



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

## NINETEENTH-CENTURY MUSIC CRITICISM

10-12 November 2015

Lucca, Complesso Monumentale di San Michele

Organized by

Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini, Lucca

Palazzetto Bru Zane, Venice

in collaboration with

OICRM, Montréal

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**Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini, Lucca**

**Palazzetto Bru Zane - Centre de musique romantique française, Venice**

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## **PROGRAMME COMMITTEE**

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## **KEYNOTE SPEAKERS**

TERESA CASCUDO (UNIVERSIDAD DE LA RIOJA)

KATHARINE ELLIS (UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL)

## TUESDAY 10 NOVEMBER

### 9.00-10.00: *Welcome and Registration*

#### 10.00-10.30: **Opening**

- FULVIA MORABITO (President Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)
- ÉTIENNE JARDIN (Palazzetto Bru Zane, Venice)

#### Room 1 – 10.30-12.30: **Musical Aesthetics and Criticism**

(Chair: **Teresa Cascudo**, Universidad de La Rioja)

- MICHAEL WARD (University of Colorado, CO): *“Absolute” Philosophy? Gender, Nationalism, and Jewishness in Eduard Hanslick’s Formalism*
- ŽARKO CVEJIĆ (Singidunum University in Belgrade): *Demons, Charlatans, and Fallen Angels of Music: Subjectivity in Early Nineteenth-Century Philosophy and the Reception of Virtuosity in Contemporary Music Criticism*
- OREN VINOGRADOV (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill): *Composing a New German Aesthetic: Labels and Self-Determination among German Critic-Composers within the Program Music Debate*
- KAROLINA KOLINEK-SIECHOWICZ (University of Warsaw): *Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism as the Source of Narrative Thinking about Music*



13.00 Lunch

#### 15.00-16.00 – **Keynote Speaker 1**

- **Katharine Ellis** (University of Bristol): *Music Criticism, Generic Contracts, and Speech Acts*

#### Room 1 – 16.30-19.00: **Music Criticism in Spain, Argentina and Uruguay**

(Chair: **Roberto Illiano**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- SARA NAVARRO LALANDA (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid): *Musical Criticism around the Royal Conservatory of Music and Declamation Maria Cristina of Madrid (1830-1854)*
- CONSUELO PÉREZ COLODRERO (Universidad de Granada): *(Re)Discovering Andalusian Cultural Identity: Music Criticism through «Galería de músicos andaluces contemporáneos» (Havana, 1927) by Francisco Cuenca Benet (1872-1943)*
- DIANA DÍAZ GONZÁLEZ (Universidad de Oviedo): *New Directions in Spanish Music Criticism in the Nineteenth-Century: The Leadership of Manuel Manrique de Lara in the Press*
- MELANIE PLESCH (The University of Melbourne): *The «Boletín Musical» (1837) and the Reception of Romantic Thought in Nineteenth-Century Buenos Aires*
- MARITA FORNARO BORDOLLI (Universidad de la República, Uruguay): *Local Tensions and European Bonds: The Role of «Montevideo Musical» and «La Gaceta Musical» in Montevideo’s Musical Life of the Late Nineteenth Century*

## Room 2 – 16.30-18.30: Music Criticism in France

(Chair: **Étienne Jardin**, Palazzetto Bru Zane)

- SÉVERINE FÉRON (Université de Bourgogne Franche Comté – UMR-CNRS 7366): *Castil-Blaze (1784-1857), fondateur de la critique musicale en France : Bilan d'une carrière et perspectives*
- MARICA BOTTARO (Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia – Université Paris 8): *Le riflessioni timbriche di François-Joseph Fétis nella «Revue musicale» e nella «Revue et gazette musicale de Paris»*
- HANAE TSUKADA (Okinawa Prefectural University of Arts): *Criticism of Piano Music in the 1830s France and the Changing Aesthetic Perspectives on Instrumental Music: A Study of Music Reviews in «Le Pianiste» and the «Gazette musicale de Paris»*
- SYLVIA KAHAN (The Graduate Center and College of Staten Island, City University of New York): *Music Reporting of Paris's 1878 Exposition Universelle: Twenty-two Articles by Émile-Mathieu de Monter for the «Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris»*

## WEDNESDAY 11 NOVEMBER

### Room 1 – 9.30-11.00: Criticism and Italian Opera I

(Chair: **Katharine Ellis**, University of Bristol)

- CHLOE VALENTI (University of Cambridge): *Throats, Ears and Force-Pump Operas: 'Sick' Audiences and Singers in Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera*
- INGBORG ZECHNER (Universität Salzburg): *London's Italian Opera as a Topic of International Interest to Nineteenth-Century Musical Criticism*
- CRISTINA SCUDERI (Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz): *Describing Divas: Verdian Singers and Musical Criticism in the Press of the Post-unitarian Italy*

### Room 1 – 11.30-12.30

- CECILIA NICOLÒ (Università 'La Sapienza', Rome): *Il caso Verdi fra Lucca e Ricordi strategie editoriali attraverso «L'Italia musicale» e la «Gazzetta musicale di Milano»*
- DEMOSTHENES FISTOURIS (Athens, Greece): *The Italian Musical Criticism of the Late Nineteenth Century and the Rivalry of the Dipole Ricordi-Sonzogno Foreshadowed the Case of Spyros Samaras - From the Apotheosis of «Flora Mirabilis» to the Condemnation of «Lionella» and again to the Great Successful Score of «La Martire»*

### Room 2 – 9.30-11.00: Performing Practice and Criticism

(Chair: **Fulvia Morabito**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- NANCY NOVEMBER (University of Auckland): *The String Quartet in Early Nineteenth-Century Performance and Criticism*
- DAVID HURWITZ (ClassicsToday.com): *Vibrato in the Classical Orchestra: A Nineteenth Century Case Study*
- WALTER KREYSZIG (University of Saskatchewan / University of Vienna): *Tracking the Compositional Process of Johann Sebastian Bach's «Zwölf Choräle» in the Birnstiel Edition of 1765: Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler's «Verbesserungen» and «Reduktionen» and Carl Maria von Weber's «Einleitung» and «Zergliederung» in the Context of Nineteenth-Century Harmonic Practices in Germany*

## Room 2 – 11.30-13.00 **Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism**

(Chair: **Marita Fornaro Bordolli**, Universidad de la República, Uruguay)

- ANJA BUNZEL (Maynooth University): *Johanna Kinkel's «Trinklied für Männerchor»: A Reactive Response to Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism?*
- THOMAS RADECKE (Institute of Musicology Weimar-Jena): *Franz Liszt's General German Music Society (ADMV) and the Rise of Russian Music in Germany towards 1900 in Disputing German and Russian Music Criticism*
- ANA MARIA LIBERAL (Universidade Nova de Lisboa): «*Mr. Strauss Compositions Can Be very Rich and Invaluable but... They Stun Me!*» – *Music Criticism in Porto in the «Belle Époque»*



13.00 Lunch

## 15.00-16.00 – **Keynote Speaker 2**

- **Teresa Cascudo** (Universidad de La Rioja): *Discourse and Transfer: Two Key-concepts for the Study of Musical Criticism in the Context of the Digital Age*

## Room 1 – 16.30-18.30: **Wagner and Criticism**

(Chair: **Roberto Illiano**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- NICOLA MONTENZ (Università Cattolica, Milan): *Nel laboratorio del genio: la produzione critica del giovane Wagner*
- RAINER KLEINERTZ (Universität des Saarlandes): *Richard Wagner's Open Letter «Über Franz Liszt's Symphonische Dichtungen» in the «Neue Zeitschrift für Musik» (1857)*
- YAËL HÊCHE (Orchestre de Chambre de Lausanne): *«Ich sah venezianische Dolche und Spione des Rates der Zehn, ich atmete die üppige Luft Zyperns». Richard Wagner critique musical à Paris et «La Reine de Chypre» de Fromental Halévy*
- JOSÉ-IGNACIO SUÁREZ (Universidad de Oviedo): *The Image as Criticism in the First Wagnerian Reception in Madrid (1876-1914)*

## Room 2 – 16.30-19.00: **Composers as Critics**

(Chair: **Étienne Jardin**, Palazzetto Bru Zane)

- GUILLAUME BORDRY (Université Paris 'Descartes' V – IUT): *Barnum et les Romains: Critique, claqué et réclame dans les «Soirées de l'orchestre» d'Hector Berlioz*
- JAMES ARNOLD (Birkbeck College, University of London): *«Les plaisirs de l'imagination sont les seuls réels»: Grétry's Writings and the Expansion of Musical Thought at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century*
- MATTHIEU CAILLIEZ (Université Pierre-Mandès-France, Grenoble): *Inventaire et étude synthétique des critiques musicales (1834-1856) du compositeur Adolphe Adam*
- ADA AYNBINDER (P. I. Tchaikovsky State Museum-Reserve, Klin): *P. I. Tchaikovsky as Critic*
- STEPHANIE KLAUK (Universität des Saarlandes): *La musica di Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart negli scritti di Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann*

## THURSDAY 12 NOVEMBER

### Room 1 – 09.30-11.00: **Theatrical Press**

(Chair: **Marita Fornaro Bordolli**, Universidad de la República, Uruguay)

- JEROEN VAN GESSEL (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen): *Speaking for Whom? Thirty Years of Opera Reviews in Strasbourg (1886-1918)*
- ERIN FULTON (University of Kentucky, KY): *Nativist Rhetoric in the Opera Journalism of Antebellum New York City*
- WOLFRAM BODER (Kassel, Germany): *Louis Spohr's Last Opera and Its Reception in Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism – A Case Study*

### Room 1 – 11.30-12.30: **Music Criticism in Portugal and Brasil**

(Chair: **Teresa Cascudo**, Universidad de La Rioja)

- MARIANA CALADO (Universidade Nova de Lisboa): *An Approach to Music Criticism in Portugal in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*
- MÓNICA VERMES (Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo / IA-Unesp): *The Music in the Theaters of Rio de Janeiro (1890-1900): Concert Series, Music Criticism and Conflicting Cultural Projects in the Early Years of the Republic*

### Room 2 – 10.30-12.30: **Twentieth-Century Operetta**

(Chair: **Massimiliano Locanto**, Università di Salerno)

- MARIA TERESA ARFINI (Università della Valle d'Aosta): *Beethoven e Mendelssohn nel pensiero di Adolf Bernhard Marx*
- MARIATERESA STORINO (Conservatorio 'V. Bellini', Caltanissetta): *'Beyond' the Absolute Music: «Die Symphonie nach Beethoven» by Felix Weingartner*
- RENATO RICCO (Università di Salerno): *«La musica non imita e non esprime che lo stesso sentimento in persona»: su alcune riflessioni leopardiane intorno alla musica*
- DIAU-LONG SHEN (Freie Universität Berlin): *E.T.A. Hoffmann's Evaluation of Mozart As «Inimitable Creator of the Romantic Opera» in His Music Criticism*



13.00 Lunch

### Room 1 – 15.00-16.30: **Musical Criticism and the Press**

(Chair: **Fulvia Morabito**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- ANTONELLA D'OVIDIO – ELENA OLIVA (Università di Firenze): *Modi e temi della critica musicale sui quotidiani italiani nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento*
- THOMAS DELPEUT (University of Amsterdam): *Semantic Pallets of Music Criticism: Adapting Musical Ideologies in Dutch Concert Reviews in «Caecilia» (1844-1917)*
- MARC ERNESTI (University of Sheffield): *1813, Vienna, and a Re-print of the «Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung»: Notes on Intertextuality in German Music Media around 1800*

**Room 1 – 17.00-18.30**

- SANJA MAJER-BOBETKO (Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts): *Croatian Music Criticism in the Nineteenth Century. The Present State of Research with Special Emphasis on Criticism Written in Croatian*
- ANNE REESE WILLÉN (Uppsala University): *The Institutionalization and Professionalization of the Musical Press in Sweden during the Nineteenth Century*
- KERRY MURPHY (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, The University of Melbourne): *A Counterpoint of Critical Voices*



