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Orquestra Barroca da Unirio  
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# VINTAGE MUSIC

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with texts by  
VARIOUS AUTHORS

presenting  
memorials, interviews, recommendations and many other tidbits...  
For the use of all lovers of

ART, POETRY AND  
IMAGINATION.



Volume 1

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## Editorial note

by Laura Rónai

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Incarcerated for months and months, with no possibility of getting out, what does a musician do? If he has his instrument, he plays and whines. The pandemic has been hard on the artistic class. Without an audience, without applause, without funds, without perspectives, it is difficult to find the courage to continue studying, to maintain the shape of an athlete without the slightest possibility of reaching the Olympic Games. In the case of orchestral musicians, the situation is even worse. The life of an orchestra depends on crowding. The ear glued to the colleague, we try to integrate with his breath, with his sound. How can this be done with social distancing? How can you create a sound that suits you without being able to read from the same shelf, without being able to communicate with your colleague through the almost imperceptible signals that the body reveals to those who are close, very close? And how can you play a wind instrument wearing a mask? How can you raise your voice with a gag?

The orchestras' dilemma hit the OBU hard. We had a rehearsal in March, when we made beautiful plans and got drenched (and drunk!) with the joy of meeting again after the holidays. The following week we were already under house arrest. The biggest problem is that a professional orchestra has the stimulus of a salary to maintain cohesion. The OBU, which always lived only on the enthusiasm of its members, on a razor's edge, was in danger of falling apart. But in times of a pandemic, this risk became almost a certainty: how to survive isolation?

We initially had the idea of keeping the weekly meetings on the same day and time, whatever the cost. We would do round tables, lectures, chats. But we had to keep the gang together. And there were so many fascinating people, with a lot

to engage us all! We invited external guests, as well as members of the orchestra. Who knows, maybe we could better understand the interests and research of our own musicians, giving them space to tell us about their dissertations, theses, topics and concerns? But would we have material to fill so many hours of meetings?

The result of this proposal was beautiful and very rich, and it showed that there is no lack of subject matter. The universe of baroque music is wide, varied, and full of surprises. And so is the world of OBU. There were so many approaches, so many curious subjects, that there was not a day when we did not go beyond closing time. The conversation was always very good!

It was Átila de Paula (supported by Patricia Michelini) who came up with the idea of launching a magazine to increase even more the reach of our “vintage conversations”: each OBU guest would bring us the material of an article and, little by little, the sections of a magazine would be structured, like a house built up little by little, wall by wall, brick by brick. In this issue we bring to the public the first issue of this collective creation: the subjects are as diverse as the composition of our orchestra. We have authors who represent winds, strings, voice. And above all: brains! This issue features Alcimar do Lago, Artur Ortemblad, Benoît Dratwicki, Caê Vieira, Erick do Carmo, Kristina Augustin, Manoela Rónai, Patricia Michelini, Pedro Hasselmann, Pedro Pastor and Roger Lins. The layout, a thing of beauty, is also in charge of one of our musicians: Átila himself. It's been proven: we may be in captivity, but the imagination is still free to fly.

## A nice conversation

By Patricia Michelini

Even before planning the magazine *Vintage Music*, we had many ideas about the content that we wanted to see in the midst of the huge number of live appearances online that popped up during the period of social distancing. In the WhatsApp group “Coordination OBU”, which gathers the members responsible for the guidelines and activities of the Baroque Orchestra of UNIRIO, we talked about the possibility of having our meetings reflect the diversity that makes OBU what it is: a group that brings together professional and amateur musicians, students from different schools and universities, young people, and people no longer quite so young, people with experience, and people who are just starting out. Simply taking advantage of the virtues of our members and guests would be enough to make the meetings interesting. And so that the potential of this group could be fully developed, we thought it best not to impose formats or subjects to our participants. Without knowing it, we were creating the conditions for the creation of the magazine.

The sections of *Vintage Music* arose from the ideas and contributions of this initial core and from other participants who quickly supported the idea of the magazine, and accepted the challenge of writing for this, our first issue. The snappy titles reflect the environment of the orchestra, and our conviction that a magazine born in an academic setting could be informative without putting good humor and lightness aside. These are the columns:

*I hear voices:* Caê Vieira's column is about singing the repertoire of the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. By approaching the issues involved in a stimulating and insightful way, Caê offers palatable and innovative solutions for the mishaps the singer can face when interpreting that music.

*Memories:* here the focus is on the history of the movement that brought early music and its performers back to the professional and academic music scenes. The column is

headed by Kristina Augustin, a pioneer in research on this movement in Brazil.

*Vibrations:* the vibration of a string or of the air is the starting point for the production of the sound of the sections of strings and wind instruments in an orchestra. The purpose of the *Vibrations* column is to be a space dedicated to issues related to playing and talking about early music with the instruments of these groups. Erick do Carmo, one of OBU's flutists, and Roger Ribeiro, our concertmaster, take care of the sections of winds and strings respectively.

*The new Early Music:* my column deals with the new issues arising from the practice of music prior to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Besides articles like the one presented in this issue, the column will also feature interviews with personalities who are considering and proposing solutions to the current challenges in the research, teaching and performance of early music.

*Sources:* if historical sources bring us precious information about the music of the past, modern sources, present in the researchers who dedicate themselves to scrutinizing this music, here are generously sharing their findings and reflections.

*Collaborators:* this is the space for contributions by members and supporters of OBU from all times. Look at the credits at the last page of the magazine to see how to send in your contribution.

In addition to these sections, others are in the oven, and will be presented in subsequent numbers.

Finally, I would like to say that Laura Rónai's presence permeates the whole magazine and is a source of inspiration for all of us. Laura always says she dreams of the day when people will talk about music in bars and cafés just as they talk about soccer, politics, or any other “good” subject. Perhaps the magazine *Vintage Music* will be the necessary stimulus for this?



## Edition notes

by Átila de Paula  
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“  
 (...) life,  
 life, life,  
 life is only possible if reinvented.”

I don't know the circumstances that led Cecília Meireles to write the sentence that serves as epigraph to this note in her poem “Reinvenção”, from 1942, but looking back with the attentive magnifying glass of a spectator now, sitting here, I think she was right. We reinvent everything: intimate life, social life, vehicles, means and ends, and there are even those who want to reinvent the powers! But one thing that still hasn't been reinvented is Love; in our case, through and for art, as intense as the will to live.

A long time ago, my friend Guilherme de Carvalho said to me, between pecking at a cold beer, which he was desperately enjoying in the streets of Copacabana: “Look, my dear, the Orquestra Barroca da Unirio gathers to celebrate the art that is more important than Art itself: the love for communication!”. Indeed, he was correct. There's nothing like the OBU out there, surviving and reinventing itself daily with the most unlikely (is it?) mix of music freaks. Determined to go through the difficulties of the new century with the same joy and variety, we present this digital magazine that is a faithful portrait of our orchestra – here we find the voices of teachers, students, art lovers. I have the privilege to present the graphic design of these incomparable artists, and for that I am very grateful to dear Laura and Patricia (and also to the entire OBU and its enthusiasts) for their trust.

The proposal is that our *Vintage Music* maintain the “OBU way”: we are academics, but we are also not academics. We talk about things that are long gone, but we are connected with the here and now. All this because we really love to communicate, whether by sound or by word. Thus, it is only fair that we reinvent (at least for us) how we are going to present this material: this digital publication is interactive, which means that it is possible to watch videos, download documents and other things right here.

WHEN A SPECIAL TEXT OR TAGS APPEAR,  
THEY CAN OFTEN LEAD ELSEWHERE.  
JUST CLICK.

Come on, you can try it!

In the index, clicking on the articles leads directly to the bookmarked page, and double-clicking on the journal's columns should make it easier to read them on smartphones.

We hope reading is fun! We are all looking forward to knowing your receptivity. Let's continue here, waiting, dreaming, loving, *r e i n v e n t i n g*.



# For your singing to sound more baroque, you need more... Hm! How do you call it again?

A discussion of vocal terminology applied to the style of the late Baroque

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by Caê Vieira

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I often hear singers and voice students exploring the baroque repertoire with everything in place: pitch, agility, great diction, expressiveness, color, vibrato control, etc. But in many cases, something crucial is missing that prevents the interpretation from sounding truly baroque within the historically oriented performance styles more current in our time. That which is so difficult to achieve in baroque singing I call flexibility. This is the word with which I would like to fill the gap present in the title above: I wish I could tell so many wonderful singers I see that “for your singing to sound more baroque, you need more flexibility”. But in singing, unfortunately, the use of this term is somewhat limited because it is generally considered to be synonymous with agility.

But, believe me, it's not just me! The word flexibility keeps appearing, both in current books and articles about baroque singing, and in classical texts such as the treatise *Opinioni de' cantori antichi e moderni* written by Tosi in 1723. These texts show us that, in the conceptualization of ancient music, the term flexibility, rather than a concept in itself, is widely used as a synonym for something else, in an attempt to explain that given thing.

The big issue related to it seems to me to be the construction of the singing line in the baroque sound, which is something different from the kinds of romantic lines that, as a rule, are more present in our vocal studios. In a way, it is something that is halfway between the two romantic extremes of the Puccinian legato and the non-legato that one sees in fast passages in Wagner, for example.

In order for us to understand baroque phrasing, we need to think about the shape of the bow used in the period. Although there is no single type of design that encompasses the period as a whole, the fact is that the bows of the 17<sup>th</sup> to the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century were mostly convex. This means that there is a greater contrast between the sound of the tip and the bead of the bow. The resulting line then becomes a dynamic balance between sustain and inflection. About sustain, Caccini, already at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, valued the principle of the lightness of the vocal emission. Instead of the full legato that we usually teach today, we need to find a continuous and very light line to serve as a pattern in the Baroque.

However, this pattern is constantly broken up by the concept of inflection. Baroque music has a discernible grammar. It is made up of small figures that fit together like words to form



sentences, paragraphs, and larger forms. Many writers of the time distinguished between musical figures that should be grouped or separated, and instrumental treatises discussed techniques for producing a wide variety of connected or disconnected articulations to create the impression that the instruments were playing syllables and words of different lengths and levels of importance. So, it is clear that the emphasis on the contrast between accented and unaccented notes is one of the fundamental principles of Baroque articulation. Moreover, it should be remembered that giving expression to the differences between heavy and light also applies to full bars and phrases, building up a complex hierarchy of tension and relaxation, dissonance, and resolution.

Johann Friedrich Agricola, in his 1757 translation with commentary of Tosi's work, offers some interesting indications: only the first note of a trill can have an impulse; the first note in a group of 3 or 4 notes should be lightly emphasized to maintain clarity and tempo; one should imagine that the vowel in melismas is repeated gently with each new note, as if it were the bow of a stringed instrument, among others.

Alongside Agricola, there are other texts (but, unfortunately, not many) that can help us form an X-ray of what vocal sonority should be like in the baroque style. And I want to end this first column by listing seven items that should form the basis of this way of singing: 1. Clear, direct and audible attacks; 2. Natural falls that follow the attacks of the notes; 3. Sustaining of the basic level of light sound; 4. This thread of support enters through the consonants and builds the baroque legato; 5. The legato is broken by an organization of articulation into smaller groups or units; 6. Audible differentiation between accented and unaccented syllables; 7. Importance of the *messa di voce* as a contrast to this basic note attack pattern.

It is clear that this does not explain everything, and that one cannot reduce a period of 150 years to seven general rules. But I hope to be giving a clue here so that we can understand what makes interpretation X or Y more or less in line with what we

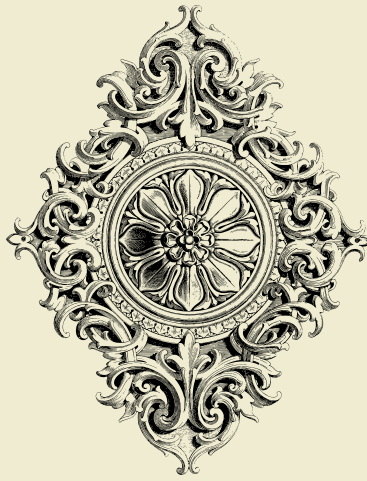
are looking for in terms of style for this period. Examples abound on the internet and on recordings, but I would like to cite just one: look on YouTube for the performance of **REJOICE GREATLY, O DAUGHTER OF ZION** from Handel's *Messiah*, with the soprano Kiri te Kanawa singing under the direction of Plácido Domingo on the 1980 BBC Christmas program, and in comparison, find the version with the **CZECH SOPRANO HANA BLAŽÍKOVÁ**, live, 2011, under the direction of Václav Luks.

I hope that, after this quick chat, your ear will be sensitive enough to notice the incredible agility and cleanliness of Kiri te Kanawa in a performance where, however, all the phrase directions, articulations, inflections and, in the baroque sense of the term, the wonderful legato employed by Hana Blažíková, are missing.

So, have you stopped to listen to some baroque singing today? Happy listening to all of us!



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# Restrained yearnings: Handel sets the flute on a painful path

by Erick do Carmo

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G. F. HANDEL: SONATA IN B MINOR HWV 367B. I. LARGO

**D**oubt, fear, confusion, love... Whether it be the case of an insecure child, a fearful man, a confused action, or a young person in love, there are situations in which instinct calls for a certain boldness, but is restrained by conscience. In social moments of anger and anguish, when a thousand insults are stifled before coming forth from our mouths, interruption is assertive; on the other hand, in moments in which loneliness is accompanied only by our fears and worries, we repeatedly feel energy taking shape, simply to disappear. A very strong impetus gathers, which is only returned to the world with a long sigh.

In the first movement of his sonata HWV 367b, Handel depicts the game of back and forth between impulse and restraint. With expressive resources based on melodic profile and modulations, the composer puts together a brief monologue. Here, the character insists on repressing impulses immediately after sketching them, with the result that his journey becomes long and onerous.

The character already begins his act quite slowly: the affirmation of the tonic is by the ornamentation of the tonic itself, in a limited and contrite movement. Next, one hears the figure of heaviness in this piece. A certain feeling of a fruitless impulse is generated with the use of motives fragmented by a quick change in the direction of movement, an ascending scale, and a jump of a descending fifth (c.2). The dragging is not because of lack of energy, but because of self-control.

Without ever manifesting surprise, the monologue presents calmer thoughts alternating with those that are busier. The richness of the melody, rhythms, and meanings of each fragment suggest pondering, while angular movements are the expression of impulse, soon placated. The apex of the whole game is the ascending scale that spans varied harmonic regions (c. 13) in brief modulations. It seems that desires are finally tearing the character's chest and will be satiated beyond the reach of reason. Unexpectedly, a pause interrupts the rise of the monologue, and takes all energy from it. The bass, which has directed and varied the harmony of the entire piece, takes the



strong beats for itself, and the flute is left with a descending lament on the weak beats (m.16).

To understand the compositional paths that lead to this interpretation, one can divide *Largo* into two sections. In the scheme of gain and loss of energy, the first section presents a phrase that conveys dejection (m.1); it is followed by another phrase that suggests the relative major and, adding this to its upward directionality, represents gain of energy (m.5); the third returns to the initial despondency (c.8). The second section (m.11) can be divided according to the thematic figures explored (m.11; m. 13; m.16). These, in turn, follow the contrasts of the previous sentences, reinforcing the shuttle of affections. Thus, the structure of each section is governed by

the same dichotomy and demonstrates a beautiful symmetry of affections even with different figures. In the first section of this last subdivision, the sequence is descending (mm.11-13). In the second, ascending (mm.13-16). The third (mm.16-19) is the sigh itself, which, being ascending, seems to tend more to impetus, to eagerness, than to a sigh of sadness. The work ends with the lungs full of air, for a great non-existent sigh. It gives way to action, in the next movement.

Handel traces a path full of emotional undulations. The flute, the character in this lonely drama, must lean on the bass and the solid structure of the piece to be carried forward; but it must also let itself be taken progressively by the rich melodic ideas traced in the zigzag between impetus and control.

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Available at: <[imslp.org/wiki/Sonatas\\_for\\_an\\_Accompanied\\_Solo\\_Instrument%2C\\_Op.1\\_\(Handel%2C\\_George\\_Frideric\)](https://imslp.org/wiki/Sonatas_for_an_Accompanied_Solo_Instrument%2C_Op.1_(Handel%2C_George_Frideric))>. Accessed: Feb. 10, 2020.

