

“Trash Music”: Valuing Nineteenth-century Italian Opera  
Fantasias for Woodwinds

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## Preface

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text.

It is not substantially the same as any that I have submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for a degree or diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my dissertation has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text

It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

In this thesis, I have maintained the spelling, capitalization, accent marks, and grammar of the nineteenth-century sources that I use. Additionally, translations are my own unless otherwise specified.



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## INTRODUCTION

Upon arriving at the conservatory library in Palermo, Sicily, home of oboist and composer Antonio Pasculli, the librarian informed me that I was lucky to have visited that week. One week earlier, a large World War Two bomb had been found in the harbour a five-minute walk from the conservatory, leading to a temporary evacuation. Soon afterwards, I discovered a monument to Pasculli in the relatively small and empty library vestibule, accompanied by the usual coat rack, office doors, and desultory collection of concert and festival brochures. The marble plinth celebrating the life and works of Antonio Pasculli is placed upside down on the floor (fig. 1), an apt metaphor for the reception of the woodwind opera fantasia from the nineteenth century until today.



Fig. 1: The monument to Pasculli in the Palermo conservatory library.

As the story is told by the librarian, the marble – engraved with a few beats of “Le Api”, one of Pasculli’s non-opera-based concert etudes in which the oboe imitates a bee by playing arpeggios at such a rapid speed that the notes almost blur into chords – was moved to the library at the behest of a visiting oboist aghast at its former careless location outside.<sup>1</sup> He could convince the conservatory to move the monument but not to install it or even to place it right-side-up.

In contrast to this uncertain legacy, the Milan conservatory library holds so many woodwind opera fantasias from the nineteenth century that I was unable to view all of them. The research behind this thesis has, as I imagine all doctoral research does in the end, constantly proved surprising and challenging in unpredicted and unpredictable ways.

\* \* \* \* \*

In an article in the journal of the International Double Reed Society, oboist Sandro Caldini (responsible for many of the current editions of Pasculli’s music and much of the basic information we know about him) recounts his brother’s reaction to Pasculli.

“This is trash music; you must feel ill, this is musical pornography!” I [Caldini] was very disappointed with his answer and after putting away the score in my library I began thinking about which oboe pieces are really important and why Pasculli’s pieces aren’t beautiful but funny.<sup>2</sup>

But whether Pasculli’s pieces are beautiful or funny, whether they are therefore “art” or the “emotionally void” virtuosic music that critics have derided throughout the twentieth century, they are important. They reflect the physical possibilities of the oboe, true, but they also reflect the tastes of audiences and musicians at the time of their composition. Recent musical and musicological discussion can be particularly vicious about virtuosic instrumental music, particularly that by little-known composers, dismissing it as overly focused on technique or as purely commercial. A recent review of a Pasculli CD argues that “in his operatic fantasias the thematic material is of less importance than the amazing technical demands made on any player.... The musical allusions may now be lost, but the technical display remains supreme”.<sup>3</sup>

The following rant from oboist Charles-David Lehrer, writing on the development of nineteenth-century oboe repertoire, is even more extreme:

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<sup>1</sup> As a side note, Pasculli’s instrumental bee predates Rimsky-Korsakov’s. See Blundo Canto 2012, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Sandro Caldini, “Browsing Among Pasculli”, *The Journal of The International Double Reed Society*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Winter 1994), p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Keith Anderson, Liner notes to *PASCULLI: Operatic Fantasias*, Ivan Paisov, Naxos 8570567, CD, 2008.

I still ask, how could it come to this, the magnificent shape of the Classical concerto reduced to the *bel canto* aria! Perhaps this is why the greatest composers stayed away from composing such works for the oboe. The opera composers had their hands full with the real thing (we just lucked in with Bellini and Donizetti): can we imagine oboe works in the operatic styles of Verdi and Puccini? And the symphonic composers like Schumann, Brahms, and Dvorak must have found the operatic version of the concerto too frivolous.<sup>4</sup>

Lehrer implies that Bellini and Donizetti, though they “had their hands full”, were unobjectionable as opera composers, but he is clear that a repurposing of their music is unacceptable, ruining the “magnificent” and idealized concerto. There is perhaps some truth in these accusations – music such as Pasculli’s filled a gap for nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century audiences and musicians by allowing them to experience repeatedly, or in a home setting, what was previously only attainable occasionally in an opera house. However, Pasculli’s fantasias also present beautiful melodies, praised in their operatic settings, and require the performer in particular to stretch his or her expressive capabilities by recreating vocal melodies. Surely the reviewer of the Pasculli CD contradicts himself by admitting that “the musical allusions may now be lost”; if knowing the musical allusions is relevant to a fantasia, this implies both that the pieces are not solely interesting from a technical standpoint and that for Pasculli’s audiences the thematic material of fantasias such as his would be known and important. The same reactions and implications are true far beyond Pasculli’s fantasias specifically, evident in myriad compositions by scores of composers for the flute, clarinet, oboe, and bassoon.

Opera fantasias are deeply related to the nineteenth-century operatic canon, and research questions abound. How can critical discussions of virtuosity, genre, popularity, and the critical power of composition be applied to opera fantasias? Are there patterns in the chosen operas? Were operas chosen for their story features, or more purely for musical elements? Do fantasias function as criticism of gendering, of societal concepts, of operas themselves? What do primary sources reveal about how these pieces were originally received, critically and popularly? Further, how have performers themselves interacted with these fantasias? After all, for these pieces, composer and performer were primarily one and the same.

While research into the history of the fantasia, the opera fantasia, and instrumental development has given me important insight into the larger context of the works I study, it is virtuosity, genre, and also gender that are central to my critical approaches to the opera

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<sup>4</sup> Charles-David Lehrer, “The repertory of the oboe soloist in the 19th century: the hidden structure”, *The Journal of the International Double Reed Society*, No. 12 (1984).

fantasia. Here, I create a theoretical framework for each critical approach, applying literary theory as well as analytical discussions of non-vocal music to the genre of the opera fantasia, and then apply this framework to specific compositions. Sheet music and manuscripts are my principal primary sources, along with contemporary reviews, both those written on Italian concerts and those describing international tours. While many areas related to these opera fantasias and their context have been competently addressed from multiple angles, the musical and social impacts of nineteenth-century Italian fantasias and woodwind fantasias have yet to be studied in an adequately critical way. Many of the resources I have uncovered are little known or little discussed even among Italian scholars and performers. Additionally, much of the knowledge of and research on Italian fantasias and Italian woodwind development that does exist has yet to become available in the English language. This thesis accompanies the discussion of generic conventions of the woodwind opera fantasia, examination of a large number of individual fantasias, and analysis of critical strands such as narrative theory and the gendered overtones of individual woodwind instruments and of virtuosity itself with the sharing of primary resources related to these composer-performers and the re-discovery of many musical works with the English-speaking world of musicologists and performers.

Of course, not every opera fantasia is an example of great compositional mastery; an effort to focus on the genre analytically or merely to emphasize the artistry of some fantasias can easily gloss over this. However, it is also easy to use the varying musical value of opera fantasias to obscure the real social impulses which moulded the fate of these pieces. The stereotype of an opera fantasia as moving rapidly through a large number of themes without significant elaboration or ornamentation on those themes, which are merely presented one after another, with all musicality or “meaning” absent, is true for some compositions. At the same time, as the nineteenth century progressed public opinions in the north and then in Italy were purposefully manipulated against fantasias: “symphonic values...were imposed upon a public that was initially gravitating toward music of virtuoso character” as critics transformed virtuosity “from a separate musical value into a hierarchically subordinate position on a single scale of musical value”.<sup>5</sup> The purely musical worth of any given fantasia is nearly impossible to establish, but the social worth of the fantasia as a genre can certainly be investigated. This is an often overlooked genre that nonetheless is intimately tied to the central canon.

I focus on opera fantasias from the second half of the nineteenth century, a decision that seemed only natural. This was the heyday of opera fantasias for woodwind instruments, and extant historiography on the opera fantasia circles around the first half of the century,

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<sup>5</sup> Dana Gooley, “The Battle Against Instrumental Virtuosity in the Early Nineteenth Century”, *Franz Liszt and His World*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs and Dana Gooley (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 104, 106.

decisively separating fantasias and their composers into those contemporary with Paganini and those contemporary with Liszt. Yet upon further inspection, this historiography seems to derive strongly from Germanocentric discussion, albeit one heavily concentrated on the musical activities of Paris, which perhaps maps awkwardly onto the impact and legacy of an Italian virtuoso and a Hungarian one. The history of the opera fantasia is often told in terms of Paganini and Liszt, but the reality of this genre is its continuation far beyond these two figures in both time and space. In the later nineteenth century, instrumentalists like Emanuele Krakamp, Ernesto Cavallini, and Antonio Pasculli – lauded, discussed, and critiqued by their contemporaries – carried on shaping the fantasia and the reality of Italian music.



## CHAPTER 1

### The fantasia in musicological context

To mention the Besozzi family is something of a cliché in discussions of woodwind virtuosity, though perhaps not quite rising to the level of founding a discussion of more general virtuosity on Paganini and Liszt. However, just as Paganini and Liszt are critical to understanding both nineteenth-century and present day attitudes toward the virtuoso, the Besozzis, most specifically during their flourishing as oboists in the eighteenth century, are critical to understanding the context within which musicians like Briccialdi, Cavallini, and Pasculli eventually performed and composed. Touring Italian woodwind virtuosos have been a feature of European musical life since the creation of the woodwind instruments we recognize today. And though initially, as in the case of the Besozzis, woodwind virtuosity was often passed down through families, by the mid-nineteenth century Italian conservatories, including those surveyed for opera fantasias in following chapters (Milan, Naples, Palermo, and Parma), housed woodwind studios headed by and producing great woodwind virtuosos.<sup>1</sup> In Chapter 2, I concentrate on the Italian traditions that supported the nineteenth-century rise of woodwind virtuosos and opera fantasias, beginning here with a focus on the French and German critical receptions to virtuoso performers and composers. Critically, the performers of the vast majority of Italian woodwind opera fantasias were the composers of these pieces, but distinctions between performance and composition, and between music-the-act and music-the-work, have nonetheless been increasingly applied to the opera fantasia in later encounters with this genre.

As my introduction explains, the world of the opera fantasia in the nineteenth century is often seen as one founded solely upon Paganini and Liszt, with all other composers and performers in secondary orbit. As such, I begin my discussion of the context within which woodwind opera fantasias were written and performed not with woodwinds but with these two pivotal figures, before spinning out into the wider world of the genre's development in terms of musical forms, performance concerns, instrumental changes, and cultural impact. In all of these cases, our current reactions to opera fantasias and woodwind virtuosity remain heavily based on mid- and late-nineteenth-century Germanic critics and reception history and the rise of *Werktreue*.

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<sup>1</sup> The Ferlendis family also produced several generations of touring oboe virtuosos; in France the Hotteterre family were influential as oboists and flautists as well as instrument makers. See Chapter 2 for further discussion of Italian conservatories as centers of wind playing. The increased importance of these conservatories in wind playing circles occurred as a more general "instrumental renaissance" (or "risorgimento strumentale") gripped Italy, with increased focus on instruments as moving beyond mere vocal accompaniment.

### 1.1. The legacies of Paganini and Liszt

The connected but contrasting duology of Paganini and Liszt suffuses the history of the opera fantasia entirely. Paganini may have been a virtuoso composer made good, but Liszt (while equally virtuosic) “justified” his fame and career by establishing himself as a serious composer. A telling, though probably unconscious point is Liszt’s original name for his *Grandes études de Paganini*: the set was first published as *Études d’exécution transcendante d’après Paganini*.<sup>2</sup> Liszt, by composing over Paganini, was transcending him; like Paganini, Liszt achieved success through novelty as a virtuosic performer of previously unheard ability, but Liszt, as an acceptably serious musician, transcended Paganini’s mere virtuosity.<sup>3</sup> While his status derived from his symphonic writing more than his paraphrases and transcriptions, these latter pieces are still now seen as worthy of discussion in a way that other opera fantasias are not.<sup>4</sup> Kenneth Hamilton remarks that “if we listen to one Thalberg piece with pleasure, we are likely to listen to a second with boredom, but each Liszt fantasia offers potentially new and unique points of interest.”<sup>5</sup> Liszt’s compositions based on operas “sometimes encapsulate an entire act in a 15-minute concert piece, juxtaposing and combining the themes en route”.<sup>6</sup> He moves beyond the mere presentation of themes to a composition whose art comes from the manner in which he alters and links themes. This concept of “encapsulating” a larger work within a fantasia returns again and again in scholarship of Liszt; however, as discussed in detail in Chapter 3, this is hardly unique to Liszt’s opera fantasias. Instead, it is a common characteristic of the genre.

Nevertheless, if Liszt is seen as the highpoint of the fantasia, the most respectable and canon-worthy of its composer-performers, Paganini is in many ways seen as his opposite. The two are the root of numerous polarized stereotypes of the fantasia and critical responses to the genre.<sup>7</sup> Yet Paganini has in some ways become the single reference point for the entire genre of the opera fantasia. Descriptions of other virtuosos as “the Paganini” of a given instrument

<sup>2</sup> Alan Walker, “Liszt, Franz, §9: Liszt and the piano”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, *After the Golden Age: romantic pianism and modern performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Kenneth Hamilton’s dissertation *The opera fantasias and transcriptions of Franz Liszt: a critical study*, Jonathan Kregor’s *Liszt as Transcriber*; and works on virtuosity such as Susan Bernstein’s *Virtuosity of the nineteenth century: performing music and language in Heine, Liszt, and Baudelaire*. It is important to distinguish between the two different genres of piano transcription on which Liszt focused. Transcriptions are, as the name implies, piano versions of non-piano works, which attempt to stay as close to the original form and sound of the work as possible; his most famous are his versions of Beethoven’s symphonies. In contrast, paraphrases, which are often titled “Réminiscence” or “Grande fantaisie”, work creatively with a selection of themes from a work, generally a *bel canto* or Verdian opera; these are opera fantasias.

<sup>5</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, “The opera fantasias and transcriptions of Franz Liszt: a critical study” (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1989), p. 315.

<sup>6</sup> Walker, “Liszt, Franz, §10: Arrangements”.

<sup>7</sup> For example, while Liszt’s compositions tend to use several themes, Paganini’s tend towards theme and variation on a single theme and are rarely if ever described as transcending presentation or encapsulating narrative.



abound, though not all of these comparisons are necessarily flattering; oboist Baldassare Centroni was most likely compared to Paganini not only because of his playing abilities but also because of his tortured appearance while playing.<sup>8</sup> This use of Paganini as a point of comparison is probably a result of both his self-mythologized reputation and the fact that Paganini, active a generation before Liszt, was seen by many as the origin of the true virtuoso, previous contenders for the title notwithstanding. In reception, even Liszt often exists in relation to Paganini. Edward Neill claims that “[Paganini] not only contributed to the history of the violin as its most famous virtuoso but also drew the attention of other Romantic composers, notably Liszt, to the significance of virtuosity as an element in art”.<sup>9</sup> And on the occasion of Liszt’s centenary, Gustav Kobbé described Liszt as “the Paganini of the pianoforte, the greatest virtuoso that ever lived”; in the same sentence he describes John Singer Sargent as “the Paganini of the brush”.<sup>10</sup>

Comparison to Paganini created a frisson of excitement by way of association with one of the most infamous individuals of classical music, but in some ways it is less egotistical to claim Paganini as an ancestor than to claim Liszt, as this is to claim virtuosity rather than artistry. Many contemporary reviews speak of Paganini’s musicality, the beauty of his playing and compositions, and his expressivity and taste, but many more denounce his playing as fireworks, technicality, and charlatanism, detached from good musical taste. For every claim that “the real magic is not the novelty of the feat, but the surprising beauty of the effect. . . . None of the phenomena of his execution appears to be exhibited for the sake of their own display: they appear as means, not ends” (London’s *The Examiner*), there is one (often by a German critic) that claims “that which satisfies the Italian audiences and has won for him the title of ‘the incomperable’ [sic]...is found to be a series of bewildering tricks” (Louis Spohr’s diary) or that “his compositions...are beneath all criticism” (Hamburg’s *Literarische Blätter der Börsen-Halle*).<sup>11</sup> Even Jeffrey Pulver, a nearly fanatical proponent of Paganini, concludes his book on the violinist by proclaiming that “the world of music has not profited by his presence on the stage”.<sup>12</sup> Where Liszt became a noted pedagogue, proponent of the expressive power of music, and innovator of forms, Paganini published little and taught less. His reputation may have been flashier, but his powers were narrower. In this way, despite

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<sup>8</sup> Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes, *The Oboe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 153. Other comparisons include Paganinis of the flute Johann Sedlatzek and Jules Demersseman; of the double bass Giovanni Bottesini, Domenico Dragonetti, and modern virtuoso Renaud Garcia-Fons; of the clarinet Ernesto Cavallini; of the cello Adrien-François Servais, and of the guitar Pasquale Taraffo.

<sup>9</sup> Edward Neill, “Paganini, Nicolò”, in *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017. Though now typically spelled “Niccolò”, Paganini’s first name is not infrequently also spelled with one “c”.

<sup>10</sup> Gustav Kobbé, “Centenary of Liszt’s Birth”, *The Lotus Magazine*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (Oct. 1911), p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> Jeffrey Pulver, *Paganini The Romantic Virtuoso* (London: Herbert Joseph Ltd, 1936), pp. 93, 156, 245.

<sup>12</sup> Pulver, p. 306.

common comparisons, Paganini is a poor representative of the virtuoso composer-performer of the opera fantasia, who frequently held a respected position teaching at conservatories and frequently published virtuosic compositions.

The early twentieth century saw a dip in Liszt's popularity as well as Paganini's, of course. As Alan Walker describes it, Liszt's reputation suffered in combination with the "deliquescence" of much of Romantic music; "once the leaner textures of Stravinsky, Schoenberg and Bartók (who nonetheless greatly admired Liszt) took over, much of Liszt's music seemed flamboyant and excessive by contrast."<sup>13</sup> This view of Romantic music, and of opera fantasias even more so, as flamboyant and excessive continued well into the twentieth century.

## 1.2. The history and legacy of the opera fantasia

As implied by the above emphasis on the virtuosic careers of Paganini and Liszt, musicological literature on topics related to the opera fantasia focuses heavily on the first half of the nineteenth century. This thesis is concerned with Italian opera fantasias written for woodwinds in the second half of the nineteenth century, but a broad historical overview is necessary in order to place these pieces in context. The development of concert life in Paris, the salon-based predecessors of opera fantasias, and the reception and careers of virtuosos of the piano and violin clearly impacted the historical reception of woodwind opera fantasias and still impact their reception today.

With the obvious exception of Paganini, very few Italians appear anywhere in a survey of earlier fantasias. Perhaps this can be attributed to some kind of truth behind Liszt fantasia scholar Charles Suttoni's rather flippant description of "that rather rare breed, the Italian instrumental composer of the 1800s";<sup>14</sup> more precisely, perhaps the Italian privileging of vocal music combined with the decentralized, fragmented Italian music publishing industry of the early nineteenth century and the dramatic after effects of the Napoleonic wars to hinder both the production and spread of Italian opera fantasias at the beginning of the century.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Walker, "Liszt, Franz, §28: Style, reception, posterity".

<sup>14</sup> Charles Suttoni, "Instrumental Solo and Ensemble Music By Giulio Briccialdi, Antonio Pasculli", *Notes*, Vol. 46, No. 4 (June 1990), p. 1071.

<sup>15</sup> For example, the Milan correspondent of *The Harmonicon* wrote in 1831 that "the invasion of Italy by the armies of republican France, in 1796...destroyed at once the schools which educated the young, and the retreats which fostered the adult musician." *The Harmonicon*, IX (1831), 253" in Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1984), pp. 347-348. While Ricordi officially began printing activities in Milan in 1808, in Naples no printing rights were granted until 1816, the publisher Mareschalchi having been established in 1785 but exiled to France in 1799, and in Rome though some music publishing occurred in the first decade of the nineteenth century, some of this in collaboration with Ricordi, the significant publishing firm Ratti and Cencetti was founded only in 1821. See Bianca Maria Antolini and Annalisa Bini, "Music Publishing in Rome during the 19th Century", *Fontes Artis*

Instead, there is a heavy presence of both French- and German-speaking composer-performers. The operas used by early fantasia composers, however, are heavily, though by no means exclusively, Italian; Kalkbrenner, for example, seems to favour Rossini, Bellini, and Meyerbeer.<sup>16</sup> Most of these composers wrote many variation sets based on opera themes and other melodies and few fantasias, and while the genre was a rapidly evolving one, descriptions of these pieces range from “the ne plus ultra of modern art” (Louis Spohr) to “strikingly conservative” (J. B. Cramer).<sup>17</sup>

Information on the history and development of the opera fantasia can most frequently be found in discussions of the lives and careers of specific virtuosic performers, most often pianists, who can be roughly divided into contemporaries of Paganini<sup>18</sup> and contemporaries of Liszt.<sup>19</sup> (Even before Liszt’s explosion onto the scene, the majority of (known) fantasia composers were pianists, although violinists were also common and woodwind composers of fantasias were certainly present during this era.<sup>20</sup>) However, secondary scholarship on the opera fantasia as a wider genre is dwarfed by the volume of composers, many of whom are scarcely written about in secondary literature beyond poorly cited biographical information. So much emphasis is placed on Liszt, who in scholarly perception at least is both the midpoint and the climax of the opera fantasia as a performance piece, that looking for information on additional composers and performers mentioned in the midst of books on Liszt or books on concert practice or virtuosity also provides shortcuts into the genre of the opera fantasia as a whole.<sup>21</sup>

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*Musicae* 32, no. 1 (1985), pp. 31-32; Agostina Zecca Laterza, “Manuscript Music Published in Naples: 1780–1820”, *Fontes Artis Musicae* 59, no. 2 (2012), pp. 149-57; D. W. Krummel, “Review: Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani, 1750-1930 by Bianca Maria Antolini”, *Notes* 58, no. 3 (2002), pp. 549-50, Bianca Maria Antolini, ed., *Dizionario degli editori musicali italiani, 1750-1930* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2000); the historical Ricordi catalogue, available at <http://www.archivioricordi.com/it/catalog>; Philip Gossett, “The Ricordi Numerical Catalogue: A Background”, *Notes* 42, no. 1 (1985), pp. 22-28.

<sup>16</sup> Paul Dekeyser, “Kalkbrenner, Frédéric”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017. Weber, however, puts equal emphasis on “operas by Italian, German, Austrian, and French composers”. William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 143.

<sup>17</sup> Simon McVeigh et al, “Cramer: (2) Johann Baptist Cramer”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017; Clive Brown, “Spohr, Louis”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017.

<sup>18</sup> The most well-known of the Paganini era are Friedrich Kalkbrenner (1785-1849), Daniel Steibelt (1765-1823), Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837), Charles-Philippe Lafont (1781-1839), Louis Spohr (1784-1859), J. B. Cramer (1771-1858), and Carl Czerny (1791-1857).

<sup>19</sup> The most well-known Liszt contemporaries include Sigismond Thalberg (1812-1871), Henri Herz (1803-1888), Theodor Döhler (1814-1856), and Henri Vieuxtemps (1820-1881).

<sup>20</sup> These include oboists Henri Brod (1799-1839) and Gustave Vogt (1781-1870).

<sup>21</sup> Key works in this area include Kenneth Hamilton’s *After the Golden Age: romantic pianism and modern performance* and *Cambridge Companion to Liszt*, Jonathan Kregor’s *Liszt as Transcriber*, Dana Gooley’s *The Virtuoso Liszt*, and *Franz Liszt: the Man and his Music*, edited by Alan Walker and Sacheverell Sitwell, as well as Walker’s *Franz Liszt: The Virtuoso Years, 1811-47*. William Weber’s book *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste* and Clive Brown’s *Louis Spohr: A Critical Biography* are helpful resources as well.

Indeed, the most helpful survey of the opera fantasia as a genre is Charles Suttoni's brief entry "Piano fantasies and transcriptions" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*; Suttoni wrote his doctoral dissertation on Liszt's piano fantasies and transcriptions, and is certainly the most cited author on piano fantasias. Kenneth Hamilton, who works on the piano as well as Liszt more specifically, also began his academic career with a dissertation on Liszt's opera fantasias, in which he positions Liszt's fantasias as particularly worthy and unusually serious specimens of the genre.<sup>22</sup> Liszt has also – unusually – garnered enough writing on his virtuosity and opera fantasias to have even generated contrasting interpretations of his operatic compositions. For example, Walter Schenkman argues that Liszt's *Réminiscences de Norma* shows "remarkable structural solidarity" and serves as an "effective summary" of the opera.<sup>23</sup> In contrast, David Wilde claims that the "total effect" of the same piece is "contrary to the opera's tragic ending, and suggests, again, that Liszt was recalling his own enthusiastic response to a specific performance, rather than the opera score itself".<sup>24</sup>

The writing which is said to have been produced on the wider subject of opera fantasias is often difficult to find. According to Dana Gooley, "Suttoni's study of the early nineteenth-century opera fantasia, in which he shows how Liszt and other composers created a microcosmic image of the relevant opera's dramatic action, has set the tone for many subsequent studies of the genre".<sup>25</sup> Yet these "subsequent studies" are elusive; this "tone" can be found in Walter Schenkman's discussion of Liszt's *Norma* fantasy, and very briefly in Kenneth Hamilton's *Companion to Liszt*, in which he mentions that the fantasies on *La Sonnambula*, *Robert le Diable*, *Norma*, and *Don Juan* "all form an adept, brilliant, and often even moving transcription of the operas' principal themes, arranged in a format that sometimes provides a summary of, or commentary on, the dramatic action", but not in many other locations.<sup>26</sup> More generally, books on nineteenth-century musical traditions or on related composers or genres may or may not have any references to the fantasia, and a lack of standardized terms to search makes discovering these references challenging.

This is indicative of the lack of specific information available about individual fantasias. Many were published years or even decades after their composition and initial public performances, and because of a continued emphasis on the improvisatory aspects of

<sup>22</sup> Hamilton, "The opera fantasias and transcriptions of Franz Liszt: a critical study".

<sup>23</sup> Walter Schenkman, "Liszt's Reminiscences of Bellini's *Norma*", *American Liszt Society Journal*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (June 1981), p. 63.

<sup>24</sup> The disjoint between the *Werktreue* approach taken here and the reality of the nineteenth-century Italian opera "score" is even more striking when speaking of an opera by Bellini than one by Verdi. David Wilde, "Transcriptions for Piano", *Franz Liszt: the Man and his Music*, ed. Alan Walker and Sacheverell Sitwell (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1970), p. 191.

<sup>25</sup> Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 249.

<sup>26</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, *Cambridge Companion to Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 83.

virtuosity during the first decades of the nineteenth century, “virtuoso compositions were so far from being fixed” that periodical reviews generally do not indicate the first performance of a piece, and programme listings are not necessarily representative “even for so major a figure as Liszt”.<sup>27</sup> This makes it difficult to trace the development of influences between composers or the development of trends in generic titles or opera choice, though the choice of opera does naturally present basic temporal bounds. While vagaries and discrepancies are particularly problematic when searching for musical works themselves, turning to secondary literature often proves little more helpful; complete works lists are rare and often impossible to reconstruct, and while reviews of individual concerts can be found in contemporary newspapers and musical journals, specific information about performance dates in academic books and journals is generally limited to the most famous of circumstances, such as the pianistic duel between Thalberg and Liszt.<sup>28</sup>

A particularly radical demonstration of the problem of incomplete works lists is that of reportings of the number of fantasias written by Liszt. In the *Cambridge Companion to Liszt*, Kenneth Hamilton lists thirty-nine “Transcriptions and Arrangements”, sixteen of which are fantasias and reminiscences on operas.<sup>29</sup> This is an index for the *Companion*, not a complete works list, so it seems logically less comprehensive than the approximately fifty fantasias and transcriptions Charles Suttoni mentions in *New Grove Opera* – though in his article “Liszt’s Operatic Fantasias and Transcriptions”, Suttoni includes approximately sixty. However, none of these come anywhere near the “over 700 arrangements of his own and others’ compositions” that Peter Paul Dorgan claims in the abstract to his dissertation *Franz Liszt and His Verdi Opera Transcriptions*.<sup>30</sup> Of course, in “arrangements” Dorgan includes many compositions nothing like opera fantasias, but the specifics of what should be included, even for a single composer, are both difficult to navigate and easily obscured by the treatment of fantasias as a genre within musical criticism. Below, and in Chapter 3, I discuss internal and external difficulties of distinguishing the opera fantasia from surrounding genres.

### 1.3. The decline of the fantasia

Though the time of Liszt is seen as the high-point of the fantasia, the purposeful denigration of the fantasia and of virtuosic music in general by large swaths of musical critics,

<sup>27</sup> Weber, *The Great Transformation*, p. 143.

<sup>28</sup> This is discussed every comprehensive work on either composer, including the *Cambridge Companion to Liszt* and Gooley’s *The Virtuoso Liszt*.

<sup>29</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, *Cambridge Companion to Liszt*, p. 273-274.

<sup>30</sup> Charles Suttoni, “Piano fantasias and transcriptions”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017; Charles Suttoni, “Liszt’s Operatic Fantasias and Transcriptions”, *Journal of the American Liszt Society*, Vol. 8 (1980), p. 4; Peter Paul Dorgan, “Summary of dissertation ‘Franz Liszt and His Verdi Opera Transcriptions’ (Ohio State University, 1982)”, *Journal of the American Liszt Society*, Vol. 19 (1986), p. 183.

particularly in France and Germany, was then already well in progress. Secondary literature more often discusses composers from early in the nineteenth century and treats their compositions as more serious and worthy of attention; those who followed Liszt seem both overwhelmingly numerous and rarely discussed.<sup>31</sup> This may be partially due to compositional quality, record-keeping trends, and genuine decline in popularity and performances, but both this decline in popularity and the lesser emphasis in secondary literature can also be largely attributed to contemporary and modern biases of critics and researchers. As detailed by Dana Gooley, there is a sense of “historical inevitability” in the “triumph of artists over virtuosos” and the rise of “symphonic taste”, but the demonization of virtuosity and subsequent lasting decline of virtuosic music – described by Hanslick as “an oversaturated indulgence in sensuality and enthusiasm” – was engineered, not inevitable.<sup>32</sup>

William Weber posits that a “crisis ... overwhelmed virtuosos in the 1840s” due to an over-abundance of concert options and virtuosos “failing to show” when listed on concert bills; as a result, “self-consciously serious” concerts became more common in the 1840s.<sup>33</sup> Suttoni, however, among others, emphasizes that the fantasia “dominated concert programs” from the 1830s into the 1870s.<sup>34</sup> Pier Paolo De Martino’s book *Le parafrasi pianistiche verdiane nell’editoria italiana dell’ottocento* lists “poco meno di 3500 titoli di pezzi pianistici sulle opere di Verdi” – just under 3500 piano “paraphrases” on Verdi operas.<sup>35</sup> De Martino draws this number solely from ten Italian publishing houses in three cities, and only from publications dating 1840-1900.<sup>36</sup> In his count, De Martino includes not only fully fledged fantasias but also theme-and-variations and 4-hand duets like those that I distinguish from fantasias below, but this still serves as a marker of the scale of this compositional trend in the middle of the nineteenth century. But the huge number of fantasias being performed and published was at the same time opposed by “elite” critics and performers uncomfortable and unhappy with the public views on virtuosity and virtuosos.<sup>37</sup> Gooley writes a great deal on the ways in which critics specifically set out to turn public opinion against virtuosic pieces and

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<sup>31</sup> A notable exception is Alicia Cannon Levin, who describes later fantasias as possessing a “more coherent sense of drama” and “narrative development”, and as “requir[ing] more advanced analytical knowledge”. See Alicia Cannon Levin, “Seducing Paris: Piano Virtuosos and Artistic Identity, 1820-48” (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009), pp. 173-174.

<sup>32</sup> Dana Gooley, “The Battle Against Instrumental Virtuosity in the Early Nineteenth Century”, in *Franz Liszt and His World*, ed. by Christopher H. Gibbs and Dana Gooley (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 76.

<sup>33</sup> Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*, pp. 151, 159.

<sup>34</sup> He also, somewhat conflictingly, states that the opera fantasia reached oversaturation and began to decline around the time of Liszt’s retirement in the late 1840s. Suttoni, “Piano fantasies and transcriptions”, *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>35</sup> Pier Paolo De Martino, *Le parafrasi pianistiche verdiane nell’editoria italiana dell’ottocento* (Florence: L.S. Olschki, 2003), p. 47.

<sup>36</sup> “Quattro editori milanesi (Ricordi, Canti, Lucca e Vismara), tre napoletani (Clausetti, Girard e Cottrau) e tre torinesi (Blanchi, Racca, Giudici & Strada)”. De Martino, p. 47.

<sup>37</sup> Gooley, “The Battle Against Instrumental Virtuosity”, p. 76.

performers, artificially diminishing the standing of pieces such as fantasias through (ironically) “repetitive, mechanical rehearsals of phrases such as ‘excessive ornament’ and ‘superficial virtuosity’”.<sup>38</sup>

Of course, virtuosity was not the only impetus behind the denigration of fantasias. Nineteenth-century French critics, including François-Joseph Fétis and Léon and Marie Escudier, were crucial participants in undermining the position of the opera fantasia in the canon, criticizing fantasias’ blurring of private and public genres, lack of improvisation, and use of “found” rather than original themes as a basis for variations.<sup>39</sup> Additionally, early in the nineteenth century, fantasias functioned like movie trailers, previewing operas which had premiered in one city but not yet spread widely, and allowing listeners to get a sense of the themes of a given opera before committing to the expense of a ticket and the time of a full evening.<sup>40</sup> In some cases, even published fantasias on an opera spread more quickly post-premiere than the opera itself did. Though *Un ballo* did not premiere in London until 1861, fantasias such as Joseph Rummel’s *Fantasia on airs in Verdi’s opera Un ballo in maschera* and Albert W. Berg’s *Un ballo in maschera pour le piano* were published in London in 1859 and 1860 respectively.<sup>41</sup> However, as the century progressed, fantasias more and more frequently continued to use the same increasingly older operas, rather than new contemporary operas, as their sources. They appeared alongside fantasias on new operas by Verdi, but compositions based on *bel canto* classics by Donizetti, Bellini, and Rossini – though still popular – could no longer generate publicity as a means of experiencing new music. Verdi’s works also remained popular in fantasias well after their premieres; Ricordi published fantasias on *Un ballo* from the year of its premiere, 1859, until well after, even publishing a fantasia for wind band on *Un ballo* in 1949.<sup>42</sup>

Enough woodwind fantasias survive with dates attached to show that these pieces were both available in published form immediately after the premiere of a given opera and long-lasting in popularity. Gaetano Labanchi’s fantasia on *Aida*, the manuscript of which is dated 25 April 1882, includes a note that it was “performed for the first time in the presence

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<sup>38</sup> Gooley, “The Battle Against Instrumental Virtuosity”, p. 77. Gooley’s *The Virtuoso Liszt* further addresses these issues, pointing to anti-virtuosity articles in *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* and the Paris *Revue et gazette musicale* as well as to Liszt’s rebuttal *De la situation des artistes*.

<sup>39</sup> See Levin, p. 155.

<sup>40</sup> Levin, p. 201.

<sup>41</sup> Lewis Foreman and Susan Foreman, *London: A Musical Gazetteer* (Yale University Press, 2005), p. 302.

<sup>42</sup> Alessandro Peroni, “Un ballo in maschera fantasia” (Milano: G. Ricordi & C., 1949). Ricordi’s online searchable catalogue includes Volume 1, published in 1857 and including works published 1808-1857, and Volume 2, published in 1874 and including works published 1858-1874. Thus, while fantasias on *Un ballo in maschera* almost certainly were published by Ricordi after 1873, they cannot be accessed from Ricordi’s online search. Unfortunately, publisher information is not always available through catalogues such as WorldCat, making it similarly difficult to discover later Ricordi publications through library catalogue searches.

of Verdi”.<sup>43</sup> Yet the genre of the fantasia itself became seen as old-fashioned. Although fantasias remained popular throughout the nineteenth century and even the early twentieth century, particularly in Italy and among woodwind virtuosi, being seen as dated did not help fantasias in their fight with new symphonic genres for legitimacy.

### 1.3.1. Contemporary value judgements of fantasias

The division between writings which speak positively about opera fantasias and those which speak negatively seems to be a broadly temporal one. After the end of a given composer’s career, earlier sources are much more likely to deride their music, and more recent ones are much more likely to speak of it as underrated or interesting. This is surely unsurprising as, nineteenth-century musical criticism aside, new opinions often react against those of the previous generation; for example, in *The Musical Times* (1873) Lamborn Cock reviews *Zampa, Fantaisie, pour piano, sur l’Opéra d’Hérold* by Théophile Arènes, and “regret[s] that the superficial musical education of the day should create an extensive demand for such pieces.”<sup>44</sup> However, this is also far from universal; positive contemporary reviews are common, as are negative modern reviews. As an example of the latter, in *The Journal of the American Liszt Society* (1978) F. E. Kirby reviews a recording of the pieces from the duel between Thalberg and Liszt and judges Liszt’s “basically a set of variations”, and Thalberg’s “a veritable Cook’s tour”, concluding that both are “ultimately not very attractive or rewarding repertory”.<sup>45</sup>

In recent musicology, those defending the fantasia as worthy tend to call upon the “serious” merit of Germanic art music and mention Mozart’s and Beethoven’s variations on opera arias. For example, Suttoni refers to Mozart’s variations on Salieri, Paisiello, and Gluck, and Beethoven’s on Dittersdorf, Grétry, and Salieri as proto-fantasias.<sup>46</sup> This impulse occurs in the world of woodwind music as well. Clarinettist Pamela Weston claims that Mozart additionally wrote a set of variations for the clarinet on the *March of the Samnites* from Grétry’s *Les mariages samnites*, though this was most likely a later arrangement of a set of piano variations.<sup>47</sup> Beethoven certainly also composed variations on “Là ci darem la mano”

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<sup>43</sup> “eseguita per la prima volta alla presenza di G. Verdi” The manuscript is held in the Como *Biblioteca del Conservatorio di musica Giuseppe Verdi*, but the published Ricordi edition is held in Milan, where the card catalogue includes the same note.

<sup>44</sup> Lamborn Cock, “Zampa. Fantaisie, pour Piano, sur l’Opera d’Herold by Théophile Arènes”, *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular*, Vol. 16, No. 369 (1 November 1873), p. 283.

<sup>45</sup> F. E. Kirby, “Record Reviews [Liszt, Thalberg]”, *Journal of the American Liszt Society*, Vol. V (June, 1979), p. 84.

<sup>46</sup> Suttoni, “Piano fantasies and transcriptions,” *Grove Music Online*.

<sup>47</sup> Pamela Weston, *More Clarinet Virtuosi of the Past* (York: Emerson, 1977), p. 353. See also <http://www.mozartsmtm.org/LOST/LOST.HTM>, which cites two concerts of this work in 1808 and 1809.



for two oboes and English horn or two violins and viola. Interestingly, Chopin – whose *Grand Duo Concertant pour Piano et Violoncelle sur des Thèmes de Robert Le Diable* and *Variations on “Là ci darem la mano”* (sometimes known as *Homage à Mozart*) are just as “fantastical” as those by Cramer or Czerny, to whom the Mozart variations are dedicated – is almost never mentioned.<sup>48</sup> Though continual references to Mozart and Beethoven reveal one way in which critics and academics attempt to tie opera fantasias to “serious” music and the musical canon, here I concentrate on contemporary opinions of opera fantasias rather than their recent rehabilitation or continued criticism.

Comments on any given opera fantasia are rare, but critics and musicians have left many positive and negative comments on fantasias as a genre from early on. In his *Fagottschule* (1843), bassoonist Carl Almenröder criticizes “vapid” potpourris and fantasias with “goat” leaps, frequent introductions of new themes and “so many tempi rubati” that the piece is “torn apart” structurally and rhythmically.<sup>49</sup> While Liszt’s fantasias today are seen as exceptions to the fantasia rule in their worthiness of canonical respect, composer Joachim Raff, generally a supporter of Liszt, wrote disapprovingly to Liszt about his fantasia on Meyerbeer’s *Le Prophète*. “[I]t is a mystery to me how you can take such pains over the arrangement of a theme like this [“Ad nos, ad salutarem undam”]. With the same expenditure of invention you could easily have produced an original composition of the highest significance”; in this “arrangement” Liszt produced 765 bars of new material from eight bars of Meyerbeer’s theme.<sup>50</sup> As Kenneth Hamilton comments, if even this piece could be described as simply an arrangement, “there was little hope of Liszt being given any credit for witty and ingenious pieces such as the Fantasy on Robert le Diable”.<sup>51</sup>

Italian flautist Giuseppe Gariboldi was, by contrast, praised for his use of themes by other composers, in which he skilfully “preserves the thoughts of the author; half through more daring vibrations, half through a flood of notes, the theme always emerges bright and

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<sup>48</sup> The key exception is Walter Schenkman, who describes Chopin’s variations as a “natural outgrowth of this same tradition”, with the added “more ‘modern’ touch of its anticipatory introduction”. Schenkman, “Liszt’s Reminiscences of Bellini’s *Norma*”, p. 57. Brahms also published opera potpourris under the collective pseudonym “G. W. Marks” for the publisher Crazz, though it seems more likely that these were transcriptions or arrangements than fantasias. It is also impossible to determine how many of Marks’ compositions were written by Brahms. See Thomas Christensen, “Four-Hand Piano Transcription and Geographies of Nineteenth-Century Musical Reception”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 52, No. 2 (Summer 1999), pp. 267-268.

<sup>49</sup> James B. Kopp, *The Bassoon* (London: Yale University Press, 2012), p. 139.

<sup>50</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, “Not with a Bang but a Whimper”, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (March 1996), pp. 45-46.

<sup>51</sup> Hamilton, “Not with a Bang but a Whimper”, p. 46.

clear”.<sup>52</sup> Similar comments are standard in reviews of Italian woodwind opera fantasias, as can be seen in Chapter 2. In mid- to late-nineteenth-century Italy, too much originality was often seen not as a positive necessity of musical art but as a suspect avoidance of Italian traditions, something to be indulged in with caution; with the exception of foreign works, which had an “excuse”, familiarity was key to commercial but also critical success.<sup>53</sup> Despite a preoccupation with close ties to past works and a “long-established” operatic tradition of self-borrowing, “by the later nineteenth century self-borrowing had become problematic”, and in Italy, as in Europe more generally, originality became the “prime indicator of artistic value”.<sup>54</sup> I will explore the specifics of the Italian context as separate from nineteenth-century French- and German-language societies in Chapter 2; while there are many possible generalities about virtuosity and opera fantasia reception in Europe in the nineteenth century – Paganini and his reception crossed many borders – Italy was also culturally distinct in its developing views on opera, virtuosity, and fantasias. In German-speaking musical society and among Parisian musicians and critics, negative opinions of the opera fantasia were also fuelled by the “growing influence of the German concept of the musical work”.<sup>55</sup> While influenced by this idea that “the valuation of the work and the valuation of performer personality were fundamentally incompatible”, Paganini was instead “grounded in improvisation-based Italian musical practice”.<sup>56</sup>

Yet it was exactly the “valuation of performer personality” that made fantasias so popular during their time. Virtuosity was competitive and performative, with personal triumphs and rivalries narrated in magazines and drawing in audiences.<sup>57</sup> At the same time, virtuosos held concert-goers’ attention by avoiding “abstraction” and instead “drawing on what listeners had seen on stage to present brilliant new sonic pictures”.<sup>58</sup> In writing on Czerny, Randall Sweets admits that “compositions [like fantasias and potpourris] have been frequently scorned for their obvious effects, but they were applauded by the masses

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<sup>52</sup> “Gariboldi sa conservare il pensiero dell’autore; in mezzo alle vibrazioni più ardite, in mezzo ad un diluvio di note, il tema emerge sempre chiaro e limpido...” Anonymous, “Notizie: Parigi”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Vol. XX, No. 11 (16 March 1862), p. 45.

<sup>53</sup> Nicholas Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions and Puccini: Compositional Theory and Practice in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), p. 189.

<sup>54</sup> Alexandra Wilson, *The Puccini Problem: Opera, Nationalism, and Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 55.

<sup>55</sup> Maiko Kawabata, *Paganini: The ‘Demonic’ Virtuoso* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 109-110.

<sup>56</sup> Kawabata, *Paganini: The ‘Demonic’ Virtuoso*, p. 110. Maiko Kawabata’s book is especially helpful as a discussion of virtuosity both in relation to an Italian performer-composer and more generally, and like Jim Samson’s *Virtuosity and the Musical Work: The Transcendental Studies of Liszt*, it contrasts virtuosity, as an ally of improvisation, with the composed work

<sup>57</sup> Weber, *The Great Transformation*, p. 142. The Italian debate between the Briccialdi and Boehm flutes, discussed in Chapter 2, though not directly a competition between virtuosic players, certainly drew upon competing displays of virtuosity via various flute key systems.

<sup>58</sup> Weber, *The Great Transformation*, p. 143.

throughout the nineteenth century”.<sup>59</sup> The same François-Joseph Fétis who frequently criticized the fantasia wrote a biography of Paganini, describing him as superior in “original fancy, poetry of execution, and mastery of difficulties” and well suited to “an Italian public, athirst for novelty and originality”.<sup>60</sup> Magazines like *Le Pianiste* also ranked new compositions, reviewing a work by Kalkbrenner, for example, in April 1834 as good for the student or “aging virtuoso”.<sup>61</sup> And Czerny himself believed fantasias should be good entertainment, “pleasant, familiar” and “glittering” (1829).<sup>62</sup>

### 1.3.2. The complications of virtuosity

Hanslick expresses a similar idea with a negative slant in his comments on Clara Schumann, written in 1856: “as a young girl she already stood above the insipid trifles of virtuosity and was one of the first to preach the gospel of the austere German masters”.<sup>63</sup> Fantasias and other virtuosic music suffered in comparison to the ever-rising tide of the Germanic canon in two ways: first, through this literal comparison between fantasias and “serious” compositions, and second, through the comparison of the deification of Beethoven to the cult-like appreciation of virtuosos such as Paganini and Liszt. The first is evident in both contemporary and more recent sources. Nineteenth-century composer and theorist Gottfried Fink wrote in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* that virtuoso pieces were “sources of novelty and regeneration” in music: not “inessential”, but “hierarchically subordinate” to other genres.<sup>64</sup> For example, Louis Spohr, whose music was frequently more popular among “connoisseurs” than the general public, was praised for never letting virtuosity overpower “musical considerations”.<sup>65</sup> This recalls reviews, like that of Gariboldi above, which praise the audibility of the original operatic material in fantasias, emphasizing the skill of the opera’s composer as well as the fantasia’s.

Dana Gooley describes this framing of virtuosity in comparison to “symphonic values”, which “did not expunge virtuosity; they transformed it from a separate musical value into a hierarchically subordinate position on a single scale of musical value”.<sup>66</sup> It is again the conception of virtuosity as subordinate rather than as a legitimate musical trope in its own

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<sup>59</sup> Randall Sweets, “Carl Czerny Reconsidered: Carl Czerny Reconsidered: Romantic Elements in his Sonata Op. 7”, *Journal of the American Liszt Society*, Vol. XVI (December 1984), p. 57.

<sup>60</sup> Pulver, p. 92.

<sup>61</sup> Levin, p. 196.

<sup>62</sup> Carl Czerny, *A systematic introduction to improvisation on the pianoforte: opus 200*, translated and edited by Alice L. Mitchell (New York: Longman, c1983), p. 86. See also Levin, p. 152.

<sup>63</sup> Eduard Hanslick, *Music Criticisms 1846-99*, translated and edited by Henry Pleasants (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p. 48.

<sup>64</sup> Gooley, “The Battle of Instrumental Virtuosity”, pp. 85-86.

<sup>65</sup> Clive Brown, *Louis Spohr: A Critical Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 50, 342.

<sup>66</sup> Gooley, “The Battle of Instrumental Virtuosity”, pp. 105-106.

right that led adaptations of canonical works to be seen as “debasements rather than legitimate transpositions”.<sup>67</sup> Fantasias could not be equal to symphonies or sonatas or the operas on which they were based, because to “fantasize” a work was to diminish it rather than expand it. As with many nineteenth-century musical theories and opinions, these views of fantasias have proven tenacious. In a twentieth-century example of “hierarchically subordinate” virtuosity, Carl Dahlhaus categorized the fantasia under “Trivial Music”, describing it as “competing with art music”.<sup>68</sup> And Leon Plantinga associates the fantasia with “handiwork” and with the (bourgeois and feminine) commercial, showing the lasting ramifications of nineteenth-century opinions of the fantasia.<sup>69</sup>

Virtuosic fantasias further suffered in comparison to “serious” art music by placing a large amount of attention on the performer (the individual) and, in the eyes of their critics, not enough on the original composer or music itself. However, the idolizing of performers has also been a lasting legacy of virtuosic art music. Paganini exemplified the trope that “exceptional musical skills emanated from an exceptional person” and that an artist could be “compelled...to play virtuosically” because of this exceptionalism – a trope which intensified during the Romantic period but had been present in the previous century – and “establish[ed] the idea of performance as an expression of the self...as the externalization of ‘authentic’ traits of identity”.<sup>70</sup> Maiko Kawabata further argues that “Paganini’s performances and reception shaped the Romantic idea of self-expression in performance in ways that were arguably as important and influential as Beethoven’s in the realm of composition,” and that he was “the origin of personal authenticity in popular music today – the idea that rock and heavy metal musicians simply express themselves.”<sup>71</sup>

Following from popular Gothic themes in music and in the wider society, and also largely fuelled by Paganini’s public artistic persona, virtuosity also was tied to magic and mesmerism and, as alluded to above, seen as capable of inducing a state in the audience.<sup>72</sup> While this spoke to the power of the virtuosos, it also made virtuosity suspect, and possibly a “spurious” talent, as its audience was either not truly reacting or not reacting authentically.<sup>73</sup> As Alexandra Wilson succinctly puts it in her book *The Puccini Problem*, “the implication is

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<sup>67</sup> Richard Taruskin, “Chapter 1 Real Worlds, and Better Ones: Bel Canto”, *Music in the Nineteenth Century*. Oxford University Press, accessed August 2017.

<sup>68</sup> Levin, p. 161

<sup>69</sup> See Levin, p. 157. As discussed in Chapter 2, in Italy attention to details or decorative ornamentation was seen as both “synonymous with the feminine” and disruptive to function by the time of Puccini, and fantasias were a musical version of detail-oriented, functionless art. Wilson, pp. 119-120.

<sup>70</sup> Kawabata, *Paganini: The ‘Demonic’ Virtuoso*, p. 113.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 31, 43.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

that the masses are being hoodwinked by music that more intellectually sophisticated listeners can see to be using (cheap) underhand tactics to elicit emotional responses.”<sup>74</sup> While Paganini was an artist who could not help but express his virtuosity and who influenced our very concept of a solo artist, in the second half of the nineteenth century virtuosity was a “guilty pleasure”, “increasingly seen as a questionable, if not outright shallow and morally reprehensible, artistic act.”<sup>75</sup>

As the deification of Beethoven became increasingly overwhelming in the academy, the appreciation of virtuosic performers such as Paganini and Liszt was seen as the bourgeois equivalent; to critics, the key difference was the canonical validity of the object of worship as “the philistinism of the bourgeois public made them susceptible to worshipping false gods”.<sup>76</sup> For this reason, criticism of virtuosity functioned as an “ethical criticism” of the middle class, although it took on “the appearance of disinterested, purely aesthetic responses or comments”.<sup>77</sup> Critics were suspicious of popular taste as well as music that tried to appeal to that taste. Hanslick returns to the subject of virtuosity in reviewing Joseph Joachim in 1861, praising his “significant and individual personality” and claiming that “not even the slightest mordant has the flavour of virtuosity; anything suggestive of vanity or applause-seeking has been eliminated”.<sup>78</sup> Joachim is thus a great virtuoso by means of avoiding virtuosity and attention to public opinion, though the emphasis on personality recalls Paganini’s personality-induced dramatic virtuosity. Liszt himself was opinionated about virtuosity, commenting negatively on Paganini’s egocentric persona in a eulogy for Paganini and describing Thalberg as an “edifice of superficial virtuosity”.<sup>79</sup> In a musical world of limited resources for composers, aligning oneself improperly in the competition between virtuosic popular compositions, which enabled the careers of many composer-performers, and “art music”, which enabled the careers of composers seen as more inspired, was a critical sin.

Although the progressive demonization of virtuosity throughout the nineteenth century makes its negative reputation the focus of my discussion, virtuosity also acted as a positive force during the nineteenth century and before. While it did have some negative implications for the career and reputation of singer Caroline Carvalho, she benefitted from comparisons between her vocal agility and the “instrumental pyrotechnics” of Paganini and Liszt by the

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<sup>74</sup> Wilson, p. 226.

<sup>75</sup> Sean M. Parr, “Caroline Carvalho and nineteenth-century coloratura”, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 1/2 (March-July 2011), p. 99.

<sup>76</sup> Kawabata, *Paganini: The ‘Demonic’ Virtuoso*, p. 18. See also Peter Gay, *The Bourgeois Experience: Victoria to Freud. Volume 4, The Naked Heart* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company), p. 23.

<sup>77</sup> Gooley, “The Battle of Instrumental Virtuosity”, p. 105.

<sup>78</sup> Hanslick, p. 78.

<sup>79</sup> See Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, p. 13.

Parisian press, who also likened “her nuanced artistry to the deft pianism of Chopin.”<sup>80</sup> Not only was she compared to Paganini, she also sang arrangements of some of Paganini’s compositions. “By invoking the *virtuoso* instrumentalist (the composer-virtuoso Paganini) and perhaps even the idea of the performer as composer, the ‘Carnaval de Venise’ aria represented for Carvalho a new pinnacle of vocal authority.”<sup>81</sup> Carvalho is certainly not alone in receiving these comparisons; as discussed above, lesser-known virtuosos were (and are) overtly compared to Paganini as a means of boosting their status. Her significant compositional adaptation of the works of another virtuoso, and her use of Paganini specifically, also positioned Carvalho as a masculine rather than feminine performer. While virtuosos were generally expected to perform their own compositions, women were expected instead to perform the classics as a “moral alternative to commercial virtuosity.”<sup>82</sup> William Weber also touches on this when discussing the intersection of the piano and gender in the context of virtuosic piano concerts, citing Marie Pleyel, who performed fantasias by Theodor Döhler and Sigismond Thalberg, and Clara Schumann, who moved from public performances of fantasias to more private concerts of “idealistic programming” of canonical works.<sup>83</sup> The particular intersection of gender, opera, and woodwind instruments, which is made evident through fantasias, is discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

#### 1.4. The development of woodwind instruments

Eduard Hanslick, never a model of restraint, once instructed woodwind players to “[g]o join an orchestra! That is the proper place to appreciate the players of clarinet, oboe and bassoon; the times are past when crowds of these wandering artists came in hordes to perform on their boring little pipes.”<sup>84</sup> This concept of woodwind instruments as appropriate for an orchestra, piping up to play beautiful and brief solos, but fundamentally unsuited to solo performance, was common in the nineteenth century, and resulted in comparatively few solo pieces being written for woodwind instruments by the most eminent composers of the time. This lack of compositions by “serious” composers seems naturally to lead to the scores of virtuosic opera fantasias being written by professional woodwind players at the same time. However, the issue of virtuosity and woodwind instruments is complicated and multivalent.

The development of woodwind instruments into their respective virtuosic capabilities, and the accompanying trends in orchestral, chamber, and solo music composed for each

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<sup>80</sup> Parr, “Caroline Carvalho and nineteenth-century coloratura”, p. 84.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>82</sup> Weber, *The Great Transformation*, p. 161.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid., pp. 161, 163-64.

<sup>84</sup> Eric Hoeprich, *Clarinet* (London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 187.

instrument have been extensively discussed and well summarized in instrumental treatises such as Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes's *The Oboe* and Jeffrey Rendall's *The Clarinet* and in DMA dissertations by performers.<sup>85</sup> For these instruments, development happened in roughly two stages, that of the initial morphing into instruments recognizable today, which occurred prior to the eighteenth century in the case of each except the clarinet, and that of the detailed technical development of instruments, particularly through the addition of keys, into instruments very similar to modern woodwinds, which occurred during the nineteenth century; while the clarinet initially lagged behind the other instruments, it had caught up by the time each underwent its second stage. In general, woodwind instruments developed later than the piano or string instruments, and this contributed to a relative lack of solo music composed by the most famous nineteenth-century composers for woodwinds.

#### 1.4.1. The technical development of woodwinds and accompanying musical trends

Eighteenth-century woodwind instruments were fairly static in terms of technical development; according to instrumental historian Philip Bate, "it is only after about 1770 that flautists in general seem to have realized that the basic instrument *could* be further improved".<sup>86</sup> Similarly, there was very little development of the oboe's key system during the eighteenth century, though the bore narrowed and the walls thinned, producing a brighter sound and higher pitch as well as improved sensitivity to intonation.<sup>87</sup> The eighteenth-century clarinet and bassoon were equally sluggish to develop.<sup>88</sup> However, the technical stasis of the Baroque and Classical periods was paired with a heyday of compositions, both sacred and secular, for woodwind instruments. Bach's solos and *obbligato* parts for the flute, oboe, and bassoon; Handel, Telemann, and Vivaldi's sonatas and concertos for the same instruments;

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<sup>85</sup> In this context I will use the term "woodwind instruments" to refer to the flute, oboe, clarinet, and bassoon collectively, excluding instruments like the saxophone, which is widely considered a woodwind but is uncommon both in orchestral music and in opera fantasias.

<sup>86</sup> Philip Bate, *The Flute: a study of its history, development and construction* (London: Ernest Benn, 1979), pp. 77, 90. See also F. Geoffrey Rendall, *The Clarinet: some notes upon its history and construction* (London: E. Benn: 1971), pp. 64-70; James B. Kopp, "The Emergence of the Late-Baroque Bassoon", *The Double Reed*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (1999), pp. 73-87; Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe: A History of the Hautboy 1640-1760* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>87</sup> Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, pp. 398-399.

<sup>88</sup> See descriptions of the clarinet as "vastly inferior to the contemporary oboe and flute in tone, intonation, and agility" (Rendall, p. 72). One of the most notable bassoon histories goes so far as to (inaccurately) state that the instrument "remained virtually unaltered from c. 1550 throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries" (Lyndesay G. Langwill, *The Bassoon and Contrabassoon* (London: E. Benn, 1965), p. 72). Compare with Kopp, "The Emergence of the Late-Baroque Bassoon", p. 73: "By a point in the later seventeenth century, the definitive baroque bassoon had emerged from mostly obscure ancestors. This fourpiece, three-key (later four-key) instrument, with a range down to low B-flat, remained little changed until the mid-eighteenth century." Also see William Waterhouse, "A Newly Discovered 17th-Century Bassoon by Haka", *Early Music* Vol. 16, No. 3 (Aug, 1988), pp. 407-410. The development of the bassoon is further confused by the myriad names used for both it and its precursor: the dulcian – or curtal, or fagot – was known as the fagotto in Italy, as is the modern bassoon, and sometimes as the basson in France.

and Mozart and Haydn's writing for all four woodwind instruments, including clarinet concertos, all remain well-respected and popular, and in many cases still difficult.<sup>89</sup> In fact, much of this music is still held in much higher regard than pieces like nineteenth-century opera fantasias.

Burgess and Haynes write that most nineteenth-century solo music for the oboe was written by performer-composers or by "lesser composers...and so is variable in quality".<sup>90</sup> Charles-David Lehrer's opinions on the downfall of the "magnificent" Classical concerto, quoted in the introduction to this thesis, express a similar, though intensified, concern about the quality of nineteenth-century woodwind writing. While oboists tend to have been particularly vocal about this, the decline in solo music was shared by all woodwind instruments during the nineteenth century despite the dramatic technical improvements made to each. However, the move away from solo pieces by the composers now seen as the best of the nineteenth century was partially counterbalanced by their use of woodwind instruments in symphonic and operatic works. Woodwinds often feature heavily in Verdi's operas; he was particularly inspired by clarinetist Ernesto Cavallini, for whom he wrote the extended virtuosic clarinet solo at the start of Act 3 of *La forza del destino*. Earlier composers also foregrounded woodwind instruments. Rossini's *La scala di seta* overture contains an extremely challenging oboe solo, and the mad scene of Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* foregrounds the flute alongside Lucia. Outside of Italian opera, well-known, beautiful, and challenging woodwind solos fill the orchestral works of Beethoven, Berlioz, Mendelssohn, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, and numerous other composers seen as the masters of the nineteenth century.<sup>91</sup>

These pieces were being composed as woodwind instruments rapidly became capable of playing a wider range with better tuning and broader dynamics in more keys; bores were altered, tone holes were shifted, and keywork was added. Perhaps the most dramatic case of this is the Boehm flute, developed by Munich-based flautist Theobald Boehm from the late 1820s; though not without several controversies, the Boehm flute became overwhelmingly popular among flautists and woodwind builders by the 1850s.<sup>92</sup> For example, Paris

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<sup>89</sup> While the baroque bassoon had emerged as a distinct instrument, some compositions by Bach and possibly by Vivaldi seem to include dulcians instead of or alongside bassoons. See Kopp, "The Emergence of the Late-Baroque Bassoon", p. 80; Kopp, *The Bassoon*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>90</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, pp. 128-129.

<sup>91</sup> Of course, Brahms also wrote some of the most notable solo and chamber music for the clarinet, which he composed for Richard Mühlfeld. Discussions of woodwind orchestral music can be found in all modern instrumental treatises for performers, including those in the Yale Musical Instrument Series (Ardal Powell's *The Flute*, Eric Hoepfich's *The Clarinet*, Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes' *The Oboe*, James Kopp's *The Bassoon*) and Bate's books on the flute and the oboe.

<sup>92</sup> Philip Bate and Ludwig Böhm, "Boehm, Theobald", *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017. Bate's *The Flute* includes an entire chapter on Boehm and his flute system, as well as an appendix on the Gordon



Conservatoire professor Louis Dorus (also known as Vincent Dorus) adopted the Boehm flute for himself in 1838 and for the Conservatoire itself in 1860.<sup>93</sup> Vast improvements were also made to the bassoon circa 1820 by Carl Almenröder, who subsequently founded a woodwind building shop with Johann Adam Heckel in 1831.<sup>94</sup> While Almenröder and Heckel's relationship soon soured, Heckel became the father of the modern bassoon; an alternative French bassoon was developed in 1840s and 1850s by the Triébert family and Boehm, but the German Heckel bassoon was and remains far more popular.<sup>95</sup> In contrast, the seven-keyed German Müller clarinet of circa 1810 ceded to the French Boehm clarinet of circa 1840, albeit with resistance from older clarinetists.<sup>96</sup> Developed by Hyacinthe Klosé, and heavily inspired by Boehm flute design, the so-called Boehm clarinet is now used everywhere except Germany and Austria, where clarinetists still use a descendent of the Müller clarinet.<sup>97</sup> In the nineteenth century, the oboe was completely reformed by the same Triébert family who developed the bassoon; they increased the number of keys, altered tone holes and reed shapes, and developed the modern "Conservatoire" system by the 1880s.<sup>98</sup> There have been few changes from the adoption of the Conservatoire system to the present.<sup>99</sup>

#### 1.4.2. The impact of the Paris Conservatoire

The "Conservatoire" of the modern oboe refers to the Paris Conservatoire, a critical centre of nineteenth-century woodwind schools that served as a crucible for the technical development of woodwind instruments. Much in the way that Liszt and Paganini suffuse the history of virtuosity and the opera fantasia, the Paris Conservatoire suffuses the history of woodwind instruments and the music written for them. As stated above, the final physical forms of the oboe and clarinet were developed in nineteenth-century France, where the final form of the modern flute was also popularized, and were embraced and bemoaned by the

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controversy. Richard Shepherd Rockstro strongly supported Gordon in his treatise *The Flute* of 1889. However, even Rockstro admits that attempts to revive pre-Boehm fingering "have generally possessed all the worst qualities of both, and none of the special merits of either" (Rockstro, *A treatise on the construction, the history and the practice of the flute* (London: Musica Rara, 1967), p. 378). In Chapter 2 I discuss the separate debate about the Briccialdi flute.

<sup>93</sup> Ardal Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 158, 177.

<sup>94</sup> Lyndesay G. Langwill and James B. Kopp, "Almenröder, Carl", *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017.

<sup>95</sup> Langwill, *The Bassoon and Contrabassoon*, p. 64.

<sup>96</sup> Rendall, *The Clarinet*, pp. 89, 97, 99.

<sup>97</sup> E. A. K. Ridley, "Birth of the 'Boehm' Clarinet", *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 39 (Sept. 1986), pp. 68-76. The Viennese oboe also remains distinct from the Conservatoire oboe, with an appearance more strongly based on the Classical oboe.

<sup>98</sup> Robert Howe, "Historical Oboes 2: Development of the French Simple System Oboe 1800-1840", *The Double Reed*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (2001), pp. 59-75 and "Historical Oboes 3: The First Mechanized Oboes: Triébert's Systemes", *The Double Reed*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (2001), pp. 17-30. During this time the bore continued to narrow but thinning of the walls halted, making the instrument's sound darker while allowing for increased range of tone.

<sup>99</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 172.

Conservatoire professors in equal measures. The Paris Conservatoire's clarinet studio was traditionally extensive – at its founding in 1795 there were twelve clarinet teachers with a total of 104 students – and the French clarinet school has also been extremely influential beyond the borders of France.<sup>100</sup> The nineteenth-century oboe professors of the Paris Conservatoire still fascinate current oboists, many of whom know them by name, compositions, and achievements, tracing their teacher's lineage back to Paris. The bassoon professors of the Conservatoire were equally significant in their impact on future performers and schools, even though bassoonists in most countries now play a German rather than French bassoon.<sup>101</sup> Similarly, French flautists, particularly Paul Taffanel and his student Marcel Moyse, promoted the Boehm flute, from which the current modern flute is descended, and spread it internationally.

Beyond the playing techniques and the development of these instruments, the Paris Conservatoire has deeply impacted woodwind performers through the Conservatoire exam compositions known as the *pièce de concours* or *solo de concours*. Among performers, fantasias still exist in a curious tension with the contemporary pieces written for the *concours* of the Paris Conservatoire, which function in several ways as virtuosic, and often operatic, counterpoints to the opera fantasia. Frequently written by the (performer-composer) professors themselves, who often wrote opera fantasias as well, the *concours* compositions are now seen as more legitimate performance options within contemporary conservatories than are opera fantasias, as well as more important historically and in regards to technique.<sup>102</sup> This is likely due to their original educational purpose – the *concours* functioned as a graduation exam for students at the Paris Conservatoire – and to the stature of the French conservatoire tradition not only in Europe but especially in America, where the French tradition is seen as the foundation of American oboe playing and as an extremely important piece of American flute and clarinet traditions.

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<sup>100</sup> Kroll, *The Clarinet*, pp. 68-69. The Philadelphia school of clarinet playing, though also influenced by the German clarinet tradition, is based on French traditions, in part through the efforts of French oboist Marcel Tabuteau, a Paris Conservatoire student who held the Philadelphia Orchestra's principal oboe chair for many years and taught at the Curtis Institute. Shannon Lannigan Thompson, "A history and analysis of the Philadelphia school of clarinet playing" (unpublished DMA dissertation, The University of Texas at Austin, 1998).

<sup>101</sup> See Kopp, *The Bassoon*, pp. 140-143. French bassoonists and techniques travelled less comprehensively than those of the other woodwind instruments, though.

<sup>102</sup> Notable composers of *pièces de concours* include:

For flute: Jean-Louis Tulou (1786-1865), including 15 *grand solos* with pieces used in 39 competitions; Joseph-Henri Altès (1826-1895), including 10 *solos de concert*

For oboe: Gustave Vogt (1781-1870), including 6 *solos de concert*; Stanislas Verroust (1814-1863), including 12 *solos de concert*; Charles Colin (1832-1881), including 8 *solos de concert*

For clarinet: Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826); Hyacinthe Klosé (1808-1880), including 15 *solos de concert*

For bassoon: Jean François Barthélemy Cokken (1801-1875), with pieces used in at least 11 competitions; Charles Dominique Joseph Barizel (1788-1850), used in at least 6 competitions; Louis Marie Eugène Jancourt (1815-1901), including 9 *solos de concert*

To nineteenth-century musicians, the *concours* was “a prestigious musical event, attended by a discerning public and reviewed by the leading critics”, as it remained in the twentieth century and remains, despite the end of the competition itself, now.<sup>103</sup> Yet despite their respected historical role and better regard by modern performers, these pieces, which were an alternative vent for virtuosic impulses in wind music in the nineteenth century, remain nearly as un-studied academically as fantasias. (The *concours* were not solely a woodwind phenomenon; Dukas’ *Villanelle* for French horn is a particularly popular example of a non-woodwind *pièce de concours*, and the organ competition has involved newly composed works since 1961.<sup>104</sup>) Searching for scholarly articles on *concours* pieces for woodwind instruments brings up almost nothing, merely a few essays on clarinet concerto repertoire and reviews of a valuable book by Kristine Klopfenstein Fletcher entitled *The Paris Conservatoire and the Contest Solos for Bassoon*.<sup>105</sup> Despite this, these compositions are held in relatively high esteem by modern instrumentalists, who still perform them in their own conservatory exams and recitals and who view them as legitimate works for technical and musical training as well as for public performance.

As with opera fantasias, instrumental treatises usually include only brief mentions of the *concours* repertoire. However, these tend to be substantially more positive than those of fantasias. Jack Brymer’s comments on the compositional results of the French clarinet style, widely regarded as featuring a particularly sensitive and agile approach, are representative:

compared with any other institution, the Conservatoire in Paris has inspired or commissioned many more works of a florid, brilliant nature than any other. Some of these are of little musical value. Others...are important additions to the repertoire and bring to the listener a new aspect of instrumental timbre which is at once light and superbly expressive.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Laila Storch, “Georges Gillet - Master Performer and Teacher”, *The Journal of The International Double Reed Society*, No. 5 (1977), accessed August 2017, <http://www.idrs.org/publications/controlled/Journal/JNL5/gillet.html>.

<sup>104</sup> The first was Messiaen’s *Verset pour la fête de la dédicace*. Craig Jay Cramer, “Liner Notes”, *The pièces de concours from the Paris Conservatory* (Arkay AR6146, CD, 1995).

Although it is difficult to find concrete information about the modern-day *concours*, both the competition and the associated commissioning of new compositions continued into the twenty-first century. Flautist Larry Krantz lists information on the flute *pièces de concours* from 1824 to 2015, noting that 2010 was the final year of the *concours* as it was historically known (<http://www.larrykrantz.com/concours.htm>). Bassoonist Jeffrey Lyman wrote briefly about modern *concours* compositions in 2004, noting that the contest continued at that time but that prizes were no longer awarded (Jeffrey Lyman, “The Morceaux de concours for Bassoon since 1984: A Parisian Tradition Continues”, accessed August 2017, [http://www-personal.umich.edu/~jlym/media/Lyman\\_Concours.pdf](http://www-personal.umich.edu/~jlym/media/Lyman_Concours.pdf), 1-2).

<sup>105</sup> Intended as a reference book for bassoonists, this is an annotated bibliography including dates of composition, difficulty rankings, and brief descriptive comments. Harry Gee wrote a similar, though less publicized book for the clarinet. Kristine Klopfenstein Fletcher, *The Paris Conservatoire and the Contest Solos for Bassoon* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988); Harry Gee, *Clarinet Solos de Concours, 1897-1980: An Annotated Bibliography* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1981).

<sup>106</sup> Jack Brymer, *Clarinet* (London: Macdonald and Jane’s, 1976), p. 151.

William Waterhouse more concisely describes the nineteenth-century bassoon pieces written by Eugène Jancourt, including several for the *concours*, as “a unique and under-valued oeuvre”.<sup>107</sup> A recent French-language addition to discussions of the bassoon again lists all of the *concours* compositions, lamenting that these pieces haven’t properly joined the repertoire but merit our attention.<sup>108</sup> Composers and *concours* compositions do appear frequently in DMA dissertations, generally paired with discussions of instrumental development and technical pedagogy.<sup>109,110</sup>

The virtuosic comparison between *pièces de concours* and opera fantasias proposed above is not entirely accurate. While *concours* works can be showy and technically difficult – they must adequately test the abilities of nearly-professional performers – their level of virtuosity frequently pales in comparison to that on display in fantasias. This has most likely also contributed to their rather more reputable status among modern performers. In the context of twentieth- (and twenty-first-) century conservatories, the virtuosity of *pièces de concours* is seen as tasteful, necessary, and purposeful, not excessive or aggressive or aggrandizing. *Concours* compositions are perceived of as justified in their difficulty and their technical demands, written by professors who were “best placed” to understand both the possibilities available to instruments of the time and how to judge the students, in contrast to unnecessarily demonstrative fantasias.<sup>111</sup> This difference in respectability also reflects the rise

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<sup>107</sup> William Waterhouse, *The Bassoon* (London: Kahn & Averill, 2003), p. 204.

<sup>108</sup> Augustin Tiffou, *Le Basson en France au XIXe siècle: Facture, théorie, et repertoire* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2010), pp. 283, 411.

<sup>109</sup> For example, Anthony Philip Carlson’s DMA dissertation opens by reminding the reader that “one of the most important sources for [solo trombone] repertoire is the collection of contest pieces composed over the last two centuries for the annual testing of students at the Paris Conservatory. These works remain among the most frequently performed in the solo trombone repertoire, and are important in trombone pedagogy.” Anthony Philip Carlson, “The French connection: A pedagogical analysis of the trombone solo literature of the Paris Conservatory” (unpublished DMA dissertation, University of Alabama, 2015), p. ii.

<sup>110</sup> Peter Walker’s DMA dissertation on this oboe repertoire (Peter Walker, “Oboe Music Written for the Paris Conservatoire Concours” (unpublished DMA dissertation, University of Florida, 2014)) mostly regurgitates information found in articles by Laila Storch and Charles-David Lehrer in the pages of the International Double Reed Society’s journal, where the oboe professors of the Paris Conservatoire are seen as the founders of the modern school of oboe as well as nearly god-like players to be emulated in all possible ways. For the bassoon, the same journal contains primarily articles with lists of *concours* winners and professors at the Conservatoire. See, among many, the following articles by Storch and Lehrer. Note that though Lehrer frequently purports to discuss only the concertos of a given composer he generally either also discusses the composer’s *concours* pieces or includes those pieces under the umbrella of “concerto”.

Charles-David Lehrer, “The Twelve Oboe Concertos of Stanislas Verroust”, *The Journal of the International Double Reed Society*, No. 18 (1990).

Charles-David Lehrer, “An Introduction to The 16 Oboe Concertos Of Gustave Vogt and A Discussion of the Nineteenth Century Performance Practices Preserved Within Them”, *The Journal of the International Double Reed Society*, No. 16 (1988).

Charles-David Lehrer, “The repertory of the oboe soloist in the 19th century: the hidden structure”, *The Journal of the International Double Reed Society*, No. 12 (1984).

Laila Storch, “Georges Gillet - Master Performer and Teacher”, *The Journal of the International Double Reed Society*, No. 5 (1977).

Laila Storch, “The Concours Solos of Charles Colin”, *The Double Reed*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1983).

<sup>111</sup> Tiffou, p. 285.

of the *Werkkonzept*; the student's relationship to the assigned *concours* piece much more closely maps onto the idea of the player as executor rather than creator than did opera fantasias. *Concours* compositions, designed to be faithfully and exactly reproduced by performers as a means of assessment, and lacking improvisatory opportunities, are more comfortable for critics and players who hold that performances should "present works to us by adhering as closely as possible to the relevant scores", which are "objectified expressions of composers that prior to compositional activity did not exist".<sup>112</sup> Opera fantasias, in contrast, meld performer and composer not only literally but also in their opportunities for embellishment and alteration by their performer-composers.

Still, the genres share some similarities. Superficially, both fantasias and *concours* pieces appear under a huge variety of titles.<sup>113</sup> More substantially, the composers of *concours* pieces were equally as tied to opera as the composers of Italian opera fantasias; the training they provided was designed to prepare the students who would succeed them in the many opera orchestras of Paris and France as a whole. The familiarity of these performer-composers with opera suffuses these works, which do not alter actual operatic material in the vein of fantasias, but instead mimic opera characteristics through newly composed melodies. Along with their soaring vocal melodies and operatic ornamentation, the forms of *pièces de concours* are closely tied to opera. *Pièces de concours* are more formally regular than fantasias and commonly include recitative-like sections and operatic forms, such as the cabaletta. Charles-David Lehrer coined the term "scena style" to refer to these operatically-inspired, formally regular compositions, such as oboe professor Stanislas Verroust's *Deuxième Solo de Concert*, op.74 (1858), which makes use of cabaletta form.<sup>114</sup> Fantasias instead often use the melodies of cabalettas, such as "Verranno a te sull'aure" from *Lucia di Lammermoor*, "Sempre libera" from *La traviata* and "Vien diletto" from *I puritani*. (Additionally, as discussed below, in fantasias composers sometimes use ornamentation from the cabaletta itself, and sometimes write their own.<sup>115</sup>)

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<sup>112</sup> Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 3.

<sup>113</sup> The most common include *pièce de concours*, *morceau de concours*, and *solo de concert*, but these are not universal.

<sup>114</sup> Charles-David Lehrer, "The nineteenth century Parisian concerto" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1990). Lehrer worked as a lecturer and oboist for many years – and published frequently in the International Double Reed Society's journal – before writing his PhD dissertation on the formal types of nineteenth-century Parisian concertos.

