

Mélancolie

Prume

Allégretto. M-tremoso de Maestri 3/4. 28.

TRINA

1^{re} fois

2^{de} fois

VAR. I.

ritard. un peu

Belle Fantaisie de Ad. N. Schumann.

VAR. 3. *En accentuant la première note.*

ritard.

VAR. 4. *avec beaucoup d'expression*

un peu plus lent

ritard.

ritard.

During his second concert, on October 28, 1879, again in the salon of Napoleão & Miguez, White performed Alard's *Un ballo in maschera* fantasia, and two of his own compositions: a *Fantaisie-Styrienne* and a *Novo Carnaval* fantasia. Delighted with the performance, the audience asked for an encore and the violinist responded with his *Zamacueca* and more variations on the *Carnaval*.¹⁵

After success in the capital, White left for São Paulo in November of 1879, where "his concert was well attended and the press acclaimed the eminent artist."¹⁶ Upon returning to Rio de Janeiro, White joined Leopoldo Miguez in a Sociedade Philarmônica Fluminense concert, on December 19, 1879, playing again Ernst's *Othello* fantasia [*Fantaisie brillante . . . sur Otello de Rossini*] and his own *Zamacueca*. In addition, he performed with Miguez a violin duet by Alard, delighting the public that "never before . . . heard a violin duet so perfectly

executed."¹⁷ On December 30, White joined Alfredo Napoleão (1852–1917), Arthur's younger brother, in playing a concert in the salon of Napoleão & Miguez. Despite the inappropriate season for concerts,¹⁸ the salon contained ". . . a vast number of very distinguished ladies, state ministers, prominent musicians, and other meritorious individuals," eager to hear the two artists for the last time.¹⁹ The program included Bach's D minor Chaconne, long a chief work in White's repertory, but heretofore unfamiliar in Rio de Janeiro. In order to familiarize the local public with Bach's music, Napoleão offered these remarks:

This piece belongs to a suite by Bach; probably no violinist could perform it at the time it was composed. Written approximately at the end of the 17th century, the piece has a severe and classic tone, characteristic of its time, along with a freshness and admirable variety. . . . Schumann and Mendelssohn wrote accompaniments for the Chaconne but White performs it as the author intended: without accompaniment.²⁰

Napoleão's critique of the concert, published in the *Revista musical e de bellas artes* a week later, emphasized not only the complexity of the piece, but White's dexterity which captivated the spectators:

Not even in one hundred volumes could we begin to explain a piece like this. Bach represents a tradition in art. Innovator and creator, he founded a school; to his pleiad belong Handel, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, and a

grande fama, era natural a anciedade com que o mundo musical do Rio de Janeiro esperava uma ocasião de apreciar tão notavel talento. E de facto, lá se achou reunido quasi tudo o que a cõrte encerra de artistas e amadores distinctos, bem como algumas das primeiras familias da nossa sociedade. Se o salão não regorgitava de espectadores, os que lá se achavam eram na maior parte entendedores e bem no caso de aquilatar do meiro do artista. Os ouvidos estavam attentos e os olhos fixos no rabequista. Ninguem ousava segredar uma palavra receioso de perder uma nota, um som, uma *nuance*. José White executou as tres peças annunciadas no programma, de um modo magistral. A primeira foi uma fantasia da *Martha* da sua propria lavra. Os applausos irromperam por diversas vezes ora ao terminar um canto mavioso, ora no fim de algum trecho de bravura, executado com a maxima perfeição. . . . A segunda peça, uma transcripção do quintteto da *Sonnambula* para rabeça só, é de uma difficuldade pasmosa e White teve que a repetir a pedido geral. A terceira e ultima peça foi certamente a mais notavel de todas: a fantasia sobre o *Othello* de Ernst. As immensas difficuldades de todo o genero que apressenta esta composição foram vencidas pelo artista com uma serenidade e correção verdadeiramente admiraveis. José White tocou ainda a pedido geral uma graciosa *Zamacueca*. . . . José White é incontestavelmente um dos mais eminentes rabequistas que aqui tem vindo e um dos mais estimados *virtuosos* da Europa. Merece pois que se lhe dispense aquelle apreço que todas as cidades cultas dispensam a artistas desta ordem. [O resto do programma foi preechido pela Sra. Marietta Siebs, o baixo Scolari, o Sr. Duque-Estrada Meyer e o pianista Sr. Queiroz.] *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, October 18, 1879, 6.

¹⁵ *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, November 1, 1879, 5.

¹⁶ "muito concorrido e a imprensa paulistana não mercadejou elogios ao eminente artista." *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, December 6, 1879, 4.

¹⁷ "De certo, nunca no Rio de Janeiro se ouviu um duetto de rabeças executando por fõrma tão perfeita." *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, December 27, 1879, 6.

¹⁸ Usually December is an extremely hot month in Rio de Janeiro, making large gatherings in small salons difficult. The audience was large anyway, probably because, according to a note in Napoleão's periodical, both White and Alfredo Napoleão were to leave soon for Europe (*Revista musical e de bellas artes*, December 27, 1879, 6).

¹⁹ "...um nucleo de distinctissimas senhoras, ministros d'estado, musicos notaveis, e outras pessoas gradas." *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, January 3, 1880, 6.

²⁰ "Esta peça pertence a uma suite de piéces de Bach; não achou provavelmente violinista capaz de a executar na epocha em que foi excripta. É uma opnião geralmente aceita. Excriptas em fins do XVII seculo pouco mais ou menos, têm todo o caracter severo e classico da época, junto com uma frescura e variedade admiraveis. . . . Schumann e Mendelssohn escreveram acompanhamentos para a chaconne mas White executa-a como foi originalmente a intenção do autor, isto é, sem acompanhamento." *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, December 27, 1879, 6.

large number of composers after them. One needs a special faculty to appreciate its value. . . . The applause received by White should have double merit, since it came from an audience that, despite its innate taste for music, is not yet accustomed to hear daily, and by the best artists, performances of the classic authors—as is the public of London, Paris, and Germany.²¹

In January of 1880, White continued with his Brazilian tour, performing in collaboration with Alfredo Napoleão²² at Salvador, Bahia, and in nearby cities in the state of Rio de Janeiro.²³ On March 28, 1880, he left for Petrópolis, the mountain city near Rio de Janeiro where the nobility customarily spent the summer months. During his five weeks there, White took part in a concert at the Hotel Bragança, organized by the immigrant pianist Bernard Wagner,²⁴ performing, in addition to his already popular *Zamacueca* and *Sonnambula* fantasies, Alard's *Robert le Diable* and *Faust* fantasies, and Prume's *Mélancolie*. The *Revista musical e de bellas artes* on May 6, 1880, reporting the performance of White's *Salutaris* for harmonium and violin, called it "a truly outstanding sacred composition."²⁵

Upon returning from Petrópolis to Rio de Janeiro, White continued collaborating with other musicians' presentations and in organizing his own concerts. On June 22, he offered his first benefit concert in the Imperial Conservatorio de Musica, performing, in addition to Alard's popular *Othelo*



Bottesini

White

The *Revista Illustrada*, first page, offers today the portraits of Grau, Bottesini,²⁶ and White. We already demonstrated our esteem for White, the distinguished violinist who is at the moment in Rio de Janeiro, where he has been not less admired than in other capitals. Still young, he has shown in Europe and America his artistic vocation and the results of his excellent study. *Revista Illustrada* applauds the celebrated violinist.²⁷

and *Faust* fantasies, two pieces of his own, *Styrienne* and a *Rêve au Brésil*.²⁸ On August 21, 1880, he again played at São Paulo, but returned to the capital in September, to join with Frederico do Nascimento (1852-1924),²⁹ Arthur Napoleão, and Alfredo Bevilacqua in a concert honoring Carlos Gomes (1836-1896).³⁰ On October 15, his large scale charity concert to benefit the *Associação do Sagrado Coração de Jesus* given in the sumptuous hall of the

²¹ "...Nem que tivéssemos excripto cem volumes, teríamos a pretensão de fazer compreender de chofre a quem quer que fosse, uma peça d'este genero. Bach representa uma tradição na arte. Fundador da grande escola, innovador e creador, a elle devemos a apparição de Haendel, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven e toda a pleiade de grande mestres seus sucessores. Mas é preciso um cultivo especial para lhe apreciar o valor.... White colheu na Chaconne applausos que lhe devem ser duplamente lisongeiros, pois que partiram de um publico que possui, é certo, um gosto innato pela musica, mas que não está ainda como os publicos de Londres, Pariz e Allemanha, habituados a ouvir diariamente, de dia e de noite, e por artistas de primeira ordem, executar obras de autores classicos." *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, January 3, 1880, 6.

²² *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, January 17, 1880, 14.

²³ *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, February 14, 1880, 30.

²⁴ The German Bernard Wagner arrived at Rio de Janeiro on October 19, 1863, according to the announcement in the *Jornal do Commercio* of October 20, 1863.

²⁵ "um verdadeiro primor de canto religioso." *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, May 8, 1880, 78.

²⁶ The Italian double-bass virtuoso Giovanni Bottesini (1821-1889) visited Rio de Janeiro in September of 1879.

²⁷ "A nossa primeira pagina—A *Revista Illustrada* dá hoje os retratos de Grau, dos Srs. Bottesini e White.... Já tivemos occasião de patentear o nosso apreço ao insigne violinista White, ora de passagem no Rio de Janeiro, onde não tem sido menos admirado do que nas outras grandes capitães. Jovem ainda, tem dado na Europa e na America boas provas de sua vocação artistica, do seu estudo aproveitado. A *Revista Illustrada* applaude o festejado violinista." *Revista Illustrada*, November 8, 1879.

²⁸ *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, June 26, 1880, 110.

²⁹ Born in Setúbal, Portugal, Frederico do Nascimento studied violoncello with his father. After an active career in Rio de Janeiro, Nascimento was in 1890 appointed teacher at the Instituto Nacional de Música, where he taught cello and harmony; Heitor Villa-Lobos was one of his students.

³⁰ *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, September 4, 1880, 194. This concert was held at the Cassino Fluminense.

Cassino Fluminense enlisted the support of both the royal family and a long list of aristocratic ladies.³¹

II

In the 1880s Brazil saw increasingly violent abolitionist campaigns, a conspicuous growth of the republican party, and tremendous social transformation in urban areas. Contradicting this surge, however, there continued to run a conservative stream springing from a long-term experience with monarchy. Music and arts, predominantly dependent on patronage, continued to be supported primarily by the established aristocracy. José White, who enjoyed a privileged position within the *status quo*, became in 1882 Princess Isabel's piano and violin teacher. In a letter to a friend, Princess Isabel (Pedro II's daughter, known as the Duchess D'Eu), described White's guidance thus:

I am making progress in the piano since I started [classes] with professor White, from Cuba . . . who has already performed in the Hotel Lambert [Petrópolis]. . . . I feel obliged to practice and I have excellent guidance from M. White.³²

Later, White took charge of the music education of Princess Isabel's children. In 1886 she reported:

The children started solfège lessons and fortunately they have very good ears. . . . I am in charge of teaching them religion and of making sure they study their music lessons given by M. White.³³

In the course of time, White became one of the princess's closest friends—continuing to support the royal family after the proclamation of the republic.³⁴

³¹ *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, October 23, 1880, 250.

³² "Faço algum progresso no piano desde que tomei como professor M. White, de Cuba... e que já tocou em concertos no Hotel Lambert.... Isto me obriga a estudar e tenho excelente direção com M. White." Letter of Princess Isabel to the Duke Nemours, Rio de Janeiro August 31, 1882, quoted in Lourenço Luiz Lacombe, *Isabel, a princesa redentora* (Petrópolis: Instituto Histórico de Petrópolis, 1989), 165.

³³ "As crianças começaram a tomar lições de solfejo e felizmente têm muito bom ouvido... Eu me encarrego do catecismo e faço-os estudar as lições de música... com M. White." Letter of Princess Isabel to Duke Nemours, Rio de Janeiro September 1, 1886, quoted in Lourenço Luiz Lacombe, *Isabel, a princesa redentora*, 196.

³⁴ The collection of D. Pedro de Orléans e Bragança, includes a picture of Princess Isabel at the piano that belonged to José

During their exile in Paris, White periodically visited the royal family.³⁵

With the potent support of the Duke and Duchess D'Eu and other members of the aristocracy, White's career in Rio de Janeiro reached its apogee. Constantly invited to perform at private soirées in salons of the aristocracy, he there mingled easily with wealthy amateurs, poets, intellectuals, and politicians. Along with Arthur Napoleão, he was several times a guest in the Barão de Cotegipe's coveted salon—well-known for Thursday evening meetings to which prominent foreign and native composers, performers, and music teachers were regularly invited.³⁶

In addition to aristocratic patronage, White found at Rio de Janeiro a large number of sterling musicians, especially string players, with whom he could interact and accomplish his goals. If Rio de Janeiro was previously known as "the city of pianos," during the decade of the 1880's the city could well have been labeled "the capital of the string quartet." After the death of the two leading flautists, the Belgian immigrant Mathieu-André Reichert (1830–1880) and Joaquim Antônio da Silva Callado (1848–1880), a stream of immigrant and Brazilian string players dominated the local musical scene. The most prominent immigrant violinist active in the capital at the time of White's arrival was the Portuguese Francisco Pereira da Costa (1847–1890), who had also been a student of Alard at the Paris Conservatoire. Pereira da Costa, in Rio de Janeiro since 1871, not only collaborated in White's early concerts but also continued to appear with him throughout the decade.³⁷

White. At the back of the photo one reads: "March 16, 1883. This picture was given to me by S.A.I. a Senhora Condessa D'Eu, my royal student. White." Quoted in Lourenço Luiz Lacombe, *Isabel, a princesa redentora*, 165. Immediately after the proclamation of the republic, several friends went to the Isabel Palace to offer their support; aboard the *Alagoas*, the Princess recalled "...Tosta, Mariquinhas, White, Ismael Galvão, ...Major Duarte, Barão do Catete, Carlos de Araújo, Drs. Rebouças and Araújo Goes." Quoted in Hermes Vieira, *Princesa Isabel, uma vida de luzes e sombras* (São Paulo: Edições GRD, 1990), 249.

³⁵ At the time of Pedro II's final illness José White was one of the friends who signed the visitation book at the hotel in Paris. See Pedro Calmon, *História de D. Pedro II* (Rio de Janeiro and Brasília: Instituto Nacional do Livro e Ministério da Educação e Cultura, 1975), v, 1890.

³⁶ Wanderley Pinho, *Salões e damas do segundo reinado*, 4th ed. (São Paulo: Livraria Martins, 1970), 182–183.

³⁷ Born in Oporto, Portugal, Francisco Pereira da Costa, premiered in Rio de Janeiro in August of 1864; married to the

In August of 1880, the Italian violinist Vincenzo Cernicchiario (1858-1928), who had been "highly praised in several Italian newspapers,"³⁸ made his first appearance at Rio de Janeiro. However, he did not threaten the paramouncy of either Pereira da Costa or White. According to Napoleão's review, Cernicchiario was not yet a mature musician:

This violinist gave his concert yesterday evening at the Imperial Conservatory. He came from a good school and performed with great perfection the different pieces of the program, the best being the famous Concerto in D, by Paganini, a very demanding work. Obviously, he will continue his studies and one day will be viewed alongside José White and other masters.³⁹

However, if not the equal of Pereira da Costa or White, Cernicchiario despite his youth soon assumed a leading position within the local musical life as a violinist, teacher, and conductor.⁴⁰ A member of the Club Beethoven string quartet, Cernicchiario himself directed several concerts of symphonic music, and in 1886 helped found the Rio de Janeiro Sociedade de Quartetos.

On July 25, 1880, shortly before Cernicchiario's début, the fourteen-year-old violinist Eugenio Maurício Dengremont (1866-1893) returned to his home country after a dazzling tour as a prodigy in several European cities. His concert in Rio de Janeiro August 1, 1880, with a program including a *Trova-*

dor fantasy by Sivori (1815-1894) and a *Souvenir de Baden* by his teacher Hubert Léonard (1819-1890), impressed the local critics; Arthur Napoleão commented that "few artists have come to Rio de Janeiro with so notable a talent, and with so promising a future."⁴¹ Nevertheless, Dengremont left Rio de Janeiro soon thereafter, reaching the climax of his performance career abroad.⁴²

In 1882, during Cernicchiario's short absence, the German violinist Otto Beck was hired to substitute for him as violinist of the Club Beethoven's string quartet. Recommended by Carl Reinecke (1824-1910) of the Leipzig Conservatory,⁴³ Beck arrived in Rio de Janeiro August 1, 1883. Albeit holding a crucial position in one of the most important private clubs of the city, Beck received mixed reviews; Cernicchiario remembered him as "a talented violinist, despite some irregularities in his interpretation and lack of grace in his sound."⁴⁴ The *Jornal do Commercio* also downgraded Beck's performance:

. . . two-thirds of our audience thought that Beck was out of tune; we are not obliged to think that he plays in tune only because Germany said so. . . . We have heard Dengremont, Miguez, Cernicchiario, Pereira da Costa, White, Ismael, and they did not perform as Beck. Who is wrong, these six artists or the violinist from Leipzig?⁴⁵

Among the Brazilian violinist contemporaries of White, Leopoldo Miguez (1850-1902) and Robert Kinsman Benjamin (1853-1927) were the most outstanding. Although born in Rio de Janeiro, Miguez was reared in Spain and Portugal. Upon returning

daughter of the Brazilian Francisco Moniz Barreto, Pereira da Costa settled in 1871 at the Brazilian capital. In 1890, he was appointed violin teacher at the Instituto Nacional de Música, but died before assuming the position; see Ernesto Vieira, *Dicionário biográfico de músicos portugueses; história e bibliographia da música em Portugal* (Lisbon: Typographia M. Moreira & Pinheiro, 1900); and *Enciclopedia da Música Brasileira: erudita, folclórica, popular* (São Paulo: Art Editora, 1977)

³⁸"muito elogiado em varios jornais da Italia," *Revista Illustrada*, August 21, 1880.

³⁹"Este violinista effetuou o seu concerto hontem á noite no Salão do Imperial Conservatorio. Artista educado em boa escola, executou com summa correcção os diferentes trechos do programma, devendo-se especialisar o famoso concerto em ré, de Paganini, peça de grande folego. Naturalmente proseguirá nos seus estudos e chegará um dia a collocar-se ao lado de José White e outros mestres..." *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, August 21, 1880, 178.

⁴⁰In the last decade of the century, Cernicchiario organized several symphonic concerts at the Cassino Fluminense. Aged 68, he published *Storia della musica nel Brasile* (Milan: Stab. Tip. Edit. Fratelli Riccioni, 1926), an invaluable account of his own experiences as a performer and conductor in Rio de Janeiro.

⁴¹"...e devemos-lhe n'estas columnas a justiça de attestar que poucos têm vindo ao Rio de Janeiro de tão notavel talento, e que promettam tão brilhante futuro." *Revista musical e de bellas artes*, August 7, 1880, 158.

⁴²After triumphs in the United States signalled in *Dwight's Journal*, xli (1881), 21, 52, 102, 15-year-old Dengremont was presented by "Brazilian residents in New York" with a gold medal set with emeralds and diamonds, "one of the finest ever struck in this country."

⁴³Reinecke, professor at the Leipzig Conservatory from 1860-1892, directed it 1892-1902.

⁴⁴"un violinista di talento, malgrado qualche irregolarità nell'interpretazione, e poca grazia nel suonare." Cernicchiario, *Storia della musica nel Brasile*, 482.

⁴⁵"...tendo dous terços dos nossos consocios achado que Beck desafinára, não nos julgamos obrigados a pensar que afinou, só porque a culta Allemanha assim o disse...Ouvimos Dangremont, Miguez, Cernicchiario, Pereira da Costa, White, Ismael, e esse não [des]affinarão como o Sr. Beck. Quem estará em erro, esses seis artistas ou o violinista de Leipzig?" *Jornal do Commercio*, August 19, 1883.

to Rio de Janeiro in 1871, he became a junior partner in Arthur Napoleão's music business. In 1875 he directed the Sociedade Philarmônica Fluminense,⁴⁶ awaiting 1878 to make his *début* as conductor of the Philharmonic. In 1881 he quit the music business to devote more time to composition.⁴⁷

Born in Rio de Janeiro, Robert Kinsman Benjamin was at an early age taken to Europe (London and Cologne), where he studied violin and composition. After returning to Brazil in 1876, he became successively the director of the Philarmônica Fluminense in 1879 and head of the Club Beethoven in 1882.⁴⁸ Eaten however by professional envy, Benjamin saw in White neither a friend nor a collaborator. None of the large number of concert programs announced daily in local newspapers between 1879 and 1889 documents their performing together. Nor in 1882 did White rush to join the Club Beethoven; his name appears in the members' list only in 1884.⁴⁹ In 1883 White founded the Sociedade de Concertos Classicos; thereafter he and Benjamin could not escape being seen in the press almost as rivals.

On the other hand, musicians who constantly collaborated with José White included the Portuguese cellist Frederico do Nascimento, the pianist-composer Alberto Nepomuceno (1864–1920),⁵⁰ and

the pianist, composer, and conductor Carlos de Mesquita (1864–1953).⁵¹ Born in the state of Ceará, Alberto Nepomuceno moved to Rio de Janeiro in 1885, beginning his career as a pianist in a concert at the Congresso Brasileiro on September 17, 1885. Before departing for Europe in late 1887, Nepomuceno joined José White several times in private societies' events and in charity concerts. Carlos de Mesquita, whose piano and composition studies at Paris had been financed by Pedro II, shared with White the favors of the royal family. When launching himself in Rio de Janeiro concerts, Mesquita received substantial help from White.

III

Upon arrival at Rio de Janeiro, José White immediately comprehended that private musical societies were by far the best vehicles for music promotions of any kind.⁵² As with other private institutions, the societies' successes depended on the kind of wealthy patrons' support that White well knew how to guarantee for himself. After the immediate triumph of the Club Beethoven, founded on January 9, 1882,⁵³ White and Arthur Napoleão responded with

⁴⁶ *Almanak Laemmert*, 1875.

⁴⁷ Miguez spent the years 1882–1884 in Europe where he met leading musicians. He was appointed director of the Instituto Nacional de Musica and became at the close of the 19th century one of the most influential Brazilian composers.

⁴⁸ Benjamin's fame reached other Latin American capitals; according to the *Revista Ilustrada*, December 31, 1885, the *El mundo artístico* of Buenos Aires included a front-page portrait and a biography. For biographical information on Benjamin see Sacramento Blake, *Diccionario bibliográfico brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, Imprensa Nacional, 1883–1902 [rpt. 1970]). For detailed information on the Club Beethoven and other musical societies see Cristina Magaldi's "Concert Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1837–1900" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1994); see also her "Music for the Elite: the Organization of Musical Societies in Imperial Rio de Janeiro," forthcoming (*Latin American Music Review*).

⁴⁹ White's name is included in the Club Beethoven members' list published in a booklet program for the Club's annual symphonic concert housed at the Brazilian Biblioteca Nacional.

⁵⁰ Nepomuceno was appointed piano teacher at the Club Beethoven music school in 1886. Late in 1887, Nepomuceno left for Rome, where he studied piano with Giovanni Sgambati (1841–1914) and composition with Eugenio Terziani (1824–1889). Later, he went to Berlin, where he was a composition pupil of Heinrich von Herzogenberg (1843–1900), and to Paris, where he studied organ with Alexandre Guilmant (1837–1911).

Back in Rio de Janeiro in 1895, he edited several scores by José Maurício Nunes Garcia. In 1902 he was appointed director of the Instituto Nacional de Música. A prolific composer, Nepomuceno wrote operas, orchestral works, piano pieces, and a large number of songs with Portuguese text. For biographical information on Nepomuceno see Sérgio Alvim Corrêa, *Alberto Nepomuceno: catálogo geral* (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1985).

⁵¹ From 1877 to 1886, Carlos de Mesquita studied piano in the Paris Conservatory with Marmontel, organ with César Franck, and composition with Émile Durand and Jules Massenet. From 1887 to 1902 he promoted the French symphonic repertory in one of the most influential series of public symphonic concerts ever held in Rio de Janeiro.

⁵² For information on public and private concerts at Rio de Janeiro see Magaldi's "Concert Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1837–1900" (pp. 410–468 contain facsimile reproduction of the Müller-Heinen catalogue published in 1837).

⁵³ Twenty-eight founders, all prominent members of Rio de Janeiro society, gathered with Robert Kinsman Benjamin on January 9, 1882, to write the Club Beethoven's first statutes; at the time of the first concert on February 4, the club had fifty-six members, and after one year of activities it had grown to 222 members. In 1884, the Club Beethoven enrolled 485 members, a number which remained relatively constant (in 1887 it had 504 members). See the *Primeiro relatório para o anno social de 1882–1883* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. de G. Leuzinger & Filhos, 1883), 8.

the Sociedade de Concertos Classicos (Classical Concerts Society), the board of directors comprising an exceptional assortment of highly placed Counts and Barons, among them the Conde D'Eu (honorary president), Visconde da Penha (president), and Barão de Teffé (vice-president).

Unlike other contemporary musical societies in Rio de Janeiro, the Sociedade de Concertos Classicos sponsored no social activities, instead restricting itself to the organization of concerts. Contrary to the policy of the Club Beethoven, the society's events were open to both sexes—thus appealing strongly to women.

The avowed purpose of the Sociedade de Concertos Classicos was to introduce *música clássica* (mostly chamber music from the German canon) to Rio de Janeiro, where even after the creation of societies with names such as Club Mozart (1867) and Club Beethoven (1882), a repertory linked with operas continued to prevail in concert programs. The first series of classical concerts coincided with various other enterprises by local musicians; early in August of 1883, the *Revista Illustrada* documented the proliferation thus:

It is probably the mild temperature that has inspired our musicians to offer concerts. We will have, it seems, [music] for all tastes. In collaboration with other musicians, the distinguished pianist Ricardo Ferreira de Carvalho promises symphonic concerts. Sr. White will offer classical concerts. And it is already time for Sr. Gravenstin [sic] to offer his expected popular concerts in the Polytheama.⁵⁴

Contemporary commentators agreed that the first concert of the Sociedade de Concertos Classicos on August 12, 1883, was a resounding success:

[Sunday, August 12] Fortunately, the classical and popular concerts are now a reality; I come from the Escola da Gloria, where I heard the first concert [of the Sociedade de Concertos Classicos]. At least one [concert] has now been heard. The royal family was present. I noticed, with great pleasure, that the salon [of the Escola da Gloria]

⁵⁴“É provavelmente essa temperatura agradável que tem inspirado aos nossos maestros a idéia de concertos. Vamos ter ao que parece, por toda a parte e para todos os gostos. Auxiliado por outros maestros, promettenos o distincto pianista Ricardo Ferreira de Carvalho concertos symphonicos. O Sr. White vae dar-nos concertos classicos. E já vae sendo tempo do Sr. Gravenstin [sic] nos dar também os seus promettidos concertos populares no Polytheama.” *Revista Illustrada*, August 11, 1883.

was crowded with a *select* audience of Rio de Janeiro's society. Therefore, it is not a dream; the classic concerts are a reality.⁵⁵

The Sociedade de Concertos Classicos offered its presentations in Spring, the best season for concerts because of the mild climate. The events took place regularly on Sundays at 2:00 P.M. always in the Salão da Escola da Gloria, and were constantly honored with the presence of the Emperor and royal family. A synopsis of six years of the society's activities, shown below, demonstrates that White and Napoleão chose certain pieces from their own repertory and performed them repeatedly: Mendelssohn's piano trios in D minor and C minor, Schumann's piano quintet in E_b, and Mozart's string quintets were obviously favorites; Rubinstein and Joseph Raff (1822-1882) but not Brahms joined older German masters; Bach's chaconne, long in White's repertory, continued to guarantee him gratifying success.

1883	
August 12	Mendelssohn: piano trio in D minor Op. 49 Haydn: serenade for strings Mozart: string quintet Rubinstein: first sonata for piano
August 26	program not announced
September 16	Mozart: string quintet in G minor, K. 516 Bach: chaconne for violin Beethoven: string quartet in F minor, Op. 95 Rubinstein: trio in B _b for piano, violin, and cello
September 30	Haydn: string quartet in D Beethoven: “Grande Sonata” for piano and violin Mozart: “Non più andrai” from <i>Le Nozze di Figaro</i> Mendelssohn: piano trio in D minor, Op. 49
October 14	program not announced

⁵⁵“Ainda bem que, como os populares, os concertos classicos não ficaram em programma; eu venho agora mesmo da escola da Gloria, onde ouvi o primeiro dos concertos, que nos estão promettidos. Ao menos um portanto, está ouvido. E SS.MM. estavam presentes. E eu notei ainda com grande satisfação que o salão estava cheio, brilhante de tudo quanto ha de mais *selected* na sociedade fluminense. Não é portanto um sonho. Os concertos classicos são portanto uma realidade. Tanto melhor.” *Revista Illustrada*, August 18, 1883.