## ABSTRACTS

### Keynote Speaker

**Teresa Cascudo (Universidad de La Rioja)**

#### **Discourse and Transfer: Two Key-concepts for the Study of Musical Criticism in the Context of the Digital Age**

Musical criticism and newspapers constitute a documental source of great interest for the history of music, in particular for hermeneutics, intellectual and socio-cultural approaches. From the Nineteenth-century onwards, critics have become influential mediators between their readers and musical works, performances, performers, organizations, managers, technology, etc. Musical criticism is a cultural institution that creates verbal representations of musical realities, and, nevertheless, we often deal with it as if it was transparent. Also, when we try, as musicologists, to analyse musical criticism, we have to serve two masters: our own tradition, where it has a minor role, and the great number of disciplines, outside musicology, with which journalistic criticism could engage, from communication studies to linguistics or sociology. Moreover, when we deal with which are usually considered peripheral sources, written in languages different than English, French, German or Italian, there could be a new challenge to overcome, mostly if we intend to go further than reception history. The reexamination of the concepts of discourse, as used by Norman Fairclough in his approach to critical discourse analysis, and cultural transfer, coined by Michel Espagne in the 1980s, could help us to establish a solid theoretical grounding to study musical criticism within the agreed limits of our discipline that take into consideration these issues in the context of the digital age. I would like to complete my presentation referring two examples taken from my empirical research on Nineteenth-century Spanish newspapers

**Katharine Ellis (University of Bristol)**

#### **Music Criticism, Generic Contracts, and Speech Acts**

Our understandings of music criticism have changed greatly over the several decades since Leon B. Plantinga wrote *Schumann as Critic* and intrepid Ph.D. students began turning broadsheet pages in search of opera reviews. With the exception of the star composer-critics, music criticism has emerged as a subject of musicological study almost symbiotic with reception history and the history of nineteenth-century canon formation: musicologists have analysed it as a window onto audience expectation, cultural norms, and artistic transgression. We might question its trustworthiness, but few of us would deny its utility: as a repository of readily-accessible opinion, expressed by the taste-makers of the chattering classes, music criticism appears as something of a gift-horse. Its accessibility is deceptive. Music criticism has many faces and many voices, and each utterance is rich in contextual meaning. At the risk of straying into the territory of literary criticism, this paper asks whether musicologists have, in studies of music criticism, taken seriously enough the knotty questions of genre and speech act, and argues that the anonymity of so many critiques does not absolve researchers from interrogating the question of authorial intention along these lines. Genre regulates content, form and tone in a review just as speech acts embedded in the prose presuppose and encourage particular responses from readers. As John Searle argued in his classic text *Speech Acts*, unless we understand such things we are at risk of mistaking one illocutionary act for another.

## Participants

**Maria Teresa Arfini (Università della Valle d'Aosta)**

### **Beethoven e Mendelssohn nel pensiero di Adolf Bernhard Marx [Beethoven and Mendelssohn in the Thought of Adolf Bernhard Marx]**

Adolf Bernhard Marx (Halle, 1795 – Berlin, 1866) was a musicologist, music theorist and critic, known particularly to have codified and labeled the Sonata-form. In his first years of activity as critic he publicized a particular theory of the musical meaning from the pages of the *Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. From 1824, year of the foundation, to 1826 some meaningful articles appeared: particularly interesting 'Etwas über die Symphonie und Beethoven Leistungen in diesem Fache' (On the Symphony and on the contribution of Beethoven to this musical genre), published in more parts in 1824, and 'Über das Verhältniss der Form zum Inhalte in der neueren Musik' (On the relationship between form and content in the new music), similarly appeared in more resumptions in the 1826. The Beethoven's compositions are central in the critic reflections: Marx examines «the series of psychological situations» represented «with great accuracy» in the Fifth Symphony or the extra-musical Grundidee that informs the composition; he then considers the relationship between form and extra-musical elements in the Pastoral Symphony and the psychological development in the Third Symphony. In a further article, of 1826, he prepares the public to the correct fruition of the Ninth Symphony, that very soon would have been performed in Berlin. Nevertheless, it is in the pamphlet *Über den Malerei in der Tonkunst* (On the musical painting), of 1828, that Marx accomplishedly delineates his own theory of the music meaning, inserting in the contemporary philosophical debate around the possibility of the music to represent or not extra-musical elements. The case of study, in the pamphlet, is the overture *Meerestille* und *Glückliche Fahrt* by Felix Mendelssohn, that Marx shows as example of perfection in to set the fundamental extra-musical idea without the aid of a text. In Marx' opinion, Beethoven would have failed in the same intent putting in music the Goethe's verses in the homonym Cantata for choir and orchestra (review appeared in November of the 1824). In this paper I will try to delineate in general the Marx' theory and to analyze the two compositions inspired by the famous couple of Goethe's poems, by Beethoven and Mendelssohn, according to the Marx' evaluation and the judgment of the contemporaries.

**James Arnold (Birkbeck College, University of London)**

### **«Les plaisirs de l'imagination sont les seuls réels»: Grétry's Writings and the Expansion of Musical Thought at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century**

André-Ernest-Modeste Grétry (1741-1813) was the first successful composer to write books purveying musical ideas to the general reader. His three major excursions into prose, notably the *Mémoires* of 1797, were marked by an eclectic, personal style, in which questions of musical technique were tumbled together with tales from his life and digressions into philosophy, religion, science, politics, mythology, child-rearing, animals, health, and sex. Perhaps because of this wordiness (and the eclipse of his musical reputation in the twentieth century), his writing has not been taken as seriously as it might by modern scholars: this paper aims to reassess Grétry's importance as a writer, locating him not only as a major figure at the junction between Enlightenment and Romantic patterns of musical thought, but as a creator of influential new forms and language in which music would be discussed during the nineteenth century. Grétry

positioned his writings as antidotes to pedantry and pompous expertise. The central plank in his philosophy was the potency of melody as a link into the demotic mysteries of folk culture. He strove to understand precisely how his listeners heard his music, insisting that the contingency of spectatorial experience was a key to the artistic process. He therefore paved the way for new modes of musical criticism, drawing on the nascent science of psychology, and rooted in the subjectivity of the listener. In terms of style, his intentionally whimsical, fragmentary, allusive prose was a riposte to the methodical treatises of the Enlightenment tradition. This expanded the imaginative field for writings on music, anticipating adventurous approaches to criticism which prioritised originality of expression over reason and clarity. An awareness of the boldness of Grétry's writings allows us to appreciate his participation in rapidly changing notions of the status and potential of the musician at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

**Ada Aynbinder (P. I. Tchaikovsky State Museum-Reserve, Klin)**

### **P. I. Tchaikovsky as Critic**

The great Russian composer Pyotr Il'yich Tchaikovsky was author of the 81 critical works in the different genres: articles, reviews, notes, open letters, letters to editors, interviews. The first Tchaikovsky's article 'Apropos of the "Serbian Fantasy" by Mr. Rimskij-Korsakov' was published March 10, 1868. The last his work was written in February, 1893 – the last year of composer's life. The most part of Tchaikovsky's articles were written in 1871-1875, when the composer was musical reporter of Russian newspapers: *Sovremennaja letopis'* (Contemporary Chronicle) in 1871 and *Russkie vedomosti* (Russian Bulletin) in 1872-1875. The other critical works were written because of concrete situations. Already in his first critical attempts Tchaikovsky was not only the well educated professional musician, but also the journalist with his own position and priorities. The Tchaikovsky's articles are always response to the concrete event. But it isn't only reaction to one or another concert, performance or musical work. He writes about problems, which disturbed him as a composer. This paper is dedicated to history and analysis of Tchaikovsky's critical works in the context of Russian musical culture of that time.

**Wolfram Boder (Kassel, Germany)**

### **Louis Spohr's Last Opera and Its Reception in Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism – A Case Study**

The reception history of Louis Spohr's last opera *Die Kreuzfahrer* (*The Crusaders*, 1845) is rather short. This has a great deal to do with music criticism in the nineteenth-century. The example of this opera shows, how certain trends in music criticism, mostly reflecting the influence of Richard Wagner, hindered the spreading of those works that seemingly did not apply to the proposed standards. As the reception of Spohr's last opera in the musical press in the nineteenth-century is rather limited, it is possible to give a complete survey. This shows, how especially towards the end of the century narrow definitions of 'German' music tended to dominate the discussion. An important role in this process is played by Richard Wagner himself. In his essays he predefined points of view from which Spohr's opera was to be seen later on. To a large extent the case of the *Crusaders* also reveals how Wagner managed to influence the writing of musical history in the nineteenth-century in general. The paper will investigate the musical and dramaturgical structures of the opera and relate them to its reception in the press. Thus it will deliver a case study of the not always positive influence of music criticism in the nineteenth-century.

**Guillaume Bordry (Université Paris ‘Descartes’ V – IUT)**

**Barnum et les Romains: Critique, claqué et réclame dans les *Soirées de l’Orchestre* d’Hector Berlioz**

*Les Soirées de l’Orchestre*, publiées par Hector Berlioz en 1852, regroupent et organisent dans une forme très particulière des textes, notamment des nouvelles à sujet musical, précédemment parus en feuilleton ; Berlioz y développe par ailleurs différentes réflexions sur la critique musicale, son pouvoir et ses limites. Berlioz décrit notamment les rapports complexes entre critique musicale, claqué et réclame: un chapitre est consacré à la claqué, et le suivant à Phineas Barnum (1810-1891). *Les Soirées* mettent au jour le fonctionnement de la salle, et l’organisation de ses réactions lorsque la représentation a besoin d’être artificiellement soutenue. *Les Soirées* révèlent comment parfois fonctionne la presse musicale lorsque la musique a besoin d’un appui extérieur: emphase, excès de louanges et embellissements. Berlioz décrit la claqué et la précision de son fonctionnement avec humour et raffinement ; juste après, le chapitre consacré à Jenny Lind et à Barnum reprend les exclamations, les hyperboles, les épithètes homériques, et parodie les boniments et les hâbleries de Barnum. La critique musicale utilise-t-elle parfois les mêmes effets ? une critique a-t-elle parfois la même fonction qu’une réclame... ou que la claqué ? Le texte, fictionnel, des soirées de l’orchestre est sans doute le meilleur lieu pour s’interroger sur le sujet.

**Marica Bottaro (Università Ca’ Foscari di Venezia – Université Paris 8)**

**Le riflessioni timbriche di François-Joseph Fétis nella *Revue musicale* e nella *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris***

La *Revue musicale*, fondata da François-Joseph Fétis nel 1827, costituisce una delle fonti d’informazione più considerevoli sulla vita musicale in Francia durante la Monarchia di Luglio. Dopo essere stata assorbita nel 1835 dalla *Gazette musicale* e aver assunto il nome di *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, la rivista continuò la sua attività fino al 1880. Fétis fu un vero e proprio pioniere del genere, in quanto la sua fu la prima rivista a interessarsi a tutti gli aspetti dell’arte musicale. È risaputo che proprio nell’Ottocento si acuì l’attenzione verso la sonorità degli strumenti musicali, in particolar modo dei fiati; tutto ciò implicò una cura e uno studio maggiore finalizzati alla costruzione degli strumenti, ma anche all’utilizzo dei singoli timbri e al loro possibile connubio in svariati organici strumentali, fra cui l’orchestra e le formazioni militari. Non a caso proprio in quegli anni furono redatti su suolo francese i primi trattati di strumentazione e di orchestrazione per mano di Jean-Georges Kastner (1837) e di Hector Berlioz (1943). Fétis non fu per nulla estraneo a questa nuova sensibilità ottocentesca e soprattutto d’oltralpe per il timbro; la *Revue musicale* e in seguito la *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris* sono infatti costellate da riflessioni e da studi concernenti la fisionomia degli strumenti musicali, la strumentazione e la storia delle formazioni militari, nonché la sonorità dell’organico orchestrale. Fétis, con i suoi articoli, si poneva, dunque, come precursore della riflessione sul timbro dell’orchestra che si sviluppa in modo più consapevole verso la fine del XIX secolo. La sua rivista si presta a testimoniare, così, la nascente e prorompente attenzione dei compositori e dei critici per un’estetica della strumentazione, dell’orchestrazione e quindi del timbro.

