944)," 364.

[19] For further details on this sculpture, which is due to be unveiled in 2021, see: "Dame Ethel Smyth," Christine Charlesworth, accessed June 20, 2021, http://www.christinecharlesworth.co.uk/news/dame-ethel-smyth/

Pankhurst, which some scholars believe to have been romantic in nature.[20] Markedly under-explored within the literature is '1910', a somewhat unconventional medley for which Smyth used a blend of remarks and a song quotation to create her own text.[21] In bringing this song to the fore, this article gives voice to Smyth's overshadowed song so that the suffrage trio may be heard anew. It provides a contextual overview of the piece and its premiere, exploring its critical reception and drawing attention to the response it received from the largely suffragist audience. It examines the nature of the song's text and its relationship to the melody, questioning whether Smyth's intentions in composing '1910' were the same as for 'Laggard Dawn' or 'The March of the Women'. Furthermore, in engaging with both historical and contemporary literature on the song, the article examines the potential reasons behind its neglect.

Songs of Sunrise at the Queen's Hall

'1910' was premiered along with 'Laggard Dawn' at a concert at the Queen's Hall in London on 1 April 1911. The final piece in *Songs of Sunrise*, 'The March of the Women', had been officially presented to the WSPU earlier that year at a meeting where Emmeline Pankhurst spoke of women who had 'come out and risked even their reputation' for the suffrage cause.[22] She named Smyth as one such individual, thanking her for the March and stating, 'no one could feel as deeply as I do the gratitude for her services to the women's cause'.[23] Smyth also conveyed her hopes for the song, remarking: 'If I have contrived to get into my music anything of the spirit which makes this movement the finest thing I have ever known in my life, then perhaps the March may in some way be worthy of your acceptance.'[24] Her comment indicates a desire to capture and musically express the atmosphere of the movement, which is pertinent to all three of the *Songs of Sunrise.*

Given the appreciation Smyth received for 'The March of the Women', it is unsurprising that her concert in April, with two additional suffrage songs, was eagerly anticipated by members of the WSPU. On the eve of the concert, *Votes for Women* announced that 'For the first time this movement—the greatest that the world has known—will be typified in music'.[25] The *Songs of Sunrise* appeared last in the varied programme of Smyth's works, which culminated in the March and gave audience members the opportunity to join in.[26] Due to the unexplained absence of Sir Thomas Beecham, who was due to conduct the concert, Smyth took to the podium and received a 'rousing welcome' of applause that 'increased rather than lessened' when she announced that she would be conducting.[27] While *Votes for Women* commended Smyth's presence on the podium, not all critics were convinced. *The Daily News* asserted that she 'does not really shine as a conductor', although they conceded that Smyth 'deserves to be ranked with the best of our British men composers'.[28]

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[20] See for example: Kathleen A. Abromeit, "Ethel Smyth, 'the Wreckers,' and Sir Thomas Beecham," *Musical Quarterly* 73, no. 2 (1989), 196–211; Rachel Lumsden, "'The Music Between Us': Ethel Smyth, Emmeline Pankhurst and 'Possession,'" *Feminist Studies* 41, no. 2 (2015), 335–70; Christopher Wiley, "Ethel Smyth, Suffrage, and Surrey: From Frimley Green to Hook Heath, Woking," *Women's History: The Journal of the Women's History Network*. Special Issue: 1918–2018. 2, no. 11 (2018), 11–18; Elizabeth Wood, "Women, Music, and Ethel Smyth: A Pathway in the Politics of Music," *The Massachusetts Review* 24, no. 1, Woman: The Arts 1 (1983), 125–139; Elizabeth Wood, "Performing Rights: A Sonography of Women's Suffrage," *The Musical Quarterly* 79, no. 4 (1995), 606–43.

[21] Elizabeth Wood briefly addresses '1910' in "Performing Rights: A Sonography of Women's Suffrage."

[22] "Stifled in Holloway," *Votes for Women*, January 27, 1911, 272. 'The March of the Women' was first presented on January 21, 1911, to celebrate the release of prisoners held at Holloway Prison. For further details about this event, including the full programme, see "The Prisoners' Welcome," *Votes for Women*, January 20, 1911, 254.

[23] "Stifled in Holloway," 272.

[24] Ibid.

[25] "Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc," *Votes for Women*, March 31, 1911, 427.

Gendered criticism such as this was not uncommon and it appears in many of the articles following the concert. *The Referee* felt that 'Sleepless Dreams', a setting of a sonnet by Rosetti, and 'Hey Nonny No!' were 'instinct with masculine outlook rarely evinced by women composers, but which pre-eminently distinguish the best of Miss Smyth's compositions', conveying the notion that women composers were considered successful if their music sounded like it had been composed by a man.[29] Conversely, *The Gloucester Journal* asserted that 'the more tender parts' of Smyth's otherwise 'wild and passionate music' had 'not quite the proper amount of sentiment'.[30] These contrasting viewpoints attest to the difficulty often faced by women composers, whose music was criticised from both sides. As Eugene Gates summarises: 'sexual aesthetics allowed critics to attribute both merits and shortcomings of a woman's compositions to her gender. It effected not only a double standard but a double bind.'[31] This criticism did not go unnoticed by Smyth, who remarked that 'there is no sex in art' but argued 'a critic's first and last thought in connection with her [a woman who practises art] work is her sex'.[32]

Smyth received praise elsewhere, highlighting her popularity with the public and indicating that her suffrage activity did not do her a disservice. In concert reviews she was described as 'the most considerable woman composer we have' and one who had 'achieved the great distinction, for a lady musician, of having an opera produced at Covent Garden'.[33] *The Hendon and Finchley Times* also celebrated her achievements, stating:

> Women generally must be grateful to Dr. Ethel Smyth for having removed a long-standing reproach from the sex! It has been told against us from all time that there has never been a great woman composer; woman may have been

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[26] "Dr. Ethel Smyth's Concert," *Votes for Women*, April 7, 1911, 443. The programme included excerpts from *The Wreckers*, including the opera's overture and introduction to Act II; the choral opening of *Der Wald*; 'Sleepless Dreams' (1910); 'Hey Nonny No!'; 'Ode Acacréonique' (1907); Benedictus from the Mass in D (1891); *Songs of Sunrise*. This list has been constructed from the following newspaper articles: "Miss Ethel Smyth at Queen's Hall," *The Referee*, April 2, 1911, 3; "Dr. Ethel Smyth's Concert," *The Westminster Gazette*, April 3, 1911, 14; : "Dr Ethel Smyth. Three New Suffragist Choruses," *London Daily News*, April 3, 1911, 7; "Dr. Ethel Smyth's Concert," *Votes for Women*, April 7, 1911, 443. When the concert was repeated on June 29, 1911, 'Odette' and 'Chrysilla' from the same song collection as 'Ode Acacréonique' were added to the programme. See: "Dr. Ethel Smyth's Concert," *Votes for Women*, July 7, 1911.

[27] "Dr. Ethel Smyth's Concert," *Votes for Women*, April 7, 1911, 443.

[28] "Three New Suffragist Choruses," *London Daily News*, April 3, 1911, 7.

[29] "Miss Ethel Smyth at Queen's Hall," *The Referee*, April 2, 1911, 3.

[30] "A Woman's Letter: Women Musicians," *The Gloucester Journal*, April 15, 1911, 7.

[31] Eugene Gates, "Damned If You Do and Damned If You Don't: Sexual Aesthetics and the Music of Dame Ethel Smyth," *The Journal of Aesthetic Education* 31, no. 1 (1997): 64.

[32] Smyth, *Streaks of Life*, 242.

[33] "Musical Notes," *The Falkirk Herald*, April 3, 1911, 3; "London Topics," *The Kilmarnock Herald and North Ayrshire Gazette*, April 7, 1911, 3.

> successful in other of the arts, we were told; but in music she had no place. Dr. Smyth has changed all that.[34]

These positive responses to Smyth's concert demonstrate that she was publicly well known and admired, and not just by the readership catered for by suffrage newspapers such as *Votes for Women*, *The Common Cause*, or *The Vote*, each of which provide valuable yet biased insights. Ultimately, the success of Smyth's concert in April prompted a repeat event in June 1911, conducted once again by the composer at the Queen's Hall.[35]

'1910': Inspiration and Reception

Many of the reviews of Smyth's concerts—in both April and June 1911—feature references to '1910', indicating that the song made a clear impression on Smyth's audiences. The piece is scored for SATB choir with optional orchestral accompaniment and was defined by Smyth as 'a faithful chronicle of remarks frequently heard and liable to repetition *ad lib.* on a current question'.[36] Each vocal part in the choir offers a different viewpoint on the suffrage movement, including that of suffragists, anti-suffragists, friendly men, and unfriendly men.[37] The fragmentary text (provided below) conveys an overarching message of defiance and triumph for the suffragettes, who laugh in the faces of their opponents.[38] In the final lines, Smyth makes reference to 'Nelly Bly', a minstrel song composed by Stephen Collins Foster in 1850.[39]

'1910' (Ethel Smyth)

Suffragists [S]: Sounds of the battle raging around us, up and defy them laugh in their faces!
Friendly Men [FM]: How they will knock you about, and yet as you say, this cause is worth a blow or two

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[34] "Ladies Column," *The Hendon and Finchley Times*, April 14, 1911, 8. The article also appeared in the "Ladies Column" of *The Midlothian Journal*, April 14, 1911, 2; *The Musselburgh News*, April 14, 1911, 4; *The Falkirk Herald*, 3 April 1911, 2; *The Faringdon Advertiser*, April 15, 1911, 2.

[35] "Dr Ethel Smyth's Concert," *Votes for Women*, June 2, 1911, 579. The concert took place on June 29 at the Queen's Hall, London.

[36] See the list of works compiled by Jory Bennet in *The Memoirs of Ethel Smyth*, abridged and introduced by Ronald Crichton (London: Faber & Faber, 2008), 378. Although Bennet mentions the optional orchestral accompaniment in the list of works, precise details are not given. The score published by Breitkopf & Härtel (see footnote 38) is for SATB choir and piano but states that the work is 'For mixed Chorus, with (or without) Band'.

[37] In *Votes for Women* (March 31, 1911, 427) the speakers are defined as 'Suffragist (S), Anti-Suffragist (A), Friendly Men (FM), and Unfriendly Men (UM)'. These are sung by soprano, alto, tenor, and bass respectively.

[38] Text transcribed from Ethel Smyth, *Songs of Sunrise Choral Group, No. 2, '1910', for female mixed Chorus, with (or without) Band* (London: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911). The lines are often sung against one another, and the voice parts do not rigidly adhere to their assigned 'roles'. The first phrase, for example, is sung by both soprano and alto despite expressing a suffragist sentiment. Thus, this transcription attempts to align the remarks with the four roles, rather than the four voice parts. Punctuation has been added to improve cohesion and ellipses have been used to indicate repetition, which is particularly common at the end of a phrase.

[39] Elizabeth Wood describes 'Nelly Bly' as a 'children's rhyme' (see: "Performing Rights: A Sonography of Women's Suffrage," *The Musical Quarterly* 79, no. 4, 1995: 623). However, Stephen Collins Foster (1826–1864) was a composer of minstrel songs and this piece can be seen to align with this genre. Smyth quotes directly from verse three of the song and mirrors Foster's text ('Nelly Bly, shuts her eye when she goes to sleep!') and melody, before creating her own ending. *Votes for Women* on March 31, 1911 reports an American audience member observing that Smyth's ending differs from the original (427).

S: This cause that we love, this cause that we serve, is worth a blow or two
FM/Unfriendly Men [UM]: Sounds of the battle raging. Hi! Stop them if you can, stop them, stop them, O stop them if you can.
UM: stop them, O stop them if you can
S: This cause that we love, this cause that we serve, it shall prevail as prevails the light
FM/UM: this cause that we serve, it shall prevail, is prevailing
FM: Sounds of the battle raging around us, gently ladies, gently ladies. Why this violence?
UM: Sounds of the battle raging around us, come move on please, come move on
S: But the vow! We vowed to obey, we vowed to obey, honour, love
Anti-Suffragists [A]: What of the vow to obey! We vowed to obey, we vowed to obey honour, love
FM: You vowed to obey us
UM: You vowed to obey, you vowed to obey, I know Mrs Humphrey Ward. You vowed to obey…
All: This cause that we love, this cause that we serve, is worth a blow or two
FM/UM: Stopping the traffic, stopping the traffic
S: Try again, try again, on to the goal!
FM/UM: They are putting back the cause, they are putting it back for years
S: Patience, patience
S: This cause we love will surely prevail as sure as sun doth rise!
FM/UM: I fear they will get it, I fear they will get it
All: We know we shall get it! We know we shall get it! Soon or later, surely, surely…
S: we know we shall get it…
Men: they will soon get it…
S: The sounds of the battle raging around us, raging, raging, raging, raging…
UM: Move on, move on, move on…
S: We know we shall get it! Sounds of the battle raging around us
S: Nelly Bly, shuts her eye when she goes to sleep!
A, FM, UM: But when she wakened
All: then she knew she would get it! When she wakened then she knew she would get it! … She has wakened up again and of course she will get it.

Although each of the *Songs of Sunrise* conveys a political message, the text seems to be of central importance in '1910'. However, the precise inspiration behind the song remains unclear, with contrasting opinions emerging since its composition. Despite Sylvia Pankhurst's assertion in 1931 that the work was a setting of 'a Suffragette raid in Trafalgar Square', the song itself offers little to confirm this.[40] Similarly problematic is Elizabeth Wood's statement that '1910' is a 're-remembered "chronicle" [which] commemorates the bloody events, police brutality, and mass arrests of Black Friday'.[41] This demonstration, which took place on 18 November 1910, has become a landmark in suffrage history due to the allegations of police brutality that subsequently emerged.[42] Christopher Wiley also states that '1910' 'commemorat[es] the disastrous events of so-called Black Friday' and suggests that the song 'contains some quite specific references to the day, notably naming Mrs Humphrey Ward, the leader of the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League'.[43] While both Wood and Wiley present this reading as fact, it is unclear on what evidence they base their assertions. There is no indication on the score that the work was composed in memory of this event, nor is there any reference to it in Smyth's publications. Despite Wiley's comment to the contrary, the text itself lacks specificity and Smyth's description of it being a collection of 'remarks *frequently heard* and liable to repetition *ad lib.*' suggests that the text is more broadly representative of views aired on the suffrage movement.[44] Moreover, in connecting '1910' to Black Friday, Wood and Wiley create a disparity between their account and Sylvia Pankhurst's, as the demonstration on 18 November took place in Parliament Square rather than Trafalgar Square. The accounts of the inspiration behind '1910' offered by Pankhurst, Wood, and Wiley highlight the inherent challenges involved in discussing works that are not expressly dealt with by the composer in her publications.[45]

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[40] Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement*, 379.
[41] Wood, "Performing Rights," 622.

Smyth makes no reference to Black Friday in *Female Pipings*, either as a participant or an observer. Given that she had not long joined the WSPU when the event took place, it is possible that she was not involved.[46] However, she was undoubtedly aware of the demonstration, as evidenced by her statement during the trial following the window-smashing in March 1912. *Votes for Women* reported extensively on the trial and quoted Smyth:

> I did not want to take any part in your [Emmeline Pankhurst's] March agitation because I was too busy. Then came the refusal of the Home Office to permit the inquiry into the conduct of the police on Black Friday. I know what these women had been through. I then wrote straight away to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to say that I begged to take part in the next protest. I went as far as to say that I hoped whatever the protest might be, it would not be such a protest as the one

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[42] Sylvia Pankhurst gives an account of Black Friday in *The Suffragette Movement,* 342–44. Christopher Bearman explores the repercussions of the suffrage stance following Black Friday and the demonstrations that followed it in November 1910 in "The legend of Black Friday," *Historical Research* 83, no. 222, 2010: 693–718. For further reading, see: June Purvis, "Emmeline Pankhurst" in *Votes for Women* ed. by June Purvis and Sandra Stanley Holton (Oxford: Routledge, 2000), 109–34; Martin Pugh, *March of the Women: A Revisionist Analysis of the Campaign for Women's Suffrage, 1866-1928* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 202–10.

[43] Christopher Wiley, "Ethel Smyth, music and the suffragette movement: Reconsidering *The Boatswain's Mate* as a feminist opera" in *Women's Suffrage in Word, Image, Music, Stage and Screen*, ed. by Christopher Wiley and Lucy Ella Rose (London: Routledge, 2021), 173.

[44] See the list of works compiled by Jory Bennet in: *The Memoirs of Ethel Smyth*, abridged and introduced by Ronald Crichton (London: Faber & Faber, 2008), 378. Emphasis added.

[45] It is also worth noting that *Votes for Women* does not connect '1910' with Black Friday in its descriptions of the song. Given the newspaper's commentary on Black Friday and the demonstrations that followed during November 1910, it is not unreasonable to assume that *Votes for Women* would likely have promoted a work that was explicitly connected to a date with such political significance.

[46] Smyth was listed 'among those who accepted invitations' to a WSPU meeting hosted by Lady Brassey on November 1, 1910. Based on Smyth's reflections in *Female Pipings,* it is likely that this is the first meeting that she attended, given that Emmeline Pankhurst had been on a tour of Scotland and Ireland until October. She also reflects that at the time she made her decision to join the WSPU, she 'was deep in musical undertakings', which needed to be completed before she could devote her time to the movement. See: "A Drawing Room-Meeting," *Votes for Women*, November 11, 1910, 84 and *Female Pipings*, 191–92.

> on Black Friday, because I did not think that any women should subject themselves to that sort of usage again.[47]

While Smyth's statement suggests an understanding of the events of Black Friday, there is little to indicate that she was involved. Her reference to knowing what 'these women' had been through, rather than a more inclusive 'we', might indicate that her knowledge of the demonstration was second-hand. Furthermore, Smyth's reflection appears to convey the seriousness of the event and expresses her dissatisfaction at the treatment the suffragettes received. In light of this, it seems incongruous for Smyth to compose a song with such comedic value to commemorate Black Friday. It prompts the question of whether the suffragettes, who considered '1910' to be 'humorous', 'virile', and 'gay', would have responded thus to a work written to commemorate such a turbulent event.[48] Foregrounding Smyth's own description of the piece—as opposed to its potential link to Black Friday—can also help to understand the fragmentary text, which is markedly different to those she set in the other *Songs of Sunrise*.

As an amalgamation of 'remarks', it is likely that Smyth carefully considered the phrases that she chose to set, resulting in a composition in which the text is of primary importance. This emphasis also suggests that the text may have guided the composition process, a notion that may be further supported by the narrow range of the vocal parts, particularly in the first half of the piece, which is reminiscent of the recitative delivery often found in opera (see Example 1, Appendix). Conversely, the other two pieces in the *Songs of Sunrise* are arguably melodically—rather than textually—driven. The composition of the 'The March of the Women' was propelled by the melody that Smyth borrowed from an Abruzzi folk tune.[49] Cicely Hamilton was asked to write the words retrospectively, implying that Smyth knew she had found a memorable melody that would work well as a suffrage anthem, designed to be sung at demonstrations.[50] 'Laggard Dawn' is similarly 'based on a melody by the late Prince Edmond de Polignac', as Smyth indicated in the score, which may also have predated the text. [51] In the catalogue of her works, she described it as 'a lovely song, never sung'.[52]

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[47] "Tuesday: Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc.," *Votes for Women*, May 24, 1912, 549.

[48] "Dr Ethel Smyth's Concert," *Votes for Women*, April 7, 1911, 443. Following Black Friday, the WSPU processed to Parliament Square again on November 23, which resulted in further arrests. In *Votes for Women* two days later, Christabel Pankhurst expressed her thoughts on the government's failure to address women's suffrage and concluded: 'The Prime Minister's statement, constituting as it does a message of defiance to us, means that we revert to a state of war.' See: *Votes for Women*, November 25, 1910, 126.

[49] St John, *Ethel Smyth*, 151.

[50] Ibid., 151. St John notes that before Smyth approached Cicely Hamilton, she had asked the writers John Masefield, Gilbert Chesterton, and John Galsworthy. Hamilton's text is a musical call to arms, reminiscent of wartime recruitment posters with its use of imperatives and direct address. Its message is also a hopeful one and the suffragists are depicted as a unified whole with a common purpose, marching 'shoulder to shoulder and friend to friend'. This image reflects the community found within the women's suffrage movement and alludes to the empowering nature of women's networks more broadly.

[51] Smyth wrote the text for 'Laggard Dawn', taking inspiration from a moment she shared with Emmeline Pankhurst in 1910. In *Female Pipings*, Smyth recounts this memory of 'Census night […] when she [Pankhurst] and I, standing in our dressing gowns at the window, watched the dawn rise beyond the river and fight its way through the mist' (194). The ambiguous 'we' used throughout 'Laggard Dawn' likely refers to Smyth and Pankhurst waiting for the dawn, but it would have been equally relatable to other suffragists and appropriate for performance at associated gatherings.

[52] Smyth produced a handwritten catalogue of her works between 1936–38. See: 'Main Book (Music) of Ethel Mary Smyth, D.B.E. (b. 1858, d. 1944)', Add MS 49196, The British Library, London.

While 'The March of the Women' and 'Laggard Dawn' are each imbued with a different character, they are unified in a number of ways. Both are strophic settings with memorable melodic lines, and the texts are conventional, each with a clear structure and regular rhyme scheme. None of the features that unite these songs are present in '1910', which further emphasises its singularity in the collection. In composing the song, Smyth was seemingly attempting to push the boundaries and deviate from a more traditional text setting.

The unconventional character of '1910' provoked a variety of reactions from the press, but the audience on 1 April 1911 appreciated it to such an extent that it was encored. *The Referee* gave the evening a positive review, mentioning '1910' in particular:

> [1910] is a clever jeu d'esprit, a setting of supposed desultory remarks, adverse and otherwise, of a crowd on the Suffrage policy, including the iterations of the police to "Move on." It is excellent fooling, and so amused the audience that it was repeated. In its entirety the concert was a remarkable exhibition of woman as composer, and certainly set forth music as strong as anything that has been produced by Continental women.[53]

The humour of the piece was remarked upon in other newspapers, with *The Westminster Gazette* describing it as 'decidedly amusing', a 'vocal battle' in which the 'music is as amusing as its text'.[54] The combination of conflict and humour was also highlighted by *The Illustrated London News*, who described '1910' as a 'delightful jest' that was 'descriptive of a battlefield'.[55] The perception of '1910' as a humorous composition, one which entertained the audience enough to garner an encore, suggests that there may have been a performative element to the work. The driving, march-like rhythm of the piece, combined with the recitative delivery, may have lent the song an operatic or theatrical undertone. It is easy to imagine the suffrage audience being amused by the parodic portrayal of their opponents and by hearing anti-suffrage sentiments expressed in a comedic setting.

However, not all critics were convinced that the song was successful in its aims. *The Falkirk Herald* asserted that 'the composition is not clear enough to bring out all the humour that is intended', although they conceded that 'the reiteration in very solemn tones by the unfriendly men, "They are putting back the cause for years," was very funny'.[56] Other sources describe the song as 'a curious, and not unskilful "Medley"' and 'a grotesque symphony of suffragists, anti-suffragists, and the hullabaloo of a Parliament-square riot'.[57] The latter returns to the gendered criticism addressed above, stating: 'Dr. Smyth affects a masculine garb to a great extent. She is fond of short double-breasted coats, tweed skirts, collars and ties, and motor-caps.'[58] Within the context of the article, the reference to Smyth's dress-sense seems to indicate that this perceived masculinity explains her involvement with the suffrage movement. The article concludes: '[She] holds the belief that if a woman wishes to devote herself to art she must not think of marrying!'[59] The exclamation mark lends a sense of incredulity to Smyth's sentiment.

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[53] "Miss Ethel Smyth at Queen's Hall," *The Referee*, April 2, 1911, 3.

[54] "Dr. Ethel Smyth's Concert," *The Westminster Gazette*, April 3, 1911, 14.

[55] "Music," *The Illustrated London News*, April 8, 1911, 518.

[56] "Musical Notes," *The Falkirk Herald*, April 3, 1911, 3.

[57] "Music and Musicians," *The Queen, The Lady's Newspaper*, April 8, 1911, 613; "Music and Militancy," *The Witney Gazette*, August 3, 1912, 7.

[58] "Music and Militancy," *The Witney Gazette*, August 3, 1912, 7.

Despite the broadly positive response to '1910', Smyth's contemporaries largely dismissed the work. When Sylvia Pankhurst reflected on the *Songs of Sunrise* she noted: 'The words of the two last ['Laggard Dawn' and '1910'] were her own; highly characteristic and amusing, but by no means comparable with the music.'[60] Smyth's biographer Christopher St John was even more disparaging, describing '1910' as 'a complete flop'.[61] She felt that 'It had none of the fierceness, the overwhelming strength of her great chorus, *Hey Nonny No*, written before she joined the militants'.[62] Although '1910' was positively received in 1911, it does not seem to appear in many concerts thereafter, which may explain St John's dismissal of the piece. The song's disappearance from the performance repertoire may also indicate that Smyth's attempt to compose a less conventional text setting did not have the long-term impact that she had desired.

Into Obscurity

In May 1913 there were plans for a concert of Smyth's suffrage works to be held in November at the Musikverein in Vienna. Smyth's friend, the soprano Anna Bahr-Mildenburg, was due to perform a number of the composer's new songs, along with excerpts from *The Wreckers*. *The Suffragette* also reported: 'The programme will include, by special request, the Suffragette Raid Chorus, '1910', which has been translated into German.'[63] These details were repeated in August, with a direct quotation from Smyth:

> I am conducting the work [the overture to *The Wreckers*] again on November 20, in Vienna, where they are giving a concert of my works, at which they are putting a big orchestra and a magnificent chorus entirely at my disposal. And I have not a penny to pay for it. That is rather interesting, I think. They are arranging the concert themselves and have asked me to conduct.[64]

Additionally, Smyth stated that she had found 'a very remarkable libretto' by Hugo von Hofmannsthal to use for her next opera, the premiere of which had 'already been arranged at the Munich Opera House'.[65] This comment, in addition to her remark that she would not be liable for the cost of the concert, draws attention to the financial implications of securing performances. Larger works in particular often required lengthy negotiation and the support of influential figures, as was the case with her Mass in D (1891). The German conductor Hermann Levi and the Empress Eugénie, widow of Napoleon III, were instrumental in securing the work's premiere. In 1892, the Empress introduced Smyth to Queen Victoria and encouraged her to sing some of the Mass to Her Royal Highness.[66] Through the connections she made during two audiences with the Queen, Joseph Barnby, conductor of the Royal Choral Society, reconsidered his earlier hesitancy to perform the work and the Mass received its premiere in January 1893.[67] The Empress also assisted the composer financially, covering the outstanding £100 printing fee that the publishers requested Smyth to pay.[68]

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[59] "Music and Militancy," *The Witney Gazette*, August 3, 1912, 7.

[60] Sylvia Pankhurst, *The Suffragette Movement: An Intimate Account of Persons and Ideals* (London: Longman Group, 1931; repr. London: Virago, 1977), 379.

[61] St John, *Ethel Smyth*, 152.

[62] Ibid.

[63] "Musical Intelligence," *The Suffragette*, May 30, 1913, 547.

[64] "Dr. Ethel Smyth at Queen's Hall," *The Suffragette*, August 29, 1913, 802.

[65] Ibid., 802. Hugo von Hofmannsthal was the librettist for many of Richard Strauss's operas, including *Elektra* (1909), *Der Rosenkavalier* (1911), *Ariadne auf Naxos* (1912), *Die Frau ohne Schatten* (1919), *Die ägyptische Helena* (1928) and *Arabella* (1929).

Having an influential advocate for her music was similarly important for the 1898 premiere of her first opera, *Fantasio* (1892–94), which benefitted from the support of Baroness Olga von Meyendorff, Charles Alexander—Grand Duke of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach—and the conductor Felix Mottl.[69] While the planned concert in Vienna in 1913 would likely have been smaller in scale, the fact that the Musikverein had invited Smyth to conduct, rather than her having to organise and finance the event herself, was clearly a welcome deviation from the norm. Although these details appeared in the Austrian press as late as October 1913, there is no record in the newspapers of the concert taking place.[70] However, it appears that Smyth did go to Vienna and recalled being 'begged to give interviews, write articles, and speak at meetings' while staying there.[71] This was not quite the clean break from the political whirlpool that Smyth had in mind, and in order to put greater distance between herself and the suffrage movement, Smyth decided to travel to Egypt.[72] Here she settled to work not on Hofmannsthal's pre-existing libretto, but on her own adaptation of William Wymark Jacobs's *The Boatswain's Mate.*[73]

The same year, 1913, also marked the end of Smyth's formal involvement with the WSPU. Her detachment from the suffrage movement, in addition to the outbreak of the First World War the following year, likely contributed to the obscurity into which '1910' fell. Suffrage activities were suspended during the war, which resulted in fewer opportunities for Smyth's works to be heard.[74] Beyond these contextual factors, the character of the song itself may also have made it a less appealing option to both performers and researchers who came across it at a later date. 'The March of the Women' and 'Laggard Dawn', with their clearer history, have arguably made more accessible case studies of Smyth's suffrage works. '1910' is more elusive, as exemplified by the breadth of descriptions used, ranging from 'medley' to 'grotesque symphony'.[75] While audiences enjoyed the work in 1911, critics evidently struggled to define precisely what it was that they were enjoying. More recently, Wood and Wiley have added 'mini-operetta' and 'operetta-style' song to the list of descriptions, further reinforcing the possibility of '1910' having a performative undertone.[76] While the narrow vocal range, the humour perceived by the audience, and the contemporary subject matter may support the operetta argument, it is equally important to recall Smyth's description of the piece.[77] 'A chronicle of remarks' does not suggest that she had an operetta in mind.[78] Moreover, the work lacks a clear narrative due to its fragmentary text and the score shows no indication of the roles to be adopted by the vocal parts; these appeared in newspaper articles rather than on the score.[79] Although Smyth may have been attempting to compose a more modernist operetta—or indeed an 'operetta-style' song—in setting a less conventional text, she may also have been aiming to musically articulate comments often overheard for the entertainment of those involved in the cause. Without a sympathetic suffrage audience, however, '1910' may have lost its relevancy and appeal for concert organisers, thus losing its foothold in the performance repertoire.

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[66] Smyth, *Streaks of Life*, 100.

[67] Smyth, *As Time Went On*, 60–1. Smyth also addresses this subject within her "Two Glimpses of Queen Victoria," found in *Streaks of Life*, 93–111.

[68] Ibid., 61.

[69] For further details on the premiere of *Fantasio*, see: Ethel Smyth, *What Happened Next* (Longmans, Green, and Co., 1940), 63–86.

[70] See, for example: "Eine neue Oper von Ethel Smyth," *Prager Tagblatt*, September 25, 1913, 6; "Theatre und Kunst," *Pester Lloyd*, October 3, 1913, 8.

[71] St John, *Ethel Smyth*, 163. St John quotes a passage from a draft of Smyth's unpublished and incomplete autobiography *A Fresh Start* that she started in 1941. This manuscript is part of the Ethel Smyth Collection at the University of Michigan Library (Special Collections Research Center).

[72] Ibid., 163.

[73] Ibid., 164. The reference to Hofmannsthal's libretto is absent from existing Smyth scholarship, except for a brief reference in Louise Collis's *Impetuous Heart* (128). The composer was clearly experimenting with various ideas at this time as she had also considered setting John Millington Synge's play, *Riders of the Sea*, and travelled to Ireland in the summer of 1913 for research purposes (see St John, 162). This work, a bleak depiction of loss and bereavement, is far from the light-hearted comedy of *The Boatswain's Mate* and would have resulted in a very different opera. Jacobs's story provides greater scope for female empowerment, which allowed Smyth to express feminist sentiments in a way that would not have been possible had she adapted Synge's play. Louise Collis also notes that Smyth had difficulty securing the use of the copyright for *Riders to the Sea*, which may have contributed to her decision. See: *Impetuous Heart: The Story of Ethel Smyth* (London: William Kimber, 1984), 131.