October 28	program not announced		Mozart: string quartet n° 21, K. 575
1884			Schumann: piano quintet in E _b , Op. 44
September 21	program not announced	September 5	Mozart: string quintet
October 5	Beethoven: string quartet n° 10, Op. 74		Beethoven: 8th string quartet (first performance in Rio)
	Mozart: "first sonata" for piano		Rubinstein: trio for piano, violin, and cello
	Mendelssohn: piano trio in C minor, Op. 66	September 19	program not announced
October 19	Mozart: string quintet	October 3	Beethoven: violin sonata (Kreutzer)
	Schubert: sonata for violin and piano		Rubinstein: quartet
	Raff: Concert-Stück for violin and piano		
1885		1887	
September 6	Mozart: string quartet n° 21, in D, K. 575	September 11	Beethoven: string quintet in E _b , Op. 4
	Beethoven: septet		Chopin: Nocturne for violin (arrangement)
	Mendelssohn: piano trio in C minor, Op. 66		Handel: aria
September 20	Mozart: string quintet		Schumann: piano quintet in E _b , Op. 44
	Mendelssohn: "Gran Sonata," cello and piano, Op. 58	September 25	program not announced
	Beethoven: piano trio in B _b , Op. 97	October 9	Mozart: string quintet
October 4	Rubinstein: 2° quintet		Bach: chaconne
	Mozart: piano sonata n° 18		Mozart: "Non mi dir" from <i>Don Giovanni</i>
	Rubinstein: 8° Romance		Mendelssohn: piano trio in C minor, Op. 66
	Bach: gavotte for solo violin	October 23	Raff: second sonata for violin and piano
	Rubinstein: 2° trio		Wagner: Aria from <i>Tannhäuser</i>
October 18	Mozart: string quintet in G minor, K. 516		Haydn: Serenade for string quartet
	Kuhlau: sonata for flute and piano		Raff: Cavatina for violin and piano
	Boccherini: minuet for strings		Rubinstein: second "Grand Trio" with piano
	Wagner: aria from <i>Tannhäuser</i>		
	Mozart: serenata from <i>Don Giovanni</i>	1888	
	Raff: 1° trio	October 28	Schumann: quartet Op. 41, n° 1
October 25	Haydn: string quartet in D		Raff: trio in G, Op. 112
	Beethoven: "Grande sonata" for violin and piano		
	Bach: chaconne for solo violin		
	Schumann: piano quintet in E _b , Op. 44		
1886			
August 8	Mozart: string quintet in C, K. 515		
	Raff: cavatina		
	Beethoven: quintet		
	Mendelssohn: piano trio in C minor, Op. 66		
August 29	Beethoven: string quintet in E _b , Op. 4 ⁵⁶		

⁵⁶This quintet was announced in the *Jornal do Commercio* as Beethoven's Op. 103; originally Beethoven's arrangement of

By its fourth year, the Sociedade de Concertos Classicos was already enrolling numerous classical music enthusiasts. In 1886, the *Jornal do Commercio* reported that "the taste of our public is beginning to adapt to classical music, and we do not hesitate in attributing this change to the efforts of the Sociedade de Concertos Classicos."⁵⁷ Meanwhile, similar societies started to appear, upgrading

his wind octet, the quintet was not published until 1834.

⁵⁷"A musica classica começa a adaptar-se ao gosto do nosso publico, e não hesitamos em attribuir esta transformação do nosso gosto artistico ao muito que para tal tem feito a Sociedade de Concertos Classicos." *Jornal do Commercio*, October 4, 1886.

CONCERTOS CLASSICOS
 SOCIEDADE
 DE
 CONCERTOS CLASSICOS
 DIRECÇÃO
 Do Sr. José White
 O QUINTO E ULTIMO CONCERTO
 Honrado com as augustas presenças de
 SS. MM. e AA. Imperiaes
 TERA LUGAR HOJE
Domingo 25 do corrente
 ÀS 2 HORAS DA TARDE
 NO SALÃO DA
ESCOLA DA GLORIA

PROGRAMMA

Quartetto em ré maior—Haydn.
 Grande sonata—Beethoven.
 Sinfonia—Bach.
 Quintetto em mi bémol—Schumann.

Jornal do Commercio
 October 25, 1885

Rio de Janeiro musical life into the most intense in South America. Adding to the activities of the Club Beethoven and the Sociedade de Concertos Classicos, the pianist Jeronymo Queiroz and the violinist Cernicchiaro on August 1, 1886, founded the Sociedade de Quartetos do Rio de Janeiro. Sponsored by Viscount Alfredo d'Escragnoille Taunay (1843-1899) and other meritorious individuals,⁵⁸ the Sociedade de Quartetos, which gave its inaugural concert on August 27, 1886, offered certain advantages over the Sociedade de Concertos Classicos, among them, a wider repertory "in which chamber music from all periods and styles is included."⁵⁹

Responding to the attempted competition, White in 1886 began advertising large scale concerts similar to the Club Beethoven's annual presentations. Not that large ventures were entirely new to him. He had previously directed concerts in the salon of the Cassino Fluminense; on September 4, 1884, supported by the Countess D'Eu and aided by the pianist Arthur Napoleão, he had organized a benefit for homeless children; on November 17, 1885, he had promoted a concert to benefit the "prominent Brazilian composer Carlos Gomes." His next obvi-

ous step was the launching of the Sociedade de Concertos Classicos' first "Grand Concert." Announced for Monday, October 11, 1886, at 8:30 P.M., at the sumptuous hall of the Cassino Fluminense, the concert was attended by the imperial family and Rio de

SOCIEDADE DE CONCERTOS CLASSICOS
 DIRECÇÃO DO SR. JOSÉ WHITE
 QUARTO ANNO
PRIMEIRO GRANDE CONCERTO
 no salão de honra do CASSINO FLUMINENSE, honrado com a augusta presença de
 SUAS Magestades e Altezas Imperiaes
SEGUNDA-FEIRA 11 DE OUTUBRO DE 1886
 ÀS 8 1/2 HORAS
 Os bilhetes achão-se á venda em casa dos Srs. Narciso & Arthur Napoleão e dos Srs. Buschmann.

Janeiro *haut monde*. The program could not have been more prestigious:

Lucien Lambert Filho	Abertura Symphonica
Carlos de Mesquita	Preludio
Beethoven	Fourth Symphony
Faulhaber	Reverie
Beethoven	Piano Concerto in E _b "Emperor" ⁶⁰
Weber	Aria from <i>Der Freischütz</i>
Mozart	"Voi che sapete" from <i>Le Nozze di Figaro</i>
Weber	Symphonia <i>Oberon</i>

Despite problems with the woodwinds, local critics highlighted White's talents as a conductor who could get from the strings a "homogeneity in articulation and detail of light-dark, that produce an entirely new sound in the history of our orchestras. . .!"⁶¹ Napoleão's Emperor concerto was considered the best performance of his career. Despite the highly laudatory *Jornal do Commercio* review, the *Diário de Notícias* published Kinsman Benjamin's derogatory review of the concert, in which he doubted White's ability to "regenerate the musical arts in Rio de Janeiro."⁶²

In 1887, even the luster of the symphonic events of the Sociedade de Concertos Classicos was dimmed by programs given by another competitor:

⁶⁰No previous record has been found of Brazilian performances of Beethoven's "Emperor" Concerto.

⁶¹"...homogeneidade de articulação e minucias de claro-escuro, que, na historia das nossas orchestras, é facto inteiramente virgem!" *Jornal do Commercio*, October 13, 1886.

⁶²*Jornal do Commercio*, October 22, 1886.

⁵⁸*Jornal do Commercio*, August 2, 1886.

⁵⁹*Jornal do Commercio*, August 29, 1886.

Carlos de Mesquita and his *Sociedade de Concertos Populares*. Beginning on June 5, 1887, Mesquita's series of nine concerts offered at the large São Pedro de Alcantara theater ran until September 18, sharing public attention with White's society. The novelty was the less demanding music played by a large instrumental force. Mesquita, who started the series as a public enterprise, quickly saw it necessary to transform his enterprise into a society enjoying the support of the Duchess D'Eu.⁶³ The *Jornal do Commercio* also supported Mesquita, stressing that:

the popular concert embraces all music periods, all schools, all genres; it has two advantages [over the others]: the music education of the public and the creation of a trained orchestra, with a unified style, . . . conducted for a long period by a talented and competent conductor . . . something not yet achieved in Rio de Janeiro.⁶⁴

With an orchestra of some 50 musicians,⁶⁵ Mesquita introduced to Brazilian audiences not only a large number of French works by Massenet, Chabrier, and Saint-Saëns, but also compositions of immigrant and native Brazilian composers such as Arthur Napoleão, Francisco Braga, Alberto Nepomuceno, Abdon Milanez, Frederico Nascimento, and Leopoldo Miguez. By so doing he enlisted wider local support than White, whose concerts focused solely on European classics. However, White did not entirely shun the Concertos Populares. He was the solo violinist invited to perform in Mesquita's 8th popular concert, September 4, 1887. The reviewer, who for once severely criticized Mesquita's conducting

⁶³ The advertisement for the fifth concert included the heading: "Sociedade de Concertos Populares, founded and directed by Carlos de Mesquita under the protection of Her Majesty, the Princess regent." ("Sociedade de Concertos Populares, fundados e dirigidos por Carlos de Mesquita sob a protecção de S. Alteza a Princesa Imperial regente"). *Jornal do Commercio*, July 24, 1887.

⁶⁴ "O concerto popular abraça todos os periodos da arte musical. Todas as escolas, todos os generos....Duas vantagens nascem dos concertos populares: a educação do gosto publico pela musica e a criação de uma orchestra disciplinada, unificada no estylo, na forma e no methodo da interpretação." *Jornal do Commercio*, June 6, 1887.

⁶⁵ In 1886, Mesquita assembled 50 musicians in his first Grand Festival; it is assumed here that the orchestra of the Concertos Populares had approximately the same number of performers. Fifty instrumentalists was considered a reasonable number for an orchestra of this period. See Magaldi's "Concert Life in Rio de Janeiro," 91-92.

IMPERIAL THEATRO S. PEDRO DE ALCANTARA

IMPERIAL



THEATRO

S. PEDRO DE ALCANTARA
SOCIÉDADÉ DE CONCERTOS POPULARES

FUNDADOS E DIRIGIDOS POR
CARLOS DE MESQUITA
Sob a protecção de S. A. a Princesa
Imperial Regente

AMANHÃ

Domingo 4 de Setembro de 1887

ÀS 2 HORAS

8ª E ÚLTIMA MATINÉE

HONRADA COM A AUGUSTA PRESENÇA DE SS. AA. IMPERIAES

Solo de violino pelo Sr. JOSEPH WHITE.

1ª audicção do grande bailado de Henrique VIII de Saint-Saëns e do óbro das fandeiras de R. Wagner.

PREÇOS — Camarotes do 1º ordem e frizás 15\$,
Ditos de 2º 10\$, Cadeiras de 1ª classe e galeria no-
bre 3\$, Ditas de 2ª 2000.

Os bilhetes á venda em casa de P. Castellós
á rua do Ouvidor.

Jornal do Commercio

September 3, 1887

ability, highly praised White's performance of a Vieuxtemps fantasy; according to the reviewer, the concert was the best attended of the series, thanks largely to White's participation.⁶⁶

IV

José White also participated in soirées, or *saraus*, sponsored by wealthy neighborhood societies. Before 1889, every elegant neighborhood of Rio de Janeiro sponsored societies providing for their residents' entertainment and as a status symbol. The monthly *saraus* at which the chamber repertory rather than the symphonic was emphasized, always ended with a ball. The majority of performers were amateurs, but each society engaged a music director chosen carefully from among Rio de Janeiro's best professionals.

On September 28, 1885, the aristocratic Club das Laranjeiras offered its first monthly *sarau* with José White as the music director. According to a contemporary commentator, the Club's headquarters were spacious and decorated with good taste and simplicity, but the concert room was of rather small dimen-

⁶⁶ *Jornal do Commercio*, September 5, 1887.

CLUB DAS LARANJEIRAS

8º CONCERTO

EM 31 DE JULHO DE 1886

PROGRAMMA

- 1 QUARTETTO DOBRADO DE FLAUTAS, Op. 137, de KUEHLAU
Ex.º Sr. RODRIGUES BARBOSA, MANOEL BARBOSA,
CARLOS OLIVEIRA, H. TEIXEIRA, OSCAR EVITAL, H. THADDEU,
HERRI SANDRINA e PORTO JUNIOR,
discipulo do Ex.º Sr. DEQUE-ESTRADA MEYER.
- 2 PER SEMPRE, melodia para flauto P. TOSTI
Ex.º Sr. LEIS ROSA JUNIOR
- 3 ADAGIO E ALLEGRO DA SONATA EM FA —
para piano e violino BEETHOVEN
Ex.º Sr. C. DE MENEZES e J. WHITE.
- 4 L'ESULE, romance para flauto M. GURJÃO
Ex.º Sr. LEIS ROSA JUNIOR.
- 5 MENUET-VALSE, para piano SAINT-SAËNS
Ex.º Sr. C. DE MENEZES.
- 6 MELANCOLIE, para violino PRUME
J. WHITE.

J. White
Director dos Concertos

CLUB DAS LARANJEIRAS

13º CONCERTO

EM 22 DE DEZEMBRO DE 1886

PROGRAMMA

- 1 RUY BLAS, LUVIZADA a 4 mãos MENDELSSOHN
Ex.º Sr. D. THEOZEA BASTOS e EMILIA PERAZA
- 2 SE... para piano DENZA
Ex.º Sr. CARVALHO J.
- 3 DUO DE CONCERT, para violino e piano FLAVIO ELYSI
Ex.º Sr. D. THEOZEA BASTOS e D. FERNANDINA
DE MELLO SILVA.
- 4 NON SO PERCHÉ, melodia para soprano TITO MATTEI
Ex.º Sr. D. SARAFINA DE FREITAS
- 5 SCHERZO, em sol maior, para piano CHOPIN
Ex.º Sr. D. MARIA DA FREITAS
- 6 MARIA TUDOR, romance para tenor C. GOMES
Ex.º Sr. CARVALHO J.
- 7 LÉGENDE, para violino WIENIAWSEI
Ex.º Sr. D. THEOZEA BASTOS

J. White
Director dos Concertos

Club das Laranjeiras—José White, Director of Concerts

sions.⁶⁷ As the music director, White was expected to organize accessible events “not going beyond the unavoidable limits imposed on the music performed at meetings of this kind.”⁶⁸ Sometimes White’s programs, summarized below, vaunted not a single German composer. Always, however, musicians of the rank of Arthur Napoleão participated, and occasionally the programs included short pieces by local composers.

Club das Laranjeiras, concert on September 28, 1885:

Ernst	<i>Elégie</i>
White	<i>Oberon</i> Fantasie
Napoleão	<i>Idéale</i> , waltz
Voice numbers	performed by Antonieta S. da Gama, Harold Hime, and João Chaves

October 24, 1885:

Gottschalk	Valse-concerto for piano duet
Donizetti	Duet for soprano and bass
Popp [Wilhelm]	<i>Klange aus der Puszta</i> , for piano and flute

⁶⁷ *Jornal do Commercio*, September 30, 1885.

⁶⁸ “em organizar programmas attrahentes, não ultrapassando o limite fatalmente imposto á musica em reuniões deste genero.” *Jornal do Commercio*, September 30, 1885.

Bériot	Fantaisie ou Scène de Ballet, for violin
Manzocchi [Mariano]	<i>Dolores</i> , scena, for soprano
August 28, 1886 (with the participation of Alberto Nepomuceno as the piano accompanist):	
Gounod	<i>Preghiera della sera</i> for alto, organ, violin, and piano
Dancla	Symphonia for two violins
Tito	<i>Riman con me</i> for alto
Gottschalk	<i>Banjo</i> for piano
Osborne	Duet for violin and piano
October 30, 1886:	
Loret	<i>Bolero</i> for piano and harmonium
Bériot	Aria variada
Tosti	“T’amo ancor” and “Quando tu sarai vecchia”
Le Beau [Alfred]	<i>Les Adieux</i> for harmonium
Bériot	<i>Guillaume Tell</i> Fantasie for piano and violin

After one year of activities, White could take pride on September 28, 1886, in having brought together in these informal musical meetings the finest amateurs and the best Rio de Janeiro professionals in events competing in program quality with

even those of the Club do Engenho-Velho. In addition to Arthur Napoleão, White brought to the Club das Laranjeiras the cellist Frederico do Nascimento, the violinist Felix Bernadelli, the flautist Duque-Estrada Meyer, the pianist Carlos de Mesquita, and the pianist-composer Alberto Nepomuceno. Next year, in 1887, White no longer served as music director of the Club, the position being now occupied by the violinist Cernicchiaro. From then on, however, White appeared regularly at the sarau of the Club Guanabarensense, directed by Arthur Napoleão.

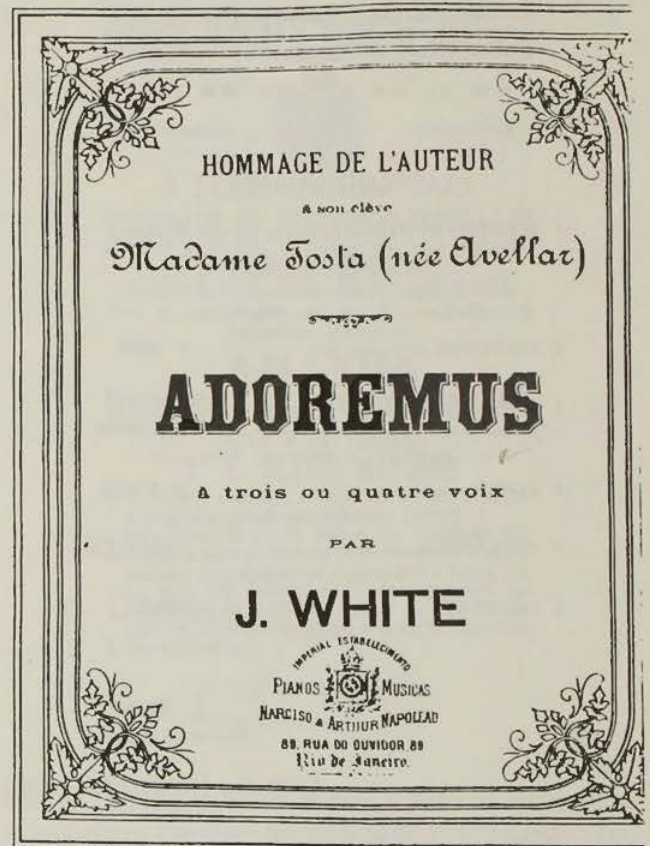
V

As a composer, White is credited in Pazdírek's *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur aller Zeiten und Völker*, 1904-1910, with five pieces; among them the waltz, *Isabel*—probably an homage to the Princess.⁶⁹ White's other programmed original compositions at Rio de Janeiro included the above mentioned *Martha* fantasy, *Styrienne* fantasy, the Chilean *Zamacueca*, and *Rêve au Brésil*. His Symphonic March for large orchestra was performed in Rio de Janeiro on September 4, 1884. Apart from his sacred song *Salutaris* Napoleão published in the mid-1880s his *Adoremus* for vocal trio or quartet. The *Six Études Brillantes*, recalled by Arthur Napoleão in his biography, were White's études written for Paris Conservatory use. His Chilean *Zamacueca*, announced January 21, 1880, in the *Revista Illustrada* as "an extremely delightful piece that has been so well performed [in Rio de Janeiro] by José White" was advertised alongside the polka *Camilla* by Francisca Gonzaga (1847-1935).⁷⁰

José White left Rio de Janeiro amidst political changes which drastically altered the city's musical climate. Would he have achieved such success had he arrived there after the empire's collapse? Summarizing, one might say that he was the right man, at the right place, during the right decade.

⁶⁹Pazdírek lists the following pieces by José White: *Styrienne* (Fromont); *Valse-caprice* (Heugel); *Bella Cubana*, habanera (Hayet); *Hélas!* Valse lente (Durdily); *Isabel*, valse (Napoleão); *Romance sans paroles* (Heugel).

⁷⁰"muito graciosa e que tão bem executada foi aqui por J. White." *Revista Illustrada*, January 21, 1880. The piece is listed in Narciso & Napoleão's catalogue of "Tangos and Habaneras."



Lib. Imp. de Napoleão & José White.

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Musical Silhouettes Drawn by José Martí (1853–1895)

AMONG LATIN AMERICAN independence movement heroes, only José Martí y Pérez stands tall as a literary giant. Killed at Dos Ríos, Oriente, May 19, 1895, during a thwarted invasion of Cuba, he remains the sole independence martyr who gives his name to a Latin American national library. Summarizing his literary importance, Gerald Martin called him among Spanish writers “one of the greatest poets of all time,” one of the “great prose stylists of the period,” and the “supreme journalist” of his generation (*The Cambridge History of Latin America*, iv [1986], 457).¹

The first child of Mariano Martí y Navarro (born October 31, 1815 at Valencia, Spain) and Leonor Pérez y Cabrera (born December 17, 1828, at Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Canary Islands),² the future “apostle” of Cuban independence was born at Havana January 28, 1853.³ Taken to Spain in mid-

1857, where the family remained until their return to Havana in June 1859, Martí on January 15, 1871, again boarded ship for Spain, where on May 31, 1871, he solicited entrance to the Universidad Central at Madrid. On May 17, 1873, he petitioned the Rector of the Universidad Central for the privilege of transferring to the Universidad de Zaragoza. At Saragossa he proceeded Licenciado en Derecho Civil y Canónico June 30, 1874, Licenciado en Filosofía y Letras October 24, 1874.

On February 8, 1875, aboard the ship *City of Mérida* (after stopovers at New York, Havana, and Campeche) he arrived at Veracruz and on March 7, 1875, published his first contribution to the Mexico City archliberal *Revista Universal de Política, Literatura y Comercio*.⁴

In May 1875, now a member of the editorial staff of the *Revista Universal*, he began publishing a series of eight articles narrating events of the African-descended José White's stay in Mexico.⁵ On Friday May 21 he thus announced White's arrival and his

¹For a history of Martí's ascent to literary fame, see Manuel Pedro González, ed., *Antología crítica de José Martí* (México, D.F.: Editorial Cvltvra, 1960), especially the editor's “Evolución de la estimativa martiana” at pp. xi–xxix.

²Concerning Martí's parents, see Ezequiel Martínez Estrada, *Familia de Martí* (Havana: Editorial Nacional de Cuba [Cuadernos de la Casa de las Américas, 1], 1962); “Don Mariano: soldado y obrero,” *Bohemia*, año 54, no. 38, Sept. 21, 1962, pp. 10–11, 106–107, 113; and “Doña Leonor, Mater Dolorosa,” *Cuba* (Havana), año 1, no. 6, Oct. 1962, pp. 46–49. Thirteen years younger than Mariano, Leonor resided at Havana when in February 1852 she married the soldier Mariano.

³Baptized February 12, 1853, at Santo Ángel Custodio church, Havana, he was then given the added name of Julián, the saint's day on which he was born.

⁴His parents awaited him at Mexico City with the news that his favorite sister Mariana Matilde had died the previous January 5, 1875, aged 18, of an affliction brought on by the high altitude of Mexico City (where father Mariano had found work as a tailor). See Alfonso Herrera Franyutti, *Martí en México. Recuerdos de una Época* (México: A. Mijares y Hno., 1969), p. 18, for Martí's funerary poem in his sister's memory.

⁵In his error-ridden and inept article, in two parts, “Martí y la música,” *Bohemia* (Havana), año 61, nos. 44 (Oct. 31, 1969), pp. 98–100 [“White en la vida de Martí”] and 47 (Nov. 21, 1969), pp. 101–102 [“Agramonte en la vida de Martí”], Nicolás Cossio gives White's birth date as December 31, 1835 (should be January 17, 1836) and cites the May 23, 1875, issue of the

concert in the Teatro Nacional Sunday night: "The great [Cuban] violinist now with us is supremely outgoing. Report has it that with his bow he can make one weep and with the strings [of his violin] stir all the soul's emotions."⁶ On Sunday May 23, date of the first concert, Martí reminded readers that some weeks previously White's biography translated from French had been published in the *Revista Universal* and more recently in the competing newspaper *El Federalista*. Among items that White's inaugural concert at the Teatro Nacional would include, Martí signalled White's original *Styrienne*⁷ and *Carnaval de Venecia*. In Martí's 950-word review published Tuesday May 25, he praised White to the skies, contending that the public's wild enthusiasm and frenetic applause proved how compellingly beautiful and brilliant was every item on the program.⁸

At White's second concert Sunday night May 30, he repeated his *Robert le Diable* fantasy and his *Carnaval de Venecia*. Assisting artists now included the two most eminent Mexican concert pianists of the epoch, Julio Ituarte (1845–1905)⁹ and Tomás León

Mexico City *Revista Universal* as the first in which Martí mentioned José Silvestre White y Lafitte. Although not profiled in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980), José White does enter *Riemann Musik Lexikon, Ergänzungsband Personenteil, L–Z* (1975), ed. Carl Dahlhaus, p. 905, and *Baker's Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*, 7th edn. (1984), ed. Nicolas Slonimsky, p. 2488, both of which dictionaries give his correct birthdate.

⁶*Obras Completas* [28 volumes, Editorial Nacional de Cuba, 1963–1973]. vi (1963), 208: "White está en México... el gran violinista es sumamente simpático. Se dice que con su arco hace llorar; se dice que sabe le manera de agitar con sus cuerdas todas las conmociones del alma."

⁷According to Franz Pazdirek, *Universal-Handbuch der Musikliteratur aller Zeiten und Völker*, viii, 354, the Parisian publisher Eugène Fromont issued White's *Styrienne*, violin and piano, as his Opus 11. Heugel published his *Valse-caprice* and *Troisième Romance sans paroles*, both for violin and piano. Durdilly published an *Hélas! Valse lente*, piano solo, Hayet his *La Belle Cubaine (Bella Cubana)*. His only work in Pazdirek not published at Paris was *Isabel valse* (Rio de Janeiro, Napoleão).

⁸On the other hand, Enrique Olavarría y Ferrari, in his *Reseña histórica del teatro en México*, 3d ed. (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1961), ii, 910, countered that "although the public certainly did not deny applause, the number who attended White's concerts was extremely limited" (*no le negó ciertamente sus aplausos, pero los concurrentes a sus conciertos fueron escasísimos*).

⁹On Saturday night, May 22, Martí had already heard the "beautiful music" (*bella música*) offered by Ituarte and the premier Mexican violinist of the epoch, Eusebio Delgado, at the

(1826–1893).¹⁰ In Martí's 880-word review published June 1 he assured readers that these two played a *Norma* fantasy¹¹ in so "singularly notable" a manner—avoiding all vulgar display—that the public justly encored them.

In enumerating the Mexican pianists' merits, Martí revealed his own musical preferences.¹²

[Ituarte] and León played *Norma*, avoiding any disagreeable outbursts, anything that could be condemned in their

opening session of the Colegio de Abogados (*Obras Completas*, vi, 209). A pupil of León, Ituarte composed virtuoso fantasies, the most famous of which, *Écos de México* (Aires nacionales), rivals Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsodies in brilliance. Number 15 among his 23 *Composiciones musicales para piano* (México: H. Nagel, n.d.), *Écos de México*—labeled a *Capricho de concierto* (pp. 75–87) immediately follows Ituarte's transcription of Melesio Morales's grandiose *Salve à la patria, Sinfonía-Himno* (pp. 61–74). Well worthy of facsimile republication, *Composiciones musicales* includes Ituarte's opera fantasies (*Aida, Carmen*) and zarzuela arrangements (Arrieta, Chapí).

Two of his own zarzuelas reached the Mexico City stage, *Gato por liebre* (3 acts) and *Sustos y gustos* (2 acts). Martí characterized 30-year-old Ituarte as "a notable and most conscientious master" (*un maestro notable y concienzudo*). He continued thus (vi, 211–212):

The desire for brilliant execution all too often snuffs out the soft glow of pure feeling that is so much lovelier than useless, commonplace agility. Ituarte commands brilliance without sacrificing sentiment. His interpretations combine an accuracy, delicacy, good taste, and tenderness rarely met in even very advanced music talents. Well indeed did Ituarte merit the audience's warm applause.

El afán de brillar en la ejecución, apaga por lo común en los pianistas el germen suave del puro sentimiento tanto más bello que una inútil y común agilidad. Ituarte ha alcanzado ésta sin que aquél se haya extinguido; hay en su manera de ejecutar una seguridad, una delicadeza, un buen gusto, una ternura que rara vez logran vivir vida común en muy aventajados ingenios musicales. Bien mereció Ituarte los aplausos calurosos que la concurrencia tuvo para él.

¹⁰Tomás León, one of the three judges who awarded Jaime Nunó first prize in the competition for a national anthem, founded a Club Filarmónico that in 1865 became the Sociedad Filarmónica Mexicana—welcoming Liszt as its first honorary member with a diploma (in Spanish) dated December 1, 1865 (*Inter-American Music Review*, vii/2 [Spring–Summer 1986], p. 23). His published compositions ranged from *Jarabe nacional* and *Cuatro danzas habaneras* to the salon pieces *Flores de Mayo* and *Pensamiento poético*. Benito Juárez esteemed him as Mexico's paramount virtuoso pianist (*Inter-American Music Review*, vii/2, 23).