**Anja Bunzel (Maynooth University)**

**Johanna Kinkel’s *Trinklied für Männerchor*: A Reactive Response to Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism?**

When the German composer, writer, music pedagogue and musician Johanna Kinkel (1810-1858) published her first Lieder opus in 1838, her songs were received with great enthusiasm by

such renowned music critics as Ludwig Rellstab (*Iris im Gebiete der Tonkunst*), Gottfried Wilhelm Fink (*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*) and Oswald Lorenz (*Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*). However, all three reviewers included in their critiques some remarks of astonishment about Kinkel's gender as they would not have expected such high-quality compositions from a woman. Johanna Kinkel's awareness of (and aversion to) gender biases and discrimination is reflected in many of her fictional and non-fictional writings, letters, and contemporaries' memoirs. The seriousness with which Kinkel approached this issue can be understood best by examining Kinkel's short but significant correspondence with Robert Schumann (1810-1856). When Schumann asked Kinkel for a contribution to the musical supplement of his *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Kinkel, according to herself, sent him an «affected letter» along with a «wild *Trinklied für Männerchor*» (Drinking song for male voices) in g minor, composed exclusively for the purpose of «watering the reviewer with the soft and tender». Here, Kinkel refers ironically to characterisations Oswald Lorenz had used to describe Kinkel's Lieder in reviews previously published by the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*. In his review of Kinkel's drinking song, the Schumann explains Kinkel's compositional coup as a sign of the time and finally refers back to Kinkel's earlier Lieder publications and their «musical and, indeed, feminine» nature. Using as a starting point Kinkel's original letter to Schumann and based on contemporary reviews of her early Lieder compositions, this paper will analyse Johanna Kinkel's *Trinklied für Männerchor* examining the gendered context within which it was composed and reviewed. By comparing compositional characteristics of Kinkel's drinking song with a selection of her earlier settings, this paper will outline how nineteenth-century music criticism may have influenced Kinkel's compositional style and will finally explore the reception of Kinkel's later Lieder publications.

**Matthieu Cailliez (Université Pierre-Mandès-France, Grenoble)**

### **Inventaire et étude synthétique des critiques musicales (1834-1856) du compositeur Adolphe Adam**

La plupart des articles biographiques consacrés à Adolphe Adam (1803-1856) notent que le compositeur des opéras-comiques *Le Chalet* et *Le Postillon de Lonjumeau*, et du ballet *Giselle*, se dédie à la critique musicale à partir de 1848, après avoir perdu sa fortune dans la tentative avortée d'instaurer un nouveau théâtre lyrique à Paris, l'Opéra-National. Cette affirmation mérite d'être relativisée. S'il est vrai qu'Adam collabore activement entre 1848 et 1856 avec deux quotidiens, *Le Constitutionnel*, puis *L'Assemblée Nationale*, il est loin d'être un novice en matière de critique musicale, ayant fait partie de la liste officielle des rédacteurs de la *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* dans les années 1830, puis de *La France musicale* dans les années 1840. Notre inventaire inédit des critiques musicales d'Adam nous a permis de relever une soixantaine d'articles publiés sous la monarchie de Juillet dans la *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, *La France musicale* et *Le Charivari*, suivis de 48 articles publiés dans *Le Constitutionnel* du 2 mai 1848 au 7 mars 1852, et de 169 articles publiés dans *L'Assemblée Nationale* du 17 juillet 1849 au 29 avril 1856. Ces articles contiennent de très nombreux comptes rendus de l'activité des principaux théâtres lyriques parisiens, l'Opéra, l'Opéra-Comique, le Théâtre-Italien et le Théâtre-Lyrique, ainsi qu'une multitude de comptes rendus de concerts publics et privés, de considérations sur le Conservatoire de Paris, la musique religieuse, l'édition musicale, la facture instrumentale, etc. Le point de vue d'Adam est celui d'un compositeur de théâtre lyrique à succès, bienveillant envers ses collègues et souvent « embarrassé » de devoir critiquer les représentations de ses propres ouvrages. Moins tranchantes et polémiques que celles de Berlioz, ses critiques musicales nous offrent cependant le point de vue averti de l'un des acteurs majeurs de la vie musicale parisienne au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle.

**Mariana Calado (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)**

## **An Approach to Music Criticism in Portugal in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century**

In Portugal, the establishment of a public opinion was only possible after the definitive instauration of the liberal regime, which would happen at the second half of the nineteenth century, at queen Maria's II reign (between 1834 and 1853). The establishment of a public opinion and the abolishment of censorship made way to the spread of the press. In consequence there were more people reading newspapers and more readers were interested in knowing about the artistic life. Some newspapers, such as *A Revolução de Setembro* (1840), began to include articles about music with pedagogical and informative purposes. We also assist to the birth of specialized press, dedicated to theatrical subjects but with some pages about musical activity, like *A Sentinella do Palco: semanário theatral* (1840), *Revista Universal Lisbonense* (1841) and *O Trovador: jornal musical, litterario e de variedades* (1855). This last one was one of the first periodicals where we can find articles that can be defined as music criticism (more than give information about the music, is made a review of the music interpretation or of the performance). Only years later do we find the launching of specialized music periodicals that last more than a few numbers: one of the first was *Amphion* (1884), followed by *A arte musical* (1899) a decade later. It's also at the last years of the nineteenth century that the figure of the composer-critic becomes more common. In this paper, I pretend to present some ideas about the first attempts of music criticism in Portugal by questioning who writes music criticism and how it was established. In particular I will focus at the contents and contributors of *O Trovador: jornal musical, litterario e de variedades*.

**Žarko Cvejić (Singidunum University in Belgrade)**

## **Demons, Charlatans, and Fallen Angels of Music: Subjectivity in Early Nineteenth-Century Philosophy and the Reception of Virtuosity in Contemporary Music Criticism**

A major feature of nineteenth-century music criticism was its outright hostility toward virtuosity and virtuosī. Several musicologists and other scholars have sought to explain this by referring to changes in music aesthetics around 1800 – the imposition of the work concept in music and the re-conceptualisation of music as text or *poiesis*, away from practice or *praxis*. This paper offers another interpretation of the hostility to virtuosity in nineteenth-century music criticism, by reference to changes in the conception of subjectivity in German early Romantic philosophy. As argued by Andrew Bowie, these German thinkers increasingly rejected the free, rational subject of the Enlightenment and therefore sought refuge in the new notion of music, re-conceptualised as autonomous and thus serving as a utopian model of a free human subjectivity. A thorough review of Europe's leading music periodicals shows that their editors and leading critics, such as Schumann and Fétis, were well acquainted with contemporary philosophy and rejected virtuosity precisely because they deemed it incompatible with the new notion of music as disembodied, rational, and autonomous *poiesis* and, by extension, with the utopian model of human subjectivity this new notion of music was meant to embody. For, virtuosity is music *qua* practice *par excellence*, threatening to overshadow music *qua* text and thereby reveal even this utopian model of freedom as untenable. Only such a reading renders this onslaught on virtuosity in nineteenth-century music criticism, which sometimes reached truly bizarre proportions, easier to understand.

**Thomas Delpout (University of Amsterdam)**

**Semantic Pallets of Music Criticism: Adapting Musical Ideologies in Dutch Concert Reviews in *Caecilia* (1844-1917)**

This paper investigates the semantic pallets of music criticism in the Dutch journal *Caecilia: Algemeen Muzikaal Tijdschrift van Nederland* (1844-1917). Historians and musicologists have shown that the idea of 'classical music' – as a serious, canonised, even sacralised, art form – gradually started regulating thought and practice in nineteenth-century musical life. However, ideological groups formulated contrasting ideas regarding the meaning of music, while prominent European music critics developed diverging vocabularies to communicate these ideas. By investigating the critical vocabularies in concert reviews published in *Caecilia* from the main Dutch cultural cities – Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and Utrecht – this paper aims to show how transformations in nineteenth-century musical discourse were adapted in the reviewing practices of musical journalists and, as such, disseminated in a broad societal context. The research for this paper is part of a Digital Humanities project started in January 2015. Inspired by experimental text mining studies, I am developing a database for the journal – which is digitised by the Dutch Royal Library – and digital techniques for analysing nineteenth-century musical discourse. My first step is to analyse the focus of the journal's critics, as well as their shifts in cultural orientation over time, such as certain genres and musical styles, specific composers, performers such as conductors and orchestras, and concert locations in the Dutch cultural centres. Secondly, by curating these topics and identifying semantic associations, I investigate the critical vocabulary of the concert reviewers indicating musical ideologies and values. To interpret these Dutch critical pallets, I use the writings of influential international music critics – such as Fétis, Schumann, Liszt, Brendel and Hanslick – as points of reference whose writings were not only often referred to, but also regularly translated and published in *Caecilia*.

**Diana Díaz González (Universidad de Oviedo)**

**New Directions in Spanish Music Criticism in the Nineteenth-Century: The Leadership of Manuel Manrique de Lara in the Press**

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century a young group of critics prevailed in the press of the capital city of Spain. This group of critics marked a new direction in music criticism, facing the turn of the century. These critics, who were very active in the Madrilenian press, reviewed the most important aesthetic debates of music criticism of the nineteenth-century in Spain. In this paper I will study their main lines of thought, and how they influenced the development of musical institutions of their time. Furthermore, I will demonstrate how prevailed, within this group, the composer and critic Manuel Manrique de Lara (Cartagena, Spain, 1863 – Saint Blasien, Germany, 1929). Thus, I have studied how Manrique de Lara's musical ideas can be inserted into the most important philosophical and aesthetic movements of the second half of the nineteenth-century Spanish music criticism. In this sense, we consider how the critical work of Manrique de Lara joined the aesthetic movement called *krasoinstitucionism*. Indeed, the way in which he adapted these aesthetic principles to its proposal, to develop the basis of his critical thought. From this point, one of the main objectives of this paper is to define Manrique de Lara's idea of musical *modernity*, which was strongly influenced by Wagner, in a time when critics debated about the future of Spanish music. This study complements our conclusions from the analysis of Manrique de Lara's musical work, to check the correspondence between the ideas of his writings and his scores. This is a return trip, from criticism to musical work, which allows us to understand, finally, Manrique de Lara's proposal for the creation of a Spanish musical theater, with a nationalist character of literary influence, and a universal musical vocation.

**Antonella D'Ovidio – Elena Oliva (Università di Firenze)**

### **Modi e temi della critica musicale sui quotidiani italiani nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento [Modes and Themes in the Music Criticism of Italian Newspapers in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century]**

The history of nineteenth-century Italian music criticism was rebuilt by drawing in large part on the articles and contributions that appeared in specialized music magazines. So far, in this reconstruction, there has been little room for the critical thinking expressed in the daily press. However, it is acquiring growing weight in the Italian cultural debate and orientation of taste, especially in regard to the decades of 1850-1880. During this period, newspaper music critics conquered new dedicated spaces (the 'Appendix', characterized by the piece at the bottom of the front page) and had a new language that – mediating between the modes of expression typical of the news and in-depth critical analysis – was remodelled based on the needs of a wider audience and an omnivorous reader. In this context we find such imposing professional critics as Francesco D'Arcais, Girolamo Alessandro Biaggi, Filippo Filippi, who, armed with a solid musical training, made a decisive contribution to the emancipation of music criticism in the newspapers with respect to the reporting style that had characterized the daily press of the early nineteenth century. This research will examine a selection of articles published in *L'Opinione* (D'Arcais) and *La Nazione* (Biaggi), with the aim of reconstructing specific features of music criticism in the newspapers (themes, language, mode of relationship with the reader). These items, analyzed in the light of some key themes of nineteenth-century music criticism – Italian opera in relation to work outside of Italy, the contribution of foreign composers, the relationship with the music of the past, etc.) – make it possible to draw a sharper profile of the figure of 'appendicista' called to contend not only with the purely aesthetic aspects of the musical fact, as happens in specialized magazines, but to frame this in the sphere of current events and political reporting, as required by the very nature of the newspaper. This research falls under the Program of national scientific interest *ArtMus – Articoli musicali nei quotidiani fiorentini dell'Ottocento: una banca dati* (Prin 2012) that, nationally coordinated by Mila De Santis of the University of Florence, is building a database with indexing engines, full-text research, abstracts and full views of the image with the aim of offering a mapping of the music news and critical articles that appeared in the Italian nineteenth-century newspapers.