<sup>115</sup> For example, in his clarinet fantasia *Melodie dei Puritani*, Domenico Liverani first presents "Vien diletto" almost exactly as Elvira sings it before repeating the melody several times with interpolated scales, arpeggios, and octave leaps. Similarly, in *Divertimento per fagotto sopra motivi dell'opera Lucia di Lammermoor*, Antonio Torriani initially provides his bassoon with an exact copy of Edgardo and Lucia's duet presentation of "Verranno a te" before ornamenting the melody. He also copies the operatic cabaletta form in his fantasia by repeating this melody after a piano presentation of the orchestral interlude from the duet.

These formal and melodic connections to opera, paired with the use of original rather than borrowed melodies, also help to make *concours* compositions more “respectable” and more legitimate to contemporary and modern critics, and to modern performers, than opera fantasias are. However, operatic fantasias or variations which use only two themes are also often formally reminiscent of cabalettas in their repetition of themes with increasing variation. This is particularly striking in the case of those pieces which have an andante section followed by an allegro theme and variations, mirroring the “preceding ‘cantabile’” common in cabalettas.<sup>116</sup>

### 1.4.3. Woodwind virtuosity and its implications

Because of the flourishing at that time of virtuosic music in the form of the *pièce de concours* and the opera fantasia, it is tempting to frame the nineteenth-century technical development of woodwind instruments as finally allowing for virtuosity from these instruments. French oboist Jean-Pierre Freillon-Poncein (1655-1720), who wrote a treatise on the flute, oboe, and flageolet, said “my aim in composing these preludes was not to create beautiful melodies, but only to make them very difficult to play” in order to prepare the player for the more simpler intervallic progressions that he implies appear in actual repertoire.<sup>117</sup> However, while woodwind music undeniably has become more difficult since Bach, and the addition of keys and manipulation of tuning, bores, and reeds have clearly allowed for new techniques and abilities on the part of performers, early music for woodwind instruments was of course often difficult and showy. Bach’s *obligato* writing for the oboe in cantatas and his solo partita for the flute are merely a few examples of this. Some eighty years later, Johann Georg Tromlitz (1725-1805) asked in his treatise for the flautist to “push the instrument to its limits” and instructed on double-tonguing, a technique often seen as decidedly modern.<sup>118</sup> The oboes of the mid-eighteenth century “were built to be agile and mercurial rather than, as in earlier generations, rich and sensuous”.<sup>119</sup> And the extreme upper register of the clarinet has been exploited since very early in its technical development; Mozart’s Clarinet Concerto (1791) includes a g<sup>'''</sup>, and Spohr’s clarinet concertos from the first decades of the nineteenth century include c<sup>'''</sup>, still indicated as the extreme upper end of the clarinet’s range, in the

<sup>116</sup> Julian Budden, “Cabaletta”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017.

<sup>117</sup> “Mon intention n’a pas esté en les composant de les faire bien chanter, mais seulement de les rendre tres-difficiles à executer par les longues & extraordinaires intervalles où je les fais proceder.... Ceux qui les executeront bien, trouveront ensuite beaucoup de facilité à jouer les Pieces qui procederent par de petits intervalles” (sic) Jean-Pierre Freillon Poncein, *La veritable maniere d’apprendre a jouer en perfection du haut-bois, de la flute et du flageolet* (Paris: Jacques Collombat, 1700), p. 28. Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, p. 216.

<sup>118</sup> Johann George Tromlitz, *The Virtuoso Flute-Player*, translated and edited by Ardal Powell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 8-10.

<sup>119</sup> Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, p. 399.

solo part.<sup>120</sup> Further, early instrumentalists, given far freer reign in their performances, also avidly studied the arts of improvisation and composition. Nevertheless, especially in Italy, later wind players still improvised and composed to continue “pushing their instruments to their limits”, and the virtuosity of the nineteenth century is of a different order. With increased unpredictability fuelled by intensifying chromaticism and tonal developments, larger ranges in most instruments, and string instrument-inspired techniques such as quasi-double stopping, to name only a few virtuosic developments, the most virtuosic woodwind compositions of the mid- to late-nineteenth century are far more difficult than those of previous eras.<sup>121</sup>

This specific woodwind virtuosity, while gushed over by audiences, quickly became demonized by critics and other musicians in ways both similar to and separate from those highlighted in general discussions of virtuosity, which was often in practice that of the piano and violin. Even in nineteenth-century France, the flute, oboe, clarinet, and bassoon were all seen as more suited to orchestral playing than to virtuosic solo display, as noted above, although this is not to suggest that nineteenth-century orchestral and operatic music presents no technical challenges for woodwind players in an ensemble.<sup>122</sup> The beautiful solos of Rossini’s overtures remain difficult even now; though the challenges arising from fewer keys may have been moderated by easier-blowing reeds, the overall difficulty level would certainly

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<sup>120</sup> Rendall, p. 39.

<sup>121</sup> The unreliability of virtuosic reporting in printed sheet music throughout time should not be forgotten. Frequently cited in reference to Paganini – as Taruskin remarks that Paganini’s scores give “probably only a dim idea” of his playing – similar ideas surface much earlier regarding many virtuosos including the Besozzi brothers, of whom Burney wrote “it is difficult to describe their style of playing. Their compositions when printed, give but an imperfect idea of it”. Richard Taruskin, “Chapter 5 Virtuosos: Response”, in *Music in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford University Press), accessed September 2017; Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London: T. Becket & Co. Strand, 1773), p. 71. Nicholas Baragwanath and others argue persuasively that in many cases we cannot know whether nineteenth-century virtuosity truly goes far beyond that of earlier centuries. However, in the case of woodwind virtuosity specifically nineteenth-century virtuosity can be distinguished from earlier virtuosity by a metaphorical order of magnitude. It is absolutely possible that individual virtuosos in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries performed astonishing feats on woodwind instruments, and certainly true that we cannot be certain of the ornaments and variations inserted into woodwind compositions in performance – and perhaps then, as now, enterprising musicians performed more difficult compositions for other instruments like the violin. Nevertheless, treatises and method books give important and helpful insights into expected technical difficulties and goals for woodwind players, and these (in combination with the technical developments of woodwind instruments in the addition of keys and the adaptation of bores and reeds) reveal a truly increasingly demanding technical virtuosity as the nineteenth century progresses.

<sup>122</sup> Though I point to above quotations by (the characteristically intense Hanslick) and by Almenröder, the conception of woodwinds as unsuited to virtuosity seems to have been particularly common in France, perhaps as a result of Berlioz’s strong and idiosyncratic but far-reaching opinions on the subject. To give merely two contemporary citations, Henri Lavoix described the sound of the oboe as “like these delicate tints that even daylight is sufficient to alter (“La sonorité du hautbois est comme ces teintes délicates que la lumière du jour même suffit à altérer”) and an article in *L’Art musical* from 1880 remarked that “the nature of this melodic instrument par excellence [the oboe], being poorly suited to virtuosity, gives rise fatally to monotony”. H. Lavoix, *Histoire de l’instrumentation depuis le seizième siècle jusqu’à nos jours* (1878), p. 110. *L’Art musical*, 19/48 (1880), p. 338 (in Burgess and Haynes, p. 170). However, this is certainly not a uniquely French conception; Richard Carte wrote circa 1850 that “sweetness rather than power was traditionally expected” of the flute in Germany. Bate, *The Flute*, p. 143. See Chapter 3 for further discussion; this is deeply tied to gendering of woodwind instruments.

not have dropped significantly.<sup>123</sup> Nevertheless, for much of the nineteenth century, in fact, critics and composers opposed the idea of woodwinds as virtuosic instruments. This was deeply tied in with gendered conceptions of these instruments, and therefore will be discussed in greater detail Chapter 3, but it was also derived from the actual technical limitations of these instruments.

Despite the rapid development of woodwind instruments in the nineteenth century, performers often purposely chose to play on instruments that lagged behind the most modern technical advancements available, in particular scorning added keys. This was characteristic of Italian players but could be seen throughout Europe. Although Italian oboists adopted narrower-bored Classical oboes much earlier than French oboists did,<sup>124</sup> professors at the Milan and Parma Conservatories in the last quarter of the nineteenth century played instruments dated before 1834 and before 1826, respectively.<sup>125</sup> The Italian clarinet school was similarly conservative, and using a reed-above embouchure remained popular through the turn of the twentieth century. Performers in nineteenth-century Italy claimed that “the reed-above embouchure allowed practitioners more closely to imitate the human voice.”<sup>126</sup> This highlights Italy’s focus on vocal music rather than instrumental music during the nineteenth century, in contrast to the school of the Paris Conservatoire (where the reed-below embouchure became popular in the 1830s), but it also is a symptom of a wider conservatism in Italian music expanded upon in Chapter 2.<sup>127</sup> The flute is something of an outlier in this, as the Boehm flute was developed between 1831 and 1847 and quickly become overwhelmingly popular.<sup>128</sup>

This technical lagging occurred for several reasons besides general musical conservatism or an attempt at evoking a vocal sound. First, additional keys meant new fingerings to be learned, something that established older professionals may have been reluctant to undertake. Second, the necessary tooling trial-and-error that accompanied the addition of new keys meant that not all “improvements” were immediately beneficial; any

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<sup>123</sup> Hoeprich reminds us that at the time of Rossini, “the Italians usually played on clarinets with only six keys.” (Hoeprich, p. 157) Oboes of the time would also have had relatively few keys as well as considerably wider reeds, which facilitated tonguing and long lines. (Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, pp. 157-161.)

<sup>124</sup> Geoffrey Burgess and Peter Hedrick, “The Oldest English Oboe Reeds? An Examination of Nineteen Surviving Examples”, *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 42 (Aug. 1989), p. 36.

<sup>125</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 180. This Parma professor was Ricordano de Stefani, whom I will discuss in Chapter 2. Even in the 1880s he played a ten-keyed Koch oboe which had been developed in the 1820s and used old-fashioned unusually wide reeds. Also see Bruce Haynes, “The Addition of Keys to the Oboe, 1790-1830”, *The Journal of the International Double Reed Society*, No. 22 (July 1994).

<sup>126</sup> Ingrid Elizabeth Pearson, “Ferdinando Sebastiani, Gennaro Bosa and the Clarinet in Nineteenth-Century Naples”, *The Galpin Society Journal* Vol. 60 (Apr, 2007), p. 206.

<sup>127</sup> Pearson, p. 206

<sup>128</sup> See Rockstro, pp. 629, 640. As alluded to above, Giulio Briccialdi actually spent much of his career promoting his own alternative to the Boehm flute, the Briccialdi flute, but the B-flat thumb key that he developed also became part of the Boehm key system.



legitimate worries about the wisdom of a new alteration were then most likely compounded by the kind of fears of the decline of musicality common to every era. Auguste-Gustave Vogt, who taught oboe at the Paris Conservatoire from 1816 to 1853, argued that keys caused leaks and so were detrimental to the instrument; Vogt used a four-keyed oboe throughout his career, in an era in which other oboists were playing instruments with upwards of fifteen keys.<sup>129</sup> Antonio Pasculli, whose career was significantly later, played an eleven-keyed oboe; by the time that Pasculli was performing and composing, the oboes being produced would have been very near to today's Conservatoire oboe, which has eighteen keys.<sup>130</sup> Yet these conservative outliers are well-remembered by history while many of those who quickly adapted to new instruments were less noticeable. While Hoeprich's clarinet history (2008) reveals a lingering negativity even now in the discussion of additional keys – “Certainly the additional keys and the need to play in a variety of tonalities made players less sensitive to tuning pure intervals”<sup>131</sup> – modernized instruments were also popular in most areas as they became available.

The technological transformations of woodwind instruments, especially in the nineteenth century, have been driven and accompanied by talented performers who pushed their instruments to their virtuosic limits. Philip Bate writes that “the progress of any musical instrument over the ages has always been influenced by two main groups of men: the players or player-teachers on one hand, and the purely technical instrument makers on the other”, with the “greatest advances” coming when these two groups are combined.<sup>132</sup> The oboe's “fullest flowering in mid-19<sup>th</sup>-century Paris, lay in the hands of such *artistes-ouvriers*”, including Henri Brod (1799-1839), a pupil of the famously conservative Vogt.<sup>133</sup> Though in business only from 1835 until his death in 1839, Brod developed one of the most important keys of the oboe, the “half-hole” key which enables easy octave leaps. Bate states that “the mechanism is to be found in one form or another on almost every oboe today,” and today, over fifty years after the first edition of Bate's book, I would wager that the mechanism is universal.<sup>134</sup> These *artistes-ouvriers* were also often performer-composers, writing their own music to compensate for “the neglect of the oboe as a concerto instrument in the nineteenth century”, which twentieth-century oboists Leon Goossens and Edwin Roxburgh decried as “an unforgivable oversight of Fate” and “a badge of historical injustice that oboists must

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<sup>129</sup> Haynes, “The Addition of Keys to the Oboe, 1790-1830”.

<sup>130</sup> Pasculli's oboe is now owned by Omar Zoboli. If the six keys covering the instrument's primary tone holes – which developed later – are considered, the modern oboe has twenty-four keys.

<sup>131</sup> Hoeprich, p. 167.

<sup>132</sup> Bate, *The Oboe*, p. 189.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

wear”.<sup>135</sup> The history of the woodwind opera fantasia has always been the history of the woodwind performer musically and technically.

The Italian composers and context discussed in Chapter 2 further reinforce this deep connection between the fantasia and woodwind performers themselves. Yet having arrived at this unification, I now temporarily leave aside the milieu of the woodwind instrument specifically and return to the opera fantasia in its broadest conception, returning Liszt and Paganini to the conversation alongside their woodwind counterparts.

### 1.5. The development of the opera fantasia

How did the term “fantasia” come to be associated with the genre of the opera fantasia? The answer involves two separate strands: the development of the virtuosic piece based on an external theme, and the changing nature of the term fantasy or fantasia, which has its origins in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century works. In that context, “fantasia” emphasized the “free” nature of a composition, its imaginative aspects and, perhaps ironically, its freedom from words.<sup>136</sup> Contemporaneously, however, the term also referred to “parody” works based on themes from polyphonic sacred and secular music, a context much more similar to “fantasia” as later used to describe works based on themes from operas. The history of the fantasia from these origins through to the present day is one of the persistent coexistence of multiple contrasting genres sharing a designating title. In the nineteenth century, this contrast was heightened, the free-form instrumental genre having survived into the Romantic era in the form of the orchestral fantasia – a work of art, both a legitimate alternative to compositions in sonata form and a term redolent of compositional artistry, daring and brilliant – which coexisted with virtuosic but derivative “opera fantasias”.<sup>137</sup> The artistic potential ascribed to the “free fantasia” by contemporary musicians and critics stemmed in part from the contrast between the ever more tightly defined sonata and the “far greater freedom” of thematic and virtuosic alteration possible in the fantasia.<sup>138</sup> An 1805 article in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* described Beethoven’s *Eroica* symphony as “really a very extended, daring and wild

<sup>135</sup> Leon Goossens and Edwin Roxburgh, *Oboe* (London: Macdonald and Jane’s Publishers Ltd, 1977), p. 158.

<sup>136</sup> Christopher D.S. Field et al., “Fantasia”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017. And, of course, the free and imaginative qualities of the fantasia survive in the opera fantasia, a genre nearly defined in its performances by virtuoso instrumentalist-composers and in its certain free, improvisatory alteration during those performances by those musicians.

<sup>137</sup> See also Catherine Coppola, “The Elusive Fantasy: Genre, Form, and Program in Tchaikovsky’s ‘Francesca da Rimini’”, *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Autumn, 1998).

<sup>138</sup> William Drabkin, “Fantasia: 3. 19th and 20th centuries”, in Christopher D.S. Field et al., “Fantasia”, *Grove Music Online*. Even as the fantasia was a way to escape from the bounds of the sonata, the term “free fantasia” could be used to mean the “development” when discussing sonata form, emphasizing the developmental processes, such as juxtaposition, combination, and fragmentation of themes, which occurred during that section of the piece. See Coppola, p. 171.

fantasia”); Beethoven’s “fantastical” daring was the key to his genius, a “revelatory” power which was fascinatingly ambiguous to contemporary audiences.<sup>139</sup>

But there was a huge disparity between this and the evolving views of the virtuosic opera fantasia. Carl Czerny’s slightly disdainful remark that “the majority will be entertained only by the pleasant, familiar tunes [of opera fantasias] and will be sustained in spirit by piquant and glittering performances” provides a concept in striking opposition to the nineteenth-century perception of the orchestral fantasia as Beethovenian, “difficult and exceptional”; opera fantasias (and potpourris) are pointedly not difficult or exceptional, except for the performer.<sup>140</sup> The two genres do share a little more than merely a name, though. While Catherine Coppola describes the orchestral fantasia as “the only modern genre in which improvisation (or the impression of improvisation) and composition overlap so broadly”, this is in some ways true of the virtuosic fantasia as well; virtuosos often modified their compositions during or between performances, and fantasias are also derived from improvisatory theme-and-variation sets.<sup>141</sup>

Approached from a stylistic angle rather than a semantic one, opera fantasias flowed out of variation sets based on operatic themes, which were popular at the end of the eighteenth century in the concerts of virtuosos and in salons. The wider genre, including early works by composers such as Louis Spohr (1784-1859), Daniel Steibelt (1765-1823), and Johann Baptist Cramer (1771-1858), became popular far before the generally assumed 1830s and 1840s. William Weber traces the fantasia explosion to the 1810s, during which an “overriding focus on opera” in social and concert life led to the opera fantasia “emerg[ing] as the main virtuosic genre”.<sup>142</sup> He also references the popularity of “the potpourri – a medley on a well-known opera or folk tune” at public concerts in eighteenth-century Bordeaux; it is easy to focus on Paris as the epicentre of early virtuosity, but even before the opera fantasia cohered this music was spread more widely.<sup>143</sup> Virtuosic music flourished in salons and aristocratic parties as well as at public concerts, and the music for these occasions, such as *quatuors brillants*, is

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<sup>139</sup> Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 184-185.

<sup>140</sup> Richards, p. 185.

<sup>141</sup> Coppola, p. 173. Though the indefinite nature of the opera fantasia should be emphasized, and these pieces may in many circumstances be viewed more as *acts* than as *works*, especially within the Italian context (discussed in Chapter 2), this is not always how they were interpreted either contemporaneously or by later critics. As Alicia Cannon Levin discusses, nineteenth-century French critics, including François-Joseph Fétis and Léon Escudier, “laid the foundation for the exclusion of the opera fantasy from the canon” by emphasizing this genre’s blurring private and public, and its lack of improvisation, as well as its basis in “found” rather than original theme. In these characteristics we see a genre seen as both too like those included in the ideology of *Werktreue* music and yet not “serious” enough – too “trivial”. See Levin, p. 155.

<sup>142</sup> Weber, *The Great Transformation*, p. 143.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 51. See also Walter Schenkman’s discussion of “well-established antecedents” to the opera fantasia in the eighteenth century, such as variations on “popular operatic tunes” by Mozart and Beethoven. Schenkman, “Liszt’s Reminiscences of Bellini’s *Norma*”, p. 57.

another parent of the opera fantasia. In both his compositions and his writing on music, Louis Spohr demonstrates the dual nature of the fantasia in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries; in contrast to his potpourris, “a favorite form at the time” and “clearly designed for use at the music parties which were an essential element of any concert tour”, Spohr’s compositional style is also described as an “ingenious combination of variation and free fantasia”, here referencing the “pure” or non-sonata fantasia rather than the theme-based one.<sup>144</sup>

### 1.5.1. The complications of identifying the genre

To be able to discuss opera fantasias as a corpus situated in a historical and social context – not to mention the ways in which opera fantasias interact with and comment on that context – I first ask not only “what is an opera fantasia?” but also “how can such a piece be described and categorized?”. My primary definition is that an opera fantasia must use multiple themes from only one opera, must include virtuosic variation and/or ornamentation on more than one of those themes, and must feature a single solo instrument. In discussing the development of variation, Elaine Sisman emphasizes blurred distinctions between variation sets “tricked out with all manner of introductions, finales and virtuoso details” and fantasias, claiming the two genres are “nearly indistinguishable”.<sup>145</sup> However, my definition reflects the reality of fantasias for woodwind instruments, in which compositions divide quite strongly into “single theme and variations” and “multiple themes and variations”, the latter, broadly, being fantasias. While they can vary considerably in formal specifics and appear under many different titles, looked at as a whole these fantasias have considerable consistencies in style and format. Woodwind fantasias rarely occupy ambiguous positions at the edges of this definition by using a single theme but stepping beyond the category of “theme and variations”; by avoiding virtuosic ornamentation on themes yet altering them; or by including multiple solo instruments.

### 1.5.2. A taxonomy of variation: variety in definitions of fantasias

One of the most significant definitions of the opera fantasia is that of Charles Suttoni; he defines a “true opera fantasy” as a “multi-sectional work” involving two or more melodies, chosen for their popularity with “very little to do with the dramatic character of the opera”, and he contrasts these with Liszt’s “more dramatically cogent choice of thematic material,

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<sup>144</sup> Brown, *Louis Spohr: A Critical Biography*, pp. 27, 50.

<sup>145</sup> Elaine Sisman, “Variations, §9: The 19th century”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017.

encapsulating, as it were, the dramaturgical essence of the opera.”<sup>146</sup> Despite his valuable contributions to scholarship of the opera fantasia, all of Suttoni’s work is biased in favour of presenting Liszt as an exceptional composer of fantasias, with a goal of re-establishing only his compositions as worthy of the canon. In reality, many composers align more with Liszt, by including “dramatically cogent” themes, than with Suttoni’s general definition. Yet his definition remains more comprehensive than that of Robert Nelson, who makes no distinction between pieces using multiple themes and pieces using one theme and places opera fantasias within the category of “ornamental variation”, as “the successor to renaissance and baroque variations on secular songs, dances, and arias. Both types aim at the figural decoration of the theme...and the distinction between them is therefore primarily stylistic.”<sup>147</sup> Alicia Cannon Levin defines the genre through an intermediate set of criteria: as involving one or more opera theme, as existing in published form, and as expressing the aesthetic values of French and Italian opera.<sup>148</sup>

Rather than focusing on literal definitions of the term fantasia, it is more helpful to explore the opera fantasia within the context of a taxonomy of variation. In this context, Nelson’s clear working through of variation methods and characteristics is particularly helpful as a point of initial comparison. After dividing structural and free variation, Nelson further distinguishes three kinds of variations within structural variation (“since the design of the free variation is too heterogeneous to make further classification practicable”): cantus firmus, melodico-harmonic, and harmonic.<sup>149</sup> Cantus firmus variation is most likely to be used at the end of fantasias, where the piano sometimes plays a melody under extreme ornamentation (sometimes only tangentially related) in the solo instrument. However, variation in which the piano presents a basic melody while the solo instrument ornaments that melody can occur at any point in a fantasia, and occasionally the piano will play one melody while the solo instrument plays and ornaments a second melody. Melodico-harmonic variation, for which both the melodic and harmonic content of the theme is preserved, is almost universal in opera fantasias, with the exception of the situation where the piano and solo instrument play different melodies. Nelson in fact notes that “both Leichtentritt and d’Indy warn that the melodico-harmonic plan may be easily abused and point to the brilliant but shallow variation

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<sup>146</sup> Suttoni, “Piano fantasies and transcriptions”, *Grove Music Online*. As mentioned above, Suttoni wrote his doctoral dissertation on Liszt’s piano fantasies and transcriptions, and is certainly the most cited author on the subject.

<sup>147</sup> Robert Nelson, *The Technique of Variation: a study of the instrumental variation from Antonio de Cabezón to Max Reger*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1949), p. 5.

<sup>148</sup> Levin, p. 146. Levin is currently working on a book derived from this research.

<sup>149</sup> Nelson, p. 10.

of the bravura pianists in the early nineteenth century”,<sup>150</sup> including Herz and Kalkbrenner. Harmonic variation alters or abandons the theme’s melody while maintaining its structure and general harmonic progression, and is extremely rare in fantasias, except perhaps in final run-out sections of extreme virtuosic flourishes where the variation may become almost completely detached from the melody on which it is based.<sup>151</sup>

For those writing on variation forms and techniques, such as Nelson and J. Peter Burkholder, the key dividing line is that between “structural” variation and “free” variation; the first is the more traditional approach to variation, where the theme remains fundamentally similar to its original form, and the second is the approach developed at the end of the nineteenth century that includes “use of theme motives or of transformations of the melodic subject”, as seen in pieces like Strauss’s *Don Quixote* or in Schoenberg’s approach to variation.<sup>152</sup> To Nelson, the “distinguishing mark” of free (or “modern”) variation “is its refusal to accept the structural and harmonic control of the theme.”<sup>153</sup> This defining characteristic means that free variation rarely appears in opera fantasias, in which the emphasis is on an extended, faithfully presented operatic melody – Liszt is here, unusually, a true possible exception. Though my categories sometimes overlap with Nelson’s, I instead focus on the distinction between the single-theme variation set and the multiple-theme fantasia. Significant trends in the methods of varying operatic themes within these compositions, looking at the wide range of faithfulness to the original theme, help to narrow down the field of the opera fantasia.

### 1.5.2.1. Variation sets versus fantasias

Theme and variations appear in opera-based works, but are not fantasias. Like fantasias, theme and variations on operatic themes were written for every instrument; those for woodwinds include Beethoven’s famous variations on “Là ci darem la mano” for double reed trio, Louis Spohr’s *Variations on a theme from “Alruna”* for clarinet and orchestra, and Giuseppe Giacobelli’s rather less well known *Variazioni per flauto solo sopra un tema della Lucia di Lammermoor*. These pieces were extremely popular, and many Italian woodwind performers who composed fantasias also composed variation sets, but they are out of place in my discussion here. It is rare to find an unambiguous theme and variations set – one presenting only a single theme with a series of variations – which uses the title “fantasia” rather than the literal “variations”. However, a slightly ambiguous type of theme and

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<sup>150</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>151</sup> Ibid., p. 19. Nelson here cites variations by Bach, Beethoven, Brahms, and Schumann.

<sup>152</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>153</sup> Nelson, p. 25.

variations that includes a second “andante” theme is also common and sometimes appears under this title. Examples of this include Antonio Torriani’s Op. 4 *Fantasia per Fagotto con Accomp.to di Piano Forte sopra un tema del Pirata* and Ernesto Cavallini’s *Variazioni per Clarinetto sopra un Tema dell’Opera “Elisa e Claudio” del Maestro Mercadanto*. After a short energetic piano introduction, each briefly presents an andante operatic theme before moving on to a second theme and a series of explicitly labelled variations on that theme, each new variation with a different marked tempo and presenting a new character. These pieces exist on a continuum between a single theme with variations and a true fantasia, with some pieces using several themes but including a labelled theme and variation section on one of them. Examples include Ernesto Cavallini’s *Souvenir de Norma* and *Variazioni per clarinetto sopra motivi dell’opera “L’elisir d’amore”* and Girolamo Salieri’s *Fantasia per Clarinetto dall’Opera Rigoletto di Verdi*. Each of these pieces presents four themes, one of which is labelled as “tema” and followed by labelled “variazioni” that use different methods of ornamentation.

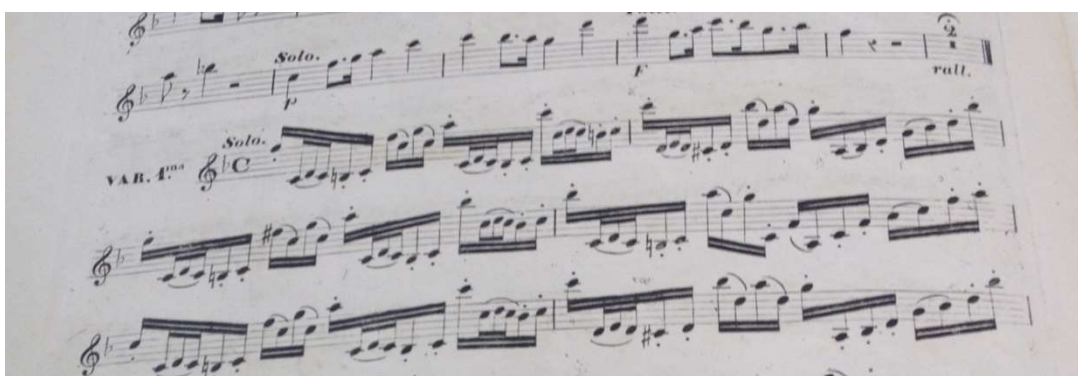


Fig. 1.1: A labelled variation in Cavallini’s *Souvenir de Norma*

### 1.5.2.2. The proportion of variations to themes

As already stated, in this thesis “fantasia” signifies a composition which features a few variations on each of multiple themes rather than many variations on one theme. This category includes most of the compositions entitled “fantasia” that use operatic themes, although these appear under many other titles as well – principally *souvenir*, *divertimento*, *reminiscenze*, *capriccio*, and *potpourri* – and their full titles are often long and descriptive, including mentions that the melodies or themes are “*trascritte e variate*” or even “*fantasticati*” by the composer of the fantasia. These pieces are generally easy to identify because of their predictable placement of themes and variations, but compositions sometimes blur the line between the fantasia and the theme and variations set by including only two themes but not, as Cavallini’s and Salieri’s pieces do, presenting a set of variations on one of

the themes. An example is Giuseppe Gariboldi's *Divertimento per flauto sull'opera La Traviata*, which includes only "Libiamo ne' lieti calici" and "Parigi, o cara". Although "Parigi" is emphasized through ornamentation after its initial presentation while "Libiamo" is merely presented once without ornamentation, Gariboldi does not provide multiple variations on either theme. The relative simplicity of the fantasia, with easy "virtuosic" passages and few themes to learn, is perhaps a result of the piece's dedication to "Egregio Dilettante Sig<sup>f</sup> Conte e Cas<sup>e</sup> Ettore Perozzi Console del Perù". Another example, which more clearly falls into the genre of the fantasia, is Antonio Pasculli's *Amelia: Un pensiero del Ballo in maschera*. Pasculli alternates the themes and their variations, first stating each theme and then presenting two variations on each rather than immediately following a theme with its variations; though reminiscent of the double variations of composers such as Haydn, this approach is extremely uncommon in the fantasia. Outliers such as these aside, standard opera fantasias use anywhere from three to eight themes. Those falling within the upper end of that range are extremely common,<sup>154</sup> and fantasias with ten or more themes, such as Luigi Bassi's *Fantasia di Concerto per Clarinetto sopra motivi dell'Opera Rigoletto* or Giuseppe Leonesi's *Capriccio per clarinetto su diversi motivi del Ballo in maschera*, are rare but by no means unheard of.

### 1.5.2.3. Approaches to variation and ornamentation within the fantasia

Aside from the number of themes and the general form of the fantasia, are there differences in approaches to variation within a variation set and within a fantasia? Most variation techniques occur in both kinds of compositions, but there are a few notable differences that can help to solidify the idea of the fantasia as a distinct genre despite the range of forms contained within that genre. These approaches, introduced here, are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

While variation sets frequently include a minor-mode variation, shifting modes either from major to minor or the reverse is very uncommon in opera fantasias; the treatment of "Dolce zeffiro" in Pasculli's *Concerto sopra motivi dell'opera La Favorita di Donizetti*, also discussed in Chapter 4, is an extremely rare example of this. However, the habitual reordering of operatic themes in fantasias so as to end with a triumphant major mode theme well-suited to an effusive virtuosic run-out seems reminiscent of modal shifting. Additionally, themes are commonly transposed in fantasias to facilitate transitions between themes or to navigate the

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<sup>154</sup> Among numerous others, Antonio Torriani's *Divertimento per fagotto sopra motivi dell'opera Lucia di Lammermoor* and Giovanni Rossi's *Fantasia per oboe sopra motivi della Linda di Donizetti* use eight themes, Luigi Bassi's *Transcription de l'opéra Don Carlos* uses seven, and Giulio Briccialdi's *Fantasia elegante per flauto sull'opera Beatrice di Tenda* (op. 66) uses six themes.



technical challenges of a given instrument. A non-woodwind example, with more virtuosic implications, is Paganini's *Non più mesta: Variazione sul tema "non più mesta accanto al fuoco" dalla "Cenerentola" di Rossini*, in which Paganini uses scordatura tuning. Originally written in D and sounding in E flat, the piece is now habitually played in D.<sup>155</sup> As Rossini wrote "Non più mesta" in the key of E major, there seems no particular reason for Paganini to have set his variations in scordatura E flat rather than in notated D major except as an excuse to show off the technical possibilities available to his instrument.

Variation through ornamentation is the most common approach to variation in fantasias, occurring with nearly every theme presented and ranging from a literal presentation of the theme, which is frequently followed by a reprise with variation, such as in Nicola de Giovanni's presentation of "Di sua voce il suon" in his *Capriccio per clarinetto sulla Saffo* (op. 60); to very little ornamentation on any theme, such as in Raffaele Parma's *Pot-pourri sopra motivi dell'opera Rigoletto di Verdi*, in which he rapidly moves through eight themes with only a small amount of elaboration or ornamentation on each theme; to so much ornamentation that the theme is almost invisible, such as in Giacomo Mori's semiquaver laden reprise of "Oh! voce! è dessa" in his *Fantasia per oboe sopra melodie della Beatrice Tenda*.

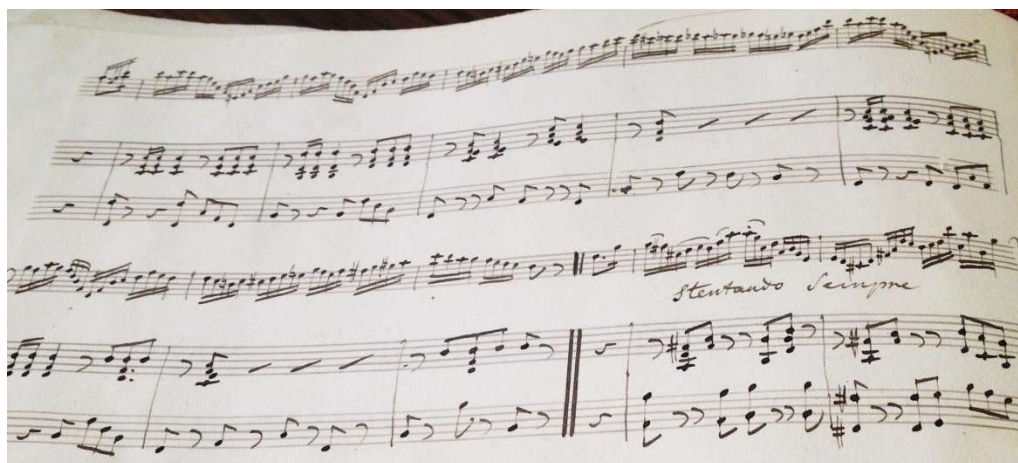


Fig. 1.2: Ornamentation of "Oh! voce! è dessa" in Mori's fantasia on *Beatrice Tenda*.

Mori's ornamentation here is on one hand a clear example of a common approach to ornamentation in fantasias, in which the melody is completely filled in with running semiquavers or demisemiquavers. However, while Mori's piano plays only accompaniment without the melody, this kind of ornamentation typically appears as a kind of contrapuntal variation in which the theme is presented in one voice and the variation in another, frequently

<sup>155</sup> Pietro Spada, "Introduction", in Niccolò Paganini, *Non più mesta* (Rome: Boccaccini e Spaca Editori, 2003).

occurring in final run-out sections in which the piano has the melody and the solo part plays virtuosic ornamentations on the melody above it. For example, Giulio Briccialdi's *Lucrezia Borgia: Terza Fantasia* (op. 108) presents the melody of "Maffio Orsini, signora, son' io" without ornamentation in the piano while the flute plays the same melody ornamented with demisemiquaver arpeggios. Similarly, in Antonio Pasculli's *Fantasia sopra "Gli Ugonotti"* the piano plays the straightforward melody of the "Choeur des baigneuses", "Jeunes beautés", while the oboe fills in the melody's gaps with semiquaver arpeggios and chromaticisms.

Fig. 1.3: Ornamentation of "Maffio Orsini" over the piano melody in Briccialdi's *Lucrezia Borgia: Terza Fantasia*

The kinds of ornamentation applied to a given theme of a fantasia can be divided into that derived from the original vocal part and that which emphasizes the instrumental nature of the fantasia. Fantasia composers often copy ornamentation directly from the original operatic vocal line, particularly in their initial presentation of a given theme. For example, in his *Fantasia per fagotto sopra motivi della Lucrezia Borgia* Torriani mimics Lucrezia's vocal ornamentation in his bassoon version of "M'odi ah, m'odi", and he includes two strains of Orsini's "Il segreto per esser felice", one the instrumental version from the opera and one the vocal line. And beyond this, additional ornamentations are often heavily inspired by vocal techniques for adding graces and divisions.<sup>156</sup> However, composers also almost always include ornamentation that is heavily un-idiomatic to the voice in order to allow for

<sup>156</sup> See discussion in Chapter 4 of vocal ornamentations, drawn from Robert Toft, *Bel Canto: A Performer's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

specifically instrumental virtuosic display. Scales and arpeggios are often either inserted into the melody line, as in Mori's *Fantasia per oboe sopra melodie della Beatrice Tenda* above, or merely repeated above a piano melody in order to demonstrate the range of the instrument and the technical facility of the performer. Another extremely common variety is ornamentation in which the solo instrument, as in many famous variations on "Carnival of Venice", essentially plays both a melody and a fast-paced accompaniment. Giuseppe Gariboldi uses this kind of ornamentation twice in his *Capriccio sull'opera "Ruy Blas"* for flute, following his initial statements of both Regina's "O Madre mia dall'intimo" and the chorus "Componiamo, intrecciamo mazzolini" with demisemiquaver accompanied melodies in the flute. Antonio Pasculli is also extremely fond of this technique; in his *Fantasia sull'opera Poliuto di Donizetti*, the oboist projects Poliuto's prayer "Dell'iniqua, del protervo" from the finale of Act 2 over intense chromaticisms. Another notable example is his *Gran Concerto su temi dall'opera I Vespri Siciliani*, in which he writes extremely difficult versions of this technique on Elena's "Arrigo! ah! parli a un core" and the chorus "Del piacer s'avanza l'ora!".



Fig. 1.4: Variation on Elena's "Arrigo! ah! parli" in Pasculli's fantasia on *I Vespri Siciliani*

However, some composers insert scalar or arpeggiated flourishes within otherwise straightforward presentations of themes. Briccialdi does this in his *Souvenir de l'opéra Linda de Chamounix* for flute, in which the long notes of melodies like "Cari luoghi ov'io passai" and "O luce di quest'anima" are filled with demisemiquaver and hemidemisemiquaver arpeggios. Torriani's *Divertimento per fagotto sopra motivi dell'opera Lucia di Lammermoor* similarly ornaments the melody "Verranno a te sull'aure" with triplet arpeggios, and Parra fills in the melodies "Oh! voce! è dessa" and "Come t'adro e quanto" in his *Reverie sulla "Beatrice di Tenda" per clarinetto* with demisemiquaver arpeggios and triplet ornaments.



Fig. 1.5: Ornamentation of “Cari luoghi” in Briccialdi’s *Souvenir de l’opéra Linda de Chamounix*

The seemingly perpetual presence of intricate ornamentation and variation is unsurprising, given the genre’s characteristics, but instances such as Mori’s *Fantasia per oboe sopra melodie della Beatrice Tenda* or Briccialdi’s *Souvenir de l’opéra Linda de Chamounix*, in which the operatic melodies seem nearly obscured by the technical fireworks, go far towards explaining some of the negative critiques of virtuosity in works such as these. However, in Chapter 2 I provide many examples of positive reviews of even intense virtuosic ornamentation of operatic melodies by Italian musicians and critics. Though certainly not all reviews were positive, the frequency with which positive descriptions appear reinforces the divide between negative critical opinions of virtuosity, as discussed above, and positive opinions of virtuosity held by audiences and many musicians.

### 1.5.3. Identifying the fantasia: inconsistencies in titling

As mentioned above, fantasias appear under a wide array of titles. Within the clear division between variation sets and fantasias, but considering the many similarities between variation sets and fantasias in their approaches to ornamentation and variation, do these different titles reflect meaningful differences in their compositions? Kenneth Hamilton, in his dissertation on Liszt’s fantasias, describes a nineteenth-century attitude to the genre which generally agrees with Nelson’s alignment of variations and fantasias and which implies that titles were not generically significant.

Any type of piece based on an operatic melody could be described as a “fantasia”, whether it was a set of variations with or without an introduction, a pot-pourri or a transcription. The first two of these were often not distinct, as frequently a pot-pourri included variations on one or more of its themes; but in any case the expression was soon joined by a host of other titles considerably more fanciful, such as “mélange”, “capriccio”, “souvenir”, and even “hommage”, as in Thalberg’s

*Hommage à Rossini sur motifs de l'opéra 'Guillame Tell' variés* (1835). What is perhaps the most evocative title of all, “reminiscences”, was invented by Liszt.<sup>157</sup>

While, as mentioned above, it is extremely uncommon to see a variation set entitled “fantasia”, in general I agree with Hamilton that these “more fanciful” titles, and even genre-crossing titles such as *concerto*, are applied to fundamentally similar works. Peter Paul Dorgan’s argument in his 1982 dissertation *Franz Liszt and His Verdi Opera Transcriptions* that “titles do indicate formal differences” overstates the value of titles in determining if a work is a fantasia or not.<sup>158</sup> However, titles can reflect the (sometimes unconscious) intentions of the composer. Catherine Coppola, while discussing the symphonic, rather than operatic, fantasia also asserts that “while ostensibly insignificant, deliberations over title reflect the concern of the composer to frame his or her work within the parameters of neighboring genres”.<sup>159</sup> I will discuss the particular case of the *concerto* fantasia, concentrating on those by Antonio Pasculli, in Chapter 3.

Again, though, the wide range of titles assigned to opera fantasies does not necessarily reflect a wide range of differences in content. Fundamentally identical pieces for piano and all other solo instruments arise under titles including Fantasia, Fantaisie, Fantasy, Paraphrase, Rondo, Rondoletto, Variations, Potpourri, Caprice, Capriccio, Divertimento, Rimembranze, and others, often bolstered by adjectival description such as “grand”, “brilliant”/“brillant”/“brillante”, or “concertante”/“Konzert”; Charles Suttoni also describes the “bewildering diversity of titles” for piano fantasies.<sup>160</sup> The wide range of titles and descriptors magnifies difficulties in discovering fantasias in library catalogues and in searching for secondary literature on compositions and composers. The preponderance of the term “transcription” provides further difficulties, as catalogues and composers (sometimes independently of one another) use it both for opera fantasias and for literal opera transcriptions onto the piano. Thus fantasia composers must be distinguished from those, such as William Crotch, James Calkin, and Thomas Arne, who wrote arrangements but not fantasias, while not weeding out those, like Ferdinand Beyer or Franz Liszt himself, who wrote both.

Titles also provide a convenient way for critics and scholars to shape the way in which these pieces are viewed. While analyzing the impact of designating a fantasia “potpourri” or

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<sup>157</sup> Hamilton, “The opera fantasias and transcriptions of Franz Liszt”, pp. 1-2. This claim about the title “reminiscences” seems impossible to verify. In any case, similar titles were certainly popular among a wide range of composers, including Italian woodwind performers.

<sup>158</sup> Dorgan, p. 183.

<sup>159</sup> Coppola, p. 170.

<sup>160</sup> Charles Suttoni, “Liszt’s Operatic Fantasies and Transcriptions”, *Journal of the American Liszt Society*, Vol 8 (1980), p. 3.

“grand concerto” may not be ground-breaking, it remains an important piece of the historical legacy of woodwind fantasias. John Neubauer, discussing music’s relationship with the “institution”, writes that “which label we choose for a particular work will largely depend on our interpretive stance, which in turn is deeply affected by conventions governing our age and our institutions”.<sup>161</sup> To use the examples above, the title “potpourri” can have strongly negative implications, while the title “concerto” can be seen as an attempt at elevating a fantasia into a more established genre. I address the implications of genre markers and divisions for the fantasia in further detail in Chapter 3. In treating titles as significant contributors to contemporary and modern opinions of fantasias, I join analysis of the generic norms of the opera fantasia to discussions of the means by which fantasias became seen not as merely passé but as almost harmful to serious musical development, which are common in studies of fantasias, virtuosos, concert development, and music’s role in private and public social life. Lamborn Cock’s nineteenth-century statement about “the superficial musical education of the day”, cited above, or Sandro Caldini’s experience with “trash music” and “musical pornography”, described in the introduction to this thesis, are merely two examples of the dramatic statements about the worthiness of the fantasia that surface repeatedly from performers, critics, and academics.

## 1.6. Conclusion

The decline of virtuosity has had long-lasting impacts on musicology and the reception of virtuosic music in general and the opera fantasia specifically. For insight into the reason that providing any kind of comprehensive study of this genre and its development is an exercise in frustration, one need not look any further than De Martino’s introductory essay in *Le parafrasi pianistiche verdiane*. There he describes “lo sterminato complesso” – the complex problem – of these pieces in nineteenth-century “treatments” of musical history.<sup>162</sup> He goes on to describe them as “always neglected because of their lack of value as art music”, a telling statement on the reason behind this lack of discussion.<sup>163</sup> According to biographer Jeffrey Pulver, “the world of music has not profited by [Paganini’s] presence on the stage”.<sup>164</sup> And Sergio Martinotti writes without any apparent irony of the “histrionics” of the virtuosos, who are “generous mediators, great performers but obscure musicians”.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>161</sup> John Neubauer, “Music and Literature: The Institutional Dimensions”, *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, edited Steven Paul Scher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 11.

<sup>162</sup> “trattazioni storico-musicali”. De Martino, p. 1.

<sup>163</sup> “sempre trascurate a causa del loro scarso valore come musica d’arte”. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>164</sup> Pulver, p. 306.

<sup>165</sup> “gli istrionismi difforni dei virtuosi ... i generosi mediatori, grandi esecutori ma musicisti oscuri.” Sergio Martinotti, *Ottocento strumentale italiano* (Bologna: Forni Editore Bologna, 1972), p. 193.



Of course, though Martinotti goes on to make the unlikely claim that “with regard to virtuosity, the history of music in fact stops in the mid-nineteenth century”, virtuosity itself has not disappeared.<sup>166</sup> It is only the reception of virtuosity, and the extent to which performance abilities are seen as equal to compositional abilities, that has declined. As Levin writes, “the outrageous public personae, flamboyant performances, and sex appeal of the virtuoso remained intact”, allowing us to draw a line from Paganini or Liszt not only to modern performers like Hillary Hahn, Lang Lang, and Cecilia Bartoli, but also to Elvis, the Beatles, and Beyoncé, whose own career has recently been characterized by a tension between composition and performance.<sup>167</sup> As ever, Paganini and Liszt – their personas, performances, compositions, and receptions – continuously reinsert themselves into discussions of opera fantasias and virtuosity by other musicians and for other instruments. And Paganini again serves as a reminder of the increasing tension between music as an act and music as a work, and between Italian and Northern European critical approaches to music. While the doctrine of *Werkkonzept* became increasingly influential, “the valuation of the work and the valuation of performer personality were fundamentally incompatible” – and Paganini, like the woodwind virtuosos I discuss here, was instead “grounded in improvisation-based Italian musical practice”.<sup>168</sup> Even an approach to the work like that of Fred Maus, who injects performativity into ideas of the work by arguing that “a score is an object; a work, however, is an *experience* of an object”, relies on a more unchanging and definite composition than likely existed for many (woodwind) virtuosos and their performances of their opera fantasias.<sup>169</sup> In Italy as well as in Germany and France, in opera as well as in symphonic music, “a text-based aesthetic took root” and “authorial control and aesthetic purity” became increasingly discussed and increasingly valued as the nineteenth century progressed.<sup>170</sup>

But the genre of the opera fantasia has had something of a renaissance. Discussions of fantasias in the *Journal of the American Liszt Society* date back to the 1980s, and Charles Suttoni’s dissertation on piano fantasias from 1973, despite its extremely limited availability

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<sup>166</sup> “Inoltre, il virtuosismo è una situazione limite, che si determina nell’800 e perdura oltre i confini del secolo come elemento degradato e come fenomeno deterioro di Kitsch, ma di per sè non cresce nei valori dell’arte: nei confronti del virtuosismo la storia della musica si ferma infatti a metà Ottocento.” Martinotti, p. 291.

<sup>167</sup> Levin, p. 302. Reception of Beyoncé’s *Lemonade*, while acknowledging the “129 credited musicians, producers and composers”, speaks of the performer as nearly the sole artistic voice; her persona and the strength of her performing abilities mean that she is able to embody and encompass the work as a whole, functioning as the creator as well as performer. See, for example, Lisa Perrott, Holly Rogers, and Carol Vernallis, “Beyoncé’s *Lemonade*: She Dreams in Both Worlds”, *FilmInt.*, <http://filmint.nu/?p=18413>, accessed April 2018 and <http://lemonademusicology.tumblr.com/>.

<sup>168</sup> Kawabata, *Paganini: the ‘demonic’ virtuoso*, pp. 109-110

<sup>169</sup> Fred Maus, “Concepts of Musical Unity”, in *Rethinking Music*, ed. by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 177.

<sup>170</sup> Hilary Poriss, *Changing the Score; Arias, Prima Donnas, and the Authority of Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 5.

and lack of following publication, has been heavily cited in books and articles both on Liszt's fantasias and the genre as a whole.<sup>171</sup> Nevertheless, while many areas related to my research have been competently addressed from multiple angles, the musical and social impacts of nineteenth-century Italian fantasias and woodwind fantasias have yet to be studied in an adequately critical way. And much of the knowledge of and research on Italian fantasias and Italian woodwind development that does exist has yet to become available in the English language. In the following chapters, I discuss the Italian fantasia in its specific context, provide biographical and primary source material on Italian fantasia composers and their performances and compositions, create theoretical frameworks of genre, gender, and narrative within which to analyse the woodwind opera fantasia, and discuss the characteristics of the woodwind opera fantasia with reference to many specific compositions uncovered in Italian conservatory libraries.

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<sup>171</sup> Charles Suttoni, "Piano and Opera: a Study of the Piano Fantasias Written on Opera Themes in the Romantic Era" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, New York University, 1973).



## CHAPTER 2

### The Italian context

The fantasia was certainly an old-fashioned genre by the end of the nineteenth century, particularly in having shifted from a use of contemporary operas, including those newly or yet-to-be premiered, to a use of historic ones. Bellini and Donizetti remained popular as sources decades after their deaths, and though Verdi's final opera premiered in 1893, his operas from the 1850s are much more popular in fantasias than his later works are. Nevertheless, woodwind fantasias, at least those in Italy, flourished much later than piano and violin fantasias, which had their heyday in the 1830s and 1840s. Fantasias remained popular in concerts at the end of the century and continued to be composed by woodwind performers and published by Italy's premier publishing houses, Ricordi and Lucca. This late flourishing was in part a result of the later technical development of woodwinds as opposed to strings and pianos; that is, as discussed in Chapter 1, the reluctance of many professional players to add onto their instruments the new keys that facilitated truly virtuosic performances using all key signatures and chromaticisms. While this reluctance was not universal, and fellow instrumentalists were often also the driving forces behind technical advancements and the addition of keys, instrumental treatises are full of statements like that of oboist Ricordano De Stefani, who wrote in his 1886 *Della Scuola di Oboè in Italia* that

It is unnecessary to have the craving to change your instrument often: I use an oboe made by Koch in Vienna, which was my first instrument, and I do not know that I will detach myself from it, even though it doesn't have an alluring appearance; it has in return supported without blame the many musical groups of which I have taken part, even having been honoured by the spontaneous presence of the illustrious Verdi, who unexpectedly attended one of my oboe and cor anglais concerts.<sup>1</sup>

De Stefani began playing the oboe at the age of 12, in 1851; not only does this mean that he had personally played on the oboe of which he wrote for roughly 35 years, but his oboe almost certainly dated from the 1820s. Stephan Koch (1772-1828) worked with fellow oboist Joseph Sellner (1787-1843) in the first decades of the nineteenth century to develop a ten-keyed oboe, and while Koch's son continued producing woodwind instruments until the 1870s, an illustration in De Stefani's *Piccolo Compendio della Storia dell'Oboe* suggests that De Stefani's oboe was an original Koch oboe of c. 1825, making it roughly 25 years old at the

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<sup>1</sup> “Non conviene avere la smania di cambiare spesso l'istrumento: io mi servo di un Oboè della Fabbrica Koch di Vienna, che è stato il mio primo strumento, e non so distaccarmene, abbenchè non abbia apparenza lusinghiera, ma che in compenso sostenne senza biasimo le molte compagne musicali alle quali io presi parte, essendo perfino stato onorato dalla presenza spontanea dell'illustre Maestro Verdi, che improvvisamente assistette ad un mio Concerto di Oboè e Corno Inglese.” Ricordano De Stefani, *Della Scuola di Oboè in Italia* (Florence: Tipografia Galletti e Cocci, 1886), p. 8.

time he obtained it and 60 years old at the time of his instruction to change instruments infrequently.<sup>2</sup>

Italian oboists tended to be particularly conservative in their choices of instruments. For example, while Italian flautists embraced the developments of Boehm and Briccialdi, Burgess and Haynes report that Antonio Pasculli (1842-1924) began playing on an eleven-keyed Triébert *ystème 3* oboe in 1855: “Even by then, this model had been twice superseded, but Pasculli used this instrument for the balance of his career”.<sup>3</sup> Yet Pasculli played on a modern instrument in comparison to De Stefani.

But before discussing in more detail the composer-performers who wrote and played woodwind opera fantasias in Italy, their lives and works and the information about both of these that survives, and before discussing the specific genre of the Italian woodwind opera fantasia, their compositional norms and relationships to operas and performance characteristics, I will address the specifically Italian musical world within which these pieces were composed and performed, and how that musical world worked upon them, concentrating on the overpowering emphasis on opera, and vocality more widely, as the pinnacle of musical art and artistry.

### **2.1. The looming giant of opera: the twin poles of conservatism and vocality**

The Italian musical context more generally was a conservative one, and one in which, partly because of this conservatism, vocality was a means to stability as an artist. Ferruccio Busoni characterized the clarinet playing of his father Ferdinando, a virtuoso who wrote a treatise on the instrument in 1883, as “combining the virtuosity of a violinist with the beauty and sensitivity of the old Italian *bel canto*”.<sup>4</sup> Also writing of the 1880s, Nicholas Baragwanath describes how at that time “with the surge in nostalgic nationalism that accompanied the increasingly overwhelming influence of Austro-German music...old-fashioned bass motions made something of a comeback” in opera composition, reaching back even past *bel canto*.<sup>5</sup> Michele Puccini’s *Corso pratico di contrappunto* (1846), for example, was rooted in mid-eighteenth-century practices such as the divisions of the scale and remained the “cornerstone” of the curriculum in Lucca into the 1870s.<sup>6</sup> This conservatism, which remained potent throughout the end of the nineteenth century, provided a foundation for the opera fantasia to

<sup>2</sup> Stefaan Verdegem, “Sellner-Type Oboes in Vienna and Mainz in the Second Quarter of the Nineteenth Century”, *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 61 (Apr., 2008), p. 205; Ricordano De Stefani, *Piccolo Compendio della Storia dell'Oboe*, manuscript, Parma Biblioteca Palatina RSM 4631, verso 3.

<sup>3</sup> Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes, *The Oboe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 154-155.

<sup>4</sup> Eric Hoepfich, *The Clarinet* (London: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 204.

<sup>5</sup> Nicholas Baragwanath, *The Italian Traditions and Puccini: Compositional Theory and Practice in Nineteenth-Century Opera* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011), p. 182.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 151, 165.

remain popular, and the subsequent backlash against this conservatism goes far to explain the increasingly negative opinions of the fantasia discussed in Chapter 1.

With emphases on beautiful singing, entertaining melodies, a reliance on the familiar over the original (and certainly over the “foreign”), and the use of affective and musical formulas (*partimenti*), the Italian opera tradition “appears to have more in common with what would now be described as a ‘popular,’ rather than a ‘classical,’ musical culture – one that was directed towards commercial success, fundamentally reactionary in spite of modish changes of style, and founded upon simple formulas that enabled a close rapport between performers and listeners.”<sup>7</sup> Like Baragwanath, Alexandra Wilson describes the importance of tradition to late-nineteenth-century Italian opera culture and the associated suspicion of foreignness or deviation. For Puccini’s supporters, self-borrowing, similarities to the repertoire of other composers like Verdi, and reliance on what might seem to be “overworked formulae” was in fact “positive evidence of the fact that his music had not been distorted, corrupted, or rendered ‘foreign’”.<sup>8</sup>

Baragwanath’s and Wilson’s descriptions of Italian opera characteristics make clear how deeply parallels run between opera fantasias and nineteenth-century Italy’s dominant cultural art form. Many of the flaws perceived in the fantasia as a genre are in fact characteristics that were, if not hallmarks of Italian opera, at least accepted realities of Italian opera composing. Baragwanath writes of an operatic “tension between the assumed immediacy of inspiration through the poetic text and the apparent uniformity of the resulting musical structures”; this reappears in fantasias in a heightened state.<sup>9</sup> An 1854 review of piano mazurkas by Louis Gottschalk in the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* highlights the “apparent uniformity” of fantasias, commenting that Gottschalk’s pieces provide some pleasing novelty “after the invasion of too many fantasias and potpourris, where the same passages and the same effects are reproduced a thousand times”.<sup>10</sup> Yet opera composition relied at once on “prefabricated materials and formulas” and on a flexible concept of form separate from templates such as AABA; it was the use of “expressive departures from underlying formulas”,

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 310. As another way in which opera was “popular”, see authors such as John Rosselli, who describes how going to the opera “four or five times a week was the norm for the educated classes” in the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, as an example, “in Naples in 1846 the tunes from Pacini’s opera of the previous year were played by military bands in the park, by barrel organs in the main shopping street, by organists in church, even at a funeral”. John Rosselli, *Music and Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1991), pp. 56, 70.

<sup>8</sup> Alexandra Wilson, *The Puccini Problem: Opera, Nationalism, and Modernity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 56.

<sup>9</sup> Baragwanath, pp. 211.

<sup>10</sup> “E veramente un po’ di novità si desidera in tutto, ma specialmente nella musica strumentale dopo l’invasione di tante Fantasie e Potpourri, dove gli stessi passi e gli stessi effetti sono le mille volte riprodotti.” C. A. G., “Rivista bibliografica. Pubblicazioni dello Stabilimento Ricordi”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XII, N. 47 (19 November 1854), p. 373.

of creativity derived from a uniform base, that created resonant and popular Italian opera.<sup>11</sup> While uniformity could be critiqued then, and certainly has been since, for nineteenth-century Italian opera there was an expectation of predictability in style, and a “certain suspicion” of genius; tradition and the norm were paramount, and audiences’ taste to a large extent still determined success.<sup>12</sup>

A popular art form, stylistically predictable yet formally flexible, based heavily on past operatic tradition and “prefabricated” materials: this equally describes nineteenth-century Italian opera and the opera fantasia. Denigrated as insufficiently intellectual or serious, as derivative, as merely popular or sentimental by twentieth-century critics and musicians, these qualities were strengths in late-nineteenth-century Italy. Indeed even after the turn of the century, Italian critics still “actively disparaged” so-called intellectual music.<sup>13</sup> Further, the concept of *imitazione*, the eighteenth-century-derived encapsulation in music of affects drawn from a text, seems practically designed to explain the fantasia’s ability to recreate emotions, characters, or scenes from an opera. These affects were seen as “inherent in a given text”, not composer-based, and appeared in dual form; a dominant affect suffused a composition as a whole, while individual moments demanded more variety.<sup>14</sup> Fantasias, in drawing from the emotions provided by their source operas, partake of “inherent” affects rather than ones newly imagined by the instrumental composer. And in their reductions or condensations of operatic narratives through the selection of a limited number of melodies and characters, they tend towards the strong evocation of a single affect while moving through several varied emotions in the course of their trajectory through operatic material.

The power of opera came from its expressive powers and its emotional connection to the audience, albeit a connection made specifically through well-crafted vocality. As such, “the modernist eschewal of sentiment and empathy was profoundly at odds with the Italian operatic tradition, a tradition in which popular approval and instant emotional appeal were essential criteria for a work’s success.”<sup>15</sup> The same “popular approval and instant emotional appeal” were also essential for the success of the opera fantasia. Fantasias tap into the expansive properties of music, both warping opera narratives and expanding excerpts of operatic music into representations of entire operas. And their repetitiveness and simplicity of structure and ornamentation mirror the comforting sameness of operas themselves. Of course, a key difference between a fantasia and an opera itself is that the fantasia is based nearly entirely on pre-composed music, and thus while this compounds the immediate emotional

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<sup>11</sup> See Baragwanath, pp. 189, 210, 310.

<sup>12</sup> See Wilson, pp. 25, 34, 75, 124-127.

<sup>13</sup> Wilson, p. 197

<sup>14</sup> Baragwanath, pp. 190-194.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

connection made with the audience of a fantasia it also greatly increases problems of derivativeness. The way in which fantasias are “pre-fabricated” functions on a much larger scale than the way in which operas are. Nevertheless, this reuse of operatic material, and more specifically this precise allegiance to the writing of the opera composer, is praised in contemporary reviews of opera fantasias. At the same time, fantasias, like performances of opera selections, demonstrate a privileging of the performer over the composer (although here, as often in fantasias, this distinction is complicated by the conflation of fantasia performer and fantasia composer); as in piecemeal opera performances, picking out certain arias and scenes from an opera and rearranging them in fantasias can be seen as privileging “event” over “work”.<sup>16</sup>

However, sometimes the fantasia’s status as a new work re-asserts itself. Nineteenth-century music journals abound with positive descriptions not only of performer-composers’ playing, but also of their compositions, including fantasias. Flautist Giuseppe Gariboldi, described in the *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano* in March 1862,

presented himself to us as composer and as performer.... Gariboldi’s music has all the brightness that characterizes Italian compositions; the colouring, the spontaneity, the enthusiasm abound in them; in them are found at the same time the fire and the sweetness that distinguish Southern composers.<sup>17</sup>

The author then praises the way in which Gariboldi “preserves the thoughts of the author” – his reliance on past musical material is crucial – with each theme emerging clearly through “daring” ornamentation and “a flood of notes”; “Nothing is bolder than his passagework, nothing sweeter than his singing.”<sup>18</sup> The reviewer further emphasizes the vocal nature of Gariboldi’s flute playing, describing his “concenti”, or the harmonies that result from the combined sound of voices and instruments, in a composition for flute and piano; the specificity and closeness of Gariboldi’s connection to the opera he draws on leads not only to a successful composition but also to a successfully “vocal” performance. Another *Gazzetta* review praises a performance of Achille Marzorati’s concerto on *Rigoletto* in which the flautist and violinist “surprised the whole audience with inspired, moving, sublime music”;

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<sup>16</sup> Hilary Poriss, “‘To the ear of the amateur’: performing *ottocento* opera piecemeal”, in *Fashions and Legacies of Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera*, ed. by Roberta Montemorra Marvin and Hilary Poriss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 113.

<sup>17</sup> “Gariboldi si presentava dinanzi a noi come compositore e come esecutore. ... La musica di Gariboldi ha tutto lo splendore che caratterizza le composizioni italiane; il colorito, la spontaneità, l’entusiasmo vi abbondano; vi si trovano nel tempo stesso il fuoco e la soavità che distinguono i compositori meridionali.” [Anon], “Notizie. Parigi. Giudizi di apprezzamento per Giuseppe Gariboldi (“Univers musicale” e “Écho de Lille”)", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XX, N. 11 (16 March 1862), p. 45.

<sup>18</sup> “Nei pezzi sopra motivi altrui, Gariboldi sa conservare il pensiero dell’autore; in mezzo ad un diluvio di note, il tema emerge sempre chiaro e limpido... Nulla di più ardito de’suoi passi, nulla di più dolce de’suoi canti.” *Ibid.*, p. 45.

the two musicians' "artistic quality" "shook the public, eliciting fanatic applause".<sup>19</sup> In the contemporary context, audience response is as important as, and directly caused by, emotionally effective music. In section 2.4 below, I discuss multiple reviews of the composer Antonio Pasculli, but even in the two reviews here we see the connection to previously composed opera themes and the vocal, emotional quality of the instrumental performances that is highlighted as praiseworthy by both critics and audiences<sup>20</sup> – and this connection recurs again and again in reviews of woodwind virtuosos and woodwind fantasias, as seen throughout this chapter.

### 2.1.1. Italy's crisis of identity

Despite these links between Italian operas themselves and what were later viewed as negative qualities of opera fantasias – and despite the popular acclaim of opera fantasias throughout the nineteenth century in Italy – even in Italy opera was not a monolithic force. The genre garnered fierce debate, albeit with fierce defence. In an Italy struggling to conceive of itself as a successfully unified modern country, still-flourishing opera represented a strong connection between the idealized Italian past and the present. Verdi remained a potent symbol of Italian musical talent through the end of his life, and critics were anxious to appoint a worthy successor to him. Puccini's success depended almost entirely on the ability of critics and audiences to connect him to a continuing "time-honoured tradition".<sup>21</sup> The contrasting side of this deep attachment to the operatic past, and to Verdi in particular, resulted in a lack of focus on "anything too overtly original... unless it had the excuse of being foreign" – despite the frequent critique of music for being too foreign.<sup>22</sup> As non-Italian music became increasingly present and performed in Italy, the "nostalgic nationalism" that Baragwanath describes was paired with a concern that Italy's cultural peak had been the Renaissance and that its modern arts might not compete with foreign works such as the recently imported Beethoven and Wagner, whose *Götterdämmerung* premiered in Turin only a month before Puccini's *La Bohème*.<sup>23</sup> As discussed below, an 1883 concert featuring two compositions by

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<sup>19</sup> "Questi due egregi artisti ebbero virtù di scuotere il pubblico, di suscitare applausi di fanatismo. ... tutt'e due...fecero meravigliare l'intero uditorio, collo musica ispirata, commovente, sublime." L.Z., "Codogno, 21 October", *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano*, Anno XXXVII, N. 44 (29 October 1882), p. 389.

<sup>20</sup> It is important to note that many Italian musical journals functioned as marketing tools for publishing houses, and therefore cannot always be trusted as providing objective – or, more importantly, representative – judgements of performers and composers. However, looking at a range of different journals writing on a range of different performer-composers goes far towards establishing the views of critics and audiences. The praise present in any given review might be overwrought or biased, but a macro lens still reveals a valuing of vocality and emotionally resonant playing by instrumental performers, of technically brilliant performances, and of opera fantasias as compositions and performance pieces.

<sup>21</sup> Wilson, p. 25.

<sup>22</sup> Baragwanath, p. 189.

<sup>23</sup> See Wilson, pp. 13, 19, 40.

Antonio Pasculli also featured choral excerpts of Wagner, Rossini, and Gounod, but the draw of Wagner is perhaps better demonstrated in the slightly breathless note with which Pasculli donated his baton, also used by Wagner upon his visit to Palermo in 1882, to the Palermo conservatory – though notably in this latter concert Wagner seems to have conducted instrumental marches rather than operatic excerpts. “Il grande maestro” “...took advantage of this baton, which he found very well balanced for lightness and strength”.<sup>24</sup> It is tempting to read an analogy with the tenacious Italian operatic tradition in those two descriptors.

At the same time, Wagner became representative of the weaknesses of non-Italian opera, standing in for oppositional Germany as a whole: after mentioning Wagner by name, the *Napoli musicale* writes that “the Germans can give us that difficult, learned, fattened, nourished music, as the modern critics call it, but never beautiful and inspired music”.<sup>25</sup> In contrast, operas like “*la Norma*, *la Lucia*, *la Lucrezia*, *la Traviata*” do not rely on staging or theatricality and thus maintain their “intimate beauty”; they “master souls” even in concerts or “restricted” transcriptions. The author does not specifically mention fantasias, but his “transcriptions” may well have included them.

In his 1972 history of nineteenth-century music, Sergio Martinotti argues that “the fundamental opposition between the first and second halves of the nineteenth century is in their different evaluations of history as culture”; in the second half of the nineteenth century, music needed to move past national limits in order to continue growing and remain dominant.<sup>26</sup> However, as the century progressed, discussions of the problems of virtuosity or genius or ornamentation as suspicious, decadent, foreign, and feminine became more prevalent. And by the first decades of the twentieth century, extremist and critic Fausto Torrefranca (1883-1955), who should be kindly remembered only for his efforts to found musicology studies in numerous Italian universities and conservatories, was waging a war against opera, Puccini, femininity, the bourgeois, and the decadent. “Laughably extreme” in his anti-feminism,<sup>27</sup> and more generally “overstated and dogmatic” in his polemical

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<sup>24</sup> “egli...si valse all’uopo di questa bacchetta che trovò molto ben equilibrata per la leggerezza e la resistenza.” Paolo Blundo Canto, *Un ritratto di Antonino Pasculli* (Messina: La Feluca Edizioni, 2012), p. 21.

<sup>25</sup> “i tedeschi possono regalarci musiche *difficile, dotte, impolpate, nudrite*, come le chiamano i critici moderni, ma non mai belle ed ispirate.” “*la Norma*, *la Lucia*, *la Lucrezia*, *la Traviata* e tanti e tanti altri colossi del nostro ricco repertorio non ripetono già i loro trionfi dallo sfondo d’un palcoscenico, o dalla elasticità d’una macchina, ma dalla loro intima bellezza, e tanto nei grandi che nei piccolo teatri, tanto nelle accademie che nelle ristrette trascrizioni riescono sempre a signoreggiare le anime, ad ingentilire gli affetti, ed a far perdere al cuore la misura dei suoi palpiti.” “Il canto italiano”, *Napoli musicale*, Anno XVIII, No. 6 (29 March 1886), p. 1.

<sup>26</sup> “L’opposizione fondamentale tra il primo e il secondo Ottocento sta nella differente valutazione della storia intesa come cultura.” Sergio Martinotti, *Ottocento strumentale italiano* (Bologna: Forni Editore Bologna, 1972), p. 188.

<sup>27</sup> Arthur Groos and Roger Parker, *Cambridge Opera Handbooks: La Bohème* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 131.

writings,<sup>28</sup> his dissatisfaction with Italian musical culture was such that, despite Verdi's lasting legacy, Torrefranca tried to recast opera lovers as unpatriotic and anti-Italian, "to strike at the heart of a nation that associated opera closely with its sense of self".<sup>29</sup>

The time in which Torrefranca raged saw the most intense debates over Italian musical and social culture and the role of opera in both of these. But in the nineteenth century as well, a decades-long battle was fought over "what was fundamental" to opera and "what was mere inessential detail" – with "detail" often coded as that suspicious, feminine other that Torrefranca later hated so intensely.<sup>30</sup> The attachment of negative connotations to ornamentation or decoration was, of course, not a concept that arose newly formed in nineteenth-century Italy. From the Middle Ages to the modern era, critics and commentators have worried about the consequences of "decadent, deceptive and effeminate" decoration.<sup>31</sup> The description of virtuosic works as only emotionally empty filler appears again and again in the nineteenth century in and beyond Italy. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Dana Gooley discusses the ways in which critics in France and Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century specifically set out to turn public opinion against virtuosic pieces and performers, artificially diminishing the standing of pieces such as fantasias through "the repetitive, mechanical rehearsals of phrases such as 'excessive ornament' and 'superficial virtuosity'".<sup>32</sup> And Maiko Kawabata's book on Paganini discusses many of the "pejorative connotations" given to virtuosity during and since Paganini's lifetime, including "superficial, vainglorious, aesthetically bankrupt".<sup>33</sup> Rather than merely "inessential", detail in the form of virtuosity could be seen as out-and-out harmful; nearly a century later, Torrefranca still agreed.

In Italy, late-nineteenth-century critics worried that the quintessential Italian opera sound would be distorted by too much emphasis on detail rather than the fundamentals of music. Not only was there the long-standing issue – with its origins in bel canto opera – of vocalists "corrupting" beautiful singing with virtuosic acrobatics,<sup>34</sup> critics also suspected Puccini of succeeding only at the surface of correct operatic style and not the substance. His melodies were insufficiently lyrical, his characters insufficiently emotionally realistic, and he lacked control over the "broad expanses" of his works, instead "varnishing" them with details

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<sup>28</sup> Ferruccio Tammaro, "Torrefranca, Fausto", *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017.

<sup>29</sup> Wilson, p. 145.

<sup>30</sup> Baragwanath, p. 102.

<sup>31</sup> Wilson, p. 104.

<sup>32</sup> Dana Gooley, "The Battle Against Instrumental Virtuosity in the Early Nineteenth Century", in *Franz Liszt and His World*, ed. Christopher H. Gibbs and Dana Gooley (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 77.

<sup>33</sup> Maiko Kawabata, *Paganini: The 'Demonic' Virtuoso* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2012), p. 104.

<sup>34</sup> See Richard Somerset-Ward, *Angels & Monsters: male and female sopranos in the story of opera, 1600-1900* (London: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 70.



to mask their emptiness.<sup>35</sup> Criticism of opera fantasias plays into this concern about fundamentals versus details; fantasias could be seen as abandoning all of the former and only maintaining the latter, embellishing and amplifying the insignificant accompaniments to the deeper story and discarding the real characters, emotions, and context of the opera. However, though this argument does not appear in contemporary comments on this genre (in contrast to the operatic overture, as discussed in Chapter 3), fantasias can also be viewed as doing precisely the opposite, maintaining or expanding an emphasis on the opera's fundamental characters or primary relationship, leaving behind everything inessential to the narrative.

Fantasias solve, rather than partake of, another growing problem within opera. Though Verdi increasingly composed operas with more unified musical forms, “the idea that an artwork must form a homogeneous unit, from which no parts can be removed without detriment to the whole” was new; historically, Italian opera was “a genre in which arias were routinely added or removed ... and the sense of musical continuity was constantly interrupted by audience applause”.<sup>36</sup> Fantasias themselves “routinely” removed arias from their operatic retellings, disturbing an opera's unified plot, but at the same time they contain their own continuity presented in a condensed, unified whole. Furthermore, the disconnect between the operatic narrative and the formal structures – or lack thereof – of the fantasia is merely an extension of the disconnect present in setting libretto poetry, with its vibrant emotions and narrative actions, with formally repetitive operatic music, of using repetitive and reminiscent melodic fragments and rhythmic and harmonic patterns – the Italian *partimenti* still taught in conservatories throughout the nineteenth century – to show emotional range and narrative change. Yet opera was able to expand and contract around this point; opera composition traditionally emphasized the portrayal of affects in music, but “while the affects may have been regarded as fixed, their corresponding musical features were evidently anything but”.<sup>37</sup> Music was buoyed rather than hindered by its lack of explicit representation, by its ability to move beyond words. The power of opera melodies and traditions allowed the music to express both more broadly and more deeply than should ostensibly be possible or realistic. The ramifications of this creation of a condensed continuity in opera fantasias are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, where I approach narrative as a means of analyzing the fantasia.

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<sup>35</sup> See Wilson, pp. 49-51 and 52.

<sup>36</sup> Wilson, pp. 47-48.

<sup>37</sup> Baragwanath, p. 203.

### 2.1.2. Opera and the woodwind instrument

Though not monolithic, opera truly was the dominant musical genre in nineteenth-century Italy, and instrumental music and teaching firmly relied on and were subordinate to opera to an extent much greater than in French- or German-speaking lands. Instrumental treatises like those by Krakamp, Pasculli, and De Stefani often do not explicitly connect instrumental development to the voice – in part because these treatises generally do not address tone with much specificity – but *solfeggio*, vocal melody, and contrapuntal schemata were deeply linked in the minds of contemporary musicians.<sup>38</sup> Through the end of the nineteenth century Italian conservatories often even had joint professorships of singing and counterpoint, reinforcing the inherently vocal nature of Italian composition.<sup>39</sup>

Vocally centred language in reviews of fantasia concerts recurs again and again and becomes inextricably linked with virtuosic instrumental performance. But rather than virtuosity corrupting singing, as described in Chapter 1, here “singing” qualities of instrumental sound legitimize instrumental virtuosity. Cavallini is the “Paganini” of the clarinet not because of his brilliant and astonishing technique but because his instrument “sings, animates, lights up; in a word, he ‘poetizes’ it and makes it produce hitherto unknown effects.”<sup>40</sup> Elsewhere, Cavallini is linked to other instrumental virtuosos, who are also legitimized through their vocality. Cavallini is so well known and so much a prodigy that at his mere appearance he receives “clamorous applause”;

today, when instrumental music has invaded the camp of vocal music, today when singers strive to reduce their song to sound, it is a consolation to see that the best instrumentalists put all their love into reducing the sound of their instruments to song. Thalberg sings with the piano, Bazzini sings with the violin, Cavallini sings with the clarinet.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Indeed, in Italy the teaching of instruments traditionally also relied heavily on *solfeggi*, both through instruction in singing as a precursor to beginning an instrument and for performance on the instrument itself – and this has not been limited to Italy, either. Quantz wrote articulation studies that were published under the title *Solfeggi Pour La Flute Trasversiere*, and at the beginning of the twenty-first century John Korak published versions of Giuseppe Concone’s *solfeggi* for brass instruments. See Robert Gjerdingen’s introduction to the web-based *Monuments of Solfeggi*, “Solfeggi in Their Historical Context”, available at <http://faculty-web.at.northwestern.edu/music/gjerdingen/solfeggi/aboutSolfe/histOverview.htm>, and Hartmut Krones, *Alte Musik und Musikpädagogik* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1997), pp. 66-68. See also Mary Oleskiewicz, “The Flutes of Quantz: Their Construction and Performing Practice”, *The Galpin Society Journal* (vol. 53, 2000), p. 211.

