Rimski-Korsakov in the Eastern United States

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Jaroslaw de Zielinski (1847–1922),[1] in a short article in *Pacific Coast Musician*, March, 1914,[2] repeats (without ascription) the assertion of Ivan Ivanovich Narodny (*c* 1870–1953)[3] in *Musical America*, April 20, 1912,[4] that Rimski-Korsakov wrote three scenes of his first opera, *Pskovityanka* [Woman of Pskov], while in New York, and that he used an Indian Dance theme in a ballet intended for that opera. Narodny's much longer article has the omnibus title: "Head of Russia's National Opera, Rimski-Korsakoff and His Work—His Kinship with Wagner—His Visit to New York and Unsuccessful Researches in American Indian Music—Influence of Balakireff and Moussorgsky and Relations with Tschaikowsky—Some Personal Reminiscences." In it he writes:

> Having known Rimski-Korsakoff personally I was invited with Nemirovitch-Dantchenko, the Russian novelist, to listen to a recital of his autobiography, a particularly interesting part of which referred to the composer's life in New York. Of this he told as follows: "I arrived in New York on the cruiser *Almas* in October, 1863, and remained until April, 1864. . . . While in New York I was anxious to hear something of the original American national music, the war songs and dances of the Indians, but all my efforts in this respect failed, because no one knew anything about Indian music. While sightseeing at Niagara I was told that not far from the Hudson River, along which we made the trip on a steamer, were Indian reservations, and at once I decided to visit them with a certain Mr. Thompson from New York, whom I had met several weeks previously and who was hospitable enough to yield to my request. The reservation of the Indians was a considerable distance from the stopping place of the steamer, so that we made a trip of a day on a coach to our destination. But all we got for our troubles was the

NB: New Style Dates are routinely supplied after Old Style dates throughout the present article whether or not they both appear in the Russian sources cited. St. Petersburg is substituted for Piter and Peterburg when they occur. With few exceptions forms of proper names appearing in Russian sources are not replaced by sometimes more familiar German and French equivalents. Translations and paraphrases are the author's unless otherwise indicated. In transliteration the sixth and thirtieth letters of the Russian alphabet are both represented by "e"; the tenth letter is represented by "i" but is regularly omitted after the ninth and twenty-eighth letters (represented by "i" and "y"); the thirty-first and thirty-second letters are represented by "yu" and "ya"; the twenty-seventh and twenty-ninth letters are both omitted.

[1] Jerzy Morawski, "Jaroslaw Zielinski," *The New Grove*, edited by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Press Limited, 1980).

[2] "When Rimsky-Korsakoff was in America," III/3 (March, 1914), 9.

[3] Narodny is greeted at the Kremlin as "Ivan Ivanovich" in Ivan Narodny, "The Proletarian Mecca," *Asia*, XXVIII (September, 1928), 738. The approximate birthdate is from obituaries in the *New York Times* (September 30, 1953), 31:4, and *Wilson Library Bulletin*, XXVIII (November, 1953), 240, which both say he died at eighty-three, and from Leroy Scott, "I am Nothing: Freedom is All. The Personal Story of the Russian Revolutionist Narodny," *American Magazine*, LXII (New York, May, 1906), 66–74, describing Narodny as having been sixteen years old twenty years before date of publication. See also *International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians*, ninth edition by Robert Sabin (New York, 1964), 2446, where Narodny is described as Estonian, born at Verro [Võru], November 23, 1874.

[4] XV/24, 9. Ivan Narodny's ignorance of the geography of the state of New York may have kept him from realizing the impossibility of some of the movements he ascribes to Rimski-Korsakov. In this he is not different from Gerald Abraham, who lists excursions to a nonexistent Chesapeake Falls, Washington, and Niagara—in just that order—to describe the composer's itinerary while in the United States (*Rimski-Korsakov. A Short Biography* [London: 1945, reprinted 1976], 28).

music of an Indian war dance, which served as a suggestion for the ballet of my first opera, "Maiden of Pskov," which I started to write in New York. . . . I wrote the sketch of the first scenes of "Maiden of Pskov" in America and the rest I wrote two years later after I arrived in St. Petersburg. Moussorgsky and Balakireff were the only people to whom I read the first parts and on the latter's suggestion I changed it considerably from the original.

There is nothing to substantiate the existence of this "particularly interesting part" of the composer's autobiography except a note in the manuscript that is described by the editors of the sixth and seventh Russian editions of *Letopis moei muzykalnoi zhizni* [Chronicle of My Musical Life].[5] The note reads, "*Tomson. Opera. Voina, Ind. pesnya.*" [Thompson.[6] Opera. War. Ind[ian] song.] It appears alongside a summarizing statement in the text of *Letopis* concerning the Civil War in progress all the time Rimski-Korsakov was in the United States.[7] The editors sometimes specify that a marginal note is in ink or pencil, or in the handwriting of the author or someone else. They do not do so here, leaving open to question whether the note in this case was made in 1893 at the same time the part of the manuscript covering the years 1862–1865 was first written,[8] or whether it might have been added later, indicating that a revision was under way.

[5] Sixth edition by A. V. Ossovski and V. N. R.-Korsakov, published in N. Rimski-Korsakov, *Polnoe sobranie sochineni* [Complete Works] (Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1955), Vol. I [cited hereafter as *PSS:Letopis-6*]; and seventh edition, same editors [unnamed], publisher, place, date, and text [except for slightly differing preface and abridged notes] [cited hereafter as *Letopis-7*].

The chronology of the writing (*PSS: Letopis-6*, 350) and publishing of *Letopis* and of its English translation is as follows:

CHAP.	CHRONOLOGY
1	August 30 and 31/September 11 and 12, 1876.
2	April 20/May 2, 1886, and April 11/23, 1887.
3	January 31/February 12 and February 2/14 and 3/15, 1893.
4	February 5/17, 7/19, and 8/20, 1893.
5	(Covers the years 1862–1865, including the American voyage.) February 11, 14, and 28, and March 5, 8, 9, and 14, 1893, OS/February 23 and 24, and March 12, 17, 20, 21, and 28, 1893 NS.
6	March 16/28 and June 22/July 4, 1893.
7	June 24/July 6, 1893, and June 19/July 2, 1906.
8	Undated.
9	June 24/July 7 and July 14/27, 1906.
10	July 15/28, 1906.
11	June 20/July 2, 1893, and July 25/August 7, 1906.
12	July 22 and 23/August 3 and 4, 1893.
13	July 25, 26, 28, and 30/August 6, 7, 9, and 11, 1893.
14	August 1 and 3/13 and 15, 1893.
15	September 9/21, 1895.
16–17	Undated.
18	July 14/27, 1905.
19	Undated.
20	July 30/August 12, 1906.
21	August 8/21, 1906.
22	June 10/22, 1893.
23	July 13/25 and July 25/August 6, 1893; and January 22, 23, and 24/February 4, 5, and 6, 1904.
24–27	Undated.
28	August 22/September 4, 1906.

Chapter divisions were first made by the composer's widow, Nadezhda Nikolaevna Rimskaya-Korsakova.

First Russian edition, St. Petersburg, 1909, edited by N. N. Rimskaya-Korsakova, with help of V. V. Yastrebtsev (Preface: St. Petersburg, January 12/25, 1909).

Second Russian edition, St. Petersburg, 1910, edited by N. N. Rimskaya-Korsakova.

First edition of English translation by Judah A. Joffe, *My Life*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1923, based on second Russian edition.

Second edition of Joffe's English translation, New York: Tudor Publishing Co., 1935.

Third Russian edition, Moscow, 1926 as printed on title page, 1928 as printed on outer cover and in bibliographic references in last three Russian editions (fifth, p. 3; sixth, p. viii; and seventh, p. vi), edited by A. N. Rimski-Korsakov (composer's son) (Preface: Leningrad, March, 1926).

Fourth Russian edition, Moscow, 1933 as cited in the fifth edition, p. 3; 1932 as cited in the sixth, p. viii, and seventh, p. vi, edited by A. N. Rimski-Korsakov.

Fifth Russian edition, Moscow, 1935, edited by A. N. Rimski-Korsakov (Preface: Leningrad, August, 1934).

Third edition of Joffe's English translation, revised, reset, and printed from new plates, based on fourth and fifth Russian editions, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942. All otherwise unascribed notes are by A. N. Rimski-Korsakov. Same printing plates were used in subsequent 1972 and 1974 printings.

Sixth Russian edition, Moscow, 1955. First Russian edition claiming to use full text (*PSS: Letopis-6*).

Seventh Russian edition, Moscow, 1955. Second Russian edition claiming to use full text (*Letopis-7*).

First reprint of Joffe's 1942 English translation, New York: Vienna House, 1972.

Second reprint of Joffe's 1942 English translation, London: Ernst Eulenberg Ltd., 1974, cited as *JAJ* hereafter.

[6] John H. Thompson (*c.* 1806–1864) was born in Germany. He was licensed as a Sandy Hook Pilot from September 6, 1853, until the time of his death, September 17, 1864, last residing at 28 Rutgers Street, New York (*NYT*, September 19, 1864, 5:2; Register of Board of Commissioners of Pilots of State of New York; and Death Records of New York City).

[7] *PSS: Letopis-6*, 247, note 13; and *Letopis-7*, 247, note 13.

[8] *PSS: Letopis-6*, 350.

Following the point at which this marginal note appears, the text concludes its comment on the war in a single sentence. The next paragraph describes how Rimski-Korsakov and his fellow midshipmen routinely passed their time in America. Next, two operas he had heard in New York are named: Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* and Gounod's *Faust*, both rather poorly performed, he felt. There is no mention of two other operas he heard: *Rigoletto* (which he walked out of) and *Don Giovanni*.[9] He concludes this passage by saying: "I had entirely given up music, save for playing the harmoniflute every now and then to entertain the midshipmen's wardroom or duets on this instrument with the violin played by the American pilot, Mr. Thompson. He and I played various national American anthems and songs; to his great amazement, I immediately played by ear the accompaniment to tunes I had heard for the first time."[10]

Of the four topics listed in the marginal note only "Ind[ian] song" is not mentioned in the text of *Letopis*. The first outside verification that Rimski-Korsakov had heard an American Indian song that interested him while he was in America came in the serial publication of his correspondence with Mili Alekseevich Balakirev by *Muzykalny sovremennik*, beginning in 1915.[11] The specific letter on the subject written from Alexandria, Virginia, November 23/December 5, 1863, was not published in Russia until February, 1916,[12] almost four years after Narodny's article in *Musical America*. Not all the circumstances of the Russian composer's encounter with American Indian music were as Narodny reports him to have said they were, but three main points stand. Narodny is the first to report that Rimski-Korsakov visited a reservation and heard Indians perform there (and so he did—but not a tribal dance and not on the Hudson), that he observed Indians dance and sing a tribal melody which he set down in musical notation (and so he did—but not at a reservation); and that he used this melody in his own work (and so he seems to have done, even if only an echo remains—but not in his first opera).

A squadron of the Russian Fleet arrived in New York harbor during the fall of 1863.[13] On board the

Nikolai Andreevich Rimski-Korsakov at the age of nineteen from a photograph of 1863 taken in New York as reproduced in the third Russian edition of his *Letopis moei muzykalnoi zhizni* (Chronicle of My Musical Life) and in Volume 16 of the Russian edition of his *Polnoe sobranie sochineni* (Complete Works).

[9] *PSS* (Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1963), Vol. V, *Literaturnye proizvedeniya i perepiska* [Literary Works and Correspondence], edited by A. S. Lyapunova, cited hereafter as *PSS: Perepiska*, 253.

[10] *JAJ*, 48.

[11] "Perepiska M. A. Balakireva i N. A. R.-Korsakova" [Correspondence of M. A. Balakirev and N. A. R.-Korsakov], edited by S. M. Lyapunov, *Muzykalny sovremennik* [Music Contemporary], edited by A. N. R.-Korsakov, Petrograd, Book 1/114, Book 2/89, Book 3/75, Book 6/56, Book 7/86 (1915–1916); Book 1/57, Book 2/33, Book 3/78, Book 4/53, Book 7–8/56 (1917–1918). In 1916–1918, *Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review*, London, published in tandem with the Russian publication an English translation by S. W. Pring, cited as *MOMTR* hereafter, XXXIX/507, 569, 629, 695, and 762 (1916); XL/23, 160, 226, 289, 243, and 647 (1916–1917); XLI/27, 152, 272, 392, 493, and 600 (1917–1918). A second Russian edition of the correspondence, edited by the daughter of the original editor, appeared in 1963. See Note 9 above.

[12] *PSS: Perepiska*, 73n.

[13] England's opposition to Russia's suppression of the Polish uprising had determined Russia not to risk a bottling up of her navy in the Baltic or Far East for the winter. A squadron of six vessels, five from the Baltic (including the *Almaz*) and one from the Mediterranian, under Rear-Admiral Lesovski, was directed

Almaz was the nineteen-year-old, very junior officer Nikolai Andreevich Rimski-Korsakov.[14] One of the first things he did was to visit the American Museum. He described his experience in a letter to Balakirev, his mentor, written seven weeks later from Alexandria, Virginia, dated November 23/December 5, 1863:

In the American Museum at New York I heard an interesting Indian melody and saw an Indian dance. Dressed in savage costumes, the Indians stand in a circle; the drum is beaten *ff* and rather fast as they leap about, singing the following melody in a low voice and occasionally letting out a wild yell.

The drum has a loud, but dull, heavy sound:

The drum-beats sound *close together* and off the beat, eighth-notes seeming to be assigned to each stick.

When I was at Niagara afterwards I was for some reason reminded of this melody. Possibly it had been heard there at one time. Near Niagara there is an Indian village, but those Indians are Gentlemen, Christians, who brush their hair and sing excellently in church.[15]

to New York, the first two ships arriving September 24. A similar squadron was ordered to San Francisco. In case of war, as Rimski-Korsakov wrote later in his autobiography, Lesovski's squadron was to threaten English ships in the Atlantic Ocean. Union sympathy with Russia in putting down rebellion was heightened by a shared perception of England as a rebel-sympathizer and assured the Russians an initial welcome on a grand scale. See *NYT*, September 30, 1863, 8:4; October 12, 8:4; and October 20, 8:1; *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. VII, October 17, 1863, 658; *American Annual Encyclopedia and Register of Important Events* (New York: D. Appleton and Co.) for 1863, 822, and for 1864, 729; Albert A. Woldman, *Lincoln and the Russians* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Reprinting, 1970; originally published Cleveland: 1952), 140–154; James Wood Robertson, *A Kentuckian at the Court of the Tsars* (Berea College, KY: 1935), 159–167; *PSS:Letopis-6*, 28; *PSS:Perepiska*, 67; *MOMTR* (1917), August, 647f; and *JAJ*, Chapter 5.

[14] As a graduate of the Naval Cadet School in St. Petersburg, Rimski-Korsakov (*b* March 6/18, 1844) held the intermediate rank of midshipman (*gardemarin*). Without the duties or full privileges of command, midshipmen were not assigned to the same wardroom as full-fledged officers on board ship but were still accepted socially as such (*PSS:Letopis-6*, 15, 26, and 29; and *PSS:Perepiska*, 24 and 26).

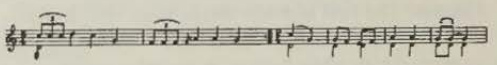
[15] *MOMTR* (1917), October, 27f and 73. *PSS:Perepiska*, 71–73.

The American Museum was a Barnum enterprise.[16] The performance was by Winnebagos and Sioux, if the advertisements are to be believed. The fare included:

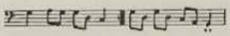
Recruiting Dance with Song of Percussion and patriotic speech by Big Winnebago
War Dance with Song of War Trail
Scalp Dance with Song of Victory
Corn Dance with Song of Thanksgiving
Fire Dance with Song of Peace and Good Will
Hunting Dance with Song of the Chase
Moccasin Game with favorite method of gambling, the Indians being the greatest gamblers in the world.[17]

Rimski-Korsakov did not question the authenticity of the Indian melody he heard. It fits the initial melodic outline of Iroquois examples reported by Bruno Nettl and Gertrude Kurath.

Example A. Bruno Nettl. Iroquois example 28, "North American Musical Styles," *Memoirs of the American Folklore Society* (Philadelphia: 1954), XLV, p. 51:



Example B. Gertrude K. Kurath, "Carry-out-the-kettle Cornplanter Chant," *Iroquois Music and Dance: Seneca Longhouses*, published as Bulletin 187 by the Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 228:



It was in Cornplanter territory, at Niagara, where Rimski-Korsakov heard perhaps the same melody he first heard at the American Museum.

It would not have been out of character for Barnum to have recruited New York Iroquois in order to present them as Wisconsin Sioux and cash in on the public interest stirred by dramatic reporting in the newspapers of the Sioux War, right then in progress.[18] The Barnum Indians wound up their last performance at 4 P.M., Monday, October 19, after a

[16] The museum was housed in a building owned by William P. Astor at Ann Street and Broadway that burned July 13, 1865. It was then moved to the Chinese Building, 539 and 541 Broadway (*NYT* [1865], July 14 and 20; and [1868], March 3 and 4).

[17] *NYT* (1863), August 18 through October 20.

[18] "The Waste of Warriors in the West," *NYT*, August 18; and "The Sioux War," *NYT*, August 21. P. T. Barnum's *The Story of My Life* (San Francisco: 1886), p. 283, describes his

two-month engagement.[19] Rimski-Korsakov, arriving October 11,[20] would have missed them had there not been many postponements of their departure.

The Russian Fleet's six-day excursion to Niagara which followed almost immediately was a promotional scheme organized by American steamboat and railroad companies. Diplomatic, governmental, military and academic dignitaries were invited to join them. The newsmen who accompanied them filed daily reports covering the event.[21]

At the start, the 104 officers were divided into two parties. Rimski-Korsakov traveled in the same party as Admiral Lesovski, who commanded the Fleet.[22] The steamship *Daniel Drew*, departing New York October 22 at eight in the morning, conveyed the guests to Albany by nightfall. Its only stop had been for five minutes at West Point, where elaborate plans for a military reception had of necessity to be cut to a hurried salute fired from the bluff as the ship headed upstream. The Admiral and the officers quartered with him at the Congress Hotel paid a call on Governor Seymour at the capitol before retiring for the night. Contrary to Narodny, there exists no possibility of Rimski-Korsakov's having visited an Indian reservation along the way.

Early the next morning the party boarded a train from Albany to Niagara Falls, a distance of 306 miles covered in less than nine hours (using only one engine, this was a record-breaking feat). Arriving in dripping rain at 5:20 P.M., the train proceeded straight across Suspension Bridge[23] and back, traveling at slow speed so as to make the first view of the Falls as spectacular as possible. By 6 P.M. the entire party was delivered to the Cataract House, where each one signed the register.[24] Next morning, after trying out their English at breakfast, the Russians made for the Falls. Those with Admiral Lesovski visited Goat Island by carriage first, then set out for Lewiston, downstream, to view Block's Monument and the scenery along the banks. By the time they returned to the Falls, the day had cleared, and during the afternoon the Russians explored the Falls from every possible vantage point. Rimski-Korsakov, belonging to the Admiral's traveling party, may have heard of the Tuscarora reservation near Lewiston on the morning trip downstream—but there would have been no time for a visit then.[25]

Sunday the Admiral attended St. Peter's Episcopal Church. Rimski-Korsakov chose to attend a worship service among the Tuscaroras, perhaps carrying out a scheme formed the day before. His reaction to their singing has already been quoted. While praising their singing more highly than any he had heard elsewhere outside Russia,[26] he was disappointed not to hear something more "savage."[27] (He did not

habit of engaging American Indians from the Far West to exhibit in the Museum: "In 1864 ten or twelve chiefs of as many different tribes, visited the President of the United States, at Washington. By a pretty liberal outlay of money, I succeeded in inducing the interpreter to bring them to New York and to pass some days at my Museum." He presented them on the stage for about a week before they found out people were paying to see them. "Of course, getting these Indians to dance or to give any illustration of their games or pastimes, was out of the question."

[19] *The World* (New York: 1863), October 19.

[20] *NYT* (1863), October 12.

[21] *Ibid.*, October 20 through 27; *JAJ*, 45-47; and *MOMTR* (1917), October, 27f.

[22] *JAJ*, 46.

[23] John Augustus Roebling (1806-1869), of later Brooklyn Bridge fame, engineered this wire-cable, double-deck carriage and rail bridge built 1852-1855 a little less than two miles downstream from the Falls (John Homer French, *Historical and Statistical Gazetteer of New York State*, Syracuse: 1860).

[24] Although the Cataract House burned in October 1945, its register is preserved in the Earl W. Brydges Public Library, Niagara Falls, New York. Rimski-Korsakov, signing "Korsakoff," October 23, 1863, shared room 136 with "Mordowin [Mordovin]." P. A. Mordovin (1842-1907), naval historian, had won his roommate's sympathies by siding with the Poles and championing the progressives in opposition to the conservatives on board the *Almaz* (*PSS:Letopis-6*, 26f; *Perepiska*, 549).