**Marc Ernesti (University of Sheffield)**

### **1813, Vienna, and a Re-print of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*: Notes on Intertextuality in German Music Media around 1800**

The period from around 1770-1825 marks a discourse about the structural functions of musical works that was as vibrant as its echo proved long-lasting, in the musical canon of 'masterworks' still studied to the present day. Moreover, it is a discourse that found its forum in the new phenomenon the mass media, and its voice, in the musical magazines of the time. In this process, music-theoretical debate did assume a central role in negotiating cultural identity and a decidedly 'German' canon, against the perceived supremacy of foreign music. The paper, therefore, seeks to trace theoretical discourse across two German-language publications, *AmZ* and *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. Focusing on one particular year in the Napoleonic period only, the paper aims to connect the political thrust inherent in what was an ideologically charged concept of the repertoire with how it played a major part in the culture-led concept of *Nationalgesinnung* (Golo Mann). Informed by my doctoral research on Analysis as a concept in musical discourse around 1800, with a focus on the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, the paper



takes 1813 as a microcosm of musical debate. Connecting themes and *topoi* in *AMZ* xv (1813) and the short-lived *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, it identifies parallels between the two publications and, in doing so, will propose intertextuality as a key to understanding editorial strategies in the early nineteenth century.

**Séverine Féron (Université de Bourgogne)**

**Castil-Blaze (1784-1857), fondateur de la critique musicale en France : Bilan d'une carrière et perspectives**

François Henri Joseph Blaze dit Castil-Blaze (1784-1857) est une figure incontournable de la vie musicale française de la Restauration au Second Empire et reste, aux côtés de Berlioz et de Fétis, l'un des acteurs et des témoins les plus importants de la France romantique. Au cœur de ses activités, la critique musicale occupe une place incontournable. Ses nombreuses chroniques écrites sur près de quarante ans, de décembre 1820, année où il s'impose comme le fondateur de la critique musicale en France au *Journal des Débats*, à l'une de ses dernières contributions en 1856 à la *Revue de musique sacrée ancienne et moderne*, n'ont pas encore fait l'objet d'un examen systématique. Plusieurs pistes de réflexion alimenteront donc ce premier travail de synthèse : la mise en perspective de ses chroniques avec ses projets réformateurs de la vie musicale française ; l'unité de son propos à travers la diversité des outils de presse convoqués ; l'évolution de ses prises de position et de son esthétique ; la professionnalisation du métier de chroniqueur musical par la mise en place d'un vocabulaire, d'un style et d'une méthode d'approche originale ; la volonté d'éduquer le public amateur en lui offrant des outils d'analyse spécifiques ; une vision personnelle, musicale, administrative, sociétale et esthétique de son propos par l'analyse des contenus et des sujets abordés ; ses chroniques comme reflet de ses activités multiples par la technique du réemploi (ponction d'un article d'une revue à une autre, d'un article à un ouvrage historiographique), par la valorisation 'publicitaire' de ses adaptations d'opéras ou de ses parodies, etc. Il convient assurément aujourd'hui de réévaluer son rôle de 'passeur' dans le paysage musical français, de synthétiser ses prises de positions esthétiques et de dégager, ce faisant, les grandes tendances de l'évolution du goût musical à travers son regard de chroniqueur.

**Demosthenes Fistouris (Athens, Greece)**

**The Italian Musical Criticism of the Late Nineteenth Century and the Rivalry of the Dipole Ricordi-Sonzogno Foreshadowed the Case of Spyros Samaras – From the Apotheosis of *Flora Mirabilis* to the Condemnation of *Lionella* and again to the Great Successful Score of *La Martire***

The composer of the official anthem of the Olympic Games, Spyros Samaras (1861-1917) undoubtedly acclaimed an international full career as an opera composer. Only in his early twenties, Samaras with its first Nordic romantic legend *Flora mirabilis* conquered the Carcano audience in Milan on 16 May 1886 with 20 calls on stage. Then the opera was toured all around the world with great success and was repeated at La Scala in 1887. Despite the good reception by the audience and the critics, his second exotic opera *Medgé* premiered on 11 December 1888 at the Teatro Costanzi of Rome, it was never restaged on any opera-house. In a highly troublesome atmosphere for the lyrical season managed by Sonzogno due to his rivalry with Ricordi, Samaras faced his biggest fiasco with his *Lionella* on 4 April 1891 at La Scala. However, following the veristic vogues of *Cavalleria Rusticana*, Samaras hurried through his next opera *La Martire* in 30 days, which premiered on 23 May 1894 in Teatro Mercadante of Naples, scoring well in the opera-market and later on around Europe and Egypt. This paper tries to follow the aesthetics that destined the creative course of

'*giovane scuola*' towards the end of the nineteenth century. The paper also tries to evaluate on the one hand the maturity and the superficiality on behalf of the public and on the other hand the directed aesthetic politics of critics who strongly influenced the opera-market in which Samaras tried to launch his operas exclusively through the Casa Musicale Sonzogno.

**Marita Fornaro Bordolli (Universidad de la República, Uruguay)**

**Local Tensions and European Bonds: The Role of *Montevideo Músical* and *La Gaceta Músical* in Montevideo's Musical Life of the Late Nineteenth Century**

Specialized music magazines have a key role in Uruguay during the late nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth century. *Montevideo Músical* and *La Gaceta Músical* arise in a context of the so called 'the Uruguay of the Modernization', where the country asserted itself as cattle nation, reached almost one million inhabitants, and witnessed the birth and consolidation of the middle class. Its intellectual elite produced the foundations of national artistic development in its various expressions: historical novel, literature of patriotic and gaucho inspiration, also patriotic and traditionalist painting, musical creation with a nationalist peasant inspiration. In a country born in the second decade of the nineteenth century, elites seek to assert identity elements, while European immigrants – Uruguay stands out for its host-country policies – and the first generations of their descendants were part, from different socioeconomic levels, of that creation of a sense of belonging: musically, creating conservatories, orchestras, music newspapers, and being avid consumers of opera and zarzuela. Thus, the magazine *Montevideo Músical* was created and directed by Francisco Sambucetti, member of a family of musicians of Genoese origin. His brother Luis was the founder of Instituto Verdi, one of the most important institutions regarding the gestation of Uruguayan composers and music teachers for decades. These institute and magazine are closely linked. *Montevideo Músical* reports European, regional and local news; European and Uruguayan critical articles are published; aesthetic positions are adopted, like one that favored opera and rejected zarzuela; there was advertising of stores that sold instruments and sheet music, and offers from teachers of numerous instruments. And the educational activity of the Instituto Verdi was informed, in controversy – not always hidden – with the Conservatory 'La Lira', represented by composer Leon Ribeiro, first Uruguayan symphonist, who writes for *La Gaceta Músical*. In both publications we can find the vision of the expert, but with language directed at a general audience. These magazines are key players in the founding project of the modern country, especially due to their representation of the tension between the desire to belong to the international cosmopolitan world and, simultaneously, the gestation of musical creation and interpretation with a national stamp.

**Erin Fulton (University of Kentucky, KY)**

**Nativist Rhetoric in the Opera Journalism of Antebellum New York City**

Attempts to establish a permanent home for foreign-language opera in New York City spanned from 1825 to 1854. Standard histories ascribe the struggles of early opera houses to prohibitive expense and religious prejudice. These explanations fail to account for the contemporaneous successes of legitimate theater and Anglophone opera. This paper proposes that hostility toward foreign-language opera was tied to disputes over the moral and political impact of European cultural influences – disputes that did not equally affect other forms of theater. Drawing on Jody M. Roy's study of nativist rhetoric and William L. Vance's research on nativism in art criticism, this research demonstrates how the critical press reinforced perceptions of opera as a foreign product. Critics recurrently mention three features targeted by nativists:

autocracy, Catholicism, and extravagance. By stressing connections between opera and European royalty, and by depicting performers as autocrats, journalists upheld the reputation of opera as a courtly entertainment inappropriate for citizens of a republic. Catholic performers and composers were perceived as a threat to Protestant hegemony, an anxiety that also prompted discussion of the personal virtue of singers. Indeed, some critics explicitly connect Catholicism and opera, stressing ritualism in opera or opera in Catholic ritual. Emphasis on the extravagance of opera implied incompatibility with frugality, cultivated as a distinctively American virtue. Finally, the repeated financial distress of early opera companies raised questions regarding whether it could be sustained without governmental support. Drawing on New-York-based publications of varying political, religious, and cultural perspectives, this research demonstrates the pervasiveness of nativism in antebellum opera journalism. Nativist rhetoric is evident even in publications consistently supportive of opera, lacking ties to nativist political parties, and featuring immigrant critics. Indeed, consistent association of opera and European cultural power was one of the few judgments on which antebellum New York critics could agree.

**Yaël Hêche (Orchestre de Chambre de Lausanne)**

**«Ich sah venezianische Dolche und Spione des Rates der Zehn, ich atmete die üppige Luft Zyperns». Richard Wagner critique musical à Paris et *La Reine de Chypre* de Fromental Halévy**

Richard Wagner arriva à Paris en 1839 dans l'espoir de suivre la voie du grand opéra historique et de son principal représentant Giacomo Meyerbeer. À défaut de rencontrer le succès dans la métropole, il y exerça une activité journalistique régulière et livra plus de vingt articles pour des journaux aussi bien français qu'allemands. La création le 22 décembre 1841 de *La Reine de Chypre*, grand opéra en cinq actes de Fromental Halévy, fournit au compositeur l'occasion d'écrire ses dernières lignes depuis la capitale française, avec deux textes publiés respectivement dans la *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris* ainsi que dans l'*Abendzeitung* de Dresde. *La Reine de Chypre* permet à Wagner de dresser un long portrait critique de l'art lyrique français au travers d'une appréciation dans les formes de l'ouvrage d'Halévy. Ses sentiments s'expriment de manière parfois bien différente selon qu'il s'adresse au lectorat français ou allemand. Dans tous les cas cependant, ses propos sont riches d'enseignement sur son attitude vis à vis du grand opéra historique et annoncent déjà quelques-unes de ses positions esthétiques futures. Ils montrent un musicien pour qui l'opéra historique n'est plus le modèle à suivre. Cette communication se propose de mettre en lumière un compositeur en train de trouver sa propre voie. Wagner s'apprête alors à quitter Paris pour aller faire créer à Dresde son propre grand opéra, *Rienzi*. Il a déjà composé *Der fliegende Holländer*, mais travaille encore sur le scénario de *Die Sarazenen*, projet d'opéra historique en cinq actes qui, à plusieurs égards, révèle une étonnante proximité avec *La Reine de Chypre*. C'est là l'occasion de montrer que la critique musicale permit à Wagner de formuler à cette époque quelques postulats essentiels d'une esthétique qui demeurerait toutefois encore ambivalente vis-à-vis de l'art lyrique français.

**David Hurwitz (ClassicsToday.com)**

**Vibrato in the Classical Orchestra: A Nineteenth Century Case Study**

The current orthodoxy in the period performance movement holds that vibrato was largely unknown in orchestras of the classical period (roughly 1750-1830), and often well beyond. Critics and scholars in the nineteenth century, however, took a different view. English writer Ebenezer Prout for example, in his 1898 study of the orchestra, identified specific vibrato

notation in a middle-period Haydn symphony, contrasting late nineteenth-century orchestral vibrato performance practice with that of Haydn's day. Curiously however, examination of the critical edition of this same symphony shows neither the relevant notation, nor any other obvious indication of vibrato's presence. Prout, as it turns out, was working from an early nineteenth-century score. This confronts the modern scholar with a puzzle: How did the vibrato that Prout describes get there? Was he correct in drawing the comparison at all? What does Prout's and Haydn's original notation really mean? How might vibrato have been used in the classical orchestra, and how certain can we be of its presence generally? What are the implications for later performance practice? Using Prout as a point of departure, this paper examines what nineteenth-century critics and commentators have to say about orchestral vibrato both in their own and in the classical eras, exploring its origins and application through survey of a broad range of primary sources: reviews, memoirs, and writings on musical aesthetics. In the process, this discussion reveals a rich vocabulary of notational devices and conventions available to composers in both periods, serving notice to orchestral musicians that vibrato was an important and frequently used expressive and timbral enhancement in ensemble playing.