[74] Smyth, who served as a radiographer during the war, would also have been otherwise engaged.

Whatever Smyth's intentions for the song, it has secured a place in her repertoire only as an addendum to the other *Songs of Sunrise*. Kathleen Dale believed that '1910' and 'The March of the Women' 'would inevitably have fallen into the oblivion that overtakes topical songs had not their spirited music been granted a new lease of life in the Overture to *The Boatswain's Mate*'.[80] However, due to a lack of commercial recording, listeners are unlikely to be able to pick out the melody of '1910' as they might for 'The March of the Women'. Thus, despite its presence in the overture, the song has slipped into the oblivion to which Dale referred. The overture starts with the opening melody of '1910', mirroring both the key and time signature, before segueing into 'The March of the Women' at bar 78. The upbeat character of both pieces is fitting for the comic opera and Smyth maintains a largely cheerful mood throughout this opening movement, briefly inserting more sombre material between the jubilant iterations of the March. Wood describes Smyth's use of the suffrage songs as 'a kind of first and second subject', highlighting that neither 'reappears in the body of the work', contrary to operatic conventions, whereby the overture would usually introduce themes heard within the work.[81] Smyth was unusually explicit in her reasons for this, informing Emmeline Pankhurst in 1914: 'I've scrapped all I had written [of the overture] and am writing quite a short but very cheerful piece with never a theme from the opera in it, but as the chief tune… *The March of the Women*! … I simply stuck in the March because I like the tune!'[82] Perhaps her inclusion of '1910' was equally pragmatic and aided by its similar march-like rhythms.

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[75] 'Medley' appears most frequently in newspaper articles of the period. See, for example: "Dr Ethel Smyth's Concert," *Votes for Women*, April 7, 1911, 443 or *The Falkirk Herald*, April 3, 1911, 2. For 'grotesque symphony' see: "Music and Militancy," *The Witney Gazette*, August 3, 1912, 7.

[76] Wood, "Performing Rights," 622; Christopher Wiley, "Ethel Smyth, Suffrage, and Surrey: From Frimley Green to Hook Heath, Woking," *Women's History: The Journal of the Women's History Network*. Special Issue: 1918-2018, 2, no. 11, (2018): 15.

[77] Anastasia Belina and Derek B. Scott remark that operetta was 'to be characterized as the aesthetic opposite of "serious music"; it was "light music" (in the sense of lightweight or easy music)', which correlates with the buoyant feel of '1910'. They further highlight operetta's tendency towards 'the contemporary and modern'. See: *The Cambridge Companion to Operetta*, ed. by Anastasia Belina and Derek B. Scott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pages 4 and 5 respectively.

[78] Smyth, *The Memoirs of Ethel Smyth*, 378.

[79] See footnote 37.

[80] Kathleen Dale, "Appendix B: Ethel Smyth's Music: A Critical Study" in St John, *Ethel Smyth*, 297.

[81] Wood, "Performing Rights," 628.

As a result of being overlooked in both the *Songs of Sunrise* and *The Boatswain's Mate*, '1910' appears to have lost its identity within Smyth's output. In the overture, the song is stripped of its words—the very thing that drew tears of laughter from audience members—and its message is lost.[83] Although the text is fragmentary, Smyth clearly hoped to capture some of the political sound-world, not only to entertain her fellow suffragettes but also for the benefit of future generations. Dale notes that Smyth dismissed the *Songs of Sunrise* in her personal catalogue as being 'of antiquarian interest only', which, while reductive, suggests that she knew their political link would prove important. Furthermore, interest in Smyth as a suffragette and in the works that she composed during this period attest to the significance of her involvement in the movement. As her unsung suffrage song, '1910' deserves greater recognition within this context.

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[82] Quoted in St John, *Ethel Smyth*, 301.

[83] "Dr. Ethel Smyth's Concert," *Votes for Women*, July 7, 1911, G.V. writes, 'the rendering of that most amusing chorus ['1910'] in which familiar remarks frequently heard on "a current topic of the day", melted even the most hardened concert goers into tears of laughter' (662).

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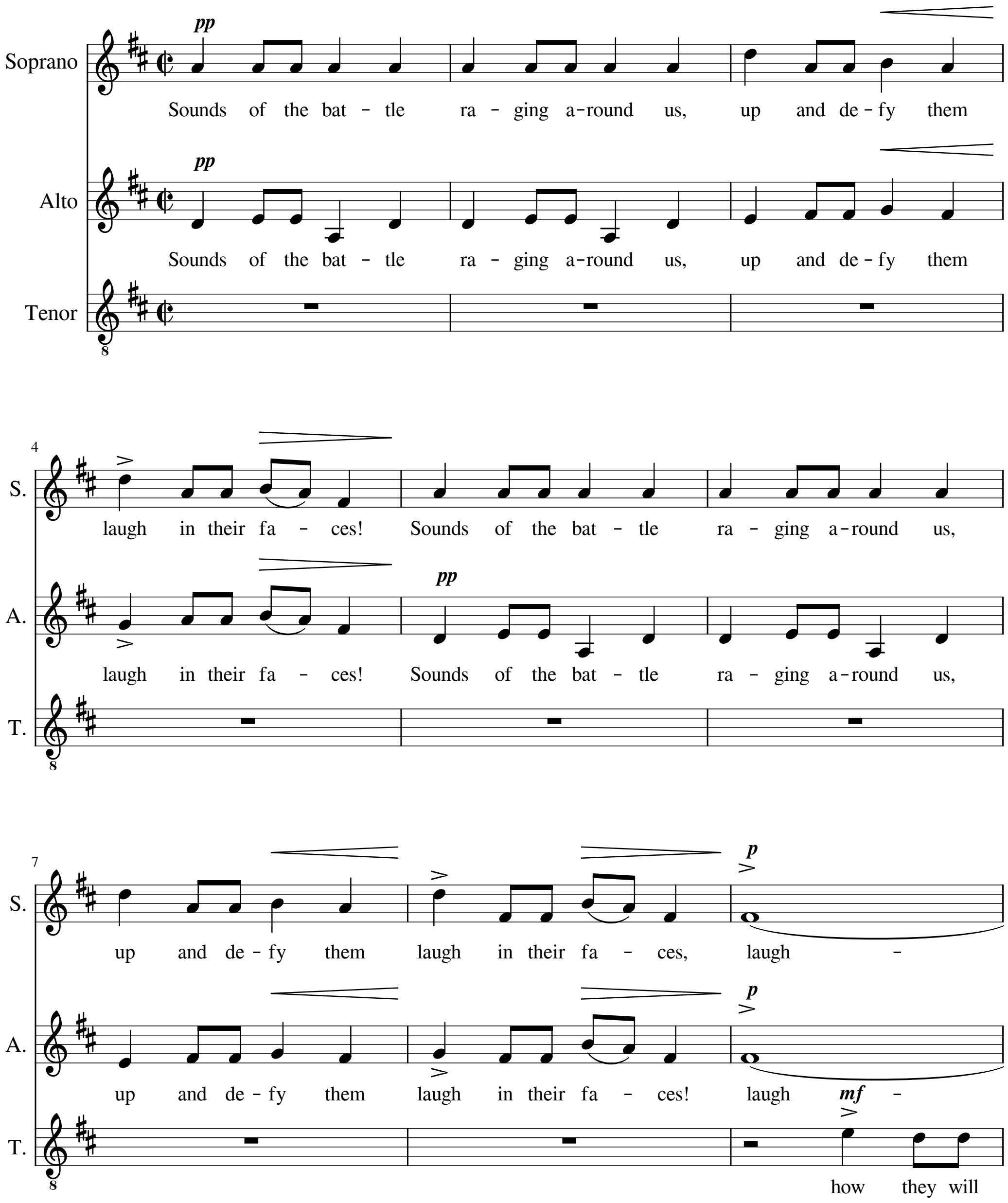
Appendix


Soprano
Alto
Tenor
S.
A.
T.
pp
p
mf
Sounds of the bat - tle ra - ging a-round us, up and de-fy them
laugh in their fa - ces! Sounds of the bat - tle ra - ging a-round us,
up and de-fy them laugh in their fa - ces, laugh -
up and de-fy them laugh in their fa - ces! laugh -
how they will

Ex. 1. Ethel Smyth, *'1910'*, bars 5–21 (continued on the next page)[84]

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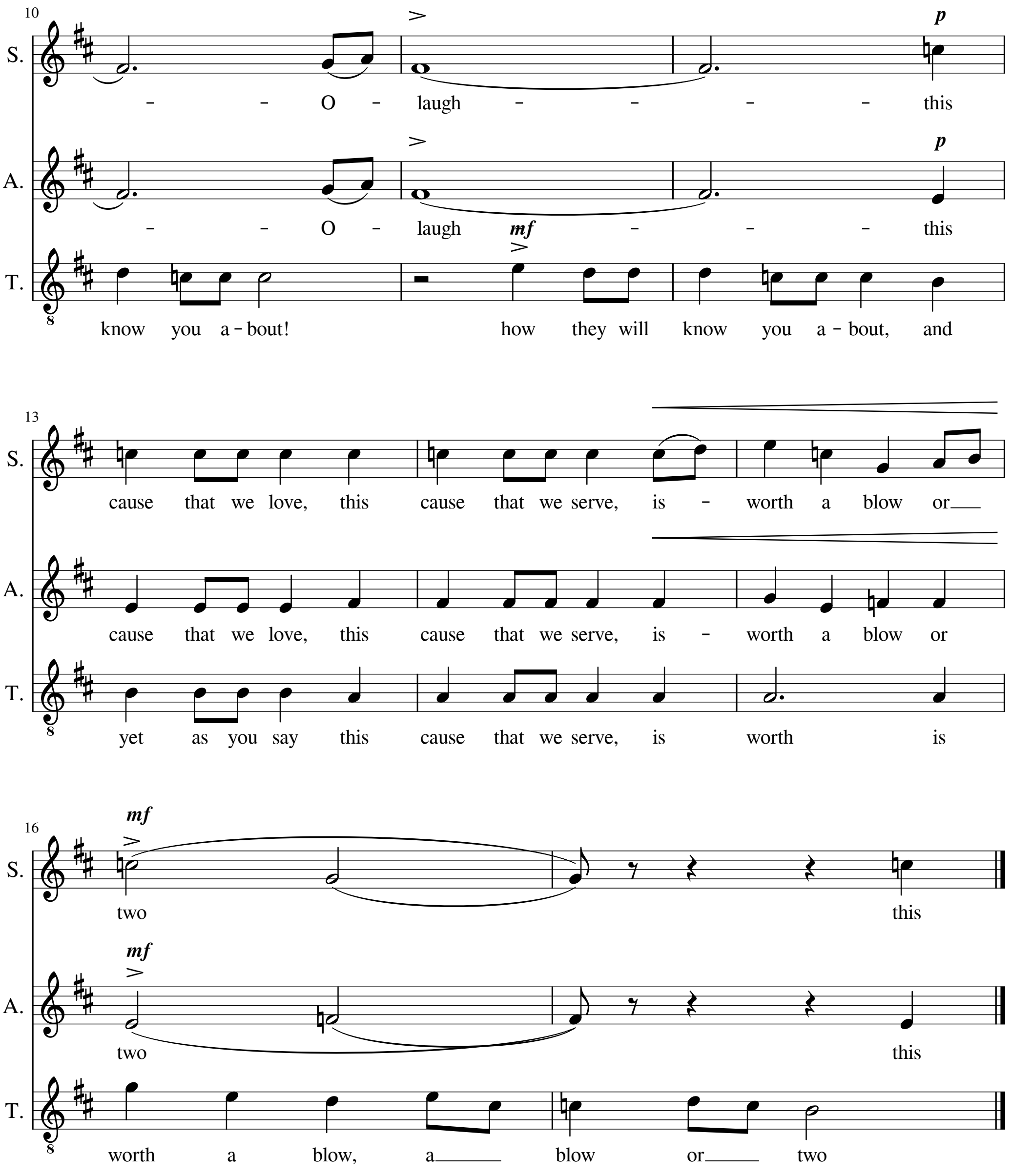
[84] While the piece is scored for SATB choir, the first bass entry does not occur until bar 36. The piano part has been omitted from this example.


10
S.
A.
T.
- - O - laugh - - - - this
- - O - laugh mf - - - this
know you a-bout! how they will know you a-bout, and
13
cause that we love, this cause that we serve, is - worth a blow or
cause that we love, this cause that we serve, is - worth a blow or
yet as you say this cause that we serve, is worth is
16
mf
two this
two this
worth a blow, a blow or two

Ex. 1. Ethel Smyth, *'1910'*, bars 5–21 (continued).

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A.J. Potter: New Perspectives and Connections Revealed Through his Life, Words, and Music

Sarah M. Burn

This article is concerned with interrogating the music, writing, and life of the Irish composer Archibald James Potter ('A.J. Potter' as he generally signed himself professionally[1]), taking a semiotic approach in order to reach a fuller understanding of his music and its composition—an approach that may result in the creation of a new way of cataloguing his works. Connections between trauma, creativity, and composition are brought into prominence. A large number of quotations from his writings are included to present his thoughts and ideas as clearly—and as fairly—as possible, and to convey his personality, as Maynard Solomon succeeded in doing in illuminating Beethoven's personality and his beliefs about his art, through interrogating his writings:

> Beethoven left no connected writings on aesthetics, but his letters, diary, and conversation books contain a substantial number of comments, pronouncements, and aphoristic expressions which, taken together, offer insight into his views on the nature of art, creativity, and the responsibilities of the artist.[2]

The Potter Archive, which is privately owned by the author, is the collection of Potter's own files of music manuscripts, correspondence, scripts, reports, and other papers from the working life of a busy professional composer in Ireland during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. A significant feature of his correspondence (which he typed) is that it includes not only the letters he received, but also carbon copies of the letters he sent—something that other collections of correspondence value: 'Publishing collections of one correspondent's letters without responses from the other promotes a "great person" view of history and makes it more difficult for the reader to think in terms of interrelationships.'[3]

Brief Biography

Biographical details are available from the Contemporary Music Centre in Dublin (www.cmc.ie). As a brief outline, Potter was born in Belfast on 22 September 1918, the youngest of seven in a poor and dysfunctional family whose circumstances descended inexorably until at the age of nine, when he was sent to live with an uncle and aunt in Kent, England. Having being excluded from national school in Belfast because his mother had pawned his boots to buy alcohol, the young boy so benefitted from his aunt's voice training—and was awarded a scholarship in 1929 to one of the most highly regarded choir schools in the country, the 'high Anglican' All Saints Church in Margaret Street, London (where he began to compose). From there, he won an organ scholarship to Clifton College, a public near Bristol, and thence a scholarship to the Royal College of Music (RCM) where he was a composition student of Vaughan Williams.

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[1] Manuscript scores from the early part of his career in the 1950s are signed 'Archie James Potter'.

[2] Maynard Solomon, *Reason and Imagination: Beethoven's Aesthetic Evolution*, in 'Historical Musicology: Sources, Methods, Interpretations', ed. Stephen A. Crist and Roberta Mountemorra Marvin (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 189.

[3] Louise A. DeSalvo, *Lighting the Cave: The Relationship between Vita Sackville-West and Virginia Woolf*, in 'Signs, Journal of Women in Culture and Society', (University of Chicago Press, Vol. 8 No. 2, Winter 1982), 213.

More poverty and unemployment followed on leaving the RCM in 1938, but when war was declared in 1939, Potter enlisted. After army service in Europe, he was commissioned as a Captain in the Indian Army and spent several years in the Far East. Following post-war employment in Nigeria, he returned to Ireland to try to restart his musical career, concentrating on his voice. He was a professional singer from the age of ten or eleven at All Saints: 'It was the most marvellous musical education you could have had. I just see what other people have had and I realise what it was like to get just every conceivable style there was. And learning it without knowing anything about it.'[4] He became a Vicar Choral in St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin in 1951, taught singing at the Royal Irish Academy of Music (RIAM) where he was later to be Professor of Composition, and developed his career as a composer. He died on 5 July 1980.

Further Reading

There is comparatively little, publicly-available information on Potter and his music. The outstanding source is Patrick Zuk's 2008 unpublished PhD thesis, *A.J. Potter: The career and creative achievement of an Irish composer in social and cultural context* (Durham University). There is the major interview with Potter by the music critic Charles Acton in 1970 for *Éire-Ireland*, the journal of the Irish American Cultural Institute (vol. V, no. 2), and Richard Pine's impressive 2005 book on the history of music in RTÉ: *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland.* Patrick Zuk wrote the excellent entry on Potter in the 2013 *The Encyclopaedia of Music in Ireland*, edited by Harry White and Barra Boydell. The shorter entry on Potter in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, second edition (2001), edited by Stanley Sadie, is by Seóirse Bodley. The Irish Music Studies collection includes some material on Potter, as do books by Axel Klein, Ruth Fleischmann's history of the Cork International Choral Festival, and Richard Pine's history of the Royal Irish Academy of Music and his biography of Charles Acton. Although Potter does not feature in Aloys Fleischmann's landmark 1952 book, *Music in Ireland: A Symposium*, which was published around the time that Potter moved to Dublin: the volume provides a great deal of authoritative contemporary information about the circumstances and institutions of music in Ireland as experienced by Potter at that period.

Significant Works and Their Personal Connections

Within Potter's large and varied catalogue of works, certain ones stand out—generally because they resulted from a long gestation as the composer processed his response to events and life experiences. He himself recognised the autobiographical, deeply-felt qualities of these works and talked about them in a radio interview for RTÉ with Andy O'Mahony in *c.*1974. Potter also discussed them with this author and communicated the information to others in letters. In the radio interview with Andy O'Mahony, Potter mentioned specific works and the autobiographical impetus associated with each:

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[4] From interview transcript, Potter interview with Charles Acton for *Éire-Ireland* magazine. 14 January 1970. Potter Archive.

> It's the way I feel about all these things. These things are symbolic of the entire human state and that's the way I put them down in music. The fact that I happen to have witnessed some of these horrifying things myself may help me to do it a little bit more, but on the contrary it may not. The *Concerto da Chiesa* expresses what I feel about all wars, and the *Missa Brevis* expresses what I feel about all faiths, and the *Sinfonia "de Profundis*" expresses what I feel about personal problems. If you would like to know what I feel about the loss of loved ones, I would suggest the *Elegy for Clarinet and Orchestra*.[5]

The summary and categorisation above is neat, but it also suggests semiotic indicators between Potter's life and his compositions. Although he wrote the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* as a 'thank offering' for recovery from a bout of alcoholism, it is suffused with the horrors of his Second World War experiences and the nightmares he suffered.[6]

The works considered in this article include those he mentioned in the interview with Andy O'Mahony: his first symphony, *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* (1968), the *Concerto da Chiesa* for piano and orchestra (1953), and the *Missa Brevis 'Lorica Sancti Patricii'* (1936/1951), as well as the cantata *The Cornet of Horse* (1975) and works connected with *St Patrick's Breastplate*. These 'Patrick works'[7] are the *Missa Brevis*; the opera for television, *Patrick* (1961); the cantata *Lúireach Phádraigh* (1965), and the anthem *Clamos Cervi* (1979). Also included is his ecumenical *Mass for Christian Unity 'Missa pro Unitate Christianorum'* (1977) which uses thematic musical material drawn from his life experiences.

Semiotic connections swirl around and between all these works, with his traumatic Second World War experiences to be found at some level within almost each one. Thus, a category is created that includes compositions in different genres, which were written at different periods. They are united by the common factor of their having been mediated through trauma—primarily from his wartime experiences, and from references to his Irish identity and family heritage (particularly in the thematic material in the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*). In one of Kofi Agawu's books on semiotics and music, he states: 'The use of similar topics within or between works may provide insights into a work's strategy or larger aspects of style.'[8] This is applicable here.

There were long periods, often of several years, during which Potter processed specific experiences and transformed his response into music, achieving some degree of psychological closure. Usually, this small number of very personal works had to wait to be written down until a performance opportunity presented itself, preferably accompanied by a commission or under the stimulus of a competition.

Career

When Potter settled in Dublin in 1951, it was as a professional singer—a bass Vicar Choral in the choir of St Patrick's Cathedral. His ambitions to be a professional composer were assisted by his success in winning composition competitions, including the Festival of Britain choral composition prize for Northern Ireland in 1951 for his *Missa Brevis 'Lorica Sancti Patricii'*, and the second and third Carolan Prizes for composition, organised by Radio Éireann (RÉ) for his orchestral diptych *Overture to a Kitchen Comedy* and *Rhapsody Under a High Sky* in 1951, and *Concerto da Chiesa* for piano and orchestra in 1952.

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[5] Transcribed by the author. Recording available from the Contemporary Music Centre, 'A.J. Potter Interviews'.

[6] See the author's unpublished PhD thesis: "'Per ardua ad astra': Assessing the sacred and profane in the creation of new perspectives on A.J. Potter's *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* through the process of critical editing." (Dundalk Institute of Technology, 2017).

[7] Author's description.

[8] Kofi Agawu, *Music as Discourse: Semiotic Adventures in Romantic Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 44.

As a skilful arranger, he was increasingly in demand by RÉ to make orchestral and choral arrangements of Irish traditional music—under a government scheme that began in 1943 to popularise traditional music—then regarded as being little heard. This was to prevent Irish people from losing touch with their heritage: 'Since the interest in traditional music was very slight, it was important to counter the effects of bad céili music which had predominated.'[9] It was obviously extremely helpful to a composer to have a ready source of income from making arrangements. However, there were two serious disadvantages: 1) harmonic experiment was not encouraged, and 2) the time spent on arrangements of traditional and popular music prevented more creative composition from being done. Potter commented on this to a friend in America who was involved in the Boston Éire Society, which organised performances of his music:

> You don't want to spend all your time thinking about money, but when – like I do – you have to spend a good deal of time and energy to doing the tin pan alley and light pop style of orchestrations in order to buy the bread & butter and the time to do more worthwhile music, you do begin to wonder how you should spend the rest of your time.[10]

Creativity and the Transformation of Trauma into Art

Ideas from the second half of the twentieth century in editing theory situate the listener as a participant in the creation of a musical work, as Burn stated:

> Working from the concept of the edited text as part of a greater entity (referred to as 'the work'), which also includes the composer and his creativity, the performers, performance (and recording), and reception, it became possible to consider critical editing as both an analytical and a research tool. The various concepts underpinning the symphony, which both precede the composer's written score and proceed from it, range from factors that stimulated the composer's creativity to the reception, preservation and dissemination of a performance.[11]

However, sometimes the balance seems to have shifted so as to prioritise the reception of a musical work over the composer's ideas and what he seeks to convey. In line with developments in literary theory, it has been argued that the text has no significance beyond what an audience can gain from it. In his article *The Musical Text*, Stanley Boorman appears to support the author's conviction of the primacy of the creativity of the composer. One of Boorman's statements also echoes one made by Potter. Boorman wrote: 'the historical performer interpreted the text in order to create a work of music, and thus to give pleasure to others.'[12] In 1978, Potter wrote:

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[9] Fachtna Ó hAnnracháin (Director of Music at Radio Éireann 1947–1961) in an interview with Richard Pine, from *Music and Broadcasting in Ireland* (2005).

[10] From a letter from Potter to John Cavanagh, Boston. 7 January 1958. General. 1/1/1957–5/6/58. Potter Archive.

[11] Burn, "Per ardua ad astra," 1.4.i, Critical editing as an analytical and research tool.

> I do not believe in ivory towers, and if anything I write does not make itself immediately understood by the audience – and then go on to keep giving them new pleasures for the next 25, 35, 45 … 450 years.. he has failed.[13]

Earlier in a 1970 interview with Acton, Potter stated:

> I want the audience to listen. What do you paint a picture for? If I were painting pictures, I would paint pictures because I wanted to show people what my idea of such and such a thing is. I write music for the same reason.[14]

From his study of Beethoven's writings, Maynard Solomon's opinion is that:

> In his later years, Beethoven began to see his creativity as an expression of both subjectivity and desire: "Gradually there comes to us the power to express just what we desire and feel; and to the nobler type of human being this is such an essential need."[15]

Informed by the writings of Jean-Jacques Nattiez, this author's view is:

> that a work such as the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* (i.e. a work whose notation represents the composer's imagined sounds) is in existence from the time when it is still in the composer's mind and not written down. Even when it is notated, it still exists without being heard: the notated version is simply an efficient, semiotic, way of enabling the composer's creation to be realised in sound by others.[16]

For as Nattiez states:

> Music represents a super-imposition of two semiological systems. For users of music, composers, performers, and listeners, all participants in a "total musical fact," musical material will establish connections to their lived experience and to the exterior world.[17]

There are many statements in Potter's correspondence that provide insights into the way his creativity processed and transformed his lived experiences into musical works. To a correspondent in England who was interested in his music, Potter wrote in 1974:

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[12] Stanley Boorman, *The Musical Text*: in 'Rethinking Music', ed. Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 422.

[13] A.J. Potter, personal communication, 1978.

[14] A.J. Potter, interview with Charles Acton, *Éire-Ireland*, V, 2, Summer 1970 (St Paul, Minnesota: Irish-American Cultural Institute), 127.

[15] Maynard Solomon, *Reason and Imagination: Beethoven's Aesthetic Evolution*, in 'Historical Musicology: Sources, Methods, Interpretations', ed. Stephen A. Crist and Roberta Mountemorra Marvin (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2004), 194. Solomon quotes from a letter from Beethoven to Archduke Rudolph, 1 July 1823.

[16] Burn, "Per ardua ad astra," 1.4.ii, Concept of 'the work'

[17] Jean-Jacques Nattiez, *Music and Discourse: Toward a Semiology of* Music, translated by Carolyn Abbate (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1990), 126.

> I don't think that you can really separate the development 'as composer' from that 'as man' … I do try to make each composition a kind of biographical chapter – to which only I may have the key […] Since then [the early 1950s] I've been busy, like I said, putting down my recollections of the previous quarter century down into music. When I've finished, I suppose I'll have to go out and 'experience' a bit more … 7 years a child (just like the Jesuits said). Then 25 years a-growing and learning – 25 years a-writing about it.[18]

In answering a questionnaire on composers and creativity in 1976, Potter set down his ideas with copious illustrations from his own life and music history, including:

> because I have the talent (no credit to me) … Even if I don't do it very well, I still compose better than I do anything else! The job-satisfaction is immense … you hire, you fire – you say who does what, with which, to whom, when, how and where … You're on your own – to stand or fail …Also, because I happen to like the sound of what I write, and I don't find it in any other composer's works … it's 'filling a long-felt need'.[19]

Potter also wrote of personal experiences that could be transformed into music which communicated a message to listeners:

> I, for instance, have seen more battles than most composers have hot dinners: but because he was a better composer (much), J.S. Bach wrote better combat music than I ever could. He had experienced struggle of some kind – and that's enough for your composer to get on with. Puccini never experienced "questioning" by the notorious Kempeitai of the Japanese Army as so many of us did between '42 and '45 … But he had experienced anguish of some sort, and that was enough to make the torture scenes from TOSCA so horrifying.[20]

Acton, when interviewing Potter early in 1970 for *Éire-Ireland*, the magazine of the Irish-American Society, tried to get him to talk about some of his works in which 'from time to time [you would] want to put a message across, not just simply produce an abstract pattern'.[21] Potter disagreed with the word 'message', but said that it could be called a story and cited the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* as being an example of that type of work, saying: 'That's meant to tell you the story of what it's like to be an alcoholic and to have DTs[22] and to recover.'[23]

Potter expressed as a metaphor his underlying preoccupation with the transformation of his life's experiences into his art: 'Given sufficient composing potential in the first place, the smallest personal experience can be the acorn from which could grow the tallest oaks of artistic expression.'[24]

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[18] Letter from Potter to Ian Lord (Norwich, England). 23 December 1974. File No. 7, Fan Mail, 1972–5. Potter Archive.

[19] From Potter's response to a questionnaire from Rev. Sr Cara Nagle. 2 December 1976. File No. 7. Fan Mail, 1976–June 1977. Potter Archive.

[20] Ibid.

[21] From transcript of interview, Potter with Charles Acton for *Éire-Ireland* magazine. 14 January 1970. Potter Archive.

[22] An abbreviation in general use for *delirium tremens*, a condition resulting from alcoholism.

[23] From transcript of interview, Potter with Charles Acton for *Éire-Ireland* magazine. 14 January 1970. Potter Archive.

The processing of trauma through creativity is a well-known therapeutic tool, used to help the sufferer make sense of past events. Terry Waite, who was held captive as a hostage in Lebanon from January 1987 to November 1991 knew how much better it was 'If when you have been through a trauma you are able to objectify it, either by talking about it […] or through writing about the experience.'[25] Potter's letters demonstrate his compulsion to tell his story to his unknown correspondents. This serves to inform them about him as a composer (very necessary in that pre-Information period) and reveals his ongoing processing of his own experiences, both detaching himself from and situating himself within his own history.

Maria Cizmic's 2012 book *Performing Pain: Music and Trauma in Eastern Europe* is a leading text in the area of trauma studies. She discusses the effects of trauma on memory:

> Fragmented memories return unintentionally through flashbacks and nightmares and blur the distinction between past and present. If an individual's experience of trauma causes a breakdown in the linear nature of personal memory, how might this manifest in aesthetic responses to trauma?[26]

Potter was fortunate that he had nearly half his lifetime in which to meditate on how he felt about war and suffering in particular, although 'fortunate' was not always the word he would choose, as he wrote:

> But as I have said, I have been lucky: after all, I have already lived twice as long as the expectations of life of two-thirds of the world's population ---- although there are times, many times, when I wished I hadn't… and I curse those useless Japanese machine gunners who couldn't even hit me at twenty yards distance.[27]

His heart-wrenching setting of 'There saw he an old woman's tears, tears, tears, tears, tears.' at the end of his 1975 cantata *The Cornet of Horse* expresses the effect that witnessing such actual scenes had had on him, particularly in Burma and Indonesia during and after the Second World War. Potter's very personal expression of his pity for the suffering in the world is eloquently expressed in his letter in October 1979 to Gerald Priestland, the BBC's Religious Affairs Correspondent, describing some of the human misery he had witnessed throughout his life, including:

> … I witnessed the 1943 Bengal famine.. and saw the back blocks of Calcutta before Mother Theresa ever did: when the civil administration had broken down, and not only was the garbage piled in heaps along the Chauringee, but

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[24] From Potter's response to a questionnaire from Rev. Sr Cara Nagle, Dublin. 2 December 1976. File No. 7, Fan Mail, 1976–June 1977. Potter Archive.

[25] Transcript of interview with Terry Waite on website of Hope 103.2 radio station in Australia. 24 April 2013. http://hope1032.com.au/stories/open-house/2013/terry-waite-break-my-body-bend-my-mind-but-my-soul-is-not-yours-to-possess/

[26] Maria Cizmic, *Performing Pain: Music and Trauma in Eastern Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 13.

[27] From a letter from Potter to Gerald Priestland, BBC Religious Affairs Correspondent, 20 October 1979. Priestland read from the letter on air. File No. 7. Fanmail, 1979–80. Potter Archive.

> when the corpses of the famine victims were thrown on the top of that same garbage. I broke my heart over the sufferings of both sides during the Indonesian war of independence, and later on in West Africa, over those wretched villages where every inhabitant did naught else except sit in disease-ridden half blindness waiting for death … There is so much evil in this world: hunger, misery, frustration, hunger and suffering from the sadism of so many systems be they black, white, brown, yellow – or any colour of skin you care to name. Which is the reason for my writing to you. Because I have no influence but you have.[28]

Potter was one amongst hundreds of thousands of post-war survivors in an era of the masculine code of keeping a 'stiff upper lip'. Most war veterans did not talk about their experiences because they were too distressing to be relived through conversation, and because of the lack of understanding amongst the civilian population. Potter would have experienced post-war incomprehension to a greater degree than many because he came to live and work in Ireland, a country that had been neutral during the Second World War; another instance of his essentially isolated position as an outsider.