[25] A special train took a party of Russians down to Lewiston Saturday afternoon, October 24. They spent their time while there on either side of the river and on the islands (*Niagara Falls Gazette*, 1863, October 28).

[26] They sang "excellently" (*otlichno*). To perform "excellently" ranks above "very well" (*ochen khorosho*). Even this next highest rating Rimski-Korsakov assigned only to the way the chorus sang in W. V. Wallace's *Love's Triumph* at Covent Garden, November 3, 1862. He either left without comment or labeled "wretched" the rest of the performances he heard in Germany, England, and the United States (*PSS:Perepiska*, 17, 41, 62, 72, 242 and 253; *MOMTR* (1916), December, 160, and (1917) October, 28; *PSS:Letopis-6*, 30; *JAJ*, 48; and A. N. Rimski-Korsakov, *N. A. Rimski-Korsakov. Zhizn i tvorchestvo* [Life and Works] (Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1933), Installment I, 76.

[27] In his response of December 26, Balakirev reminded his young friend of what to look for: "If you have a chance to hear the songs of the savages please write them down, and pay careful attention to the rhythm of the drum and to everything connected with the music of the savage races." (*PSS:Perepiska*, 75; and *MOMTR*, 1917, October, 28). "The Experiences of a Russian Bookseller" reported no change by the early twentieth cen-

know the rich tradition that lay behind the excellence of the Tuscaroras' singing.[28])

The Tuscarora reservation covers approximately ten square miles, four miles from the Niagara River, east of Lewiston. The Buffalo Creek reservation, just east of Buffalo, had been given up by the Senecas in 1846.[29] The Cattaraugus and Tonawanda reservations (both belonging to the Senecas) were over forty miles distant from Cataract House. The Tuscarora Indian Village was no longer a populated center at the time Rimski-Korsakov visited it, although the name continued to identify the area. Individual farmers (without individual ownership) had become the pattern.[30] In 1863 there were two churches to choose from: Presbyterian (organized as a Congregational Church in 1805) and Baptist (organized 1836, reorganized 1860).[31] They shared a common tradition of hymn-singing that went back to at least 1715, long before the Tuscaroras took up residence on the reservation in 1781.[32]

This visit to the Tuscaroras was the last Rimski-Korsakov could have made before leaving Niagara. The Russian officers were assembled the next morning for a photograph[33] at the foot of the American Falls before they were taken by train to Buffalo. A two-hour stop there allowed them to wander about before the Erie Railroad took them on through Hornesville, Corning, and Portage to Elmira for an overnight stop at the Brainard Hotel. Next day, October 27, the final run was made into Jersey City, where barges from the Russian Fleet met them on the New York side of the Long Dock to take them back to their vessels.

The *Almaz* did not leave New York until November 27,[34] but Rimski-Korsakov had no other contact with Indian music to report in his letter from Alexandria. The *Almaz* returned to New York April 8, 1864,[35] departing for the last time May 7, 1864.[36] Again, however, he had no other contact to report in his letter to Balakirev of April 18/30, which read thus: "I've seen enough of the American coast, and I would never get a chance to visit the interior."[37]

He had Barnum to thank for the one Indian song he carried away with him. How soon afterward he hoped to use it is a matter of conjecture, but it was a quarter of a century before it found permanent place in his music. Its first eight repeated measures are heard embellished in measures one through the first half of 8 and 19 through the first half of 26 in each of the three verses of the "Kolo"[38]—a form of

tury in the Russian reader's desire to read only such American books as smacked of the imagined wild, aboriginal, or uncultivated American spirit (Ivan Narodny in *Bookman*, XXXII:5, 1911, January, 475). In this regard the Tuscaroras were bound to disappoint. Already in 1655 their kindred Iroquois Onandagas were heard by Dablon and Chaumonot to sing "six airs, or chants, which savored nothing of the savage" (Robert Stevenson, "Written Sources for Indian Music Until 1882," *Ethnomusicology*, XVII:1, January 1973, 32, n.74).

[28]Contributing to Tuscarora music-making was an Anglican tradition that encouraged the use of metrical texts in an Iroquois vernacular sung to psalm and hymn tunes drawn from the small stock existing at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Combining with this was the later contribution of New England dissenter groups who introduced, beginning in the 1760's, a wealth of new tunes along with the novelty of three-part singing. Paradoxically, the singing-school dissenters of this period tended to disallow any singing except in English. Among the Tuscaroras the balance tipped initially in favor of singing in English—if that was necessary in order to enjoy the complexity and sociability of part-singing. In this they and other Iroquois were unlike those who caused Fr. Vetromile, in his *Prayer Song Book* published in 1853, to point to the love of Indians for plainsong because of its pure melody (cited in J. Vincent Higginson, "Hymnody in the American Indian Missions," *Papers of the Hymn Society of America*, IX:24, 12). By the early nineteenth century, however, the balance had evened, the Tuscaroras setting texts that were in an Iroquois vernacular to a variety of tunes sung in three parts. In the present century there has been a further shift so that congregational singing is no longer either in the vernacular or in parts. Yet even today singers from the Baptist congregation will assemble as an ex tempore choir to sing Tuscarora texts by memory to please and instruct guests who worship with them. See addendum to this article: "Tuscarora Hymn-Singing."

[29]H. R. Howland, "The Seneca Mission at Buffalo Creek," *Buffalo Historical Society Publications*, Vol. VI, ed. Frank H. Severance (Buffalo: 1903), 125–181.

[30]F. R. Johnson, *The Tuscaroras*, Vol. II (Murfreesboro, NC: 1968), 242; and Jedediah Morse, Appendix to *Report to the Secretary of War . . . of two tours in 1820 and 1821* (New Haven: 1822), 89.

[31]*History of Niagara County, New York* (New York: Sanford and Co., 1878), 150; R. F. Berkhofer, *Protestant Missionaries to the American Indians 1787 to 1862*, Cornell University thesis (Ithaca: 1961), 387.

[32]F. R. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 225.

[33]The Earl W. Brydges Public Library, Niagara Falls, New York, retains a stereoscopic transparency of the Russians photographed at Point View.

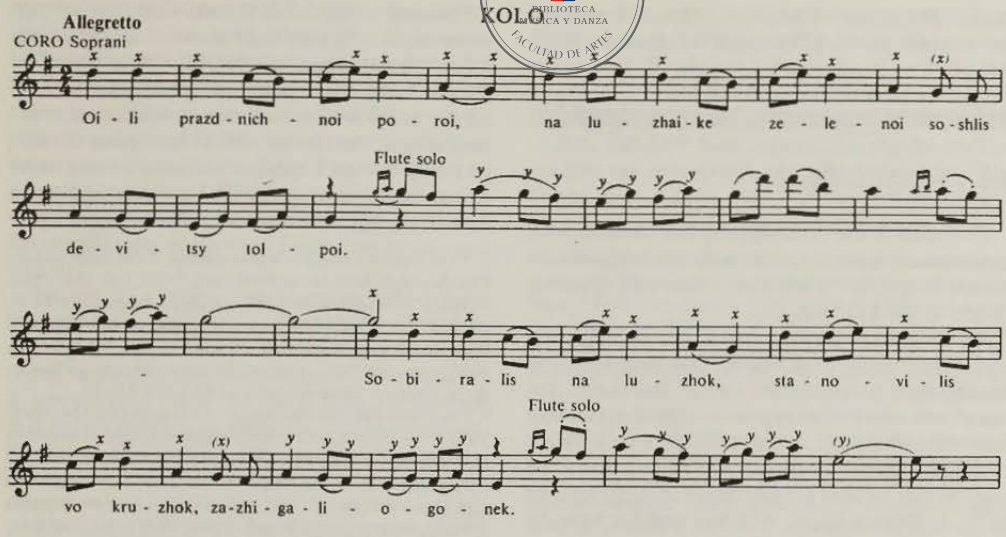
[34]*PSS:Perepiska*, 71; *MOMTR*, XLI, October 1917, 27.

[35]*NYT* (1864), April 9.

[36]*PSS:Perepiska*, 79; *MOMTR*, XLI, December 1917, 153.

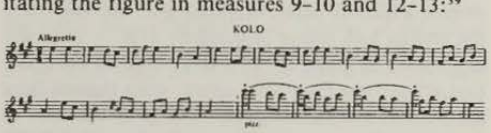
[37]*PSS:Perepiska*, 78; *MOMTR, idem.*

[38]*PSS* (Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1960), Vols. 4, 4A, and 4B, *Mlada. Volshebnaya opera-ballet v 4-x deistviyakh* [Magic Ballet-Opera in Four Acts], Full score, edited by G. V. Kirkor, Vol. 4A (Preface and first two acts), p. viif, 231–287. A. Gozenpud, citing Rimski-Korsakov's correspondence with



khorovod (choral ring dance) especially associated with the Balkans—which together with its short introduction comprises the sixth scene of the second act of *Mlada*.

The similarity is in the melodic line formed by the sequence of notes marked by superscript "X" and in the pitch, which corresponds to the original 1863 notation. The version of it that the composer wrote down in his music notebook (along with other motifs used in *Mlada*) is pitched a whole tone higher and, after the fourteenth measure, adds five measures imitating the figure in measures 9–10 and 12–13:[39]



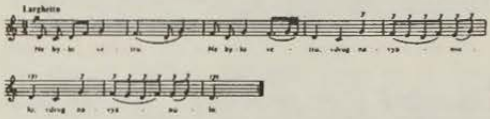
In the final form which the kolo takes in the opera itself, the imitation of the seven-note sequence (marked by superscript "Y" in the first example) in measures 9–10, 12–13, 15–16, 27–28, and 30–31 is different from what appears in the music notebook and is much more extensive, building to a climax at the end of each verse—each time broken off by the intervention of Princess Mlada's apparition. It is perhaps the prominence of this figure that led V. V. Yastrebtsev to conclude that the kolo was "undoubtedly" inspired by a Russian wedding song, native to the province of Nizhegorod, which was published as the first song in a collection of folk songs made by Balakirev. Yastrebtsev directed attention to the notes in the wedding song attached to the words *"vdrug potyanulo"* [suddenly it began to blow].[40] The synonymous phrase *"vdrug navyanulo"* appears in the wedding song published

A. Glazunov and S. N. Kruglikov, says the composition of *Mlada* was undoubtedly connected with an earlier failed attempt to write a ballet. Turning away from that attempt he had concluded that ballet was not intrinsically justifiable as an independent work of art, at least in the forms in which it existed at that time. He decided to write opera and ballet in one work (*N. A. Rimski-Korsakov; temy i idei ego opernogo tvorchestva* [Themes and Ideas in Rimski-Korsakov's Operas] [Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1957], 70). *Mlada* is not so much a ballet with singing as it is an opera with dancing. There is singing in all four acts, dancing in the second and third only, and even the dancing is mainly of folk character except for Cleopatra's in the third act. A common error is to translate Russian hyphenated nouns routinely in the order in which they occur, giving the impression that the first word is meant to modify the second, just the opposite of the usual intent. Thus *Mlada* is often incorrectly cited as an "Opera-Ballet" in English, imitating the Russian word order. Russian compounds borrowed from other languages may exhibit the same error in reverse, so that precision is sometimes impossible without knowledge of the origin of a specific compound.

[39] *PSS* (Moscow Music Publishers, 1970), Vol. 4 *Dop.* [Supplement], *Literaturnye proizvedeniya i perepiska* [Literary Works and Correspondence], edited by V. V. Protopov, 42f.

[40] *Nikolai Andreevich Rimski-Korsakov. Vospominaniya* [Nikolai Andreevich Rimski-Korsakov. Reminiscences], (Leningrad: State Music Publishers, 1959), Vol. I: 1886–1897, 263.

in the 1895 edition of Balakirev's *Sbornik russkikh narodnykh pesen* [Collection of Russian Folk Songs]:[41]



The notes in the wedding song that coincide with the seven-note pattern in the kolo are marked with a superscript "Y." Little else in the wedding march relates to the kolo melody.

To complicate matters, a folk dance specifically captioned "Indian Folk Dance" concludes the scene immediately preceding the kolo,[42] but there "Indian" refers to Indian gypsies or simply gypsies (in line with the notion that gypsies trace their origin to India). Rimski-Korsakov had written down the melody that he used for this dance from the singing of V. V. Vereshchagin, who had heard it when he resided in India in the mid-seventies.[43]

Neither the kolo (danced by Russian folk while singing a melody partly originating in America), nor the Indian folk dance (danced by gypsies to music originating in India) are properly ballets in the tradition of western European opera, even though they are part of a "ballet-opera." Narodny himself, as departmental editor of *Dance* (Volume X of the series *Art of Music*), with Anna Pavlova to write his introduction, made the point more than once that a ballet in Russian opera was normally a choral ring dance—*khorovod*.[44]

Narodny understood Rimski-Korsakov to say, however, that he used the "music of an Indian war dance" as a suggestion for his "first opera"—*Pskovityanka*.[45] The only *khorovod* that remains in all the many revisions of that opera comes at the beginning of the first act, following a game of catch [*gorelki*],[46] when a number of young women move to and fro on the stage gathering berries and sing a folk-like song: *"Po malinu, po smorodinu"* [For

The two-volume *Vospominaniya*, abridged and translated by Florence Jonas, were published in one volume by Columbia University Press in 1985.

[41] Leipzig: M. P. Belaieff, p. 6. The first edition of 1866 had the shorter title: *Sbornik narodnykh pesen* [Collection of Folk Songs].

[42] *PSS*: 1960, Vol. 4A, 219–231.

[43] Yastrebtsev, *loc. cit.*, and A. Gozenpud, *loc. cit.* In 1890 Vasili Vasilevich Vereshchagin (1842–1904) exhibited in New York paintings he had executed on a visit to Palestine in 1884 (*Entsiklopedicheski slovar* [Encyclopedic Dictionary] [hereafter *ES*], begun by I. E. Andreev, continued under editors K. K. Arsenev and F. F. Petrushevski [St. Petersburg: Brockhaus-Efron, 1892], Half-vol. 11; and *Bolshaya sovetskaya entsiklopediya* [Great Soviet Encyclopedia] [hereafter *BSE*], third edition, Vol. IV). There is no report of his having picked up any American Indian songs (*indeiskie* as opposed to *indiskie*). Rimski-Korsakov noted in the autograph score of *Mlada*: "Second act finished July 24/August 4, 1890." (*PSS*: 1960, Vol. 4A, p. viii).

[44] Editor-in-chief: Daniel Gregory Mason (New York: National Society of Music, 1916), 177 and 185.

[45] The Russian Complete Works editions of the opera include: *PSS* (Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1965), Vol. 29A, *Pskovityanka*, first version (of 1872), arranged for piano by N. N. Purgold (future wife of the composer), edited by A. N. Dmitriev [cited hereafter as *PSS:PSKOV-1*]; and Vol. 29B, *Pskovityanka*, third version (of 1894), arranged for voice and piano, edited by A. N. Dmitriev [cited hereafter as *PSS:PSKOV-3*].

The drama *Pskovityanka* by Lev Aleksandrovich Mei (1822–1862) is first known to have been suggested to Rimski-Korsakov as a subject for an opera by Balakirev and Musorgski in 1868 (*PSS:Letopis-6*, 54, and *PSS:PSKOV-1*, vii). Their suggestion may have been no more than a mirroring of his own maturing thought, however, since he had already chosen text from it for the cradle song which he had included the year before in the first of his compositions to be published, Opus 2 (*PSS*: 1946, Vol. 45), and which he used, somewhat modified, in *Boyarynya Vera Sheloga*. The composer's original *Pskovityanka* was first performed January 1/13, 1873, at the Marinski Theater in St. Petersburg (A. Solovtsov, *Nikolai Andreevich Rimski-Korsakov. Ocherk zhizni i tvorchestva* [Nikolai Andreevich Rimski-Korsakov. Descriptive Outline of Life and Work] [Moscow: Music, 1984], 59). In his second version of *Psovityanka*, Rimski-Korsakov added an abbreviated setting of the first act of the Mei drama as a prologue to precede his revised setting of the whole opera. Completed by January, 1878, this second version of the opera was never formally staged (V. Rimski-Korsakov, commentary in *PSS* [Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1946], Vol. 8, *Boyarynya Vera Sheloga, Muzykalno-dramaticheski prolog k drame L. Meya* [*Boyarynya Vera Sheloga*, Musicodramatic Prologue to the Drama by L. Mei], edited by M. O. Shteinberg, cited hereafter as *PSS:BVS*). The third version of *Pskovityanka* was stripped of prologue. Still not satisfied, Rimski-Korsakov went back to what he had discarded, reworking and adding to it, to produce in *Boyarynya Vera Sheloga* very much an independent composition (A. Solovtsov, *loc. cit.*) as well as a "musicodramatic prologue" to *Pskovityanka* closely corresponding to the three scenes making up the first act of the Mei drama (*Dramy* [Dramas], Moscow: Art, 1961, 105–206). It was first performed December 15/27, 1898, at the Mamontov Theater in Moscow, on the same bill with *Pskovityanka* (S. N. Duralin, *"Iz teatralnykh vospominani* [From Reminiscences of the Theatre]," in *Rimski-Korsakov. Issledovaniya. Materialy. Pisma* [Rimski-Korsakov. Research Studies. Materials. Letters] [Moscow, Academy of Sciences Publishers, 1953], Vol. 2, 376, note 16). A. Solovtsov's account of the history and synopses of *Pskovityanka* and *Boyarynya Vera Sheloga* (*op. cit.*, 49–60 and 241–244) is marred by repeated reference to the first act of Mei's drama as a "prologue." The five-act drama has no prologue.

[46] *PSS:PSKOV-1*, 27f; *PSS:PSKOV-3*, 29f.

raspberries and for currants].[47] It does not resemble the American Indian song. This is not conclusive as to the composer's first intent. Since the choice of Lev Mei's drama as subject for the opera and the immediate decision to eliminate Mei's first act were strongly influenced by Balakirev,[48] he may also have determined the exclusion of the American motif by his sour response: "With regard to your Indian song, I may say that during my stay in Baku (in a fire-worshippers' monastery) I heard things far more original."[49]

To identify a trace of the American Indian theme in a specific composition by Rimski-Korsakov does not, by itself, reveal the full significance of this theme in the course of the composer's development. It was the first "find" he could claim for himself. It is hardly possible to exaggerate the value the adherents to the evolving Russian school, very conscious inheritors of Glinka, attached to "themes." Once a theme was found, the finder became the owner, who might at will use it himself or "give" it to another composer to use.

The lure of folk melody and coloration did not limit the "Russian" composer to "Russian" themes. Glinka, whose *Ruslan i Lyudmila* [Ruslan and Lyudmila] Rimski-Korsakov at the age of sixteen concluded was the best opera ever written,[50] had gone to Spain in 1845 looking for new musical ideas, and having as one project (as he had confided to his mother in a letter from Paris just before he went), the writing of a third opera.[51] Writing from Granada in 1846 Glinka explained further that the study of Russian folk music had led him in time to the writing of two operas, adding: "and now I hope I am not searching in vain."[52] The Spanish Overtures, No. 1 and No. 2, each with varying alternative titles, were fruits of his Spanish trip. Into his Spanish Album went transcriptions he and others had made of Spanish folk music. From this collection he had "given" several themes to Balakirev, who, in the words of V. Bogdanov-Berezovski, "continued the tradition of Spanish folk-lore in Russian music."[53] In 1861, the year Rimski-Korsakov was introduced to him, Balakirev had begun collecting themes for his *Sbornik narodnykh pesen* [Collection of Folk Songs] published in 1866.[54] After getting Rimski-Korsakov started on his first symphony he had

[47] *PSS:PSKOV-1*, 40f; *PSS:PSKOV-3*, 38f. Although it is not a ring-dance, V. Tsukkerman calls the chorus by the freemen of Pskov in the second act (first version of 1872) *khorovod* in nature (*"Rimski-Korsakov i narodnaya muzyka* [Rimski-Korsakov and Folk Song]," *Sovetskaya muzyka* [Soviet Music], 10-11 [1938], 110).

[48] *PSS:Letopis-6, loc. cit.* See also introductory comment by V. Rimski-Korsakov on the text of *Boyarynya Vera Sheloga* in *PSS:BVS*.

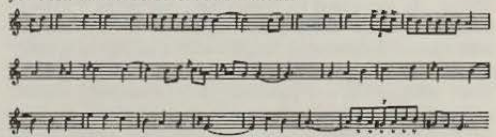
[49] *PSS:Perepiska*, 75; and *MOMTR*, October 1917, 28.

[50] *PSS:Letopis-6*, 10.

[51] Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka, *Literaturnoe nasledie* [Literary Heritage] (Leningrad: State Music Publishers, 1953), Vol. II, *Pisma i dokumenty* [Letters and Documents], edited by V. Bogdanov-Berezovski, 269.

