

FINANCING MUSIC IN EUROPE FROM THE 18TH TO THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

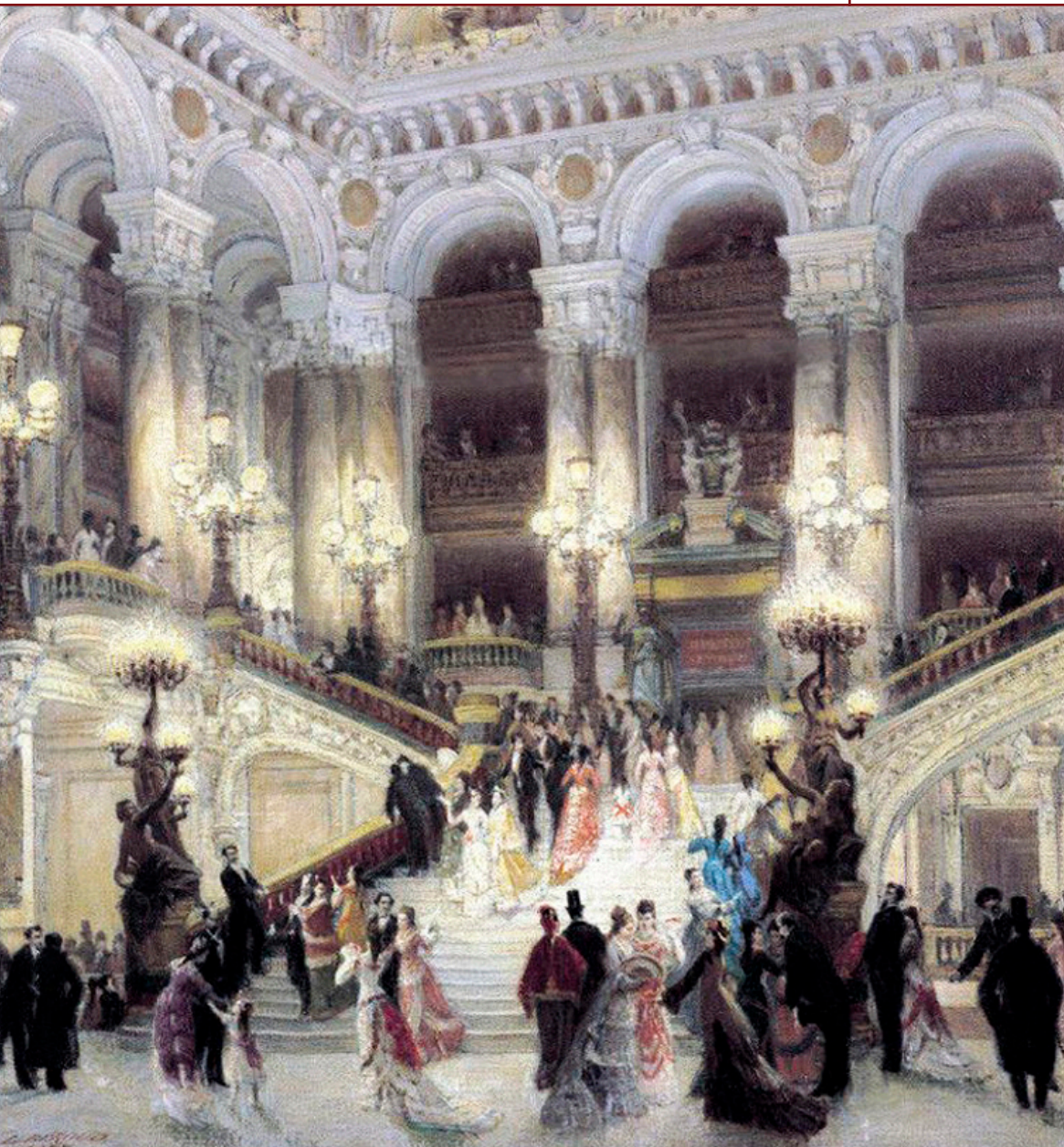
International Virtual Conference

16-18 October 2020

CENTRO STUDI
OPERA OMNIA
Luisi Bocherini



PALAZZETTO
BRU ZANE
CENTRE
DE MUSIQUE
ROMANTIQUE
FRANÇAISE



INTERNATIONAL VIRTUAL CONFERENCE

FINANCING MUSIC IN EUROPE

FROM THE 18TH TO THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

Organized by

Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini, Lucca
Palazzetto Bru Zane – Centre de musique romantique française, Venice

16-18 October 2020

Programme Committee:

KATHARINE ELLIS (University of Cambridge)

ROBERTO ILLIANO (Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

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YANNICK SIMON (Université de Rouen Normandie)



Keynote Speakers:

KATHARINE ELLIS (University of Cambridge)

YANNICK SIMON (Université de Rouen Normandie)

FRIDAY 16 OCTOBER

9.30-9.40 **Opening**

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

9.45-11.15 **Organization, Management and Financing of Opera Houses**

(Chair: **Massimiliano Sala**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- DAVIDE MINGOZZI (Università di Genova), «*Non sarà lecito a chiunque di aprire teatri in città*»: *l'impresa dei teatri a Genova (1772-1773)*
- ERIC BOARO (University of Nottingham), *Tra gioco d'azzardo e giustificazione morale. 'Immoralità' e sopravvivenza economica del Regio Ducal Teatro di Milano (1717-1776)*
- MAXIME MARGOLLÉ (Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim), *Financer l'Opéra-Comique à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, une mission impossible ?*

11.30-13.00

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

- ALINE GALLASCH-HALL DE BEUVINK (Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa), *Organization and Financing the Royal Opera Houses: Music as Power in the 18th-Century Portugal*
- JEROEN VAN GESSEL (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen), *Money as the Missing Link: Interpreting Audience Reception and Artistic and Social Policy in the Strasbourg Opera (1886-1918) through its Finances*
- JULES CAVALIÉ (Conservatoire de Paris, CNSMDP), *The «Saison italienne» at the Théâtre du Châtelet in Paris in May and June 1910: The Development of a Branded Product, between Public Institutional Model and Private International Entrepreneurship*



15.00-15.45 **Keynote Speaker 1:**

- KATHARINE ELLIS (University of Cambridge), *Broke: Tales from the French Opera Industry*



16.00-17.30 Musical Impresarios during the Nineteenth-Century

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

- STEFANIE LIANG (Kunstuniversität Graz), *The Case Study «I Pagliacci»: The Relationship between the Composer Ruggero Leoncavallo and the Musical Impresario Edoardo Sonzogno*
- MEGAN ESTELA (Université Paris 8, Vincennes-Saint Denis), *Maurice Grau and the Golden Age of the Metropolitan Opera House*
- DARIO DE CICCO (Conservatorio statale di musica ‘C. Monteverdi’ di Bolzano), *Edoardo Mascheroni (1852-1941): direttore d’orchestra e impresario*

SATURDAY 17 OCTOBER

10.00-11.30 Private and Public Investment, Subscriptions and Societies (1)

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

- RÉMY CAMPOS (Conservatoire de Paris, CNSMDP / HEM de Genève, HES-SO), *Donner un concert. Les salons musicaux parisiens entre dépense et libéralité (1870-1914)*
- GABRIELE SLIZYTE (Conservatoire de Paris, CNSMDP), *Propagande diplomatique, management et financement des artistes : le rôle de l’Association française d’action artistique dans la carrière américaine des musiciens français au début du XX^e siècle*
- ATTILIO CANTORE (Università degli Studi di Milano), *«Rivendicare un nuovo onore alla nazione» con i fratelli Marchisio: le severe bellezze della musica strumentale da sala nella Torino dell’Ottocento*