¹¹*Norma* received its Mexico City first performance (in Italian) February 12, 1836. Maria Albini de Vellani (b. Modena, 1808) sang the title role. Lauro Rossi directed the visiting Italian opera company, which continuously incensed Santa Anna.

¹²*Obras Completas*, v, 297:

[Ituarte] y León tocaron *Norma*, sin que un acento desagradable hiriese

most notable interpretation. Neither did these distinguished interpreters ever embrace any of those violent and abusive gestures that kill all beauty, and lessen and disfigure attempts at merit.

Theirs is no ordinary dazzle. Their intelligence prevents sweetest music from becoming raucous sound. Instead, theirs is an elegant lightness, a simplicity, a naturalness, appropriate to tastes of those who know that the soul secretly craves tenderness, hours of tranquility and peace, and is wounded by every smarting and cruel blow.

According to Martí, Ituarte accompanied White in the violinist's *Martha* fantasy with the "faultless mastery and beautiful, good taste for which everyone knows him."¹³ White—repeating "on request" his *Robert le Diable* fantasy and *Carnaval de Venecia*—earned even more applause than the week previous, and his *Martha* fantasy, new to the public, surpassed all praise: "Every note was deeply felt and its beauty caused tears to flow." Ending his review, Martí foresees White's joining other leading local artists in a forthcoming chamber music concert to be given in the Teatro del Conservatorio.

On Sunday, June 6, Martí announced that a large company of admirers promised to join White at 7 on the morrow, when his train left for Puebla.¹⁴ Five days later, having returned to the capital, White gave the first performance of Bach's Chaconne heard in Mexico. At Madrid Martí had heard Jesús de Monasterio y Agüeros (1836–1903), who in company with Sarasate¹⁵ ranked as the supreme Spanish violinist of the epoch. He had also heard three other noted concert violinists during his European sojourn.¹⁶ None came close to White, whose performance of the Chaconne inspired Martí to what still

remains an unsurpassed panegyric of Bach's Chaconne in the Spanish language.¹⁷ Before Martí's arrival at the concert, Ituarte and León had played a four-hand sonata by Hummel (Op. 57 or 92) and White had joined two unnamed others in playing Mendelssohn's Trio in D minor, Op. 49. After the Chaconne, White joined the Puerto Rican Gonzalo Núñez¹⁸ in a performance of Beethoven's violin and piano sonata in C minor, Op. 30, No. 2, the program concluding with Mozart's G minor Quintet, K. 516.

On Thursday June 3, White returned to the Conservatory with another chamber concert during which he repeated the Chaconne. "And what a Chaconne! during which genius and the instrument met each other in a beautiful combat!" reported Martí the next day in the *Revista Universal*.¹⁹ Núñez again participated, "and from his first notes he intelligently displayed his notable abilities." A lady of excellent taste sitting beside Martí, summed up Núñez's virtues: "precision, lightness, and security" (*precisión, ligereza y seguridad*).²⁰

After a second farewell Sunday June 13,²¹ White went north to New York City, where during the 1875–1876 winter season he appeared repeatedly at Steinway Hall beginning Tuesday October 19 (he played with Ignacio Cervantes again on October 21 and 26²²), performing an unprecedented two times with the Philharmonic Orchestra (December 11, 1875 and March 18, 1876), appearing at Chickering Hall Tuesday April 18, 26, and June 12, and at various locales in Brooklyn November 22 and February 23.²³

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Gonzalo Núñez, Puerto Rico's most notable 19th-century concert pianist, settled at New York in 1877, playing his debut at Steinway Hall December 11, 1877. Concerning his New York and Brooklyn appearances in 1877 and 1878 see George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage* (Columbia University Press, 1938), x [1875–1879], 497, 502, 503, 518, 530.

¹⁹ *Obras Completas*, vi, 223. Announced as his farewell, White was implored to stay longer: "El público de México no se cansaría nunca de oírlo," claimed Martí.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 224.

²¹ *O. C.*, v, 302. "Mañana sábado, White nos dice adiós."

²² Again in New York in 1892, Cervantes made a speech reported by Martí in *Patria*, May 7, who called him *monstruo de las octavas*. In addressing his compatriots, Cervantes professed only two reasons for esteeming himself: he was born in Cuba and won first prize at the Paris Conservatoire (*Obras Completas*, iv, 399).

²³ James Monroe Trotter, *Music and Some Highly Musical People* (Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1878), accompanied White's

el oído, sin que pudiera condenarse nada en aquella ejecución notabilísima, sin que los artistas distinguidos hubiesen empleado esos recursos de ejecución violentos y gastados, en los que muere toda belleza, y todo mérito real se amengua y desfigura. Y ellos encuentran manera de hacer brillar su destreza no común: pero no se convierte en el ruido desagradable, es una ligereza elegante, sencilla, natural, como conviene a quienes saben que el alma tiene secreto amor por las ternuras, y todo aquello la hiere que no sea suave y apacible, —horas de paz tranquilas que revelan una era de paz nunca acabable.

¹³ *Ibid.*, "acompañó la *Martha* Julio Ituarte con la maestría irreprochable y el bello buen gusto que todos le conocen."

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 299.

¹⁵ In his January 13, 1890, letter to the Editor of *La Nación* at Buenos Aires he reported that all the young ladies in New York had that month gone crazy over Sarasate (que es ídolo de las damiselas locas este mes; *Obras Completas*, xiii, 457).

¹⁶ *O. C.*, v, 300: "Yo he oído a Jehin Prume y a Monasterio, yo he ido a Fortuny y a Sarmiento."

The Cuban pianist Emilio Agramonte who accompanied White April 18 and 26, 1876, much later inspired two articles published in Martí's patriotic organ, *Patria*, the first Saturday April 30, 1892, celebrating him as a pianist substituting for an orchestra in accompanying his voice students in single acts from Pacini's *Sappho* and Gounod's *Roméo et Juliette*, the second September 23, 1893, commending Agramonte's conservatory located on East 23rd Street.²⁴ A fervent Wagnerite, Agramonte converted Martí into corresponding enthusiasm, if the number of times Martí in his journalism alludes to Wagner serves as any indication.²⁵

Martí mentions *Lohengrin* as the darling of New York high society during the winter season of 1888–1889.²⁶ In the spring of 1889, Anton Seidl, "the fanatical Wagnerite, repeated without interruption before a rapt public Wagner's music which is only grateful and revelatory of its supreme power when heard without voices." But nonetheless so excessive was the fervor, that fanatics "wished to kiss in the streets the tenor who enacted Siegfried in *Götterdämmerung*."²⁷

How many of Wagner's operas Martí actually saw may be debated. But he did certainly see Ambroise Thomas's *Hamlet* given in Italian March 17, 1881, at Lisbon's San Carlos, a theater which he characterized as equal to the most magnificent opera house in Europe.²⁸ He rates Victor Maurel, the 32-year-old French baritone who sang Mephistopheles in an 1880 production of *Faust* as so potent that Gounod changed parts of his chief work to accommodate him.²⁹ On the other hand, in his undated *Cuaderno*,

(notebook), *No. 3*, Martí condemned Julián Gayarre's falsetto as overdone in a *Faust* that he had heard with sublime Christine Nilsson in the heroine's role.³⁰ *L'Africaine* with Jean de Reszke, Lassalle, and Gayarre, roused Martí to such heights that he was even willing to place Meyerbeer in the company of Michelangelo and Shakespeare. "Isn't perhaps the fourth act of *L'Africaine* the most moving and perfect piece of music this far known?" he asked.³¹

In New York he heard Adelina Patti open heaven's doors in a *Lucia* aria.³² Her *Martha* sung there November 26, 1884, ended with an extravagant procession, four white horses drawing her carriage.³³

Paderewski's conquest of New York occupies Martí in a letter dated at New York December 7, 1891, to *El Partido Liberal* (Mexico City). Superlative adjectives praising Paderewski's celestial pianism crowd an entire paragraph. No more fervid testimony to the enchantment exerted by Paderewski's art during his first American appearances can be imagined.³⁴ On the other hand, Martí took no pleasure in what now is denominated ethnic music. Earlier in 1891 he attended a Chinese funeral. What he heard gave him no comfort.³⁵

On March 4, 1891, he pronounced at New York a funeral elegy commemorating Nicolás Ruiz Espadero (Havana, February 15, 1832; Havana, August 30, 1890) in which he recalled how strong an impression Espadero's *Canto del Esclavo* had left when first performed at Madrid. In the April 30, 1892 issue of *Patria* Martí commended Agramonte for not subordinating the voice to piano as was Rubinstein's custom; and in the August 20, 1892, issue went beyond Cubans to salute the Puerto Rican pianist Ana Otero, in whose honor he added the music of the *Borriqueña*. In *Patria*, September 23,

portrait with an account of his New York triumphs (which were climaxed by his performance of Mendelssohn's Violin Concerto, Op. 64, and Bach's Chaconne at the Philharmonic concert of December 11, 1875, followed by his playing of the Vieuxtemps *Ballade et Polanaise* Op. 38, and a repeat of the Bach Chaconne "by request" at the concert of March 18, 1876). Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, x, 62, 108ff, 113, 116, 133, 135, 162, 169, specifies White's appearances.

²⁴ *Obras Completas*, v, 307–309.

²⁵ *O. C.*, v, 408; ix, 301, 313; x, 48, 102, 131, 271, 388; xi, 164; xii, 124, 193, 223, 384; xiii, 342, 353, 355, 367; xiv, 221; xxii, 150; xxiii, 145.

²⁶ *O. C.*, xii, 105.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 193–194.

²⁸ xiv, 349; in a letter published in *La Opinión Nacional*, at Caracas, February 7, 1882: "No tiene teatro alguno europeo más majestuoso teatro real que el de los reyes portugueses."

²⁹ xv, 221.

³⁰ xxi, 124: "Gayarre abusa del falsete, pero aun éste es correcto y limpio. —Canto melodiosamente sin el canto italiano."

³¹ *Ibid.*, 112. Faccio directed the performance heard by Martí, who asks rhetorically, "¿No es tal vez el 4º acto de *La Africana* el trozo más imponente y perfecto de música que se conoce?"

³² *O. C.*, ix, 493. Letter to *La Nación* (Buenos Aires) written at New York, December 21, 1883.

³³ *O. C.*, x, 130.

³⁴ *O. C.*, xii, 503: "Nuevo York entero quiere oír a la vez al famoso Paderewsky, que no trae corona de aires, ni mal humor de genio, sino una amable, buena crianza, y un gusto en dar gozo, por lo que el público se le apegó y encariñó.... él deja ir las manos serenas sobre el teclado, manos que evocan más que tocan, y su arte libre es todo de luna y melancolía."

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 80.

1893, he listed the faculty teaching in Agramonte's New York School of Opera and Oratorio.

Himself the eternal teacher, Martí published at New York in four instalments during 1889 *La Edad de Oro*, a compilation of cultural essays for Spanish-speaking children. The second instalment (August 1889) contains a section entitled "Músicos, Poetas y Pintores," in which the youthful precocity of Handel, Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Weber, and Mendelssohn stimulates Martí to the usual anecdotes that continue even today informing music appreciation texts. He mentions Mendelssohn's *Die Hochzeit des*

Camacho written at age 16 and Reformation Symphony at age 23. True to his admiration for one opera composer not now included in the usual appreciation course, he cites as his last and culminating musical hero Meyerbeer, whose *Jephta's Gelübe* was produced at Munich in 1812, but whose fame awaited *Robert le Diable*, premiered at Paris in 1831.³⁶

³⁶Shaving off some dates to make Meyerbeer's feats seem more precocious, Martí translates all German and French titles into Spanish.

M. M. 54.

Un poco piu Lento.

5 dolce. *con espress. p* *m.g. m.d.* *allarg un poco.* *a tempo.*

p *PP*

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

malinconico. *un poco cresc.* *allarg e con ten. ten. portamento.*

pp *marcato ma legato.* *cresc.* *ten.* *di* *p*

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

a tempo. *mi-nuendo.* *m.g.* *m.d. m.g.*

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

allarg ma poco. *a tempo.* *PP* *PP*

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

cresce e marcato. *a larg e con portamento.* *a tempo.* *a larg ma poco.*

ten. *p*

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

Tempo 12♩ = 54 *con espressione.*

a tempo. *poco allarg.* *a tempo.*

m.d. m.g. *m.g. m.d.*

P *piangendo.*

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

marcato. *cantato. m.d.* *doloroso.* *ten.*

ten. *p* *ten.*

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

con portamento. *ten.* *f* *f* *lamentoso. meno f*

mzf *energico.* *m.d.* *ff* *m.g.* *un poco rit.* *dolente.*

Ped. * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* * *Ped.* *

M-56-♩-

con disperazione. subito. dolce calmato e con dolore.

ten. portamento. subito. decresce e calmandosi.

ff ciso. allarg. gando. subito. P espress.

ff Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

con portamento. semplice. un poco rit. a tempo.

pp molto tranquillo. p m.d. un poco riten.

ten. Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

M-50-♩-

Religioso.

largamente.

m.g. p m.d. Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

cres un poco. parlando.

portamento. con espress. mzf cres-

6544 Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

dolcemente espressivo.
a tempo. *allarg ma poco.* *a tempo.* *largamento.*
ben cantato. *cresce molto.*

** Ped. ** *Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped.* ** Ped. ** *Ped. * Ped. **

con passione. *portamento.* *ff* *f* *cresce.*

** Ped. ** ** Ped. ** ** Ped. ** ** Ped. **

sforzando con passione. *molto cresce.* *e animando ma poco.* *ten. vibrante.* *ff*

** Ped. ** ** Ped. ** ** Ped. ** ** Ped. ** ** Ped. **

meno f *un poco rit.* *M-100-* *doppio il tempo.* *malinconico.* *con espress.* *p* *p*

** Ped. ** ** Ped. ** ** Ped. ** ** Ped. ** ** Ped. **

6544

espress. ten. m.g. m.d. a tempo. allarg un poco. p

ten. Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped.

legatissimo. cresce un poco con espress. parlante e cresce. m.g. m.d. de- m.g. mzf

Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped.

COMME L'AUTEUR LE JOUE.
Andante. M-88-

APOTHEOSE.

Grandioso.

rapido. 12 mzf m.d. f m.g.

Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped.

Andante. M-88- Grandioso.

-ciso. f

6544 Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped. Ped.

sempre.

sforzando la melodia.

ten. *f* *ff*

sempre *f* e cresc.

nizf *f* *ff*

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

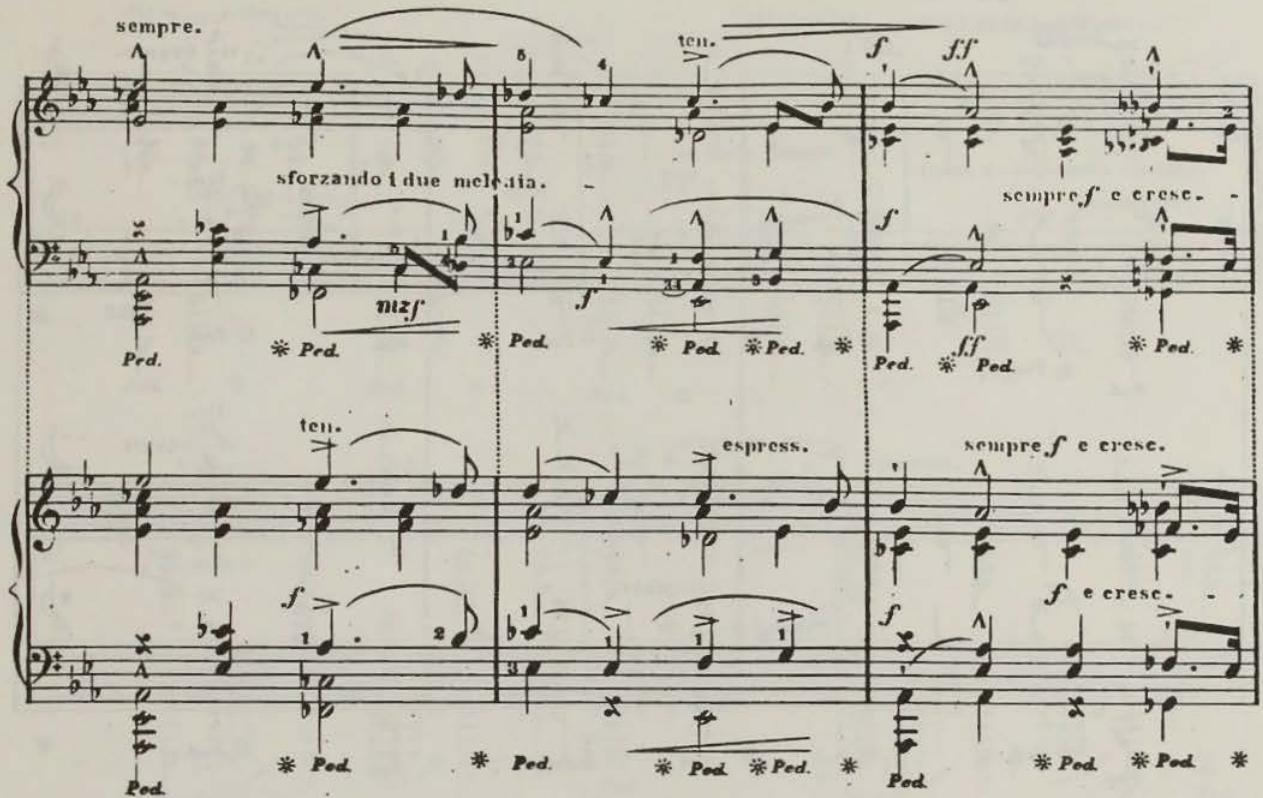
ten. *f* *ff*

espress.

sempre *f* e cresc.

f *f* e cresc.

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *



cendo. molto.

ten. *ff*

nizf *f* *ff*

sforzando molto la melodia.

cresc.

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *

cendo

molto.

ten.

6544

Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. * Ped. *



The Eleanor Hague Manuscript: A Sampler of Musical Life in Eighteenth- Century Mexico¹

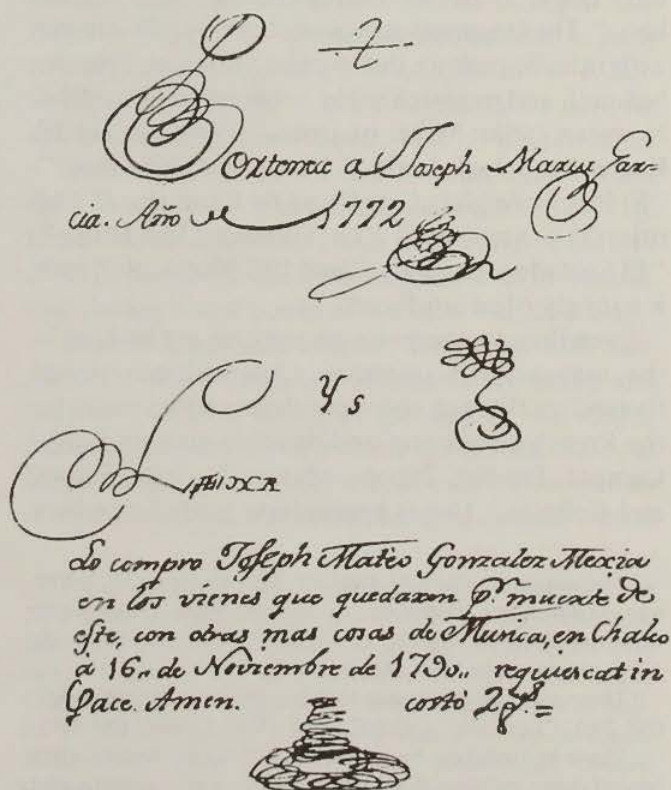
Craig H. Russell

UPON HER DEATH in 1954, the American folklorist and philanthropist Eleanor Hague bequeathed to the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles many of the musical treasures accumulated during her long life, including: research notes; typescript versions of her many articles; revisions of her important monograph *Folk Music in the Southwest*; her personal correspondence with prominent musicians, scholars, and folk singers; numerous folk songs collected in her decades of ethnomusicological research; scrapbooks with news clippings and magazine articles related to Southwestern and American music; and—most importantly—a large bound manuscript from eighteenth-century Mexico containing nearly three hundred popular dance tunes and minuets from Mexico's colonial period.² This eclectic tome consists actually of two different manuscript anthologies bound together in an elegantly adorned leather

¹ This is a revised version of a paper delivered at the "International Conference on Latin American Music of the Colonial and Early Independence Periods" held in Chicago at the Harold Washington Library on June 25–26, 1993. The conference was organized and directed by Enrique Arias and Daniel Mendoza de Arce.

² These materials are presently housed in five storage boxes at the Braun Research Library of the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles under the call number "MS203 Eleanor Hague." The eighteenth-century manuscript is located in Box 4. I thank Richard Buchen of the Braun Research Library for his repeated kindness and help during the course of my research. To date, there are two important studies of the manuscript: Samuel

Marti's monograph *The Eleanor Hague Manuscript of Mexican Colonial Music*, [Southwest Museum of Los Angeles] Leaflet no. 33 (Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1969) and Evelyn Louise McCarty's "A Performance Edition of Selected Dances from the Eleanor Hague Manuscript of Music from Colonial Mexico," Northwestern University, D.M.A., dissertation, 1981.



The title page of the Eleanor Hague Manuscript.

cover. The first half of the volume contains the melodies for 168 *contredanzas*, many of which supply a verbal description of the specific dance steps. The second half of the book—beginning with piece No. 169, “La Guastala”—consists of popular French dances, a handful of Spanish dances (such as “El villano,” “La Española,” and “Paradetas”), several violin works, and an extended series of minuets.

The manuscript itself dates from around 1772 as can be gathered from the *ex libris* located inside the second unnumbered folio; at the top of the page are the words “Pertenece a Joseph María García. Año de 1772.” Immediately below, the subsequent owner of the manuscript, Joseph Mateo González Mexía, writes that he acquired the book and other musical things from the estate of Joseph María García on November 16, 1790, in Chalco, Mexico. He even quotes the price for his new acquisition—two pesos.³

Choreographic information from Mexico’s colonial past is exceedingly rare, almost non-existent. The dance instructions in the Eleanor Hague Manuscript, therefore, make it a document of inestimable importance. The titles present a hodge-podge of topics and themes such as “The King’s Arms,” “The New Bagpipe,” “The, the, Mistake,” “To the Green Broom Field,” “The Cherry,” “The Lazy Lady,” “The Recruiting Officer,” and “Monkeys.” The languages represented are equally diverse with titles appearing in Castilian, English, French, Nahuatl, and mongrelized in-between versions: “La Newsear,” “La Miller of Dron,” “El Chip,” “El Kaelattin, ò Jack Latin,” “La Marcha du Roy,” “El Paspie Anglois,” or “La Old Barchelor.” The titles “La Xameico,” “La Tubasxa (The Hills),” “El Soldado y su Chula,” and “El Tlacsacole” emit a strongly Mexican flavor.

Even though composer ascriptions are lacking in the manuscript,⁴ numerous compositions reveal themselves through correspondences to be works by the French composers and dancing masters Lully, Campra, Feuillet, Pécour, Marais, Lacoste, Balon, and Collasse.⁵ This is particularly true of numbers

169–201 in the middle of the manuscript. Raoul-Auger Feuillet’s yearly dance releases from the early 1700’s and Feuillet and Pécour’s *Recueil de airs de dance* (1700) provide several of the tunes.⁶ Although these sources were responsible for spreading the choreographies for French *danses à deux* across Europe and the Americas in the early 1700’s apparently the steps were considered later in the century not fashionable enough to be preserved in the Eleanor Hague Manuscript.⁷ Nor is it surprising that the choreographies fell out of favor. Because each *danse à deux* had its own unique choreography of complex and non-repetitive steps, music and steps were not interchangeable from piece to piece. As a result, a person of fashion wishing to stay abreast of current trends had the rather daunting task of learning from scratch five or six new *danses à deux* every year.

Unlike the *danse à deux*, the *contredanse* had interchangeable steps and was much easier to learn. Once a choreography was mastered, it could therefore serve with almost any tune in the same meter and tempo. It also had the distinct advantage of being a social dance involving many couples at once, either in long rows or in squares of two or four

through the excellent recent publication by Meredith Ellis Little and Carol G. Marsh, *La Danse Noble: An Inventory of Dances and Sources* (Williamston, MA: Broude Brothers, 1992).

⁶In addition to Little and Marsh’s *La Danse Noble*, one should consult: Wendy Hilton, *Dance of Court and Theater: The French Noble Style 1690–1725*, edited by Caroline Gaynor with Labanotation by Mireille Backer (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton Book Company, 1981); Anne L. Witherell, *Louis Pécour’s 1700 “Recueil de dances,”* *Studies in Musicology*, no. 60, series edited by George Buelow (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981); and Judith L. Schwartz and Christena L. Schlundt, *French Court Dance and Dance Music: A Guide to Primary Source Writings 1643–1789*, *Dance and Music Series*, no. 1 (Stuyvesant, New York: Pendragon Press, 1987).

⁷For data concerning the spreading of French choreographies in Spain and the New World, consult my articles: “Imported Influences in 17th- and 18th-Century Guitar Music in Spain” in *Actas del Congreso Internacional «España en la Música de Occidente»*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música & Ministerio de Cultura, 1987), pp. 385–403; “Lully and French Dance in Imperial Spain: The Long Road From Versailles to Veracruz” in *Proceedings of the Society of Dance History Scholars: Fourteenth Annual Conference, “Dance in Hispanic Cultures,”* ed. by Christena L. Schlundt (Riverside, California: Society of Dance History Scholars & University of California, Riverside, 1991), pp. 145–161; and “Santiago de Murcia: The French Connection in Baroque Spain,” *Journal of the Lute Society of America*, vol. 15 (1982), pp. 40–51.

³“Lo compró Joseph Mateo González Mexía en los vienes que quedaron por muerte de éste [Joseph María García], con otras más cosas de Música, en Chalco à 16 de Noviembre de 1790. requiescat in Pace. Amen. Costó 2 ps.”

⁴There are three exceptions to this generalization: “erando” (Nº 206), “Locatelij” (Nº 207), and “Luis Misón” (Nº 209).

⁵I have located these correspondences through the large data base of dance melodies that I have entered on my computer and

couples—as in modern square dancing. Quite predictably some of the Eleanor Hague Manuscript choreographies in reality belong to old contredances. This Mexican anthology draws upon Feuillet's *Recueil de contredances* (1706) for various tunes, and at least one of the choreographies in Feuillet's dance notation is translated into a verbal description in the Eleanor Hague Manuscript.

The first half of the manuscript also reflects Mexico's contact with contredances that had been the rage in the British Isles. Evelyn Louise McCarty, in her excellent doctoral thesis on the Eleanor Hague Manuscript, traces twenty tunes to British, Scottish, and Irish models. Not surprisingly, several dance tunes in the Hague Manuscript surface in John Playford's *The Dancing Master* and *Apollo's Banquet*, both of which went through many reimpressions and revisions in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Scotland left its mark as well, with concordant tunes found in *The Athole Collection of the Dance Music of Scotland* and in Robert Bremner's publications: *The Delightful Pocket Companion for the German Flute* (1765); *The Second Set of Scots Songs Adapted for a Voice and Harpsichord* [1770's], and *Thirty Scots Songs Adapted for a Voice and Harpsichord* (1757).

McCarty's diligent research produced concordant matches between N° 47 in the Hague Manuscript, "La Old Barchelor," and Playford's publications which label the melody as either "A Jig" or the "Old Batchelor." However, John Warren discovered that Henry Purcell actually composed this item, placing it as the concluding gigue in his *First Suite From the "Fairy Queen."*⁸

Unbeknownst to either McCarty or Martí are the many concordant versions linking the Eleanor Hague Manuscript to French and Spanish sources. For instance, piece N° 4, "El Chip,"—although found in the ninth edition of Playford's *Dancing Master* as McCarty astutely observes—reveals its true author to have been none other than Jean-Baptiste Lully; Playford's "Ship" and the Hague Manuscript's subsequent "Chip" are paraphrases of Lully's "Loure pour les Pêcheurs" from his 1674 opera *Alceste*.

⁸I am indebted to John Warren (founder and director of the San Luis Obispo Early Music Consort) for sharing his discovery with me. His editions of many of the tunes in the Eleanor Hague Manuscript have been performed across California with his consort.

Even stronger links to Lully and his French successors surface in the second section of the Hague Manuscript. Almost every one of the 33 pieces from nos. 169 through 201 in the thematic catalogue can be traced to the stage productions and dance tutors of Lully, Campra, Pécour, Colasse, and Feuillet. André Campra, in particular, was adored. A perusal of Iberian and Mexican sources dramatically proves that Campra's rambunctious "L'Alemanda" [N° 182], the lilting "La Forlana" [N° 193], and his lyrical and elegant "L'Amable Vainqueur" from *Hesione* (1700) [N° 180], became so much a part of the standard repertoire in Spain and Mexico that any self-respecting instrumentalist would have known these tunes and been able to improvise extemporaneously upon them.