[52] *Ibid.*, 341.

[53] Paraphrasing Bogdanov-Berezovski: One such theme is preserved in the original transcription by Glinka inscribed in his hand: "Folk [*narodny*] Spanish March." There follows in Balakirev's hand the inscription: "Theme for an overture given by Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka 26 April 1856. It should be *unisono* in the orchestra the first time, according to his instructions." The transcription is a one-line song and contains sixteen measures. From Glinka also, Balakirev received a transcription of variations on a fandango entitled "La Rondeña con variationes para guitarra compuestas por Francisco Rodrigues Murciano." The transcription is on sheets torn out of Glinka's Spanish Album and exists in two versions of which one belonged to Balakirev and the other to D. V. Stasov. The two versions are of different length. The Stasov version has 125 measures. The Balakirev version has 182. The difference is partly because repeat signs are used more frequently in the Balakirev version, but mainly because of the greater number of variational changes. Balakirev's composition is captioned "Fandango-étude sur un thème donné par M. Glinka, dédié à M-r Alex. Oulibischeff" and dated "February 14/[26], 1856." (Aleksandr Dmitrievich Ulibishev [1784–1858] was Balakirev's patron.) Besides the Murciano variations, which were taken from Glinka's Spanish Album (but not transcribed by him), Balakirev included in his piece one other theme, absent from Murciano, which is "obviously" also Spanish, the original source of which had not yet been found as of 1953. Its theme:



The piece Balakirev wrote was not acceptable to Glinka, and Balakirev put it aside for a long time. He did not return to it until 1902, when he reworked it slightly and published it under the title *Ispanskaya serenada* [Spanish Serenade] with a dedication to L. I. Shestakova (Glinka's sister) (*Ibid.*, 833–835). Balakirev, October 23/November 2, 1877, inviting Rimski-Korsakov to a Sunday evening, added: "also bring my little sheet with the Spanish themes of Glinka." (*PSS:Perepiska*, 111).

[54] "Mily Alexeyevich Balakirev," *The New Grove*; *PSS: Letopis-6*, 246, note 14. In tracing the influence of Balakirev's collection, Gerald Abraham focuses on the final year of publication: "Balakirev's preoccupation with the harmonization of his collection of folk-songs that spring [of 1866] had laid the foundation of Rimsky-Korsakov's serious interest in folk-music" (*Rimsky-Korsakov*, London: Duckworth, 1945, reprinted 1949, 32). He does not mention the earlier collecting Rimski-Korsakov had done in America when his quickened interest was serious enough to prompt a special Tuscarora field trip.

"given" him for use in the Andante the folk theme *"Tatarski polon"* [Tatar Captivity]"[55] which he had been "given" by Pavel Pavlovich Yakushkin (1820–1872).[56] Settling down to work on the Andante after the *Almaz* reached England, Rimski-Korsakov had reciprocated by sending Balakirev a transcription of *"Sharla tarla iz partarly"* [Sharla Tarla from Partarla], which he had heard his uncle Petr Petrovich Rimski-Korsakov sing and which Balakirev proceeded to use as the main theme of the last movement of his Symphony in C major.[57] Before leaving England, Rimski-Korsakov had an opportunity to hear folk music of the British Isles. He described what he heard in a letter to his mother (published in excerpt by his son). He did not like what he heard, finding nothing attractive in the British folk manner.[58] He transcribed none of it. This evidence that folk music had to satisfy personal taste in order to interest the composer makes even more significant the "interest" that Rimski-Korsakov found in an American Indian theme.

By the time he began to concentrate on writing *Pskovityanka*, three years after returning from his cruise, he had Balakirev's *Sbornik* of 1866 to draw upon.[59] Song Nr. 30, *"Kak pod lesom"* [As under trees],[60] is used almost without alteration of the melody for the *"Khor pskovskoi volnitsy"* [Chorus of the Freemen of Pskov] in the second act of the opera.[61] Two other songs from the *Sbornik*, Nr. 21[62] and Nr. 27,[63] altered and combined, have been read into *"Raskikuisya ty, kukushechka"* [Sing cuckoo, sweet cuckoo] of Act I, scene 4.[64] The importance of specific folk songs in Rimski-Korsakov's development, however, is not to be gauged by the extent to

[55] *PSS:Perepiska*, 248f, n.2. After praising Rimski-Korsakov's Andante, Kyui adds, "true, the theme has a lot to offer."

[56] On a sheet headed "songs heard from Yakushkin" Balakirev transcribed four songs, the first being *Tatarski polon*." He transcribed it in three regional variants. The Perm variant was the one Rimski-Korsakov used in the Andante (*Ibid.*, 27, note 1, and 248f, note 2). He included this song as the tenth of his 1876 collection: *Sto russkikh narodnykh pesen* [One Hundred Russian Folk Songs], edited by N. V. Shelkov, 27). Yakushkin, leaving the mathematics faculty, Moscow University, traveled the country for twenty years, as a pedlar, writing down songs, tales, and proverbial sayings. He was very influential as a folk-lore propagandist, but in the convivial process of collection became an alcoholic. In 1858 he went to St. Petersburg to try to get his collection published. In 1859, while traveling in Pskov Province, he was arrested by the provincial police and jailed. Controversy in the press ensued, making his case a *cause célèbre*. He was exiled to Krasny Yar, Astrakhan Province, where he lived for several years. He died in Samara. His *Sobranie pesen* [Collection of Songs] was first published in 1860, followed by a larger edition in 1865. The largest edition, by V. O. Mikhnevich, was published in St. Petersburg in 1884 under the title *Sochinenie Pavla Yakushkina* [Works of Pavel Yakushkin] (*ES*: 1904, Half-vol. 81, 640f). Yakushkin, in his *Zapiski* [Notes], told of meeting Rimski-Korsakov's father, Andrei Petrovich, in Novgorod Province when he was vice-governor there, as reported in an article by N. Mordvinov, cited in A. N. Rimski-Korsakov, *op. cit.*, p. 16. In 1875–1876, when Rimski-Korsakov was putting together his own collection of songs, having borrowed for it several songs already published, he received from V. V. Stasov in St. Petersburg, a note dated July 17/29, 1876, to the following effect: "Mr. Admiral, if you happen to be in the city please drop by to see me at the Library. First I can return to you again Rybnikov, Yakushkin, and what else you had there. Second, and mainly, I now have for you the first edition of Prach." (*PSS:Perepiska*, 357). Pavel Nikolaevich Rybnikov's collection of songs was published in four parts, Moscow, 1861–1867; *Sbornik narodnykh pesen* [Collection of Folk Songs] was published by I. Prach with N. A. Lvov in 1792, second edition in 1815 (*Ibid.*, 357f note).

[57] *Ibid.*, 33f.

[58] A. N. Rimski-Korsakov, *op. cit.*, 76. A. Gozenpud, ignoring the composer's adverse reaction to what he heard in England, has remarked that while Rimski-Korsakov was abroad he "became acquainted . . . with Scottish and English folk music. The gutteral singing of the North-American Indians to the accompaniment of percussion instruments likewise aroused his interest." (*Op. cit.*, 13).

[59] See above, note 41.

[60] *Sbornik* (1895), 60.

[61] Paraphrasing V. Tsukkerman, who cites this example of Rimski-Korsakov's treatment of folk-songs: "In the original . . . this is a broad, *cantabile* melody which only becomes animated in the second half. The song in the opera is *khorovod* in nature, with typical refrain [see note 47, above]. Rimski-Korsakov hardly changed the melody. But he increased the tempo; he made the shifting-beat measure into a single march-beat measure; he provided the melody with a number of accents; he shortened the long melismas to one syllable for sharp enunciation (except for the crying out of *"goi"*—on two and then on four low-descending tones—that gives the suggestion of energetic boldness); in the eighth measure he broke the smooth fabric of the melody with sharp pauses; everywhere in the harmony he underscored the stern natural minor; in the second couplet he introduced, in the orchestra, strong and forceful octaves; then in the third couplet he supported the chorus with sharp rhythms which, with his characteristic dryness, he indicated as *risoluto* (*loc. cit.*).

[62] *"Uzh ty, pole moe"* [Already, you, my field] in *Sbornik* (1895), 43.

[63] *"Podui, podui nepogodushka"* [Blow, blow foul wind] (*Ibid.*, 54).

[64] In 1899 S. Bulich stated that three songs, unnamed by him, from Balakirev's collection appeared in *Pskovityanka* (*"Istoriya russkoi muzyki"* [History of Russian Music], *ES*, Half-vol. 55, 706). No source disputes use of Nr. 30. Sergei Vasilevich Evseev has read the last two measures of Nr. 21 and the fifth and sixth

which they might have found place, medley fashion in his works, but by the authenticity of the folk idiom he acquired through them.[65] The American Indian theme shared in the acquirement of that idiom. It had interested him when he first heard it; he continued to be reminded of it a week after, when he was visiting Niagara Falls; and six weeks after that he wrote out a transcription of it in Alexandria. Thus it was well fixed in mind by the time of his letter to Balakirev eight weeks later describing progress in writing for voice—choral composition attracting more than art-song as recommended by Balakirev.[66]

After this letter from Annapolis, the foreign correspondence with Balakirev stopped, except for unanswered letters from Baltimore, New York, and Rio de Janeiro. His letter from Baltimore is only a few lines long, saying how much he has missed hearing from Balakirev.[67] His letter from New York says again how sad Balakirev's silence has made him. Although able by now, he says, to bear the prospect of a year and a half more at sea, he regrets that while growing indifferent to music he has nothing to take its place. He remembers that a year before (in Libava) he had been depressed about being inactive, but that at the beginning of summer he had taken heart again. But now, he says, "I am doing absolutely nothing for music."[68] In his next letter, from Rio de Janeiro of August 1864, he asks forgiveness for his long silence, but then—he chides—Balakirev had been much at fault not to write all the long while Rimski-Korsakov was back in New York.[69] The interest his earlier letter from Annapolis had expressed in venturing to compose something for voice had not met with any timely response to keep him going, although he may have made more of a start (in line with Narodny's account) than his dwindlling correspondence fully reveals.

His statement in his last letter from the United States ("I am doing absolutely nothing for music") may mean nothing more negative than his similar statement ("I cannot compose") in a letter written one year before, during a period of inactivity in Libava. In that earlier letter he had gone on to say: "Why is it not possible to bring to life all those many things which are now rattling about in my head like

measures of Nr. 27 into *"Raskukuisya,"* in *Rimski-Korsakov i russkaya narodnaya pesnya* [Rimski-Korsakov and Russian Folk Song] (Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1970), 120 and 125. In 1959 I. Kunin saw only Nr. 21 in *Raskukuisya*, in *N. A. Rimski-Korsakov* (Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1974), 86.

[65] Paraphrasing S. Bulich: *Pskovityanka* reflects the influence of (Balakirev's) *Sbornik* not so much in the themes that are borrowed from it (of which there are three), as in the faithfully captured folk character of all the genre and many of the lyric scenes of the opera. Here there are no Italianisms which are met even in (Glinka's) *Ruslan* and (Dargomyzhski's) *Rusalka* [Mermaid]. In spite of the fact that this is the first in the long line of Rimski-Korsakov's operas, it is one of the most important of his works, reflecting better than any of all the other of his operas the ideal of musical drama and exceeding them in the depth and force of its dramaturgy (*loc. cit.*).

[66] Of note in the emergence of interest in writing for voice, sparked by news of operas his friends proposed to write, is the sequence of Rimski-Korsakov correspondence: In letter of November 23/December 5, 1863, to Balakirev (quoted above) he transcribed the American Indian song-and-dance. In letter of December 14/26, 1863 (*PSS:Perepiska*, 74f), Balakirev wrote: "I have composed an Overture on Russian themes which I am dedicating to you. . . . I have also decided to write an opera which will be called *Zhar-Ptitsa* (Fire-bird). . . . Kyui is still writing his [*Willium*] *Rutcliff*, and very successfully. . . . I imagine you do not know what the musical novelty is in St. Petersburg. It's *Yudif* [Judith], an opera in five acts by Serov. This work reveals the composer's intelligence and lack of talent. . . . Musorgski also wants to write an opera on the subject of *Salambo*. . . . Are you writing anything? Why don't you write some art-songs [romances], probably you have Lermontov, Pushkin, and Koltsov. This would be extremely beneficial to you. It would train you in declamatory writing. You are probably familiar with *Paladin* by Dargomyzhski and other remarkable art-songs of his." Next was Kyui's letter to Rimski-Korsakov, December 27, 1863/January 8, 1864: "Balakirev and Modinka [Musorgski] are thinking of writing operas. . . . Balakirev needs to be spurred on. Whether he finishes it or not, he will be writing several excellent numbers. The subject is Russo-Georgian. He has brought a huge treasure of eastern music from the Caucasus, and these things must not be left to bear no fruit. . . . I await a letter from you and a packet of some new work of yours. Write! It does no good to play! Don't forget we're all counting heavily on you!" (*Ibid.*, 254f.) Finally, in his letter to Balakirev from Annapolis, January 18/30, 1864, Rimski-Korsakov took up the suggestion that he try writing for voice: "You advise me to compose romances; to this I will say that *I have made some attempt to* [italics added], but I think that I hardly have the aptitude needed for them. However, *I must try again* [italics added], and if they do not turn out well as far as the music is concerned, they will be of benefit just the same, as exercises in declamatory writing and handling of voices. . . . [After enumeration and critique of familiar art-songs and possible texts:] In any case I must make a try. Or write a chorus for mermaids—Pushkin's, only that is too good and I doubt I would be up to it" (p. 77, similar text p. 35). This is the context within which Rimski-Korsakov's preliminary attempts at choral writing may have proceeded, even though only Narodny reports the composer having said he did actually sketch music in America that he used in *Pskovityanka*.

[67] *Ibid.*, 78.

[68] *Ibid.*, 78f.

[69] *Ibid.*, 79.

skeletons, like dead people awaiting resurrection and future life? Is it possible I have entirely gone bad in two years?" Yet he had concluded the same letter by enclosing 27 measures of a new theme in G minor for an Allegro, scored for strings—wondering how Balakirev would like it.[70] In his letter from Libava a week later he had sent 20 bars of a Mozart parody to mock his boredom.[71] A fortnight later he had made a good report of progress on the last movement of his B-flat (projected) symphony, enclosing 15 measures of the middle part for Balakirev's comment. He had been able to say he had plenty of work to last him for a long time.[72]

Three of the major points that Narodny thought should interest Americans in his very garbled report of what he said he had heard from Rimski-Korsakov are verified by the witness of Rimski-Korsakov in his letters and in his music: his visit to an American Indian reservation, his transcription of an American Indian melody, and his use of it (no more altered than some of his Russian themes) in his own works. Narodny's additional point—that some sketches of the music Rimski-Korsakov used in his first opera were made in America—had some backing in the witness of at least one of the composer's letters. No support for any of these points is found in his published autobiography, which has been accorded the authority of scripture by most Russian writers. The only hint of confirmation from that source is the single marginal notation in the manuscript first reported by Russian editors in 1955, as noted above.

Since none of these confirming sources, except the music, were published before Narodny wrote, it remains a challenge to ascertain his source, whether it be as he stated or otherwise.

Narodny, by his own account, was most likely to have been free to move about St. Petersburg only during the years between his release from prison in about 1902[73] and his departure for America early in 1906,[74] thus establishing the time within which the reported recital might have taken place. He described his last meeting and conversation with Rimski-Korsakov as occurring on the eve of his own departure.[75]

The composer was at his Zagorodny home in St. Petersburg from the beginning of 1905 until he left for his summer home in Vechasha, near Luga, June 3/16. He returned September 10/23, leaving shortly after for the Moscow première of his *Pan Voevoda* (Pan Voivode), with Rachmaninov conducting. Ar-

[70] *Ibid.*, 49-51.

[71] *Ibid.*, 51. S. M. Lyapunov, in his preface to this correspondence, identified a G major symphony by Haydn as source of the "Mozart" musical example (*Muzykalny sovremennik*, ed. A. N. R.-Korsakov, Petrograd, Book I, 115). A footnote in the translation of the letter in *Musical Opinion and Music Trade Review* credits Lyapunov with pointing to "Haydn's G minor Symphony" as source (February, 1917, 289). A. S. Lyapunova is silent at this point. Only the first fourteen treble notes and their subsequent repetition in the letter are identical with those in the first movement Allegro of the Haydn Symphony No. 88. Rimski-Korsakov's harmonization of them in F instead of G is different, as well as are his extension and conclusion of the phrase.

[72] *PSS:Perepiska*, 53f.

[73] Leroy Scott, *loc. cit.*

[74] Ivan (soundex-recorded as "Juan") Narodny, age 35 years, 2 months, doctor, ethnic Russian, citizen of Russia, last resided in St. Petersburg, was the first listed on the manifest of alien passengers aboard the American Line Steamship *New York*, which sailed from Southampton February 17 and arrived at the Port of New York February 24, 1906. He was to join a friend, Miss E. G. Smith, at 210 E. 13th Street, New York. According to the manifest he had never been in prison. He left the United States in June, but soon returned as J. Narodny, age 36, editor, an ethnic Finn, citizen of Russia, married, last residing in Helsingfors, aboard the Anchor Line Steamship *Astoria*, which sailed from Glasgow September 15, 1906, and arrived at the Port of New York September 25, 1906. He was to be reached at 3 Fifth Avenue, New York (see "List or Manifest of Alien Passengers for the U.S. Immigration Officer at Port of Arrival" on dates indicated).

The *International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians, loc. cit.*, gives 1905 as the date Narodny "went to America." Narodny's own accounts are not precise: He said farewell to Lenin in Tammerfors, Finland, "toward the end of December, 1905," as he was leaving for America ("The Proletarian Mecca," 722); he left Estonia for America in 1906 ("The Republic of Music and Legend," *Travel*, xxxvn/2, June, 1931, 40); he spent his last Sunday in Russia in St. Petersburg, escaping as a Finnish peasant (as quoted by Leroy Scott, *op. cit.*, 74); and he met Rimski-Korsakov "for the last time in 1906" ("Head of Russia's National Opera," *loc. cit.*). The *Wilson Library Bulletin* obituary affirms 1906 as the year Narodny came to the United States from Russia (*loc. cit.*). Varying and contradictory accounts of his arrival in the United States appear in the *NYT*: (1) April 18, 1926, 27:3: "Mr. Narodny came to America just twenty years ago yesterday, landing with Maxim Gorky and P. Chaikowski. A dinner was given for the trio . . . by Mark Twain, Robert Collier and Arthur Brisbane." (2) April 11, 1906, 6:1: Gorky was met yesterday when he arrived at Hoboken by a party including "Ivan Narodny, . . . now in the country, ... Gorky will be the guest of honor this evening at a dinner [at which] M. Narodny and M. Tchaikofsky will be among the other guests." (3) April 12, 1906, 4:1: This "dinner was given by Ivan Narodny at Club A, 3 Fifth Avenue." Mark Twain and Maxim Gorky were the main speakers. Guests included "Nicholas Tchaykoffsky" and Arthur Brisbane. "W. D. Howells . . . had been invited but [was] unable to attend."

[75] Narodny, "Head of Russia's National Opera," *loc. cit.*

riving back in St. Petersburg by October 9/22, he did not leave again before the end of May, 1906, when he started for Italy. At Riva on Lake Garda he signed his autobiography August 22/September 3, 1906, concluding it with the comment that he and his family would be departing the next day, going by way of Munich and Vienna to Russia, and that when he got to St. Petersburg perhaps he would begin a diary. He arrived home September 2/15, 1906.[76]

V. V. Yastrebtsev, whose desire to be the Boswell of the composer's last years was often frustrated by the cat-and-mouse treatment he received, provided in his reminiscences a long checklist of those who gathered in 1905 and 1906 at the composer's home by eight in the evening at least once nearly every week, sometimes remaining until almost two and after, especially during the period Rimski-Korsakov provided his pupils instruction in his own home instead of at the conservatory.[77] Some of the regular evenings, Yastrebtsev missed. When he was there he could not always report everything that happened, because activities often involved different groupings of people, doing different things, and gathering in different rooms of the house, all at the same time.[78] He liked particularly to seek out the composer when he would slip away from his guests to work, and when finding him to engage him in private conversation. From time to time other guests may have won similar access, without Yastrebtsev's knowledge. As painstaking as he was in naming the regulars, Yastrebtsev made no attempt to list everyone on those evenings when 18 to 35 attended.[79]

Even had he been able to list them all, he might have missed Narodny—"man of a hundred disguises, of a dozen names."[80] The name used at the time of his arrival in the United States—"Ivan Narodny" (equivalent to "John of the People")—certainly does not appear. Nor is there any unidentified "Ivanov" (perhaps the commonest of all possible aliases and the one which Narodny said he adopted in 1902).[81] More to the point, the name of Nemirovich-Danchenko, companion to Narodny in his account, does not appear. Both of the brothers, Vasili Ivanovich (1845–1936)[82] and Vladimir Ivanovich (1858–1943)[83] Nemirovich-Danchenko, wrote novels. Writing in 1912, Narodny would not have failed to identify the more famous Vladimir as

[76] *PSS:Letopis-6*, 230f, and Yastrebtsev, *op. cit.*, (1960), Vol. II: 1898–1908, 321, 350, 356, 359, 360, 384, and 388f.