11.45-12.45

(Chair: **Massimiliano Sala**, Centro Studi Opera Omnia Luigi Boccherini)

- HAIGANUŞ PREDĂ-SCHIMEK (Independent Researcher, Vienna), *The Economic Network around Folk Music: A Case Study on Romanian Folksong-Arrangements in the Offer of Viennese Publishers (ca. 1850)*
- ANNA WRIGHT (Royal Northern College of Music), *The Funding of Conservatoires in late Nineteenth-Century Britain*



15.00-15.45 Keynote Speaker 2:

- YANNICK SIMON (Université de Rouen Normandie), *Des subventions à la politique culturelle. L’État français et les sociétés de concerts*

16.00-17.30 **Private and Public Investment, Subscriptions and Societies (2)**

(Chair: **Yannick Simon**, Université de Rouen Normandie)

- DAVID CRANMER (CESEM – Universidade Nova de Lisboa-FCSH), *Return on Investment through Publicity: The Case of the Fêtes des Arènes, Béziers (1898-1926)*
- JOSEPH DARBY (Keene State College), «*To Send them into the World – in the best Manner I Am Able*»: *Publishing Music by Subscription in 18th-Century Britain*
- SIMON McVEIGH (Goldsmiths, University of London), *Piano Manufacturers and Concert Promotion in Edwardian London: New Light on the Broadwood Concerts (1902-1912)*

SUNDAY 18 OCTOBER

9.30-11.00 **The Musician as Entrepreneur: How Musicians Financed their Activities (1)**

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

- ADAM SWAYNE (Royal Northern College of Music), *The Musician as Entrepreneur: The Example of Ferdinand Ries's Concerto Op. 123*
- RAMÓN SOBRINO – MARÍA ENCINA CORTIZO (Universidad de Oviedo), *Musicians as Entrepreneurs: Private Music Societies in Crisis Times in Spain (1868-1874)*
- CHRISTINA GUILLAUMIER (Royal College of Music, London), *Composer-Pianist, Conductor and Entrepreneur: The Multiple Lives of Sergei Prokofiev*

11.15-12.45 **Politics of Encouraging the Development of Musical Life**

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

- DEMOSTHENES FISTOURIS (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), *Political, Organizational, Management Issues and Financing in the Greek Art Music from 19th to the Early 20th Century*
- JAN DEWILDE (Centre for the Study of Flemish Music / Royal Conservatoire Antwerp), *German Patrons and the Antwerp Musical Life (1864-1914)*
- KRISTIN VAN DEN BUYS (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), *The Rise, Climax and Decline (1920-1936) of Modernist Music in Commercial Concert Organizations in Brussels and its Revival (1936-1940) at the Fully Subsidized National Radio Belgian Broadcasting Institute*



15.00-16.00 **The Musician as Entrepreneur: How Musicians Financed their Activities (2)**

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

- CÉSAR LEAL (Gettysburg College – Sunderman Conservatory, of Music), *Isaac de Camondo and the Music Aesthetic of Amateur Composers and Sponsors*
- MIRIJAM BEIER (Universität Salzburg / Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum), *How to Finance a Singer's Life and Career in the Italian Opera Business of the Eighteenth Century*

16.15-18.15 **The Long History of Patronage: Persistence and Evolution of an Economic Model**

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

- BERTHOLD OVER (Universität Greifswald, Institut für Kirchenmusik und Musikwissenschaft), *Music in the Court Budget: The Example of the Munich Court (1590-1802)*
- MORTON WAN (Cornell University), *Sonic Exuberance: Music and the Stock Market during the South Sea Bubble*
- SEAN REILLY (Universität Leipzig), *The New-German School and the 'Retreat to the Court': Reexamining the Conflict between Claims of Autonomy and the Constraints of Aristocratic Patronage*
- OLENA PONOMARENKO (Tchaikovsky National Music Academy of Ukraine, Kyiv), *Patrocinio nella cultura musicale ucraina: tradizione e innovazione*

ABSTRACTS

KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

• **KATHARINE ELLIS (University of Cambridge), *Broke: Tales from the French Opera Industry***

It will come as no surprise to anyone that theatre in general, and opera in particular, present the difficulties of financing European art music in their most acute form. In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries we see various models ranging from the free markets of London to the court patronage of pre-unification Germany and Italy, to the chaotic mixed economy of France. And it is France, whose history occupies that rough middle ground between patronage and markets, that provides some of the clearest evidence of creative thinking about how opera might be turned into a viable, sustainable operation. In this keynote the level of historical angst will be high, for opera remained a totemic genre until the First World War at least, and opera-house bankruptcy was rife. As a State, as a capital, as a city or major town, to fail to manage opera was to fail to deliver a key aspect of French civilisation. That is why the history of repeat bankruptcies of opera directors is not just a tale of individual tragedy and hardship, but an indicator of a failed system. On the plus side, levels of creative thinking were concomitantly high. In the provinces even more than in Paris, financial diagnoses and cures abounded. Theatre directors, performers and town councils all wrestled with the problem of how to make opera viable within the State-directed system in operation until the national *liberté des théâtres* legislation of 1864. Thereafter — because the *liberté* solved nothing — they started again, now thinking more radically about how a free-market operatic system might successfully function. Operating according to a different system, the national theatres in Paris were somewhat insulated from this turbulence; but the city's independent theatres were not. Monte-Carlo, which was in many ways linked to the French system and otherwise gloriously free of it, presents another case again. This keynote won't provide anyone with a silver bullet; but it will I hope offer a useful comparator for those working on the financing of music both elsewhere in Europe, and beyond.

• **YANNICK SIMON (Université de Rouen Normandie), *Des subventions à la politique culturelle. L'État français et les sociétés de concerts***

Le subventionnement des sociétés de concerts symphoniques par l'État français est un sujet qui permet une approche originale de l'histoire du concert symphonique en France. Cette question sera abordé sur une longue période, entre 1861, année de la fondation des Concerts populaires de musique classique par Jules Pasdeloup à Paris, et le lancement du « Plan Landowski » en 1969. Pendant un siècle, malgré l'absence de politique et de décentralisation culturelles, l'État apporte sa caution, plus souvent qu'il n'offre des moyens pécuniaires suffisants, à un nombre de plus en plus important de sociétés. D'abord empirique, ce financement se structure progressivement, avec le concours des inspecteurs de l'enseignement musical puis grâce à la création d'une commission chargée de la répartition des moyens budgétaires. Cet embryon de politique musicale n'est cependant pas sans conséquence sur les choix artistiques des sociétés de concerts symphoniques, et, plus généralement, sur le goût musical des auditeurs.

CONTRIBUTORS

Organization, Management and Financing of Opera Houses

• DAVIDE MINGOZZI (Università di Genova), «Non sarà lecito a chiunque di aprire teatri in città»: L'impresa dei teatri a Genova (1772-1773)