<sup>39</sup> Baragwanath, pp. 256-7, 263. In addition to his *Corso di perfezionamento della scuola di flauto*, Krakamp also wrote “that of *solfeggio parlato*, which since their appearance in the musical world have received the artistic approval of technicians and the adoption in Italian colleges and institutes” (“anche quello del *solfeggio parlato*, (i quali fin dalla loro apparizione nel mondo musicale riceveranno la sanzione artistica de’ tecnici, e l’adozione nelle scuole dei Collegi ed Istituti italiani”). “Il corso di perfezionamento della scuola di flauto del cav. Krakamp”, *Napoli Musicale*, Anno X, No. 9 (14 April 1877), pp. 2-3.

<sup>40</sup> “...lo chiamano il Paganini del clarinetto. Sotto il suo soffio, questo istrumento canta, si anima, si accende; in una parola, egli lo poetizza e gli fa produrre effetti finora ignoti.” [Anon], “Bordeaux”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno X, No. 51 (19 December 1852), p. 227.

<sup>41</sup> The association of instrumental playing with “sound”, as a reduction of “song”, is of course also worth noting. “Tutto ciò che la fama dicea di questo Clarinettista è poco: la nostra prevenzione fu sorpassata: egli è un prodigio dell’arte sua. Al primo apparire sulla scena, caso rarissimo tra noi, fu accolto con clamorosi applausi. ... Oggi

Krakamp is praised for playing with “the exquisiteness of the most dramatic singing” as well as “all the intimacy...you could wish for”.<sup>42</sup> Briccialdi is admired not only as an artist who “knows how to surpass the great difficulties of his instrument”, but also for “achieving the same effects as the most exquisite and best modulated human voice.”<sup>43</sup> And Tamplini’s fantasias allow him to show off his skill in “drawing passion from an instrument with such a cold and meagre sonority” and in singing with his instrument.<sup>44</sup> The reviewer also comments favourably on Tamplini’s agility and intonation in the fast passages of his fantasia, but he dwells much more dramatically and emotionally on Tamplini’s ability to sing with the bassoon.

While opera itself was never widely seen as sullied by instrumental virtuosity, opera also required a large body of skilled instrumentalists, and opera composers certainly took advantage of instrumental virtuosos in their opera scores. As noted in Chapter 1, Ernesto Cavallini provided the inspiration for several of Verdi’s most extensive clarinet *obbligati*, including the clarinet solo that begins Act 3 of *La forza del destino*; Cavallini’s “incontestable mastery” is acknowledged in reviews of opera performances like that of the St. Petersburg premiere of *La forza* in late 1862.<sup>45</sup> Woodwinds suffuse operatic scores, playing alone, in duets, and in choirs with soloists, with choruses, and alone. From the clarinet and bassoon introduction of “Norma viene” and the extended flute solo in “Casta diva” in *Norma* to the clarinet solo doubling Violetta at the end of “Un dì felice” in *La traviata* to the cor anglais solo in “Miei signori, perdono” in *Rigoletto* to the virtuosic flute and oboe in the prelude to *L’Elisir d’amore*, woodwinds are continually not only present but emphasized in Italian opera scores.

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che la musica strumentale ha invaso il campo della musica vocale, oggi che i cantanti si sforzano di ridurre a suono il loro canto, è consolante il vedere che i sommi stromentisti mettono tutto l’amore per ridurre a canto il suono del loro istrumento. Thalberg canta col pianoforte, Bazzini canta col violin, Cavallini canta col clarinetto.” Anon, “Notizie. Napoli. Teatro S. Carlo: concerto di Ernesto Cavallini [“Omnibus”]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno VI, N. 26 (30 June 1847), p. 207.

<sup>42</sup> “Nella parte melodica egli accentua e colorisce colla squisitezza del canto più drammatico e con tutta l’intimità e proprietà di tinte che si possa desiderare.” Anon, “Teatri e notizie diverse. Nizza [concerto del flautista E. Krakamp]”, *L’Italia musicale*, Anno IX, N. 10 (4 February 1857), p. 39.

<sup>43</sup> “ammirò come al solito nel Briccialdi non solo l’artista che conosce e supera agevolmente le maggiori difficoltà del proprio istrumento, ma che sa infondere in esso tanta soavità di espressione, tanta poesia di sentimento, da raggiungere gli effetti medesimi d’una voce umana la più squisita e meglio modulata.” Anon, “Teatri e notizie diverse. Milano. Teatro alla Canobbiana [concerto di Briccialdi; interpreti e musiche eseguite]”, *L’Italia musicale*, Anno VII, N. 89 (7 November 1855), p. 355.

<sup>44</sup> “Questo egregio artista ha saputo trarre da uno stromento di sonorità sì fredda e macra, quale è quella del fagotto, della passione! e principalmente in un primo tempo lento, *cantata* quanto mai si può dire. Noi l’abbiamo apprezzato assai anche nell’*allegro* successive, principalmente in certi passi agili e granitissimi, eseguitivi con purezza e intonazione.” La Red, “Rivista della settimana. Accademia in casa Ricordi [Fagottista Tamplini]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno IV, N. 24 (15 June 1845), p. 103.

<sup>45</sup> Anon, “La Forza del destino, opera in quattro atti di Giuseppe Verdi (Pietroburgo, 30 ottobre — 11 novembre)”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XX, N. 47 (23 November 1862), p. 188.

## 2.2. Italian woodwind opera fantasias: their composers and sources

The instrumental performers in the top opera houses were often also professors at conservatories, virtuosos, and composers themselves. Indeed, the composers of opera fantasias were almost entirely virtuoso instrumentalists who taught at conservatories and played in opera orchestras. These were the famous woodwind players of their time, and they are still respected as pedagogues and developers of instrumental technique even while their fantasias are pushed to the side. Surviving fantasias held in conservatory libraries around Italy reflect the tenures of specific instrumentalists, as well as revealing which cities were known for strong pedagogical programmes for a given woodwind instrument. For example, Palermo was known for its oboists, most notably Antonio Pasculli, but struggled to maintain a strong bassoon studio. Similarly, Milan and Naples were particularly known for their flautists, including Giulio Briccialdi and Emanuele Krakamp respectively.<sup>46</sup>

### 2.2.1. Primary sources and research

Through research in the conservatory libraries of Parma, Bologna, Palermo, Milan, and Naples, I have gathered a wide range of opera fantasias, both in manuscript form and in nineteenth-century printed editions, by dozens of composers and on dozens of operas. I found far more compositions than I had anticipated, particularly in Milan, whose conservatory library in essence functions as a Ricordi archive. Indeed, the principal issue affecting my access to additional fantasias, as well as to manuscripts of fantasias which I have accessed in modern or historical published editions, has been the incomplete nature of Italian online library catalogues. While this is certainly not unique to Italy – see the University of Cambridge’s four different catalogues of printed music, only one of which is available online

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<sup>46</sup> The main Italian woodwind schools of the nineteenth century overlap heavily but not exclusively with the cities from which I drew my sources. The primary nineteenth-century Italian flute schools were Milan (with masters including Giuseppe Rabboni 1800-1856 and Giulio Briccialdi (1818-1881)), Naples (Emanuele Krakamp (1813-1883)), Rome (Vincenzo de Michelis (1825- 1891)), and Florence (Cesare Ciardi (1818-1877) and Raffaele Galli (1824-1889)). The primary nineteenth-century Italian oboe schools were Milan (with masters including Carlo Yvon (1798-1854) and Giovanni Daelli (d.1860)), Bologna (Baldassare Centroni (1784-1860) and Raffaele Parma (1815-1883)), Parma (Ricordano De Stefani (1839-1904)), and Palermo (Antonio Pasculli (1842-1924)). The primary nineteenth-century Italian clarinet schools were Naples (with masters including Ferdinando Sebastiani (1803-1860) and Gaetano Labanchi (1829-1908)), Bologna (Domenico Liverani (1805-1877)), Milan (Benedetto Carulli (1797-1877) and Ernesto Cavallini (1807-1874)). Additionally, the *Scuola Palermitana* (Palermo) had been an important eighteenth-century clarinet centre. The primary nineteenth-century Italian bassoon schools were Parma (with masters including Luigi Orselli (mid-century)), Bologna (Luigi Tartagnini (first half of century)), Naples (Luigi Caccavaio (second half of century)), and Milan (Antonio Cantù (first half of century) and Antonio Torriani (1829-1911)). See Ardal Powell, *The Flute* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), pp. 192-193; Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, pp. 152-154; Ingrid Elizabeth Pearson, “Ferdinando Sebastiani, Gennaro Bosa and the Clarinet in Nineteenth-Century Naples”, *The Galpin Society Journal*, Vol. 60 (April 2007), p. 203; Alfredo Vena, *The Nineteenth-Century Italian Clarinet Tradition and its Reevaluation* (Rome: Aracne, 2007), pp. 36-37; James B. Kopp, “The scientific bassoon, c.1830–1900”, *The Bassoon*, pp. 114-148; Andrea Toschi, “Antonio Torriani and the XIX Century Milanese Bassoon School a First Survey”, *The Double Reed*, Vol. 26, pp. 93-94; and following discussion.

– it remains frustrating. For example, many of the entries in Italy’s OPAC SBN catalogues (the “Online Public Access” *Catalogo del Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale*) lack any subject classifications; while the Bolognese library system includes many books on the oboe, the category “Oboe – Storia” returns only one entry and “FLAUTO – Storia” returns only three.<sup>47</sup> According to their online catalogues, neither the Biblioteca Palatina nor the Biblioteche di Casa della Musica in Parma contain any fantasias by oboist Ricordano De Stefani, who taught there for many years and whose treatise *Della scuola di oboe in Italia* adorns the website of the Archivio della Regia Scuola di Musica.



Fig. 2.1: De Stefani’s treatise as shown on the website of the Archivio

Once in the Biblioteca Palatina, though, I was able to view several printed and manuscript works by De Stefani, including his divertimento on Verdi’s *Attila* and a manuscript of his *Gran Metodo* for oboe. Any difficulties in online library catalogue searches compound issues of titles and genre in uncovering fantasias.<sup>48</sup> A lack of consistency in subject descriptions makes the discovery of specific pieces challenging; this means that searching by (also inconsistent) title can scarcely be avoided. Worldcat has proved the most fruitful means of searching for these composers and their works from a distance, though repetition and poor tagging cause a great deal of redundancy in its entries.

Thankfully, hard-copy catalogues in each of these five locations contain many fantasias unlisted in online databases, and these catalogues are also more likely to include

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.sbn.it/opacsbn/opac/iccu/free.jsp>

Note also the discrepancy in capitalization, copied exactly from the catalogue itself.

<sup>48</sup> I return to this in my discussions of genre as an analytical approach to the fantasia in Chapter 3.

dates of either publication or original acquisition by the library. Furthermore, those works without concrete dates can often be dated to within a year's time of their publication through their Ricordi plate numbers, although Ricordi's cataloguing has its own shortcomings. My initial research findings, before these trips, indicated that woodwind fantasias from the end of the nineteenth century, such as those by Pasculli, were something of an exception. Online searches resulted in dated fantasias mostly from the 1840s and 1850s, although works from the 1860s to the 1900s were occasionally also present. While early fantasias are certainly much more common for the piano than for woodwind instruments, early woodwind composers include flautists Vincenzo De Michelis, Giulio Briccialdi, and Gaetano Masini; clarinetists Ernesto Cavallini, Ferdinando Sebastiani, and Benedetto Carulli; and oboist Giovanni Daelli. Later composers include flautists Donato Lovreglio and Giuseppe Gariboldi, clarinetist Luigi Bassi, and oboists Antonio Pasculli and Ricordano De Stefani. However, "early" composers often continued performing and composing well into the 1860s, if not later; key among these are Briccialdi (d. 1881) and Cavallini (d. 1874).

Flute	Oboe	Clarinet
Gaetano Masini (c. 1800-1880)	Giovanni Daelli (1800?-1860)	Benedetto Carulli (1797-1877)
Giulio Briccialdi (1818-1881)	Giacomo Mori (1810-1865)	Ferdinando Sebastiani (1803-1860)
Vincenzo De Michelis (1825-1891)	Ricordano De Stefani (1839-1904)	Ernesto Cavallini (1807-1874)
Giuseppe Gariboldi (1833-1905)	Antonio Pasculli (1842-1924)	Luigi Bassi (1833-1871)
Donato Lovreglio (1841-1907)		

Fig. 2.2: Dates of representative early and late woodwind opera fantasia composers

Early works – that is, those dating from before 1840 – for any instrument, such as Vincenzo Colla's *Gran fantasia a foggia di pot pourri con variazioni: sopra diversi motivi dell'opera "Il Crociato"* (1826) for piano and Luigi Truzzi's *Due Pot-pourri per flauto e pianoforte sopra i motivi dell'opera Lucrezia Borgia* (1834), held in the Palermo conservatory and Parma Casa della Musica libraries respectively, are rarer, despite frequent assertions by scholars of piano and violin virtuosity that the fantasia peaked in the 1830s. This discrepancy again results from Italy's musical detachment from the northern musical centres of Paris and Vienna. My library findings have since shown that woodwind fantasias dating from later in

the century are more representative of their genre, and that the woodwind opera fantasia did indeed flourish well after the prime of the piano or violin fantasia.

Precisely dating fantasias is extremely difficult except in the rare occasions when dated manuscripts survive. As I state above, publication dates are relatively easy to uncover, but these do not necessarily reveal when fantasias were composed and first performed. Nevertheless, publication dates do give a sense of trends in popularity; a library acquiring the sheet music of a fantasia well after its publication indicates lasting demand for a work. In a brief survey of dated compositions held in the conservatory libraries of Milan, Naples, Parma, and Bologna, over half of the pieces date from the 1860s and 1870s, with approximately a quarter divided equally between the 1850s and 1880s. Additional dates, as stated above, can sometimes be drawn from Ricordi's historical catalogues of publications. However, available information from these sources is not comprehensive. For example, Ricordi's online historical catalogues have incomplete lists of works by Donato Lovreglio and Giuseppe Gariboldi. Furthermore, Ricordi's historical catalogues cover only works published through 1874, and this, unlike the information provided by historical conservatory library catalogues, skews data towards earlier fantasias. However, while the listed compositions therefore trend earlier than those acquired by libraries, the Ricordi catalogue still reflects a flourishing of fantasias stretching far beyond the 1830s and 1840s. Of approximately 100 fantasias by the leading woodwind composers, roughly a third fall into each decade of the 1840s-1860s, with only three compositions published in the 1830s. The publishing house F. Lucca, which also published many opera fantasias in the second half of the nineteenth century, including those of Antonio Pasculli, was acquired by Ricordi in 1888. Unfortunately, there is not a searchable Lucca catalogue similar to those of Ricordi.

For the opera fantasias of Liszt, Thalberg, and virtuosos of similar standing, "timeliness was an important goal for the production of paraphrases, since they had to appear either while the work was still onstage or while its melodies remained in the public's memory"; Liszt's works normally appeared in print within a year of the opera's premiere.<sup>49</sup> In some cases, fantasias even functioned like movie trailers, providing advance notice and publicity of a new opera.<sup>50</sup> This was less of an issue later on and in Italy, as the operas were so engrained in public memory that there was not really any time pressure. The lasting framework of the traditional Italian opera, and the lasting power of Verdi as the pinnacle of

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<sup>49</sup> James Deaville, "Publishing Paraphrases and Creating Collectors: Friedrich Hofmeister, Franz Liszt, and the Technology of Popularity", in *Franz Liszt and His World*, ed. by Christopher Gibbs and Dana Gooley (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 261.

<sup>50</sup> Alicia Cannon Levin, "Seducing Paris: Piano Virtuosos and Artistic Identity, 1820-48" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009), pp. 201-202.

Italian culture in music and more widely even through the bulk of Puccini's career, meant that while in 1856 a reviewer wrote "I believe that all the pianists, violinists, cellists, flautists, clarinetists, etc, have paid their tribute to Verdi's scores, which is clear evidence that the melodies of the great maestro, as well as being the most favoured by the public, are also likely to be transcribed for all instruments and to make an impression everywhere",<sup>51</sup> fantasias on Verdi's 1850s operas were newly composed and published for decades after. Similarly, Rossini's lasting impression on Italian musical culture means that an 1876 review of Ricordano De Stefani's playing, 47 years after the premiere of Rossini's final opera, compares De Stefani's sound to "the powerful sound that was the delight of the great Rossini".<sup>52</sup> Bellini lasted similarly in the public imagination. Paired with the lack of emphasis on instrumental development – leaving aside the politics of the Boehm flute, discussed in Chapter 1 and below – this provides ample background for the lengthened and delayed popularity of opera fantasias within Italy.

Any attempt to discuss the primary composers of woodwind opera fantasias inevitably devolves into an extensive list of musicians; composers rarely wrote for multiple instruments, and various musically significant cities often had their own most notable woodwind performer-composers (generally the pedagogues of their conservatories and the performers in their opera orchestras). To entirely ignore Donato Lovreglio, Raffaele Parma, Ernesto Cavallini, Giulio Briccialdi, Ricordano De Stefani, Giacomo Mori, Giuseppe Tamplini, Emanuele Krakamp ("nonostante il suo nome, è italianissimo"<sup>53</sup>), Luigi Hugues, or Giuseppe Gariboldi would be unwarranted in its own way. Certainly it is impossible to catalogue, let alone review in detail, all woodwind opera fantasias, just as it is impossible to catalogue or discuss all classical symphonies both because of the limits of resources and time and because not all pieces survive. Given this, I visited a limited number of cities, with both large and small collections, and in some of those collections viewed fantasias on a limited number of operas. My aim has not been to uncover all fantasias, or even as many as possible, but rather to be able to speak of a coherent genre rather than merely of individual pieces and composers. I have gathered fantasias on a range of other operas by a range of composers for this purpose, as well as focussing on three case study operas in Chapter 4 in order to discuss details more deeply.

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<sup>51</sup> "Io credo che tutti i pianisti, violinisti, violoncellisti, flautisti, clarinetisti, ecc., ecc., abbiano pagato il loro tributo allo spartito di Verdi, il che è prova lampante che le melodie del gran maestro, oltre all'essere le più favorite dal public, sono eziandio atte a trasciversi per tutti gli strumenti, ed a fare ovunque la loro figura." L. Sessa, "Rassegna di alcune recenti pubblicazioni dell'editore Ricordi", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XIV, N. 33 (17 August 1856), p. 257.

<sup>52</sup> "cavate potenti, ch'erano la delizia del gran Rossini". Acuto, "Corrispondenze. Napoli, 4 settembre [Concerti: flautista Lovreglio e famiglia]", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XLI, N. 37 (12 September 1886), p. 271.

<sup>53</sup> Rosario Profeta, *Storia e letterature degli strumenti musicali* (Florence: Marzocco, 1942), p. 476.



The historical narrative of many of these composers has to some extent been established and moulded by Italian-language encyclopedia entries in Ricordi house publications, though Italian-language books on instrumental music or on specific woodwind instruments also contribute to their known biographies. In some cases I have been able to draw on primary sources, frequently nineteenth-century musical journals, in order to flesh out the information available on a given composer; the *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano* has been my primary source of this kind, though the *Napoli Musicale* and *L'Arte rivista della Filarmonica Bellini* have also contained some references to woodwind opera fantasia composers. This is not to imply that Italian-language resources unanimously have embraced the opera fantasia. Giovanni Bigotti's *Storia dell'oboe e sua letteratura* (1974) mentions oboist-composers Antonio Pasculli, Gustave Vogt, Henri Brod, Raffaele Parma, and Ricordano De Stefani but does not list any opera fantasias in their lists of compositions.<sup>54</sup> In contrast, Fortunato Sconzo, in *Il Flauto e i flautisti* (1930), does list opera fantasias in his entries on Emanuele Krakamp, Giulio Briccialdi, Cesare Ciardi, Raffaello Galli, Luigi Hugues, and Donato Lovreglio – though not in his entry on Giuseppe Gariboldi. And Rosario Profeta's *Storia e letteratura degli strumenti musicali* (1942) also lists opera fantasias for Krakamp, Lovreglio, Domenico Liverani, Ernesto Cavallini, Raffaele Parma, Antonio Torriani, and Pasculli, but not for Briccialdi or Giacomo Mori.

This variation reflects the extent to which these composer-performers were forgotten by the twentieth century, and the lack of regard for the opera fantasia as a genre, as well as the increased difficulty in compiling information on relatively obscure figures in less technologically suffused years. However, it should not be taken as a statement regarding the contemporary status of the opera fantasias composed by these musicians. A rare English-language newspaper citation of Gariboldi rejoices in the performance of his symphonic works, as “we are now enabled to speak of Signor Gariboldi as a composer in the higher spheres of his art, as a writer for the orchestra”,<sup>55</sup> but this elevation of symphonic works above fantasias is not found in corresponding Italian newspapers, even in reviews of other composers who wrote multiple genres of music.

Instead, fantasias generally appear in brief concert reviews that concentrate on their popularity among fanatically applauding audiences, on their intense difficulty, and on their successful treatment of beautiful vocal themes. Lovreglio's flute fantasia on *La traviata* and oboe fantasia on *Un Ballo in maschera* are reviewed as brilliant pieces that are “masculine in

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<sup>54</sup> Bigotti's book is useful in its inclusion of career details, but it lacks citations for its assertions, and the copy in the Palermo library has been corrected in several places by the librarian's pen.

<sup>55</sup> [Anon], “Signor Gariboldi [Recital by the composer and author of *École de la musique d'ensemble et d'accompagnement*]”, *The Musical World*, Vol. 63, No. 16 (April 18, 1885), p. 248.

composition, difficulty, and effect”.<sup>56</sup> As well as the obvious focus on technical virtuosity, this review of Lovreglio also explicitly genders his virtuosity; in Chapter 3 I discuss the complicated intersection of gendered virtuosity and gendered instruments in the nineteenth century. Briccialdi, in a fantasia of “surprising craftsmanship” on *Sonnambula*, is “second to none” in his roundness, agility, phrasing, and skill, and he “persuaded everyone that the flute can also move us in the same way as the sweetest human voice”.<sup>57</sup> Indeed, as discussed above, performers are frequently praised for their impersonations of the human voice by nineteenth-century critics.

Occasionally reviews also address a performer’s skill in writing fantasias more directly. After describing Cavallini’s perfect artistry, extremely pure sound, and ability to “smoothly sing the melodies and conquer with prodigious facility of the fingers and the wind difficulty that no one else would know how to face”, one reviewer of the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* turns to Cavallini’s compositional abilities:

Cavallini, like all those with strong musical natures including performers, has a certain talent for composition that he reveals in the clear and effective way he treats the instrument, for example in his *Fiori Rossiniani*, a kind of fantasia for orchestra and clarinet concocted with ingenuity and adorned with beautiful details. ...[But his Sinfonia had] a certain disorder of structure and...an amalgamation of broken and indecisive thoughts, of strange effects.<sup>58</sup>

In contrast to Gariboldi’s English review, here Cavallini’s ability to compose fantasias is sufficient to warrant praise despite his lack of facility with a more traditionally structured work.

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<sup>56</sup> “Il flautista Fiore, e l’oboista Vecchione, fecero poi onore a sè stessi ed al prof. Lovreglio eseguendo le due di costui brillanti fantasie, quella per flauto sulla *Traviata*, e l’altra per oboe sul *Ballo in maschero*, e da ultimo il duetto ad oboe e flauto dello stesso Lovreglio sul *Roberto Devereux*. Pezzi maschi per composizione, per difficoltà e per effetto.” L.M., “Il flautista Fiore”, *Napoli Musicale*, Anno X, No. 13 (5 July 1877), p. 2.

The concert being reviewed is unusual in that the fantasias are performed by instrumentalists other than their composer – much less common than those composed by the performer himself.

<sup>57</sup> “Il Briccialdi nella sua fantasia sopra la *Sonnambula* di sorprendente fattura, e nel graziosissimo *Capriccio originale*, ne ha tutti persuasi che anche il flauto può commovere nella medesima guise della più dolce voce umana. La rotondità della sua cavata, la nitidezza delle agilità, il corretto fraseggiare, la squisitezza dell’accento, e la straordinaria bravura che lo fa infallibile nelle più ardue difficoltà, sono doti che lo rendono secondo a nessuno.” C., “Teatro S. Radeconda [Accademia di Briccialdi e Rabboni]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno X, No. 35 (29 August 1852), p. 157.

<sup>58</sup> “Ci parve degno di quella fama che l’ha proclamato un suonatore eccezionale, un fenomeno musicale, un artista perfetto che da un istromento ligneo, arido, ciarliero, cava suoni purissimi, dolci, smorzati, cantando soavemente le melodie e vincendo col prodigioso meccanismo delle dita e del fiato difficoltà che nessun altro saprebbe affrontare. ... Il Cavallini, come tutte le forti nature musicali anche degli esecutori, ha un certo talenti di comporre che si rivela nel modo perspicuo ed efficace con cui tratta l’istromentale, per esempio nei suoi *Fiori Rossiniani*, specie di fantasia per orchestra e clarinetto ordita con ingegno e adorna di bei dettagli. [But his Sinfonia had] un certo disordine di struttura e ...un’amalgama di pensieri rotti, indecisi, di strani effetti.” [Anon], “Rivista (21 luglio). Grande accademia vocale, istrumentale e di danza al R. Teatro alla Scala [A beneficio della Sicilia; Bottesini, Ernesto Cavallini. Baveri, Marcia trionfale. Foroni, Bivacco di Palestro. La Moro, Ghislanzoni, la Weismann (con il nuovo nome Flori), la ballerina Berretta]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XVIII, N. 30 (22 July 1860), p. 222.

The *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* also includes a section, the *rivista bibliografica*, in which Ricordi publications are reviewed directly; these reviews commonly extend to fantasias as well as treatises, etudes, and a wide variety of other instrumental and vocal music, and are often more nuanced than concert reviews in their critiques of fantasias. A review of Briccialdi's second *Pot-pourri fantastico* on *La Straniera* praises the way in which he "places in relief the touching and inspired melodies of the Catanese Swan [Bellini], reproducing their pureness and simplicity", although the reviewer notes that Briccialdi "would have done better to end his piece in a different key than the one he started in"; his modulation was "not well enough prepared and not very natural".<sup>59</sup> The review of Briccialdi's fantasia on Rossini's *Mosè* is equally mixed. He "deserves sincere praise for the artistry with which the various themes are combined to happy effect", but he "distorts or maims" a key part of the introductory chorus; "with this inconvenience removed the piece is very good".<sup>60</sup> More nuanced evaluations of fantasias also appear in reviews of Krakamp, whose compositions are better than the contemporary flute compositions that "one could perhaps fault for wanting to imitate the pianoforte", and of Tamplini, whose effects merit praise but who "adds too little [to the melodies] to be able to truly call this one of his compositions".<sup>61</sup>

As discussed above, reviews reveal that these performers were compared to the most famous of virtuosos – Paganini, Thalberg, Liszt – in a mark of the esteem to which both sets of musicians were held in nineteenth-century Italy. Comparisons of Emanuele Krakamp to Liszt appear twice in quick succession in the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* in 1852; in one, Krakamp "could be called the Liszt of the flute, such is the power of his sound, the agility

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<sup>59</sup> "sono poste in rilievo le patetiche ed ispirate melodie del Cigno Catanese, riprodotte nella loro purezza e semplicità. ... L'autore avrebbe per altro fatto meglio a compiere il suo pezzo in un tono diverso da quello con che lo aveva cominciato, piuttosto che ricondurvisi, siccome fece, come una modulazione non abbastanza preparata e non troppo natural." C. A. G., "Rivista bibliografica. Pubblicazioni dello Stabilimento Ricordi. G. Briccialdi, 2.o Pot-pourri fantastico per flauto con accomp. di pianoforte sulla Straniera [Bellini], op.68; Mosè di Rossini, fantasia, op.75; L'Inglesina, rondò brillante, op.74.", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XII, N. 40 (1 October 1854), p. 317.

<sup>60</sup> "La Fantasia sul *Mosè* ne parve preferibile d'assai: anzi merita schietto elogio per l'arte con cui sonovi combinati i vari temi dando occasione a felici effetti. ...Lo svisare o motilare una parte principale, anzi essenziale.... Tolta questa sconvenienza il pezzo è assai buono..." C. A. G. *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XII, N. 40 (1 October 1854), p. 317.

<sup>61</sup> "Se si esamina poi la maggior parte delle composizioni dei flautisti del giorno, potrebbe forse trovarsi a ridere a costoro di voler imitare il pianoforte.... Il Krakamp diede un bel saggio di questa maniera...[and] produce un effetto irresistibile." [Anon]. "Rivista bibliografica [Continua]. E. Krakamp, Fantasia sulla Lucia [Donizetti]. Fantasia sulla Battaglia di Legnano [Verdi], per flauto con accompagnamento di pianoforte", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno VIII, N. 36 (8 September 1850), p. 151.

"Il brano scelto dal Tamplini per soggetto di questo suo pezzo non poteva essere più bello ed acconcio, ma troppo poco egli vi aggiunse per poterla dire veramente una sua composizione. Due buone cose però vi si rimarcano: la brevità e l'effetto; ed anchi per questo solo egli può meritarsi qualche lode." G., "Rivista bibliografica. G. G. Tamplini, Scherzo per fagotto con accompagnamento d'orchestra o di pianoforte sul Don Giovanni di Mozart", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno X, N. 30 (25 July 1852), p. 132.

with which he conquers the most complicated difficulties, the vivacity of his execution”.<sup>62</sup>

The other combines a comparison to more famous musicians and a comparison of instruments to the voice, comparing Giulio Briccialdi and Krakamp, “two artists of the first order but of opposite kinds”; Briccialdi’s pure sound, “caressing the notes”, is paired with “pure phrasing” and “gracious”, “uniform passages” that contrast with Krakamp’s “energetic”, “powerful” sound, and “marvelous execution” that is at its best in chromaticisms.<sup>63</sup> For these reasons Briccialdi is called the Rubini of the flute (Giovanni Battista Rubini, a renowned *bel canto* tenor) and Krakamp the Liszt. However, while woodwind virtuosos were compared to those pianists and violinists we still know today as a way of raising their musical status, those same woodwind virtuosos were also simply set alongside the now more famous virtuosos as further examples of masterful performance. In a review of a London concert, Cavallini is mentioned in the same breath and with the same admiration as Thalberg: “The instrumental department was also very striking – including two solos by Thalberg, (who never played more splendidly...) – a solo by Cavallini, the first clarinet in the world – a violoncello performance by Offenbach...”.<sup>64</sup> This is not a case of stressing a connection in order to elevate Cavallini, but merely a reflection of his contemporary esteem and standing as a virtuoso.

### 2.2.2. Biographies of composer-performers

Despite the decline in the reputations of these woodwind virtuosi and the extent to which they have been forgotten in the intervening century and a half, progress has been made since the mid-twentieth century in rediscovering both biographical information and compositions by some of these composers. It is no longer true of Gariboldi that “we do not know where and when he died, [which] is for us Italian flautists a real embarrassment”.<sup>65</sup> And, though newspaper references to Giacomo Mori are few, we also now know it is not true that he left no music for oboe or clarinet, as mid-twentieth-century Italian instrument scholar

<sup>62</sup> “Non a torto fu detto che Krakamp si potrebbe chiamare il Liszt del flauto, tanta è la potenza della sua cavata, tanta l’agilità con cui vince le più complicate difficoltà, tanta la vivacità della sua esecuzione, resa ancor più brillante per i molteplici effetti...” Anon, “Notizie. Milano. [Teatro Re: Krakamp]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno X, N. 49 (5 December 1852), p. 219.

<sup>63</sup> “Il Briccialdi ed il Krakamp sono due artisti di primo ordine, ma d’un genere l’uno affatto opposto all’altro. Briccialdi ha un’imboccatura purissima, accarezza le note, colorisce e freseggia netto; i suoi passi sono graziosi, calcolati, uniformi: Krakamp al contrario ha un’imboccatura energica, cava note potenti, l’esecuzione n’è maravigliosa, e tratta a preferenza il genere cromatico. Lo chiamerei il primo il Rubini dei flautisti, e il secondo il Liszt.” Fama, “Notizie. Milano. Concerto privato [Casa di F. Ferrari: flautisti Briccialdi e Krakamp]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno X, N. 48 (28 November 1852), p. 215.

<sup>64</sup> Anon, “Concerts of the past week (From a correspondent). Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Seguin and Mr. Handel Gear [Thalberg, Cavallini (clarinetist), Offenbach, John Parry, Benedict (conductor)]”, *The Musical Examiner*, No. 87 (June 29, 1844), p. 658.

<sup>65</sup> “non sappiamo dove e quando sia morto, ed è per noi flautisti italiani una vera mortificazione”. Fortunato Sconzo, *Il Flauto e i flautisti* (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1930), p. 117.

Rosario Profeta claimed.<sup>66</sup> By combining existing English- and Italian-language scholarship of these composers with historical documents and primary sources, I am able to paint pictures of these composers that not only reveal their contemporary fame but also create a general portrait of the composer of woodwind opera fantasias in nineteenth-century Italy.

Additionally, the biographies of these composers provided in Appendix 1, though brief, are in all likelihood the most comprehensive English-language biographies ever produced of these men.

In general, almost nothing is known about the early lives of these composers. A little information survives on the origins of the musical careers of Antonio Pasculli, who is discussed in detail below, and Giulio Briccialdi. In his youth, Briccialdi's family pressured him to join the church, but he "fled" to Rome, where he graduated from the Accademia di S. Cecilia at only 15.<sup>67</sup> However, more is known about the touring careers of many of these musicians, which often began at a relatively young age. Encyclopedias generally provide few specifics of tour locations, but additional details can sometimes be found in newspapers. Briccialdi embarked upon an "intense" concert career as a virtuoso flautist, which took him to Europe and America.<sup>68</sup> Ernesto Cavallini also gave concerts throughout Europe, and reviews of concerts in London (1842, 1844), Madrid (1852), Marseilles (1852), Paris (performing at Henri Herz's salon in 1842, 1853), and the Netherlands (1854) survive.<sup>69</sup> Additionally, he was the court clarinetist in St. Petersburg 1852-1867.<sup>70</sup> In fact, his fame was such that both the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* and the *Gazzetta musicale di Firenze* announced his moving to Russia in advance.<sup>71</sup> Emanuele Krakamp toured not only Europe but also Alexandria and

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<sup>66</sup> Profeta, p. 506.

<sup>67</sup> "Briccialdi, Giulio", *La Musica: Parta seconda: Dizionario*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: Unione Tipografico – Editrice Torinese, 1968), p. 287.

<sup>68</sup> "Briccialdi, Giulio Baldassarre", *Enciclopedia della musica*, ed. by Claudio Sartori (Milan: Ricordi, 1963), p. 321.

<sup>69</sup> [Anon]. "Mr. H. G. Blagrove and Mr. John Parry's concert [Cavallini (clarinetist), Parish Alvars]", *The Musical World*, Vol. XVII, No. 22 (June 2, 1842), p. 173; Anon, "Concerts of the past week (From a correspondent). Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Seguin and Mr. Handel Gear [Thalberg, Cavallini (clarinetist), Offenbach, John Parry, Benedict (conductor)]", *The Musical Examiner*, No. 87 (June 29, 1844), p. 658; [Anon], "Madrid [dall' "Illustracion": T. Real: concerto di Ernesto Cavallini, del soprano Josefa Cruz Gassier e del baritono Luigi Gassier]", *L'Italia musicale*, Anno IV, N. 28 (7 April 1852), pp. 110-111; [Anon], "Marsiglia [da un giornale locale: il clarinetista Ernesto Cavallini]", *L'Italia musicale*, Anno IV, N. 60 (28 July 1852), p. 239; Henri Blanchard, "[Salle Herz: Cavallini, Giulia Grisi, Mme Persiani, Lablache, M. et Mme Balfe]", *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, Neuvième [9] année, no 6 (6 February 1842), p. 53; [Anon], "R. Revue théâtrale: Le Prophète à Florence— Reprise de Lucie à Paris — Il Proscritto — Cavallini — La Faridondaine", *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, 20e année, no 2 (9 January 1853), pp. 9-10; Dr. Kist, "Tweede stadsconcert, op zaterdag den 10. dec. 1853 [Mw. Schumann-Wieck, Cavallini (klarinetist), Hildebrand Romberg (cellist)]", *Caecilia. Algemeen Muzikaal Tijdschrift van Nederland*, Elfde jaargang [XI] no. 1 (Utrecht, 1 January 1854), pp. 6-7.

<sup>70</sup> "Cavallini, Ernesto", *La Musica: Parta seconda: Dizionario*. ed Alberto Basso (Turin: Unione Tipografico – Editrice Torinese, 1968), p. 373.

<sup>71</sup> Anon, "Notizie diverse. Pietroburgo [Sul clarinetista E. Cavallini]", *Gazzetta musicale di Firenze*, Anno II, N. 5 (13 July 1854), p. 20; Anon, "Rivista settimanale (Milano, 1 luglio). [Ernesto Cavallini nominato

Cairo, Egypt and Tunisia as a soloist; this is mentioned generally in encyclopedia entries, but contemporary notices survive as well.<sup>72</sup>

Bassoon performer-composers remain more elusive than those of other woodwind instruments. Though one of the most prolific of these composers, Giuseppe Tamplini is hardly discussed in English- or Italian-language secondary sources, from encyclopedias to instrument histories. He does appear in the pages of contemporary papers, which review his concerts, including a Ricordi-sponsored *accademia* in 1845 and many concerts that he gave in the Netherlands with his wife, a singer, in 1845 and 1846; these reviews also mention that he was the bassoonist of the Italian theatre in Amsterdam for a time.<sup>73</sup>

In fact, perhaps the most prevalent characteristic of the woodwind opera fantasia composer is having a position in an opera orchestra, frequently accompanied by a position teaching at a conservatory. Briccialdi taught in Milan in 1839 and Vienna in 1841, and from 1870 he was the flute professor at the Florence conservatory.<sup>74</sup> Like Pasculli below, Emanuele Krakamp was born in Palermo. However, he was linked to Naples – where he taught flute at the conservatory from 1860 – for large parts of his career.<sup>75</sup> Furthermore, during his trip to Alexandria, mentioned above, Krakamp seems to have established a school (though he returned to Italy by the following year).<sup>76</sup> Giuseppe Gariboldi, who immigrated to France “for political reasons”,<sup>77</sup> spent much of his career in Paris after travelling to Belgium and Holland for two years, and was flute professor at the Paris Conservatoire for a time.<sup>78</sup> Cavallini was the principal clarinetist at La Scala from 1839 to 1852, during which time he was given the

dall'imperatore di Russia solista degli Imperiali Teatri e maestro al Liceo di musica di Pietroburgo”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XII, N. 27 (2 July 1854), p. 214.

<sup>72</sup> Mariateresa Dellaborra, “KRAKAMP, Emanuele”, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 62 (2004), accessed August 2017, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/emanuele-krakamp\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/emanuele-krakamp_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); [Anon], “Cronaca straniera. Alessandria d'Egitto [Fondazione di un collegio musicale da parte di Emanuele Krakamp]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XIV, N. 5 (3 February 1856), p. 38; [Anon], “Genova. Notizie varie [concerto del flautista Krakamp]”, *L'Italia musicale*, Anno VIII, N. 70 (30 August 1856), p. 280.

<sup>73</sup> La Red, “Rivista della settimana. Accademia in casa Ricordi,” *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno IV, N. 24 (15 June 1845), pp. 103-04; N.N., “Gorinchem [Derde damesconcert: mw. Costa-Tamplini, Tamplini, Gravenstein jr.]”, *Nederlandsch Muzikaal Tijdschrift*, Achtste [VIII] jaargang no. 3 (1 March 1846), pp. 21-22.

<sup>74</sup> “Briccialdi, Giulio Baldassarre”, *Enciclopedia della musica*, ed. by Claudio Sartori (Milan: Ricordi, 1963), p. 321.

<sup>75</sup> Mariateresa Dellaborra, “KRAKAMP, Emanuele”, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 62 (2004), accessed August 2017, [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/emanuele-krakamp\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/emanuele-krakamp_(Dizionario-Biografico)/).

<sup>76</sup> Anon, “Cronaca straniera. Alessandria d'Egitto [Fondazione di un collegio musicale da parte di Emanuele Krakamp]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XIV, N. 5 (3 February 1856), p. 38.

Anon, “Teatri e notizie diverse. Genova. Notizie varie [concerto del flautista Krakamp]”, *L'Italia musicale*, Anno VIII, N. 70 (30 August 1856), p. 280.

<sup>77</sup> “Gariboldi, Giuseppe”, *La Musica: Parta seconda: Dizionario*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: Unione Tipografico – Editrice Torinese, 1968), p. 750. In the preface to a modern edition of five nineteenth-century Italian flute compositions, Angelica Celeghin describes this as Gariboldi’s “forced expatriation” as a result of his “keen liberal sentiments”. Angelica Celeghin, “Preface”, in *Autori italiani dell'Ottocento per flauto e pianoforte* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2009).

<sup>78</sup> Michele Fiala, “Preface”, in *Mosaico sopra La Traviata di Verdi*, Giuseppe Gariboldi (Laggan Bridge, Scotland: Phylloscopus Publications, 2002).

title “virtuoso di camera onorario” by the Duchess of Parma in 1846.<sup>79</sup> As mentioned above, he was the inspiration for several notable clarinet solos in Verdi’s operas, and he is mentioned by name in reviews of opera performances. He also taught at the Milan conservatory from 1871.<sup>80</sup> Giacomo Mori unusually held positions in the Ducale Orchestra of Parma on both oboe and clarinet and frequently spent single opera seasons holding temporary positions in a wide range of orchestras throughout Italy as well as in Spain and England.<sup>81</sup> He also taught both flute and clarinet at the Regia Scuola di musica di Parma (now the Parma Conservatorio) from 1845.

Ricordano De Stefani also taught at the Parma conservatory, where he spent nearly 30 years as oboe professor and wrote “a monumental three-volume *Gran Metodo pratico per Oboè e corno inglese* and a further sixteen volumes of unpublished studies”.<sup>82</sup> Bigotti explains the method book was used in many schools, but “only in manuscript copies, as it remained unpublished”; the manuscript of the *Gran Metodo* is accessible in the Parma conservatory library.<sup>83</sup> De Stefani began playing in the Parma Teatro Regio and royal orchestras while still a student, and quickly began travelling as an orchestral oboist, notably playing in the 1864 concert dedicating the monument to Rossini in Pesaro.<sup>84</sup> Although De Stefani’s career was based in Parma, he studied in Bologna with Baldassare Centroni, as did oboist Raffaele Parma. Parma remained in Bologna, succeeding his teacher in the Accademia Filarmonica and as professor at the Liceo Musicale (now the Conservatorio).

Like De Stefani, these musicians frequently wrote compositions beside fantasias; these were typically other works for their own instrument. Notable exceptions to this are Briccialdi and Gariboldi, who both composed operas of their own. Briccialdi wrote only one opera, *Leonora de’ Medici* (Milan 1855), but he composed scores of fantasias and etudes for the flute.<sup>85</sup> Gariboldi composed three operettas, *La Rêve d’un écolier* (1868), *Au clair de lune* (1872), and *La Jeunesse de Hoche* (1872).<sup>86</sup> He also knew Rossini and was an opera

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<sup>79</sup> “Cavallini, Ernesto”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della musica e dei musicisti: Le biografie*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: UTET, 1983), p. 162.

<sup>80</sup> “Cavallini, Ernesto”, *La Musica: Parta seconda: Dizionario*, ed. Alberto Basso (Turin: Unione Tipografico – Editrice Torinese, 1968), p. 373.

<sup>81</sup> “Mori Giacomo”, *Dizionario Della Musica del Ducato di Parma e Piacenza*, accessed August 2017, <http://www.lacasadellamusica.it/Vetro/Pages/Dizionario.aspx>.

<sup>82</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 180.

<sup>83</sup> “Tra le sue composizioni eccelle un *Metodo*, utilizzato in parecchie scuole, purtroppo soltanto in copie manoscritte, per essere rimasto inedito.” Giovanni Bigotti, *Storia dell’oboe e sua letteratura* (Padua: G. Zanibon, 1974), p. 41.

<sup>84</sup> “De Stefani Ricordano”, *Dizionario Della Musica del Ducato di Parma e Piacenza*, accessed August 2017, <http://www.lacasadellamusica.it/Vetro/Pages/Dizionario.aspx>.

<sup>85</sup> “Briccialdi, Giulio Baldassarre”, *Enciclopedia della musica*, ed. by Claudio Sartori (Milan: Ricordi, 1963), p. 321.

<sup>86</sup> “Gariboldi, Giuseppe”, *Enciclopedia della musica*, ed. by Claudio Sartori (Milan: Ricordi, 1963), p. 277.

director.<sup>87</sup> Unfortunately, while library databases such as the *L'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico* (the Italian central library catalogue) list a wide range of pieces by Gariboldi, ranging from etudes to fantasias to songs to solo piano works, his operettas are absent.<sup>88</sup>

Leonardo de Lorenzo's *My Complete Story of the Flute: The Instrument, the Performer, the Music* reveals that Donato Lovreglio also wrote an opera, along with "overtures, and some chamber music", and describes him as an "Italian flutist and composer of orchestral and band works".<sup>89</sup> However, this opera is not named and no other references to it seem to survive. From Profeta we also learn that although Lovreglio was a flautist, he unusually wrote method books for many instruments.<sup>90</sup> In contrast, Parma wrote etudes and teaching material only for the oboe, according to virtuosic oboist Sandro Caldini, who has also been instrumental in resurrecting Pasculli's body of works.<sup>91</sup> Giovanni Bigotti, in his brief history of the Italian oboe, mentions also that Parma's *Sei grandi capricci* were popular at Italian conservatories and that Parma wrote "many good opera transcriptions".<sup>92</sup> However, the number of accessible works by Parma is small.

These composers were generally celebrated during their careers for their technical and expressive abilities on their instruments. As discussed above, these characteristics were more commonly remarked upon in reviews than the names or characteristics of specific compositions. However, some reviews do mention specific works; these often are repeated frequently, giving a sense of how a musician might balance teaching, orchestral work, solo performances, and composition. Many concert reviews of Krakamp survive, particularly from the years 1850 to 1857, frequently mentioning his fourth *Norma* fantasia by name. Equally, though Cavallini wrote many pieces for the clarinet, he seems to have concentrated on three pieces in his own concerts, a fantasia on *La Sonnambula*, one on an unknown Greek song, and one entitled *Fiori Rossiniani* and based on several Rossini operas. Others particularly mentioned in reviews include fantasias on *Elisa e Claudio*, *Guillaume Tell*, and *Elisir d'amore*. Described in 1843 as "the powerful king of the clarinet", Cavallini appeared in papers as early as 1827 and was still performing well-received concerts as late as 1871.<sup>93</sup> Mentions of Lovreglio are much rarer, but he did maintain an active concert career, which

<sup>87</sup> "Gariboldi, Giuseppe", *La Musica: Parta seconda: Dizionario*, ed. Alberto Basso (Turin: Unione Tipografico – Editrice Torinese, 1968), p. 750.

<sup>88</sup> *L'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico* is available at <http://www.iccu.sbn.it/opencms/opencms/it/>. An extensive Italian-language database of music is available at <http://www.adamoli.org/libri/>.

<sup>89</sup> Leonardo de Lorenzo, *My Complete Story of the Flute: The Instrument, the Performer, the Music (Revised and Expanded Edition)* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 1992), pp. 373, 251.

<sup>90</sup> Profeta, p. 531.

<sup>91</sup> Sandro Caldini, "Notes", in *Pot-pourri sopra motivi dell'opera "Rigoletto" di Verdi*, Raffaele Parma (Laggan Bridge, Scotland: Phylloscopus Publications, 2002).

<sup>92</sup> Bigotti, p. 40.

<sup>93</sup> "il potente re del clarinetto". Bermanni, "Grande accademia al ridotto dell'I. R. Teatro alla Scala [Cavallini, la cantatrice Ducrest, pianista Rhein]", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno II, N. 31 (30 July 1843), p. 135.



often included his wife as pianist and his three sons on wind and string instruments.<sup>94</sup> He wrote three fantasias for clarinet, all published by Ricordi in 1865, and these may have been composed for one of his sons.<sup>95</sup>

While reviews do provide some specifics of career and composition, they also serve merely to express how famous fantasia performer-composers were during their own lifetimes. Along with frequent appearances in the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Briccialdi is mentioned in concert reviews in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1848) and the *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* (1841). He was so well known that not only were his concerts reviewed, but also his concert tours were advertised; an 1852 edition of the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* warns its Milanese readers that Briccialdi “has left for Venice, in order to give concerts there. From there he will go to Bologna, Florence, Rome, and Naples.”<sup>96</sup>

### 2.2.2.1. Unusual innovation in musical instruments

As mentioned above, De Stefani was “noted for his conservatism”, and he “remained faithful to a Koch oboe [a ten-keyed oboe developed in the 1820s] into the 1880s which he played with exceptionally wide reeds”, another conservative trait.<sup>97</sup> This conservatism was typical of Italian oboists specifically, and Italian woodwind players more generally. However, there are key exceptions to this conservatism, which are worth noting here as they contribute substantially to the presence of several fantasia composers in the nineteenth-century Italian musical press.

Giulio Briccialdi was well-known during his lifetime for the technical changes he made to the flute, including the B flat lever known as the “leva di Briccialdi”.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, an obituary remarks that Briccialdi will be difficult to forget in large part because of the instrument he “perfected”.<sup>99</sup> Though his flute – an attempt at a modernized flute more old-fashioned in style than Boehm’s – gained some popularity in Italy, in time Boehm’s flute

<sup>94</sup> See, for example, Anon, “Concerti. Napoli [concerto del maestro Lovreglio]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XLVIII, N. 26 (25 June 1893), p. 432.

<sup>95</sup> Anon, “Notizie italiane — [Bari (dal "Roma"): serata dei concertisti Donato e Adelina Lovreglio]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XL, N. 34 (23 August 1885), p. 294.

<sup>96</sup> “è partito per Venezia, allo scopo di darvi concerti. Di là si recherà poi a Bologna, Firenze, Roma e Napoli.” Anon, “Bordeaux”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno X, No. 51 (19 December 1852), p. 227.

<sup>97</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 180; Bruce Haynes, “The Addition of Keys to the Oboe, 1790-1830”, *The Journal of the International Double Reed Society*, No. 22 (July 1994), accessed August 2017.

<sup>98</sup> “Briccialdi, Giulio”, *La Musica: Parta seconda: Dizionario*, ed. Alberto Basso (Turin: Unione Tipografico – Editrice Torinese, 1968), p. 287.

<sup>99</sup> “Lascia nell’arte un bel nome che difficilmente sarà dimenticato, massime da quei flautisti che adotteranno l’istrumento da lui perfezionato”. “Cenni necro-biografica – Giulio Briccialdi”, *Napoli musicale*, Anno XV, No. 1 e 2 (26 January 1882), p. 7.

became ubiquitous and the “leva di Briccialdi” was incorporated into Boehm’s key system.<sup>100</sup> An announcement in the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* in 1870 describes Briccialdi’s flute as “a cylindrical flute that reunites the common flute’s ease of fingering with the strengths of the Boehm system”.<sup>101</sup> Briccialdi’s flute became a matter of great debate among Italian virtuoso flautists. Two of the other flautists I mention, Donato Lovreglio and Raffaello Galli, wrote about Briccialdi’s flute developments in the newspapers; Lovreglio, along with Emanuele Krakamp, strongly supported the Boehm flute while Galli supported Briccialdi’s instrument.<sup>102</sup>

Though Krakamp was a famous flautist in his own right, he also frequently was compared to or linked with Briccialdi in reviews, as seen above, perhaps because of their battle over the Boehm flute. Krakamp was an ardent supporter of the Boehm flute over the Briccialdi flute, and repeatedly – as early as 1851 and as late as 1874 – wrote to the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* on the topic; it seems a small stretch to hear exasperation in the *Gazzetta*’s use of “again” in the titles “Ancora del flauto vecchio e del flauto nuovo di Böhm” (1852) and “Ancora dei Flauti Briccialdi e Böhm” (1874).<sup>103</sup> In contrast, Lovreglio remains far more elusive than fellow flautists Briccialdi and Krakamp despite his involvement in the competition between the two flute designs. Lovreglio was a proponent of the Boehm flute, though a letter which he wrote to the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* in 1874 objects to the way he has been used in the debate. He writes that it was not because of Krakamp that he adopted the Boehm flute, and he objects to being called “the apostle” of the Boehm flute – though his objection seems to clearly be a pretence. He writes that he has merely “demonstrated the value of the Boehm flute in many concerts and ultimately at the San Carlo theatre, in front of a huge audience which applauded the instrument uproariously”.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>100</sup> “Flauto”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della musica e dei musicisti: Il lessico*, ed. Alberto Basso (Turin: UTET, 1983), p. 249.

<sup>101</sup> Anon, “Nuovo flauto brevettato”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XXV, N. 50 (11 December 1870), p. 413. It is perhaps strange to flag the cylindrical nature of this flute, as Boehm’s competing flute was also cylindrical, but this is probably to further distinguish Briccialdi’s flute from the conical “common” flute. Another review instead compares Briccialdi’s flute to Boehm’s, remarking that Briccialdi’s has better intonation in the third octave; the Boehm flute is “a little high” – “a defect especially notable in orchestra”. “Il suono è bello e spontaneo, e l’intuazione esatta anche nella 3a ottava che nel flauto Bohm è un poco crescente, difetto rimarchevole specialmente in orchestra.” “Nuovo flauto Briccialdi”, *L’Arte rivista della Filarmonica Bellini*, No. 21 (1 November 1870), p. 336.

<sup>102</sup> See “Il flauto e il sistema Böhm: lettere di Giulio Briccialdi e di Donato Lovreglio”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XXIX, N. 41 (11 October 1874), pp. 332-33 and “Ancora del flauto Briccialdi e del flauto Böhm [lettera del flautista Raffaele Galli a Caputo, e risposta di questi]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XXIX, N. 36 (6 September 1874), pp. 290-92.

<sup>103</sup> Emanuele Krakamp, “Ancora del flauto vecchio e del flauto nuovo di Böhm (Livorno, 18 dicembre)”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno IX, N. 52 (28 December 1852), p. 240. “Ancora dei Flauti Briccialdi e Böhm [lettere di E.Krakamp, del D.r O.C. (Chilesotti), di Briccialdi, di R.Galli]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XXIX, N. 38 (20 September 1874), pp. 306-09.

<sup>104</sup> “È pure inesatto ch’io mi sia fatto chiamare l’apostolo del flauto Böhm dai miei apologisti. Se a giudici competenti ed imparziali è paruto d’appormi il titolo d’apostolo, ciò è proceduto, dacchè io ho mostrato il valore

Despite his technical conservatism, De Stefani also seems to have courted some degree of dramatic reaction in his writings on his instrument. Alongside his *Gran Metodo*, De Stefani wrote *Della scuola di oboe in Italia: memoria inviata dall'accademico onorario M.*, a short monograph which is held in the Biblioteca Palatine in Parma.<sup>105</sup> This monograph apparently caused quite a stir in the contemporary musical world; the *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano* mentioned it on 13 June 1886, commenting that “De Stefani, professor of this most difficult instrument, talks [in the *Scuola*] about his part in revealing to us things mostly unknown, and as such draws the attention of scholars of that instrument...just short of murder, in several instances”.<sup>106</sup> Luckily, despite his sometimes uncharitable remarks and his discussion of oboe “secrets”, De Stefani seems to have escaped any significant revenge on the part of other oboists.

On a smaller scale (as is ever the case with bassoonists and bassoon fantasias), while Giuseppe Tamplini is hardly discussed, when he does appear, he is primarily mentioned in the context of his ill-fated attempt to create a Boehm-inspired bassoon. In 1888 he published his treatise *Brevi cenni sul Sistema Boehm e della sua applicazione al Fagotto*, and he had also presented on the topic in London at the Great Exposition of 1851, but the instrument never gained polish or popularity.<sup>107</sup> And unfortunately, Boehm is misspelled as “Bohem” throughout the edition.

### 2.3. The Italian Woodwind Fantasia as a genre

Like the non-fantasia compositions by these musicians, woodwind opera fantasias were almost always written only for the composer’s own instrument. Gariboldi’s works for the flute include pieces based on *Carmen*, *Don Pasquale*, *La Forza del destino*, and Chopin waltzes, among other themes, as well as on Filippo Marchetti’s *Ruy Blas*, an opera nearly as obscure as Gariboldi himself. Similarly, Parma wrote mostly opera fantasias, including the

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del flauto Böhm in più Concerti ed ultimamente al teatro S. Carlo, innanzi ad un pubblico numerosissimo, che applaudi fragorosamente al flauto Böhm.” Donato Lovreglio, “Il flauto e il sistema Böhm: lettere di Giulio Briccialdi e di Donato Lovreglio”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XXIX, N. 41 (11 October 1874), p. 33.

<sup>105</sup> The Parma library catalogue lists the monograph under a slightly different title, *Della scuola di oboe in Italia: memoria letta nell'adunanza del di 17 gennaio 1886 / dell'accademico M. Ricordano De Stefani*, but it is the same work.

<sup>106</sup> “Il De Stefani, professore nel difficilissimo istrumento, ne parla da par suo rivelandoci cose per lo più ignorante, e tali da richiamare l'attenzione dei cultori di quell'istrumento...poco meno che omicida, in parecchi esempi”. “Bibliografie — Riccardo Botey, Higiene, desarrollo y conservacion de la Voz — Leopoldo Mastriqli, Beethoven, la sua vita e le sue opere — Una memoria di Ricordano De Stefani sulla Scuola d’oboe in Italia”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XLI, N. 24 (13 June 1886), p. 186.

<sup>107</sup> Achille Montignani, “La grande esposizione di Londra”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno IX, N. 21 (25 May 1851), pp. 100-1; “Fagotto”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della musica e dei musicisti: Il lessico*, ed. Alberto Basso (Turin: UTET, 1983), p. 198. A digital copy of Tamplini’s treatise is available from archive.org; unfortunately, Boehm is misspelled as “Bohem” throughout the edition. Giuseppe Tamplini, *Brevi cenni sul sistema Bohem [sic] e della sua applicazione al fagotto* (Bologna: L. Andreoli, 1888), accessed August 2017.

*Pot-pourri sopra motivi dell'opera Rigoletto di Verdi*, mostly on Verdi operas, as well as six capriccios, dedicated to Centroni.<sup>108</sup> Mori is to some extent an exception to this, as he played two instruments, oboe and clarinet; his surviving compositions are heavily weighted towards the oboe, but a single fantasia for clarinet survives in the Archivio Storico Comunale of Parma.<sup>109</sup> Lovreglio is certainly an exception to this, as he composed fantasias for the flute, oboe, and clarinet. The majority of English-language writing on Lovreglio, found unsourced in CD-liners and editions of his compositions, states that, as a flautist, he composed numerous pieces for his own instrument, as well as three for the clarinet and one for the oboe. However, Lovreglio seems to have survived nearly entirely as a clarinet composer. His three clarinet compositions – *Fantasia sull'opera "Un Ballo in Maschera" di Verdi (Op. 46)*, *Fantasia sull'opera "La Traviata" di Verdi*, and *Fantasia sull'opera "Maria Stuarda" di Donizetti (Op. 48)*<sup>110</sup> – are generally listed explicitly, while the many flute compositions he allegedly wrote remain unspecified. Additionally, though not discussed above, Nicola de Giovanni and Giovanni Rossi, both violinists who spent considerable time in Parma, wrote woodwind opera fantasias as well as compositions for their own instrument. Rossi's oboe fantasias are held in Parma in manuscript form; De Giovanni wrote a clarinet capriccio on Pacini's *Saffo*, published posthumously by Ricordi, and a cor anglais fantasia on *Linda di Chamounix* that survives in manuscript.<sup>111</sup>

Nearly every composer whose works I have encountered published their opera fantasias, almost invariably with either Ricordi or F. Lucca. Tamplini published at least five opera fantasias with Ricordi in the 1840s and 1850s, including one on Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, a highly atypical opera on which to base a fantasia. De Stefani published four opera fantasias, as well as many other works for oboe that were never published; these would be his two fantasias on *Attila*, and his fantasias on *Il trovatore* and *I Lombardi*.<sup>112</sup> An important exception is Giacomo Mori, whose works only survive in manuscript versions in the Parma conservatory library. Perhaps because of this, Mori appears more rarely in twentieth-century references. Neither the Ricordi encyclopedias nor *La Musica* have an entry on Mori, but

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<sup>108</sup> Alfredo Bernardini, "Due chiavi per Rossini? Storia e sviluppo dell'oboe a Bologna prima del 1850", *Il flauto dolce*, No. 17-18 (October 1987 – April 1988), pp. 25-26. See also the catalogue of *L'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico*. Bernardini describes Parma's composition as "arrangiamenti e variazioni" on Verdi's operas, but they are fantasias rather than variation sets or mere arrangements.

<sup>109</sup> "Mori Giacomo", *Dizionario Della Musica del Ducato di Parma e Piacenza*, accessed August 2017, <http://www.lacasadellamusica.it/Vetro/Pages/Dizionario.aspx>.

<sup>110</sup> His fantasia on *La traviata* was republished in 1948 and 1992 by Ricordi and in 2000 by Chester Music. His fantasia on *Maria Stuarda* is difficult to find in libraries and online, but appears on Colin Bradbury's 1996 CD *The Bel Canto Clarinetist*.

<sup>111</sup> De Giovanni's *Souvenir di Linda per Corno Inglese con Orchestra* was dedicated to Giacomo Mori; the manuscript is labeled "Parma 29 Giugno 1846 op. 88 Partitura originale".

<sup>112</sup> "De Stefani Ricordano", *Dizionario Della Musica del Ducato di Parma e Piacenza*, accessed August 2017, <http://www.lacasadellamusica.it/Vetro/Pages/Dizionario.aspx>.

Profeta does discuss him briefly, remarking that while Mori was a great oboist, he was more admired as a concert clarinetist.<sup>113</sup> Profeta goes on to comment that Mori left no music for oboe or clarinet. However, due to the strength of woodwind playing in Parma, the *Dizionario Della Musica del Ducato di Parma e Piacenza*, hosted by the Parma Casa della musica, is a valuable source for more detailed biographical information on several key woodwind fantasia composers, including Mori. At least nine of his manuscripts are extant in Parma, and the entry lists five other opera fantasias which “remained popular in Parma for a long time”.<sup>114</sup>

As I address above, I have not attempted to create a comprehensive list of opera fantasias; the payoff of collecting such a list is not worth the time commitment, and in any case it is truly impossible to find all works ever composed in any genre. However, even a relatively limited collection – the approximately 160 fantasias I viewed in detail during the course of my research can be seen in the bibliography – is extremely valuable if the compositions allow one to discuss the “schemata” of the genre; as per Robert Gjerdingen, “the ability to interpret a limited sample is crucial”.<sup>115</sup> Surveying opera fantasias on a single opera, though still not allowing a comprehensive look at fantasias composed even on that single work, provides an opportunity to explore frequently arising questions about opera fantasias. Do fantasias merely use the main “hits” of an opera? Do fantasias for a given instrument focus on operatic music accompanied by that instrument? How many themes are likely to appear in a fantasia? Were fantasias composed when operas were new or when they were repertoire standards? Are some operas more common in fantasias for specific instruments? In Chapter 4, three operas provide case studies for approaching fantasias theoretically and archivally, but here I briefly address characteristics of the woodwind opera fantasia as a discrete genre.

Composers often wrote multiple fantasias on a single opera, such as Briccialdi’s fantasias op. 56 and op. 108 on Donizetti’s *Lucrezia Borgia* or Luigi Hugues’ fantasias op. 27 and op. 46 on Meyerbeer’s *L’Africana*. As mentioned above, they tended to perform the same fantasias over and over in their concert appearances but wrote many pieces; the card catalogue in the Milan conservatory library includes at least sixteen opera fantasias by Lovreglio and at least thirty-two by Krakamp. Again as mentioned above, opera fantasias are almost invariably written for the composer’s own instrument; even rarer than writing for another instrument is

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<sup>113</sup> Profeta, p. 529.

<sup>114</sup> In Parma I was personally able to view fantasias by Mori on Bellini’s *Beatrice di Tenda* and *Norma*, Donizetti’s *Don Pasquale*, Rossini’s *Zelmira*, and Verdi’s *I Lombardi*. Mori composed fantasias on the last opera for both oboe and cor anglais. The fantasia on *Norma*, manuscript RSM 2769/b (of which only the piano score remains) appears to be Mori’s op. 2, but in fact contains no listed composer. “Mori Giacomo”, *Dizionario Della Musica del Ducato di Parma e Piacenza*.

<sup>115</sup> Robert O. Gjerdingen, *A Classic Turn of Phrase: Music and the Psychology of Convention* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), p. 262.

the alteration of an already composed fantasia to be performed by another instrument. Aside from Lovreglio's unusual rewriting of his oboe fantasia on *Un ballo in maschera* (op. 44) for clarinet (op. 46), discussed in detail in Chapter 4, the only example of this that I have found is Briccialdi's transcription of Alfred Piatti's op. 15 fantasia on *Linda de Chamounix* from cello to flute.<sup>116</sup> This is a very close transcription, including cadenzas, with only very minimal rewriting of some virtuosic parts. The accompaniment remains unaltered, and in fact contains the cello solo line.



Fig. 2.3: The cover of Briccialdi's transcription of Piatti's op. 15

However, fantasias do sometimes survive with versions accompanied by piano and by orchestra, as Giovanni Rossi's *Fantasia per Oboe sopra motivi della Linda* does. In these cases, there is almost always no difference in the solo part between the two versions.<sup>117</sup>

<sup>116</sup> This edition contains a handwritten note: "Arturo Toscanini 27 Giugno 1885. [ ] che una lezione di letteratura e 15 giorni all'Esame di Licenza."

<sup>117</sup> A notable exception is Luigi De Rosa's *Fantasia per oboe sull'opera Rigoletto*, which survives in two different manuscript versions in the Naples conservatory library. One accompanies the oboe with piano while the other accompanies with an orchestra of strings, flute, clarinets, bassoons, horns, trumpets, trombones, and ophicleides. (The order in which the two versions came to be is unclear.) The two are identically laid out for the first four themes, but small and then larger differences begin to appear. In the piano version, additional brief exclamations by Gilda serve as transitions between larger sections of the fantasia; as in the opera these are followed by the larger set pieces which complete them. (While this is generally true in fantasias of short interjections, when orchestral introductions or accompaniments appear as themes they are not necessarily followed by the vocal piece they introduce or accompany. This can be seen in *Rigoletto* fantasias particularly with the introductions to "Parmi veder" and "Oh quanto amore", but it is common in fantasias on all operas.) De

When published contemporaneously, opera fantasias often were dedicated to specific people: colleagues or students, the composer's teacher, or aristocratic patrons. Krakamp's *Gran Fantasia di Concerto per Flauto sulla Norma* (op. 68) was "composed for and dedicated to Duca Antonio Litta Visconti-Arese", while Antonio Torriani's *Divertimento per fagotto sopra motivi dell'opera Lucia di Lammermoor* is dedicated to his teacher, "signor Antonio Cantù, Professore di Fagotto al R. Conservatorio di Musica di Milano". Even unpublished manuscripts occasionally contain dedications, such as the dedication of Gariboldi's *Divertimento per flauto sull'opera La Traviata* to the "Egregio Dilletante Sigr. Conte e Case. Ettore Perozzi Console del Perù".

Though a discrete genre, these pieces should not be seen as deeply "other" than the music that surrounded them. Instead the fantasia is strongly connected to Italian musical training and culture more generally. De Stefani's *Gran Metodo* for oboe includes a section of more than seventy-five composed cadenzas for the performer's technical and musical development; these bear strong resemblances to fantasia passages. On a larger scale, Italian operatic predisposition away from "fixed abstract formal templates" and towards the musical period, as discussed by Baragwanath, resonates with the opera fantasia's structural reliance upon repeating and contrasting musical themes.<sup>118</sup>

Woodwind opera fantasias are formally very consistent, and the norms of the fantasia in form and approach to variation make up a large part of Chapter 4. Here I instead look in detail at the biography and works of oboist Antonio Pasculli, who serves as a unifying example of the characteristics of the fantasia composer laid out above. Much more information about Pasculli survives than about most fantasia composers, in part through the dedication of twentieth- and twenty-first-century European and American oboists who have become increasingly interested in this genre. Additionally, Pasculli's works, which almost all survive in both manuscripts and printed editions, provide a straightforward and representative corpus of woodwind opera fantasias.

#### **2.4. Antonio Pasculli: A Case Study**

The Introduction of this thesis includes a photograph of the monument to Antonio Pasculli in the Palermo conservatory library, where it is placed upside-down on the floor. Such is Pasculli's legacy. A history of Italian instrumentalists written in 1942 describes him as "a most valorous artist, but somewhat modest, and perhaps because of this no historian has

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Rosa then writes significant differences in virtuosity in his two versions; the orchestral version is far more virtuosic in its oboe presentation of "La donna è mobile".

<sup>118</sup> Baragwanath, p. 210.

believed it necessary to deal with him”.<sup>119</sup> He is caught between fame and obscurity – there is also a Pasculli street in the city of Palermo; carefully catalogued and yet often fact-less – sheet music editions unfailingly note that he toured Europe from the age of 14 without providing dates or specific locations; and beloved by his contemporary musicians and denounced by modern ones.<sup>120</sup>

Antonio Pasculli was one of the most famous composers of opera fantasias within the woodwind world. Pasculli, who referred to himself as Antonino but who is generally called Antonio by scholars and in sheet music editions, was a fixture of Palermo musical life from his early teens until his death aged 81. An oboist and educator, he also served as the director of the Municipal Musical Corps of Palermo for 35 years and was in fact known throughout Italy as a band director. A series of articles on the history and development of the band in Italy published in the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* was dedicated to Pasculli because of his renown from his role in Palermo.<sup>121</sup> Because he not only was a public figure but also taught at the Palermo conservatory (now called the Conservatorio di musica Vincenzo Bellini in honour of Bellini’s Sicilian origins and “inspiring” visit to Palermo in 1832<sup>122</sup>), Pasculli’s music, including his manuscripts, has been relatively well preserved and catalogued in the conservatory library.

While his music has been little studied, Pasculli’s life has been written about in both English- and Italian-language sources. Oboist Omar Zoboli has championed Pasculli as a composer, editing publications of his extant music, writing biographical notes for those editions, and also recording his works. Zoboli was able to meet Pasculli’s daughters Concettina and Laura in 1985, at which time they gifted him with Pasculli’s instruments and surviving reeds. Sandro Caldini has prepared and written notes for several other editions of Pasculli’s music. CD liners and recital programmes seem to derive their information from Zoboli’s and Caldini’s notes, generally containing near identical summaries of Pasculli’s career and abilities. Yet another oboist, Anna Pennington, wrote a dissertation in 2007 on Pasculli’s *Gran Trio Concertante* for oboe, violin, and piano on themes from Rossini’s

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<sup>119</sup> “artista valorisissimo, quanto modesto, e forse perciò nessuno storiologo ha creduto opportune di occuparsene.” Profeta, p. 531. Pasculli’s eulogy also describes his “incomparable modesty”: Stefano Gentile, *In memoria dell maestro Antonino Pasculli* (Palermo: Tipografia Salvatore Zappulla e figli, 1924), p. 8.

<sup>120</sup> See the striking statement by Sandro Caldini’s brother about Pasculli’s music (“This is trash music; you must feel ill, this is musical pornography!”) also cited in the introduction to this thesis. Sandro Caldini, “Browsing Among Pasculli”, *The Double Reed*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Winter 1994), p. 39.

<sup>121</sup> See “Al chiarissimo maestro Antonio Pasculli, direttore della Banda Municipale di Palermo: La banda musicale in Italia. Considerazioni di Enrico Mineo (Continua)”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno 54, N. 20 (18 May 1899), p. 245-47.

<sup>122</sup> This visit is memorialized with a plaque on the wall of the conservatory lobby. As “ospite festeggiato” (celebrated guest) he “inspirò ne’ giovani amanti delle melodie i sublimi ideali dell’arte” (inspired in young people who love melody the sublime ideals of art).



*William Tell*, an as-yet-unpublished work and Pasculli's only trio.<sup>123</sup> She provides a helpful concentration of the information available on Pasculli, including a works list, as well as providing some measure of discussion of his historical context. Unfortunately, Pennington generally does not cite her biography. However, the majority of the information used in all of these sources originates in an interview of Pasculli's two daughters by Lucienne Rosset, published in 1988 in the International Double Reed Society's journal, in which they provided biographical information as well as a works list.<sup>124</sup> In fact, the English- and German-language versions of this interview, the latter of which is published on Zoboli's website, are condensed versions of an article by Rosset in the German-language musical instrument journal *Tibia* entitled merely "Antonio Pasculli (1842-1924)", which additionally cites a contemporary newspaper review of Pasculli.<sup>125</sup>

Though the summaries and their sources can be vague, as is to be expected in editorial remarks directed at a non-scholarly audience, anyone wishing to study Pasculli or to play his works is indebted to these three – Zoboli, Caldini, and Pennington – to whom Pasculli's resurgence among English-speaking oboists as well as the wider oboe world can be attributed. Tellingly, all are primarily performers and teachers rather than historians: Pasculli the oboist-composer has collected oboist-historians.

Two notable recent additions are Anna Tedesco, who has written a biography of Pasculli replete with sources for the *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* Volume 81, and the Italian oboist Paolo Blundo Canto, who in 2012 published his "comprehensive" Italian-language biography of Pasculli.<sup>126</sup> Blundo Canto, like Zoboli, Caldini, and Pennington, also draws heavily upon Rosset and his sources. However, he adds to these sources a speech from 1919 celebrating Pasculli's long service in the Municipal Musical Corps, a contemporary eulogy of Pasculli, and an (auto)biographical note of Pasculli's found in the manuscript of part two of his *Raccolta progressiva di scale, esercizi, e melodie*.<sup>127</sup> These primary sources were also available to me during my visit to Palermo. Though Blundo Canto has presented his

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<sup>123</sup> Anna Pennington, *Days of Bliss are in Store: Antonino Pasculli's "Gran Trio Concertante per Violino, Oboe, e Pianoforte su motivi del Guglielmo Tell di Rossini"* (unpublished DMA dissertation, Florida State University, 2007).

<sup>124</sup> Lucienne Rosset, "Antonino Pasculli, the 'Paganini of the Oboe'", translated by Ellen Ferry, *The Double Reed*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Winter 1988).

<sup>125</sup> Lucienne Rosset, "Antonio Pasculli (1842-1924)", *Tibia*, Jg. 15, Bd. 8 (3/1990), pp. 194-197.

<sup>126</sup> As described on Blundo Canto's personal website, <http://paoloblundo.jimdo.com/un-ritratto-di-antonino-pasculli/>

<sup>127</sup> See bibliography to Blundo Canto, *Un ritratto di Antonino Pasculli*. Pasculli's (auto)biographical note is unsigned, but matches handwriting elsewhere in his *Raccolta progressiva*. Additionally, the librarian of the Palermo conservatory, who is well-versed in Pasculli from aiding many visiting oboists over the years, believes the note to be autobiographical. A key piece of evidence is that the death date at the top of the note is written in what is clearly another hand. The note is transcribed as *Nota biografica di Antonino Pasculli*, catalog # II° A/PAS 1/2, and the majority of Blundo Canto's contemporary quotations come from it.

information competently and with more comprehensive citations than the English-language writers, I feel it is far from redundant to incorporate it here, alongside additional information from its sources, for the benefit of those who cannot access his book or who lack Italian. Tedesco's excellent biography, which includes more detailed biographical information including the names of Pasculli's parents and information about his marriage as well as titles of some now-lost compositions and dates of performances outside Sicily, also draws upon these sources, as well as additional familial resources that were not available to me.<sup>128</sup> These, together with the other sources which I cite here, represent the entirety of existing scholarship on Pasculli, both contemporary and modern.

Born in 1842 in Palermo, Sicily, Antonio Pasculli was raised at the Palermo conservatory as an orphan with his violinist brother Gaetano; the conservatory was in fact initially founded as the school of the Buon Pastor orphanage and retained a boarding school until 1917.<sup>129</sup> Pasculli began his career as a performer, giving concerts at the conservatory from the age of 14 and subsequently touring as a virtuosic oboist with his brother.<sup>130</sup> Pasculli's biographical note states that he "travelled in Italy, Germany, and Austria and gave concerts in their principal cities".<sup>131</sup> This is a disappointingly vague statement, but we see at last the origins of this claim, which is made nearly verbatim without citation by all modern editors of his works. Indeed, frustratingly little concrete information is available about Pasculli's solo career, which began in 1856 and lasted until 1884 when he was forced to retire because of sight problems. Tedesco remarks similarly about the "few traces [poche tracce]" of Pasculli's travelling concerts, but includes citations from newspapers for concerts or short orchestral appointments in Naples in 1868, in Rome in 1869, in Ferrara in 1869, in Udine in 1874, and in Milan in 1874.<sup>132</sup> Additional performance information can be found in the pages of *L'Arte rivista della Filarmonica Bellini*, the arts magazine of Palermo. Unfortunately, as with Tedesco's sources, all of these performances date from well into Pasculli's performance career and well after he won the oboe professorship at the Palermo conservatory in 1860.

The title "the Paganini of the oboe" has become strongly attached to Pasculli; Pasculli's compositions, written for himself to perform, are devilishly difficult even to modern oboists, and thus the epithet seems only right to oboists researching Pasculli. Indeed, Pennington writes that Pasculli gave himself the title while touring as a virtuoso.<sup>133</sup> However,

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<sup>128</sup> Anna Tedesco, "Antonino Pasculli", *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Volume 81 (2014).

<sup>129</sup> Blundo Canto, p. 11; <http://conservatoriobellini.artacom.it/content/cenni-storici>; Closing date of boarding school from [https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conservatorio\\_Vincenzo\\_Bellini](https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conservatorio_Vincenzo_Bellini)

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

<sup>131</sup> "viaggio per l'Italia, la Germania e l'Austria, dando concerti in quelle principali città." *Nota Biografica*, p. 2.