[77] Yastrebtsev, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 321–389.

[78] Politics and political parties were heatedly discussed early in 1906. Rimski-Korsakov held that the peasants had no recourse but to boycott the State Duma elections (*Ibid.*, 374f, 378, *et passim*).

[79] *Ibid.*, 370f, 375f, and 379.

[80] Scott, *loc. cit.*

[81] *Idem.* At least four times, between the beginning of 1902 and March 1/14, 1906, Razumnik [meaning "Man of Reason"] Vasilevich Ivanov was in attendance at the Rimski-Korsakovs' evening gatherings, twice with his wife (Yastrebtsev, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 255, 374, and 377). It was through this Ivanov that Rimski-Korsakov donated to the starving peasants of Tula Province the tiny sum which the peasants of Vladimir Province had collected for his benefit at the time of his release from the conservatory (*Ibid.*, 351). In February, 1906, Ivanov was made the single attraction at a Friday gathering. Rimski-Korsakov wrote invitations to his friends warning them not to expect the usual musicale: "A friend of my Andrei, Ivanov (Razumnik), who is not unknown to you [*nebezyzvestny Vam*, translated by Jonas as "whom you do not know," *op. cit.*, 383], will give a sort of report or lecture on the peasants of Vladimir Province, their development, views, opinions, etc. At the same time there will be an *ad libitum* collection for the dining-hall [*na stolovuyu*, translated by Jonas as "in the dining-room"] for the unemployed." (Yastrebtsev, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 375). Eventually Ivanov (*b* Tiflis, 1878; *d* Munich, 1946) adopted the hyphenated name Ivanov-Razumnik (this later form, adopted by Jonas in her abridgement-translation, does not appear in Yastrebtsev's reminiscences). Ivanov-Razumnik's two-volume history of Russian social thought was published in The Hague in 1970 (*Der Grosse Brockhaus* [Wiesbaden: F. A. Brockhaus, 1979], Vol. 5).

[82] Vasili lived abroad after the October Revolution, 1917 (Vladimir Ivanovich Nemirovich-Danchenko, *Izbrannye pisma 1879–1943* [Selected Letters 1879–1943] (Moscow, 1979), Vol. I, 480 and 489, and Vol. II, index), permanently emigrating from the USSR in 1921. He died in Prague, September 18, 1936 (*BSE*, third edition, Vol. XVII). His output included over one hundred volumes of novels, poems, and travel sketches (William E. Harkins, *Dictionary of Russian Literature* [New York, 1956, reprinted 1971], 259). There is very little autobiographical information, none of it pertinent here, in his book of reminiscences *Na kladbishchakh* [In cemeteries] (Reval, 1921). See also, *ES* (1897), Half-vol. 39, 872; W. N. Hargreaves-Mawdsley, *Everyman's Dictionary of European Writers* (London, 1968); *Cassell's Encyclopedia of World Literature* (hereafter *CEWL*) (New York, 1973), Vols. II and III; Valentine Snow, *Russian Writers* (New York, 1946), 131; *Novy entsiklopedicheski slovar* [New Encyclopedic Dictionary], hereafter *NES*, (Petrograd: 1916), Vol. XXVIII, 288–290.

[83] No reference to the event described by Narodny occurs in Vladimir's *Izbrannye pisma 1879–1943*, 2 vols., or in his two autobiographical works: *Iz proshlogo* [From the Past] (Moscow, 1936) and *Dni i gody* [Days and Years] (Moscow, 1962), translated by John Cournor as *My Life in the Russian Theatre* (London, 1968). Most famous as a director, accepting Hollywood's invitation to visit in that role, he wrote both novels and plays. One of his least successful early plays, produced in Moscow in 1882, bore the title *Nashi Amerikantsy* [Our Americans]. (*ES, loc. cit.*). See also I. Soloveva, *Nemirovich-Danchenko* (Moscow, 1979), and *BSE*, Harkins, *CEWL*, and *NES*, all *loc. cit.*

cofounder with Stanislavski of the Moscow Art Theater. Vladimir signed that theater's protest of March 1905 against Rimski-Korsakov's ouster from the conservatory in St. Petersburg.[84]

But even if Yastrebtsev may simply have missed the occasion of the alleged "recital," consider what A. V. Ossovski and V. N. R.-Korsakov wrote in the preface to the second Russian edition of the "full text" of *Letopis* published in 1955 (being the seventh Russian edition, leaving out of account degrees of completeness): "Neither while writing his *Letopis*, nor after finishing it, did N. A. Rimski-Korsakov show the manuscript to anyone, nor did he read out a single line of it to anyone. His family and intimates knew simply that an autobiography existed."[85]

This caveat—which does not appear in prefaces to the first five editions (from 1909 through 1935)[86]—names no offenders. But it does ward off others besides Narodny who might claim to have heard more details than appear in the autobiography.[87] Why the need to ward them off? After all, even the *Letopis* details about the composer's childhood were common knowledge after V. V. Stasov included them in a biographical article that appeared in 1890 in celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Rimski-Korsakov's publicly recorded activity. Except for adding a few explanatory comments and digressing on the topics of Russian church music and folk song, Stasov followed the sequence of events and personalities as they appear in *Letopis* so closely that he must have had something from the composer's own hand, much like the *Letopis* text, to guide him.[88] At one point he quotes directly from what he describes as autobiographical notes written by the composer.[89]

Stasov's article is one of the sources N. F. Findeizen cites in his preface to *N. A. Rimski-Korsakov* dated July 17/30, 1908,[90] six months after the composer's death and six months before N. N. Rimskaya-Korsakova's preface to the first edition of *Letopis*, dated January 12/25, 1909.[91] First among his sources, however, Findeizen names his own personal recollections and information provided by the composer's widow. At the points where his account differs from that of *Letopis*, Findeizen strays further than Stasov. For example, he says Nikolai and Kuzma were house serfs who played for dances in Rimski-Korsakov's parental home.[92] In his much earlier article Stasov names the same two as house serfs, but does not suggest that they were owned by the Rimski-Korsakov family and instead makes it clear that they played for all the Tikhvin neighborhood dances. He adds that Nikolai played the violin and Kuzma the tambourine.[93] *Letopis* (the pertinent text written in 1876)[94] names the same two as

[84] M. Yankovski, *Rimski-Korsakov i revolutsiya 1905 goda* [Rimski-Korsakov and the 1905 Revolution] (Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1950), 52.

[85] *Letopis-7*, vi. The first Russian full-text edition (the sixth, disregarding degree of completeness) makes almost the same statement: "After finishing *Letopis*, N. A. Rimski-Korsakov did not show it to anyone and did not read out a single line from it to anyone." (*PSS:Letopis-6*, viii). Ten months later in a conversation Yastrebtsev recorded May 22/June 4, 1906, Rimski-Korsakov spoke of wanting again to work on his reminiscences which still did not treat of the years 1867–1872 and 1884–1890, as well as the most recent period of his life (Yastrebtsev, *op. cit.*, 386). Returning from Italy at the end of the summer, he showed Yastrebtsev *Letopis* "from a distance"—remarking that Yastrebtsev was in it. "After my death," he said, "you will read it. But for the present it will remain unknown even to Nadezhda Nikolaevna. That will be better." (*Ibid.*, 390). Aside from his desire to tease, Rimski-Korsakov's caution was probably mainly to protect what he had most recently been writing about people with whom he still had relations.

[86] See above, note 5.

[87] Yastrebtsev himself may have gained some idea of what the composer was writing at the time of the conversation he reported having at Vechasha in mid-summer 1905: "Before and after coffee we talked at length about Nikolai Andreevich's new works and his "Chronicle" which has been put aside for the time being, but which has been brought up to 1885. However, according to Rimski-Korsakov, quite a significant gap has been left in these reminiscences." (*Op. cit.*, 351).

[88] V. V. Stasov, in *Stati o Rimskim-Korsakovom* [Articles about Rimski-Korsakov], edited by V. A. Kiselev (Moscow: State Music Publishers, 1953), 8–44.

[89] *Ibid.*, 17. While these notes remain unidentified, V. A. Kiselev suggests they may have been ones prepared for Hugo Riemann (1849–1919), but never printed (*Ibid.*, 46, note 5).

[90] (St. Petersburg: W. Bessel and Co., 1908), 4. In 1907 Findeizen, founder of *Russkaya muzykalnaya gazeta* [Russian Music Gazette], undertook the publication in two volumes of *Polnoe sobranie pisem Mikhaila Ivanovicha Glinki* [Complete letters of Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka] in which he included 363 items, 226 of which had never appeared in print before. This collection, taken together with the publication by others of Glinka's *Zapiski* [Notes], remained an unrivaled source for study of Glinka until 1953, when V. Bogdanov-Berezovski edited a new collection containing 442 letters in addition to several documents of other sorts. While granting his predecessor credit for trying, Bogdanov-Berezovski found great fault with Findeizen for omissions and changes that often seemed to distort, and even to reverse, the meaning of the underlying text. Bogdanov-Berezovski's examples are substantial enough, assuming they are verifiable, to justify some mistrust of detail in Findeizen's account of Rimski-Korsakov (Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka, *op. cit.*, 34–39).

[91] Reproduced in third Russian edition, 4f.

[92] *Op. cit.*, 7.

[93] *Op. cit.*, 9.

[94] See above, note 5, for dating of *Letopis* manuscript.

Tikhvin's ballroom orchestra, but not as house serfs, and assigns them the same instruments. *Letopis* goes on to say that during the last few years before Rimski-Korsakov left Tikhvin, Nikolai and Kuzma were followed by some Jews (their number is not given) who came to town playing violin, cymbalom, and tambourine, far outshining Nikolai and Kuzma, and becoming the fashionable musicians.[95] Stasov adds that the Jews were four in number, and that their instruments were cymbaloms and two violins, accompanied by tambourine. He leaves no doubt that they were Tikhvin's dance orchestra, not a single family's. Findeizen, still not clear on this point, permits a faulty inference that the Rimski-Korsakov household maintained the new orchestra.[96] Otherwise he follows Stasov in saying there were four Jews and assigning them the same instruments. Zielinski picks up the number "four" in writing for the *Pacific Coast Musician* and enlarges upon Findeizen's reference to house serfs to make the "small frame house"[97] in which the composer was born in the remote provincial town of Tikhvin into an "estate" and to elevate the father (who was living in forced retirement on a limited government pension)[98] to the level of many of the "gentry in those days, [who] maintained a small orchestra."[99] By 1929, M. Markevich, writing of the composer's youth in *La Revue Musicale*, had reduced the number of Jews in the orchestra by one, perhaps by counting names of instruments, but followed *Letopis* and Stasov in putting them at the disposal of the town.[100]

Such minutiae are important here only as evidence that some other versions of at least part of the account in *Letopis* were in circulation before its first publication—versions containing some of the same details that are in *Letopis* intermixed, at least from the time Stasov wrote in 1890, with additional details (some of which probably originated in amplifying statements by the composer himself). Considering Narodny's necessarily inexact pre-knowledge of the state geography of New York, he could hardly be expected to retell without error what he might have heard recited on a single occasion, relying wholly on his understanding as of the moment, and his power of memory several years afterward.

Slight additional support for Narodny's claim to have heard Rimski-Korsakov recite his experiences in America is the statement by A. Gozenpud that the composer had been heard more than once to voice in conversation his generally unfavorable impression of that country.[101] The United States being the subject of at least one novel by Vasili Nemirovich-Danchenko[102] and of at least one play by Vladimir Nemirovich-Danchenko,[103] it would have been a more likely topic of extended conversation with either of them (and with Narodny, soon to be headed that way) than with other acquaintances who had no such interest in the Americas.

Unlikely as it is that Rimski-Korsakov was, in fact, able to keep secret everything he was putting

[95] *PSS:Letopis-6*, 5.

[96] *Loc. cit.* Rimski-Korsakov's father, opposed to serfdom as he was, had begun freeing his serfs before the composer was born. There were some nine left (no Nikolai or Kuzma named among them) to attend the family when the composer was a child. As they were freed one by one, some were hired back as servants (*PSS:Letopis-6*, 14).

[97] Stasov, *op. cit.*, 8, and Findeizen, *op. cit.*, 5.

[98] *PSS:Letopis-6, loc. cit.* His father ended up propertyless, having lost considerable wealth, acquired from his father and from his first wife after her death. His only children, Voin and Nikolai, twenty-two years apart, were by his second wife (A. N. Rimski-Korsakov, *op. cit.*, 12).

[99] "N. A. Rimski-Korsakov" (August, 1914), III/8, 36. See mention of such an orchestra of Jewish musicians in A. P. Chekhov, *Vishnevy sad* [The Cherry Orchard], Act II.

[100] "Les années de jeunesse de Rimsky-Korsakov" (December, 1929), X/11, 134.

[101] "*N. A. Rimski-Korsakov (po neopublikovannym dokumentam)* (N. A. Rimski-Korsakov [from unpublished documents])," *Sovetskaya muzyka* [Soviet Music] (1950), Nr. 2, 66. As an instance of Rimski-Korsakov's strong feeling against the United States, Gozenpud cites his reaction to an attempt by some "clever and enterprising Americans" to invite him to the Conservatory of New York at the time of his release from the St. Petersburg Conservatory in 1905: "Rimski-Korsakov categorically refused. 'I will not betray my native land,' were his words to Yastrebtsev on another occasion [unspecified], but they could have been applied here as well." Gozenpud says Rimski-Korsakov was repelled by the ethno-politico-socio-economic aspects of American life he had witnessed while in the United States, but does not cite any comment made in speech or writing by the composer showing such to be the reason for the composer's dislike of the United States. Instead, this mere assertion is followed by descriptions of the mistreatment of blacks observed in South America quoted from letters to his mother (*Idem*, 62f), implying that Rimski-Korsakov meant to say he had seen the same thing in the United States. Neither the composer's *Letopis* nor his letters, at least those published, show this to be true. While in the United States he did not, of course, go beyond the Atlantic coastal states in the North (*PSS:Letopis-6*, 30). His writings do, however, show a clear basis for his having some dislike: he felt the United States was culturally poverty-stricken, and this feeling was greatly reinforced by the circumstances surrounding his stay. Although himself well liked, fellow midshipmen and superior officers were incompatible, the crew manning his ship was brutalized by the officers, and he was isolated from the musical life and companionship of his own country (*PSS:Perepiska*, 24, 42, 49f, 59f, 67–73, 76–79, 250f, 253f; and *PSS:Letopis-6*, 23 and 29f).

[102] America lures to its shores the main characters in the three-part *Bodrye—Smelye—Silnye* [The Vigorous—The Bold—The Strong) (New York: Preboy Book Co., [no date]).

[103] See *Nashi Amerikantsy*, above, note 83.

in his reminiscences, it is even more unlikely that he would never have tried to revise any part of *Letopis*, especially in view of the long lapse of time since the writing of the first pages.[104] It contains errors, particularly in the dating of events, which second thought might have corrected.[105] Such revision would have been very much in character—witness the many reworkings of his first symphony and his first opera.[106]

Leaving to conjecture Narodny's sources, interest in Rimski-Korsakov's American experience goes beyond the Indian song he garnered. His decision to become a composer hung in the balance when he came; a conclusion was reached more in spite of than because of any American influence. Paradoxical statements are encountered all along the way. At one time the composer himself wrote that he returned from the Americas a dilettante who had in effect given up music.[107] On the other hand, A. Gozenpud, the Soviet writer already mentioned, after mainly politicizing the composer's American experience, showing it to have repelled him, yet concluded: "Rimski-Korsakov made the irrevocable decision to become a musician during the years he spent at sea."[108]

ADDENDUM
"Tuscarora Hymn-Singing"

Within a few years after the arrival of the first Tuscaroras from North Carolina to reside among the Oneidas alongside the other Iroquois nations (of whom they were already a linguistic member even before their formal adoption in 1722), they were introduced to the first so-called Indian Prayer Book (New York, 1715) printed in Mohawk to accommodate the Church of England's first mission to the Indians, the Oneida mission near Ft. Hunter, begun in 1702. The final section of the book—"Parts of the Singing Psalms"—contained metrical translations of a "Gloria Patri," six Psalms (23, 67, 100, 103, 117, and 134), and two hymns ("A Thanksgiving

[104] The earliest pages of the manuscript were written in 1876. See above, note 5.

[105] Errors in the reporting of years up through 1865 are few as listed in the notes to the Russian "full" text editions, namely: the composer began piano lessons with F. A. Kanille in 1859, not 1860; they were interrupted in 1860, not 1861; Balakirev was a full Russian, not half-Tatar; the captain of the *Almaz* was Zelenoi, not Zeleny; the first stop at Kiel lasted two to three weeks, not two or three days; the *Zhemchug* was not among the Russian vessels that sailed to America; the trip to Niagara was in October, not November (*PSS:Letopis-6*, 244–248). Of greater consequence in evaluating what Narodny had to say about the composer's productivity while in the Americas is the opposite conclusion to be drawn from *Letopis* that Rimski-Korsakov had given up composition altogether before he arrived. One misunderstanding arises from the words "finished" and "completed" which the composer used in dating the various movements of his E-flat minor symphony. "Completed" did not mean "orchestrated" or "closed to alteration." More than a year and a half after the first and fourth movements of the symphony had been "composed" (*ibid.*, 22), Rimski-Korsakov wrote from Alexandria, Virginia, December 2/14, 1863, that Kyui's most recent letter (which had been almost five months en route) had inspired him to get out the finale of this "first Russian symphony"—as Kyui chose to call it—and begin to reorchestrate it. After having let the movement alone for a while, he found it easier to find and correct errors he had made. He reported he had also reorchestrated the entire first movement and written it out in clean copy (*PSS:Perepiska*, 253). It is certainly true, however, that music examples no longer crowd his letters as they had before he reached New York (*ibid.*, 39–65). There is no sign of continuing creativity in his letters from Alexandria, Annapolis, Baltimore, New York, and Rio de Janeiro (*ibid.*, 69–80) aside from the recording of the Indian song, the tidying up of two movements of the first symphony (still to be entirely reorchestrated after the composer's return to Russia), and the awakening of an interest in choral composition.

Editors of the sixth and seventh Russian editions point out places in *Letopis* where text called for by the author's topic outline (reproduced in their Appendix I) is omitted. These omissions all pertain to later years, as do those which were the subject of early complaint by Michael D. Calvocoressi ia *The Christian Science Monitor*, "Rimsky-Korsakoff and Balakireff," January 22, 1927, 6; and "Rimsky-Korsakoff and Stasoff," February 12, 1927, 8). Calvocoressi very early despaired, however, of modifying the authority which *Letopis* had already won by its air of candor and its easy availability in translation outside Russia. On this score, see F. Jonas, *op. cit.*, xiv; and G. Abraham, *op. cit.*, 30n.

[106] Some revisions he may not have desired any more than he wished to reveal the hurt he had felt when Balakirev's solicitude changed to neglect soon after he came to the Americas. It was less painful to say that Balakirev began to write less to him because he began to write less to Balakirev (*PSS:Letopis-6*, 30). In truth, Balakirev responded only once to the seven letters posted from the Americas (*PSS:Perepiska*, 30 and 34). Balakirev's lame excuse was that friends had advised him to use a different address from what Rimski-Korsakov himself had given. Something nearer the truth may be guessed from correspondence back in 1863. Writing to Stasov from Pyatigorsk June 3/15, Balakirev pleads: "Please write to me. I have no one except you. No one. I don't count Kyui, he is a talent, but not a person as far as social interchange is concerned. Musorgski is almost an idiot. Rimski-Korsakov is still only a delightful child who promises much; but when he comes into full bloom, I will not be right for him." The next day he wrote to Rimski-Korsakov: "Every day I feel how old I am becoming [he was twenty-six] and I fear that when you have finally developed and want to receive something heart-to-heart from me, you will not find anything but what is dry and withered" (M. A. Balakirev and V. V. Stasov, *Perepiska* [Correspondence], ed. A. S. Lyapunova, [Moscow], Vol. I [1970], 192; *PSS:Perepiska*, 73 and 61–63).

[107] *PSS:Perepiska*, 30 and 34.