Con l'acquisto del Teatro da S. Agostino agli inizi degli anni '70 del Settecento il nobile Marcello Durazzo, ex doge e fratello maggiore di Giacomo già ambasciatore cesareo a Venezia, raggiunse il monopolio assoluto sui teatri e sugli spettacoli genovesi. La sala era, dopo il Teatro del Falcone, già di proprietà Durazzo, e il piccolo Teatro delle Vigne, il principale palcoscenico cittadino. L'impresa fu affidata a Francesco Bardella, procuratore di Durazzo e conduttore dei teatri genovesi da almeno un trentennio. Il caso è pressoché unico nel panorama italiano: i teatri di consuetudine venivano affidati di stagione in stagione a svariate compagnie e impresari. Il governo genovese cercò sempre di limitare al più i suoi interventi nella gestione degli spettacoli, salvo qualche provvedimento sulla moralità del pubblico e delle *troupe* di cantanti e ballerini. I teatri infatti rientravano pur sempre tra gli interessi commerciali di uno dei più ricchi e influenti uomini della Serenissima Repubblica. Ciò nonostante nel 1772, dopo una disastrosa stagione di carnevale, il governo varò un nuovo regolamento sulla gestione degli spettacoli – l'ultimo prima della fine del governo oligarchico nel 1797 –, stabili dei prezzi fissi per i biglietti e favorì la nascita di una 'Società di magnifici cittadini' che avrebbe preso in affitto e condotto i tre teatri per un decennio. L'intervento cercava così di placare il malcontento del pubblico verso quella che era stata una conduzione spregiudicata delle tre sale il cui unico obiettivo, si diceva, era il puro guadagno tralasciando la qualità degli spettacoli. Anche tali provvedimenti furono però una speculazione macchinata da Durazzo che riuscì a porre in testa alla società come 'Incombentato' il nipote Gian Luca. La Società a sua volta riaffidò la gestione effettiva dei teatri al Bardella. L'intervento proporrà una sintesi delle vicende che portarono alla costituzione della 'Società di magnifici cittadini' e saranno presentati e analizzati i regolamenti dei teatri genovesi in relazione anche al panorama impresariale dell'Italia tardo Settecentesca. Sarà infine messo a sistema il malcontento del pubblico nel carnevale 1772 espresso in svariate lettere anonime giunte al governo, documenti ancora inediti e che saranno per la prima volta discussi.

• ERIC BOARO (University of Nottingham), Tra gioco d'azzardo e giustificazione morale. 'Immoralità' e sopravvivenza economica del Regio Ducal Teatro di Milano (1717-1776)

Il presente contributo intende indagare la peculiare situazione finanziaria del Regio Ducal Teatro di Milano (1717-1776). Una serie di documenti archivistici e bilanci teatrali conservati all'Archivio di Stato di Milano, ad oggi inediti e negletti, ci restituiscono la complessa immagine di un'impresa teatrale economicamente dipendente dal gioco d'azzardo e scissa moralmente tra due poli opposti. Se da una parte era connessa a fini umanitari e religiosi, poiché il suo ufficiale proprietario era un ospedale per orfani di origine iberica, il Collegio delle Vergini Spagnole, dall'altra la sua stessa esistenza dipendeva finanziariamente dal gioco d'azzardo, pratica che, quantunque considerata immorale, garantiva introiti maggiori rispetto alla vendita dei biglietti e all'affitto dei palchi. Tramite l'analisi dei bilanci a noi rimasti e di altri documenti, la presente ricerca intende illustrare, lungo tutta la parentesi del massimo teatro meneghino, la storia della dipendenza dell'intera impresa teatrale dai «giochi di piacere», tra moralistiche istanze proibitive da parte del governo, conseguenti fallimenti, cambi d'impresa, tentativi di regolamentazione e diverse strategie di sopravvivenza.

- **MAXIME MARGOLLÉ (Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim), Financer l'Opéra-Comique à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, une mission impossible ?**

Entre l'intégration de l'Opéra-Comique de la Foire à la Comédie-Italienne en 1762 à la réunion des théâtres Favart et Feydeau en 1801, la troupe d'acteurs-chanteurs de l'Opéra-Comique, réunie sous le modèle économique de la société, s'efforce de garder des finances saines pour poursuivre son activité. Durant cette période, plusieurs événements vont avoir un impact significatif sur l'équilibre financier de l'institution. Le premier est la construction du Théâtre Favart en 1783. Si les coûts de cette opération immobilière vont avoir un impact important sur les finances de la troupe et sur sa vitalité artistique, l'ouverture de ce nouveau théâtre va également être l'occasion de faire des ajustements (du prix des places au répertoire). Quelques années plus tard, la Révolution vient à son tour impacter le modèle économique de l'Opéra-Comique avec des fermetures ou représentations circonstancielles. Les événements révolutionnaires provoquent également la contraction de plusieurs emprunts successifs et l'évolution du répertoire du théâtre. Par ailleurs, l'administration même de la troupe et le modèle de société provoquent régulièrement des difficultés qui ont un impact sur l'économie du théâtre. Afin de comprendre la manière dont l'Opéra-Comique est financé dans la seconde partie du XVIII^e siècle avec une plus grande acuité, nous aborderons cette question sous plusieurs paradigmes. Nous nous intéresserons à l'administration du théâtre au travers des rapports du « Comité » de l'Opéra-Comique qui sont les sources les plus importantes pour appréhender les questions financières. Cela nous permettra également d'appréhender le rôle de l'État sur le sujet, tant durant l'Ancien Régime que pendant la Révolution. Enfin, nous étudierons les recettes, le répertoire et les circonstances ayant amené le Théâtre Favart à contracter plusieurs emprunts sur la période en nous appuyant sur les Registres de l'Opéra-Comique.

- **ALINE GALLASCH-HALL DE BEUVINK (Universidade Autónoma de Lisboa), Organization and Financing the Royal Opera Houses: Music as Power in the 18th-Century Portugal**

Going to the Opera only became fashionable in Portugal on the first decades of the 18th century. But the introduction of Opera as a Royal statement and Power only happened with king Joseph I, in the beginning of his reign (1750-1777). Continuing his father's policies of contracting the best musicians, architects, singers and dancers — most of them, coming from Italy — the king organized a real company for the Royal Opera houses, from the very first stone to the best *castrati*. But how was it organized? Who was in charge of choosing, selecting, casting the musicians, the artists in general? How was it financed? How much did they received for their work? How was the network established? How did the artists travel and what how was their life after they stopped working for the king? The Portuguese Royal Chapel was known to be as good as the Pope's Chapel concerning the high level and the quality of its singers. Some of the best *castrati* worked in Portugal — Caffarelli, Gizziello, Carlo Reina. How was it with the Royal Theatres? We intend, with this presentation, answer these questions and understand how the Portuguese Royal Theatres were organized, managed and financed by the King and his cabinet, as well as how did the Royal Opera Houses helped to project the image of an absolute and enlightened monarch on the second half of the 18th century.

• **JEROEN VAN GESSEL (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen), Money as the Missing Link: Interpreting Audience Reception and Artistic and Social Policy in the Strasbourg Opera (1886-1918) through its Finances**

When in 1886 the Strasbourg municipal council took direct control over the local opera house it immediately set up a special theatre committee. Its primary responsibility was to supervise the theatre's financial situation, but instead of curbing spending it allowed the budget to spiral out of control. In addition, the authorities invoked artistic ideals to justify extra costs, but closely monitored the performance schedule to avoid productions that did poorly at the box office. Simultaneously, there is a marked difference between the reception of the repertoire by the press and audience preferences as indicated by the daily box office reports. Using these observations, this presentation aims to demonstrate that financial data do not just provide us with additional information on historical music practice, but with the essential data that allow us to rethink music history as situated in an, according to Luhmann's sociology, fragmented society that is governed by specialized systems. Thus, by including finances as a missing link, music history may be recast in ways that go beyond traditional master narratives about political, social, and musical developments.