<sup>132</sup> Tedesco, "Antonino Pasculli".

<sup>133</sup> Pennington, p. 1.

this seems to be an overstatement. In contrast to the comparisons I note above between Cavallini, Briccialdi, and Krakamp and virtuosos such as Liszt and Thalberg, I have found no contemporary references to Pasculli as a “Paganini”, not in his biographical note, not in any reviews, not in his eulogy; most of these instead note that Pasculli was particularly “modest” about his abilities. In fact, no Italian language sources which I have been able to access use the title “the Paganini of the oboe” or make any reference to Paganini at all. I suspect that the origins of this persistent label lie in Rosset’s interview title, “Antonino Pasculli, the ‘Paganini of the Oboe’”, as well as in Rosset’s statement that “Like Paganini, not finding compositions which could fully exploit his extraordinary capacity, [Pasculli] composed the major part of the works he performed”.<sup>134</sup> As Rosset’s information came from Pasculli’s daughters, it is possible that they passed on this association with Paganini from their father. However, I cannot confirm this, and Rosset does not state it outright. Following Rosset’s articles in *The Double Reed* and *Tibia*, sheet music editions frequently mention Pasculli’s Paganini-like compositional urges.<sup>135</sup> The association was most likely cemented with Geoffrey Burgess’s statement in Grove Music Online that “Pasculli’s legendary abilities have often stimulated comparisons with Paganini”,<sup>136</sup> as well as Burgess and Bruce Haynes’s book *The Oboe*, in which they write that “even more than Centroni [an oboist who was in fact referred to during his lifetime as the Paganini of the oboe], Antonino Pasculli was deserving of the title”, citing his “staggering virtuosity” and creation of “the illusion of double stopping by setting a slow-moving melody against constant florid motion, reminiscent of Paganini’s études”.<sup>137</sup>

Regardless, Pasculli was certainly an extraordinarily talented musician. Alongside his performing career, he was appointed oboe professor of the Palermo conservatory in 1860 at the age of 18; he travelled to Rome for the spring season of 1869 to play with the orchestra of the “Regi Teatri di Roma”; later in that same year he won the position of oboe and cor anglais professor at the new musical institute of Ferrara, but by late 1870 he was back in Palermo, where in 1870-1871 and 1872-1873 he played in the orchestra of the Teatro Bellini.<sup>138</sup> From 1877 he was the director of the Municipal Musical Corps of Palermo, for which he wrote all of his non-oboe solo compositions; in this role, as mentioned above, Pasculli met Wagner, who travelled to Palermo in May 1882 and conducted the Corps using Pasculli’s own baton,

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<sup>134</sup> Rosset, “Antonino Pasculli, the ‘Paganini of the Oboe’”.

<sup>135</sup> See Antonino Pasculli, *Gran Concerto su temi dall’opera I vespri siciliani di Verdi*, Omar Zoboli, ed. (Monteux: Musica Rara, 1987).

<sup>136</sup> Geoffrey Burgess, “Pasculli, Antonino,” *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017.

<sup>137</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, pp. 154-156. This latter musical characteristic is used frequently by Pasculli, but it is also a common technique used in opera fantasias by nearly every composer.

<sup>138</sup> Tedesco, “Antonino Pasculli”; *Nota biografica*, p. 1.

which was then donated to the conservatory library.<sup>139</sup> Pasculli retained that position until 1912 and his professorship until 1913, at which point he retired and was named professor emeritus.<sup>140</sup> In fact, he had had to give up his performing career due to vision problems in 1884, and while maintaining his other duties, he became a professor at the Palermo institute for the blind in 1892.<sup>141</sup>

Modern editions and English-language scholarship focus on general descriptions of Pasculli's performance career. "He was one of the first oboists active in the Italian-Austrian regions to use a French-style oboe, and was famed for his light and effortless bravura style."<sup>142</sup> He had "uncommon virtuosity, which was well-matched to the tastes of his time".<sup>143</sup> He "always created an enormous impression as he succeeded in playing with a facility and lightness hitherto unimagined".<sup>144</sup> He seems to have been driven to compose opera fantasias in order to "fully exploit his extraordinary capacity".<sup>145</sup> These reviews are not unanimously positive. The 1996 edition of *Fantasia sopra "Gli Ugonotti"* includes a kind of disclaimer about the quality of "Pasculli's compositional output, which reflects the taste of the times, and occasionally teeters on the brink of banality."<sup>146</sup> However, as well as providing a sizable and representative body of fantasias by a single composer, Pasculli also allows me to delve into contemporary attitudes to fantasias in the context of their performances. Living in the capital of Sicily and participating in the city's most reputable musical institutions, Pasculli was well placed to appear in musical journals such as Palermo's own *L'Arte rivista della Filarmonica Bellini* and the much more widely circulated *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*.

The earliest review of Pasculli's playing or compositions that I have found dates from 1868. Rosario Profeta's history of Italian instrumentalists includes a review from "La Scienza", dated 24 May of that year, which writes that Pasculli "handled this instrument with such mastery that it would be difficult to find not only someone who surpassed him but someone who equalled him".<sup>147</sup> A more substantial review followed in the next year, in one of

<sup>139</sup> Blundo Canto, pp. 17, 21.

<sup>140</sup> Ibid., p. 23. The transcription of the *Nota biografica* mistakenly gives this date as 1879 on page 4.

<sup>141</sup> Tedesco, "Antonino Pasculli".

<sup>142</sup> Burgess, "Pasculli, Antonino", Grove Music Online.

<sup>143</sup> "non comune virtuosismo, che ben si accordava al gusto del tempo". Blundo Canto, p. 11.

<sup>144</sup> Omar Zoboli, "Afterword", in Antonino Pasculli, *Fantasia sull'opera Poliuto di Donizetti* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2000). The second half of the quotation originates in the interview with Pasculli's daughters, but Zoboli's claims of an "enormous impression" are his own.

<sup>145</sup> Rosset, "Antonino Pasculli, the 'Paganini of the Oboe'".

<sup>146</sup> Christian Schneider, "Preface", in Antonio Pasculli, *Fantasia sopra "Gli Ugonotti" di Giacomo Meyerbeer* (Munich: G. Ricordi & Co., 1996).

<sup>147</sup> "tratta questo strumento con tanta maestria che sarebbe difficile, non solo trovar chi lo superi, ma chi lo eguali". Profeta, p. 531. Profeta also mentions two other newspapers which later reviewed Pasculli. "Il Secolo" reviewed a concert given at the Teatro Manzoni on June 17, 1874, and praised Pasculli's playing and compositions, and the "Pungolo", possibly a Milan- or Naples-based paper, praised his performance on a difficult instrument (no date is given for the latter review). Profeta's history generally lacks any citations; most of his information on Pasculli seems to derive from the *Nota biografica* and Gentile's eulogy of Pasculli.

the very first editions of Sicily's *L'Arte rivista della Filarmonica Bellini*. On January 31, 1869, in the hall of the Accademia Filarmonica, a vocal and instrumental concert was given by the *prima donna* soprano and *primo* baritone (presumably of the Real Teatro Bellini). The concert consisted of opera sinfonias, arias, and duets, from works such as *Guillaume Tell*, *Rigoletto*, *I due Foscari*, *Lucia di Lammermoor*, and *I Vespri Siciliani*. In the middle of the concert, Gaetano Pasculli played a fantasia on *Fausto* by an unnamed composer and "Antonino Pasculli then, in the fantasia for oboe on *Les Huguenots*, ravished the audience, leaving them amazed at the skill, emotion, and sweetness of his execution".<sup>148</sup> At this time, Pasculli was not yet conducting, so he and his brother appear to have been invited to play solely as a way to showcase local virtuosic musicians. Although it is likely that Pasculli played his own *Fantasia sopra "Gli Ugonotti"*, the review does not mention him as composer of the work or touch on its compositional qualities at all.

In contrast, the next review of a Pasculli concert dwelt not only on Pasculli's instrumental talents, but also on his compositional abilities. On Sunday, 14 March of the same year, Pasculli and his brother gave an instrumental and vocal concert at the Filarmonica Bellini hall, with the help of several named soloists and the orchestra of the Real Teatro Bellini. The concert consisted of a symphony, which was followed by "a septet for oboe, piano, violin, viola, violoncello, flute and contrabass on *I Vespri Siciliani*, very well worked by oboist Antonino Pasculli and performed by the same" and by other named musicians including his brother.<sup>149</sup> The review notes the difficulty of the piece, the "profusion of notes [profusione di note]" that resulted in "such sweetness [tanta dolcezza]" that the audience was amazed. After an aria, a harp fantasia, another aria, and another symphony, Gaetano Pasculli played Sivori's fantasia on *Un ballo in maschera*; this was followed by a song accompanied by piano and cor anglais, and then Antonio Pasculli's *Souvenir di Bellini* for cor anglais and harp. The latter piece "amazed the listeners, who were more and more eager to enjoy the unparalleled execution".<sup>150</sup> Tedesco notes that the *Souvenir di Bellini* was later published in 1877 by Lucca in Milan under the title *Omaggio a Bellini* and that the *Settimino* was probably "recast" as the *Gran Concerto on I Vespri Siciliani* published by Ricordi in 1875.<sup>151</sup> The concert ended with a song duet, and a third piece by Pasculli, the now lost *Follie sulla*

<sup>148</sup> "Antonino Pasculli poi nella fantasia per oboe sugli Ugonotti, rapiva gli spettatori, lasciandoli meravigliati per la bravura, il sentimento e la dolcezza della esecuzione." Anon, "Accademia filarmonica Bellini", *L'Arte rivista della Filarmonica Bellini*, Anno 1, Num. 3 (1 February 1869), p. 44.

<sup>149</sup> "un Settimino per Oboè, pianoforte, violin, viola, violoncello, flauto e contrabasso, sui Vespri Siciliani, bellissimo lavoro del concertista di Oboè signore Antonino Pasculli eseguito dallo stesso". G.B.V., "Il giorno di domenica 14", *L'Arte rivista della Filarmonica Bellini*, Anno 1, Num. 6 (15 March 1869), pp. 95-96.

<sup>150</sup> "meravigliato l'uditorio sempre più desideroso di gustare la impareggiabile esecuzione". Ibid., pp. 95-96.

<sup>151</sup> Tedesco, "Antonino Pasculli".

*Barcarola dell'Elixir d'amore*, described as a fantasia by the reviewer. He then describes the reaction of the audience:

This bizarre capriccio really drove crazy all those present who greeted the distinguished performer with a round of applause – We give a heartfelt salute to such a rare performer, and the pain because he will soon leave us (as he is already hired for the spring season in Rome) will be compensated with the certainty that on the continent they will know without a doubt that his merits will gain him everlasting fame, and he will be one of the artistic glories of which our Palermo will boast.<sup>152</sup>

Of note are surely the reviewer's use of the term "bizzarro capriccio", his glowing praise for Pasculli, and his mentioning of the audience's extremely positive reaction to Pasculli's works. Additionally, Pasculli can be confirmed as having travelled to Rome as indicated here. His biographical note includes a quotation from Raffaele Kuon, the director of the Regi Teatri di Roma orchestra, who on 1 May 1869 described Pasculli as "of a higher merit than all those I have had occasion to know during my long career" and "an artist beyond rare, unique of his kind".<sup>153</sup>

Pasculli was back in Palermo by 27 August, when he participated in another concert in Filarmonica Bellini hall. Pasculli was not a particularly highlighted performer at this concert, which featured several symphonies, including one by Jommelli, and many arias and duets from operas by Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini. Among the vocal works, two pianists performed fantasias by Thalberg, and Pasculli played in a *Romanza* for voice, cor anglais, and harp.<sup>154</sup> Pasculli did not compose the piece in which he played, and the reviewer makes no particular note of him.

A few years later, Pasculli travelled to Milan. Tedesco writes that he gave two concerts there; both resulted in written remarks. The *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* reviewed his concert on Sunday, 4 July, 1874, given with "La Società del Giardino", which included

a concerto for oboe by Pasculli, a name almost new to us and which deserves to become famous. To say that I have never heard a better oboe performer than Pasculli would not be sincere praise, because I have never heard any real oboe performers; I would say to the others, if there are any, that Pasculli cannot be matched; I am sure in advance that no one could play that instrument better than he.<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> "Questo bizzarro capriccio faceva andare davvero in follia tutti gli astanti che salutarono con una salva di applausi l'egregio esecutore – Noi volgiamo a così raro concertista un saluto di cuore, ed il dolore che fra breve ci lascerà (mentre è già scritturato per la stagione di primavera a Roma) vien compensato colla certezza che ove sul continente saranno conosciuti i non dubbi suoi meriti si acquisterà imperitura fama, e sarà una delle glorie artistiche che potrà vantare la nostra Palermo." G.B.V., "Il giorno di domenica 14", pp. 95-96. The "continent" here refers to mainland Italy, in contrast to Sicily.

<sup>153</sup> "di un merito superiore a quanti ebbi occasione di conoscere nella mia ben lunga carriera"; "artista più che raro, unico nel suo genere". *Nota biografica*, p. 3.

<sup>154</sup> "L'Amico del Popolo", *L'Arte rivista della Filarmonica Bellini*, Anno 1, Num. 18 (15 September 1869), pp. 286-287.

<sup>155</sup> "un concerto per oboe del signor Pasculli, un nome quasi nuovo per noi e che merita di diventar celebre. Dire che non ho mai inteso miglior concertista d'oboe del Pasculli, non sarebbe una lode sincera, perchè di veri concertisti d'oboe non ne avevo mai sentito; dirò agli altri, se ce ne sono, che Pasculli non teme confronti; sono

Despite the reviewer's apparently generally dim opinion of the oboe's musical capabilities, he nevertheless clearly feels positively about Pasculli's performance, if not specifically about his compositional talent. On 16 July 1874, Alberto Mazzucato, director of the conservatory, wrote about Pasculli's second concert:

With the rare kindness that distinguishes him, he wanted this conservatory particularly to be able to appreciate his singular artistic merits, as much as an extraordinary concert oboist as as a learned composer with good taste. The liveliest waves of applause with which the professors and students lauded him in the main hall of this institute amply demonstrated the way in which they took into account the marvels of his execution and the beautiful workmanship of his compositions. Therefore as interpreter of the grateful senses of the abovementioned professors and students, I give you the most heartfelt thanks for this act of supreme courtesy, truly worthy of an artist such as you, who so greatly honours the art of Italy.<sup>156</sup>

Flowery language can obscure genuine opinions, but here, in contrast to the *Gazzetta*, Mazzucato specifically praises both Pasculli's musically and technically superior performance and his "tasteful" compositions, taking care to cite the reactions of not only the students but also the professors, Pasculli's peers. Pasculli returned to Milan at least once more; Tedesco reports that in 1880, at which point he had already been teaching in Palermo for twenty years, he studied counterpoint, fugue, and composition with Michele Saladino at the conservatory of Milan.<sup>157</sup> This statement also appears, without a specified date, in the biographical note.<sup>158</sup>

In a report from Trieste, dated 24 October 1882, we find evidence of one of Pasculli's more wide-flung concerts. "L'orchestra fiorentina Orfeo" performed a concert of Bolconi's *Theme and Variations* for strings, "a concerto for oboe on motives from the opera *La Favorita*, composed and performed by Pasculli, who as a player is exceptional and merited loud and unanimous applause during the piece", overtures to *Giovanna di Guzman*, *Mignon*, *Guillaume Tell*, and a minuet by Boccherini.<sup>159</sup> This is one of Pasculli's later performances, only two years before he stopped playing publicly, but his vision does not seem to have

sicuro a priori che non si può suonar quello strumento meglio di così." S. F., "Rivista milanese. Sabato, 4 luglio [T.Manzoni: De Stefani, Celeste, opera nuova. Dal Verme: Verdi, Il Trovatore. Società del Giardino: un concerto per oboe di Pasculli]", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XXIX, N. 27 (5 July 1874), p. 220.

<sup>156</sup> "Colla rara gentilezza che la distingue, Ella ha voluto che questo R. Conservatorio potesse particolarmente apprezzare i suoi singolari meriti d'artista, tanto quale straordinario concertista d'Oboe, come quale compositore sapiente e di buon gusto. I vivissimi applausi onde Professori ed alunni fecero rinomare la sala maggiore di questo Istituto le hanno ampiamente dimostrato in quale sito conto essi abbiano tenuto le meraviglie delle di Lui esecuzione e la bella fattura dei Suoi componimenti. Interprete dunque dei sensi riconoscenti dei suddetti Professori ed Alunni, io Le rende le più sentite grazie per l'atto sommamente cortese, degno davvero di un artista qual'Ella è, che tanto onora l'arte a l'Italia." *Nota biografica*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>157</sup> Tedesco, "Antonino Pasculli".

<sup>158</sup> *Nota biografica*, p. 3.

<sup>159</sup> "un Concerto per oboe su motivi dell'opera *La Favorita*, composto ed eseguito dal signor Pasculli, il quale come esecutore è eccezionale e meritò fragorosi ed unanimi battimani durante il pezzo". O. V., "Trieste, 24 ottobre [Concerti della Società Orchestrale Orfeo fiorentina: nuove composizioni di Bolzoni, Pasculli e Mabellini. Rossetti: Verdi, Ernani]", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XXXVII, N. 44 (29 October 1882), p. 389.

interfered with the performance or dimmed the audience's reception of his composition. In notable contrast to the previous two concerts, Pasculli performed not as one of many soloists but as a soloist in a primarily orchestral slate of pieces. This perhaps speaks to his particular renown either as a performer or as a composer. Reinforcing his reputation as a composer are comments like that of Pietro Platania, director of the Palermo Conservatorio, who, according to a speech given in 1919 on Pasculli's 42<sup>nd</sup> anniversary of conducting the municipal band, said of Pasculli in 1874 that he "added to his merits as most talented oboe and cor anglais player those of excellent composer of many remarkable original and opera-based compositions.... In his compositions he demonstrates an artistry supplied by healthy study and practised hearing, good taste, for the clarity and good conduct that exist there."<sup>160</sup>

I have quoted extensively from reviews to begin to flesh out the particular reception of Pasculli's (or any) woodwind fantasias. The final contemporary review discussed here comes from Palermo, describing a "musical evening [serata musicale]" on 26 August 1883, which seems to have been to raise money for "the poor injured in the disaster of Ischia [pei poveri superstiti del disastro d'Ischia]" – a large earthquake had hit the island only one month earlier.<sup>161</sup> This report addresses neither a performance by Pasculli nor one of his opera-based compositions, but rather a fantasia for strings or winds without soloist performed by the municipal band which Pasculli conducted. The choral society also performed, and the concert consisted of excerpts of Wagner, Rossini, Gounod, "il *Vespro Siciliano* e la fantasia *Ischia* del Pasculli". Context strongly suggests that "il *Vespro Siciliano*" was also written by Pasculli, and it is likely that this refers not to his surviving *Gran Concerto su temi dall'opera I Vespri Siciliani*, but to another work for band, *Episodi del Vespro Siciliano*.<sup>162</sup> The piece is not further discussed in the review; instead, the reviewer dwells on the *Ischia* fantasia, portraying it as a semi-narrative depiction of natural events and human reactions.

Then in *Ischia*, the fantasia by Pasculli, I found commendable not the cleverly developed melodic idea, but rather the artistic device of the entire composition, in which the musician takes advantage of the most striking oppositions of time and space. The piece is in Bb, and in the prelude the theme is touched upon here and there. But – you know this – when the disaster struck, there was not a cloud in the sky, the sea was calm, and the fishing boats were going around the deserted cliffs of Casamicciola. And Pasculli has devised a sailor in the mouth of a fisherman.

<sup>160</sup> "Il suddatto Professore al merito di valentissimo suonatore d'oboe e corno inglese, aggiunge quello di egregio compositore per molti pregevoli lavori originali e su motivi d'opere, composti in ispecie, si con accompagnamento di orchestra che con varii strumenti a quartette. Nelle sue composizioni mostrasi artista fornite di sani studi e di acquisito sentire, bel gusto, per la chiarezza e bella condotta che vi esiste." Giuseppe Lombardo, *Discorso letto nella sala del corpo di musical il 17 settembre 1919*. Catalog # II° A/PAS 1/2, 1-2.

<sup>161</sup> G. V., "Palermo, 26 agosto [Villa Giulia: concerto benefico; musiche eseguite; Ponchielli, La Danza delle ore; Pasculli, Ischia, fantasia]", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XXXVIII, N. 35 (2 September 1883), p. 322.

<sup>162</sup> Blundo Canto notes a composition for band entitled *Episodi del Vespro Siciliano*, citing comments made by Palermo's mayor in 1882. Blundo Canto, p. 15. This seems to have been taken from the *Nota biografica*, p. 4.



Meanwhile, at the hotel *Piccola Sentinella* the bathers were holding a dance, and Pasculli has taken advantage of it, intertwining you in a graceful dance. The roar begins, the underground rumbling, and the composer, with imitative harmony, obtains some effects of creepy sounds. Following the disaster, the groaning of the victims; and there is a song that expresses and describes this. The King arrives; there is a trumpet blast, which holds back a hint of a Savoy hymn; but between these notes echoes, so to speak, the lament of the wounded and dying. And then, it places a call to national charity with a heartfelt entreaty, to which the following verses are entrusted:

For those without bread, for those without a roof,  
Sweet is the care of the generous;  
But for what is the suffering from the Alps to the Strait,  
If piety is not filled with labour?  
The example was given from the height of the thrones:  
Glory be to your name, civil charity!

The composition of Pasculli was applauded greatly.<sup>163</sup>

This provides not only another example of contemporary attitudes to Pasculli's compositional skills, portrayed as technically adept and emotionally intense and effective, but also a contemporary example of narrative description. Though rare in the context of fantasias specifically, narrative description was a contemporary tool for musical analysis more widely; Pasculli is treated seriously as a composer here, and the piece it is presented less as a novelty than as a well-crafted work of musical expression.

As I noted above, Pasculli is an ideal composer to treat as a case study because, as well as being better documented through both primary and secondary sources than many woodwind fantasia composers, he offers a unique opportunity to look at a sizeable and nearly comprehensive body of work by one composer. However, I have continued to find references to previously unknown compositions by Pasculli throughout my research, and thus it is possible that my sample of his fantasias is not as comprehensive as it seems. Blundo Canto's

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<sup>163</sup> “Quanto poi ad *Ischia*, fantasia del maestro Pasculli, io trovo da lodare, non che il pensiero melodico abilmente sviluppato, il coegno artistico della intera composizione, in cui il musicista si avvantaggia dei più salienti contrapposti di tempo e di luogo. Il pezzo è in *si bemolle*, e nel preludio è stiorato qua e là il *tema*. Ma – voi lo sapete – quando accadde il disastro, nel cielo non vi era una nube, il mare era tranquillo e le barchette peschereccie andavano attorno alle deserte scogliere di Casamicciola. E il Pasculli ha ideato una marinaresca in bocca di un pescatore. – Intanto, all'albergo della *Piccola Sentinella* i bagnanti tenevano una festa di ballo; e il Pasculli ne ha fatto suo pro, intrecciandovi un grazioso ballabile. Incominciano i rombi, i boati sotterranei; e il compositore, con armonie imitative, ottiene degli *effetti* di sonorità raccapriccianti. Segue il disastro, il gemito delle vittime; e vi è un canto che esprime e descrive. Arriva il Re; havvi uno squillo di tromba, a cui tien dietro un accenno dell'inno Sabauda; ma fra quelle note echeggia, per così dire, il lament dei feriti, dei moribondi. E allora, ha luogo un appello alla carità nazionale con un'entrata del core, a cui sono affidati i sequenti versi:

Per chi non ha pane, per chi non ha tetto,  
È dolce conforto la cura dei buoni;  
Ma il duolo a che giova dall'Alpi allo Stretto,  
Se d'opre feconda non è la pietà?  
L'esempio fu dato dall'alto dei troni:  
Sia gloria al tuo nome, civil carità!

La composizione del Pasculli è stata applauditissima.”

G. V., “Palermo, 26 agosto [Villa Giulia: concerto benefico; musiche eseguite; Ponchielli, La Danza delle ore; Pasculli, Ischia, fantasia]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XXXVIII, N. 35 (2 September 1883), pp. 322-23.

biography mentions a non-operatic *Melodia per Corno Inglese* as well as a few additional named pieces for band.<sup>164</sup> As an oboist I was unaware of *Simpatici Ricordi della Traviata* and *Concerto sul Trovatore*, both of which have recently been published in Germany and are accessible in Italian libraries in modern editions. In Palermo, I discovered that *Fantasia sull'opera Poliuto* was initially composed for oboe and orchestra rather than oboe and piano. Concert reviews have revealed the lost compositions *Follie sulla Barcarola dell'Elisir d'amore*, and *Settimino sui Vespri Siciliani*, the latter of which Tedesco accounts for as an early version of Pasculli's concerto on *I Vespri Siciliani*, as mentioned above. Lost fantasias on *L'Elisir d'amore*, *Il Pirata*, and *La Sonnambula* are mentioned in Rosset's *The Double Reed* article, Zoboli's editions of the *Poliuto* and *I Vespri Siciliani* fantasias, and Pennington's dissertation, none of which mentions the *Trovatore* or *Traviata* fantasias.<sup>165</sup> I have found one further piece in Palermo, *Divagazioni sulla Ballata dell'Elixir d'amore*, an orchestral theme-and-variations with solo oboe which I have found in no other works list; this may be the lost fantasia mentioned by Rosset, Zoboli, and Pennington, and it exists only as a photocopy of a now-lost manuscript.

However, some discoveries of new pieces turn out to be false alarms; in *Storia dell'Oboe e sua letteratura*, Giovanni Bigotti lists "Le Alpi" instead of "Le api" as one of Pasculli's compositions.<sup>166</sup> This simple typo has also caused an error in the *Biblioteca nazionale centrale* of Florence, the catalogue of which contains a "Le Alpi", edited by Gunther Joppig and published by Ricordi in 1989 with the edition number 109579. The conservatory libraries of Milan and Trieste, however, cite a "Le api" with the same editor, year, and edition number. Nevertheless, while I do not have access to every one of Pasculli's opera fantasias and cannot be certain that all of these pieces have been accounted for, I still certainly have enough works to look at as a representative body.

Pasculli's chamber music compositions highlight either the oboe or the cor anglais, and generally he writes for solo oboe with piano accompaniment. His extant compositions, which include twelve fantasias, eleven of these on operatic themes, are mostly for oboe and piano; of Pasculli's twenty-two known pieces with a solo double reed instrument, fourteen are for oboe with piano or orchestra and two, both fantasias on Verdi's *Un ballo in maschera*, are

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<sup>164</sup> Blundo Canto, p. 15.

<sup>165</sup> Pennington, pp. 58-59; Rosset, "Antonino Pasculli, the 'Paganini of the Oboe'"; Zoboli, *Fantasia sull'opera Poliuto di Donizetti*; Zoboli, "Afterword", in Antonino Pasculli, *Gran Concerto su temi dall'opera I vespri siciliani di Verdi* (Monteux: Musica Rara, 1987).

<sup>166</sup> Giovanni Bigotti, *Storia dell'Oboe e sua letteratura* (Padua: G. Zanibon, 1974), p. 48. As noted in the Introduction, this is a non-opera-based concert etude by Pasculli, certainly now his most famous non-fantasia work.

for cor anglais and piano.<sup>167</sup> (While current editions of Pasculli are only available with piano, at least three of his compositions, *Divagazioni sulla Ballata dell'Elixir d'amore*, *Fantasia sull'opera Poliuto di Donizetti* and *Gran Concerto su temi dall'opera I Vespri Siciliani* exist in manuscript form with orchestral accompaniment of piccolo, flute, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, horn, trumpet, trombone, ophicleide, percussion, and strings.) Pasculli's other compositions are more exceptional. *Divagazioni sulla Ballata dell'Elixir d'amore*, though for solo oboe and orchestra and with an operatic basis, is not truly a fantasia as it only includes one operatic theme; and *Qui Tollis* is an as yet unpublished piece for oboe, tenor, and orchestra written in memory of Pasculli's son. Pasculli also wrote two operatic works for multiple solo instruments, the *Gran Trio Concertante* on Rossini's *William Tell* mentioned above, and the *Omaggio a Bellini*, which is unique among his works in using themes from more than one opera, for cor anglais and harp.<sup>168</sup> In the *Omaggio*, the two instruments function more as equals than as solo instrument and accompaniment. Opera fantasias for multiple solo instruments are relatively common, though by no means as popular as those for one solo instrument. I have not tried to catalogue these works in any systematic way, concentrating only on solo opera fantasias, but in my research I came across several for flute, including Lovreglio's *Duetto concertante* (op. 39) on *Norma* for flute and violin and Emanuele Krakamp's *Due Potpourris per due flauti* on *La forza del destino*.

In addition to his solo repertoire, Pasculli also wrote the three-volume method book for the oboe, *Raccolta progressiva di scale, esercizi, e melodie*, in which his (auto)biographical note appears and which primarily contains exercises on major and minor keys, melodies from composers including Döhler, Mendelssohn, and Bach, and notes by Pasculli on the biographies and music of these composers; this, along with his concert etudes, was used at the Milan, Pesaro, and Brussels conservatories.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> Pennington, pp. 58-59. Pennington provides a works list including eighteen of these pieces; four of these works are single etudes or sets of etudes which were most likely designed to be performed as showpieces.

<sup>168</sup> Pasculli includes themes from Bellini's operas *Il Piratica* and *La Sonnambula*, both of which he treated separately in oboe fantasias which have been lost. Pennington, pp. 58-59.

<sup>169</sup> Blundo Canto, p. 15; *Nota biografica*, p. 3.

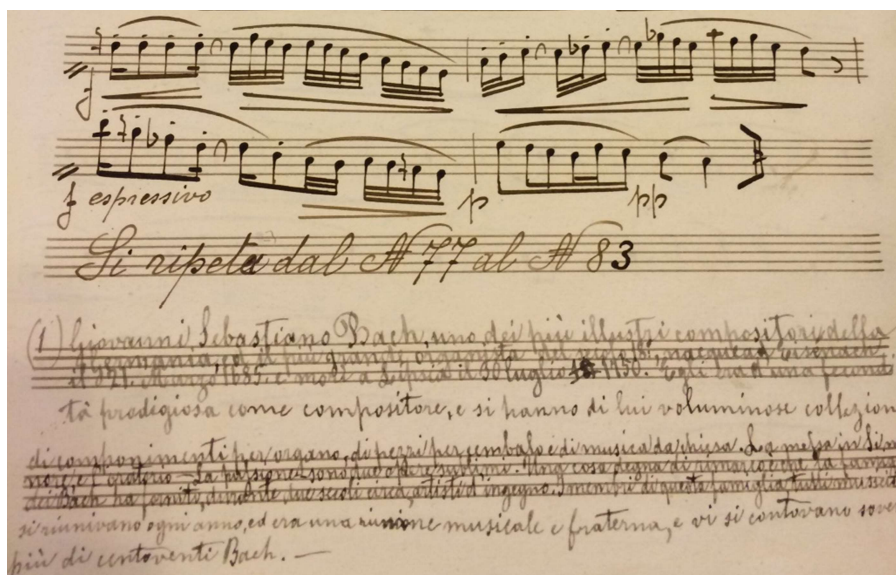


Fig. 2.4: An excerpt by Bach and notes on the composer in the manuscript of Pasculli's *Raccolta progressiva*

Pasculli's already limited compositional output is made more limited by the loss of many of his compositions, particularly those written for the Municipal Musical Corps of Palermo, none of which seem to be accessible in manuscript or published form. Of twelve known opera fantasies for solo oboe or cor anglais and accompaniment, only nine are extant, and the other three lost. The likely loss of a quarter of Pasculli's opera fantasias, and a seventh of all of his oboe and cor anglais writing, is considerable, given his small output. However, this same small output makes it possible to investigate each of his compositions in relative detail.

Though they vary considerably in formal specifics, looked at as a whole Pasculli's nine opera fantasias and concertos reveal considerable consistencies in style and format. After a piano introduction, generally in a slow tempo with a marking like *Maestoso* or *Andante*, the oboe almost always enters with a flashy cadenza. Pasculli tends to alternate slow and fast tempos throughout a piece, and virtuosic variations and cadenzas appear on themes of any tempo. The pieces inevitably end triumphantly in a flurry of virtuosic closing material loosely derived from a fast tempo theme generally featuring arpeggios and scalar passages, often exploring the upper and lower sections of the oboe's range.

Table 1: Extant Operatic Fantasias

Title	Manuscript	Historical Publication	Modern Publication	Comments
<i>Rimembranze del Rigoletto</i>	Palermo conservatory library 33.B.28.b		Sandro Caldini, ed. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2003. Palermo conservatory library 33.B.43/45  Wolfgang Renz, ed. Affing: Wolfgang Renz Notendruck, 2005. Palermo conservatory library CON-BEL-0-47793	Arranged for orchestra by Wolfgang Renz.
<i>Amelia: Un pensiero del Ballo in maschera</i>	Palermo conservatory library 33.B.28.e		Christian Schneider, ed. Vienna: Universal Edition, 1999.	
<i>Fantasia due sopra motivi dell'opera "Un ballo in maschera" di Verdi</i>	Palermo conservatory library 33.B.28.f		Christian Schneider, ed. Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 2003.  Wolfgang Renz, ed. Affing: Wolfgang Renz Notendruck, 2005. Palermo conservatory library CON-BEL-0-47795	Arranged for orchestra by Wolfgang Renz.
<i>Fantasia per oboe sopra motivi dell'opera "Gli Ugonotti" di G. Meyerbeer</i>		Milan: F. Lucca, 1875. Palermo conservatory library 33.B.9/10. Also held in the Milan conservatory library.	Sandro Caldini, ed. Monteux: Musica Rara, 1998  Christian Schneider, ed. Munich: Ricordi, 1996.	Historical edition dedicated to Stefano Donaudy.

<i>Fantasia sull'opera Poliuto di Donizetti</i>	orchestral – Palermo conservatory library I-Plcon, P34	Milan: F. Lucca, [1875?]. Held in the conservatory libraries of Bologna (not accessible during visit) and Milan.	Piano – Omar Zoboli, ed. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1998.	Historical edition dedicated to “S. E. il conte di Rauchibile”.
<i>Simpatici Ricordi della Traviata</i>	Palermo conservatory library 33.B.28.a		Wolfgang Renz, ed. Affing: Wolfgang Renz Notendruck, 2005. Palermo conservatory library CON-BEL-0-47792	Arranged for orchestra by Wolfgang Renz.
<i>Gran Concerto su temi dall'opera I Vespri Siciliani</i>	Orchestral accompaniment – Palermo conservatory library I-Plcon, P38/ 33.B.29	Piano accompaniment – Palermo conservatory library 33.B.28.g	Piano accompaniment – Omar Zoboli, ed. Monteux: Musica Rara, 1987.  Orchestral accompaniment – Wolfgang Renz, ed. Affing: Wolfgang Renz Notendruck, 2005. Palermo conservatory library CON-BEL-0-47796	The manuscript includes a handwritten note, dated 1872. See below.  Historical edition dedicated to Michele Saladino
<i>Concerto sopra motivi dell'opera La Favorita di Donizetti</i>		Milan: F. Lucca, 1875. Palermo conservatory library 33.B.7/8. Also held in the Milan conservatory library.	J. Ledward, ed. London: Musica Rara, 1976. Palermo conservatory library 33.B.42.  J. Ledward, ed. Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Hartel, 2000.	Historical edition dedicated to A. Bazzini.
<i>Concerto sul Trovatore</i>	Palermo conservatory library 33.B.28.d		Wolfgang Renz, ed. Affing: Wolfgang Renz Notendruck, 2005. Palermo conservatory library CON-BEL-0-47794	

<i>Omaggio a Bellini: Duetto per corno inglese e arpa.</i>		Milan: F. Lucca, 1877. Palermo conservatory library Arm. II Ant. 32. Also held in the Milan conservatory library.	Kees Verheijen, ed. Amsterdam: Karthause-Verlag, 1992.  A. Bonelli, ed. Padova: G Zanibon, 1990. (Palermo conservatory library 42.A.42a)	
<i>Divagazioni sulla Ballata dell'Elixir d'amore</i>	orchestral – Palermo conservatory library I-Plcon, P25			(now lost, accessible as pdf)
<i>Gran Trio concertante per Violino, Oboe e Pianoforte su motivi del "Guglielmo Tell"</i>	Palermo conservatory library 33.B.28g			

Table 2: Other Extant Compositions

Title	Manuscript	Historical Publication	Modern Publication	Comments
<i>Le Api, studio caratteristico per oboe con accompagnamento di pianoforte</i>		Milan: G. Ricordi, 1904. Available from <a href="http://imslp.org">imslp.org</a> , Palermo conservatory library 33.B.6. Also held in the Milan conservatory library.	Gunther Joppig, ed. Milan: Ricordi, 1989.	
<i>“Ricordo di Napoli” Scherzo Brillante, fantasy on a popular tune for oboe and piano</i>		Milan: F. Lucca, [1875]. Palermo conservatory library 33.B.19. Also held in the Milan conservatory library.	Sandro Caldini, ed. Monteux: Musica Rara, 1995.	Historical edition dedicated to Luigi La Cara.
<i>Studio caratteristico onde esercitare lo staccato</i>		Milan: F. Lucca, 1877. Palermo conservatory library 33.B.17/18		
<i>Galopade, Terzo Studio Caratteristico per oboe con accompagnamento di pianoforte</i>		Milan: G. Ricordi & C., 1917. Palermo conservatory library 33.B.46. Also held in the Milan conservatory library.	Omar Zoboli, ed. Frankfurt: Zimmerman, 2001.	
<i>15 Capricci a Guisa di Studi per oboe, Adapted from Pierre Rode’s 24 Capricci for violin</i>		Milan: F. Lucca, 1877. Palermo conservatory library 33.A.12	Pietro Borgonovo, ed. Milan: Ricordi, 1980.	
<i>Scherzo per Oboè con accompagnamento di pianoforte per Antonio Pasculli</i> <sup>170</sup>		Milan: F. Lucca, 1884. Milan conservatory library A.33.19.17		Historical edition dedicated to Stefano Onufrio.

<sup>170</sup> This unusual phrasing (“per Antonio Pasculli”) appears on other compositions of Pasculli’s, including the manuscripts of *Amelia: Un pensiero del Ballo in maschera* and *Concerto sul Trovatore*.



<i>Melodia per Corno inglese</i>	Palermo conservatory library 33.B.28c			
<i>Raccolta progressiva di Scale, Esercizi e Melodie per Oboe: divisa in 3 parti</i>	Palermo conservatory library 33.A.4/5			
<i>Vita d'Amore: Valzer per Pianoforte</i>	Palermo conservatory library Arm. II Ant. 19			

Table 3: Miscellaneous

Title	Manuscript	Historical Publication	Modern Publication	Comments
<i>Sognando: valzer-boston</i> , by Enrico Gasperoni		Milan: Ricordi, 1904. Rome Conservatorio di musica S. Cecilia library B.626.67		Instrumentation by Pasculli.
<i>Introduzione, Adagio e Finale per Oboe con accomp.to di Pianoforte</i> , by Emanuele Krakamp		Milan: F. Lucca, [1875]. Milan conservatory library Ob.A.33.16.15 –		Dedicated to “Sig.r Antonio Pasculli distinto concertista d’oboe”.

Table 4: Known Lost Compositions<sup>171</sup>

<i>L’Elisir d’amore</i>	Fantasy and variations for oboe
<i>Il Pirata</i>	Fantasy and variations for oboe
<i>La Sonambula</i>	Fantasy and variations for oboe
<i>Fantasia 8 Settembre at Altavilla</i>	For symphonic orchestra, unpublished
<i>Libera</i>	For 4 voices and orchestra, unpublished
<i>Naiadi e Silfidi</i>	Symphonic poem for orchestra, unpublished
<i>Di qui non si passa</i>	For orchestra, elegy in memory of Pasculli’s son, unpublished
<i>Qui tollis</i>	For tenor, oboe, and orchestra, unpublished
<i>I vespri siciliani</i>	For orchestra
<i>Ischia</i>	For orchestra

Unfortunately, Pasculli left behind no writing about his compositional process or information about his choice of operas. We know only that the operas he uses are overwhelmingly Italian, that many are *bel canto* operas from the first half of the nineteenth

<sup>171</sup> All of these are listed in Pennington, pp. 58-59, with the exception of *I vespri siciliani* and *Ischia*.

century, and that many are by Verdi. Pasculli most likely encountered these operas in Palermo, which had a successful opera house “visited by the most celebrated opera companies and singers”, and which is known to have featured operas by Donizetti, Bellini, and Verdi, the composers most featured in Pasculli’s works.<sup>172</sup> Indeed, Palermo was far from a musical backwater, and it was visited by Paganini (1819, 1825), Thalberg (1843), and Bottesini (1861-62), as well as Wagner (4 months in 1881) as mentioned above; of the opera composers featured at the theatre, Verdi was the most performed and well loved.<sup>173</sup> Aside from his exposure to opera productions by way of two seasons playing with the Palermo opera orchestra, Pasculli conducted Donizetti’s *La favorita* in 1881 at the Teatro Politeamo and at S. Cecilia, both in Palermo; this is the only concrete connection we have between Pasculli and any of the operas on which he wrote a fantasia (his *Concerto sopra motivi dell’opera La Favorita di Donizetti*).<sup>174</sup> Pasculli also seems to have been aware of audience tastes, providing both flash and emotion through alternating fast and lyrical themes, and his works also show a degree of commercial awareness, as seen in the occasional reuse of material from other composers of fantasias as well as from his own works; *Concerto sopra motivi dell’opera La Favorita di Donizetti* and *Fantasia per oboe sopra motivi dell’opera “Gli Ugonotti” di G. Meyerbeer* share a very similar cadenza, and *Rimembranze del Rigoletto* is substantially based on Giovanni Daelli’s *Rigoletto di Verdi: Fantasia per oboe*. These are discussed further in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, respectively. Pasculli also frequently dedicated his published editions to other musicians such as Michele Saladino, his composition professor at the Milan conservatory; Antonio Bazzini, another Milan-based composer and performer; and Stefano Donaudy, a composer from Palermo. Strikingly, these dedications are all to composers rather than to patrons or oboists who might have performed the music. Fantasias generally are much more likely to be dedicated to patrons or to fellow instrumentalists.

Dates are extremely rare on Pasculli’s manuscripts, either those with piano accompaniment, which seem to be professional copies, or those with orchestral accompaniment, which seem to have been his working copies and often include both small and substantial edits.<sup>175</sup> However, there is one extant exception; his manuscript of the fantasia on *I Vespri Siciliani* includes a note that the orchestration of the piece was completed in May 1867 and revised in 1872.

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<sup>172</sup> Paolo Emilio Carapezza and Giuseppe Collisani, “Palermo”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017.

<sup>173</sup> Martinotti, p. 173.

<sup>174</sup> Tedesco, “Antonino Pasculli”.

<sup>175</sup> The manuscripts with piano accompaniment are written in two hands, one responsible for the notes and the other for the articulations and dynamics. This second hand seems to be Pasculli’s.

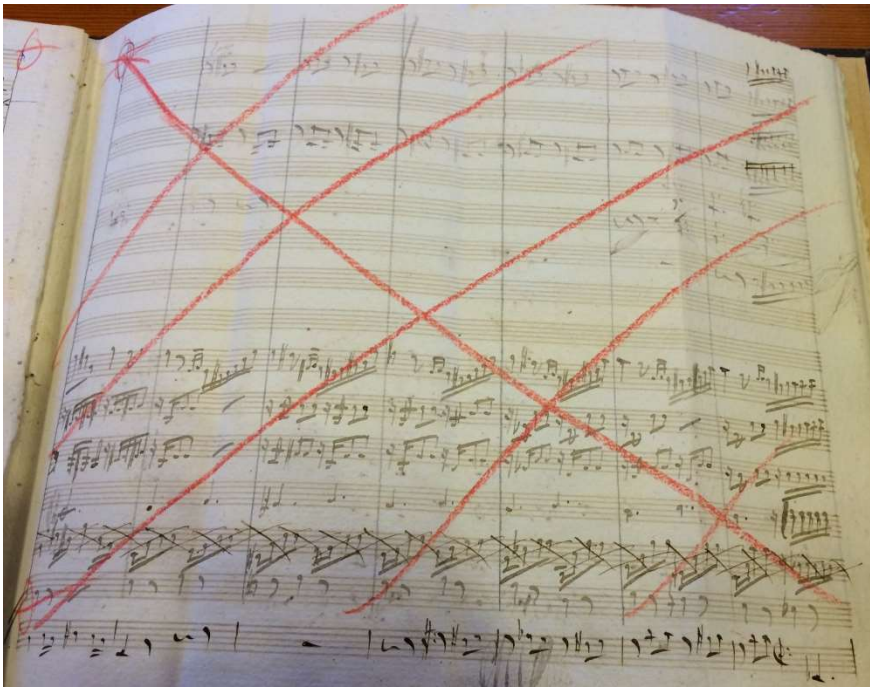


Fig. 2.5: Bars removed in Pasculli's manuscript of *Concerto per oboe sopra motivi dell'opera I Vespri Siciliani*

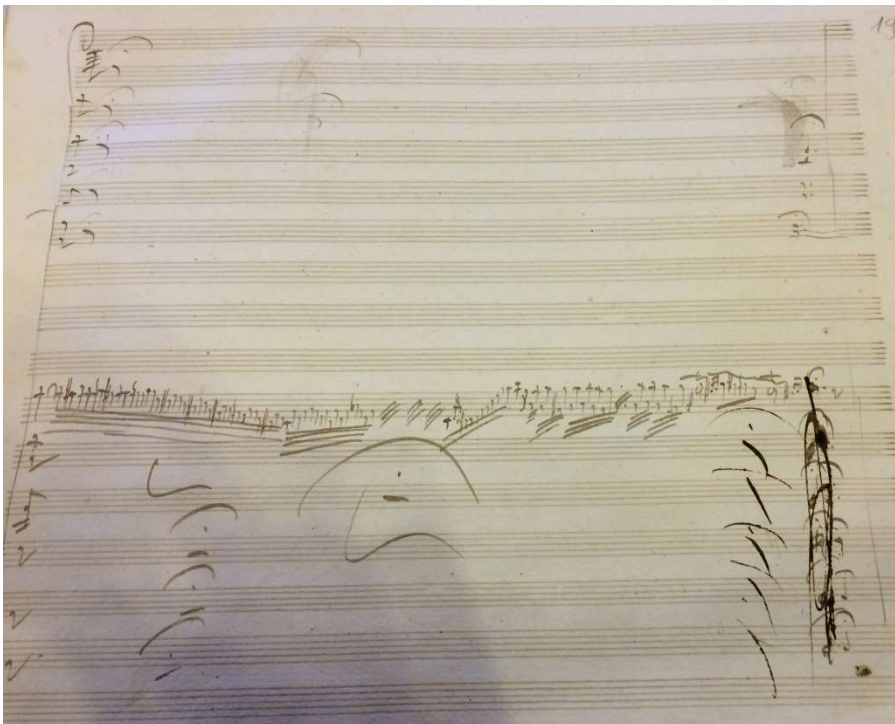


Fig. 2.6: Visible edits in Pasculli's manuscript of *Fantasia per Oboè su' vari motivi dell'opera Poliuto*

As mentioned above, two of Pasculli's fantasias, *Simpatici Ricordi della Traviata* and *Concerto sul Trovatore*, are little known in the English-speaking oboe world. This may be due to the fact that neither is one of the polished and well-circulated editions by Omar Zoboli or Sandro Caldini and major modern publishing houses, all of which are easily obtained and relatively popular among oboists. Both works exist in manuscript form in Palermo and were

instead self-published in 2005 by Wolfgang Renz, along with orchestral arrangements of several other Pasculli pieces. While *Simpatici Ricordi*, discussed in detail in Chapter 3, is a quintessential Pascullian fantasia, the fantasia on *Il trovatore* is more unusual and more elusive. Many recordings of *Simpatici Ricordi della Traviata* are available online; there are no recordings of *Concerto sul Trovatore*. This may be an early composition of Pasculli's, though there is (as usual) no date associated with the manuscript, and the piece is not mentioned in any extant reviews or other contemporary materials. Not only is the piece relatively simple when compared to his other concertos, the manuscript also contains the only example of Pasculli indicating a “cadenza a piacere” rather than fully writing out the cadenza. This may indicate a wider practice of Pasculli's improvising when performing his compositions, or may suggest that this piece dates from a time at which he was more comfortable performing than composing.

Maiko Kawabata expresses the common criticism that “virtuosity in Paganini's concertos is its *raison d'être* as opposed to being a dramatic device to heighten tension and advance a plot”.<sup>176</sup> Opera fantasias, though equally critiqued for their virtuosity, do use ornamentation and difficulty to do both of those things. The choices of operatic themes and the ordering of those themes create often unconscious narrative overtones that frequently differ significantly from the narrative of the source opera; in the next chapter I discuss the application of narrative theories to the opera fantasia, drawing heavily upon Pasculli's fantasias. It is easy to find unique characteristics for each fantasia – the use of the cor anglais, the adaptation of a previously composed piece, the reuse of a cadenza, the emphasis on an operatic chorus rather than an aria or duet – which disrupts attempts to make broad statements about Pasculli's compositions. And the lack of concrete information attached to Pasculli's works and performances, despite the quantity of material that is available and the work that has been done, can still be frustrating. However, the picture painted by Pasculli's life and works – including his talent as a performer, his esteemed place in his community, and his interest in learning the art of composition – goes far to explicate the Italian context within which these opera fantasias existed and the many ways in which these pieces and their composers and performers were integrated into their surrounding musical life.

## 2.5. Conclusion

In Italy, private concerts with programmes including opera fantasias do appear in newspaper reviews and mention woodwind performers and compositions by name. Often, however, concerts were relatively low-key public events filled with adoring audiences. As

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<sup>176</sup> Maiko Kawabata, *Paganini: The 'Demonic' Virtuoso* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 92-94.

seen in Pasculli's reviews, opera fantasias were frequently performed in variety concerts and *accademie* alongside other instrumental works, including those for full orchestra, and vocal pieces, including arias from the very operas being presented in fantasia form. Newspapers are also full of references to concerts presented by only one or two instrumentalists, featuring the same fantasias as larger variety concerts. Advertisements and reviews of these concerts often emphasize the conservatories or other institutions with which performers were affiliated as a means of establishing their credentials. Occasionally these concerts were in support of a charity, like Pasculli's concert in support of Ischia, and very occasionally they were hosted by Ricordi (publisher and owner of the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*) itself, like the *accademia* of 1845 at which Tamplini performed. As the reviewer of that event proclaims, "Ricordi wants an *accademia*? The *accademia* is ready."<sup>177</sup>

William Weber writes that in Paris and in German-speaking areas "the virtuoso concert gradually slipped into crisis during the 1840s", though Vienna maintained it for longer than elsewhere.<sup>178</sup> In Italy, however, these concerts remained popular, frequent, advertised, and reviewed through the end of the nineteenth century and beyond. Weber also specifies that "a concert would not normally include a piece from the same opera as the one on which a virtuoso performed a *fantaisie*".<sup>179</sup> But Italy again is an outlier; multiple extant reviews reveal concert programmes that go so far as to directly follow an opera aria with a fantasia on that opera.<sup>180</sup>

As can be seen above, woodwind fantasias – in marked contrast to those for piano – were almost exclusively performed in concert by their composers or by students of those composers, and there is heavy repetition in the pieces mentioned in reviews. Indeed, reviewers themselves occasionally note that a piece has appeared frequently or that a piece is notably new. Yet many more fantasias are extant than those which are mentioned in reviews, even by the most prolific of concert-givers.

Wilson asks "To what extent were entertainment and art incompatible? Italian opera had traditionally been a populist art form".<sup>181</sup> The fantasia reflects this, both expanding – through increased access – and contracting – through forbidding difficulty – operatic

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<sup>177</sup> "Ricordi vuole un'Accademia? L'Accademia è pronta: ne vuole una seconda, una terza, una decima? – le Accademie son belle e allestite." La Red, "Rivista della settimana. Accademia in casa Ricordi [Fagottista Tamplini]", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno IV, N. 24 (15 June 1845), p. 103.

<sup>178</sup> William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 167.

<sup>179</sup> Weber, p. 147.

<sup>180</sup> See the concert of 7 July 1877, in which a baritone aria from *Un ballo in maschera* was followed by Lovreglio's oboe fantasia on *Un ballo*, performed by Vecchione. "Accademia a scopo di beneficenza", *Napoli Musicale*, Anno X, No. 14 (19 July 1877), p. 2.

<sup>181</sup> Wilson, p. 66.

populism. Both the popularity and the public nature of these pieces are clear not only from contemporary concert reviews but also from the flourishing of publications of opera fantasias, often dedicated to specific musicians or aristocrats and with elaborately illustrated covers. Difficulty level does not seem to have heavily influenced publication decisions; while many surviving nineteenth-century editions of opera fantasias are simple and accessible to relatively amateur players, Pasculli's fantasias are far from the only fiendishly difficult opera fantasias published by Ricordi and F. Lucca.

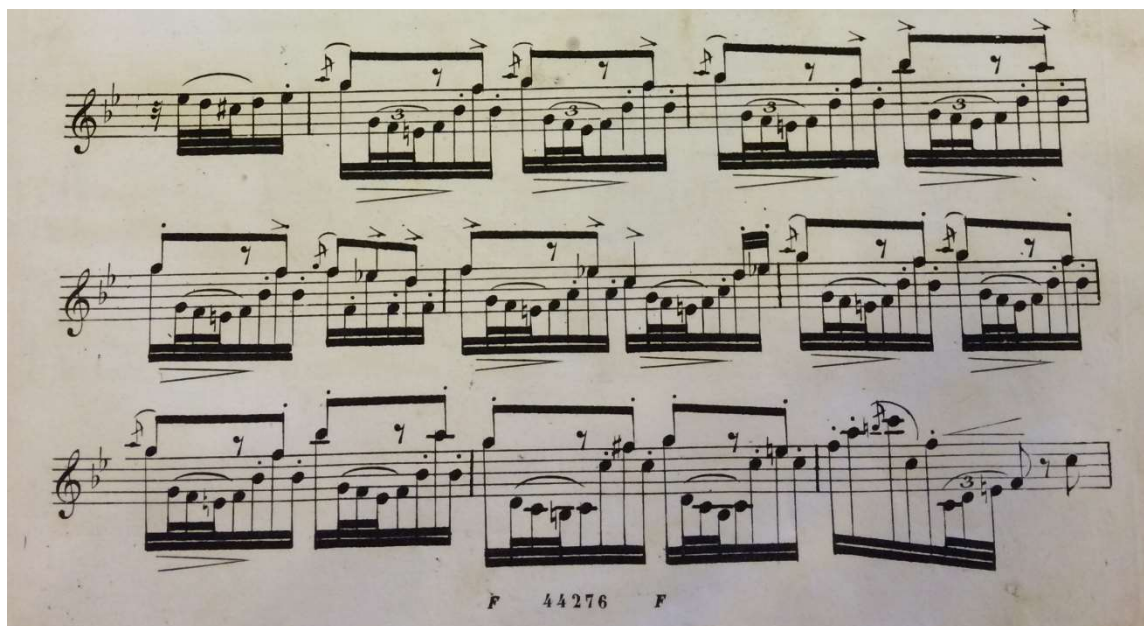


Fig. 2.7: An example of the intense virtuosity of Pasculli's *Gran Concerto su temi dall'opera I Vespri Siciliani*

The surviving reviews of woodwind fantasia publications provide insight into some of the musical and commercial forces behind the publication of what even then were relatively niche compositions. Though publications of opera fantasias date from far earlier in the century as well as at the end, Alessandra Campana's claim that "the beginning of an Italian culture industry" in the 1880s saw a "need to control and textualize performance"<sup>182</sup> also speaks to the connection of opera fantasias to the wider world of Italian art and music in the rapidly changing nineteenth century.

Again speaking of opera and music more generally, Wilson describes critical concerns: while "intellectual" music remained suspect to the majority of critics through the turn of the century, more modernist critics implied that "the masses are being hoodwinked by music that more intellectually sophisticated listeners can see to be using (cheap) underhand

<sup>182</sup> Alessandra Campana, *Opera and Modern Spectatorship in Late Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 7.

tactics to elicit emotional responses.”<sup>183</sup> Italian fantasia reviews remain generally positive even at the end of the nineteenth century, but in these we get hints of a changing tide, and a movement away from the fantasia. Often the negativity is relatively benign; critics remark that concerts are overly long or that pieces have been heard many times before, but that audiences still applauded rapturously. And positive critical reactions, as noted both above and in subsequent chapters, remain characteristic. Hilary Poriss asks of nineteenth-century Italian opera itself, “how has this music retained (or sacrificed) its powerful messages in the face of deconstruction and recontextualization over time and place?”<sup>184</sup> Let us turn in the following chapter to questions like the one, combining a continued inspection of contemporary responses to the fantasia with modern theoretical approaches to musicology as a means of further illuminating the reception and resonance of these works.

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<sup>183</sup> Wilson, p. 226.

<sup>184</sup> Hilary Poriss, “Introduction: Italian Opera’s Fashions and Legacies”, in *Fashions and Legacies of Nineteenth-Century Italian Opera*, edited by Roberta Montemorra Marvin and Hilary Poriss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), p. 3.





## CHAPTER 3

### Theoretical approaches to the Italian woodwind fantasia and the social impulses that shaped such works

#### 3.1. Genre Theory and the Italian Context: “The urge to define is nearly irresistible”<sup>1</sup>

Alastair Fowler, writing on literature rather than music, addresses the dual difficulties of approaching works through the lens of genre. The “irresistible” urge to identify a work’s genre – and thus its place in the canon, in history, and in contemporary thought – is paired with the fact that it is hard to even identify which works are encompassed by the term “literature”, let alone more specific genres within that class. Literature is instead an “aggregate”, “not what literary works have in common, but...rather, the cultural object of which they are parts”.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, genres are fundamentally changeable and the power to enact change in a genre is what marks out a significant work from its bedfellows; “every work of literature belongs to at least one genre” and “their relation to the genres they embody is not one of passive membership but of active modulation”.<sup>3</sup> The genre “opera fantasia” certainly was altered and modulated over the course of the nineteenth century – in Chapter 1 I discuss earlier precursors such as Louis Spohr’s variation sets and *quatuors brillants* – yet it is also marked by notable conservatism and strong similarities across decades of new compositions. The ability to approach genre characteristics as an “aggregate” rather than as a listing of specific necessities alleviates much of the difficulty in linking, for example, an intensely virtuosic flute fantasia from the 1830s on a Bellini opera using three operatic themes and a clarinet fantasia from the 1880s on a Verdi opera using eight themes and presenting each with little more than simple ornamentation. Though many characteristics differ between these two hypothetical pieces, viewed within their generic context both clearly belong to the box labelled opera fantasia. While most fantasias, such as Giuseppe Tamplini’s *Reminiscenze dell’opera Roberto il Diavolo: Fantasia per fagotto* or Luigi De Rosa’s *Fantasia per Oboè sull’opera Lucia*, are non-”modulating” – they do not reveal generic characteristics by their struggles against the past (to use Fowler’s preferred classification, and thus, for theorists such

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<sup>1</sup> Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: an introduction to the theory of genres and modes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> Fowler, p. 3. This view of genre as a “family” of clearly related works that nonetheless do not share any one given aspect – in contrast to the theory of genre as a class of works all of which share a specific trait or combination of traits exclusively – is an idea found in Wittgenstein, among many other theorists. See Stefano Castelvechi, *Sentimental Opera: Questions of Genre in the Age of Bourgeois Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Fowler, pp. 18-20. The idea of the importance of “modulation” in genre and the relationship between this and the canonical significance of a work has certainly been a matter of great debate among theorists of literature and music. As Castelvechi writes, the view that “great works” work against or outside of genre is commonly used as an antidote to arguments that genre is “authoritarian and restrictive of creative freedom”. Castelvechi, p. 2.

as Hans Robert Jauss, must have very little artistic value)<sup>4</sup> – and certainly may not be stunning works of art, as representatives of an aggregate they still meaningfully reveal characteristics of their “cultural object”.

In contrast to Fowler’s anxiety over genre delineation, Robert Pascall sets out four straightforward “categories of generic difference and development” which he approaches with a determined and definitive air: “a single privileged performance-site” that the genre “speaks from and to”, “a distinct set of performing forces, its instrumentarium”, “a definable expressive code” that is “self-signifying” and “stored in schemata”, and a “diachronic structure, with continuity and development” that is connected to the past and generates the future.<sup>5</sup> I have discussed the more literal schemata of fantasias in Chapter 1 and here will address the more covert and connotative aspects of genre as they relate to the fantasia.

Though Pascall describes these generic signifiers as “fundamental and unalienable”, each, as I have touched on in the previous two chapters, is, as for Fowler, difficult to pin down precisely and definitively in the case of the opera fantasia; indeed, Pascall himself lists the “operatic fantasy” as a genre with “a diversity of performance-sites”.<sup>6</sup> The close link of the fantasia to opera itself boosts the genre’s status by connecting it to a flourishing, widely respected, and popular art form in Italy. The link to opera can therefore be seen as an aggrandizing influence on the fantasia, elevating it from mere potpourri to resonant artistic commentary; it also provided the fantasia with ready-made access to the largest and most respected performance-sites available in Italy: opera fantasias could be performed in opera houses. For example, one evening in 1855 virtuoso flautist Giulio Briccialdi performed three “highly applauded” opera fantasias, well received by the audience, “between the acts of the drama” at the Parma Teatro Regio.<sup>7</sup> The physical and temporal site of this performance is not described as unusual in any way in the contemporary review. The fantasia could equally be performed in a large public concert, small musical evening, or private charity event. To Pascall, though, the opera fantasia’s status as an “appendage” to the wider genre of opera means that the fantasia – rather than simply taking place in the diverse performance-sites

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<sup>4</sup> “A masterwork is definable in terms of an alteration of the horizon of the genre that is as unexpected as it is enriching”. Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, translated by Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982), p. 94. Jauss discusses genre in the context of medieval literature in order to work “within a field of inquiry that lies between the opposites of...the artistic character of literature and its merely purposive or social character”(76). I find it more fruitful not to view these not as contrasting poles but as necessarily linked influences and results.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Pascall, “Genre and the Finale of Brahms’s Fourth Symphony”, *Music Analysis*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (October 1989), pp. 233-235.

<sup>6</sup> Pascall, p. 234.

<sup>7</sup> “Ieri sera al R. Teatro, fra gli atti della rappresentazione drammatica, il celebre flautist Briccialdi, di passaggio per questa città, ha dato un secondo concerto. ... I tre pezzi da lui suonati ier sera erano presi da motivi popolari d’opere applauditissime, ed il pubblico li gustò con vero diletto.” Anon, “Notizie italiane. Parma, 19 ottobre [Concerti di Briccialdi (Da lettera)]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XIII, N. 43 (28 October 1855), p. 343.

available to the opera – *evokes* the opera itself. And not only its music, characters, and plot, as I focus on below, but also its more literal performance locations. “A site can be relived in absence, as listeners to concert-hall performances of Beethoven’s *Missa Solemnis* are well aware.”<sup>8</sup> While opera fantasias often appeared *in situ* in the opera house, perhaps the absence of the opera itself heightened a sense of ghostly nearness to the work, evoking the colourful images of set and character that would, on the same site, accompany the melodies that fantasias adorn instead with aurally glittering splendour.

Of Pascall’s categories, the most straightforward for the opera fantasia is its “instrumentarium”, or characteristic instrumentation. Though, as discussed in Chapter 1, there is a great deal of slippage where the solo fantasia borders chamber music, I am focusing on works for a single solo instrument accompanied by either piano or full orchestra; many fantasias were published with both kinds of accompaniment. Duet fantasias – that is, works for two solo instruments with accompaniment – or fantasias for chamber groups such as wind and string quartet may partake of many of the same generic limitations and characteristics, but any characteristics unique to these non-solo fantasias remain peripheral to my arguments. However, the more metaphorical aspects of the fantasia’s “instrumentarium” are crucial to the genre’s narrative overtones, discussed in 3.3 below, and to gender-based approaches to the genre’s interplay with contemporary culture and modern criticism. For Pascall, the tonal resonance of a genre’s characteristic instrumentation is an evocative “sounding-forth in which instruments and voices find themselves and body forth their essence”.<sup>9</sup> In fantasias, this “body-ing forth” is surprisingly literal, as instruments embody characters and synthesize voices.

Fowler’s conception of the power of genre in analysis is idealistic. He writes that while genre is often mistakenly construed as “entail[ing] a hierarchic and retrogressive social philosophy”, there is not a “fixed hierarchy” of genres; instead, there is “almost hectic social mobility”, and “complete rank orderings were seldom worked out”.<sup>10</sup> Yet criticism of both music and literature is intimately involved with the ranking of genres; issues of “high” and “low” art are deeply entwined with the relegation of works to specific genres. Indeed, in almost the same breath Fowler acknowledges the circular reinforcement of genre hierarchy, the “de facto validity” of value judgements, that arises from the best writers choosing to put their best efforts into the “best” genres.<sup>11</sup> In the case of the opera fantasia, genre associations

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<sup>8</sup> Pascall, p. 234.

<sup>9</sup> Pascall, p. 234.

<sup>10</sup> Fowler, p. 35.

<sup>11</sup> Fowler, p. 36. This idea of “best” genres stands in stark contrast to ideas like that of philosopher Benedetto Croce, that genre is arbitrary and unrevealing and that works instead have “irreducible individuality”, unfettered

have long helped to ensure that both individual fantasias and the genre as a whole remain de-emphasized in the performance canon and in analytical circles. Musicologists studying Liszt have often tried to reduce either the degree to which the fantasia is its own genre or the distance between the fantasia and other more canonical genres. Hamilton writes that “with Liszt we can hardly divide his output between ‘higher’ and ‘lower’ genres; he had the same approach to all forms of composition”, and he elsewhere emphasizes the unique quality of each of Liszt’s fantasias.<sup>12</sup> Taruskin similarly describes Liszt’s *Réminiscences de Don Juan* as “ostensibly a potpourri” but “quite obviously more than that” because as an “intensifying conflation” it “makes an astonishing comment on the opera”.<sup>13</sup> The piece is indeed only “ostensibly a potpourri” if that genre is externally imposed on it; these arguments, reminiscent of the teenager’s argument that she is “not like other girls”, aim to argue that one fantasia is worthy of analysis and serious consideration because it escapes from its genre. Liszt fantasias are positioned as Fowler’s artistically significant works, which “modulate or vary or depart from [their] generic conventions, and consequently alter them for the future”.<sup>14</sup> Liszt, with his “cogent dramatic point of view”, as Charles Suttoni argues, has achieved this while Thalberg and other contemporaries whose compositions were “little more than potpourris of favorite but independent melodies” do not depart strongly enough.<sup>15</sup> Again, this is the elevation of a work not through the elevation of its genre or through the non-elevation but mere recognition of its genre, but through the reinforcement of its genre, in contrast to itself, as worthy of its usual de-elevation.

It is possible to find some unique characteristic, however small, in any work, but attempting to argue that most opera fantasias contain significant departures from generic conventions is likely to raise an argument like that flagged in Mary Sue Morrow’s review of Robert Gjerdingen’s *Music in the Galant Style*: focusing on one small area leads to an obsessive appreciation of differences in very small details, differences not necessarily apparent or convincing to those less attached to the material. In her words, this is “the excitement of the devotee”.<sup>16</sup> Yet this argument against over-identifying significant departures

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and unaided by genre. Castelvechi, p. 1, citing Benedetto Croce, *Estetica come scienza dell’espressione e linguistica generale: Teoria e storia* (1902). Croce is also discussed in Jauss, pp. 77-79.

<sup>12</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, *The opera fantasias and transcriptions of Franz Liszt: a critical study*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1989), p. 320.

<sup>13</sup> Richard Taruskin, “Chapter 5 Virtuosos: Response”, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford University Press), accessed September 2017, available from <http://www.oxfordwesternmusic.com/view/Volume3/actrade-9780195384833-div1-005002.xml>.

<sup>14</sup> Fowler, p. 23.

<sup>15</sup> Charles Suttoni, “Liszt’s Operatic Fantasias and Transcriptions”, *Journal of the American Liszt Society*, Vol. VIII (December, 1980), p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Mary Sue Morrow, “Review: Music in the Galant Style by Robert O. Gjerdingen”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (Spring 2011), p. 246.

does not warrant the disparaging of all works of a genre. When approached in aggregate, the points that are unique in a given fantasia illuminate musical tastes of audiences, performers, and composers. And these details and differences can be revealing about both the reality of these works' musical context and the conscious and subconscious cultural forces working on these performer-composers. As Fowler puts it, by re-evaluating genre rankings we can "learn what values are implicit in our own unacknowledged schemes"<sup>17</sup>; genres are "historical and cultural through and through".<sup>18</sup> As musicology embraces more and more, a genre need not be elevated to be interesting or illuminating.

### 3.1.1. Titles versus generic characteristics: "We are accustomed to judge a thing from the name it bears; we make certain demands upon a 'fantasy', others upon a 'sonata'"<sup>19</sup>

As seen in Chapter 1 (and 4), opera fantasias both vary considerably in formal specifics (appearing with sonata-form movements or ritornellos, in tripartite ABA form, or with series of variations) and maintain considerable consistencies in style and format when looked at as a unit. Across this variety and this consistency, opera fantasias encompass a wide range of titles. Pascall writes that a work's title "may be generically specific"; "since it is a naming sign both prior and integral to the work, it affects the operation of the expressive code".<sup>20</sup> This "may" seems unnecessarily hesitant; even titles that are not *literally* generically specific (as "symphony" or "lied" are) often carry generically significant and genre-signifying information. In the case of the opera fantasia, the wide range of titles available to the genre means that both the specific titles assigned to individual works and the way that fantasias are indicated en masse in written comments can suggest both how composers placed their fantasias culturally and how fantasias were received by the public and by critics. As Pascall himself elaborates, "if title and expressive code are mutually affirming, this implies an acceptance of tradition; if they conflict – as, for instance, in Lalo's *Symphonie espagnole* (a violin concerto) – a special form of cognitive strategy is brought into play in order to interpret a duality of codes."<sup>21</sup> It is crucial to remember, both when discussing genre more generally and when discussing specific interactions between tradition and composition, that genre is deeply connected to specific context. Attempting to discern how composers placed their fantasias culturally by necessity involves taking the specific cultural context into account, as

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<sup>17</sup> Fowler, p. 36.

<sup>18</sup> Castelvechi, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup> Robert Schumann, *On Music and Musicians*, ed. Konrad Wolff (London: Dobson Books, 1956), p. 164.

<sup>20</sup> Pascall, p. 235.

<sup>21</sup> Pascall, p. 235.

“genre is dependent for its definition on context, function and community validation and not simply on formal and technical regulations”.<sup>22</sup>

Opera fantasias entitled “fantasia”, “capriccio”, “pensieri”, or “potpourri” partake of an affirmation of the genre, though I discuss negative connotations of some of the standard opera fantasia titles below. Works entitled “concerto” – a generically significant title that strongly contrasts with the virtuosic, opera-based, and dilettantish overtones of the fantasia – are the most striking examples of conflict between title and expressive code. These works also highlight the slippage found in generic signification of titles in opera fantasias; in this context these titles, despite their connotations, often do not signify any difference in instrumentation, form, or virtuosity.

### 3.1.1.1.A case study in titling

Pasculli’s three concertos for oboe provide a clear example of this slippage. In many ways these three works for accompanied solo oboe are identical to those which Pasculli designates fantasia, or *rimembranze*, or *pensiero*, or *divagazioni*; notably, Pasculli’s use of the title *Concerto* does not seem to be specifically tied to the composition of an orchestral accompaniment for the soloist. In Palermo, there are extant manuscripts of both the *Concerto per oboè sopra motivi dell’opera I Vespri Siciliani* and the *Fantasia per oboè su vari motivi dell’opera Poliuto* with accompaniment of woodwinds, brass including the ophicleide, strings, and percussion. In contrast, *Concerto sopra motivi dell’opera La Favorita di Donizetti* and *Concerto per oboe sul Trovatore* both seem to exist only with piano accompaniment; they thus lack a primary indicator of traditional concerto form. Indeed, in some ways these pieces are more reminiscent of the *sonata da chiesa*, which became known as the *concerto grosso*, with its possible scoring of soloist plus continuo and with its contrasting slow-fast paired sections.

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<sup>22</sup> Samson, “Chopin and Genre”, p. 213.

Allegretto

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in A

Bassoon

Trumpet in D

Trombone

Horn in E-flat

Violin

Viola

Cello

Double Bass

Fig. 3.1(a)

Allegretto

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet in A

Bassoon

Trumpet in D

Trombone

Horn in E-flat

Violin

Viola

Cello

Double Bass

Fig. 3.1(b)

Fig. 3.1: The opening pages of the manuscript scores of Pasculi's *Concerto per oboè sopra motivi dell'opera I Vespri Siciliani* (a) and *Fantasia per oboè su vari motivi dell'opera Poliuto* (b)

Initially there appear to be no appreciable differences in Pasculli's process of creating virtuosic versions of opera themes between Pasculli's titular fantasias and the *Gran Concerto su temi dall'opera I Vespri Siciliani* (also entitled *Concerto per oboe sopra motivi dell'opera I Vespri Siciliani*). The *Gran Concerto* deals similarly with opera themes and their variations, though it may be Pasculli's most virtuosic work, and it does not even nominally follow concerto conventions such as the division into movements or traditional thematic development. In fact, though Pasculli includes three themes from Verdi's *I vespri siciliani* in the concerto, the piece focuses on the first theme presented, the chorus "Del piacer s'avanza l'ora!", treating it almost as a rondo subject which appears between the other themes. The other two themes used in the concerto are sung by Elena and Arrigo, the opera's love interests: Elena's "Arrigo! ah! parli a un core", from her Act 4 duet with Arrigo, and Arrigo's line from the Act 5 trio between him, Elena, and Procida. Just as "Arrigo! ah!" functions as an aria within a duet, complete with final cadenza, Pasculli's treatment of the theme offers the oboist first a soaring melodic break from the technically difficult music surrounding it, then a sparkling cadenza.

In another of Pasculli's works, this use of a slow melodic melody and its subsequent virtuosic treatment would signal identification between the oboe and the character. However, the overall emphasis of the concerto on sheer virtuosity, expressed through the ever-varied repetition of a theme, detracts from any association of the oboist with Elena. Arrigo's line in the trio functions similarly, with Elena and Procida subsiding to allow Arrigo to exclaim "Ah! parla, ah! cedi al mio tormento" complete with new musical material, before the trio closes in again. Both themes are taken from tense moments of their tragic love story, but here their themes function as fragments of musical pathos in an otherwise musically single-minded and unrelentingly virtuosic concerto; the oboe plays four cadenzas and several additional technical passages over the course of the piece.

Like the *Gran Concerto su temi dall'opera I Vespri Siciliani*, Pasculli's *Concerto sopra motivi dell'opera La Favorita di Donizetti*, for oboe and piano is called a concerto but bears little resemblance to the traditional three-movement concerto and is formally indistinguishable from Pasculli's fantasias. Indeed, Pasculli's fantasia on *Les Huguenots* and this concerto share a very similar cadenza.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> Discussions of this borrowing tend to crop up in notes on the fantasia on *Les Huguenots* rather than of that on *La Favorita*; Sandro Caldini notes in his preface to the published edition of the *Les Huguenots* fantasia that "it is important to point out that the 'cadenza' of the central episode ('Adagio' in 12/8) has a section resembling part of Pasculli's *Concerto sopra motivi dell'opera 'La Favorita'*". However, as there are few concrete dates associated with Pasculli, it is equally possible that the cadenza could have originally been written for *Les Huguenots*. Antonio Pasculli, *Fantasia sull'opera Les Huguenots*, edited by Sandro Caldini (Monteux: Musica Rara, 1998).