Interestingly, many of the selections in this middle section of the Hague Manuscript begin with the final strains of the piece and arrive only later at the work's true "beginning." Perhaps this arrangement of material facilitated performance of these tunes as dance accompaniments, for the final strains of the piece could serve as a sort of introduction to the dance proper: the dancers could thus prepare and coordinate their first steps.

The bonds between Philip V's Spain and the Eleanor Hague Manuscript can be further documented with concordant melodies surfacing in Santiago de Murcia's *Resumen de acompañar la parte con la guitarra*; Murcia's *Códice Saldívar N° 4*; Bartolomé Ferriol y Boxeráus's *Reglas útiles para los aficionados a danzar* (Capoa, 1745); Pablo Minguet y Yrol's numerous dance and instrumental booklets; the *Libro de música de clavicímbalo* (M.815 [1721]); the *Libro de diferentes cifras de la guitarra* (M.811 [1705]); M.1250 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid; and the keyboard books of Antonio Martín y Coll.⁹

The ties linking the Hague Manuscript with Santiago de Murcia's guitar tablatures are many and varied. The long string of minuets in the Hague Manuscript that rarely exceed sixteen measures in length recall a similar chain in Murcia's *Resumen de acompañar*. Both sets share common melodic clichés

⁹For complete references for these and other correspondences consult the appendices to my dissertation "Santiago de Murcia: Spanish Theorist and Guitarist of the Early Eighteenth Century," 2 vols., Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1981 and my forthcoming book *Santiago de Murcia's "Códice Saldívar N° 4": A Treasury of Secular Guitar Music From Baroque Mexico*, 2 vols. (Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, forthcoming 1994).

and cadential formulae. Both sources group minuets by key and often place together two or three minuets that exhibit similarities in thematic material or character. Since it took precisely three 16-bar periods to complete many of the standard choreographies, these groupings greatly assisted dancers. A pair of related minuets could be played with a *da capo* of the first one—making an *ABA* pattern. Or three minuets with unifying motives or cogent similarities could be played in succession.

Of particular interest are two correspondences found in the Eleanor Hague Manuscript and Murcia's *Código Saldívar N° 4*: "Al Verde Retamar" [N° 95] and "Las Penas," [N° 101]. Hours of searching have unearthed no correspondences elsewhere in contemporaneous sources. If indeed Murcia's manuscript is of Mexican provenance—as is certainly the Hague Manuscript—perhaps both "Las Penas" and "Al Verde Retamar" were composed in Mexico, not in Europe.

Only two stated attributions appear anywhere in the Hague Manuscript. The "Minuet de erando" [N° 206] belongs without doubt to the accomplished Spanish violin virtuoso, Joseph de Herrando,¹⁰ born

¹⁰For further information on Joseph de Herrando and his musical output, consult: Rosario Álvarez Martínez, Introduction to José Herrando's "Sonata en Si Bemol Mayor" in her edition *Obras Inéditas para Tecla* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1984); Louis Jambou, "Documentos relativos a los músicos de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII de las Capillas Reales y Corte de Madrid sacados de su Archivo de Protocolos," *Revista de Musicología*, vol. 12, no. 2 (July–October, 1989), pp. 469–514; Emilio Moreno, "Aspectos Técnicos del Tratado de Violín de José Herrando (1756): El Violín Español en el Contexto Europeo de Mediados del Siglo XVIII," *Revista de Musicología*, vol. 11, no. 3 (1988), pp. 555–655; Craig H. Russell, "New Jewels in Old Boxes: Retrieving the Lost Musical Heritages of Colonial Mexico," paper delivered at the Library of Congress as part of their Columbus quincentenary celebration "The Ongoing Voyage," Washington, D.C., June 5–6, 1992. Lothar Siemens Hernández, "Los violinistas compositores en la corte española durante el período central del siglo XVIII," *Revista de Musicología*, Vol. 11, no. 3 (1988), pp. 657–765; Lothar Siemens Hernández, Introduction to José Herrando's *Tres Sonatas para violín y bajo solo y una más para flauta travesera o violín entre las que se incluye la intitulada «El Jardín de Aranjuez en tiempo de primavera, con diversos cantos de pájaros y otros animales»* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1987); and Francisco José León Tello, *La teoría española de la música en los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1974). In addition Siemens Hernández—on p. 665 of his article "Los violinistas compositores"—cites Mark H. Jasinski's "A Translation and Commentary on José Herrando's *Arte y puntual*

at Valencia in 1720 or early 1721. Soon after moving to Madrid in his early teens Herrando became one of Spain's most acclaimed violinists. He joined the musical forces of the Royal Convent of the Incarnation in Madrid in the 1740's, eventually rising to the post of concertmaster. Farinelli employed him in the orchestras that played at the Royal Sites; he spent his last years a member of the Royal Chapel—dying February 4, 1763. Seven years earlier he published the premier violin treatise in Spanish, the *Arte y puntual Explicación del modo de tocar el Violín* (Paris, 1756); two manuscript copies survive in North America—one from Guatemala and the other from Mexico City.¹¹ Significantly, the Mexico City manuscript (in the archive of now deceased Elisa Osorio Bolio de Saldívar) contains 28 études by Herrando that are unique to this source.¹² Herrando composed many solo violin and chamber works and achieved modest success as a composer for the stage. He dashed off minuets right and left—one might wonder, then, if some or many of the minuets in the Eleanor Hague Manuscript are by him. They bear his stylistic trademarks, such as the *galante* interplay between triplet figures and duple subdivisions of the pulse. Also, piece N° 116 in the Hague Manuscript, "La Perla," is not a standard dance tune and has no concordant versions in instrumental sources of the time. Was "La Perla" excerpted from Herrando's *La Perla de Inglaterra y Príncipe de Hungría* that he composed to a text by Nicolás Hernández in 1761?¹³

Explicación del modo de tocar el violín (1756), M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, 1974.

¹¹ Joseph de Herrando, *Arte y puntual Explicación del modo de tocar el Violín... Compuesto por Joseph Herrando, Primer Violín de la Real Capilla de Señoras de la Encarnación, Quien le dedica al Excmo. Sr. Dn. Francisco Ponce de León Duque de Arcos & a. La M.ca y L.tra Gravada por M.èlle Vendome. Joannes a Cruce faciebat Parisijs Anno 1756* (M.446 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid). In his article "Aspectos Técnicos del Tratado de Violín de José Herrando," p. 567, Emilio Moreno identifies several extant copies of the *Arte y puntual explicación*—including the copy in Guatemala. Heretofore the copy of Herrando's treatise in the Saldívar Archive had been identified as an "anonymous" violin method. See Gabriel Saldívar, *Historia de la Música en México. Épocas Precortesiana y Colonial*, pp. 132–136, and his posthumous *Bibliografía Mexicana de Musicología y Musicografía* (Mexico City: CENIDIM, 1991), pp. 100–103.

¹²I thank Señora Elisa Osorio Bolio de Saldívar for graciously allowing me to work with this treasure and to photograph it.

¹³*La perla de Inglaterra y Principe de Hungría* was premiered in 1761 in the Teatro del Principe. See Antonio Martín Moreno,

The organist at Incarnation Convent in Madrid during Herrando's incumbency was Luis Misón, who was also a Royal Chapel oboist and an accomplished composer for the Madrid stage.¹⁴ He enters the Eleanor Hague Manuscript with an "Adagio" for violin and continuo [N° 209]. (Samuel Martí and Evelyn McCarty misread Mirón for Misón.) Lastly, the Italian virtuoso Pietro Locatelli makes an appearance in a short but charming "Allegro."

In conclusion: we have long known that colonial Mexico was at the confluence of peoples and cultures. Some of the details, however, have been hazy, conjectural, or hypothetical. With the Eleanor Hague Manuscript we move from the realm of supposition to the verifiable—and we can do so with great specificity. This musical jewel shows us once again what a vibrant and multifarious culture flourished in Mexico's colonial past.

TABLE OF CORRESPONDENCES

Rather than list every concordant version for each of these dances—which would make this table inordinately long—I have chosen instead to cite authors and sources that already include tables of correspondences that turn out to be pertinent to the study of the Eleanor Hague Manuscript. One can thus obtain a "complete" list by referring to the sources that are cited.

Of particular value for locating French sources are Little and Marsh's *La Danse Noble*. McCarty's "A Performance Edition of Selected Dances from the Eleanor

Hague Manuscript of Music from Colonial Mexico" is equally useful for locating English, Scottish, and Irish correspondences. If I give a citation for Murcia's *Resumen* or his *Códice Saldívar N° 4*, a list of correspondences can be found in my dissertation "Santiago de Murcia: Spanish Theorist and Guitarist of the Early Eighteenth Century" or my book, *Santiago de Murcia's "Códice Saldívar N° 4"* (University of Illinois Press, 1994).

ABBREVIATIONS

Little & Marsh	Little, Meredith Ellis & Carol G. Marsh, <i>La Danse Noble: An Inventory of Dances and Sources</i> . New York: Broude Brothers, 1992.
Martí	Martí, Samuel. <i>The Eleanor Hague Manuscript of Mexican Colonial Music</i> . Los Angeles: Southwest Museum, 1969.
McCarty	McCarty, Evelyn Louise. "A Performance Edition of Selected Dances from the Eleanor Hague Manuscript of Music from Colonial Mexico." Northwestern University, D.M.A., diss., 1981. [Contains correspondences: particularly useful with British sources.]
Murcia, <i>Resumen</i>	Russell, Craig H. "Santiago de Murcia: Spanish Theorist and Guitarist of the Early Eighteenth Century." 2 vols. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Ph.D. diss., 1981. [Contains complete transcription of Murcia's <i>Resumen</i> and correspondences.]
Murcia, <i>Códice Saldívar N° 4</i>	Russell, Craig H. <i>Santiago de Murcia's "Códice Saldívar N° 4": A Treasury of Secular Guitar Music From Baroque Mexico</i> . 2 vols. Champaign, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, forthcoming 1994. [Contains complete transcription of Murcia's <i>Códice Saldívar N° 4</i> and correspondences.]
Van Winkle Keller & Shimer	Van Winkle Keller, Kate & Genevieve Shimer, <i>The Playford Ball</i> . <i>Studies in Dance History</i> [Journal of the Society of Dance History Scholars], vol. 1, no. 2 (Spring/Summer 1990).

Siglo XVIII, vol. 4 of *Historia de la música española*, series directed by Pablo López de Osaba (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1985), p. 263.

¹⁴See the Luis Misón article by Robert Stevenson in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera* (1992), III, 412–413.

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Murcia, *Códice Saldivar N° 4*, No. 38, "Fustamberg," fol. 76. Little & Marsh, N° 2200 & N° 3020
- No. 206 "Minu[e]t de erando," fol. 79
Joseph de Herrando
- No. 207 "Alegro de Dn. Pedro Locatelli," fol. 79
Locatelli
- No. 209 "Adagio Solo de Dn Luis Misón," fol. 80
Luis Misón
- No. 250 "Minueto," fol. 90v
= No. 291, "Minuett," fol. 98v
- No. 260 "Minueto," fol. 92v
= No. 276, "Minue," fol. 95
- No. 276 "Minue," fol. 95
= No. 260, "Minueto," fol. 92v
- No. 280 "Minueto," fol. 96
"Minuet," fol. 5v in "Libro de mvsica de clavi[i]cambalo del Sr. Dn. Francisco de Tejada. 1721." M.815 in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid
- No. 281 "Minueto," fol. 96
Murcia, *Resumen*, No. 67, "Otro [minuet]," p. 90
- No. 291 "Minuett," fol. 98v
= No. 250, "Minueto," fol. 90v

Eleanor Hague Manuscript Thematic Catalogue

◆ = contains choreography instructions

◆ 1. La Gran Cazar p. 1

Musical notation for 'La Gran Cazar' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody consists of a series of eighth and quarter notes.

◆ 2. La Rel p. 2

Musical notation for 'La Rel' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody features a mix of quarter and eighth notes.

◆ 3. La Jitanilla p. 3

Musical notation for 'La Jitanilla' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody is characterized by a steady eighth-note pattern.

4. El Chip p. 4 [Lully, Alceste]

Musical notation for 'El Chip' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody is a simple sequence of quarter notes.

5. Los Dos Molinos p. 5

Musical notation for 'Los Dos Molinos' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody is a series of eighth notes.

◆ 6. El Tlacsacole p. 6

Musical notation for 'El Tlacsacole' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody is a continuous eighth-note line.

◆ 7. La Cocle p. 7

Musical notation for 'La Cocle' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody features a mix of quarter and eighth notes.

◆ 8. Las Armas del Rey p. 8

Musical notation for 'Las Armas del Rey' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody is a series of eighth notes.

9. La Vadine p. 9

Musical notation for 'La Vadine' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody consists of quarter and eighth notes.

◆ 10. La Campana p. 10

Musical notation for 'La Campana' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody features a mix of quarter and eighth notes.

11. La Poltrona p. 11

Musical notation for 'La Poltrona' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody is a series of eighth notes.

11b. Allegro

Musical notation for '11b. Allegro' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody is a series of eighth notes.

◆ 12. El Chak Degrin o Juan de Pradro p. 12

Musical notation for 'El Chak Degrin' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody is a series of eighth notes.

◆ 13. La Llamaditta p. 13

Musical notation for 'La Llamaditta' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody is a series of eighth notes.

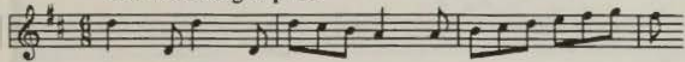
◆ 14. La Ermosura p. 14

Musical notation for 'La Ermosura' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody is a series of eighth notes.

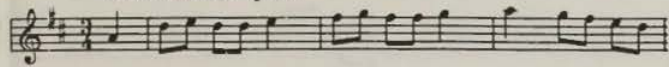
15. El Ganget, o La Viron p. 15

Musical notation for 'El Ganget' in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody is a series of eighth notes.

16. Ysac Maget p. 16



17a. La Rafa p. 17

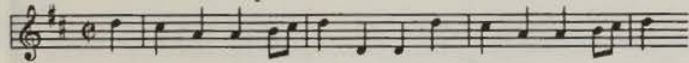


17b. su minuet

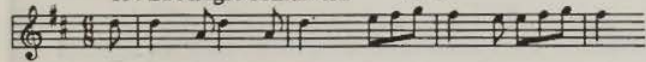


18. La Conti p. 18

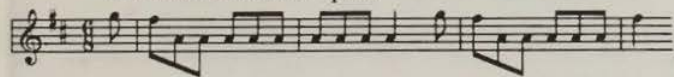
[Campra, Carnival de Venise]



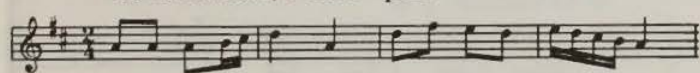
19. La Alegre Primavera p. 19



20. La mas Garvosa p. 20



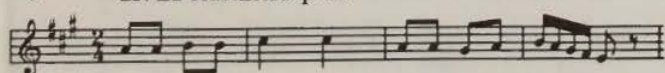
21. La del Moro, o Turco p. 21



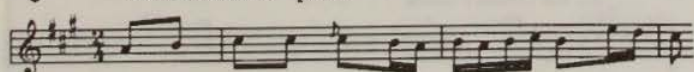
22. El Palomar p. 22



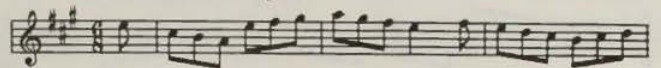
23. La Tracaziera p. 23



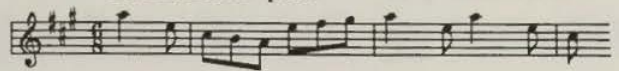
24. Los Monos p. 24



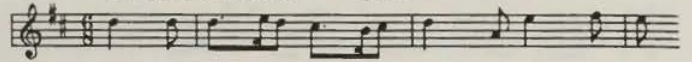
25. La Gloria p. 25



26. La Airossa p. 26



27. El Vienteadora p. 27



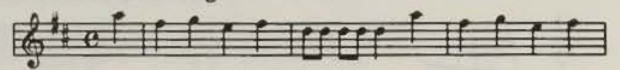
28. La Fricase p. 28



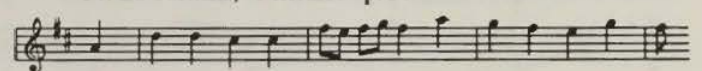
29a. El Babau, o fandango Cathalan p. 29



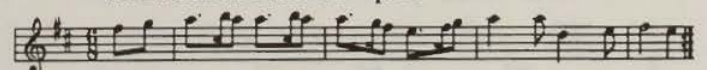
29b. Allegro



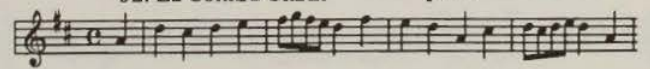
30. La Casttaña, o fricasse p. 30



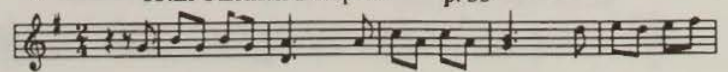
31. La Cadena Genovesa p. 31



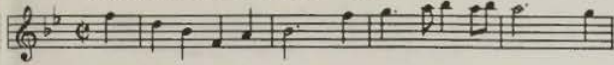
32. La Contra Clarin p. 32



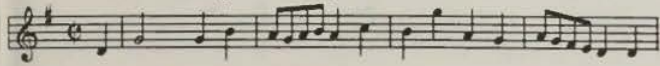
33. El Carrillon Dunquerk p. 33



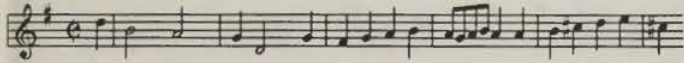
53. La Franc Embajador p. 53



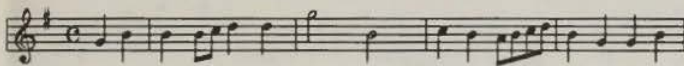
• 54. La Tembrigdetrik p. 54



55. La Crespine p. 55



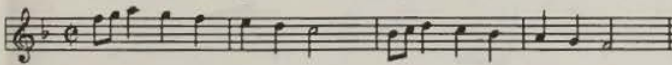
56. La Buena Amistad p. 56 [Feuille, Contredanses]



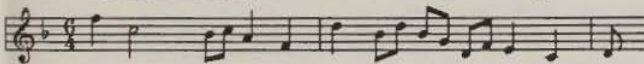
57. La Media Berde p. 57



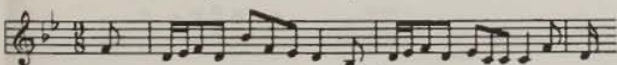
58. Las Entriegas del Amor p. 58



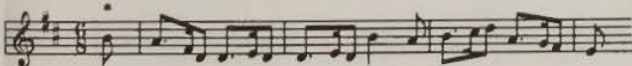
• 59. Las Cadenas, o Maoros Ratcliff Cross p. 59



• 60. El Drup o Drutt p. 60

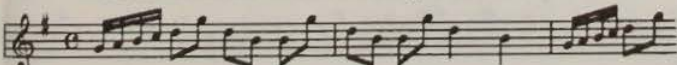


61. El No mas danza p. 61

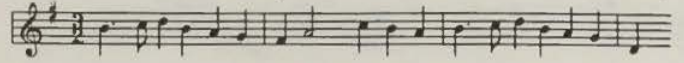


* originally, one sharp

• 62. El Kaclattin o Jack Latin p. 62



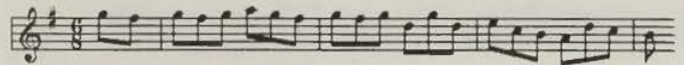
• 63. El Molinero p. 63 [Ferroly y Boxerius]



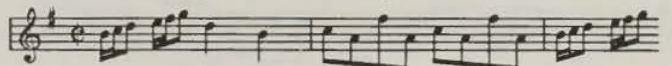
• 64. La Gaitta Ynglesa p. 64



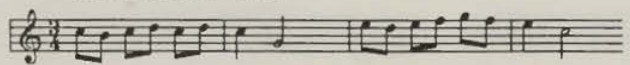
• 65. La Balenciana p. 65



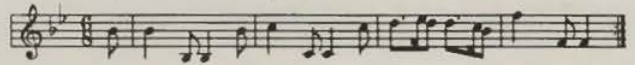
• 66. Este Quards Rantt. p. 66



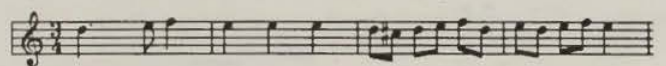
67. La Barbiera p. 67



• 68. La Finetta p. 68



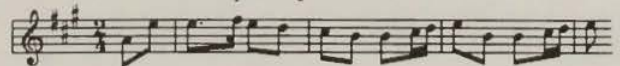
• 69. El Minuette de los Caballeros p. 69 [Feuille, Contredanses]



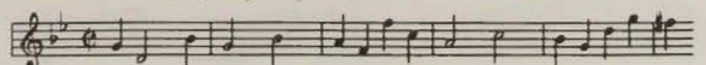
• 70. Las Bodas Reales p. 70



• 71. La Galopada p. 71



72. El, El, Engaño p. 72



• 73. La Esse p. 73 [Ferial y Boxeráus]

• 74. La Turca p. 74

• 75. El Galop p. 75

• 76. La Reven^a Yng^a p. 76

• 77. La Universidad de Oxford p. 77

• 78. Bath Medeley o Baño Miselaneo p. 78

• 79. La Galea p. 79

• 80. La Cereza p. 80

• 81. El Reluctor, o Recruiling Officer p. 81

• 82. The Black Joak o Negro del cuerpo blanco p. 82

• 83. La Barrabas p. 83

• 84. La Entrega p. 84

• 85. El sol empieza a nacer p. 85

• 86. La Bascanbur p. 86

• 87. El soldado y su Chula p. 87

• 88. El Enamorado p. 88

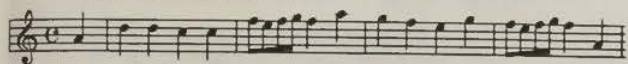
• 89. El Bordon p. 89

• 90. La Estopa p. 90

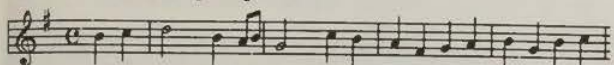
• 91. La Fadrines p. 91

• 92. El Salto del Rosselon p. 92

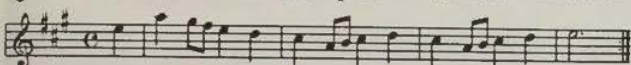
• 93. La Castaña p. 93



• 94. El Drapo p. 94



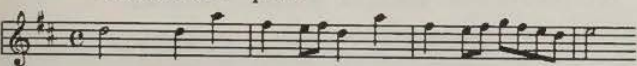
• 95. El Berde Retamar p. 95 [Murcia, Códice Saldívar Nº4]



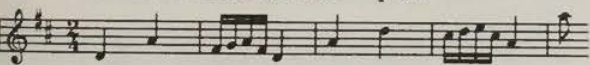
• 96. El Bastax p. 96



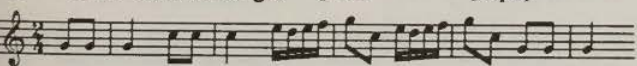
• 97. La Panze p. 97



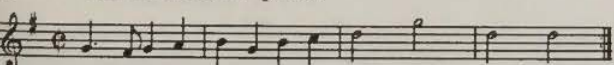
• 98. La Paisana Borracha p. 98



• 99. El Cottillon Ungru p. 99 [Dupré]



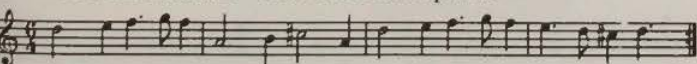
• 100. La Mariana p. 100



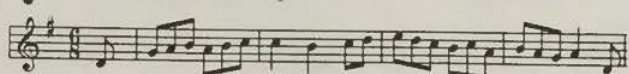
• 101. Las Penas à la Moda p. 101



• 102. Las Miñonas con vara cortura p. 102



• 103. La Oriflama p. 103



• 104. La Puentte p. 104



• 105. La Bruna p. 105



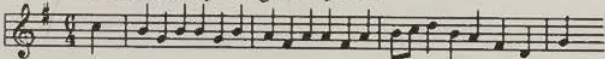
• 106. El Piill p. 106 [Carolan]



• 107. El Molinett p. 107



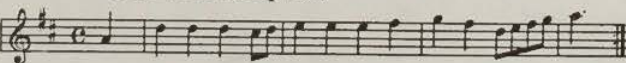
• 108. El Druy Grogan p. 108



• 109. La Badine p. 109



• 110. El Petilloo p. 110



• 111. El Esmolado p. 111

• 112. Contra Rigodon p. 112 [Lully, *Acis et Galatée*]

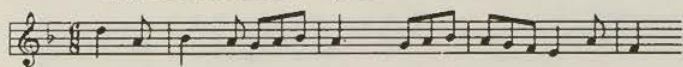
113. El Gallo p. 113 (Fernol y Boxeráus)



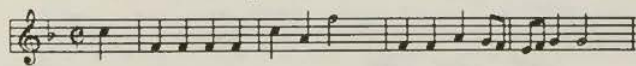
114. Queen, hitth Jigg p. 114



• 115. La Merlequina p. 115



116. La Perla p. 116



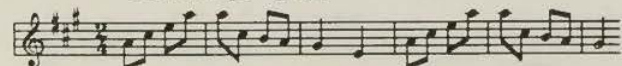
117. La Perla de la Ama p. 117



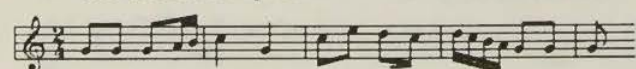
118. La Marcha de la Tittana p. 118



119. La Pipa p. 119



120. Los Locos p. 120



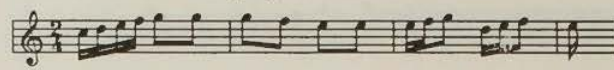
121. El Aoreo p. 121



122. La Tittana p. 122



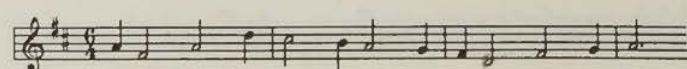
123. La Amburgo p. 123



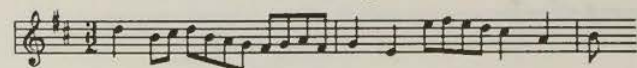
124. La Con O La Con Nor p. 124



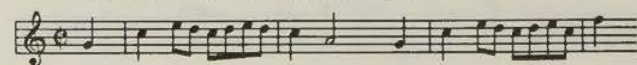
125. La Newsear p. 125



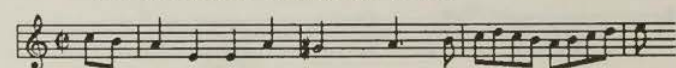
126. La Kelstton House p. 126



127. Las Tubasxa The Hills p. 127



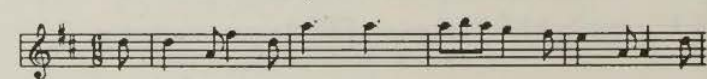
128. La Theixax Stratagem p. 128



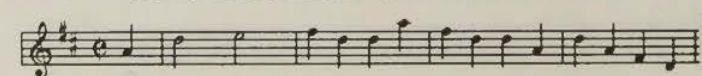
129. La Basem p. 129



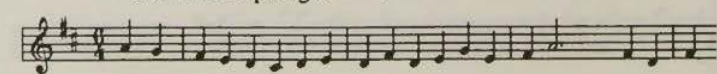
130. La Desembra p. 130



131. La Granos March p. 131



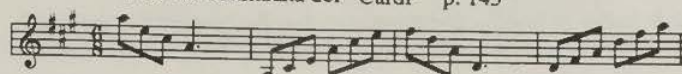
132. La Chaquerigri p. 132



133. La Riel Ron p. 133



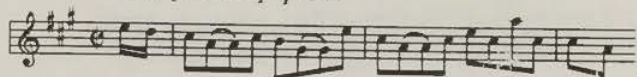
143. La Catthalana del Cardi^o p. 143



134. Los Monos Nuebos p. 134



144. [Untitled] p. 144



135. El Bartholitto p. 135



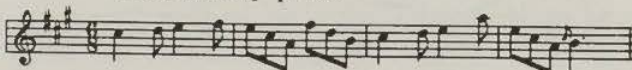
145. [Untitled] p. 145



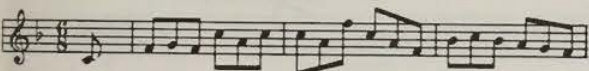
136. El Diablo tubo la Noche p. 136



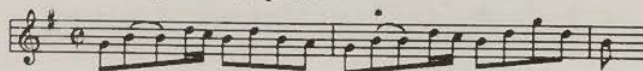
146. [Untitled] p. 146



137. La Miller Of dron p. 137



147. [Untitled] p. 147



138. El Combatte de Estuardo p. 138



148. [Untitled] p. 148



139. La Chidana p. 139



149. [Untitled] p. 149



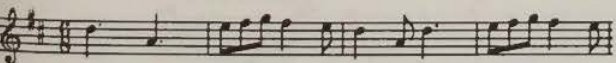
140. La Rattera p. 140



150. [Untitled] p. 150



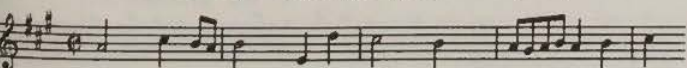
141. La Rafanza p. 141



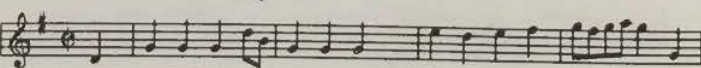
151. [Untitled] p. 151



142. El Principe Guillermo p. 142 [Walsh]



152. [Untitled] p. 152



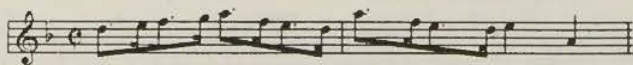
153. [Untitled] p. 153



154. [Untitled] p. 154



155. [Untitled] p. 155



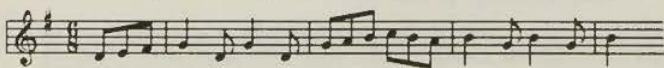
156. [Untitled] p. 156



157. [Untitled] p. 157



158. [Untitled] p. 158



159. [Untitled] p. 159



160. [Untitled] p. 160



161. [Untitled] 161.