**Sylvia Kahan (The Graduate Center and College of Staten Island, City University of New York)**

**Music Reporting of Paris's 1878 Exposition Universelle: Twenty-two Articles by Émile-Mathieu de Monter for the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris***

The 1878 Exposition Universelle brought to the Champs de Mars an unprecedented panoply of international musical activity. Instrument exhibitions and demonstrations, concerts, and other sonic events emanating from every corner of the globe could be seen and heard on a daily basis. The Paris music press gave widespread coverage to the sonic goings-on at the Fair. Of particular interest are the twenty-two articles written by noted musicologist and journalist Émile-Mathieu de Monter for the *Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*. Monter (1835-1880) was a broad-minded and forward-thinker writer about music. He advocated for the popularization of early sacred music and advocated for a turning-away from the supremacy of opera (and the frivolity of operetta) in French musical life and towards a new symphonic school. His important body of work includes a study of the life and works of Hector Berlioz as well as a biography of Louis Lambillotte (1796-1855), a Belgian Jesuit and composer who was active in the restoration of Gregorian chant. I propose to examine trends and predilections in Monter's writings, especially his investigations into Orientalist music, his promotion of the 'Russian concerts' presented by Nikolay Rubinstein, and his presentations of new technologies brought to the manufacturing of musical instruments. Of special interest is Monter's ability to explain and valorize non-Western music: his reports on music from Austria to Argentina, from Annam [Vietnam] to Andalusia gave him a special understanding of French music's place within a broad context of 'world music' and provided readers with an unprecedented overview of intercultural relationships in the sonic universe.

**Stephanie Klauk (Universität des Saarlandes)**

**La musica di Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart negli scritti di Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann**

Mentre l'opera lirica si diffondeva dall'Italia in tutta Europa, la Germania rimase per lungo tempo una nazione musicale 'attardata'. Soltanto nella musica strumentale la Germania riuscì, tra la fine del Settecento e i primi anni dell'Ottocento, a creare una propria tradizione che rapidamente

si collegò ai tre nomi della triade classica: Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart e Ludwig van Beethoven. Uno tra i primi a individuare questa triade e a definire la musica (strumentale) come la più romantica delle arti fu nel 1810 Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann, nella sua celebre recensione della Quinta sinfonia di Beethoven apparsa sull'*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* di Lipsia. Sulla scia delle guerre d'indipendenza e dell'aspirazione della Germania a costituirsi quale stato unitario, Hoffmann ambiva a diffondere una musica strumentale autenticamente tedesca, mettendo in evidenza il ruolo decisivo dei 'classici' Haydn, Mozart e Beethoven. Dal momento che questa idea di 'triade classica' si basava in primo luogo sulle ambizioni politiche e culturali di Hoffmann, essa non appare sempre conforme alla sua estetica musicale. È soprattutto la figura di Mozart che non si adattava (e non si adatta nemmeno oggi) completamente al ruolo di intermediario fra Haydn e Beethoven. Nella mia presentazione vorrei sottolineare come la musica di Mozart ricevesse giudizi diversi già a cavallo tra Sette e Ottocento. Partendo dalla recensione di Hoffmann sulla Quinta sinfonia di Beethoven saranno analizzate anche recensioni sia sue che di altri apparse nell'*Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* di Lipsia, le quali attestano come il concetto di 'triade classica' sia una costruzione storica e non, invece, un mero risultato storiografico.

**Rainer Kleinertz (Universität des Saarlandes)**

**Richard Wagner's Open Letter *Über Franz Liszt's Symphonische Dichtungen* in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* (1857)**

Richard Wagner's letter *Über Franz Liszt's Symphonische Dichtungen*, published 1857 in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, has usually been interpreted as a mere courtesy for his friend and sponsor. Actually, this essay seems to be not only an interesting text on Wagner's view of instrumental music, but also one of the most important documents for the decisive step from the *Ring* tetralogy to *Tristan und Isolde*. During Liszt's sojourn in Zurich and in a common concert at St. Gallen in November 1856, Wagner became acquainted with Liszt's symphonic poems. In December 1856 he wrote down the first sketches for *Tristan*, «for the time being music without words», as Wagner noted. In April he published his essay on Franz Liszt's symphonic poems in form of an open letter to Marie von Sayn-Wittgenstein. In August 1857 Wagner abandoned the composition of the *Ring* after the second act of *Siegfried* and started work on *Tristan und Isolde*. This has often been motivated with financial and biographical reasons. A closer look at the letter on Franz Liszt's symphonic poems, however, reveals a fundamental change in Wagner's aesthetics. For Wagner, Liszt's symphonic poems replaced the traditional sonata form with a new conception of form. His open letter reflects a fundamental change in his aesthetics after *Oper und Drama* and prepared ground for the more symphonic conception of the *Tristan* score, where the traces of Liszt's new form concepts can be demonstrated.

**Karolina Kolinek-Siechowicz (University of Warsaw)**

**Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism as the Source of Narrative Thinking about Music**

«Our experience of musical works is, of course, conditioned by verbal codes, by literary explanations, so that any attempt to separate writing about music from *music itself* is futile, because interpretive writing on a given work becomes in some sense *part* of that work as it travels through history». In this words Carolyn Abbate in her book *Unsung Voices* describes inseparability of discourse about music and music's reception. This hermeneutic approach will be the starting point of my interpretation of nineteenth-century music criticism as the source of narrative thinking about music which is still present in the mode of perception and writing about music. I would like to show the coincidence of the birth of modern music criticism and the beginning

of narrative way of listening to music. This turn, influenced by romantic literature and the inception of new hybrid forms such as programme music and nineteenth-century musical drama, impacted the style of describing pieces of absolute music both according to the score itself and the expression of the performance. Narrative thinking about music has also much in common with change of shaping the musical time which Berger describes as the shift from «Bach's cycle» to «Mozart's arrow». My aim is to demonstrate that contemporary theories such as plot archetype (Newcomb) or persona in music (Levinson) are deeply rooted in the style of nineteenth-century music critics and that the way of listening they offer is formed by comprehending music as the narrative even if there are no signs of any kind of extra-musical 'programme'. How important was (and still is) this issue may be confirmed by difficulties in creating another discourse for twentieth and twenty-first-century music which has broken up with narrative shaping of the musical time. As Klein and Reyland show, narrative is applicable not only to tonal music and since 1900 we can still use this category.

**Walter Kreyszig (University of Saskatchewan / University of Vienna)**

**Tracking the Compositional Process of Johann Sebastian Bach's *Zwölf Choräle* in the Birnstiel Edition of 1765: Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler's *Verbesserungen* and *Reduktionen* and Carl Maria von Weber's *Einleitung* and *Zergliederung* in the Context of Nineteenth-Century Harmonic Practices in Germany**

In 1800, Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler (1749-1814) had completed his Choral-System (Copenhagen, 1800), an instructor's manual on the proper harmonization of chorales, which would put in motion an improvement of the deplorable state concerning the performance of chorales as well as effectively provide a path for the renewal of the chorale in the sense of simple congregational singing. In the same year, he began with a consideration of Johann Sebastian Bach's chorale harmonizations, focusing on six chorales, each representing one of the six church modes, with Vogler's efforts directed towards the preservation of the pure church style. Ten years later, in 1810, Vogler made a second attempt in revising Bach's harmonization of chorales; he prepared a revision of the *Zwölf Choräle* von Sebastian Bach – copied from Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's collection of Johann Sebastian Bach's chorales, which had been published by Birnstiel in 1765. The consideration of the *Zwölf Choräle* von Johann Sebastian Bach (Leipzig, 1810) features a collaboration between Vogler, who devotes his attention to the *Verbesserungen* (corrections) and *Reduktionen* (reductions) and his student Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826), who provides the *Einleitung* (introduction) and the *Zergliederung* (analytic dissection) in the form of a critical commentary to the edition. In fact, what we witness here, is a conscious attempt to reveal the close interconnection between the two branches of music, that is, *musica theoretica* and *musica practica*, as poignantly summarized in the preface to his *Kuhrpfälzische Tonschule* (Mannheim, 1778) Here, Vogler indeed echoes Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg's notion concerning the relationship between *theoreticus* and *practicus*, which in turn is borne out in the examination of Vogler's *Verbesserungen*, with the *Zwölf Choräle* von Sebastian Bach subjected to a strict scheme of analysis, comprising *Interval- und Akkordstruktur* (interval and chord structure), *Stimmführung* (voice leading), *Schlussfälle* (cadences), *Ausweichungen* (modulations), *Quotität der Klänge* (chord analysis), *Form, Rhythmus* (rhythm) and *Beziehung von Text und Musik* (relationship of text and music). In the case of the Bach chorales, Vogler's Latin note on the title page capturing the essence of his *Verbesserungen*, that is, «to uncover errors is the minimum; the noblest task is to free the composition from errors, and to fulfill the task that has been begun», provides a clear justification for this endeavour – one which reveals a distinct shift from the mid-eighteenth

century tradition of the broad *Rezensionen* (reviews) of repertoires to the *Zergliederungen* of Weber and the *Verbesserungen* of Vogler.

**Ana Maria Liberal (Universidade Nova de Lisboa)**

**«Mr. Strauss Compositions Can Be very Rich and Invaluable but... They Stun Me!» – Music Criticism in Porto in the Belle Époque**

In 1908 and 1910 three foreign Orchestras performed in Porto: the Berlin Philharmonic, the Munich Tonkünstler and the Madrid Symphonic. Richard Strauss, Joseph Lassalle and Enrique Fernández-Arbós, respectively, were the conductors. The local press published, almost on a daily basis, all the news related with the orchestras and reviewed all the concerts. Specialist music periodicals such as *A Arte Musical*, based in Lisbon, also printed articles written by Porto critics Bernardo Moreira de Sá and Ernesto Maia. From all the composers performed, Richard Strauss was the one who received the most hostile reception, mainly from the non-specialist press. On the contrary, Wagner and Beethoven were among the most acclaimed. Performance issues like sonority, cohesiveness and technical skills of each one of the three orchestras were analysed by the critics. Aesthetic and conceptual differences between Fernández-Arbós and Lassalle were also pointed out on Wagner and Tchaikovsky performances. Based on the local press reports as well as the chronicles published in the Portuguese musical newspapers, the present paper aims to study the reception of the Berlin Philharmonic, the Munich Tonkünstler and the Madrid Symphonic Orchestras focusing on their performance, the repertoire and the quality of their conductors.

**Sanja Majer-Bobetko (Croatian Academy of Science and Arts)**

**Croatian Music Criticism in the Nineteenth Century. The Present State of Research with Special Emphasis on Criticism Written in Croatian**

The research of Croatian music criticism of the nineteenth century is the work in progress. To the best of our knowledge it was written in Croatian, German, Italian and possibly in Hungarian. The first one was written in German by an anonymous author and published in 1826 in the literary and entertainment magazine *Luna*. Among those who wrote in Italian the most prominent was Giovanni Salghetti Drioli (1817-1868). A forum for the Croatian language music criticism was opened in *Novine Horvatzke*, i.e. in its literary supplement *Danica* in 1835. But those articles were mere journalistic reports. Ambitious overviews began to appear after 1839, mainly in the contributions of a poet and writer Dimitrija Demeter (1811-1872), but the first music criticism in Croatian in the true sense of the word is generally considered a text by another poet Stanko Vraz (1810-1851), who wrote about a performance of the first Croatian national opera *Ljubav i zloba* (Love and Malice) by Vatroslav Lisinski (1819-1854) from 1846. Considering judgement criteria that criticism proved to become a model for the majority of the nineteenth-century Croatian music criticism, at least for that written in Croatian. Two judgement criteria are clearly expressed within it: national and artistic. In the second half of the century the founder of Croatian ethnomusicology and music historiography Franjo Ksaver Kuhač (1834-1911) and a prominent representative of Croatian literary realism Vjenceslav Novak (1859-1905), who was a professional music teacher, started the process of professionalization in the field of music criticism written in Croatian. At the turn of the century emerged a strong personality of a prominent poet and writer Antun Gustav Matoš (1873-1914), who also dealt with music criticism between 1895 and 1913, and who brought to Croatian musical and culturological space an impressionist criticism.