• **JULES CAVALIÉ (Conservatoire de Paris, CNSMDP), The «Saison italienne» at the Théâtre du Châtelet in Paris in May and June 1910: The Development of a Branded Product, between Public Institutional Model and Private International Entrepreneurship**

From 1905 to 1912, the concert and opera entrepreneur Gabriel Astruc organized each spring the 'Grandes Saisons de Paris'. Modeling its artistic calendar on the rhythm of Parisian social life which experienced its annual peak in May and June, the impresario introduced new repertoires and leading artists to the cosmopolitan audience who flocked to the Châtelet theater. In 1910, Astruc brought in the Metropolitan Opera company for an 'Italian-American' season, dedicated to the Italian lyric repertoire. Aimed at a worldly audience, this artistic event adopts the functioning of prestigious and subsidized lyric institutions, such as the Palais Garnier in Paris. However, it differs from it on the one hand, because it is organized by a private entrepreneur (Astruc); on the other hand, because its recruitment is international (from an artistic, financial or technical point of view). This specific formula makes it possible to develop a brand product under the banner of the 'Italian-American' season, exploiting the fame of the Metropolitan Opera and the prestigious history of Italian representations in Paris within the framework of the Théâtre-Italien (1801-1878). While the circulation of artists had been common for several centuries, the 1900s saw the beginnings of international production systems, of which the Italian Season of 1910, far from being a simple 'tour' of the Metropolitan, constitutes an emblematic model which we will propose here the analysis from unpublished sources (correspondence and financial projections by Gabriel Astruc).

Musical Impresarios during the Nineteenth Century

• **STEFANIE LIANG (Kunstuniversität Graz), The Case Study «I Pagliacci»: The Relationship between the Composer Ruggero Leoncavallo and the Musical Impresario Edoardo Sonzogno**

The opera *I Pagliacci*, which contains veristic elements, is firmly established in the opera repertoire and is often performed in combination with the opera *Cavalleria rusticana*. The composer Ruggero Leoncavallo, however, initially had difficulties in bringing his operas to

the stage and achieving a breakthrough, which is why he had to endure several unsuccessful attempts. Without the support of the benefactor Eduardo Sonzogno it would not have been able that Leoncavallo finally succeeded in gaining the recognition he had hoped for with his veristic opera *I Pagliacci*. After he presented the libretto, written in three weeks, to the music publisher and editor Sonzogno the subsequent signing of a contract followed which not only provided Leoncavallo financial security, but also the promise of a world premiere at the Teatro Dal Verme in Milan. The paper will give insights into Leoncavallo's previously failed efforts to obtain financial pledges and performances from music publisher Giulio Ricordi for his idea of a veristic opera. In particular the proposed paper aims at examining the correspondence between Leoncavallo and Sonzogno during the time before and after the premiere. This case study of the relationship between a composer and his sponsor reveals aspects of the opera production system network running in the background.

• **MEGAN ESTELA (Université Paris 8, Vincennes-Saint Denis), Maurice Grau and the Golden Age of the Metropolitan Opera House**

In her memoirs, Lili Lehmann explains the rise of the Metropolitan Opera House as follows: «as, on a particular evening, one of the beautiful millionairesses did not receive the box in which she intended to shine [...], the husband of the former took prompt action and caused the Metropolitan Opera House to arise, where his beloved wife might dazzle». The box was at the Academy of Music, and the beautiful millionairess was a Vanderbilt, whose family held the biggest stock of the theatre inaugurated in 1883. Whereas in those days, European governments invested money in opera houses, American performing arts were exclusively supported by private funding. Back then, Maurice Grau appeared as the most talented managers of the young and soon must-see Metropolitan Opera House he ran between 1891 and 1903. Apart from his transnational career, Grau is distinguishable from his fellows by a management the *Figaro* qualifies as «clever and skilled» because it «satisfied the American elite artistic demands» while turning «Opera into a profitable deal». Beyond this newspaper, Grau's international media exposure showed the ethos of a successful impresario: a pleasant businessman with great artistic intuition, who was eager to offer artists large fees if he believed that they would bring him success. With these precious qualities, Maurice Grau initiated what Irving Kolodin called the *Golden Age* of the Met, an era of artistic and financial prosperity where the expenses of the all-star companies didn't compromise financial profitability. Based on press, letters and contracts, my communication shall analyze mechanisms at stake in the 'Grau model', which then catalyzed mutations on the Old Continent stage. From the European artist coming back with "crowns and dollars" to the recent millionaire American industrialist, I will try to understand how the impresario-manager navigated between financial requirements and artistic needs.

• **DARIO DE CICCIO (Conservatorio statale di musica 'C. Monteverdi' di Bolzano), Edoardo Mascheroni (1852-1941): direttore d'orchestra e impresario**

Edoardo Mascheroni (1852-1941) enjoyed a brilliant artistic career in a period straddling the 19th and 20th centuries, directing some of the world's leading orchestras in the staging of a quite remarkable number of operas. Accompanying his more than ten years' artistic experience — also documented by some recordings — from the early 20th century he began working as an impresario (independently or in collaboration with others) to arrange various musical events. Mascheroni was a self-promoting impresario involved in a number of activities

(beyond the mere conducting of the orchestra), specifically, communications, the creation and promotion of attractive ‘bills’, sponsoring, ticketing, the organization of venues, and so on. By analysing what was reported in the journals and periodicals of the time and in unpublished epistolary sources of the artist himself, this important dimension of Mascheroni’s life will be reconstructed, relating it to the activities of other authoritative figures of the time who interacted with the artist in passing or regularly. He matured these managerial skills in the field from the outset by carrying out activities for various clients on his own but also taking the brunt of multifarious written communications, collaborations, and missing payments involving «American impresarios and Italian impresarios». Through his work as an impresario Edoardo Mascheroni helped to promote the spread of melodrama throughout the world, particularly in certain South American countries (Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay).

Private and Public Investment, Subscriptions and Societies (1)

• RÉMY CAMPOS (Conservatoire de Paris, CNSMDP / HEM de Genève, HES-SO), Donner un concert. Les salons musicaux parisiens entre dépense et libéralité (1870-1914)

Les concerts mondains qui connaissent leur dernier apogée au tournant des XIX^e et XX^e siècles ont surtout été étudiés comme une activité artistique et sociale (Robert M. Crunden, *American Salons. Encounters with European Modernism, 1885-1917*, 1993 ; Myriam Chimènes, *Mécènes et musiciens. Du salon au concert à Paris sous la III^e République*, 2004 ; Phyllis Weliver, *Mary Gladstone and the Victorian Salon. Music, Literature, Liberalism*, 2017 ; Anja Bunzel et Natasha Loges, dir., *Musical Salon Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 2019). Certains salons, où l’on croise les meilleurs exécutants et compositeurs du moment, ont pu être qualifiés de véritables institutions. L’influence esthétique considérable de ces scènes privées a pu éclipser certaines questions essentielles. Ainsi, leur financement demeure à ce jour mal connu, sans doute à cause de la difficulté à documenter les cachets des artistes ou les ressources pécuniaires des organisateurs. Par ailleurs, la nature particulièrement complexe des concerts mondains a contribué à en faire des objets difficiles à saisir par la seule approche musicologique. En effet, pour comprendre des prestations évoluant entre dépenses somptuaires, obligations de la civilité et intégration dans le marché musical, il faut recourir à l’histoire économique et sociale bien sûr mais aussi à celle de la publicité lorsqu’il s’agit de comprendre comment des concerts de salon peuvent contribuer à la quête de notoriété de ceux qui les donnent. Cette communication, qui portera sur les salons parisiens entre 1870 et 1914, proposera une première approche de l’économie du concert de salon à partir de sources variées : archives familiales, mémoires et souvenirs de patrons et d’artistes, presse ou encore ouvrages de civilité. Elle s’efforcera d’identifier les acteurs en présence (mécènes, artistes et agents, invités-auditeurs) ainsi que les formes prises par une économie conjuguant le don pur et simple et l’investissement pécuniaire bien pesé.