Potter was generous with his time and expertise, sending people recordings of his music and writing long and detailed replies to his extensive range of correspondents who turned to him with questions and for advice on music. He was a public figure through his radio talks and teaching, as well as in newspaper features and reviews. Thus, there are a large number of descriptions in his letters about his own compositions and their genesis. This reveals his ongoing re-assessment of them, which contrasts with the customary one-off programme notes from a performance. It also means that variations in remembering may be looked at more closely:

> Trauma is often understood, in part, as a disturbance of memory; psychologists even earlier than Freud remarked upon the difficulty their patients had in remembering and narrating the details of traumatic events.[29]

On the whole, when comparing variations in descriptions of events in his life in Potter's writings, one realizes that he had the gift of being able to communicate in different ways with different people, suiting his style to his audience. When writing to people outside Ireland about his life as a professional composer in Ireland, he took a more judicious and less jaundiced view of the country than if he were writing within Ireland about his many day-to-day frustrations with RTÉ, as in this letter from 1976 to a Welsh choir director and organist:

> In spite of the country [the Republic of Ireland] being so poor etc., the RTE people have really taken over the job of being the musical patrons for the whole country. With a very few exceptions, they have commissioned everything I have ever written … Hundreds of arrangements, symphony, concerto, dozens of concert pieces, part-share in four ballets, and even commissioned one opera to celebrate the opening of our TV service 14 years ago, and have just

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[28] From a letter from Potter to Gerald Priestland, BBC Religious Affairs Correspondent, 20 October 1979. Priestland read the letter on air. File No. 7. Fanmail, 1979-80. Potter Archive.

[29] Cizmic, *Performing Pain*, 93.

> commissioned another. They have their faults, of course, but considering that they do this for half a dozen other Irish composers as well, it's an effort which compares very favourably with that of any other radio/TV station that I know of.[30]

Potter knew that he could deal with his trauma through composition, particularly when the right set of circumstances made it possible. This occurred in 1952 when Radio Éireann's Carolan Competition for the composition of a piano concerto led him to write the *Concerto da Chiesa* in order to 'have another stab at the problem of setting one's reactions to human sufferings – one's own and other people's – to music'.[31] Later he composed the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* 'as a thank offering for a happy personal issue out of one of those little local difficulties',[32] which he had the opportunity to write for an RTÉ commission in 1967.

Potter's creative approaches to dealing with trauma were not completely successful because his Second World War post-traumatic stress disorder, as we would now understand it, was worsened by his hereditary component of alcohol addiction.

Potter composed his *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* as a personal testament and expression of his thanksgiving for having triumphed over his own *de profundis* experience of alcoholism. His use of the psalm title *De profundis* (Psalm 130 in the *Book of Common Prayer*[33]) has, occasionally incorrectly been assumed to have some connection with the letter by Oscar Wilde,[34] in which Wilde depicted his sufferings and also his transformation and rebirth. Nevertheless, at the experiential level, both Potter and Wilde used their artistry to process their suffering and transform it, so that they could move on in their lives. It is interesting and emotionally engaging to read their own descriptions of their process; both express the view that an artistic creation is the mediated and transformed result of the artist's response to the experience. Potter wrote:

> There comes a time in most people's lives when the bottom of hell falls out and you drop through it. When it's all safely over, you will, if you are in the creative business, try to put it down in words, shapes or notes. This symphony is such a record.[35]

Wilde wrote:

> I cannot put my sufferings into any form they took, I need hardly say. Art only begins where Imitation ends, but something must come into my work, of fuller memory of words perhaps, of richer cadences, of more curious effects, of simpler architectural order, of some aesthetic quality at any rate.[36]

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[30] Letter from Potter to Eurfryn John, Swansea. 7 December 1976. File No. 7, Fan Mail, 1976–June 1977. Potter Archive.

[31] Letter from Potter to Fanny Feehan. 26 September 1974. File No. 13, Personal, 1974–75. Potter Archive.

[32] From a programme note written by Potter for the first performance of the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*.

[33] The author suggests that by using the Latin titles and numbering of the Psalms from the *Book of Common Prayer*, Potter avoided drawing attention to the denominational differences that are exposed by the varied numberings of the Psalms in different versions of the Bible.

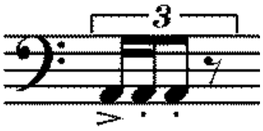
[34] The title *De Profundis* was given to Wilde's letter by Robert Ross who published an edited version in 1905 after Wilde's death. Oscar Wilde (1854–1900) wrote the document in prison in 1897.

[35] From a short programme note for the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* written by the composer. Potter Archive.

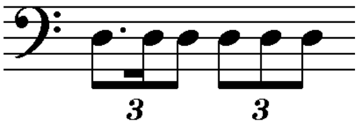
[36] From the 1913 edition of *De Profundis* by Oscar Wilde (ed. Robert Ross).

Rhythmic Motifs in the Sinfonia "de Profundis" and The Cornet of Horse

In the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*, Potter objectified DTs (delirium tremens, associated with alcoholism) as 'Sergeant Death', and the 'black dog on the shoulder' in the rhythmic motif.[37] He described the rhythmic motif as 'that accursed bête noire of a three-note irruption […] it's still there as an insidious background'[38] (see Example 1). Although he succeeded in objectifying the trauma of his World War II experiences and alcoholism through his music, it was to remain a presence in his life, even after the highly successful first performance of the symphony.



Example 1: Potter: *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*, I, bar 1.



Example 2: Potter, *The Cornet of Horse*, bar 34.

The percussive qualities of a rhythmic motif indicating scenes of battle—whether with guns or against addiction—is used again by Potter in his 1975 cantata *The Cornet of Horse*, a setting of Constantine FitzGibbon's translation of Rilke's ballad *Der Fahnenjunker* (which describes war-time experiences in seventeenth-century Austria). Here Potter foregrounds the hoof beats of a galloping horse in this example and its subsequent modifications (see Example 2). Potter's compositional use of hard, gunfire-like, short, repeated rhythms is an example of the externalisation of internal pain, akin to moving the body to create noise. In her discussion of Galina Ustvolskaya's Sixth Piano Sonata (1988). Cizmic writes:

> The physical aggression that Ustvolskaya calls for from a pianist draws attention to the physical nature of music and raises the possibility that music's bodily performance – in addition to its composed and sonic attributes – can serve as a way to bear witness to suffering.[39]

Before the first broadcast performance of *The Cornet of Horse* in June 1977, John O'Donovan's 'Music Notes' in the RTÉ Guide draws attention to:

> the dark menace of the repeated figure at the beginning of the ballad[40] … for those hoof-beats are a death notice, and death, remarks Dr Potter grimly, is the apotheosis of heroism: 'And at the end of it all, a woman's tears, tears, tears. Just like it was in 1683, 1783, 1883 – and still will be in 1983 … The poet conceived the work in the high noon of 19th-century militarist nationalism: the translator and composer in the remorseful morning after the second half of the 20th: but all three seem to have come to the same conclusion.'[41]

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[37] This author's opinion.

[38] Letter from Potter to Charles Acton. 16 March 1969. Potter Archive.

[39] Cizmic, *Performing Pain*, 67.

[40] The text of *Der Fahnenjunker* by Carl Maria Rilke tells of the young Count von Langenau who joined the international army raised to fight the Turks who had invaded Austria in 1683.

[41] From 'John O'Donovan's Music Notes' in the RTÉ Guide for 17 June 1977. Potter Archive.

Writing to a correspondent about his *Concerto da Chiesa* for piano and orchestra, that 'it had been building up in my mind over many years … it was simply my way of putting down in music all that I wanted to get off my chest concerning the 1939-45 war',[42] Potter likens the composition process and the result to a memoir: 'there didn't seem to be any point in competing with the generals in memoir writing – and most of the things I wanted to express would never have been permitted in writing.'[43] This is an aspect of Maria Cizmic's view that 'Language supplies only one possible communicative mode; music's nature as performance provides an embodied medium that can access and convey sensations of pain.'[44]

Telling the Story: Visiting the Past and Playing with Signs

Within the narrative of the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*, the artist is concerned to create his own response to an event or idea, not to 'write about' it. This response is the result of his psychological processing of his memories and experiences: 'As far as I am concerned, music is something that should be mixed in with the rest of life.'[45]

In his programme note, Potter further distanced the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* from the conventional form and structure of the 'traditional' symphony, writing that he used the movements of the symphony to reflect aspects of the psychological foundation of the work. This agrees with Kofi Agawu's writings on music and semiotics, about using 'sonata form' as a topic: 'Use of a form like sonata, too, may suggest a new awareness that takes the utterance out of a first-level efficacious or natural use to a second-level quotational or marked use.'[46] Potter described the symphony's structure in different ways to different people. In a letter to Acton, he described it as one long movement—where the first movement becomes the first group of subjects, the second and third movements become the second and third group of subjects, the fourth movement is the development and the fifth is the recapitulation and coda. To his former music master at Clifton College, the organist Douglas Fox (who had lost his right arm in the World War I), he described it as having a:

> Twofold architectural scheme: a set of variations – free fantasias – running through all five movements on the tune of "Remember God's Goodness, Oh! Thou Man" …. But ending up with the triumphant metrical tune to NISI QUIA DOMINUS (And please, when listening to it – please regard it as what it was and should be – the Calvinist Te Deum – NOT the Anglican 'Earth shall be fair'). But apart from this, there's a note row – you hear it right away in the first violins --- and it supplies everything else to fit around "Remember, Man" ... Like the Bach obbligato to a Chorale. The emotional motivation for writing it is obvious in general, but private property in particular: you probably know enough about that class of thing yourself, anyway.[47]

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[42] Letter from Potter to Rev. Sr Cara Nagle. 2 December 1976. File No. 7, Fan Mail, 1976–June 1977. Potter Archive.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Cizmic, *Performing Pain*, 68.

[45] Letter from Potter to W.A. Newman, 26 July 1969. File No. 1, Miscellaneous, 1969–70. Potter Archive.

[46] Agawu, *Music as Discourse,* 47.

[47] Letter from Potter to Douglas Fox. 15 February, 1977. File No. 13, Personal, 1976–7. Potter Archive.

Potter's different descriptions of the structure of the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* are both valid and his interesting openness about the symphony's 'psychological foundation' sheds more light on the symphony and on its composer. The differences may be accounted for by his different correspondents and by the dates, the one to Charles Acton before the symphony's first performance in 1969, which flattered him into understanding the new work; and the other to Douglas Fox, Potter's former school music master and mentor, eight years of reflection later in 1977.

The wealth of notes and words by Potter on his *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* is a rewarding area for semiotic speculation. In programme notes and letters, he described his themes and how he used them. He outlined the construction of the symphony and its development, 'per Ardua ad Astra' (through trouble to the stars)[48]. Potter also expanded on the characteristics of the five movements, such as the nightmare section of the fourth movement: 'which is actually things being played at once that you'd normally hear played one after another. If you think of Joyce's Nighttown[49] scenes, it'll give you some kind of an idea of what I hope this will sound like'.[50] He used several compositional devices to depict 'his own experience' of 'the 'per Ardua ad Astra' plot'[51] and this starting point leads one to look within the symphony with fresh eyes and ears. So, for example, Burn writes:

> The use of notation to create the frequently changing metre in bars 1–19 indicates that all is not well in this world. The composer is caught in the effects of alcoholism, with the rhythmic motif a constant, menacing reminder of the demons he wishes to escape from, and the precarious precision of the note row becomes another threatening presence. Every note is in its correct place, but the imitative semiquaver note row entries on violins and viola from bar 20 are relentless in their precision, with the militaristic rhythmic motif heard on changing pitches in the cellos and basses, ending on F in bar 26 … Now, the composer is in the army and it is the trumpet, with its military associations, playing the note row (bar 28), flanked and guarded by the rhythmic motif on the horns. The composer is mocked, as the note row is heard again on the trumpet in bars 30–31, and then pushed around as the note row is played once more, but this time backwards, in the retrograde version, in an 'Alice-through-the-looking-glass' dislocation from normality …
>
> … The principal theme of the symphony, *Remember, O thou man*, is heard in tentative fragments from bar 34. Into the mental instability comes the dim recollection of an old tune, perhaps representing family heritage, background, security in religious truths, repentance and salvation. It grows stronger and more affirmative, stressing God's goodness (see Example 3):

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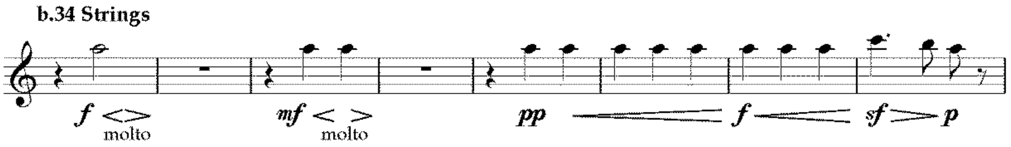
[48] 'through trouble to the stars': quoted by Potter in his programme note for the first performance of the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* on 23 March 1969.

[49] A reference to Episode 15, *Circe*, from *Ulysses* (1922) by James Joyce. Stephen Dedalus and Leopold Bloom visit Nighttown, Joyce's fictionalised red-light district in Dublin. Their hallucinatory experiences reflect their fears and passions.

[50] From an RTÉ Radio interview with A.J. Potter in March 1969—a few days before the first performance of the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*. Potter Archive and Contemporary Music Centre.

[51] From Potter's programme note for the first performance.



Example 3: Potter, *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*, I, bars 34–41

> The strings repeat the first two bars of *Remember, O thou man*, emphasising the *arsis – thesis – stasis* shape (the final two bars of Example 3). The tension is increased by the violins, who make several entries with the distinctive motif of the last four notes of Example 3: an ascending minor third interval followed by a descending scalar minor third, with its sense of pent-up yearning and suppressed energy.
>
> At rehearsal letter C, bar 50, the woodwind, in harmony, play the first phrase of *Remember, O thou man* complete. Whenever this occurs, the effect is of a woodwind chorale, providing surety and stability for the hearer and a structural element within the symphony. Given Potter's reverence for J.S. Bach and his use of a chorale in the *Concerto da Chiesa*, for example, this chorale-like form is a self-evident choice.[52]

It is clear that despite his years at Clifton College and at the Royal College of Music, Potter regarded his fundamental musical training as having taken place at All Saints, singing liturgical music by many different composers. It is worth bearing this in mind when considering the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* and *Concerto da Chiesa*, particularly their thematic material. In both these works, which Potter composed after processing traumatic events and memories, he turned to liturgical vocal music for his themes. In the *Concerto da Chiesa*, his theme—which he later described as a 'motto theme'—was a chorale melody: *Herzlich tut mich verlangen* (the origin of the hymn tune *Passion Chorale,* with its Good Friday associations). The work ends with a triumphant coda.

Similar characteristics are found in the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*, where the pre-existing theme—the Ravenscroft carol *Remember, O thou man*—is triumphantly transformed at the end into *Old 124th*. This tune is associated with the metrical form of Psalm 124, *Nisi quia Dominus*. The Psalm was regarded by Potter's Ulster Presbyterian forbears as their 'Te Deum of deliverance' ('If the Lord himself had not been on our side')[53]. The transformation of the themes is brought about by retrograding the end of *Remember, O thou man* so it becomes the beginning of *Nisi quia Dominus*, thus embodying the symbolism of his personal transformation from his 'de profundis' state to 'spiritual recovery and (for the time being of course) triumph over the powers of darkness',[54] as he described it a few years later. See

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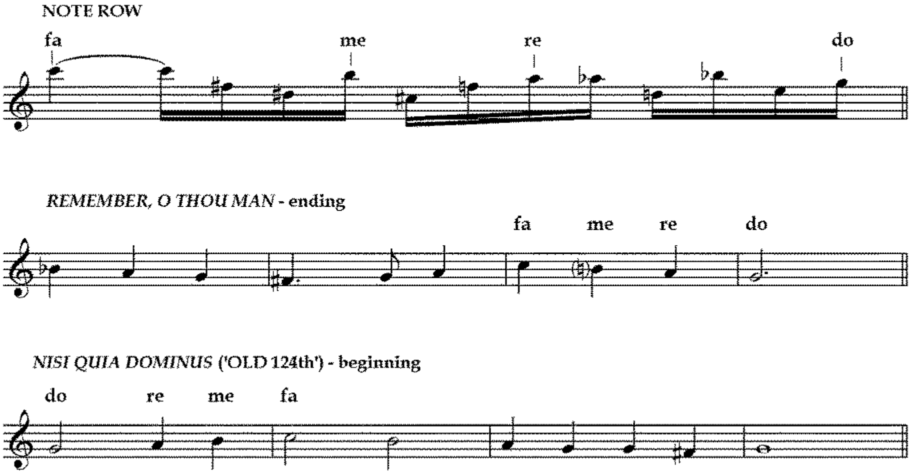
[52] Burn, "Per ardua ad astra."

[53] The signing of the National Covenant in Edinburgh on 28 February 1638 provoked the government into imposing a 'Black Oath' upon Presbyterians in Scotland and Ulster who had signed the Covenant. This oath, which led to the nickname 'Blackmouths', required obedience to the king in all matters, including expression of worship. This meant allegiance to the Anglican Church and its episcopal tenets, to which the Presbyterian conscience could not conform. According to the website of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland, http://www.presbyterianhistoryireland.com/history/the-eagle-wing-1636/ this is the explanation for the term 'Blackmouths' and not 'the fanciful fable of blackberry festooned faces', as the website remarks. A.J. Potter told the author that his ancestors had been known as 'blackmouthed Presbyterians' because of their blackberry-stained faces and the necessity of worshipping in the open air.

[54] Letter from Potter to Rev. Sr Cara Nagle. 2 December 1976. File No. 7, Fan Mail, 1976–June 77. Potter Archive.

Example 4, which also shows the descending tetrad (simply a group of four notes, 'tetrad' being Potter's preferred term for the sequence), fa, me, re, do in the Note row as it and the *Remember, O thou man* theme are reversed to create *Nisi quia Dominus*:


NOTE ROW
fa
me
re
do
REMEMBER, O THOU MAN - ending
fa
me
re
do
NISI QUIA DOMINUS ('OLD 124th') - beginning
do
re
me
fa

Example 4: Potter, *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*, Note row, *Remember, O thou man* (final 4 bars), and *Nisi quia Dominus* (*Old 124th*) (first 4 bars).

The semiotic connotations of Potter's use of these themes that he knew from his childhood and his Ulster Presbyterian heritage are explored in Burn's PhD thesis and these ideas are also summarised by Cizmic:

> In a world that witnesses the rewriting of historical memory-particularly of traumatic events-the act of quotation seems to lay claim to the idea of a real, authentic past … the act of quotation itself carries the weight of realism and history.[55]

Jigs and Slip jigs in the Narrative

In the Finale of the *Concerto da Chiesa* the theme is a slip jig (see Example 5), to which he had referred in a letter to Fanny Feehan: 'and last of all, the finale – that slip jig which ---- but wild horses will never get me to say just exactly what set of circumstances it was that dictated that particular piece.'[56] Several years later, when composing the nightmare fourth movement, Scherzo, of the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*, Potter was to use a jig (Example 6) and slip jig (Example 7) (derived from the *Remember, O thou Man* theme) to create a relentless, disturbing ostinato. A feature of these jig and slip jig melodies in the symphony is the disguised three note rhythmic motif that is heard with the accent reversed so it falls on the third note (see Example 1, the original rhythmic motif with the accent on the first note). Maria Cizmic's recognition of repetitive patterns as a feature of music written as an outcome of trauma is pertinent here.

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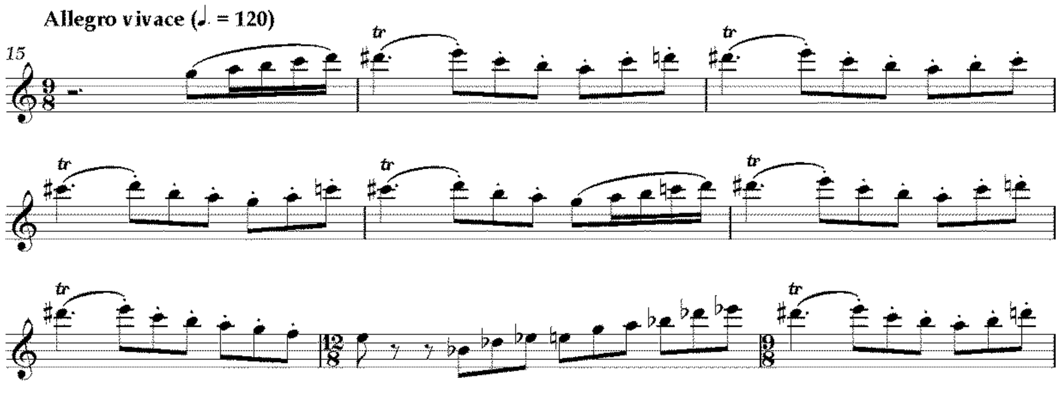
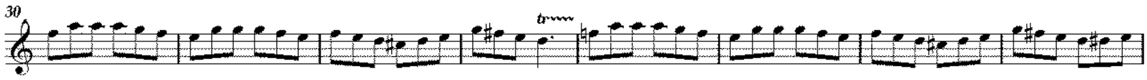
[55] Cizmic, *Performing Pain*, 63.

[56] Letter from Potter to Fanny Feehan. 26 September 1974. File No. 13, Personal, 1974–75. Potter Archive.

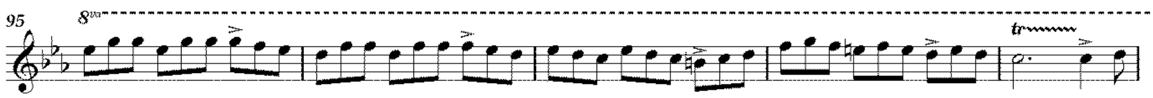


Example 5: Potter, *Concerto da Chiesa*, IV, Finale, bars 15-23



Example 6: Potter, *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*, IV, bars 30–37

The slip jig grows out of the jig, Example 7:



Example 7: Potter, *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*, IV, bars 95–99

The jig and slip jig deliberately recall memories of Ireland, but they are unpleasant: hypocritical and endlessly repeating; travelling, but never arriving. Potter writes about his use of a slip jig in the *Concerto da Chiesa* to represent 'man's inhumanity to man' and

> That the particular form of this happens to be that of an Irish dance (a slip jig) isn't inappropriate since we've managed through the ages to have our own share of highly unchristian behaviour will, I take it, be not too offensively obvious.[57]

Changes in programme ideas in the 'Concerto da Chiesa'

The ideas in the 'programme' of a musical work may change over time, as Potter's did for the *Concerto da Chiesa*. His 1966 text relates the *Concerto da Chiesa* to Christ's Passion, whereas his later writings and radio interview in the early 1970s connect it to his wartime experiences, and emphasise the suffering of World War II.

To Andy O'Mahony, in an RTÉ radio interview in *c.*1974, Potter described the *Concerto da Chiesa* as expressing his feelings about war. It began as an organ Prelude and Fugue (when he was in his teens), based on the chorale melody *Herzlich tut mich verlangen*—as he 'had already done various choral prelude types of settings on the same 'passion' tune'.[58] He ran into difficulties with the fugue, for:

> although I was (forgive the rather high-sounding bit) what you might call spiritually up to the prelude's contemplation of suffering – which one may well

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[57] From a text by Potter in 1966 about the *Concerto da Chiesa*. Potter Archive.

[58] Letter from Potter to Fanny Feehan. 26 September 1974. File No. 13, Personal, 1974–75. Potter Archive.

> be in one's teens – or I was, anyhow – I just felt I hadn't seen enough to justify the rest.
>
> So I put it on one side – and didn't come back to it until long after – when having seen all the combat bits from Finland to Burma – plus the blitz and the 1943 Bengal Famine and the aftermath of it all in the survivors of the concentration camps in Malaysia and Indonesia, I thought one might have another stab at the problem of setting one's reaction to human sufferings – one's own and other peoples – to music.[59]

When the subject of the 1953 Carolan Competition was announced as a piano concerto, he realised that this was an opportunity to reimagine his abandoned organ work. As a piano concerto, with an orchestral colouring that he could not achieve on the organ, it won the competition. By then he was describing the concerto as 'an expression in music of his recollections of the troubled decade beginning in 1939',[60] although, as he pointed out in his typically humorous way: 'With its highly personalised evocations of foreboding, conflict, suffering, love and ultimate triumph, the concerto is obviously a romantic one.'[61]

Concealed within the Counterpoint: 'St Patrick's Breastplate', the 'Missa Brevis' and the Hidden Key in the Correspondence

The *Missa Brevis* is another work full of semiotic potential to connect subject matter and thematic motifs with Potter's life. Like the *Concerto da Chiesa,* Potter began the *Missa Brevis* in his teens, laid it aside (although for longer than he might have anticipated, due to the Second World War intervening), and took it up again under the stimulus of a competition in 1951. It is one of Potter's earliest mature compositions, and one in which he used an existing tune with religious or liturgical connotations as part of his thematic material. Potter gave the descriptive appellation to his *Missa Brevis* of 'Lorica Sancti Patricii' or 'St Patrick's Breastplate'. It is for a cappella six-part chorus (SSATBB), with a five-part semi-chorus (SSATB), plus soloists drawn from the semi-chorus. The 'St Patrick's Breastplate' appellation has caused some puzzlement because the well-known hymn tune *St Patrick's Breastplate* (Irish traditional, arranged by Charles Villiers Stanford) for the hymn known as *The Breastplate of St Patrick,* is not used as a traditional cantus firmus in the *Missa Brevis*, but in fragments within the Credo, Kyrie, and Agnus Dei, as indicated by the bracketed sections in Example 8.[62]

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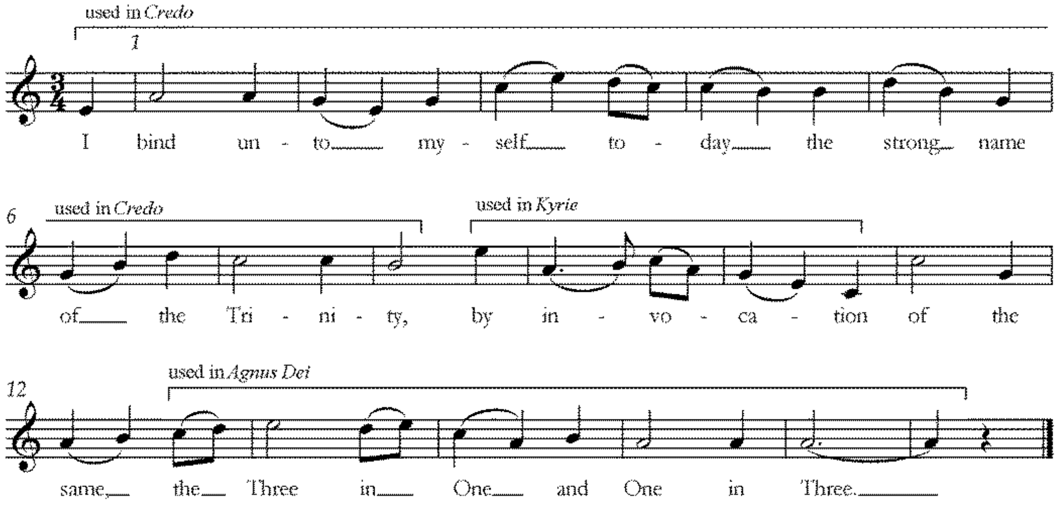
[59] Ibid.

[60] From Potter's programme note for the *Concerto da Chiesa*. Potter Archive.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Example 8 is the melody and text of the first verse of 'St Patrick's Breastplate' (transposed up a tone into the Aeolian mode). *Church Hymnal*, The Standing Committee of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 592 (no. 322).

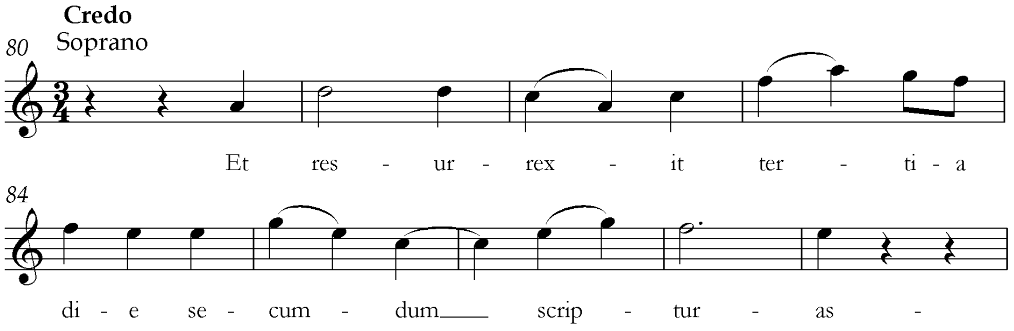

used in *Credo*
1
I bind un - to my - self to - day the strong name
6
used in *Credo*
used in *Kyrie*
of the Tri - ni - ty, by in - vo - ca - tion of the
12
used in *Agnus Dei*
same, the Three in One and One in Three.

Example 8: Irish traditional, arr. Stanford: '*St Patrick's Breastplate*'

Potter adapted the traditional form of the cantus firmus by breaking it up amongst the voices (as had been done by many composers, particularly in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), almost concealing it within the counterpoint. Although he did not indicate it in the score, there is a letter in the Potter Archive to a correspondent in North Wales in which Potter wrote about the *Missa Brevis* and described how and where he used the tune *St Patrick's Breastplate* in the Mass:

> It's the last example of the old large-scale Tridentine Mass – before the revision of the liturgy following Vatican II […] I won't say anything about the idiom except that I do use in it the old tune to – what's known in English as "St. Patrick's Breastplate" … in bits & pieces as part of the contrapuntal strands – notably in the middle section of the KYRIE … ("Christe Eleison").. the 'Et Resurrexit' of the CREDO … and the Dona Nobis Pacem part of the AGNUS DEI.[63]

To date, this is the only evidence and explanation that has been found in the Potter Archive of his use of the tune *St Patrick's Breastplate* in the *Missa Brevis*. The following musical examples—9, 10 and 11—illustrate Potter's transformations of his original fragmented theme (see Example 8) in the *Missa Brevis*:


Credo
80
Soprano
Et res - ur - rex - it ter - ti - a
84
di - e se - cum - dum scrip - tur - as -

Example 9: Potter, '*Missa Brevis*', 'Credo', bars 80–88 (see Example 8, bars 1–8)

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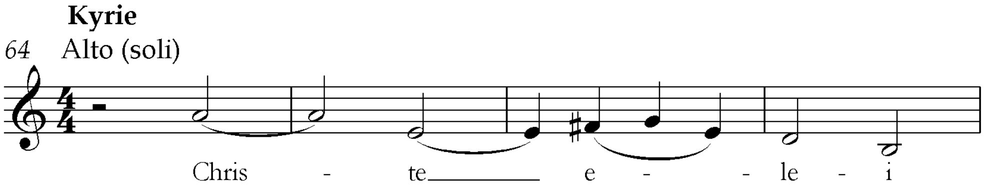
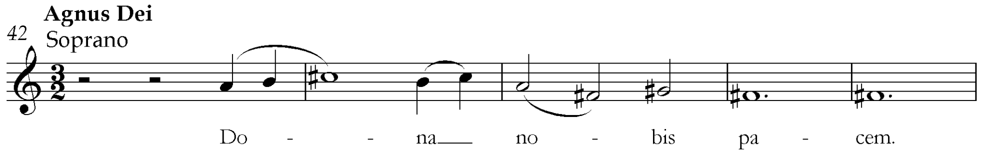
[63] Letter from Potter to Martin Apeldoorn, Corwen, North Wales. 2 September 1977. File No. 7, Fan Mail. Potter Archive.