162. [Untitled] p. 162



163. [Untitled] p. 163



164. [Untitled] p. 164



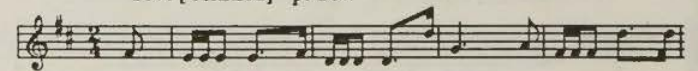
165. [Untitled] p. 165



166. [Untitled] p. 166



167. [Untitled] p. 167



168. La Tijera p. 168

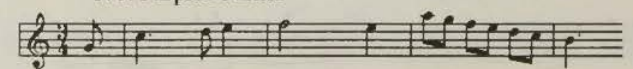
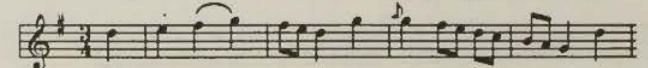


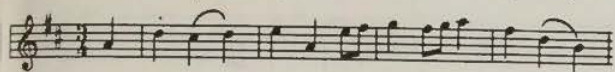
169. La Guastala fol. 69

[Feuille]



170. Paspide Parma fol. 69

171. Paspie de Princeza fol. 69^v172. Paspie de España fol. 69^v

173. Paspie nuevo fol. 69^v [Feuillet]180a. Amable fol. 72 [Campra, *Hesione*]

174. Paspie Viejo fol. 70 [Pécour]



180b. [Amable]

175. Minueto de alsides fol. 70^v [Lully & Marais, *Alcide*]

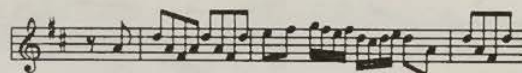
181. Burea de overnia fol. 72

176a. La bretaña fol. 70^v [Campra, *Télémaque*]182a. La alemanda Cortesia fol. 72^v [Campra]
Fragments de Mr. Lully

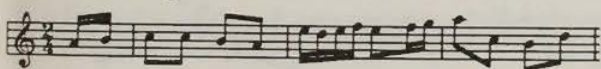
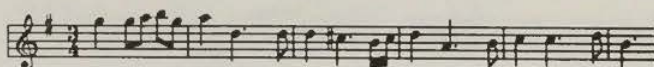
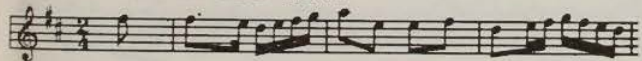
176b. [La bretaña]



182b. [La alemanda]



177. Allegro fol. 71 [Feuillet]

183. Chacona De Arlequina fol. 73 [Lully, *Bourgeois Gensilhomme*]178a. La burea fol. 71 [Lully & Colasse, *Achille et Polixène*]184. La Vacante fol. 73^v [Lacoste, *Philomél*]

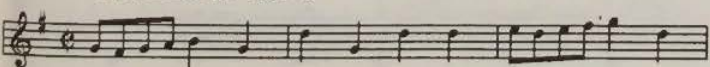
178b. Minuet

185. Paysana Vieja fol. 73^v [Campra, *L'Europe galante*]

178c. Allegro



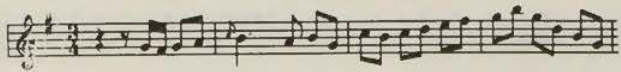
186. Cherman fol. 74 [Feuillet]

179. L'amarie fol. 71^v [Lully, *Ballet des Temps*]

187. Allegro fol. 74 [Feuillet]



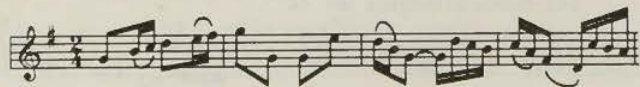
205. Paraletas fols. 78v-79



206. Minut de erando fol. 79



207. Allegro de Dn Pedro Locatelij fols. 79-79v



208. El Norte N° 20 fol. 79v



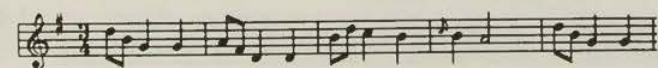
209. Adagio solo de Dn Luis Mison fol. 80



210. Minet fol. 80



211. Minueto fol. 81



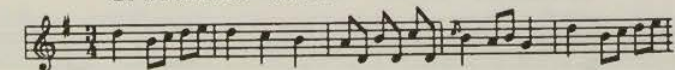
212. Minueto fol. 81



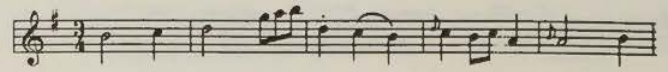
213. Minueto fol. 81



214. Minueto fol. 81v



215. Minueto fol. 81v



216. Minueto fol. 82



217. Minue fol. 82



218. Minueto fol. 82v



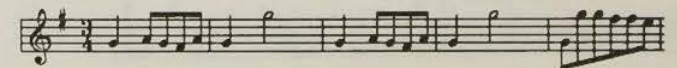
219. Minueto fol. 82v



220. Minue fol. 83



221. Minueto fol. 83



222. Minueto fol. 83v



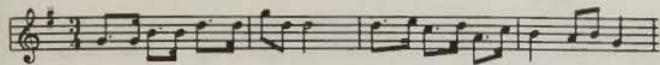
223. Minueto fol. 83v



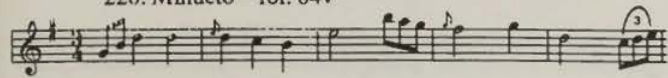
224. Minueto fol. 84



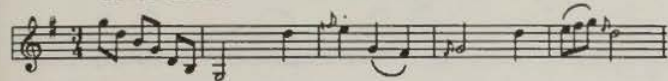
225. Minutt fol. 84



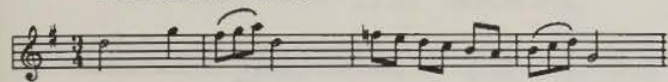
226. Minueto fol. 84v



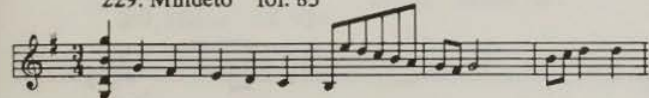
227. Minueto fols. 84v-85



228. Minueto fol. 85



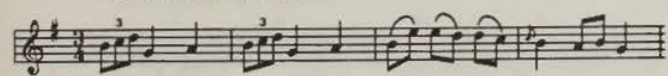
229. Minueto fol. 85



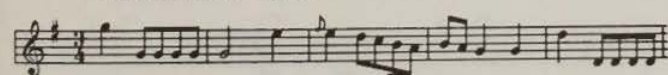
230. Minueto fol. 85v



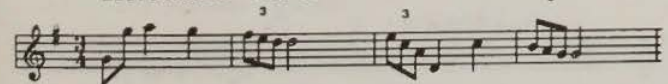
231. Minutt fol. 85v



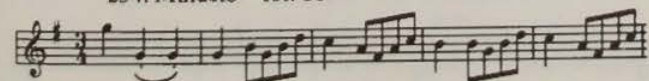
232. Minueto fol. 86



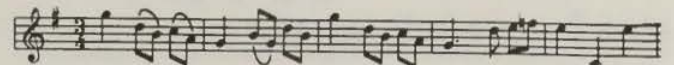
233. Minueto fol. 86



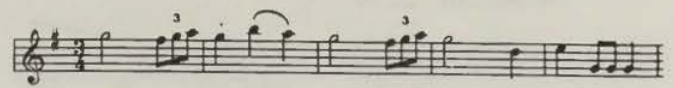
234. Minueto fol. 86v



235. Minueto fol. 86v



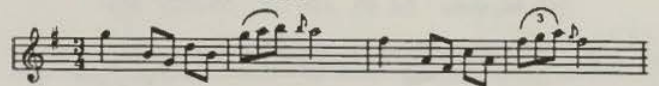
236. Minueto fol. 86v



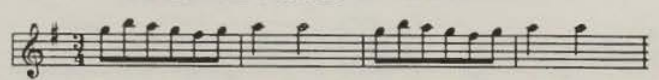
237. Minueto fol. 87



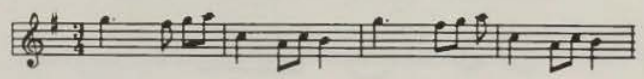
238. Minueto fol. 87v



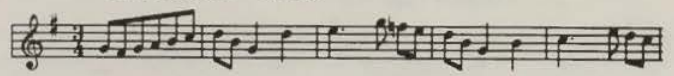
239. Minueto De Cleofar fol. 87v



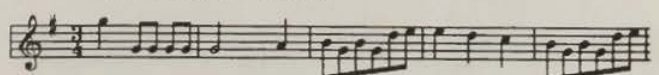
240. Minueto fol. 88



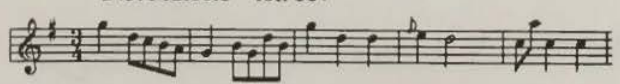
241. Minueto fol. 88



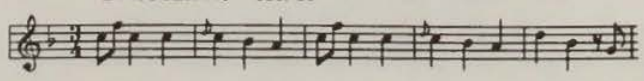
242. Minueto fol. 88v



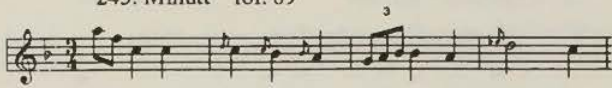
243. Minueto fol. 88v



244. Minueto fol. 89



245. Minutt fol. 89



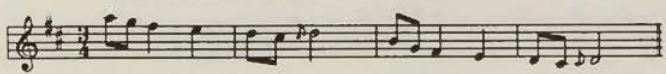
246. Minueto fol. 90



247. Minueto fol. 90



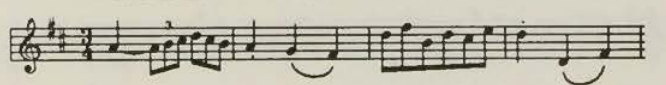
248. Minueto fol. 90



249. Minueto fol. 90v



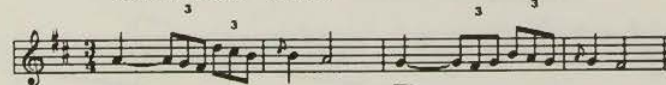
250. Minueto fol. 90v



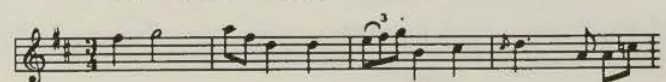
251. Minueto fol. 90v



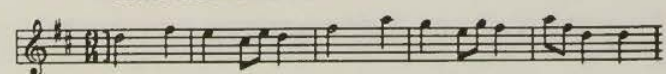
252. Minueto fol. 91



253. Minueto fol. 91



254. Minueto fol. 91v



255. Minueto fol. 91v



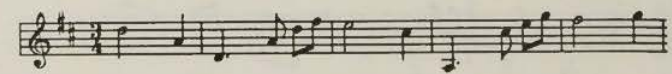
256. Minueto fol. 91v



257. Minueto fol. 92



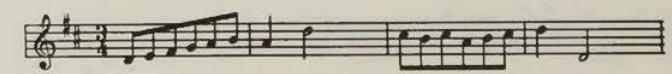
258. Minueto fol. 92



259. Minue fol. 92



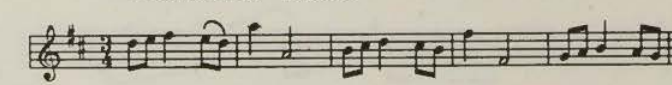
260. Minueto fol. 92v



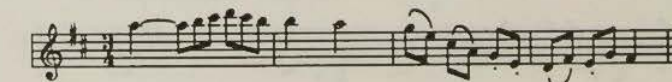
261. Minueto fol. 92v



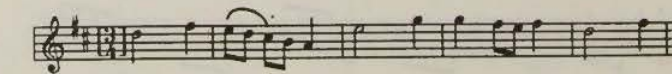
262. Minueto fol. 92v



263. Minueto fol. 93



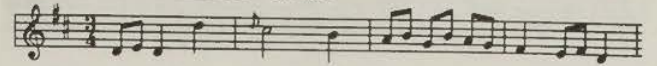
264. Minueto fol. 93



265. Minueto fol. 93



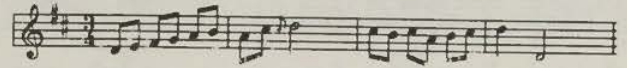
275. Minueto fol. 95



266. Minueto fol. 93v



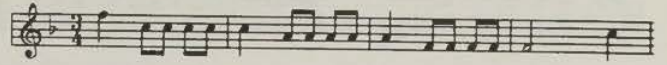
276. Minue fol. 95



267. Minue fol. 93v



277. Minueto fol. 95v



268. Minueto fol. 93v



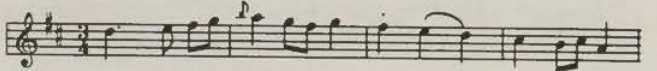
278. Minueto fol. 95v



269. Minue fol. 93v



279. Minueto fol. 96



270. Minue fol. 94



280. Minueto fol. 96



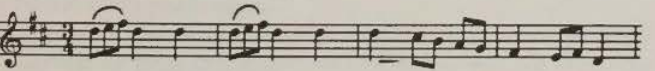
271. Minueto fol. 94



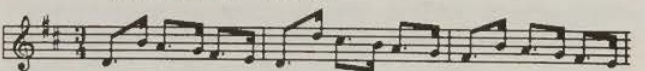
281. Minueto fol. 96



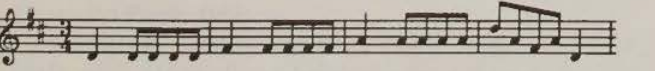
272. Minueto fol. 94



282. Minueto fol. 96v



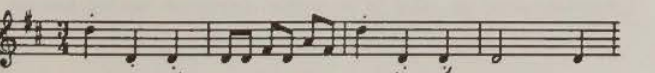
273. Minueto fol. 94v



283. Minueto fol. 96v



274. Minueto fol. 94v



284. Minueto fol. 97



285. Minueto fol. 97



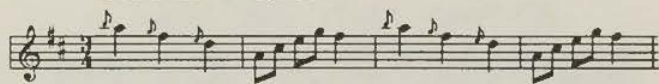
286. Minue fol. 97v



287. Mnuett [sic] fol. 97v



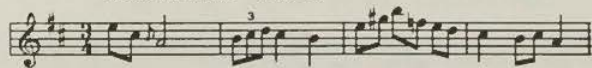
288. Minuett fol. 98



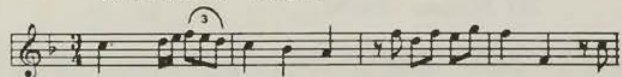
289. Minuett fol. 98



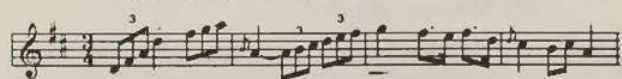
290. Minuett fol. 98



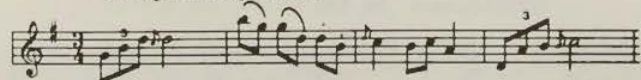
291. Minuett fol. 98v



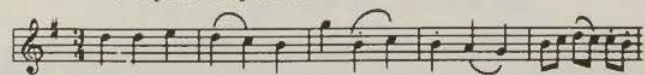
292. Minuett fol. 99



293. [Minuett] fol. 99



294. [Minuett] fol. 99v



295. [Minuett] fol. 99v

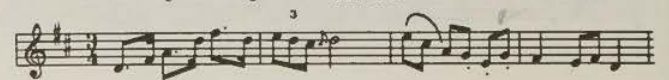


32 Son estas ultimas [Jojas

296. [Minuett] fol. 100

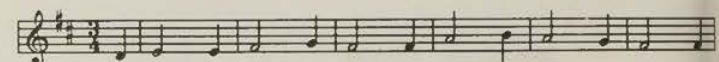


297. [Minuett] fol. 100



298. Sacris Solemnis

loose sheet between pp. 164-165



Mex[i]co y N[oviem]bre 26, [1]805

Chaikovski and Mrs. Rosa Newmarch Revisited

A Contribution to the Composer's Centennial Commemoration*

Alfred Boynton Stevenson

HERBERT WEINSTOCK WROTE in 1943 that although Chaikovski had been dead fifty years

no full-length biography of him has been written in English. For the English-speaking world the chief, almost sole source of information about [his] life has been Rosa Newmarch's condensation (first published in 1906) of Paul Juon's German translation of Modest Tchaikovsky's official biography of his brother.¹

*In this article, transliteration of Russian directly into English obeys the rules described in "Rimski-Korsakov in the Eastern United States," *IAMR*, 1990/1, 117.

Rimski-Korsakov visited America during his salad days. Chaikovski arrived in New York April 26, 1891, at the height of his glory. Already sixteen years earlier the world premiere of his first concerto in Boston October 25, 1875, had given America a unique 19th-century honor. The present extended critique of the first large body of Chaikovski literature in English does not derogate from the similarly unique importance of Mrs. Rosa Newmarch's publications.

Readers forewarned that Newmarch worked primarily from German or English translations of German will not expect to assess Newmarch's translations of Chaikovski's letters to his patroness of 1876-1878 by comparing them with Galina von Meck's which are now available in a volume edited by Edward Garden and Nigel Gotteri entitled *To my best friend* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

¹Weinstock, *Tchaikovsky* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1943), p. vii. Modest Ilich Chaikovski, *Zhizn Petra Ilich Chaikovskogo po dokumentam, khranyashchimsya v Arkhiv imeni pokojnogo kompozitora v Klinu. V trekh tomakh* (Life of Peter Ilich Chaikovski according to documents stored in the Archives named for the deceased composer in Klin. In three volumes);

Except for the fact that Juon's translation was itself somewhat condensed, this is an accurate statement of Newmarch's accomplishment. Nonetheless, its truth and particularly its limits have been persistently ignored. Even Weinstock himself went on to invalidate it, portraying Newmarch as busily selecting, translating, and herself editing Russian text first hand.² A near half-century later today's other

the first volume passed the censors in Moscow November 11, 1900; the third volume April 6, 1902; the first of twenty-five installments had begun to appear as early as 1899—all dates Old Style.

(Abbreviation: *MICH*)

German abridgement of *MICH: Das Leben Peter Iljitsch Tschaiowsky's aus dem Russischen übersetzt von Paul Juon. In 2. Bänden*; installments dated 1901-1903. (Abbreviation: *Juon.*) The Moscow-Leipzig publishing house of P. Yurgenson (Germanized as Jürgenson) was responsible for both *MICH* and *Juon*. English abridgement of *Juon: Newmarch, The Life & Letters of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky* (London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1906). (Abbreviation: *LL 1906.*)

²Weinstock, p. ix. Eminently deserving of a book-length biography in her own right, Rosa Harriet Newmarch (née Jeaffreson) (*b* Leamington, Warwickshire, Dec. 18, 1857; *d* Worthing, Apr. 9, 1940) dominated Grove Dictionary coverage of Russian composers from the second through the fifth edition.

Daughter of a physician, she married in 1883 the son of a clergyman, Henry Charles Newmarch (*d* 1927), by whom she had one son and one daughter. Concerning her education, the A. & C. Black annual *Who's Who* volumes that carried her biography from 1916 through the year of her death, classed it as received "chiefly at home." Her mother was the daughter of the

biographers have followed suit, crediting her with more than she actually did. Thus, Alexander Poznansky omitted all mention of Juon when he wrote in 1991:

the three-volume *Life* [of Chaikovsky] composed at the turn of the century by his brother Modest (available in English only in an abridged edition by Rosa Newmarch,



Yours very sincerely,

Rosa Newmarch

playwright James Kenney (1780–1849) profiled in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, xi, 8–9.

In *The Feminist Companion to Literature in English; Women Writers from the Middle Ages to the Present* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 791, her two volumes of poetry, *Horae Amoris* (1903) and *Songs to a Singer* (1906) are mentioned—but not her two children. Her poem “My Birthday” published in the same year as her Chaikovsky magnum opus “expresses a female speaker’s dejection, which is only relieved by the arrival of her woman friend.”

published in 1906) remains one of our major sources of information and still exercises strong influence.³

Likewise David Brown, in his Chaikovsky bibliography for *The New Grove*, described her 1906 volume as an “Eng[lish] trans[lation], abridged,” of Modest’s *Life*. In the *The New Grove* Newmarch bibliography her book is listed not even as an abridgement, but as a “trans[lation] of M. Tchaikovsky.” So it is in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* ix (1961), 1423. This latter-day misstatement of Newmarch’s accomplishment is precisely the outcome she sought.

Juon goes unmentioned on her title-page: *The Life & Letters of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky edited from the Russian with an introduction by Rosa Newmarch*. However ambiguous the meaning of “edited from the Russian” might be, she quite obviously hoped that the public would view her as both translator and editor, directly and independently at work on Russian text. Her eager audience in England and America⁴ would have been disappointed to read more correctly:

abridged English translation by Rosa Newmarch of the abridged German translation of Paul Juon, with infrequent reference to the Russian text and occasional insertion of extraneous material.

When she did mention Juon in her preface, it was solely to cite his translation as a precedent justifying her own having dared to abbreviate the Russian text.⁵ She overstated, however, when she added that her further condensation resulted from her having judged for herself whether or not to retain various portions of Russian text omitted by Juon.

If at the outset she may indeed have intended to work independently,⁶ her reliance on Juon very soon

³ *Tchaikovsky; The Quest for the Inner Man* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1991), p. xiv. Continuing demand for Newmarch’s 1906 book justified reprinting as recently as 1973.

⁴ *LL 1906*, p. viii. She considered the two publics as one. “Both in England and America [as of November, 1901] the public interest in Tchaikovsky seemed to be steadily increasing.” She excused omitting a mass of information concerning Russian musical life because the persons and places “were quite unknown to the English and American publics” and would not interest them.

⁵ *LL 1906*, p. ix. Close to acknowledging the truth at one point, she veered suddenly and spoke rather of “following these abridgements,” without identifying what abridgement besides Juon’s she had in mind.

⁶ From text omitted by Juon, she restored in the opening para-

became so great that in her version scarcely a word of Modest's Russian remained that had not already been selected by Juon.⁷ Even less did she justify her claim to have made a selection increasing what the composer had to say himself in proportion to what others had said about him.⁸ Equally false was her claim to have lessened confusion for Western readers by meticulously inserting New Style alongside Old Style dates. While attending so much to dual dating she allowed errors to creep in, sometimes even rearranging letters out of the sequence in which she found them in order to complement her errors.⁹ All these negatives make questionable the assurance she gave that for her—if not for her publisher and audience—"the simplest—and in many ways most satisfactory—course seemed at first to be the translation of the Russian edition in its entirety."¹⁰

graphs the statements that the composer's father was a self-owner and that he was, tautologically, "left a widower" after the death of his wife.

⁷ There are a few notable exceptions to this rule. See page 76.

⁸ *LL 1906*, p. ix. Newmarch misled her readers when she wrote: "the proportion of letters to the additional biographical matter is even greater in my version than in the German edition." An exact count is impossible to the extent that Newmarch combined letters similar in content, but the reduction she made of the number reproduced by Juon is approximately the same as the reduction she made of his entire text—about forty per cent. Juon had retained in whole or part all the approximately three thousand letters sampled by Modest, except for one or two (notably letter to P. Yurgenson [= Jürgensen], February 4, 1878, *MICH*, II, p. 105). The proportionate cuts Newmarch made outside the composer's letters and diaries were not limited to passages of third-person narrative. She also eliminated the lengthy résumés at the end of each season detailing the composer's professional undertakings, accomplishments, and critical ratings. They are autobiographical inasmuch as they were culled from his own records.

⁹ Examples: Letter to Modest concerning rehearsal of opera: September 13, 1868 (*MICH*, I, p. 298f; Juon, I, p. 171f); September 3/15, 1868 (*LL 1906* p. 94). Letter to Nadezhda Filaretovna from Venice: December 5, 1877 (*MICH*, II, p. 59; Juon, I, p. 416); December 3/15, 1877 (*LL 1906*, p. 242). Letter to Anatoli (Modest's twin) from Simaki: August 15, 1879 (*MICH*, II, p. 301; Juon, II, p. 55); August 18/30, 1879 (*LL 1906*, p. 350). Similarly, a performance of the Second Symphony is wrongly dated: January 16, 1873 (*MICH*, I, p. 402; Juon, I, p. 253); January 6/18, 1873 (*LL 1906*, p. 137).

¹⁰ *LL 1906*, p. viii. Newmarch said the only reason she did not choose the easy alternative of verbatim translation was that her English and American audiences would not be interested in local Russian particulars. This does not explain why she needed to suppress local American particulars. In New York the Knabe piano-makers tried by means of presents and extra services

Defects in her magnum opus (itemized in examples listed below) topple the widespread belief in her linguistic prowess prevalent at the time her book was ready to publish. What indeed were her Russian linguistic abilities? When Granville Bantock, then conductor of the Liverpool Orchestral Society went to meet Sibelius on his first arrival in England, December 1905, he found conversation impossible.

"Knowing that Rosa Newmarch was a fluent Russian linguist and an accomplished translator," he wrote, "I sought her aid, happily not in vain. How well I remember that eventful railway journey from Euston to Liverpool, during which we three were the sole occupants of the compartment . . . It was due to Rosa Newmarch's sympathetic understanding and tactful interest that this journey became the prelude to subsequent visits paid by Sibelius to England."¹¹

Her own account differed so essentially as to invalidate Bantock's testimony. She herself wrote:

the Bantocks invited me to meet [Sibelius] at their house at Mosely near Birmingham . . . I was put next to him at dinner with a vague idea that as nobody knew what language he spoke, a little Russian might come in handy. I had been long enough in Russia and over Finnish borders to know that the Finns were not too keen to speak the language of their big neighbor, but we soon effected a compromise: a sort of sandwich between French and German, to which looking over our correspondence which has lasted over thirty years, I found to my amusement we always adhered.¹²

Only a decade before Bantock's call upon her expertise, Newmarch knew so little Russian that it is doubtful that she knew even the alphabet. Witness a footnote appearing in the introduction to her

provided, through their representative, Ferdinand Mayer, to obligate Chaikovski to endorse their grand pianos as the best made in America. Chaikovski refused, saying he not only did not find them so, but found Steinway pianos indubitably better—despite the unpleasant treatment he had received from the Steinway representative. Newmarch had named Knabe, Mayer, and Steinway in other innocuous contexts, but here she substituted asterisks for the names of both companies, and Z for Mayer's. This she did on her own, ignoring Juon. She wanted no enemies. (*MICH*, III, p. 472f; Juon, II, p. 661f; *LL 1906*, p. 652f.)

¹¹ Newmarch, *Jean Sibelius* (Boston: C.C. Birchard, 1939), introduction by G. Bantock, p. 8.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 16. She added that "Sibelius wrote chiefly in German, corresponding exclusively in French he found a little irksome" (p. 53). She received only one letter from him in English, January 3, 1919 (p. 54).

translation entitled *Borodin and Liszt*, published in London in 1895.¹³ The translation was of a French volume by Alfred Habets which bore the title: *Alexandre Borodine d'après la biographie et la correspondance publiées par M. Wladimir Stasoff* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1893).¹⁴ The footnote reads:

In writing the names of Korsakoff, Balakireff and Glazounoff, the Translator has adopted the termination most familiar to English readers; but on the authority of Monsieur Habets, Korsakow, Balakirew, etc., would be the correct orthography.¹⁵

Had she herself known the Russian alphabet at that time, she would at once have rejected Habets's Germanisms. Habets's own trip to Russia had taught him so little of the language that he had been forced to employ Russian students in Liège (including, he said, a former student of Borodin's) to translate the Russian for him.¹⁶

¹³Digby, Long & Co. issued the second edition in 1896. Other instances of the tendency to exaggerate Newmarch's accomplishments are the credits given her for having "produced" the Borodin and Liszt book (*The Times*, April 12, 1940), or having actually written it (*Entsiklopedicheski Muzykalny Slovar* [Encyclopedic Musical Dictionary], Moscow: 1966, Abbreviation: *EMS*); *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel, Abbreviation: *MGG*), 1961. *The Times*, London, April 12, 1940, erred additionally in dating the English publication 1889, as did still *The International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians* (1985), p. 1505.