• GABRIELE SLIZYTE (Conservatoire de Paris, CNSMDP), Propagande diplomatique, management et financement des artistes : le rôle de l’Association française d’action artistique dans la carrière américaine des musiciens français au début du XX^e siècle

Les grands changements géopolitiques mondiaux du début du XX^e siècle ont favorisé les échanges artistiques, notamment entre la France et les États-Unis. En 1922, soucieux d’utiliser les arts comme une vitrine officielle, l’État français a créé puis financé l’Association

Française d'Action Artistique (AFAA) avec pour but d'assurer l'expansion artistique de la France à l'étranger. Placée sous tutelle du ministère des Affaires étrangères mais bénéficiant également du patronage de ministère des Beaux-arts, l'AFAA est reconnue d'utilité publique et bénéficie par la suite non seulement des subventions ministérielles mais aussi d'aides privées comme celles de la famille Rothschild, de Sir. Joseph Duveen ou de la Banque de France. L'organisme, géré par des hauts fonctionnaires ainsi que par des membres donateurs, est amené à examiner les aides financières sollicitées par des artistes. Pour organiser leurs tournées outre-Atlantique, les musiciens français ont aussi utilisé les services d'agents ou d'imprésarios français et américains comme Arthur Judson de Columbia Artists Management qui a souvent créé le lien entre l'AFAA et des salles comme le Carnegie Hall à New York. À partir des cas de Robert et Gaby Casadesus, d'Yvonne Lefebure, de Zino Francescatti et de Nadia Boulanger, nous analyserons le rôle précis de l'AFAA dans la carrière des musiciens entre France et États-Unis et la façon dont son action s'articule au marché du concert. En nous appuyant sur les comptes rendus des assemblées générales de l'AFAA, ses budgets et les archives diplomatiques mais aussi sur des sources collectées aux États-Unis, nous examinerons un des aspects les plus exemplaires de la politique de diffusion artistique menée et financée par la France dans la première moitié du xx^e siècle.

• **ATTILIO CANTORE (Università degli Studi di Milano), «Rivendicare un nuovo onore alla nazione» con i fratelli Marchisio: le severe bellezze della musica strumentale da sala nella Torino dell'Ottocento**

A partire dal dicembre 1854, nel cuore della Torino sabauda hanno luogo i concerti domenicali promossi da Antonino e Giuseppe Enrico Marchisio. I saloni del loro stabilimento di pianoforti in piazza Vittorio 11, e successivamente quelli dell'Accademia Filodrammatica, divengono uno dei centri musicali più in voga della città, cui prendono parte i migliori virtuosi locali e tutti i concertisti di passaggio per la capitale del regno: «si soleva dire che Casa Marchisio era sempre aperta a tutti quelli che *masticavano semicrome*». I due fratelli riescono a «rivendicare un nuovo onore alla nazione», offrendo la possibilità ai «colti torinesi» di tenersi aggiornati sulle istanze della musica strumentale da camera, aprendo al contempo «un nuovo campo agli italiani compositori, che finora lasciarono quasi intentato». Da Mozart a Mendelssohn, da Onslow a Beethoven, da Thalberg a Schumann, da Haydn a Gabussi, da Hummel agli stessi Marchisio, i vari programmi propongono, «con ottimo gusto», non solo le migliori «severe bellezze della musica classica da sala» d'Oltralpe ma anche quelle del Bel Paese; senza comunque tralasciare il repertorio vocale da camera (in questo ambiente si formano e muovono i loro primi passi, peraltro, le due sorelle Marchisio, Barbara e Carlotta, destinate a calcare successivamente i palcoscenici di tutta Europa). La presente relazione intende ripercorrere l'intera ambiziosa programmazione delle pionieristiche «tornate domenicali» dei fratelli Marchisio, analizzandone nel suo complesso il carattere artistico, sociale e culturale.

• **HAIGANUŞ PREDA-SCHIMEK (Independent Researcher, Vienna), The Economic Network around Folk Music: A Case Study on Romanian Folksong-Arrangements in the Offer of Viennese Publishers (ca. 1850)**

In my paper, I demonstrate in a case study on Romanian and Viennese sources how folk tunes migrated and generated an economic circuit due to the interest of the middle class

for both 'national' and 'exotic' songs around 1850. First, I point out how hand-notated folk songs and dances from unsigned cahiers compiled by foreign piano teachers for dilettantes in Bucharest drifted to piano albums by Johann Andreas Wachmann and Johann Strauss-Son published in Vienna at H. F. Müller's Editing House and his follower, Wessely & Büsing. Then, I investigate the compositions of Romanian folk themes by Wachmann and Strauß within the class of 'early salon music' upon multi-ethnic folkloristic tunes on offer in the catalogues of Viennese music publishers. It seems that the interest for 'recycling' folk tunes derived from an incipient marketing strategy oriented towards popularity and profit. Starting from this assumption, I focus on the marketing strategy of music makers and disseminators by answering questions like: how were prints advertised in the press, what graphic designs prevailed on front covers, how expensive/convenient were they in relation to other selling prices. The final aim is to assess to what extent folk music became a marketing factor around 1850, apart from its role in national-ideological and other contexts.

• **ANNA WRIGHT (Royal Northern College of Music), *The Funding of Conservatoires in late Nineteenth-Century Britain***

Until the twentieth century there was almost no state funding for higher education institutions in Britain. During the nineteenth century long-established universities and colleges were as dependent on endowments as the 'new' civic universities who owed their existence to the generosity of philanthropic individuals. The situation was no different for conservatoires, despite the hope that these institutions might operate in a similar manner to their counterparts in continental Europe, with significant government funding and free places for students. However, given that government funding was not forthcoming it was, therefore, necessary for any would-be institution to raise its own money. My aim in this paper is to present an overview of conservatoire funding in late nineteenth century Britain, with particular reference to the foundation of the Royal College of Music (RCM) in 1883 and the Royal Manchester College of Music (RMCM) in 1893. I will describe the context out of which the plans for the RCM developed and explore the events surrounding the establishment of both institutions, focussing particularly on how, and from whom, the funds were raised. I will make comparisons between them noting both the similarities and differences in the approaches taken. The primary sources of information utilised for this presentation are administrative and financial papers, together with related correspondence, from the RMCM archives held at the Royal Northern College of Music, which I have been studying for my own research project. As the pandemic lockdown has, to date, prevented me from visiting the RCM archives in person the parts of the presentation referring to it make use of existing research into its history, along with contemporary newspaper and journal reports.

Private and Public Investment, Subscriptions and Societies (2)

• **DAVID CRANMER (CESEM – Universidade Nova de Lisboa-FCSH), *Return on Investment through Publicity: The Case of the Fêtes des Arènes, Béziers (1898-1926)***

The Fêtes des Arènes, organised by Fernand Castelbon de Beauxhostes, at Béziers, in the south of France, was in many respects exceptional. Running annually from 1898 to 1911 and from 1921 to 1926, the Festival was centred on just two open-air performances each year, by Saint-Saëns, Fauré, Gluck and Spontini, but also recent winners of the prestigious Prix de

Rome composition prize. It was also exceptional in that its financial viability depended not on subsidies and/or ticket receipts, but was guaranteed by the patronage of the organiser himself, who covered costs from his personal fortune and donated proceeds to charity. That being so, the question arises as to exactly what return Castelbon expected from his immense financial investment and personal commitment. There were certainly artistic and patriotic aims: to raise the French cultural profile as a counterweight to Wagner — Béziers was regularly described, somewhat hopefully, as the French Bayreuth. He also wanted to put Béziers on the cultural map within France itself, vying each year, however briefly, with local rivals in the *Midi* and even with Paris, thereby bringing prestige to his already prosperous and fashionable town and, of course, to himself as local benefactor. Of prime importance was publicity: posters, flyers and press publicity. However, the first period of the Festival also coincided with the sudden surge in popularity of the picture postcard both for correspondence and for collecting. Castelbon evidently worked closely with photographers, designers, printers and advertisers, to produce postcards both in anticipation of forthcoming productions and as souvenirs of performances. The second period, post-War, in changed economic and social circumstances, was more low-key and has suffered subsequent neglect from researchers. How far was the paucity of production-related postcards in these years a consequence and how far a contributory factor in the Festival's decline and eventual demise?