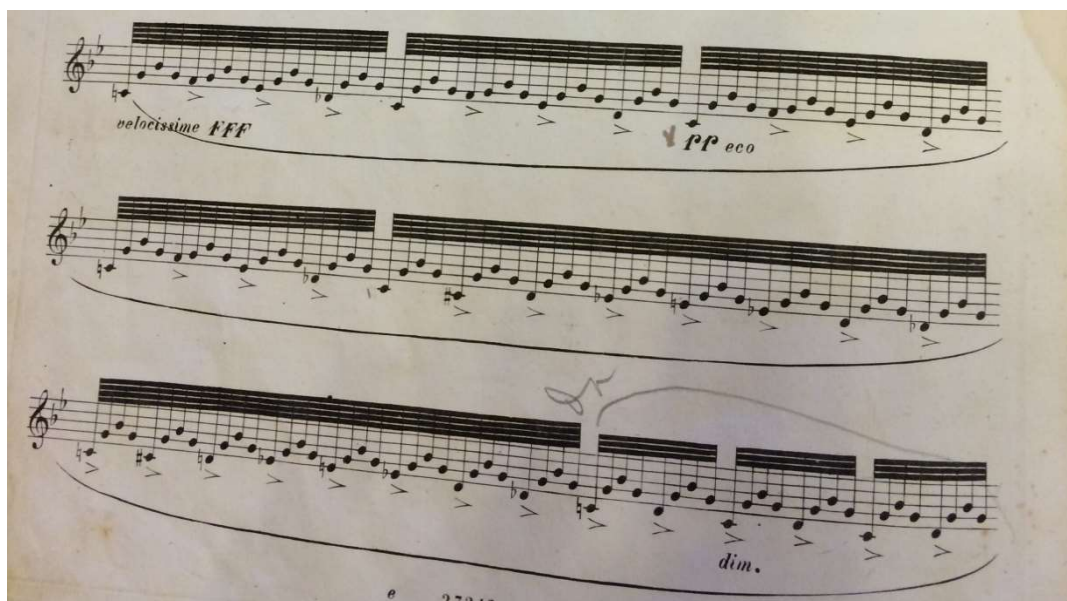


Fig. 3.2(a)

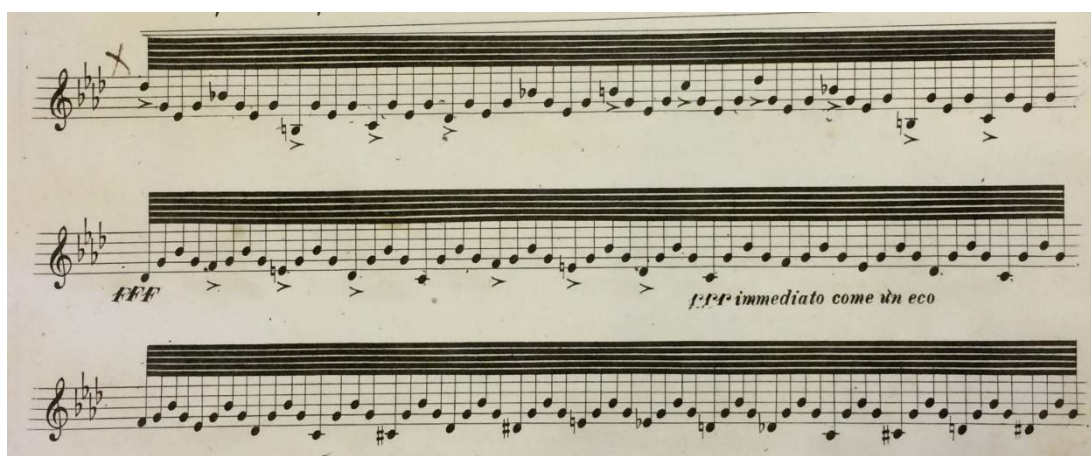


Fig. 3.2(b)

Fig. 3.2: Excerpts from the cadenzas in Pasculli's fantasias on *Les Huguenots* (a) and *La Favorita* (b)

This concerto appears to be a clear example of the mercenary nature of opera fantasias, as limited musical material and recycling imply a focus on a product to perform rather than a deeply considered repurposing. The possibility of merely copying the cadenza from one piece to the other also functions as a further generic link between a concerto and a fantasia; the full title of the work based on *Les Huguenots* commonly appears as *Fantasia sull'opera Les Huguenots di Meyerbeer*.

In some ways, Pasculli's third concerto, *Concerto per oboe sul Trovatore*, does not follow the pattern set up by his concertos on *I vespri siciliani* and *La Favorite*. Though still difficult and ornamented, it is not as eye-wateringly virtuosic, and it also does not distance the oboe from its characters by emphasizing instrumental themes or tropes; I discuss implications of this latter point below (3.3. Narrative theory of textless instrumental music). This may be an early composition of Pasculli's, although there is no date associated with the manuscript, and the piece is not mentioned in any extant reviews or other contemporary materials. Not

only is the piece relatively simple when compared to his other concertos, the unpublished manuscript also – as discussed in Chapter 2 – contains the only example of Pasculli indicating a “cadenza a piacere” rather than fully writing out the cadenza. (The fantasia also includes written-out cadenzas.)

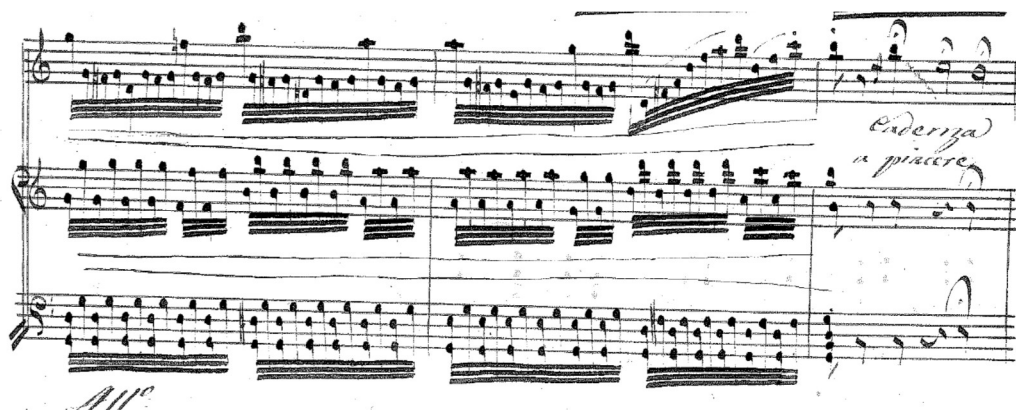


Fig. 3.3: *Cadenza a piacere* in Pasculli's *Concerto per oboe sul Trovatore*

This may indicate a wider practice of Pasculli's improvising when performing his compositions, or may suggest that this piece dates from a time at which he was more comfortable performing than composing.

Yet again Pasculli's concerto lacks any structural or formal characteristics of the Classical or Romantic concerto. This piece does not stand out from Pasculli's other fantasias in virtuosity, instrumentation, form, length, difficulty, melodic variation, or any other characteristic. Despite the intensely different overtones of the two genres and the degree to which they merit discussion, here there is no functional difference. A focus on Pasculli's concertos because of their “serious” titles is unwarranted if the rest of his fantasias are not also worthy of discussion. What reasoning may lie behind Pasculli's titling, then? As mentioned above, perhaps the conventions of his concertos are drawn more from the sacred *concerto grosso* than the Classical or Romantic concerto of Northern Europe. Or perhaps he did want to associate his compositions with a more “serious” virtuosic genre. Unfortunately, there are no extant materials from Pasculli in which he discusses his compositional choices, and there is no evidence that such materials ever existed. Nevertheless, Pasculli's concertos serve as an example of the way that examining variation in generic titles can reveal wider social impacts on compositions and composers.

### 3.1.2. Market forces and prestige

Titles and title-related classification provide a convenient way for critics and scholars to shape the way in which these pieces are viewed. This happens not only for pieces with

generically “incorrect” titles, but also for pieces whose generically “correct” titles are ignored. The Bodleian Library classes François Bourne’s *Fantaisie brillante sur “Carmen”* as a potpourri despite its title, similarly Franz Liszt’s *Fantaisie on Don Juan* and *Impromptu brillant sur des thèmes de Rossini et Spontini*, Sydney Smith’s *Der Freischütz: grande fantaisie de concert* and Ferdinand Beyer’s *Fantasia on airs from La sonnambula*. Other works in this classification include a collection of fifty airs by Henri Hemy entitled *The Royal evenings amusements in the navy*, and medleys of ABBA and Burt Bacharach by Richard Ling. This conflation of “high” and “low” art is in some ways accidental; the cataloguing system, at least as searchable via the online search engine SOLO, marks Pasculli’s *Fantasia sull’opera Les Huguenots* only with the subject “Oboe and piano music -- Scores and parts” rather than with any title- or genre-based classifications. However, this also reflects prevailing twentieth-century opinions of opera fantasias. The term “potpourri” has never implied as serious a composition as the term “fantasia”, and it has almost always been linked to the use of pre-existing sources. By the end of the eighteenth century, the potpourri was established as a composition made of a string of pre-existing songs or themes (often operatic in origin, and not always from a single source), sometimes including variations on a theme.<sup>24</sup> Potpourris were generally commercial and popular, designed to please audiences who were already familiar with the songs or themes being presented. Of course, fantasias were also meant to be popular and directed at audiences familiar with the operatic material on which they are based. However, Andrew Lamb reminds us that “the term [potpourri] is extended only in a somewhat derogatory sense to the technically more ambitious and artistically more meritorious fantasias exemplified by many works of Czerny, the opera transcriptions and fantasias of Liszt, or the Carmen fantasy of Busoni”, though Czerny, and many composers, wrote potpourris as well as fantasias.<sup>25</sup>

Even excluding the potentially aggrandizing use of “concerto”, not all alternatives to “fantasia” as a generic signifier for these pieces were derogatory. Like “fantasia”, “capriccio” has a long and varied history of definitions. The entry on the capriccio in the twentieth-century *Dizionario enciclopedico universale della musica e dei musicisti* mentions neutrally that this title can designate fantasias or potpourris on operas.<sup>26</sup> Furetière in 1690 described the genre as comprising “pieces of music, poetry or painting wherein the force of imagination has better success than observation of rules of art”, and in 1834, Schumann described the capriccio as “different from the ‘low-comedy’ burlesque in that it blends the sentimental with

<sup>24</sup> Andrew Lamb, “Potpourri”, *Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online*, accessed August 2017.

<sup>25</sup> Lamb, “Potpourri”.

<sup>26</sup> “Capriccio”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della musica e dei musicisti: Il lessico*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: UTET, 1983), p. 497.

the witty. Often there is something *étude*-like about it.”<sup>27</sup> Americo Barberi’s 1869 *Dizionario enciclopedico universale dei termini tecnici della musica antica e moderna dai greci fino a noi* is rather harsher. He writes that “nowadays, *capriccio* indicates a piece written without a regular form, without a plan or predetermined symmetrical design” and that unfortunately this includes “some compositions that are nothing but fantastic, empty of artistic sense, and devoid of common sense, real insults to art, truly shallow pools of harmony.”<sup>28</sup> Though it would be “bad faith to deny” that some capriccios are deserving of praise, including those by “the illustrious names of Chopin and Listz [sic], Golinelli and Thalberg, not to mention others”, capriccios are mostly “dull, stupid things, the most boring [pieces] in the world”. And Barberi goes on to note that, in musical terms, capriccios and fantasias “have the same significance...there should be little difference between these two words”. This seems as harsh – and by affiliation as negative to the fantasia itself – as the least forgiving definition of the potpourri. However, even when less negative than potpourri, capriccio still remains in a different realm than the elevated concerto, for which a description of “*étude*-like” would surely be a criticism.

The implications of this same negative connotation of “potpourri” are evident in modern Italian language discussion of the fantasia. Basso’s dictionary remarks that opera fantasias are “also often called *pot-pourri* (a term which, though, didn’t have its current meaning of dilettantish ‘shoddy workmanship/slap-dash hodge podge’ in the early nineteenth century and which, on the contrary, was sometimes identified with true fantasias like the potpourris of Hummel for viola and orchestra and of Weber for cello and orchestra, 1808).”<sup>29</sup> However, the entry on the potpourri shies away from mitigating a sense of dilettante-ism for works designated as such. Noting that potpourris are still in fashion for “coffee concerts” given by small orchestras or city bands, the author describes them in their nineteenth-century

<sup>27</sup> Erich Schwandt, “Capriccio (i)”, *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed September 2017.

<sup>28</sup> “Ai nostri giorni *capriccio* indica un *pezzo* scritto senza una regolare forma o condotta, senza un piano o disegno simmetrico prestabilito; e fin qui andrebbe benissimo; ma il male si è che sotto questo nome si vogliono far passare per buone certe composizioni tutt’altro che fantastiche, vuote di senso artistico, e perlino di senso commune, veri insulti all’arte, vere baie armoniche. Vi sono, e sarebbe aperta ingiustizia o solenne mala fede il negarlo, alcune splendide eccezioni, – tra le quali ci basterebbe accennare i nomi illustri di Chopin e Listz [sic], di Golinelli e Thalberg, per tacere di altri –, ma, per la massima parte, i così detti *capricci* sono le cose più insipide e sciocche, e le più noiose del mondo. ... Nel linguaggio musicale *capriccio* e *fantasia* hanno, può dirsi, eguale significato; tuttavia passa e quindi dovrebbe farsi non poca differenza fra questi due vocaboli” Americo Barberi, “Capriccio”, *Dizionario enciclopedico universale dei termini tecnici della musica antica e moderna dai greci fino a noi: Vol. I* (Milan: Luigi di Giacomo Pirola, 1869), p. 277.

<sup>29</sup> “Fantasia”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della musica e dei musicisti: Il lessico*, edited by Alberto Basso (Turin: UTET, 1983), p. 203. The bibliography for this entry has no Italian language sources. “la F. su temi dati, generalmente arie d’opera o melodie popolari, spesso anche detta *pot-pourri* (termine che non ha, però, nel primo Ottocento il significato odierno di raffazzonatura dilettantistica e che, anzi va talvolta identificato con la F. propriamente detta: come i *pot-pourris* di Hummel per vla. e orch., e di Weber per vcl. e orch., 1808).”

context as transcriptions or “elaborations”.<sup>30</sup> Lacking the elevating comparisons made in the entry on the fantasia, here potpourris are “pastiche”, “fragments”, or “motives...joined with brief modulating passages”, far from the “true fantasias” they are aligned with elsewhere.<sup>31</sup> In contrast, in the entry on the fantasia, the author remarks that opera fantasias were composed by all the great virtuosos of the century and inserted into concert programmes to show off technical mastery, although in the twentieth century fantasias on given themes “declined...to the level of commercial product”.<sup>32</sup>

Commerciality often appears in discussions both of virtuosity and fantasias and of genre; Cannon Levin in fact describes commercialism as a genre itself, one which “created a space in which social rituals could be performed”, “from repaying social favors to advertising skills to debating cultural matters”, and one in which it is easy to know what people want to hear or learn.<sup>33</sup> A genre of performing social rituals and easily giving the public what they want to hear: this, as discussed in Chapter 2, is both Italian opera and the opera fantasia in nineteenth-century Italy. For the fantasia, the focus is usually on the shimmering, vocal, polished, emotional performance by an instrumentalist of a beautiful and familiar opera melody. For example, this review of Ernesto Cavallini performing his fantasias on *Don Pasquale* and *La sonnambula*, along with a variation set on a theme by Mercadante, describes the draw of both technical and expressive artistry:

But it is impossible to give an idea of the magical effect again produced by the great artist.... It was the voice of the clarinet, that, like an echo of some kind of superhuman harmony, sighed those songs, and those divine inspirations of Bellini in particular, which modulated with so much emphasis, now sounding full and grandiose, now dampened in the most voluptuous sweetness, and always treated and spun out with admirable equality and purity? And then what new surprise, what indescribable contrast that firework, say, that happens after, of those millions of notes all so distinct as to be able to number them, if this were not rendered impossible by their lightning speed, and in the midst of which the dearest and varied jokes and surprising whims lord it over the song, the favorite element of the Italian artist?<sup>34</sup>

<sup>30</sup> “Potpourri”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della musica e dei musicisti: Il lessico*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: UTET, 1983), p. 704. “Tale genere musicale è ancora in voga presso complessi di orchestre di caffè-concerto (dove talvolta vengono eseguiti dei P. sotto il tit. di *Fantasia su motivi...*) ... “il genere trovò fortuna propriamente soltanto nell’Ottocento, allorché il P. è costituito da trascrizioni o elaborazioni per pf., o vl. (o altri strum.) e pf., di motivi per lo più tratti da opera teatrali.”

<sup>31</sup> “Potpourri”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico*, p. 704. “indica un seguito di melodie o frammenti melodici, un centone o un estratto antologico, o ancora una selezione strumentale di vari motivi tratti da opera o da balli o da canzoni, il tutto collegato da brevi passaggi modulanti.”

<sup>32</sup> “Fantasia”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico*, pp. 203-4. “Il genere della F. su tema dato, infine, salvo rare eccezioni...scade nel sec. XX al livello di un prodotto commerciale”

<sup>33</sup> Alicia Cannon Levin, *Seducing Paris: Piano Virtuosos and Artistic Identity, 1820-48*, (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2009), p. 194.

<sup>34</sup> “Ma impossibile ci fora intanto il dare una idea del magico effetto nuovamente prodotto dal grande artista colle sue fantasie con accompagnamento di orchestra sul *Don Pasquale* e sulla *Sonnambula* (ch’ei ripeteva) e col pezzo di bravura sopra un tema di Mercadante. ... Era ella del clarinetto quella voce, che quasi eco talvolta di sovrumana armonia sospirò quei canti, e quelle divine ispirazioni di Bellini in specie, che modulate con sì sentito accento ora suonava piena e grandiose, ora smorzavasi nella più voluttuosa dolcezza, e tratta e filata

The compositions were commercial, published in vast quantities by Ricordi and F. Lucca, but the performances themselves were also commercial, using opera composers and reputations built from newspaper reviews to sell virtuosic concerts for personal or charitable profit. As with many characteristics of fantasias, piano composers are frequently the focus of attention when discussing sales and commercialism, and Liszt is often the key example. The success in concert of Liszt's fantasia on *Robert Le Diable* "was followed up by the sale of hundreds of copies of the fantasia"; it seems unlikely that most were purchased by those able to play the fantasia themselves, but sheet music editions of fantasias by virtuosi were popular among the musical public who merely wanted to uncover the secrets of Liszt's or Thalberg's amazing effects.<sup>35</sup> For woodwind fantasias, a similar yet distinct question about sales arises. Many woodwind fantasias – particularly those of Briccialdi, Cavallini, and Pasculli, but also those of a wide range of composers for all instruments – were too difficult for the average amateur musician to play; these pieces were perhaps purchased as idealistic performance goals or to be played in bits for personal enjoyment. Some fantasias were clearly designed for dilettantes and amateurs to perform at home, but it seems unlikely that even these sold on the scale of a Liszt fantasia. Fantasias are often dedicated to fellow professional instrumentalists, whether teachers, students, or colleagues, and more rarely to aristocratic patrons. Other musicians from all these categories – particularly students – were probably the sales targets of these works. This is borne out to some extent by the frequency with which conservatory libraries hold contemporary printed sheet music of fantasias by their instrumental instructors; any given library is likely to have more surviving music by composers who taught at the associated institution than by composers of other conservatories.

The assigned titles of fantasias do not seem to have had an impact on their contemporary marketing. They may have attracted some title-based judgement from critics during their day – a disgruntled reviewer notes in the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* of 1856 that the "only fault" of Daelli's *Fantasia per corno inglese sopra motivi dell'opera Il trovatore* is "having that most pompous name and being only (with the exception of a small variation and a finale passage) a reduction of some motives from the opera for the instrument",<sup>36</sup> though the fantasia does have heavily ornamented passages, as discussed in

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sempre con mirabile eguaglianza e purezza? E poi qual nuova sorpresa, quale indescrivibile contrasto quel fuoco d'artificio, diremo, che succedea tratto tratto, di quei milioni di note tutte così distinte a potersi noverare, se nol vietasse la loro rapidità di fulmine, e in mezzo ai di cui leggiadrissimi e varii scherzi e sorprendenti capricci signoreggiava il canto, l'elemento favorito dell'artista italiano?" Anon, "Notizie. Genova. Teatro Carlo Felice. Ernesto Cavallini.", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno V, N. 33 (16 August 1846), p. 263.

<sup>35</sup> Hamilton, "The opera fantasias and transcriptions of Franz Liszt", p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> "Nella grande scarsezza di pezzi per Corno Inglese facciamo buon viso a questa Fantasia del prof. Daelli, la quale ha l'unico torto d'aver quel pomposissimo nome e di non esser in sostanza (se si eccettui una variazioncella ed un passo finale) che una riduzione d'alcuni motivi dell'opera pel suddetto istrumento." L.

Chapter 4 – but contemporary reviews do not make signifying distinctions between higher (Lisztian) and lower (pasted) fantasias based on titles. Even later, judgements and distinctions arise more in the name used by critics or academics to discuss the work than in the title assigned to the work by the composer or publisher. However, while the decision to title a fantasia “Fantasia” or “Capriccio” or “Concerto” or even “Souvenir” or “Rimembranze” might not have been overtly meaningful on the part of the composer or publisher, the use of modifiers such as *gran* or *brillante* do signify that a fantasia is difficult and not directed at easy amateur playing in the home, as F. Pizzi and F. Senna’s *Giardino Musicale: Piccolo divertimenti per flauto e piano forte sopra i migliori motivi delle opere teatrali* is.

Further, Fowler and many others highlight the potential of unconscious aspects of genre, which they argue should not be underestimated. “For criticism of subsequent contributions to the genre, the source of genre-linked features may be quite irrelevant” and often comes “indirectly, deviously, remotely”<sup>37</sup>; “our assumptions about the genre of a work strongly influence the ways in which we experience and interpret it”.<sup>38</sup> Being called concerto does not suddenly make Pasculli’s concertos respected as serious artistic works or standard in the canon in any way, but there is a difficult-to-prove sense that they are performed more frequently in conservatory oboe recitals than other works by Pasculli – and certainly than fantasias by other composers. At the same time, François Borne’s fantasy on *Carmen* is surely as canonical for the flute as Pasculli’s “concerto” on *La Favorite* is for the oboe, and the artistic status of Pasculli’s concerto is no higher than Bourne’s fantasia; neither holds the concert status of a Mozart concerto or a Handel sonata, and neither is performed as often as a serious work.

Judgments of fantasias as somehow unworthy of the serious concert hall are, as discussed in earlier chapters, not an invention of the twentieth century. In 1835, while Carl Czerny described “Grand Fantasias of this class” as “specially intended to present Virtuosi with the opportunity of displaying their talent in performance, and in the bravura style”, noting that “hence they must be brilliant, and consequently difficult”, he also noted with more than a little disdain that “the majority will be entertained only by the pleasant, familiar tunes

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Sessa, “Rassegna di alcune recenti pubblicazioni dell’editore Ricordi”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XIV, N. 33 (17 August 1856), p. 257.

<sup>37</sup> Fowler, p. 43.

<sup>38</sup> Castelvechi, p. 5. E. D. Hirsch, Jr. goes much further even than Fowler and Castelvechi, arguing not only that “every disagreement about an interpretation is usually a disagreement about genre”, but also that “genre convention are essential to all determinations...and are particularly essential to the drawing of implications”. Though I remain unconvinced that genre conventions are “essential to all determinations”, I do agree that they are an important piece of the “implications” surrounding a work – as well as those surrounding a genre itself. E. D. Hirsch, Jr., *Validity in Interpretation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1967), p. 98.

and will be sustained in spirit by piquant and glittering performances”.<sup>39</sup> This provides a stark contrast to the nineteenth-century conception of the symphonic fantasia, introduced in Chapter 1, as Beethovenian, “difficult and exceptional”; opera fantasias (and potpourris) are pointedly not difficult or exceptional, except for the performer.<sup>40</sup> More directly relevant to the Italian woodwind fantasia, Mattia Cipollone’s discussion of variations in the 1879 *Napoli musicale*, which concentrates on variations and fantasias on opera themes, specifies that “variations...are not often written by master composers, as much as by master instrumentalists”, positioning variations on a lower tier of musical art.<sup>41</sup> He continues, citing variations on Rosina’s cavatina from *Il barbiere di Siviglia*, more strongly: “to vary a song, that is, to disfigure it, to correct it, is to profane it, and it is an offence to the composer”.<sup>42</sup> Despite this, the numerous positive reviews of fantasias provided in the previous chapter speak to the conception of fantasias as “tasteful”, and of their vocal variation as praiseworthy, in nineteenth-century Italy. And Czerny also described potpourris as “the beautiful melodies of favorite operas, tastefully and connectedly strung together”; contemporary sources serve as a constant reminder that musical opinion can never be considered a single entity, no matter its era.<sup>43</sup> This recalls Leo Treitler’s conception of style, which, along with genre, is a matter for “a theory of criticism” rather than theoretical music analysis; “style is a concept of history” and is both “the basis of perception in art and the currency of transmission in the history of art”.<sup>44</sup>

### 3.1.3. Reception implications

Having touched on the diachronic characteristics of the opera fantasia, particularly of the woodwind opera fantasia as it relates to the wider genre of the fantasia, in Chapters 1 and 2, I want to emphasize here Pascall’s related statement that genre “delivers to the creative moment of a particular work a mode of discourse”.<sup>45</sup> Not only does genre impart a mode of discourse to a particular work. As Castelvechi emphasizes, genres “arise not from the critic

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<sup>39</sup> Catherine Coppola, “The Elusive Fantasy: Genre, Form, and Program in Tchaikovsky’s ‘Francesca da Rimini’”, *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Autumn, 1998), p. 175; Annette Richards, *The Free Fantasia and the Musical Picturesque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 185.

<sup>40</sup> Richards, p. 185.

<sup>41</sup> “Le variazioni, delineate sui motivi più belli e più favoriti, non si scrivono mica dai *maestri compositori*, si bene dai *maestri strumentisti*.” Mattia Cipollone, “Considerazioni sulla musica: le variazioni”, *Napoli musicale*, Anno XII, No. 9 e 10 (23 May 1879), p. 1.

<sup>42</sup> “variare un cantabile, cioè sfigurarlo, correggerlo, è profanazione, ed è offesa al compositore” Cipollone, p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> Coppola, p. 175.

<sup>44</sup> Leo Treitler, “History, Criticism, and Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony”, *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (March 1980), p. 203.

<sup>45</sup> Pascall, p. 235.



alone but from all their ‘practitioners’ (authors, publics, theorists, historians, etc.)”.<sup>46</sup> The “creative moment” in which a work is born intensely influences the possibilities available to the composer of that work; at the same time, the features of that work reveal both conscious and unconscious limitations, influences, and characteristics of the creative moment – the social, cultural, and temporal context of the work.

Fowler discusses genre as a means of enforcing or escaping both created hierarchies and the mechanisms of genre definition and change. These two aspects of his theory resonate with musical genres. He describes two types of “generic mutability”, “the continual process whereby change in the population of an individual genre gradually alters its character” – for example, the change that slowly accompanies the move from fantasias during Liszt’s career to those during De Stefani’s – and “further-reaching alteration [which] disturbs the interrelations of several whole genres” – the perhaps uniquely complex fantasias written by Liszt.<sup>47</sup> As Fowler summarizes, “the character of genres is that they change”. But he continues: “only variations or modifications of convention have literary significance.”<sup>48</sup> A similar argument is perhaps being made by critics who dismiss the (repetitive and derivative) opera fantasia as unworthy of analysis or performance. Hamilton argues that fantasias written after Liszt’s *reminiscences* exist in the shade of his “improvisatory crucible”; “the distinction between ‘original work’ and ‘transcription’ is rarely more blurred than in his finest arrangements”.<sup>49</sup> While other composers, woodwind and otherwise, do include intricate combinations of themes and substantial alteration and rewriting in their fantasias – Liszt’s fantasias are most likely not uniquely complex – the extent to which Liszt has become a touchstone for the analysis of this genre means that he nonetheless serves to “disturb” the genre of the opera fantasia from a musicologically constructed point of view. Yet genre also has “everything to do with understanding the fusion of tradition and originality in a musical art-work, that unentailed but conditioned, unique but comprehensible transformation of the past.”<sup>50</sup> In fantasias, this transformation is made transparently audible. Addressing these works as a distinct genre highlights the varying balance between tradition and originality within the genre and between this genre and that of opera itself. And the balance constantly varied. While Liszt and Paganini composed from brand-new operas, composers of Pasculli’s generation remained as attached to well-established, almost historic operas, such as Bellini’s

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<sup>46</sup> Castelvechi, p. 12.

<sup>47</sup> Fowler, p. 11.

<sup>48</sup> Fowler, p. 18. As mentioned above, this is a commonly held view by theorists of genre in both literature and music.

<sup>49</sup> Hamilton, “The opera fantasias and transcriptions of Franz Liszt”, p. 8.

<sup>50</sup> Pascall, p. 236.

and Donizetti's, as they were interested in newer works such as Verdi's. They were remaining static as the genre they wrote in and the society they inhabited slowly moved around them.

Fowler also argues that genres communicate and "are functional: they actively form the experience of each work of literature".<sup>51</sup> In music, similarly, genres have the power to influence how much is heard or approached. While scholars often argue that Liszt treated all his compositions equally seriously, whether of a "higher" (ie. symphonic, and therefore even more elevated than the concerto as discussed above) or "lower" (ie. perilously near to the potpourri) genre, and simultaneously that his fantasias escape the ostensible limitations of their genre, his fantasias are still viewed differently from his symphonic poems.<sup>52</sup> John Neubauer, writing in the collection *Music and Text*, discusses music's relationship with the institution in a way which resonates with Fowler, investigating the methods of creating meaning within musical works. He writes that "which label we choose for a particular work will largely depend on our interpretive stance, which in turn is deeply affected by conventions governing our age and our institutions."<sup>53</sup> Returning to the Bodleian's filing system, the perceived genre of a piece is important, and gives power to critics and scholars who write on these pieces. As discussed above, a potpourri has a different connotation than a capriccio. Fowler also discusses the difference between a work's "original generic state" and its "state in the critic's own time"; Walter Beckett's 1963 review of Liszt's opera fantasias, which he claims "are out of place at a serious recital ... ordinary cultivated listeners are not likely to enjoy a pot-pourri of an opera when they have in all probability heard the original", exemplifies this potential disconnect.<sup>54</sup>

The issue of genre judgment and the opera fantasia is also tied up in perceptions of authenticity. Peter Rabinowitz, also in *Music and Text*, discusses the ability of listeners to interpret music and musical scores and begins by briefly exploring the rise of "authentic" historical performance practice. He addresses the confluence in the late 1980s of recordings of both Christopher Hogwood's historical performances and Liszt's piano transcriptions of Beethoven symphonies.<sup>55</sup> Hogwood's performances were seen as authentic, in contrast to the "notoriously impure" Liszt transcriptions which had sullied Beethoven's originals, but Rabinowitz notes that, aside from the complications surrounding historical performance as

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<sup>51</sup> Fowler, p. 38.

<sup>52</sup> As in Hamilton, "The opera fantasias and transcriptions of Franz Liszt", p. 320.

<sup>53</sup> John Neubauer, "Music and Literature: The Institutional Dimensions", in *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, ed. by Steven Paul Scher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 11.

<sup>54</sup> Hamilton, "The opera fantasias and transcriptions of Franz Liszt", p. ii. A similar disconnect is seen in Keith Anderson's review of a Pasculli CD, quoted in the Introduction of this thesis.

<sup>55</sup> Hogwood had in fact been recording for many years by that point, somewhat disrupting Rabinowitz's comparison. Peter Rabinowitz, "Chord and Discourse: Listening through the written word", in *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, ed. by Steven Paul Scher (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 38.

truly authentic, Liszt's compositions are arguably authentic as well. He reasons that more people in the nineteenth century heard Beethoven through Liszt than unmitigated, "but that is not how they are being packaged".<sup>56</sup> In contrast to Beckett's views, "ordinary cultivated listeners" *did* enjoy both operas and opera fantasias, frequently praising the ability of the latter to reproduce but reinvigorate the melodies of the former (as shown in Chapter 2).

Yet another parallel strand of genre-based judgement of the fantasia arises from the intertwining of genre and gender, in which large-scale public forms were seen as more valuable than small-scale private ones. In this "hierarchization of genre" the large public forms were masculine and the small private ones – those of the salon – were feminine and thus amateur and less creative; per Marcia Citron, "by the end of the nineteenth century composing in small forms was deemed a decidedly lesser activity" and "the very fact of genre predicted relegation to a lesser status".<sup>57</sup> This is related to the virtuosity-based judgements of the fantasia, and to concerns of Puccini as perhaps insufficiently masculine in his operatic tastes, expanded upon in previous chapters. Both contemporaneously and now, virtuosity is a gendered musical characteristic in part through its unavoidable connections to the body itself. Gooley describes how Liszt's performances "seemed at once drenched in fantasy and overcharged with nerve-shaking stimulation, making it difficult to separate the aesthetic and the corporeal, the legitimate and the illegitimate"; descriptions of virtuosity as partaking of the "sheer sensual pleasure" of "illegitimate" low entertainment are often, as with so many fantasia characteristics, connected to Liszt as a particularly intense example.<sup>58</sup> Gendered overtones present a particularly striking opposition to Fowler's claims that genres may have a "benignly conservationist influence" in that, by embodying "values of very long standing", they "offset the bias or oppression of a particular society".<sup>59</sup> In contrast, here we see the "bias or oppression" of gender associations being further enforced through genre characteristics and grouping. And though I have argued that genre is deeply helpful for understanding and analyzing opera fantasias, genre has rarely served to "offset" societal judgements of the fantasia even beyond gendered reasons. Indeed, it is in large part because of the ways in which genre can reveal social values and biases that a genre analysis of the opera fantasia is so revealing.

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<sup>56</sup> Rabinowitz, p. 38. This comparison of Beethoven and Liszt also highlights the shift from performer-centric to composer-centric musical emphasis; again as discussed in Chapter 2, this Germanic concept was frequently out of place in the Italian musical context.

<sup>57</sup> Marcia J. Citron, "Gender, Professionalism and the Musical Canon", *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 8 No. 1 (Winter, 1990), pp. 109-110.

<sup>58</sup> Dana Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 9.

<sup>59</sup> Fowler, p. 36.

Yet Fowler's dual view of genre as a tool for enforcing and escaping created hierarchies constantly reasserts itself in the fantasia. Gooley goes on to compare the "indeterminate, untidy discourse" of Lisztian virtuosity, which concentrates on "the very difficulty of reading" instead of the "object for reading", to operatic performance itself; this recalls the discussion of aggrandizing influences of opera on the fantasia above.<sup>60</sup> But simultaneously opera fantasias challenge the generic conventions of opera and, in Fowler's words, "mediate between the flux of history and the canons of art".<sup>61</sup> This might suggest the greatest flourishing of the opera fantasia during the time when opera was at its most rigid and limited; instead, fantasias flourished as opera became looser in both subject matter and form. However, particularly within Italy, fantasias still focused on the most canonical of operas, Italian *bel canto* and Verdi, and ignored those composers stretching the boundaries of opera itself (most significantly, Wagner).<sup>62</sup> They look back to operas with more distinct and rigid forms rather than the through-composed works of Puccini.

Classic arguments against strongly identifying genres include a fear that these genres would have a limiting effect on artistic possibilities, a loss of Romantic freedom of self-expression, and a reduction in great artworks. Fowler maintains that these are mere "specters of inhibited creativity"; "even when enforcement of the neoclassical rules was at its most draconian, literature hardly dwindled away".<sup>63</sup> Rather, the limitations of genre-based rules both serve as a challenge to "the greats" and support "minor or invertebrate talents". Opera fantasias are a clear instance of a conservative genre supporting "minor" compositional talent by allowing virtuoso instrumentalists to compose repetitive but beloved works to showcase their skills and maintain a popular link to great operatic works of art.

### 3.1.4. Conclusion

Contrast Alastair Fowler's claim that "the urge to define is nearly irresistible",<sup>64</sup> with which I opened this discussion, with this statement on the fantasia from an Italian

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<sup>60</sup> Gooley, *The Virtuoso Liszt*, p. 11.

<sup>61</sup> Fowler, p. 24.

<sup>62</sup> A marker of Wagner's uncomfortable inclusion in the Italian opera milieu is the rarity of encountering a fantasia on his operas. However, while rare – less common than fantasias on Gounod's *Faust* or even Petrella's *Jona* or Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (the latter two surprising for very different reasons) – these do exist, if seemingly only for *Lohengrin*. Milan holds Briccialdi's *Fantasia* (op. 129), Gariboldi's piano *Parafrase* op. 202 (Milan), and Hugues' *Fantasia romantica* (op. 54) on *Lohengrin*, and Naples holds a manuscript of De Rosa's *Fantasia Romantica Sull'Opera Lohengrin per flauto Composta da Luigi Hugues Ridotta per Oboe da Luigi De Rosa*, presumably based on Hugues' op. 54. A close look at the De Rosa/Hugues fantasia reveals no significant differences in form or thematic treatment between this and fantasias on Italian operas. I have not encountered any woodwind fantasias on Puccini operas during my research.

<sup>63</sup> Fowler, p. 29. This again serves to dramatically contrast with Croce's worries about the limiting powers of genre strictures on artistic creation.

<sup>64</sup> Fowler, p. 41.

encyclopedia: it “escapes every precise formal definition”.<sup>65</sup> Therein lies the rub. How do we combine the urge to delineate the fantasia into as precise a genre as possible with the free-form, freely-altered reality of the opera fantasia? Recalling again the history of the term “fantasia” itself, this difficulty seems inevitable. How can a genre titularly defined by a word evoking freedom be helpfully constrained? Yet it is by constraining, by defining, that both the genre and the forces working on it become evident. As described in Chapter 1, Dahlhaus categorizes the fantasia as “Trivial Music”, and therefore as “competing with art music”.<sup>66</sup> Rosen describes it as a “bastard genre” in *The Romantic Generation*; apparently Liszt was “the only true master”.<sup>67</sup> Yet Rosen’s argument, that Liszt was exceptional in that his (few good) fantasias “juxtapose different parts of the opera in ways that bring out a new significance” while retaining “the original dramatic sense of the individual number and its place within the opera”, seems to highlight not just Liszt, and not only the possibilities of the genre itself, but also the power of the fantasia’s position in Italian musical culture.<sup>68</sup> This resonance and juxtaposition is far from unique to Liszt; fantasias of myriad composers enhance the drama of the opera on which they draw by focusing on specific plot elements and characters. The choice and manipulation of operatic themes in fantasias allows for both the evocation and the alteration of opera narratives, as explored in detail in section 3.3. And audiences deeply familiar with the original operas would have been just as likely to recognize the alteration of original themes in a fantasia by Briccialdi as in one by Liszt.<sup>69</sup>

Robert Pascall describes the “generative capacity in a composer’s schema-complex”, as “incorporating a ‘possibility-field’ linking interpretation and creation”.<sup>70</sup> This “possibility-field” is made explicit in the many fantasias created (by the same and by different composers) on a single opera. The inherent intra-genre links between these works help to clarify the schemata of the opera fantasia by removing interference of operatic schemata. In Chapter 4 I concentrate on case studies of fantasias based on particularly popular operatic sources, discussing the impact that an opera has on the “possibility-field” of the opera fantasia; here I highlight the link between interpretation and creation that Pascall raises, a link that becomes even more intense when approached from the narrative perspective discussed below. The

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<sup>65</sup> “Fantasia”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico*, p. 202.

<sup>66</sup> Levin, p. 161.

<sup>67</sup> Charles Rosen, *The Romantic Generation* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), p. 528.

<sup>68</sup> Rosen, p. 528.

<sup>69</sup> As mentioned in Chapter 2, see descriptions like that of John Rosselli of mid-century Naples, where “the tunes from Pacini’s opera of the previous year were played by military bands in the park, by barrel organs in the main shopping street, by organists in church, even at a funeral”. Rosselli then writes that this “genuine, common passion for opera...by 1869, was gone”, but to some extent the work of Baragwanath and Wilson also discussed in Chapter 2, and the vibrant continuation of the opera fantasia tradition belie this. John Rosselli, *Music and Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1991), pp. 70-71.

<sup>70</sup> Pascall, p. 235.

opera fantasia has often been degraded as overly interpretative and insufficiently creative as an independent work of art, with critics emphasizing similarities between fantasias and stressing the borrowed themes that form the significant foundation of any given fantasias. However, as Pascall argues, “the composition draws its power to signify precisely from the fact that originality rests upon derivation”; in sharp contrast to the theories of Benedetto Croce, it is only in its genre context and in light of the input made into a composition that the “radiant autonomy” of that work becomes clear.<sup>71</sup> And these works also showcase creativity in their choice of themes, their connective material, their means of altering the chosen themes, their departure from the operatic original, and – not least – their creativity of technique through their virtuosic approach to the instrument. Pasculli was far from the only composer-performer to be drawn to composition as a means of showcasing ground-breaking abilities on an instrument.

Genre is always historically located and localized; “statements about a genre are statements about the genre at a particular stage”.<sup>72</sup> Yet genre interpretations doubly move backwards through history. They first establish a genre by linking works throughout time – from an early fantasia on a just-published opera to a late fantasia on an opera from fifty years before – and thus often linking anachronistic characteristics of that genre with individual works. The same interpretations then impose what have come to be the modern connotations of a genre on works in their original context. Pascall’s idea that “an expressive code does not limit attention but informs and guides attention”<sup>73</sup> is useful as an ideal, but – like Fowler’s claim that genre “is an instrument not of classification or prescription, but of meaning”<sup>74</sup> – this ignores the reality that genre does often limit the attention given to a work. The classification of a work as a fantasia, as with other works that fall into genres deemed low art or popular art or bourgeois art, is enough to “guide” critical attention firmly away from the work, by means of the disparaging of the genre as a whole. Yet I cannot object entirely to these sentiments, as, following newer trends in the reclaiming of fantasias and other previously discarded genres, I now aim to “inform and guide” new reactions to the

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<sup>71</sup> Pascall, p. 236. This also recalls Jauss’ discussion of the importance of genre-altering originality in masterworks; Jauss goes on to warn that “the norm-founding or norm-breaking role of particular examples” and “the historical as well as the aesthetic significance of masterworks” can only be seen retrospectively and not by those who are immersed in the present of a work. Jauss, p. 94.

<sup>72</sup> Fowler, p. 47. Or, as Castelvechi puts it, “highly contextual and pragmatic”, although I feel the latter half of this description should not be taken as read in all situations. Castelvechi, p. 4.

<sup>73</sup> Pascall, p. 235.

<sup>74</sup> Fowler, p. 22. Castelvechi’s description of genre as “pragmatic” seems a way to escape some of the problems inherent in Pascall and Fowler’s statements here, but – at least in the case of fantasias – runs into similar issues of insufficiently navigating the limiting or otherwise connotative overtones of genres.

(woodwind) opera fantasia by approaching the opera fantasia as a coherent and meaningful group of works.

### 3.2. Gender Implications of the Fantasia

At the risk of inducing a sense of whiplash, I now begin anew with a second theoretical approach to discussing the woodwind opera fantasia, albeit one as intimately, if not more so, connected to the social and cultural context of both nineteenth-century Italy and the wider sphere of Western art music today. Much in the way that genre distinctions are bound up with conscious and unconscious connotations that frequently impact the reception and scholarship of the works to which they are applied, societal views of gender create gendered overtones suffusing music, opera, virtuosity, approaches to specific instruments, and more. These overtones are sometimes conscious on the part of theorists, composers, or performers, but more often they are accidental and unexamined. However, the latter situation still impacts both compositional approaches and the reception of genres and individual works. In the case of the woodwind opera fantasia, the (often overt) gendering of both virtuosity and woodwind instruments compounded each other, with the effect of reducing acceptable roles of woodwind instruments in a way that nevertheless allowed for the flourishing of this highly virtuosic genre, a genre replete with complicated intersections of gendered performers, characters, and instruments.

#### 3.2.1. Gendered Musical Treatment of Woodwinds

Strongly gendered characteristics repeatedly come to the foreground in nineteenth-century descriptions of woodwind instruments, their sounds, their performers, and their music. Though there is of course some measure of variation, the gendered characteristics of woodwind instruments drawn from diverse times and places demonstrate first a palpable shift from masculine to feminine and then striking similarities even between the early nineteenth century and today. These characteristics continue to be extremely common, and the associations and their lasting ramifications often remain unexamined by those perpetuating them. Samuel Adler's orchestration manual, originally published in 1982 and updated in 2002, stresses the importance of matching instruments and roles "psychologically as well as musically" before portraying the flute, oboe, and clarinet in feminine terms.<sup>75</sup> And surely Bach and Handel would have objected to the statement in Walter Piston's 1955 orchestration manual that "agility does not seem suitable to the double-reed tone" – this is a remnant of

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<sup>75</sup> Samuel Adler, *The Study of Orchestration* (London: Norton, 1982, 2002), p. 156. Ricordano De Stefani's 1886 *Della Scuola di Oboè in Italia* similarly stresses the oboe's "own special character [il proprio speciale carattere]", but though he references Berlioz he does not delve into specifics or characteristics aside from technical guidelines. Ricordano De Stefani, *Della Scuola di Oboè in Italia* (Florence: Tipografia Galletti e Cocci, 1886), p. 6.



particularly nineteenth-century beliefs heavily influenced by Berlioz's claim that the feminine oboe was "ineffective and absurd" if given a more active melody.<sup>76</sup>

A closer look at the portrayals of musical and extramusical characteristics of these instruments can reveal ways in which this narrative has been perpetuated on very little evidence. In the eighteenth century the flute, oboe, and clarinet were masculine instruments. Flautist Johann George Tromlitz (1725-1805) advises that a flautist should both "try to achieve a steady, metallic singing, even sound" and "try to achieve only such strength as is healthy and masculine".<sup>77</sup> As late as 1838, William Gardiner described "a new instrument called a 'clarionet'; the clarinet, with its fiery tone, was better adapted to lead armies into the field of battle than the meek and feeble oboe".<sup>78</sup> The early oboe was "Majestical and Stately and not much Inferiour to the Trumpet", as well as "brave and sprightly", and this characterization held during the eighteenth century.<sup>79</sup> Bruce Haynes discusses the 1713 characterization after which he named his book, *The Eloquent Oboe*: "this word captures the eighteenth-century oboe's mellowness and lack of tension, its ability to start and stop instantly, its remarkable capacity to convey and impart meaning, to declaim and discourse, to express forcibly and appropriately, to charm, and to provoke."<sup>80</sup> The descriptors are those of an ideal courtly man while also recalling military power, and they associate the oboe with a range of moods and emotions rather than solely with the tragedy and delicate femininity of the nineteenth century. This perhaps reflects the perception, prevalent before and throughout the eighteenth century, that instruments could frequently be substituted in music without any significant effect as "the instrument was of secondary importance to the musical idea expressed".<sup>81</sup> In orchestral works from the first half of the century such as symphonies, in which the oboe frequently doubled the violins, and even more so in solo or chamber music, where acceptable instrumentation often included all treble (i.e., non-accompanying) instruments from the violin to the recorder to the traverse flute to the viol, the character of the piece was separated from the character of the instrument. So the oboe could easily be seen as majestic, military, and charming by these writers.

Haynes concludes his book by stating that "the Romantic oboe was created in reaction to the principles of the eighteenth century, a kind of 'negative image' of the hautboy".<sup>82</sup> He is

<sup>76</sup> Walter Piston, *Orchestration* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1955), p. 154.

<sup>77</sup> Johann George Tromlitz, *The Virtuoso Flute Player*, ed. by Ardal Powell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 311-312.

<sup>78</sup> Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes, *The Oboe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 102.

<sup>79</sup> Philip Bate, *The Oboe* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd, 1975), pp. 44-45. Quoting *The Sprightly Companion*, author likely John Bannister, published by Henry Playford in London 1695.

<sup>80</sup> Bruce Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. xi.

<sup>81</sup> Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, p. 168.

<sup>82</sup> Haynes, *The Eloquent Oboe*, p. 451.

referring to matters of tone production and musical taste, but the same is true of the oboe's characterization. During the nineteenth century, European society experienced an increasing polarization of and preoccupation with gender and gender roles, and upper woodwinds became not just feminine but female. In contrast with earlier periods, in which "difference in sex was more a quantitative than qualitative matter, and a well-populated middle ground between the usual sexes was broadly acknowledged",<sup>83</sup> the nineteenth-century middle class worried that "men were no longer men" and that strong women caused "emasculatation".<sup>84</sup> This had a profound impact on conceptions of woodwind instruments, as feminine woodwind instruments became a way to reinforce their players' masculinity, resulting in the gendered characterizations above.

Woodwind instruments were not alone in this; while high woodwinds shifted from military and heroic characterizations to feminine ones, the soprano voice moved from a duality of femininity and heroism (as in the form of the castrato) to a solely feminine trait. And while this shift is particularly keenly felt with the oboe, which left its position in military bands to reach what nineteenth-century French music historian Henri Lavoix described as "its true character", a "penetrating and a little painful timbre" that is like "those delicate hues that even the light of day itself alters", the clarinet and flute experienced the same shift.<sup>85</sup> Initially named for its musical and perhaps visual relation to the trumpet, or "clarino", the "little trumpet", or "clarinetta" became in the nineteenth century the "nightingale of the orchestra".<sup>86</sup> David Pino describes both the "triadic" concertos written by Johan Melchior Molter in the 1740s, which "closely resemble 'bugle calls' in their melodic structure", and the "Larghetto" of the Quintet for Clarinet and Strings (K. 581) written by Mozart in 1789, which "is written to convey the same mood to the listener as would a soprano operatic aria designed to project a quiet, pleasant feeling of joy".<sup>87</sup> The latter seems almost a proto-nineteenth-century association, and Pino describes Weber's Second Clarinet Concerto as even more strongly vocal: "There are only two differences between that [slow] movement and typical soprano

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<sup>83</sup> Roger Frietas, "The Eroticism of Emasculation: Confronting the Baroque Body of the Castrato", *The Journal of Musicology*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (Spring 2003), p. 204.

<sup>84</sup> Margaret Reynolds, "Ruggiero's Deceptions, Cherubino's Distractions," in *En travesti: Women, Gender Subversion, Opera*, ed. by Corinne E. Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith (Chichester, NY: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 139. See also Richard Somerset-Ward, *Angels & monsters: male and female sopranos in the story of opera, 1600-1900* (London: Yale University Press, 2004); Allen J. Frantzen, *Before the Closet: Same-sex Love from Beowulf to Angels in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Balzac's *Sarrasine* and its discussion briefly in Naomi André, *Voicing Gender* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2006 and notably, of course, in Roland Barthes, *S/Z* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990).

<sup>85</sup> Henri Lavoix, *Histoire de l'instrumentation depuis le seizième siècle jusqu'à nos jours* (1878) (Bologna: Forni, 1972), p. 110.

<sup>86</sup> Adler, pp. 181-182. (Adler presents the name as "clarinetta" – a kind of Freudian slip, perhaps? – but it generally appears as "clarinetto": male, like the clarino it is based on.)

<sup>87</sup> David Pino, *The Clarinet and Clarinet Playing* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980), pp. 234-235.

arias found in Weber's operas: In this concerto movement, the soprano is a clarinet, and there are no words."<sup>88</sup> These descriptions recall that by Ferruccio Busoni, as noted in Chapter 2, which compared his father's clarinet playing both to the virtuoso violin and to the *bel canto* Italian voice.

However, perhaps the most well-known instrumental gendering of this period is the violin's transformation, well before Man Ray's *Ingres' Violin*, into a woman's body, seduced and sometimes injured by her male player. An 1829 review from the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* describes Paganini as such: "He seemed to be striking his instrument, like the unhappy youth, who after conjuring up the image of his murdered mistress, destroys it again in a fit of amorous rage; then once more seeks to revive it with tears and caresses."<sup>89</sup> This relationship between performer and instrument appears more widely, though. Lavoix writes that "flute concertos were, in the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup>, and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, the most gallant tribute that a most devoted lover could give to his mistress. ... Not content to play their instruments, the virtuosos of the 17<sup>th</sup> century added to the *ravishing* sounds of their flute the charms of the voice".<sup>90</sup> Who here is the mistress? The audience of the piece, treated to the beautiful sound of virtuosic flute playing, or the flute itself, being wooed by its player and sweetheart? The latter seems suggested by the textual emphasis put on the word "ravishing (*ravissants*)", and the emphasis on that particular word also calls to mind Paganini and his seduced, beloved, tormented violin.<sup>91</sup>

In the nineteenth century a combination of changing tastes, philosophies, and instrumental sounds led not only to increasing connections between specific instruments and gendered characteristics but also to increasing distinctions between instruments, and increasing ties between instrumental and compositional qualities. As Margaret Reynolds so neatly puts it in her essay "Ruggiero's Deceptions, Cherubino's Distractions", "not all ages and cultures want to play about with gender", and nineteenth-century Europe seemed to be one of these, creating ever-firmer gender roles and becoming ever less willing to counteract them.<sup>92</sup> Although the transformation began early in the 1800s (and even before, as with K. 581 above), descriptions of woodwind instruments after the nineteenth-century gender switch

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<sup>88</sup> Pino, p. 244.

<sup>89</sup> Mai Kawabata, "Virtuosity, the Violin, and the Devil . . . What *Really* Made Paganini "Demonic"?", accessed September 2017, Academia.edu, p. 15. Quoting Marx, 1829. Kawabata unpacks this gendering in detail in the context of Paganini's demonic reputation. The image of the violin as a woman "subjected to the licentious assaults" of the performer apparently arose "in response to Paganini's virtuosity". See Maiko Kawabata, *Paganini: the 'demonic' virtuoso* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2012), p. 58.

<sup>90</sup> Lavoix, p. 95. "les concerts de flûtes étaient, au XVIe, au XVIIe, au XVIIIe siècle, le plus galant hommage qu'un amant bien épris pût faire à sa maîtresse. ... Non contents de sonner dans leur instrument, les virtuoses du XVIIe siècle ajoutaient encore aux sons *ravissants* de leur flûte le charme de la voix..."

<sup>91</sup> See Kawabata, *Paganini: the 'demonic' virtuoso*, pp. 53, 58.

<sup>92</sup> Reynolds, p. 133.

remained very static across nearly 200 years of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There is no perceptible difference, for example, in the concentration of gendered remarks between the mid-1800s and the mid-1900s or in the genders assigned to instruments; these remarks also remain consistent across large swaths of otherwise relatively disparate Europe.

The discussion of associations between gender and instruments is common in ethnomusicology, where scholars like Veronica Doubleday categorize gendered relationships between performers and instruments, including instrument-player relationships where the masculinity of the instrument reinforces the masculinity of the player and those where the masculinity of the player relates in a romantic, sexual, and/or controlling way with his female instrument.<sup>93</sup> However, these relationships are also common within the texts of “traditional” musicology. The latter relationship, the trope of female instrument and male player, is the one that primarily applies to woodwind instruments in Western art music, but both relationships are relevant to woodwind instruments, particularly when examining the change in perception from the eighteenth century to the nineteenth century. C.F.D. Schubart, writing in 1806, claims that bassoon playing “demands the fullest breath and such a sound and masculine embouchure that only few people are fit physically to play it in a masterly manner”,<sup>94</sup> while by the end of the nineteenth century, in contrast to Tromlitz’s “healthy and masculine” flute, the “consummate ease and elegance” of the flute meant that, “partly owing to this gracefulness of attitude ... the flute is so peculiarly well adapted for ladies”.<sup>95</sup>

Doubleday describes how “one effect [of “male dominance over musical instruments”] is that...the very image of a woman playing an instrument may be seen as ‘weird’, awkward or naive.”<sup>96</sup> The discussion of which instruments were suitable for female players in fact predates the nineteenth-century switch in instrumental identity; concern over appropriate physicality for female instrumentalists appears even in ancient Greece. Athena is said to have “invented the *aulos*, but cast it aside when she realized how playing it would distort her face and compromise her dignity”; male players need not be concerned with this.<sup>97</sup> In eighteenth-century Europe, the harpsichord was seen as suitable, in contrast to wind instruments such as the oboe, “which is too Manlike”.<sup>98</sup> We see here both a concern over female presence and a

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<sup>93</sup> As discussed in Veronica Doubleday, “Sounds of Power: An Overview of Musical Instruments and Gender”, *Ethnomusicology Forum*, Vol. 17, No. 1 ‘*Sounds of Power*’: *Musical Instruments and Gender* (2008), pp. 3-39.

<sup>94</sup> Quoted in Lyndesay G. Langwill, *The Bassoon and Contrabassoon* (London: E. Benn, W.W. Norton, 1965), p. 38.

<sup>95</sup> Richard Shepherd Rockstro, *A treatise on the construction, the history and the practice of the flute: including a sketch of the elements of acoustics and critical notices of sixty celebrated flute-players... (1890)* (London: Musica Rara, 1967), pp. 410-411.

<sup>96</sup> Doubleday, p. 17.

<sup>97</sup> Heather Hadlock, “Sonorous Bodies: Women and the Glass Harmonica”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Autumn, 2000), p. 510.

<sup>98</sup> John Essex, *The Young Ladies Conduct (1772)*, cited in Hadlock, “Sonorous Bodies”, p. 510.

description of wind instruments as masculine rather than feminine. This concern was not limited to wind instruments; to eighteenth-century theorists the cello violated “proper female decorum” by involving “pressing of the breast...and spreading of the legs”, and this continued even in the late nineteenth-century.<sup>99</sup> Scholars like Rita Steblin often concentrate on the fact that during the nineteenth century more and more instruments gradually became accessible to female players, but this accessibility remained highly restricted even well into the twentieth century. This mirrors the tenacious gendering of musical instruments themselves; as discussed above, nineteenth-century gendering remained prevalent for much of the twentieth century and still impacts current conceptions of instruments.

Though this discussion of decorum centres on female performers, not female instruments, this resonates deeply with descriptions like those of Berlioz, for whom the oboe is an instrument of “naive grace, sentimental delight, or the suffering of weaker creatures”; when attempting strength or showmanship, “the splutter of rage or threats or heroics”, “its little bittersweet voice becomes quite ineffective and absurd”, and “a march melody, however direct, however beautiful, however noble, loses its nobility, its directness and its beauty when given to the oboes”.<sup>100</sup> Perhaps one could argue that the oboe is the most natural solo instrument to take over “Pegno d’amore” and “O luce di quest’anima” from Donizetti’s *Linda di Chamounix*, as it does in Giovanni Rossi’s *Fantasia per Oboe sopra motivi della Linda di Donizetti*. Indeed, as discussed below, in fantasias the oboe is often deeply associated with tragic operatic women; though Linda’s story ends happily, for much of the opera she surely qualifies.



Fig. 3.4: “Pegno d’amore” from Giovanni Rossi’s *Fantasia per Oboe sopra motivi della Linda*

<sup>99</sup> Rita Steblin, “The Gender Stereotyping of Musical Instruments in the Western Tradition”, *Canadian University Music Review*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (1995), p. 139.

<sup>100</sup> Hector Berlioz, *Berlioz’s Orchestration Treatise: A Translation and Commentary*, ed. by Hugh Macdonald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 104.

But the oboe does not accompany Linda in any particularly notable way at this point in the operatic score, and succumbing too much to Berlioz's feelings here in the context of a fantasia then creates trouble when the oboe must perform its surely neither "spluttering" nor "ineffective" virtuosic finale. And again, these descriptions of the oboe are markedly different from those of the previous century.

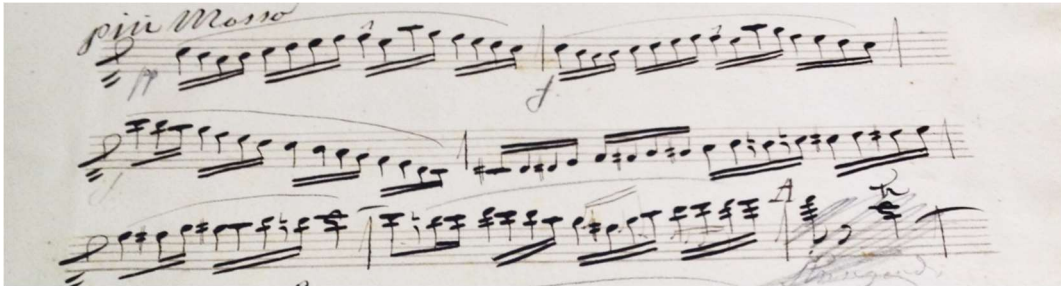


Fig. 3.5: Material from the finale of Rossi's *Fantasia per Oboe sopra motivi della Linda*

### 3.2.1.1. The oboe

Discussions of the ways in which instruments are gendered (usually as feminine) and the ways in which gender has impacted performers of and music for woodwinds throughout the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries are much more common for the oboe than for other woodwind instruments.<sup>101</sup> This can largely be attributed to Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes' book *The Oboe*, in which they trace the oboe's historical shift from masculine and trumpet-like to feminine and delicate. Burgess and Haynes are exceptional within woodwind studies for the critical depth of their exploration of the sexualization and feminization of the oboe that occurred during the nineteenth century. They use as their evidence the pervasive association of the oboe with the operatic woman throughout the nineteenth century and before – more specifically the operatic woman experiencing loss – as well as contemporary writing about the oboe. Gluck's *Euridice*, *Iphigénie*, *Alceste*, and *Armide* are all accompanied by the oboe while singing their sorrow and seventy years later Wagner's Elsa both sang with the oboe and was voiced by the oboe when speechless: "she can only nod as the oboe and cor anglais intone the first phrase of her leitmotiv".<sup>102</sup> Burgess and Haynes also provide examples of the association of the oboe merely with the appearance of a female character. Leonora, of Beethoven's *Fidelio*, appears in a vision to the sounds of the oboe, and Wagner establishes the presence or sight of Freia, Sieglinde, and Brünnhilde

<sup>101</sup> I have myself also published on the topic of the feminine oboe in opera fantasias, in an article in the *International Double Reed Society* journal. See Rachel Becker, "Pasculli and His Oboe: Feminine Characterization in Opera Fantasias", *The Double Reed*, Vol. 36, No. 3 (Autumn 2013).

<sup>102</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 225.

through the oboe in *Das Rheingold*, *Die Walküre*, and *Götterdämmerung*.<sup>103</sup> There are clear links to Pasculli's treatment of the oboe in his fantasias, in which the oboe replaces the voice of a character (generally female).



Fig. 3.6: The oboe playing Gilda's vocal variation on "Caro nome" from Pasculli's *Rimembranze del Rigoletto*

Certainly there are numerous exceptions to this association of the oboe with the melancholy woman. The oboe was, and still is, also strongly associated with the pastoral and with "authentic" folk music, drawing on the oboe's relation to instruments such as bagpipes; Berlioz's *Symphonie Fantastique* provides a key example of this.<sup>104</sup> However, for the most part the nineteenth-century remained the realm of Victor Hugo's "sighing oboe".<sup>105</sup>

Burgess and Haynes link the oboe and problematic femininity physically as well as aurally, drawing on nineteenth-century accounts like that of Alfred Guichon, writing in 1874, who describes the oboe as a young girl "whose voice has such grace, such feminine softness, such secret charms...her heart still palpitating".<sup>106</sup> Guichon explicitly feminizes the oboe and implicitly links it to the hysterical woman by describing one physical aspect, the palpitating heart. The oboe not only "resembled the highly stigmatized nineteenth-century image of womankind as being always on the verge of hysteria", but was "brought under subjugation" by the performer "who until the twentieth century was, without exception, male".<sup>107</sup> In order to produce beauty, the changeable, though beautiful, tone of the oboe had to be controlled by the powerful oboist. "If unrestrained it was likely to emit extraneous squawks and cracked notes," and Burgess and Haynes point out that "the changes that the oboe underwent over the course of the century sought to increase its technical capacity but above all to attenuate its

<sup>103</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, pp. 227-228.

<sup>104</sup> As well as pastoralism, the oboe is also linked to orientalism, generally in the form of female gendering, and often to more "problematic" women, such as Strauss' Salome, than, for example, the very polite and socially acceptable women embodied by Berlioz's clarinet. That said, the clarinet's connections to "gypsy" music and Klezmer parallel the exotic oboe.

<sup>105</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 226, referencing Victor Hugo's poem *Enthousiasme*.

<sup>106</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 226.

<sup>107</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 234.

waywardness.”<sup>108</sup> These changes resulted in a more stable, darker sound, but one that is decidedly still temperamental. The oboe’s unpredictable reed is one of the best examples of the oboe as a “hysterical” instrument; an oboe reed is intricate and flimsy, easily broken and unreliable, changing with the weather, or how much it has been played, or the unknown whims of wood. Additionally, because of the tiny aperture created by the double reed, the oboist, far from running out of air, is instead perpetually on the verge of having too much air. Exhales as well as inhaled must be planned, and stress can easily leave a performer hyperventilating from a build-up of air and a lack of oxygen. A comparison with the corseted body of the nineteenth-century woman seems melodramatic but apt.

In much of the nineteenth century, then, writing for the oboe was not virtuosic. As mentioned above, Berlioz explains that on the oboe “rapid figures...are awkward in effect and can be almost comic; arpeggios are the same.”<sup>109</sup> And the frequency of this as a nineteenth-century characterization may have been a driving factor in the oboe’s late flourishing as an instrument in opera fantasias; besides the technical difficulties presented by the still developing key system, there are implications that a “predominantly masculine form of exhibitionism” would not be appropriate for such a “feminine” instrument.<sup>110</sup> The association of the oboe with women and feminine qualities, both in association with the oboe’s sound and with the need to control it, continued well into the twentieth century. In contrast to Burgess and Haynes’ self-awareness on the topic, the oboe is widely discussed by oboists as a (female) gendered instrument in the hands of a (male) gendered performer. As late as 1977, oboist Leon Goossens wrote, “The oboe is a lady. If we lose her feminine qualities we neutralize the sound which thousands of years of history have sought to sustain and beautify. Oboists, like all musicians, have a Muse to protect. Let us see Truth in Beauty and guard our musical sensibilities with this aim.”<sup>111</sup> This statement is patently false – as stated above, the oboe was gendered as masculine as late as the eighteenth century – but it is pervasive.

### 3.2.1.2. The flute

The gendered depictions of the flute and clarinet may not have been as fully addressed in modern literature as those of the oboe, but both instruments share significant aspects of the oboe’s gendered history, and gendered language remains prevalent in nineteenth- and twentieth-century discussions of the instruments. The flute is inseparably linked with the mad Lucia di Lammermoor – indeed, while generally roughly half of opera fantasias are written

<sup>108</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 234.

<sup>109</sup> Berlioz, p. 102-103.

<sup>110</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 234.

<sup>111</sup> Leon Goossens and Edwin Roxburgh, *Oboe* (London: Macdonald and Jane’s Publishers Ltd, 1977), p. 27.



for the flute, a full two-thirds of fantasias on *Lucia di Lammermoor* seem to be written for flute – and Bate links flautists more generally with “ambitious sopranos”, both subject to the nineteenth-century fad for “bird” obbligati.<sup>112</sup> Certainly in fantasias, though flutes are not unusually virtuosic in comparison to other woodwind instruments, the flute can outstrip even the most ambitious vocalists.



Fig. 3.7: Virtuoso ornamentation from Emanuele Krakamp’s *5ta Gran Fantasia di Concerto su motivi della Lucia di Lammermoor*

According to Richard Carte, writing circa 1850, “sweetness rather than power was traditionally expected” of the flute.<sup>113</sup> But, like the oboe, the now-female flute was not always strongly feminine. The flute was included in military bands before orchestral ensembles, and was described as late as 1890 by flautist Richard Shepherd Rockstro as suitable for “everyone with a strong, sound chest”, reinforcing its masculinity.<sup>114</sup> Bate offers a counter to his feminine flute by arguing that “there is also no instrument in which the personal characteristics of the player, both in physique and in temperament, are more influential”.<sup>115</sup> As well as raising issues of character and authorship that I discuss below, this harks back to Tromlitz’s eighteenth-century flute treatise, in which he claims that “if the player’s blood is excited by some passion...he cannot possibly produce anything worthwhile. ...although the passionate motion of the blood has an influence on all instruments, it is not as bad with any of them as with this one”.<sup>116</sup> This is likely to strike a post-eighteenth-century reader as odd, given the praise lavished on nineteenth-century virtuosos for portraying in their performance the true emotions of their soul – and indeed, Tromlitz almost immediately counters this statement by arguing that “the Master [flautist], if he wishes to play as a Master, must play

<sup>112</sup> Bate, *The Flute*, p. 175.

<sup>113</sup> Philip Bate, *The Flute: a study of its history, development and construction* (London: Ernest Benn, 1979), p. 143.

<sup>114</sup> Rockstro, p. 407.

<sup>115</sup> Bate, *The Flute*, p. 229

<sup>116</sup> Tromlitz, p. 7.

entirely from his feeling”.<sup>117</sup> But more directly, as flautists at this time remained largely male, this positions the flute as masculine, by virtue of representing the “physique” and “temperament” of its masculine player. This contrasts dramatically with treatment of the oboe in which the masculine player is positioned as opposite to his decidedly feminine instrument. Perhaps this pairing of masculinities is in some way responsible for the frequent pairing of the flute with melodies sung by the villain Renato in fantasias on *Un ballo in maschera*, as discussed in Chapter 4.

While instrumental treatises and more modern books on instrumental history and performance approaches offer insight into both overt and subtextual impressions of instruments by their players, orchestration treatises sometimes are even more explicit in their gendered discussions of woodwind instruments. As seen above, the most striking descriptions come from Berlioz’s *Grand traité d’instrumentation et d’orchestration modernes*. Berlioz was not generally fond of flutes, commenting that “they can never match the oboe’s naive gaiety or the clarinet’s noble tenderness.”<sup>118</sup> However, he does still align the flute with women, noting that “there is something wonderfully entrancing about those two flutes holding low notes for Agathe’s melancholy prayer [in *Der Freischütz*]; her eyes scan the treetops silvered by the light of the stars”.<sup>119</sup>

Berlioz also casts flutes into the role of operatic female by associating them with “successions of thirds”, which produce “an effect of remarkable sweetness” when played by two flutes.<sup>120</sup> This technique was widely used for duets between two female singers, notably in Bellini’s *Roméo et Juliette* between Juliette and the *travesti* Romeo, in which context Berlioz sneeringly commented on “effete” “sweet sonorities” and “childish sensualism,” targeting in particular the duets between “two feminine voices”.<sup>121</sup> This seems to follow his generally poor opinion of the flute, but does not account for the positive light in which he views the same technique in his treatise; perhaps this is another case of the instrument surpassing the voice it imitates. Still, even Berlioz cannot completely discard the flute, and his other note of positivity reflects a slight ambiguity over the flute’s gender. In the “Dance of the Blessed Spirits” from Gluck’s *Orfeo ed Euridice*,

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<sup>117</sup> Tromlitz, p. 7.

<sup>118</sup> Berlioz, p. 140. He seems similarly negative about the bassoon: “On the other hand, when M. Meyerbeer wanted a pale, cold, cadaverous sound in his scene of the resurrection of the nuns in *Robert le diable*, it was from the flaccid notes of the [bassoon’s] middle register that he got it.” Berlioz, p. 114.

<sup>119</sup> Berlioz, p. 143.

<sup>120</sup> Berlioz, p. 141.

<sup>121</sup> Hector Berlioz, quoted in Heather Hadlock, “The Career of Cherubino, or the Trouser Role Grows Up”, in *Siren Songs: Representations of Gender and Sexuality in Opera*, ed. by Mary Ann Smart (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 73.

this thousand-fold sublime wailing of a suffering, despairing shade of the departed; it needed precisely the instrument the composer chose. And Gluck's melody is conceived in such a way that the flute lends itself to all the vicissitudes of this eternal grief, still imprinted with the scars of passion from life on earth. At first it is a scarcely audible voice that seems afraid to be heard; then it begins to wail softly, rising to a reproach, then to profound grief, then to the cry of a heart rent by an incurable wound, and then falls back little by little to the lamentation, the wailing and the bitter sob of a soul resigned...<sup>122</sup>

Whether the flute is female in this context is unclear – for whose spirit does it sing? – and the intense but emotional language could be read as masculine or feminine. However, the instrument is undeniably presented as a voice, and it is easy to associate this spirit's "scarcely audible voice" and "cry of a heart rent" with tragic operatic characters like those voiced by oboes, women who are often voiceless themselves and musically replaced by the instrument that accompanies them.

### 3.2.1.3. The clarinet

The clarinet escapes gendering to a greater extent than either the flute or the oboe; it can be difficult to definitively categorize the clarinet as either masculine or feminine. For example, in contrast to Bate's views about the flute's susceptibility to the physicality of its player, Jack Brymer argues that the clarinet must stand up to its player, almost resist it. "The instrument must be able to take everything a strong man can give it without overloading."<sup>123</sup> The gender implications here are mixed. Is the clarinet another man, able to return in kind what it is given, or is the clarinet female and the sentence more suggestive? Brahms's explicit gendering of Richard Mühlfeld as feminine in his clarinet playing is a striking exception to this ambiguity, partaking of language more typically associated with the flute and oboe. Though references to "the sensitive, feminine side of [clarinetist Richard] Mühlfeld's playing" and to Brahms' mentions of Mühlfeld as "meine Primadonna", "Fraülein Klarinette" and the "nightingale of the orchestra" are common in clarinet literature, they are generally uncited there; however, they originate with Kalbeck, who describes Mühlfeld as a "siren" and "the nightingale of the orchestra", if not with Brahms himself.<sup>124</sup> Kalbeck also quotes a letter

<sup>122</sup> Berlioz, pp. 140-141.

<sup>123</sup> Jack Brymer, *Clarinet* (London: Macdonald and Jane's, 1976), p. 143.

<sup>124</sup> "Seinem Entschlusse, nichts Neues mehr zu schaffen, war also Brahms schon im Sommer 1891 untreu geworden. Wie aus dem humorvollen Schreiben an die Baronin Heldburg hervorgeht, war die Sirene, die ihn verführte, die »Nachtigall des Orchesters«, die Klarinette, und zwar nicht das Instrument im allgemeinen, sondern ein ganz besonderes Exemplar seiner Gattung: die Klarinette des Meiningschen Kammervirtuosen Richard Mühlfeld, deren persönliche Bekanntschaft er im März gemacht hatte." Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms, Vol. 4* (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1904-14), pp. 238-239.

A notable appearance in clarinet literature is Eric Hoeprich, *The Clarinet* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), p. 193. This "Fraülein Klarinette" is also atypical in its alignment of performer and instrument, which are

from Brahms to Mühlfeld in which Brahms, after referring to Mühlfeld as a female clarinetist, remarks “I always said ‘Fräulein’ [of you]!”<sup>125</sup>

In general, though, the clarinet is praised for its adaptability, its wide range of affects and possible expressions; F. Geoffrey Rendall claims that “the clarinet is the most expressive instrument in the orchestra”.<sup>126</sup> Jack Brymer describes the clarinet as having a “variety of tone-quality, from velvet-soft to steely-hard”, recalling an 1808 description of the instrument as having “the characteristics which composers desire, [it] can play equally well the hymn of the warrior or the song of the shepherd”.<sup>127</sup> But in an 1851 treatise by F. S. Fassner, the sound of the clarinet is “a full, round female voice”,<sup>128</sup> and Gevaert similarly describes the clarinet as “the mezzo-soprano, sturdy and rich, . . . necessary to connect the clear soprano of the oboe with the husky-hued tenor of the bassoon”.<sup>129</sup> This “femininity” is also reflected in Rendall’s clarinet, with its “limpid, clear and crystalline [tone], entirely lacking in bite or roughness”, though the description of Iwan Müller’s “impetuous, fiery, and brilliant” playing, “somewhat lacking in delicacy” seems resolutely masculine.<sup>130</sup> This emphasis both on adaptability and on vocality might seem to suit the clarinet specifically to use in opera fantasias, particularly as virtuosic passages in clarinet writing often take advantage of the comparatively wide range of the clarinet.



Fig. 3.8: A display of the clarinet’s large range in Carlo Bassi’s *Fantasia per Clarinetto sopra motivi dell’Opera I due foscari*

usually paired in contrast, with a performer whose masculinity is emphasized in contrast with his instrument’s femininity.

<sup>125</sup> “Lieber und geehrtester Herr! Mit den herzlichsten Grüßen sende ich hier das gewünschte Bild und denke ein besseres versprechen zu können. Adolf Menzel in Berlin hat die Klarinetistin im Quintett gezeichnet (ich sagte doch schon immer ›Fräulein(!)›.” Kalbeck, p. 262.

<sup>126</sup> F. Geoffrey Rendall, *The Clarinet: some notes upon its history and construction* (London: E. Benn, 1971), p. 32.

<sup>127</sup> Brymer, p. 9; Hoepfich, p. 123.

<sup>128</sup> Hoepfich, p. 170.

<sup>129</sup> F.-A. Gevaert, “First Lesson: Preliminary Instruction” from *Cours méthodique d’orchestration*, in *Orchestration: An Anthology of Writings*, edited by Paul Mathews (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 54. Surprisingly (and inaccurately), Louis Adolphe Coerne writes, in an orchestration history, that in Haydn’s orchestral works “the more feminine and soulful clarinet” “largely supplanted” the oboe. Louis Adolphe Coerne, *The Evolution of Modern Orchestration (1908)* (New York: AMS Press, 1979), p. 48.

<sup>130</sup> Rendall, pp. 35-36, 93.

However, as can be seen in Chapter 4, the clarinet is not unusually prominent in these works in comparison to other woodwind instruments.

While Berlioz is at best ambivalent about the flute, he is passionately supportive of the clarinet, and emphatically associates it with femininity and the female voice. Before describing the expressive power in

the dreamy phrase on the clarinet over a string tremolo in the middle of the allegro section of the Freischütz overture!!! Is this not the lonely virgin, the huntsman's fair bride, her eyes upturned to heaven, mingling her passionate plaint with the roar of the storm-wracked forest?

Berlioz launches into a nearly 200-word rhapsody about being “profoundly moved” by the “feminine quality” of clarinets; they “evoke the loved ones, wives and sweethearts”, of a regiment “marching to glory or to death”, as in “the epic poetry of the ancients”. A “beautiful instrumental soprano”, the clarinet displays “delicacy, elusive nuances and mysterious sensibility”; “there is nothing so virginal or so pure”.<sup>131</sup> Berlioz carefully emphasizes extremely acceptable female roles in his descriptions; clarinets are “wives and sweethearts” and “virgins”. But these acceptable clarinet-women are also women who are strongly tied to men, defined by their relationships or lack thereof: a perfect example of the way feminine instruments could reinforce masculinity. Perhaps, like the wives of soldiers and huntsmen, the clarinet is protected and taken care of by its male performer. Unlike Paganini’s violin, “an ‘angelic’ woman victimized by destructive forces” or under “vicious attack” from a “wicked brute”, the clarinet for Berlioz is like the zither of Sundanese West Java: “a woman, their wife..., who is precious and should be handled with care”.<sup>132</sup> But even Berlioz does not characterize a purely female clarinet. Its lowest notes provide “those icily menacing effects, those dark expressions of repressed fury”.<sup>133</sup> Though not explicitly masculine, this description presents a striking departure from his other language choices.

Just as the flute and oboe (and the cor anglais) were strongly connected with female operatic characters – the flute typically identified with “sweet” or “young” characters but also with Lucia di Lammermoor, the oboe and cor anglais with “tragic” characters such as Amelia from *Un ballo in maschera* – the clarinet certainly does appear with operatic women. It doubles Violetta in *La traviata* and plays a large role in *La Forza del Destino*, where it is usually affiliated with Leonora. However, while the other instruments are overwhelmingly associated with women in opera, perhaps the two largest clarinet solos in opera history

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<sup>131</sup> Berlioz, pp. 125-126.