¹⁴See translator's and author's prefaces. Habets (1839-1908), Belgian mining engineer, was captivated by the Russian music he first heard performed at the 1878 Paris Exhibition. His enthusiasm was fed by a journey to Russia which he described in "Souvenir d'un Voyage en Russie: Impressions Musicales" (*Revue de Belgique*, 1885). When he learned through the Countess Mercy-Argenteau, arch-propagandist of Russian modern music, that Stasov had published biographical data concerning Borodin after his death in 1887, Habets wrote to Tsesar Kyui (Frenched as César Cui), presumably asking to publish Stasov's work in French. Kyui forwarded Habets's letter, urging Stasov to respond. The letter itself could not be found as of 1955. Stasov dated Kyui's envelope February 7, 1890 (Kyui, *Izbranye pisma* [Selected Letters], Compiling editor: N. L. Gusin, Leningrad: 1955, p. 584). In her preface to Habets, Newmarch acknowledged Kyui's *La Musique en Russie* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1880) as the source from which she drew the extended survey of Russian music which she provided there (pp. xxxvi and xxxix). Several years later she left a different impression with her interviewer from *The Musical Times* (London: April 1, 1911, p. 229), who did not mention Kyui in reporting that Newmarch's preface had "embodied the first general survey of Russian music," assigning 1896 instead of 1895 as date of publication.

¹⁵*Borodin and Liszt*, p. xxviii.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. lii: "A. Foniakoff . . . had been a pupil of Borodin's at St. Petersburg."

The Borodin project did bring Newmarch and Stasov together. It was Stasov who suggested that she learn Russian if she truly wished to explore the culture of his country. Having acquired "some knowledge" of the language, during the tedium of an illness—as she told an interviewer much later—she made a first visit to Russia in 1897, and worked "for a time" under the direction of Stasov at the Imperial Public Library in St. Petersburg.¹⁷ No person to be busied with teaching basic or intermediate Russian to a novice already in her fortieth year, Stasov, a world-renowned art, music, and literature savant, had already twice refused the directorship of the Library for fear of being drawn away from his own wide-ranging inquiries and championings.¹⁸ English, French, and German were therefore the languages they at first had in common.¹⁹

In 1896, the year before her arrival, Nikolai Dmitrievich Kashkin, who had been a fellow professor with Chaikovski at the Moscow Conservatory

¹⁷*The Musical Times* (London, April 1, 1911, p. 226); *The Times* (London, April 12, 1940). Even before Rosa Jeaffreson Newmarch was born a link with Stasov had been forged by her maternal uncle, Charles Lamb Kenney. In a publication of 1853 Kenney had appeared as co-translator from the French of an account of travels through Southern Russia by Anatoli Demidov, Prince of San Donato, who was Stasov's host during his stay in Florence where Mikhail Glinka addressed him in December of the same year—1853. (M.I. Glinka, *Pisma i dokumenty* [Letters and Documents], ed. V. Bogdanov-Berezovski, Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1953, pp. 468-470; *Dictionary of National Biography*, xi, p. 7. See also British Library Catalogue entries under "Demidov, Anatoly Nikolaevich, Prince di San Donato.")

¹⁸Gerald Abraham, Introduction to Florence Jonas's translation of *Selected Essays on Music* by Vladimir Vasilevich Stasov (London: Barrie & Rockliff, 1968), p. 8.

¹⁹Before the translation from the French already mentioned, Newmarch had translated the German biographical sketch, *Johannes Brahms*, by Hermann Deiters (English translation, with additions, London: T. F. Unwin, 1888). Stasov had studied foreign languages in childhood. He traveled to England in 1851 and thence to Italy where he catalogued Santini's magnificently diverse library in Rome. In 1854 at his own expense he published his catalogue at Florence under the title *L'Abbé Santini et sa collection musicale*, returning to Russia in the same year. In 1870 he donated his approximately 400 copies of Santini treasures to the St. Petersburg public library. Stasov's enthusiasm for things English and western European (witness his searching out foreign treasures for the Public Library and his urging of Shakespearean and Byronic subjects upon Russian composers) seems at odds with his fierce insistence that Russian art and music never stray from what he conceived to be "national." According to Newmarch, *The Russian Arts* (London: H.

and his long-time acquaintance, if not close personal friend, published what was heralded as the first book designed to supply the demand for a full-length biography of the composer.²⁰ (A large number of Kashkin's personal reminiscences were incorporated into the much larger compilation that Modest put together a few years later.) In 1897, crowded into the same year as her first arrival in Russia, Newmarch "published in *The Musician* a series of papers upon Tchaikovsky based upon" this little volume of Kashkin's.²¹ She began her biography of the composer published in 1900 (a book to be discussed extensively below) with these same "papers based on Kashkin," but now "almost completely written"—so she averred. Who helped her with the translation in 1897 and again in 1900 remains uncertain, but it is unlikely that the same person translated all quotations from Kashkin in view of the unevenness of workmanship which persisted in the second version of these papers published in 1900.²²

In *The Musical Standard* (London) during January and February of 1899 Newmarch presented Chaikovski as musical critic.²³ Her articles were based, she said, on "The Collected Writings of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky, edited by G. A. Laroche, Moscow, 1898."²⁴ The Russian title is more descriptive: *Muzykalnye feletony i zametki Petra Iliche Chaikovskogo (1868–1876) s prilozheniem portreta, avtobiograficheskogo opisaniya puteshestviya zagranitsu v 1888 godu i predisloviya G. A. Larosha* ("Music articles and notes by Peter Ilich Chaikovski [1868–1876] with the addition of a portrait, an

Jenkins, 1916), p. 261, Stasov on one occasion remarked: "If you strip a Russian of his nationality you leave a man several degrees inferior to other Europeans."

²⁰ *Vospominaniya o P. I. Chaikovskom* (Reminiscences relating to P. I. Chaikovski) (Moscow: 1896) (Abbreviation: VOS). The date Newmarch assigns to VOS is 1897 (*Tchaikovsky. His Life and Works, with extracts from his writings, and the diary of his tour abroad in 1888*, London: Grant Richards, 1900 [Abbreviation: TLW], p. vii).

²¹ TLW, p. viiif. *The Musician, A Registered Newspaper*, lasted only 28 weekly issues according to *The New Grove*, xiv, 486, item 174.

²² The unevenness persists in Newmarch's publications through 1906. If she had helpers, they probably would have been others than her only daughter, Miss Elsie Newmarch, whom *The Times* (Apr. 12, 1940) described as having been her mother's "skilful helper in all her more recent undertakings."

²³ Jan. 14, p. 22f; Jan. 21, p. 36f; Jan. 28, p. 50f; Feb. 4, p. 66.

²⁴ *The Musical Standard*, Jan. 14, p. 22.

autobiographical description of his travel abroad in 1888, and a preface by G. A. Larosh").²⁵ An index of names appearing in the 390 pages of Russian text facilitates extracting all references to individual composers. The fruits of such extraction were being published in a very similar German abridged translation by Heinrich Stümcke at almost the same time as Newmarch's English abridgement.²⁶ Her inability to understand both the Russian text and the subject matter comes to light in such a crucial passage as the following Beethoven allusion.

In translating Larosh's quotation of Chaikovski, Newmarch wrote: "I am not disposed to proclaim the infallibility of *Beethoven's principles*, and without in any way denying his historic importance, I protest against the *insincerity* of an equal and indiscriminate laudation of his works [italics supplied]." The Russian says nothing about *Beethoven's principles*. Chaikovski objected to the *principle that Beethoven is infallible (ya ne raspolozhen provozglashat printsip Betkhovenskoi nepreshimosti)*. Moreover, he did not consider it *insincere* but *unjustifiable (protivnym pravde)* that every work of his elicit the same unconditional and uniform adulation.²⁷

²⁵ Abbreviation: MF.

²⁶ The imprint date is lacking in the volume: *Musikalische Erinnerungen und Feuilletons von Peter Tschaikowsky*. Im deutscher Übersetzung herausgegeben von Heinrich Stümcke (Berlin: Harmonie, Verlagsgesellschaft für Literatur und Kunst). The date of publication usually supplied is 1899, based on the foreword which reads: Berlin, January, 1899. Stümcke reversed Larosh's order, placing the diary of the 1887–88 tour ahead of the music articles. The German and English abridgements are of equal length, but the selection of musical opinion differs in emphasis. Newmarch's later translation of the diary shows some dependence on Stümcke's. See note 60, below.

²⁷ *The Musical Standard* (hereafter MS), Jan. 21, 1899, p. 57, reprinted without change in TLW, p. 124. MF, p. 11. In another Beethoven passage Newmarch makes the point that she is adhering strictly to the Russian text in the translation of one word she considers to be a misprint: "The rhythm of this theme [of the second movement of the Seventh Symphony], with its original [in the sense of unique] accent on the third beat of the bar, is maintained with wonderful skill throughout the entire movement." (MS, *idem*; TLW, pp. 129–134.) (*Ritm etoi temy, s originalnym aktsentom na tretei dole takta, vyderzhan c udivitelnyim masterstvom v techenie vsej pervoi chasti*. [MF, pp. 217–219]) This observation by Chaikovski made no sense to Newmarch. She appended a footnote: "I have printed this sentence as it appears in Russian, but I consider *third* evidently a misprint for *first*." Fortunately she did not simply make a silent correction.

Chaikovski combined Beethoven's two-beat measures into

Newmarch left off her series in *The Musical Standard*, hoping soon to complete her study with a supplementary paper on Chaikovsky's attitude toward the "New School of Russian Music."²⁸ Without lingering at this project, she began immediately to assemble for separate publication her *Tchaikovsky, his Life and Works; with extracts from his writings and the diary of his tour abroad in 1888*, which appeared in 1900 almost simultaneously with Iwan Knorr's German biography and the first volume of Modest's *Zhizn*.²⁹

Her book was in three parts. The first part was a rewrite of the biography she had published in *The Musician* based mainly on Kashkin's *Vospominaniya* with the addition of some quotations from "other and more recent sources." V. V. Berezovsky was the only one named, but Modest, himself, was also one.³⁰ The second part was a reprint from *The Musical Standard* of her presentation of Chaikovsky as a music critic—expanded a few pages by his comments of Russian composers in particular. All was drawn from the writings that Larosh had assembled in *Muzikalnye Feletony*. The Russian text of the third part—the diary, "now published for the first time in English"—was what she would have found as the concluding section of Larosh's collection.³¹ It was

larger two-measure groupings. To him, the *tenuto* on a first beat followed by two eighths on a second beat placed a natural accent on the next beat, even without the help of a bar-line. Similarly, the fact that he consistently referred to the movement as an Andante despite Beethoven's Allegretto marking seemed to her mere inadvertence—revealing nothing about Chaikovsky's perception. She substituted Allegretto in the text of her translation.

²⁸ Feb. 4, 1899, p. 68.

²⁹ In his review of Knorr's *Peter Iljitsch Tschairowsky* (Berlin) Larosh observed that 1900 had been a fortunate year for Chaikovsky, so far as biographers were concerned—mentioning Newmarch among them. Knorr, a professor at Dr. Hoch's Conservatory in Frankfurt-am-Main (becoming its director in 1903), was born in West Prussia, lived many years in Russia, and knew the language well. (*Rossiia*, Dec. 12, 1900, Nr. 578, reprinted in Larosh, *Izbrannye stati* [Selected Articles], Vol. II [Leningrad: 1975], p. 331f).

³⁰ Newmarch referred to the critical opinion of Chaikovsky's music expressed in a single article, unnamed, by Berezovsky, author of *Russkaya Muzyka* (St. Petersburg: 1898). She also inserted a letter from the composer to his sister in advance of its appearance in the first bound volume of Modest's *Zhizn*. Before the approval of that volume by the censors, Modest had made at least six such letters available to Iwan Knorr to quote in his German biography (Knorr, pp. 26–30). Kashkin's volume does not contain any of these letters.

³¹ Larosh's heading: *Avtobiograficheskoe opisanie puteshest-*

Modest she thanked for permission to republish the diary, but she spoke of the text as if it were a find that owed nothing to Larosh. She maintained this position in all future references to the diary.³²

When summarizing her effort in the assembly of the whole work she made great claims to independent research that her modesty did little to veil:

No one can be more conscious than myself of its shortcomings, and of the patchy nature of its construction. If it has not been altogether a case of making bricks without straw, at least the straw has been scattered on the four winds of journalism and has had to be gathered up in the by-ways of Russian musical literature.³³

She continued to build this image when she wrote in the preface to her 1906 volume:

In 1900 I published a volume . . . which was I believe the first attempt to embody in book form all the literature—scattered through the byways of Russian journalism—concerning the composer of the Pathetic Symphony.³⁴

Stasov, writing to Balakirev in the last year of his life, accepted wholeheartedly Newmarch's claim to have searched out by herself all that she had put together, but his confusion as to what publications he was talking about and what they actually contained make his acceptance very inconsequential.³⁵

Linguistic shortcomings of Newmarch's 1900 version of Kashkin (already alluded to above) appear in such passages as the following [italics supplied]:

viya zagrantsu v 1888 godu (An autobiographical description of travel abroad in 1888). The description actually begins in 1887. It had been published before in *Russki Vestnik* (Russian Herald), Moscow, 1894, No. 2, pp. 165–203, but Newmarch did not cite that publication as source for the Russian text here or elsewhere. In her article of Feb. 4, 1899, p. 66, in the *MS* series, Newmarch inserted Chaikovsky's sketch of Brahms, saying "I am now quoting from his journal abroad."

³² Modest printed extracts of the diary, citing Larosh, in his third volume of *Zhizn* published in 1902. In her 1906 version Newmarch suppressed all mention of *MF* where Modest cited *MF* by page number (*MICH*, III, p. 202; *MF*, p. 367; *LL 1906*, p. 541; *MICH*, III, p. 211; *MF*, p. 386; *LL 1906*, p. 546).

³³ *TLW*, p. viiif.

³⁴ *LL 1906*, p. vii.

³⁵ Stasov wrote to Balakirev Jan. 25, 1906, the same day he had received from London an advance copy of Newmarch's 1906 volume. He reported that he had already read and examined it. As he was doing so, he was unaware that the book was supposed to be a version of Modest's *Zhizn*. He thought that the diverse research claims which Newmarch had reiterated in describing her previous 1900 volume applied instead to her 1906

In 1867 Balakirev had succeeded Anton Rubinstein as conductor of the St. Petersburg Musical Society and *head of the Conservatoire*. He took advantage of the position to forward the interests of *the rising school of Russian composers*, and among them he included Tchaikovsky.³⁶

Kashkin's text is more accurately translated:

After A. G. Rubinstein left the Petersburg Musical Society and the Conservatory in 1867, M. A. Balakirev, in accordance with his instructions, was made the *conductor of the concerts* of the Society and led it for two seasons with great success, promoting especially the compositions of *young Russian composers*, including Chaikovski.³⁷

Apparently Newmarch, or her possible helper, read *dirizher kontsertov* as *direktor konservatorii*. Her "rising school" is a fabrication substituted for the single adjective *molodye* (young). Balakirev included Chaikovski in his programming as a "young" composer, but not as a member of the "rising school" that made up Balakirev's own special following.³⁸

The new material that Newmarch interwove with Kashkin presented like problems. These are exemplified by a letter written December 4, 1861, by the composer to his sister Aleksandra that Modest had made available to fellow biographers. The letter documents an important advance in Chaikovski's

volume. He praised the new book, calling it the result of Newmarch's long years of labor and preparation which had now brought together for the benefit of all Europeans everything she could search out in Russian or any language concerning Chaikovski, whom, he said, "she especially deifies." At the same time that he praised the book for its comprehensiveness, he complained that he could not find in it or in the work of anyone else a description of the beautiful and close relations that had once existed between Balakirev and Chaikovski. In particular, he missed any reference to Balakirev's recommendation to Chaikovski of "Manfred," Balakirev's program for it, his letter, etc. There was no such omission, he had simply not read carefully what was there (Balakirev and Stasov, *Perepiska* [Correspondence], Compiling editor: A. A. Lyapunova; Indexing: I. A. Konopleva [Moscow: 1970], II, p. 240f). Balakirev replied that he had been told that Modest's book had reported all the things that Stasov had been looking for, and even more than Stasov had mentioned. It is noteworthy that neither of the correspondents had read Modest's book.

³⁶ *TLW*, p. 22.

³⁷ *VOS*, p. 62.

³⁸ Sundry peculiarities in transcribing proper names may be typographical errors: *Taistov* for *Testov* (*VOS*, pp. 107 and 109; *TLW*, p. 59) and *Zoeriev* for *Zver(i)ev* (*VOS*, p. 157; *TLW*, p. 109).

decision to make music his single pursuit in life. The translation shows the problems caused by Newmarch's intuitive approach to Russian:

. . . I am only afraid of a want of purpose; perhaps idleness may take possession of me and I may not persevere. You know that I have powers and capacity, but I am ailing with *your* malady, which is called 'fragmentariness,' and if I do not *become enthusiastic over a thing*, I am easily done for.³⁹

Newmarch's misapprehensions (italicized words) include these:

your is a misreading of *toyu* (meaning *that*) as *troyu*. 'fragmentariness' is a misreading of *oblomovshchina* (meaning *sluggishness* or *laziness*, derived from the name of Goncharov's character, Oblomov) as a non-existent derivative of *oblomok* (meaning *fragment*).

become enthusiastic over a thing, is a misreading of *vostorzhestvuyu nad neyu* (meaning *triumph over it*) as *vostorgayus chom-nibud*.

Errors in *The Musical Standard* translation of Larosh extracts went still uncorrected in the 1900 version. Apart from the Beethoven passage already mentioned, Chaikovski's description of Brahms (in the new third section—the diary) also confused her: Chaikovski was struck by Brahms's very impressive bulk (*Brams—chelovek . . . ochen vnushitel'noi polnoty*). But for her this meant that Brahms "suggests a sort of amplitude."⁴⁰

Balakirev's Fifth Waltz
dedicated to Rosa Newmarch

This copy is reproduced from the Russian complete edition (by K. S. Sorokin) of Balakirev's piano works (*Polnoe sobranie sochineni dlya fortepiano*, vol. II, pp. 197–211. [Moscow–Leningrad: State Music Publishers, 1952]). Based on the first edition of 1903, it agrees fully with the autograph (p. [251]). The title-page of the first edition is in French: "A Madame Rosa Newmarch, *Sème Valse pour le piano par Mili Balakirev*, Jul. Heinr. Zimmermann, Leipzig–St. Petersburg–Moskau–London."

³⁹ *TLW*, p. 7; *MICH*, I, p. 147, Newmarch improved her translation of the second sentence in 1906 by omitting it, following Juon's good example. In rewriting, however, she botched the first sentence by leaving out the modal *may*. (*LL 1906*, p. 40; *Juon*, I, p. 73.)

⁴⁰ *TLW*, p. 185; *MF*, p. 367; *MICH*, III, p. 202n; *Juon*, II, p. 434n; *LL 1906*, p. 541n. When Newmarch first attempted this

ПЯТЫЙ ВАЛЬС

Vivo agitato [Живо, возбуждённо] (14/II 1903 г.)

poco riten.

Tempo di valse (Poco meno mosso) [Темп вальса, немного медленнее]

poco ritenuto

a tempo

poco ritenuto

a tempo

poco ritenuto

Cadenza
 L'istesso tempo [Tor me remu] animato
 mf Quasi recitato

a tempo animato

a tempo poco meno poco riten.

mf espressivo

animato

p leggiero

a tempo

pp

Allegretto scherzando [Довольно скоро, шуточно]

p

poco a poco agitato

p

più tranquillo

p

pp

a tempo

p

poco riten.

a tempo poco meno
p sempre

più tranquillo

pp

ppp

Tempo I (Vivo agitato) [Темп I. Живо, возбужденно]

p

f

p

f

poco riten.
pp

Tempo di valze (come sopra) [Темп вальса (как выше)]

p

poco ritenuto
pp
a tempo

p

The left column contains ten systems of musical notation. Each system consists of a grand staff with a treble clef on the upper staff and a bass clef on the lower staff. The music is written in a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a 3/4 time signature. The notation includes various rhythmic values, slurs, and dynamic markings such as *ff* and *con fuoco*. The systems show a progression of musical ideas, with some systems featuring more complex textures and others being more rhythmic or chordal.

The right column contains ten systems of musical notation, continuing the piece from the left column. It features a grand staff with treble and bass clefs. The notation is dense, with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and includes dynamic markings like *ff con fuoco*. A key tempo change is indicated by the instruction *Presto (очень быстро)* in the sixth system. The piece concludes with a final cadence in the tenth system.

In 1901 Newmarch revisited Russia. Those who greeted her had reason to thank her for what she had done during the previous year to promote Russian music not only by her publishing but also by her lecturing. Thus on April 20/May 3, 1900 Stasov had written to Balakirev that he had just received news from London of a *Russian* [his italics] concert where two of Balakirev's songs had met with huge success.⁴¹ He was referring to a concert-lecture—"The Art Songs of Balakirev"—which Newmarch supposedly had staged at Steinway Hall on April 14/26 [sic].⁴²

Therefore it was not an unappreciative Balakirev who responded to the invitation to come to an evening gathering at the Stasovs' May 11/24, 1901,⁴³ partly to honor the presence "of an English enthusiast for Russian music," as Newmarch described herself on that occasion. This was their first meeting. She was not yet speaking fluent Russian. There was no need to in Stasov's circle. Balakirev, dispensing with preliminaries, went to the piano, announced

sentence in *MS* (Feb. 4, 1899), she had the good sense to omit the phrase she did not understand. She was also correct when she wrote in her first version: "He certainly has not the features of a good-looking *German*." Mistakenly she wrote in her second version: "His features are certainly not characteristic of *Russian* good looks."

⁴¹ Balakirev and Stasov, *op. cit.*, I, p. 194. According to A. A. Lyapunova there were at least three songs: "*Slyshu li tvoi golos* (Do I hear your voice)," "*Vvedi menya o noch* (Bring me by night)," and "*Pridi ko mne* (Come to me)."

⁴² *Ibid.*, II, p. 342n. The dual date given in the Russian editorial note is impossible. There should be a difference of *thirteen* instead of *twelve* days in April 1900. Assuming that at least one of the dates is correct, the dual dating should read either 13/26 or 14/27. No such concert during April was mentioned in *The Musical Standard*, *The Musical World*, or *The Times*. On Wednesday afternoon, April 25, Mr. Theodore Field, baritone, and Miss Jessie Field, pianist, gave a joint recital under the direction of Mr. N. Vert at Steinway Hall. Three Hungarian Folk Songs arranged by Korbay were sung (*MS*, May 5, p. 280; *MW*, June 1, p. 399; and *The Times*, April 27, p. 12). In concurrent dual dates that Lyapunova supplied elsewhere, she correctly indicated a thirteen-day separation (Balakirev and Stasov, *op. cit.*, II, p. 332n 1). If the particulars from London were relayed solely through Stasov, error could well have extended beyond misdating (see note 35, above). Newmarch did not refer to such a concert-lecture in any of her publications relating to Balakirev.

⁴³ The date is recorded in Balakirev and Stasov, *op. cit.*, I, p. 23f and Newmarch, "Some Unpublished Letters of Balakirev," *The Chesterian*, London, New Series, No. 35, Dec. 1923 (abbreviation *SULB*), p. 75.

the three sonatas⁴⁴ he would play and proceeded without interruption. After that, "an inspiration on my part," wrote Newmarch, "to address him some remarks in *extremely ungrammatical Russian* [italics supplied] on the subject of his songs . . . sent him back to the piano, where he continued to converse with me, illustrating his words with examples."⁴⁵

When Balakirev departed, he believed the English lady to be an illiterate in Russian with whom he would only be able to correspond in formal French.⁴⁶ Just six months later, in November 1901, Petr Ivanovich Yurgenson = Jürgenson (1836-1904) invited Newmarch to undertake an English version of Modest's *Zhizn*, a year before the last volume was passed by the censors. Modest had not been Yurgenson's first choice to compile the documents stored at Klin. He accepted only after Kashkin had refused the mammoth job.⁴⁷ While Modest was yet at

⁴⁴ Besides Beethoven's "Appassionata" and Schumann's G Minor, which are not in dispute, Newmarch said Balakirev played Chopin's Sonata in B Minor (*The Russian Opera*, London: H. Jenkins, 1914, p. 200). Lyapunova has said more recently (1970) that the Chopin Sonata was in B Flat Minor, but her differing identification is doubtful because she also called this sonata Chopin's first (sic)—"*pervuyu [si-bemol minor]*" (Balakirev and Stasov, *op. cit.*, I, p. 23f).

⁴⁵ Newmarch, *The Russian Opera*, p. 199f. Newmarch printed at least four accounts of this event, each differing in minor detail. Besides the one just cited, see *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft* (abbreviation *SIMG*), Leipzig, Vol. 4, Oct.-Dec., 1902, pp. 157-163, in French; "Mily Balakirev," *Musical World*, Feb. 1, 1903, pp. 22-25, English translation, in part, of the French; *SULB*, *loc. cit.* Where the 1914 version reads *extremely ungrammatical Russian*, the earlier French and English read *very bad Russian*. The version in *The Chesterian* does not comment on her skill.

⁴⁶ Balakirev wrote to Newmarch [Nov. 21/] Dec. 4, 1902, in French (obviously at dictation, she said) "before [he] found that he could write to [her] in Russian." He was thanking her for her article about him in *SIMG*. He hoped for a correction in her intended translation into English. "The first subject of the Overture [on a Spanish March-theme] is *my own*," he said. (*SULB*, p. 74f.) Stasov wrote to him Jan. 7/[20], 1903 to provide in his polyglot fashion Newmarch's "exactly and accurately written address: Madame Rose [sic] Newmarch, Londres, Campden Hill Square No. 52." Balakirev began to compose a waltz in her honor Jan. 9/[22], and finished it Feb. 14/[27]. (Balakirev and Stasov, *op. cit.*, pp. 217 and 332n.) His Leipzig publisher, Zimmermann, had it engraved and printed in the favored French manner while reverting to a German spelling of the composer's name: À Madame Rosa Newmarch 5ème Valse pour le Piano par Mili Balakirew.

⁴⁷ Kashkin's co-memorialist (*Na pamyat o P. I. Chaikovskom* [To the memory of P. I. Chaikovskii] of 1894, G. A. Larosh,

work, Yurgenson recruited Pavel Fedorovich Yuan (Paul Juon in German) to make a concurrent German translation, which he completed—very slightly abridged—in 1903.⁴⁸

Juon was eminently qualified. Born in Moscow March 8, 1872 (*d* Vevey, Switzerland August 21, 1940) of a transplanted Swiss family, he had studied violin under Johann Hřimaly and composition under A. S. Arenski and S. I. Taneev (both advisees of Chaikovski) at the Imperial Moscow Conservatory, beginning in 1889. In the winter of 1893–94 he had furthered his studies in Berlin, winning the Mendelssohn Prize there in 1894–95. He had returned to Russia in 1896 where he assumed his first post, teaching violin and theory at the Baku Municipal Conservatory. In 1897 he had decided to reside permanently in Berlin where he won great distinction as composer, teacher of composition, and author of textbooks on harmony and counterpoint. Despite his long career in Germany, Soviets still claimed him as a Russian composer in 1966.⁴⁹

Newmarch's qualifications were as nothing in comparison, but knowing German well enough to have translated Hermann Deiters's *Johannes Brahms*,⁵⁰ she could count on Juon to guide her through the vast Russian thickets of Modest's *Zhizn*. When Yurgenson approached Newmarch, his negotiations with an American publisher had fallen through, and he hoped she might find an English substitute. Born at Reval (July 17, 1836), he died January 2, 1904, before the Englishing was completed.

By late 1905 Newmarch had finished what was in essence her version of Juon's Urtext—not of Modest's Russian. She failed to hold strictly to Juon on only these few occasions—when the text (1) dealt with a relationship that particularly intrigued her, (2) concerned some individual who was personally important to her, (3) derived from a source that she had quoted in another publication, or (4) for some other reason drew her random attention. The next section illustrates each of these categories.