• **JOSEPH DARBY (Keene State College), «To Send them into the World – in the best Manner I Am Able»: Publishing Music by Subscription in 18th-Century Britain**

In eighteenth-century Britain, composers and publishers increasingly turned to the subscription method to cover production costs, alleviate financial risk, improve sales and profit, and provide a reliable network of distribution. The subscription method generally involved a buyer's payment (or promise of payment) in advance of publication. In return, subscribers were often rewarded with a discount on the retail price and their names inscribed in the work's first edition on a list of subscribers. Although the subscription method accounted for a fraction of total music sales in eighteenth-century Britain, the transactions recorded by subscription lists provide useful demographic information about buyers in the marketplace. This paper assesses the effectiveness of the subscription method using a first-hand examination of lists of subscribers from roughly 550 musical works, representing 350 individual composers and nearly 100,000 subscribers, resulting in an examination of factors that shaped both the subscription market overall and the financial success of individual subscription publications. With a relative absence of business records from the music trade of that era, subscription lists provide modern historians with valuable (though imperfect) data on social trends and the economics of music publishing. Detailed examination of subscription lists may be used, for example, to sharpen our knowledge of women's achievements in the musical life of eighteenth-century Britain. Subscription list data may also allow for market comparisons based on factors such as locale of publishing, genre, the nationality of composers, prices for music, and the 'social quality' of subscribers. The subscription method served as a useful entrance into the music publishing industry for relatively unknown musicians, and also held the promise of substantial profits for well-established composers. In addition, the subscription method provided opportunities for producing high-quality music books, and served as a check against violations of an artist's intellectual property.

• **SIMON McVEIGH (Goldsmiths, University of London), Piano Manufacturers and Concert Promotion in Edwardian London: New Light on the Broadwood Concerts (1902-1912)**

The symbiotic role played by piano-makers in concert life has a long history, and the influence of French firms on Parisian music has been well documented. But it should come as no surprise that piano manufacturers were similarly imbricated in the highly commercialised world of London's music making throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. Behind the scenes, they acted as agents, financing tours by house pianists and negotiating concert appearances with the main orchestras, in return for publicity in advertisements, programmes and on the concert platform. In addition, Chappells maintained a large stake in St James's Hall (home of their high-class chamber series, the Popular Concerts) and in 1902 they took over the flagship Queen's Hall. Many piano firms built their own halls, not only Bechstein (the present Wigmore Hall), but also Steinway, Érard and the Orchestrelle pianola firm (the Aeolian Hall). The business imperatives here are evident, but a still more intriguing example is provided by the venerable Broadwood firm. Clearly their major concert series was designed to maintain the fading Broadwood name in the public imagination. In part this was through pianists of the international stature of Dohnányi and Godowsky, but programmes also featured such string-playing paragons as Kreisler and the Bohemian and Rosé quartets. Indeed, the fare on offer was extraordinarily varied, incorporating new music by British and continental composers, as well as unusual early repertoires. Newly discovered accounts in the Broadwood Archive shed light on the financial arrangements of these concerts; while a remarkable letter from the chairman gives a frank assessment of the economics of London music and justification for the anticipated loss. The paper will reflect on the financial challenges of a vastly overcrowded London season and on why composers, performers and commercial interests should risk substantial sums in contributing to this concert profusion.

The Musician as Entrepreneur: How Musicians Financed their Activities (1)

• **ADAM SWAYNE (Royal Northern College of Music), The Musician as Entrepreneur: The Example of Ferdinand Ries's Concerto Op. 123**

Ferdinand Ries produced his first attempt in the concerto medium in 1806. Aged 22, he had recently completed his studies with Beethoven. Following unsuccessful attempts to convince Parisian houses to publish the piece, the original manuscript has been untouched for over two centuries. Having recently rediscovered this manuscript, I have made a new edition for premiere performances in 2021. Ferdinand Ries went on to establish himself as a musical entrepreneur, firstly as a touring performer across Europe and then as a fashionable soloist, teacher and concert promoter based in London from 1813. In 1824, the Viennese house Sauer and Leidesdorf published a revised version of Ries's 1806 concerto as «Concerto No. 6, Op. 123». A comparison between the original and published versions reveals significant ways in which Ries sought to increase the commercial impact of his concerto. Changes included a considerable shrinkage of the orchestral part and a new emphasis on salon styles in the piano writing. The soloist's part was expanded to draw upon practical innovations in piano manufacture, but at the expense of compositional cohesion. The role of the orchestra was changed from dramatic antagonist to that of mere accompanist. The youthful idealism of the original was replaced by middle-class pandering that seems particularly focussed on the market for eye-catching sheet music in homes containing new pianos. In this paper, an analysis of the two versions

will reveal the ways in which Ries was prepared to compromise his Beethovenian practices in favour of perceived opportunities for short-term financial gain. However, the apparent lack of commercial impact for the concerto, alongside Ries's subsequently diminished reputation as a composer, opens questions regarding his overall success as a musical entrepreneur.

• **RAMÓN SOBRINO – MARÍA ENCINA CORTIZO (Universidad de Oviedo), Musicians as Entrepreneurs: Private Music Societies in Crisis Times in Spain (1868-1874)**

After the Revolution of September 1868 and the expulsion of Queen Isabel II from Spain, the country is going through a convulsive stage of political, economic and social crisis over six years, the so-called *Sexenio Revolucionario* (1868-1874), which leads to the Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in King Alfonso XII, son of Isabel II. This period coincides with the start and consolidation of the development of chamber and orchestral music in Madrid, through the creation of professional musical associations, which are formed by the private initiative of some composers and performers. Both most relevant are the Sociedad de Cuartetos de Madrid (Madrid Quartets Society), founded in 1863 by the violinist Monasterio and the pianist Guelbenzu, and active until 1894, always under the direction of Monasterio; and the Sociedad de Conciertos de Madrid (Madrid Concert Society), founded in 1866 by Barbieri and active, under different conductors, until 1903. Both societies are made up of professional musicians, and feel the need to make known to the Spanish public the European repertoires, very little known at the time, in a regenerationist patriotic goal of normalization of the Spanish musical reality. The Sociedad de Cuartetos offers its seasons to a minority audience, which occupies rooms with a capacity limited to a hundred people. The Sociedad de Conciertos offers its sessions in the highest capacity theater of the moment, and during the summer it performs in gardens where the audience frequently exceeds 4,000. Both suffer the consequences of the economic and social instability generated by political events, not only in the influx of the public but also in their economic benefits. We will verify the management of the concerts of both entities — income, expenses, benefits, etc. —, analyzing the unpublished documentation preserved on the balances of income and expenses by seasons. At the same time, we'll note how the Madrid musicians of these societies tried to obtain economic income in this troubled period.

• **CHRISTINA GUILLAUMIER (Royal College of Music, London), Composer-Pianist, Conductor and Entrepreneur: The Multiple Lives of Sergei Prokofiev**

This paper will focus on one major composer of the twentieth century: the Russian composer Sergei Prokofiev. Directly affected by the cataclysmic effects of 1917, and the events leading up to them, he suffered the disruptive effects of emigration and worked diligently to create entrepreneurial networks that would be able to support him both financially and artistically. Although it is generally presumed that Prokofiev and other artistic figures were immediately supported by the émigré community in Paris, funds were hard to come by, as many key figures had their assets and valuables trapped in the chaos of internal revolution and civil unrest. Drawing on a wealth of archival resources including unpublished correspondence between Prokofiev, his associates, secretaries, agents and account managers, this paper provides new insights into the economic challenges' composers faced at the time. Like Stravinsky, Prokofiev relied on various financial support networks to sustain his work, performances of his output and ultimately his livelihood and that of his family. Even though he is considered one of the most successful composers of the first half of the twentieth-century, financial

stability and success were far from a given at the best of times. For Prokofiev, as for many other émigré composers, return on investment was important. In this paper, archival materials, eyewitness accounts and economic analyses of the period illuminate the real conditions behind the perceived glamour of the Russians in Paris.