<sup>132</sup> Kawabata, *Paganini: The ‘Demonic’ Virtuoso*, pp. 48, 61; Doubleday, p. 27.

<sup>133</sup> Berlioz, p. 124.

connect the clarinet to the opera's leading tenor. The extended virtuosic clarinet solo at the start of Act 3 of *La Forza* (for which Verdi was inspired by the male virtuoso clarinetist Cavallini, who originated many operatic solos, including that of *Rigoletto*) leads into an aria by lead tenor Don Alvaro. Another of the most notable clarinet solos in opera, from Act 3 of *Tosca*, also leads into a principal tenor aria, this time "O dolci baci" by Cavaradossi. However, as seen in Chapter 4, while there are some visible trends in connecting certain operatic themes to fantasias of certain instruments, these trends are neither absolute nor overwhelming, and the clarinet cannot be seen as limited in any way to associating with either the female or male characters that it accompanies in operas.

#### 3.2.1.4. The bassoon

The bassoon is by far the most straightforward woodwind instrument in terms of gender, as the instrument's range aligns decidedly with male voices and thus with the historically male bassoonist. However, the extent to which the bassoon's masculinity is emphasized still varies. Carl Bärmann (1820) writes that as the bassoon plays the tenor part, it should "accordingly aim at imitating a fine tenor voice and at contesting for rank with a talented tenor singer".<sup>134</sup> In the twentieth-century Samuel Adler describes the bassoon's low register in similarly gendered and vocal terms, as a "very strong and noble bass" with a "dark, foreboding lower range", though he uses more connotatively feminine terms, such as "sweet, more subdued, but expressive", or "thin and pinched" for higher registers.<sup>135</sup> (Amusingly, Berlioz warns that "its timbre [is] completely lacking in brightness and nobility".<sup>136</sup>) Joseph Wagner similarly describes the bassoon's low register as "austere, dark melancholy" and "brooding".<sup>137</sup> These are not overtly gendered words, but they present quite a contrast to his flute ("genuine poetic beauty"), clarinet ("real prima donna of the wood-winds"), and oboe ("fragile").<sup>138</sup>

Register does not always dictate an instrument's gender. For example, Coerne describes Wagner's portrayal of Elisabeth in *Tannhäuser*: "Her grief and resignation could have found no more faithful interpreter than that solo for bass-clarinet beneath syncopated chords of gentle and tender-voiced flutes."<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, I have yet to find any overt feminization of the bassoon, despite occasional descriptions such as "gentlest and most

<sup>134</sup> Quoted in Langwill, p. 39.

<sup>135</sup> Adler, pp. 197-198.

<sup>136</sup> Berlioz, p. 113.

<sup>137</sup> Joseph Wagner, *Orchestration: A Practical Handbook* (London: McGraw-Hill, 1959), p. 150.

<sup>138</sup> Wagner, pp. 137, 140, 147.

<sup>139</sup> Coerne, p. 96.

delicate”<sup>140</sup> or “plaintive”,<sup>141</sup> words particularly reminiscent of tragic opera women. An association with operatic tragedy is often highly gendered and highly specific to woodwind instruments. Burgess and Haynes point out that in nineteenth-century opera “devastated landscapes, insanity and ultimately death, [are] realms in which the undone operatic heroine is conventionally accompanied by cor anglais”, and that the cor anglais often plays as female characters “recall happier times”.<sup>142</sup> In fact, the cor anglais is even more strongly associated with women and tragedy than the oboe. Berlioz describes it as having “a melancholy, dreamy voice, dignified too, with a retiring, remote quality which makes it superior to every other instrument when it comes to arousing images and feelings of the past, or when the composer wants to pluck the secret string of memory”, as well as “the feeling of absence, of oblivion, of bitter loneliness”.<sup>143</sup>

In contrast to the high woodwinds, the bassoon is not a female instrument to be loved or controlled by a male player, but rather an example of the way in which an instrument with a gender identity “may support the claim of people of that gender to play it”.<sup>144</sup> As in Schubart’s argument above, the masculinity of the bassoon means that only men can, or should, play it. This allegiance-through-similarity is unusual but certainly not unheard of within the context of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Europe, where stringed instruments, winds, and harps have become strongly female, but brass instruments generally remain male. (Coerne, who seems particularly singular in his opinions, writes that “the larger symphonic orchestra of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven added two trumpets to the third group [brass], acquiring thereby a feminine metallic diapason capable of masculine energy.”<sup>145</sup>)

### 3.2.1.5. Arbitrary distinctions

The bassoon’s low range means that it was not feminized despite its “sweet, more subdued, but expressive” higher registers.<sup>146</sup> Instead, the clarinet’s ability to mimic a female voice in range and volume becomes Berlioz’s “lonely virgin”, and the oboe’s ability to accompany sopranos becomes Guichon’s description of the oboe as a young girl with “feminine softness” and “secret charms”. These range-based characterizations, often just an elaborate fleshing out of the literal connection between instruments and voice parts, show how artificial some of these associations and limitations are, and how basic others are. As

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<sup>140</sup> Piston, p. 194.

<sup>141</sup> Wagner, p. 150.

<sup>142</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 232.

<sup>143</sup> Berlioz, p. 109.

<sup>144</sup> Doubleday, p. 14.

<sup>145</sup> Coerne, p. 66.

<sup>146</sup> Adler, pp. 197-198.

discussed above, the clarinet was associated with adaptability and a wider range of sound characteristics than other woodwind instruments. It may be this adaptability that causes the clarinet's androgyny of description. But how different is the clarinet from the oboe, for example, in suitability for a variety of affects? The clarinet's dynamic range from "an inaudible ppp to a trumpet-like fff" is greatly praised, and certainly the clarinet can play much more quietly than the oboe.<sup>147</sup> But why then is the oboe associated with gentle and soft feminine music, given the clarinet's ability to play the same notes? Because of the lack of gentle or soft feminine music in opera which is not tinged with poignant sadness? And then why is the clarinet not seen as poignant or sentimental (except perhaps by Berlioz)? Because the oboe is overwhelmingly used as an instrumental indicator of these emotions for operatic women? The characteristics of the instruments are derived from the music in which they are used, which in turn is derived in some senses from the descriptions of instrumental characters in orchestration treatises.

This is impossibly circular logic; these characteristics do not have clear antecedents, and later descriptions in particular draw upon previous musical examples, which are then described as arising from previous associations. Female woodwind players are no longer rare or socially unacceptable, but the many gendered associations detailed above have continued, in more or less obvious ways, to the present day. By looking at the broader range of descriptions of the clarinet as well as the more limited descriptions of the flute and oboe, we can see that attempts to vividly evoke musical characteristics in writing pair with strengthening gender roles and concerns over women's abilities, bodies, and freedoms. Indeed, though the comparatively small number of bassoon fantasias makes generalizations more difficult, bassoon fantasias are much less likely than those of the flute, oboe, or clarinet to include themes sung by women. It seems that the perhaps female instruments could, through their male performers, become male characters, but that firmly male instruments could not become female.<sup>148</sup> And we are still limited in surprising ways by the nineteenth-century gendering of musical instruments. Claims like that of Elliot Carter, who describes instruments as having "built-in 'character-structures', so to speak, which can be suggestive of musical possibilities",<sup>149</sup> are actually very similar to those of Berlioz and his claims that poor feminine oboes are unsuited to virtuosity, not because of their limited keys but because of the ineffable character that suffuses them.

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<sup>147</sup> Brymer, p. 9.

<sup>148</sup> As can be seen in Chapter 4, Azucena is a rare exception to this, in that she can appear in bassoon fantasias, but she also occupies a non-standard female role in the opera *Il trovatore*.

<sup>149</sup> Quoted in Edward T. Cone, *The Composer's Voice* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1974), p. 90.



### 3.2.2. Virtuosity and Gender

Discussing virtuosic piano concerts in *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste*, William Weber touches on the gendered implications of piano performance. While virtuosos were generally expected to perform their own compositions, women were expected instead to perform the classics as a “moral alternative to commercial virtuosity”.<sup>150</sup> Weber cites Marie Pleyel, who performed fantasias by Theodor Döhler and Sigismond Thalberg, and Clara Schumann, who moved from public performances of fantasias to more private concerts of “idealistic programming” of canonical works.<sup>151</sup> Gendered virtuosity spread to descriptions of male pianists as well. Schumann described Kalkbrenner’s technique-heavy performances as “the picture of an old, once beautiful coquette”.<sup>152</sup> Yet at the same time, Kalkbrenner’s incredible technique and “intoxicating modernity heralded a new era of both hedonism and military precision”.<sup>153</sup> Thalberg also – or instead, depending on description – lacked “machismo”; according to contemporary Wilhelm von Lenz he “debases art to the level of fashion, reproducing, in one word, the ‘hermaphroditism’ of the *l’artiste-homme du monde*, of the aspiring social-pianist”.<sup>154</sup> Virtuosity became caught in a complicated web of gendered and musical morals. It was inappropriate for women to publicly display virtuosity, but at the same time it was perhaps inappropriate for any audience to listen to virtuosity regardless of the performer.

As discussed above, the gendering of virtuosity and the gendering of woodwind instruments combined to limit the acceptable roles of woodwind instruments in nineteenth-century music. However, the same gendered associations that made virtuosity uncomfortable or socially unacceptable for woodwind instruments also made them suited to represent the female voice and thus to perform female arias in the form of fantasias. Sean Parr’s article on virtuosic soprano Caroline Carvalho, discussed in Chapter 1, offers an intriguing contrast to this view of virtuosity as masculine, particularly in light of the association between woodwind instruments and female voices. As coloratura shifted from an association with all voice parts to the “exclusive domain of the female singer” during the nineteenth century, Carvalho’s extremely virtuosic voice grew more strikingly gendered as feminine.<sup>155</sup> Simultaneously,

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<sup>150</sup> William Weber, *The Great Transformation of Musical Taste: Concert Programming from Haydn to Brahms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 161.

<sup>151</sup> Weber, *The Great Transformation*, pp. 161, 163-64.

<sup>152</sup> Robert Schumann, “F. Kalkbrenner, 25 große Etüden”, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, Band XI, No. 29 (8 October 1839), pp. 113-14. In J.Q. Davies, *Romantic Anatomies of Performance* (London: University of California Press, 2014), p. 101.

<sup>153</sup> Davies, p. 105.

<sup>154</sup> Davies, p. 119.

<sup>155</sup> Sean M. Parr, “Caroline Carvalho and nineteenth-century coloratura”, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, Vol. 23, Issue 1-2 (July 2011), pp. 83, 115.

however, she “invoked a virtuosity that was gendered masculine” by performing a transcription of a Paganini variation on *Carnival of Venice*.<sup>156</sup> A different connection between operatic women and woodwind instruments, especially the oboe, can be drawn out of the work of scholars such as Mary Ann Smart, who critique the operatic tradition of the tragic woman, often driven to madness, who dies at the hands of male characters and a male composer. Pasculli’s presentations of opera plots, however, often reclaim a happy ending for the leading female character. And his use of a “female” instrument combining a female character with “male” virtuosity perhaps lends these operatic women some agency. Of course, the performer of these compositions was male, Pasculli himself, and only through the performer does the character gain a new ending, but the women of Pasculli’s fantasias are no longer out of control, helpless, fragile, and tragic, but rather skilled, powerful, and successful.

Both the increasing gendering of virtuosity and the parallel lessening of virtuosity as a high-art characteristic had an impact on the reception of the opera fantasia among critics and musicians. Though Cone writes that virtuosic “interpretation” adds spontaneity to performance, as if “the music is composing itself through the combined agency of player and instrument”, using virtuosity to buoy up music and create character, the late nineteenth-century effect was frequently the opposite.<sup>157</sup> Virtuosity embellishment of opera fantasias, while hailed as fabulous playing and garnering gales of applause, was sometimes criticized in contemporary reviews as detrimental to the effect of the beautiful opera themes that were the real music behind the fantasia, as in Cipollone’s description of variation as “disfiguring”, quoted above. But at the same time, Cone argues that “it is precisely the piece that we know well that may elicit our strongest resistance to a new interpretation”, and this is a key difference from the nineteenth-century Italian context of the opera fantasia, in which a real appreciation of these works was based on their status as new interpretations of well-loved operas.<sup>158</sup>

### 3.2.3. Conclusion

Edward Cone writes that in instrumental music “the persona” – the “sound or voice of an instrument rather than...the instrument itself” – is always to be distinguished from the composer”.<sup>159</sup> In the following section, I discuss musical narrative as it interacts with the fantasia. It is not the composer who acts in a work of musical narrative, although the composer can appear in a work intentionally or unintentionally. I do not discount the presence

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<sup>156</sup> Parr, p. 99.

<sup>157</sup> Cone, *The Composer’s Voice*, p. 129.

<sup>158</sup> Cone, *The Composer’s Voice*, p. 138.

<sup>159</sup> Cone, *The Composer’s Voice*, pp. 87, 84.

of qualities meaningful to a composer's life or character in works of either programmatic or absolute music – a stance reminiscent of theorists such as Hatten<sup>160</sup> – but I approach the narrative qualities of opera fantasias, and the way that their narratives are intertwined with contemporary social characteristics, following Cone's line of argument. In analyzing a fantasia narrative, I do not claim that the narrative is a conscious creation of the composer, that he has chosen his arias and arranged them in such a way as to fight against the death of the prima donna or the unspoken gendered oppression that results. Yet this is the narrative effect, and this interacts potently with operatic norms and the whirling forces of nationalism, gender essentialism, and the battles between high and low art that occupied much of artistic thought in Italy and more widely in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Cone's claim that it is the sound of the instrument rather than the instrument itself that forms the persona in an instrumental work is also reminiscent of gendered claims about woodwind sounds and capabilities. It is not the appearance of the modern oboe that is effeminate or more refined than the historical oboe (though in one sense the modern instruments are far more refined than older instruments): it is the sound produced by the modern oboe. But Cone describes instruments elsewhere as "virtual characters", which he also calls "virtual agents", and it is in this guise that the most interesting interactions between the gender of instruments, characters, performers, and composer arise.<sup>161</sup> In one of Pasculli's fantasias, Amelia of *Un Ballo in Maschera* or Marguerite of *Gli Ugonotti* is not exactly the oboe, and is not exactly sounded by the oboe, which is not exactly the performer, who is not exactly the composer, even when these two roles are enacted in this case by one and the same musician. It is these small cracks in equivalency that allow for the potent narratives that arise in opera fantasias' reuse of opera materials. A key part of the friction between the "virtual character" and the instrumentalist playing the music of that character is the (almost exclusively) male body of the nineteenth-century virtuoso woodwind player. Modern enactments of fantasias, which include an equal likelihood of a female performer, involve altered interactions between these layers of acting and performing; however, each opera fantasia discussed here has a male composer, and thus some level of gender friction arises in each instance.

To return to Cone, "in considering the relationships between instrumental agents and the players who bring them to life, one must never forget that the agents are ... not embodied

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<sup>160</sup> "I do not assume that the gesturer or agent of a composition is simply the composer, or the performer.... Nevertheless, one need not dismiss relevant biographical evidence for compositional intentions as revealed in the work." Robert S. Hatten, *Interpreting musical gestures, topics, and tropes: Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), p. 224.

<sup>161</sup> Cone, *The Composer's Voice*, p. 88.

by their performers as vocal personas are”; he continues, “the instrumental performer, too, is in part an actor, but one that *symbolically personifies* the agent of which his instrument in turn is but the concrete vehicle”.<sup>162</sup> While instrumental performers do of course embody characters to some extent – as per Hatten, “a performer’s gestures can be quite significant in projecting one or the other possibility [of agents]”<sup>163</sup> – this distinction makes easy an emphasis on instrumental gender, rather than the gender of the performer. Again, every one of the woodwind opera fantasia composer-performers appearing in this thesis – and every one I have encountered – is male. In approaching the opera fantasia, then, one can easily slip into a pure reinforcement of traditional nineteenth-century instrumental gender assignments when analyzing a fantasia; a focus on a female character feels natural if the instrument itself, rather than the performer, is the concrete basis of an instrumental portrayal of a character. Of course, Cone here focuses not on music like the opera fantasia, which contains strong and definite references to programmes or narratives, but on absolute instrumental music in which “characters” and “agents” are far more abstract than the flute’s playing of Lucia di Lammermoor or the clarinet’s impersonation of Norma. Yet Cone’s unpacking of personification and action in instrumental music highlights issues which appear in more vibrant ways in opera fantasias.

Ralph P. Locke writes that “operas are not pale copies of ‘real’ social attitudes...they are active units of cultural discourse, contributing materially to the ways we understand and respond to issues of gender, race, and social class”.<sup>164</sup> Locke uses this to argue that operas which seem misogynistic to modern audiences might not have been so in their original context and that by giving new contexts to canonical works that seem problematic we can “rethink, oppose, creatively reclaim”. Though his discussions swing between apologist and nuanced, Locke’s statement about the “active” status of operas in society is not only key to understanding those works but also widely applicable to art beyond this single genre. Art, whether explicitly functioning as an act of “cultural discourse” or explicitly detached from all statements by its creator, always and inevitably interacts with its cultural and social surroundings. Thus fantasias, whether carefully crafted to reveal new focuses within the operatic plot or strung together to provide popular concert fodder, must be observed within their surroundings and in some way comment on those surroundings. Similarly, critical reactions to these compositions, both contemporaneously and in following decades, serve as lenses to further reveal significant aspects of audiences, art, and analysis through time.

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<sup>162</sup> Cone, *The Composer’s Voice*, p. 105.

<sup>163</sup> Hatten, *Interpreting musical gestures*, p. 230.

<sup>164</sup> Ralph P. Locke, “What Are These Women Doing in Opera?”, in *En Travesti: Women, Gender Subversion, Opera*, ed. by Corinne E. Blackmer and Patricia Smith (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 76.

### 3.3. Narrative theories of textless instrumental music

My discussions of genre and gender as they relate to a theoretical analysis of the opera fantasia are deeply engrained in contemporary nineteenth-century conceptions of music and culture. However, while I do relate my narrative approach to the opera fantasia to contemporary views of musical narratives, my primary approach to narrative in the fantasia is from a modern perspective, analysing possible resonances in these compositions outside of contemporary intentions and detached from the literal reception history of these works.

#### 3.3.1. “Modern” narrative theoretical background

The root of opera fantasias in text-based music necessitates a different approach to narrative from that typically employed in association with textless instrumental music in the late twentieth century, and thus it could almost seem unnecessary to address the use of narrative theory as an approach to “absolute” music, since clear and unavoidable narratives in operas spring inevitably from their dramatic content. As Lawrence Kramer states, “there is nothing especially problematical in the claim that a text, or even the musical setting of a text, harbors an intrusive narrative effect; textuality in general presumes (even where it conceals) the possibility of narrative.”<sup>165</sup> However, the debates regarding the genre of absolute instrumental music in the context of plot content and emotion-based analysis remain relevant not only as an explanation of the reasoning behind a focus on fantasia narratives but also because fantasias, in a technical sense, are textless instrumental music; therefore, the presence of narratives which occur in them and which differ from their parent operas must be defended. Not only do issues of narrative in textless instrumental music bleed into opera fantasias, but issues of the analysis and manipulation inherent in narration also offer genuinely helpful lenses for examining fantasias. In brief, narrative theories argue for the validity of involving emotional description in analysis, for the importance of the distinction between story and discourse, and for relevance of social and cultural implications of narrative.

Strangely, few analytical approaches to musical narrative provide a clear definition of narrative; nevertheless, there seems to be little debate about it as a concept in the abstract. A focus on the relational and biased, rather than objective, nature of narratives is vital to analytical definitions of narrative, along with a focus on the interaction between abstract plot and character archetypes and actual plot events and characters, and a conception of narrative as a fictional means of describing and commenting upon events. Carolyn Abbate (1991), for example, describes musical narrative as “a course of events and emotional convolutions acted

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<sup>165</sup> Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1990), p. 184.

out in music”.<sup>166</sup> Edward T. Cone (1977), describing literary narrative, focuses instead on authorial intent, arguing that “the skillful author makes sure that we learn what has happened, what is happening, and what is going to happen, exactly when he wants us to know it, and not earlier or later”.<sup>167</sup> Anthony Newcomb (1994) describes the “narrative mode” similarly, as the “understanding and organizing of events as a comprehensible series of intentional acts”.<sup>168</sup> In musicology, narrative theories flourished in the 1980s and 1990s before seeming to die out; Byron Almén, whose book was published in 2008, is one of the few later exceptions.

The fundamental issue that must be resolved when exploring the narrative of an opera fantasia is whether a work of this nature can in fact present a narrative. A great deal of (well-intentioned and carefully reasoned) ink has been spilled over the subject of whether textless instrumental music can represent events or plot in any way. Kramer’s stance is provocative, but he is certainly not the only twentieth-century theorist who believes in “the cardinal fact that music can neither be nor perform a narrative”.<sup>169</sup> In contrast, Carl Schachter is equally provocative in his emphatic argument that Chopin’s *Fantasy* (op. 49) has an intense, emotional narrative: “the Fantasy mocks at any attempt to force its musical narrative – fraught though it is with human feeling – into a story of victory over death or tragedy and triumph. ... The deceptive cadence interrupts the victory celebration like the Red Death at the Masque”.<sup>170</sup> John Rink occupies a middle ground, distinguishing between musically appropriate narratives and those too literary and writing that “to link the narrative thread that guides a performance to a verbal narrative – a story in words – would miss the point of the metaphor. The narrative I am referring to is musically constituted”.<sup>171</sup> Some theorists, such as Fred Maus, carefully detach drama from narrative, and Kramer even argues that “surely the most memorable thing about the genres just listed is their music, not their narratives” when writing about applications of narrative to instrumental music – including opera in his “genres just listed”.<sup>172</sup> His point is easily taken – with apologies to Wagner, few would choose to listen to a spoken recitation of a libretto as presented in an opera – but it is also a rare opera that could survive a verbatim presentation of the music minus the libretto.

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<sup>166</sup> Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 23.

<sup>167</sup> Edward T. Cone, “Three Ways of Reading a Detective Story-Or a Brahms Intermezzo”, *The Georgia Review*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Fall 1977), p. 554.

<sup>168</sup> Anthony Newcomb, “The Polonaise-Fantasy and issues of musical narrative”, *Chopin Studies* 2, ed. by John Rink and Jim Samson (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 84.

<sup>169</sup> Lawrence Kramer, “Musical Narratology: A Theoretical Outline”, *Indiana Theory Review*, Vol. 12 (Spring and Fall 1991), p. 143.

<sup>170</sup> Carl Schachter, “Chopin’s Fantasy op. 49: the two-key scheme”, *Chopin Studies*, ed. by Jim Samson, p. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 253.

<sup>171</sup> John Rink, “Translating Musical Meaning: the Nineteenth-Century Performer as Narrator”, in *Rethinking Music*, ed. by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 218.

<sup>172</sup> Kramer, “Musical Narratology: A Theoretical Outline”, p. 154.

Jean-Jacques Nattiez argues that music can suggest or form the basis of a narrative for listeners, but it cannot truly be a narrative itself. “But there is still a serious risk of slipping from narrative metaphor to an ontological illusion: since music suggests narrative, it could itself be narrative. It is this fine, but essential, distinction which makes all the difference between literary narrative and musical ‘discourse’”.<sup>173</sup> Nattiez calls on Carolyn Abbate, Hayden White, and Anthony Newcomb for support of the idea that “the narrative, strictly speaking, is not *in* the music, but *in the plot imagined and constructed by the listeners* from functional objects” and that further “for the listener, any ‘narrative’ instrumental work is not *in itself* a narrative, but *the structural analysis in music of an absent narrative*”.<sup>174</sup> The distinction may be relevant theoretically, and it certainly raises similar issues to the distinction between nineteenth-century narrative analyses and their portrayal of emotional truths discussed below. However, in the context of analysis, narrative theory can be applied equally to musical narratives and to listener-constructed plots.

Fred Maus embraces the slippage which Nattiez fears: “Perhaps analogies between musical and literary structures do not reveal a special affinity between instrumental music and literary narrative. But once a link emerges—once one sees that following a composition, like following a play or novel, can involve following a series of fictional actions—then comparisons and contrasts with literary narrative seem more pertinent.”<sup>175</sup> Similarly, though Gregory Karl’s argument – that “in short, musical narrativity has little to do with narrative”<sup>176</sup> – is intensely inapplicable to my opera-based fantasias, his structuralist approach to musical plot, in which “the meaning of any particular unit is determined primarily by its relation to other units in a system and not by its intrinsic characteristics”,<sup>177</sup> nevertheless applies to my body of works. This also recalls Hatten’s argument that “the qualitative character of a musical gesture, and its continuities, typically enables us to infer a precise (if unnamable) expressive motivation or modality, and thus, in many cases, an implied agency (or in special cases, a persona, or actant, or character) in an enacted (or in special cases narrated) drama or ‘story’”.<sup>178</sup> It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to delve deeply into the wide-ranging field of narrative approaches to operas.<sup>179</sup> However, the fact that operas are plot-based is

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<sup>173</sup> Jean-Jacques Nattiez and Katharine Ellis, “Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?”, *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, Vol. 115, No. 2 (1990), p. 245. This also perhaps recalls Monelle’s statement that “Attempts to transfer anthropological and philosophical accounts to music have generally led to confusion and special pleading.” Raymond Monelle, *The Sense of Music: semiotic essays* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), p. 98.

<sup>174</sup> Nattiez and Ellis, “Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?”, p. 249.

<sup>175</sup> Fred Everett Maus, “Music As Narrative”, *Indiana Theory Review*, Vol. 12 (Spring and Fall 1991), p. 14.

<sup>176</sup> Gregory Karl, “Structuralism and Musical Plot”, *Music Theory Spectrum* Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring 1997), p. 14.

<sup>177</sup> Karl, “Structuralism and Musical Plot”, p. 17.

<sup>178</sup> Hatten, *Interpreting musical gestures*, p. 233.

<sup>179</sup> Carolyn Abbate, whom I do cite here, is of course a key figure in this field.

inarguable, and thus when dealing with opera fantasias, which obviously draw on operas with clear and explicit plots, connections between narrative or plot and music are relatively unproblematic.

Beyond this, fantasias create their own narratives, which differ from and comment on the original plots of the operas on which they are based; in this way fantasias can be described as “narrative-squared”, functioning as the narrative or discourse of the opera’s events or story, which is in turn its own narrative or discourse. There are two key differences between a fantasia and its opera which allow for this second level of narrative. A fantasia generally does not include all of the characters of an opera, or even all of the principal characters. Instead, the composer focuses on one or two characters; this serves not only to alter the plot, but also to alter the focus of the narrative’s point of view. Unlike in textless music, where instruments more frequently reference “interchangeable agencies, rather than defined and consistent characters in their own right”, in opera fantasias instruments frequently do consistently become specific characters – although they also switch between characters during the course of a fantasia.<sup>180</sup> Nevertheless, though this difference between agent and character allows for the specific and referential narratives of opera fantasias, textless music and fantasias do share the ability to evoke, through musical gesture, motivation, agency, and “story”.<sup>181</sup> Additionally, just as even the simplest narrative alters the time in which events occur by condensing them into an experienced medium, and just as more complex narratives alter time by reordering events, fantasias depart from the chronology of the original opera through the reordering of material and through the omitting of themes, scenes, or even entire acts.

Pasculli’s *Fantasia sull’opera Poliuto di Donizetti* provides a clear example of the creation of narrative in a fantasia through limiting characters and altering chronology. In this fantasia Pasculli seems to align the oboe with Poliuto, the tragic male title character; Pasculli uses seven themes from the opera in his composition, three of which are sung by Poliuto. (I mention his gender as Pasculli more typically casts the oboe as the tragic female role and alters her story to have a happy ending.) The majority of the other themes are sung in the opera by either the chorus of priests or Severo, a Roman official, recreating the conflict between Poliuto, a Christian convert, and the ruling pagan Romans. It is that conflict which leads to the death of Poliuto and his wife Paolina at the end of the opera. By limiting the characters who appear in the fantasia, the narrative can focus more closely on a single aspect of conflict.

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<sup>180</sup> Hatten, *Interpreting musical gestures*, p. 232.

<sup>181</sup> See Hatten, *Interpreting musical gestures*, p. 233, as quoted above.



Pasculli emphasizes two themes through the length and complexity of the ornamentations and variations which he composes on Donizetti's melodies. Curiously, though his chosen themes imply that Pasculli almost excludes Poliuto's wife, Paolina, from his narrative (only one of the themes in the fantasia is sung by Paolina alone), her cabaletta "Perchè di stolto giubilo" is one of the two treated most extensively. Almost exactly a third of the musical material is drawn from this cabaletta, 120 bars out of a total of 363. But while Pasculli is clearly taken by the music which Paolina sings, he seemingly tries to distance the oboe from her character rather than to align the two. As he does in many of his pieces, Pasculli uses a theme whose operatic orchestral accompaniment ornaments the vocal melody; thus Pasculli can include a line which is both ornamented and drawn directly from the opera. Here, as made clear by looking at Pasculli's treatment of Poliuto's themes, this difficult-but-not-too-difficult, instrumental-yet-vocal separates Paolina from the oboe.

The other theme which Pasculli emphasizes is sung by Poliuto, and Pasculli emphasizes it through virtuosity, rather than length. Though fewer than 40 bars are dedicated to Poliuto's prayer "Dell'iniqua, del protervo" from the finale of Act 2, the material which Pasculli writes is very difficult, and certainly the showpiece of the fantasia. Pasculli seems to use slow, emotional themes and virtuosic work to associate the oboe with a character or plot line, and as a result this fantasia reads as a character study of Poliuto. The three themes connected to Poliuto include the final one used in the fantasia, one of the two slow sections of the piece, and this most virtuosic variation. They also all deal with Poliuto's newfound religion, two being prayers to God and one taken from a duet which, though sung with Paolina, focuses on Poliuto's willingness to die rather than renounce Christianity. The two sing that "the sound of angels' harps I already feel about me! (Il suon dell'arpe angeliche / d'intorno a me già sento!)" as they enter the amphitheatre in which they will die. Rather than retelling a love story in this fantasia, Pasculli seems to meditate on Poliuto's religious development throughout the opera.

If a fantasia can be shown to present a narrative distinct from that of the opera, "the question then becomes: how does the composer handle this narrative; what is the nature of the interaction between paradigmatic plot and succession of events in the individual movement or piece?"<sup>182</sup> There are of course as many theories of plot paradigm or archetype as of narrative itself, but Almén's division of plots into four archetypes – romance, tragedy, irony, and comedy – and the alignment of these archetypes along the axes of victory-defeat and order-transgression function well in combination with fantasias' interactions with both plot and

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<sup>182</sup> Anthony Newcomb, "Schumann and Late Eighteenth-Century Narrative Strategies", *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (Autumn 1987), p. 167.

culture.<sup>183</sup> In fantasias, what is the nature of the interaction between the opera (the original “plot”) and the portrayal of the opera (the narrative) in the fantasia? Frequently opera fantasias recast a tragic plot into a romantic victory; this might be seen straightforwardly as Almén’s “romance” except for his description of the romance archetype as victorious but order affirming. Opera fantasias are often order affirming in their use of the opera’s leading romantic pair and in their emphasis on a traditional happy ending, but by contradicting the operatic ending they may align better with Almén’s comedies, which are victorious but transgressive. In Pasculli’s fantasia on *Poliuto*, though, the narrative is limited and altered by avoiding the opera’s love triangle and instead focusing on religion and – unusually – embracing the tragic end of *Poliuto* and Paolina.

### 3.3.2. The narrative’s narrator: presence and influence

Having established the presence of narrative in a musical work, the next question that must be asked, one that can be much more challenging in music than in literature, is: who is narrating? Is it the composer? The performer? The character being played by the instrument or instrumentalist? For fantasias, the issue of the identity or presence of a narrator in a musical narrative is specifically relevant as the fantasia’s composer, while literally the creator of a fantasia’s narrative, both shares the responsibility of narration with the instrumental soloists and avoids overt narrative responsibilities.<sup>184</sup> It is not precisely Pasculli who relates the story of *Poliuto*: Maus describes musical attempts to narrate as “not exactly those of the composer or performer, but...best understood as behavior in a fictional world created through the music”.<sup>185</sup> This fictional world can be inhabited by fictional characters, whose “actions and psychological states” are invented through the musical narrative, or it can be the realm of “fictionalized versions of the composer or performers”.<sup>186</sup> The distance of the narrator from composer is stated more or less strongly by theorists, some arguing merely for the presence of fictional characters and some presenting musical narrative as fundamentally deceptive. Edward T. Cone answers the question “who is speaking?” by turning to literature: “A basic act of dramatic impersonation underlies all poetry, all fiction, indeed all literature worth the name”, and thus, as in poetry and fiction where the narrator is a “persona” more or less

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<sup>183</sup> Byron Almén, *A Theory of Musical Narrative* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), pp. 67, 225.

<sup>184</sup> Of course, this becomes more tangled when, as in opera fantasias, the composer and the performer are generally one in the same.

<sup>185</sup> Maus, “Music As Narrative”, p. 13-14.

<sup>186</sup> Fred Everett Maus, “Music as Drama”, *Music Theory Spectrum*, Vol. 10, 10th Anniversary Issue (Spring, 1988), p. 67.

detached from the author, it is not the composer who speaks in a work of musical narrative.<sup>187</sup> In some ways, this is merely an extension of issues relating to composer or author intentions which arise in the analysis of any music or literature; subtext, connections, structures, emotions can all be uncovered in works without having to be attributed to purposeful decisions by the author or composer.

However, issues of narrator identity add another layer of complicating remove to this discussion of intention when analysing a work. How does the narrator influence or appear in the narrative itself? As Maus states, “if the analysis contains description of an action or motivation that cannot be ascribed to the composer or performers, and if this fact does not show that the analysis is wrong, then it seems the analysis involves the ascription of at least one action to an imaginary agent”.<sup>188</sup> This “agent” functions as the narrator of a literary work, who, as discussed above, is distinct from the writer. Addressing issues of performers in opera and instrumental music, Cone also argues that the performer is not the narrator of a work of music. To him, “every composition is an utterance depending on an act of impersonation which it is the duty of the performer or performers to make clear”.<sup>189</sup> In opera, “the singer ... enact[s] the musical persona’s conception of the character; that is, he is quoting rather than talking”,<sup>190</sup> and in transcriptions, “if the song is a familiar one, its melody is presumably clear to us, and we can mentally follow the text along with it, thus recreating an imaginary vocal persona.”<sup>191</sup> The effect is the same for a fantasia.

In a fantasia, the narrator occupies a triangulated abstract position between instrumentalist, composer, and character. Pasculli’s *Fantasia per oboe sopra motivi dell’opera “Gli Ugonotti” di G. Meyerbeer*, in which Pasculli associates the oboe with the character Marguerite by selectively including themes that raise issues of duty and choice, highlights this position. Pasculli is the narrator; he chooses which scenes are shown, which characters are portrayed, what attitudes are highlighted. Marguerite is the narrator; the fantasia is presented from her point of view, emphasizing her role in the opera and her opinions. The oboist is the narrator; Pasculli associates the oboe with Marguerite’s character and it is through the oboist that the music comes to life and is heard separately from the opera on which it is based. Yet it is only through the combination of all of these that the fantasia can present a narrative, and, as in all instrumental music, the composer is not literally expressing opinions through music, the character is not literally speaking, and the instrument is not

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<sup>187</sup> Edward T. Cone, *The Composer’s Voice* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1974), p. 2.

<sup>188</sup> Maus, “Music as Drama”, p. 67.

<sup>189</sup> Cone, *The Composer’s Voice*, p. 5.

<sup>190</sup> Cone, *The Composer’s Voice*, p. 13.

<sup>191</sup> Cone, *The Composer’s Voice*, p. 78.

literally playing a role. This fantasia bridges Pasculli's two means of organizing fantasias, that of an altered love story and that of a character study. Pasculli's alignment with Marguerite has another side effect; he concentrates on the person who engineers the romance rather than one of the participants in the love story, and her intended ending to the story rather than the actual ending as in the opera. Pasculli thus emphasizes the character who does within the world of the opera what he does within the world of the fantasia.

Abbate goes beyond Maus and Cone in her analysis of narration, arguing that Wagner, for example, creates "scene[s] of narrating-as-lying (characters and music appear to describe incorrectly or differently certain events that we ourselves have witnessed)".<sup>192</sup> In the case of opera fantasias, the specific identity of the narrator, who could equally be argued as a third-person, removed, fictional composer or as the characters who are emphasized by the piece, is less important than how the leading characters are personified in the fantasia.<sup>193</sup> However, following Abbate, fantasias could be interpreted not as narratives which alter or subvert the original story of the opera, but as narratives in which the character purposely presents a narrative counter to fact which follows events as the character would have wished. After all, a strength of narrative is that "the truth of a descriptive passage cannot be checked alongside reality. It purports, not to represent something external to itself, but to draw the reader into an elaborated descriptive system by means of certain indices of fictionality".<sup>194</sup> We could view the narrative of Pasculli's second fantasia on *Un Ballo in Maschera* as a story created by Riccardo in which Amelia is able to escape her tragic operatic fate and instead come live with him happily (ever after), and the narrative of his *Simpatichi Ricordi della Traviata* as a "pleasant" story created by Alfredo, portraying a dream world in which Violetta did not die after their reconciliation, but instead returned to her initial state of health and happiness.

### 3.3.3. Narratives and Formal Repetition

A constant sticking point in mapping coherent narratives onto instrumental music is the issue of formal repetition, an extremely common musical trope that is fundamental to the structure of some Classical forms and that can quickly undermine emotional growth or plot

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<sup>192</sup> Abbate, *Unsung Voices*, p. xiv. In contrast, Nattiez argues that music cannot lie: "because of necessity the task of linking these phantoms of characters to suggestions of action will fall to me, the listener: it is not within the semiological possibilities of music to link a subject to a predicate." (Jean-Jacques Nattiez and Katharine Ellis, "Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?", p. 244.)

<sup>193</sup> This is also reminiscent of Hatten's discussion of "super-subjectivity": "The subjectivity that we might attribute to a principal agent, and perhaps assume for ourselves as listeners or performers, may become that of a super-subjectivity – one that experiences not only dramatic power, as with heroic gestures enacted in the musical discourse, but also narrative power, as in the implied ability to control one's own virtual existence by provoking and then dismissing an imagined threat as harmless." Hatten, *Interpreting musical gestures*, pp. 230-231.

<sup>194</sup> Monelle, pp. 133-134.

development by necessitating a return to an earlier emotional state. In the nineteenth century, the increasing “problematization” of these forms, particularly sonata form, helped to spur on the applications of narrative analysis to instrumental music.<sup>195</sup> But despite this, as Gregory Karl explains, “the architectonic requirements” that extended formal repetitions “satisfy in music have no counterparts in narrative literature or drama”; thus they are often seen as “dramatically superfluous” and “discounted, rationalized, or simply left unacknowledged” by narrative analysis.<sup>196</sup> Yet an attempt at a coherent narrative for a composition as a whole must obviously seem less persuasive if a portion of the composition cannot be acknowledged within the world of the narrative. Edward T. Cone argues that “formal repetitions are often best interpreted as representations of events rehearsed in memory”, but this tactic is hardly fool-proof.<sup>197</sup> As Karl points out, “the problem with this interpretive strategy is that while it may be plausible as an account of an isolated work, it is bound to seem fetishistic applied to ten” – though Karl allows that “it nevertheless has considerable merit in the interpretation of varied repetitions”.<sup>198</sup> More persuasive is Monelle’s careful distinction between “syntactic” and “semantic” musical time: “musical syntax does not *necessarily* carry semantic weight; the failure to distinguish syntactic and semantic temporality has led to much confusion in the temporal theory of music”.<sup>199</sup>

This discomfort with Classical forms can lead to an association of musical narrative with music’s “most heterogeneous, its most self-conscious, its most experimental” forms or departures from form.<sup>200</sup> Fantasias, which generally lack formal repetitions, often sidestep this issue, thereby falling into Karl’s exception. Varied repetitions more easily fit into convincing narratives; not only do they occur in different locations between fantasias – a theme can easily repeat immediately, or after a single intermediate theme, or after several other themes have appeared – they also occur in many different forms. While similarities of variation naturally occur within fantasias, particularly those of a single composer, fantasias do not follow the standard variation progression of a traditional Classical theme-and-variation set.

In *Fantasia due sopra motivi dell’opera “Un ballo in maschera” di Verdi* (so named because it is in fact his second fantasia on the opera), Pasculli retells the love story of Amelia

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<sup>195</sup> Newcomb, “Schumann and Late Eighteenth-Century Narrative Strategies”, p. 174.

<sup>196</sup> Karl, “Structuralism and Musical Plot”, p. 27. This perhaps raises the spectre of Mahler’s rather dramatic assertion that “every repetition is already a lie”; composers frequently seem to have agreed with the problematization of formal repetitions, though infrequently by explicitly citing narrative qualms. Raymond Knapp, *Symphonic Metamorphoses: Subjectivity and Alienation in Mahler’s Re-Cycled Songs* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2003), p. 167.

<sup>197</sup> Edward T. Cone, “Schubert’s Promissory Note: An Exercise in Musical Hermeneutics,” *19th-Century Music*, Vol. 5 (1982), p. 240.

<sup>198</sup> Karl, “Structuralism and Musical Plot”, p. 28.

<sup>199</sup> Monelle, p. 83.

<sup>200</sup> Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900*, p. 209.

and Riccardo not only by selecting and reordering themes, but also by repeating them. The cor anglais at various points takes on the characters of both lovers, while the piano plays Renato, who is both the villain and Amelia's husband. Pasculli's non-literal repetition of two key themes, one associated with the lovers and one with the villain, functions both to keep the main plot of the opera present in listeners' minds and to shape his own narrative. Continually returning to Renato in the accompaniment, Pasculli seems poised on the edge of bending to the tragic narrative of the opera rather than creating his own restructured abbreviation. However, as the fantasia nears its conclusion, Renato's music is supplanted by additional themes from Riccardo and Amelia's love scene. In the world of Pasculli's fantasia, love triumphs over tragedy. Rather than sounding as a content-less formal repetition or as an emotional regression, the repetition here draws in the audience through the development of an opera-based but significantly altered story.

In the context of fantasias, form is both inseparable from narrative (as the fantasia's form creates the narrative while the looseness of this form allows narrative to be the most noticeable formal element of the work) and also able to be discarded when addressing narrative (as fantasias lack strong Classical forms that add significant meaning to structural analyses of these works). Almén writes that "narrative music is often thought to be in some way problematic or idiosyncratic; that is, we tend to resort to narrative interpretations when traditional formal, harmonic, and generic paradigms do not apply."<sup>201</sup> This is true of fantasias in that traditional formal and harmonic analyses are not particularly fruitful as interpretive tools; yet generic paradigms do play an important role in understanding fantasias and their reception. So I do not view narrative theory as something "to resort to" in the case of fantasias, but rather, as Almén also writes, as a way of "articulating the dynamics and possible outcomes of conflict or interaction between elements, rendering meaningful the temporal succession of events, and coordinating these events into an interpretive whole."<sup>202</sup>

### 3.3.4. The story and the discourse

Having established the presence of narrative in opera fantasias and ways in which issues of narrators, characters, plot, and form can manifest themselves in fantasias and aid in the analysis of fantasias, I turn to the most interesting and relevant aspect of narrative theory for the analysis of fantasias: the question of the ways in which the story, or the events, differs from the discourse, or the portrayal of the events (the narrative). A key aspect of narrative theory, originating in the field of literature, is the distinction between a given narrative and the

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<sup>201</sup> Almén, *A Theory of Musical Narrative*, p. 3.

<sup>202</sup> Almén, *A Theory of Musical Narrative*, p. 13.

truth behind the narrative, which can easily be hidden or altered by the narrator. Theorists argue, sometimes paradoxically, both that narrative has the power to reveal the truth behind events and also that it has the power to conceal the truth. Though not an exact parallel, this resonates with the arguments regarding whether musical narrative is purely subjective – and thus not useful as a form of criticism – and whether musical narrative reveals historical attitudes towards music or historical social patterns.

Fred Maus, citing literary theorists Seymour Chatman and Gérard Genette, lays out the distinction between story and discourse, “between what is told, and how it is told; or, one could say, between events and their descriptions or depictions.”<sup>203</sup>

- (1) Discourse may order events differently from their order in the story.
- (2) Story and discourse may differ with regard to the frequency of an event; that is, an event that occurs once in the story may be mentioned repeatedly, or a type of event that occurs often in the story may be summarized in discourse by a single mention.
- (3) The duration of the discourse, or, in prose narrative, the implied time of reading, may differ from the time taken by the event in the story; relatedly, the temporal proportions within the descriptions or depictions may differ from those of the events.<sup>204</sup>

He follows up by “asking whether a distinction between story and discourse is possible in music” and whether temporal distinctions, crucial in the development of space between narrator and story, are possible in music.<sup>205</sup> Theorists such as Kivy, who unequivocally states that music “unfold[s] in the present tense”,<sup>206</sup> and Nattiez, who implies the same by stating that narrative causation “cannot be inscribed in the musical syntax”,<sup>207</sup> argue that instrumental music is fundamentally non-temporal, but the answer to both of Maus’s questions when dealing with opera fantasias is “yes”; this confirms that fantasias can be said to function as narrations of operas. Fantasias serve as commentary on the “story” of the opera, allowing for critical space between the story and the discourse presented in a fantasia, and also allow for temporal distinctions. Not only does the fantasia literally happen after the opera, but, as mentioned above, the fantasia can play on the timing of the opera’s story, presenting events “out of order” or in “flashback”, depicting the passage of time, or even omitting events entirely. Maus seems to agree, deciding that some musical gestures could be seen “as reaching into the past to show the events that led [to them]”.<sup>208</sup> Monelle arrives at the same conclusion

<sup>203</sup> Maus, “Music As Narrative”, pp. 21-22. Seymour Chatman, *Story and Discourse* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978).

<sup>204</sup> Maus, “Music As Narrative”, pp. 22-23. Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse*, trans. Jane E. Lewin (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980).

<sup>205</sup> Maus, “Music As Narrative”, p. 22.

<sup>206</sup> Karl, “Structuralism and Musical Plot”, p. 16.

<sup>207</sup> Nattiez and Ellis, “Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?”, p. 250. Maus argues (see “Music As Narrative”) that music can in fact hold syntactical links.

<sup>208</sup> Maus, “Music As Narrative”, pp. 28-29.

by different means, arguing that “music, then, can subsist in time without taking time; the temporal signified may be a seamless present, even though the musical expression is full of events”; “the extended present of lyric time becomes a space where the remembered and imagined past is reflected”.<sup>209</sup> Here, we see a way in which narrative can be interpreted as revealing the truth behind a story.

In fantasias, does the discourse present a truthful or fictional version of the story? That is, do Pasculli’s fantasias in which a tragic opera is given a happy ending create an alternate story in which the opera’s tragedy is avoided or dismissed, or do they present a fictional discourse that obscures the actual events of the tragedy? As mentioned above, the avoidance of operatic tragedy in these works might be seen as a “dream” narrative in which a character pretends events have worked out more happily than they do in the opera’s “reality”. In her discussion of women in opera, Abbate speaks of the narrator’s “audible flight from the continuum that embeds it”,<sup>210</sup> and of the ways that the “neglected” but “undefeated” voice of a female character “speaks across the crushing plot” of an opera.<sup>211</sup> For Abbate, the transformation of a woman into “a kind of musical instrument” through a focus on her vocal power means that “vocal performance will indeed overpower plot”.<sup>212</sup> This resonates with the ways in which the instrumental embodiment of (often female) vocal parts in opera fantasias allows a fantasia to overpower the plot of an opera in favour of its own altered plot.

Additionally, fantasias reinterpret operas through the alteration of or focusing on characters or plot points. As “narrative is a process of continual reinterpretation”, “nothing could be more ordinary than for a twist of narrative to alter the meaning, expand the context, redefine the origin of an action”.<sup>213</sup> As in a detective story, the composer can use a fantasia to present a narrative twist away from an original, as-expected ending; this is a key component of Edward T. Cone’s theories in “Three Ways of Reading a Detective Story – Or a Brahms Intermezzo”, in which he describes the potential effect of narrative temporal manipulation “on a willing, sensitive reader”.<sup>214</sup> This approach also provides a way to read the narrative of fantasias, which can be seen not as re-writing the story in order to reveal or focus on its truth, but as concealing parts of the truth behind it in presenting a “surprise” happy ending to the audience. The musical effect is the same – and in some ways the critical overtones are as well – but the connotations are different.

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<sup>209</sup> Monelle, pp. 88, 115.

<sup>210</sup> Abbate, *Unsung Voices*, p. 29.

<sup>211</sup> Abbate, *Unsung Voices*, p. ix.

<sup>212</sup> Abbate, *Unsung Voices*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>213</sup> Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900*, p. 183.

<sup>214</sup> Cone, “Three Ways of Reading a Detective Story”, p. 561. Jean-Jacques Nattiez’s “Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?” includes similar ideas.



As mentioned above, because of the distinctions that can be made within narrative theory between the composer and the narrator, narrative theory offers a helpful means of avoiding issues of composer intentions when writing about how music can both reflect its context and critique it. Fantasias, for example, can reflect contemporary gender norms, both reinforcing traditional associations between instruments and gender characteristics (as discussed above in 3.2) and offering means of escape from or subversion of constrictive gendered opera plots, without the composer making an overt or even purposeful statement. The gender implications of fantasias and their re-worked plots in some ways follow Susan McClary's work on "feminist models of narrativity" in which she argues "that music since the seventeenth century has been regularly engaged in the cultural work of constructing gender identities and the ideological work of enforcing them".<sup>215</sup>

A related (and popular) argument in favour of narrative analysis is that it can help modern listeners to understand how original audiences would have heard pieces of instrumental music. But nineteenth-century approaches to the analysis of musical narrative are a sticking point for many twentieth-century theorists. It is a certain fact that full-fledged narratives were written and mapped onto textless instrumental music in the nineteenth century as a way of analyzing both form and emotional content. Carolyn Abbate picks out narratives of *Eroica*, which "invariably describe a plot or series of actions", as "representative of nineteenth-century narrative analysis in general", specifically addressing those of A.B. Marx and Berlioz.<sup>216</sup> For some, these historical narratives suggest the ultimately non-narrative nature of music; for others, they become arguments for a resurgence of narrative analysis. Nattiez hypothesizes excerpts of a similar narrative to emphasize the lack of knowable information provided by such analyses:

I may well hear a march in Mahler's Second Symphony and imagine that it concerns a group of men, but I don't know which men. The march can come closer and then recede, and two processions even, as in Ives's *Three Places in New England*, may cross, but I don't know where they have come from or where they are heading. Listening to *Till Eulenspiegel*, and with the help of the title, I can readily agree that it concerns the life and death of a character. I certainly hear that he moves, jumps, etc. But what exactly does he do? I don't know.<sup>217</sup>

In fantasias, these issues are less pressing as themes are clearly associated with specific characters and plot events. Thus, we know what the primary emotions are in Pasculli's presentation of "Morrò, ma prima in grazia" from *Un ballo in maschera*, we know the

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<sup>215</sup> Kramer, "Musical Narratology: A Theoretical Outline", p. 149. See Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), pp. 3-79.

<sup>216</sup> Abbate, *Unsung Voices*, p. 21.

<sup>217</sup> Nattiez and Ellis, "Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?", p. 245.

character to whom “Bella figlia dell’amore” from *Rigoletto* is directed, we know which “group of men”, to quote Nattiez, is involved in a fantasia’s piano interlude or oboe cadenza.

### 3.3.5. Why use narrative theory?

Having established both the presence of narrative in opera fantasias and its ambiguities by addressing the presence of events and characters, the use of temporal distortion, the issue of narrator identity, the interactions with musical forms, and the technique of reinterpretation, the final question is then: why use narrative theory to analyze music in general and fantasias in particular? Fred Maus, returning to the topic of narrative in 2005 after having published several articles on the subject during its earlier musicological flourishing, decided in the end that “the notion of narrative, brought into interpretive relation with instrumental music, is neither heroic nor scandalously naïve. It is something to try, one way and another.”<sup>218</sup> As I mentioned above, narrative theory offers a way to discuss the form of fantasias, which can resist analysis along traditional structural lines. Beyond this, however, narrative theory offers a lens with which to look at the ways in which fantasias fit into or struggle against the society and culture in which they were composed. “But the composer is a being immersed in his or her culture. With the specific means of music and without necessarily trying to ‘relate something’, the composer can aim to present to us, in music, an attitude which it is then the responsibility of historical and cultural exegesis to interpret.”<sup>219</sup> This goes beyond the unconscious reflection or disruption of gender norms mentioned above and includes even the concept of analytically approaching music through the lens of narrative.

To return to the argument that narrative analysis provides a lens for modern listeners into the ways that contemporary audiences would have heard specific pieces, Anthony Newcomb explains that “Not only is it concerned with conventions in their historical context; it is also concerned with evidence as to how they were understood in their own era...as a source of insight into the operations of a competent listener of that time”.<sup>220</sup> Maus and Abbate take similar approaches, stressing the potential usefulness of “the application of general strategies that are also instantiated in historical texts”<sup>221</sup> and of “nineteenth-century insights”<sup>222</sup> respectively. This connection between narrative and historical context also forms a large part of Almén’s theory: “the specific identity of narrative as a signifying mechanism –

<sup>218</sup> Fred Everett Maus, “Classical Instrumental Music and Narrative”, *A Companion to Narrative Theory*, ed. by James Phelan and Peter J. Rabinowitz (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2005), p. 481.

<sup>219</sup> Nattiez and Ellis, “Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?”, p. 257.

<sup>220</sup> Newcomb, “Schumann and Late Eighteenth-Century Narrative Strategies”, p. 165.

<sup>221</sup> Maus, “Narrative, Drama, and Emotion in Instrumental Music”, p. 301.

<sup>222</sup> Abbate, *Unsung Voices*, p. 25. Abbate argues that there is a “modern fear of excessively specific analogies between musical events and the drama that music is said to express”.

its attention to hierarchy and conflict – represents a tantalizing bridge linking music and meaning and the cultures that they implicate and within which they are embedded.”<sup>223</sup> And although, as can be seen here, the emphasis from musicologists has often been on the experience of the audience, Rink emphasizes that “the communication of ‘meaning’ lay at the heart of a nineteenth-century performance rhetoric” as well.<sup>224</sup>

Newcomb points out that “the conception of music as a composed novel, as a psychologically true course of ideas, was and is an important avenue to the understanding of much nineteenth-century music”.<sup>225</sup> This blithely elides two issues, the idea of music as a plot-carrying “novel” and the idea of music as inherently “psychologically true” in its depiction of events. Both ideas were prevalent in nineteenth-century musical analysis, and certainly some writers did conceive of their mapped narratives as depictions of the emotional truth of a given composition. In later discussion, though, they are generally treated as two separate issues. But this is a balancing game; those nineteenth-century writers whose approach to instrumental music was full of subjective emotions and fanciful turns of the imagination, for whom “music is conceived as vividly representational of defined human passions and actions”, surely believed that their narratives were revealing psychological truths.<sup>226</sup> For some, it is exactly the subjective nature of musical narratives that gives them their power. Abbate believes that “to see how music might narrate, paradoxical as the formulation may seem, we must see how it does not enact actions from a nonmusical world, but is instead noncongruent with that world in retelling it.”<sup>227</sup>

Like critiques of opera overtures, such as those by Kierkegaard, E.T.A. Hoffmann, and Ulybyshev of Mozart’s *Don Giovanni*, in which “the overture provides a *musical* metaphor, as it were, for the dramatic configuration governing the action of the opera as a whole”,<sup>228</sup> and like Peter Kivy’s description of musical narration as “musical illustration of a narrative text, much in the manner...of an illustrated novel”, silent cinema, or even “musical play with spoken dialogue” – “a story told in words and illustrated in music”,<sup>229</sup> fantasias have been described as “the equivalent of the ‘Vaudeville of a novel’, or, as we might say today, the

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<sup>223</sup> Almén, *A Theory of Musical Narrative*, p. 228.

<sup>224</sup> Rink, “Translating Musical Meaning”, p. 237.

<sup>225</sup> Nattiez and Ellis, “Can One Speak of Narrativity in Music?”, p. 248. See Newcomb, “Once More ‘Between Absolute and Programme Music’”, p. 234.

<sup>226</sup> Abbate, *Unsung Voices*, p. 24.

<sup>227</sup> Abbate, *Unsung Voices*, p. 27.

<sup>228</sup> Thomas Grey, “Metaphorical Modes in Nineteenth-Century Music Criticism: Image, Narrative and Idea”, *Music and Text: Critical Inquiries*, Steven Paul Scher, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 115.

<sup>229</sup> Peter Kivy, *Sound and Semblance: Reflections on Musical Representation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), p. 195.

‘film of the book’”, and as translations, like “Pope’s *Iliad*” and “Fitzgerald’s *Rubaiyat*”, which are seen as legitimate works of art in themselves.<sup>230</sup>

### 3.3.6. Musical ecphrasis

Viewing opera fantasias as translations that are recognizable literature in their own right gives them power in a similar way to viewing fantasias as portrayals of works of art which are themselves art. Reinterpretation through description or recounting is an established technique in literature and poetry, where ecphrasis (also spelled ekphrasis) is “the literary description of a work of art, usually employing considerable rhetorical art.”<sup>231</sup>

Originally a Greek rhetorical technique, and originally also referring merely to “particularly vivid description of any kind”, ecphrasis has come to be used almost solely in literary analysis, where a further distinction is made between “notational” ecphrasis, the description of fictional works of art, and “actual” ecphrasis, the description of pre-existing works of art.<sup>232</sup> Perhaps the most famous examples are Homer’s description of Achilles’ shield in *The Iliad* and Keats’s “Ode on a Grecian Urn”. Because ecphrasis is by definition an artistic description, its use allows the writer to in some ways assume authorship of the described object. Keats describes the urn as “Thou still unravish’d bride of quietness,/ Thou foster-child of Silence and slow Time”, both drawing an object through words and manipulating his readers’ view of the object through his evocative language; it is the beautiful depiction of the vase by Keats that matters, not the reality of its appearance or its history.<sup>233</sup> As Ryan Welsh explains, “the true use of ekphrasis was not simply to provide astute details of an object, but to share the emotional experience and content with someone who had never encountered the work in question”.<sup>234</sup> Opera fantasias were targeted at audiences familiar with their themes, but they illustrate a similar impulse in music both to depict a work of art in a different genre and to reassign authorship or a work through interpretation.

Potential musical applications of ecphrasis have been discussed most directly by Siglind Bruhn in her book *Musical Ekphrasis: Composers Responding to Poetry and Painting*. She posits that musical ecphrasis is distinct from programme music, a separation that I find useful. I argue that ecphrasis is a specific mode of description with overtones distinct from those produced in a programmatic work. To say that there is no difference

<sup>230</sup> Kenneth Hamilton, *The opera fantasias and transcriptions of Franz Liszt: a critical study*, D.Phil Thesis (University of Oxford, 1989), p. 8.

<sup>231</sup> John Hollander, “Ecphrasis,” in *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, [database online], available from Oxford Art Online, accessed April 2016.

<sup>232</sup> Hollander, “Ecphrasis”.

<sup>233</sup> John Keats, p. 533.

<sup>234</sup> Ryan Welsh, “Ekphrasis”, in *The University of Chicago Theories of Media Keywords Glossary*, [database online], available from <http://csmt.uchicago.edu/glossary2004/ekphrasis.htm>, accessed June 2017.

between ecphrasis and programme music, as James Melo suggests in his review of Bruhn's book, seems equivalent to saying there is no difference between ecphrasis and description in poetry. Rather the one is a specific subset of, or a specific means of attaining, the other. However, I disagree with Bruhn's second large conceit, that musical ecphrasis is a new, fundamentally twentieth-century form.<sup>235</sup> This temporal argument seems strange and unwarranted; it is nonsensical to view musical ecphrasis as a successor to programme music rather than a technique which can appear in programme music or other narratively or textually or exteriorly bound music. Indeed, opera fantasia cannot easily be viewed as programme music itself. Musical ecphrasis is not a genre but a tool, just as traditional ecphrasis is a literary device and not a separate genre.

Nevertheless, Bruhn lays out a persuasive definition of ecphrasis as a three-part structure, which accords closely with previous definitions of ecphrasis but articulates its key points clearly and concisely:

To sum up: what must be present in every case of traditional ekphrasis is a three-tiered structure of reality and its artistic transformation:

- (1) a scene or story - fictitious or real,
- (2) a representation of that scene or story in visual form—a painting or drawing, photograph, carving, or sculpture (or, for that matter, in film or dance; in any mode that reaches us primarily through our visual perception), and
- (3) a rendering of that representation in poetic language. The poetic rendering can and should do more than merely describe the visual image. Characteristically, it evokes interpretations or additional layers of meaning, changes the beholders' focus, or guides their eyes towards details and contexts they might otherwise overlook.

Correspondingly, what must be present in every case of what I will refer to as *musical ekphrasis* is

- (1) a real or fictitious scene or story,
- (2) its representation in a visual or a verbal text, and
- (3) a rendering of that representation in musical language.<sup>236</sup>

Bruhn's three characteristics of musical ecphrasis all appear in opera fantasias, which depict in textless instrumental music a version of a story that previously appeared as a texted opera. Fantasias are often disparaged as unable or unwilling to adequately or accurately portray the action and musical world of an opera. However, just as in literary ecphrasis the author reinterprets the depicted work, opera fantasias allow composers a way to reinterpret or gain ownership over other composers' works and other genres by retelling a story or recasting a character.

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<sup>235</sup> Siglind Bruhn, *Musical Ekphrasis: Composers Responding to Poetry and Painting* (Hillsdale, NY: Pendragon, 2000), p. xxi.

<sup>236</sup> Bruhn, p. 8.

Fantasias often emphasize emotionally intense musical moments from operas through an extended statement of a theme or a particularly sparkling variation, and composers use this emphasis to edit the characters and stories which they borrow. Pasculli uses not only Verdi's or Donizetti's music, but his characters and structure, and altering one of these results in altering the others. Pasculli's tendency to alter the overall emotional content of operas, as expanded below, means that his fantasias are not an accurate description of another art work, but this approach is a common, even defining, characteristic of literary ecphrasis as well as of narratives. "Questions also always remain to be raised about the unspecified and unacknowledged partiality of ecphrastic representation.... What might in a literary work give the representation in language of a work of pictorial art its poetic or narrative power might lie just in its selectivity."<sup>237</sup> A composer's selectivity in drawing from a source opera strongly reveals a partiality which raises ecphrastic descriptions and opera fantasias alike from mere reporting to reinterpreting and establishes them of autonomous works of art.

### 3.3.7. A case study: *Simpatici Ricordi della Traviata fantasticati per oboe*

Having discussed how narrative theory as it has been applied to textless instrumental music is relevant to opera fantasias, let us look in more detail at the narrative form of one of Pasculli's fantasias, *Simpatici Ricordi della Traviata fantasticati per oboe*.<sup>238</sup> The title of the piece literally translates as "pleasant [or "amiable"] memories of *La traviata* fantasized for oboe"; *fantasticare* in infinitive form can also translate as "to daydream" or "to imagine". Thus here we see *La traviata* reimagined into a pleasant dream, as Pasculli ignores secondary characters and relationships in favour of focusing on music in which Alfredo and Violetta debate the merits of love, with Alfredo ultimately winning over Violetta. The tragedy of Alfredo's betrayal of Violetta is glossed over in the middle of the piece, and both the reconciliation and tragedy of Act 3 are completely removed from the fantasia's plot.

Pasculli includes four themes from *La traviata* in his fantasia, two from Act 1 and two from Act 2. He begins with Act 1's "Di quell'amor"/"A quell'amor", sung by Alfredo and Violetta respectively, in which Alfredo plants the idea of love in Violetta's mind, and she slowly begins to consider the concept seriously. Next, Pasculli moves to Act 2 and Violetta's "Dite alla giovine", which is sung by Violetta to Alfredo's father after he comes to ask her to renounce her relationship with, if not her love for, his son for the sake of his daughter's

<sup>237</sup> Hollander, "Ecphrasis".

<sup>238</sup> The entire score of this fantasia is provided in Appendix 2. I accessed this piece in Palermo in manuscript form. I am certainly not the first person to see this piece since Pasculli's time, as it has been edited, orchestrated, and published by Wolfgang Renz, but the piece is not widely available commercially and is virtually unknown in the English-speaking oboe world. See <http://wolfgang-renz-notendruck.de/instruments.php>.

reputation. Violetta responds with a message for Alfredo's sister (la giovine) in which she says that her love for Alfredo is the one thing keeping her alive, but that she will give it up for the sake of the daughter. After this, Pasculli presents the *brindisi* from Act 1, which again is sung by both Alfredo ("Libiamo") and Violetta ("Tra voi"), with Alfredo making a claim for love that Violetta denounces publicly and almost flippantly. The final theme, "Oh infamia orribile", is drawn from the Act 2 Finale, where it is sung by the chorus and male secondary characters. It seems thematically out of place in this fantasia until the listener remembers that here the singers chastise Alfredo for his reaction to being scorned by Violetta in order to fulfil the demands of Alfredo's father. Their expressions of horror begin a scene of manic actions and reactions which in the end seem to lead directly to Violetta's death. (Never mind her inevitable death from tuberculosis, which would have occurred regardless of romantic entanglements or disasters.) But rather than allowing this chaos to play out, Pasculli rewinds to Alfredo's convincing plea for the power of love which first awakened Violetta's heart to the possibility of romance; Pasculli returns to his first theme, into which he inserts the *brindisi*. Finally, the fantasia concludes with a short virtuosic finale section with no clear melodic reference.

Table 1. Overview of themes and structure

		Operatic Source	Length	Key
1.	Theme 1 (A)	Act 1 #4 "Di quell'amor" (Alfredo)/ #6 "A quell'amor" (Violetta)	58 bars	F
2.	Theme 2 (B)	Act 2 #8 "Dite alla giovine" (Violetta)	54 bars	F
3.	Theme 3 (C)	Act 1 #3 <i>brindisi</i> "Libiamo" (Alfredo)/"Tra voi" (Violetta)	24 bars	G
4.	Theme 4 (D)	Act 2 #14 Finale "Oh infamia orribile" (Men & coro)	59 bars	g
5.	Theme 1 (A)	Act 1 #4/6 (reprise)	24 bars	A
6.	Theme 3 (C)	Act 1 #3 (reprise)	17 bars	C
7.	Theme 1 (A)	Act 1 #4/6 (second reprise)	24 bars	F
8.	(Coda)	Finale run-out	14 bars	F

Can *Simpatichi Ricordi* be explained well theoretically using a more traditional analysis? Formally, the fantasia best fits into a quasi-rondo or arch form, with a structure ABCDACA; of the 274 bars in the piece, 106 are theme A, which serves as the refrain. Although theme A does not appear before each new theme is introduced, the idea of rotations, which begin with "each successive appearance of the refrain", still maps loosely onto the piece.<sup>239</sup> The first two themes (AB) pair straightforwardly as a rotation, reinforced through

<sup>239</sup> James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 390.

their shared key; the third and fourth themes (CD) can be seen as a quasi-rotational pair linked through their relative major and minor keys; the return to themes A and C again form a straightforward rotation; and the piece ends with “A + coda (a full coda rotation)”.<sup>240</sup> In some ways, *Simpatici Ricordi* seems better suited rondo form as conceived of as a “large-scale ternary structure”, an older theoretical view which sonata theorists James Hepokoski and Warren Darcy feel “obscure[s] the rotational impulse that underlies this form”.<sup>241</sup> This view of the rondo reinforces the significance of the return of both theme 1 and theme 3 and provides a theoretical framework to explain why theme 4, an outlier tonally and metrically as well as in terms of its position in the opera’s plot and in instrumentation, might purposefully be unlike the rest of the fantasia.<sup>242</sup>

Tonally, however, *Simpatici Ricordi* does not map well onto rondo form. Pasculli meanders upwards through the majority of the composition, eschewing closely related keys in favour of stepwise motion. The work as a whole is clearly in the key of F major. Not only does it straightforwardly open and close in F, it also, in its final presentation of the third theme, prepares for a return to F through a passage in C major (V). It seems likely that Pasculli chose F as the key for his fantasia because his theme 1, “quell’amor”, which functions as the refrain of this quasi-rondo, is in F in the opera; “Dite alla giovane” then has simply been transposed up a step from E flat to match. His transposition of the *brindisi* from B flat major, a closely related key to the fantasia’s tonic, to G major and his subsequent transposition of “Oh infamia orribile” from c minor to g minor are harder to rationalize. The initial impulse may be to assume a range-related reason, a means of working around the oboe’s limitations. Any notes impacted appear only in the cadenza at the end of the *brindisi* section and there only briefly; however, the change does allow for the theme to sit lower in the oboe’s range and thus potentially sound more “mysterious” (see below). Pasculli emphasizes F and C through thematic repetition, as well as through their tonic-dominant relationship and position in the fantasia, while simultaneously emphasizing F and g minor through an implied ternary structure and through the length spent in each of the two keys.

Although “rondo” is a better term for this fantasia’s form than “rondeau” due to length and complexity of the refrain and episodes, the piece lacks true “retransitions”, which properly set up the refrain’s return to tonic and which, as per Hepokoski and Darcy, are “a crucial marker of the rondo”.<sup>243</sup> Pasculli does modulate through short passages between

<sup>240</sup> Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 390.

<sup>241</sup> Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 392, footnote 13.

<sup>242</sup> Metrically, the fantasia is almost entirely in triple meter, either 3/8 or 6/8, with the exception of theme 4, which is in 2/4.

<sup>243</sup> Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, pp. 391, 398.



themes, or during virtuosic ornamenting sections, as in his presentation of the *brindisi*, during which he shifts from G to A to a to F before returning to G by way of E flat. Some of his transitions are masterful, as when he moves from the cadenza concluding the initial presentation of “quell’amor”, which ends on a C7 chord, by transforming the leading B flat into the tonic of b flat minor. However, he rarely returns to the tonic key; once he modulates to G, he does not return to F until roughly the last 40 bars. This instead recalls the “anomalous” and “idiosyncratic rondos of C. P. E. Bach”,<sup>244</sup> which Charles Rosen describes as “essentially modulating fantasias”<sup>245</sup> and which are an exception to the norm of always presenting the refrain in the tonic. However, the nonstandard nature of Pasculli’s modulations also recalls Verdi’s opera itself; Verdi often features modulations just as haphazard as those in a fantasia, and equally did not structure his operas using large-scale Classical forms.

This fantasia is also challenging to map tonally onto rondo form in a second way. “Symmetrical” rondos are a relatively common variant of the form in which “an initial rotation, with B in the dominant or other nontonic key, may be recycled toward the end, with B at that point sounded in the tonic”.<sup>246</sup> In *Simpatichi Ricordi*, however, a similar “symmetrical” impulse instead results in the recycling of theme 3 in a closely related key (here the dominant) after an initial presentation in a distant key (II). Analysing this fantasia in terms of rondo form seems unsatisfying, as it does not address any potential connections between themes or any possible rationale for choosing themes. It also does not take into consideration the opera-based reasons for the strange inclusion and treatment of theme 4, “Oh infamia orribile”. A return to a narrative approach helps explicate the parts of *Simpatichi Ricordi* that are not well accounted for in a traditionally formal analysis.

The fantasia opens with delicate yet ominous piano tremolos in the minor, heralding the well-known tragedy of *La traviata* before modulating to the piece’s cheerful tonic. Very dramatic dynamics lead into a pianissimo *dolce* oboe entry with the first melody, Alfredo’s attempt to sweet-talk Violetta in “Di quell’amor”. The oboe then rises through two short (almost flippant) chromatic ornamentation passages to fortissimo *con passione* as Alfredo’s emotions boil over. After a cadenza, the oboe returns to pianissimo *dolce* as it introduces the second theme, signalling a change of character to Violetta; the piano remains in the background here, with markings including *col canto* to indicate the oboe’s leading role, strongly associating the oboe with the operatic vocal part. The second theme, “Dite alla

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<sup>244</sup> Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 403. This also seems reminiscent of ritornello practices, popular not only in orchestral works and instrumental chamber works but also in opera arias (see, for example, Hepokoski and Darcy’s Chapter 19: The Type 5 Sonata).

<sup>245</sup> Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 403, citing Rosen, *Sonata Forms*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., p. 126.

<sup>246</sup> Hepokoski and Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory*, p. 390.

giovine”, is given increased weight through virtuosic ornamentation. Pasculli emphasizes Violetta’s decision to embrace love by foregrounding “quell’amor”, in which she changes her mind, and “Dite alla giovine”, in which she admits her love to Alfredo’s father. He places the *brindisi*, in which she rejects love in favour of enjoyment, after these two themes as a kind of flashback. The first two themes are further linked together, and further separated from the *brindisi* by Pasculli’s tonal manipulations; “quell’amor” and “Dite alla giovine” are both in F major in the fantasia, while the *brindisi* is in G major.

The strangeness of Pasculli’s modulation to a distant key is reinforced by the non-operatic presentation of the *brindisi*. After a *crescendo molto*, the piano suddenly drops to *ppp* under the oboe, and this theme is presented almost entirely at extremely soft dynamics and marked *con mistero*, mysterious. The soft dynamics are present in the operatic score; both Alfredo and Violetta sing at pianissimo for portions of the theme, and the oboe’s crescendos and decrescendos mimic theirs. However, *con mistero*, accompanied by *legatissimo*, is a significant departure from the opera’s *con grazia* and *leggerissimo*.



Fig. 3.9: The opening of the *brindisi* in *Simpatichi Ricordi*

Pasculli also omits the staccato markings present in the orchestral and vocal operatic parts. This emphasis on smooth “mystery” seems engineered to increase anticipation in the audience as they wait for the oboe’s virtuosic additions to the theme, and indeed, the oboist crescendos to fortissimo for the final ornamented bars. Though this is probably the most recognizable melody from *La traviata*, it is instead “quell’amor” where Pasculli emphasizes the oboe’s embodiment of Alfredo and Violetta. Perhaps the *brindisi* is too public, too occupied by additional characters through the interjections of the party-goers. In contrast, both “quell’amor” and “Dite alla giovane”, sung in private or among few other people, focus more closely on Alfredo and Violetta and their relationship.

Pasculli’s association of the oboe with Alfredo and Violetta becomes even clearer when he introduces his fourth theme, “Oh infamia orribile” from the Act 2 finale. He

emphasizes the choral aspect of the theme, which is sung by the male chorus and smaller named male parts, by omitting the oboe from this section entirely and using heavy piano chords to play all of the voices. Voicing, lack of repetition, and lack of virtuosity minimize the theme's impact; it also is the only theme in duple, rather than triple, meter and the only theme in minor. While this theme can be seen as a rondo episode or as a "B" subject in ternary form, Pasculli uses the oboe to "interrupt" the piano's chorus with a slow and intense restatement of "quell'amor" followed by passages of intense virtuosity, rather than allowing the section to resolve. As in the first half of the piece, Pasculli here emphasizes "quell'amor" through the intensity of the oboe line. When the *brindisi* returns, the piano alone plays the melody; the oboe plays 13 bars of running demisemiquavers, virtuosic material derived from descending major arpeggios rather than a close connection to the melody. However, this continues in the final presentation of "quell'amor" despite that theme's closely established ties to the oboe-as-character. The oboe's flowing virtuosity changes to scalar semiquavers, but otherwise continues unabated and leads into the final run-out section as the piano plays "quell'amor" one final time underneath. Perhaps here the private, intimate relationship between Alfredo and Violetta that characterizes most of the fantasia bows to another operatic tradition, the *stretta* of a finale; in this context the energetic and exciting *stretta* could serve not to "trivialize" a tragic opera's emotional content, but to further rewrite the opera's plot into a happy conclusion.<sup>247</sup>

As in the majority of his fantasias, Pasculli here focuses closely on the opera's romantic couple, reordering the events of the opera in order to avoid tragedy. In *Simpatici Ricordi*, both "quell'amor" and the *brindisi* are repeated, creating a sort of ternary form with "Oh infamia orribile" serving as the B section. Because the themes which repeat occur as one character convinces the other to allow herself to embrace love, their repetition does not cause the awkward re-experiencing of past events which had been thought resolved, but rather serves to emphasize the persuasive nature of Alfredo's opinions and the difficulty with which Violetta rejects her former life and embraces love. This calls to mind Monelle's description of musical signs which "convince [the listener] of the integrity of structure"; the operatic and emotional content of the themes involved in the fantasia's structural repetition make that repetition narratively persuasive.<sup>248</sup> Perhaps Pasculli returns to the *brindisi* after "quell'amor" and "Dite alla giovine" as a flashback to the time before Violetta had been convinced by

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<sup>247</sup> Julian Budden, "Stretta", *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*, accessed May 2018.

<sup>248</sup> "In nineteenth-century music there were two sets of signs, one to elicit the listener's complicity in the verisimilitude of expressive genre or to isolate passages of realistic evocation, the other to convince her of the integrity of structure." Monelle, p. 145.

Alfredo to accept and embrace her love of him, depicting her emotions at the time as valid but showing how she came to find happiness through love.

The repetition also helps to exclude tragedy from the fantasia narrative by obsessively focusing on the positive aspects of the opera's plot. Constantly returning to Alfredo and Violetta's decision to love one another can be seen as a means of convincing the listeners of the new narrative. Additionally, this repetition serves to reinforce the oboe's role as both main characters through contrast with the piano's portrayal of the chorus and supporting roles.<sup>249</sup> Is Pasculli providing a happy ending for his female opera character, or is he concealing her true tragic fate? As I noted above, the narrative aspect of fantasias can, following Abbate, be viewed as an opportunity for a character to rewrite their story to provide a conclusion that favours them. The fact that *Simpatici Ricordi* focuses on music sung by both Alfredo and Violetta, means that the fantasia emphasizes their often contrasting opinions, in which Alfredo's embrace of love slowly wins out over Violetta's initial rejection of it. And again we could view the fantasia as the creation by Alfredo of a "pleasant" story in which Violetta lives and in which their mutual health and happiness is ensured.