Example 10: Potter, *Missa Brevis*, 'Kyrie eleison', bars 64–67 (see Example 8, bars 8–10)



Example 11: Potter, *Missa Brevis*, 'Agnus Dei', bars 42–46 (see Example 8, bars 12–17)

Nationalism and Traditional Music

Potter's use of the tune *St Patrick's Breastplate* is fragmentary and fleeting in the *Missa Brevis*, but the fact that he used it at all opens up an interesting field for speculation. He began to compose the *Missa Brevis* whilst studying with Vaughan Williams at the Royal College of Music (1936–38), and so it is possible that it was at Vaughan Williams's suggestion that he used an Irish traditional air—given Vaughan Williams's status as a collector of folk-music and one who was steeped in the sound and atmosphere of the native music of Britain and Ireland:

> V W of course, he insisted that as an 'Irishman, you must learn your own country's music' which I did – what I didn't know already… But my concern then was mainly with simultaneous sounds – which folk music doesn't really help with… I don't think I really took on much of the V W technique – certainly not the orchestration which I could have taught him about anyway … But one did learn how to learn, if you know what I mean. He really did make you follow the technique of blocking out a whole Bach cantata each week, and then writing one to the same pattern.[64]

St Patrick's Breastplate is perhaps the most iconic Irish tune Potter could have chosen as the foundation of his Mass and is particularly suitable for a religious work. It also affirms its national symbolism and asserts Potter's identity as an Irishman. Potter referred to Vaughan Williams in a letter in 1960 to a friend in America involved in a production of Vaughan Williams' opera *Riders to the Sea*:

> Congratulations on 'Riders to the Sea'. I was actually studying under VW at the RCM when it was first produced there. You know, that man was more Celt than English whatever they may say. He had a great understanding of things Irish.[65]

Michael Bowles had been music director and conductor at Radio Éireann in the 1940s and possessed an international vision for the way the RÉ Orchestra and public concerts could be improved and developed. He wrote to Potter in 1958 from Indiana, where he lectured and conducted, advising him not to be:

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[64] Letter from Potter to Ian Lord (Norwich, England). 23 December. 1974. File No. 7, Fan Mail, 1972–5. Potter Archive.

[65] Letter from Potter to John P. Cavanagh. 19 April 1960. General file, 1/1/60–31/12/61. Potter Archive.

> too much affected by the local pressures of being "Irish" and "doing something for Irish music" and the wonderful country songs and dances that are our national heritage and so on. This is all doctrinaire, propagandist, stuff. I hope you will write freely and bring out what you have, whatever it is. In Irish music, any consideration of style and trends is useless and, indeed, harmful unless it comes after the music has been written. Vaughan Williams was always deeply interested in folk-music but we must remember that when it came to writing extended works, he certainly owes more to Ravel than to Cecil Sharp. As a mark of the poor thinking on the subject, I remember the bold Jack Larchet's "Macananty's Reel" was always conceded more importance than those pieces poor Fred May wrote in his young days when he had signs of a real and first-class talent. An arrangement of a country tune with no originality of chording or instrumentation, it impressed people because it conformed to the simple-minded, pre-fabricated notion of what was "Irish" music. By simply writing the best music you can, even if you never heard of a folk song, you are writing Irish music. After all, you are an Irishman, aren't you?
>
> By all this, I don't mean, of course, that the corpus of Irish folk-music is negligible. It does enshrine melodic idioms and harmonic implications that have very important possibilities. A thorough understanding of them may lead to a solution of some of those problems left unsolved when they adopted the facile compromise of Equal Temperament at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[66]

Potter was always very clear that he would use whatever style was best suited for the work in hand, and he expressed his thoughts on traditional music and on his harmonic techniques in a letter to Walter Piston at Harvard University in 1958:

> I have also tried (and I think this is one of the most important aspects) to bring the melodic idiom of folk tunes into some kind of relationship with modern harmonic thought – or perhaps better say to evolve from the particular nuances of folk idiom an harmonic structure both appropriate in it and derived from it which can then be applied to original composition […] I have managed to find a most satisfactory relationship between the pentatonic scale and the principal [*sic*] of the superposed chords of the fourths: the result is that folk tunes can now be harmonised in a way that shews them to be as keyless as they really are.[67]

Far-flung Musical Memories Brought Together in the 'Mass for Christian Unity'

Potter composed the *Missa pro Unitate Christianorum* (Mass for Christian Unity) in 1977 at the instigation of Dom Paul McDonnell, OSB of Glenstal Abbey, County Limerick. It was for an ecumenical service in Dublin to mark the beginning of Christian Unity Week on 22 January 1978 and was performed in the Dominican Church of St Saviour, Dominic Street by a united Dublin choir: a combination of the choirs of St Bartholomew's Church, Clyde Road (Church of Ireland) and St Mary's Church, Haddington Road (Roman Catholic).

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[66] Letter from Michael Bowles to Potter. 17 July 1958. General file, 8/6/58–30/12/59. Potter Archive.

[67] Letter from Potter to Walter Piston. 30 December 1958. Potter Archive.

Potter was lukewarm in his enthusiasm for the 'new' form of the Mass in English, which tended to be written in a musically simple style and performed by flexible forces. In a letter to Rev. Sr Cara Nagle,[68] he wrote: 'the simplified resources of the churches have been getting to be such that they don't provide the opportunity for any seriously-inclined composer to do justice to either himself or the Holy Ghost.'[69] In a letter to Dom McDonnell in April 1971, telling him of a forthcoming broadcast of the *Missa Brevis*, Potter stressed that this was the kind of work in which he could do justice to himself and the Holy Ghost:

> [The *Missa Brevis*] is a rather ancient work and I began it when I was 18 and still a student: furthermore, it does rather represent an attitude to church music that is a bit out of date. However, it does still give an idea of the kind of thing I would like to write if there were ever a chance to find the right sort of choir etc.[70]

He obviously felt that even though it had to be a musically much simpler setting than his *Missa Brevis*,[71] it was appropriate that the musical themes in the *Mass for Christian Unity* should have some connection with church music of earlier times. Semiotically, he may also have thought it was even more important that his musical themes in the new Mass should convey the pain experienced by others and the sufferings he had witnessed, thus making a very real connection between the music, words and spirit of the Mass.

In India, Burma, Malaysia, and Indonesia during World War II, and during his post-war work in Nigeria, Potter had taken the opportunity to learn all he could of the local languages and music. The horrors he had witnessed during the War—particularly the brutality of the Japanese, and the suffering of so many people, combined with the local music he had heard—sometimes inspired the music he was to write years later; an indication of the deep impression such experiences had on him, and of his mental processing.

In a letter to Maureen Drake, Potter went into detail about his inspiration for the music of the *Mass for Christian Unity*:

> For that 'Christian Unity' Mass I used some pretty far flung musical memories… The Our Father' was 'inspired' by the old Lutheran Chorale they used for the 'Vater Unser' in Germany …. The 'Gloria' by some themes from the Burgundian 'Chanson d'Agincourt' (it's the old tradition of the polyphonic & earlier composers to use all sorts of themes – religious .. and even very secular ones like 'L'Homme armé) …. The Eucharistic antiphon and some other parts are what I remember of an Ibo song they used to sing all night in M'bawsi[72] called – " 'n 'm unya mahla 'ngwahya 'n'ma" – or that's as near as you can get to it in Roman lettering .. and for the Agnus, I used an old beggar's chant that

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[68] Letter from Potter to Rev. Sr Cara Nagle. 2 December 1976. File No. 7, Fan Mail, 1976–June 1977. Potter Archive.

[69] Probably a reference to the changes to the Roman Catholic liturgy following the Second Vatican Council (1962–5).

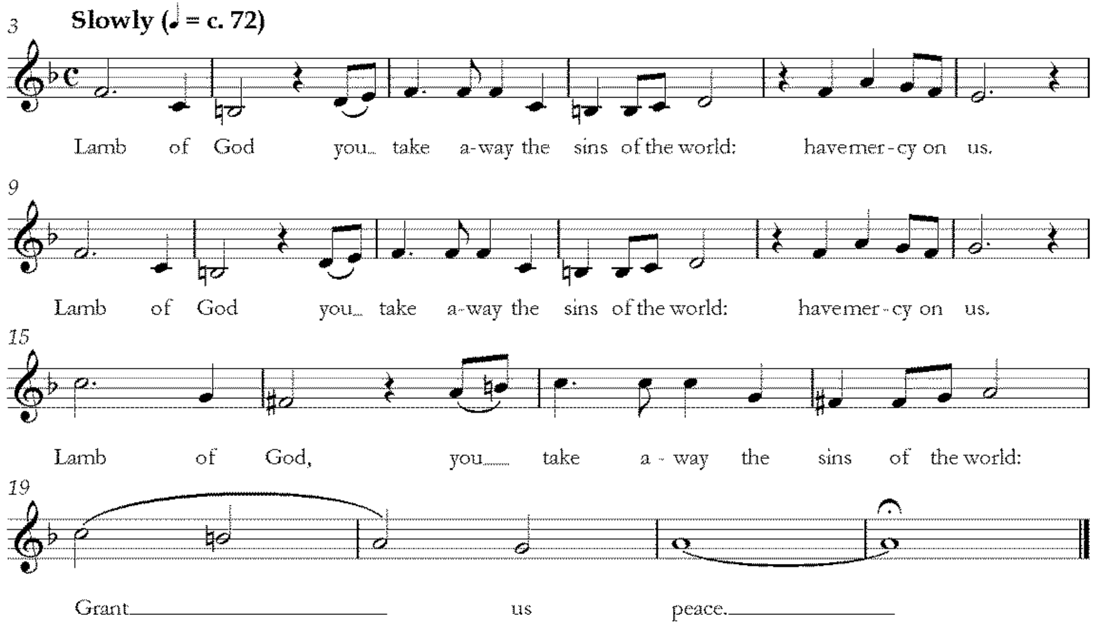
[70] Letter from Potter to Rev. Dom Paul McDonnell OSB, 5 April 1971. File No. 13, Personal, 1969–73. Potter Archive.

[71] His *Missa Brevis Lorica Sancti Patricii*, a traditional Tridentine Latin Mass, won the 1951 Festival of Britain (Northern Ireland) prize for composition. It was regarded as being too difficult by several choirs in Northern Ireland, possibly because when he wrote it, he had in mind the standard of his former Choir of All Saints' Church.

[72] When he worked for the United Africa Company in Nigeria after the Second World War.

> used to drive me up the walls when I was lying in the base hospital in Ranchi …
> It stuck in my mind though.[73]

The Agnus Dei in the *Mass for Christian Unity*, inspired by the beggar's chant whilst he was in hospital with hepatitis in Ranchi, India in 1943, is Example 12:


3
Slowly (♩ = c. 72)
Lamb of God you... take a-way the sins of the world: have mer-cy on us.
9
Lamb of God you... take a-way the sins of the world: have mer-cy on us.
15
Lamb of God, you... take a - way the sins of the world:
19
Grant us peace.

Example 12: Potter, *Missa pro Unitate Christianorum*, 'Agnus Dei', bars 3–22

In a letter to Valerie Trimble[74] written in February 1978, Potter described the same circumstances thirty-five years earlier:

> it was while convalescing from infective hepatitis contracted on that cursed Goppe Bazar front in early '43 that I heard the Indian beggar intoning the tune which I used earlier in the year [i.e. the current year, 1978] for the Agnus of that Unity Mass.[75]

Potter mentioned this incident in response to Valerie's news that her husband John Williams[76] (a boyhood friend of Potter's and a fellow chorister at All Saints) had been ill with hepatitis. By his next remark to Valerie: 'I hope that John's [hepatitis] won't take 35 years to pay off!',[77] Potter implies that out of his own sufferings from hepatitis in 1943, something good had finally come in the inspiration for part of his new Mass.

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[73] Letter from Potter to Maureen Drake. 30 October 1977. File No. 13, Personal, 1976–77. Potter Archive.

[74] Potter knew Valerie Trimble (1917–1980) and her sister Joan (1915–2000), who were from Enniskillen, Co. Fermanagh, when all three were students at the Royal College of Music. The Trimble Sisters were an internationally known piano duo and Joan was also a distinguished composer.

[75] Letter from Potter to Valerie Trimble. 7 February 1978. File No. 13, Personal, 1978–80. Potter Archive.

[76] John Williams (1920–2002). Previously an assistant to Herbert Howells at St John's College, Cambridge, Williams was Master of Music at the Chapel Royal of St Peter ad Vincula in the Tower of London from 1966 to 1988.

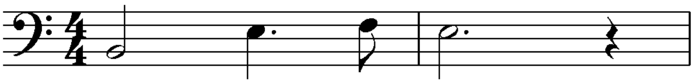
[77] Letter from Potter to Valerie Trimble. 7 February 1978. File No. 13, Personal, 1978-80. Potter Archive.

After the 'Missa Brevis': Three Unrelated Yet Connected 'Patrick works'

In 1965, Potter set an Irish translation of the 'Deer's Cry' section of the *St Patrick's Breastplate* text as *Lúireach Phádraigh,* a cantata for male voice choir and orchestra, commissioned to celebrate the opening of a new concert hall in the male-only St Patrick's Training College in Dublin. The work features distinctive elements of Potter's harmonic style such as bi-tonalism and modal harmonies, which are heard in some of his other works of the period, particularly in the *Hail Mary* (1966) and *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* (1968).

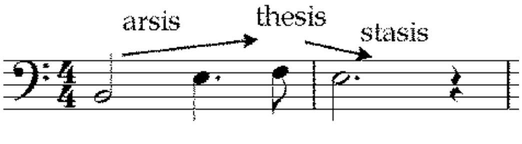
His penultimate work was a 1979 commission from the Dublin Organ Festival for an anthem for the choir and organ of St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin—to be sung at the Festal Evensong service in the cathedral, where Potter had sung professionally as a bass Vicar Choral in the early 1950s. He wrote *Clamos Cervi*, 'The Deer's Cry', for choir and organ, setting his own Latin translation of the section of 'St Patrick's Breastplate' that begins 'Christ be with me', using a melodic motif from *Lúireach Phádraigh* created from the *St Patrick's Breastplate* melody. Written for SATB choir and organ—with the soprano and alto parts sung by boy choristers— *Clamos Cervi* exploits the antiphonal resources of the choir and the cathedral by dividing the music between the decani and cantoris sides of the choir, as is traditional in Anglican cathedral anthems. His intimate knowledge of the organ and the building meant that he could write specifically for the unique acoustic of the cathedral. Potter was present at the service when *Clamos Cervi* was sung by the Choir of St Patrick's Cathedral, six days before his death.

Both *Lúireach Phádraigh* and *Clamos Cervi* have harmonic similarities and begin with a rising perfect fourth, as in the 'St Patrick's Breastplate' melody (Example 8). See Example 13:



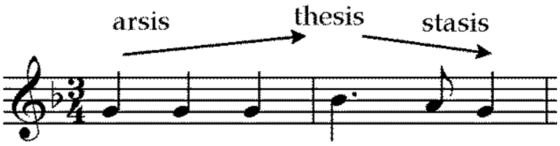
Example 13: Potter, *Lúireach Phádraigh* and *Clamos Cervi*, melodic motif.

Like the first two bars of the *Remember, O thou man* theme (Example 15) in the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*, the melodic motif in Example 13 also demonstrates the three-part narrative of *arsis – thesis – stasis* (see Example 14). The effect of the *thesis* is heightened by the dotted crotchet-quaver rhythm, as in *Remember, O thou man.*



Example 14: Potter, *Lúireach Phádraigh* and *Clamos Cervi*, melodic motif, *arsis – thesis – stasis* qualities

The melodic motif derived from the *Remember, O thou man* theme in the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"* is laden with such semiotic references as tension, release, Irishness, longing and homecoming (see Example 15). This way of creating and heightening emotional growth, and tension and release in music is an aspect of Potter's writing that lies at the heart of his musical language. His writing would have been developed by his training as a young chorister, but probably originated in his family home in Belfast and from his familiarity with the plangency of traditional Irish airs; a plangency made more evocative by singing, for the voice (unlike a piano) has the ability to vary the emotional intensity of a note.



Example 15: Potter, *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*, *Remember, O thou man,* melodic motif, *arsis – thesis – stasis* qualities.

In *Patrick*,[78] Potter's 1962 opera, commissioned for television to a libretto by Donagh MacDonagh,[79] there are marked similarities with *Lúireach Phádraigh* and *Clamos Cervi* in the melodic motifs and even in the setting of 'Christ then be with me, Christ within me' at the end of the opera. The libretto tells of Patrick, a baby of the British Blitz, evacuated to Ireland where he grows up. In a reversal of the historical story of St Patrick, this modern-day Patrick returns to Britain to re-convert the people to Christianity and nearly gets lynched. 'The Cry of the Deer' at the end of the opera is another reversal, using an historical text to draw eras and peoples together. Potter played an inner game in this opera, mirror-imaging characters and their stories between the fifth and twentieth centuries, and transferring the historical text of 'St Patrick's Breastplate' and its message to the twentieth century. Six years later in the *Sinfonia "de Profundis"*, he expressed—through transformation and metamorphosis in the music—a reversal that had taken place in his own life, his own 'de profundis' experience, ('from out of the depths').

Coda

The author's interest in a semiotic and hermeneutic approach to the works discussed here, and in Kaupapa Māori research methodology, in which the researcher has to be part of the research, to be involved in it as a partner, is particularly suited to the ongoing assessment and cataloguing of Potter's music and correspondence in order to create a holistic, nuanced account of the music and its creator. The following quotation on Kaupapa Māori research:

> In any research project the biggest 'gadget' in your research toolkit is you – your experiences of the world, the way you look at things and understand them, the relationships you have with people, and the connectedness you have with your world. [80]

has much in common with Nicholas Cook's support for personal involvement in a piece of music: 'I think that the emphasis many analysts place on objectivity and impartiality can only discourage the personal involvement [of the music listener or practitioner] that is, after all, the only sensible reason for anyone being interested in music.'[81] He develops his ideas:

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[78] For a detailed account of the genesis and production of *Patrick*, see: Patrick Zuk, *Translating national identity into music: representations of 'Traditional Ireland' in A.J. Potter's television opera* Patrick. (Etudes irlandaises, 35, no. 2, 2010). 81–97. Deposited in Durham Research Online, Durham University.

[79] Donagh MacDonagh (1912–1968) wrote the scenario for Potter's very successful ballet *Careless Love*, premiered in 1960 by the National Ballet Company.

[80] https://www.katoa.net.nz/kaupapa-maori/beginning-a-research-project

[81] Nicholas Cook, *A Guide to Musical Analysis* (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1987), 3.

> But none of this happens if you make a strictly 'scientific' analysis of a score – analysing the distribution of intervals in terms of set theory, say, or by means of statistical comparisons. […] This is the musical equivalent of trying to analyse Shakespeare by counting the letters on the page and working out their distribution. Consequently, if you analyse a given composition this way, your analysis may be scientific in the sense of having an explicit methodology, but it will not be at all scientific in the sense of having any meaningful or predictable relationship to the music's physical or psychological reality – that is, to the noise it makes or the effect it has on people. [82]

Here, Cook has championed the importance and significance of the sound of music and of the reality of its ability to affect people both physically and emotionally. Thus, he demonstrates the same truths that Potter exemplified in and through his music—by drawing on his life—and which he expressed through his writings, stating that his aim was to write music that could be both immediately understood by the audience and would continue to reveal new truths.

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[82] Cook, *A Guide to Musical Analysis*, 227.

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Pragmatist Aesthetics as a Framework for Analysing Improvised Music

Charles Watkins

Improvised music is elusive,[1] defying formal analysis or straightforward categorisation.[2] Primarily, it has been understood in relational terms—between musicians, audiences, and environments—but this risks neglecting the aesthetic element itself. Richard Shusterman identifies

> a growing preoccupation with the *anaesthetic* thrust of this century's avant-garde, itself symptomatic of much larger transformations in our basic sensibility as we move increasingly from an experiential to an informational culture.[3]

Following Shusterman, I believe we need to reclaim the priority of aesthetic experience in improvised music discourse, which means bringing together the oft-separated categories of subject and object. Although these have historically been treated as mutually exclusive, even antithetical to each other, I will argue that only by integrating them can we answer the question of whether improvised music has real value, and how we can affirm that whilst retaining a place for personal taste and disagreement. Underlying the whole discussion, therefore, will be the question of shared experience: is it possible to find common ground for making aesthetic judgements, or are judgements only ever individual?

This question is especially pertinent when it comes to discussing improvised music, as it invokes such strong reactions from its practitioners, fans, and critics. It will act as a case study for demonstrating why music cannot be analysed apart from both subject and object, utilizing the recent discipline of pragmatist aesthetics to do so.

Pragmatist Aesthetics

Pragmatist aesthetics is best understood as the aesthetic tradition which developed out of John Dewey's work *Art as Experience*,[4] particularly as appropriated by Richard Shusterman in his book *Pragmatist Aesthetics*.[5] As the name suggests, it is rooted in the philosophical tradition of pragmatism, which Shusterman defines as follows:

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[1] I would like to thank my anonymous peer reviewer for their incisive comments on my paper, all of which have been helpful and thought-provoking.

[2] I define improvised music as 'Music which has improvisation as its most basic element.' This distinguishes it from other improvisatory styles like Indian classical music, flamenco, or baroque—each of which have a more fundamental element: the Indian raga (melodic set), the flamenco compas (rhythmic unit), or the baroque thoroughbass (harmonic structure). See: Derek Bailey, *Improvisation: Its Nature and Practice in Music*, Revised ([s.l.]: Da Capo Press, 1992), 4–5, 14, 22. Improvised music, especially in the record discussed in this essay, often bears strong resemblance to jazz music (in instrumentation and form), but in reality, it is closer to avant-garde and experimental music forms.

[3] Richard Shusterman, *Performing Live: Aesthetic Alternatives for the Ends of Art* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), 15. Henceforth abbreviated to *PL*.

[4] John Dewey, *Art As Experience*, Kindle (New York: Penguin Publishing Group, 1934). Henceforth abbreviated to *AE*.

[5] Richard Shusterman, *Pragmatist Aesthetics: Living Beauty, Rethinking Art*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2000). Henceforth abbreviated to *PA*.

> An empirical rather than an a priori philosophy (the term "empirical" deriving from the Greek word for experience), pragmatism determines meanings and assesses beliefs in terms of their experiential effects, and is thus committed to the empirical procedures of observation and experimental hypothesis testing that form the core of scientific method.[6]

At its most basic, therefore, pragmatist aesthetics is about asserting the priority of our experience of art, as opposed to the theoretical priority of aesthetic idealism. Idealism, Dewey observed, led to a compartmentalizing tendency in the arts, as galleries and museums increasingly 'isolated [art] from the human conditions under which it was brought into being and from the human consequences it engenders in actual life-experience'.[7] Without being experienced, art merely exists as a symbol of cultural (and economic) capital, rather than enriching our lives—which should be its very purpose. Instead, we need to recover 'the continuity of [a]esthetic experience with normal processes of living'.[8] This means understanding aesthetic experience as a necessary part of our being-in-the-world.[9]

Aesthetic experience, for Dewey, is understood as a natural function of the 'living organism', distinguished as 'the clarified and intensified development of traits that belong to every normally complete experience'.[10] It is a holistic experience of perception *and* emotion—the meeting of object and subject in a moment of consummation—that sets aesthetic experience apart in human life.[11] Hence, a sunset provokes an aesthetic experience just as music does. This is why recovering the continuity between life and art is crucial for Dewey: because aesthetic experience is an essential part of a fulfilled human life, art should be treated as a means of achieving this. Compartmentalization ends up treating aesthetic experience as non-essential, because when galleries, concert halls, and museums make exclusive claims to being spaces of aesthetic experience, it is seen as separate from normal life. Consequently, our lived environment becomes uglier, as evidenced in our noisy, smelly, industrial cities. Aesthetics is relegated to the realm of leisure: a luxury for the weekends, rather than actively contributing to a better society.

Emphasizing subjective experience as our mode of interaction with art is a direct affront to the Kantian model of 'disinterested' observation.[12] We cannot interact with art other than as ourselves, bringing with us all that constitutes our background and context—what Donna Haraway describes as 'situated knowledges'.[13] Rather than trying to eliminate our situatedness, prioritizing experience means understanding art as a contingent relationship between subject and object. Disinterestedness, whilst it has characterized formalist criticism in the past, is an impossible ideal—art cannot be abstracted from experience, because it is always seen from somewhere. Similarly at odds with disinterested observation, pragmatist aesthetics argues that art is seen *for* the purpose of aesthetic experience, which itself is aimed towards living a more fulfilled life.

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[6] Richard Shusterman, "The Invention of Pragmatist Aesthetics: Genealogical Reflections on a Notion and a Name," in *Practicing Pragmatist Aesthetics: Critical Perspectives on the Arts*, ed. Wojciech Małecki (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014), 18.

[7] Dewey, *AE*, 1.

[8] Ibid., 9.

[9] 'Being-in-the-world' is a Heideggerian concept essential to his understanding of human existence ('Dasein'). It asserts that we are dependent on our environment, and can only be understood in relationship to it, rather than apart from it. See: Michael Wheeler, "Martin Heidegger," in *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta, Fall 2020, sec. 2.2.3, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/heidegger/#BeiWor.

[10] Ibid., 48.

[11] Ibid., 55.

[12] See, for example: Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of Judgement*, trans. J. H. Bernard, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1914), secs 1, 2, 16, https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/bernard-the-critique-of-judgement.

[13] Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1988): 581.

Although the title of Dewey's work might suggest otherwise, pragmatist aesthetics does not weigh itself down with questions of what art is. Such a question is always cursed with, in Shusterman's terms, 'mapping art's demarcational limits'[14]—it can only ever work backwards, trying to explain what has already happened, but never giving art something to aim for. Pragmatist aesthetics is instead a 'reorientation toward values … that could restore [art's] vitality and sense of purpose'.[15] Improvised music offers a compelling example of such art: it can only be understood through experience, and is always orientated towards experience as its goal. Because its very content is relational, spontaneous, and exploratory, it draws art back towards everyday experience, and everyday experience towards art.

Thus far, my exposition of pragmatist aesthetics has largely been illustrated in terms of individual experience. As I turn to demonstrate why the category of experience offers a promising framework for analysing improvised music, I will simultaneously show how experience provides us with a shared basis from which to talk about the music. To do so, I will talk about pragmatist aesthetics as three stages of experience. First, it recognizes that art always emerges from our experience of the world. Secondly, it shows how these experiences become expressed through form. Finally, it identifies how this form is experienced, rather than treating the art object apart from its goal in reception. Each of these stages will be discussed in relation to *The Worse The Better* (henceforth *TWTB*), a live recording by Peter Brötzmann, John Edwards, and Steve Noble.[16]

The Background of Improvised Music

Any discussion of improvised music must begin with the recognition that '[u]nderstanding the world of art begins with understanding the world of everyday experience.'[17] This means recognizing its political, musical, and historical context. Although this might sound like a naïve attempt to cling onto romanticized ideas of 'authorship', it is not some vain attempt to rediscover the players' intentions, nor about erasing the distance between us and them. The immortalization of classical music through scores, and the striving for an 'authentic' performance deceptively suggests that music is absolute and noncontingent, but this is to buy into the abstracting tendency of idealism. To understand my distinction between authorship and context, therefore, it is helpful to think of music as historically emergent. Shusterman highlights this as an important corrective to Dewey's naturalism:

> We should not simply choose between aesthetic naturalism and historicist conventionalism, between lived experience and social institutions, [because]

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[14] Shusterman, *PL*, 31.

[15] Ibid., 33.

[16] Peter Brötzmann, John Edwards, and Steve Noble, *The Worse The Better*, Digital Download (London: Otoroku, 2012).

[17] Scott R. Stroud, "The Art of Experience: Dewey on the Aesthetic," in *Practicing Pragmatist Aesthetics: Critical Perspectives on the Arts*, ed. Wojciech Małecki (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014), 34.

> these notions are as much interdependent as they are opposed. ... Natural life without history is meaningless, just as history without life is impossible.[18]

The genre of improvised music could not have existed 500 years ago, because the traditions, philosophy, and social context from which it emerged did not exist. Improvised music is a product of these elements, even when that has included their rejection. In order to begin constructing a shared foundation for analysing this music, therefore, we must begin to recognize and understand the context from which it developed. A brief note of caution must be made, however, not to simply think of history as an upward linear progression—just because improvised music emerges from what has gone before, does not necessarily mean it improves upon these traditions, but rather that our current context is accommodating to it. With this in mind, we can spend some time considering the socio-historical context from which improvised music emerged.

Luigi Russolo's 1913 futurist manifesto, *The Art of Noises*, described how 'In the 19th Century, with the invention of machines, Noise was born. Today, Noise is triumphant and reigns sovereign over the sensibility of men.'[19] The industrial revolution had been accompanied by a sonic revolution: the advent of the machine made the world noisier. Whilst Russolo's polemical style might seem extreme, his underlying point is a perceptive one: our sonic environment *is* very different from that of the past. Every moment is permeated by the rumble of traffic, the wail of sirens, and the assault of construction noise, from which there is no escape. Although Russolo saw this as no bad thing, he recognised that '[o]ur ear is not satisfied and calls for ever greater acoustical emotions'.[20] Like Dewey after him, Russolo's emphasis on aesthetic experience required new, more extreme forms to satisfy it—evidenced in larger ensembles (superseded by amplifiers), longer music, and increasingly dissonant sounds.

This is the lineage *TWTB* finds itself in. Brötzmann is a first-generation European improviser, renowned for his landmark 1968 recording *Machine Gun*. Just as Russolo identified, Brötzmann's record captured the sonic landscape of post-war Germany. The first 45 seconds is a brilliantly guttural imitation of a machine gun, and the record maintains this militaristic aggression throughout. Unlike the expressivist tendencies which have increasingly come to dominate amongst improvisers, Brötzmann explains that his music 'Isn't about self-expression. It's about reacting to the world you live in.'[21]

Edwards and Noble are both younger than Brötzmann and are two of the hardest working musicians on the British improvised music scene. They draw more obviously on a range of musical influences and work in a greater variety of musical styles. It could be argued that they are more authentically virtuosic on their instruments than Brötzmann, whose technique is more simply about getting as much out of the instrument as possible. Nonetheless, this meeting with Brötzmann showcases their deep roots in improvised music and demonstrates the possibility of creating music because of their shared experiences of a noisy, political world. The politic environment is particularly important for Brötzmann, who describes the impetus behind his early music:

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[18] Shusterman, *PL*, 6.

[19] Luigi Russolo, *The Art of Noises*, Monographs in Musicology 6 (New York: Pendragon Press, 1986), 23.

[20] Ibid., 24.

[21] Brian Morton and Richard Cook, *The Penguin Jazz Guide: The History of the Music in the 1001 Best Albums* (London: Penguin Books Ltd, 2010), 352.

> We wanted to change things; we needed a new start. In Germany, we all grew up with the same thing: 'Never again.' But in the government, all the same old Nazis were still there. We were angry. We wanted to do something.[22]

Although this political background is specific to Brötzmann, it is difficult to extract such political elements from the other forms of improvised music which have subsequently developed.[23] It is a reaction against oppression and authoritarianism, a striving for political and social ideals.[24] *TWTB* is a demonstration of an egalitarian music (although it must be conceded that the saxophone trio format can easily feel hierarchical), and it is resonant with passion. This is not a case of claiming that loud music is necessarily protest music, but it is hard to deny how the improvisatory language used bears resemblance to such an environment.[25] Brötzmann himself recognises that 'You have to have a kind of form to express what you want to give over to the people. You have to be organized in yourself and you have to know what you are doing.'[26] The form of improvised music is in its seeking to break away from the authority of the composer, the composition, and the consumer.