[108] *Op. cit.*, 68.

after receiving the Lords Supper," and "A Prayer to the Holy Ghost to be sung before the sermon," namely, "Veni Creator"). The missionary William Russell abandoned his Oneida charge in 1718, unaware of how much the Iroquois, especially the Tuscaroras, were to delight in singing spiritual songs in the vernacular. His parting words were uninspired: "Heathen they are, heathern they will be" (J. Cookinham, *History of Oneida County*, Vol. I, p. 9f). More aware of the power of these songs (even though the tunes were only such as the English commonly used), Sir William Johnson (1714–1774), superintendent of Indian affairs, insisted that the "Part of the Singing Psalms"—all of which had been omitted from an interim edition of the prayer book—should be restored in the new 400-copy octavo edition printed at his expense in New York in 1769, after at least seven years of effort (E. B. O'Callaghan, *Documentary History of the State of New York*, Vol. IV, Albany: 1851, pp. 305f, 321, 324, 326, 343f, 364, 366f, 385f, 396, and 417; and "The Reverend John Ogilvie, D.D.," Ontario Historical Society, *Papers and Reports*, XXII, Toronto: 1925, p. 296). The Mohawk-English prayer book of 1787 printed in London did not vary the selection of singing psalms and hymns made in the Mohawk editions of 1715 and 1769.

More remarkably, the Baptist, Methodist, and nondenominational bilingual collections of hymns "chiefly translated by Henry Aaron Hill" which were printed in New York in 1829, 1835, 1850, and 1853 include the same Mohawk common meter text of "Veni Creator" that appears in the prayer books. So also does the bilingual revision of Hill made by James N. Cusick "for the use of the Baptist native Christians of the Six Nations" printed in Philadelphia in 1846. As an exception, Cusick eliminates four of the original nine verses. This James Cusick was a Tuscarora Baptist minister who returned in 1860 from Kansas and Upper Canada to reorganize the Baptist Church on the Tuscarora Reservation Rimski-Korsakov was soon to visit (F. R. Johnson, *The Tuscaroras*, Vol. II, Murfreesboro, N.C.: 1968, p. 225). In all bilingual examples, including the 1787 prayer book, the common meter Mohawk text of "Veni Creator" is paired with the common meter English text which first appeared in Tate and Brady, *Supplement to the New version of Psalms*, etc., circa 1700 (third ed., 1702), as cited in *A Dictionary of Hymnology*, ed. John Julian, second revised ed. (New York: 1907), p. 1210. The tunes to which the Tuscaroras might sing the Mohawk "Veni Creator" were likely to have been those most commonly favored by English-speaking congregations for the common meter Tate and Brady version.

Musically, the Tuscaroras were early converts to the three-part hymn-singing propagated by Eleazar Wheelock's Indian Charity School in Lebanon (Columbia), Connecticut, thanks more to its alumni than to the small Tuscarora attendance cut short by withdrawal of all New York Indian students by 1770 because Wheelock was suspected of maneuvering to acquire Indian-held land ("Eleazar Wheelock," *Dictionary of American Biography*).

Sir William Johnson's move to restore the singing psalms and hymns to the prayer book may have been sparked by the success of the Mohegan singing evangelist, Samson Occom, sent by Wheelock to visit the Oneidas and Tuscaroras in 1761, and by the reports from Sir William's brother-in-law, Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea) (1742–1807), who was one of the three Mohawks recruited during that visit by David Fowler, the Montauk brother-in-law of Occom. After his return from the school in midsummer 1763 and before he was recruited by the new Anglican missionary, John Stuart, in 1771, Brant organized worship services at his house in Canajoharie in which he led the hymn-singing, presumably on the Wheelock model (O'Callaghan, *op. cit.*, pp. 303f and 324; James Strachan, *A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819*, Aberdeen: 1820, p. 152; John Jakes, *Mohawk. The Life of Joseph Brant*, London: 1969, p. 36; W. L. Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant*, Albany: 1838, p. 27; L. B. Milledge, Jr., "The Religious Side of Joseph Brant," reprint from *Journal of Religion*, IX:3, July, 1929, pp. 399, 401, 412ff; H. W. Blodgett, *Samson Occom*, Hanover, NH: 1935, pp. 65 and 72; W. DeLoss Love, *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians of New England*, Boston: 1899, pp. 80–297).

Although a majority of the Tuscaroras moved west about 1781 to become the first settlers in Niagara County, several remained in the neighborhood of the Oneida, Oriske, and transplanted Brothertown and Stockbridge Indians long after Occom's death. The last six months of his life he lived within a mile of the original Tuscarora village. Indians within a ten-mile radius attended his memorial service which was conducted in that village by fellow Wheelock alumnus, Samuel Kirkland, in mid-July 1792 (Frank Roy Johnson, *The Tuscaroras*, Vol. II, Murfreesboro, NC: 1968, pp. 216ff; *History of Niagara County, New York*, New York: 1878, p. 83; Love, *op. cit.*, pp. 290ff). See Robert Stevenson, "English Sources for Indian Music until 1882," *Ethnomusicology*, XVII:3, September, 1973, pp. 409–412, for Wheelock, Occom, Fowler, and Knapp.

In 1798, from their new home near the Niagara, the Tuscaroras called for a missionary and a school teacher of their own. Two years later a Baptist minister, Elkanah Holmes, fresh from visits to the Stockbridge and Brothertown Indians, agreed to serve them under appointment from the Presbyterian-dominated New York Missionary Society. He was to be paid $375 a year plus travel expenses and was allowed $15 a month to pay the interpreter he had found among the Tuscaroras, Nicholas Cusick, a hero of the Revolution (R. F. Berkhofer, *Protestant Missionaries to the American Indians*, Cornell University Thesis, Ithaca: 1961, p. 385; "Narratives of Early Mission Work on the Niagara and Buffalo Creek,"

Buffalo Historical Society Publications, to be cited as *BHSP*, Vol. VI, p. 287).

Lemuel Covell, making a tour of inspection for the Shaftsbury Baptist Association of Western Massachusetts and Vermont, reported on progress at the mission in the fall of 1803: "There is a very convenient house erected in their village (at the expense of the State) for the purpose of meeting for worship and educating their children. They have an English school taught by a young Indian, who has a good share of English learning, and is a very sober, respectable man. The solemn and orderly manner in which they attend public worship; the correctness and melody of their singing, and the solicitude and affection with which they listen to a preached gospel, afford incontestible evidence of the success of his labors among them" (Diademia [Covell] Brown, *Memoir of the late Samuel Covell*, etc., Brandon, VT: 1839, Chapter 4, excerpted in *BHSP*, Vol. VI, pp. 207 and 215). Reporting on a later visit, Covell wrote from Pittstown, Massachusetts, March 13, 1806: "Their singing (in which they are much improved) is performed with as much melody and harmony as is common in our best singing societies. In bass and treble they particularly excel" (*Massachusetts Baptist Missionary*, I:7, May, 1806, p. 20ff).

A significant accretion of vernacular text is suggested in Valentine W. Rathbun's journal of June–September, 1807: "This evening the Indians (in conformity to their usual practice on Saturday evenings) met in the meeting-house, for the purpose of singing psalms and hymns, etc. They sang a number of tunes delightfully, and Cusick closed the solemnity with prayer. They sing and pray, as might be expected, in the Tuscarora language. I was delighted with their harmony and decorum on this occasion. The tunes which they made use of are those which are generally sung by the white people in New England. [Holmes being away in Boston for thirteen weeks, the Tuscaroras] have met however every Sunday at the meeting-house, and Cusick has taken the lead in their public worship" (*Op. cit.*, II:2, May, 1808, p. 50ff). The singing in the Tuscarora language was probably of Mohawk text and was not to be expected of any neighboring Senecas until the practice was introduced by Tuscaroras who visited Buffalo Creek in October, 1817, or, less probably, 1818 (Henry R. Howland, "Seneca Mission at Buffalo Creek," *BHSP*, Vol. VI, p. 132).

In their annual report, May 25, 1808 (the final year of Holmes's Tuscarora mission), the trustees of the Association remarked upon Brother Rathbun's three Sundays spent among the Tuscaroras "who are particularly distinguished for their good singing" (*Massachusetts Baptist Missionary*, II:3, September, 1808, p. 91).

After the ravages of the War of 1812, intensified by England's memory of the Tuscaroras' having sided with the colonies in the Revolution, the Tuscaroras called for a reactivation of the mission. Twenty-three-year-old James C. Crane (1794–1823) as missionary, and James Young (his brother-in-law) as schoolmaster, were appointed in the spring of 1817 (Berkhofer, *op. cit.*, p. 391; and *American Missionary Register*, XXII:4, April, 1826). A Sunday service early during their tenure was described by a touring Scotsman, John Morison Duncan. On October 18, 1818, he set out from Lewiston for Tuscarora village. The service was to begin at noon. A blast from a horn from an old Indian at the door called in the Indians, who had been standing quietly outside, and the Whites. Old and young filed in after the mission "family"—the last ones to arrive. The Tuscaroras seemed to Duncan much better looking than the Senecas and other Indians he had seen. The order of worship included nine activities in sequence: a first hymn sung by the Indians in their own language (most likely in Mohawk, considering Cusick's subsequent remark to Duncan that the only translations they had of the scriptures were those in Mohawk, which was understood by all Tuscaroras); a short address by Crane, Nicholas Cusick standing beside him and interpreting sentence by sentence; a second hymn sung by the Indians; a first prayer by Crane, Cusick interpreting; a text (Galatians IV:2) and sermon, by Crane, Cusick interpreting; a second prayer, Crane asking Cusick to call upon an Indian in the congregation for this service; a ten-minute address volunteered by Chief Longbard, himself an unbeliever, recommending both Crane, the man, and what he had to say as good; a third hymn, sung by the Indians; and a blessing and dismissal by Crane. The hymns were to common psalm tunes familiar to Duncan. Most of the Indians had music books open before them, and they sang the different parts. He thought their voices were good, those of the women being particularly sweet, and the effect very pleasing (*A Sabbath among the Tuscarora Indians,* Glasgow: 1819, pp. 18–48; and *Travels Through Part of the United States and in Canada in 1818 and 1819*, New York and New Haven: 1823, pp. 61–82).

Late in 1819, James Young was reassigned to Buffalo Creek to take charge as senior teacher. Jabez B. Hyde (*b* 1774), who had been the teacher since the beginning of the school in 1811, was assigned the subordinate role of catechist. In that same year, presumably before Young's arrival, Hyde had published a bilingual (English–Seneca) collection of seven hymns (H. A. Salisbury, printer, Buffalo), inspired by the example of Tuscarora singing cited above. The seven hymns (reprinted in 1819) included "Come thou Almighty King," to be sung to the tune of "Hymn to the Trinity [Italian Hymn]." Eager to add new hymns, he distributed at one of the regular evening gatherings, September 7, 1820, a manuscript text for the Senecas to sing to the tune of "Portuguese Hymn [Adeste Fideles]." On hand to instruct was Amos Callender, iden-

tified as "their worthy and indefatigable teacher of music." The Senecas mastered the new song in one evening (Timothy Alden, *An Account of . . . missions . . . among the Senecas,* [New York: 1827], p. 93ff). Callender was a charter member of Buffalo's "Musica Sacra" Society founded March 29, 1820, in adulation of hymnodist Thomas Hastings (1784–1872) "of Albany," whose marriage in Buffalo, September 22, 1822, would indicate at least some time spent there. His bride, Mary Seymour, was the orphaned first cousin of Henry Roderick Seymour, who had transferred from a Utica to a Buffalo Presbyterian Church in 1818, and who appeared prominently as the second subscriber to the "Musica Sacra" Society (see the resolution forming the society among the manuscripts at the Buffalo and Erie County Historical Society) (D. L. Jacobus, *A History of the Seymour Family* [New Haven: 1939], ancestor 131; Membership records of the Buffalo First Presbyterian Church; F. A. Bowman, *Ten Thousand Vital Records of Western New York: 1809–1850* [Baltimore: 1985], p. 104).

In 1823 James Young, who had become Assistant Missionary after the 1821 arrival of Thompson S. Harris from the Theological Seminary at Princeton, produced a bilingual hymnal in Buffalo which contained only nine hymns for adults in addition to doxologies and hymns for children. He took nothing from Hyde's 1818/1819 collection. In 1827 Hyde, whose connection with the mission school had been severed by Harris's arrival, published in Buffalo a collection of seventeen hymns, including all those of 1818/1819.

The next Seneca–English hymnal (New York: 1829) was the work of James Young, the Seneca student (*b* about 1811) who had taken the name of his teacher. He included three hymns that had been in all Hyde's collections. He also included the text tied to the same tune name—"Portuguese Hymn"—that Hyde had produced in manuscript in 1820. Young retained four hymns from his teacher's 1823 collection and five others from Hyde's 1827 collection. Entirely new were six texts derived from Isaac Watts, two from John Newton, two from Philip Doddridge, one each from William Cowper and Charles Wesley, and one attributed sometimes to Samson Occom ["Awak'd by Sinai's awful sound"]. The Library of Congress copy of the 1829 collection is inscribed: "Present to Emeline and Lucy Merrill [Merrills were members of the Buffalo First Presbyterian Church] from James Young an educated Indian of the Seneca Nation. Buffalo. December 15, 1829" (*American Missionary Record*, December, 1821, p. 180, and September 1823, p. 270; and *Missionary Herald*, xxv, February, 1829, p. 215).

With the reorganization and amalgamation of the Presbyterian missionary effort in 1825, attention shifted to the more numerous Senecas, who were by then as accustomed as the Tuscaroras to singing hymns in the vernacular and were soon to be the recipients of the larger collections which Seneca White and Asher Wright were to make specifically for them. The Presbyterians dropped support of their Tuscarora congregation as a foreign mission in 1861. The Baptists made a similar change in supporting their congregation in 1865 (*ibid.*, LVIII, February, 1862, p. 17; *Baptist Home Missions in America. Jubilee Volume 1832–1882*, New York: 1883, pp. 500f and 601; F. R. Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 225; and Clinton Rickard, *Fighting Tuscarora*, ed. Barbara Graymont, Syracuse: 1973, pp. 2 and 8).

Recent Contributions to Iberian Musical Scholarship in the United States

In the United States, advances in Iberian musical scholarship continued being made throughout the late 1980's along three fronts: (1) dissertations and theses; (2) books, articles, and reviews; (3) research papers read at congresses and symposiums.

I

The eminent authority on Italian opera in eighteenth-century Portugal and renowned musicological faculty member of the Universidade Nova at Lisbon, Manuel Carlos de Brito, published in *Revista de Musicología*, VIII/1 (1985), 171–178, an extremely opportune "Bibliografía de tesis norteamericanas relacionadas con la música ibérica." Among the 106 titles, he remarked on the great diversity of degrees (Ph.D., Ed.D., D.M.A., D.A., M.A., M.M., M.Mus.). He also rightly alluded to the wide disparity of length, profundity, and ultimate significance of the theses and dissertations. Not that his list was intended to be exhaustive—nor could be, given his source.

As examples of omissions caused by the defects of his source: in 1950 John W. Woldt presented "Spanish Madrigals: A Study of the Madrigals of Morales, Flecha, Valenzola (= Valenzuela), Brudieu, and Rimonte" (Ph.D., University of Rochester, 188 pages); in 1952 Robert J. Borrowdale submitted "The *Musices Liber Primus* of Diego Ortiz, Spanish Musician" (Ph.D., University of Southern California, 215 pages); and in 1953 Glenn Watkins offered "Three Books of Polyphonic Lamentations of Jeremiah, 1549–1564" (Ph.D., University of Rochester, 1953, 336 pages)—all three of which are still valuable. Even earlier, Steven Barwick in 1949 completed his Ph.D. at Harvard University with a seminal dissertation on "Sacred Vocal Polyphony in Early Colonial Mexico" that not only included the entire surviving then known corpus of works by Hernando Franco (1532–1585), a native of Extremadura trained at Segovia Cathedral, but also contained in the musical appendix a twelve-voice *Magnificat primi toni* by Bernardo de Peralta Escudero (*d* Burgos, November 4, 1617), that to date is apparently Peralta's sole polychoral work available for scholarly study. Alice Ray [Catalyne], in her two-volume Ph.D. dissertation submitted in 1953 at the University of Southern California, "The Double Choir Music of Juan de Padilla," similarly brought into transcribed currency four masses *a 8* by Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (c1590–1664), a native of Málaga who before emigrating in 1622 to Puebla, Mexico, had held chapelmaster posts at Jerez de la Frontera collegiate church and at Cádiz Cathedral.

Doctoral dissertations that have been accepted at United States universities in the lapse between 1983 and 1988 (those listed by Brito are preceded by an asterisk) include the following:

DISSERTATIONS AND MASTERS THESES

*Bendell, Christine Jean. Federico Mompou: An analytical and stylistic study of the "Canciones y Danzas" for piano. D.A., University of Northern Colorado, 1983, 233 pp. Dissertation Abstracts International [hereafter DAI], 44, pp. 22–23. Order number from University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Road, P. O. Box 1764, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 48106 [United States toll free telephone number 800–521–3042], is DEQ 83–28484.

Borg, Paul William. The Polyphonic Music in the Guatemalan music manuscripts in the Lilly Library. 2 vols., Ph.D., Indiana University, 1985, 678 pp. DAI 46, p. 1433. DER85–16622.

Brooks, Lynn Matluck. The Dances of the Processions of Seville in Spain's Golden Age. Ed.D., Temple University, 1985. 499 pp. DAI 46, p. 555. DER85–09321.

COLLIER, SUZANNE RHODES. Contemporary Spanish Song Cycles for Soprano by Turina and Rodrigo. D.M.A., University of Maryland-College Park, 1987, 151 pp. DAI 49, p. 373. DEV88-08628.

GERBER, REBECCA LYNN. The Manuscript Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio 88: A Study of Fifteenth-century Manuscript Transmission and Repertory. Ph.D., University of California, Santa Barbara, 1985. 636 pp. DAI 46, p. 1435. DER85-17881.

GRIFFITH, JONATHAN CHARLES. Villancicos by Luigi Boccherini: An Edition. D.M.A., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 1985. 302 pp. DAI 46, p. 3529. DES85-23484.

HARDIE, JANE MORLET. The motets of Francisco de Peñalosa and their manuscript sources. Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1983. 481 pp. DAI 44, p. 420. DA83-14282.

HASTINGS, KAREN JANE. Francisco Correa de Arauxo's "Facultad Organica" with special emphasis on "Second Tiento." D.M.A., Stanford University, 1987, 186 pp. DAI 48, p. 1576. DEV87-22939.

HENKEN, JOHN EDWIN. Francisco Asenjo Barbieri and the Nineteenth-Century Revival in Spanish National Music. Ph.D., University of California, Los Angeles, 1987. 554 pp. DAI 48, p. 505. DA8713718.

*HOKE, SHARON KAY. Juan Crisóstomo de Arriaga: A Historical and Analytical Study. Ph.D., University of Iowa, 1983. 383 pp. DAI 44, p. 3536. DEQ84-07753.

HOLLAND, JON BURNETT. Francisco Correa de Arauxo's "Facultad Organica": A translation and study of its theoretical and pedagogical aspects. D.M.A., University of Oregon, 1985, 355 pp. DAI 46, p. 3186. DES85-29515.

LAIRD, PAUL ROBERT. The Villancico Repertory of San Lorenzo el Real del Escorial. Ph.D., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1986. 1041 pp. DAI 47, p. 3650. DES86-28238.

REITZ, PAUL ARMIN. The Holy Week Motets of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla and Francisco Vidales: Single Choir Motets from Choirbook XV and Legajo XXX, Puebla Cathedral Archive. D. Mus. Arts, University of Washington, 1987. 298 pp. DAI 48, p. 508. DET 87-13400.

RINNANDER, JON ALFRED. One God, One Farinelli: Enlightenment Elites and the Containment of the Theatrical Impulse. Ph.D., University of California, San Diego, 1985. 279 pp. DAI 46, pp. 1716-1717. DA8517913.

*RIVA, J. DOUGLAS. The "Goyescas" for piano by Enrique Granados: A Critical Edition. Ph.D., New York University, 1983, 385 pp. DAI 44, p. 2289. DEQ83-25234.

SHADKO, JACQUELINE ANDREA. The Spanish Symphony in Madrid from 1790 to 1840: A Study of the music in its cultural context. 2 vols., Ph.D., Yale University, 1981. DAI 45, p. 680. DEQ84-11022.

SAMULSKI-PAREKH, MARY M.V. A Comprehensive Study of the Piano Suite "Goyescas" by Enrique Granados. D.M.A., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 1988. 243 pp. DAI 49, p. 1309. DEV88-14609.

STEIN, LOUISE KATHRIN. Music in the Seventeenth-Century Spanish Secular Theatre, 1598-1690. Ph.D., University of Chicago, 1987. DAI 48, pp. 510-511.

STURMAN, JANET LYNN. Zarzuela in New York: Contributions of Lyric Theatre to Hispanic Identity. Ph.D., Columbia University, 1987. 407 pp. DAI 49, p. 377. DEV88-09426.