Leaving aside both previous approaches, can a fantasia instead be viewed as merely a collection of those operatic themes which are most popular, or most famous, or most emotional, or most lyrical? It is in fact difficult to create a coherent narrative from Pasculli's *Concerto sul Trovatore*, for example, because of the radical dissimilarities of the emphasized characters – Leonora and Azucena – and their included themes, which musically seem linked only by an alteration between duple and triple meters and between slow and fast tempos. This approach also seems unsatisfying, though. In the case of *La traviata*, the exclusion of "Sempre libera" would be particularly noticeable in this light, particularly given its close relationship with Alfredo's "quell'amor" in the opera. Yet in light of the thematic bent of Pasculli's work, the emphasis on Violetta's agreement with Alfredo on the matter of love, "Sempre libera" clearly seems out of place. In *Trovatore*, perhaps Pasculli simply tired of focussing on romantic pairs. Perhaps he wished to focus on music for female voices. Perhaps Azucena, through her connection to Manrico and to Di Luna, provides a shorthand for all of the tragedy of the opera, which Leonora, yet another tragic female character associated here with the oboe, successfully avoids in her triumphant virtuosic finale.

Similar issues arise in some of Pasculli's other works. His fantasia on *Gli Ugonotti* not only dwells on the accompaniment to Marguerite's air "O beau pays" rather than on the air itself, but also contains a substantial cadenza that appears identically in his fantasia on *La*

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<sup>249</sup> As in his second fantasia on *Un ballo in maschera*, here the soloist embodies both main characters while the piano acts as an oppositional force, in *Un ballo* as the villain Renato and here as the hostile male chorus.

*Favorita*. His second fantasia on *Un ballo in maschera* could be seen as a kind of correction to his first fantasia on that opera, which uses only two themes; yet, in the second fantasia Pasculli repeatedly uses music from a recitative rather than the aria that follows, Renato's "Alla vita che t'arride". In fact, fantasias rarely if ever cover all of the "highlights" of an opera. The argument that the composer of a fantasia merely liked the themes on which he composed is impossible to dispense with. We can never, bar the discovery of surviving personal notes, know the exact reasoning behind the inclusion of any given theme in a fantasia. But at the same time, reliance on this argument unnecessarily removes any possibility of analysing the implicit content of fantasias, which seem to contain purposefully chosen melodic themes rather than a mere selection of operatic highlights.

In some ways, not many generalizations can be made about Pasculli's fantasias. Pasculli varies wildly in the number of themes he uses and in his treatment of those themes. His virtuosic finales are occasionally only tenuously connected to operatic material, and much surrounding the composition and performance of individual works is unknown. Moreover, his alignment of the oboe with character or plot is inconsistent; for example, despite their many similarities in form and their lack of true signification as genre labels, as discussed in the first section of this chapter, in Pasculli's three concertos the final result of his manipulation of opera themes and plots is strikingly different from that of his fantasias.<sup>250</sup> Yet an in-depth look at individual fantasias aids musicologists in positioning Pasculli within the wider framework of virtuosic instrumental music and opera fantasias. For example, discussion of the narrative retellings of Pasculli's fantasias, pieces unlikely to appear in an undergraduate music history text, echoes Burkholder and Grout's description of Liszt's opera fantasias in their textbook: "His *operatic paraphrases* (some of which he called *reminiscences*) are free fantasies on excerpts from popular operas by Mozart, Bellini, Donizetti, and Verdi, often retelling the story by varying and combining the borrowed themes."<sup>251</sup>

In sum, Pasculli chooses and manipulates opera themes in order to associate the oboe with a character from the opera and the portion of the plot surrounding that character. Generally this plot is a love story, as in his fantasias on *Un ballo in maschera* and *Rigoletto*, but Pasculli occasionally seems to react against, rather than in favour of, this love story, such

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<sup>250</sup> Two of the concertos seem more concerned with emphasizing pure technical virtuosity, stressing the instrumental qualities of the oboe, than with exploring the vocality of the oboe; the third highlights an atypical pair of characters, though it emphasizes pure virtuosity less than the other two.

<sup>251</sup> J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, et al., *A History of Western Music, Seventh Edition* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2006), p. 628. Further, for the benefit of performers the inclusion of lyrics in opera fantasia sheet music has been taken up by some publishers, such as Chester Music in their edition of Donato Lovreglio's *Fantasia Sull'opera La Traviata*; ideally, the performer would listen to a recording or pore over a score of the opera, but a list of themes used, such as in Sandro Caldini's notes to *Rimembranze del Rigoletto*, is certainly convenient and helpful.

as in his fantasias on *Poliuto* and *Les Huguenots*. This emphasis on love reflects the nineteenth-century trends – though they stretched into the twentieth century – in discussing the oboe; as expanded upon in the second section of this chapter, most frequently the oboe was seen as a feminine, “womanly” instrument and the performer, conversely, as thus needing to be masculine. Of course, the vast majority of operas that Pasculli would have drawn on featured a love story at the centre of their plot, so the significance of Pasculli choosing to focus on love stories when writing for the oboe is not overwhelming. However, his manipulation of these love stories, in favour or against, is worth stressing. And in contrast to his fantasias, Pasculli’s concertos, while ostensibly making use of similar materials and similar methods, tend to emphasize the oboe’s virtuosity and instrumental characteristics rather than its emotional power and any vocal characteristics. It is easy to conflate the instrument-as-character, such as Amelia in *Amelia: un pensiero*, with the performer-as-character; a performer can use a piece’s emotional content to position him- or herself as an embodiment of the character whose arias are performed. However, this positioning in works such as Pasculli’s can be complicated, in part because of the tenacious association of the oboe with specific gendered characteristics.

Burgess and Haynes recount an interview between oboists Nora Post and Leon Goossens, in which Goossens re-articulates his view of the female oboe:

Nora Post: One of the most fascinating things you’ve said is that you feel the oboe is a lady.

Leon Goossens: Yes.

NP: And I feel that it’s definitely a man!

LG: Well, I suppose it depends upon your inclination ... You notice the oboe is used on TV and on the radio whenever it’s something that is very romantic.

NP: Well, why does romanticism have to be something with women?

LG: Well, from the man’s point of view, of course it is.

NP: So you think the oboe is a woman because you’re a man, and I think it’s a man because I’m a woman! ... That’s the only answer.

Evelyn Rothwell: Do you think that it can take on the characteristics of both?

LG: An androgynous oboe? I don’t know!<sup>252</sup>

This distinction between female character, “female” oboe, and historically male performer emphasizes the contrast between the plots of the operas Pasculli uses and his fantasias, heightening their ecphrastic power. Almén argues that while “asymmetries” or “subsequent changes” from initial events, a hallmark of narrative, are culturally significant – “a welcome confirmation of that initial hierarchy, its partial or complete overturning, an un-

<sup>252</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 247.

welcome re-imposition, or its corrosive undermining” – “narrative requires not merely a change of hierarchy but a listener’s interested interpretation and recognition of that change”.<sup>253</sup> The altered opera plots of fantasias often reclaim a happy ending for the leading female character, offering a contrast to the operatic tradition of the tragic mad or murdered woman. As discussed above, these female characters are in some way given agency through their new plots and through their association with powerful “male” virtuosity.

### 3.3.8. Conclusion

Lawrence Kramer writes that “music becomes narratographically disruptive when it seeks to jeopardize (or unwittingly jeopardizes) the dominant regimes (or what it fictitiously represents as the dominant regimes) of musical composition and reception”.<sup>254</sup> Elsewhere, he asks if, in approaching musical narrative,

we encounter a culturally instituted defense against the troubling pleasures of dislocation when instrumental music treats its forms as natural or invisibly conventional or spins out a seamless web of linear continuities? ... Is that defense repeated in a new guise when historicist modes of understanding claim that to know a piece is to grasp it as a reflection of culture and history, a text in its context?<sup>255</sup>

In discussing musical narrative in fantasias, I not only ask how composers may have created a narrative within a work, but also argue that the narratives created in fantasias are vital to a meaningful understanding of a given fantasia’s structure, of the work as a whole, and of the cultural influences on instruments, gender roles, and other musical aspects such as genre distinctions. In the vein of Gregory Karl’s “radical narrativists”, narrative as used in fantasias is not “a product of superfluous metaphor, rationalization, or superficial focus on details of the musical foreground”; instead, “structure is not an aspect of music that can fruitfully be explored in isolation from content and meaning”.<sup>256</sup> Chapter 4 explores the structure of the opera fantasia in detail and in relation to both musical content and musical meaning.

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<sup>253</sup> Almén, *A Theory of Musical Narrative*, 41.

<sup>254</sup> Lawrence Kramer, “Musical Narratology: A Theoretical Outline”, *Indiana Theory Review*, Vol. 12 (Spring and Fall 1991), p. 145.

<sup>255</sup> Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900*, p. 209.

<sup>256</sup> Karl, “Structuralism and Musical Plot”, p. 14.





## CHAPTER 4

### Opera Fantasias on Verdi's *Rigoletto*, *Il trovatore*, and *Un ballo in maschera*

#### 4.1. Introduction

In order to discuss fantasias as a genre it of course becomes necessary to select individual fantasias as representative of various genre characteristics. As I began researching in Italian libraries in person, it soon became clear that what might have been a difficult-to-find genre was in reality available in large quantities – although, as discussed in Chapter 2, both fantasias themselves and information about fantasia composers initially proved elusive despite the amount of material actually held in libraries. The unexpected embarrassment of riches makes it impossible to survey the genre as a whole even as limited to the pieces held in the conservatory libraries of Milan, Parma, Bologna, Naples, and Palermo; I was simply unable to view every single piece, particularly in Milan and Naples. These libraries were chosen for their connections to specific composers of fantasias and for their connections to conservatories with strong woodwind programmes more generally.<sup>1</sup> In Parma, Bologna, and Palermo, my aim was to view as many fantasias as possible, taking notes on the themes, keys, order, ornamentation, level of virtuosity, dates, publisher, and any other prominent features. In Milan and Naples, though I also surveyed the physical card catalogues in order to map out trends in instrument, composer, and opera, I concentrated on viewing fantasias on specific operas, to two ends: first to impose a framework on my research, and second to attempt to delve deeply into the characteristics of fantasias on these operas with the hope of discovering more specific trends and of being able to more directly compare like with like. In contrast to my detailed discussion of Pasculli in Chapter 2, focusing on a limited number of operas here also allowed me to look at fantasias by a wider range of composers, and thus to gain a broad look at the genre rather than concentrating on fantasias as a more limited corpus by specific musicians.

Below, I discuss fantasias based on Verdi's *Rigoletto*, *Il trovatore*, and *Un ballo in maschera*. In addition to analyzing general facts and figures of fantasias on each of the operas, I use specific fantasias to answer questions raised in Chapter 2 about the style and content of the genre by means of the theoretical frameworks constructed in Chapter 3. Using three operas by a single composer and of the same decade, the 1850s, allows for direct comparison and reveals both the range of compositional choices available in the opera fantasia and the generic signifiers of the opera fantasia for woodwind instruments. To some extent the decade

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<sup>1</sup> Additionally, Milan's conservatory library functions as a de facto archive for Ricordi, meaning that the library's collection of fantasias is particularly extensive.

that these operas premiered is incidental, but the 1850s notably saw the development of Verdi's mature compositional style, and furthermore all three of these operas have remained staples of the operatic canon. As mentioned in Chapter 2, while Verdi's final opera premiered in 1893, his works from the 1850s seem to be much more popular in fantasias. Additionally, choosing operas that premiered early in the period on which I focus provides an easy way to highlight the extent to which fantasias neither concentrated solely on new works nor died away significantly in the later decades of the century, despite changes in opera and its surrounding culture. Though specific dates for premieres or performances of fantasias are rare, the broad range of opus numbers attached to fantasias either on a single opera or merely by a single composer implies that fantasias were not composed only in the immediate aftermath of a new opera – for example, Raffaele Galli's op. 23 and 171 are both on *Lucia di Lammermoor*, and Emanuele Krakamp's op. 121 is on *Rigoletto* and his op. 247 is on *Il Trovatore*. Verdi's status as the embodiment of Italian opera means that his operas were popular and far-reaching during the second half of the nineteenth century to the extent of ubiquity among Italian musical audiences. Minimizing variables regarding the operas allows me to maximize variables in the fantasias themselves. However, while each of the three operas is a tragedy and representative of key aspects of Verdi's musical style, these works of course also present some differences in style, in character emphasis, and in instrumental usage. The ways in which these differences appear in fantasias or are removed by fantasias also help to outline the genre as a whole.

Below are substantial tables that highlight both the huge range of themes appearing in fantasias on a given opera and, particularly, trends in associations between themes and instruments that are discussed in this chapter. However, they also, in summarizing 68 fantasias by 31 composers using 112 themes from 3 operas, provide far more material than can be discussed in detail. Lest these tables seem overwhelming or induce a glazing-over of eyes, I hasten to clarify that the material included in them forms the basis of the discussion below and that the most salient details, most surprising information, and most typical characteristics are explicated. It is my hope that the information appearing in them might be of use in extrapolating beyond my analysis as well.

#### 4.1.1. *Rigoletto*

Surveying twenty-two fantasias on *Rigoletto*, I found thirty-one themes from the opera used as material for the fantasias, with twelve of these themes appearing only in a single piece. Two of the fantasias, both by the flautist Giuseppe Gariboldi, used both *Rigoletto* and *Il trovatore* as source material, and while I have included these in my tally of thematic usage, I

will not dwell on either here as my study of the opera fantasia is limited to those compositions based on a single opera. Of the three operas detailed in this chapter, *Rigoletto* had the fewest fantasias if Gariboldi's are excluded; however, the necessary limitations on this survey mean that this is not necessarily significant as a trend. Nevertheless, while by no means an exhaustive collection of fantasias on this opera, these twenty-two works form a sufficient foundation for discussing trends within fantasias and any unusual characteristics of fantasias on *Rigoletto* specifically.

As noted earlier, fantasias most frequently focus on the central love story of an opera through thematic choice and organization, and through virtuosic variation concentrated on those themes. Because *Rigoletto*'s central love story is in some ways secondary to those characters' relationships with Rigoletto himself, it would seem to serve well as a case study for the use of virtuosity as a focusing device. However, despite Rigoletto's critical role in the drama, the music which appears most frequently in fantasias is that which focuses on the relationship between the Duke and Gilda; the narrative of the romantic pair, and the gender implications that follow this focus, remain central.

Table 1: Fantasias on *Rigoletto*

Instrument	# of fantasias	# of composers
Flute	11	9
Oboe	6	5
Cor anglais	0	0
Clarinet	5	5 <sup>2</sup>
Bassoon	0	0

# of themes	# of fantasias
2	1
3	3
4	1
5	3
6	3
7	5
8	1
9	2
10	2
unknown	1 <sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The anonymous clarinet capriccio (*Capriccio per Clarinetto in Si b sopra i motivi dell'opera il Rigoletto del M Verdi* (RSM 508)) for full orchestra, held in the Parma Biblioteca Palatina in manuscript form, is probably Antoine Parra's op. 3 *Morceau de Salon: Rigoletto* for clarinet, which I accessed in Milan. Parma holds at least two other fantasias by Parra. If these are not the same piece, they would exhibit unprecedented similarity in choice and order of theme.

<sup>3</sup> Johann Heinrich Luft's *Fantaisie sur l'opera Rigoletto* is held in the Parma Biblioteca Palatina in incomplete manuscript form, and I have been unable to access a version of it elsewhere.

Theme <sup>4</sup>	# of fantasias	Instruments used
Orchestral prelude to Act 1	4	1 fl, 1 ob, 2 cl
Orchestral introduction to scene before “tutto è festa” part 1	1	1 ob
Orchestral accompaniment to Act 1 intro/scene before “tutto è festa” part 2	7	4 fl, 2 ob, 1 cl
Questa o quella – Act 1 Scene 1 (Duke)	5	3 fl, 1 ob, 1 cl
Orchestral accompaniment, “Quel vecchio maledirami”/”Signor? Nè il chiesa” – Act 1 Scene 2 (Rigoletto/Sparafucile)	2	2 cl
Oh quanto dolor/Padre, non più – Act 1 Scene 2 (Gilda)	1	1 fl
Ah! Veglia, o donna – Act 1 Scene 2 (Rigoletto)	3	2 fl, 1 cl
Orchestral introduction to “Oh quanto amore” – Act 1 Scene 2 (Rigoletto/Gilda)	9	5 fl, 3 ob, 1 cl
Ah, inseparabile d’amore – Act 1 Scene 2 (Duke)	2	2 ob
È il sol dell’anima – Act 1 Scene 2 (Duke)	5	2 fl, 3 ob
Gualtier Maldè! – Act 1 Scene 2 (Gilda)	1	1 ob
Caro nome – Act 1 Scene 2 (Gilda)	9	3 fl, 4 ob, 2 cl
Zitti, zitti moviamo – Act 1 Scene 2 (male company)	2	2 ob
Orchestral accompaniment before Duke enters – Act 2 Scene 1	5	2 fl, 3 ob
Parmi veder le lagrime – Act 2 (Duke)	2	1 ob, 1 cl
Scorrendo uniti remota – Act 2 (male company)	1	1 cl
Miei signori, perdono – Act 2 (Rigoletto)	3	1 fl, 2 cl
Orchestral intro/accompaniment of scene before “Tutte le feste” – Act 2	1	1 cl
Tutte le feste al tempio – Act 2 (Gilda)	4	2 cl, 1 ob, 1 cl
Piangi, fanciulla piangi – Act 2 (Rigoletto)	1	1 cl
Si, vendetta/O mio padre – Act 2 (Rigoletto/Gilda)	2	1 ob, 1 cl
A noi pure il perdono – Act 2 finale (Gilda)	1	1 ob
Orchestral introduction to Act 3	1	1 fl
Ah padre mio – Act 3 (Gilda)	1	1 ob
La donna è mobile – Act 3 (Duke)	11	6 fl, 4 ob, 1 cl
Orchestral accompaniment to “Un di, se ben” – Act 3 (Duke)	1	1 fl

<sup>4</sup> On occasion the themes used in a fantasia are extremely difficult to locate within the source opera. This introduces the possibility that the fantasia includes either newly composed themes or substitution arias used in a particular production of the opera. In cases where I encounter this problem, I have counted the missing themes in my tally of the number of themes used but not incorporated these mystery themes into my tables of themes and instrumentation. These are rarely a significant proportion of the fantasia and do not greatly impact the vast majority of analysis of any given piece.

The practice of aria insertion, common particularly but by no means exclusively in Italy in the nineteenth century, is treated in great detail in Hilary Poriss’s *Changing the Score* (Oxford University Press, 2009). Poriss remarks that “as widespread as this practice was throughout the nineteenth century, the assumption that aria insertion was essentially an eighteenth-century phenomenon” is widespread; in fact, the tradition “persisted into the second half of the nineteenth century.” (Poriss, *Changing the Score*, p. 3.) If these instead represent themes newly composed for a given fantasia, they can to some extent still be read as substitution arias, allowing the performer to create “a showpiece for [his] talents” and “to reveal [his] ‘expressive self’” (Poriss writes here of prima donnas). (Poriss, pp. 5, 40.) The choice of substitution aria also shares with the opera fantasia “the need to determine which aria conformed most effectively to the dramatic and musical shape”, the inserted aria in matching the surrounding opera, the fantasia in matching the new narrative and form. (Poriss, p. 41.)

Bella figlia – Act 3 (Duke)	13	6 fl, 3 ob, 4 cl
Infelice core – Act 3 (Gilda)	8	5 fl, 1 ob, 2 cl
Chorus in storm scene/O cielo – Act 3 (Gilda)	3	2 fl, 1 cl
Se pria/E buia/Io vo’ – Act 3 (Sparafucile/Maddalena/Gilda)	1	1 fl
Lassu in cielo – Act 3 (Gilda)	1	1 fl

Though the initial impression of this list of fantasias and themes may be one of purely a staggering variety of material, the information also reveals considerable trends in the number of themes used in a given fantasia, in instrumental associations and characteristics, and in both predictable and unusual uses of operatic themes. All of these are expanded upon below, but of particular interest are perhaps the lack of any fantasias for either cor anglais or bassoon and the relatively extreme popularity of the Duke’s “La donna è mobile” and “Bella figlia dell’amore” in fantasias. Additionally, the focus on the Duke and Gilda rather than Rigoletto is made clear through relatively few compositions that include Rigoletto’s melodies. Of course, there is abundant further analysis to be drawn from this information below. However, to avoid unnecessary repetition I will first move on to similarly brief introductions of the other two operas discussed in this chapter.

#### 4.1.2. *Il trovatore*

Roger Parker describes “the extreme formalism of the musical language” in *Il trovatore*, in contrast to Verdi’s previous and following operas, *Rigoletto* and *La traviata*.<sup>5</sup> However, neither this formalism nor this contrast seems to have impacted the opera’s presence or treatment in fantasias. Indeed, though multi-opera fantasias fall outside of the scope of this thesis, in Milan alone I uncovered not only the above-mentioned two fantasias on *Rigoletto* and *Il trovatore*, but also one on *Il trovatore* and *La traviata*. In twenty-five fantasias on *Il trovatore*, no fewer than forty-two identifiable themes from the opera are used, fifteen of which appear in only one fantasia.<sup>6</sup> The most popular themes are uncommon in oboe fantasias, and very unusual themes tend to be in cor anglais fantasias; I discuss the possible reasons behind this below. Many of these themes are either sequential or concurrent (i.e. they appear as a duet) in the opera, but much in the way that “Bella figlia” and “Infelice core” are treated separately in my discussion of fantasias on *Rigoletto*, when these themes are melodically distinct they feature here as separate themes.

<sup>5</sup> Roger Parker, “Trovatore, Il”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017.

<sup>6</sup> I have been unable to identify an unusually high number of themes in these fantasias, as many as twenty-two. Nevertheless, as noted above, this rarely significantly alters the analysis of any given fantasia.

In contrast to fantasias on *Rigoletto*, which focus on the opera's central love story to a greater extent than I initially hypothesized, fantasias on *Il trovatore* focus more precisely on the protagonist, Manrico, and his relationship to two key women, Leonora and Azucena, than on Manrico and Leonora's love story alone. Indeed, the three most popular themes in these fantasias on *Il trovatore* are Azucena's "Stride la vampa", Leonora's "D'amor sull'ali rosee", and Manrico's "Ah! che la morte ognora".

Table 2: Fantasias on *Il trovatore*

Instrument	# of fantasias	# of composers
Flute	12	9
Oboe	3	3
Cor anglais	2	2
Clarinet	6	5
Bassoon	2	2

# of themes	# of fantasias
2	1
3	2
4	1
5	5
6	11
7	0
8	2
9	1
10	1
11	1

Theme	# of fantasias	Instruments used
Orchestral introduction to Act 1	6	4 fl, 2 cl
Di due figli – Act 1 Scene 1 (Ferrando)	1	1 cl
Abbietta zingara – Act 1 Scene 1 (Ferrando)	4	2 fl, 2 cl
Sull'orlo dei tetti/Morì di paura – Act 1 Scene 1 (chorus/Ferrando)	2	1 fl, 1 cl
Tacea la notte – Act 1 Scene 2 (Leonora)	3	1 fl, 2 ob
Di tale amor – Act 1 Scene 2 (Leonora)	6	2 fl, 2 ob, 1 cor, 1 cl
Deserto sulla terra – Act 1 Scene 2 (Manrico)	2	1 fl, 1 cl
Un istante/Del superbo – Act 1 Scene 2 (Leonora/Manrico)	3	1 fl, 1 ob, 1 cl
Vedi! Le fosche – Act 2 Scene 1 (gypsy chorus)	3	1 fl, 2 cor
Stride la vampa – Act 2 Scene 1 (Azucena)	10	4 fl, 2 ob, 2 cor, 1 cl, 1 bsn
Mal reggendo – Act 2 Scene 1 (Manrico)	5	3 fl, 1 bsn
Ma nell'anima – Act 2 Scene 1 (Azucena)	1	1 fl
Un momento può involarmi – Act 2 Scene 1 (Manrico)	5	2 fl, 2 cl, 1 bsn
Il balen del suo sorriso – Act 2 Scene 2 (Count)	2	1 cor, 1 bsn

Ardir! Andiam celiamoci – Act 2 Scene 2 (chorus)	1	1 fl
Per me ora fatale – Act 2 Scene 2 (Count)	1	1 fl
E deggio e posso – Act 2 Scene 2 (Leonora)	2	2 cl
Or co' dadi – Act 3 Scene 1 (male chorus)	3	1 ob, 1 cl, 1 bsn
Giorni poveri vivea – Act 3 Scene 1 (Azucena)	3	2 fl, 1 ob
Ah si, ben mio – Act 3 Scene 2 (Manrico)	2	2 cl
Di quella pira – Act 3 Scene 2 (Manrico)	3	1 fl, 1 ob, 1 cl
Orchestral introduction to Act 4	4	1 ob, 1 cor, 2 cl
Timordi me? – Act 4 Scene 1 (Leonora)	1	1 cor
D'amor sull'ali rosee – Act 4 Scene 1 (Leonora)	11	5 fl, 1 ob, 2 cor, 3 cl
Miserere d'un alma – Act 4 Scene 1 (Leonora)	1	1 cor
Quel suon, quelle preci – Act 4 Scene 1 (Leonora)	5	2 fl, 1 cor, 2 cl
Ah! che la morte ognora – Act 4 Scene 1 (Manrico)	10	5 fl, 1 cor, 4 cl
Di te, di te scordarmi – Act 4 Scene 1 (Leonora)	1	1 cl
Tu vedrai che amore – Act 4 Scene 1 (Leonora)	1	1 fl
Orchestral accompaniment under Qual voce! Come – Act 4 Scene 1	3	1 fl, 1 cor, 1 bsn
Qual voce! Come – Act 4 Scene 1 (Count)	2	1 cor, 1 bsn
Mira, di acerbe lagrime – Act 4 Scene 1 (Leonora)	1	1 fl
Ah! dell'indegno – Act 4 Scene 1 (Count)	1	1 fl
Vivrà! Contende il giubilo – Act 4 Scene 1 (Leonora)	1	1 cl
Si, la stanchezza – Act 4 Scene 2 (Azucena)	3	1 fl, 1 ob, 1 bsn
Riposa o madre – Act 4 Scene 2 (Manrico)	5	1 fl, 1 ob, 2 cl, 1 bsn
Ai nostri monti – Act 4 Scene 2 (Azucena)	4	3 fl, 1 cor
Orchestral accompaniment, scene preceding Parlar non vuoi – Act 4 Scene 2	1	1 fl
Ah, fuggi – Act 4 Scene 2 (Leonora)	1	1 cor
Parlar non vuoi – Act 4 Scene 2 (Manrico)	1	1 cor
Oh come l'ira – Act 4 Scene 2 (Leonora)	1	1 cor
Oh! Mi concedi – Act 4 Scene 2 (Manrico)	2	1 fl, 1 ob

As with *Rigoletto*, there is a wealth of information to be drawn from these tables, and again the initial impression is one of huge variety. There are many similarities in the uses of the two operas in fantasias. However, note the comparatively overwhelming trend of including six operatic themes in a fantasia on *Il trovatore*, and the appearance of bassoon and cor anglais fantasias, seemingly balanced by the presence of fewer oboe fantasias. As just mentioned, the equal focus on Manrico, Azucena, and Leonora is clear, as is a trend away from using themes from the end of the opera.

#### 4.1.3. *Un ballo in maschera*

In Naples there are fewer fantasias on *Un ballo* (three) than on other operas (five on *Rigoletto* and seven on *Il trovatore*), but this should not be surprising given the opera's difficulties with Neapolitan censors even after substantial revisions. The continuing problems of *Un ballo* may also be responsible for the fact that none of the prolific and respected

Briccialdi, Krakamp, Gariboldi, Cavallini, and De Stefani wrote fantasias on this opera. Nevertheless, I still saw enough fantasias on the opera to be able to address typical and unusual features of the set. Milan holds roughly as many fantasias on *Un ballo* (fifteen) as on any other opera (twelve on *Rigoletto* and nineteen on *Il trovatore*), and fantasias on *Un ballo* do seem to be proportionally more popular among woodwinds than strings or piano. In twenty-one fantasias, thirty-nine themes from the opera are used, fifteen of which appear in only one fantasia. As with *Rigoletto* and *Il trovatore*, the singular themes are spread out across all instruments, all characters, and all parts of the opera. However, two thirds of these compositions include Riccardo’s “La rivedrà” (including at least half of the fantasias for each instrument); this may be in part because this theme appears in the opera prelude and is accompanied by flute, oboe, and clarinet when Riccardo sings. Nine fantasias use six themes, while the rest are relatively equally dispersed on the spectrum between two and ten themes. After “La rivedrà”, the next most common theme is Renato’s “Alla vita che t’arride”, which is used in six fantasias. However, five of these are for the flute.

Table 3: Fantasias on *Un ballo in maschera*

Instrument	# of fantasias	# of composers
Flute	10	3
Oboe	2	2
Cor anglais	4	3
Clarinet	4	4
Bassoon	1	1

# of themes	# of fantasias
2	1
3	1
4	3
5	1
6	9
7	3
8	1
9	0
10	2

Theme	# of fantasias	Instruments used
Orchestral introduction to Act 1	2	2 cor
Posa in pace – Act 1 Scene 1 (Coro)	1	1 fl
E sta l’odio – Act 1 Scene 1 (Men and coro)	2	1 fl, 1 bsn
La rivedrà – Act 1 Scene 1 (Riccardo)	14	6 fl, 1 ob, 3 cor, 3 cl, 1 bsn
Recitative before “Alla vita” – Act 1 Scene 1 (Riccardo/Renato)	1	1 cor



Alla vita che t'arride – Act 1 Scene 1 (Renato)	6	5 fl, 1 cl
Volta la terrea – Act 1 Scene 1 (Oscar)	5	4 fl, 1 cl
Orchestral introduction to trio – Act 1 Scene 2 (Ulrica/Riccardo/Amelia)	1	1 cor
Consentimi o signore – Act 1 Scene 2 (Amelia)	3	2 cor, 1 cl
Orchestral introduction/accompaniment to “Su, profetessa” – Act 1 Scene 2 (Samuel, Tom, Coro)	4	3 fl, 1 cl
Di' tu se fedele – Act 1 Scene 2 (Riccardo)	3	2 fl, 1 ob
Choral interjections in “Di' tu se fedele”	1	1 cl
È scherzo od è follia – Act 1 Scene 2 (Riccardo)	3	2 fl, 1 bsn
O figlio d'Inghilterra – Act 1 finale (coro)	4	1 fl, 1 ob, 1 cor, 1 cl
Il più superbo/È posso alcun – Act 1 finale (Oscar/Riccardo)	1	1 fl
Instrumental Act 2 Prelude	3	1 ob, 1 cor, 1 cl
Instrumental Act 2 Prelude material similar to “Conte, abbiatemi”/”Così parli”	1	1 cl
Ma dall'arido – Act 2 Prelude (Amelia)	5	1 fl, 1 ob, 1 cor, 2 cl
Una testa di sottera – Act 2 Prelude (Amelia) – part of above	1	1 cl
Deh! Mi reggi – Act 2 Prelude (Amelia) – part of above	1	1 cl
O qual soave – Act 2 Prelude (Riccardo)	4	2 fl, 2 cor
Astro di queste/Chi non m'è dato – Act 2 Prelude (Riccardo/Amelia)	2	1 cor, 1 cl
Ebben si t'amo/M'ami Amelia – Act 2 (Amelia/Riccardo)	1	1 fl
Non sai tu che se l'anima – Act 2 (Riccardo)	1	1 fl
Ve' se di notte – Act 2 Finale (Samuel – in ensemble)	5	2 fl, 1 ob, 2 cl
A chi nel mondo – Act 2 Finale (Amelia)	3	1 ob, 1 cl
Morrò, ma prima – Act 3 Scene 1 (Amelia)	5	1 fl, 1 ob, 2 cor, 1 cl
Eri tu che macchiavi – Act 3 Scene 1 (Renato)	3	1 fl, 2 cor
O dolcezze perdute – Act 3 Scene 1 (Renato)	1	1 cl
Di che fulgor – Act 3 Scene 1 (Oscar)	1	1 cl
Ma se m'è forza – Act 3 Scene 2 (Riccardo)	3	1 fl, 1 ob, 1 bsn
Dance band/ Fervono amori – Act 3 Scene 2 (coro)	4	1 fl, 1 ob, 1 cl, 1 bsn
Accompaniment to recitative following Fervono amori (Renato/Samuel/Tom)	2	1 fl, 1 cl
Accompaniment to recitative following Fervono amori (Renato/Oscar)	1	1 cl
Saper vorreste – Act 3 Scene 3 (Oscar)	4	2 fl, 2 cor
T'amo, si t'amo – Act 3 Scene 3 (Amelia)	3	2 fl, 1 cor
Orchestral accompaniment to T'amo	5	3 fl, 1 ob, 1 cor
Sin che tu/ non ho che te – Act 3 Scene 3 (Riccardo/Amelia)	1	1 fl
Orchestral accompaniment to Ah! Perché qui – Act 3 Scene 3 (Amelia/Riccardo)	1	1 ob

As with *Il trovatore*, there seems to be a strong trend in the number of themes that appear in a fantasia, and as with *Rigoletto* the leading male character's most famous melody (here Riccardo's “La rivedrà”) is an outlier in the number of fantasias in which it appears.

Despite this latter point, a similarly overwhelming range of operatic material appears in fantasias on all three operas. This point is discussed below, but I wish to emphasize here the fact that it is not merely a few “hit” melodies from a given opera that appear as source material in fantasias. These compositions engage with a remarkable variety of operatic themes drawn from all kinds of operatic material, from (nearly) every character – Ulrica is a notable exception in the case of *Un ballo* – and from (nearly) every portion of the opera.

Again, these tables provide a wealth of information about the ways in which operas are used by fantasias – indeed, far more material than can be discussed in detail here. However, this chapter engages with both the broad trends evident in these tables and with many of the intriguing and significant details also revealed, analyzing characteristics of the woodwind opera fantasia as a genre by bringing the context and theoretical approaches of the previous chapters to bear on individual opera fantasias and on this collection of opera fantasias as a whole. These characteristics are divided into five broad areas, each of which is discussed as broken down into more specific aspects.

## 4.2. Structure

### 4.2.1. Typical and stereotypical structures of the opera fantasia

Paradoxically, mapping both the edges and the centre of the woodwind opera fantasia genre as a whole requires the use of limited specific examples; establishing the typical structure of the fantasia – as distinct from the stereotypical structure of the fantasia – allows for the discussion of unusual or outlying examples as well as those which represent the norm. Though they vary widely in formal specifics, looked at as a whole these fantasias and concertos have considerable consistencies in style and format. After a piano introduction, the solo instrument frequently announces itself with a cadenza which is only very loosely, if at all, connected to operatic material; trills and arpeggiated swoops, rather than melodic ornamentation, are common in these cadenzas. Themes appear usually initially as in their original operatic presentation and are only then ornamented and varied in increasingly complex ways. A composer frequently first adds “vocal” ornamentation – that is, ornamentation either directly copied from the vocal line in the operatic score or that could plausibly be sung by the operatic performer – to a given melody before repeating the melody with greatly increased and deeply instrumental variations, such as simultaneous presentations of melody and rapid accompaniment figures, as in Pasculli’s *Gran Concerto su temi dall’opera I Vespri Siciliani*, illustrated in the conclusion of Chapter 2. Composers tend to alternate slow and fast tempos, and virtuosic variations and cadenzas appear on themes of any

tempo. The pieces inevitably end triumphantly in a flurry of virtuosic closing material in the major mode, generally featuring arpeggios and scalar passages and loosely derived from a fast tempo theme. The straightforward presentation of eight or ten themes one after another, with little thought given to connecting or musically expanding them, may be a common perception of the opera fantasia, but it is not the reality.

Antonio Pasculli's fantasias serve as straightforward examples of the typical opera fantasia, though his compositions often include a greater mastery of, and simply a greater quantity of, both virtuosic writing and connective material than the works of most of these performer-composers. Pasculli's *Fantasia due sopra motivi dell'opera "Un ballo in maschera" di Verdi* for cor anglais exemplifies this typical set-up.<sup>7</sup> Pasculli uses three main themes from *Un ballo*, focusing on the love triangle between Riccardo, Renato, and Amelia, with small excerpts of additional themes. The piece opens with the first theme from the opera prelude, but this quickly gives way to a cadenza for the cor anglais that leads into a prolonged statement of Riccardo's first aria, "La rivedrà". Here the piano plays a florid accompaniment as well as a statement, first low in pitch and then low in volume, of the music from the recitative between Riccardo and Renato prior to Renato's aria "Alla vita che t'arride", during which Renato warns Riccardo of a plot against him. The cor remains undisturbed by this hint of tragedy, launching into a second cadenza and restatement of "La rivedrà", accompanied by music from Amelia and Riccardo's multi-part love scene in the second act. However, this reprieve is short-lived. While the solo line continues to elaborate on the same theme, the piano joins in while adding Renato's music, drawing the cor anglais into an ominous duet.

The image shows a page of musical notation for piano accompaniment. It consists of two systems of staves. The first system has a vocal line (treble clef) and a piano accompaniment line (bass clef). The second system also has a vocal line and a piano accompaniment line. The piano accompaniment is highly ornate, featuring many sixteenth and thirty-second notes, often in arpeggiated patterns. There are dynamic markings such as 'crescendo' and 'pizzicato' written in the piano part. The notation is in a key with one sharp (F#) and a 3/4 time signature.

Fig. 4.1: Piano accompaniment of Renato's music under the cor anglais presentation of "La rivedrà"

<sup>7</sup> As noted above, this confusing title indicates that this is his second fantasia on this opera. The manuscript is entitled *Fantasia due per Corno Inglese sul Ballo in Maschera*, but the title given above is generally used in printed editions.

This slowly fades out, and after a pause, Amelia enters the scene.

Pasculli breaks from presenting themes in operatic order, introducing the music from Amelia's Act 3 aria, "Morrò, ma prima in grazia". This theme is the emotional heart of the fantasia, opening up the soloist's dynamic and expressive range. Here Pasculli subsumes the instrument into the character, giving the cor anglais a note-for-note statement of Amelia's lament, complete with the original phrasing, articulation, and many of the aria's dynamics. The *col canto* piano part reinforces the vocal nature of the solo line, and, as in the aria, the section ends with a reworked, though vocalistic cadenza.

The image shows a musical score for a 'Vocal' presentation of Amelia's 'Morrò, ma prima in grazia'. It consists of four staves. The top staff is the vocal line, starting with the instruction 'con calore'. The second staff is the piano accompaniment, marked 'col canto'. The third and fourth staves are further piano accompaniment parts. The score includes various dynamic markings such as 'pp', 'p', 'f', 'ff', and 'Con forza', as well as articulation marks like accents and slurs. The music is written in a key with one flat and a 4/4 time signature.

Fig. 4.2: "Vocal" presentation of Amelia's "Morrò, ma prima in grazia", complete with accents

The tragedy of the opera seems imminent after Amelia's lament, with Riccardo and Amelia dead as a result of Renato's jealousy, and the music of Riccardo and Renato's recitative returning in the piano under a virtuosic semiquaver passage for the soloist. However, Pasculli is unwilling to submit to the opera's story. The music of Riccardo and Amelia's love scene returns in the cor anglais, and though Renato's ominous music briefly surfaces in the piano it is quickly surpassed by additional themes from Riccardo and Amelia's love scene. Over these, the cor anglais expands on tonic arpeggios in another virtuosic passage. A final statement of Renato's music, rhythmically augmented and sapped of energy, is overcome by four bars of repeated F-Major tonic chords, and in the world of Pasculli's fantasia, love triumphs over tragedy.



Fig. 4.3: Renato's music under the fanfare-like cor anglais finale

Pasculli's fantasia is typical in its structure, treatment of the solo instrument, and manipulation of themes. In contrast, two stereotypes of the fantasia surface clearly in discussions of fantasias' large-scale structures but are not representative of the genre as a whole. The first stereotype is the simple collection of tunes intended for the (often female) amateur musician either alone or with piano accompaniment. In these pieces, little is done to manipulate the themes or connect them to each other; the focus is on allowing the amateur player the chance to replay melodies from popular operas. Gaetano Foschini's *Divertimento sopra motivi dell'Opera Il trovatore* for clarinet is an example of one of these. The divertimento is truly a string of operatic numbers, fundamentally in their original form, strung together with little if any connective material and no variation. For this reason, though entitled a divertimento, it exists on the periphery of the fantasia genre. Indeed, this piece is a part of a collection entitled *Souvenir teatrale*, and it seems designed for casual home performance of many operatic melodies rather than public virtuosic display. No emphasis is placed on any particular theme, each of which ends with a brief moment of *colla parte* to lead into the next, with the exception of a slightly more extended and emphasized moment based on Leonora's "D'amor sull'ali rosee". While they are minimal, it is these short moments of extension that move this piece into the fringes of the fantasia genre.

The other stereotype, an overly virtuosic but still simple and compositionally-straightforward string of opera melodies for public display and distraction, is exemplified in Raffaele Parma's *Pot-pourri sopra motivi dell'opera Rigoletto di Verdi*, which is dedicated to

his fellow students of Baldassare Centroni.<sup>8</sup> Oboist Sandro Caldini, who edited the modern publication of Parma's fantasia, describes the work as "a typical collage of the most famous arias in Verdi's *Rigoletto*".<sup>9</sup> This is apt; Parma's piece includes eight arias, including "Bella figlia dell'amore" and "La donna è mobile". In some ways, such as its rapid movement through a large number of themes, which are merely presented one after another, and its emphasis on short virtuosic variations that follow those unornamented themes, this is the perfect stereotype of an opera fantasia. As in the first stereotype, there is little connective material between themes and little attention paid to vocal ornamentation or expansion of the melodies. Parma focuses on the character of the Duke, using four themes sung by him, in comparison to one by Rigoletto and no themes sung by, rather than to, Gilda. He uses ornamentation and virtuosity to emphasize two of his themes, the Duke's line in "È il sol dell'anima", from Act 1 Scene 2, in which he sings to Gilda disguised as a student, and "La donna è mobile". In contrast, his presentation of the other themes, which come from the whole length of the opera with the exception of the end of Act 3, is almost perfunctory. They seem to be there only so that the audience can hear them played, and not so that the oboist can play them; the comparative weight in length and virtuosity puts the focus on the Duke and his music.

However, while the thematic format of this piece may be a stereotype of opera fantasia composition, Pasculli's are by no means the only fantasias to involve careful transitions between arias and intricate manipulation of opera themes. Equally, despite stereotypical characteristics, there are some unusual features in Parma's piece. The piano part of this fantasia is more virtuosic than is typical, as discussed below. Additionally, while he does alter the progression of the opera's plot – both minimally through reversing the order of "Questa o quella" and the orchestral accompaniment to the scene before "Tutto è festa" and more significantly by stopping before the tragedy unfolds at the end of Act 3 (and therefore emphasizing the Duke's romantic nature rather than the unfortunate results of it) – to some extent Parma follows the tragedy instead of sidestepping it. The majority of the fantasia is concerned with the Duke and Gilda's romance, but Parma ends, after four melodies sung by the Duke and four orchestral melodies, with a theme sung by Rigoletto, the agent of the opera's tragedy. That theme is Rigoletto's cry for revenge against the Duke, "Si vendetta" from the end of Act 2. The triumph of this fantasia comes not from the typical fantasia's now-

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<sup>8</sup> Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes, *The Oboe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 153. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Centroni was oboe professor at the Bologna conservatory, a friend of Rossini, and the original "Paganini of the oboe".

<sup>9</sup> Sandro Caldini, "Notes", in Raffaele Parma, *Pot-pourri sopra motivi dell'opera "Rigoletto" di Verdi* (Laggan Bridge, Scotland: Phylloscopus Publications, 2002).

happy love story, or even from the oboe's virtuosic playing, but from knowing that Rigoletto's wish for revenge will be fulfilled.

#### 4.2.2. Number of themes used

Although a good example of the general structure of the opera fantasia, Pasculli's *Un ballo in maschera* fantasia is actually more non-standard in its number of themes than Parma's. The tables in the first part of this chapter show the frequency with which fantasias on the three case study operas use various quantities of themes, revealing clear trends towards about six themes per fantasia. For both *Il trovatore* and *Un ballo in maschera*, fantasias tend very strongly towards a mode of six themes. Nearly half of fantasias on *Il trovatore* use six themes, as do over forty percent of fantasias on *Un ballo*. Fantasias on *Rigoletto* show much more variation in the number of themes used per piece, but half of these still use five, six, or seven themes. While this might call to mind the rapid movement through melodies seen in Parma's and Foschini's fantasias above, fantasias with more themes still most often include transitions between melodies as well as both ornamentation and virtuosic variation on many themes, often with a return to one or more melody after another theme as interlude. Indeed, as discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the presence of variation on at least two themes and the use of connecting material are both defining features of the opera fantasia genre.

#### 4.2.3. Ordering of themes

On both macro and small-scale levels it is vanishingly rare for a fantasia to present its themes in strict operatic order. Although the orchestral introduction to Act 1 of *Il trovatore* only appears as the first theme in a fantasia, even this cannot be assumed as a general rule; neither the prelude to Act 1 of *Rigoletto* nor the instrumental introduction to the first scene of that opera exclusively appear at the beginning of fantasias. Both *Un ballo*'s introduction and opening chorus do appear only at the start of fantasias, but the two themes only appear in a combined three of twenty-one compositions. And fantasias on *Il trovatore* begin with the orchestral introduction to Act 1 or that to Act 4 in equal measures, move from Act 1 to Act 4 to Act 2 and back, repeat themes, and employ any manner of organization imaginable save that of chronological order. Even Pompeo Litta's *Melodie nel Trovatore trascritte per corno inglese*, which begins by presenting five themes from Act 4 sequentially, then jumps back to Act 2 for the final two themes. Exceptions to this practice are Gaetano Casaretto's *Fantasia per flauto sopra alcune melodie del Trovatore* (op. 20) and S. Golinelli and G. Masini's *Rimembranze del Trovatore* (op. 98), both of which present themes in two divided halves, one from early in the opera and one from Act 4.

For those works with themes in some kind of operatic order, though, this can be a misleading way to conceive of the fantasia, as the themes often are not evenly spread or narratively consistent with the opera as a whole, and rather than merely presenting the “best” themes in order, composers usually arrange them in alternations of fast and slow themes if nothing else – the operatic order thus may be coincidental. At the same time, as with fantasias with no clear operatic ordering, fantasias that present strings of themes in operatic order can have narrative overtones that either align with or depart from those of the opera itself.

Pompeo Litta’s *Melodie nel Trovatore* is a piece titularly described as “melodies from *Il trovatore* transcribed for cor anglais”, and following this most of the eight themes he uses are presented very straightforwardly with little ornamentation or virtuosity.<sup>10</sup> However, both “D’amor sull’ali rosee” and “Stride la vampa” are slightly emphasized through what cadenzas and virtuosic variation Litta does include. Thus although Litta’s initial string of six sequential themes from Act 4 Scene 1 incorporates instrumental music as well as themes sung by both the male chorus and Manrico, and though he follows this sequence with the chorus’s earlier “Vedi le fosche”, the weight of the fantasia still settles on Leonora and Azucena. The two characters (or at least their music) are treated radically differently. Leonora’s melody is vocally presented, with nearly all of her ornamentations taken directly from the operatic score and with a final cadenza heavily inspired by the one Leonora sings. In contrast, Azucena’s melody, though initially presented as sung, is followed by a variation that fills in the melody with semiquaver arpeggios, while maintaining its characteristic grace notes and dotted rhythms. This variation leads directly into the piece’s finale, which continues with constant semiquavers in the cor anglais to the end, depersonalizing Azucena’s music in contrast to the emphasis on vocalicity in Leonora’s theme. The gendered overtones of different approaches to virtuosity, like those seen here, are expanded upon below.

Particularly intriguing in its ordering of themes is the Bauli *Fantasia per Oboè sull’opera il trovatore*, dedicated to fellow oboist-composer Luigi De Rosa,<sup>11</sup> which divides Leonora’s andante and cabaletta “Tacea la notte” and “Di tale amor” by inserting Azucena’s “Stride la vampa” and “Giorni poveri vivea” between them. A focus on only melodies sung by women is unusual in opera fantasias, an exception to the typical use of music sung by the leading romantic couple accompanied by important but more tangential characters. The

<sup>10</sup> The full title is *Melodie nell’Opera Il Trovatore del M<sup>o</sup> Verdi Trascritte per Corno Inglese con accomp<sup>to</sup> di Pianoforte*. Despite its simplicity, the piece is dedicated to Cesare Confalonieri, principal oboe at La Scala and professor at the Milan conservatory. Cor anglais fantasias are frequently much less virtuosic than their oboe counterparts.

<sup>11</sup> In fact, the composer of this fantasia is more ambiguous than the dedicatee. This fantasia is accessible only in manuscript, and the author is unlisted. However, the final page indicates that the piece was “copiata da Baulij”, and the piece is catalogued by the Naples conservatory library under the same designation; therefore I refer to this as “the Bauli fantasia” for simplicity’s sake.



weight of this fantasia certainly falls on Leonora's themes; after a short introduction and cadenza, "Tacea la notte" is initially presented as it appears when Leonora first sings it, then is heavily ornamented and concludes in a cadenza. These are the only cadenzas of the fantasia, and both of Azucena's themes are presented unadorned. With "Di tale amor", the composer again inserts increasing virtuosic ornamentation, finishing with running semiquavers, scales and arpeggios in the oboe before a brief final cadence. This leads to a strong association of the oboe and performer with Leonora rather than Azucena, affirming a traditional character choice in an initially unusual-seeming fantasia.

### 4.3. Variation techniques

#### 4.3.1. Relationship between piano and the solo instrument

As mentioned above, Parma's *Pot-pourri sopra motivi dell'opera Rigoletto* includes some unusual characteristics, and perhaps the most striking of these is the virtuosity of his piano writing. He gives the first cadenza to the piano; while the oboist is given virtuosic material in Parma's variations on "La donna è mobile", and some space for ornamentation in "È il sol", the oboe's only cadenza immediately follows and even mimics the piano's. Parma also gives the second "variazione" on "La donna è mobile" to the piano while the oboe plays the melody, and the piano plays the fantasia's flashy run-out material too, with constant triplets under the oboe's final melody.

The image shows a page of musical notation for a piano variation. The score is written for piano and oboe. The piano part is highly virtuosic, featuring complex rhythmic patterns and ornaments. The oboe part is marked 'Variazione' and features a melodic line. The piano part includes a section marked 'leggera e veloce la mano destra' and 'marcata la sinistra'. The score is in G minor and 3/4 time. The piano part includes a section marked '217' and '221'.

Fig. 4.4: Piano variation under the oboe melody in Raffaele Parma's *Pot-pourri sull'opera Rigoletto*

Generally, in a fantasia the piano instead plays simple background accompaniment, frequently while also doubling the melody line, and in either of these cases the piano part is often very

similar or even identical to the operatic accompaniment of the vocalist. This can clearly be seen in the piano accompaniments of “D’amor sull’ali rosee” in fantasias on *Il trovatore* by Ricordano De Stefani (fig. 4.5) and Pompeo Litta (fig. 4.6). Although there are small changes – such as some alteration of octave placement – in each, both clearly attempt to work as accurate an operatic accompaniment as possible into their piano lines.

The image displays two pages of musical notation for piano accompaniment. The top page shows the first system, featuring a vocal line in the upper staff and piano accompaniment in the lower staves. The bottom page shows the second system, continuing the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The piano accompaniment includes complex chordal textures and rhythmic patterns. The second page includes performance markings such as "rall." and "rall. colla parte".

Fig. 4.5: Piano accompaniment of “D’amor sull’ali rosee”, De Stefani’s *Fantasia sopra motivi dell’opera Il trovatore di Verdi*

The image displays a piano accompaniment score for the piece "D'amor sull'ali rosee". The score is written in a single system with two staves: a treble clef staff for the right hand and a bass clef staff for the left hand. The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor), and the time signature is 3/4. The score is divided into several measures, with various musical markings and dynamics. The first system begins with a *pp* dynamic marking. The second system is marked *dolce colla parte*. The third system is marked *rall. colla parte*. The fourth system is marked *colla parte* and includes a *p* dynamic marking and a *p cres.* instruction. The fifth system is marked *rall. molto colla parte*. The score concludes with a final cadence in the bass staff.

Fig. 4.6: Piano accompaniment of "D'amor sull'ali rosee", Litta's *Melodie nel Trovatore trascritte per corno inglese*

The image displays a vocal score for the aria "D'amor sull'ali rosee". It consists of three systems of music. Each system includes a vocal line with lyrics in Italian and English, and a piano accompaniment. The piano part features a prominent triplet pattern in the right hand and a steady accompaniment in the left hand. The score includes dynamic markings such as *p* (piano) and *cresc.* (crescendo), and performance instructions like *con forza* and *dolce*. The lyrics are: "pe - ne, le pe - ne del mio cor, fate ev - er - more our hope be - trays, deh! non dir - - glijm - tell him not - - my prov - vi - do le pe - - ne del mio heart will break, if fate ev - er - be - prov - vi - do le pe - ne del mio cor, heart will break, if fate ev - er - be - trays, if pe - - ne, le pe - - ne del For - - tune our hope - - e'er be -".

Fig. 4.7: Vocal score for "D'amor sull'ali rosee"

This common approach to piano accompaniment can also be seen in numerous fantasias' versions of "La donna è mobile", "Bella figlia", and "Infelice core", as well as countless other themes of countless other operas.

Composers do not exclusively use heavily operatic piano textures. In Luigi Bassi's *Fantasia di concerto su motivi del Rigoletto*, his piano part becomes first simpler and then more elaborate and creative as the clarinet plays variations on "Caro nome". However, these alterations are slight; the piano is first slightly less busy, so as to not impede the solo line, and then slightly denser to conclude the section.



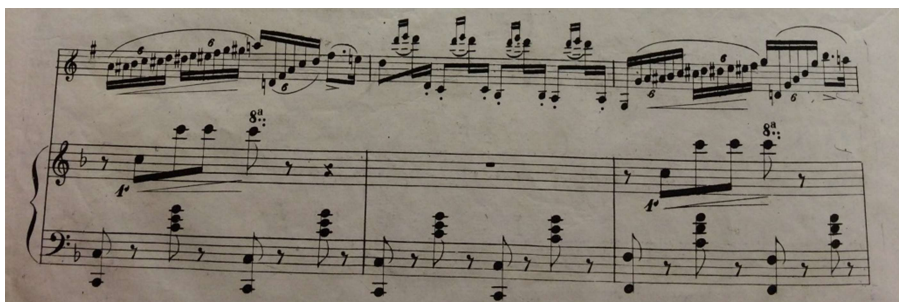
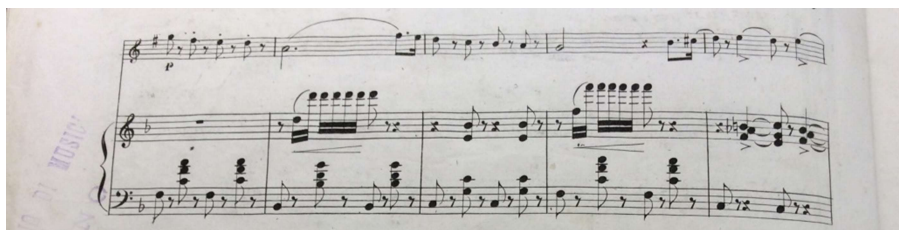


Fig. 4.8: Piano accompaniment of “Caro nome”, Bassi’s *Fantasia di concerto su motivi del Rigoletto*

Of course, while the piano is most often accompanying the solo instrument, fantasias often both begin with only the piano and include piano-only interludes during a piece. These frequently are very short and fanfare-like, and though they sometimes use newly composed music, they just as frequently are as operatically based as the sections of piano accompaniment; a common theme used for this in fantasias on *Rigoletto* is the ostensibly diegetic dance band music from the Act 1 introduction.

#### 4.3.2. Division of melody lines from ensembles

Opera fantasias do not exclusively use music from solo arias, and therefore composers must decide how to approach simultaneous melodies in pieces designed to feature a single solo instrument. Music from duets and choruses frequently appears in fantasias, and while duets most commonly are played by the solo instrument, choruses often appear in piano interludes, allowing the vocal texture to be replicated without privileging one line above the others. Antonio Pasculli’s *Concerto per oboe sul Trovatore* opens with the soldiers’ chorus “Or co’dadi” from the beginning of Act 3, for which Pasculli uses his usual technique of a piano introduction interrupted by an oboe cadenza. After the oboe’s entry, Pasculli shifts from the chorus to solo arias. Francesco Cappa does the same in his *Il Trovatore: Fantasia per*

*Fagotto*; after a brief introduction based on “Or co’ dadi”, the bassoon enters with the first main theme, Manrico’s “Mal reggendo”. Girolamo Salieri’s *Il trovatore di Verdi: Fantasia per clarinetto*, which otherwise contains only music sung by Leonora, instead includes the clarinet in his presentation of the chorus. However, all the voices of this chorus sing the melody of the opening lines, as introduced by the orchestra and then sung, in octaves. Thus the clarinet can easily simultaneously act as a member of the orchestra introducing the voices and as a representative of the men of the chorus.

Perhaps the most intriguing use of a chorus comes in Giulio Briccialdi’s *Fantasia per flauto sull’opera Il trovatore* (op. 90). Briccialdi dwells on Manrico and on the music of Act 4, but he surrounds themes from both scenes of that act with music from Act 2 Scene 1, including the orchestral introduction to “Vedi! le fosche”, which both opens and closes the fantasia. The fantasia is not particularly long given the number of themes included, and not particularly difficult, though it does include virtuosic ornamentation of several themes. Leonora’s “D’amor”, which follows the opening chorus, is presented vocally, with no additional ornamentation, and even her final cadenza is omitted. Ornamentation is concentrated in Manrico’s “Mal reggendo”, which is presented with virtuosic semiquaver ornamentation from the start, and both Manrico’s “Riposa, o madre” and Azucena’s “Ai nostri monti”; indeed, the latter two themes are melded together through their ornamentation, creating the sense not of a vocal duet but of a single vocal melody accompanied by instrumental semiquavers. Most unusually, the finale of this fantasia is a return to the instrumental introduction to “Vedi! le fosche”, which moves almost immediately into a rather sedate conclusion rather than the typical exuberantly busy climax. Perhaps the music of “Vedi!” is simply another way for Briccialdi to focus on Manrico through his connection to Azucena, but his use of it in avoiding a virtuosic conclusion is a striking departure from the norms of the opera fantasia.

However, while Briccialdi’s treatment of “Vedi! le fosche” is unusual, his presentation of Manrico and Azucena’s Act 4 Scene 2 duet is a clear example of a typical way composers approach duets in fantasias. This duet quickly cycles through several distinct melodies associated with specific portions of the libretto, and the flute initially acts similarly. Then, after a straightforward presentation of the first two themes of the duet, Azucena’s “Sì, la stanchezza” and Manrico’s “Riposa, o madre”, Briccialdi combines the third theme, Azucena’s “Ai nostri monti”, with the repeat of Manrico’s “Riposa, o madre” that accompanies it, creating a single line for the solo instrument. This foregrounds both characters equally rather than dividing them between the soloist and the pianist.

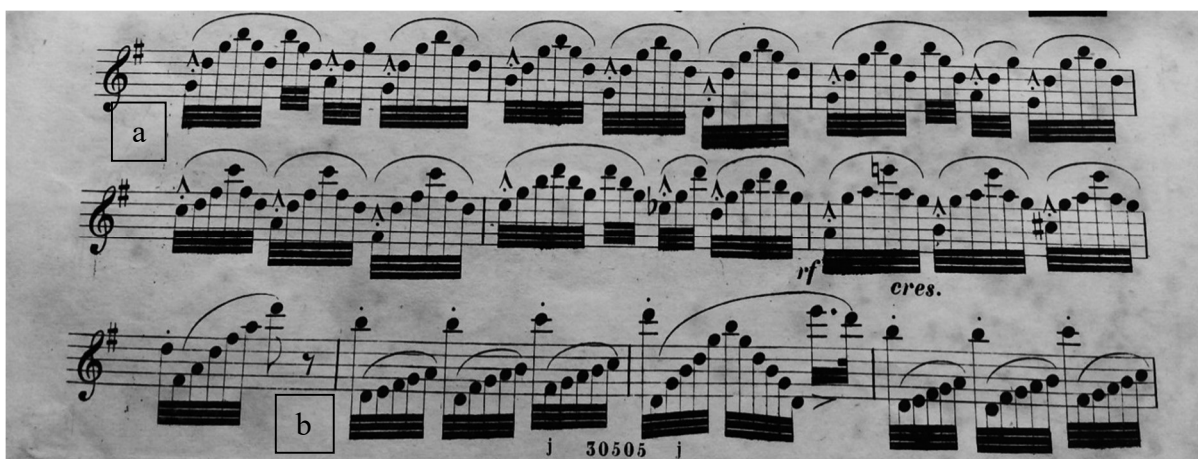


Fig. 4.9: Very similar variation is applied to both portions of the duet – “Ai nostri monti” (a) and “Riposa, o madre” (b) – in Briccialdi’s op. 90

Luigi Orselli also combines these two themes in his *Divertimento per fagotto sull’Opera Il trovatore*, with his bassoon seamlessly transferring from the end of “Sì, la stanchezza” to the beginning of “Riposa, o madre” by way of an anticipatory semiquaver that does not appear in the opera’s vocal line.

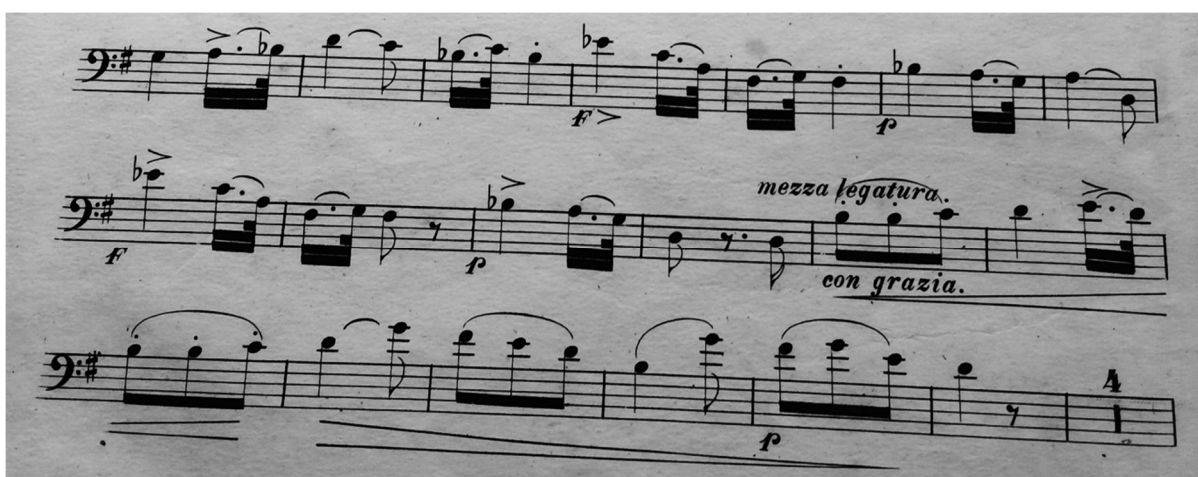


Fig. 4.10: Orselli’s presentation of Manrico and Azucena’s Act 4 Scene 2 duet

Duets like this one, which build through a sequence of contrasting melodic phrases rather than through the development of a single melody, are common in Verdi’s operas, and thus surface frequently in fantasias on the three case study operas. Another common approach to duets in opera fantasias is the division of the two melody lines between the solo instrument and the piano. The traditional operatic duet in parallel thirds or sixths, for which this technique naturally applies, appears much more rarely in the three Verdi operas discussed here than in earlier operas by composers such as Bellini and Donizetti; the Duke and Gilda’s “Addio” preceding “Caro nome” in Act 1 Scene 2 of *Rigoletto* is a notable exception, but remarkably this duet appears in none of the fantasias I viewed. However, division of two

vocal lines between the solo instrument and the accompaniment does frequently surface in themes from *Rigoletto*'s "Bella figlia" quartet. Larger ensembles, such as quartets, do not commonly appear in fantasias, with the prominent exception of "Bella figlia". However, in fantasias this quartet often functions like a duet, as composers focus on the Duke's and Gilda's musical lines. Like Manrico and Azucena's duet discussed above, the musical lines in the "Bella figlia" quartet are distinct from each other; in the quartet, the effect is more of competition than unity. In the context of the fantasia, this means that composers often treat either "Bella figlia" or "Infelice core" as independent melodies detached from their context, aided by the staggered entry of the themes in the opera, which means that each has its own accompaniment as well as melody. However, for "Infelice core", the fantasia accompaniment often also fills in another vocal line, as the piano copies the operatic scoring in which the woodwinds play along with Maddalena's interjections.



Fig. 4.11: Accompaniment to "Infelice core" similar to Maddalena's vocal line, from Luigi Bassi's *Fantasia di Concerto*



The image shows a musical score for a vocal ensemble and piano. The vocal parts are for Soprano (S.), Mezzo-soprano (Ma.), Alto (D.), and Bass (R.). The piano part is at the bottom. The lyrics are in Italian and English. The Soprano part has the lyrics: "pia - re, in fe - li - ce cor tra - strove, for he is false, my heart is". The Mezzo-soprano part has: "do di cor, ah! ah! ri - must laugh, ha, ha, I". The Alto part has: "puo - i le mi - e store me, Oh end the". The Bass part has: "tar, prove, ta - ci, e mia sa - rà la thou must shun him and for -". The piano part consists of two staves, treble and bass clef, with a complex rhythmic pattern.

Fig. 4.12: Maddalena's interjections in "Infelice core"

As well as using duets and ensembles from operas, fantasia composers occasionally create their own duets by combining themes in the solo instrument and the piano. Though perhaps related to the quodlibet – which “combin[es] two or more existing tunes or fragments of tunes in counterpoint or in quick succession, most often as a joke or technical tour de force”<sup>12</sup> and “serves no higher purpose than that of humour or technical virtuosity”<sup>13</sup> – in fantasias this technique is not used humorously. An example can be seen in Pasculli's *Fantasia due sopra motivi dell'opera "Un ballo in maschera" di Verdi*, discussed above, in which Pasculli simultaneously presents Riccardo's "La rivedrà" in the cor anglais and Renato's "Alla vita" in the piano, creating a duet that foreshadows the tragic end to Riccardo's love story, driven by Renato.

#### 4.3.3. Vocal and instrumental ornamentation

Contrary to expectation, it is difficult to make any over-arching statements about differences in treatment of fast and slow themes in fantasias. Both are likely to feature vocal ornamentation and instrumental virtuosity, including simultaneous playing of melody and

<sup>12</sup> J. Peter Burkholder, "Uses of Existing Music: Musical Borrowing as a Field", *Notes*, Second Series, Vol. 50, No. 3 (Mar., 1994), p. 854.

<sup>13</sup> Maria Rika Maniates, et al. "Quodlibet", *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017. Bach's *Goldberg Variations* presents a notable example of more serious quodlibet; Maniates also writes that "the proper boundaries of the quodlibet are difficult to maintain with precision or consistency".

harmony. Both are likely to have chromatic, or arpeggiated, or scalar variation, and to have themes initially presented as they appear in the opera before ornamentation is added. Slow themes are perhaps more likely to have cadenzas associated with them, and to have dramatic cadenza-like ornamentation added. But in general, there are far more similarities than significant differences between the treatment of themes of different tempos.



Fig. 4.13: Clarinet variation on Amelia's slow "Ma dall'arido" from Giuseppe Leonesi's *Capriccio per clarinetto su diversi motivi del Ballo in maschera*

This image shows a musical score for a flute variation. It consists of four staves of music, all in a single treble clef. The key signature is one sharp (F#), and the time signature is 2/4. The music is characterized by a fast, intricate melodic line with many slurs and ornaments. The first three staves show a continuous, flowing melody with various rhythmic patterns and accidentals. The fourth staff continues the melody and includes a triplet of notes.

Fig. 4.14: Flute variation on the fast Act 2 Finale theme following "Ve' se di notte" from Luigi Hugues' *Seconda fantasia sopra motivi dell'opera Un ballo in maschera*

Instead of being dictated by tempo, the kinds of ornamentation applied to a given theme of a fantasia can be divided into that derived from the original vocal part and that which emphasizes the instrumental nature of the fantasia. As already noted, fantasia composers sometimes copy the ornamentation which appears in the printed score of an opera into their fantasia, particularly in their initial presentation of a given theme, making full use of the graces (appoggiaturas, turns, and trills) and more complex divisions given by the opera composer.<sup>14</sup> While this of course is a short cut for the composer in providing a recognizable yet showy version of an operatic melody, it also can help to strongly connect the solo instrument of a fantasia to the character whose melody they play. In his *Fantasia due sopra motivi dell'opera "Un ballo in maschera" di Verdi*, Pasculli completely identifies the cor anglais with the character Amelia, giving it a note-for-note statement of her lament "Morrò, ma prima in grazia", complete with phrasing, articulation, and many of the aria's dynamics, although the section ends with a non-vocal cadenza. Similarly, in his *Fantasia per fagotto sull'opera Un ballo in maschera*, Luigi Orselli mimics Azucena's presentation of "Sì, la stanchezza", including accents, slurs, and the marking *mezzo voce*, and Casaretto's *Divertimento per flauto sopra alcuni pensieri del Trovatore* (op. 23) precisely copies Leonora's vocal grace notes, accents, and trills in its initial presentation of "D'amor sull'ali rosee".

In contrast, in order to fully show the virtuosic potential of a given instrument, composers nearly always include additional ornamentation that is non-vocal for reasons of range or technique. Two common varieties are repeated scales (major, minor, or chromatic) or arpeggios and ornamentation in which the solo instrument essentially plays both a melody and a fast-paced accompaniment. This second technique is highly virtuosic and intensely difficult, and thus frequently the showpiece of the fantasia. In his *Rimembranze del Rigoletto*, Pasculli uses this approach in his presentation of Gilda's "Infelice core"; the oboist projects melody notes out of a chromatic wash of sound. Pasculli is extremely fond of this technique, but it is common among many composers. Donato Lovreglio's *Capriccio fantastico sull'opera "Rigoletto"* (Op. 15) also provides two examples of this kind of variation, both similarly

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<sup>14</sup> Divisions can be roughly defined as "a series of rapid notes performed in one breath on a single syllable". Robert Toft, *Bel Canto: A Performer's Guide* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 136. In his book, Toft provides an accessible and comprehensive overview of *bel canto* ornamentation, emphasizing the performative creativity involved; even in instances when composers began to notate ornaments for singers, it was common for performers to re-ornament melodies to suit their own voices and styles. "Ornamentation, then, has always been an improvisatory art". (Toft, p. 109.) This bears repetition in the context of fantasias; while (as has been repeatedly stated) the performers of these works were generally their composers, both scholars and performers of these works should keep in mind the vibrant tradition of improvisatory and re-compositional ornaments in Italian nineteenth-century performance traditions.

difficult. He writes self-accompaniment in the flute for both “Infelice core”, Gilda’s line from “Bella figlia dell’amore”, and Gilda’s “Caro nome”, the latter using descending chromatic scales between melody notes.

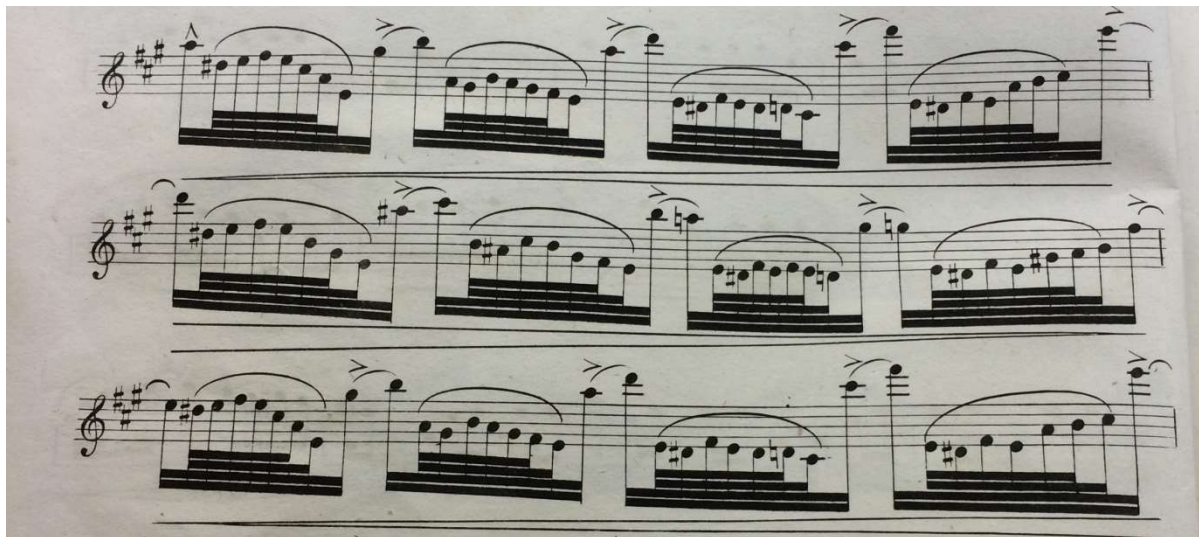


Fig. 4.15: The first three bars of variation on “Infelice core” in Lovreglio’s *Capriccio fantastico* op. 15

This is fundamentally a kind of contrapuntal variation through ornamentation in which the theme is presented in one voice and the variation in another. Though the variation in the solo voice is often more chromatic than harmonically functional, this approach is also highly reminiscent of the concept of compound melody. These intricate presentations of the melody are often, though not always, accompanied by melody-doubling by the piano, which also provides harmonic accompaniment. For example, Luigi Bassi’s *Fantasia di concerto su motivi del Rigoletto* presents the melody of Gilda’s “Infelice core” without ornamentation in the piano while the clarinet plays the same melody ornamented with demisemiquavers. Similarly, in Pasculli’s *Amelia: Un pensiero del Ballo in maschera* for cor anglais, the cor anglais fills in “Ma dall’arido stella” with semiquaver triplets. As mentioned above, a more unusual variety of this technique appears in the *Pot-pourri sopra motivi dell’opera Rigoletto* by Raffaele Parma; in the second variation on “La donna è mobile”, the oboe presents the melody in its original form while the piano ornaments it with chromatically inflected demisemiquavers. This is followed by the more traditional reversal of these two roles, where the oboe ornaments the melody similarly.

The first variety of ornamental variation, scales and arpeggios, while popular in all portions of a fantasia from introductions to cadenzas, generally occurs in its most extreme form as a way to close the fantasia in a flourish of virtuosity and triumph. In this context, often the ornamentation is not attached to any operatic theme but is merely a generic run-out

section in major over fanfare-like accompaniment, allowing the performer to show off and the composer to end his piece simply yet strongly, reinforcing the final key and cadence. Indeed, this final section is often written with a repeat in Italian manuscripts and contemporary printed editions, emphasizing its virtuosity and distancing it from the operatic context of the theme on which it is based.<sup>15</sup> Girolamo Salieri's *Fantasia per clarinetto tratta dall'opera Rigoletto* ends with fifteen bars of scales and arpeggios, Antoine Parra's *Caprice pour la clarinette sur des motifs de l'opéra Il Trovatore* (op. 4) with forty bars of this material, and Pasculli's *Fantasia sopra "Gli Ugonotti"* with more than seventy!



Fig. 4.16: An excerpt of the closing material in Parma's *Rimembranze dell'Opera Un Ballo in Maschera*

Even when a theme is used, the ornamentation is often more detached from the melody than in other methods of variation; sometimes the theme is not apparent at all but is instead inferred from the immediately preceding section, and sometimes it appears only in the piano while the solo instrument plays the scales and arpeggios.

Luigi Bassi's *Fantasia di concerto su motivi del Rigoletto* for clarinet provides an example of this kind of instrumental variation outside of the finale. Bassi gives the melody of "Tutte le feste al tempio" to the piano, while the clarinet plays continuous pianissimo demisemi-quaver arpeggios. Likewise, in his *Caprice pour la clarinette sur des motifs de l'opéra Il Trovatore* (op. 4), Antoine Parra ends three different themes with arpeggiated ornamentation before launching into a passage of more than fifty bars of arpeggios and then, after a brief interlude, a passage of nearly one hundred bars of arpeggios. This is a particularly extreme case, but shorter passages of arpeggios or scales are extremely common as variations throughout fantasias. At the opposite extreme from composers like Pasculli and Parra, some composers insert scalar or arpeggiated flourishes within otherwise straightforward presentations of themes. Ernesto Cavallini does this in his *Transcription de l'Opéra Trovatore*

<sup>15</sup> In part because Pasculli does not include repeats, works that do so are disproportionately rare in modern editions.



de Verdi pour Clarinette, in which some of the long notes of melodies like “Deserto sulla terra” are filled with demisemiquaver and hemidemisemiquaver arpeggios. Parra’s *Morceau de Salon pour la clarinette sur des motifs de Rigoletto* (op. 3) similarly ornaments the melody “Miei signori, perdono” with demisemiquaver sextuplets.