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1 41

SONATA IX *Largo*

5

8 11

13

16

*Volta*

*Traversa Solo*

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# The virtues of clarity and linguistic precision in baroque music

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by Roger Lins de Albuquerque Gomes Ribeiro  
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In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, music was understood as a “discourse of sounds” (Mattheson, 1739), and musical performance was compared to the declamation of an orator (Quantz, 1752). Thus, baroque musicians emulated principles of the rhetorical systems of classical antiquity in their “métier.” Considering this relationship, it is possible to understand baroque music in the broader spectrum of rhetoric and elocutionary virtues.

Aristotelian in origin, rhetoric is a technique of persuasion and argumentation that, through various treatises, has crossed

centuries and traditions since the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. in Greece, passing through Latin rhetors such as Quintilian and Cicero around the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD until the European Christian world of the second millennium. Obviously, with such a vast scope it is to be assumed that numerous nuances occur, however, a five-canon structure is the one that stood out most to Baroque composers. They are *Inventio*, *Dispositio*, *Elocutio*, *Memoria* and *Actio*.



Figure 1: *View of the Coliseum* (1747), oil painting by Giovanni Paolo Panini (1691-1765). Collection of the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore, EUA.



<h1>Structure of the Rhetoric System</h1> <p>Ellendersen (2020)  Bartel (1997)  Lausberg (1990)  Tarling (2004)</p>	<p><b>a) <i>Inventio</i></b>  <b>b) <i>Dispositio</i></b>  i) <i>exordium</i> (<i>præmium</i>)  ii) <i>narratio</i>  iii) <i>propositio</i> (<i>divisio</i> or <i>partitio</i>)  iv) <i>confirmatio</i>  v) <i>confutatio</i> (<i>argumentatio</i>, <i>refutatio</i> or <i>reprehensio</i>)  vi) <i>peroratio</i> (<i>conclusio</i>)  <b>c) <i>Elocutio</i></b> (<i>decoratio</i>, <i>elaboratio</i>)  4 <i>virtutes elocutionis</i>:  i) <i>puritas</i>, <i>latinitas</i>  ii) <i>perspicuitas</i>  iii) <i>ornatus</i>  iv) <i>aptum</i>, <i>decorum</i>  <b>d) <i>Memoria</i></b>  <b>e) <i>Actio</i></b> (<i>pronuntiatio</i>, <i>enunciatio</i>, <i>executio</i>)</p>
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Figure 2: Structure of the Rhethoric system, Ribeiro (2020, p.19)

*Inventio* is seen as the collection of pertinent information and arguments and the subject itself, it would be like a “brainstorm,” the source of ideas. The *Dispositio* in turn is the logical organization of all the material, in instrumental music it often defines the form of the composition. The arguments will be arranged in the speech following the criteria of their phases, such as *Exordium* (introduction), *Narrative* (main argument), *Confutatio* (presentation of arguments contrary to the thesis and then contesting them), *Confirmatio* and *Peroratio* (confirmation of the speech). *Elocutio* and its four virtues translate ideas and thoughts into different words and phrases, adding resources that enhance arguments. *Memoria* was linked to memorization of speech and *Actio* was

linked to presentation, execution, interpretation or declamation, as well as appropriate gestures and inflections.

According to Quintilian (2015)<sup>1</sup> the praise provided by the virtues of *Elocutio* are the heart of the speech. In this way, *Elocutio* presents a finished text, capable of teaching, delighting and moving the public and for this objective to be properly fulfilled, the rhetors discuss four virtues in elocution: linguistic purity (*puritas latinitas*), clarity (*perspicuitas*), ornamentation (*ornatus*) and decorum (*decorum*).

<sup>1</sup> Quintilian's work *Oratorial Institution* dates back to the 1<sup>st</sup> Century and was translated by Bruno Basseto in 2017.



“Decorum” is a virtue that deals with the adequacy of speech to the occasion, the audience and the material (in baroque music, the affection that music represents), while ornament, according to Bartel (1984, P. 148), “it is the ‘Virtue’ where rhetorical figures and tropes find their place.” Garavelli (1988) emphasizes the special attention given to these virtues, especially ornament, within the study of

rhetoric. However, linguistic purity and clarity are prerequisites for a good speech and although their presence is not a guarantee of this, the defects caused by the lack of these two elements undermine the persuasive possibilities of any speech.



Figure 3: *Ancient Rome* (1757) oil painting by Giovanni Paolo Panini. Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, USA.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Panini's paintings *Ancient Rome* and *Modern Rome*, through the paintings on display, compare architectural monuments of classical Rome such as the pantheon, the arch and the Roman forum with monuments from the second millennium such as the Trevi Fountain, Piazza Colona and St. Peter's Basilica as well as different sculptures. The two paintings concretely illustrate how broad the scope of emulating the principles of classical rhetoric was.



## Linguistic Purity (*Puritas latinitas*) and Clarity (*Perspicuitas*)

Linguistic purity (*Puritas latinitas*) is a virtue closely linked to grammar, as it deals directly with the correct use of language. According to Aristotle (2018), every virtue is the average between two opposing vices, thus purity is found between barbarism (use of uncultured words or expressions) and archaism (excessive use of archaic words in an attempt to show false erudition). In music, according

to Callegari (2019), it is a virtue closely linked to the composer in the use of harmony and correct counterpoints, however, as baroque music is an art where the border between the composer's work and that of the performer is almost non-existent or constantly crossed, we must be virtuous in purity when performing basso continuo or improvising, as well as taking care of good tuning.



Figure 4: *Modern Rome* (1757) oil painting by Giovanni Paolo Panini.  
Collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, USA.

Clarity (*Perspicuitas*) deals with the condition of the voice, as well as the correct pronunciation of speech and breathing control. Quintilian (Oratorical Institution - XI, iii,32, p.281) recommends that “it is examined if the emission of the words is in principle sound, to say it like that, that is, if it does not contain any of those vices.”

Among the defects in the emission of words that the author emphasizes, we can highlight properties that, musically, are applicable to the quality of the timbre of the voice or instrument such as an emission that is “absurd, coarse, disproportionate, hard, rigid, hoarse, too voluminous, or light, presumptuous, harsh, weak, or inconsistent.” (Ibidem, p. 282)

In addition to timbre, his precepts are focused on breathing, which, according to him, should not be “short, with little support, nor difficult to recover.” And he also adds:

Breathing should also not be resumed so constantly that the period is segmented, nor should it be extended until it stops. [...] Therefore, when emitting a longer period, it is essential to fill the lungs very well, but in such a way that we do it quickly and without noise, in such a way that it becomes completely imperceptible; on other occasions, breathing will fit better between pauses in the flow of speech. (Ibidem XI, iii- 53, p.293)



The lung of the speaker mentioned by Quintilian is easily transposed to the lung of a singer, a wind instrumentalist and/or the bellows of an instrument, or even the bow of a string instrument. In this regard, it is appropriate to quote a small anecdote from Robert Bremner (1777), a pupil of Geminani who, in turn, was a pupil of Corelli:

I have been informed that Corelli judged no performer fit to play in his band, who could not, with one stroke of his bow, give a steady and powerful sound, like that of an organ, from two strings at once, and continue it for ten seconds; and yet, it is said, the length of their bows at that time did not exceed twenty inches. (BREMNER, 1777, p. VII, footnote)

Therefore, we conclude that performing a musical speech with the benefit of these two virtues requires from the interpreter: awareness of the “phraseological designs” adopted by the composer; a technical mastery of good sound production from your voice or instrument; and – the main thing! – the effective use of these skills in music making.



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# Reflections on “Early Music”: Words and Context

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by Kristina Augustin (UFF)

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Music is an art with a quite peculiar characteristic: after its performance, music vanishes, disappears. Music as a work of art only materializes through the sound produced in the act of performance. After its execution, the musical piece disappears, remaining only in the memory of those who heard it. This is why addressing the musical production of past centuries, especially when mechanical and later digital sound recording was not possible, is a delicate and challenging task.

Until the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, pieces were almost always composed on commission. Musicians rarely composed on their own, and their works served to entertain a palace community, add depth to religious worship, or contribute to the splendor of public festivities. These works were performed a few times, and when they lost their function or with the death of the composer, they fell into oblivion. “Each generation builds its music on the silence of previous generations. Each one erases the other” (BAUSSANT, 1994, p.75). For this reason, it is so difficult to rescue and reconstruct the sound and language of the

musical production of past centuries, a production that has received the generic name of “Early Music.”

The historical awareness of the 19<sup>th</sup> century man revealed that human nature and, consequently, that of Western society, was evolutionary and very dynamic. No generation until then had such a clear consciousness of being the heir and descendant of past cultures and had so decisively expressed the desire to seek lost cultures and rescue ancient traditions. This vision triggered the search for and reevaluation of forgotten and abandoned artistic production. In music, there was an intense search for instruments and facsimile or manuscript scores. During the 19<sup>th</sup> century, we witnessed the opening and rummaging of drawers, chests, and closets in a true hunt for works of past generations. A habit, we could even say “a fad,” began among the nobility and wealthy bourgeoisie to organize concerts and festivals where works by Renaissance and Baroque masters were presented.

The goal was simply to discover, reveal this artistic musical heritage that was forgotten. They viewed this “ancient” repertoire as a cultural legacy of art that each



generation could and should interpret according to the prevailing stylistic language. Therefore, when Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy (1809-1847) staged J.S. Bach's St. Matthew Passion, he endeavored to give an "ancient" work a completely "modern" character. He conducted a work from 1729 with the spirit and sonic elements of 1829, arranging a baroque work for a romantic universe and audience (AUGUSTIN, 1999, p.15). The performance was a great success, being repeated twice due to public demand. The success led to reruns in various German cities until the 1840s.

The grandeur of the work and event removed Bach's music from aristocratic salons and universities, returning it to the public domain of concert halls. It was a milestone and a reference to delineate the beginning of the movement to rescue music from past centuries. The term – "Early Music" – was a formal invention. This designation was attributed to all European musical production before 1750. Ancient because it was forgotten, abandoned, and was being revived. It was just an expression that contained a chronological notion that separated the musical production of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – modern and current at the time – from the newly discovered but forgotten music: ancient.

Gradually, this repertoire before 1750 gained new listeners; the proliferation of amateur and professional choirs in the mid-1840s expanded the market for early music, encouraging publishers to invest in popular editions, especially with Renaissance choral music and baroque works. In 1850, the *Bach Gesellschaft* released the first edition of Bach's works, and not only Germany but several European cities were infected by the Bachian fever. Between 1850 and 1900, the number of publications grew, and other composers were included, such as Handel, Palestrina, Rameau, Schutz, and Purcell.

It is worth noting that at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, for a group of composers, tonal music had reached exhaustion, and a series of experiments and compositions began that presented atonal pieces that literally took the ground from many musicians and listeners. For those who did not identify with the new musical proposal and were not enthusiasts of opera or solo piano repertoire, the newly

discovered repertoire – music of the Renaissance and Baroque – was a good option.

During this period, European society underwent significant transformations. Scientific advances and especially Charles Darwin's (1809-1882) evolutionary theories brought startling revelations to humanity, culminating in questioning the very existence of God, aggravating the debate between science and theology. The phenomenon of industrialization completely altered relationships between individuals. Artists were not immune to these changes. Some movements emerged warning of the beginning of a society based on individualism, mechanization, and mass production. There was a return to the appreciation of craftsmanship, a healthier life in the countryside, away from urban centers. In this context, early music emerged at an opportune moment. It was a genre of music rooted in a past that a group of 19<sup>th</sup> century individuals wanted to rescue. It was essentially music that valued collective action, and the instruments were handcrafted copies made by artisans.

In England, Eugène Arnold Dolmetsch (1858-1940), influenced by these ideals, defended the beauty of craftsmanship in instrument making. Together with his friend William Morris (1834-1896) – the leader of the Arts and Crafts movement – they sought to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the uniformity generated by mass production. They encouraged the return of home concerts, in a small environment, fostering interaction and closeness among people.

Dolmetsch began his "sound revolution" modestly, by building viols at home. Over the years, he noticed the increasing interest in historical instruments and expanded his production by manufacturing harpsichords, spinets, and lutes. In 1920, he began producing recorders, the highlight of his production and the main source of support for his entire family. In their performances, Dolmetsch and his family demonstrated that a musical work from the past could not be fully understood without reference to the sound of the instruments for which it was composed.

In 1933, the year Hitler definitively took power, cultural policy directed German artistic production to seek its "true roots," alluding to a mythical and heroic past. In the

field of music, existing movements such as the choral movement (*Singbewegung*), the organ re-evaluation movement (*Orgelbewegung*), and the early music movement (*AlteMusik*) were exploited, revised, shaped, and adapted according to political interests. The primary goal was to construct and impose traditions considered Germanic, as was the case with the recorder. Being an inexpensive instrument, easy to learn and transport, it was chosen as the quintessential German instrument, and its mandatory teaching in all German schools spread German folk songs.

In this context, between 1933 and 1945, there was again a great demand for new music editions, leading to the growth of the publishing market. The Renaissance and Baroque repertoire resurfaced with a new ideal, solidifying the notion that these were not exotic works but rather music that was part of the Germanic cultural heritage. Composers like Schutz, Scheidt, Telemann, Buxtehude, Bach, and Mozart were transformed into emblems of German musical supremacy. Gradually, this repertoire began to be accepted in concert halls and European musical life.

Despite the revaluation of the old repertoire that had been abandoned, the essential aspects of interpretation and technique applied to instruments still followed 19<sup>th</sup>-century standards. If the Early Music movement had only been based on the reevaluation of works prior to the 1800s, adapting to the musical aesthetic standards of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, there would not have been so much controversy, and peace among musicians would have prevailed. However, after the rediscovery of this repertoire, there was a discovery of new sounds and ways of playing, singing, and expressing oneself musically. This was the great rupture. It was not nostalgia for a bygone era or a love of history that fascinated musicians, but rather the desire to hear works “cleanly”, free from the marks imposed by the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Between the 1950s and 1960s, the Early Music movement gained strength in the hands and interpretation of musicians such as Alfred Deller (1912-1979), Thurston Dart (1921-1971), Jaap Schröder (1925-2020), Gustav Leonhardt (1928-2012), Nikolaus Harnoncourt (1929-2016), Frans Brüggen (1934-2014), Christopher Hogwood

(1941-2014), David Munrow (1942-1976), Wieland Kuijken (1938), Sigiswald Kuijken (1944), and Jordi Savall (1941), among many other interpreters. The discoveries and achievements of these musicians in Europe revolutionized various pre-established musical concepts. It became evident that each musical genre requires a special sound for which the work was conceived, that each era corresponds to its own technical and stylistic stage, and that all these elements together enhance the expressive capacity of the work itself.

From the 1970s, a portion of record labels, radio stations, producers, entrepreneurs, musicologists, and the public were already convinced that works by composers such as Bach, Vivaldi, Haydn, and Mozart, among others, should be performed, preferably, with the sound for which the composers had conceived them. Concerts with original instruments or replicas from the period could be found at major festivals and concert halls around the world. It was during this period that the concept of “authenticity” emerged. It was believed that the original score reflected the composer's final intention. Great attention was given to the choice of instruments and voices and the size of ensembles. A certain trend emerged, and the term became a keyword in concert programs and record covers. Record labels realized that they could use the “authenticity label” as lucrative marketing and as a criterion for aesthetic value in musical performance. They announced, “first recording in the original version,” “recording with authentic instruments”. At this point, a great controversy arose in the musical universe. “Early Music” aroused passions as well as much discussion and even resentment.

Undoubtedly, it was a period of much research and experimentation on the part of musicians and luthiers, and, let's face it, many proposals and experiments in building an instrument or in the search for a language or technical aspects were not successful. The “new” proposals for articulation, instrumentation, ornamentation, pitch, temperament, realization of the basso continuo were not well received by a group of critics who accused musicians of being authoritarian and arrogant. They claimed that the rules were invented, that they played out of tune, that they resorted to exotic instruments with gut strings and wind instruments with few keys or made of brass, primitive and without the technical improvements already achieved.



Theodor Adorno (1903-1969) criticized the movement as “impotent nostalgia” and claimed that the only valid path to revive Early Music would be to reinterpret it with a contemporary language (HASKELL, 1988, p. 179).

In the midst of these discussions, the then editor-in-chief of Early Music Magazine, Nicholas Kenyon, compiled some articles by Richard Taruskin (1945) and Laurence Dreyfus (1952). In the February 1984 publication, the article *The Limits of Authenticity* appeared. This publication, which questioned the concept of authenticity, caused a veritable hurricane in the musical scene. Kenyon was accused of “pulling out the rug from under the Early Music movement or helping those who wanted to attack the movement” (KENYON, 1988, preface). Indeed, the historical performance movement experienced a period of great turbulence (KENYON, 1988, preface).