The phrase 'the worse the better' indicates as much. Its origins are in nineteenth-century Russian political thought, where it was used to suggest that, as the conditions for workers decline, the possibility of revolution is greater. The use of this phrase as the album title suggests an affinity with that ideology, although we should be careful not to overread the title—it is likely that it would have been chosen for releasing the recording, rather than being a prior decision regarding what was played. Nonetheless, it shows that the musicians believe themselves to be making a political statement with their music, choosing a title which they consider to represent what the music is.[27]

The musical background provides some more obvious causes for the emergence of improvised music. George Lewis identifies two major categories, which he defines by socio-cultural location: 'Afrological', which he sees as emergent from African-American jazz; and 'Eurological', situated within the western art music tradition, particularly experimental composers like John Cage.[28] There is merit to these categories, but *TWTB* is difficult to situate in either. It draws elements from jazz music, folk music, and the European avant-garde, just to take a few obvious examples. Recorded in 2010, the culture in which it was created is one where these forms coexist and overlap, especially because of cross-pollination between improvising musicians, and the rise of digital music. Increasingly, globalization is making genre a fluid concept, and postmodern theory has led to the free appropriation of different styles and approaches. Therefore, it must simply be recognized that a huge wealth of musical traditions lie in the background, causing improviser Sarah Gail Brand to describe improvised music as 'music without idiom'.[29]

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[22] Andrew Jones, "Brötzmann Reflects on 'Machine Gun' as It Hits 50th Anniversary," *Downbeat* (blog), 2018. https://downbeat.com/news/detail/machine-gun-turns-50.

[23] Although not all improvised music is explicitly political, I would maintain that a political background is necessary for understanding any improvised music. Seth Kim-Cohen makes a similar point, arguing for the textuality of all music. See: Seth Kim-Cohen, *In the Blink of an Ear* (London: Continuum International Publishing Group Ltd, 2009), chapters 5–6.

[24] See: Jennie Gottschalk, *Experimental Music Since 1970* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), chapter 5.4.

[25] Appelqvist, in her exposition of Hanslick, rejects such an idea of resemblance, particularly because it doesn't provide a universal basis for critical judgement. Although her point is well argued, I would suggest that a shared context makes available these points of reference. Hanne Appelqvist, "Form and Freedom: The Kantian Ethos of Musical Formalism," *The Nordic Journal of Aesthetics* 22, no. 40–41 (2011 2010): 75–88.

[26] Peter Brötzmann, A Fireside Chat with Peter Brötzmann, interview by Fred Jung, [n.d.], https://www.jazzweekly.com/interviews/brotzmann.htm.

[27] I recognize the possibility that the musicians may simply have been playing on the irony of the phrase: that the 'worse' (by conventional standards) the music is, the better they believe it to be. Engagement with the background of these musicians, however, indicates that they probably understand its political origins.

[28] George E. Lewis, "Improvised Music after 1950: Afrological and Eurological Perspectives," *Black Music Research Journal* 16, no. 1 (Spring 1996): 91–122.

Pragmatist aesthetics declares history to be essential and intrinsic to the development of aesthetic practices. Improvised music, in the forms it takes today, inhabits an aesthetic realm that would have been unthinkable before the development of atonality, noise, and freeform music. It relies upon the context from which it emerged, and is always responding to these traditions. It is, however, impossible to be comprehensive in establishing the experienced environment from which *TWTB* emerged. There is much that we embody which may be beyond articulation—our situatedness is lived, and we can only attempt to make explicit the experiences which have formed us. Nonetheless, I have attempted to indicate some of the key experiences I believe may be at play in the music, which offer a helpful starting point for understanding the social (and thus shared) context behind *TWTB*. This is not to imply that music's meaning can be reduced to its background of experiences. This would suggest that music's meaning is other than its medium (to paraphrase Marshall McLuhan). Linguistic metaphors for music often betray a gravitation towards meaning as 'informational' (i.e. reducible to propositions), whereas music's meaning is primarily aesthetic. Instead, the historicist nature of aesthetics provides a background against which improvised music can be framed. How this background might be at play in the act of expression is the question to which we now turn.

The Expression of Improvised Music

Contingency is central to improvised music. Although often considered to be totally abstract, it relies on the musicians, the environment, and the moment in time as the concrete conditions of its existence—these generate the content of musical expression. However, this risks making improvised music seem overly deterministic, as if improvised music is merely the natural consequence of our lived experience. For this reason, it is necessary to recognise that improvised music has a *telos*: an end (or ends) towards which it is orientated. Dewey sees this as an important distinction between pragmatism and empiricism, highlighting that '[pragmatism] does not insist upon antecedent phenomena but upon consequent phenomena; not upon the precedents but upon the possibilities of action.'[30] This is essential for understanding pragmatist aesthetics, with Scott Stroud similarly commenting that '[t]he aesthetic combines the future and the past in the present.'[31] It is the combination of antecedent and consequent phenomena which gives improvised music its form: that which 'organizes material into the matter of art.'[32] It is born out of our experiences, as has been seen, but is also orientated towards shared goals, as will now be explored.

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[29] Sarah Gail Brand, "An Investigation of the Impact of Ensemble Interrelationship on Performances of Improvised Music Through Practice Research" (PhD diss., Canterbury Christ Church University, 2019), 16. Nonetheless, there are still clear 'schools' of improvised music. Unavoidably, an ensemble or a musician will develop an idiom of sorts.

[30] John Dewey, *Philosophy and Civilisation* (London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1931), 24.

[31] Stroud, "The Invention of Pragmatist Aesthetics," 44.

[32] Dewey, *AE*, 139.

Ensemble relationships are vital to understand here as the *means* by which these goals are achieved, so I will draw particularly on Brand's research into ensemble interrelationships, which she has developed by drawing improvisation practice into conversation with psychoanalytic theory.[33] Brand does not often discuss musical goals, perhaps because of the emphasis improvisers tend to place on spontaneity, and the taboo of entering an improvisation with preconceived ideas. But neglecting to talk about a vision for the music seems to forget that we do not have to make music, but that we choose to. Distinguishing between a structural goal (i.e. coming into an improvisation with a plan for how the music *should* sound) and an experiential goal (coming into an improvisation with the hope and intention that it will succeed) is therefore a vital distinction which pragmatist aesthetics helps us understand. A structural vision *would* preclude spontaneity, but if there was never an experiential goal, then no one would make music. *TWTB* offers a clear example of a music which is aimed towards a powerful and stimulating experience, which is why pragmatist aesthetics makes such a helpful conversation partner to improvised music discourse.

'Musical intersubjectivity' and 'shared meaning' are two vital elements of ensemble relationships, both of which constitute a recurring theme throughout Brand's paper. She defines musical intersubjectivity as 'a sharing of musical intentions and cognitive process',[34] going on to identify it as the culmination of the elements in her framework.[35] It demonstrates that the musicians are aware that they have entered into a shared creative experience—unity is achieved between the members of the group, especially through the sharing of musical *intentions*. This recognises that an improvisation is not about the meeting of unrelated individuals, each playing whatever they want, but rather that an improvisation is a collective endeavour—the whole ensemble desires that it would succeed, and move towards this vision through their interactions with each other. Shared meaning, therefore, could be understood as the goal towards which improvised music is orientated: an improvisation is the creation of the ensemble. It is not something which occurs instantaneously, however. Rather, it is 'cultivated and maintained with … collaborators over a long-term period'.[36] Just as in a conversation with an old friend, shared meaning is developed through the deepening of relationships over time, as well as an understanding of the shared conventions of improvised music. This interpersonal dynamic is very important for Brand's thought, as demonstrated by her frequent emphasis on intersubjectivity—that improvisations does not take place between instruments, but between persons.[37] Therefore, the relational dynamic is essential and intrinsic to the aesthetic content.

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[33] In the spirit of Roland Barthes, many formalists would question the worth of such a discussion, on the grounds that we cannot know what is influencing the musicians' processes. I dispute this claim on a number of points. Firstly, we *do* have access to the artists' contexts (as demonstrated in the previous section). Secondly, as will be shown, Brand's framework helps us to recognize the intentions of the musicians through their actions (her psychoanalytic background is important to bear in mind also). Thirdly, because improvised music is a group activity, it requires shared methods and visions, and recognizing these deepens the potential to appreciate the music (for this reason, I would argue that *watching* improvised music is often more fulfilling than merely listening to it, because it is easier to see the group interacting). It does not need to be a case of 'all or nothing'—we might not have direct access to the artists' minds, but that does not make it impossible to get inside their process, even if it might be speculative at points. I will, however, grant that the recording itself is ultimately more important than the process, as will be explored in further detail in section 4.

[34] Brand, "Ensemble Interrelationships in Improvised Music," 99.

[35] Ibid., 112.

[36] Brand, "Ensemble Interrelationships in Improvised Music," 144.

Having identified these relational processes, Brand offers a number of elements which often take place in an ensemble improvisation (see: Figure 1, Appendix). These elements are recognisable and repeatable, and so are important in our identification of a shared object to analyse.

Some of the elements worth mentioning are attuned responses: a 'Musical phrase, gesture or sound that responds to the intensity or energy of another's improvising';[38] matching: a 'Musical phrase, gesture, sound or tonal framework that is analogous to or resembles another's';[39] and ensemble meeting: 'Material that denotes a musical agreement in the group.'[40] Brand identifies these within her own performing work, as effective processes taking place between the members of an ensemble. Although not universal to all improvised music, they offer a helpful introduction to formal processes with which to talk about the music. They are not themselves the *goal* of the improvisation, but rather are constitutive of musical intersubjectivity, which is itself aimed towards a successful improvisation.

The process of improvisation can be wrongly understood as musicians listening to each other and trying to fit in. Constructive resistance, where a musician clearly plays against something else going on, offers an important corrective. David Borgo explains:

> While sensitivity to the group is an essential component of improvised performance, to blindly base one's own playing on what others do or to simply follow the group as an overriding strategy can lead to rather inflexible and ineffective results, producing a musical 'circular mill.'[41]

Constructive resistance can be difficult to identify when listening to improvised music, as often the resistance is felt by the musicians, rather than heard by the audiences. For it to work successfully, therefore, you need musicians who are independent and willing enough to sustain their own ideas, so they would not flinch at musical conflict. These moments are positive because they are 'constructive': a more interesting improvisation is the end towards which it is aimed (rather than the sadistic end of frustrating the intentions of another musician). These kinds of processes deepen ensemble relations, and act as ways of understanding what the shared vision for the particular improvisation might be. Experienced musicians are able to recognize and achieve a shared vision through their lived understanding of the improvisation process, and so a successful improvisation is one where the vision is achieved (even if the vision changes). Whilst difficult to articulate, the aforementioned elements offer a starting point for analysing how this happens.

Musical goals are effectively realised through shared meaning and musical intersubjectivity. It is the execution of such a shared vision which enables us to talk about positive and negative aspects of an improvisation, especially through understanding some of the formal techniques used in improvised music. Brand's framework offers a helpful analysis of these elements, demonstrating how improvisers make individual decisions within a shared context and towards a shared goal. These decisions are always going to be influenced by a musician's situatedness, and sometimes the backgrounds of improvisers will make for less compatible musical relationships. But the trio in *TWTB* offer a clear example of musical intersubjectivity, with a shared vision of how to approach the music. Because these elements are relational, however, there is an important sense in which they can only be understood through being experienced by the musicians—we can only attempt to identify how well the shared vision was realised. So, more vitally for this paper, we must now consider how *TWTB* is actually experienced by an audience.[42]

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[37] This is made especially clear in Brand's fouth chapter, "Ensemble Interrelationships in Improvised Music."
[38] Ibid., 111.
[39] Ibid., 112.
[40] Ibid., 112.
[41] David Borgo quoted in Brand, "Ensemble Interrelationships in Improvised Music," 106.

The Reception of Improvised Music

Analysing improvised music, as pragmatist aesthetics would claim for any form of music or art, must be done through its experience. Hence, Dewey outlines the importance of form as 'the operation of forces that carry the experience of an event, object, scene, and situation to its own integral fulfilment'.[43] Without the formal elements generated by the ensemble, there can be no experience.

This is not equivalent to saying that, because the formal elements do exist, everyone will experience it the same. True, a more effective use of the formal elements may be more likely to stimulate aesthetic experience, but, as with thinking about the background of the music itself, the experience of improvised music is always situated. A significant factor behind how we experience an improvisation is where *we* are situated. Our situatedness is our interpretive framework, through which we see the world.[44] Stanley Fish's concept of 'interpretive communities' is useful to mention here, which claims that our hermeneutics are learned through the communities in which we participate.[45] This is important to assert as we attempt to identify shared bases for our analysis of improvised music. To give an example: a baroque music audience would hear improvised music in a very different way from a heavy metal audience. The contrapuntal elements would be better recognized by the baroque audience, whereas a metal audience would be more likely to appreciate the intensity. These interpretive communities grant different viewpoints on the music, yet through immersion in different communities, we learn to experience more richly.

To demonstrate this, I will offer some brief observations on how I experience *TWTB*. This is not a claim to any kind of absolute reading of the music, but rather an attempt to demonstrate how I believe pragmatist aesthetics helps us to hear improvised music.[46]

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[42] 'The Intentional Fallacy' would claim that the artists' intentions are unimportant, and the only thing that matters is what actually happened—whether or not it was intended. However, a significant difference in my analysis is the need for a successful group dynamic. This does not treat intention as an absolute, set in stone from the beginning, but rather an ongoing reevaluation of the process. Ultimately, it is necessary for the musicians to share a goal of creating a successful improvisation together, and this overarching goal shapes the decisions that happen in the improvisation itself. It is, therefore, a valid criticism of *the music itself* to say 'The musicians were just moving in different directions.' W. K. Wimsatt, Jr and M. C. Beardsley, "The Intentional Fallacy," *The Sewanee Review* 54, no. 3 (September 1946): 468–88.

[43] Dewey, *AE*, 142.

[44] For an enlightening discussion on this issue, see: Shusterman, *PA*, Chapter 5.

[45] See: Stanley E. Fish, "Interpreting the 'Variorum,'" *Critical Enquiry* 2, no. 3 (Spring 1976): 465–85.

[46] Shusterman provides similar readings of rap and country music in Shusterman, *PL*, chapters 3–4.

Shusterman emphasizes the ethical element of pragmatist aesthetics: it exists to help us live more fulfilled lives. Hopefully, my experience of *TWTB* can lead others to a richer experience of improvised music.

These observations will be accompanied by a method of grid notation I have developed specifically for this purpose (see Appendix, Figures 2–5, Appendix). Inspired by Morton Feldman's *Projections*, it has time running along the X-axis, and tessitura along the Y-axis, indicating a (very) rough outline of the shape of the music. The grid notation also utilizes greyscale shading, which represents intensity—whether that means density, volume, or even the type of sounds used. The intensity is relative, rather than absolute (which would have been difficult to record accurately), with darker shades representing the more intense moments. At a few points on the transcription, squares are marked with an 'x'. These represent some kind of visceral extended technique, which I felt needed an additional method of notating. As with my method of analysis, my transcription draws together both the objective and subjective elements of the music—it requires my interpretation (for example, what qualifies as high in the tessitura, or deciding how intense a passage is) of the sounds taking place. I acknowledge the numerous limitations of such a transcription method, for example the lack of specific details, but it will serve to illustrate the key points of my textual commentary—in particular, how the music was experienced by me.

From the very first sound, the music is visceral and affective (see: Figure 2). Noble rolls around with brushes, and Edwards' bass creeps upwards. Until 01:27, Brötzmann's playing is keening, but melodic. At that point, he becomes more characteristically abstract, utilizing extended techniques in fast-moving and dense passage. At 02:08, Edwards' bowing becomes more aggressive, appropriately disturbing alongside Brötzmann's multiphonics. 02:45 introduces a fairly typical overblown saxophone 'scream', driving home the intensely passionate feeling of the music, although it only surfaces briefly. Noble gets denser and more aggressive, reflecting this sense of passionate ascent, with the three musicians each finding distinct ways to contribute. At 03:40, Brötzmann overblows again, the intensity growing and growing. Although my temperament is not 'aggressive', I have always found high intensity music incredibly affective, and my association of multiphonics with the spiritual-political music of the 1960s always makes such moments feel like a grasping towards ecstatic experience.[47]

Around 5:24, Brötzmann sustains some high pitches, again encouraging a sense of ascent. Underneath, Edwards is jumping around much more—almost inaudible under the other two, but providing a textural 'mismatch' that is quite effective. At 07:08, Edwards and Brötzmann match each other's sound, a brief but exciting meeting. Although by 07:50 there is a slight sense the energy is waning, Noble powerfully pushes through, and the others are renewed by a rejuvenated passion. 09:10 marks a significant change of mood, as Edwards introduces a slow repeated bass motif. As Brötzmann descends, with almost a sigh of relief, there is a real sense that the effectively built tension has been let go—a welcome respite for the listener.

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[47] This theme is comprehensively expanded upon in Stephen Davies, "Emotions Expressed and Aroused by Music," in *Handbook of Music and Emotion: Theory, Research, Applications* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). I thank my anonymous peer reviewer for bringing this work to my attention.

The music transitions into a messy jazz sound at 10:00, with Noble provocatively tumbling around between the slow swing of Brötzmann and Edwards (see Figure 3, Appendix). Out of the blue, Edwards moves into a rapid pizzicato bass section at 11:12. With Brötzmann out of the picture, there is something intriguing about this intricate new idea, which previously would have been lost in the noise of the full trio. It becomes an exciting duo with Noble, whose cymbals somewhat imitate Edwards' techniques. 13:24 demonstrates that, even without Brötzmann, the two are more than capable of producing noise, which feels more appropriately in line with the atmosphere of the first 10 minutes. Brötzmann's reintroduction around 14:00 is a welcome one, with the music quickly increasing in pace and intensity.

16:04 sees Brötzmann's multiphonics emerge again, which is well received by the others, although it lasts only briefly. The louder, higher, and more visceral these sounds, the more I feel myself shaken by the trio—they are the moments I find most exciting.

Around 18:20 I begin to wonder whether the intensity has gone on for too long without significant variation—the passion does not seem as sustained as the first time round. There are moments of interest, but either the energy does not feel quite high enough, or the sound quite intriguing enough. So, at 22:00, the familiar descent feels like an appropriate change (see: Figure 4). And again, Noble introduces a jazz feel, with a ride swing going on underneath Edwards' angular playing. As the previous section had not grabbed me as much as the first, I welcome this change in texture, and the way these two musicians respond to each other is consistently enticing.

24:22 has the first significant change in density of the whole improvisation. There are little holes in the playing of both musicians, who seem to dance around each other. The new sounds clatter around in a way that makes me wish I was watching, and thankfully this more-spacious texture is continued even when Brötzmann reemerges at 25:38. After playing some unintrusive sustained notes, he brings in a cry-like melody, in total contrast with Noble's and Edward's banging and crashing. But this slightly off-balanced texture is wonderful, giving the feeling that the musicians really are in tune with each other.

Again, this section feels to me very reminiscent of the 'spiritual jazz' of musicians like John Coltrane: the simple melodies from Brötzmann, accompanied by a low, heavy accompaniment from the other musicians. Coltrane's masterpiece, *A Love Supreme*, is the landmark suite in this regard: utilizing modal harmony, extended techniques (particularly overblowing—which Brötzmann uses to similar effect), and lengthy solos, it instigated a tradition of passionate music that is often echoed amongst improvisers. Noble in particular can easily be placed within the lineage of Coltrane's drummer, Elvin Jones, particularly through his frequent use of the toms to create a continuous rumbling underneath.

29:30 sees Edwards and Brötzmann move into a new space in synchrony, although Noble carries on with his own trajectory; constructively resisting the change. Both musicians play more pointilistically, which at around 30:06 Noble catches too (see: Figure 5). Edwards plays a rapid walking bass, and whatever Noble is playing creates some brilliant noises up with Brötzmann. This is more akin to the intensity that existed at the start, as the ensemble really feel like they've reached a place where each are contributing effectively.

It often feels like Brötzmann loses the energy the fastest—maybe a sign of fatigue after many years of playing, or maybe just because the saxophone requires a lot of air and commitment to feel like it is playing with energy. So this time, the energy is not sustained for as long—even though Noble and Edwards play effectively, maybe they're aware that Brötzmann is struggling to maintain it. Near to 34:00, the music slows again, with Edwards playing an impressive pedal in low and high registers. Brötzmann does screech away over the top, but this is very different from how he has previously done so, and the new texture is an interesting one. At 35:00 his keening saxophone is matched by Edwards' arco bass, in timbre and pitch. It is a beautiful and disconcerting moment, and whilst Brötzmann sustains his pitch, Edwards almost drunkenly lowers his pitch. Again, there is a delightful feeling of being slightly off-balance that this evokes.

36:45 reaches a final climax, with all three musicians suddenly finding new energy. Although only brief, it is well played by all three musicians. The final minute is the most melodic yet, with a folk-like melody from Brötzmann, played against a similar melody of Edwards. Unexpectedly, Edwards keeps bowing once the other two have stopped—increasing in volume until he ends with a last bang. It feels like a fitting end to an exciting set.

Such an analysis can only touch the surface of the kind of experience I went through whilst listening to the music. It is unashamedly a situated interpretation of the musical 'object', but it demonstrates how both object and subject are vital for talking effectively about the music. It would be entirely possible for a completely different analysis to be given—even on a different day, I might find such intense music wearisome. But it is the culmination of these experiences—our own and those of others—which help us to experience this music better.

Conclusion

By exploring the different stages of aesthetic experience, I hope to have shown how pragmatist aesthetics could offer a fruitful way forward for conversations around the theory and practice of improvised music. Recognizing it as a contingent, historically emergent music is vital for learning how to experience it well, and although improvised music practices will undoubtedly change as our times change, it will continue to be possible to make sense of it through its historicity, formal elements, and our situatedness. *TWTB* demonstrates that the pursuit of aesthetic experience continues to persist, and points us to a promising future for the music. But we must return to our opening question: does such a framework give us the space for *shared* understanding and appreciation of improvised music? Or does pragmatist aesthetics remain bound to individual subjectivism?

The section *The Background of Improvised Music* began to answer the question of shared understanding, by highlighting that art is never created apart from its relation to the world. It is brought forth in the context of shared experiences—we always share the world *with* others, and learn how to experience the world as we see how others experience it. Improvisers are able to make critical judgements of an improvisation, because they inhabit an interpretive community—a shared language and interpretive framework that has developed from clear traditions. This was expanded on in the section *The Expression of Improvised Music*, which discussed the shared aims and processes of improvised music—

especially through approaches and techniques that have been affirmed within the interpretive community. There is no claim that they are 'absolute', in the sense that they will always be understood positively, but they are 'objective', in the sense that they really do take place. Within our current moment, these are (amongst) the shared practices that improvisers employ when working together, and so understand when they are being utilized well or badly. Finally, although the individual is the site of reception, allowing space for taste (as developed through our personal contexts) and disagreement. The penultimate section, *The Reception of Improvised Music*, attempted to show how an individual experience has the aim of shared understanding and appreciation, through partaking in the experience of another. I am not claiming an authoritative interpretation of the music, but rather offering my experience in the hope that others might be able to learn from it. It is within this context that it is possible to develop shared understanding. We experience as individuals, but never apart from communities, seeking to live more fulfilled lives through the pursuit of aesthetic experience. Pragmatist aesthetics, therefore, offers a way forward for improvised music, by recognizing it as a music which has experience at its very heart.

Appendix

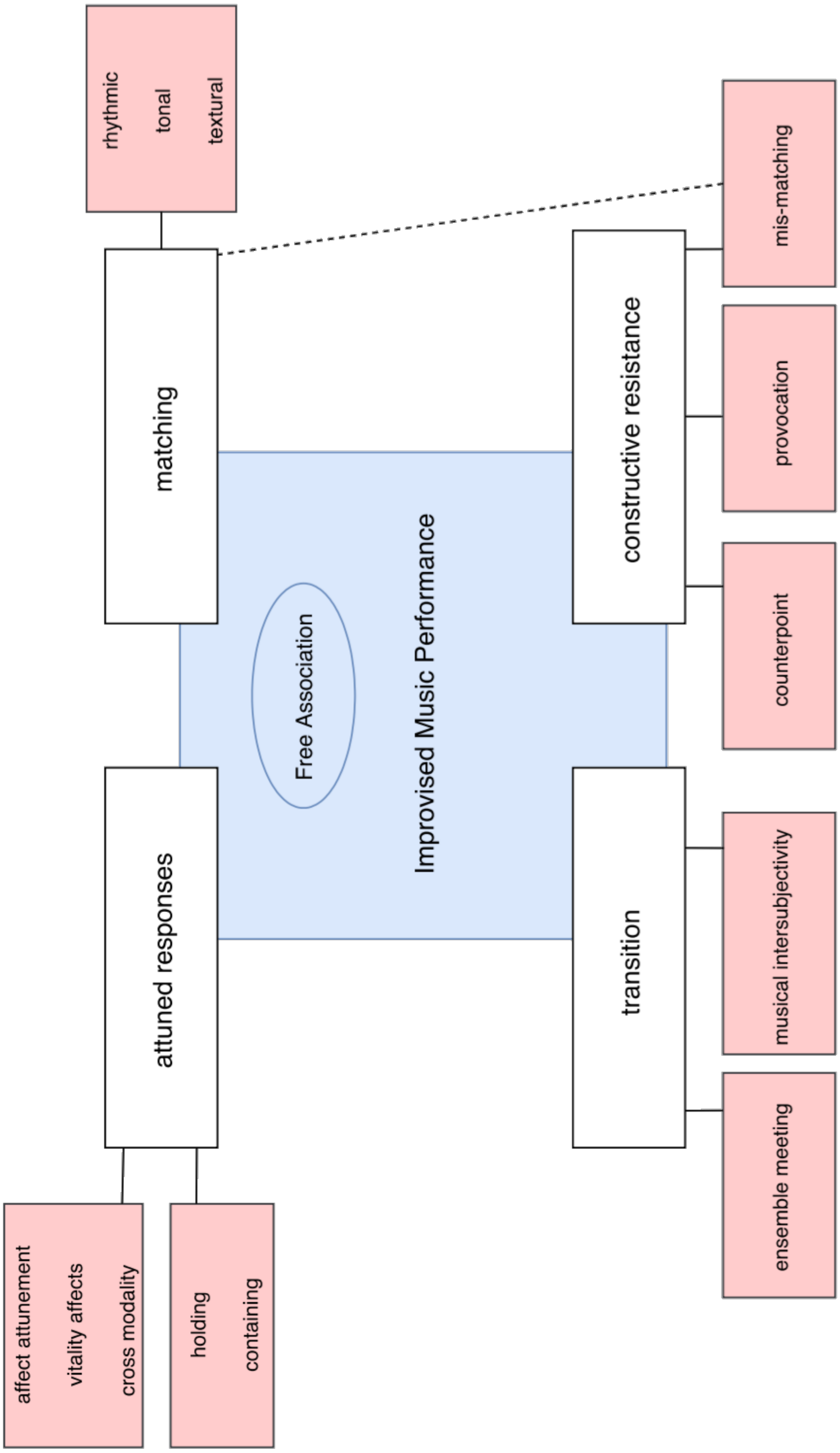
Improvised Music Performance
Free Association
matching
rhythmic
tonal
textural
attuned responses
affect attunement
vitality affects
cross modality
holding
containing
constructive resistance
mis-matching
provocation
counterpoint
transition
musical intersubjectivity
ensemble meeting

Figure 1. Improvised Music Framework. Brand, "Ensemble Interrelationships in Improvised Music," 84.

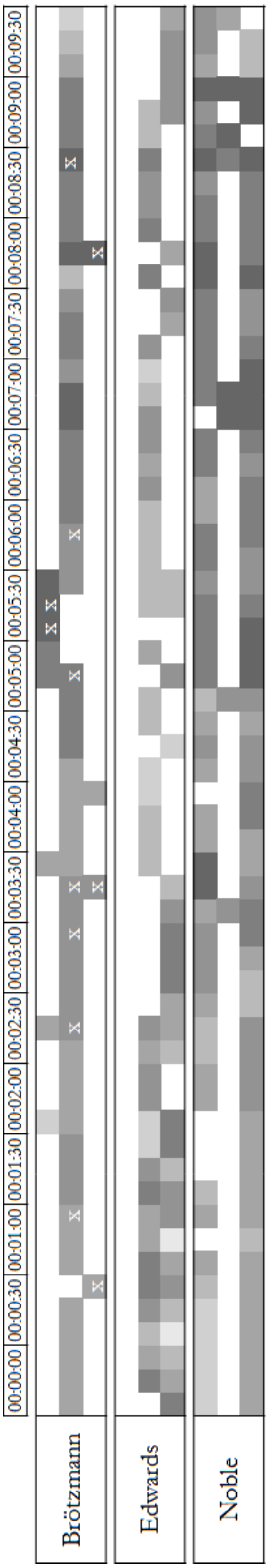

Figure 2: 00:00:00-00:09:30

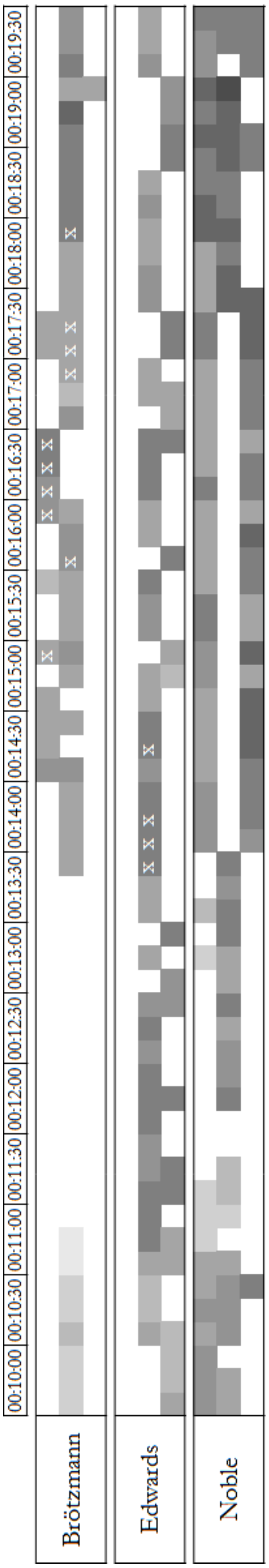

Figure 3: 00:10:00-00:19:30

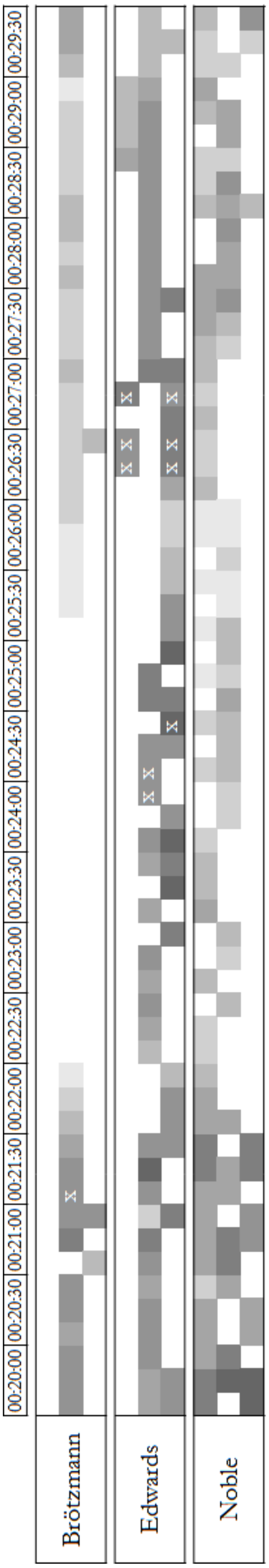

Figure 4: 00:20:00-00:29:30

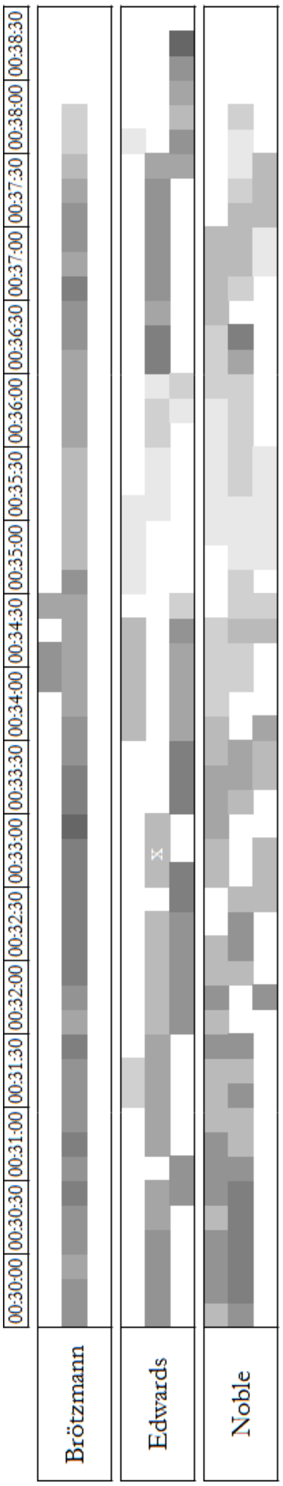

Figure 5: 00:30:00-00:38:30

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Distinguishing Characters: The Use of Pop and Western Art Music in Fernando Meirelles' *The Two Popes* (2019)

Anika Babel

Prelude

Upon the death of Pope John Paul II in 2005, the Catholic Church found the papacy at a crossroads: should it reinforce conservative dogmata by electing Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger or move forward with the reformist Cardinal Jorge Bergoglio?[1] In the film *The Two Popes*,[2] these figures, played by Sir Anthony Hopkins and Jonathan Pryce respectively, are immediately polarized. Though this is delineated through a number of narrative and cinematic techniques,[3] the use of music is remarkable in how it efficiently distinguishes the way that both men are characterized in the film—from the solemn German intellectual to the jovial Argentinian man-of-the-people. This tension is illustrated through the contrasting use of western art music (chiefly piano works) and popular music, specifically ABBA and The Beatles. Interestingly and despite the discord maintained between these characters for much of the film, it is at the intersection of pop and western art music (WAM) that the pair eventually find commonalities.