**Nicola Montenz (Università Cattolica, Milan)**

**Nel laboratorio del genio: la produzione critica del giovane Wagner**

L'ingresso di Richard Wagner nel mondo della musica, negli anni '30 dell'Ottocento, fu marcato da un prodigioso 'furore analitico', le cui ricadute furono molteplici: sul piano compositivo, su quello della prassi direttoriale e su quello della critica militante, forse il più fecondo in relazione agli sviluppi della sua carriera artistica. Il compositore iniziò infatti in quegli anni un periodo di riflessione sulla musica che, toccando il punto più alto all'epoca del suo primo soggiorno parigino, segnò le tappe di un percorso di consapevolezza professionale pressoché ineguagliato nel panorama del romanticismo musicale europeo. Raccolte principalmente in forma di articoli per riviste e di novelle, le sue considerazioni sul divenire della musica tedesca, italiana e francese costituiscono un patrimonio inestimabile di critica appassionata, spesso partigiana, alla cui base si può cogliere il costruirsi di un'idea estetica impellente, i cui esiti estremi non saranno teorici, ma propriamente musicali. La ricerca proposta intende dunque offrire una sintesi critica del materiale esistente, ponendolo in relazione con i frutti teorici successivi (i grandi saggi 'zurighesi', in cui è teorizzato il concetto di *Gesamtkunstwerk*) e quelli della maturità piena, per mostrare come il pensiero di Wagner, pur in costante evoluzione, permanga fundamentalmente coerente con se stesso, e proceda per successivi aggiustamenti alla ricerca di un ideale estetico definitivo, le cui fondamenta essenziali si trovano proprio nelle sue prime esperienze intellettuali. La ricerca, inoltre, si propone di valorizzare in modo adeguato il percorso critico del giovane Wagner, a oggi piuttosto trascurato dalla critica, e in genere liquidato come frutto immaturo di una mente geniale, e pertanto privo di interesse, mentre è proprio nell'analisi serrata delle forme musicali, della struttura tradizionale dell'opera, delle accuse mosse ai cantanti e alla società che li idolatra, che prende forma dialetticamente il percorso che condurrà Wagner a *Tristan und Isolde* e al *Ring des Nibelungen*.

**Kerry Murphy (Melbourne Conservatorium of Music, The University of Melbourne)**

**A Counterpoint of Critical Voices**

The late nineteenth century saw many travelling musicians roaming the furthest most points of the globe, and, as they went, writing enthusiastically about their experiences. Lydia Wevers eloquently describes how writing became almost «an inevitable adjunct of travel... a cultural duty and a framing intellectual habit» (*Country of Writing*, 2002). The writings of travelling musicians provide valuable primary source material that can give a different and at times unexpected perspective on cultural life in colonial environments a long way from Europe. The musicians usually document, at least in part, the musical life and customs in the places they visited as well as their reception, albeit interpreted through a personal prism. Their familiarity with the genre of the travel literature saw them also focusing on the natural landscape, the curiosities of local customs and cultural contrasts. There is a discernible continuum in the literature from empirical realistic description, through to more deliberate attempts at entertainment that were obviously exaggerated. In this paper I explore perceptions of New Zealand in 1892 as described by an intriguing counterpoint of the voices of three travelling musicians – Belgian violinist/composer Ovide Musin's (1854-1929) newspaper articles and published Memoirs, French pianist/composer Henri Kowalski's (1841-1916) criticism for the Francophone newspaper *Le Courier Australien*, and letters by German pianist Eduard Scharf (1857-1928), a member of Musin's party – together with a brief look at the New Zealand press reception of the visitors during this period. The writings of these cosmopolitan travellers provides information that would otherwise be difficult to find about the daily existence and experiences of a travelling musician.



If, in this synchronic case study of 1892 New Zealand, we mesh travellers' accounts with critical reviews of their concerts, an even more complex picture emerges that puts into perspective the travellers' tales at 'the farthest end of the world'.

**Sara Navarro Lalanda (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid)**

### **Musical Criticism around the Royal Conservatory of Music and Declamation Maria Cristina of Madrid (1830-1854)**

Music criticism in Spain first appeared during the second third of the nineteenth century in magazines not related to music, such as *Cartas Españolas* or *El Artista*. In this period the Royal Conservatory of Music and Declamation Maria Cristina was founded by the Italian Princess Maria Cristina of Bourbon-Two Sicilies, whose name was given between 1830 and 1854 to this music institution. In the early years, public concerts were conducted to show the progress of students. The names of many of this learners, and especially female singers, started to appear in the newspapers of the time, information that can be compared to the qualifications and monthly comments from the teachers of this pedagogical institution. At the same time, the teachers of various subjects were exalted or criticized by the newspapers of the time, offering the reader not only the critic of a particular performance but the evolution of the center from a contrasting perspective at the same time, from fervent supporters of the crown, defending the institution for their real parentage, to 'enemies' of the institution. Another added value of this study is the prominent role of students and teachers, mainly from the mid-century, present as collaborators and even directors in newspapers or magazines like *La Iberia Musical y Literaria* (1842-1846). In summary, this study will conduct an analysis of the major newspapers and magazines during the second third of the nineteenth century, who wrote about the Royal Conservatory of Music Maria Cristina of Madrid, aiming at creating a reconstructive vision of the criticism regarding the institution and, at the same time, analyzing the activity which the institution's own students and teachers began to carry out and, that, over the years, favored the creation of the chair of music history in this pedagogical establishment.

**Cecilia Nicolò (Università 'La Sapienza', Rome)**

### **Il caso Verdi fra Lucca e Ricordi: Strategie editoriali attraverso «L'Italia musicale» e la «Gazzetta musicale di Milano»**

Il giornalismo pone spesso velate questioni di libertà di stampa. Questo vale anche per la critica musicale, oggi come ieri: un caso esemplare è la questione creatasi intorno a Giuseppe Verdi fra i due editori Ricordi e Lucca. Entrambi hanno fondato una testata giornalistica a distanza di pochi anni (la *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, edita da Ricordi, è del 1842, *L'Italia musicale* di casa Lucca è del 1847), ed entrambi, proprio in quel periodo, volevano accaparrarsi i diritti di stampa delle opere di Verdi. Dopo una prima fase di accesa concorrenza, Verdi ruppe definitivamente i rapporti con Lucca nel 1848, diventando la punta di diamante di casa Ricordi. Scorrendo gli articoli delle due testate, le vicende private intercorse fra il compositore e gli editori sono spesso palpabili se non palesi. Il punto focale di interesse è il modo in cui vicende contrattuali e strategie editoriali traspaiano o meno sulla carta stampata. Su *L'Italia musicale* gli interessi di casa Lucca risultano particolarmente evidenti, con diffusi elogi dedicati alle opere di Verdi pubblicate dall'editore e stroncature di opere edite dalla concorrenza. Viceversa, la *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* ha cercato di mantenere maggiormente le distanze: pur conservando gelosamente i propri interessi, si è concessa il lusso di pubblicare recensioni negative anche delle opere di cui possedeva i diritti di stampa. D'altronde anche in seguito, quando Verdi era ormai completamente affermato,

i Ricordi hanno ospitato nella loro testata penne celebri in palese contrasto con il predominio del melodramma italiano, e verdiano in particolare. Di fatto, però, la politica giornalistica di casa Ricordi ha avuto la meglio, poiché la sua *Gazzetta* è diventata la testata più longeva del XIX secolo, mentre *L'Italia musicale* ha cessato di esistere dopo dodici anni: evidentemente la maggiore imparzialità del giornale è stata particolarmente apprezzata dal suo pubblico di lettori.

**Nancy November (University of Auckland)**

### **The String Quartet in Early Nineteenth-Century Performance and Criticism**

In the early nineteenth century the string quartet moves out from 'private'/semi-private court and salon settings and on to the stage. This move is heralded and aided by the establishment of a quartet-specific review culture: a public forum is established for debate on the genre, its meanings, and its performers. The increasingly public and professional performance of string quartets provides a talking point that will help with the establishment of music criticism more generally, its performance and compositional ideals in particular. However, contemporary discourse about the string quartet, by its multi-faceted nature, shows the working out not only of musical standards, but also social ideals. On the one hand, the string quartet is understood at this time as the touchstone for a new concept of the musical 'work', whose meaning resides primarily in the composer's score. Critics of the time celebrated those performers who 'stepped back' with selflessness and fidelity to the score, to let the composer 'speak'. An 1810 *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* review by a protestant theologian, for example, disseminated the ideals of string quartet performance as 'selfless' and 'pure'. At the same time, however, the quartet was being understood as a work whose meanings arise as and through the 'selves' of the performers. Reviewers of string quartets tend, for example, to dwell on the first violinist's technique and powers of expression. With its ideals of 'purity' and homogeneity, the string quartet starts to emerge as the supreme genre of chamber music c1800. Yet some of the most popular repertoire of the time, according to critical reception and concert programming, is chamber music for winds and strings. One can look to contemporary ideals other than those for string quartets – 'diversity within unity' and interactive theatricality – as lenses through which this other chamber music was understood and praised.

**Consuelo Pérez Colodrero (Universidad de Granada)**

### **(Re)Discovering Andalusian Cultural Identity: Music criticism through *Galería de músicos andaluces contemporáneos* (Havana, 1927) by Francisco Cuenca Benet (1872-1943)**

Between 1800 and 1925, Andalusia showed several signs of ethnic awareness and started to enunciate its distinguishing identity, thus opposing to the partisan tendency that assimilated the region to Spain as a whole (Domínguez Ortiz, 1983; Moreno Navarro, 1985). Simultaneously, musical critics and historiographers articulated a prolific debate on Andalusian and Spanish identity, which focussed on (a) the literal or quintaessential use of folklore (Torres Clemente, 2012), (b) the validity and independency of the 'Spanish School' (Llano, 2013) or even (c) its picturesqueness and exoticism (Parakilas, 1998; Giménez Rodríguez, 2006). All in all, naming and theorising about the musical characteristics that best represented the Andalusian and/or Spanish cultural identity, that interested both locals and foreigners, was sought. Just at the end of this period, Francisco Cuenca Benet, a nationalist scholar, published *Galería de músicos andaluces contemporáneos* [Contemporary Andalusian Musicians Gallery] (Havana, 1927), the only bio-bibliographic compilation that deals with Andalusian music from the nineteenth and early twentieth century and, thus, a privileged witness of the events formerly described (Pérez Colodrero, 2011). This paper aims to: (1) study the critical judgements on music and musicians,

both of his own and by others, that Francisco Cuenca collects and offers in his book, in order to (2) determine what is his conception about nineteenth-century 'Andalusian' and 'Spanish music' in the context of this aesthetic debate. To that effect, the *Galería de músicos andaluces* has been analysed and the information obtained has been merged with and compared to that resulting from contemporary periodic press and scientific literature on the issue. The conclusions obtained on the basis of this particular case shed light on the complex concepts of 'Andalusian music' and 'Spanish music'.

**Melanie Plesch (The University of Melbourne)**

### ***The Boletín Musical* (1837) and the Reception of Romantic Thought in Nineteenth-Century Buenos Aires**

The *Boletín Musical*, published in Buenos Aires in 1837, is the earliest music periodical to appear in Argentina. Issued weekly between August and December of that year, it included articles about music and a musical supplement featuring works by local composers. Only one extant copy survives, regarded as a bibliographic rarity, in the collection of the Museo de Instrumentos Musicales 'Dr. Emilio Azzarini' (La Plata, Argentina). A facsimile edition was published in 2006, under my supervision. By means of a mixed methodology that combines discourse and music analysis, this paper examines the reception of Romantic thought in early nineteenth-century Buenos Aires as articulated in the double code – textual and musical – of this rare periodical. Among the issues explored are the primacy of passion over reason, and inspiration over technique; the superiority of melody over harmony, and simplicity over complexity; the composer-as-hero; the concept of the 'true musician'; and prescriptive views on what Argentine music should be like. The *Boletín* contains thirty-seven articles of varied length. Almost half of them were written by local authors, the other half are adaptations and translations of European journals such as the *Revue du Theatre* and the *Gazette des salons*. Although most of the articles are unsigned and a substantial number of the compositions only signed with initials, historical research has enabled us to establish that the *Boletín* was a collective enterprise by the group of intellectuals known as the 'generation of 1837'. Born of the local elite around 1810 (i.e. the year of the May Revolution), these young men aimed to fulfil what they envisioned as the 'second stage of the revolution': a revolution fought not with weapons but with ideas. Heavily influenced by contemporary European thought, their voice was heard in a wide variety of genres and disciplines: philosophy, history, literature (drama, novel, poetry), economy and journalism. Their contribution to music and musical thought has been neglected by historians, who tend to regard it as a triviality. This paper demonstrates the importance granted to music by members of the 'generation of 1837' and the consistency of their aesthetic ideals.