The central idea debated in these articles, mainly led by the American musicologist and conductor Richard Taruskin (1945), was that the interpretation of an old work could not be based on the faithful reconstruction of an event that occurred in the past. It should be seen as a reinterpretation of a past that could not be entirely faithfully reconstructed (BOWAN, p. 147). Taruskin went further, stating that the movement that advocated the ideal of an authentic recreation of the past was, in fact, the creation of a strong and intense modern style of performance (KENYON, 2019).

In the face of all these modifications and changes in the concept of “authenticity” itself, it is natural that the term “Early Music” has become outdated, and a terminology that corresponds to the current stage of historically informed interpretive practices imposes itself. Faced with this new perspective, the term “Early Music” was practically abandoned in Europe, and in the mid-1990s, the expression Historically Informed Performance – HIP began to be adopted. Over time, some variants in the use of the expression have been noticed, such as Historically Inspired Performance, Historically Oriented Performance, Historically Informed Interpretation, etc.

However, in the last decade, the frequent use of the word “historically” seems to impose some kind of limitation. Ethnomusicology has taught us that an

awareness of the cultural context of musical production is essential for its specific understanding. Not always the historical or musical context of a work is sufficient and offers answers: it is necessary to create a dialogue with other areas of knowledge such as sociology, philosophy, literature, religion, and economics. In recent years, the terminology Historically Informed Performance has also been questioned, and there is a very recent suggestion for the use of “Culturally Informed Performance Practice”, which presupposes an interpretative practice that considers the social and cultural context of each work.

In Brazil, according to a survey conducted by professors at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), the expression “Historically Informed Performance” began to be adopted in Brazilian publications in 2004, albeit still timidly, and today is indeed the most used, especially in dissertations and articles.

In the publication *The End of Early Music* (2008), Haynes presents a provocative, often controversial, and sometimes speculative reading, arguing that today “authenticity” has found a new role, acting as a paradigm, an ideal, or a model of inspiration that may or may not be followed. In other words, entirely precise historical performance is probably impossible to achieve. But that is not the goal. What produces interesting results is the attempt to be historically accurate (HAYNES, 2008, p.226).

The Early Music movement in Europe undoubtedly reached large proportions, brought numerous revelations about the musical heritage of humanity, and revolutionized various pre-established musical concepts. In 1970, it can be affirmed that this movement was fully established in Europe, in the United States of America, and was gaining strength in Brazil. Like any movement, it went through phases. The first was in the 19<sup>th</sup> century when there was a search for works from past centuries; the second phase was when it was discovered that these works were composed for specific instruments: the moment of searching for the appropriate sound and technique to play these instruments. The third phase was the period of searching for authenticity. And today, we live in the fourth phase: the understanding that the important thing is not to play a work with perfect authenticity. What matters is the study,

research, and acquisition of knowledge to achieve this goal. Harry Haskell suggests that authenticity, like perfection or happiness, “is more an ideal to be pursued than a goal to be achieved.”

These ideas may seem absurd to some, perhaps provoke reflections in others, and open new horizons for many. The path of reconstructing memory is an eternal reinterpretation and recreation of facts in an attempt to find answers to present challenges.

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### Introduction

Research is a fascinating and necessary activity. In a way, we do this every day when we look for information on the internet. However, research focused on the practice of early music goes beyond this quick search, with immediate application, to which we are accustomed. We enter a time far from ours, we deal with content designed for the public of that time, we do not have instruments and original recordings to serve as a reference. In other words, almost everything we find requires argumentation, contextualization and creativity to become feasible and usable information.

With this in mind, and based on my own experience, here are ten pieces of advice for anyone who wants to understand and improve the process of researching historical sources. This is not a step-by-step guide on how to do research. The advice is the result of reflections on the research process and practice that I have developed over time. I want to share them here in the hope that they will be useful for both beginners and those who have already ventured into the world of investigation.

## 1. Nobody knows everything

When we enter the enchanted world of research into historical sources, it is natural for us to feel a mix of joy, enthusiasm, surprise, excitement... and despair, discouragement, pressure, frustration. This is because, if on the one hand we discovered an incredible universe of study and research possibilities for our instrumental and vocal practice, on the other we are realizing that we will never be able to exhaust the research.

There will always be a lot of subjects that we don't master,

and there are many barriers to overcome for proper research, such as knowing other languages, being able to interpret complex texts, etc.

Know that you are not alone. No one, no human being on the face of the Earth, can study everything. Thus, we choose what we are going to research according to our needs, and we delve deeper into those subjects that most arouse our interest. We leave the other topics aside, do specific research when necessary, and turn to other specialists and researchers.

You don't have to know everything. But try to know what you like most.

## 2. It's okay to start with secondary sources

Roughly speaking, we call primary sources those that provide original information, that is, those whose content constitutes the object of study. Secondary sources are those that present discussions and reflections on primary sources; a priori, they do not provide "source" information.

When researching historical sources, we usually call primary sources those that were originally produced in the periods we are researching, by the authors of our interest or by authors close to them. There are the treatises, books, manuals, repertories, all in their original versions, without translations or comments – the famous facsimiles that we can find in IMSLP. Secondary sources are texts produced by researchers who had access to primary sources, providing information about the original content (full or partial), which can be translations (commented or not), interpretations, analyses, examples.

For a long time, I heard that only research in primary sources was valid, especially if the desire was to align with the movement known as “historically oriented interpretation”. It was necessary to obtain information directly from treatises, without intermediaries. It took a lot of research and practice to discover that this is not the case – or rather, it is no longer the case!

Truly, there is no greater emotion than opening a book that was written 300 years ago, even virtually, and coming across the author's original writing. However, we do not always (in fact, almost never) easily understand the content of a primary source. The older it is, the more distant the chances of understanding. There are so many steps until we get to the information we are looking for: deciphering the writing, translating the text into our language, interpreting the meaning of the content, applying the guidelines in practice... the chances of getting lost in one of the steps are not few.

That said, I advocate researching secondary sources, at least initially. In a good secondary source, the author is expected to thoroughly research not only the primary source, but also several other complementary sources, “translate” that content into something that is understandable to us, contextualize and qualify the information, give examples of use in practice, indicate other works. In short, the secondary source makes the information accessible. From there, you can search for other secondary sources or the primary source itself; but, in this case, you will get much more use out of it because you will have done a prior study. It is possible that you will be interested in other objects of study, which may even be other primary sources, and thus your research practice will improve, as well as your path in academic life, if that is your desire!

### 3. Register your search

Have you ever stopped to think about how many times you needed to re-study something you had already studied before? How many times have you forgotten which website contains that important information you usually look for? Have you ever thought highly of a text, posted it in your social media stories and never talked about it again?

The practice of research in our times is part of a phenomenon that has been called “ephemeral culture”:

information is researched for immediate use and application and is then discarded. This happens because a huge amount of data is stored on the network and is always within our reach. It is a privilege that we enjoy for the first time in history, and perhaps younger generations do not understand what it means.

Access to knowledge is an extraordinary achievement; It is no longer possible to imagine doing research without access to the number of articles, sources, websites and catalogs that we have today. But this digital revolution also brought a negative consequence: the fact of being able to count on information whenever necessary changed our habit of recording what we study.

In the not too distant past, anyone interested in doing research needed to go to libraries or acquire material (often without knowing it beforehand or being sure that it would be useful); Once in the library, it was necessary to make notes after consulting the books, after all there was no guarantee that we would have access to that information again. The same happened when borrowing a book from a friend, for example.

The practice of reading was connected to the practice of writing, recording data and ideas; and consequently, to reflection on them.

Registration is a habit that should not be discarded. Write a comment, indicate correspondences between phrases, ideas, concepts; doodling, using arrows, circles, colored highlights; write down an insight, mark something to check later, take note of a certain reference. Research becomes more productive when we let our thoughts flow from reading and record our impressions on paper.

Be sure to register your research, no matter how small it is. It can be on the computer itself, but try using a notebook, a stylish notebook, a colorful pad, something that inspires you. Writing with a pen, the old-fashioned way, helps to fix the information. Write comments on the texts you read. Use different colors for each category of information. Make sure you keep everything organized in a place you can find later.

The act of recording invites us to comment, helps organize ideas, and doesn't let us forget the page and bibliographic reference. Most importantly: the record shows us the reflection we make on the information at the exact moment of the research. It's like a museum of our thoughts, which we can visit from time to time. How about investing in this timeline of your ideas?



## 4. The more people search, the better

In Brazil, I observe that research topics are somewhat linked to the people who produce about them. As there are still few researchers on the many topics of interest in the area of early music, especially at a graduate level, we end up associating the topic with the person (I am referring here to researchers).

Thinking about developing a consistent and diverse bibliography for our area, it is natural and even desirable for each researcher to choose a different subject to dedicate themselves to. On the other hand, I realize that this situation causes a side effect, which is the tendency towards exclusivist behavior on the part of those who research. As if mastery of a certain topic gave the researcher the exclusive right to talk about it. And then other people who are interested in the same subject feel somewhat embarrassed about carrying out new research.

I can think of another reason that, in a way, justifies this behavior. I am referring to the ungrateful conditions that Brazilian researchers face. Let's see: it is often necessary to take money out of your own pocket to purchase books and articles not available in public libraries; text translations are a separate task, and sometimes it is necessary to order them from another professional; primary sources are difficult to interpret and understand; scholarship programs are unstable, subject to the goodwill of the current government (when there is a scholarship...), sometimes with the counterpart of the full dedication of those who receive it.

All of these situations are exhausting, laborious and expensive. So, when the researcher finally manages to produce his academic text and offer an important contribution to the area, it is even natural that he expects to be considered “the” expert on that subject, and that any new research involving “his” subject must necessarily cite him as a reference, to the point where the subject becomes a kind of property of the researcher.

Well, for research in the area of early music to continue evolving in Brazil, it is necessary to be careful that researchers do not perpetuate this attitude. No matter how much effort

and commitment were put into producing the text, it is always good to keep in mind that exclusivity on a research topic is above all a personal favor.

Taking into account that almost all research is financed by public institutions (universities, funding agencies), we must all ensure that productions serve the community more than the researchers. In this sense, the community is privileged when there is more than one reference on topics of interest. Research is enriched with new contributions, new debates, new ideas, and the researcher's job is precisely to filter everything, to draw his own conclusions. Other sources emerge all the time and it is necessary to reevaluate the conclusions of previous research.

So, if you are interested in a topic that has already been researched by a colleague in the field, don't be intimidated. I repeat: the more people research a subject, the better. Note, however, the next item:

## 5. Value those who researched before you

If, on the one hand, we must encourage new research, on the other hand, we must give credit to those who have done it before. I am not referring here to the practice of referencing quotations from third parties in your academic text – after all, the act of not referencing authors of transcribed texts constitutes a lack of ethics and plagiarism. I'm talking about really getting to know the production of colleagues, more precisely Brazilian colleagues, from past or current generations, and studying it with the same dedication with which we study primary sources or secondary sources from renowned foreign authors.

When investigating a subject that has some affinity with another already studied by a colleague, it is pertinent and commendable to take advantage of previous production. In recent decades, research in Brazil has developed a lot in the area of early music, especially in graduate programs that have specialist advisors. Most dissertations and theses produced after the turn of the century offer original, consistent, and well-founded content.

Personally, I like to cite the work of colleagues even when my subject does not make direct reference to them. I indicate

in a footnote something like: “to find out more about this subject, see x”. This way, whoever is reading my text will know that there is a production in Portuguese on that subject that could be useful to them.

Another aspect of the importance of knowing the production carried out previously is to avoid the risk of reaching the same conclusion that someone presented long before you. It's something different from what I pointed out in the previous item. There I was referring to researching the same subject as my colleague, being aware of his production, with the intention of expanding knowledge on the topic. Here, I want to warn of the possible embarrassment of ignoring conclusions previously exposed by a colleague and presenting the same conclusions as if you were the first researcher to reveal them.

Now let's see: indicating or using a text produced by a colleague does not mean agreeing 100% with it. In fact, if you disagree with some points and think it is important to dispute the information, do so with good arguments, demonstrating foundation and respect; make your contribution so that the research cycle is established. Consider that, as an author, you will certainly feel grateful and proud when you know that another researcher made use of your text, even if to counter another idea.

That being said, I appeal here to those responsible for preparing the basic bibliography of courses related to the area of Early Music at schools and universities to include the growing national production. We must assume the valorization and circulation of Brazilian research as a commitment from all of us!

## 6. Studying once does not mean always knowing

As we know, knowledge is something dynamic, which is enriched by new discoveries, new sources and our own practical experience. When we study a source in depth, it does not necessarily mean that we have absolute knowledge about it.

This is particularly true when researching historical

sources. Treatises, manuals, and reference texts are very distant from us in time and space. It is very different to study the music practiced in our time, having access to all kinds of information about it, and to study the music practiced 300 years ago by people who are no longer here (not even their descendants). The perception we have about a “period” text can be very accurate, and without a doubt carrying out good research increases the chances of successfully deciphering it. However, at any time a source may appear with new information, or with reflections not carried out before. What's more: as we get older, we change our perception of facts; suddenly we notice a detail that had been “missed” before, and that can make a difference in understanding the content.

So the tip is: try, from time to time, to resume studying sources that have already been studied. Seek new references, new studies, read your previous texts and writings, reflect on them. Reviewing certainties is a healthy and essential exercise for a good researcher.

## 7. Information from sources must be taken with a grain of salt

Imagine if the only 18<sup>th</sup> century treatise that had survived to our times was Jacques-Martin Hotteterre's *Principes de la flute...* Imagine if we took all the articulations proposed in the treatise, all the ornamentations described, and applied them indiscriminately to the entire repertoire of contemporary authors, regardless of their nationality. What would a Vivaldi concerto sound like? And a Bach sonata?

The information present in Hotteterre fits like a glove in 18<sup>th</sup> century French music but does not work as well in other repertoires. Fortunately, other sources from the period are available for consultation, so we can compare the information, test, listen, study, until it is possible to create references that seem convincing. Hotteterre was an authority in his time, without a doubt a reliable source of research. Even so, his instructions were formulated based on the music of a specific region, composed for specific functions, played by specific musicians, who used specific instruments. It's not possible to generalize.

Those who research must be very careful not to consider



information from a given source as absolute truths for all music produced during that period. It is necessary to consider the author's nationality (or even his regionality), the place where he worked (church? court?), who sponsored him (who did he write for?), the instruments he had at his disposal and, if possible, the circumstances that led him to write. Consider that the author of a primary source has purposes that can be understood as a rhetorical strategy: by disparaging someone or a certain practice, he may be wanting to validate and affirm the superiority of his own preferences.

It is also important to check whether the information found/searched in the source is recurrent in others from the same period, as this is an indication that it represents a consolidated practice. If it is not, and the information still seems consistent, the research will be more difficult, as it will be necessary to resort to other resources to reinforce the argument in favor of it (see the last piece of advice).

It is necessary to pay attention to what the sources say, but always be careful to relativize the information. Furthermore:

## 8. Don't let your desire speak louder than the evidence

I'll tell you a little story here: when I started as a professor at UFRJ, I learned that a bass recorder, apparently original from the 18<sup>th</sup> century, was part of the collection of the Delgado de Carvalho Museum, linked to the university's School of Music. The flute was the subject of two curious stories: 1) It was an original recorder by the German builder Johann Christoph Denner (1655-1707); 2) It would have belonged to D. Pedro I, as he played the clarinet and bassoon and even composed some works. The stories had some basis because, in fact, the flute is very similar to Denner instruments (there are several recorders made by this builder in European museums) and the Library of the UFRJ School of Music houses part of the collection of the former Imperial Conservatory of Music, the institution that gave rise to School of Music. Therefore, I prepared my thesis project focusing on this instrument, intending to find evidence that would prove the hypotheses described above, as well as a possible practice with the recorder in Brazil in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Shortly after starting his PhD, an employee at the EM

Library found a handwritten note in one of the instrument museum's catalogs, indicating that the bass recorder had been donated by Leopoldo Miguez in 1896, when the composer held the position of director of the school. So much for the hypothesis that the flute belonged to D. Pedro I. After a careful analysis of the instrument, I found that there was no builder's mark, and that it would therefore be imprudent to say that it was an original Denner. From these facts it was possible to gather other information and formulate new hypotheses, but the topic of my thesis had to be completely reformulated. Leopoldo Miguez's recorder became a chapter of the thesis, which deals with the history of the instrument in Brazil.

I really wanted to confirm the existence of a Denner recorder in Brazil, and it would be great to prove that D. Pedro I used it in family soirées, perhaps playing Renaissance and Baroque music? But the evidence was different, and against them there were no arguments that could be sustained. Even though I was aware that the stories about the MS recorder were just stories, I learned that it is necessary to be careful not to let the desire to prove a hypothesis outweigh the evidence that it is not substantiated. And it can be even worse: sometimes we want to prove a fact so much that we distort the sources in favor of our argument.