(1) In Chaikovski's letter to Nadezhda Filaretovna written from Kamenka August 12, 1877, Newmarch

commendably retained part of the opening 31 lines of Russian (reduced to 18 in English) in which the composer reviewed and agreed with the advice of his patroness at this crucial point in his life. Attacking the Russian unaided, Newmarch twice went astray, translating *makhnut rukoi* by its opposite—as “to set to” instead of “to wave goodbye to,” and *chtonibud odno* as “here is a case in point” instead of something more like “there's only one thing to do.”⁵¹

(2) In Stasov's letter to the composer of January 21, 1873, Newmarch paid particular attention to the Russian wording because of her personal association with the author and her plan to send him an advance copy of her work.⁵² Accordingly she did not simply translate Juon's German word *Seitenstück* (which would have been her normal practice), but reproduced instead the French *pendant* which Stasov had italicized to describe the relationship Chaikovski's *The Tempest* would bear to his *Romeo and Juliet*. Similarly, she restored Stasov's reference to the last movement of the Second Symphony by the title of its folk-song theme, “The Crane,” a translation of the Russian *Zhuravel*. Juon had omitted the folk-song reference, simply calling the movement *das Finale*. In commenting on the same letter, however, she mistakenly dated the performance of the Symphony “January 6th (18th), 1873,” whereas both Modest and Juon dated it January 16, 1873.⁵³

(3) Tolstoi was not personally as important to Newmarch as Stasov was, but she knew the wide interest he attracted. She had already published the report that Chaikovski gave his diary of 1888 of a disheartening encounter with the author. When Newmarch came upon family correspondence contained in the first volumes of Juon and Modest that described Chaikovski's first encounter with Tolstoi in 1876, Newmarch hastened to compose an article that would tie the two encounters together. She published it in *The Contemporary Review*, in January, 1903.⁵⁴ She had gained permission to do so from Modest and Yurgenson even though *Zhizn* was still in the process of publication. Her translation of the diary was carried over to the article and the translation of letters and diary were carried over to her

became Modest's main helper in compiling the first volume of *Zhizn* (I, preface).

⁴⁸ See note 1, above.

⁴⁹ *EMS, MGG* (1958).

⁵⁰ English translation, with additions, London: 1888.

⁵¹ *MICH*, II, p. 25; *Juon*, I, p. 386, omission; *LL 1906*, p. 221f.

⁵² See note 35.

⁵³ *MICH*, I, p. 400ff; *Juon*, I, p. 251ff; *LL 1906*, p. 137.

⁵⁴ London, pp. 112–118.

1906 publication. Consequently they are largely independent of Juon and in one particular more accurate. Where she translated *polu-bog* as *demigod*, Juon had been less exact and written *Gott*.⁵⁵

(4) Rare examples of Newmarch's selecting directly from Russian rather than German include her restoration of "so-called" in naming the Güssenich Concerts in Cologne,⁵⁶ her listing by name each of the twelve conductors who were engaged to direct the Moscow Russian Music Society during the 1889–90 season,⁵⁷ and her inclusion of a description of N. G. Rubinstein, which she treated as a quotation from Kashkin—contrary to the Russian text of Modest. Uncomprehending, she concluded that it was Nikolai's *temperament* rather than his *face* that expressed an unflagging energy (*litsom vyrazhavshim nekolebimuyu energiyu*) in contrast to the rest of his body.⁵⁸

When she came to the account of the first performance of the Second Quartet in F Major in Nikolai's apartment, she resurrected her 1897–1900 rendition of Kashkin's eyewitness report, using the occasion to change—but not always to correct—some of the proper names she had attempted earlier. While changing her *Laut* to *Laub* and *Herber* to *Gerber*, she preferred her *Grijimal* to Juon's *Hrimaly* (properly *Hřimalý*).⁵⁹ Later when she came to Chaikovsky's interview with Avé-Lallemant (Theodor Avé-Lallemant, 1806–90), the octogenarian pillar of the Hamburg Philharmonic Society, which was related in the diary of the 1887–88 European tour, she added to Juon's and Modest's texts extraneous material drawn from her own 1900 publication. In doing so she cited only the diary without mentioning Larosh, whose work Modest had noted as his source. Her reason may have been the fact that she would have had to credit Heinrich Stümcke as well. Only she and Stümcke, who had published his translation of the diary a year before hers, wrote the last part of Avé-Lallemant's name as *Lallemant*. (For the correct Avé-Lallemant spelling see *MGG*, v,

1403; xvi, 582.) The Russian rendition by the composer, Larosh, and Modest was *Lalleman*—with Modest adding a final *d* when writing independently of the other two. None of the Russians transcribed *an* as *en*. Once again Newmarch is shown to be dependent upon a German intermediary—but one more foolhardy than Juon, who chose to edit out the name entirely.⁶⁰

None of the textual manipulation instanced above gives evidence of her having worked independently with Modest's three volumes of Russian text. The most obvious indications that Newmarch was for the most part merely translating German rather than Russian are of the following three types.

I. The copying of an error or substitution made in the German. Examples:

When the composer told his brother Modest of his decision to get married, he wrote "this is inescapable (*eto neizbezhno*)." Juon's translation was "Das ist unwiderrüfflich." Newmarch copied Juon: "This is irrevocable."⁶¹

After Chaikovsky outlined his plan to propose Taneev to head the Moscow Conservatory, he told his patroness: "If they don't listen to me, I have decided to withdraw from the Society (*Obshchestva*)." The Imperial Russian Musical Society was the super-authority over both the St. Petersburg and Moscow Conservatories. Juon translated the sentence: "Sollte es mir nicht gelingen, dann werde ich aus dem Direktorium ausscheiden." The Society was represented by directorate members in both cities. Juon, however, misled the reader in his use of the word *Direktorium*. Newmarch followed the German rather than the Russian turn of phrase at the

⁵⁵ *MICH*, I, pp. 518f and 524f; *Juon*, I, pp. 353 and 358; *LL 1906*, pp. 194f and 200.

⁵⁶ *MICH*, III, p. 291; *Juon*, II, p. 514, omission; *LL 1906*, p. 574.

⁵⁷ *MICH*, III, p. 321; *Juon*, II, p. 544, omission; *LL 1906*, p. 587.

⁵⁸ *MICH*, I, p. 209; *Juon*, I, p. 111f, omission; *LL 1906*, p. 64.

⁵⁹ *VOS*, p. 84; *TLW*, p. 34; *MICH*, I, p. 424f; *Juon*, I, p. 273; *LL 1906*, p. 148.

⁶⁰ *MF*, pp. 382 and 386f; *TLW*, p. 218f; *LL 1906*, p. 546n; *MICH*, III, pp. 211 and 301; Stümcke, *op. cit.*, p. 64. See note 26, above. Theodor Avé-Lallemant, author of *Rückerinnerungen eines alten Musikanten* (Hamburg: 1878), referenced in "Hamburg," *MGG*, v, 1956, 1414, became the dedicatee of Chaikovsky's Fifth Symphony, premiered at St. Petersburg November 17, 1888 [Chaikovsky, *Polnoe Sobranie Sochineni* (Complete Collection of Works), Vol. 17a, (Moscow: State Music Publisher, 1963)].

⁶¹ *MICH*, I, p. 497; *Juon*, I, p. 337; *LL 1906*, p. 185. Weinstock, who relied on others to translate for him since he did not know Russian, also printed: "This is irrevocable." (*Op. cit.*, pp. x and 217f.) David Brown correctly paraphrased: "I cannot avoid this." (*Tchaikovsky*, II, [London: 1983], p. 99.) The Russian adjective may of course be translated correctly as *inescapable*, *inevitable*, or *unavoidable*, but not as *irrevocable* or *immutable*.

beginning of the sentence and translated *Direktorium* as *committee*: "If I don't succeed in this, I shall retire from the committee." *Committee* was the equivalent she regularly used wherever she found *Direktorium*.⁶² On the other hand, when Juon correctly translated *Musical Society* (*Muzykalnoe Obshchestvo*) as *Musickalische Gesellschaft*, Newmarch followed along with *Musical Society*.⁶³

At an early stage in the composition of the Suite Nr. 1 for orchestra, Chaikovski wrote strongly contrasting fourth and fifth movements. The fourth movement written for high-register instruments—none below the clarinet and violin—he called "March of the Lilliputians (*Marsh Liliputov*)." The fifth, written for full orchestra, he called "Dance of the Giants (*Plyaska velikanov*)." Juon translated *Marsh Liliputov*, the name given it in Chaikovski's letter of November 13, 1878, as *Marche miniature*, Newmarch copied Juon, calling the movement *March Miniature*, the name only later chosen when the composition was published.⁶⁴

Long after Newmarch had discarded German spellings in the majority of her ancillary writings, she—or some assistant—reverted to those spellings in transliterating phrases in Chaikovski's diary of his visit to the United States in 1891. The Russian used by Mr. Hyde in his effort to amuse Chaikovski was transcribed by Juon using standard German equivalents. In her reproduction Newmarch copied the German instead of making a direct transfer from Russian to English letters. Thus, she used the German *s* to transcribe the Russian *z*-sound, the German *sch* to transcribe the Russian *sh*-sound, and the German *ju* to transcribe the Russian *yu*-sound. To clinch the matter, she copied Juon's inconsistent use of *sch* where he normally used *sh* to transcribe the Russian *zh*-sound.⁶⁵

II. The copying of the same paraphrasing found in the German. Example:

The "anonymous" critique of Rimski-Korsakov's "Serbian Fantasy"—to which Chaikovski strongly objected—is quoted in *Zhizn*. There the composition is described by its critic as *colorless*, *characterless*, and *lifeless* (*beztsvetna*, *bezlichna*, *bezzhiznenna*),

Juon condensed the three predicate adjectives into a German compound "farb-und-leblos," which he enclosed within quotation marks that are not in the Russian original. "Colourless and inanimate" repeated Newmarch, retaining the quotation marks Juon had inserted.⁶⁶

III. The errors caused by the hazardous use of English words to translate German words that are cognate in form but not in meaning. Example:

In his diary of his trip to the United States in 1891 Chaikovski reported that his hosts in New York showed him the vaults of the Treasury building where, he said, "I was allowed to hold in my hand 10,000,000 dollars worth of *new bills* (*novykh biletov*)." Juon's translation was perfectly correct: "Es wurde mir erlaubt, ein Paket *neuer Scheine* im Werte von 10 Millionen Dollaren ein wenig in der Hand zu halten."⁶⁷ The translation in Newmarch's publication of 1906 reads: "I was allowed to hold in my hand a packet of *new shining coins* worth about 10,000,000 dollars." (All italics are supplied.) Realizing something was wrong, Newmarch appended a note: "This would have been an impossible athletic feat, probably the equivalent in notes is intended.—R.N."⁶⁸ By this Olympian comment, Newmarch showed her clay feet. First, she did correctly translate *Scheine*. Secondly, but more importantly, she ignored the Russian, where the word was *bilet*, a loan word synonymous with the French *billet*, far indeed from any thought of "shining coins."

It would be unfair, however, to conclude so long a list of objections to the sham in some of Newmarch's claims without underscoring the epochal importance of her Chaikovski publications. She brought to the English-speaking world more documentary information about Chaikovski than had ever been given to the public about any other composer so soon after death. In contrast, during the past half-century Chaikovsky biographers have tended to narrow rather than broaden their scope. Despite its length, the most recent study of the composer by David Brown concentrates so much on personal analysis that pure supposition is mixed inextricably with verbatim quotation and legitimate

⁶² *MICH*, II, 45f; *Juon*, II, p. 331; *LL 1906*, p. 483.

⁶³ *MICH*, II, pp. 103 and 189; *Juon*, II, pp. 369 and 424; *LL 1906*, pp. 528 and 537.

⁶⁴ *MICH*, II, 217f; *Juon*, II, p. 12; *LL 1906*, p. 324.

⁶⁵ *MICH*, III, p. 473; *Juon*, II, p. 162; *LL 1906*, p. 653.

⁶⁶ *MF*, 2; *MICH*, I, p. 287; *Juon*, I, p. 162; *LL 1906*, p. 90.

⁶⁷ *MICH*, III, p. 453.

⁶⁸ *Juon*, II, p. 647.

⁶⁹ *LL 1906*, p. 461.

paraphrase. As a result, the identity of the correspondence itself is often lost, gaining nothing from the meticulous tabulation of file numbers in the footnotes.⁷⁰

It is no longer to be expected that any single

⁷⁰The surrealism of A. A. Orlova's *Tchaikovsky/A Self-Portrait* (translated by R. M. Davison, New York: 1990) is achieved by stringing together quotations from letters and diaries removed from their original contexts and identified only by page references to Russian-language sources. The third-person narrative of conspiracy with which she concludes in no way qualifies as *self-portrayal*. Under her hypnotic influence Brown's readiness to believe in conspiracies of silence has sometimes clouded his perception of fact, as it did when he was led to assert that "Modest had been less than honest" when he reported that Nadezhda Filaretovna had only eleven children who survived infancy. Brown implied that Modest was trying to hide the existence of her youngest daughter, "Lyudmila (Milochka)." As a matter of fact Modest not only included the mention of Milochka in Chaikovski's letter to her mother of August 11, 1879, but further identified her in a footnote and in the index as Lyudmila Karlovna fon Mekk, subsequently Princess Shirinskaya-Skakhmatova, youngest daughter of the com-

English-language publication will attempt to provide as proportionately large and representative a sampling of the documentation that has accumulated during the past century as Rosa Newmarch did of the documentation available to her near the beginning of the century from Modest Chaikovski⁷¹—even though mediated mostly through Paul Juon.

poser's patroness (*MICH*, II, p. 300; III, index; *Juon*, II, p. 53; Brown, *op. cit.*, II, p. 224f).

⁷¹The three volumes of *Zhizn* bound in green vellum at the Library of Congress were presented to the Grand Duke Konstantin Konstantinovich by Modest, who inscribed his offering on the flyleaf of the first volume in 1901. Konstantin read the three volumes to his wife and daughter Tatiana beginning November 10, 1909 and ending December 4, 1911. On occasion Tatiana read to her parents. The pencil notations in the margins record the day, the place, and the persons to whom each passage was read. The choice of this book to occupy for more than two years the hours of domestic intimacy within Konstantin Romanov's branch of the imperial family is a remarkable testimony to the respect accorded not only the music but also the character and personality of the composer.

Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco's *La Púrpura de la Rosa* in the Early History of Opera

Louise K. Stein

HEARING A PERFORMANCE of the first New World opera is to be reminded that the early history of opera beyond Italy was complicated. Even after Torrejón's *La púrpura de la rosa*, the court in Lima commemorated important occasions with partly musical plays more often than not, and opera was the exception rather than the rule for most of the eighteenth century. Far away in Madrid, the center of the Spanish empire, the royal court also heard operas only rarely until well into the eighteenth century, although *zarzuelas* (with spoken dialogue) were performed regularly. Before his departure for the New World, Tomás de Torrejón y Velasco (1644–1728) had little experience of fully sung opera. Only two operas are known to have been performed in Madrid during his time there; *La púrpura de la rosa* and *Celos aun del aire matan*, both with texts by Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681) and music by Juan Hidalgo (1614–1685). It is possible that Torrejón heard them in rehearsal or performance, since he was a page serving the Count of Lemos and his father was Miguel de Torrejón, King Philip IV's huntsman. Tomás might have been Hidalgo's pupil as well, and his score tells us that he was certainly familiar with Hidalgo's music.

Roughly forty years after the production of the Hidalgo operas in Madrid, and a long ocean journey away from the homeland, the project of composing and producing an opera surely challenged both composer and performers in colonial Lima. But

it would be inaccurate to suggest that this part of the world was unique in venturing so late into the operatic endeavor. In the first years of the eighteenth century opera still was not performed in a number of important European cities, and in places like Madrid and London, where several kinds of musical theater were offered, opera as fully sung drama was set aside, for a few years, in favor of other genres.

It is difficult to say precisely why Torrejón and the Count of Monclova decided to try fully sung opera, but, given the occasion they sought to immortalize, their choice of genre makes sense within the sparse history of early Spanish opera. Opera was an extraordinary genre chosen for extraordinarily important circumstances. Calderón's works were still widely performed in the Spanish colonies, and *La púrpura de la rosa* was particularly appropriate for the celebrations in Lima in 1701. The libretto interprets the mythological love story of Venus and Adonis, but brings in the warrior god Mars as Venus's spurned and furiously jealous lover, turning the myth into a warning against the vices of jealousy and vengeance (in this, Calderón followed contemporary Spanish moralists and their emblem books). Venus ultimately triumphs over Mars because the libretto was written in 1659 to commemorate the peace between Spain and France after 35 years of war, a pact sealed with the marriage of Louis XIV to the Infanta María Teresa. Hidalgo's setting of Calderón's text was revived in Madrid in

1680 to celebrate another Spanish-French marriage, that of Carlos II and Marie-Louise d'Orléans. And in Lima in 1701 *La púrpura de la rosa* celebrated a Spanish-French alliance of another sort: Phillippe d'Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, had assumed the throne of Spain. Calderón's old libretto was most likely chosen for its strong royal and pro-French associations, as well as its pacifist message. Mars's jealousy and his martial instincts are mocked, largely through burlesque presentation. His brash pronouncements ring hollow with cowardice and the schemes he hatches with Belona have tragic results and bring him no glory. A peaceful eternity sanctioned by the gods is finally conferred on the lovers, Venus and Adonis, in spite of the impropriety of their union (Venus has broken the rules of society by loving a mortal, a man of lower social status!). In the end, tragedy becomes a triumph of love. The opera argues for a resolution of earthly conflict between the two great European powers, a message as appropriate to the context of the War of the Spanish Succession in 1701 as it had been to the negotiations for the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659.

Hearing Torrejón's *representación música* we are immediately aware that the composer did not turn to Italian or French models for inspiration, and it is easy to understand why. The repertory of the public theaters in the Spanish New World is identical to that performed in Madrid, except that certain dramatists, Calderón in particular, remained popular with American audiences well into the later eighteenth century. The wealthy patrons of secular culture in the New World identified with the royal court at Madrid through emulation. Around the time of Torrejón's opera, high culture and high society in Lima were defined very much according to the standards and customs that the Spanish aristocracy brought with them from Madrid. If they felt any cultural anxiety from their remote location in the empire, it could be assuaged with luxuries only dreamt of on the peninsula. In one especially defensive *relación* of a performance at the Viceroy's palace, the Peruvian chronicler described the music as "up to date" and just as "harmonious" as the music heard in the theaters of Spain, France, or Italy, while noting that the "richness of the fabrics and the precious jewels that covered the costumes far exceeded what would be seen in Europe, because such elegance could *only* be seen in Peru."

During Monclova's administration, when Peru-

vian high society felt itself to be Spanish, the Viceroy's composer produced an overtly Spanish score to honor a new sovereign's birthday. One of Lima's preeminent intellectuals praised Torrejón by comparing him to Sebastián Durón (1660-1716), who succeeded Hidalgo at the royal court in Madrid. The comparison to Durón is provocative. Working in Madrid, Durón came in contact with a number of foreign musicians and the music they brought with them. In 1701 Torrejón, at some distance from the European mainstream but perhaps the most renowned composer in the New World, had not yet begun to experiment with the *estilo extranjero*, the foreign style, with its Italianate but increasingly pan-European musical traits, that would soon be assimilated in the Spanish colonies as well. Durón was accused by conservative nationalist critics of having opened the door to a variety of "modern abuses" and "barbarisms" by introducing foreign musical forms and mannerisms in his *zarzuelas*. Curiously, his one-act "*ópera scénica*" *La guerra de los gigantes* (composed on commission for the Count de Salvatierra sometime between 1700-1707) unfolds through a series of strophic airs and four-part choruses, much like Torrejón's opera.

The score to *La púrpura de la rosa* is thoroughly Spanish in its music, yet it is very different from its only surviving older cousin, Hidalgo's *Celos aun del aire matan*. Both operas capitalize on Spanish dances (such as the *seguidilla* and the *jácara*) and quote popular songs in meaningful ways. Like all other Spanish plays of the period, Calderón's libretto is not divided into scenes with formal divisions between them. In performance, it is Torrejón's music that sets the pace and structures the drama, although the libretto is set with few alterations. The opera's principal roles were all intended for high voices, not for male sopranos but for female actress-singers (probably those of the regular theatrical companies) who would play the male as well as female singing roles. By giving Adonis the largest and most lyrical role, Torrejón, following Calderón, used ornate music to highlight both his anti-heroic sensitivity and his extraordinary physical beauty. Here a comparison to another lovetorn mortal, Hidalgo's Céfaló in *Celos aun del aire matan*, is unavoidable. The comic role of Dragón, the cynical servant, is similar to that of Céfaló's servant Clarín, a role written for a young actress-singer known for her pants roles; it may be that the role of Dragón in Torrejón's opera was

similarly cast. The most striking characteristic of Torrejón's *La púrpura de la rosa* (and this differentiates it from Hidalgo's *Celos aun del aire matan*) is that it contains no recitative but is constructed entirely from tuneful airs, arranged in sections of strophic *coplas* that are framed or punctuated by several refrains or *estribillos*.

It is easy to understand how Torrejón arrived at this solution to the problem of setting Calderón's text in music. Strophic *coplas* and refrain *estribillos* are the main component of his vernacular sacred pieces, the *villancicos*. And the strophic song (whether called *tono*, *tono humano*, or *tonada*) was the essential element of Spanish and Spanish colonial theatrical music, in the spoken plays called *comedias*, as well as in the mythological semi-operas and early *zarzuelas*. Long songs that consist of many strophes or *coplas* dominate whole scenes in contemporary plays, and several sections of the opera *Celos aun del aire matan* consist entirely of repeated *coplas*. In Hidalgo's opera, and in the extant music from his *zarzuelas*, these long repetitive airs focus the listener's attention through their mesmerizing power, especially appropriate to scenes of persuasion or seduction. The simple rhetoric of repetition (whether strictly declamatory or decoratively enticing) demonstrated the power implicit in musical harmony, through highly focused, extremely ordered music.

The convention of strophic *coplas* could be manipulated for dramatic effect or interpretation, even by a composer with little experience of the stage. The linked *coplas* and interlocking phrases of the comic pair, the *graciosos* Chato and Celfa, in their first scene, for example, bring them together and yet set them off from the other characters. Later on, the way that Venus and Adonis interrupt each other in mid-copla of their shared music lends a certain verisimilitude to their interaction and helps us to hear their love-engendered excitement and confusion. The same technique was used by Hidalgo in *Celos aun del aire matan* for the scenes between Pocris and Céfalo, albeit with a more acute sense of musical characterization.

Elsewhere in the opera Torrejón not only shapes his musical drama in a manner that reminds us of Hidalgo, but actually borrows tunes from Hidalgo's works. For example, when Venus hears Adonis sing his lament *estribillo* ("¡Ay de mí, que me da muerte a quien la vida di!"), she begins an extended series of *coplas*, first asking herself whose voice she has

heard ("Mas, ¿qué triste lamento intenta interrumpir mis penas con sus penas?"), then settling on the means for her revenge, and finally calling on Cupid ("O tu, velero dios, que en campos de zafir"). The song that binds together her progression from curiosity to resolve is nothing less than the tune that Eco sang to lure Narciso in a long series of strophic *coplas* in Calderón's *Eco y Narciso* (1661). Although it would seem a far off antecedent, *Eco y Narciso*, like *La púrpura de la rosa*, was a pastoral play with royal associations, performed various times at the court in Madrid, and in revival here and there throughout the Hispanic world during this period. Could it be that Torrejón's audience would have known the earlier play, recognized the tune, and thus the specific context and interpretation for this song?

One of the most memorable sections of music in Torrejón's opera, the chorus "No puede amor hacer mi dicha mayor" seems also to be based on borrowed material. The song-text was included in two other Calderón plays, and it is found as the *estribillo* of a solo song attributed to José Marín (1619-1699), another composer who traveled to the New World but returned to Madrid broke and in ill health. Marín's song seems not to be associated with any play, but it shares essential musical characteristics with Torrejón's setting in *La púrpura de la rosa*. Perhaps the song-text called for a well-known tune, and both Marín and Torrejón followed this cue. Or it may be that Marín's was an arrangement of a favorite tune from the Calderón/Hidalgo *La púrpura de la rosa*, a tune that Torrejón also knew and included in his 1701 opera.

"No puede amor hacer mi dicha mayor" dominates the scene in Venus's garden, in which Adonis assumes his traditional pose resting in the ample luxury of Venus's lap (as painted by Paolo Veronese). The pleasures of the garden of love, however, are not without their dangers, given that love may or may not lead to good fortune, as Amor is quick to assert when he comes into the garden. That danger threatens the lovers is clear from Torrejón's music, which transforms the scene into the form of an enormous *jácara* with solo strophes for the lovers and a choral *estribillo*. The sung dances or skits called *jácaras* were wildly popular with audiences, and, Torrejón, like Hidalgo before him, appealed to this vogue. *Jácaras* usually treated some aspect of the world of *germanía*, the street life of the braggart ruffians (*jáques*) and their abused women (*marcas*), and

their language is often the cynical slang of *jacarandina*. Although Calderón did not disgrace Adonis and Venus with lowlife utterance, Torrejón's music quite clearly lends a sinister, or, at the least, sexually explosive and titillating, quality to their dalliance. They converse about the risks of fortune in love, while enjoying their illicit affair. Torrejón, like Hidalgo before him, observed an important traditional distinction, between moral music and highly sensual and therefore immoral music. Concerning the *jácara* in particular, Cervantes had noted the difference between "*música divina*" (the music of the gods) and the rough song of the *jacarandina*.

Taken as a whole, Torrejón's opera is regal and divine in its unrelieved lyricism and consonance, yet rough-hewn and popular to the core in its exploitation of popular strophic songs and racy dances. By eschewing recitative, the musical setting for divine discourse in Hidalgo's works, Torrejón effectively eliminated the elite and imported musical genre that had been controversial in Spain during his youth. We may understand his rejection of recitative merely as an expedient born of his uneasiness with fully sung drama; but it might also represent the entrenched musical and aesthetic values of a thoroughly loyal and decidedly Spanish colonial artist.

Review Articles

La música en las catedrales españolas del Siglo de Oro. By ROBERT STEVENSON. Madrid, Alianza Música, 1993. (600 pp., bibliographies, music exx., ill., analytic index)

La primera edición de *Spanish Cathedral Music in the Golden Age* fue realizada en 1961 por la Universidad de California, en Berkeley. Como todos los trabajos de Robert Stevenson (1916), el principal problema de quienes hablan de la publicación es el evitar un excesivo elogio, ya que tanto su concepto como su factura y proyección en el mundo de la musicología histórica tienen un carácter de excepción, reservado a las contribuciones que, por su grandeza, señalan épocas e hitos en la investigación musical. Al margen del valor intrínseco de las obras de los grandes compositores españoles e hispanoamericanos de los siglos XVI y XVII, fue hasta que apareció este libro singular que la música de los autores en cuestión pudo alcanzar un justificado lugar de prominencia en la historiografía musical general. El hecho de que la impecable formación de Stevenson (alumno, entre otros, de Schnabel y Stravinsky) se haya puesto al honesto servicio de la verdad, implica una postura que otorga un valor específico a esta obra inmensa, polo diverso de una necia y absurda posición, ya infortunadamente clásica en la etnomusicología estadounidense, bien retratada por el torpe y limitadísimo criterio de Charles Seeger (1886-1979), que intenta despreciar todo lo ya hecho en Hispanoamérica en los siglos previos al principio del XX.

La investigación que respalda esta obra monumental es una personal y de primera mano en el todavía no completamente analizado campo de los

archivos catedralicios, cuya exploración ha producido sorpresas como las obras antifonales de Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, en Puebla, y el mismo elevado y notable panorama de la obra de Stevenson. En fecha reciente, apareció en Madrid la versión castellana de la inmensa obra de Stevenson, publicada en seiscientas páginas de imprenta traducidas por María Dolores Cebrián de Miguel y Amalia Correa Liró, bajo la supervisión del eminente investigador Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, presidente de la Sociedad Española de Musicología. La traducción disfruta de la revisión y actualización del mismo autor, lo que da un interés renovado a su publicación en castellano. No sólo el detalle analítico del campo que Stevenson examina, sino todo el concepto global, la magnífica ubicación desde donde el más grande investigador de la música iberoamericana que ha dado el siglo XX decidió colocarse para meditar y exponer este vasto mundo, son los elementos que tejen una importancia singular para esta obra, que la señala como uno de los más grandiosos monumentos de la investigación musical que hombre alguno haya logrado. Quizá me habría gustado mucho el que la traducción gozara de un castellano verdaderamente castizo e impecable, pero aparte de la tremenda influencia intelectual de la obra original y la fuerza irresistible de la prosa de Stevenson, los pequeñísimos detalles en los que nuestra lengua claudica frente al original en inglés, en última instancia, no hacen sino sazonar y aderezar una obra por todos conceptos importante y meritoria, cuyo alcance tiene un panorama de tremendo enfoque (véase, por no ir más lejos y por el simple prurito ejemplificador, la opción del verbo ser-estar en la página 39).

La edición de la gigantesca obra fue patrocinada por el Fondo Musical Adolfo Salazar, creado en México por el prominente industrial y mecenas Carlos Prieto y Fernández de la Llana (1898-1991), "en memoria y homenaje al historiador y crítico musical español quien vivió, trabajó y falleció en la capital mexicana". Tanto el análisis de las obras de Tomás Luis de Victoria como la muy amplia bibliografía y el completo índice analítico, no sólo enriquecen la publicación, sino que le dan un valor excepcional; como herramienta de investigación, al

margen de lo ya logrado por Stevenson, que —como toda su obra— deben ser inscrito en el ámbito de lo extraordinario, de lo formidable. ¿Cuándo veremos la versión en español de *Music in México*? Este libro fue el punto de arranque de los estudios acerca de la música de nuestro país en el campo internacional de la musicología, y no ha sido traducida jamás al castellano, ni publicado en México de ningún modo.