**Thomas Radecke (Institute of Musicology Weimar-Jena)**

### **Franz Liszt's General German Music Society (ADMV) and the Rise of Russian Music in Germany towards 1900 in Disputing German and Russian Music Criticism**

On 30 May 1896, in the Leipzig Gewandhaus a special concert took place which was called by the German Musical Press the 'Russian Concert': Within the xxxii<sup>nd</sup> Tonkünstler-Versammlung, the annual meeting of the *Allgemeine deutsche Musikverein*, it was exclusively dedicated to Werke russischer Tonsetzer as Borodin's Second Symphony, an air from A. Rubinstein's *The Children of Heath*, two songs (Goethe, Tolstoj) and an air from *Eugen Onegin* by Tschaikovsky, *Kamarinskaya* and a quartet from *A Life for the Czar* by Glinka and finally Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade*. This concert was a kind of summary of the rising number of Russian compositions performed by the

ADMV (existing 1861-1937), beginning in 1864 with Arnold's overture for Puschkin's drama *Boris Godunov* and his Russian Ballad. Founded in 1861 in Weimar by Franz Brendel, in the first place as a platform for the 'new German school' (Liszt, Wagner, Berlioz) under the aegis of Liszt himself, the preference and commitment of the latter for young Russian composers brought up eventually until 1931 a total number of 73 performances of works of 14 Russians (including those of Germans working in Moscow and Saint Petersburg, foremost at both conservatories) by this society. Within 54 of the 502 concerts, Russian composers were (partly) introduced to the German Audience. Of Rimsky-Korsakov were performed before 1896 also *Sadko* (1876), *Antar* (1881) and the Quartet in F Major (1883). From 1880 respectively 1894 onwards, the Saint Petersburg *Music and Theater Journal* and *Russian Music Journal* reported about the meetings, particularly when thereby Russian works came to performances. There are remarkable instances of direct reaction of Russian music criticism not even on German music criticism (as in *Allgemeine deutsche Musikzeitung* and *Signale für die musikalische Welt*), but also on German local press and, furthermore, on the state of general knowledge about Russian music in Germany before 1900.

**Anne Reese Willén (Uppsala University)**

### **The Institutionalization and Professionalization of the Musical Press in Sweden during the Nineteenth Century**

The processes of institutionalisation and professionalization undergone by the press, the press market, and the music trade during the period 1840-1890 was an important part of the structural transformation of Stockholm's public musical life. The daily press in Sweden flourished from the 1830s onwards and music was introduced through reviews and advertisements, and occasionally through commentaries on the musical life. Before 1850 music journals tended to be one-man ventures and titles did not survive for long. But in the 1850s, two music journals with a number of writers, made great progress in the field covering most of the decade. The establishment of a professional music press was a lengthy process. Nevertheless, the many attempts show the determination among publishers and writers to overcome the difficulties they were facing in creating a strong music press. The development of the music press in Stockholm coincided with the expansion of the music trade. The organisational stability of the music trade in the capital enabled music journals to expand on the bigger market created by the competition between different traders and publishers. The wider market and greater chances for writers to get their work published also led to in-creased specialisation among music journalists. The institutionalisation of music criticism was also characterised by the development of specific forms of writing. Simultaneously, an increasing number of critics had been formally educated in music and critics and publishers were consciously trying to professionalize the field. During the 1850s the aim of the music press was to educate the general public. In order to educate, music critics themselves needed a solid education in music theory and history, and a talent for music. This changed in the mid-1870s in favour of more democratic tendencies.

**Renato Ricco (Università di Salerno)**

### **«La musica non imita e non esprime che lo stesso sentimento in persona»: su alcune riflessioni leopardiane intorno alla musica [«La musica non imita e non esprime che lo stesso sentimento in persona»: On some Leopardi's Thoughts about Music]**

With the exception of a few isolated passages by Foscolo and Manzoni and other minor authors, Leopardi is undoubtedly the most significant author writing on music in the context of nineteenth-century Italian literature. In the *Zibaldone* Leopardi focuses on crucial issues such as

the proper aesthetical matrix of music and some aspects of the phenomenology of the 'sound'. The relationship among Leopardi and music has been already analysed from multiple perspectives: starting from the contacts, testified in the letters, that Leopardi family had with musicians or well with music events (from the column of the Bellini's funeral made by her sister Pauline and published in *La voce della ragione*, father Monaldo's journal, to the requests for new flute music advanced by Giacomo's brother Luigi), several researches have been made, from a strictly poetic perspective, on the musicality of some Leopardi's works (from *A Silvia* to *Il passero solitario*, but also regarding the *Operette* and *I canti*). Moreover, Isabella Innamorati pointed out interesting remarks on Leopardi's theatre in relation to Donizetti's music. The aesthetic-philosophical side of Leopardi's thought requires attention, because it reveals – even with some obvious distinctions – crucial similarities to the German literary milieu. Starting from the assumption – deep difference among Leopardi and Foscolo – that the music «non esprime che lo stesso sentimento in persona» (*Zibaldone* [79-80]) and referring openly to *Corinne* by M<sup>me</sup> de Staël («c'est [la musique] celui qui agit le plus immédiatement sur l'âme»), Leopardi stresses the peculiarities of the musical phenomenon (sudden release as no 'material' intermediation, as if instead of poetry, painting, sculpture) speaking about the immaterial essence of the 'sound', of which the differences with the 'harmony' (*Zibaldone* [155-156]) are also underlined. I will analyse at last the component of «assuefazione», according to which Leopardi determines the difference between 'popular' and 'cultured' music.

**Cristina Scuderi (Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz)**

### **Describing Divas: Verdian Singers and Musical Criticism in the Press of the Post-unitarian Italy**

The Italian musical press offers a lively insight into the performance of the singers that have brought to success many of the works of Giuseppe Verdi, in an atmosphere of patriotic elation following the unification of Italy. From Frezzolini to Anastasi-Pozzoni through Stolz, Waldmann or Pasqua, all the greatest interpreters of Verdi did unleash the critics: from the columns of *La Perseveranza* or *Il Teatro illustrato* some critics tried to grapple with the difficult task of describing a voice, others – on the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* for instance – dwelt on the inevitable comparisons with colleagues of equal repute. Others, on *Il trovatore*, seemed to fall for their darling, as in the case of Romilda Pantaleoni, first Desdemona in Verdi's *Otello*, assimilated by the press to a new Eleonora Duse and praised after a critical article by Carlo D'Ormeville on the *Gazzetta dei teatri*. Critics then subjugated by the interpreters, but also ready to bestow their advice directly from the columns of their magazines or engage with singers in an imaginary speech. Lucid articles, revealing the true essence of an interpretation, work their way through an inevitable mass of wordy texts, encumbered with a technically abstract lexicon (the diva is generically 'unsurpassed', 'highest', 'egregious', 'incomparable' or 'divine'), loaded with bizarre or ambiguous expressions, or a standard terminology from which we get very little today in order to rebuild a voice or a temperament. In the background, the watchful figure of Giuseppe Verdi, demanding and wary in the choice of the protagonists, attentive – whatever nowadays we say – to follow his fortune and that of his interpreters on the press.

**Diau-Long Shen (Freie Universität Berlin)**

### **E.T.A. Hoffmann's Evaluation of Mozart As «Inimitable Creator of the Romantic Opera» in His Music Criticism**

E.T.A. Hoffmann was one of the first artists from the beginning of the nineteenth century to make a significant contribution to the three fields of music, literature and criticism. Steven-Paul

Scher suggests that «a critical observation of Hoffmann as musician, composer and music critic is unthinkable, if we don't take his literary works into consideration». Indeed, Hoffmann wrote his music criticisms into different stories. One of the most famous stories is *The Poet and The Composer* from 1813, in which Hoffmann describes his theoretical idea of the romantic opera. Regarding Hoffmann's conception of romantic opera, most scholars focus only on *The Poet and The Composer* and connect it with his criticism of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, while ignoring another story, *Don Juan*, which he also wrote in 1813. *Don Juan* seems at first glance to be a fantasy based on Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart's opera *Don Giovanni*, but is actually a music/opera criticism revealing Hoffmann's idea of the romantic opera modeled on Mozart. In fact, Hoffmann kept Mozart as a special figure in his idea of the romantic opera, describing Mozart as an «inimitable creator of romantic opera» in his last essay from 1821. This picture of Mozart as «the creator of the romantic opera» is a little-discussed aspect of our understanding of Hoffmann's criticism career. Thus, this paper will examine Hoffmann's evaluation of Mozart in his criticisms and in his criticisms disguised as stories, reconstructing Mozart's romantic image as seen by Hoffmann.

**Mariateresa Storino (Conservatorio 'V. Bellini', Caltanissetta)**

**'Beyond' the Absolute Music: *Die Symphonie nach Beethoven* by Felix Weingartner**

In 1897 Felix Weingartner (1863-1945) published the essay *Die Symphonie nach Beethoven* in the *Neue deutsche Rundschau* with the aim to express his thought about the path of symphonic music after Beethoven's experience and the new way established both by Berlioz's *Symphonie fantastique* and Liszt's symphonic poems. Although it was only 38 pages, the essay had an immediate success to be published by Fischer in Berlin as an autonomous work and in a French translation in 1898. Weingartner's poetic caused a sensation because of his critical point of view towards Brahms' music and of the prejudicial vision of the French symphonists. Hughes Imbert immediately answered to Weingartner with the pamphlet *La Symphonie après Beethoven. Réponse a M. Felix Weingartner* (1900). Because of the violent controversy, the composer wrote an amplified version of the essay clarifying his aesthetic position and explaining his personal solution to the formal debate related to the dichotomy between symphony and symphonic poem. When the writer-composer came back to his text for the fourth time in 1926 (a third version was published in 1909), he maintained the fundamental precepts unaltered but changed substantially his judgement of Brahms' music in order to establish a sharing line with Berlioz. The aim of this paper is to analyze the four versions of *Die Symphonie nach Beethoven* in the light of both the nineteenth aesthetic debate and the musical works composed by Weingartner in the wake of Lisztian influence. The various versions of the book show an apparent evolution of the author's thought due to his parallel musical experience. On the basis of a historical travel in the symphonic music of nineteenth century, Weingartner tries to prove the inherent dramatic quality of music without denying its autonomy and specificity in comparison with the other arts.

**José-Ignacio Suárez (Universidad de Oviedo)**

**The Image as Criticism in the First Wagnerian Reception in Madrid (1876-1914)**

The graphic image was a powerful element used by the Madrid press in the last third of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Periodicals (newspapers and magazines) employed it to highlight the contrasts between the aesthetics of the Wagnerian drama music and Italian opera, a debate intensively treated in Spain over several decades. It also served as a vehicle to humorously criticise the agents involved in the performance of Wagner's works, such as music directors and stage managers, and even to present the conflicts of interest between the two main

Madrid orchestras: Sociedad de Conciertos (Concert Society) and Unión Artístico-Musical (Artistic-Musical Union). In addition, cartoons and caricatures dealt with topics such as *Die Walküre* and *Götterdämmerung*, sometimes treated as true visual parodies of the original. At the end of the period, the genre came also to reflect the musical preferences and changes in taste of the Madrid audience for new repertoires. Finally, Wagnerian iconography was used to address some ideological aspects, and also and often, to do political satire of the situations experienced in Spain at different times. Our purpose in this paper is to consider these and other issues through a selection of images located in the contemporary Spanish press.

**Hanae Tsukada (Okinawa Prefectural University of Arts)**

**Criticism of Piano Music in the 1830s France and the Changing Aesthetic Perspectives on Instrumental Music: A Study of Music Reviews in *Le Pianiste* and the *Gazette musicale de Paris***

In France, in the first half of the nineteenth century, reviews of newly printed music were published in music magazines. This study explores how the reviews of the piano works presented the readership in the 1830s France with aesthetic perspectives on instrumental music. First, I will examine the criticism of piano music in *Le Pianiste*. Charles Chaulieu, the editor of the magazine, appreciated Dussek's piano music as a model for French piano music, focusing on 'chant' or vocal melody that enables an effective representation of feelings. In *Le Pianiste*, as this criterion was applied to the evaluation of contemporary piano works, some musical elements, such as virtuosic passages or elaborated harmonies, were criticised for spoiling the 'chant'. Next, I will examine the criticism of piano music in the *Gazette musicale de Paris* (henceforth, the *Gazette*), focusing on Chopin. In the *Gazette*, Chopin's piano works, particularly his variations (Opp. 2, 12, 13, & 14), were highly praised as music that could not be understood by 'the masses'. Furthermore, comprehensive research on the criticisms of Chopin in the 1830s France reveals that these reviews were written as rebuttals to the negative opinions printed in *Le Pianiste* regarding Chopin's works. The *Gazette* reviews, which are considered to have been written by the Prussian music critic François Stoepel, emphasised the difference between Chopin's works and the patterned virtuosic variations and praised his works for their coherence. Underlying this appreciation was the reviewer's perspective on instrumental music that musical compositions are manifestations of the composer's spirit. The 1830s France witnessed a conflict regarding criteria for appreciating the musical styles of instrumental works. The reviews of Chopin's variations published in the *Gazette* were significant as they presented readers of that time with a way of understanding instrumental music based on a modern view of 'art music'.