When it comes to researching historical sources, stating something vehemently can be dangerous. It is always better to use terms such as “the evidence points to...” or “the facts raised allow us to assume...”. For anyone starting out on their research path, I would say to be careful, not to have high expectations that it will be possible to prove something surprising in your research, but I would also say not to get discouraged. Great musicological discoveries came from intuitive, or even improbable, assumptions by the researchers responsible.

And, speaking of improbability:

## 9. Seek unlikely sources

Wouldn't it be wonderful if the sources we searched always had clear, precise and abundant information on the subjects of interest to us? Just imagine:

- *How to read that square notation?*  
– Ah, check the step by step instructions in book x.
- *How were the recorders used in that French dance?*  
– Just consult the treatise y.

- *What repertoire was played in that place?*  
– It's all there in the z collection!

Unfortunately, the information we need is often fragmented across multiple sources, sometimes with contradictory instructions, sometimes with data gaps. The further back in history, the more difficult it is to find sources that cover all the aspects we want to study. And then it is necessary to combine several sources that deal with music during that period.

There are cases, however, in which not even specific sources are sufficient to understand and reconstruct the music of a society, or a region. In these cases, the solution may be to research unconventional sources, that is, sources that are not dedicated to theoretical and practical aspects of music, but that touch on the area.

It is quite common, for example, to consult cash books belonging to courts and churches detailing payments to musicians for services rendered. These books help to reveal the musical training used in that context, as they record separate payments to each instrumentalist and/or singer. Engravings, paintings, images in general are precious sources of musical research, even taking into account the creative freedom of the artist, who might have rendered musicians and instruments with some imprecision. Other sources include customs records, travelers' accounts, official reports, inventories, letters.

In practice, any historical source helps with research, even if it doesn't mention music. It is through them that we learn about the culture, customs, and habits of a society, thus creating an image in our heads that helps us understand how music was present there. So, keep an open mind to learn about other aspects of the life of medieval, renaissance and baroque man. The perception we have of music in society can only be enriched by this knowledge.

## 10. Theory comes from practice

You know that conundrum about which came first, the chicken or the egg? So, what came first, the manual on how to make ornaments or the musician who created ornaments?

Forgetting that theory comes from practice is one of the greatest dangers for those who research. The information on how to play that is present in the sources did not come from the heads of their authors. In fact, it is common to find

mentions of musicians whom they considered models of perfection, or criticism of those who made terrible mistakes when playing. Authors write based on what they hear, with the filter of their choices and preferences.

Research in the area of performance is quite recent in Brazil, at least at the university level. It is clear that those who identify with the movement of historically oriented interpretation have always raised the flag that it is necessary to drink from the sources, know the treatises, and then experience them in practice. But as an area of knowledge, as a line of research at universities, the production of works on interpretation is relatively new. And this perhaps explains a dangerous tendency towards excessive theorization of practice in theses and dissertations.

It is true that some subjects are essentially theoretical, speculative, abstract. For example, no one was able to hear the music produced by the movement of the celestial stars, which gives rise to the theory of "harmony of the spheres". Research on subjects of this nature helps to understand the thinking that underpins theoretical principles of medieval, Renaissance and Baroque music. This is important and necessary research, linked mainly to the areas of historical musicology and philosophy.

However, when we deal with issues that are directly related to the interpretation of music, there can be no greater mistake than separating theory and practice. There is no point in studying all the articulations present in Dalla Casa and never trying them on the flute. There is no point reading in Quantz how to play the adagio and not actually playing the adagio as the author suggests. When you find the definition of a *flattement* in Hotteterre you need to test this feature on the flute.

But what if, after testing it in practice, the result does not seem satisfactory?

Well, if you really want to rely on historical sources, you need to ask a few questions:

- Is your instrument suitable for playing the piece?
- Do you have enough technical maturity to reproduce the proposed idea?
- Does the object of your investigation appear in other sources from the period?
- Does the proposal require technical skills that are absurdly different from conventional ones?



Depending on the answer, consider whether it is worth insisting on the treatise's instructions or abandoning them. No matter how correct and dedicated the research was, if in practice the information taken from a historical source results in an interpretation that is dull, strange and difficult to perform, choose to do what convinces you most, technically and musically.

Reflecting on practice is an important part of the interpreter's job. In the case of the practice of ancient music, having clear purposes and arguments to guide interpretation choices, based on research into historical sources, makes all the difference. But don't forget that we are 21<sup>st</sup> century musicians making music from the past. We live in a totally different world, we are people with different goals and demands, just like our audience.

In the end, what matters is believing in what you are doing, adopting interpretative choices that make sense to you. So, play before, during and after your research, and let your ears and your sensitivity, combined with your knowledge, tell you how the music should be interpreted.



Adjunct Professor of Recorder at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, **Patricia Michelini** has a PhD in Music from the University of São Paulo (ECA-USP), where she developed a dissertation on the history of the recorder in Brazil. She is the creator and member of groups that focus on the recorder repertoire from different historical periods, such as Duo Flustres and the Barroco Affettuoso and Galanteria ensembles. She has been a member of the UNIRIO Baroque Orchestra (OBU) since 2014, celebrating a partnership of many achievements with its Director, Laura Rónai. Also with Laura Rónai (and David Castelo) she wrote a recorder method which will be published in 2024. As a researcher, she regularly participates in scientific and artistic events relevant to the areas of Recorder and Early Music. She is a professor at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ) since 2011, where she directs their Professional Master's Program in Music (PROMUS). She is responsible for the Flauta Doce em Sistema extension project and for the curatorship of the Early Music Festivals and the Recorder Seminars.

# About Cantata BWV 60

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by Manoela Rónai Porto

So many things in life are difficult to deal with. Fights, separation from loved ones, losses of all types. The tiredness that everyday life imposes on us. Accidents, fatalities. Nothing, however, seems as difficult to accept as the contradiction of life: death, in the various forms in which it presents itself. Listening to Bach, for me, brings these two extremes together in a way that only he is capable of. I feel strangely close to death and at the same time, seeing it so raw, so piercing, I feel absolutely aware of how much I am still alive. No other artist in any field gives me such a feeling. It's even difficult to describe it. I take the liberty of quoting here a beautiful poem by José Paulo Paes:

Until the day I had to help  
lowering his coffin into the grave.  
Then I knew him as more than an absence.  
With my own hands, I felt the weight  
of his body, which was the weight/immenseness of the world.  
Then I got to know him. And I got to know myself.  
I look up at him on the wall.  
I know now, father,  
what it is to be alive.

In this poem, José Paulo Paes talks about the death of his father. My father is alive, and maybe that's why I need Bach's music so much. The cantata BWV 60, *O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort*, does for me what the weight of his father's dead body did for the São Paulo poet. It makes me feel the relationship between being alive and being dead. It makes me get lost and then takes me back.

Perhaps this cantata has a dark side. Perhaps the final chorus is a way of saying that even when hope wins, fear never dies. Perhaps Bach himself felt a terrible fear of death. Who knows if Hope's last line<sup>1</sup> is not a perfect summary of the

<sup>1</sup>"From now on I am blessed: Return, like this, O hope! May my body fall asleep without fear/ My soul can foresee such joy."

message the composer wanted to convey: that life is just a wait for the peace that is dying? All of these hypotheses make sense, for sure. I cannot offer arguments either to defend them or to attack them, as Bach deprives me of reason. Yes, I can try to talk about what I feel. I feel that the only way to accept and understand death is to think of it as what justifies existence. The very awareness that we are alive only seems to be possible due to this polarity between life and death. It is the consequence of being rational and taking on the world with this duality that haunts us: what scares us most is also what drives us.

Unlike the aria *Erbarme dich*, from the Saint Matthew Passion, in which, as Jonathan Miller rightly observes in the BBC documentary, *Great Composers*<sup>2</sup>, Bach seems to be reminding us of the suffering inherent in all human life, in the cantata *O Ewigkeit, du Donnerwort* (O Eternity, thunderous word) there are elements that seem to point to the opposite. If we accept the idea that death is the opposition of life, joy, in the same way, is the opposition, here, of suffering. The composer's genius lies precisely in this strange association, in my opinion. The effect of uniting the concepts of life with suffering in one case, and joy with death in the other, results in music that is much more crushing, in both cases. Yes, the fear of death is expressed in anticipation of it, but for this to be possible, for us to accept the joy of falling asleep, as the text of the cantata says, we must embrace death completely. Holding on to life is holding on to pain. As a listener, I feel left out of this support given to fear by conforming to death. We, who remain, still frightened by the prospect of eternal sleep, seem to be left devastated, without joy, watching the voice of Hope leave with the dead, doomed to continue agonizing in suffering until the redemption of the end comes to us too, as it does to all.

<sup>2</sup>"It never fails as a piece of drama. It's something that is permanently there: the fact that we are here to suffer and that our profession in this world is to die."



Perhaps this is why some people get the feeling that fear, despite the silence at the end of the cantata, has won. It's just that we have the habit of associating this feeling with something bad, and it's difficult to think of a worse feeling than the abandonment of staying alive, after discovering that the joy is in dying and that when we die, all the pain will finally pass. In the same way, *Erbarme dich*, despite being, a priori, talking about the feeling of betrayal, in my opinion, it is also about that same feeling. The abandonment of having betrayed and true regret. If we are not granted forgiveness, betrayal turns against us and, through our fault, we will be alone, doomed, too, to wait for the end. I think it's this aspect of rawness and intensity of feeling that makes these Bach pieces so strong. Bach did more than write religious plays when he chose a subject like this. Bach spoke about the feelings of men and their relationships and these changed little, or almost nothing.

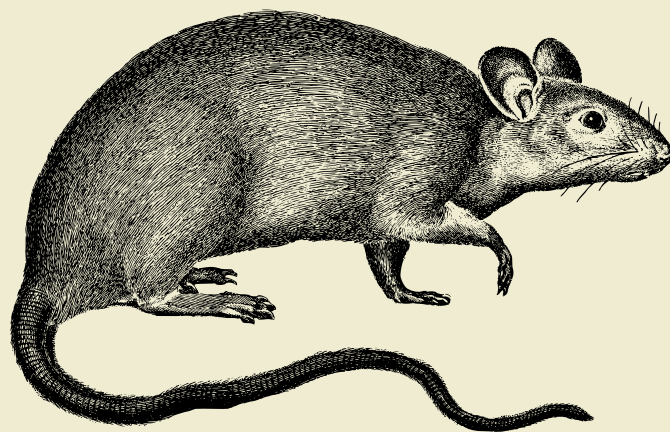
We continue to be afraid of death. We continue to feel alone and abandoned by God. We remain afraid to admit our responsibilities and eager for forgiveness, thinking that this will prevent us from loneliness. Today's world, so changed, with computer programs that our baroque composer would not have dreamed of, with already scored scores and – I am optimistic – with people capable of recognizing the value of such beautiful music, in fact, when we talk about the dread of man in the face of death, remains the same throughout the centuries.



**Manoela Rónai** has a degree in Literature from UNIRIO. Her final dissertation for the course, “Cartography of Repetition – Procedures, Fragile Forms and Absent Body in Nuno Ramos”, is about the mixture of literature and visual arts in the work of contemporary artist Nuno Ramos. Interested not only in the written text, but also in all artistic areas, Manoela ventured into taking optional classes in music and, therefore, this article. Currently, she works as a creator of content for magazines of the Ediouro publishing house, in the Coquetel series. She also works as a UX Writer at Lexos Hub, a company based in Brazil. She is Jewish, the mother of two lovely kids, a feminist, as well as an enthusiast of everything related to the house.

# A German singer, a Roman mouse and those damn clothes

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by Pedro Pastor

Just like the mouse, which gnaws at the king's clothes, Philipp Mathmann and the rest of the group present in the video, gnaws at the clothes in the concert song. From the first time I saw the video, I combined the two attitudes – of the Roman rat and Philipp's – within the chest of iconoclastic attitudes in my head (a small parenthesis is in order here, Philipp Mathmann, despite not being alone in the video, is the THE only one that has his name in the title, therefore, when I refer to him, I will often be saying things about the entire formation, like a metonymy). That said, I think it's sensational that children's first contact with iconoclasm is through a mouse gnawing at the king of Rome's clothes, a revolutionary and gnawing attitude (plus two Rs for the tongue twister<sup>1</sup>). Fiber by fiber, the king's clothes ended up in the belly of a dirty mouse, hehe.

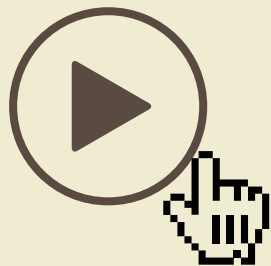
Anyway, without further expressing my admiration for tongue twisters, I continue. The second thing that came to mind, after the rat, was how different wearing fetish clothes, like they are wearing in this video, is from wearing so-called period clothes. Of course, the point of latex clothing, shirtless

ties, etc., is to shock the viewer who expects classic black pants, shirts, and shoes. However, the use of period clothing also aims to shock the same spectator waiting for the typical funeral concert. For me, the difference lies in the way the icon “concert wear” is treated. While Philipp goes against it and, almost literally, chews the black shirts, pants and shoes, the groups that use the old clothes elevate this icon to the repertoire they are playing. In both cases, the concert outfit, which when black is chosen so as not to be noticed, is catapulted to the front of everything and falls into the lap, or rather, into the listener's eye. Furthermore, one cannot ignore the generational conflict that the use of latex clothing at a Handel concert reaffirms, and therein lies another difference. Wearing, in a concert of his music, an outfit made from a material whose texture Handel must never have dreamed of is diametrically opposed to dressing in clothes that resemble those of his time. Another very contemporary attitude, stretching the difference between the habits of different times to the maximum and throwing the new on top of the old without worrying about coherence. Coherence must be made by the spectators who put together the pieces of this confusion and thus piece together their understanding, which is exactly what I'm trying to do here.

<sup>1</sup> Here there is a play on words. In Portuguese there is a tongue twister that goes “O rato roeu a roupa do rei de Roma” (the mouse gnawed at the king's clothes) to which the author added “gnawing and revolutionary attitude”, which, in Portuguese is written with two “R”: revolucionária e roedora.



Finally, I quickly raise a question that is perhaps the most difficult; the relationship between music and fetish. The first thing that appears when searching for the word fetish on Google is, after “male noun” in italic letters, “object to which supernatural or magical power is attributed and which lends itself to worship”. Hmm. Just like the music? Let's change some things from the Google entry. First, instead of “masculine noun” in italic letters, “feminine noun” in italic letters too, to remember the Roman rat at the beginning of the text. After that, let's delete the word “Fetish” from the top of the entry, and put “Music”. Oops! “Music: object to which supernatural or magical power is attributed and which lends itself to worship”. For me it made sense. Perhaps the two have some similarities beyond the dubious Google entries.



## Words, tears, and Bach, ossia, Some words about tears in Bach

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There is a phenomenon that impresses me a lot. Tears. More specifically, tears of emotion when listening to a piece of music. Even more specifically, tears of emotion when listening today to a great work by Bach. This subject sounds completely cliché, and maybe it is, but it is a cliché that works. We cry while listening to Bach, and I marvel at that. This is what I am trying to write about here.

It is clear that one of the residences of the emotional knot in the great works of Bach is in the relationship between what


is being said (the words) and what is being sung (the sound). Perhaps the first step in studying any baroque choral music is this, to recognize that here, the distinction between text and sound is less than we are used to believing – one exists for the other. Related to the words are the semantic issues. The works I am thinking of here (the Passions, the Cantatas, the Mass in b) are completely religious and absolutely Lutheran. Composed over 300 years ago, for a Saxon audience speaking old German, the St. John Passion manages to make me, an atheist, born almost 300 years later, who doesn't understand a jot or tittle of German, hold on to my chair – if not hold back my tears – with the first three repetitions of “Herr” in the opening chorus. This is something that I find unbelievable. If one doesn't speak German, and is not Lutheran, one might suppose that a connection with the language would be lost, and perhaps it is lost, a little; but the point is that even without understanding a word, and without having faith in the passion of Christ, something touches me.

It seems to me that since childhood we are taught that struggle against nature is a matter for the sciences. Something like scientific knowledge that tries, through its innovations and technologies, to “dominate” or “reproduce” natural knowledge. It turns out that, just as much as it is for the sciences, struggle against nature is a central part of European art (and, since we were colonized and structured as a nation on these foundations, I refer to European art as “our” art). To me, in a way, our art exists exclusively as a counterpoint to nature. And the opposition of Art vs. Nature was what governed the development of this art for a long time. I will not extend myself here, I do not have the academic caliber, with references, articles, books, and time of life to debate on the conflict between Art and Nature. But, with this concept in mind, I return to baroque music.