This paper is divided into three parts. Part one—the introductory section—elaborates on the film's premise and introduces the framework through which the use of music in *The Two Popes* is analysed. In part two, I scrutinize four key scenes to highlight the intertextual and narrative significance of the music featured. Finally, in part three—the concluding section—I evaluate the impact of the music and the extent to which film's precise use of pop and WAM conforms to cinematic norms. Here, I also reveal how the film departs from established pop and WAM tropes.

Part One: Introduction

Originally written for the stage as *The Pope* and later released as a novel,[4] Anthony McCarten's story traces Pope Benedict XVI's tenure as pontiff and Cardinal Bergoglio's reluctant rise to the papacy. The film adaptation is set in 2012 and centres upon fervent debates and profound conversations between these two dialectically opposed men. While the narrative is based on real events, the content of Ratzinger[5] and Bergoglio's conversations is imagined, despite much of the dialogue being gleaned from authentic speeches, writings, and correspondence.[6] By harnessing pre-existing and specially composed music into the augmented soundscape of narrative film, the role of diegetic and non-diegetic music becomes expanded in the screen adaptation. As noted by the film's composer, Bryce Dessner, music was central in re-imagining McCarten's script for the screen:

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[1] My deepest gratitude goes to Dr Laura Anderson, my supervisor, for her unfaltering support, guidance, and enthusiasm for this research. Thank you to the organisers and delegates of the 2021 Sound on Screen conference, where an earlier version of this research was presented. Special thanks to the anonymous peer reviewer and the editors for their considered and deeply valued feedback.

[2] Fernando Meirelles, *The Two Popes*, Netflix, 2019.

[3] Alongside standard cinematic techniques such as lighting, framing, camera dynamics, colouring, etc., several of the men's attributes are pitched against each other. For but a few examples, referring to Ratzinger and Bergoglio respectively: Northern Hemisphere (relative financial wealth) versus Southern Hemisphere (relative financial poverty); Formula 1 Racing (an elite solo sport) versus soccer (a ubiquitous team game); eats traditional Bavarian food alone versus sharing pizza (breaking bread); strong intellectual intelligence versus strong emotional intelligence; luxurious lifestyle and attire versus living simply; austerity versus vulnerability; and, as this article explores extensively, western art music versus popular music.

[4] Anthony McCarten, *The Pope* (London: Oberon Books, 2019).

[5] As in McCarten's script, I refer to the character Pope Benedict XVI as Ratzinger.

> [The play] does have this incredible intimacy about it, almost like a Samuel Beckett kind of play, which is largely these conversations about theology between two old men, two incredible actors. I think to stage that in a cinematic way was a challenge—to figure out how you make a movie out of dialogue between these two characters. Music, among other tools that Fernando had, was one of the ways to make it cinematic and to bring energy into certain scenes. … You think of a movie about two popes and humour is not really the first thing you think of. But this movie is quite funny, actually, and the use of music accents that.[7]

The diegetic source music and the non-diegetic underscore are complementary in how they embody Ratzinger and Bergoglio's seemingly incompatible ideologies. Similar to the play, this is achieved by exclusively affiliating WAM with Ratzinger and popular music with Bergoglio. These genres furnish a crystalline characterization, accomplished by playing on long-established conventions relating to cinematic uses of pop and WAM; specifically upon their distinct set of associations. As a result, this helps to narrow the gap between the filmmaker's intentions and the audience's interpretations of the narrative. Instances of diegetic music in particular not only drive the narrative forward, but also play a pivotal role toward understanding the tumultuous relationship between Ratzinger and Bergoglio. Accordingly, diegetic music is the primary area of investigation throughout this article.

Since there has not been any prior detailed analysis of *The Two Popes*, my approach is informed by Jonathan Godsall's 2019 monograph *Reeled In: Pre-existing Music in Narrative Film*.[8] Borrowing Godsall's terminology, I aim to highlight the intertextual nature of using 'pre-existing' and 'post-existing' music in *The Two Popes*. Pre-existing music is 'music that existed prior to its use in a film' that has been 'appropriated by a film, not composed for it'.[9] Once appropriated in a film, a pre-existing piece 'is "reeled in" to the cinema and forever changed because of it'.[10] In other words, its filmic appropriation creates a post-existence[11] that draws on 'previous associations but also creat[es] new ones.'[12] Godsall points to Richard Strauss' *Also sprach Zarathustra* in Stanley Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey*[13] as a prime example of post-existing music, noting that subsequent encounters with the piece are, for many people, intertextually informed by its famous use in the sci-fi film.[14] The terms pre-

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[6] Alejandro De La Garza, "The True Story Behind the Movie *The Two Popes*," *Time*, December 20, 2019, https://time.com/5753982/the-two-popes-movie-true-story/

[7] Bryce Dessner quoted in Elizabeth Shaffer, "'Two Popes' Walk Into Abbey Road Recording Studio (No Joke)," *Variety*, December 6, 2019, https://variety.com/2019/music/news/the-two-popes-abbey-road-1203426948/.

[8] Jonathan Godsall, *Reeled In: Pre-existing Music in Narrative Film* (New York, Routledge, 2019).

[9] Ibid., 4–5.

[10] Ibid., 1.

[11] Ibid., 131.

[12] Ibid., 1. Emphasis preserved.

[13] Stanley Kubrick, *2001: A Space Odyssey*, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 1968.

[14] For more, see: Godsall, "Post-existing music," in *Reeled In*, 131–161.

and post-existing music correspond to associations with music heard in the *real* everyday world (pre-existing music) and music experienced in *reel* film encounters (post-existing music).[15] More generally, the terms *real* and *reel* correspond to extra-textual knowledge and knowledge of cinematic codes, respectively.

As mentioned, my analysis focuses on diegetic music. This is a contentious term and I draw upon recent arguments surrounding the classification of music in audio-visual media—especially the works of Ben Winters and Robynn Stilwell.[16] Despite continued debate concerning the meaning(s) of diegetic and non-diegetic music, I apply Claudia Gorbman's touchstone definition of diegetic music as 'music that (apparently) issues from a source within the narrative.'[17] Here, 'the narrative' denotes the *diegesis*, meaning the *filmic universe*—defined as the 'narratively implied spatiotemporal world of the action and characters' by Gorbman.[18] David Bordwell and Kristin Thompson's classic definition of 'fidelity' is also adhered to, since the sound design in *The Two Popes* subtly influences our interpretation of specific scenes by problematizing the diegetic/non-diegetic status of music. Fidelity 'refers to the extent to which the sound is faithful to the source as we [the audience] conceive it … Fidelity is thus purely a matter of expectation.'[19] Furthermore, I use Stuart Hall's "Encoding/Decoding" model[20] to facilitate an examination of how the music in *The Two Popes* limits the interpretive outcome for audiences, as consistent with the symbolically-loaded design of the film.

These concepts and perspectives are more readily grasped through examples, four of which are presented in Part Two of this article: the ABBA scene; the Debussy scene; the piano scene; and the tango scene. These occur chronologically and reveal Ratzinger and Bergoglio's protracted transition from foes to friends—a shift, I argue, that is attributed to a shared moment of brotherhood facilitated by a tune that moderates the seemingly oppositional realms of pop and WAM. Each of these scenes are brief (with the exception of the five-minute-long piano scene), yet their contribution to the overall narrative merits a careful examination.

There is one other significant encounter with diegetic music in *The Two Popes*,[21] and this occurs during a flashback to young Bergoglio in 1955, Buenos Aires (00:41:00). The sound of a saxophone lures Bergoglio into the Flores Basilica where a priest offers him the divine sign that he forgot he had been waiting for: his calling to the priesthood. The saxophone, heard later in Dessner's score, retrospectively comes to symbolise 'key religious moments for Bergoglio.'[22] Dessner's music is unobtrusive and never competes with the all-important dialogue between Ratzinger and Bergoglio (which is most often accompanied by a complete musical silence rather than a non-diegetic underscore). Dessner states that his music does echo the 'two different sound worlds [that] embody each of these powerful characters'[23]—saying that: 'the Wagnerian orchestral sound relates to Benedict and the more folkloric South American guitar inspired music [is] for Francis [(Bergoglio)]. But actually the sound of the film becomes more unified as their understanding for one another grows.'[24] While the non-diegetic score and the diegetic music mirror each other in this sense, Dessner's score is comparatively inconspicuous and operates more covertly, relative to the music that originates from within the diegesis. Hence, the score is secondary to my analysis and will subsequently be mentioned in passing references.

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[15] For more, see: Ben Winters, "The Real Versus the Reel," in *Music, Performance, and the Realities of Film: Shared Experiences in Screen Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 18–66.

[16] (a) Winters, *Music, Performance, and the Realities of Film.* (b) Ben Winters, "The Non-Diegetic Fallacy: Film, Music, and Narrative Space," *Music & Letters* 91, no. 2 (2010): 224–244. (d) Robyn Stilwell, "The Fantastical Gap between Diegetic and Nondiegetic," in *Beyond the Soundtrack: Representing Music in Cinema*, eds. Daniel Goldmark, Lawrence Kramer, and Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 184–204.

[17] Claudia Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies*: *Narrative Film Music*, (London: BFI Pub; Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 22.

[18] Ibid., 21.

[19] David Bordwell, Kristin Thompson, and Jeff Smith, *Film Art: An Introduction*, twelfth edition (New York: McGraw-Hill Education, 2020 [1979]), 284.

[20] Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," in *Media and Cultural Studies*, eds. Meenakshi Gigi Durham and Douglas M. Kellner, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, [1973] 2006), 163–173.

[21] This statement does not account for ambient sounds and sound effects which—like the music, the dialogue, and the images—have a substantial role towards delivering the narrative. Due to the practical constraints and necessary limitations of this article, my perspective on diegetic music here stretches little beyond the orthodox sense of music that is performed in—or that emanates from—the diegesis. In doing this, I mean not to deny the musicality of the editing or the sound design (for one prominent example, see the climax of Ratzinger and Bergoglio's argument at the Castle Gandolfo gardens accompanied by a tense

Throughout the analysis, I stretch the parameters of diegetic music to consider all kinds of musicking[25] within the diegesis—notably conversations about music as well as musical performances and music in the mise-en-scène (the mere presence of a piano, for example). I do this because I am interested in how filmmakers enlist music as a sociocultural phenomenon to convey narrative information—particularly regarding characterization and surrounding issues such as class, gender, and race. This is done to peer into how music (especially WAM) is understood in the popular imagination as reflected in, and shaped by, film. I agree with Gary C. Thomas when he remarks: 'we *all* go to the movies. And, thus, what we see and hear on those screens—and how we see and hear it—matters more than ever.'[26] This statement points towards my interest in *The Two Popes*, since the clarity with which pop and WAM is used enables me to effectively interrogate the mediatory relationship between our shared realities of everyday life and screen fiction. In other words, analysis of

crescendi of raucous insect noises). For more on holistic approaches to the integrated soundtrack, see: Danijela Kulezic-Wilson, *Sound Design is the New Score: Theory, Aesthetics, and Erotics of the Integrated Soundtrack* (New York: Oxford, 2020).

[22] Bryce Dessner, quoted in Shaffer, "'Two Popes' Walk Into Abbey Road Recording Studio (No Joke)."

[23] Marine Wong Kwok Chuen and Valentin Maniglia, "One composer for Two Popes: Bryce Dessner," *Score it Magazine*, December 20, 2019, http://magazine.scoreit.org/one-composer-for-two-popes-bryce-dessner/.

[24] Bryce Dessner, quoted in Charles Steinberg, "Keeping Score—Bryce Dessner Discusses Film," *Under the Radar*, June 7, 2020, https://www.undertheradarmag.com/interviews/keeping_score_bryce_dessner_discusses_film_composing_for_the_revenant_and_t. Given Dessner's rationale, it is uncertain whether an intentional link is being suggested between Wagner (with his anti-Semitic views), Hitler (and the propagandic appropriation of Wagner's music during the Third Reich), and Ratzinger (who grew up in war-torn Germany, when enrolment in Hitler Youth was mandatory). In the film, accusations of Ratzinger being a Nazi are voiced during a montage of news clips, shown directly after he becomes pope (00:15:40). In the interview cited above, Dessner expressed that he wanted to infer a German tradition in the music associated with Ratzinger and that he took inspiration from Wagner's *Tristan and Isolde*, which was formerly used in the temp track. However, Hollywood has long exploited the link between Wagner and Nazism in its soundtracks. For more, see: Alex Ross, *Wagnerism: Art and Politics in the Shadow of Music*, (London: 4th Estate, 2020), especially 581–587.

[25] Musicking is 'to take part, in any capacity, in [~~a~~] music[~~al performance~~]'. Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening*, (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1998), 9.

[26] Gary C. Thomas, "Men at the Keyboard: Liminal Space and the Heterotopian Function of Music" in *Beyond the Soundtrack: Representing Music in Cinema*, eds. Daniel Goldmark, Lawrence Kramer, and Richard Leppert (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 277, emphasis preserved.

diegetic music in *The Two Popes* illuminates common (mis)conceptions, tropes, and stereotypes associated with pop and WAM. Like Thomas and Ben Winters throughout his monograph *Music, Performance, and the Realities of Film: Shared Experiences in Screen Fiction*, I do not underestimate the impact film can have on its audiences, particularly in relation to WAM.[27] I argue that this is because WAM is experienced more frequently during incidental screen encounters in our media-saturated world than in concert hall venues. Pre- and post-existing examples of WAM that permeate all forms of new, old, and advancing audio-visual media are unavoidable. Thus, I argue that the everyday person's impression of WAM is largely shaped by screen encounters.

Before analysing the ABBA scene in which audiences first see Ratzinger and Bergoglio together, I want to contextualize their character development by summarizing the introductory scenes that forge our initial impressions of these characters. At the outset, director Fernando Meirelles paints 'Pope Francis [as] the good pope, and Pope Benedict XVI [as] the bad one.'[28] Audiences first meet Bergoglio in his element as he gives an open-air Mass in urban Buenos Aires (0:01:14). The scene is markedly vibrant—both sonically and as a spectacle of colour. Bergoglio is amid a huge adoring congregation, delivering a light-hearted sermon which features jokes about football. Later in the film, Bergoglio jests that as an Argentinian 'football and tango are compulsory' (00:23:40). After Mass, the tone changes when Bergoglio learns that Pope John Paul II has died.

Consequently, all cardinals are called to the Vatican to form a papal conclave and elect a new leader. This is when audiences meet Ratzinger—whose introduction could not be more different (0:04:37). Ratzinger and his assistant are seen in a vast foyer; luxurious, but empty. The cold lighting can almost be felt in the reflection off the hard marble. There is no music (unlike the bandoneon-infused hip-hop that underscores Bergoglio's introduction) and we hear their solitude reverberate in the empty foyer. Ratzinger's assistant is helping him to learn the names of the papal conclave so that he can lobby them with his manifesto, delivered verbatim to his fellow cardinals. Ratzinger's impersonal approach to what should be personable moments aids in relegating him to the antagonistic role. This is achieved without audiences needing to recall any *reel* or *real* references, though as we shall see with the four scenes analysed in Part Two, the links to pre- and post-existing musical experiences enrich the narrative. Before this analysis, I offer a succinct synopsis of the remainder of the film: After sullying Bergoglio's reputation to the conclave, Ratzinger is elected pope. We then jump to 2012: Bergoglio wants to retire but his requests are ignored. He flies to Rome to oversee the signing of his retirement papers, which Ratzinger denies. The all-important conversations take place. Finally, in 2013 Ratzinger announces his retirement from the papacy and Bergoglio becomes pope—which, according to the film, was only made possible by the pivotal conversations carried out between the pair during Bergoglio's visit to Italy.

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[27] Winters, *Music, Performance, and the Realities of Film: Shared Experiences in Screen Fiction*, 2014.

[28] Fernando Meirelles, quoted in Kaleem Aftab, "Fernando Meirelles — Director of *The Two Popes*," *Cineuropa*, November 29, 2019, https://cineuropa.org/en/interview/382055/. This was his interpretation of the characters upon reading McCarten's play.

Part Two: Analysis

The ABBA Scene

00:05:36–00:06:05

During a break from the 2005 papal conclave, Bergoglio bumps into Ratzinger in a Vatican washroom. Their exchange is just shy of thirty seconds. Despite its brevity, the comedic nature of the scene makes it memorable, and this memorability is entirely attributable to the music central to this encounter. Bergoglio whistles ABBA's 'Dancing Queen' and Ratzinger enquires about what he presumes to be a 'hymn' (see Image 1). Both the song choice and the telling conversation that ensues are worthy of a closer reading. As influenced by Christopher Small's musicking concept, I consider both aspects to be of equal importance.[29] There is no underscore and the music in question takes place firmly within the diegesis. For reference, an extract from the script is shared below (see Figure 1).

Image 1: Bergoglio whistles ABBA's 'Dancing Queen' beside Ratzinger, Vatican washroom (00:06:02)

This is the first time that audiences see Ratzinger and Bergoglio interact. The song choice serves to distinguish the characters by highlighting Bergoglio's pop-culture proficiency, which represents his progressiveness; and by revealing Ratzinger's pop-culture deficiency, which indicates that his life is detached from the everyday person's. ABBA's 'Dancing Queen' needs little by way of introduction. Upon its release in 1976, it was an instant, far-reaching hit. Nearly half a century later, this classic pop song continues to be sought after and celebrated by diverse listeners.[30] It has a rich post-existence and I touch upon some of the *real* and *reel* examples that may influence how we interpret this scene throughout the following paragraphs.

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[29] Small, *Musicking*, 9.

[30] See for example: (a) Jackie Mansky, "What's Behind ABBA's Staying Power?" *Smithsonian Magazine*, July 20, 2018, https://www.smithsonianmag.com/arts-culture/whats-behind-abbas-staying-power-180969709/. (b) Phil Gallo, "Abba's appeal is strong, inexplicable," *Variety*, July 21, 2008, https://variety.com/2008/music/columns/abba-s-appeal-is-strong-inexplicable-1117989264/.

INT. BATHROOM/ SISTINE CHAPEL (2005) – DAY

Ratzinger is washing his hands. He pauses. Someone is whistling, a lovely, slow melody in the cubicle. He turns and looks at the cubicle. Out of the cubicle comes BERGOGLIO.

They nod at each other. There is no love lost here. A moment of pause, then Ratzinger's diplomatic skills kick in. He asks a politely neutral question in Latin.

RATZINGER:	RATZINGER:
What's the name of the hymn you are whistling?	Quid est nomen carmines quod cantas?
BERGOGLIO:	BERGOGLIO
Dancing Queen	Regina Salans

Ratzinger looks [very] puzzled. Bergoglio goes into detail.

BERGOGLIO: (CONT'D)	BERGOGLIO: (CONT'D)
By ABBA	Cantant ABBA

RATZINGER:

Ah! That's good.
[Chuckles]
AB-BA

Figure 1: 'ABBA Scene.' Anthony McCarten, *The Two Popes*, 2019, 10. Dialogue edited to reflect what is delivered by the actors.

As seen from the script, the inclusion of 'Dancing Queen' was decisive, as is the case for most uses of pre-existing music. Godsall stresses, 'uses of pre-existing music foreground specific intertextual knowledge and experience is key to the construction of meaning'.[31] Filmmakers know the music and have enlisted it to relay specific narrative information. However, in using pre-existing music there is always a risk of it not being recognised by audiences and, consequently, the filmmaker's desired (external) reference may be missed. Anahid Kassabian, in *Hearing Film: Tracking Identifications in Contemporary Hollywood Film Music*, argues that 'there is a certain degree of consistency among productions and receptions, but not complete consistency, and the relationship between productions and receptions is *by no means either simple or unidirectional*.'[32] Given the fame that ABBA and 'Dancing Queen' enjoy, I argue that this particular pre-existing song limits such inconsistencies, by aligning—what cultural theorist Stuart Hall calls—the 'frameworks of knowledge' that filmmakers use to encode a sign with the 'frameworks of knowledge' that audiences have to decode the very same sign to create a '"meaningful" discourse'.[33] When these frameworks align, the dominant reading emerges: viewers interpret the scene as intended by filmmakers (as opposed to a negotiated or oppositional reading).[34]

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[31] Godsall, *Reeled In*, 52.

[32] Anahid Kassabian, *Hearing Film: Tracking Identifications in Contemporary Hollywood Film Music*, (New York: Routledge), 20. Emphasis added.

[33] Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," Figure 13.1, 165.

I suggest that 'Dancing Queen' makes three significant contributions to the narrative. First, it strengthens Bergoglio's characterization as the progressive protagonist. This is achieved in several ways. For instance, a link may be forged between the song's status as a gay anthem,[35] further highlighting Bergoglio as the tolerant Cardinal who leads by example. The post-existence of 'Dancing Queen' in films such as *Muriel's Wedding* or *Mamma Mia!* may also influence audience's interpretation of this scene.[36] Catherine Haworth's analysis of *Muriel's Wedding* finds that scenes featuring ABBA's music are 'sequences with true emotional resonance, marking moments of honesty, transparency, and real celebration in an otherwise convoluted and artificial existence.'[37] This is much like how Bergoglio is presented to us: a down-to-earth cardinal who prefers simplicity over the grandiosity that he fears his Church suffers from. More pertinently, Haworth investigates the use of ABBA in *Muriel's Wedding* through a queer lens and points to the reprise of 'Dancing Queen' in the closing scene as a confirmation that Muriel and Rhonda's relationship is moving beyond heterosexual.[38] Similar to Muriel, the characters of *Mamma Mia!* navigate their world via ABBA songs—with the band's music coming to represent female empowerment in this film and its sequel. Together, these well-known post-existing uses of 'Dancing Queen' reinforce the progressive connotations that I suspect the filmmakers hoped to draw upon in their characterization of Bergoglio. Furthermore, his performance of a secular, smash-hit song makes Bergoglio more than an ally of the everyday person; it reinforces that, despite being a cardinal archbishop, he is an ordinary man who enjoys ordinary pleasures as much as anyone. Thus, ABBA's 'Dancing Queen' helps to animate Meirelles' desire to reveal the men underneath the cassocks when bringing *The Two Popes* to the screen.[39]

Second, Ratzinger's ignorance begs the question: 'does popular culture register with him at all?' Through not recognizing the tune, it is suggested that Ratzinger has a life-long disconnect from popular culture, especially considering that 'Dancing Queen' was released close to fifty years ago. While it is difficult to compare the experiences of public figures to evaluate the singularity of Pope Benedict XVI's apparent disconnect, one might consider Queen Elisabeth II as somewhat commensurate to Pope Emeritus Benedict XVI, especially given that they are of similar repute, status, and age.[40] The Queen is the Supreme Governor of the Church of England and Ratzinger was the Holy Father of the Catholic Church. Only one year separates these leaders in age, yet even Queen Elizabeth II cannot resist the appeal of ABBA, quoted as saying 'I always try to dance when this song comes on because I am the Queen and I like to dance.'[41] By not recognizing the song and assuming Bergoglio was whistling a hymn, Ratzinger reveals himself to be singular in his piety and theological endeavours, and that the realm of the everyday person is not a sphere he interacts with. His puzzled expression and slow, articulate, and disjointed utterance of 'AB-BA' emphasize his detachment from everyday life. His reaction to the song immediately puts Ratzinger in contrast with Bergoglio.

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[34] Ibid., 171–172. It is the dominant reading that I will be exploring throughout this article (or my subjective guess at what the objective dominant reading may be), since the possible negotiated and oppositional readings are too manifold to list, never mind explore in satisfactory detail. Scholars like Lauren Anderson have called for direct research with audiences to support (and indeed debunk) claims made about audiences and their assumed perceptions. My analysis is not absolute and seeks only to put forward possible interpretations—as surmised through critical evaluation and reference to pre- and post-existing examples. See: Lauren Anderson, "Beyond Figures of the Audience: Towards a Cultural Understanding of the Film Music Audience," *Music, Sound, and the Moving Image* 10, no. 1 (2016): 29.

[35] 'We found out quite early that Dancing Queen had become an anthem and we were very proud that we've been chosen by the community.' Björn Ulvaeus, quoted in William J. Connolly, "Björn Ulvaeus interview: 'ABBA returned to music because of gay community,'" *Gay Times*, n.d., https://www.gaytimes.co.uk/originals/bjorn-ulvaeus-interview-abba-returned-to-music-because-of-gay-community/.

[36] (a) Paul John Hogan, *Muriel's Wedding*, CiBy 2000, 1994. (b) Phyllida Lloyd, *Mamma Mia!*, Universal Pictures, 2008.

[37] Catherine Haworth, "Introduction: Gender, Sexuality, and the Soundtrack," *Music, Sound, and the Moving Image* 6, no. 2 (Autumn, 2012): 123.

[38] Ibid., 122–123.

[39] Zach Laws, "Fernando Meirelles ('The Two Popes') on his 'entertaining' tale of two pontiffs with 'a lot of jokes' [EXCLUSIVE VIDEO INTERVIEW]," *Gold Derby*, November 25, 2019, https://www.goldderby.com/article/2019/fernando-meirelles-the-two-popes-director-interview-oscars-netflix-news/.

Third, pre-existing music can calibrate the spatiotemporal context of the film. Pre-existing songs potentially distract from the narrative because of audiences' subjective prior experiences. Such experiences may forge associations with the music that filmmakers can neither predict nor want to beckon.[42] Pre-existing music can also uncover a film's inherent unreality by calling itself to attention—revealing a jarring disparity between the *real* and *reel* worlds. In the case of *The Two Popes*, 'Dancing Queen' actualizes the diegesis by situating it within a time and place shared between audiences and characters. As Godsall puts it: 'Pre-existing music is, literally, *real music* that refers to its own existence outside of the film. Its deployment as source music can therefore be a particularly effective means of authentically furnishing real-word settings.'[43] In other words, 'Dancing Queen' 'points audiences outwards in order to draw them back in.'[44]

Such a link may not be desirable in films like James Cameron's *Avatar*, which seeks to detail a world unlike our own.[45] However, *The Two Popes* portrays two very real men and follows events that likely reside in the general population's recent memory. Yet, films are not real. They are not supposed to be. Nevertheless, an illusion of *a reality* needs to be upheld to foster an audience's cooperation in an implicit game of make-believe. Winters describes entering a cinema theatre or rolling a film as contractual—that audiences know that they are engaging in fiction, but to participate in filmgoing we must enter a state of play; a game of make-believe where our reality is suspended in favour of the narrative's.[46] What is essential, however, is that the illusion is not jolted beyond our willingness to believe. It is a delicate balance, with Francesco Casetti elaborating: 'Reality has always occupied a double position in film theory … reality is both a precondition and a construct. This double status leads us to consider not simply the genesis of the filmic image, but more generally the "effects" that it triggers.'[47] This debate occupies a large proportion of film theory literature and is an issue palpably discerned in discourse surrounding pre- and post-existing music. In film musicology, Winters again points to the problem of this balancing act in referring to Hanns Eisler and Theodor Adorno's influential 1947 text *Composing For the Films*:[48] 'Adorno and Eisler seem to have underestimated the willingness of an audience to participate in a game of make-believe, and overestimate their propensity to be fooled into a state of illusory belief by film.'[49] Using pre-existing music invites audiences to negotiate the game in a way that filmmakers cannot control or in a way that might tip the sensitive balance that sustains the diegesis. For a dominant reading to emerge, Hall stresses that the disparity of meaning ('degrees of symmetry') between the filmmakers ('encoder-producer') and the audience ('decoder-receiver') must be minimal.[50] Hence, our prior experiences with pre-existing music have significant potential to distort filmmaker's intentions—inviting negotiated and even oppositional readings of the narrative.

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[40] Indeed, at 50:29 (during the piano scene) a framed photograph of Ratzinger and Queen Elizabeth II can be seen. My thanks to Laura Anderson, who drew this to my attention.

[41] Ally Foster, "This is the one song the Queen cannot resist dancing to," *New York Post*, July 20, 2017, https://nypost.com/2017/07/20/this-is-the-one-song-the-queen-cannot-resist-dancing-to/.

[42] Godsall refers to music (fondly) recognized by audiences as 'our music'; music that is shared between *reel* and *real* spheres. Such instances are 'likely to initiate debate because it is *our* music, and we often care deeply about it.' Godsall, *Reeled In*, 1.

[43] Ibid., 94.

[44] Ibid., 121.

[45] The music featured in *Avatar* is specially composed for it by James Horner. James Cameron, *Avatar*, Twentieth Century Fox, 2009.

[46] Winters, "The Non-diegetic Fallacy," 232. See also: Ben Winters, "Corporeality, Musical Heartbeats, and Cinematic Emotion," *Music, Sound, and the Moving Image* 2, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 3–25, especially 6–8.

Despite these risks, the use of 'Dancing Queen' is deliberately foregrounded. An arrangement of the song is woven into the film's soundscape moments later to non-diegetically underscore the montage of the cardinals' formal procession into the Sistine Chapel (00:07:06). This repetition exemplifies how, despite the score's clear departure from Classical Hollywood conventions, Dessner's music conforms with Gorbman's principles of Classical Hollywood scoring practices, particularly the principles of narrative/referential cueing, continuity, and unity.[51] The above analysis addressed how the narrative/referential cueing found in 'Dancing Queen' shapes the characterization of Bergoglio (and Ratzinger, by contrast). Its non-diegetic reprise in the montage provides continuity by facilitating a smooth transition between times and/or places. Recapitulating Bergoglio's whistling, the repetition of the song unifies the soundtrack by assimilating Bergoglio and Ratzinger's strange encounter with the pompous ceremony of the papal conclave that is far removed from everyday life. In this processional scene, an orchestral arrangement of 'Dancing Queen' surreptitiously emerges out of a diegetic performance of 'Litaniae Sanctorum' (Litany of the Saints)—which is chanted by the conclave as they make their way to the Sistine Chapel, in keeping with tradition. Once established, 'Dancing Queen' swiftly evolves from a string arrangement to an upbeat orchestral arrangement of the chorus, faithful to the energy of the original pop hit. However, the intimacy that the song afforded in the private space of the washroom is ceased when the non-diegetic iteration abruptly stops, synchronized with the closing (and locking) of the Sistine Chapel doors. Neither ABBA nor the everyday person can penetrate the secret ballot of the papal conclave. Just like the conversations and debates that occur later in the film, the seriousness of such moments is not accompanied by music of any kind. Moreover, this fusion of WAM and pop suggests that rivals Ratzinger and Bergoglio both have potential to become pope, while also accentuating their respective traditional and progressive leadership styles.