**Chloe Valenti (University of Cambridge)**

**Throats, Ears and Force-Pump Operas: 'Sick' Audiences and Singers in Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera**

In 1847 James William Davison wrote in *The Musical World*: «the disease of the Italian Opera has grown into a head, and Verdi is the fungus to which all the bad humours have flowed from the various parts [...] this fungus must be lopped off, and a wholesome plaster be applied [...] but beware of applying it before the cancerous tumour, in which all the most virulent poisons of the disease are concentrated, be removed». Davison's use of medical imagery illustrates the increasing fascination with opera and health in the nineteenth century: the health of the Italian opera genre itself, and that of the performers and listeners. Verdi was not the only opera composer to inspire medical imagery: *The Examiner* described Bellini's «sick sentiment» as his mind was in a sick body,

reflecting an increasing concern with how the mental and physical health of composers affected their music. However, most critics were concerned with the wellbeing of the audience and performers: they claimed that «Verdi bombast» split the ears of the audience, whose enthusiasm for such ‘sick’ works prompted conservative critics to diagnose an alarming breakdown in British musical taste. Another complaint was «the wear and tear of the “Young Maestro’s” force-pump operas», which highlighted the very real physical challenges of singing this music as orchestras expanded and a more declamatory style prioritised vocal power over traditional bel canto techniques. In the early-mid nineteenth century, operatic vocal training was still largely synonymous with Italy in the minds of British critics, though vocal pedagogy had long been a contentious subject in Italy and during this period fractured further into a range of divergent and sometime conflicting practices in response to the new musical challenges faced by opera singers. This paper will examine how, at a time when scientific advances collided with superstition and dubious experimental medical practices, the treatment and training of one of the most delicate parts of the body fed into wider anxieties in the press surrounding the health of the Italian opera genre.

**Jeroen van Gessel (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)**

**Speaking for Whom? Thirty Years of Opera Reviews in Strasbourg (1886–1918)**

For any type of historical research into nineteenth-century music life, the press provides indispensable source material. But the press is also a problematical source, because it confronts all those who use it with a double bind, as the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann observed. On the one hand, we need press coverage to be informed, but on the other hand, we don’t know whether we can trust the press. In other words, we don’t know if what we know is true, but without the press we wouldn’t know anything. Based on extensive research on the Strasbourg Municipal Theatre, this paper seeks to address fundamental questions concerning review practices in nineteenth-century musical life. This paper will therefore provide an overview of the press coverage of opera performances. It will then combine it with what these reviews tell us about the self-image of the critics, with the perception of the press coverage by the theatre’s soloists, the audience, and the municipal authorities. In order to do so, this presentation will draw upon a wide range of sources, such as the minutes of the municipal council, letters from the solo personnel and financial documents. Taking all these materials into account, this presentation will try to establish some basic notions about how reliable press coverage may be (or not) and address the question for whom the critics were ultimately speaking.

**Mónica Vermes (Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo / IA-Unesp)**

**The Music in the Theaters of Rio de Janeiro (1890-1900): Concert Series, Music Criticism and Conflicting Cultural Projects in the Early Years of the Republic**

Rio de Janeiro was a city of intense musical activity in late nineteenth century. Several musical events enlivened the cultural life of the city and they were interconnected by the transit of both musicians and public, and also shared venues. Among the privileged locations for musical performances were the approximately twenty theaters operating in Rio de Janeiro in the period under consideration here. The programming of such theaters was primarily composed by works of light musical theater, revues, féeries, operettas, vaudeville and zarzuelas. In the eyes of a significant part of the press and to theater and classical music professionals, these were minor genres and there was a need to promote reforms in order to develop a more serious theatrical-musical repertoire. This paper is the result of a research project that examined the daily Arts and Theatre sections published in Rio de Janeiro newspapers. An overview of the theatrical



activity of Rio de Janeiro between 1890 and 1900 will be presented, with emphasis on series of symphonic concerts and on the criticism published in the newspaper *O Paiz*. Parting from this overview, we will point out the three conflicting forces / projects that clashed at that time: the group of musicians occupying the center of concert music scene since the proclamation of the Republic (1889), responsible for organizing various concert series and the most important musical education institution in the country, the National Institute of Music; the group that was nostalgic of the imperial period, whose reference figure was composer Antonio Carlos Gomes (1836-1896), whose desires and anxieties were voiced by the critic Oscar Guanabara (1851-1937); and the process of constitution of an entertainment industry which, in that time, was centered in the theatrical-musical activity, and the publication of sheet music.

**Oren Vinogradov (University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill)**

### **Composing a New German Aesthetic: Labels and Self-Determination among German Critic-Composers within the Program Music Debate**

Nineteenth-century German critics made a clear distinction between composers who wrote instrumental music without an assigned narrative, and those who produced program music. Yet to date, no dictionary or encyclopedia has provided any etymology for the different sorts of composers as they were conceptualized and defined in contemporary writing, much less in the criticism of composers themselves. My project suggests that a variety of specific terms were utilized for composers in the German states, to intimate different types of compositional praxis. As a case study, I isolate the valences dividing *Componist* [composer] from *Tondichter* [tone-poet] in the writings of critic-composers Robert Schumann, Franz Liszt, Felix Draeseke, and Richard Wagner. I posit that *Tondichter* as a term came to be reserved for a restricted group of individuals; among critic-composers engaged with the debate over program music, the mid-nineteenth century involved the increasing marginalization of ‘traditional composers’. On closer examination, *Tondichter* developed to refer only to composers who produced effective program music, especially in criticism by other composers. My study therefore proposes that the labels critic-composers provided for other artists can be used to track their personal investment when discussing musical aesthetics, to differentiate, for example, criticism in praise of ‘correct’ programmatic aesthetics within works by a *Tondichter*, versus ambivalence toward ‘good’ characteristic pieces by any *Componist*. Observed through this lens, the program music debate belies a clash between differing notions of composers’ public identities. By comparing aesthetic suppositions beneath each composer’s criticism, I suggest that the more specific debate surrounding pictorial music was more politically complex in mid-nineteenth-century Germany than previously described. Thus, I interpret the uses and avoidance of the labels *Tondichter* and *Componist* to clarify unexamined aesthetic and political differences between each critic-composer.

**Michael Ward (University of Colorado, CO)**

### **“Absolute” Philosophy? Gender, Nationalism, and Jewishness in Eduard Hanslick’s Formalism**

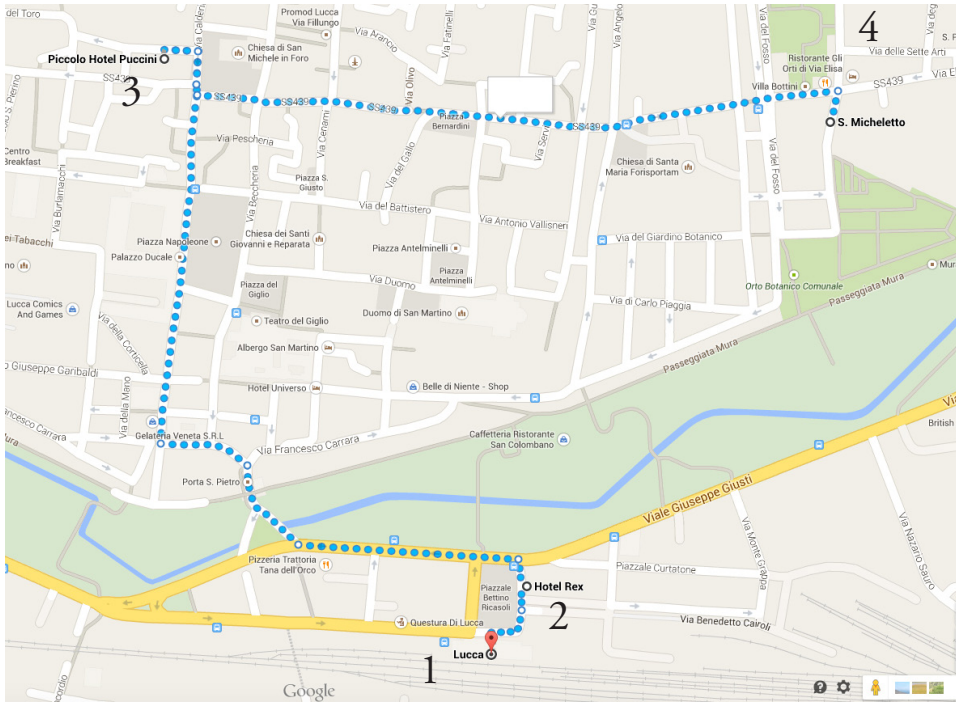
The philosopher, musician, and critic Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904) famously championed instrumental music as superior to vocal music in his aesthetics and criticism. In a remarkable parallel, his formalist aesthetics have often been measured with the ideals he reserved for this kind of music – as self-sufficient, or as ‘absolute’. Investigation of his views as outlined in his 1854 book *Vom musikalisch-Schönen* and frequently implemented in his criticism, however, shows that there was nothing ‘absolute’ about his philosophical ideas. Many musicologists’ adoption, support,

and even rejection of Hanslick's formalism have not reckoned with its social vectors and have therefore missed some of its implications. Among these, Hanslick's formalist rhetoric contains German nationalistic implications; this especially is evident in Hanslick's use of gendered musical descriptions and ideology. My paper initially explores connections between German nationalism and Hanslick's masculinist rhetoric. But there is a contradiction here: Hanslick was of a maternal Jewish lineage. How could a person of Jewish heritage support a (frequently anti-Semitic) German nationalism? As derisive connections between Jewishness and femininity were common in Hanslick's world, I will also connect Hanslick's gendered rhetoric to his heritage. My argument is that his formalism was at least in part an attempt to publicly conceal his Jewishness in order to preserve his reputation as one of Vienna's foremost musical intellectuals. It is possible, then, that in his public communications (which were frequently an extension of his formalism), he attempted to mask the fact that he was Jewish. As Richard Taruskin notes, Hanslick was the forerunner of today's musicology, and «[h]is side was the one that got to tell the story of nineteenth-century music in the twentieth century». It is significant, then, that Hanslick's formalism, historically a central philosophy of musical historiography, proves not so much philosophically 'absolute' as deeply inflected by local historical circumstances.

**Ingeborg Zechner (Universität Salzburg)**

### **London's Italian Opera as a Topic of International Interest to Nineteenth-Century Musical Criticism**

During the nineteenth century London's Italian stages formed the most prominent international market for operas and singers throughout Europe. It was a known fact that star singers received extraordinary salaries, when being part of an Italian opera production in London. But also composers were keen to have their operas performed in London and gain glory and money: Giuseppe Verdi for example composed his *Masnadieri* 1847 for Her Majesty's Theatre – to ensure his success he assigned the leading part of his opera to the most famous star singer of that time – Jenny Lind. Unfortunately the opera failed, but Jenny Lind succeeded – a fact, which was also reviewed in the international musical press. Obviously London's opera productions were also of huge interest to international music criticism and media. Regularly international music journals gave account of the latest London productions and also famous music critics like the Viennese Eduard Hanslick reported extensively about London's Italian opera. This paper aims to examine the role of international media and music critic towards London's opera business. Therefore aspects like distinctions between English and international critics, the specific focus of the music critics and the way in which writing about music was accomplished are taken in consideration. Furthermore this paper should contribute to answering the question, whether international music criticism presents an opportunity for creating a more objective perspective in researching nineteenth-century opera business.



## MAIN LOCATIONS

- 1: Train Station (Piazza Ricasoli)**
- 2: Hotel Rex (Piazza Ricasoli 19)**
- 3: Piccolo Hotel Puccini (Via di Poggio Seconda 9)**
- 4: (Complesso Monumentale di San Michele (via San Michele) 3)**



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