As the above list of 19 dissertations at once reveals, two of them—those by Hastings and Samulski-Parekh—stand on the shoulders of dissertations by Holland and Riva. No attempt to evaluate all 19 dissertations can be made here. Only three can be attended to individually—those by Henken, Laird, and Riva. Each of these three contains invaluable new data. Those by Henken and Laird deserve the much wider circulation that book publication would give them.

Between 1979 and 1984 four masters degree theses of varying interest to Hispanists were accepted by United States universities and one in Canada. *Masters Abstracts*, Volumes 24-27 (Ann Arbor, MI: University Microfilms International, 1986-1989), itemizes none of Iberian relevance accepted in 1985 through 1988.

BAIRD, SHEILA RANEY. Santa Eulalia M.Md. 7: A critical edition and study of sacred part music from colonial northwestern Guatemala. M.M., North Texas State University, 1981. 237 pp. order no. 1316710 (University Microfilms).

Santa Eulalia M.Md. 7, dated January 20, 1600, is part of the San Miguel Acatán repertory which circulated before 1630 in the northwestern highlands of Guatemala—but which consists chiefly of imported Iberian sixteenth-century part music. The manuscript, along with others from the same area, is now owned by the Lilly Library at Indiana University in Bloomington. In his epochal Ph.D. dissertation Paul Borg (see above) exhaustively studied this manuscript, along with the other Guatemalan early colonial manuscripts purchased by Lilly Library.

COHEN, JUDITH RITA. The role of women musicians in Medieval Spain in the Christian, Jewish and Moslem

communities [French text]. M.A., University of Montreal (Canada), 1980. 163 pp. order no. 1319039.

This thesis contains a useful lexicon of parallel terms related to women and music—in Peninsular languages, Arabic, and Hebrew. While evidence of women musicians was found to be extensive in each group, Christian, Jewish, and Moslem attitudes towards them were ambivalent, reflecting varying attitudes towards music and towards women, based on religious and social norms.

LEE, J. ROBERT. The villancicos of Juan del Encina. M.A., California State University, Long Beach, 1979. 112 pp. order no. 1314374.

O'DANIA, CHRISTOPHER T. The *Academia Musical* of Pablo Minguet y Yrol: A translation and commentary. M.A., North Texas State University, 1984. 167 pp. order no. MA 1324344.

Minguet y Yrol's *Academia Musical* of 1752 (M891 in the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional) is a collection of tutors for thirteen instruments: guitar, tiple, mandola, cittern, bandurria, psaltery, *clavicordio*, organ, harp, violin, transverse flute, recorder, and flageolet. The tutors concerning the guitar and related instruments are by far the most comprehensive; topics covered include basic playing technique, figured-bass accompaniment, and notation, both mensural and tablature. Most musical examples are given in both types of notation.

SOTO, EDWARD FRED. A Study of the Villancicos of Juan del Encina in the Cancionero Musical de Palacio. M.M., California State University, Fullerton, 1982. 197 pp. order no. 1318584.

John Henken

Henken, born at Cincinnati, Ohio, June 27, 1953, was engaged as a writer for the *Los Angeles Times* as early as 1979 and by the mid-1980's had become one of the most prolific music reviewers employed by the *Times*. In preparation for his dissertation he spent 1985 in Spain working with primary sources. Among all 19 dissertation writers in the above list, only he enjoyed superlative academic grounding joined with experience as a reviewer for a major metropolitan daily.

As a sidelight, he also was the only dissertation writer among the 19 who chose a topic with any Portuguese ramifications. Between April 1 and May 16, 1879, Francisco Asenjo Barbieri (1823–1894) conducted five concerts at Lisbon that gained him a gold commemorative medal given by the Associação Música 24 de Junho, honorary presidency of the Associação, and membership in the Portuguese Order of Santiago. So lasting was Barbieri's resonance in Portugal that Ernesto Vieira gave him a five-page entry in his *Diccionário biográphico de músicos portuguezes* (Lisbon: Typographia Mattos Moreira & Pinheiro, 1900), I, 91–95 (see Henken, pp. 247–248). In contrast with other Spanish musicologists of his century Barbieri also paid tribute to Portugal with a review in *Revista de España*, XIX/71 (April 10, 1871), 351–360, of Joaquim António da Fonseca e Vasconcellos's two-volume *Os Músicos Portuguezes* (Oporto: Imprensa Portugueza, 1870), that up to the present still remains the most comprehensive and informed estimate of any of Vasconcellos's musical endeavors.

Fully aware of Vasconcellos's dependence on Diogo Barbosa Machado, Barbieri questioned Vasconcellos's omission of names of musicians already conveniently indexed in the *Bibliotheca Lusitana* (for instance António de Madre de Deos, I, 316–317; IV, 593). He also took him to task for errors concerning *Epometria, seu de metiendi carmina ratione* (Salamanca, 1515) by Ayres = Arias Barbosa (*Bibliotheca Lusitana*, I, 76–77), the title of which Vasconcellos incorrectly translated into Portuguese with wrong place of publication. Johann Walter's *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1732), 70–71, contains a far better informed article concerning Ayres Barbosa. Vasconcellos also showed his ignorance of music theory texts by Spaniards from Ramos de Pareja (1482) forward.

On the other hand, Barbieri himself incorrectly surmised that Fray Melchor de Montemayor was Portuguese. Lola de la Torre celebrated this composer's fourth centenary in her article, "El Compositor Melchor Cabello (Fray Melchor de Montemayor), 1588–1678," *Revista de Musicología*, XI/1 (1988), 109–121. Born at Montemayor near Córdoba in Andalusia, he was baptized November 14, 1588. In 1613 he was called from Seville to head the musical establishment at Las Palmas Cathedral (Canary Islands) where he arrived April 17 and remained until June 22, 1615. In 1616 he became a Jeronymite friar in Guadalupe Monastery (Cáceres), where he served as Maestro de capilla until his death, aged 89, February 1, 1678.

But Barbieri was certainly right in identifying Alonso Lobo as a native of Osuna, and a canon of

Osuna collegiate church before being appointed, August 21, 1591, to assist Guerrero at Seville Cathedral. How shamefully disregarded was all the fresh, correct data embodied in Barbieri's review published in 1871 can be judged from the error-filled article on Alonso Lobo published 89 years later in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, VIII (1960), 1072–1073.

Anyone familiar with the full scope of Francisco Asenjo Barbieri's accomplishments must acknowledge him not only the supreme Spanish music scholar of his century, but also the most truly *Spanish* composer of his generation. In Henken's dissertation, he marshals a full array of primary sources to provide us with the most authoritative biography of Barbieri now available in any language.

To do so, he plowed through the entire array of Barbieri's personal papers deposited at the Spanish National Library, read through reams of contemporary newspaper and journal articles, sifted fact from unsupported anecdote in the standard biographies by Augusto Martínez Olmedilla (1941; 1950) and Angel S. Salcedo (1929), and immersed himself in the lives of Barbieri's professional and personal associates.

What distinguishes Henken from Martínez Olmedilla and Salcedo includes his detailed knowledge of Barbieri's music. During his extensive residence at Madrid, and before going there, he read and played through the entire published and manuscript Barbieri compositional oeuvre. In contrast with Felipe Pedrell, Henken evalued the zarzuela genre as in no respect inferior to Italian or German opera. Even Rafael Hernando and Joaquín Gaztambide had rated the mid-nineteenth-century zarzuela as a stepping-stone on the road to full-blown Spanish opera.

But unlike Hernando, Gaztambide, and even Pedrell, Barbieri believed implicitly in what was native to Spain. To quote Henken (passages from pages 345–358 are joined together):

> More than any other first-generation zarzuela composer, Barbieri was identified with Spanish traditional and popular music. By the end of the century, nationalism had become respectable, and partisans of Gaztambide and Arrieta were making loud claims for the ethnic fidelity of their composers. But throughout much of Barbieri's career, the nationalism apparent in his music earned very mixed receptions among critics and the artistic community. Meanwhile, Gaztambide and Arrieta were actually admired for the cosmopolitan character of their French and Italian training and influence, respectively. It was no accident that Gaztambide wrote the "French" music for the allegory *La Zarzuela* [October 10, 1856; Teatro de la Zarzuela, 1-act allegory, collaboration with Arrieta and Gaztambide; libretto by Luis Olona Gaeta, 1823–1863], or that the French influence was one of the aspects very subtly satirized by Barbieri in *Amar sin conocer* (April 24, 1858, Teatro de la Zarzuela, 3 acts, collaboration with Gaztambide, libretto by Luis Olona Gaeta). Arrieta had adopted the first name Emilio in Milan, and was mocked in Spain with his true first name as "Pascual el bobo."
>
> In Barbieri's music, the influence of Spanish traditional and ethnic music was most apparent in two areas: instrumentation, and the use of traditional dance and song forms with their characteristic rhythmic and melodic elements. In instrumentation, it remains to consider his use of the *rondalla* and the military band. The *rondalla* was traditionally a strolling group of musicians. In Barbieri's zarzuelas, it appears as an on-stage group of bandurria players and guitarists, occasionally with tambourine. Barbieri employed *rondallas* throughout his career, from *La espada de Bernardo* [January 14, 1853, Teatro del Circo, 3 acts, libretto by Antonio García Gutiérrez] to *De Getafe al Paraíso* [January 5, 1883, Teatro de Variedades, 2 acts, sainete lírico, Ricardo de la Vega].
>
> Barbieri, who was known to his friends by the nickname "Maestro Bandurria," was very thorough in indicating how he wanted the instruments played. He indicates when with plectrum, when *rasgueado* strums, and when various timbral effects such as *tambor* (striking the strings of the guitar by the bridge) and *golpes* on the body of the instrument, should be used.
>
> Among many notable numbers employing a *rondalla* in Barbieri's repertory, witness the Marcha of the Manoleria from *Pan y toros* [December 22, 1864, Teatro de la Zarzuela. 3 acts, José Picón]. However, *La Maya* [October 12, 1869, Teatro del Príncipe, incidental music for 3-act play by Antonio Hurtado y Valhondo, 1825–1878], which was called a "comedia con música," relies on a *rondalla* more than any zarzuela, due to the nature of the libretto and the way music is featured. In the three acts, each of which begins and ends with music, there are 14 numbers. The *rondalla* in *La Maya* is tuned a step lower than the orchestra, although it is always accompanied by other instruments when it plays. The *rondalla* is the sole instrumental force employed in the second act.
>
> In Barbieri's use of on-stage military bands, he was a pioneer. He first used such a band in *El Marqués de Caravaca* [April 8, 1853, Teatro del Circo, 1 act in 2 scenes, Ventura de la Vega, after Eugène Scribe, *Le nouveau Pourceaugnac*], and like the *rondalla*, it thereafter became a frequently used resource. The band in *El Marqués de Caravaca* consisted of: Requinto (a form of sopranino clarinet common in Spanish bands of the era), piccolo, pairs of clarinets and French horns, cornet, alto

trombones, trombone, figle, bombardino (euphonium), and "clarines de campaña" (military bugles).

Barbieri became as noted for his serious study of Spanish traditional music as for his expertise in Spanish art music. The essay *Las Castañuelas* is evidence of this. From a historical perspective, at the very least, Gaztambide, Arrieta, and others erred in attempting to make nothing more of the zarzuela than a generalized European comic opera in Spanish. The zarzuela is considered to be a quintessentially Spanish genre, and it was Barbieri who decisively established that character. For his contemporaries, his use of characteristically Spanish materials was a distinguishing feature of his work. In his lifetime, his music already had a reputation as the classical definition of Spanish musical art.

In his zarzuelas can be found examples (and variants) of the following: Aire de Bolero, Brindís, Caleseras, Can-Can, Contradanza, Aire de Fagina, Fandango, Aire de Gallegada, Galop, Gavota, Danza habanera, Aires de habas verdes, Jácara, Jaleo, Jiga, Jota, Marcha, Mazurka, Muñeira, Pasacalle, Pasodoble, Pavana, Polaca, Polka, Romanza, Seguidillas, Sevillanas, Tango, Tarantela, Tirana, Vals, Villancico, Vito, Zapateado, Aire de Zorzico. Use of the foreign and current dances was always motivated by the libretto. Of the traditional Spanish dances and songs, none is as closely identified with Barbieri as the seguidillas. "Maestro Seguidillas" was another of his popular nicknames, and seguidillas fill his zarzuelas from *Gloria y Peluca* [March 9, 1850, Teatro de Variedades, 1, José Villa del Valle] to *El Sr. Luis el Tumbón* [May 6, 1891, Teatro de Apolo, 1, sainete lírico, Ricardo de la Vega].

Spanish sources frequently use the term "idealized" to describe Barbieri's treatment of popular and traditional music. He was able to extract the essence of a popular dance or song, and reshape it into prototypical form.

This catena of excerpts does not include the musical quotations with which Henken buttressed his every generalization. What he writes at pages 484–485 concerning Pedrell's nefarious influence in downgrading Barbieri "as simply a successful practitioner of a popular, artistically negligible genre" should be pitted against the many evidences of Pedrell's plagiarizing Barbieri's hard-won primary-source scholarship. With the publication in 1986 of *Biografías y documentos sobre música y músicos españoles* and in 1988 of *Documentos sobre música española y epistolario*—both directed and edited by Emilio Casares Rodicio—the evidences of Pedrell's uncredited use of vast blocs becomes patent to any observant researcher.

As a result of Pedrell's superciliousness, such a French writer as Henri Collet assigned Barbieri's works to the *petit genre*—meanwhile not even getting right the premiere date of so important a zarzuela as *Pan y toros* (opened December 22, 1864, but Collet assigns it to 1867). In the same vein, French lexicons to the present reek with errors concerning Barbieri that would cause ridicule to be heaped on them, were the subject not Spanish. The *Dictionnaire de la musique Larousse* (Paris: Librairie Larousse, 1987) directed by Marc Vignal in the very year of Henken's dissertation, gives Barbieri no individual entry but instead devotes this one sentence to him in the miscrable zarzuela article:

> Francesco [sic] Barbieri, enfin, un homme de science doublé d'un chanteur, était lui aussi passioné découvreur des musiques des XVe et XVIe siècles, fervent wagnérien et même traducteur d'Ésope en vers castillans.

Calling Barbieri a "fervent wagnérien" (even though he was the first to conduct February 28, 1864, the March from *Tannhäuser* in Spain) and then making him a singer and a versifier of Aesop's fables, are the kinds of error that typify national bias at its worst.

Paul Laird

The longest of the recent Spanish-theme dissertations, Paul Laird's, dealing with seventeenth-century villancicos in El Escorial music archive, was supervised by the present head of the Library of Congress, James Pruett. No previous writers in the English language had given the changes in form and structure of seventeenth-century villancicos due attention. As a useful preface to his discussion of the Escorial villancicos Laird therefore traces what development had occurred between 1614—the date of Pedro Ruimonte's *Parnaso Español* published at Antwerp by Pierre Phalèse (edited by Pedro Calahorra Martínez at Saragossa, 1980)—and Juan Bautista Comes's death, January 5, 1643. Ruimonte's *Parnaso Español* contains 9 madrigals and 12 villancicos. All but one of Ruimonte's villancicos opens with an estribillo for reduced voices, called *sonada* (solo, duo, or trio). Several of these sonadas have more than one text (for use in repetitions of the sonada). Next comes a tutti responsión setting the same text as that in the sonada (and which is the sonada's musical parody). This is followed by two musically identical pairs of coplas.

Nine of Ruimonte's villancicos are exclusively in triple meter (and triple predominates in the other three). Hemiolia and syncopation recur frequently.

Passages in imitative polyphony and homorhythmic sections are carefully balanced. The text settings are syllabic throughout, not melismatic. The coplas are always homorhythmic, the responsiones are polyphonic and often imitative. Everywhere Ruimonte makes a great issue of textural variety. Although instruments are not specified, Géry de Ghersem's chapel (for which Ruimonte wrote Christmas music rewarded with gifts from 1612 through 1616) included two *cornetti* players and eight other *ministriles*. In keeping with original performance practice, *Madre, la mi madre* and *Luna que reluces*, the two Ruimonte villancicos recorded in the album *Blanco y Negro, Hispanic Songs of the Renaissance from the Old and New World* (Klavier Records KS 540 [1975]), are both enlivened with instrumental doublings and alternations (three flutes, two violas, harp).

Thanks to Calahorra Martínez and Climent, the villancicos of Ruimonte and Comes have been published. Not so any of the Escorial collection of 230 villancicos (184 of which are ascribed) written between 1630 (approximate date of the earliest villancico at El Escorial) and 1715 (after which Italian influences dominated the repertory). Upon arriving in the peninsula in 1984, Laird found that the catalogues of seventeenth-century villancicos in two other repositories that he had considered as research possibilities—the Biblioteca de Catalunya and Cuenca Cathedral—were defective. According to Laird (page 195) the Catalunya library catalogue is inaccurate and the Cuenca mentions much music that cannot now be found. Laird also made a preliminary survey of holdings at Ávila, Salamanca, and Valladolid Cathedrals, and looked at the villancico collection at the Madrid Biblioteca Nacional. But, apart from accurate cataloguing, he pursued the Escorial topic for two other chief reasons—richness of the holdings and easy accessibility (page 196).

To go beyond the superficial, he from the beginning decided to study intensively not only the contents of the Escorial collection, but also to examine some all too frequently neglected topics. For instance, he identified the scribes who copied 106 of the 230 villancicos (I; II who was probably Fray Juan Durango; III who was Diego de Torrijos, the Escorial organist 1669 to 1691; IV; XI; and XIII). Among scribes who were not Escorial Jeronymites, Laird identified Scribe VII as a Madrid Capilla Real copyist. Laird also followed the example of Dámaso García Fraile, who in his 1979 catalogue of the Salamanca Cathedral music archive gave attention to watermarks (García Fraile showed 17).

The Escorial collection houses villancicos by composers active at Madrid in the Capilla Real, at Descalzas Reales Convent (founded 1572), at Encarnación Convent (founded 1618), and at San Cayetano parish church (identified as seat of a royal monastery in a villancico text booklet dated 1677 [note on page 285]). Also prominent in the Escorial collection are villancicos with texts used by maestros hired at Cádiz, Palencia, Toledo, and Valladolid Cathedrals —the earliest from a cathedral bearing 1657 at Toledo for its date—and by composers at Madrid, the latest being a villancico sung at the Capilla Real in 1705. At his pages 323–326, Laird offers a useful table of Escorial textual concordances. So far as occasions on which villancicos dated c1630 to c1715 were sung, Laird at his page 306 specifies 75 as being composed for Christmas, 84 for Corpus Christi, 23 for San Lorenzo (August 10), 8 for San Jerónimo (September 30), 4 for Epiphany, 3 as Marian, 2 for SS. Justo y Pastor (August 9), 2 for San Cayetano (August 7), and 1 for Assumption (page 306). The most elaborate for the Christmas season are always the *calendas* sung on Christmas Eve (page 307).

Although Escorial collected from everywhere, the Jeronymite composers based at the Escorial are not represented in other villancico collections (page 304). The fact that Laird found no villancicos in the Escorial collection antedating 1630 should not be taken as proof that elsewhere no Jeronymite monasteries previously allowed them. Hernando de Talavera, a Jeronymite at Guadalupe, testified that in 1561 villancicos were sung there at Christmas *maitines* after each of the nine lessons, "as was done in past years" (Laird, page 175).

Not only organs but also various wind instruments regularly accompanied villancicos performed at El Escorial throughout the 1630–1715 period—just as everywhere else in seventeenth-century Spain. A painting finished in 1690 by Claudio Coëllo (1642–1693), *La Sagrada Forma* ("The Adoration of the Holy Eucharist"), shows a ceremony in 1680 during Charles II's visit to the monastery. The king kneels, while the dozen performers around him include monks playing cornett, bajón, and portative organ. The details are so precise that the fingering of the cornett player can be discerned (Laird, page 192). Throughout the century, harps constantly accompanied villancicos; Fray Juan Durango, a chief composer of villancicos in the collection, was a harpist; it was he who wrote the villancicos sung at the entrance of the royal family in 1676 to the rebuilt monastery (page 189).

In Comes's villancicos (Laird, pages 107–139) double settings of the estribillo text (sonada followed by same text in the responsión) ceased as the estribillo texts became progressively longer. Also, not every copla pair had to be interspersed with a repetition of the estribillo.

Laird looked with greater or less thoroughness at the villancicos of: Francisco Andreu, Pedro Ardanaz, Juan de la Bastida, Benito Bello de Torices, Joseph Casseda, Juan Cedazo, Juan Durango, Matías Durango, Sebastián Durón, Francisco Escalada, Cristóbal Galán, Antonio García, Juan Hidalgo, Simón Martínez, Pedro Martínez Vélez, Bernardo Murillo, Antonio Teodoro Ortells, Carlos Patiño, Juan Pérez Roldán, Mateo Romero, Matías Ruiz, Francisco Sanz, Cristóbal de San Jerónimo, Lorenzo de Santa María, Miguel Tello, Juan de Torres, Diego de Torrijos, Fernando de la Trinidad, Juan del Vado, Urbán de Vargas, and Matías Veana López. But because of the Italianate character of their villancicos he excluded such composers as Máximo Antonio, Jacinto García, Luis Martín de Vidaurre, and Dionisio Urrutia (page 198).