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[47] Francesco Casetti, "Sutured Reality: Film, from Photographic to Digital," *October*, 138 (Fall 2011): 97–98.

[48] Theodor Adorno and Hanns Eisler, *Composing for the Films* (London: Contiuum, 2005 [1947]).

[49] Winters, "The Non-diegetic Fallacy," 228.

[50] Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," 165–166.

[51] Gorbman, *Unheard Melodies*, 73.

ABBA's 'Dancing Queen' efficiently characterizes Bergoglio and Ratzinger, and enriches the washroom scene via well-known pre- and post-existences that audiences may draw upon in their interpretation of the scene. While pre-existing music can invite negotiated or oppositional readings, given the renown of the song, 'Dancing Queen' helps to convincingly fabricate a *reel* simulacrum of our *real* world: the diegesis seems like our universe; Jonathan Pryce looks remarkably like Bergoglio; and the set and costumes are quite convincing. 'Dancing Queen' efficiently aids this illusion and facilitates the game of make-believe. Of most interest to me, it succeeds in separating these two men who are distinguished through their affiliations with either popular music or WAM; genres that are presented to us as incompatible. This incompatibility is reinforced during the next two scenes for analysis, where Ratzinger is in command of the piano.

The Debussy Scene

00:14:56–00:15:53

This scene occurs directly after Ratzinger's election to the papal office. It sees the new pontiff retreat to his piano to play Claude Debussy's 'Clair de lune'—one of cinema's most prolifically-featured piano pieces.[52] Via a montage facilitated by the music, we are taken from 2005 to 2012, from which point the rest of the film builds (with the exception of flashbacks). In a mosaic-like fashion, the montage assembles three narrative strands simultaneously: Ratzinger at the piano; Ratzinger at the beginning of his new leadership role; and a collage of international news clips that rapidly move from positive reactions to Ratzinger's win to condemnation and slander. In this section I analyse the piece from two perspectives: first through a technical approach to investigate the impact of how 'Clair de lune' is presented; and then by considering the significance of the work itself in this setting—as influenced by possible pre- and post-existing encounters.

Throughout the one-minute performance, 'Clair de lune' is curiously presented. Reverberation is not applied consistently. Instead, the piece oscillates between wet and drier levels of reverberation to play with our expectations. This problematizes the source of the music by blurring whether it emanates from a diegetic or non-diegetic provenance. The first fourteen bars (typically typeset as the first page of the score, and commonly referred to as the first half of the A section—if interpreting the piece as a modified ternary form) make up the majority of the extract used in this scene.[53] However, the extract is split and spliced to fit the editing pace of the scene and the temporal requirements of the film; the music is altered to suit the images. To the credit of the music editors, this is done seamlessly and the alterations are not likely to jar with audience members. However, well-acquainted listeners may notice some discrepancies. These include the cutting of most of bar six and the reorganisation of bars twelve to fourteen. From here, the music is spliced directly to the second broken chord of bar twenty-five and continues as far as bar twenty-six (the cadence that leads into the B section). The music stops here—unresolved—on the dominant seventh (A-flat).

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[52] Gurminder Kaur Bhogal, "Resonances of Clair de Lune," in *Claude Debussy's Clair de Lune* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), see especially: 32–47.

[53] As Brent A. Ferguson notes in his thesis "Moonlight in Movies," 'the piece in its entirety rarely appears in film.' See: Brent A. Ferguson, "Moonlight in Movies: An Analytical Interpretation of Claude Debussy's 'Clair de lune' in Selected American Films" (MMus diss., Texas State University, 2011), 12.

Image 2: Ratzinger performing 'Clair de lune' by Claude Debussy after being elected Pope (00:15:11)

Audiences are acousmatically introduced to 'Clair de lune,' meaning that the sound of the piano precedes a visual confirmation of its precise source. The function of acousmatic sound, as defined by Michel Chion in *Audio-Vision*, is to draw 'our attention to sound traits normally hidden from us by the simultaneous sight of the causes.'[54] The unmistakable dyads that open 'Clair de lune' (which commit neither to D-flat major nor F minor) are heard at the end of a conversation between Bergoglio and Hummes (the scene prior to the one in question). Cardinal Hummes is a fellow 'southern hemispherer,' and the pair are trying to process Ratzinger's election success. Hummes asks what Bergoglio will do next. Disappointed—not in his loss (indeed, he is relieved in that sense), but by who won—Bergoglio laments that 'the church has just voted to make sure overdue reforms remain overdue. I can probably do more good as a simple parish priest.' Hummes exits and Bergoglio, in a typically gracious manner, says to himself 'I'll pray for him' (referring to Ratzinger). The music starts in synchrony with Bergoglio's utterance of 'him'. Much like the modal opening of 'Clair de lune,' the piece's acousmatic introduction is mysterious. The reverberation with which it is presented alters its fidelity and places the music at a distance from the characters and the space that they occupy. This impacts our expectations by leading us to believe that the music is external to the diegesis; that it belongs to the non-diegetic underscore heard only by audiences and not by the characters. A few seconds later the source of the music is revealed: we see Ratzinger, obscured by two wind-swept lace curtains, playing a large upright piano (see Image 2).[55] This shows us that 'Clair de lune' is not exclusively part of the underscore and that it is performed within the diegesis. Yet, it still sounds strange. Given the small size of the piano room and the incongruous amount of reverberation, there is a disparity between what we see and what we hear. This is important because 'fidelity' does not refer to the *quality* of the sound, but rather to an audience's expectations of *how* it should sound. When a sound is unfaithful to its source, we are led to notice it.[56] I argue that what audiences notice through the artificial reverberation is an enforced distance, signifying that Ratzinger does not have close relationships; even we cannot get close. This is mirrored in our obstructed view of Ratzinger at the piano; he is shrouded by the curtains. Accordingly, this subversion of our expectations accentuates the peculiarity of the scene: why has Ratzinger chosen to be alone? Why is he not celebrating his election with his peers and the massive congregation who have crowded Saint Peter's Square? When initial suspicions of the music belonging to the underscore are dispelled, the distance then comes to signal Ratzinger's aloof nature. Indeed, the entire scene points towards his tendency to be alone.

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[54] Michel Chion, *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, trans. Claudia Gorbman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 32.

[55] Probably the Yamaha U3 Polished Mahogany that is also used during the piano scene at Castel Gandolfo and the final scene of the film at Ratzinger's residence. It is considered to be one of the finest upright pianos manufactured in recent decades.

In moving towards the significance of using Debussy's 'Clair de lune,' I make a brief return to Kassabian who centralizes the role of the audiences by calling them 'perceivers.'[57] The application of her approach yields fruitful insights by elevating filmgoers from 'passive audience members' to 'active perceivers.' The mysteriousness of the Debussy scene calls for active perceivers so that Hall's '"meaningful" discourse' can be generated.[58] In this regard, perceivers need to exercise their competence[59] in decoding the use of 'Clair de lune,' particularly when combined with the news interviews onto which the music is layered. These news snippets start with complimentary statements, such as an American priest celebrating Ratzinger's 'sharp mind' to a woman delighting that Ratzinger will protect 'the Doctrine of the Faith' [said in French]. The pleasantness of the music seems to align with these comments. However, these interviews rapidly turn sour: his election is bad 'for the poor in the world' [in Brazilian Portuguese], 'people are abandoning Catholicism because it is too conservative' [in Spanish], and finally 'the Nazi shouldn't have been elected' [as declared by a North American man]. A tension emerges between the serene music and the defamatory allegations. The clips of Ratzinger carrying out his papal duties commence in synchrony with the negative comments. He is seen alone in grand spaces completing paperwork or praying. Alongside these clips, the soundtrack becomes increasingly noisy. Traffic noises emerge from the background of interviews and are raised in the mix, as if joining to protest Ratzinger. The final clip in the montage is a medium close-up shot from behind, showing the pontiff kneeling in a dark oratory. Church bells and the rumbling of thunder introduce a pathetic fallacy. Collectively, these noises add to the hostility—a sonic hostility that grates against the beautiful music Ratzinger plays. During this last clip in the oratory, Ratzinger's solitude is underscored by the three forlorn broken chords that end the except of 'Clair de lune' (see Example 1). By skipping the opening chord in bar twenty-five (D-flat major), we hear first the uneasy modal minor (an inverted D-flat minor with an added sixth). Not only do these final chords have the most reverberation applied to them, but this modal D-flat minor chord is embellished with another sonic modification. The decay of this chord is reversed and added pre-emptively before it is struck. This creates an unnatural crescendo that forefronts the chord, further accentuating the instability of the situation.

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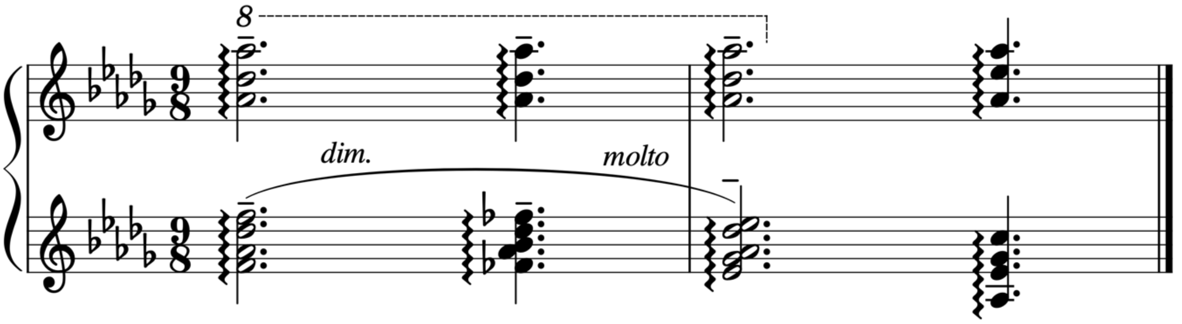
[56] Bordwell and Thompson, *Film Art*, 284.

[57] This is not immediately expressed, though Kassabian's repeated use of the term 'perceivers' and the absence of 'audience' implies as much. Kassabian, *Hearing Film*.

[58] Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," Figure 13.1, 165.

[59] Kassabian defines such a competency as 'a culturally acquired skill possessed to varying degrees in varying genres by all hearing people in a given culture.' Kassabian, *Hearing Film*, 20.



Example 1: Claude Debussy, 'Clair de lune,' bars 25–26. The first chord is absent in the film.

In both the *real* and *reel* worlds, 'Clair de lune' retains its reputation for provoking emotional reactions.[60] It evokes themes of beauty, romance, epiphanies, nostalgia, and bittersweetness, for example. In other words, it is generally positively received. Set against the negativity of the latter part of this scene, its use becomes complicated. Such a complexity makes a 'simple or unidirectional'[61] dominant reading difficult and perceivers must negotiate their own interpretation of the scene. Therefore, competency is essential in influencing our perception of it. To this end, I will now delineate several potential negotiated readings of the scene by referencing pre- and post-existing experiences of 'Clair de lune' that perceivers with varying competencies may draw upon in forming their interpretation of this scene.

The ability to play 'Clair de lune,' or any of Debussy's piano works for that matter, is often met with admiration. The ability to play it well will impress most listeners. The generally positive attributes associated with 'Clair de lune' in our *real* world are largely mirrored in the piece's appropriation onscreen.[62] Here, I think of films such as *Ocean's Eleven*, *Frankie and Johnny*, and *Fantasia 2000*.[63] In each of these examples, the piece (often augmented with a rich orchestration) adds serenity or a romantic air, and it usually complements a night-time setting—as is fitting with its title. Janet K. Halfyard, in their chapter "Screen Playing," explores classical music performances onscreen, describing how playing the piano can signal malevolence—particularly regarding male characters and especially male characters in a position to abuse their power.[64] Up until now, we have been encouraged to view Ratzinger as the antagonist, so perhaps Halfyard's observations could be applied here. However, I would suggest consideration of alternative readings, like how the piano might serve to re-humanize Ratzinger—that his pianism is a force for good, or at the very least a vessel through which to empathize with him. Such a technique has been applied to supposed villains before. For example, the character Edward Cullen, from the *Twilight* franchise of teen dramas, is a 108-year-old vampire who acquaints himself with the arts in an effort to be more human.[65] Edward highlights these pursuits to Bella (the protagonist and his human love interest). He plays her a recording of 'Clair de lune' before serenading her at the piano. Bella and perceivers may recognize the considerable amount of time and commitment that it takes to be a proficient musician. Edward's command of the piano may signal that he endeavours to resist evil temptations (to drink human blood, for example) by occupying his eternal and sleepless life with tasks to better himself; to re-humanize himself. This includes listening to and possibly playing 'Clair de lune' because he is a *good* vampire. Is retreating to private quarters to play the piano an acknowledgment that, like Edward, Ratzinger is aware of his 'bad' qualities? Does Ratzinger find solace at the keyboard? Does the music invite us to relate to Ratzinger? As Thomas reminds us, 'playing the piano … is an inherently singular—monadic, if you will—experience. Pianos may be played against an orchestra, but they don't normally become part of one.'[66] Whether 'good' or 'bad', Ratzinger's solitude is certainly amplified at the piano.

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[60] As summarized by Roger Chaffin, '*Clair de Lune* from the *Suite Bergamasque* by Claude Debussy is one of the most beloved pieces in the piano repertoire. Its ability to evoke feelings of tranquillity, mystery, and pathos have made it popular for generations' 380. Roger Chaffin, "Learning Clair de Lune: Retrieval Practice and Expert Memorization," *Music Perception: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 24, no. 4 (April 2007): 380.
[61] Kassabian, *Hearing Film*, 20.
[62] Bhogal, "Resonances of Claire de Lune," 13.
[63] (a) Steven Soderbergh, *Ocean's Eleven*, (Warner Bros., 2001). (b) Gary Marshall, *Frankie and Johnny*, (Paramount Pictures, 1991). (c) James Algar, Gaëtan Brizzi, and Paul Brizzi, *Fantasia 2000*, (Walt Disney Pictures, 1999 [1940]).
[64] Janet K. Halfyard, "Screen Playing: cinematic representations of classical music performance and European identity," in *European Film Music*, ed. Miguel Mera and David Burnand, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 73–85.

Debussy's music is recognisably within the generic parameters of WAM. This allows us to extend beyond this piece of post-existing music to consider post-existing experiences with WAM more generally. This consideration is worthwhile since Ratzinger's austere characterization is fortified with WAM in both the non-diegetic soundtrack (Wagnerian style orchestration, and plainchant) and the diegesis (as will be highlighted further in the forthcoming analysis of the piano scene). Returning to Halfyard's argument, instances of classical music have close ties with antagonistic characters in screen fiction—to which Sir Anthony Hopkins provides two notable post-existing examples that may shape our reading of the scene. These are found in *The Silence of the Lambs* and *Westworld*, which I probe below.

In *The Silence of the Lambs*, Hopkins' portrayal of the serial killer Hannibal Lecter, is scorched into the memories of those who have experienced this horror film.[67] A particularly memorable scene comes when Lecter, caged for everybody's safety, violently escapes by killing and partially cannibalizing two prison guards. This scene is accompanied by Bach's "Goldberg" Variations, heard on a cassette player. In an in-depth analysis of this scene, Carlo Cenciarelli states that Bach 'provides a suitable match for the killer genius's "lethal cerebrality."'[68] This corroborates Halfyard's argument and parallels Ratzinger's intellectual inclinations. In Stilwell's analysis of the same scene, however, she explores how the use of Bach (or any music, for that matter) may help us to relate (or not relate) to characters; if it (1) enables empathy or anempathy; or indeed whether (2) the music serves as an objective or subjective narrator along with (3) the 'aural perspective (here/there)' it offers.[69]

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[65] Catherine Hardwicke, *Twilight*, (Summit Entertainment, 2008).

[66] Thomas, "Men at the Keyboard," 278.

[67] Jonathan Demme, *Silence of the Lambs*, (Strong Heart/Demme Production, 1991).

[68] Carlo Cenciarelli, "Dr Lecter's Taste for 'Goldberg', or: The Horror of Bach in the Hannibal Franchise," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 137, no. 1 (2012): 110.

[69] Stilwell, "The Fantastical Gap between Diegetic and Nondiegetic," 190–193

Before commenting on how 'Clair de lune' satisfies these three axes, let us consider one final post-existing example from the television series *Westworld*.[70] Hopkins features again, however this time we are under no illusions as to whether or not he is the antagonist. In this dystopic sci-fi series, his character Dr Robert Ford comes to play the role of the devil in an augmented-reality theme park that Ford designed as a lawless playground for the wealthy. In "Contrapasso," the fifth episode of season one, Ford performs 'Clair de lune'. Such is the concentration of evil embodied by this character, that he eerily admonishes any positive attributes of the piece. Thus, experiences of this scene could strongly affect the interpretation of Ratzinger's rendition—especially given the three short years that separate *Westworld* and *The Two Popes.*

Tying back in with Stilwell's axes, perceivers will subjectively determine whether 'Clair de lune' helps us to empathize with Ratzinger. Similarly, our prior experiences will colour whether or not we perceive the music as an impartial or biased commentator. Lastly, the aural perspective suggested by the music plays into Stilwell's influential concept of 'the fantastical gap'—which considers movement through the diegetic and non-diegetic divide.[71]

'Clair de lune' has different technical functions throughout the Debussy scene. As explored earlier, the piece's acousmatic introduction leads us to hear the music as non-diegetic, yet moments later we see Ratzinger playing the piece. This visual confirmation of its source should indicate that the music emerges from within the diegesis, however the applied reverberation problematizes a clear designation of the music. Regarding the overall construction of this scene, the reverberation makes the music more suitable as an accompaniment to the tripartite montage that assembles Ratzinger at the piano, Ratzinger as pope, and the news interviews. Specifically, the reverberation prevents the music from infringing upon the interviews so that the dialogue can be heard easily. So where does this leave the music, and does a categorization really matter? On the latter: no, a precise categorization of the music is not vital to the overall comprehension of the film. Nevertheless, the ambiguity created by the music's concomitance to both diegetic and non-diegetic provenances is of importance. This is elucidated through Stilwell's 'fantastical gap' concept, which notes that movement through the diegetic/non-diegetic gap is not random; rather such transitions are 'important moments of revelation, of symbolism, and of emotional engagement with the film.'[72] In this instance, 'Clair de lune' occupies the fantastical gap to facilitate an insight into Ratzinger's solitary life and the instability of his new position.

The Debussy scene may not offer a crystalline characterization of Ratzinger just yet, but with hindsight, its narrative impact becomes clarified as it merges with the broader portraiture of Ratzinger—the WAM afficionado. I shall reference his pianism in the following example and return to how it shapes our understanding of Ratzinger in the concluding section.

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[70] I am indebted to the delegates of the 2021 Sound on Screen conference who drew my attention to this noteworthy example. Jonny Campbell, "Contrapasso," episode five, season one of *Westworld*, (aired October 30, 2016, on HBO).

[71] 'The border region—the fantastical gap—is a transformative space, a superposition, a transition between [the diegetic and non-diegetic] stable states.' Stilwell, "The Fantastical Gap between Diegetic and Nondiegetic," 200.

[72] Stilwell, "The Fantastical Gap between Diegetic and Nondiegetic," 200.

The Piano Scene

00:45:35–00:50:26

Since the Debussy scene, Bergoglio has come to Rome to ensure that his retirement papers (thus far ignored) are signed by Ratzinger. He meets the pontiff at his summer residence, Castel Gandolfo, where the men engage in tempestuous debates. They are at complete loggerheads and their incompatible ideologies are entirely exposed. Alas, it appears that they share nothing in common. After their separate dinners, tempers have cooled slightly. In the late evening, Bergoglio tries to hand his retirement papers to Ratzinger again. The pontiff, tired of arguing, initiates a ceasefire: 'No, this evening, please. I know we have our differences, our disagreements, but please. This evening, let's be simply brothers together, shall we?' Bergoglio came to Rome to get his papers signed and his patience is beginning to wear thin. Ratzinger tries again: 'Do you play the piano or any other instrument?' Bergoglio does not play an instrument. However, he knows that the pope recorded an album *Music from the Vatican: Alma Mater.*[73] Entertaining the ceasefire, Bergoglio asks if Ratzinger might play something. Ratzinger obliges. The remainder of the scene is constructed around five pieces interwoven with conversations. Ratzinger begins by playing a piece by his 'favourite Czech composer Bedřich Smetana' before a conversation about The Beatles is attempted—similarly underpinning the pop culture disconnect established during the ABBA scene. He then plays a cabaret piece 'made famous before the war by a singer called Zarah Leander.' For the last of the live performances, we hear two short excerpts from works by Enrique Granados and Karlheinz Stockhausen. We are then acousmatically introduced to Thelonious Monk's 'Epistrophy,' which is being broadcast on television. Ratzinger's music transforms from a mode of estrangement to a vehicle for reconciliation, making the piano scene a transformative moment in their relationship. Each of these musical moments in the piano scene may be traced as follows:

THE SMETANA LULLABY: Hopkins plays the piano throughout the film and had creative input when choosing the repertoire. His role in this regard is most clear here. The Smetana piece has a distinct Romantic flair and is quite sombre—as reinforced by Ratzinger saying 'he [Smetana] had a very sad life'. The lullaby transfixes Bergoglio and its climax triggers a painful memory, shown to us as a flashback. During this flashback sequence we see Bergoglio breaking the news to his fiancée that he is calling off their engagement to become a priest. A poignancy in the music accompanies Bergoglio's painful memories. Sonically, this is heightened through an alteration of the piano's fidelity. The reverberation that previously marked distance between us and Ratzinger now signals Bergoglio's distance as he is swooped away into memories. Faithful to Stilwell's fantastical gap always carrying meaning, this variation in diegetic status highlights a notable change in emotions.[74] As is typical of Meirelles, when things get too heavy or too serious, the mood is promptly lightened. Ratzinger abruptly stops his performance, bringing Bergoglio's attention back to the present, and a conversation about The Beatles commences. While the lullaby is indeed a pre-existing composition, it is not the kind that we are led to believe. Jonathan Pryce unveiled the production secret in an interview with *Vanity Fair*, saying:

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[73] This is a real album, recorded by Pope Benedict XVI in London's Abbey Road Studios in 2009. Pope Benedict XVI, *Music from the Vatican: Alma Mater*, Polydor, 2009, CD.

[74] The Fantastical Gap between Diegetic and Nondiegetic," 200.

> In that sequence he [Anthony Hopkins] was supposed to play a bit of Mozart, and he'd gotten in touch with Fernando, the director and said, I don't think Mozart's right for this sequence. But there's a piece of Smetana that I'd like to play. It's very dark and Smetana had a very troubled life and I think it's right for the moment. So we filmed this with him playing the Smetana and then the booker went away to get the clearance for this piece of music and discovered that this piece of music didn't exist. And it was in fact written by Tony [Anthony Hopkins].[75]

The 'Smetana Lullaby' apparently resides in a category just as obscure as Stockhausen and Granados, since several reviews, articles, blogs, and forums initially failed to realize the duplicity. I suspect this musical choice was to remain confidential as the piece is not listed in the credits. Hopkins, having kept the true authorship hidden from most of the cast and crew, perhaps wanted to do the same with audiences. I do not think that this is simply humility, but rather that it is the actor's charismatic sense of humour—which many Hopkin's fans may appreciate. Hopkins has performed the nameless piece publicly and videos of him doing so are available online—thanks to the curation skills of his fans (the lullaby seems to be Hopkins' 'signature piece').[76] While it can technically be classified as pre-existing music, it would not have been particularly well known before the release of *The Two Popes*. Thus, we have an instance of bespoke pre-existing music. Godsall places import on 'the *referentiality* of the music within the film', saying that it 'is central to the deployment and interpretation of pre-existing music in the cinema.'[77] While perceivers might not be familiar with the piece itself, its framing points to traits long-affiliated with the genre of WAM—both on and off screen—that can inform our interpretation of the scene. This framing includes Ratzinger announcing the name and nationality of the piece's supposed composer; bringing a certain clout with its relatively lesser-known status. Arguably, the resulting additional cultural capital furnishes an 'esotericism' that is 'the bogey that haunts' WAM, as problematized by Lawrence Kramer.[78] The framing also includes Bergoglio's response to the piece. He remains silent, though his expression (mouth open in astonishment) is revealing. Winters emphasizes the influential role that characters play in how we respond to the same music: 'In showing us the reactions of characters to the music that surrounds them, these scenes offer us both a reflection of our own responses to the music we hear in the cinema, and suggest ways of interpreting characters' reactions to music less obviously heard'.[79] Therefore, Bergolio's reaction assists us in decoding the unfamiliar piece.

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[75] Jonathan Pryce quoted in Vanity Fair, "The 'Donkey Work' and Religious Reawakenings That Went Into The Two Popes," *Vanity Fair*, December 19, 2019, https://www.vanityfair.com/hollywood/2019/12/little-gold-men-podcast-two-popes-interview.

[76] For one example, see: ThomasAquinasCollege, "Sir Anthony Hopkins plays the piano at Thomas Aquinas College, California," YouTube Video, 3:03, July 26, 2019, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7unO4P87eKc.

[77] Godsall, *Reeled In*, 92.

[78] Lawrence Kramer, *Why Classical Music Still Matters* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press), 42.

[79] Winters, *Music, Performance, and the Realities of Film*, 5.

Three conditions must be met for Hopkin's composition to masquerade as an authentic Smetana piece. First, that filmmakers expect perceivers not to recognize the music (or know Smetana's oeuvre). Second, that perceivers are required to accept that it is relatively normal to not identify (non-canonical) works of WAM. Third, that perceivers will not question the work's unfamiliarity during the screening (i.e., be distracted by the work). Until Pryce revealed the duplicity to the press, the piece's status as an authentic Smetana composition remained largely unchallenged. By successfully deceiving audiences, Ratzinger's characterization as an arcane figure is reinforced. This is achieved by playing upon WAM's esoteric reputation—particularly in relation to non-canonical works, like this piece purports to be (to all, save a few Smetana scholars).

Thus far, WAM and pop have been allocated to Ratzinger and Bergoglio, respectively, unequivocally, and exclusively. This oppositional characterization continues to have a narrative purpose throughout the piano scene, as is particularly discernible in the following example.

THE BEATLES CONVERSATION: Seven years on from their encounter in the Vatican washroom, Ratzinger's knowledge of popular culture seems not to have progressed. Reminiscent of the ABBA scene, the pair talk about where *Music from the Vatican: Alma Mater* was recorded. The conversation that ensues comically offsets the poignancy of the Smetana lullaby. Below is an extract from the script, with this conversation commencing immediately after the lullaby:

> RATZINGER:
> You know the album – It was recorded at a world famous studio in London – I was told I should be honoured because The Beatles had been there – Do you know The Beatles?
>
> BERGOGLIO:
> Yes. I know who they are. [chuckles]
>
> R: [laughs] Of course you do.
>
> B: "Eleanor Rigby."
>
> R: Who?
>
> B: You know, *Yellow Submarine*.
>
> R: Sorry, I don't know.
>
> B: The album. *Yellow Submarine*. [sings: da dum dum]
>
> R: That's silly. That's very funny.
> I can't remember where the studio was – It was like a church or something.
>
> B: Abbey Road?
>
> R: Abbey, the Abbey? Yes, the road.
>
> B: Abbey Road! You went to Abbey Road?
>
> R: No, no. no. That would not have been appropriate.

Figure 2: 'The Piano Scene.' Anthony McCarten, *The Two Popes*, 2019, 56–57.
Dialogue edited to reflect what is delivered by the actors.

Ratzinger plays the beginning of the Smetana Lullaby again and he shares a rare insight into his past. He says: ‘I once thought I had a calling for music. But I’m afraid, at the keyboard, [pause] I’m not infallible. But I enjoy it.’ There is slight Mickey-Mousing enacted between what Ratzinger plays and what he says; with the high cadence occurring at the ‘[pause].’ Ratzinger’s admission reminds us that, unlike papal infallibility, he is allowed to be imperfect at the piano. Thus, the instrument again serves to re-humanize him. Ratzinger has opened to Bergoglio, and things are looking hopeful between them. This is most keenly shown in the cabaret piece that begins after this conversation.

THE ZARAH LEANDER CABARET: Bergoglio is instantly charmed by the upbeat piece, and he delights in the brighter mood it brings: ‘It’s different. It’s wonderful!’ Chuffed, Ratzinger invites Bergoglio to pour himself some wine. Whilst decanting, Hopkin’s impromptu line foreshadows what is to come later: he sings the words ‘Sweet Auf Wiedersehen’ (‘Sweet goodbye’). As revealed later in the film, this bonding moment permitted Ratzinger to retire, since the only thing stopping him was his fear that Bergoglio would be his successor and undo his efforts. Like the diegetic instances of ‘Dancing Queen’ and the saxophone, this ‘Auf Wiedersehen’ is non-diegetically recapitulated later in the film when the song ‘Ciao, Bella, Ciao’ performed by The Swingle Singers is heard in the underscore.

Image 3: Ratzinger performing the Zarah Leander cabaret piece for Bergoglio (00:49:43)

The cabaret piece facilitates a greater sense of compassion between Ratzinger and Bergoglio. It gives them a new context to see eye-to-eye with one another; to understand each other as ‘brothers.’ Indeed, they are enjoying themselves so much that they sing along to the melody with ‘la la las.’ By fusing WAM and pop, the cabaret piece allows both men to identify with it and bond over it. I return to the cabaret piece in our final scene for analysis—the tango scene—after addressing the last two musical moments from this piano scene. Despite Hopkins’ character leading us to believe otherwise, the so-called ‘Zarah Leander cabaret piece’ is another original. Unlike the lullaby, this cabaret piece did not have a pre-existence.

Meirelles requested jazz and Hopkins 'improvised all the modern stuff'[80]—which also includes the next example.

GRANADOS AND STOCKHAUSEN: 'Time flies when you are having fun'—so the adage goes. This is conveyed to us in two consecutive clips that show Ratzinger playing a couple of bars by each composer and announcing their names as he performs obscure twentieth-century-style snippets. Bergoglio is by his side enjoying the music, the wine, and his company. By abruptly jumping from the cabaret piece to these extracts (all the while laughter and merriment proceeds), the quick passing of time enjoyed is conveyed to perceivers. As with the previous two performances, these extracts are Hopkins' creations. In an interview with *Deadline*, Hopkins summarizes the impact of the piano scene:

> I go off and play the piano, and I think by doing those serious scenes first of all, and then playing the piano… It doesn't take a genius to figure that out, that playing the piano is a bit of entertainment. He's coming to listen to me, and they've both got a sense of humour about it. And he mentions "Eleanor Rigby", and I say, "I don't know." But it's so human, between two old men.[81]

THELONIOUS MONK: Lastly, the pair recline by the television. We hear the music before we see it: Thelonious Monk performing 'Epistrophy.' The weak television signal distorts Monk's playing, resulting in Ratzinger changing the channel. Bergoglio places his retirement papers on the table between them and encouragingly offers his pen to Ratzinger. In a moment of optimism, Bergoglio is excited to see Ratzinger's hand hover towards his papers. Instead, the pope reaches for the remote control to change from the distorted channel to his favourite show *Komissar Rex*. Bergoglio is deflated and a shadow is cast over their move towards brotherhood. The role of 'Epistrophy' is not entirely clear. I initially read it as a continuation of Ratzinger's playing, since our acousmatic introduction to it is accompanied by the pontiff's laughter and we can see his disappointment when the poor signal attenuates his enjoyment of the piece. However, these tuning issues could analogically point elsewhere. When Ratzinger says that the television is not tuned in very well, he might be describing himself—in relation to Abbey Road, The Beatles, ABBA, or popular culture more generally. Perhaps Monk's jazz veers too far away from WAM into the popular sphere?