—JORGE VELAZCO

Inter-American Music Review, Volume XIII, Number 2 (Spring-Summer 1993), iv + 172 pp., ill., music exx., bibliographies, reviews, necrologies.

En el concentrado mundo de la musicología internacional sólo existe una persona cuyos artículos pueden ser publicados sin firma ni créditos, con la plena seguridad de que todos serán capaces de reconocer el estilo y atribuir correctamente su origen creativo. La pluma de Robert Stevenson (1916), junto a sus más de cincuenta años de autoridad y evolución, tiene características únicas, y sus siempre notables contribuciones resultan todavía más típicas en cuanto a la enjundia de sus temas, la feliz exposición de los mismos (que vuelve a su contenido fluido, claro y de interés apasionante), la cultivada y elegante prosa que siempre maneja y la utilidad inmediata que traen constantemente. Recientemente, la más importante publicación acerca del área musical y cultural de las naciones hispanoamericanas, la *Inter-American Music Review*, nos presenta otra faceta de la magistral investigación de Stevenson acerca de un autor español trascendente del siglo XVI, cuya divulgación no guarda proporción alguna con su estatura ni con la capital importancia de su producción: Cristóbal de Morales (ca 1500-1553). Stevenson nos habla de las primeras andanzas de Morales en España y de su importante aventura romana con diez años al servicio del Papa Pablo III, antes de convertirse en maestro de capilla de la catedral de Toledo. Casi sesenta páginas del artículo están dedicadas a un minucioso análisis de las misas, magnificats, lamentaciones, motetes y otras piezas litúrgicas de Morales, algunas con texto en español y en italiano, lo cual no sólo completa el ciclo histórico del artículo sino que nos ayuda grandemente a ubicar la obra y contribución del gran autor español. Una de las raras virtudes de Stevenson es la capacidad para evocar temas históricos tan remotos con una vivacidad y amenidad que hace vivir de nuevo a sus personajes y que induce una fascinación en el lector, quien llega interesadísimo al proceso analítico y obtiene una mejor aptitud para detenerse y meditar acerca del contenido musical de las obras analizadas.

Stevenson, quien fue alumno —entre otros— de Arthur Schnabel (1882-1951), Howard Hanson (1896-1981) e Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971), y quien es un músico de lo más completo concebible, un compositor ocasional cuyas obras son de una envidi-

able perfección y que han sido interpretadas por instancias profesionales del nivel de la Orquesta de Filadelfia y Leopold Stokowski (1882-1977), es el único musicólogo capaz de otorgar una presencia tan viva como autorizada en todos estos temas que tantos y tantos aborden de un modo tan seco y tan aburrido. Esas cualidades, además de su incesante, laborioso y profundo trabajo de investigador, son las que le han permitido desarrollar una labor singular en el mundo de la musicología iberoamericana, cuyo estudio ha tomado con un tesón, un ahinco y una profundidad de nivel religioso y que ha producido un resultado formidable, un verdadero hito en la investigación musicológica y un monumento sin par en el mundo especializado del conocimiento de la música hispanoamericana. Stevenson fue quien puso a la música mexicana en la luz internacional y quien principió —con la base y el ejemplo— toda una nueva era en el estudio de la música de México a través de su ahora famosísima obra *Music in México. A Historical Survey*, editada por primera vez en Nueva York en 1952.

Los socios de Stevenson en la *Inter-American Music Review*, que se inicia con un tributo al conocido diplomático y musicólogo brasileño Vasco Mariz, han logrado también un estrato de interés en sus colaboraciones. Cristina Magaldi reseña en la revista los más recientes hallazgos del tema de Morales en la investigación reciente y nos enfrenta con otra faceta peculiar de Robert Stevenson, esa capacidad de alternar con las más grandes figuras de la investigación de muchos países diversos, en cuyas áreas es una de las máximas autoridades de la musicología histórica, por lo menos, a la par de las cumbres reconocidas de la especialidad en cada país. Aquí, la señera figura de Higinio Anglés (1888-1969) e incluso el recuerdo de la obra de Rafael Mitjana y Gordon (1869-1921), nos permiten percibir tan especial característica del titán de la musicología iberoamericana.

John Koegel, uno de los más interesantes musicólogos de la joven generación, brillante discípulo de Robert Stevenson, cuya promesa se apunta para muy lejos y para muy alto, cierra la sección de investigación de la revista con dos artículos de gran interés, cuyos temas, muy atractivos, son: la vida musical de los inmigrantes mexicanos y los mexicanos nacidos en Estados Unidos en el sur de California de 1850 a 1900 y el Cadenario de

diversiones del sur de California de 1852 a 1897, proyectado especialmente para el público de habla española.

Las revistas especializadas no circulan en puestos de periódicos pero es una lástima que su difusión no sea más amplia ya que pueden ser una fuente de gran esparcimiento, además de la luz intelectual correspondiente, en todos los interesados en los campos

que tratan. La *Inter-American Music Review* no circula como debiera en México, tampoco se ve una distribución acorde con su mérito o interés de *Pauta* o *Heterofonía*, las revistas musicales mexicanas. Alguien debiera dar la oportunidad al público general, interesado en la música, de allegarse los ejemplares de tan meritorias publicaciones.

—JORGE VELAZCO

Reviews

Domenico Scarlatti. Libro di Tocate Per Cembalo. Facsimile edition, prefaced by GERHARD DODERER (Lisbon, Instituto Nacional de Investigação Científica, 1991). CD with 13 Scarlatti sonatas, played by Cremilde Rosado Fernandes on the 1758 José Joaquim Antunes harpsichord.

Preceded by two Italian monographs and a German thesis,¹ Ralph Kirkpatrick in 1953² published the book that set Domenico Scarlatti scholarship on its feet. Later publications,³ including six timed to coincide with the tercentenary of Scarlatti's birth, sought to supplement

¹ Alessandro Longo, *Domenico Scarlatti e la sua figura nella storia della musica* (Naples, 1913). Cesare Valabrega, *Domenico Scarlatti. Il suo secolo—La sua opera* (Modena, 1937). Walter Gerstenberg, *Die Klavierkompositionen Domenico Scarlattis* (Regensburg, 1933, 2/1968).

² Ralph Kirkpatrick, *Domenico Scarlatti* (Princeton, 1953).

³ Massimo Bogianckino, *L'Arte clavicembalistica di Domenico Scarlatti* (Rome, 1956). Hermann Keller, *Domenico Scarlatti, ein Meister des Klaviers* (Leipzig, 1958). Giorgio Pestelli, *Le sonate di Domenico Scarlatti* (Turin, 1967). Joel L. Sheveloff, "The keyboard music of Domenico Scarlatti: a reevaluation of the present state of knowledge in the light of the sources," Brandeis University Ph.D. diss., 1970. Adriano Bassi, *Domenico Scarlatti* (Ravenna, 1985). Roberto Pagano, *Scarlatti, Alessandro e Domenico. Due vite in una* (Milan, 1985). Peter Williams, ed., *Bach, Handel, Scarlatti. Tercentenary essays* (Cambridge, 1985). *Domenico Scarlatti. 13 Recherches* (Nice, 1985). *Domenico Scarlatti en España—Catálogo general de las exposiciones* (Madrid, 1985). Comissão Nacional do Ano Europeu da Música: *Scarlatti e Portugal no tricentenário do nascimento de Domenico Scarlatti (Nápoles 1687—Madrid 1757)* (Lisbon, 1985). Malcolm Boyd, *Domenico Scarlatti, Master of Music* (London, 1986). *Domenico Scarlatti, Musik-Konzepte 47* (Munich, 1986). Richard Boulanger, *Les innovations de Domenico Scarlatti dans la technique du clavier* (Béziers, 1988).

Kirkpatrick, sometimes however with captious results (for example, arbitrary datings of the sonatas). So far as editions go, the first that attempted completeness, Longo's of the keyboard works,⁴ is now for various reasons unacceptable. After consulting the primary manuscript sources at Venice, Parma, Münster, Vienna, and those of secondary rank at London, Cambridge, and Coimbra, as well printings of the *Essercizi* (1738) and by Roseingrave (1739), supplemented by a few other less significant sources, Kirkpatrick counted a total of 555 sonatas—of which only his no. 95 seems an impossible attribution. To accompany the 1953 publication of his still fundamental book, Kirkpatrick published that same year 60 sonatas.⁵ Four years later Hermann Keller and Wilhelm Weismann published at Leipzig⁶ an extremely praiseworthy edition of 150 sonatas, especially in view of the difficulty in the former Democratic Republic of accessing sources.

To satisfy performers avid for a complete edition to replace Longo's unreliable *Opere complete*, Kirkpatrick in 1971–72 supervised an edition of 555 sonatas in facsimiles of original sources.⁷ In 1971–84 Kenneth Gilbert followed suit with an 11-volume complete edition in modern notation, which although not entirely faithful to original sources vastly exceeded Longo's.⁸ In 1977 Eiji Hashimoto published in Japan a three-volume edition of

⁴ Domenico Scarlatti, *Opere complete per clavicembalo*, ed. by Alessandro Longo (Milan, 1906–08, 2/1970).

⁵ Domenico Scarlatti, *Sixty sonatas in two volumes*, ed. by Ralph Kirkpatrick (New York-London, 1953).

⁶ Domenico Scarlatti, *Sonaten für Klavier, Auswahl in drei Bänden*, ed. by Hermann Keller and Wilhelm Weismann (Leipzig, 1957).

⁷ Domenico Scarlatti, *Complete Keyboard Works in Facsimile*, ed. by Ralph Kirkpatrick, 18 vols. (New York, 1971–72).

⁸ Domenico Scarlatti, *Sonatas*, ed. by Kenneth Gilbert, 11 vols. (Paris, 1971–84).

100 sonatas.⁹ In 1978 Emilia Fadini, harpsichord teacher at Milan Conservatory, initiated what promised to be the best and most authentic complete works edition.¹⁰

Adding to Kirkpatrick's 555 (or 554) sonatas, Antonio Baciero published in 1977 three more encountered in a Valladolid Cathedral manuscript.¹¹ In 1984 Rosario Álvarez Martínez added still another sonata and a Scarlatti fandango existing in a private collection at Tenerife.¹² The library of the Real Conservatorio Superior at Madrid yielded another three previously unknown sonatas published in Appendix III of Malcolm Boyd's 1986 monograph.¹³ These new discoveries augmented the sonata total to 562 (or 561, subtracting Kirkpatrick's no. 95). This number does not include two credited to Scarlatti in an uncritical edition of "26" sonatas published by Enrique Granados in 1905.¹⁴

Coimbra University Library MS 58 contains a *Tocata* made up of four pieces, the first three of which concord with Scarlatti sonatas copied in the Venice and Parma manuscripts. Catalogued as MS F.C.R. 194.1 the *Libro di Tocate Per Cembalo*, belonging to the Instituto Português do Património Cultural, a new mid-18th-century source containing 60 Domenico Scarlatti sonatas (labelled *Tocate*), now reaches us in a sumptuous facsimile edition supervised by Gerhard Doderer. Thanks to the clarity and inerrancy of the manuscript copy (here facsimiled on specially fabricated paper), the 60 sonatas are throughout immediately playable by any current performer.

However, the versions do occasionally diverge slightly from the Venice and Parma *textus receptus*. In No. 22 (= K. 98) measures 48–50 provide a variant of mm. 44–46. Another instance of departure from Venice and Parma turns up in No. 12 (K. 103), measure 48. The D-F# instead of D-A in Venice and Parma must be preferred not because parallel fifths are avoided (see the parallel fifths in K. 394) but because the analogy of mm. 18, 21, and 46 demands D-F#.

Doderer's introduction differs from his article in Volume 1 of the *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*

(1991)¹⁵ because the Portuguese text is now mated with an English translation. Also pictures and engravings showing Lisbon before the catastrophic November 1, 1755, earthquake, portraits of João V, his consort Mariana de Austria, Maria Bárbara, the King's brother D. António, Domenico Scarlatti, and Carlos Seixas now vivify the text. Also the introduction contains facsimiles of relevant documents, as well as a photo of the sole Portuguese baroque harpsichord now in playing condition, the José Joaquim Antunes harpsichord (Lisbon, 1758).

Doderer's introduction is important for other reasons. Availing himself of previously unexploited data in the Apostolic Nuncio's reports to Rome, he was able to clarify happenings in Scarlatti's previously cloudy decade, 1719 to 1729. After residing at Lisbon probably uninterrupted from the end of 1719 to the beginning of 1727, he left for Rome where he married. Returned to Portugal at the close of 1729 he then accompanied Maria Bárbara and the future Fernando VI of Spain to Seville, never thereafter abandoning Spain. Any 1719 visit to London or later Sicilian residence must therefore be now discounted as most unlikely occurrences.

In 1987 Doderer published the one sonata of the 60 in the present collection that adds to the Scarlatti canon, No. 25.¹⁶ Notably, the present new manuscript source fails to pair sonatas as frequently as they are coupled in Venice and Parma sources. True, K. 474–475 equal Nos. 33–33A, and K. 158–159 equal Nos. 29–30, but K. 396–397 equal Nos. 48–47 only because of their inverse order. In any event, the question needs answering: did Scarlatti himself intend pairings or even occasionally the joining of three, or were such groupings decided upon after 1757?

According to Doderer the present handsome manuscript was copied in Spain. Nos. 46, 49, 9, 3, 54, 51, 27, 35, 4, 7, 20, and 16 (= K. 410, 411, 426, 427, 438, 446, 455, 462, 465, 467, 469, and 480) require upward keyboard extension to f² or g² and must therefore belong to Scarlatti's last decade, whereas other sonatas in the present collection demand a more reduced keyboard. The ordering of sonatas here can therefore not declare their chronology. Various topics broached in Doderer's introduction might well inspire whole monographs, among them: (1) The listing of the no less than 14 known Portuguese 18th-century harpsichords and pianos extant in museums and other locales, together with descriptions of the salient characteristics of each instrument (2) Attendant comparison of the Portuguese schools of instrument

⁹Domenico Scarlatti, *100 Sonatas*, ed. by Eiji Hashimoto, 3 vols. (Zen-On Music, 1977).

¹⁰Domenico Scarlatti, *Sonata per clavicembalo*, ed. by Emilia Fadini, 7 vols. before 1992 (Milan, 1978–).

¹¹Domenico Scarlatti, "3 Sonatas," ed. by Antonio Baciero, in *Nueva biblioteca española de música de tecla*, III (Madrid, 1977).

¹²Domenico Scarlatti, "Sonata, Fandango," ed. by Rosario Álvarez Martínez, in *Obras inéditas para tecla* (Madrid, 1984).

¹³Malcolm Boyd (1986), pp. 240–252.

¹⁴Domenico Scarlatti, *26 Sonatas inéditas*, ed. by Enrique Granados (Madrid, etc., around 1905). The two unverified sonatas are nos. 10 and 13 (the latter called "Capriccio"). See Kirkpatrick (1953), pp. 400–401.

¹⁵Gerhard Doderer, "Aspectos novos em torno da estadia de Domenico Scarlatti na corte de D. João V (1719–1727)," in *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, I (1991), 147–174.

¹⁶Domenico Scarlatti, "Sonata em La maior," ed. by Gerhard Doderer, *Musica Antiqua*, 8 (1987), 30–31.

building (the Spanish school can be subdivided into a Castilian branch including Toledo, Valladolid, and Madrid, and an Andalusian branch centered at Seville) with the schools in Italy, Germany, Low Countries, France, and England¹⁷ (3) Better attempts at dating Scarlatti's sonatas. The tendency to assign most of them to the composer's last years, as Kirkpatrick's datings influentially have suggested, seems intrinsically questionable.¹⁸ Just as Beethoven's early sonatas presuppose a more limited keyboard range than his later, so also may the keyboard compass of Scarlatti's serve as dating aids. The assertion that as early as 1730 F₂-f² was a customary range for French instruments needs amendment. Even though at Lyons Pierre Donzelague may have built a five-octave harpsichord in 1716, Paris makers waited until after 1750 to extend themselves.¹⁹ Since Maria Bárbara's French harpsichord probably came from Paris, Scarlatti's sonatas K. 387, 394, and 468 requiring F₂ can be presumptively assigned to the 1750's.

Doderer dedicated the present edition to the eminent Portuguese harpsichordist, his wife Cremilde Rosado Fernandes, who in a CD accompanying the edition plays 13 of the 60 sonatas in the *Libro di Tocate*. These 13 include No. 25, unique in this source (compass, A₂-c²). The José Joaquim Antunes 1758 instrument used in her CD ranges from C₁ to e². Her program includes seven sonatas restricted to Antunes's compass (K. 101, 448, 131, 179, 103, and the 158-159 pair), one that may have originated while he was in Italy, two assignable to Spain but confined to Antunes's compass (K. 437, related to K. 434 requiring a wider compass, and K. 435), and finally the Spanish pair 215-216 requiring B₂, realizable by tuning down Antunes's C₁ or other strings. The harpsichordist everywhere demonstrates her virtuosity, sonatas K. 98 and K. 435 posing difficulties that prove Maria Bárbara to have been a most exceptional performer if she played them. K. 131 in B_♭ minor, the Spanish pair K. 215-216 with "clusters" and the astonishing modulations

after the first repeat sign in K. 215 inspire the question: do these passages prefigure Romanticisms?

The tuning of the Antunes harpsichord, not with a 440 vps A but a 395 vps A, conforms with the temperament prescribed in 1779 by Francisco Solano.²⁰ Its timbre is exactly appropriate for the works of a composer strikingly original in his own epoch and eminently enticing in ours. The combination of this superb edition with its accompanying CD makes this set an acquisition indispensable for any performer, scholar, or music lover enamoured of Scarlatti's nonpareil muse.

—JOHN HENRY VAN DER MEER

²⁰Gerhard Doderer, "Contribuição para a problemática de afinação dos instrumentos de tecla na Península Ibérica," in *Actas—Encontro Nacional de Musicologia, Boletim da Associação Portuguesa de Educação Musical*, fasc. 48 (1986), 40-43.

Heterofonía, xxii, 104-105 (January-December 1991).

Ed. by JUAN JOSÉ ESCORZA, assisted by EDUARDO CONTRERAS SOTO (114 pp., ill., music exx., reviews)

This lustrous number, dedicated to the memory of Esperanza Pulido Silva—founder-editor of *Heterofonía*, Mexico's longest running musical periodical—opens with an evocative tribute by her successor in directing the magazine, Juan José Escorza. Next at pages 5-99 comes republication of her pioneering monograph, *La Mujer Mexicana en la Música* (first published, Mexico City: Ediciones de la Revista Bellas Artes, 1958).

Although not until colonial times mentioned by name, young women joining hands with an equal number of young men formed a circle of twelve dancing around the paired Aztec teponaztli and huehuetl (Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España*, Tomo 1, cap. 21¹). A drawing in Durán's Atlas, chapter 5, reinforces the difference in costumes worn by women, whose ornamented single-piece vesture descended to their ankles, whereas men danced with little more apparel than a breech cloth.² According to Bernardino de Sahagún, chosen girls twenty or forty days old were dedicated by their mothers to the service of the deities and when some

¹⁷John Henry van der Meer, "Die Geschichte der Zupklaviere bis 1800. Ein Überblick, in Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kielklaviere, Cembali, Spinette, Virginal, Bestandskatalog" (Berlin, 1991, 9-60, esp. 16).

¹⁸The inventory, taken in 1758 after her death, of Maria Bárbara's 12 keyboard instruments, specified seven harpsichords distributed among the three royal residences—Buen Retiro in Madrid, San Lorenzo del Escorial, and Aranjuez, each with stated keyboard compass. Their range correlates with the number of keys required in Scarlatti's sonatas. See J. H. van der Meer, "Os Instrumentos de Tecla na Propriedade de D. Maria Bárbara, Rainha de Espanha," in *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia*, II (1992), 161-169.

¹⁹Van der Meer (1991), 33.

¹*Historia de las Indias*, Ángel Ma. Garibay K. edition (México: Editorial Porrúa, 1987), I, 190, paragraphs 15 and 16; plate 30 (in color) at the rear of the volume. "The teachers of dance and song placed the teponaztli and huehuetl in the middle of the courtyard, after which the youths of both sexes joined hands. With teachers still in the middle, dance and song began, and those who could not dance the steps to the music and the beat were instructed with great care."

²*Ibid.*, I, 48, paragraph 9, plate 10.

six years old were placed under the charge of temple matrons.³ During the seventh among the eighteen months comprising the Aztec calendar, all the women young and old, whose task it was to gather salt, danced in honor of the goddess Uixtocihuatl, singing very high-pitched songs (*cantaban en tiple muy alto*).⁴

Climaxing the feast honoring Tlaloc, god of rain, thunder, and lightning, a young girl dressed in blue, representing a lake, was carried aloft in a covered litter to an artificially created forest. After the litter was placed on the ground, everyone sat down and all present began chanting in the girl's honor. This singing lasted until at a given signal her throat was slashed with a spear used for killing ducks and her body, gushing blood, was thrown into a whirlpool never to be seen again. The singing in her honor then subsided and everyone dispersed homeward in silence.⁵

Juan de Torquemada, Franciscan author of the first published missionary chronicle—*Veynte y vn libros Rituales y Monarchia Indiana* (Seville: Mathias Clavijo, 1615 [3 volumes])—enlarges on the sacrifice of a maiden selected in the eighth month to impersonate the goddess Xilonen (whom Torquemada likens to the Roman female deity Ceres). The day before the girl's death, Xilonen's priestesses danced and sang songs with her in praise of Xilonen, "to encourage her, so that she would die enthusiastically and in a manner worthy of the goddess."⁶ All night long the dancing and singing continued until break of day. Then the highest aristocracy and most valiant warriors, followed by noble women, assembled for a very solemn dance in her honor. According to Durán, she was herself "forced to dance and sing for half an hour and if she failed to do so, they gave her a potion to intoxicate her." Together with this maiden, four men were slain to make of their dead bodies a platform on which she was stretched before her chest was opened and her heart extracted.⁷

Venerable old men sang praises honoring the girl impersonating Ilamatecuhtli ("Old Woman Goddess") who was by way of exception permitted to shed tears while awaiting sacrifice. After death her head was carried about as a trophy by the priest who instead of tearing out her heart had decapitated her.⁸ Apart from Durán, Sahagún, and Torquemada, descriptions of the festivals cul-

minating in sacrifices that for the most part involved men, but occasionally women also, turn up in accounts by most of the other chief annalists.

The chief woman of the colonial period, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648/51–1695), enjoys a chapter entoning her musical acquirements. The musical history of the Colegio de Santa Rosa de Santa María at Valladolid (now named Morelia) occupies another deserved chapter because during the eighteenth century this Colegio (founded between 1743 and 1746, discontinued after 1857) served as a ladies' conservatory. As soon as theatrical productions became frequent from 1753 (the year that the Coliseo Nuevo was inaugurated) women singers, usually from the peninsula, occupied the stage in tonadillas, folías, and after the premiere of Cimarosa's *El Filósofo burlado* (Spanish translation) October 25, 1803, in operas. Ángela Peralta (born Mexico City July 6, 1845; died Mazatlán August 30, 1881) dominates the nineteenth century, singing the lead roles in operas by her compatriots Melesio Morales and Aniceto Ortega, triumphing at home and abroad in the Italian repertory, and herself publishing an anthology of her own salon compositions. The twentieth century, again brightened by women singers famous at home and abroad (Fanny Anitúa, María Luisa Escobar, Jesús Magaña, Josefina Águilar) and by the concert pianist Angelica Morales, saw also the emergence of women composers (the more popular including María Grever and Consuelo Velázquez). To confirm the importance of Pulido's first book, *La Mujer Mexicana en la Música*, this issue contains reprints of critiques published in *Carnet Musical*, xv/170 (April 1959), pages 181–183, and 189–190, xv/176 (October 1979), 447–448, and in the Mexico City newspapers *Excelsior* and *Novedades*.

Funerary tributes appearing in three Mexico City newspapers in 1991 (*Excelsior*, January 22, *El Universal*, February 1, *El Nacional*, February 12), and the journals *Revista Musical Chilena*, Año XLV, No. 175 (January–June 1991), pages 89–90, and *Pauta*, No. 36 (October 1991) join José Antonio Robles Cahero's moving *Postretera carta de mi Esperanza* to conclude at page 90 the section in this issue celebrating the life and honoring the death of an altogether unique woman. Born September 29, 1900, at Zamora, Michoacán, she departed December 3, 1926, for New York. Her marriage at Philadelphia February 6, 1928, to Andrés Barquín (Andrew Barking) was soon thereafter dissolved. She died at Mexico City January 19, 1991, after a massive stroke. Her first piano

y le cantaban vnos viejos mui Venerables. A esta Muger le era permitido llorar, y entristicarse mucho (caso negado en otras, que morían otros Días)."

³ *Historia General De las Cosas de Nueva España* (México: Editorial Pedro Robredo, 1938), I, 253 (Apéndice del segundo libro). Concerning temple women's duties, see I, 239.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 155 (Libro Segundo, cap. XXVI).

⁵ Durán, I, 88–89.

⁶ *Veinte i vn Libros Rituales* (Madrid: Nicolás Rodríguez Franco, 1723), II, 270–271.

⁷ Durán, I, 266–267.

⁸ Torquemada (1723 edn.), II, 284: "Esta salía a bailar sola,

Scherzino

Para piano

Esperanza Pulido

Allegretto

mp scherzando

g^o

pp

p

g^o

cresc.

g^o

mf marcato

rit.
dim.
tempo

ad libitum

p
cresc.

g^o

Meno mosso

grazioso

rit.
o tempo

Tempo primo

Coda

Meno mosso

Danza Michoacana

Para piano

Esperanza Pulido

Allegro

mf

p

cresc.

mf f

dim. e poco rit.

Moderato

p

more cantabile

This page contains ten systems of musical notation for piano. The notation is arranged in two columns of five systems each. The music features various dynamics and tempo markings:

- System 2: *poco*
- System 3: *con molta espressione*
- System 6: *dim e ritardando* and *molto*
- System 7: *Allegro*, *pp*, and *Tempo primo cresc.*
- System 8: *marcato et bajo cresc.*
- System 10: *Vivace* and *ff*

 The notation includes treble and bass clefs, time signatures, notes, rests, and various musical ornaments and phrasing slurs.

recital in New York City, where she remained until 1941, took place at Steinway Concert Hall, 109-111-113 West 57th Street, Sunday evening, May 15, 1938. On Wednesday January 14, 1948, at 8:00 P.M. she played her first Paris recital in the Salle du Conservatoire, 2 bis, rue du Conservatoire.

Providing an appropriate coda to this historic issue, Jesús C. Romero's *Efemérides musicales mexicanas* is excerpted to provide a panorama of events in 1891—a hundred years before Esperanza Pulido's death. Opera performances that year included first Mexican hearings of *Der Freischütz* (April 1), *Fidelio* (April 10), *Die Walküre* (April 14), and the world premiere of Melesio Morales's last opera staged in his lifetime, *Cleopatra* (November 21). On August 30 the gold medal won by the Mexican Conservatorio Nacional at the International Exposition in Paris, 1889-90, in recognition of its superior organization, teaching methods, and materials, was presented (among other prizes awarded individual Mexicans at the Paris exposition), by Porfirio Díaz during a solemn ceremony at the Teatro Nacional. A century later Esperanza Pulido in 1991—more than any mere gold medal—merited eternal glory for her lifetime of nonpareil service to the most exalted ideals of scholarship, humanity, and patriotism.

Modus. Revista do Instituto Gregoriano de Lisboa, Vol. 3 (1989-1992) (271 pp., music exx., facs.)

Among the nine articles in this handsome cumulative issue, the six in French begin with Edith Weber's "Martin Luther et la musique." A professor at the Sorbonne, she published in 1980 *La musique protestante en langue allemande* (Paris: H. Champion). She summarizes Luther's personal acquirements in terms recalling Walter Blankenburg's comprehensive article in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, VIII (1960), 1334-1346. Florence Chappée's "Nicolas Formé (1567-1638), musicien de Louis XIII" and Laurence Décobert's "Quelques nouveaux éléments biographiques concernant Henry Du Mont (1610-1684), sous-maître de musique de la chapelle de Louis XIV" presage use of their biographical novelties in forthcoming encyclopedias. Among the other three articles in French, Frédéric Billiet's "L'accompagnement du plain-chant au XIXe siècle" offers a summary of Louis Descastiau's "plain and easy" *Vade-Mecum de l'organiste du chœur et du serpentiste ou de la contrebasse* (Rennes: VATAR, 1887 [1183 pp.]).

Rui Vieira Nery concludes his excellent article, "French and Italian Elements in the Solo Motets of Paolo Lorenzani" with this prophetic observation: "It is my strong belief that a thorough study of Lorenzani's 1693 collection of motets will be an essential step towards the full