Listening to one of these great works by Bach means listening to many other things besides the music itself. We hear the instruments, each one built by someone who took a piece of wood (nature), broke it, cut it, fit it, molded it, took an animal (nature), pulled out its guts, dried it, made strings, fit it, molded it and gave it to someone to play, all this many times by many people until it reached the development of the instruments we see there. We hear the voice of the singers, which is literally the air coming out of someone's body, singing a text written by someone else, read and approved by someone

else. We hear someone else's ambition – and paid job – writing strange markings on a piece of paper, which, when read by someone literate in them, turns into sound. It seems that the conflict between the human and the natural is here in every possible way. And it also seems to me that through Bach, man comes close, indeed, very close, to the sublime beauty of the natural and is entirely proud of it.

Bach's great works, especially their openings, bring me this feeling. They make me imagine the pride the "baroque man" had when he saw 40 people united there to make whoever was listening burst into tears through sound and words. I can imagine the pride of the "baroque man" listening to them, thinking "We did it. We're almost there. This is so human that it seems natural. 300 years from now, if my culture perpetuates, I'm sure the message will still be here..." He continued. In a way, the tears we cry today when we hear Bach, are the tears of 300 years ago, and the tears cried 300 years ago have been cried infinite times during those 300 years. And the tremendous baroque works, clothed in pride of place for their absurd affection and feeling, remain tremendous even though we don't understand with certainty what their lyrics say.

A portrait of Pedro Pastor, a young man with dark, curly hair and a beard, wearing round glasses and a black t-shirt. He is looking directly at the camera with a slight smile.

**Pedro Pastor** is a Brazilian music student. Currently pursuing his master's degree in Musicology at the University of São Paulo (USP), Pedro completed his B.A. in Music Education at the Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro (UNIRIO). The main focus of his research has been the intersection of rhetoric and music in the baroque period. As a cataloger, he has been a research fellow at the Institute for Composer Diversity, located at the State University of New York at Fredonia, and part of the Vocal Music Instrumentation Index.

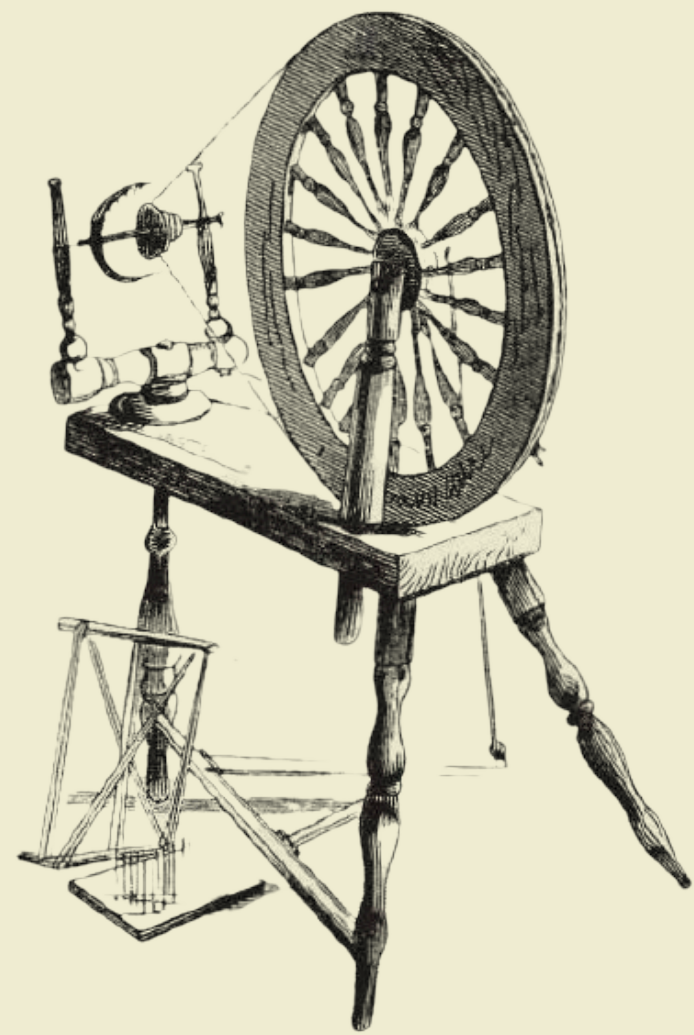


# Gretchen am Spinnrade: Waiting depicted by music

There are Gretchens and Gretchens...

*“Oh. What a life! Always anguish: either aiming for pleasure, either unrestful in owing, and also missing and longing what has passed!”*

Faust, frame XIV, scene 1.



by Artur Ortenblad

The expectation of happiness, a fantasy stimulated as individualism became more pressing in modern societies, manifested itself in Romanticism as the right to “love”; to wait for the perfect romantic encounter. Ambition is another constant that humans have struggled with since time immemorial, precisely because it remains a synonym or substitute for the expectation of happiness. Faust, by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, deals with these two issues: the ambition to know everything leads to Faust's pact with the devil, and the desire to possess love will be the central theme of the work, through the conquest, purgation and salvation of Gretchen. It is this section of the work, more precisely when she is a pure girl, who has already been seduced, but has not yet consummated her love or its tragic consequences – the poisoning of her mother, the murder of her brother, and the infanticide carried out by herself, followed by her arrest and death – that will inspire Schubert to compose his lied Gretchen am Spinnrade, op.2 or D118, in 1814, a time when he was, like Gretchen, a young man full of aspirations for his life, ironically also prematurely destroyed because of love.

The poem set to music makes up the 15<sup>th</sup> frame of the first book of Faust; Gretchen works at the spinning wheel, thinking about her beloved. The verses form quatrains, in which the rimes always occur between the second and the fourth verse. When setting them to music, Schubert resorts to the ingenious strategy of repeating the stanza with which the poem starts three times, to better depict the obsessive nature of the character's feelings and thoughts.

*“Meine Ruh is hin, Mein Herz ist schwer. Ich finde sie nimmer und nimmermehr.”*

“My peace is gone, my heart is heavy. I will never find peace again.”

Schubert expresses this mood through pedal tones on the piano, often in the 5<sup>th</sup> tone of the chord (chord 4-6), which gives a feeling of instability and of the imminence of something important. The minor ninth dominants add tension to this wait. At the same time, the obsessive movement of the distaff is depicted by the 16<sup>th</sup> notes of the accompaniment, which meander through the music, as the skein of thread that will

weave the plot of the story. It is a nocturnal and feminine song, and if on the one hand the four-time repetition of the lyrics “My peace is gone, my heart is heavy” shows the obsession that desire and waiting engender, the character of the music leads one to imagine a girl resigned to just dreaming about her beloved, as most of the dynamics are in *pianissimo* and the *fortes* that appear are just to highlight a special harmony. The real *crescendo* will only happen when Gretchen is moved by the passionate memory of her lover, until she reaches the climax of the memory of the kiss. From then on, resignation leads to complete despair, highlighted by a *crescendo* and an *accelerando* of six measures. After this, the last appearance of the refrain “my peace is gone, my heart is heavy” takes place in a *ritardando* that continues until the end, suggesting that the character fell asleep overcome by tiredness; there is no end to this wait, since the song ends in the same way it begins; Gretchen is entangled in a web whose consequences will be fatal.

There are several recorded performances of this lied, each one with its own merits. When comparing them, it is interesting to notice what pleases musically and works dramatically and what doesn't. Much of it may be a matter of taste, indeed; it is fantastic when a performance which initially we find awkward is able to convince us, when it offers a different vision than the one we imagined, but is still coherent. The interpretative choices that determine the way each artist conceives the character may call our attention to sometimes the fragile and innocent aspect, sometimes the passionate and troubled one; the emphasis of interpretation can also privilege musical or dramatic elements. It is difficult to achieve a harmonious balance of all these variables, so that they all strengthen each other.

In a recording made in 1967, for example, Christa Ludwig follows the romantic recipe of a passionate and dramatic interpretation, truly beautiful from the musical and vocal perspective; however, this rapture and also the transposition one tone lower, which makes the timbre of her voice darker, give the character a strength and a weight that do not seem consistent with the vulnerable spirit of a naïve and lonely teenager in love, dreamingly waiting for her lover, in such an intimate and feminine activity as spinning. Besides that, Geoffrey Parsons plays the 16<sup>th</sup> notes on the piano so

mechanically, that it suggests that this spinning wheel is in someone else's command, no longer an accomplice to Gretchen's feelings. Christa knows how to take advantage of the “s” in the word “*Kuss*”—sipped with the sensuality of ecstasy, followed by a moment of silence, that “silence of eternity”. René Flemming also takes advantage of this resource.

KIRI TE KANAWA, in a recording made in 1987, opts for an interpretation without much vibrato, slower, more delicate, with a contemplative character. Her timbre is also more delicate. Richard Amner uses little pedal in this version, which emphasizes the intimate character of the song. Even slower is the version by BARBARA BONNEY with pianist Geoffrey Parsons, from 1994, which, due to this slow tempo, suggests a tender and sweet Gretchen and allows greater variation in *accelerando* and *ritardando*. In this case, the accompaniment, even though it is performed by the same pianist as in Christa's version, is in harmony with the interpretation, as the slower tempo makes the mechanical character disappear.

The period piano (from 1835) played by Jorg Demus in the version sung by ELLY AMELING in 1965 helps to create the ambiance of the song, and as its resonance is not so intense, the pianist can use the pedal without shuffling the sound or obscuring the movement of the sixteenth-note plot. Using the pedal in this way gives a dreamlike atmosphere to the performance. The flexibility with which time is approached conveys the pulse of the spinning wheel, which is identified with the beating of Gretchen's heart. Furthermore, the more velvety timbre of the piano evokes the intimate and nocturnal character that the music requires. The tuning is lower, trying to follow that which was used in Schubert's time. However, some intonations which the singer uses sound a little dated, and excessively operatic. THIS VERSION, that of Barbara Bonney and that of Marina Rebeka, performed in London in 2012 with the pianist Giulio Zappa, has the merit of faithfully following the indication of Schubert's long nine-bar final *ritardando*. Indeed, Schubert wanted the movement to stop gradually, like a wheel that stops being driven. Most are afraid of doing such a long *rallentando*, as they are of applying *accelerandi*. In Rebeka and Zappa's interpretation, the beginning of the piece is played without a pedal until measure



48, when, in pianissimo, the character begins to describe her beloved, and the texture of the accompaniment changes. At this moment, the use of the pedal highlights with great effect the sweetness of Gretchen's memory.

Performers who opt for faster and more rigid tempos may suggest an electric spinning wheel, or better still, a sewing machine. In this case, she would already be a 20<sup>th</sup> century Gretchen, almost a feminist, indignant at her lover's delay in complying with her wishes. **THIS IS THE GRETCHEN THAT RENÉ FLEMMING EMBODIES** in her performance with the Lucerne orchestra under the baton of Claudio Abbado. Max Reger's orchestration takes away the prominence of the distaff movement made by the violins and chooses to reinforce the melodic line, with the winds in dialogue with the bass and the occasional responses from the winds to the soprano's line. If, on the one hand, it is more difficult to organically perform the distaff movement with several violins, the faster tempo ends up working well in this version, as it dilutes the mechanical character of the line, which becomes a harmonic continuum that serves as support for the melody.

Interesting is **NINA HAGEN'S "POSTMODERN GRETCHEN"**, from 1991. She transposes the piece a minor 6<sup>th</sup> lower (the original version is in d minor and she sings in f# minor), which allows for a warm and mysterious timbre. Drums, synthesizer accompaniment, and electric guitar commentary replace the spinning of the distaff. Gretchen doesn't sew anymore; she can buy her clothes at a thrift store. She also doesn't give a damn about her lover – she is self-sufficient! She interprets with irony words that would originally suggest suffering, transforming them into

mannerisms that now convey voluptuousness. And she simply ignores the climax of the piece – the moment of the kiss, where there is the fermata – and changes the harmony, removing its “notes of pain” – the B natural in measure 67 becomes a B flat, transforming the diminished chord into a dominant chord – and in measure 68 she takes out the minor ninth of the chord (the B flat of the fermata).

After this, she squanders her sensuality speaking French, just like “our” Gretchen from the eighties: “Tragedy is the great evil. Don't take it away from me! Comedy is the joke of my life. Mystery, don't take it away from me! I have gone beyond my heart. Do you want me? Embrace me!”

Jokes aside, this version has the freedom not to be constrained by the metrics and vibrato of the traditional schools of singing and translates the story of Gretchen to the sensibility of the present times. Granted, all the dramaticism of the song is submerged by a kitsch musical arrangement. The focus is now quite different. Everything became a big hedonistic and self-referential joke. Isn't this a faithful portrait of our time? Who would die for love nowadays?

Anyway, it is interesting to see how easy it was to turn Schubert into pop music. This happens because the trajectory carried out by Schubert through so many harmonies, always waiting for resolution, fits so well with this expectation of happiness, that his music easily conquers our sensibility, so accustomed to the sweet caress of the senses, whether in Schubert's *urtext* or Nina's pop Schubert.



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# Adulation, Wisdom, Scandal: the flutes in Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*

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The *Iconologia* by the Italian Cesare Ripa is without question the compilation of symbols and emblems that had the most influence on the visual arts in the West. With its first edition published in 1593, at the height of the Renaissance, it was especially intended for “...poets, painters and sculptors, in order to represent human virtues, vices, affects, and passions”, as explained on the title page. There was such interest in the book that it gave rise to around twenty-five distinct subsequent editions, published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in various countries and in various languages, most of the editions being illustrated. It is a compilation of descriptions of allegories, organized in the form of an encyclopedia, in which most are presented in the form of personifications stemming primarily from the tradition of classical antiquity, sometimes with extensive commentary and discussion, recognizable through their attributes and symbology.

Musical instruments are frequent attributes in this *corpus*, and those wind instruments designated under the epithets *Tibia* and *Flauto* already appear associated with some allegories in the first Italian editions. These terms were apparently used indiscriminately as synonyms, as is indicated in one of the summaries of the Venetian edition of 1645, where one term indicates the other (“*Tibia vedi Flauto*”) and seem to indiscriminately represent any woodwind instrument composed of a tube. In this edition, organized and enlarged by Giovanni Zaratino Castellini (Figure 1), taken as representative

of the first set of editions, these appear associated with eight distinct personifications: *Adulatione* (“*Tibia, overo il flauto*”, p. 12), *Comedia* (*Tibia*, p. 92), *Erato* (*Flauto*, p. 430), *Euterpe* (*Tibia*, p. 427; *Flauto*, p. 429), *Industria* (*Flauto*, p. 279), *Sapienza Humana* (*Tibia*, p. 546), *Scandolo* (*Flauto*, p. 551) and *Senso* (*Tibia*, p. 566). Some of these were illustrated with woodcuts, such as *Adulatione* (Figure 2), *Sapienza Humana* (Figure 3) and *Scandolo* (Figure 4). With respect to the iconography, the instruments are all very simple and similar, elongated, and conical in shape. Only *Adulatione* shows the type of transverse flute in use.

In turn, the London edition of 1709 (Figure 5), published more than a century after the *editio princeps*, presents a series of changes, many of which should be seen as updates in relation to esthetic changes and the new practice developed over the course of the seventeenth century, when the Baroque style began to appear in the arts. Published by P. Tempest, there was a drastic reduction of the repertoire of allegories to 326, which represents about half of the original total, all of which are personifications. These are treated in a similar way, with descriptive texts translated and adapted from the Italian editions, and all the explanations are likewise very concise. The recto of the folios presents the texts of four or exceptionally six, allegories, while the respectively numbered engravings, produced on a copper matrix by I. Fuller, are arranged in medallions on the verso. With respect to the musical instruments associated with the personifications, surprisingly,



there is in this version a declared choice to refer to the instruments then in use, which is distinct both in the texts and in the images. In emblem 92 (*Diletto; Delight*), the *Violin* as substitute for the *Lira* of the Italian editions, and in emblem 15 (*Armonia; Harmony*) a bass viola da gamba (*Base-viol*) appears instead of the *Lira doppia*.