Laird's Appendix I (pages 552–588) contains his "Biographical Sketches of Composers in the Escorial Villancico Collection." The dissertation concludes with his transcriptions of nine villancicos, one of which is by Juan Durango, the rest by composers who were not El Escorial friars. Bello de Torices's calenda villancico, *Aves, flores, luces, fuentes* (Ti A Te, Ti A Te; chirimías 1 and 2, Bajón, Bajo general) occupies 40 pages. Juan Durango's *A tirar convida el amor* (Ti Ti A Te, Arpa) transcribed at pages 42–49 from holograph copy, needs transposition down a third or fourth. Laird classifies the copyist of Sebastián Durón's *Dulcísimo dueño* (Ti Ti Te Te Bajo, Violin, Acompañamiento) at pages 51–80, as Capilla Real Scribe VII. Cristóbal Galán's *A la guerra del cielo* (Ti Ti A Te, Ac) at pages 82–90 is again in chiavette, requiring transposition down. The same is true of Mateo Romero's *Ay, ojos, suspended* for Corpus (Ti Ti Contralto Te, Ac) at pages 92–100. The remaining four exemplars in Laird's anthology involve multiple choirs: Matías Ruiz's *En la cárcel de Belén* at pages 102–126 (Ti Ti A Te, Ti A Te B, Ac); Cristóbal de San Jerónimo's *Al pan de los cielos* at pages 128–153 for Corpus (Ti A Te, Ti A Te B, Arpa; Juan Durango provided a second harp part transposed up a fifth, but with this note: "Sea de tocar un punto más bajo de como está escrito, por segundillo"); *Saluden, dulces clarines* at pages 155–172, Christmas for three choirs (Ti Ti A Te Ac; Ti A Te B Organo; Ti A Te B [Laird adds texts to untexted bass parts of choirs II and III]); Matías Veana's *Sacristán de Belén* (Ti Ti Ti, A Te B, Ac [copied by Capilla Real Scribe VII]).

Even without the proof of performance, Laird's nine transcribed villancicos tantalize the researcher with visions of equally enticing treasures that now await transcription and eventual incorporation into the international repertory.

J. Douglas Riva

Important as is Laird's topic and valuable as are his villancico transcriptions, a Ph.D. dissertation subject of perhaps more general interest was J. Douglas Riva's 368-page "The *Goyescas* for piano by Enrique Granados: A Critical Edition," accepted at New York University in 1983. Granados's opera *Goyescas* premiered at the Metropolitan, New York City, January 26, 1916, still remains the sole Spanish composer's stage work performed at the Met. Among twentieth-century operas it also remains the only one with music that was originally written as a series of piano pieces. The words were fitted to the already published piano pieces by Fernando Periquet y Zuaznabar (*b* Valencia, 1873) who had previously provided texts for Granados's *Tonadillas escritas en estilo antiguo*.

In both its piano and opera versions, *Goyescas* belongs quintessentially to Madrid. But Granados was himself no *madrileño*. Born July 27, 1867, at Lérida, whence the family moved in 1871 to Barcelona, he grew up there (first family residence was at Talleres 68 on the edge of the Barrio Gótico; then at Atagón 313 in the Ensanche district; finally at the Avenida del Tibidabo site that became the home of the Academia Granados). Both Granados's daughter, Natalia Granados de Carreras—who gave Riva vital data in a series of interviews dated at her home in Barcelona November 22, 1980, April 10 and 24, 1981, May 21, 1981, and at the Academia Marshall in Barcelona May 20, 1981—and the composer's grandson Antonio Carreras Granados, who like his mother shared significant manuscript material with Riva, continued living in Barcelona. Nothing of significance in the dissertation came from a Madrid informant.

On advice given during an interview with Alicia de Larrocha, August 3, 1979, at the Salisbury Hotel in New York City, Riva studied piano at Barcelona October 1980 to May 1981 with Mercedes Roldós,

Assistant Director of the Academia Frank Marshall. His purpose: to master the Granados traditions taught there, and especially to acquaint himself with the Frank Marshall marked-up copies of Granados's piano pieces—which in the composer's own recorded versions (*Coloquio en la reja, El fandango de candil, Ouejas o la maja y el ruiseñor* for Welte-Mignon Reproducing Piano, and *El Pelele* and *Ouejas* for Duo-Art [1916]) differed from the *editio princeps* versions published by Casa Dotesio (Boileau, publisher of *Los requiebros* in 1912, was absorbed by Dotesio, a firm which was in turn purchased by Unión Musical Española). According to Larrocha (*Clavier*, VI, October 1967, pp. 7, 23) Granados constantly polished his piano pieces after taking them to a publisher; and his final versions must always be sought in Marshall's copies and in the versions recorded by Granados. According to Federico Mompou (who vouchsafed Riva an interview at Barcelona May 12, 1981) Granados's own interpretations of his polished revisions of his piano pieces always "produced a great impression with his sensitive and lyric" readings.

Granados premiered at the Palau de la Música Catalana, on March 11, 1911, what was to be Book I of the piano pieces comprising *Goyescas: Los majos enamorados* ("The Majos in Love"). The four components of Book I, all composed in 1909–1910, are *Los requiebros* ("Flatteries"), *Coloquio en la reja* ("Dialogue at the Window"), *El fandango de candil* ("Dance by lantern light"), and *Ouejas o la maja y el ruiseñor* ("Laments of the maiden and the nightingale"). In his diary owned by his daughter at Barcelona, he gloried in having at last in *Goyescas* found an important subject (*He tenido la dicha por fin de encontrar algo importante, Las Goyescas*). On December 11, 1910, he wrote Joaquín Malats: *Goyescas es el pago de mis esfuerzos para llegar: dicen que he llegado* ("Goyescas marks the payment of my efforts to arrive; they say that I have arrived").

As for the genesis of individual numbers in Book I of *Goyescas*: Francisco Gándara averred in his article "Goyescas," *Las Novedades*, April 1916, p. 13 (p. 15 of dissertation), that Granados originally intended the third number in Book I, *El fandango de candil*, to be a part of his unfinished opera *Ovillejos-La gallina ciega* ("Blind Man's Bluff"—libretto by the poet José Feliu y Codina, 1847–1897). *La calesa* ("The Dog-cart") was also intended for *Ovillejos*.

Two of the four pieces in Book I incorporated borrowed musical material. *Los requiebros* rings changes on the jaunty four-bar estribillo of Blas de Laserna's tonadilla *Tirana del Tripilí*. Attesting the enormous popularity of this particular tonadilla up until 1850, José Subirá published the reconstructed music in *La tonadilla escénica, tomo tercero, cuarta parte* (Madrid, 1930), pages [318–323]. The *Ouejas o la maja y el ruiseñor* concluding Book I quotes a melody that Granados heard a 14-year-old Valencian girl sing one morning on a meadow. Apart from these borrowings, Granados in his "Apuntes y temas para mis obras" (photocopy at the Morgan Library, New York City) claimed original melodies for all the other items in Book I of *Goyescas*.

As for specific Goya works that inspired items in Book I, Granados related *Los requiebros* to Goya's etching *Tal para cual*. In Book II *El amor y la muerte* was the sonic image of another etching in the same Goya set of *Caprichos*. Recounting how Goya had enthralled him, Granados wrote thus to Joaquín Malats on December 11, 1910: "I fell in love with the psychology of Goya and his palette; with his lady-like Maja; his aristocratic Majo; with him and the Duchess of Alba, his quarrels, his loves and flatteries. That rosy whiteness of the cheeks contrasted with lace and black velvet with jet . . . those supple-waisted figures with mother-of-pearl and jasmine-like hands resting on black tissue have dazzled me."

Me enamoré de la psicología de Goya y de su paleta; por lo tanto de su Maja, Señora; de su Majo aristocrático; de él y de la Duquesa de Alba, de sus pendencias, de sus amores, de sus requiebros. Aquel blanca rosa de las mejillas, contrastando con las blandas y terciopelo negro con alamares . . . aquellos cuerpos de cinturas cimbreantes, manos de nácar y jazmín, posadas sobre azabaches me han trastornado.

Book II of *Goyescas* (1913–1914) contains two numbers—*El amor y la muerte* ("Love and death"), this being the music for the final scene of the opera, and an *Epílogo: Serenata del espectro* ("Epilogue: The Ghost's Serenade"). In the *Epílogo* the pianist's left hand thunders out the *Dies irae* theme in the tenor range and in it Granados also borrows from himself when he cites a discarded jácara. But the emotional character of the *Epílogo* did not fit the over-all scheme of the opera and he and his librettist Periquet therefore left it out—the *Epílogo* thus becoming the only item in the piano suite *Goyescas* absent from the opera.

On the other hand, the opera opens with an item in neither Part I nor II of the piano suite. Premiered March 29, 1914, in the Barcelona suburb Tarrasa,

El Pelele: Escena Goyesca ("The Straw Dummy, Goyaesque scene") became the music for Scene I of the opera.

Granados's intermediary in getting his opera staged at the Metropolitan was Ernest Schelling (*b* Belvedere, New Jersey, July 26, 1876; *d* New York City, December 8, 1939). Granados attended all four piano recitals given by Schelling at Barcelona in 1912. Recalling their contact, Schelling wrote Francis Bacon a letter dated February 10, 1930, in which he recalled Granados's having invited him to his house where "he played many of his compositions for me, which won me over completely." At Schelling's suggestion, G. Schirmer began publishing Granados's works, and it was Schelling who broached the idea of an opera for the Met. In Granados's letter dated June 10, 1912 (Metropolitan Opera Archives, New York City), he wrote thus: "Je ne vous cache pas, cher ami . . . que j'ai besoin de ça pour me dédier après tranquillement à ma grande oeuvre, le drame lyrique *Goyescas ou les Majos amoureux* ou je mets toute mon âme et toute ma vie." With the Metropolitan premiere in prospect, Granados and Periquet settled at Vilasar del Mar, north of Barcelona, working together in a house, *La Tartanita*, built to Granados's specifications.

The Hispanic Society of America owns the manuscript piano-vocal score for the opera *Goyescas* (libretto translated into English by the Black author and poet, James Weldon Johnson, 1871–1938). G. Schirmer published the 165-page piano-vocal score in 1915 (copyright renewed 1944). Granados drowned March 24, 1916 (after the torpedoing of the *Sussex* in the English Channel). *Goyescas* was produced at the Paris Opera December 17, 1919 (in French), at the Colón in Buenos Aires August 8, 1929 (in Spanish), and at La Scala in Milan December 28, 1937 (in Italian).

II

BOOKS

ATLAS, ALLAN W. *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*. Cambridge [England]: Cambridge University Press, 1985. xix + 260 pp.

POWELL, LINTON ELZIE. *A History of Spanish Piano Music*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980. 213 pp. Glossary, bibl., index.

SÁNCHEZ, MARTA. *XVIII Century Spanish Music: Villancicos of Juan Francés de Iribarren*. Pittsburgh, PA: Latin American Literary Review Press, 1988. 349 pp.

SNOW, ROBERT J. *The Extant Music of Rodrigo de Ceballos and Its Sources*. Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1980. 155 pp.

Neither of the books on a Spanish topic published in 1980 received warm reviews. Frances Barulich ended her estimate of Powell's Spanish Piano Music Book in *Notes of the Music Library Association*, 38/1 (1981/82), 68–69, with this chilling summation: "Though Powell has written a dissertation on Joaquín Turina, has published several articles, and edited a volume of Spanish music, his history unfortunately, does not shed nearly enough light on the subject and, as a whole, is a decided disappointment." Snow's bibliography of Rodrigo de Ceballos's extant works was less widely reviewed than Powell's popularization, only *Inter-American Music Review*, v/2 (1983), 125–128, giving it any attention in an American periodical.

In contrast with the tepid reception of Powell and Snow's efforts, Atlas's 1985 Aragonese court music book rated an extremely favorable review at the hand of Martin Picker (of Rutgers University) in *Notes of the Music Library Association*, 44/1 (1987), 50–52. But in keeping with the bias against Spain that prevails among leading scholars in the American Musicological Society (John Milton Ward and Alejandro Enrique Planchart are exceptions), Picker included such telltale remarks as these: "Ferrante transformed the royal chapel from a provincial Spanish institution into a major Italian one"; "Atlas expresses regret that despite its size and reputation the royal chapel at Naples included so few individual figures of international distinction. Only Tinctoris was truly renowned, but his association with the chapel was tangential at best. Cornago's contribution was to the development of Spanish secular song, which he infused with northern and Italian elements, but he had little impact on the Italian or international scene."

Doctoral dissertations usually escape critical review. However, the 349-page book by Marta Sánchez, *XVIII Century Spanish Music: Villancicos of Juan Francés de Iribarren* (1988), derives from a decade-old dissertation that was reviewed in *Inter-American Music Review*, III/1 (Fall 1980), pages 107–109. Just as in her "Villancicos of Juan Francés de Iribarren (1698–1767)" (University of Pittsburgh, Ph.D. diss., 1978, 2 vols., 186 + 179 pp.; University Microfilms International Order No. 78-17496), so also in her book, the delightful five transcribed Iribarren villancicos dated 1736, 1749, 1752, 1754,

and 1756 must compensate for the weaknesses of everything else.

Paul R. Laird, who reviewed the book in *Notes of the Music Library Association*, XLVI/1 (September 1989), 74–75, mentioned the flaw that most seriously compromises not only Sánchez's dissertation, turned book, but also any number of United States scholars' forays into Iberian musical scholarship—nescience of the relevant literature. Moreover, what literature Sánchez knew all antedated 1975. As Laird observed: "Her work in Málaga Cathedral dates from 1973, which is in itself of no real concern, but the most recent item in the bibliography dates from 1973." Nor did she know important articles published in cut-off year 1973.

The bibliography of the published book still contains typographical errors, the historical information in chapters I through V still includes numerous errors of fact and of spelling, and the mistakes in the transcriptions—some of which were itemized in *IAMR*, III/1, 109—still remain uncorrected. Sánchez provides no incipits in original notation. Her book needs an index. Had she attempted one, she would herself have detected many of her own errors and inconsistencies.

ARTICLES AND REVIEWS

The prevailing attitude among most of the opinion-makers and trend-setters in the American Musicological Society remained hostile to both Spain and Portugal during the 1980's. Even in 1985, when the AMS met jointly at Vancouver, British Columbia, with the Society for Ethnomusicology, no Hispanic session was scheduled. The one paper of Spanish flavor was Linton E. Powell's on Sebastián Albero, hardly a figure of even Iberian consequence. In 1989 the AMS held its annual meeting in the capital of a state with a strong Hispanic American background: Austin, Texas. Again, there was no Hispanic session and only one paper among 143 touched on anything natively Iberian—"The City Trumpeter of Late-Fifteenth-Century Barcelona," read by Kenneth Kreitner of Duke University. A paper that might at first glance have seemed to promise something Spanish, Dennis Slavin's "On the Origins of Escorial B," dealt with Escorial Ms. IV, 2. 24, thoroughly described by Heinrich Besseler in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, III, 1522–1523, as a source originating outside the peninsula.

During the 1980's, the *Journal of the American Musicological Society*—as consistently as the program committees for national AMS conclaves—shunned Spain and Portugal. No Iberian articles were published. Two relevant reviews were included in Summer and Fall 1980 issues—none in later 1980's issues. In *JAMS*, XXXIII/3 (Fall 1980), 587–592, James Meadors reviewed Charles Jacobs's 1978 Clarendon Press edition of Miguel de Fuenllana's *Orphénica lyra* (Seville, 1554) at greater length than did Robert Stevenson, who in *Music & Letters*, 60/2 (April 1979), 233–235, faulted both the biographical introduction and text-underlay. Meadors took even stronger exception to the erroneous text-underlay than did Stevenson; and in addition he exploded Jacobs's theory of variable tunings in the *Orphénica lyra*. Charles Jacobs dipped in vitriol his own vengeful review of Macário Santiago Kastner's *Antonio und Hernando de Cabezón: Eine Chronik dargestellt am Leben Zweier Generationen von Organisten* in *JAMS*, XXXIII/2 (Summer 1980), 389–394.

To encounter an abundance of Iberian-related articles as well as reviews published during the 1980's, the researcher must therefore look elsewhere than *JAMS*. As the following list of reviews and of articles reveals, the United States periodical that throughout the 1980's easily outdistanced all others —so far as the Iberian peninsula goes—was *Inter-American Music Review* (two issues each year) edited in Los Angeles, California, by Robert Stevenson.

CRAMER, EUGENE CASJEN. "New information concerning some music research libraries and archives in Spain and Portugal," *Notes of the Music Library Association*, XL/1 (September 1983), 30–40.

ESPINOSA, ALMA. "Four Organists at the Spanish Royal Chapel, c. 1800," *Journal of Church Music* [Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 2900 Queen Lane, 19129], 30 (February 1988), 4–7+.

[ETZION, JUDITH. "The ballad settings in the *Cancionero Musical de Palacio*: Some historical and stylistic observations," *Israel Studies in Musicology*, III (1983), 124–143.]

ETZION, JUDITH AND SUSANA WEICH-SHAHAK. "The Spanish and the Sephardic romances: Musical links," *Ethnomusicology*, 32/2 (1988), 1–37.

FISK, ELIOT. "Frederick Marvin: A fresh look at Padre Soler," *Guitar* [40 West 25th St., New York, NY 10010], 56 (Winter 1984), 8–13.

HENKEN, JOHN. "Opera Española Versus Zarzuela: A Nineteenth-century Grudge Match," *Opera Journal*

[University of Mississippi, University, Mississippi 38677], 21/1 (1988), 13–22.

_____. "*The Spanish Baroque Guitar With A Transcription of De Murcia's Pasacalles y obras* by Neil D. Pennington" (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, IV/2 (Spring–Summer 1982), 94–100.

HOWELL, ALMONTE. "Organos, organeros, and organistas of Spain during the Scarlatti Years," *American Organist* [815 Second Avenue, Suite 318, New York, NY 10017], 19 October 1985), 91–97.

HULTBERG, WARREN E. "Data bases for the study of relationships among Spanish music sources of the 16th–17th centuries," *Fontes artis musicae*, 31/3 (1984), 162–167.

KREIDER, J. EVANS. "A checklist of Spanish chant sources at the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library, St. John's Abbey and University [Collegeville, Minnesota]," *Notes of the Music Library Association*, XL/1 (September 1983), 7–29.

[LEMMON, ALFRED E. "Spanish Music of the Middle Ages and Golden Age: A Select Discography," *Anuario Musical*, 37 (1982), 149–177].

MANK, JOAN. "Scarlatti in Iberia," *American Music Teacher*, 34/6 (1985), 13–15.

OLSON, GRETA. "Detective Work and Doodles Yield Clues to Music of Early Spanish Composer," *Triangle of Mu Phi Epsilon*, 77/2 (1982–1983), 10–11.

POWELL, LINTON ELZIE. "The Sonatas of Manuel Blasco de Nebra and Joaquín Montero," *Music Review* [Kings Hedges Row, Cambridge, England CB4 2PQ], 41/3 (1980), 197.

RUMERY, LEONARD R. "Music At Seville Under A Renaissance Master [Francisco Guerrero]," *American Choral Review*, 23/2 (1981), 11–17.

RUSSELL, CRAIG H. "An Investigation Into Arcangelo Corelli's Influence on Eighteenth-century Spain," *Current Musicology*, XXXIV (1982), 42–52.

_____. "Santiago de Murcia: The French Influence in Baroque Spain," *Journal of the Lute Society of America* [P.O. Box 1328, Lexington, VA 24450], 15 (1982), 40–51.

SMITH, CARLETON SPRAGUE. "Aristocratic Patronage and the Spanish Guitar in the Seventeenth century," *Guitar Review* (Spring 1982), 12–23.

SPITZ, ROBERT STEPHEN. "The New Spain," *Rolling Stone*, 449 (June 6, 1985), 33–34+.

STEVENSON, ROBERT. "*Artículos Sobre Música en Revistas Españolas de Humanidades*, by Jacinto Torres and eight collaborators" (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, IV/2 (Spring–Summer 1982), 108.

_____. "*Catálogo del Archivo de Musica del Monasterio de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial*, by Samuel Rubio" (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, III/1 (Fall–Winter 1980), 112–113.

_____. "*14 [Catorze] Compositores Españoles de Hoy*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio" (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, V/1 (Fall–Winter 1982), 125–126.