Politics of Encouraging the Development of Musical Life

• DEMOSTHENES FISTOURIS (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), Political, Organizational, Management Issues and Financing in the Greek Art Music from 19th to the Early 20th Century

The organization and management of the Greek art music began from the Ionian Islands in the early 19th century. The trouping Italian opera and theater groups had already cultivated the musical taste of the Ionian people, having Corfu and the San Giacomo Opera Theater as music and opera center since the mid-18th century. In the course of time, the management of the music life passed into Greek hands, whilst the philharmonic companies, operating free of charge, served as music schools for the future generations. Following the accession of the Ionian Islands with the Greek official state in 1864, the foundation of the Conservatory of Athens in 1871, and the gradual organization of music education, the music center was relocated to Athens. In this capital city of Greece, the music market was mainly opera-based (Italian opera troupes marched in wooden and stone-built theaters), while the management of the new opera houses and the music financing shifted to Greek agents and sponsors. These developed a great deal of artistic activity, essentially controlling the opera and theater market in the Eastern Mediterranean, where Greek communities were flourishing in cosmopolitan cities, such as Constantinople, Smyrna and Alexandria until the outbreak of World War I, when everything changed drastically. This paper aims to shed light on political, organizational, management issues and financing in the Greek art music from 19th to the early 20th century. Furthermore, it refers to the activities of eminent Greek composers who emerged during this era, such as Nicholas Manzaros (Zingarelli's favorite), Paul Carrer (Verdi's contemporary), Spyros Samaras (Giovanne Scuola's member) and the founder of the Greek national school of music Manolis Kalomiris.

• JAN DEWILDE (Centre for the Study of Flemish Music / Royal Conservatoire Antwerp), German Patrons and the Antwerp Musical Life (1864-1914)

In the second half of the 19th century and during the first decades of the 20th century, the Antwerp music scene was largely determined by two opera houses, the Théâtre français and the Vlaamse Opera on the one hand, and a growing number of concert associations on the other. This lecture wants to explore how the German trading colony, which was active in the port of Antwerp, influenced the Antwerp music scene through the patronage of concert organisations and directed the virtually exclusive focus on Paris towards the Rhineland. The German patrons of the *Société de Musique* (1864) aimed to have large-scale choral pieces performed, following example of the 'Niederrheinische Musikfeste'. Because of the appointment of the composer Peter Benoit, the first director of the Flemish Music School of Antwerp, as music director, the functioning and the image of the *Société de Musique* was enhanced and the German patrons were able to have a strong influence on the Antwerp music scene, both when it came to repertoire as well as performers. Out of the *Société de Musique* and the musical activities of the anarchistic cenacle *De Kapel*, in 1903 the *Maatschappij der Nieuwe Concerten* emerged. Thanks to powerful

capital increases from the patrons, through a system of shareholders for the first time, aside from the opera orchestras, a (semi-)professional orchestra could be founded, which was conducted by composer Lodewijk Mortelmans. Thanks to the capital and to the international network of the patrons, famous musicians could be engaged (Mahler, Strauss, Rachmaninov...) as well as international orchestras. This lecture is based on recent archival research and prosopographic research into the patrons and members of these concert organisations and into their networks. This way, the influence and the importance of the participating German business families on the musical and cultural scene in Antwerp can be mapped.

• **KRISTIN VAN DEN BUYS (Vrije Universiteit Brussel), *The Rise, Climax and Decline (1920-1936) of Modernist Music in Commercial Concert Organizations in Brussels and its Revival (1936-1940) at the Fully Subsidized National Radio Belgian Broadcasting Institute***

The purpose of this study is to examine how modernist music was financed in Brussels in the interwar period (1919-1940). In the end of 1920s and the 1930s Brussels became an important centre of musical modernism. For example, the first performances of Stravinsky's *Psalm Symphony* (1930), Prokofiev's *Le joueur* (1929) and Alban Berg's *Wozzeck* in a French translation (1932) serve as testimonies of the city's high status comparable to other major European centres of modern music. Cultural entrepreneurs like Henry Le Boeuf (director of the *Concerts Populaires* and the Philharmonic Society of Brussels), Paul Collaer (director of the *Pro Arte concerts*, 1922-1934), and Corneil de Thoran (director of the Royal Opera La Monnaie) created a unique platform for French, German and Russian modernism. This modernist ideal could only be achieved through the support and patronage of a financial elite until 1933. The *Pro Arte Concerts*, for example, relied on a financial elite that included Belgian aristocrats, politicians, military leaders, bankers (Henry Le Boeuf and Adolphe Stoclet) and members of the arts world. From 1933 onwards, interest in modernist music at the aforesaid concert organisations became sparse. The revival occurred within the context of the National Radio Broadcasting Institute (known by the Dutch acronym NIR) in which the NIR Great Symphony Orchestra and its music director of the Flemish department, Paul Collaer, and principal conductor Franz André, played an important role. The NIR/ INR, was fully subsidized by the state. The financial support for modernist music changed thus from private initiative in the twenties towards state-subsidized initiative in the thirties.

The Musician as Entrepreneur: How Musicians Financed their Activities (2)

• **CÉSAR LEAL (Gettysburg College – Sunderman Conservatory of Music), *Isaac de Camondo and the Music Aesthetic of Amateur Composers and Sponsors***

From a family of bankers, Isaac the Camondo (1851-1911) arrived in Paris from Istanbul following the expansion of the family's profitable business. Scholars such as Nora Seni have explained that Camondo «is a forgotten name among Jewish banking families of the 19th century [...]» and that they «used their wealth for philanthropy and banking in much the same way». Since an early age count Isaac de Camondo connected with Gabriel Astruc (1864-1938), son of the recognized Rabbi Élide Aristide Astruc (1831-1905), who was in charge of Camondo's religious education. By 1905, Gabriel Astruc had become one of the most prominent impresarios and theater directors of Europe. This paper explores the personal, artistic, and philanthropic connections between Camondo and Astruc, which proved decisive

in the success of the majority of Astruc's large-scale artistic projects. The Camondo archives at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs in Paris contain information about Isaac de Camondo's work as a composer and sponsor of Astruc's projects, which included the construction of the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées. This study contemplates Astruc's publications of Camondo's music as well as Astruc's production of Camondo's only opera *Le Clown*. Often, music catalogues list works by composers like Camondo, Ravel, and Debussy side by side. This paper suggests that the publication and commercialization of composers like Camondo contributed to create a particular music aesthetic that coexisted and actively interacted alongside the avant-garde movement.