With regard to the woodwind instruments cited, the focus of this essay, novelties were introduced. Of the eight emblems cited in the edition of 1654, only three were retained in the English version, corresponding coincidentally with the three previously illustrated, each with reference to a distinct instrument: transverse flute (“Fig. 4. *Adulatione: Flattery*” / *Flute*, fol. 1; Figure 6), recorder (“Fig. 267. *Sapienza Humana: Humane Wisdom*” / *Recorder*, fol. 67; Figure 7) and oboe (“Fig. 268. *Scandalo: Scandal*” / *Hautboy*, fol. 67; Figure 8). Although the instruments cited are not represented in a very realistic way on the emblems, the transverse flute is the one which has the oldest appearance, cylindrical, without divisions or ornamentation, similar to a Renaissance instrument. In fact, among the winds mentioned, the transverse flute was the last to undergo changes in its construction, only taking on its typical Baroque appearance, conical, and with sections, in the final decades of the seventeenth century, when it became a very popular instrument. Although clearly named, the recorder and oboe differ little in the rather imprecise representations in the respective emblems, although these clearly refer to Baroque instruments in their shapes.

As attributes of three quite distinct personifications, each one of these instruments bears in its appearance a very strong symbolic charge, particularly the recorder, which appeared countless times in allegorical paintings, especially in the still-life genre. Being associated with the personifications of Human Wisdom, a young Apollonian character, which presents four hands and four ears, the recorder in an allegorical painting, as a metonymy of this emblem, comes to warn us that the exercise of contemplation is not sufficient to reach true wisdom. It is also important to note that, although recurrent in several allegorical representations of the five senses, a pictorial theme widely explored throughout the seventeenth century, in which we are reminded of the channels of pleasure that lead us to sin, it is other elements that direct us to the sense of hearing (Figure 9). In still-lives of *Vanitas*, next to a skull, the representation of the recorder reminds the observer to practice a good Christian life and to know how to listen, which will direct him to the best road in life after death (Figure 10). The oboe, in turn, which came from a family of loud instruments, is associated with Scandal, an elderly male character, a bad example for the young, given to earthly pleasures like music and gambling. It is not by chance that in this emblem the instrument is represented having fallen on the ground, on a score. In a similar way, a precursor of the oboe, in the famous painting “The Musicians’ Brawl” by Georges de La Tour, is the central object in a street fight between two elderly men (Figure 11).





Figure 1. Cesare Ripa, 1645. *Iconologia di Cesare Ripa Perugino*. Girolamo Contarini, Venezia (cover).



Figure 2. Cesare Ripa, 1645. Emblem, *Adulatione* (p. 12, detail).



Figure 3. Cesare Ripa, 1645. Emblem, *Sapienza Humana* (p. 546, detail).



Figure 4. Cesare Ripa, 1645. Emblem, *Scandolo* (p. 551, detail).



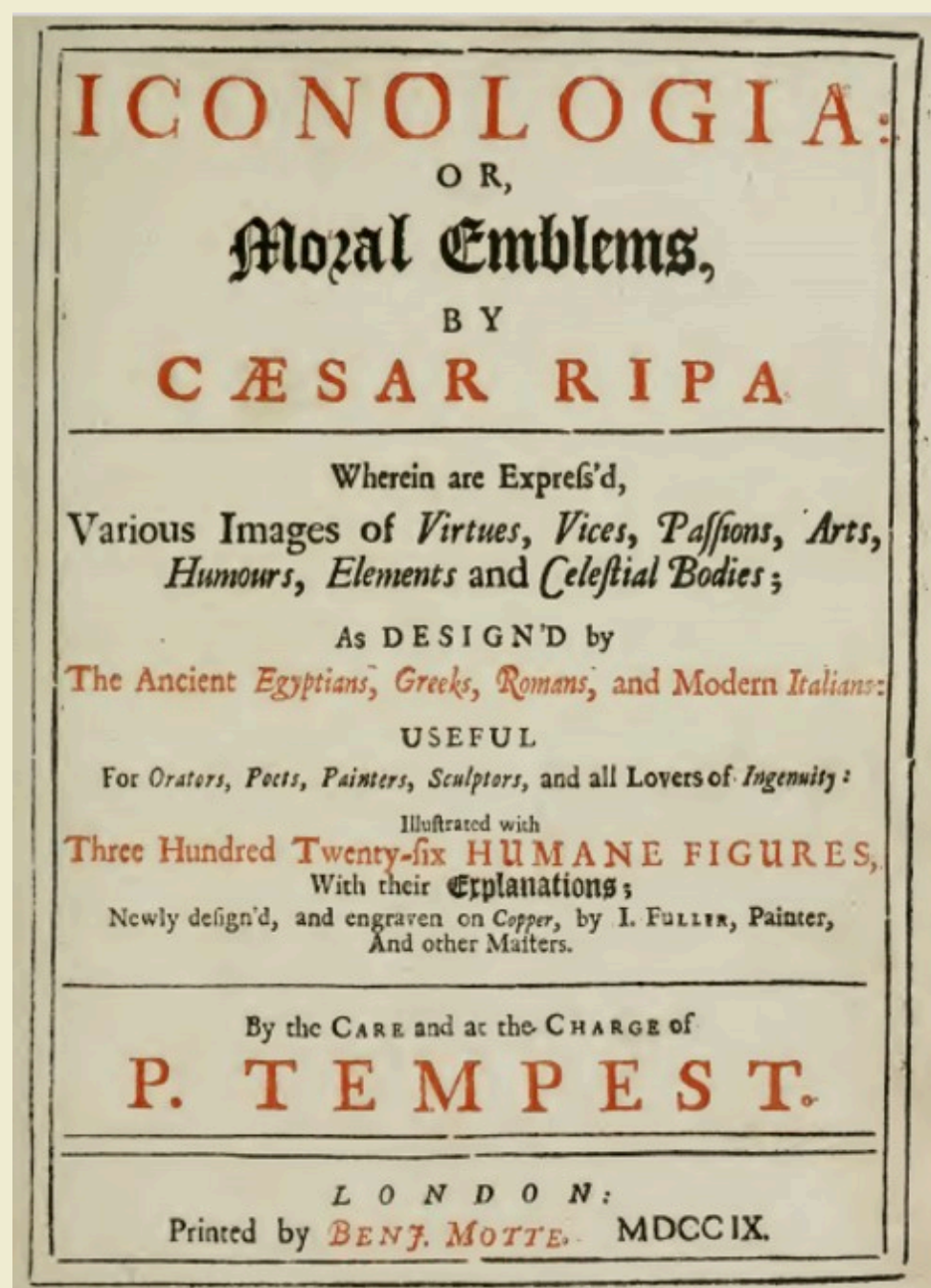


Figure 5. Cesare Ripa, 1709. *Iconologia: or, Moral Emblems*. P. Tempest, London



Figure 6. Cesare Ripa, 1709: Emblem, *Adulatione: Flattery* (Fig. 4, fol. 1, detail).



Figure 7. Cesare Ripa, 1709: Emblem, *Sapienza Humana: Humane Wisdom* (Fig. 267, fol. 67, detail).



Figure 8. Cesare Ripa, 1709: Emblem, *Scandalo: Scandal* (Fig. 268, fol. 67, detail).



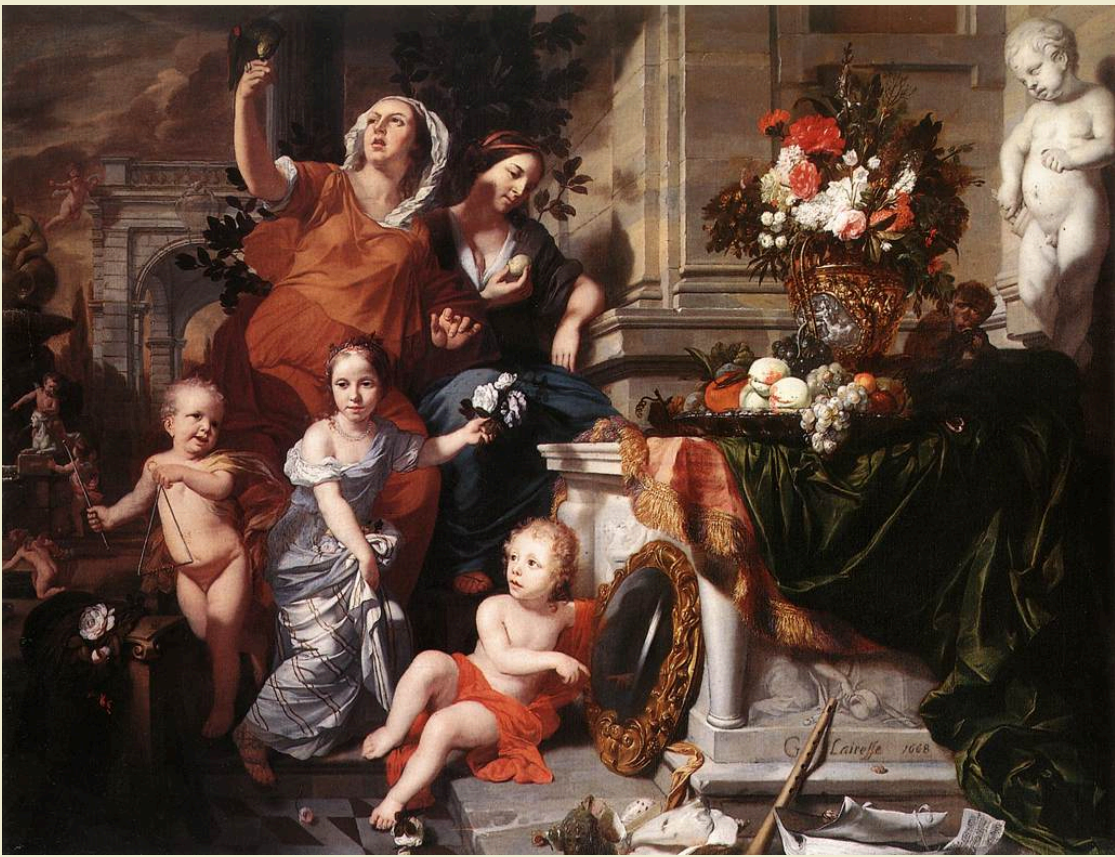


Figure 9. Gérard de Lairesse (1640-1711). *Allegory of the Five Senses* (1668). *Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum*, Glasgow.



Figure 10. Harmen Steenwyck (ca. 1612-ca. 1656). *An Allegory of the Vanities of Human Life* (1640/50). *The National Gallery*, London.



Figure 11. Georges de La Tour (1593-1652). *The Musicians' Brawl* (ca. 1625). *J. Paul Getty Museum*, Los Angeles.

Besides mastering many instruments and being a member of various groups specializing in music from before the 17<sup>th</sup> Century, **Alcimar do Lago** is a full professor at the National Museum, of the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRJ). Primarily a specialist in insect biology and systematics, in recent years he has also dedicated his attention to different topics of Cultural Zoology, History of Biology and History of Art. He is the author of more than a hundred titles, including articles, book chapters, and communications, and he is an advisor at the Graduate Program in Zoology at the National Museum – UFRJ, as well as a curator of collections and exhibitions at that institution.





# Transitional concepts: experiences from academic research on medieval music

by Pedro Hasselmann Novaes

This article is a synthesis of the doctoral thesis entitled *Concepts of authorship and work in medieval music: cooperation and continuity*<sup>1</sup>, a kind of free and expanded summary of this text. It aims, perhaps, to arouse some interest in the reader in the main subjects and questions of the research. To this end, I propose a simple guide: to elucidate the meaning(s) adopted for each of the words in the title of the thesis. These are invariably dependent on contexts and relationships established between them. Considering the depth expected from the final text of a doctoral research, the words stated in the title will necessarily have undergone many developments, arriving at particular meanings, which is typical and natural of the research process. I clarify: the best glossaries and musical dictionaries available contain meanings for musical authorship in the Middle Ages. These meanings can help those who explore the topic, but they are far from offering in-depth and definitive answers. Articles also offer useful definitions for research in the humanities and arts, but parsimony in readily assuming certain meanings of words prevents reductionism, generally incompatible with most research.

Giving a banal example: words like “carbon”, “sodium”, “height”, “width”, “depth” etc. do not contain important variations in meaning, both in dictionaries and in the use of scientific jargon (with the exception of literary use). But if we consider the word “musician”, whose meaning is almost as uniform in dictionaries as that of the words listed above, we immediately notice the insufficiency and weaknesses of these sources in the face of the countless contextual fluctuations of concepts linked to this word; its many meanings emanate from different cultures and historical moments. There is also the sociological point of view, in which “musicians” have different functions and statuses. Today, common sense would say that a musician is rather a practitioner, someone who has developed

a special artistic ability, with this character being particularly associated with mastering an instrument. The philosopher Boethius – who lived in the early Middle Ages and whose texts exerted enormous influence in the millennium that followed his death – would not agree at all with such a definition. For him, the “true musician” is “[...] one who deals with the science of making music through reason, not through the servitude of execution, but through the command of speculation”<sup>2</sup> (BOÉCIO, 1867, p. 225<sup>3</sup>).

Contrasts expose the need for attention to demands and values specific to the human sciences and arts on the one hand and, on the other, to the particularities of the so-called exact sciences. Obviously, it is not permissible to conceive that exact sciences are more “logical” than disciplines in other areas; each field has its own mechanisms, particular “logics” (studying the “being” of biology sheds little or no light on the “Being” of philosophy). Regarding this, there have already been long and exhaustive debates, but I would like to focus on a historical moment that was crucial for the delimitation of provinces.

In 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe, the process of methodological independence of disciplines intensified, initially due to the effort to establish a minimum border between the so-called “natural sciences” and the “sciences of the spirit”. It was rather a cry for independence of the latter in relation to the former, since doctrines in vogue, such as positivism, had the project of submitting all types of knowledge more or less to the same measurements. This cry for independence was first given by the historian Gustav Droysen (1808-1874), and was soon echoed by the philosopher Wilhem Dilthey (1833-1911) on another mountain, but in the same range and over the same valley.. They exclaimed that to the natural sciences were worth the mechanisms of explanation (*Eklärung*), and for the sciences of the spirit, those of understanding (*Verstehen*). They believed that man cannot be “explained” as an isolated phenomenon of

<sup>1</sup> Author's thesis, submitted to the Graduate Program in Music at the Center for Letters and Arts at UNIRIO, as a partial requirement for obtaining the Doctor's degree, under the guidance of Prof. Dr. Clayton Vetromilla and co-supervision of Prof. Maya Suemi Lemos, in 2021. Available at: <http://www.repositorio-bc.unirio.br:8080/xmlui/handle/unirio/13259?show=full>. Accessed on August 25, 2021.

<sup>2</sup> *Is vero est musicus, qui ratione perpensa canendi scientiam non servitio operis sed imperio speculationis adsumpsit.*

<sup>3</sup> This Latin passage as well as all others in this language that appear in this article, as well as in the author's dissertation, were generously translated by Dom Felix Ferrá.

nature. Much more appropriately, Dilthey (2010, p. 43) considers that “[...] the units, which act on each other, in the wonderfully intertwined whole of history and society, are individuals, all psychophysical, of which each one is different from the other, of which each is a world.” It is understood that man cannot be explained by himself; understanding is the possible aspiration (a premise taken up in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by Lévi-Strauss). And if from philosophy, history, sociology (let alone literature!) ultimately emanates this psychophysical complexity that is man himself, everything that is explored in these fields, including words, gives a body of science to these disciplines, but their contents cannot be explained in the same way as a mathematical formula or a chemical equation. There are many nuances found in the studies of the “sciences of the spirit”, and anyone who dedicates themselves to them soon realizes that it is not their job to explain anything, but rather to use understanding, like someone who understands the qualities and defects of a friend, but who would not dare and could not claim the right to fully explain his personality, his motivations and his actions.

Having made initial considerations and as proposed at the beginning of the article, I now turn to the particular meanings of the words in the title of the thesis, according to what I was able to establish about them from the research.

### **Concepts – authorship – work**

It is never too much to remember that the expression “Middle Ages”, coined to define this very long historical period, carries a stigma – starting with the term itself, generated at the beginning of the Modern Era – because it evokes the idea of a nebulous era, a depression between two peaks of culture, that of Classical Antiquity and that of the Renaissance of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The French historiography of the 20<sup>th</sup> century encouraged a review of this concept, as partial as it was widespread, and, therefore, perhaps today we have a more accurate perception – at least in historiographic circles – of what these thousand years of history represented: along with many problems, errors and limits, the Middle Ages was also a time of the emergence of great civilizational milestones, which is why the Brazilian medievalist Hilário Franco Júnior chose the title *The Middle Ages: birth of the West* for one of his most popular books (FRANCO JR., 1992). For scholars of the period, these milestones create patterns of proximity and recognition, but they also come across habits that are far removed from their

own experience and, therefore, are more difficult to understand. Thus, those who dedicate themselves to studies about the period find themselves, so to speak, on the border of familiarity and strangeness.