The Tango Scene

1:46:12–1:47:15

This is the final scene from Bergoglio's visit to Rome. We see the pair exchange goodbyes in a Vatican courtyard, where a car is waiting to bring Bergoglio to the airport. Ratzinger is accompanied by his entourage (assistant, security, and a Swiss guard). Since the piano scene, which occurred an hour previous to this, Ratzinger announced that he is to retire and that this was the reason why he would not sign Bergoglio's papers. At first, Bergoglio's retirement request came as good news: Ratzinger's conservatism would not be expropriated by the progressive cardinal. However, Ratzinger's primary motivation to retire was that he could no longer hear the voice of God. He confesses to Bergoglio:

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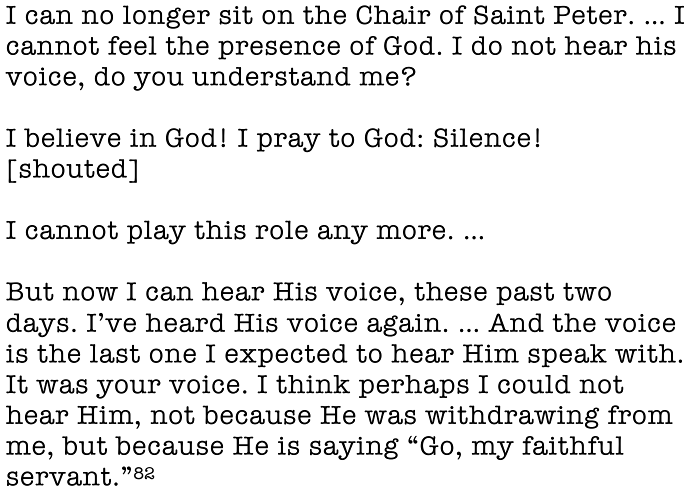
[80] Pete Hammond, "*The Two Popes* Reunites Jonathan Pryce With Anthony Hopkins After 27 Years, Even If Pryce Can't Recall Their Last Collaboration," *Deadline*, November 27, 2019, https://deadline.com/2019/11/the-two-popes-anthony-hopkins-jonathan-pryce-netflix-interview-news-1202794985/.

[81] Hammond, "*The Two Popes* Reunites Jonathan Pryce With Anthony Hopkins After 27 Years, Even If Pryce Can't Recall Their Last Collaboration."



I can no longer sit on the Chair of Saint Peter. ... I cannot feel the presence of God. I do not hear his voice, do you understand me?

I believe in God! I pray to God: Silence! [shouted]

I cannot play this role any more. ...

But now I can hear His voice, these past two days. I've heard His voice again. ... And the voice is the last one I expected to hear Him speak with. It was your voice. I think perhaps I could not hear Him, not because He was withdrawing from me, but because He is saying "Go, my faithful servant."[82]

Figure 3: 'The Tango Scene.' Anthony McCarten, *The Two Popes*, 2019, 106–107.
Dialogue edited to reflect what is delivered by the actors.

Over the duration of their conversations, Ratzinger came to the conclusion that Bergoglio cannot retire because he should succeed him. Through learning to understand their respective ideologies, Ratzinger sees that his austere approach needs to be replaced with Bergoglio's courage to be vulnerable: 'You lead, not by power, not by intellect, but by how you live.'[83] Ratzinger continues his confession, admitting that 'As a child, I failed You first by not having the courage to taste of life itself. Instead, I hid away in books and then study. I know now that this left me empty and void of the world for which the Church is meant to help.'[84] They absolved each other's sins. Bergoglio leaves Rome understanding Ratzinger, and Ratzinger can retire safe in the knowledge that he can live to 'see [his] correction.'[85]

These formative conversations all took place without any musical accompaniment; non-diegetic or otherwise. However, as this tango scene evidences, instances of diegetic music trace their transition towards sincerely understanding each other. This understanding is achieved through listening—towards which music plays a forcible part. Music asserts itself and invites attention from those within earshot without the need for squabbling.

At their final meeting as Cardinal Bergoglio and Pope Benedict XVI, Ratzinger offers a parting parable to his new friend: 'Do you know the story of Saint Francis? When he was told by God to restore his Church, he thought He meant bricks and mortar [both chuckle]. Poor Saint Francis. Even he made mistakes and got things wrong.'[86] Bergoglio chooses this saint as his papal name and the scene pays tribute to Ratzinger's positive influence on his successor. Bergoglio offers his own tidbit: 'You know, Saint Francis, he loved to dance. He would have learned to tango. Hm?' With sustained protest, Ratzinger joins Bergoglio to dance. To the astonishment of the pope's entourage, the pontiff is dancing in the courtyard. The men tango to the tune of their own giggles as well as Bergoglio's steady 'one, two, three, one, two, three …'. This scene not only shows the extent of their transformation, but it signals back to the precise moment that their relationship pivoted into amicable territory: as they dance, the sound of the cabaret piece drifts into audibility. This is complemented with a flashback to that evening of 'brotherhood' at Castel Gandolfo. Interwoven with the dancing, this flashback directly acknowledges the cabaret piece as the catalyst of their burgeoning friendship. During the piano scene, the music was heard in the diegesis. This time its categorization is unclear. Who is recalling the piece? Is it heard in the minds of Bergoglio, Ratzinger, or even both of them in an unusual instance of telepathic kinship? Is it the 'filmind'[87] promulgating itself, asking us to connect the piano scene with this moment? To which narrative level can we attribute it to—diegetic, non-diegetic? As when Bergoglio's memory was triggered by the Smetana Lullaby or when 'Clair de lune' swayed between these levels, the classification of the music in this scene does not matter greatly—particularly since Stilwell reminds us that moments that traverse the fantastical gap are imbued with meaning. Here, the emotional meaning is clear: the men are happy having reached an understanding of and respect for each other's differences.

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[82] 1:41:38–1:43:15.

[83] 1:38:03.

[84] 1:29:34.

[85] 1:06:28

[86] 1:45:50

Image 4: Ratzinger and Bergoglio tango as they prepare to say goodbye (01:46:51)

After tangoing, Ratzinger gives Bergoglio The Beatles' *Abbey Road* CD as a parting gift. This gesture sees Ratzinger admitting to his pop ineptitude in a humble manner and also proves that he was paying attention to (and learning from) their conversations at Castel Gandolfo. Like the cabaret piece, the *Abbey Road* album references the conversations from the piano scene. This referential repetition strengthens and unifies music's narrative contribution to the overall film.

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[87] The 'filmind' was adapted by Winters from Daniel Frampton's *Filmosophy* to conceptualize a kind of filmic autonomy in which there is no distinction between diegetic and non-diegetic music or sound. See: Winters, "The Non-Diegetic Fallacy," especially 232–236. See also: Daniel Frampton, *Filmosophy* (London: Wallflower Press, 2006).

Furthermore, just as the diegetic instances of the saxophone, 'Dancing Queen,' and Ratzinger's 'Auf Weidersehen' are mirrored in the underscore, the conversations about The Beatles are recapitulated in the non-diegetic soundtrack. Transporting us from this scene to Bergoglio's coronation is an arrangement of the song 'Blackbird' by The Beatles (although it is from *The White Album*, not from *Abbey Road*). An acapella version of the song, vocalized to 'doo doo doo,' is heard as Bergoglio leaves the Vatican. Acapella music and plainchant have been associated with Ratzinger in the underscore. Similarly in this scene, it expresses Ratzinger's emotions as he bids farewell to Bergoglio. Only one line of the song is articulated with words, which unveils the role of 'Blackbird' here: 'You were only waiting for this moment to arise.' Though saying goodbye to Bergoglio was bittersweet, Ratzinger can now retire safe in the knowledge that good will come of it. He truly was waiting for this moment to arise. In synchrony with the cadence following this line, we are transported to 2013 when Ratzinger announces his retirement. Bergoglio watches this on television from Argentina. Here, 'Blackbird' is heard as a piano arrangement before transitioning to an orchestral version as the conclave meet to elect a new pontiff. Like the arrangement of 'Dancing Queen' heard during the conclave procession at the beginning of the film, 'Blackbird' stops when the doors to the Sistine Chapel close and the secret ballot takes place.

The changing presentations of the song traverses flavours of plainchant, jazz, and Romanticism, to bring together attributes of both men in moving forward amicably and for the good of the Church. This brings the film near its end. Bergoglio is elected and promptly goes on a world tour to be with the people and to promote compassion and responsibility—touching on timely issues such as climate change, the refugee crisis, and homophobia. He is a man of action and a progressive one at that. Finally, the film's coda—shown alongside the credits—sees the men at Castel Gandolfo watching the 2014 World Cup final between the native teams, Argentina and Germany.

Part Three: Conclusion

Throughout *The Two Popes*, music relieves the profundity of Ratzinger and Bergoglio's discourse without diminishing the seriousness of these exchanges. Not only does the use of pop and WAM help to cinematize the adaptation, but it transforms the niche theological aspects into something universal: two people reconciling their differences by listening to one another.

Familiar works like 'Clair de lune' and 'Dancing Queen'—alongside the filmic conventions of pop and WAM that these works enact—are unambiguously employed to effortlessly characterize Ratzinger and Bergoglio. Moreover, the deliberate use of such well-known pieces helps to steer interpretations and encourage a dominant reading. This is accomplished by allowing perceivers to draw upon rich pre- and post-existing encounters; to synthesize intertextual information associated with the genres from both the *real* and *reel* worlds. Significantly, this narrows the encoding/decoding disparity between filmmakers and audiences. To this extent, *The Two Popes* relies on carefully selected music to deliver a dominant reading of the narrative, thus inviting audiences further into the game of make-believe.

The non-diegetic underscore takes substantial cues from the diegesis and duly rewards attentive listening—and offers subliminal unification to passive listeners. This creates a coherent unity that hears, for example: diegetic conversations about The Beatles reprised in the non-diegetic underscore; 'Dancing Queen' restated in the processional montage after the ABBA scene; and the pivotal Zarah Leander cabaret piece re-emerge during the tango scene. Thus, the diegesis and the non-diegetic underscore interact and work together to jointly characterize Ratzinger and Bergoglio.

The oppositional presentation of pop and WAM invites us to consider broader distinctions between the genres while also humanizing these characters—to view Bergoglio as a man-of-the-people and to empathize with Ratzinger's solitude. Thinking in terms of these musics' typical concert practices (the more rigid concert-hall etiquette of WAM versus singing and dancing with strangers at a pop concert), we can clearly observe the differing portraits that the filmmakers are conveying. Taking the musical moments in their totality, we see how WAM is used to contrast Ratzinger's austerity, conservativism, and solitary nature with Bergoglio's more amicable vulnerability, progressive outlook, and sociability—as represented by pop music. In this regard, the role of these genres is rather typical and garnishes characterizations in line with established cinematic tropes and *real*-life stereotypes. Yet for all of pop and WAM's ability to distinguish these characters, the fusion of these two styles sees them come to understand one another. This is evidenced in the final two examples via the Zarah Leander cabaret piece that catalyses the entire progression of the narrative: Ratzinger can retire from the Chair of Saint Peter and Bergoglio can lead the Church in a new direction as Pope Francis.

The film exemplifies the impressive level to which pop and WAM can deliver narrative insight. However, the same efficiency with which these genres provide narrative information may also contribute to a reluctancy for filmmakers to depart from convenient, long-established, and sometimes pernicious tropes. Consequently, many outdated and problematic representations are preserved—especially lack of diversity. This issue is particularly compounded in relation to uses of WAM, given its centuries-old, largely white, western, and male (literary) history. That being said, *The Two Popes* does more than simply rehash established stereotypes. Notably, it breaks ties with value judgements: neither pop nor WAM are measured aesthetically or ethically against each other. The genres are presented as neither superior nor inferior to one another. Amid mainstream contemporary film, this kind of axiological approach is rather unusual and refreshing. Halfyard notes that while rare in Hollywood film, this approach does occur more regularly in European film traditions where a 'confrontational juxtaposition of high culture and popular culture is largely absent.'[88] Importantly, the styles are viewed in parallel to one another; not as better or worse, but simply different. Ratzinger and Bergoglio are different. Through all their arguing, they never disrespect or admonish each other. Their philosophies, dogma, traits, and interests are mutually respected, even if not mutually liked. As I hope to have illustrated, this quality is entirely embodied and buttressed by the music.

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[88] Halfyard, "Screen Playing," 78. This bears relevance when considering the platform on which *The Two Popes* resides: Netflix. This streaming platform facilitates mass consumption. While it offers something for everybody, the business model relies on providing productions that appeal to a wide demographic; blurring distinctions between Hollywood, European, and world cinematic traditions. Indeed, director Fernando Meirelles enjoys being an outlier, having established his directorial style in his native Brazil. See: The Hollywood Reporter, "Directors Roundtable: Todd Phillips, Martin Scorsese, Greta Gerwig, Noah Baumbach | Close Up," YouTube Video, 1:05:03, January 6, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4iLtjMwkOlg.

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Reviews Colloquium

CONFERENCE REVIEW

Joint Plenary Conference of the Society of Musicology in Ireland and the Irish Chapter of the International Council for Traditional Music

Fiona Baldwin

Organising a successful academic conference requires a Herculean effort at the best of times, but the task becomes even more fraught during a global pandemic, when it is beset by capricious public health guidance, convoluted travel restrictions, mercurial broadband connectivity, and the chronic unpredictability of technology. Thankfully, the organising committee of the inaugural Joint Plenary Conference of the Society of Musicology in Ireland (SMI) and the Irish Chapter of the International Council for Traditional Music (ICTM Ireland) triumphed over these adversities to unite international colleagues in a spirit of camaraderie, collaboration, and resolve, and rejuvenated the relationship between musicology and ethnomusicology.

Hosted by the Trinity College Dublin Department of Music over the last weekend in May 2021, the three-day conference embodied interdisciplinary ideals and exposed participants to a wide range of papers, panel discussions and perspectives, as well as vibrant, artistic performances by renowned Irish singers and musicians—Mia Cooper (violin), Niall Kinsella and Aoife O'Sullivan (piano), Rachel Croash (soprano), Raphaela Mangan (mezzosoprano), Gavin Ring (tenor), the Trinity Chapel Chamber Choir, and The Trinitones. More than 470 delegates from fifty-six institutions across four continents participated in this year's plenary conference, which featured in excess of one hundred papers from graduate, early-career, and established researchers in the fields of historical musicology, ethnomusicology, music theory and analysis, and performance-based research. The warmth of the three opening addresses by Dr Evangelia Rigaki (Trinity College Dublin), Professor Lorraine Byrne Bodley MRIA (SMI President) and Dr Adrian Scahill (ICTM Ireland Chair) set the tone for what proved to be a most collegial and scholarly event; one that certainly surpassed this reviewer's expectations.

The Plenary Keynote Lecture, *Ireland and the Musical Work,* was given by Professor Harry White (University College Dublin)—inaugural President of the Society for Musicology in Ireland between 2003 and 2006—and chaired by Professor Patrick Zuk (Durham University), who also responded to the keynote's arguments. White's erudition and reputation as a cultural historian is widely recognised, so it was unsurprising that his keynote should serve as a clarion call for historiographers to recognise the 'conceptual prowess' of the musical work as a 'fulcrum of Irish cultural history'. Until such time as the musical work is reclaimed and exemplified as an 'indispensable agent of Irish cultural discourse', the presence of music in Irish cultural history is likely to remain a 'hit-and-miss affair', he reasoned. To underpin this assertion, White offered compelling evidence, including a selection of 'Irish' musical works from a one-hundred-year period—from the premier of Handel's *Messiah* (1742) up to the first performances of Balfe's *Bohemian Girl* (1843)—that, though 'long familiar in an Irish musicological context', would be certainly absent from the 'current purview of Irish cultural history', except where they inhabited 'the shadowlands of Joyce's fiction'.

The IRC-SMI Harrison Medal for 2021 was awarded to Professor Michael Beckerman (Carroll and Milton Petrie Professor of Music, Collegiate Professor of Music, New York University), who also delivered the IRC-Harrison Lecture on the Saturday night. The highly engaging talk, *'I Have Loved the Lands of Ireland," and Other Adventures in the Timeless Past(oral)*, was delivered with Beckerman's inimitable panache. Using an eclectic mix of subdominant-infused musical examples—from Bohuslav Martinů's *Opening of the Wells* to Seóirse Bodley's Symphony No. 2 to the song *My Girl* by The Temptations—he explored how music links patterns of loss, longing and authenticity in a complex tangle of nostalgia, and the way in which melodic moments can 'syntactically, symbolically and suggestively' situate us, in part, in a kind of 'plagal pastoral'.

Over and above the plethora of diverse papers on offer across the three days, other notable highlights from the conference included a plenary round table, *Hearing Struggle: Musical Responses to Times of Crisis in the Czech Lands*, which surveyed how the musical-cultural phenomena of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries offer insights into both musical history and cultural developments more generally. Inspired by Professor Michael Beckerman's analysis of the different ways in which we hear struggle in music (*Czech Music and Infectious Disease*, May 2020) and united by the common thread of cultural identity, the panel's contributions—while often thematically and methodologically distinct—were stimulating and thought-provoking. Two additional roundtable discussions separately addressed the ways in which traditional music reflects community life in Bengal, and the creative process involved in Christopher Coles *The Nine Lives Suite*, which honours the nine African-Americans who were shot and killed by a white supremacist at the Emanual African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina in 2015 and seeks to inspire future artistic endeavours and societal change. Unfortunately, the presentation of ICTM Ireland's inaugural Oirdhearchas Award to, and the associated keynote lecture by, Professor Thérèse Smith (University College Dublin) had to be postponed to the 17th Annual ICTM Ireland Conference at Dundalk Institute of Technology, on 25–26 February 2022. In his welcome address, Dr Adrian Scahill (Maynooth University) nevertheless took the opportunity to underscore the instrumental role played by Professor Smith in the foundation of ICTM Ireland, as well highlighting the 'vision, energy, and industry' that she brought to the organisation.

There was no trace of the combative atmosphere that can, on occasion, beset academic gatherings. The ambiance was constructive and munificent, with every session ending with helpful suggestions and comments—aided in no small way by the thirty-two separate session chairs whose sympathetic handling of the discussions meant that everyone came away with a renewed sense of camaraderie, enthusiasm, and belonging. The sessions were well spread-out, with due consideration given by the organisers to the essential coffee breaks and social activities. Sadly, repairing to the pub for collegial chatter and networking over a well-deserved tipple was not on the cards this year. Instead, the virtual milieu known as the 'breakout room' allowed interested parties to engage in academic—and non-academic—discourse, while imbibing their libation of choice in the comfort of their own homes.

Dr Simon Trezise's (Trinity College Dublin) insightful welcome in the conference booklet observed that the 'constraints dictated by circumstances have created a democratic freedom of access that must be enjoyed, even though we will all miss those valuable coffee breaks and meals in which so much is learned and shared', and enjoyed it was. With 108 paper and panel presentations given over the duration of the event, it is safe to say that not only is interdisciplinary musicological and ethnomusicological research alive and well, but it is also thriving despite the pandemic and its associated archive and library closures.

BOOK REVIEW

Music, Pantomime and Freedom in the French Enlightenment, by Hedy Law. €69/£60/$99. Boydell & Brewer Ltd, Bridge Farm Business Park, Top Street, Martlesham IP12 4RB, Suffolk, UK.

Tomos Watkins

Music, Pantomime and Freedom in the French Enlightenment by Hedy Law is an important contribution to the study of eighteenth-century French music. The book focusses in detail on pantomime, a hitherto somewhat neglected area of study, arguing that composers from Rameau to Gluck used pantomime to explore and to interrogate moral liberty. Law's work is detailed, precise, and imaginative, and opens many doors for further study of how the philosophy, literature, drama, and politics of the Enlightenment interacted with its music. *Music, Pantomime and Freedom* probes the origins of modern thinking about liberty and personhood, explores how these ideas were articulated, and explains how they were popularized. In so doing, its contribution to musicology extends beyond its given scope, particularly into the area of historical race musicology, a field where questions of personhood and freedom are central.

Law's focus for most of the book is on 'moral liberty,' the eighteenth-century term for an individual's ability to think for themselves, to express themselves, or to make decisions for themselves. Today, we might call it agency. Law argues that French composers in this period used pantomime, a style of expressive dance and drama separate from courtly dance, to explore or to express Enlightenment ideas of moral liberty in three key ways:

> 1) they composed music for pantomime without following existing dance conventions; 2) their music heightened performers' awareness of their moral liberty during performances; 3) pantomime performances stimulated spectators to recognize themselves as thinkers of liberty (xii).

The book ranges across four main composers: Rameau, Rousseau, Gluck, and Salieri, examining how each used pantomime to interrogate different aspects of moral liberty. Chapter 1 plays many roles. It situates pantomime within the literary and musical culture of eighteenth-century France and examines its origins as a cultural force in the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes* (The Quarrel of the Ancients and Moderns), an academic debate starting in the 1680s and running through to the 1720s about the spirits of modernity and antiquity, and the relationship between them. Law also examines how Rameau used pantomime across his oeuvre. Rameau articulated moral agency and thought about liberty through pantomime. His pantomimes link music, dance, and drama, the three working together expressively. Law analyses the Statue/Woman's animation scene from *Pygmalion* (1748) to demonstrate how Rameau turns commonplace musical gestures into moments of dramatic significance, drawing on the concept of 'instituted signs' inaugurated during the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes.* An 'instituted sign' is one which has 'an arbitrary relation to our ideas' (6), which is to say one that depends on context for its meaning. Rameau's skill and innovation is in synthesizing *la belle danse,* the courtly dance tradition, drama, and music through pantomime.

Law identifies a commonplace ornament, an ascending double appoggiatura, which gains significance because of its marriage to an act of admiration on stage.

Rameau also uses pantomime to articulate class dynamics. The aforementioned 'animation scene' from *Pygmalion* has the Graces teach the Statue/Woman civilized manners through *la belle danse,* which is incorporated dramatically alongside a pantomime of admiration performed by some 'simpletons'. Pantomime and courtly dance exist alongside one another, the former 'as a kind of dance' (52) and the latter 'as a cultural icon of French high art' (ibid.). Law's analysis furthers a point made by Nicolas Bricaire de la Dixmerie in 1769, which she quotes towards the end of the chapter: 'Rameau helped push dancing beyond the simple graces characteristic of most of Lully's dances, bringing about "in dance the same revolution as in our music"' (53–4).

Rousseau's *intermède, Le Devin du village* (1752)*,* is perhaps best known to musicologists for its contribution to the *Querelle des Bouffons* of 1750s Paris. When it was first performed in 1752–3, it was hugely popular with the King and the public. Musically, the piece was Italianate, but the plot followed the general norms of a French pastorale: a fairly light plot involving love, shepherds, and shepherdesses. This does not mean that the piece is a conservative outlier, dramatically speaking, in Rousseau's oeuvre. Rather, it is an instrument for exploring and articulating the utility of art for the public good. In Chapter 2, 'Freedom from an Evil Spell,' Law shows us how Rousseau used pantomime in his composition to exercise the moral imagination of his spectators. The 'play-within-a-play' towards the end of the piece 'provides a narrative abyss that enables the protagonists to become alienated from their viewing experience, seeing a dilemma anew in a nonverbal theatrical medium in order to reflect on the perils of corruption' (92). Through the processes by which the characters in the play reflect on their story and share their reflections, Law argues, Rousseau opens a dramatic space whereby the spectators may themselves reflect on and develop their own morality. Law's insights here may contribute to turning Rousseau's epithet from composer/philosopher to composer-philosopher. Law's work tacitly emphasises that Rousseau was an Enlightenment thinker working through and with music, rather than a philosopher who composed on the side. *Le Devin du village* was a means of publicly enacting the Enlightenment.

This preoccupation with audience response runs through into Chapter 3, 'Things that Move,' an investigation into the ways in which Gluck used pantomime in his operas and in which 'the performer's body onstage helps us to become *thinking* interpreters.' (133) As with every chapter in this book, though, it's about much more than that. The chapter examines pantomime as a style of acting, as well as dancing. Law explores the difference that eighteenth-century thinkers articulated between acting as an imitative act and pantomime as an expressive act. Law focuses for much of this chapter on David Garrick, one of eighteenth-century England's leading actors, who travelled in France. Commentators remarked at the time on the depth and subtlety of his interpretations. Like Pylades, a Roman pantomime actor much discussed and admired in eighteenth-century France, Garrick expressed the inner state of his characters through gesture, revealing the subconscious thoughts and desires which moved them. Law reveals the parallel here between the actor's gesture and music: in the same way as Garrick's bodily gestures are less semiotically specific but more expressive than words, Gluck's music uses signs that are expressive in multiple ways. The opening chorus of *Orphée et Euridice* (1774) uses 'a motivic web built upon a gesture (a sigh), a word (the name of Euridice), and a musical topos (lament) [to] illustrate how Gluck's music *embodies* grief' (97, emphasis in the original). Again like Garrick, Gluck's music reveals the subconscious emotions of his characters, as in the case of Armide's monologue from Act 2, Scene 5 of *Armide* (1777). This chapter explores a contradiction between materialist 'unfreedom', humans being governed by subconscious thoughts and desires, and the liberty of the pantomime in interpretation. 'The pantomime … helps us develop confidence in ourselves as thinking subjects interested in – and capable of – comprehending a broad spectrum of human communication, especially when it comes to detecting the things that move underneath the observable surface.' (134)

Chapter 4, "Things that Walk," interrogates the relationship between two kinds of freedom: freedom of motion and freedom of action. Law uses the example of a performance of Haydn's 'Farewell' Symphony at the Salle des Cent-Suisses in 1784. At the end of the piece, the performers left the stage one by one until only two violinists remained. While the musicians exercise freedom of motion by leaving the stage, Law draws a distinction between this freedom and the freedom to act or think. Law expands and illustrates this point using the example of Salieri's *Les Danaïdes* (1784), in which the titular Danaids, the fifty daughters of Danaus, mythological king of Libya, follow their father's orders to murder their husbands. Only Hypermnestre refuses, helping her husband, Lynceus, get to safety. In following their orders, the Danaids give up their moral liberty and their personhood, while retaining their liberty of motion. Returning to the 'Farewell' Symphony, Law concludes that the director of *Le Concert Spirituel,* Legros, has exercised his liberty of action and thought. In this chapter, pantomime has changed from a genre of performance to a medium of communication: bodies expressing liberty in a concert setting.

Chapter 5, "When Humans Dance like Atoms," points forwards to the French Revolution. Law argues that Salieri's opera *Tarare* (1787) uses pantomime within a framework of Lucretian materialism to articulate how Nature relates to natural liberty. At a time of growing political discontent in France, the opera provocatively draws a distinction between a king and a tyrant: 'Beaumarchais and Salieri made clear in *Tarare* that a tyrant can be replaced and a tyrannical regime can be renewed, when humans believe that they *all* can dance like atoms.' (227) This final chapter brings to a head the perhaps inevitable collision between moral liberty and civil or political liberty, the former referring to agency, the latter to the forms of freedom which necessitate the existence of laws, and legislative and governmental structures. I expand on this further below.

Law conducts the reader through these arguments in prose that is engaging, clear, and richly expressive. Her analytical writing is admirably light. This book demonstrates Law's deep knowledge of the primary source material and her deftness at knowing when to apply it.

I want to pause for a moment here to ask how *Music, Pantomime and Freedom* may inform the study of racism, colonialism, and the Atlantic slave trade in this period. Law analyzes not only those pantomime characters who express or achieve liberty, but also those characters who give liberty up, or to whom liberty is denied. The value of this work in the study of the Atlantic slave trade in particular in the eighteenth century is clear, but it also helps us raise questions relating to personhood and racial status more broadly: what is the relationship between moral liberty, personhood, and race in the Enlightenment, and how does this appear in music? How does music contribute to or resist racism and racialization?

In his recent book *White Freedom* (2021)*,* the historian Tyler Stovall uncovers manifold ways in which modern concepts of freedom—individual, collective, political, moral—are heavily racialized.[1] He argues in particular that there is no contradiction between the struggle for freedom in eighteenth-century European thought and the Atlantic slave trade. The freedom for which Enlightenment thinkers like Locke argue so strongly is, Stovall notes, often predicated upon the individual's right to dispose of their property as they so wish. When Thomas Jefferson espouses freedom, he is partly espousing his right to own slaves in the face of growing British support for abolitionism in the second half of the eighteenth century. Stovall argues convincingly that liberal, Enlightenment ideas of 'freedom' exist in contradistinction to the liberty of, for example, Caribbean pirates or children. He notes that piratical freedom was rejected and quashed, and that the freedom of children was considered underdeveloped and incorporated into ideas about proper human maturity. Liberal Enlightenment freedom exists within a particular historical framework and has particular attributes—the right to own and dispose of property, the right to partake in the democratic process—and particular agents: white men.

Law's study is limited to the genre of pantomime, so my citation of Stovall should not be taken as an accusation of racism by omission, particularly given that Stovall's study was published after *Music, Pantomime and Freedom*. My interest, rather, is in the value of these works taken together. Law's insights lay important groundwork both for historical race musicology and for the continuing performance of eighteenth-century music. By examining the ways in which the genre of pantomime interacts with concepts of liberty, Law helps us to interrogate other genres, too: what, then, of liberty and agency in music *outside* pantomime? Given how heavily eighteenth-century French opera relies on the exotic and the Oriental, what insights might be gleaned about personhood, agency, and race across music for the stage in this period?

These are crucial questions both for historians of this period and for performers of its music. Through grounding her study in musical analysis, Law offers a musicological examination of moral liberty on a granular level. Considering moment-to-moment agency and personhood in the music of this period is critical to achieving genuinely reparative musicology and performance, following William Cheng's recent work.[2] If we accept, following Tyler Stovall, Charles Mills and others, that the Enlightenment milieu is unavoidably but not irredeemably racist, then our engagement with this music, whether as scholars, performers, or listeners, must be *anti*-racist. One way to achieve this is to examine both the granularity and the broader structures of racism in this period. Law focusses on moral liberty, rather than political or civil liberties. In so doing, she examines agency rather than the broader political structures and legislative concepts that underpin eighteenth-century society and government. Understanding these more general ideas, though, relies on engaging with specific ideas of personhood, agency, and self, and how these were thought about and expressed in the eighteenth century. To understand how we might instrumentalize

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[1] Tyler Stovall, *White Freedom: The Racial History of an Idea* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021). See particularly: Chapter 3.

[2] William Cheng, *Just Vibrations: The Purpose of Sounding Good* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2016).

Rousseau's thought towards social justice, for example, we should take in not only his political views and writings, but also his composition and his ideas on the social value of art. As ecological and political catastrophe seems to loom, when musicologists and musicians may be wondering the point of their work, it is heartening to reflect on the possibility of music inciting genuine reflection and social change. *Music, Pantomime and Freedom* is unexpectedly encouraging in that regard.

Law refers frequently to how the music she studies invited spectators to think and reflect on their own moral liberty, both individually and collectively. Engaging with the racist Enlightenment through musicology and performance invites us to do the same, reflecting on our own agency and our own society, and thus, after Rousseau, to use music and the theatre as a social tool of anti-racism. The detailed work Law has done in examining moral liberty in pantomime in Enlightenment France is important groundwork for this effort.

In conclusion, *Music, Pantomime and Freedom in Enlightenment France* is an imaginative, insightful, and innovative book whose contribution to scholarship stretches far beyond its taken subject. The ease of Law's prose and the agility with which she handles primary evidence belie the depth of research that lies so clearly behind this publication. This is a critical intervention, deserving the attention of all scholars of the interaction between philosophy, politics, and music.