_____. "Cervantes's Sensitivity to the Music of His Epoch: Songs, Dances, and Instruments," *Inter-American Music Review*, VIII/2 (Spring–Summer 1987), 7–12.

_____. "*Cincuenta Años de Música (1929–1979). Indices Generales de la Revista Musical Ilustrada Ritmo* by Jacinto Torres" (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, IV/2 (Spring–Summer 1982), 106–107.

_____. "*Cristóbal de Morales. Estudio Crítico de su Polifonía*, by Samuel Rubio" (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, III/1 (Fall–Winter 1980), 110–112.

_____. "Dionisio Preciado: Biobibliography," *Inter-American Music Review*, III/2 (Spring–Summer 1981), 212–215.

_____. "Franz Liszt en Madrid y Lisboa (1844–1845)," *Heterofonía*, 13/68 (1980), 6–17.

_____. "Haydn's Iberian World Connections," *Inter-American Music Review*, IV/2 (Spring–Summer 1982), 3–30 [RILM abstracts, XVI/2 (1982), item 2486].

_____. "*Historia de la Música Española Desde el 'ars nova' hasta 1600,*" by Samuel Rubio (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, VII/2 (Spring–Summer 1986), 89–93.

_____. "Iberian Musical Outreach Before Encounter With the New World," *Inter-American Music Review*, VIII/2 (Spring–Summer 1987), 13–112.

_____. "José Augusto Alegria: Biobibliography," *Inter-American Music Review*, III/2 (Spring–Summer 1981), 216–219.

_____. "*Juan Navarro*, by Samuel Rubio" (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, III/1 (Fall–Winter 1980), 105–107.

_____. "*La Música en Zaragoza en los Siglos XVI y XVII* 1. *Organistas, Organeros y Organos*, by Pedro Calahorra Martínez" (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, III/1 (Fall–Winter 1980), 103–105.

_____. "Liszt at Barcelona," *Journal of the American Liszt Society*, XII (December 1982), 6–13 [RILM abstracts, XVI/3 (1982), item 4895].

_____. "Liszt in Andalusia," *Journal of the American Liszt Society*, XXVI (July–December 1989), 33–37.

_____. "Liszt in the Iberian Peninsula, 1844–1845," *Inter-American Music Review*, VII/2 (Spring–Summer 1986), 3–22.

_____. "Los Contactos de Haydn con el Mundo Ibérico," *Revista Musical Chilena*, 36/157 (1982), 3–39.

_____. "Miguel Querol Gavaldá On His 75th Anniversary," *Inter-American Music Review*, VIII/2 (Spring-Summer 1987), 1-6.

_____. "*Obras Musicales Recopiladas*, by Carlos Patiño, Volumen I, ed. and transcribed by Lothar Siemens Hernández" (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, VII/2 (Spring-Summer 1986), 93-95.

_____. "Portuguese Renaissance Musicians in Foreign Language Dictionaries," *Inter-American Music Review*, V/1 (Fall-Winter 1982), 105-107.

_____. "*Revista de Musicología*, Vol. X-1987-no. 1. Madrid, Sociedad Española de Musicología, January-April 1987. 351 pp. + 10 pp. of color plates" (review article), *Inter-American Music Review*, VIII/2 (Spring-Summer 1987), 113-118.

_____. "*Rodolfo Halffter (Su Obra Para Piano)*, by Antonio Iglesias Alvarez" (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, V/1 (Fall-Winter 1982), 123-124.

_____. "Samuel Rubio on the Fortieth Anniversary of His Ordination," *Inter-American Music Review*, III/1 (Fall-Winter 1980), 3-17.

_____. "Santiago de Murcia: A Review Article," *Inter-American Music Review*, III/1 (Fall-Winter 1980), 89-101.

_____. "*The Extant Music of Rodrigo de Cebullos* by Robert J. Snow" (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, V/2 (Spring-Summer 1983), 125-128.

_____. "The First Black Published Composer [Vicente Lusitano]," *Inter-American Music Review*, V/1 (Fall-Winter 1982), 79-103.

_____. "*The 1613 Imprint of Juan Esquivel Barahona* by Robert J. Snow" [Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1978]" (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, II/2 (Spring-Summer 1980), 132-135.

_____. "*Villancicos of Juan Francés de Iribarren (1698-1767)*, by Marta Sánchez" (review), *Inter-American Music Review*, III/1 (Fall-Winter 1980), 107-109.

SUMMERS, WILLIAM J. "Orígenes Hispanos de la Música Misional en California," *Revista Musical Chilena*, 34 (January-June 1980) 34-48.

TAYLOR, MARIA DEL PICO. "Claves, Castanets, and Culture: Exploring Spanish Music," Clavier [200 Northfield Road, Northfield, IL 60093], 25/5 (1986), 12-15.

III

In mid-March 1988, the Smithsonian Institution sponsored at Washington, D.C., a symposium on the topic "Musical Repercussions of 1492." Among the papers presented at that symposium "dedicated to the work of Robert Stevenson," Alejandro Enrique Planchart's "Music in the Christian Courts of Spain in 1492"—read at the March 11 morning session—took pride of place. The son of a former head of the Venezuelan National Library at Caracas, Planchart was born there July 29, 1935. After taking his Mus.B. (1958) and Mus.M. (1960) at Yale University School of Music, he emigrated to Harvard, where in 1971 he received his Ph.D. with a dissertation on the topic "The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester" (2 vols., 422, 48 pp., v, 399 pp.). In 1977 Princeton University Press published an 804-page revision of his dissertation.

As early as 1967 Planchart began being hailed in *Die Musikforschung*, XX, 231-232, as an authority on the fifteenth-century composers, Du Fay (= Dufay), Ockeghem, and Obrecht (whose *Caput* Masses Planchart edited for the Yale University Collegium Musicum series [5] in 1964). Continuing in the same fifteenth century, Planchart made signal contributions to Du Fay scholarship with his paper read at the 1974 Dufay Quincentenary Conference, "Guillaume Dufay's Masses: View of the manuscript traditions." In his article for *Early Music History*, VIII (1988), 117-171, "Guillaume Du Fay's Benefices and his Relationship to the Court of Burgundy," Planchart at his page 123 proposed a new precise date for Du Fay's birth (August 5, 1397) and added significantly to the Du Fay canon of masses.

Possessor of such a background, Planchart arrived at his Smithsonian Institution topic with an intimate knowledge of what was happening everywhere else in fifteenth-century music circles. With his kind consent various comments from his invaluable paper have been woven into the following catena:

> The cosmopolitan nature of the Spanish, and particularly the Aragonese, milieu in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is demonstrated in the number of significant shifts in our knowledge of the nationality of a number of composers. The classic case is that of Bernardus Ycart, whom Van der Straeten and Hüschen claimed for the Netherlands while Anglés and Stevenson claimed him for Catalonia. A papal letter found by Adalberth Roth in the Vatican archives, has settled the issue by indicating that Bernardus was a clergyman of the diocese of Tarazona [see Allan W. Atlas, *Music at the Aragonese Court of Naples*, Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 78].
>
> The chapel of the Aragonese kings, in the early part of the fifteenth century, has been previously thought of as having been populated chiefly by French musicians. But new evidence presented below indicates that it remained predominantly a Catalan institution until at least 1450, if not beyond.

This new evidence comes from Vatican archives that provide us a number of glimpses into the musical activity and the size of some of the peninsular chapels in the fifteenth century. When Martin V was crowned pope at Constance in November 1417, Alfonso of Aragon lost little time in seeking a number of ecclesiastical preferments for the members of his chapel. A summary list of these [members] appears in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano: Registra Supplicationum, No. 112 [March 1418]:

Anthonius Sancii, Barcelona
Petrus Magistri, Barcelona
Antonius Cervet
Ioannes Puyades
Iohannes Sobreates, Elvas
Iohannes Gill
Gratianus de Chius
Guillermus Folch
Iohannes Martini [Toledo]
Hugo Fusterii
Franciscus Valls
Johannes Garciga, Chaplain of Infante Juan, Segovia
Christophorus de Sancto Stephano
Johannes de Manso

Only one singer who was assuredly French enters the list, Hugo Lestranch—identified in 1418 as a member of Alfonso's chapel who came from Cambrai.

By February 1433 his chapel had grown to at least thirteen singers. The Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Registra Supplicationum, No. 282, lists as singers: Anthonius Sancii [Barcelona], Johannes Guarcigna [Segovia], Petro Colleli, Anthonius Fusterii, alias Olivier [a canon of Valencia, holding benefices in Mayorca, Minorca, Saragossa, he petitioned for a prebend in Barcelona Cathedral in October 1432], Guillermus de Basellis [in May 1437 he described himself as leaving Catalonia, where his efforts to obtain a benefice had not been successful, despite Alfonso's efforts in his behalf], Gundisalvus de Garixo [in June 1444 he described himself as a native of Tarazona], Lambertus Ademarii, Enguarranus de Varnachio, alias Filion, Geronimus Burridan, Alamannus de Siscar [identified himself as a Valencian in 1442, while simultaneously he was holder of a prebend in Palermo], Gabriel Alegre [described himself in November of 1445 as stemming from Barcelona], and Guillermus Vitalis.

Two singers who appear also in the supplications joined the Aragonese chapel after 1433: a Petrus Daude, from Tortosa (1443), and Paschasius de Redin, from Pamplona (1445).

Up to the present, the names of the members of the Portuguese royal chapel during the forepart of the fifteenth century have eluded research in Vatican archives. However, in December of 1434 Dom Duarte (reigned 1433–1438) asked Pope Eugenius IV to authorize the *magister cappellae* of the court of Portugal to have the power to freeze the ecclesiastical benefices of the chapel members in cases of lack of discipline or internal strife (ASV, RS 300, fols. 194v–196v). There is a very similar petition from King John of Castile, dating from June 1444, implying lack of discipline and bad blood among unnamed singers in his royal chapel (ASV, RS 397, fols. 138v–139).

A number of courts may have had more than one chapel. In any case, it now seems likely that all of the peninsular courts before 1450 had at least one chapel that performed polyphonic music. Between 1421 and 1442 Queen Mary of Castile (1401–1450), daughter of Henry III of Castile and Catherine of Lancaster, and wife of Alfonso the Magnanimous, repeatedly petitioned the pope in behalf of her chaplains. In May 1442 her chapel consisted of twelve men, including her confessor and an unspecified number of singers (ASV, RS 382, fol. 32). Those named in other petitions all have Spanish names: Didaco = Diego García (1418 RS 110, fol. 252), Guillermo Ubalde (1421 RS 156, fols. 149–150v), Martín Rodríguez de Raza (1423 RS 169, fols. 153, 226), Pedro Villesco (1423 RS 169, fols. 153, 226), García Gómez de Ruaga (1428 RS 213, fol. 92v), Juan de Campo (1432, RS 289, fols. 46v–47, 113) Alfonso Rodríguez (1435 RS 302, fol. 104), Martín Fernánadez de Villegas (1436 RS 322, fol. 281), Rafael Serrano (1437 RS 337, fol. 261v), Juan Núñez (1440, RS 367, fols. 1v–2), Jacobo López Arévalo (1442 RS 384, fol. 177).

The Queen of Navarre, Blanca I (1386–1441; reigned 1425–1441), in a petition to Pope Eugenius IV dated March 1439 (ASV, RS 356, fol. 114) described Johannes de Cascarreto as one of her chapel singers.

But despite all these new names, Johannes Cornago still remains the earliest major fifteenth-century composer identifiable as a member of the Aragonese chapel. The fact that the Spanish and particularly the Aragonese remained loyal longer than other lands to the recalcitrant antipope Benedict XIII (= Pedro de Luna, 1328–1423, deposed July 26, 1417) and therefore sent no such elaborate delegations to the council of Constance in 1415, as did the English and Netherlandish rulers, helps explain the absence of Spanish and Aragonese works from conciliar manuscripts (Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario, J. D. 19; Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, Q 15; Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 2216; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici 213; Trento, Museo Provinciale d'Arte, codices 87 and 92).

Cornago became a member of the Aragonese chapel no later than 1453. Stevenson discovered that he graduated from the University of Paris in 1449 ("Spanish Musical Impact Beyond the Pyrenees 1250–1500," *España en la música de occidente, actas del congreso internacional celebrado en Salamanca, 29 de Octubre–5 de Noviembre de 1985*, ed. Emilio Casares Rodicio *et al.* [Madrid: Instituto Nacional de las Artes Escénicas y de la Música, 1985], 1:139; definitive indexed version with bibliography

in "Iberian Musical Outreach Before Encounter with the New World," *Inter-American Music Review*, VIII/2 [Spring-Summer 1987], [13-112]: 52).

The records for Cornago's life come mostly from the Neapolitan court. Nonetheless, his surviving vernacular output consists almost entirely of songs with Spanish rather than Italian texts. It will not do to assume that these songs date after Cornago's return to Spain in 1475, since many of them appear in the Montecassino manuscript, which is a Neapolitan source. The date of Cornago's most important work, the *Missa Ayo visto lo mappamundi*, has been the subject of almost constant revision during several decades. Fortunately, the mass has now received exemplary edition by Rebecca Lynn Gerber (*Complete Works* [Madison: A-R Editions, 1984], 1-35); and further research by Gerber as well as a number of other scholars into the genesis of the Trent Codices indicates that the copying of Trent 88, the only source for the complete mass, by Johannes Wiser and his assistants, must have been finished by 1460 (see *I Codici musicali tridentini*, ed. Nino Pirrotta and Danilo Curti [Trento: Museo Provinciale d'Arte, 1986], 62-65, showing that Wiser copied most of Trent 90, the immediate predecessor of Trent 88, in the middle 1450's).

Further research embodied in Gerber's 1984 University of California at Santa Barbara Ph.D. dissertation, "The Manuscript Trent, Castello del Buonconsiglio, 88: A Study of Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Transmission and Repertory," demonstrates that much of the repertory of Trent 88 must have been obtained in the summer of 1455 by the future bishop of Trent, Johannes Hinderbach (elected bishop August 30, 1465; *d* September 21, 1486). He was in Rome for the coronation of Calixtus III on April 20, 1455. Shortly thereafter Hinderbach received a prebend at Trent and later in the year he was elected dean of the chapter. Whether or not Cornago was himself in Rome in 1455, as has been hitherto widely believed, his mass was with little doubt one of many similar works sent by the different courts as presents to the new pope.

The section of Trent 88 that transmits Cornago's mass contains also such works as Johannes Ockeghem's *Missa Caput*, which was the only *cantus firmus* mass that Ockeghem had written by 1455, Du Fay's *Missa Se la face ay pale* composed most likely in 1452 and also the only Du Fay *cantus firmus* mass written by 1455, and Guillaume Faugues's *Missa Le Serviteur* (a coronation mass for Calixtus, given the congruence between the emblem of the cantus firmus and the title used by every pope since Gregory I: *Servus servorum Dei*).

Stevenson has rightly called for an explanation of the double-name of the mass, which in Trent 88 bears the inscription: *La missa de la mapamundi apud Neapolim et la missa de nostra dona Sancta Maria*. Gerber has hinted at the probable answer: "The connection of the Virgin Mary with navigators had been a commonplace of medieval thought. Consider the hymn *Ave Maris Stella*, the antiphon *Alma Redemptoris mater*, and the larger body of sequences which refer to Mary as the Star of the Sea."

In any event, Cornago's magnificent work, reflecting in its *cantus firmus* both the seafaring nature of the Aragonese and their infatuation with the beauty of their new lands, must have been written sometime between Cornago's graduation from Paris in 1449 and the coronation of Calixtus III in 1455. It is therefore among the earliest *cantus firmus* masses to come from a continental composer.

Such a composer and such a work do not appear suddenly *ex nihilo*. An altogether too common view of the fifteenth century makes a tacit but nonetheless sharp distinction between center and periphery, and relegates Spain to the periphery. But here we have a Spanish master whose complex and very sophisticated *cantus firmus mass* is exactly contemporaneous with the first efforts in this genre by Du Fay and Ockeghem.

However, in its treatment of the *cantus firmus* and its textured organization, Cornago's mass inhabits a much different world from that of the just mentioned Du Fay and Ockeghem works. Much of its distinctive "sound" is caused by Cornago's deliberate approach to numerous cadences on A (with C♯ and E above it) by way of the low B♭ (usually also with a major third and fifth above B♭) expanding to a sixth on the way to the octave A-a. Nothing of this cadential pattern, which becomes almost a cliché of later Spanish music, is predictable by the normal rules of *musica ficta* within the context of the D final that rules Cornago's work. He had to call for it with an unusually large number of written inflections throughout the mass. This is but one detail among many that makes Cornago's mass unique. The cumulative effect of all these details is to present us a work that vaunts the entire technical panoply of the "international" style of the mid-fifteenth century but at the same time sounds uniquely Spanish.

The same in a more modest manner could be said of the sacred music of another composer of the late fifteenth century, Juan de Anchieta (1462-1523). Samuel Rubio's edition of Anchieta's *Opera Omnia*

(Guipúzcoa: Caja de Ahorros Provincial de Guipúzcoa, 1980 [189 pp.]) contains in chapter IV of the preliminaries an *Estudio crítico-estilístico*, in which he seeks to codify Anchieta's procedures. Apart from Anchieta's 16 ascribed works, Rubio's transcriptions include eight compositions which although anonymous in the sources (seven in the *Cancionero de Segovia*; one, *Salva Sancta Parens*, in Barcelona 454), Rubio attributes to Anchieta because of what he considers to be telltale stylistic characteristics.

But if Rubio placed a handle on the less sophisticated Anchieta, the two much more competent composers often grouped with Anchieta, Pedro de Escobar and Francisco de Peñalosa, have yet to be exhaustively studied by anyone. Their most important contemporaries abroad were Antoine de Févin (c1470–1511/1512), and Jean Richafort (c1480–c1547), who despite their immense importance to their contemporaries—as is evidenced by the number of works based upon music by them—still lack due attention today. But a close study of the masses of Escobar and Peñalosa will reveal that they have nothing to yield to those of Févin and Richafort in clarity of structure and mellifluous sound. Some previous analysts have attempted to compare Escobar, Peñalosa, and the other composers of Ferdinand and Isabella's chapels with Josquin Desprez (c1440–1521), Alexander Agricola (c1446–1506), Heinrich Isaac (c1450–1517), and Jacob Obrecht (c1460–1505). However, attempting to do so is a historical mistake, even though one of Peñalosa's motets was thought for a time to be a work of Josquin (see Robert Stevenson, who made the correction in "Josquin in the Music of Spain and Portugal," in *Josquin des Prez*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky and Bonnie J. Blackburn [London: Oxford University Press, 1976], 219–220). The usual commentary is to note that the Spaniards used less contrapuntal artifice than the Netherlanders, but this drop in the use of complex canonic procedures seems more a generational than a regional difference. There was a sharp drop in such procedures all over Europe during Escobar and Peñalosa's generation.

To Escobar and Peñalosa should probably be added a third composer of their time, Juan Fernández de Madrid, the composer of an astounding *Missa Gaudeamus omnes*—to give it what was most likely its name (now preserved incompletely in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, *nouv, acq. fr.* 4379; Stevenson's *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus*, pages 178–179, contains a partial edition of the Gloria, the one surviving movement). What is now becoming clear, despite lack of recordings and insufficient study of an entire generation, is that the chapels of many Spanish courts and of the more opulent cathedrals cultivated polyphonic music in the same manner, and with the same intensity as the better known chapels of the Italian and north European princes. Spanish establishments eagerly sought music from Italy and the Netherlands. Not only did such native Iberians as Escobar and Peñalosa thoroughly master the new styles arriving from abroad, but through subtle tonal and rhythmic inflections, they gave their own stamp to these styles.

IV

SYNOPSIS

In the United States the best dissertations on Iberian topics continued being written during the 1980's by scholars who had spent extensive preparatory periods in the peninsula. Among dissertations, those of John Henken (on Francisco Asenjo Barbieri), Paul Laird (seventeenth-century villancicos housed in El Escorial music archive), and J. Douglas Riva (Granados's *Goyescas*) prove this point, and are therefore each extensively discussed in the opening section of the present review article.

Among books published during the 1980's, Allan Atlas's on the court chapel of Alfonso the Magnanimous embodied results of protracted study in Italy, rather than in the Spanish peninsula. Nevertheless, Atlas offered important new data on Spaniards who emigrated to Naples. The anti-Spanish, anti-Portuguese bias that has afflicted upper-level powers in the American Musicological Society continued manifesting itself throughout the 1980's in the paucity or non-existence of Iberian papers read at national congresses and the nearly complete absence from American periodicals of Iberian-topic articles and reviews, *Inter-American Music Review* providing the sole exception.

In March 1988 the Smithsonian Institution at Washington, D.C., sponsored a symposium on "Musical Repercussions of 1492." Among papers read at that symposium, Alejandro Planchart's on music at fifteenth-century Christian courts in Spain and at Naples proved especially notable, and liberal excerpts from it therefore conclude the present review article.