Among the aforementioned medieval civilization landmarks, there were those specific to the musical field. Two of them stand out: it was at this time that various types of notation emerged and developed for centuries, which ended up converging into a consolidated system in the 15<sup>th</sup> century; from then on, there were no radical changes to the basis of conventional notation. The one used today is a result of a process that began in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and practically ended in the 15<sup>th</sup> or 16<sup>th</sup>. The oldest surviving examples of musical notations date back, according to Gampel (2012, p. 6), to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC, but they are fragmentary and comparatively much less developed than the medieval ones. It was necessary to wait until the 9<sup>th</sup> century AD for something unprecedented to begin: a generational effort, spanning nearly six centuries, to develop, critique, and transform forms of notated representations of music. Linked to notations, we have another medieval contribution, which was the birth (in the sense of a conscious practice) of polyphony and its consequent and systematic development. There are descriptions of executions with more than one voice among the Greeks since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD (WAGNER, 1928, p.16), and similar ones (paraphonic singing) by the papal choir, documented from the 7<sup>th</sup> century onwards (MEYER, 1993, p. 100), but the absence of any pieces with more than one voice in musical score lasted until the 9<sup>th</sup> century, suggesting that these practices could not be compared with the level of consciousness acquired from the development of medieval polyphony. Although oral polyphonies can be rich and complex (see the living tradition of the island of Corsica), the advent of the visual resource of polyphonic notation inaugurates a universe and potential development that was previously inconceivable. Therefore, medieval notations and polyphony would define, *per se*, the direction of Western music to this day.

But, as I said, there are aspects of the Middle Ages that seem distant and cause a feeling of strangeness. From a sociological point of view, the biggest challenge may be understanding the problem of the individual. Since the beginning of the Modern Era, we have witnessed the germination of a certain individualism, stimulated, at least from a material point of view, by a mercantilist mentality later expanded by practices derived from economic liberalism. Elijah considered that:



[...] since the European Middle Ages, the balance between the I-identity and the we-identity has undergone a remarkable change, which can be briefly characterized as follows: previously, the balance between the we-identities and I-identities tipped massively for the first. From the Renaissance onwards, it began to lean more and more towards I-identity.” (ELIAS, 1994, p. 161).

We still find ourselves under the aegis of deep-rooted individualism. Medieval man lived before such transformations and, therefore, could not mentally construct something analogous to individualism in the modern sense (which has nothing to do with personal conduct, with human selfishness, which exists always and everywhere on the planet). Nor is it a lack of recognition of actions on the part of those who performed them or on the part of the other. It is a conception specific to an era, of the individual in society. Elias (1994) states that until the end of the Middle Ages, a self-image prevailed that tipped the scales of “we-identity”, leaving the “I-identity” plate lighter and more suspended (ELIAS, 1994, p. 161). Carl Dahlhaus (1928-1989) was one of the first musicologists to take a critical stance on the transformation of concepts of musical works since the first decades of the Modern Era. This is a clear path to changing mentality. Regarding this, two eras are highlighted by the author: first, the Renaissance, which, for him, inaugurated “[...] the notion according to which a work could survive the death of the one who produced it”<sup>4</sup>. (DAHLHAUS, 1977, p. 146).<sup>5</sup> If the work is linked to whoever made it, we are necessarily faced with a parallel transformation of the image of the individual himself, the composer. The second moment, a deepening of this concept of work, occurred in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, as follows:

That the character of a work be imposed by its survival, by the fact that it surpasses the time of its creation – that bad quality therefore should quickly – and that the quality of an aesthetic judgment be measured according to the precision of the prognosis, is a characteristic conviction of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>6</sup> (DAHLHAUS, 1977, p. 146, our translation).

Individuality permeated by a sense of community is represented by another scale, this one divine and constitutive of the medieval imagination, which served to “weigh souls”, with the good deeds practiced by the individual in life being placed on one plate and, on the other, their fouls. The religiosity and sense of collectivity typical of the time, according to which no one is saved or condemned alone, gave Thomas Aquinas (1224/5-1274) the opportunity to describe two divine judgments, one individual and the other community, as follows:

Every man is an individual person and a part of the entire human race. Hence his judgment must be double. An individual one [*singulare*], which will be made after his death, when he will receive according to what he did in the body. [...] His other judgment must occur because he is part of the entire human race: as it is said that someone is judged, according to human justice, when the judgment is given on the community [*communitate*] of which he is part.<sup>7</sup> (AQUINO, 1906, p. 205, our translation).<sup>8</sup>

We now come to the point at hand: if the medieval individual could not see himself apart from a strong sense of collectivity, I support the thesis that this mentality impacted and took on various forms in the musical production of the time. The basis of this thesis is that since the advent of medieval musical notation in the 9<sup>th</sup> century and until the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the most varied forms of borrowing of melodic and rhythmic material were constant: *contrafacta*, quotations and allusions<sup>9</sup> – topics explored by Plumley (2003) –, added to the practice of centonization<sup>10</sup>, the composition of tropes<sup>11</sup>, etc. These occurrences are more commonly detected between authors, but they also occur from one composition to another or even within a piece by the same author. It is curious how these forms of musical art come to worry us today: in the face of so many borrowings, where is the composer's famous originality? This

<sup>7</sup> [...] homo et est singularis quædam persona, et est pars totius generis humani. Unde et duplex ei iudicium debentur. Unum singulare, quod de eo fiet post mortem, quando *recipiet iuxta ea quæ in corpore gessit* [...] Aliud iudicium debet esse de eo secundum quod est pars totius humani generis: sicut aliquis iudicari dicitur, secundum humanam iustitiam, quando etiam iudicium datur de communitate cuius ipse est pars.

<sup>8</sup> *Suma Teológica* III, supl., q. 88, a. 1, ad 1.

<sup>9</sup> In my research I describe and exemplify these and other similar procedures.

<sup>10</sup> Modalities for reusing interchangeable melodic formulas or entire melodies applied to different texts correspond to practices that are as old as they are constitutive of medieval liturgical ecclesiastical singing itself. The first modern systematic studies of the incidence of musical formulas in the body of this repertoire date back to Wagner (1921) and Ferretti (1934). According to Chew and McKinnon (2001), Wagner already spoke of “wandering melismas” and Ferretti was the first to use the word *cento* to define melodies constructed by melodic formulas. The patchwork quilt analogy has not always been considered the most appropriate to describe the constitution of Gregorian chant. Chew and McKinnon define formulaic singing more in terms of an organically unified creation, which would range from the adaptation of entire melodies to new texts, to the accommodation “[...] of different texts of each chant by a free reworking of new material together with a fund of common formulae [...]” (CHEW; MCKINNON, 2001.).

<sup>11</sup> According to Planchart (2001), “Name given from the 9<sup>th</sup> century towards a number of closely related genres consisting essentially of additions to pre-existing chants. Three types of addition are found: (1) that of a musical phrase, a melisma without text (unlabeled or called trope in the sources); (2) that of a text to a pre-existing melisma (most frequently called *prosula*, *prosa*, *verba* or *versus*, although sometimes also trope, in the sources); (3) that of a new verse or verses, consisting of text and music (most frequently called trope, but also *laudes*, *versus* and in certain specific cases *farsa*, in the sources).” Regarding the above classification, Planchart (2001) highlights that the subordination of different genres to the same name (trope or troop) is a modern decision and not a medieval one, and was therefore subject to review.

<sup>4</sup> Depuis l’époque de la Renaissance, où elle a été formulée pour la première fois, l’idée de l’œuvre musicale, de la *poiësis* opposée à la simple pratique, était indissolublement associée à l’idée selon laquelle une œuvre peut survivre à la mort de celui qui l’a produite.

<sup>5</sup> Here the musicologist clearly resorted to the concept of “perfect and absolute work” (*opus perfectum & absolutum*) by the 17<sup>th</sup> century German music theorist Nicolaus Listenius.

<sup>6</sup> Que le caractère d’art d’une œuvre s’affirme par la survie de celle-ci, par le fait de dépasser le temps de sa création – que la mauvaise qualité meurt donc rapidement – et que le rang d’un jugement esthétique se mesure à la justesse du pronostic, est une conviction caractéristique du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle et du début du XX<sup>e</sup>.

question symbolizes the myth of romantic originality still in action today, whispering in the ear, a myth full of modern individualism, which is also an expression of revolutionary ideals in music. Since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Germans had idealized a musical art that was “independent and free, subject only to its own laws, fantasizing happily and aimlessly”<sup>12</sup> (HALL, 2009, p. 418). This is an ideal that has led to the composition of undeniably sublime works. The problem is that universalizing this concept – which is not difficult, given its naturalization – prevents us from perceiving other experiences, tends to hide forms of originality that are not linked to the need for deconstruction to stand out. Reworking pre-existing material can be extremely creative and can even prove to be more arduous than the absence of barriers. This last concept of originality was what most impressed medieval man.

The Franciscan scholastic Saint Bonaventure (1221-1274), in his *Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard* (identified with the “Master” in the excerpt below), named four levels of authorial participation in a work, a passage that I consider a true find for the thesis. In fact, the following definitions are not less useful when it comes to unveiling cooperative aspects of the construction processes of medieval musical composition. Imitating the medieval people, who greatly appreciated classifications, I would say that having these concepts in mind as research developed only generated benefits, illuminating many aspects of the problem of musical authorship at the time. Let’s see, then, what Boaventura thought about the hierarchy of authorship:

To understand the texts, note that there are four ways to make books. One writes what belongs to others, adding nothing or changing, and this one is called a mere copyist.<sup>13</sup> Another writes by gathering what belongs to others, but not from himself, and this is called a compiler. Another writes what is of others and of himself, but what is of others is main, and what is of himself is added for evidence; and he calls himself a commentator, not an author. Still another writes what is of himself and of others, but what is of himself is main, and what is of others is added for confirmation; and such must be said author. This is

<sup>12</sup> unabhängig und frey, sie schreibt sich nur selbst ihre Gesetze vor, sie phantasirt spielend und ohne Zweck

<sup>13</sup> in Latin, *scriptor*, but to avoid confusion with “author/writer”, we prefer to translate it as “copyist”. It is clear that Bonaventure is actually referring to what is now commonly understood as a copyist or scribe: the person responsible only for copying a given text as faithfully as possible (after all, among the “four modes”, it was the least “participatory” in terms of authorship and autonomy). Largely because the texts were handwritten, the work of the medieval copyist was subject to errors that were corrected by scraping the ink and/or glossing the model. Questions were frequent and decisions had to be made in the monastic *scriptoria*, where copying work was often supervised. However, according to Kraebel (2019), part of the academic community currently tends to conceive of the medieval copyist as a subject with more autonomy than is usually imagined. According to certain current scholars, the copyist would make relatively autonomous decisions regarding the text; This is what is usually called “scribal authorship”, described below: “Recently, in academia, the cooperation of the practice of scribes has more often been used to argue in favor of the contributions made by them in the works that they copied, choosing to present the text in their own way or starting from their copies and offering what they considered to be corrections or improvements” (KRAEBEL, 2019, p. 101, our translation). (In recent scholarship, the commonality of scribal practice has most frequently been used to argue for the contributions made by scribes to the works that they copied, choosing to present the text in a particular way or departing from their exemplar and offering what they considered to be corrections or improvements).

the case of the Master, who presents his sentences and confirms them with the sentences of the Fathers. Whence truly must the author of this book be said.<sup>14</sup> (BOAVENTURA, 1882, p. 14-15, our translation).

For our line of reasoning, it is essential to note in the passage above that even the highest level in the progressive hierarchy of participation in the writing of a book, that of “author”, does not exempt the same from being included in its text (the main part ) passages from other people's works (secondary part). This is continuous cooperation, a constitutive expression of the medieval concept of authorship, which leads us, finally, to the subtitle of the thesis that we will discuss below.

### Cooperation and continuity

Here are two words whose meanings complement each other: before we talk about music, let us keep in mind that continuous cooperation is a constitutive mark of medieval society and culture itself, which ranges from minimal daily actions to great works. It is like a seamless fabric, a very effective image proposed by the philosopher Marías (2004, p. 138). He considers that “just as cathedrals are immense anonymous works or almost so, the result of a great collective work of entire generations, medieval thought was woven without discontinuity, on a common background, until the end of the Middle Ages.”

In addition to Marías, historian Fernand Braudel<sup>15</sup> wrote an article, considered classic in the field, about the *long duration* of time in history. He first describes an “average time”, “[...] a narrative of the situation that calls into question the past in large slices: ten, twenty or fifty years.”<sup>16</sup> (BRAUDEL, 1958, p. 727, our translation). Then, he arrives at the *long duration*: “Far beyond this second narrative [of the “middle time”], lies a story with even more sustained momentum, with a secular scope this time: the long story, or even of very long duration.”<sup>17</sup> (BRAUDEL, 1958, p. 727, our translation). Ernst Curtius (1886-1956), in a book on medieval literature, even uses the word “continuity”, aligning himself with the notion of permanent return of models throughout the ten medieval centuries:

Continuity! It confronted us in hundreds of ways [...]. It takes place in all degrees, from learning the rudiments to the conscious, happy conquest of an inheritance; from the patchwork of a *cento* to the dominance of Latin verse, which equals the models

<sup>14</sup> Ad intelligentiam dictorum notandum, quod quadruplex est modus faciendi librum. Aliquis enim scribit aliena, nihil addendo vel mutando; et iste mere dicitur *scriptor*. Aliquis scribit aliena, addendo, sed non de suo; et iste *compilator* dicitur. Aliquis scribit et aliena et sua, sed aliena tanquam principalia, et sua tanquam annexa ad evidentiam; et iste dicitur *commentator*, non auctor. Aliquis scribit et sua et aliena, sed sua tanquam principalia, aliena tanquam annexa ad confirmationem; et talis debet dici *auctor*. Talis fuit Magister, qui sententias suas ponit et Patrum sententiis confirmat. Unde vere debet dici auctor huius libri.

<sup>15</sup> Fernand Braudel (1902-1985) – influential French historian and one of the most important names in the so-called “Annales school”.

<sup>16</sup> [...] un récitatif de la conjoncture qui met en cause le passé par larges tranches: dizaines, vingtaines ou cinquantaines d’années.

<sup>17</sup> Bien au-delà de ce second récitatif se situe une histoire de souffle plus soutenu encore, d’ampleur séculaire cette fois: l’histoire longue, même de très longue durée.



of Antiquity: there are medieval poems about which philologists hesitated within the limits of a millennium! (CURTIUS, 1957, p. 409).

This is not a matter of mere reading, of modern interpretation of facts and documents (although the copious convergent references from authors of caliber from various areas of knowledge allow us to assume that we are standing on firm ground!). In fact, medieval texts themselves are explicit about the idea of long-term “continuous cooperation.” In his work *Metalogicon*<sup>18</sup> (Book III, Chapter IV), John of Salisbury<sup>19</sup> (ca. 1115-1180)<sup>20</sup> paraphrases a quote attributed to his master, Bernard of Chartres († ca. 1130)<sup>21</sup>:

Bernard of Chartres said that we are like dwarfs placed on the shoulders of giants, so that we can see more than them and further, certainly not because of the clarity of our own vision, or the height of our body, but because we have been lifted high and raised to greatness. of giants.<sup>22</sup> (SALISBURY, 1900, col. 900C, our translation).

Medieval theorists considered it imperative to turn to authorities (*auctoritates*), but not to simply imitate them. They thought in terms of an ongoing construction, a building with many floors and workers. They considered that their foundations were solid, but subject to cracks (with the exception, obviously, of the Scriptures). Gilbert of Tournai (ca. 1200-1284) thought that “*Those who wrote before us are not masters, but guides. The truth is open to everyone, it has not yet been fully possessed*.” (TOURNAI apud LE GOFF, 2006, p. 119, emphasis added).

A cooperative continuity expressed in a similar way in several fields is not a coincidence, but the concretization of a mode, of a relatively universal action for the period. Thus, music also presented singular aspects of this same action that pass, as we have seen, through counterfeiting, through quotations and allusions between works by one composer to another, or, eventually, between works by the same composer, and even within a work. They are recurring inter or intratextual procedures.<sup>23</sup> The strong oral component in the culture of the time encouraged the use of formulas that facilitated the

memorization of entire musical fragments (see note 9, on centonization). These, however, could be creatively combined in countless ways, which left room for the expression of mastery of a technique, for original manifestations of musicality. About this, Curt Sachs pondered: “the composer of cantillations, far from being a patcher, might better be compared to an ingenious gardener who arranges his two dozen of motley flowers in ever new bunches.” (SACHS, 1943, p. 85). In this transit, poetic and musical works underwent metamorphoses that ranged from subtle to pronounced, typical of the “movement of texts” (ZUMTHOR, 1993, p. 144). Medieval high culture reserved a special place for the book and also, of course, for musical codices, just look at the richness and care usually involved in the creation of a manuscript, but as for musical practices, the reports show a predominance of orality<sup>24</sup> in the production and transmission processes, a type of action that “[...] while oral, is never repeatable.” (ZUMTHOR, 2010, p. 275).