• **MIRIJAM BEIER (Universität Salzburg / Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum),**
How to Finance a Singer's Life and Career in the Italian Opera Business of the Eighteenth Century

For the Italian opera business, as for any business, money plays an essential role and forms a centre most activities rely on: whether in the form of salaries for the singers, the operating costs of a theatre or the calculation costs of an impresario. The risky nature of the business was well known and naturally also affected the singers as the main protagonists of opera. They developed different strategies of financing their own lives and often freelance careers, which do not simply consist of negotiating preferably high salaries and good contract conditions. One of their main goal was to gain reputation or, in other words, symbolic capital. This kind of capital consists of all facets that make up a singer: from the singers' vocal abilities to their networking and self-promotion skills. A high level of symbolic capital could then be invested in the following profitable engagements and converted into economic capital via the corresponding salaries. Thus, salaries and reputation also have a direct reciprocal effect on each other and it shows that symbolic capital was fundamental for a profitable and long-term career. This paper aims to examine the financing strategies of the opera singer Marianne Pirker (ca. 1717-1782) on the basis of her correspondence. Her career took her right across Europe and allowed her to participate in the different organisational forms opera business provided. She suffered from non-payment of salaries, dealt in luxury goods to gain money, travelled a lot and was therefore familiar with customs regulations or currency conversions and negotiated contracts — just to name a few of her financial activities. Her career, traced through the unique source of her correspondence, thus provides an intriguing insight how a singer's life and career in the Italian opera business of the eighteenth century could be financed.

The Long History of Patronage: Persistence and Evolution of an Economic Model

• **BERTHOLD OVER (Universität Greifswald, Institut für Kirchenmusik und Musikwissenschaft),**
Music in the Court Budget: The Example of the Munich Court (1590-1802)

The Munich court was one of the most important courts in Germany. First a ducal court it could realize an elevation in rank in 1623 becoming an Electorate before being the centre of the Holy Roman Empire for a short time when Karl Albrecht was elected Emperor in 1740 as the opponent of Maria Theresia of Habsburg. Music played an important role at the court: amongst the most prominent musicians was Orlando di Lasso; Munich established and maintained continuously the first court opera in Germany (1653); Farinelli sang two times in Munich (1728 and 1729), his only appearances in Germany; famous castratos were employed at the *Hofkapelle* like Giovanni Carestini or Luigi Marchesi; Mozart was engaged to write *Idomeneo*

(1781) — for naming only a few important persons and events. Numerous financial documents from the court are preserved until our day, offering a broad perspective on court organization, personnel and finance. Amongst them are the court ledgers that compile year after year more or less detailed earnings and spending according to what we would call today ‘cost centres’. With some lacunae they are preserved from the period 1550-1803. These important documents provide the opportunity to have a closer look at the role music played at court. So, for example, it is possible to establish the relation of music costs to total costs and of music personnel to all personnel. This offers the chance to evaluate music’s standing at the court with regard to budget and people. In my paper I will investigate the financing of music at the Munich court over the years, especially in the 18th century. The main questions to be approached are: How has the personnel developed during the time under consideration? How many has been spent for music? What percentage do have music costs in relation to the costs for court personnel and to the court budget? Is music a rather expensive art or is it rather neglectable in the court finances?

• **MORTON WAN (Cornell University), *Sonic Exuberance: Music and the Stock Market during the South Sea Bubble***

Music historians have been fascinated by Handel’s foray into England’s nascent financial market, especially his investment during the infamous 1720 speculative mania known as the South Sea Bubble. While those historical accounts thus produced portrayed Handel as a shrewd man of money, little has been said in connecting England’s origin story of financial capitalism with Handel’s music in aesthetic terms: how was Handel’s music simultaneously shaped and shaping the commercial society in which the composer found himself? This paper moves away from the critical habit of separating aesthetics from economics by placing the inaugural season (1719-1720) of Handel’s engagement with the opera company Royal Academy of Music within the context of the South Sea Bubble. Drawing on the parallels in their nature as joint-stock corporations between the Royal Academy and the South Sea Company and on contemporary pamphleteers’ strategic conflation of Italian opera in the theater and the investment mania across society, I argue that operatic ventures in that new entrepreneurial milieu revealed a discursive continuum between the business of pleasure and the pleasure of business. Freely traversing this continuum between music and money were such notions as sympathy, hope, and patriotism, as they enabled Handel’s music to reveal a sensuous dimension of the innovative, albeit volatile, eighteenth-century financial market, thereby rendering the history of the South Sea boom and bust audible.

• **SEAN REILLY (Universität Leipzig), *The New-German School and the ‘Retreat to the Court’: Reexamining the Conflict between Claims of Autonomy and the Constraints of Aristocratic Patronage***

Less than three quarters of a century separate Mozart’s request for dismissal from the court in Salzburg and Franz Liszt’s move to Weimar in search of artistic refuge from bourgeois musical life. While a juxtaposition of these well-known instances hardly does justice to the complexity of historical developments, it lends the impression of a certain about-face by composers in their relationship to nobility and the bourgeoisie, a mid-nineteenth-century ‘retreat to the court’, so to speak. The burgeoning market structures of late-eighteenth-century musical life that saw the establishment of the social role of the ‘free artist’ would soon reach a point of inundation that led members of the New-German School — a term coined by music

historian and critic Franz Brendel to describe the ‘new direction’ in music led by Liszt, Wagner, and Berlioz — to turn toward noble patrons in order to reaffirm their claims of autonomy. To fully understand this seemingly paradoxical situation, it is necessary to evaluate the role of a small group of non-composers, who, led by Brendel, secured funds and material resources from courts across Central Germany to support organisations such as the Allgemeiner Deutscher Musikverein (founded 1861), the preeminent society for contemporary music for over half a century. The broad initiative was linked with extensive propaganda for a comprehensive reform of musical life, of which financial considerations were a cornerstone. As Brendel would put it in his essay collection *Die Organisation des Musikwesens durch den Staat*, «the question of art in our time is essentially a question of money». Drawing on original source research supported by the Klassik Stiftung Weimar, this paper will examine the economic dimensions of the New-German School as well as the reform ideas upon which the movement was founded.

• **OLENA PONOMARENKO (Tchaikovsky National Music Academy of Ukraine, Kyiv), Patrocinio nella cultura musicale ucraina: tradizione e innovazione**

La vita musicale dell’Ucraina moderna è molto diversificata in virtù di una vasta gamma di eventi artistici e culturali, nonché delle attività del settore finanziario che programma e organizza questi eventi. Le limitate opportunità economiche dello stato non forniscono l’assistenza finanziaria necessaria alle organizzazioni culturali per l’attuazione di progetti promettenti e per la conservazione del patrimonio culturale, quindi devono operare attraverso l’assistenza della beneficenza. Pertanto, la questione della beneficenza e del patrocinio in Ucraina diventa significativamente rilevante dal punto di vista sia scientifico che pratico e il problema del loro sviluppo diventa oggetto della moderna ricerca. La beneficenza occupa un posto significativo nella tradizione ucraina. Nel XIX e all’inizio del XX secolo, noti mecenati erano persone capaci, altamente istruite e di successo: Tarnowski, Hryhorij Galahan, la famiglia Symyrenko, Yevhen Chykalenko, padre e figlio Rylsky, i fratelli Brodsky e diverse generazioni di Tereshchenko. Essi hanno fatto molto per lo sviluppo della cultura, dell’istruzione, l’industria, della medicina, e così via. L’analisi socio-storica del mecenatismo in Ucraina nella seconda metà del XIX e inizi del XX secolo ha permesso di delineare l’esistenza delle seguenti forme di mecenatismo in quel periodo: 1) filantropia artistica 2) mecenatismo aristocratico; 3) patrocinio nazionale, ovvero il sostegno finanziario al popolo ucraino, che era contrario alla politica educativa anti-ucraina del governo zarista. L’attività filantropica di molti rappresentanti di rilievo nel campo della cultura, dell’istruzione e della scienza era intrisa della volontà di rafforzare lo spirito nazionale, di sviluppare l’idea di nazione. Oggi, il settore della sponsorizzazione in Ucraina è maturo e influenza l’economia nazionale, le relazioni sociali e culturali. Allo stesso tempo, la mancanza di cooperazione tra la società civile e lo stato ostacola un suo più efficace sviluppo. Pertanto lo stato e l’industria devono rendersi conto che oggi è necessario investire per garantire il futuro sviluppo dell’arte.



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