Let us finally return to the enigma, the challenge posed by contact with medieval culture: it produces a feeling of familiarity and then, suddenly, provokes surprise or strangeness. The music of the time shows itself to be orthodox when it insists on consecrated forms and formulas, when it circumscribes and renews topics and models, or when it makes certain procedures and approaches mandatory. But, from the moment the work is updated, an opposite universe opens up, tending to constant mutability, permeated by inconstancies, idiosyncrasies, ever-renewed possibilities of intertextualities, allusions and quotations, typical of a culture that lives in the intercession of oral and written expressions. In short, the work remains “open” in several senses. According to the point of observation, medieval music thus shows itself to be orthodox or heterodox, both qualities of its charm.

<sup>18</sup> “The name “Metalogicon” is of Greek derivation, in accordance with a fad for Greek titles prevalent among twelfth-century writers [...]. The author informs us that his title means ‘a defense of’, or ‘plea for’ the studies of the Trivium [...].” (MCGARRY, 2009, p. xxi).

<sup>19</sup> “In the early printed editions the title *Metalogicon* was changed to *Metalogicus*; doubtless the modified ending was due to the influence of the *Policratus* [also written by Salisbury].” (MCGARRY, 2009, p. xx, n. 30).

<sup>20</sup> “[...] the first prominent figure to write in light of Aristotle’s work on logic.” (LOYN, 1990, p. 222).

<sup>21</sup> Dating suggested by Loyn (1990, p. 222).

<sup>22</sup> Dating suggested by Loyn (1990, p. 48).

<sup>23</sup> Dicebat Bernardus Carnotensis nos esse quasi nanos, gigantium humeris incidentes, ut possimus plura eis et remotiora videre, non utique proprii visus acumine, aut eminentia corporis, sed quia in altum subvehimur et extollimur magnitudine gigantea.

<sup>24</sup> The author’s thesis referred to in this article contains musical illustrations of these occurrences and other scores, as well as phonographic records and teaching videos.

<sup>24</sup> Or, in polyphonic music, a practice that I call mixed (simultaneously oral and written), the so-called *cantare super librum*, which essentially consisted of reading a reference voice to sing another, momentarily and consciously.



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# FRENCH OPERA

from the origins to the revolution



by Benoît Dratwicki  
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## At the origins of French opera: Mazarin and Italian opera

It was to Cardinal de Mazarin, in the 1650s, that we owe the first opera performances in France. Taking advantage of his prestige with Queen Anne of Austria, he aimed to implement Italian opera initially at the Court and then more widely in the kingdom. Luigi Rossi's *Orfeo* (1647), Francesco Cavalli's *Xerxes* (1660) and Ercole Amante (1662) impressed French audiences, but the experiment was cut short when the young Louis XIV ascended the throne. It took a dozen years for the history of opera in France to take a new turn.

## Institutionalization: the Royal Academy of Music

Pierre Perrin and Robert Cambert inaugurated the first reflection on the creation of a truly “French” opera, which they synthesized in their pastoral play *POMONA*, staged in the theater of the new Royal Academy of Music in 1671, before an audience amazed by this successful alliance between poetry and music. The institution then passed into the hands of Jean-Baptiste Lully, who was the true architect of the creation of French opera during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. With the encouragement of Louis XIV and counting on his unconditional support, he imagined an ambitious spectacle combining poetry, music, dance and theater machinery in equal measure. The new genre thus created, tragedy in music, dominated the French scene until the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, before evolving into French Grand Opera, in contact with the emerging romantic aesthetics.

## The reign of Louis XIV: Lully's triumph

The genre imagined by Lully and perpetuated by

subsequent generations drew its roots both in Italian opera (which was already appreciated in Mazarin's time) and in court ballet (practiced since the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century), in the recited tragedy of Corneille and Racine and in the comedy-ballet (of which Molière and Lully produced the first successful examples in the early 1660s). In this genre, the taste for the ornate singing practiced in the salons and the orchestral pomp of the *King's Twenty-Four Violins* also dominated. The founding of the Royal Academy of Music in 1669 established a theater and administration entirely dedicated to this new type of spectacle. From 1672 onwards, Lully produced a new title every year, generally on the occasion of the Carnival celebrations, in collaboration with poets, set-mechanics, costume designers and prestigious choreographers: Quinault, Berain, Vigarani Beauchamp... Meanwhile, the composer dedicated himself to training performers to better serve his project: from the orchestra to the choir, including singing and dancing soloists, everyone was stimulated by the Superintendent's ambition and ended up expanding the limits of their art. When he died in 1687, the Paris Opera could boast of being the premier theater in Europe, a position it held for nearly two centuries.

Throughout his works, from *Cadmus & Hermione* (1673) to *ARMIDE* (1686), Lully ventured into countless experiences, both in the musical and acoustic field as well as in the theatrical and dramaturgical field. The growing role of the choir and orchestra (*Proserpine*, 1680), the increasingly close interweaving of the sung and danced episodes (*Roland*, 1685), the deepening of the protagonists' personalities (*Atys*, 1676) and the constantly renewed audacity of the stage situations scenic and machinery effects (*Perseus*, 1682) make Lully's operas a laboratory in which all the great problems raised by lyrical art are resolved in a powerfully original way. Imitated by his successors, Lully continued to be an inevitable model throughout the 18<sup>th</sup> century. That is why, after the

Superintendent's death, his works became the mainstay of the repertoire of the Royal Academy and provincial theaters. For almost a century, not a single season passed without at least one of his operas being staged. Some titles have been translated, adapted and performed in other European countries.

### **The Regency period: triumph of Campra and Destouches**

Meanwhile, the repertoire became diversified. After Lully's death, the monopoly he had claimed came to an end; his contemporaries and disciples were finally free to assert themselves in the same genre. A second period began, marked especially by the birth of lighter shows (pastoral and opera-ballet) that favored rural, comic plots or that put everyday characters on stage. The authors opened up to a more varied musical style – the “united tastes” – advocating in particular Italian vocalization, and favoring the tendency of general taste that leaned from song to dance. It was under the regency of Philippe d'Orléans (1715-1723) that this modernity effectively flourished. Two authors successfully seized the operatic stage: André Campra (who wrote, among others, *L'Europe galante* in 1697, *Tancrède* in 1702 and *Les Fêtes vénitiennes* in 1710) and André Cardinal Destouches (whose successes were *Issé* in 1697 and *Callirhoé* in 1712). At his side were authors as diverse as Marin Marais, Marc-Antoine Charpentier, Henry Desmarest or Jean-Joseph Mouret. They all undertook musical experiments, by making the harmonic writing more complex, by varying the form of the arias, by dramatizing the recitative thanks to the support of the orchestra and, above all, by coloring their scores with new sounds through the use of an increasingly varied instrumentarium. (double bass, flutes, cello, musette, trumpet and timpani, percussion). *The storm of ALCYONE* (1706) by Marais and the rural scene of *Hippodamie* (1708) by Campra, each in its own genre, are among the most famous examples.

### **The reign of Louis XV: triumph of Rameau**

With the advent of Louis XV (1723), genre differentiation disappeared, notably with the creation of heroic ballet, which incorporated the grandiose tone of lyrical tragedy within the framework of opera-ballet. The first examples – *Les Fêtes grecques & romaines* (1723), by François Colin de Blamont and *Les Éléments* (1725) by Michel-Richard de Lalande and Destouches – were intended to glorify the young king and recover the splendor of his great-grandfather. It is this genre that, alongside lyrical tragedy, will occupy the attention of

composers and the public for almost half a century. In 1733, Jean-Philippe Rameau's debut with *Hippolyte & Aricie* was a watershed in the history of opera: the “lullysts” supporters of the old style were opposed to the “ramists” supporters of modernity. Despite the shock caused by Rameau's harmonic, melodic and rhythmic findings (the famous **TRIO OF THE PARCAE** was considered so disconcerting that it ended up being removed from the production), the ears of the French public gradually became accustomed to Rameau's audacity, to the point of elevating the composer to the “first musician” of the kingdom and even of Europe as a whole. His style, taking the advances achieved by the previous generation even further, did not fundamentally deviate from the French style introduced by Lully. Among the thirty works composed between 1733 and 1764, the majority were successful: both the lyrical tragedies (*Castor & Pollux*, *Dardanus* and *Zoroastre*) and the heroic ballets (*Les Indes galantes*, *Les Fêtes d'Hébé*, *Les Fêtes de l'Hymen et de l'Amour...*). Some one-act works intended for court shows (*Pygmalion*, *Anacréon*, *La Guirlande*) also received excellent reception in Paris, as well as the lyrical comedies *Platée* (1745) and *Les Paladins* (1760). In Rameau's shadow worked other composers such as François Francoeur and François Rebel, Pancrace Royer, Antoine Dauvergne and Jean-Joseph de Mondonville. A special mention must be made of Jean-Marie Leclair whose only tragedy, *Scylla & Glaucus* (1746) is one of the most beautiful works of the period.

The Royal Academy of Music was deeply shaken in 1752-54 by the episode of the *Querelle des Bouffons*: the discovery of the Italian opera buffa, through *La Serva padrona*, by Pergolesi, triggered a lively controversy over the qualities of the French opera, which part of the public – philosophers in the lead – found outdated and grandiloquent. However, the great national style was not driven from the scene, and was maintained for another twenty years, in particular thanks to the direction of Francoeur and Rebel (1757-1767) who luxuriously reworked a large part of Lully's lyrical tragedies. The birth of the comic opera on the theaters of the Fair and the successes encountered by the young François-André Danican Philidor, Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny, Egidio Romualdo Duni and André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry, still had an impact on the repertoire from the Royal Academy. While retaining imposing subjects responding to the aesthetic of the marvelous, the composers gradually transformed their music, announcing the **EUROPEAN CLASSICAL STYLE**. Among the key works of this evolution, we must cite *Ismène & Isménias* (1764) by Jean-Benjamin de La Borde, *Sylvie* (1766) by Jean-Claude Trial and Pierre Montan Berton, *Aline Reine de Golconde* (1766)



by Monsigny, *Ernelinde princess of Norway* (1767) by Philidor, *Isménor* (1773) by Jean-Joseph Rodolphe, *Céphale & Procris* (1773) by Grétry and Sabinus (1773) by François-Joseph Gossec. Upon her arrival at Versailles in 1770, the young dauphine Marie-Antoinette – who was passionate about music – greatly supported this transformation of taste.

### The reign of Louis XVI: triumph of Gluck

In 1774, the accession of Louis XVI gave the queen the necessary influence to accelerate the evolution of French taste by forcing the doors of Versailles and Paris to be opened to foreign authors. Christoph Willibald Gluck created the event with his *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1774) which shocked the public and sounded the death knell of the old repertoire. [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2VfR3ON2rEM>]. His “reformed” tragedies, banishing the decorative and demanding a return to the original grandeur of French opera – Lully then! – all achieved immense success, and became the pillars of the new repertoire: *Orphée & Euridice* (1774), *Alceste* (1776), *Armide* (1777) and *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1779). It remained the indisputable model until the Empire and the Restoration: it was only the arrival of Rossini, then Meyerbeer, in the years 1825-1835, which put an end to the Gluckist school. However, a rival was created for him in the person of Niccolò Piccinni: while Gluck represented the German way, Piccinni personified the Italian style. A new quarrel shook the Royal Academy of Music (1778), but calmed down when Gluck left for Vienna in 1779.

The styles of the two authors, quite distinct if we compare Gluck's *Armide* and Piccinni's *Roland*, nevertheless merged in the scores of their successors and imitators, more or less talented. These were mainly foreign composers: Johann Christoph Vogel, Johann Christian Bach, Antonio Salieri, Antonio Sacchini, Luigi Cherubini... Among the notable works composed up to the Revolution, we must remember *Amadis de Gaule* (1779) by Bach, *ANDROMAQUE* (1780) by Grétry, *Dido* (1783) by Piccinni, *Les Danaïdes* by Salieri (1784) and *Oedipus at Colonus* (1787) by Sacchini. [<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hi8OIH357uE>]. Alongside these dark and grandiloquent lyrical tragedies, two genres were also popular with the public: first the pantomime ballet, ancestor of the great romantic ballet, which the choreographer Jean-Georges Noverre developed during a long European journey (1750- 1775) before acclimatizing it in Paris between 1776 and 1781. *Médée & Jason*, his masterpiece, made a strong impression. And then, lyrical comedy, of which Grétry was the true

architect from 1782, establishing a great comic genre for this theater: *Colinette à la Cour* (1782), *L'Embarras des riches* (1782), *La Caravane du Caire* (1783) or *Panurge in the Island of Lanterns* (1785) benefited both from the author's expertise in the comic genre, but also from the colossal resources (choirs, ballets and sets) of the Opera.

### The “troupe” and French specificities

The permanent troupe of the Royal Academy of Music represented a closed universe, very different from other operatic circles in Europe at the same time. Established from the beginning, it did not disappear until the mid-1960s, not without having evolved, slowly, over the centuries. Theatrical play (gestures, pauses and pantomime) and declamation (articulation, flow and projection) were from the outset predominant over singing strictly speaking in the conception of French opera. A large number of singers thus began at the Comédie Française in the works of Corneille, Racine or Molière before being hired at the Opera. The quality of the voice – the beauty of the timbre in particular – was therefore secondary. In France, in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, neither the ranges (soprano, mezzo-soprano, tenor, baritone and bass), nor the vocal typologies (coloratura, light, lyrical, dramatic) existed in such a distinct way. The “troupe” was broadly divided into categories and jobs.

Three categories ranked the solo singers according to importance and salary: the “Premiers Sujets” (main singers), the “Doubles” (replacements for the main singers, alternating with them during the performances, and often brought in to succeed them) and the “Coryphées” (singers choirs responsible for small roles). These categories gave rights, but also imposed certain duties: the “premiers sujets”, for example, could not refuse to create a role written for them; on the other hand, they could stop appearing after a certain number of performances to hand them over to the “doubles”. The jobs required both physical appearance, stage presence and vocal color. For women: “princesses, shepherdesses and heroic nymphs”, “queens, mothers and magicians”; for men: “heroic princes, warriors and shepherds”, “kings, fathers and magicians”. To these main jobs were added the small roles, among which we distinguished the “major accessories” (deities, masters of ceremonies, high priests, etc.), the character roles (allegories, comic characters, etc.) and the “coryphées” of the choir, singing small solos. Although we already recognize between the lines the future distribution between sopranos, mezzo-sopranos, tenors and baritones, it would be risky to systematize the

reflection: thus, many roles of young “premiers” are written in tessitura identical to the roles of magicians or mothers, and a number of character roles can be sung just as well by a low tenor as a high baritone. If the distinction between tessitura became easier at the time of Rameau and especially Gluck, it was particularly perilous – and, frankly, useless – at the time of Lully. The same hierarchy structured the *corps de ballet*, which was at the time, and still remains, the most numerous and most demanding in the world.

We must remember that composers intended their works for very specific singers and dancers and therefore adapted the roles to these artists. The presence of exceptional artists within the *troupe* therefore considerably oriented the very nature of the repertoire: thus, the simultaneous presence of Marie Fel, Pierre Jélyotte and Marie Sallé in the 1740s was sufficient to explain the particular style of Rameau's and Mondonville's operas, just like the meeting of Rosalie Levasseur, Joseph Legros, Henri Larrivee, Gaëtan Vestris and Marie-Madeleine Guimard, a generation later, gave Gluck and Noverre the means to reorient lyrical and choreographic art.

### **The influence of the Royal Academy: the provincial branches**

Very early on, the monopoly of the Royal Academy included the possibility for the institution to open branches in the large cities of the provinces of the kingdom: Lyon, Bordeaux, Marseille, Metz or Nancy were equipped with an opera theater at the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. Paying high royalties to the mother Academy of Paris, these theaters were equipped with permanent artists (choir, orchestra, troupe) while taking advantage of the trips that the star singers and dancers of Paris organized each season with great publicity. The repertoire was the same as that of the capital, adapted to the financial means and staff of each theater. It was only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century that the provincial stages acquired their autonomy and diversified their programming, performing ballets, grand opera and comic opera.

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