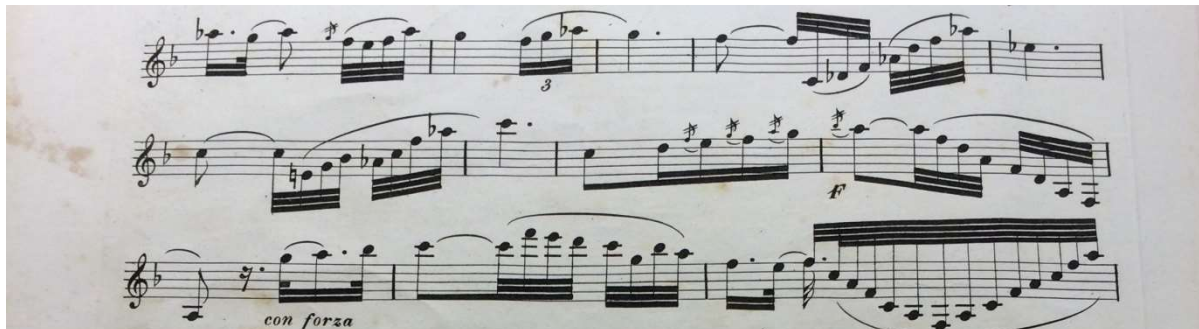


Fig. 4.17: Flourishes on “Deserto sulla terra” in Cavallini’s *Transcription de l’Opéra Trovatore de Verdi pour Clarinette*

This style of ornamentation bleeds easily into either the continuous presentation of melody and harmony discussed above or a cadenza.

However, before addressing cadenzas, I wish to briefly approach the separation I have introduced between vocal and instrumental ornamentation from another angle. Although much of the elaboration present in opera fantasias would certainly be unable to be performed by a singer, often instrumental ornamentation is not fundamentally unvocal in style. Instead, because these composer-performers were working within the operatically and vocally infused Italian musical context (as discussed in Chapter 2), this distinction occurs at a high level of granularity and instrumental ornamentation often appears as instrumental renderings of vocal ornamentations taken to extremes. This becomes extremely clear when looking at this compilation of bel canto vocal ornamentation styles from Robert Toft’s *Bel Canto: A Performer’s Guide* (fig. 4.18), none of which would be perceptibly out of place in a woodwind opera fantasia.

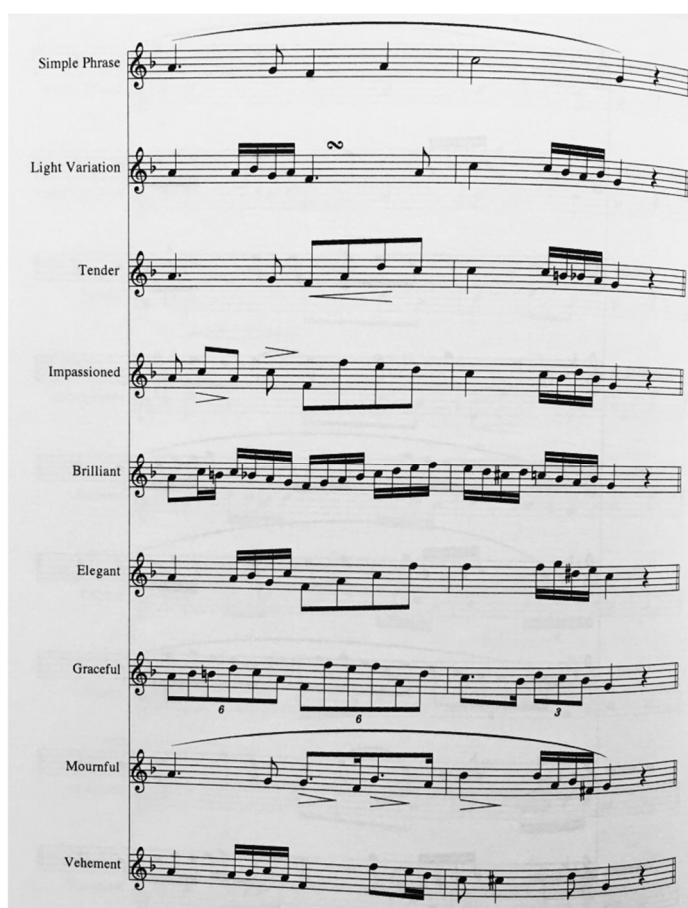


Fig. 4.18 Various affects as expressed through vocal ornamentations

Notably, the “brilliant” ornamentation is particularly reminiscent of the *stretta*-like finales present in most opera fantasias. And these ornaments, as in *bel canto* singing, also share many characteristics with the ornamentation present in cadenzas, which are in both cases “closely related to divisions”, but generally unaccompanied and freely out of time.<sup>16</sup>

#### 4.3.4. The role of cadenzas

There are few ways in which cadenzas are formally or narratively significant within a fantasia; the presence of cadenzas does not indicate the overall difficulty of the piece and cadenzas are not necessarily associated with the character whose music most emphasized in the fantasia. For example, Luigi Hugues’ *Prima Fantasia sopra Un ballo* (op. 44), a brief but moderately virtuosic fantasia, concentrates mostly on Riccardo and his love for Amelia through several themes from their duet in Act 3 Scene 3 and through Riccardo’s “La rivedrà”. However, the fantasia includes only one cadenza, which appears in the midst of variations on Oscar’s “Saper voreste”. Hugues’ *Seconda Fantasia sopra Un ballo* (op. 45), much more virtuosic as a whole, also includes only one not particularly extensive cadenza. In contrast,

<sup>16</sup> Toft, p. 153.

Luigi Orselli's *Fantasia per fagotto sull'opera Un ballo in maschera* includes four cadenzas – one into the first bassoon entry with “La rivedrà”, one at the end of the otherwise piano-only theme “E sta l'odio”, one in the midst of “Ma se m'è forza”, and one as “Ma se” leads into the final section – but the rest of the piece is not very virtuosic. Short cadenzas often function as transitions between themes or as entrances or exits for the solo instrument, as in Orselli's fantasia and as seen here in Raffaello Galli's *Un ballo in maschera: Divertimento per flauto* (op. 91), where the cadenza occurs as the flute finishes its presentation of Renato's “Alla vita”. However, these cadenzas are far from ubiquitous, and I emphasize that the presence or absence of cadenzas does not signify whether a fantasia is difficult or not.

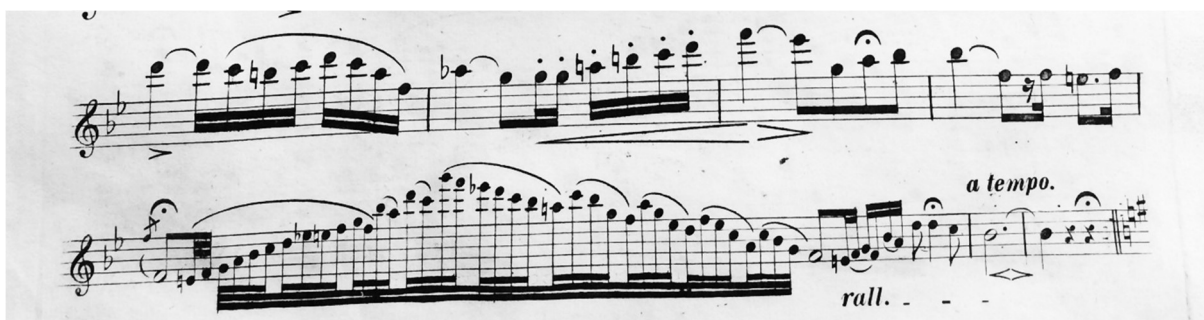


Fig. 4.19: The cadenza at the end of Renato's “Alla vita” as presented in Galli's *Divertimento* (op. 91)

Pasculli's cadenzas are very unusually extensive. Most cadenzas, like Galli's, occupy approximately a single line of printed music; they often are similar in length and function either to cadenzas in the original operatic source, particularly when they occur at the end of a theme, or to the Mozartean *Eingang*, when they lead into an initial presentation of a theme. However, Pasculli's can be nearly an entire page long, and frequently their functionality relates more to intense virtuosic display than to anything associated with the operatic theme. The composer I have found closest to duplicating Pasculli's marathon cadenzas is Donato Lovreglio, whose very virtuosic *Fantasia per oboe sull'Opera Un ballo in maschera* op. 44 opens with a long cadenza as an introduction to Amelia's “Ma dall'arido”. However, Lovreglio also generally writes brief cadenzas in this and many other fantasias. Perhaps the fact that op. 44 is for the oboe rather than Lovreglio's usual flute intimates some connection to the Pasculli-esque cadenza, but even here Lovreglio is far from approaching the length of Pasculli's cadenzas, and the placement of this cadenza in the midst of the introduction to “Ma dall'arido” means that the cadenza does function as a kind of *Eingang*.





Fig. 4.20: Lovreglio's "Ma dall'arido" cadenza, op. 44

Fig. 4.21: A page-long cadenza in Pasculli's *Concerto per oboe su motivi dell'opera La favorita*

However, Pasculli does also use the typical shorter fantasia cadenza. His *Amelia* contains only one very short cadenza during “Ma dall’arido”, and his *Fantasia due*, though it does include one slightly extended cadenza, also includes several short cadenzas. Both of these fantasias are virtuosic but not as overwhelmingly difficult as Pasculli’s norm; this is almost certainly because they are written for the cor anglais rather than the oboe, a phenomenon discussed below. Nevertheless, I hesitate to make any statements of significance about the presence or substance of cadenzas in fantasias other than to note their typical placement at entrances, exits, and transitions.

#### 4.3.5. Alterations of modality or key

In a theme and variation set, altering a theme’s mode from major to minor is a common variation technique. In an opera fantasia, however, this is surprisingly uncommon. More usually, the composer will simply move to a new theme to allow either for a change of mode or tempo. Perhaps this is because the fantasia relies on the emotional resonance of the original melody’s strong ties to operatic characters or narratives, and thus a composer may be reluctant to attribute multiple emotions to one theme through variation, unlike a composer working with a more emotionally detached theme. It may also result from an attachment to the sound of the original melody, picked because of its beautiful vocal nature rather than its potential, unlike those themes chosen by composers of larger-scale theme and variation sets, such as Brahms’s “Haydn” Variations, or from a desire to maintain the original melody as clearly recognizable and in a way most likely to please the public.

Cesare Ciardi’s *Divertimento per flauto sopra motivi dell’Opera Il trovatore* (op. 41) provides an example of a fantasia shifting between themes in order to create modal and tempo variation. The fantasia is relatively lengthy, given Ciardi’s use of only three themes; this allows for a substantial presentation of each theme with minimal decoration as well as intense virtuosic variation on two of the themes, Azucena’s “Ai nostri monti” and Leonora’s “Tu vedrai che amore”. The organization of this fantasia is intriguing as Ciardi follows two of Azucena’s themes with a single theme sung by Leonora. This reverses the operatic positions of the final two themes, but it does allow for an andante section between two faster sections. The emphasis of the fantasia is divided relatively evenly between the two characters, as “Stride la vampa” is followed by less difficult and less extended ornamentation than the other two themes.

One of very few counter-examples can be found in Pasculli’s *Concerto sopra motivi dell’opera La Favorita di Donizetti*. Despite its title, this piece bears little resemblance to the traditional three-movement concerto, and, though as seen in previous chapters there are some

significant differences between Pasculli's concertos and his fantasias, it is formally indistinguishable from Pasculli's fantasias. Pasculli uses four themes from *La Favorite*, but he quickly settles into a kind of meditation on the melody of "Dolce zeffiro" to the exclusion of all others. The introduction of Ines's aria returns once, and "Spirito gentil" and its variation never reappear.<sup>17</sup> Rather than including additional musical material to alternate fast and slow sections, Pasculli merely manipulates "Dolce zeffiro", presenting it as a *largo* in minor as well as repeatedly as an *allegro* in its original major.



Fig. 4.22: The opening of the largo variation of "Dolce zeffiro" in Pasculli's *Concerto sopra motivi dell'opera La Favorita di Donizetti*

Thus this theme permeates even the slow sections of the fantasia, which often serve to associate the oboe with a character. Pasculli's total absorption by a single aria makes the analysis of any narrative within the concerto difficult, the more so because the material he uses is the orchestral, rather than vocal, version of the theme. The oboe is thus distanced, rather than associated with a character, as the use of the orchestral theme emphasizes the oboe's instrumental nature.

Unlike modal changes, transposition is common in woodwind fantasias, in part because of the nature of the instruments involved, and while unlikely to be presented as a variation technique in a variation set a simple change of key does technically vary a given

<sup>17</sup> Curiously, in an article on nineteenth-century oboe literature, Charles-David Lehrer states that "Pasculli in his *Concerto*, derived two arias from Donizetti's *La Favorita* to create his work in this genre but went beyond [oboist-composer Henri] Brod by writing a set of incredible *Bel Canto* variations on the second aria". Pasculli actually writes variations on the first aria which he presents, not the second, though perhaps Lehrer was confused by the initial presentation of the first aria by the piano alone. Charles-David Lehrer, "The repertory of the oboe soloist in the 19th century: the hidden structure", *Journal of the International Double Reed Society*, Number 12, (1984), accessed October 2017, <https://www.idrs.org/publications/controlled/DR/JNL12/rep.html>.

theme.<sup>18</sup> Key changes either facilitate more idiomatic writing for a given instrument or are inevitable due to transposing instruments; in a fantasia for B flat or A clarinet accompanied by piano either the clarinet or the piano must experience a change of key unless the composer only uses music played by the clarinet in the original operatic score (a situation which I have never encountered). For example, Lovreglio's *Fantasia sull'opera "Un Ballo in Maschera" di Verdi*, exists not only for the clarinet, but also for the oboe. The two share a written, rather than sounding, key for approximately two thirds of their material, with the piano part thus existing in two keys. Another approach to key changes in adapting operatic material for fantasias is that used by Bassi in his *Fantasia di concerto su motivi del Rigoletto* for clarinet. The fantasia begins with material drawn from the prelude and introduction to Act 1, which Verdi composed in E flat major. However, Bassi transposes his version of the material to D flat major so as to avoid a key change when moving into his second theme, "Tutte le feste al tempio", which Verdi composed in D flat.<sup>19</sup> Rather than revealing significant similarities in the alteration of specific themes across multiple fantasias, keys seem to be used in several functional ways to provide ease either to the composer or to the performer. This approach to transposition is extremely operatic itself, reminiscent of the common transposition of arias within operas themselves in order to adapt to the demands of soloists' voices.

#### 4.3.6. Conclusions of fantasias and conclusions of operas

While the overt modal change of Pasculli's fantasia on *La Favorite* is extremely unusual, the habit of composers reordering operatic themes so as to end their fantasias with triumphant major-mode themes well-suited to effusive virtuosic run-outs seems reminiscent of modal shifting. Many of the operas used in fantasias are tragedies which conclude with music in minor keys, though this is hardly universal – for example *Lucia di Lammermoor*'s finale alternates between major and minor and includes some scalar passages that would not be out of place in a fantasia coda, and operas with happy endings, like *La Sonnambula*, are used in fantasias as well. Despite these exceptions, frequently a modal shift occurs between the expected final operatic material and the expected final fantasia material. This is common, and the ending of Pasculli's quintessential *Fantasia due sopra motivi dell'opera "Un ballo in maschera" di Verdi*, as discussed above, is a clear example. After presenting Amelia's lament "Morrò, ma prima in grazia", Pasculli returns to earlier themes. Rather than remaining in "tragic" minor, Pasculli follows a restatement of Riccardo's "La rivedrà" with Renato's

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<sup>18</sup> This variation technique does of course appear in the music of a few notable composers including Schubert, whose Trout Quintet is an example.

<sup>19</sup> Madeline LeBaron Johnson, "An Examination of the Clarinet Works of Luigi Bassi" (unpublished DMA thesis, University of North Texas, 2007), p. 8.

ominous but major-mode “Alla vita”. This nonetheless is quickly drowned out by F-Major arpeggios in the cor anglais. The finale cannot quite force Renato away, but it can insist upon a triumphant mode.

Unusually, the anonymous *Trovatore: fantasia per flauto* from Palermo<sup>20</sup> ends with the operatic tragedy. In this fantasia, a brief presentation of Leonora’s “D’amor sull’ali rosee”, ending in a short cadenza, leads to a long section based on Azucena’s “Giorni poveri” where, after an initial straightforward presentation, there is a series of labelled variations in multiple keys using two kinds of demisemiquaver ornamentation. The fantasia then moves to a theme from the end of the opera, the instrumental accompaniment to Manrico and Leonora’s scene before the trio “Parlar non vuoi” from Act 4 Scene 2. As well as following the opera’s plot to its end, the piece moves from a focus on Azucena to one on the central romantic couple, both departing from and aligning with the more standard fantasia narrative.

#### 4.4. Instrumentation

##### 4.4.1. Difficulty from the performer’s perspective

Pasculli’s fantasias, like most virtuosic music, combine passages that are intensely difficult for the performer with passages that sound much more difficult to the audience than they are to play. The same is true of the opera fantasia more widely, although among oboe performer-composers music as challenging as Pasculli’s is rare. In virtuosity there is a tension between the enjoyment of the player and of the audience, between what is comfortable and what looks good, and also emotionally “between appearances and an interiority not ultimately accessible to display”, as Elisabeth Le Guin argues.<sup>21</sup> The hand wants familiarity and ease, while the intellect and ear (of both the audience and the performer) want variety and interest. Discussing Boccherini’s cello music, written for himself to perform, Le Guin picks out shared traits between pieces that are noticeable to the performer while playing, but that are not formally or melodically significant; Pasculli’s cadenzas are often deeply chromatic and repetitive in ways that feel more similar than they may look or sound.

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<sup>20</sup> The score to this, held in the Palermo conservatory library, was damaged in bombing during World War II, but is mostly intact and legible.

<sup>21</sup> Elisabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2006), p. 103.

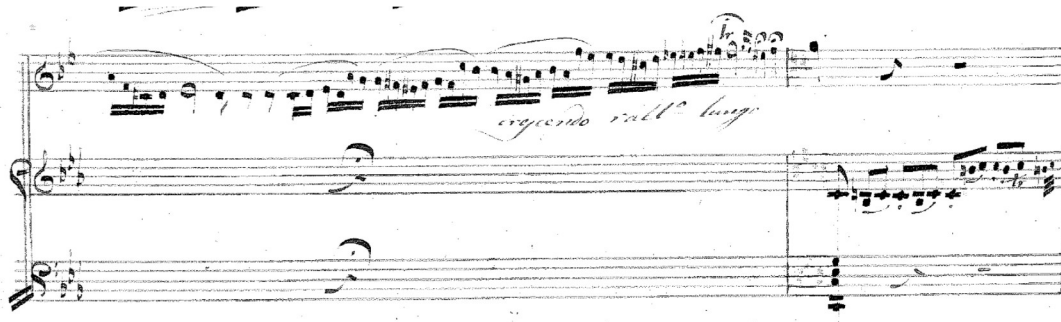


Fig. 4.23(a)

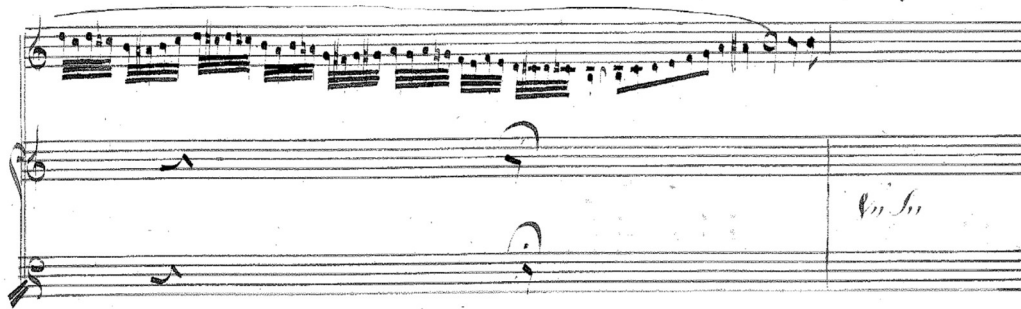


Fig. 4.23 (b)

Fig. 4.23: Cadenzas in (a) Pasculli's *Fantasia due* on *Un ballo* and (b) Pasculli's *Concerto sul Trovatore*

Perhaps the ability of the opera fantasia to represent the unexpected, the familiar made more “interesting” or unique (though still recognizable), contributed to its success in navigating that tension between comfort and interest for both the performer and the audience.

In Chapter 5, I investigate this physicality and this performer-oriented approach to the fantasia in detail through a case study of Pasculli's *Poliuto* fantasia. This meditation also leads me, as an oboist, to questions of similar passages in fantasias for other woodwind instruments. Though less immediately identifiable, they clearly appear. But while composers for all instruments surely take advantage of those particular arpeggios or chromaticisms or finger patterns that fall well upon their instrument, this raises the question of whether any significant similarities in virtuosity or character appear across fantasias for specific instruments, and whether significant differences are visible between fantasias for each woodwind instrument as a corpus.

#### 4.4.2. Variances in fantasias for different instruments

Establishing similarities between fantasias for different instruments is not as simple as merely comparing the presence of certain kinds of variation or the use of certain keys or the number of demisemiquavers. Even between the flute and oboe there is huge variation in the

specific arpeggios, chromaticisms, and other repeated patterns that fall well on the specific instrument. For this reason, setting range issues aside, it would be difficult to simply play a flute fantasia on an oboe, or the reverse, and experience a similar level of virtuosity for the performer. However, the range of virtuosity is broadly similar between flute, oboe, and clarinet fantasias, with cor anglais and bassoon fantasias broadly falling on the easier side of the spectrum. Outliers in difficulty like Pasculli appear for each instrument; fantasias by Lovreglio, Cavallini, and Briccialdi can be just as intensely virtuosic as those by Pasculli.

There is a difficult-to-quantify sense that pieces for different instruments simply “look different” and that, in parallel, those for the same instrument share ineffable yet palpable similarities; this may be due to student-teacher or colleague relationships, or simply the consequences of the clarinet’s lower range (and thus longer arpeggios) or the flute’s ability to play more intricate ornamentations in the third octave. However, pieces for all instruments tend to have similar contours, and all use, for example, simultaneous melody and harmony as a means of virtuosic variation. The relative ease of fantasias for cor anglais and bassoon is most likely a result of the technical abilities of these two instruments, with their larger and more cumbersome keywork. However, for the cor anglais in particular there are heavy overtones of tragic femininity, which – combined with the cor anglais’s status as an auxiliary instrument – may make composing for the cor anglais rather than the oboe a choice linked to the emphasis of specific characters. In some cases the cor anglais is also linked to more unusual operatic themes, as expanded upon below.

Giovanni Daelli’s *Fantasia per corno inglese sopra motivi dell’opera Il trovatore* is one example of the trend for simpler cor anglais fantasias, perhaps because it was dedicated to a student of Daelli’s. Though certainly not wildly difficult, the fantasia does contain passages of heavy ornamentation and of arpeggiated or chromatic semiquaver variations on themes. This fantasia is full of characters, including music sung by the Count and the chorus alongside that of Azucena, Leonora, and Manrico. Compositional weight falls on Leonora’s “Di tale amor” in the form of a virtuosic variation of running semiquavers and the Count’s “Il balen del suo sorriso” in the form of operatic ornamentations and a cadenza; this is reversed from the usual gendered means of ornamenting Leonora, but seems natural given Leonora’s quicker theme and the Count’s *largo* one. Daelli finishes with three duets, the Count and Leonora in “Qual voce, come”, Manrico and Leonora in “Parlar non vuoi”/“Oh come l’ira”, and Azucena and Leonora in “Ai nostri monti”/“Ah, fuggi”. While the first is unornamented, the second two duets gradually increase in virtuosity until the sparkling finale, and both of these present the two vocal lines as a single unified instrumental line, subsuming the characters into (rather



gentle) instrumental virtuosity.<sup>22</sup> Despite the presence of some more unusual themes and more subdued virtuosity, Daelli's fantasia is much like any fantasia for flute, oboe, or clarinet in its form and treatment of operatic themes.

Because most fantasia composers were writing for themselves to perform, it is rare to find compositions for multiple instruments by one composer. Violinist and conductor Nicola de Giovanni is a rare example of a non-woodwind-playing composer of woodwind fantasias. However, Donato Lovreglio is an even more unusual case. He wrote not only at least three fantasias for flute on *Un ballo in maschera*, but also a fantasia on the same opera that exists for both oboe (op. 44) and clarinet (op. 46) in very similar forms.

Table 4: Thematic choice in the two versions of Lovreglio's *Fantasia sull'opera "Un Ballo in Maschera" di Verdi*

<b>Op. 44, oboe</b>	<b>Op. 46, clarinet</b>
O figlia d'Inghiltera	O figlia d'Inghiltera
Ma dall'arido	Ma dall'arido
Ve' se di notte	Ve' se di notte
A chi nel mondo	Morrò, ma prima
Morrò, ma prima	La rivedrà
Orchestral accompaniment to Ah! Perchè qui	Astro di queste/Chè non m'è dato

Lovreglio's two versions of the *Fantasia sull'opera "Un Ballo in Maschera" di Verdi* are for the most part nearly identical. The oboe version, op. 44, seems to have been written for a colleague of Lovreglio's, Professor Nicomede Buonomo, to whom it is dedicated on the title page. A performing flautist himself, Lovreglio notably revised the piece for another instrument he did not play, the clarinet, rather than for the flute. However, it is likely that he created op. 46 for another friend or colleague to play, or for a student. In both, the piece opens with a piano fanfare, as usual, and the two versions share a written, rather than sounding, key for approximately two thirds of their material. Lovreglio disperses cadenzas throughout the composition, and follows each presented theme with elaborate ornamentation, often in the form of entwined melody and harmonic material. The cadenzas are slightly altered between the versions, allowing the clarinet to make full use of its much larger range and giving slightly more virtuosity to the oboe; Lovreglio often reworks triplet semiquaver passages full of upper or lower neighbour notes within an arpeggio to more straightforward semiquaver arpeggios.

Like Pasculli in his *Fantasia due* on *Un ballo*, Lovreglio focuses on both Amelia and Riccardo in his composition. And like Pasculli he creates for them a happy ending through

<sup>22</sup> In the presentation of "Qual voce", the instrumental accompaniment and the Count and Leonora are also combined into a single instrumental line for the cor anglais.



omission and an aggressive reordering of events; Lovreglio begins with the Act 1 Finale, the chorus sung to Riccardo, “O figlio d’Inghilterra”, introduced by the piano. He then launches into an extended and deeply virtuosic section based on Amelia’s aria in the first scene of Act 2, “Ma dall’arido stelo divulsa”. The soloist takes over the role of Amelia, and unlike Pasculli, Lovreglio does not emphasize the soloist’s instrumental playing by combining the vocal line and that of the obbligato cor anglais. The player is Amelia alone. However, Lovreglio then reminds the listener of the tragedy of the operatic plot, while at the same time distancing the soloist from Amelia, by moving to “Ve’ se di notte”, sung by Renato’s conspirators Samuel and Tom in the Act 2 finale. Again, after presenting the melody, Lovreglio writes a complicated virtuosic passage for the soloist, then drives straight back into the crowd scene from the Act One finale, maintaining similar ornamentation. The crowds and conspirators thus done with, Lovreglio returns to the love story, lushly presenting Amelia’s Act Three aria “Morrò, ma prima in grazia”, during which she successfully protests her innocence.

Here, however, the plot splits when looking at the two fantasias. Lovreglio gives the oboist both the A and B sections of Amelia’s aria “Morrò, ma prima in grazia”, drawing out the melancholy melody and using many of the aria’s dynamics and interpretive markings, while the clarinet plays only the A section. However, Lovreglio inserts an entirely new section based on Riccardo’s aria “La rivedrà nell’estasi” before the virtuosic finale in the clarinet version. While it at first seems that an increased emphasis on “Morrò” does not imply a happy ending, the aria in fact ends with Amelia’s pardoning and the condemnation of Riccardo in her place. But Lovreglio doesn’t let his plot progress that far, halting it in his oboe fantasia with an immediate segue into his cheerful, triumphant closing material and in his clarinet fantasia with a shift back in time to Riccardo’s adoring description of his love for Amelia, far removed from his death because of her. Renato, the villain of the opera, appears only through the representation of his conspirators, and they are subsumed into the larger crowd from Act 1, which cries “Gloria, gloria salute à te” to Riccardo.

In one sense, neither of the solo instruments in Lovreglio’s op. 44 and 46 is strongly aligned with an operatic character, as a large portion of the piece consists of musical material from ensemble scenes. In these places, the soloist is more a conduit for the music than a character, and Lovreglio emphasizes this impersonal (and thus instrumental) character through intensely difficult virtuosic passages in which the soloist plays not only the melody but also their own, permanently instrumental, accompaniment. However, Lovreglio also uses the most memorable and emotional arias from the opera, aligning his oboist with Amelia – who in the opera is signified by the cor anglais, the oboe’s closest relative – and his clarinetist with Amelia and Riccardo as a couple, following her plea to live with his

affirmation of love. This increased focus on Riccardo, particularly through “La rivedrà”, is representative of Lovreglio’s usual approach to *Un ballo* in fantasias. Aside from the near duplication of op. 44 and op. 46, perhaps the most striking characteristic of his fantasias on that opera is the presence of “La rivedrà” in all but one – the oboe fantasia.<sup>23</sup> This speaks both to the overwhelming popularity of “La rivedrà” among fantasias on *Un ballo* and to the particular association of the oboe and cor anglais with the character of Amelia in fantasias.

#### 4.4.3. Literality of borrowing

In contrast to Lovreglio’s transposition of a piece from one instrument to another, there is very little direct copying between composers of fantasias except in presentations of themes like “Caro nome” from *Rigoletto*, with its built-in vocal variations, and “Dolce zeffiro” from *La Favorite*, with its built-in instrumental variation, where striking similarities often simply result from adherence to the operatic score. However, Pasculli’s *Rimembranze del Rigoletto* goes well beyond the usual similarities of “Caro nome” – and, as discussed in Chapter 2, it truly is unique among Pasculli’s compositions as the only one that is heavily based upon a pre-existing instrumental work. Over half of *Rimembranze del Rigoletto* is identical to Giovanni Daelli’s *Rigoletto di Verdi: Fantasia per oboe*, a fact that appears to be entirely unacknowledged by Pasculli.<sup>24</sup> Daelli’s fantasia uses Gilda’s arias “Caro nome” (with two labelled variations on this theme) and “Tutte le feste al tempio”, separated by a piano interlude of the orchestral introduction to the Duke’s “Parmi veder le lagrime”.<sup>25</sup> Only Gilda’s themes are emphasized in the fantasia; the Duke’s introduction serves merely as a break for the soloist and a transition. Although he replaces one of the original themes, Pasculli directly reuses Daelli’s already difficult theme and variations before building on them by introducing further virtuosity.

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<sup>23</sup> Lovreglio’s *Tre Toccate per Flauto solo o con accomp<sup>o</sup> di Pianoforte N. 1 Un ballo in maschera* focusses solely on Renato’s “Alla vita che t’arride” and Riccardo’s “La rivedrà”. His *Divertimento per flauto e pianoforte sull’opera Un Ballo in Maschera di G. Verdi (Op. 31)* uses “Alla vita” and “La rivedrà” as well as Samuel’s “Ve’ se di notte” and Oscar’s “Volta la terra”. His *Fantasia per Flauto con accomp<sup>o</sup> di Piano-forte Sopra l’Opera Un Ballo in Maschera del Cav. G. Verdi (Op. 43)* includes the orchestral introduction to the ensemble “Su, profetessa”, the duet between Amelia and Riccardo “Ebben si t’amo/M’ami Amelia”, and Riccardo’s following “Non sai tu che se l’anima”, before concluding with “La rivedrà”.

<sup>24</sup> See Sandro Caldini, “Preface”, in Antonino Pasculli, *Rimembranze del Rigoletto* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2003).

<sup>25</sup> The fantasia is dedicated to “Signor Conte Giulio Litta” and written at a time when Daelli was principal oboe at La Scala and professor at the Milan conservatory, as noted on the nineteenth-century published edition.

76 Var. 1  
p

79

82

85 III III II

Detailed description: This musical score is for the first variation of 'Caro nome' by Daelli. It consists of four staves of music in G major, 3/4 time. The first staff (measures 76-78) begins with a piano (*p*) dynamic and features a melodic line with eighth-note patterns. The second staff (measures 79-81) continues the melodic development. The third staff (measures 82-84) shows further melodic elaboration. The fourth staff (measures 85-87) includes fingerings (III, III, II) and continues the melodic line.

Fig. 4.24 (a) Daelli's first variation on "Caro nome"

64 7 *pp* *più mosso*

74

4 Oboe

76 *pp*

78

Detailed description: This musical score is for a variation on the same theme in Pasculli's fantasia. It consists of three staves of music in G major, 3/4 time. The first staff (measures 64-73) starts with a piano-piano (*pp*) dynamic and includes a tempo change to *più mosso*. The second staff (measures 74-75) continues the melodic line. The third staff (measures 76-77) is for the Oboe and begins with a piano-piano (*pp*) dynamic. The fourth staff (measures 78-79) continues the melodic line.

Fig. 4.24 (b) Variation on the same theme in Pasculli's fantasia

Like Daelli, Pasculli includes only three themes – two of these intimately linked in the opera; he replaces “Tutte le feste” with “Bella figlia dell’amore”, sung by the Duke to another woman, and Gilda’s response, “Infelice core”.<sup>26</sup> Despite this, both fantasias still appear to

<sup>26</sup> Daelli moves from “Caro nome”, in which Gilda sings of her love for the Duke (though she believes him to be a student), to “Tutte le feste”, in which she recounts to Rigoletto first that same love and then her kidnapping at the Duke’s behest. In Pasculli’s, the Duke serenades another woman, and Gilda, overhearing, sings of her unhappiness at his betrayal. By using only two of the four voices from “Bella figlia”, a quartet in the opera,

focus on the character Gilda and her relationship with the Duke, Gilda's lover and architect of her destruction. And each composer places the oboist in Gilda's position.

Much more common than the plagiaristic use of one fantasia's material in another fantasia by a different composer is the seemingly conscious avoidance of duplication of themes in multiple fantasias by the same composer. This was most likely driven by issues of marketability and a desire to draw in audiences with novelty while still relying on well-known and beloved operatic sources. Many composers, including Giulio Briccialdi and Raffaello Galli, wrote two or three fantasias on a given opera, and Donato Lovreglio's five fantasias on *Un ballo* are only a slight outlier. The common tactic of avoiding repetition in these "duplicate" fantasias goes far towards explaining the sheer volume of operatic themes appearing in fantasias, clear from the tables in the introduction to this chapter.

As an example, both of Gaetano Casaretto's fantasias on *Il trovatore* feature music sung by Manrico, but they otherwise differ in focus and have no overlapping themes. Casaretto's *Divertimento per flauto sopra alcuni pensieri del Trovatore* (op. 23) uses only three themes from the opera, avoiding Azucena and concentrating heavily on the love story between Manrico and Leonora; it follows Manrico's "Un momento può involarmi" with Leonora's "D'amor sull'ali rosee" and "Di tale amor". His *Fantasia per flauto sopra alcune melodie del Trovatore* (op. 20), a fantasia more standard in form, concentrates not solely on Manrico and Leonora, as in op. 23, but also on Azucena, opening with her "Stride la vampa". The body of the fantasia focuses on pairings of Manrico and each of the two principal women, first presenting Manrico and Azucena's duet "Mal reggendo"/"Ma nell'anima" and then Manrico and Leonora's duet "Quel suon, quelle preci"/"Ah! che la morte"; the fantasia ends with the opera's tragedy lying heavily on the air as Manrico and Leonora sing of death and their farewells. These two works each vividly present memorable themes and evoke characters and operatic plotlines clearly while including no overlap.

## 4.5. Market forces

### 4.5.1. Popular and unpopular opera themes

That prolific composers often wrote multiple fantasias on a single opera and often avoided the use of the same themes in multiple fantasias might suggest that particularly famous opera melodies would be no more likely to appear in fantasias than their less popular counterparts. The lack of duplication in fantasias by the same composer would help to

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Pasculli focuses on the love story between the Duke and Gilda, despite Gilda's betrayal; this is extremely common in fantasias, which, as noted above, almost never use the other two voices of the quartet.

maintain audience interest in concerts and marketability in published editions, but it also perhaps reveals a pretension to seriousness on the part of these composers. In either situation, it involves some degree of value judgement and conscious manipulation of the source material. Nevertheless, although many uncommon opera themes are used, popular melodies are more likely to appear in fantasias, as can be seen from the tables presented in the introduction to this chapter. For *Il trovatore*, the most popular themes are Leonora's "D'amor sull'ali rosee", Azucena's "Stride la vampa", and Manrico's "Ah! che la morte ognora", neatly highlighting the three principal characters of the opera. The first appears in eleven fantasias, and the latter two appear in ten fantasias each, although no theme approaches the relative density of "La rivedrà", which appears in fully two-thirds of fantasias on *Un ballo in maschera*. (Perhaps because of this, the repeated return to "La rivedrà" in Lovreglio's fantasias on *Un ballo*, mentioned above, is a notable exception to the usual avoidance of reusing themes.) In comparison, there is little focus on the Count, with Azucena perhaps standing in as the antagonist alongside the romantic couple. However, only two of twenty-five fantasias, Raffaele Galli's *Il trovatore di G. Verdi: Fantasia per flauto* (op. 41) and Gaetano Negri's *Pezzo per flauto sul trovatore*, use all three of the most popular themes from this opera. Most strikingly, no fantasias use both Leonora's and Manrico's themes but not Azucena's.<sup>27</sup> We thus see that themes are not paired because of their proximity in the source opera, or rather – as both "D'amor" and "Ah! che la morte" appear in Act 4 Scene 1 – that proximity in the opera does not necessarily lead to proximity in a fantasia. Indeed, of the two fantasias that use all three themes, only one presents "D'amor" and "Ah! che la morte" consecutively; Negri inserts a theme from Act 2 Scene 2, the Count's "Per me ora fatale", between Leonora's and Manrico's melodies.<sup>28</sup> Further, both of these fantasias save "Stride la vampa" until after the other two themes, despite its operatic location at the start of Act 2. This is not a larger trend with "Stride la vampa", which is as likely to fall at the beginning of a fantasia – as in Cesare Ciardi's *Divertimento per flauto sopra motivi dell'Opera Il trovatore* (op. 41) or Luigi Bassi's *Divertimento per clarinetto sopra motivi dell'opera Il trovatore* – as at the end of a fantasia – as in Galli's op. 41 or Giovanni Daelli's *Fantasia per corno inglese sopra motivi dell'opera Il trovatore*.

Similarly, among the many themes used in fantasias on *Rigoletto*, two stand out in popularity. Both are sung by the Duke, and they are what we would now undeniably see as the "hit" melodies of the opera – "La donna è mobile" and "Bella figlia d'amore". These themes are particularly popular in fantasias for the oboe, but they also appear in just over half of the

<sup>27</sup> Two use both Leonora's and Azucena's; one uses both Manrico's and Azucena's.

<sup>28</sup> At least one page of this fantasia is missing in the manuscript that I saw at the Naples conservatory.

flute fantasias. “Bella figlia” is also overwhelmingly popular among clarinet fantasias. One might expect these most common and most famous themes to be the principal target of virtuosic variation in fantasias. However, while the Duke’s themes certainly appear ornamented and with virtuosic additions, they are often not the virtuosic focus of a fantasia. The virtuosic focus is often instead on Gilda’s themes, either “Caro nome”, which is much more popular proportionally in oboe fantasias than in flute and clarinet fantasias, or “Infelice core”, much more popular proportionally among flute fantasias. The rests within the melody line of “Infelice core” make it a natural candidate for interpolated accompaniment as shown above. However, in the case of “Caro nome” this may be because of the vocal ornamentation given to Gilda by Verdi; her leaps and chromatic runs often appear in fantasias before the soloist launches into more instrumental virtuosity.

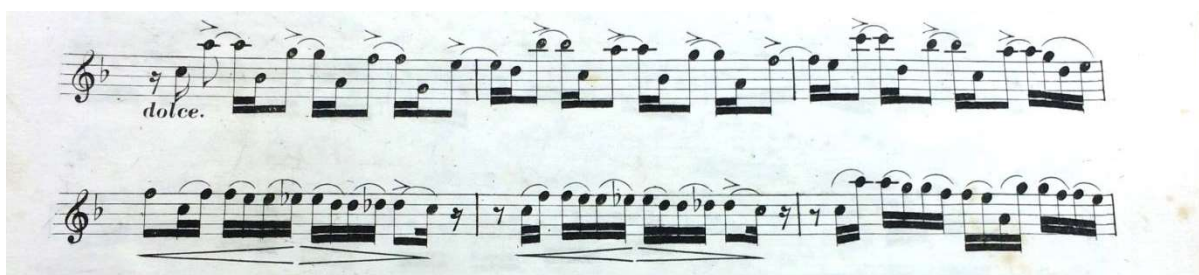


Fig. 4.25: Gilda’s vocal ornamentation of “Caro nome” in Daelli’s fantasia on *Rigoletto*

Fig. 4.26: Gilda’s “Caro nome” in *Rigoletto*

This trend of directly copying the vocal part also frequently serves to associate the solo instrument more closely with Gilda than with any of the male characters of the opera.

However, popular themes are not always featured in fantasias to the extent one might assume. As discussed in Chapter 3, Pasculli's fantasia on *La traviata* conspicuously avoids "Sempre libera", though it does include the famous *brindisi*. In the case of *Il trovatore*, there is an even bigger omission: the most famous chorus of *Il trovatore*, "Vedi! le fosche" – commonly known as the anvil chorus – is nearly entirely absent in fantasias. Only the instrumental introduction to the chorus appears, rather than the famous refrain, and that only infrequently. I found the theme in only three out of twenty-five fantasias, one for flute and two for cor anglais.

In fact, the most popular themes are surprisingly uncommon in oboe fantasias, and very unusual themes tend to be in cor anglais fantasias. Ties between specific themes and specific instruments are often based on either operatic instrumentation, as in the use of cor anglais in *Un ballo in maschera*, or on the gendered characterizations of instruments discussed in Chapter 3. Notably, flute fantasias on *Un ballo* are statistically unlikely to include themes of Amelia, and much more likely than other instruments to include certain themes of Renato and Oscar. With a very small sample size, statistical comparisons can quickly become difficult: "Ma dall'arido" appears in half of the clarinet fantasias on *Un ballo* that I viewed, but this is only two compositions. Still, a contrast between the pair "Ma dall'arido" and "Morrò, ma prima" (each with one flute composition out of 5 appearances) and the pair "Alla vita" and "Volta la terra" (with 5 of 6 and 4 of 5 flute compositions respectively) appears significant. This makes sense in the case of Oscar's "Volta la terra", which is accompanied by flute, piccolo, and clarinet in the opera; perhaps Renato's preceding aria is associated by proximity. However, this is not a fool-proof guide to instrumental bias in fantasias. Renato's Act 3 "O dolcissime perdute", accompanied by an extended flute duet, hardly appears; I encountered it only in a single clarinet work.

In discussing how instrumental gender impacts choice and treatment of themes in fantasias, I concentrate more on the upper woodwinds than the bassoon. The bassoon's typically straightforward male gendering, combined with its not-infrequent use as an accompaniment to operatic women, leads to fewer uncomfortable unconscious overtones when dealing with virtuosity and the intersection of a male player and operatic characters. Additionally, bassoon fantasias are comparatively rare. However, a gendered impact can be seen in Francesco Cappa's *Il Trovatore: Fantasia per Fagotto*. This is in many ways a

quintessential fantasia, though accompanied by full orchestra.<sup>29</sup> After a brief introduction based on the chorus “Or co’ dadi”, the solo bassoon enters with the first main theme, Manrico’s “Mal reggendo”, which ends in a cadenza. The next theme, “Stride la vampa” is similarly introduced by the orchestra before the bassoon picks it up and continues, first as initially sung and then filled in with semiquaver scales and other patterns. This also ends in a cadenza. A *largo* theme, the count’s “Il balen del suo sorriso”, also ornamented and ending in a cadenza, leads into the final melody, Manrico’s “Un momento può involarmi”, which the bassoon plays before moving to running semiquavers mixed with leaps, arpeggios, and chromaticisms. A brief cadential section continues this virtuosity to the end. What is unusual in this fantasia – as unusual as a focus on only melodies sung by women, as discussed above in the Bauli fantasia on *Il trovatore* – is that Cappa uses only melodies sung by male characters, with the exception of Azucena; Leonora is conspicuously absent.<sup>30</sup> Azucena’s theme is not treated appreciably differently from any of the melodies from Manrico or the chorus that surround it, but it is (though only slightly) emphasized along with “Il balen”, which takes the emotional place of the slow theme often sung by the opera’s tragic lead female character.

Perhaps the strong masculine identity attributed to the bassoon in treatises and by musicians led to this replacement. However, Raffaello Galli’s *Un ballo in maschera: Divertimento per flauto* (op. 91) also uses only male characters, following three themes of Riccardo’s with Renato’s “Alla vita” and Oscar’s “Saper vorreste”. In fact, though this focus is never common, fantasias on *Un ballo* are more likely to use only themes sung by male characters than fantasias on other operas. This may be because many composers wrote multiple fantasias on *Un ballo* and thus looked to move beyond the most popular melodies of Amelia; additionally, as Ulrica’s music is avoided (as discussed below), the gender balance of the opera is more uneven as a whole.

#### 4.5.2. Thematic choice and difficulty

Outside of the genre of pieces that merely string together straightforward presentations of an opera’s principal themes in original operatic order – an example is Benedetto Carulli’s *Rigoletto: Musica del Maestro Giuseppe Verdi riduzione per clarinetto*, which also advertises

<sup>29</sup> Dated 1854, this fantasia is entitled *Concertino* on its manuscript, though as discussed in Chapter 3 there is not necessarily a connection between this title and its orchestral accompaniment.

<sup>30</sup> Another fantasia concentrating on male themes is Antoine Parra’s *Caprice pour la Clarinette: Il trovatore* (op. 4), which uses only Manrico’s themes with the exception of the instrumental introduction to Act 1. These are all themes relatively popular in clarinet fantasias, but it seems probable that this was a conscious choice on the part of Parra. It is unusual to focus on a single character of any gender, and while it is difficult to make any claims about Parra’s view of the clarinet, this recalls the clarinet’s androgyny, discussed in Chapter 3.



Carulli's status as professor at the Milan conservatory – it is difficult to make any claims connecting the use of either the “big hits” of an opera or the most popular themes among fantasias with the difficulty of a given fantasia. Salvatore Pappalardo's *Gran Fantasia sul Rigoletto* for flute accompanied by strings, not intensely difficult but with some virtuosity, contains five themes and uses two of the ten themes most common in fantasias. Raffaello Galli's more virtuosic *Reminiscenze dell'Opera Rigoletto: Fantasia per flauto* (op. 163) uses six themes, also with two of them among the ten most common. And F. Capannelli's very virtuosic *Pot-pourri sur des motifs de Rigoletto pour la clarinette*, which uses eight themes, includes four of the ten most common. Similarly, each of these three uses at least one theme which appears in no other fantasia.



Fig. 4.27: Highly difficult material from F. Capannelli's *Pot-pourri sur des motifs de Rigoletto pour la clarinette*

Looking at fantasias in more depth further supports this. One might suspect Emanuele Krakamp's op. 121 – entitled *Notturmo sul Rigoletto* and only seventy-one bars long (merely two pages in its printed edition) – to be a simple and easy-to-play composition for the amateur market. However, while this is certainly not among the most difficult fantasias, after a technically straightforward if emotionally dramatic first page and a half Krakamp launches into intense virtuosity for the final sixteen bars of the piece. The virtuosity is not only surprising given the proportions of the piece; it also provides unexpected emphasis to the second theme of the fantasia, Gilda's “Infelice core”. Initially the flute plays “Bella figlia”, with little ornamentation but with dramatic fluctuations of dynamics and articulation, while the piano introduces “Infelice core” under the flute-as-count; these two themes are among the most popular in fantasias on *Rigoletto*. The fluctuations interrupt what might be a moment of vocal evocation by distancing the flute's version of “Bella figlia” from the Duke's, although the versions become more similar as the piece progresses. In the second half of the piece, the piano retreats to accompaniment as the flute becomes Gilda. “Infelice core” begins simply but

soon erupts into virtuosity as the flute plays both the melody and a triplet accompaniment. This again distances the flute from vocality, but it also emphasizes Gilda's theme over the Duke's more melodic one.

Rather than two melodies from the same quartet, F. P. Padula's flute *Divertimento per flauto sul Rigoletto* is based around two themes sung by the Duke, "La donna è mobile" and "Questa o quella"; both of these themes again are among the ten most popular. A very simple and segmented work with little ornamenting, the divertimento gently increases its virtuosity only in its last statement of "La donna è mobile", which serves as the finale and at which point the flute plays chromatic semiquavers based around that melody in a very high tessitura. The piano is pure accompaniment after the initial bars of the piece, even under this final variation, leaving the flute to play straightforward and unaltered presentations of the orchestral introduction to Act 1 and "Questa o quella", as well as two simple stanzas of "La donna è mobile" preceding the finale. In its lack of virtuosity, Padula's fantasia serves as a stereotypical example of one extreme of these compositions, the amateur piece to be played in the home. Though specific records are elusive, the vast quantity of simple pieces like this that were published by Ricordi and F. Lucca suggests that, as in Paris, these "brilliant but not difficult" pieces were successful commercially and functioned as a way of domesticating public display.<sup>31</sup>

In contrast, Donato Lovreglio's *Capriccio fantastico per flauto sull'opera Rigoletto* (op. 15) is intensely virtuosic from beginning to end, with only brief moments of vocal clarity for the flute. Published by Ricordi in 1861, Lovreglio's fantasia was dedicated "al distinto Professore Emanuele Krakamp" – perhaps explaining the level of virtuosity – but premiered by Lovreglio himself at the "gran Sala di Monteoliveto" in Naples on December 10, 1859.<sup>32</sup> The *Capriccio* is more straightforward than Lovreglio's later *Un ballo* fantasias, discussed above, in terms of both its relation to the opera on which it is based and its structure. Through its extensive virtuosic passages, the flute is tied equally to Gilda and the Duke, pulling the listener away from Gilda's death and towards the pair's mutual playful infatuation with the opposite sex. Of Lovreglio's six themes, five are the most popular; only "Tutte le feste" appears in fewer than eight fantasias. This overwhelming use of popular themes is relatively unusual, as most fantasias, like Pappalardo's, Galli's, and Capannelli's above, include at least one rare theme. But this again reinforces the reliance on both popular and unpopular themes across fantasias of the full range of virtuosity.

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<sup>31</sup> Katharine Ellis, "Female Pianists and Their Male Critics in Nineteenth-Century Paris", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 50, No. 2/3 (Summer - Autumn, 1997), pp. 355-356.

<sup>32</sup> This information is printed on the 1861 edition's cover.

### 4.5.3. Dedications of manuscripts or printed editions

While extant details of compositions, premieres, and composers themselves are few and far between for opera fantasias, dedications on cover pages provide some information about ties between colleagues as well as possible financial support for musicians or incentives to publish. Nobility, likely patrons, and other musicians, including teachers and students, are the most frequent recipients of dedications on cover pages. Cover pages also occasionally provide additional information about the composer himself, boasting of positions at opera houses or conservatories. Luigi Bassi's *Fantasia di Concerto per Clarinetto sopra motivi dell'Opera Rigoletto*, which advertises his position as principal clarinet at La Scala on the cover of its printed edition, its virtuosity seeming to justify this emphasis on the composer's standing as a performer, uses a wide range of themes. However, unusually, these are drawn nearly exclusively from male characters.

In contrast, Girolamo Salieri's *Il trovatore di Verdi: Fantasia per clarinetto*, composed for and dedicated to "la nobile signora contessina Caterina Zacco S. Bonifacio", contains almost entirely music sung by Leonora, with the exception of a short introduction from the chorus "Or co' dadi". Perhaps this intense focus on a female character is related to the dedicatee. Leonora's "D'amor" includes the usual vocal ornamentations, though its cadenza is significantly expanded, and "E deggio e posso" is similarly vocal in its ornamentations and cadenza. "Di tale amor" instead features two marked variations that take full advantage of the clarinet's range, and "Vivrà! contende il giubilo" leads directly into the running semiquavers of the finale. Any gendered comparisons are difficult in the face of such a unified fantasia; each of Leonora's themes directly relates to her love for Manrico, with none standing out as a particular exception thematically or musically.

Pappalardo's flute and strings fantasia on *Rigoletto*, mentioned above, is also dedicated to nobility;<sup>33</sup> the manuscript is dated 20 April 1855 and described as "for the use of Sig Duca Policastro Forti". This may be the reasoning for its more unusual instrumentation, flute accompanied not by full orchestra or piano but by string quartet and double bass. Although the flute is clearly the emphasized solo instrument, the strings frequently play melodies as well, and the piece has moments of flashy virtuosity but is not intensely difficult. Though not as unified as Salieri's, and not composed for a woman, this piece relies heavily on Gilda's music, with the notable exception of "Bella figlia". As with all gendered overtones, overt connections between dedicatee and thematic choice should not be overstated.

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<sup>33</sup> As is Gaetano Casaretto's *Fantasia per flauto sopra alcune melodie del Trovatore* (op. 20), dedicated to "sua altezza I.R. la principessa Donna Maria Buonaparte Valentini.

## 4.6. Further issues of instrumentation

### 4.6.1. Associations between instruments and themes

Nearly half of extant fantasias are for flute. This is one of the few consistencies in instrumentation across all three of my case studies, and it can most likely be attributed to the general popularity of the flute, the greater degree of access to the flute by amateurs (including, perhaps, the accessibility of the flute to women as discussed in Chapter 3, increasing the number of potential players over the “unacceptable” oboe, clarinet, and bassoon), and the conservatoires with particularly well-known flute professors. Giulio Briccialdi taught in Milan, where the conservatoire library now has by far the largest and most comprehensive collection of fantasias of any of the libraries that I visited, and Emanuele Krakamp and Donato Lovreglio were based in Naples, another large musical centre. In contrast, oboists Ricordano de Stefani and Raffaele Parma were based in Parma and Bologna, homes of much smaller collections. However, Ernesto Cavallini taught clarinet at the Milan conservatory, so my largest archive was not limited to an emphasis on flautists. And, in contrast to *Rigoletto* and *Il Trovatore*, in the case of *Un ballo in maschera* specifically there are no extant or known lost fantasias by Briccialdi, Cavallini, or Krakamp. Therefore this trend clearly extends beyond a few particularly prolific composers on any given instrument.

Just as all three case-study operas result in a preponderance of compositions for the flute and in fantasias with an average of six themes, across all three case studies similar proportions of themes appear in only one fantasia. Equally, these are spread across fantasias by all instruments, although among *Il trovatore* fantasias those for cor anglais are disproportionately likely to include these themes; for fantasias on *Rigoletto* these themes are spread proportionately, and for *Un ballo* the clarinet disproportionately uses unusual themes. As the orchestra of *Il trovatore* does not include a cor anglais, unlike those of *Rigoletto* and *Un ballo*, it is tempting to view the cor anglais in this context as the marked form of the oboe. That is, the oboe serves as the basic or generic, and the choice of the oboe rather than the cor anglais is not a particularly significant choice. In contrast, to choose the cor anglais rather than the oboe is significant, and the cor anglais contains meaning beyond its mere presence; the discrepancy in difficulty between pieces for the two instruments reinforces this.<sup>34</sup> However, because of the small sample size here – only four pieces – this seems more likely a

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<sup>34</sup> On markedness in music see, for example, Robert S. Hatten, “Markedness and a theory of musical expressive meaning”, *Contemporary Music Review*, Vol. 16, No. 4 (1997). The asymmetry of marked and unmarked entities often includes strong gendered overtones; this recalls the extreme gendering of the cor anglais in its association with tragic female characters in opera.

result of the tastes of a very few specific fantasia composers; in fact, the treatment of the cor anglais in relation to *Un ballo*, and Amelia's music specifically, is more striking as a whole.

The general emphasis on woodwinds in Verdi's *Un ballo* seems worth discussing both in the context of instrumental choice for fantasias and thematic choices within those fantasias. Six out of the twenty-two *Rigoletto* fantasias I surveyed were for oboe and none for cor anglais. In comparison, I found four fantasias on *Un ballo* for cor anglais but unexpectedly only two for oboe. Because oboe and cor anglais fantasias were frequently written and performed by the same instrumentalists, an increase in works for cor anglais seems to pair with a decrease in works for oboe. And the deep association between the cor anglais and Amelia in the operatic score for *Un ballo* most likely drew composers to write fantasias for the instrument on this opera. One striking musical characteristic of *Un ballo in maschera* is its extended cor anglais solo at the opening of Act 2. For over two thirds of "Ma dall'arido stelo divulsa", Amelia and the cor anglais sing a duet, the cor anglais initially presenting a countermelody and then taking over Amelia's melody as her line becomes more breathy and conversational.<sup>35</sup> While other woodwind instruments are also emphasized in *Un ballo*, including the flute in Renato's Act 3 aria "O dolcezze perdute" and the clarinet in Riccardo's "Ella è pura" of the same act, none is highlighted to a particularly unusual degree.

More generally, in the original operatic scores the high woodwinds – that is, the flute, clarinet, and oboe – often double the voice as an ensemble. This can be seen in Riccardo's "La rivedrà" and Oscar's "Volta la terra" in Act 1, Amelia and Riccardo's "Ah! Mi lasciate" in Act 2, and Oscar's "Saper vorreste di che" in Act 3. These are all situations in which the winds, but not the strings, specifically play in unison with the voice. If pairs of winds are included, this includes nearly every appearance of Oscar, the opera's *travesti* role. The winds, either *en masse* or in smaller groups but again without the strings, also frequently provide emphasized countermelodies to vocal lines. Ulrica's "invocazione" in Act 1, "È lui! è lui!", with a countermelody played by the flute, piccolo, oboe, clarinet, and bassoon, is a particularly notable example. Later in the same scene, Ulrica is again accompanied by a woodwind countermelody, this time by oboe, clarinet, and bassoon, at "Infelice...va, mi lascia". In Act 2, Amelia and Riccardo's duet "Ah! Mi lasciate" is accompanied by a flute countermelody, Amelia's succeeding "Ah! Deh soccorri tu" is accompanied by significant clarinet ornamentation, and both flute and clarinet double Amelia's vocal line in the Act 2 Finale at "a chi nel mondo".

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<sup>35</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3, this is by no means the only extended accompaniment of the "undone operatic heroine" by the cor anglais, either in nineteenth-century opera or Verdi more specifically. The cor anglais accompanies Imogene in Bellini's *Il pirata*, and Lady Macbeth and Desdemona in Verdi's *Macbeth* and *Otello* respectively. Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, pp. 232-233.

This aligns the high woodwinds strongly with Amelia and Riccardo, but as these two have the most extensive vocal parts the association should not be weighted too heavily. Speaking very generally, Oscar seems aligned with the flute and piccolo, and Amelia with the cor anglais (though her second aria, “Morrò, ma prima” is accompanied by a single cello, marked “solo” in the score). While Riccardo’s final musical moments are marked by the clarinet, he most often appears not with any single woodwind, but with a woodwind choir. Despite this, while the comic page Oscar is associated with the flute and piccolo in fantasias, the tragic villain Renato curiously is as well. Lovreglio’s *Divertimento per flauto sull’opera Un ballo in maschera* (op. 31) uses the ever-present “La rivedrà” surrounded by Renato’s “Alla vita” and followed by “Ve’ se di notte” and Oscar’s “Volta la terrea”. Lovreglio’s first *Toccatina* also pairs “La rivedrà” and “Alla vita” as its only two themes. This association seems to be a wider trend in opera fantasias; as mentioned above, “Alla vita” and “Volta la terrea” are overwhelmingly more popular in flute fantasias than in those for other woodwinds. Perhaps these thematic choices resulted from Verdi’s association of the flute with Renato. While the flute is not emphasized in “Alla vita”, “O dolcezze” is accompanied by a 28-bar flute duet.

However, beyond these two primary themes, Renato’s and Oscar’s music seems broadly popular among fantasias for all instruments. This is unsurprising given the tuneful nature of their melodies, and additionally, as a pair Oscar allows for easy access to cheerful virtuosic ornamentation and Renato to emotional *cantabile* expressiveness. In contrast, Amelia’s “Morrò, ma prima in grazia”, one of the most deeply emotional moments of the opera, seems almost singularly addressed in oboe and cor anglais fantasias. If the flute can easily step into arias which it did not originally play, and the cor anglais is not even present in “Morrò”, unlike “Ma dall’arido”, why is “Morrò” so closely associated with certain instruments?

Though the oboe is not particularly linked to Amelia in *Un ballo*, appearing only once with her but without the flute and clarinet, the oboe and the cor anglais are so intimately linked as to be almost interchangeable in their mutual strong association, mentioned above, with tragic operatic women. Amelia is part of “a tradition already established in Italian opera, where either an oboe or cor anglais complements the psychological estrangement of female characters as they recall happier times”.<sup>36</sup> This tradition is widely remarked upon; James Hepokoski comments on “a remarkable series of similarly lonely, inward-looking soprano

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<sup>36</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 232.

solo/English-horn or oboe pieces” in Verdi operas alone.<sup>37</sup> Even the *New Grove Dictionary of Opera*’s entry on *Un ballo* agrees that “mournful English horn obbligato... is a traditional pointer of the isolated heroine.”<sup>38</sup> The cor anglais’s striking presence in “Ma dall’arido”, accompanying Amelia as she picks herbs alone at midnight in “desolated landscapes” in order to stave off her inevitably tragic love, immediately brings to mind the weight of this tradition, which pre-dates Verdi not only in the music of Italian composers such as Bellini and Donizetti, but also notably in the music of Wagner.<sup>39</sup> Thus the listener can easily re-evolve the cor anglais for Amelia’s decline from isolation to fear for her life.

Notable occurrences of “Ma dall’arido” in a fantasia are Antonio Pasculli’s *Fantasia due sopra motivi dell’opera “Un ballo in maschera” di Verdi*, written for cor anglais, and both versions of Donato Lovreglio’s *Fantasia sull’opera “Un ballo in Maschera” di Verdi*. All three have been discussed above, but I reiterate that both composers strongly associate the aria with the solo instrument. Pasculli gives the cor a note-for-note statement of Amelia’s lament, complete with phrasing, articulation, and many of the aria’s dynamics, and Lovreglio also uses many of the aria’s dynamics and interpretive markings. Further, Lovreglio seems to associate the aria with the oboe, as the clarinet plays a much briefer version.

#### 4.6.2. Narrative and gender implications of approaches to ornamentation and variation

The musical structure of *Un ballo* “whether geared to motivic or harmonic matters, or to both, lies essentially in an accumulation of detail rather than in any abstract pattern”.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, both gender associations and plots created in opera fantasias through the choice and manipulation of operatic themes ensue from the accumulation of detail as it reacts with generic conventions, rather than through overt characterization or individual musical choices. Speaking of the oboe’s strong associations with feminine characteristics and women in distress, Burgess and Haynes conclude that “while merry tunes are certainly present in the repertoire, perhaps in slightly smaller numbers than sad ones, they were not seen as representative of the oboe’s character.”<sup>41</sup> Perhaps in a similar way *Un ballo* is somehow seen as particularly full of woodwind melodies or as particularly emphasizing those melodies, even though woodwinds are used in similar ways in many other operas. The flute and piccolo singing with the comic character, the tragic female cor anglais, the flute duet in parallel thirds,

<sup>37</sup> James A. Hepokoski, “Genre and Content in Mid-Century Verdi: ‘Addio, del passato’ (“La traviata”, Act III)”, *Cambridge Opera Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Nov. 1989), p. 261.

<sup>38</sup> Roger Parker, “Un ballo in Maschera”, *Grove Music Online*, accessed August 2017.

<sup>39</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 232. Burgess and Haynes refer specifically to Wagner’s use of the cor anglais in *Tristan und Isolde* here.

<sup>40</sup> Roger Parker and Matthew Brown, “Motivic and Tonal Interaction in Verdi’s *Un ballo in maschera*”, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (Summer, 1983), pp. 262-263.

<sup>41</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 234.

the gentle association of the bassoon with paired basses Sam and Tom – all of these are characteristic uses of woodwinds.

However, fantasias on *Un ballo in maschera* completely avoid Ulrica's music, even while using nearly every theme that weaves around hers, including the orchestral introduction to the Ulrica/Riccardo/Amelia trio in Act 1 Scene 2, and the surrounding themes sung to or about her, "Volta la terrea", "Consentimi o signore", "Su, profetessa", and "Di' tu se fedele". Given this, the common usage of Azucena's "Stride la vampa" in fantasias on *Il trovatore*, as well as several themes of Azucena's from duets, is striking. True, Azucena is an integral and inextricable part of the plot of *Il trovatore*, but Ulrica similarly is crucial to setting the action of *Un ballo* in motion. Perhaps Azucena's tragic triumph of living – at least until after the curtain falls – as the two lovers die or her blood relation to Manrico makes her more difficult to erase. Perhaps the fact that Ulrica appears in only a single act, and the accompanying fact that she sings much more briefly, is the more prosaic reason behind the discrepancy. In any case, the unromantic and untamed Azucena, far outside the bounds of the traditional operatic woman and her links to gendered woodwind instruments, is frequently a critical and vibrant part of the opera fantasia on *Il trovatore*.

Having accumulated a picture of the gender associations of *Un ballo* in fantasias, I now turn to fantasias on *Il trovatore* to expand briefly on the difference of the preceding paragraph. On initial inspection Luigi Bassi's *Divertimento per clarinetto sopra motivi dell'opera Il trovatore* appears to be narratively non-specific or at best confused, opening with the chorus "Sull'orlo dei tetti" and moving in a haphazard order through the opera only to conclude with Ferrando's "Abbietta zingara". However, a closer look transforms the piece into a meditation on Azucena, both the linchpin of the opera's action and an intermediary between the feminine Leonora and the masculine Manrico and Ferrando. The clarinet plays four themes and three of the four are heavily ornamented with interpolated semiquavers. The fourth, Leonora's "D'amor sull'ali rosee", is presented full of vocal ornamentation and ending with a cadenza heavily inspired by, though expanding from, Leonora's sung cadenza. Azucena's "Stride la vampa" is first played plainly by the clarinet before Bassi inserts a (cadenza-less) labelled variation on that theme. However, Manrico's "Di quella pira" and Ferrando's "Abbietta zingara" appear only in their "varied" forms, with the plain melody played by the piano and not by the clarinet. A divide appears to open up between feminine vocal presentation and masculine instrumental virtuosity.

Ricordano De Stefani's *Fantasia sopra motivi dell'opera Il trovatore di Verdi* concentrates almost entirely on the last act of the opera, and initially De Stefani seems to be aligning the oboe with Leonora. He presents her "D'amor sull'ali rosee" floridly, unusually



adding extra (though still vocally inspired) ornamentation, and he includes Leonora's cadenza in the voice of the oboe. However, De Stefani seems to be simultaneously following two paths in this piece. On the one hand, he focuses on Manrico's relationships both to Leonora, whom Manrico loves, and Azucena, Manrico's mother figure. De Stefani's virtuosic writing for the oboe is fairly modest, but he uses it to emphasize Manrico's addresses to Leonora and Azucena. On the other hand, he uses the oboe as a melodic instrument to represent Leonora; in the final trio the oboe plays Leonora's role as it does in "D'amor". Even in a fantasia divided in its emphasis, the oboe naturally aligns with the leading female role.

Although Antonio Pasculli's *Concerto per oboe sul Trovatore* opens with the soldiers' chorus "Or co'dadi" in the piano, Pasculli dwells almost entirely on melodies sung by the two primary female characters in this fantasia. Rather than following one character or one romantic couple, Pasculli instead focuses on the two women who love Manrico, one romantically and one as his mother. The rest of the fantasia, in fact, consists only of music from Azucena's "Stride la vampa", which serves as a transition between sections of the fantasia as well as a virtuosic section in its own right, and Leonora's "Tacea la notte placida...Di tale amor", which is emphasized through the length of its presentation and the insertion of short cadenzas and virtuosic variations. Each appears twice. The stark differences in the roles of the characters are reflected in the extremely different in emotional content of the chosen themes, with Leonora focussing on the joyful emotions of being in love and Azucena calling for terror and revenge as she recalls the trauma of her past. It is, in fact, difficult to create a coherent narrative from this fantasia because of the radical dissimilarities of Leonora, Azucena, and their themes, but by using Leonora's music as the basis for of the fantasia's finale, Pasculli maintains a sense of using the fantasia to successfully avoid operatic tragedy, embodied here by Azucena.

The fantasias based on these two operas reveal vastly different means of dealing with oppositional female characters. In one, the character is simply removed en route towards negotiating a happy ending. In the other, the character – a more complex and more sympathetic character – is evoked in complex and narratively weighty ways. For both Ulrica and Azucena it seems fitting to return to Abbate, for whom "a narrating voice... is defined not by what it narrates, but rather by its audible flight from the continuum that embeds it."<sup>42</sup> We see here ways that narrative power, gendered overtones, and generic conventions intertwine to raise the opera fantasia beyond a series of operatic melodies. And, as Rink writes, "only one conclusion can be drawn: to make sense of the music in whole or in part virtually requires an

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<sup>42</sup> Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 29.

understanding of original compositional and interpretative contexts and criteria”.<sup>43</sup> The technical, musical, instrumental, operatic, narrative characteristics of the opera fantasia gain immeasurably in significance when their compositional, performance, and cultural contexts are understood.

#### 4.7. Conclusion

In choosing the fantasias discussed in this chapter, my goal was to examine a collection of works limited in its scope yet representative in its characteristics of the genre as a whole. The libraries in which I accessed fantasias in both manuscript and printed-edition form hold the archives of conservatories where key performer-composers for each woodwind instrument taught and performed, from Antonio Pasculli in Palermo to Luigi Orselli in Parma to Raffaele Parma in Bologna to Ernesto Cavallini in Milan to Emanuele Krakamp in Naples. Despite its inevitably limited scope, this sample of works reveals both the limits and the core of the genre of the opera fantasia for the woodwind. And it provides conclusive findings; it is extremely unlikely, given the number of fantasias analysed, that fantasias from additional institutions would change the vast majority of these conclusions.

While it is not impossible that fantasias on operas by Bellini or Donizetti or Meyerbeer might have different norms than those on operas by Verdi, my earlier case study of Antonio Pasculli reveals no significant differences in fantasias on operas by other composers. It is easy to focus on unique elements, but the collection of fantasias on these three Verdi operas, *Rigoletto*, *Il trovatore*, and *Un ballo in maschera*, truly does illustrate the representative characteristics of the wider genre.<sup>44</sup> This is not to say that every possible question is answered by these works and the information available on them; first-hand reports from audiences are rare, and first-hand reports by the composers themselves are rarer still. While opus numbers are helpful in dating and creating a chronology of works, specific information about composition and performance dates would allow for more detailed discussions of the ways that opera premieres and performances interacted with the fantasia composition and repeat performances, were it available. Nevertheless, unpicking both the

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<sup>43</sup> John Rink, “Translating Musical Meaning: the Nineteenth-Century Performer as Narrator”, in *Rethinking Music*, ed. by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 219.

<sup>44</sup> Furthermore, I have of course been unable to address every interesting characteristic of every fantasia I encountered here. To give merely one example of additional fascinating material, in his *Il trovatore di G. Verdi: Fantasia per flauto* (op. 41), following an ambiguous cadenza-like introduction, Raffaele Galli presents four strongly connected themes sung by four different characters: Ferrando’s “Abbieta zingara”, Leonora and Manrico’s “D’amor sull’ali rosee” and “Ah! che la morte”, and Azucena’s “Stride la vampa”. The piece is intensely virtuosic throughout, with short initial presentations of themes followed by ever-increasing ornamentation and frequent cadenzas. Only Leonora is played by the flute in a vocal manner, perhaps reinforcing her innocence and femininity through an emotional vocal connection in contrast to the intensity with which the other themes must be approached by the performer.

consistencies in style and approach and the unique elements evident in the fantasias discussed above provides a wealth of information about the genre of the opera fantasia in terms of compositional approach and, to some extent, societal and cultural impact on and of these works.



## CHAPTER 5

### Pasculli's Body: The Physicality of Virtuoso Oboe Music

While they carry content beyond that of their virtuosity, opera fantasias are – as discussed in the previous chapters – deeply and intrinsically virtuosic works. Like most composers of woodwind opera fantasias, Pasculli was an astonishingly talented virtuoso on his instrument. In combination with his long career as an educator and his academic training in composing, this results in compositions that, while almost bewilderingly difficult, lie precisely on the oboe and likely reflect Pasculli's own strengths as a performer as well as the strengths of his instrument. But examining Pasculli's physical skills, and the ways in which he displays those skills musically, helps to reveal not only his particular technical strengths but also ways in which the physicality of playing the oboe intersects with operatic narratives and operatic physicality, along with those gendered aspects of instrumental physicality explored in Chapter 3.

#### 5.1. The physicality of virtuosity

Discussions of the physical impressions of virtuosic performance upon the audience are familiar territory; the great virtuosos of the nineteenth century were described in close detail by those who attended their concerts. For example, London theatre critic Leigh Hunt wrote in 1831 that Paganini's "fervour was in his hands and bow. ... He did not put his bow to the strings, nor lay it upon them; he struck them".<sup>1</sup> In Chapter 3, I lay out intersections between the physicality of instruments, particularly woodwind instruments, and gendered aspects of characters, instruments, and virtuosity itself founded in nineteenth-century thought and still resonant today. However, this attention to physical detail was not solely a nineteenth-century conceit, despite the increasingly fraught role of virtuosity in music and the increasing focus on a wide range of gendered aspects of music and of the performance of music as that century progressed. Eighteenth-century musicians and critics also engaged with physical appearance and description of performers. C.P.E. Bach, in his treatise on the clavier, describes the connection between a performer's appearance and the music being played; "In languid and sad passages he becomes languid and sad. We see and hear it. The same will also be true of vigorous, merry, and other sorts of musical themes.... suitable expressions are useful".<sup>2</sup> Similarly, violinist Giuseppe Cambini instructs performers to "think that you wish to move

<sup>1</sup> L. H. Houtchens and C. W. Houtchens (ed.), *Leigh Hunt's Dramatic Criticism: 1808-1831* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 272-3.

<sup>2</sup> Piero Weiss and Richard Taruskin, *Music in the Western World: A History in Documents* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1984), p. 272.

me...electrify your arm with the fire of this thought...so that your bow becomes your tongue and your countenance".<sup>3</sup>

### 5.1.1. Instrumental physicality

In her book *Boccherini's Body*, Elizabeth Le Guin investigates the connection between compositions written by virtuosos and both the showy physicality of putting on a performance and the more pedestrian physicality of playing an instrument. She places herself in the position of an eighteenth-century listener and performer, teasing out the intricate intersections of emotion, physicality, and virtuosity in Boccherini's cello music. A cellist herself, Le Guin uses her experience in performing Boccherini's music to investigate the ways in which his physicality and personal virtuosic abilities on the cello influenced his compositions, as well as ways in which Boccherini's music thus reflects contemporary views on the body and its abilities. Le Guin views the seemingly unimportant repetitions of connective material as reflecting Boccherini's individualism, building a picture of Boccherini as a performer through the nearly unconscious preferences of his hands; recalling the oboists she encountered in orchestras, Le Guin remembers that "each had his own [melodic pattern with which to test reeds], and never varied it".<sup>4</sup> Much of Boccherini's physical virtuosity, then, like the oboist's reed test, is presented as a private aspect of composition, a means of analysis for the performer rather than the listener. This echoes my discussion in Chapter 4 of passages in Pasculi and other composers that feel more deeply similar to the player than they appear or sound. But through the lens of physicality the performer and the instrument also become a *tableau* for the audience, a means of visualising overt and interior aspects of the music.

There are key physical differences between the cello and oboe which manifest in the instruments' relative physicality of performance. Perhaps the most pronounced is the need of the oboist to breathe. Breathing is one aspect of performance that can be made visible or invisible to suit the music or performance situation. The breath is the wind player's upbeat, the means of cuing any accompanists or fellow musicians, of inviting attention, of clarifying meter, and of simply signalling the opening of the piece. Conversely, oboists work hard to be able to "disguise" breaths when necessary, avoiding a disruption to the line or rhythm.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>3</sup> Elisabeth Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body: An Essay in Carnal Musicology*, (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 2006), p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini's Body*, p. 131. Of course, for the oboist this not only reflects the nearly unconscious muscle memory of the oboist's hands but also limits the variables present when evaluating an often unpredictable reed.

<sup>5</sup> In extension of this, more and more oboists are bringing circular breathing into play, in part because the demands on players increase naturally throughout time, following the demands of competition and composers. Circular breathing allows a performer to create a fiction around himself, an illusion that he has surpassed the demands of the body in favour of the demands of the music. But while circular breathing has become *de rigueur*

analytical overtones of such simple aspects as depressing or lifting fingers and keys are different as well. While for the cello removing fingers from the instrument is a movement down the scale, retreating towards safety and moving in the direction of the heart, the reverse is true of the oboe. However, Le Guin states that on the cello “such drawings-in are always toward a center, not only of sentiment, but of physical efficiency and balance,” and “drawings-in” on the oboe behave similarly; the notes may be rising, but a scale moving upwards from middle C to an octave above, the fingers drawing towards the centre, is a movement from the oboe’s extremities to a far more comfortable and “efficient” portion of the instrument.<sup>6</sup>

Le Guin states that “for a prospective performer, ‘the nature of that music’ is also inescapably physical. On this level, perusal of the score becomes an anticipatory kinaesthesia, a sub-verbal, sub-intellectual assessment of questions such as, What do I need to do in order to play this? Where will I put my hands, and how will I move them?”<sup>7</sup> Performance is “inescapably physical” for the performer regardless of instrument, and substantial similarities in analytic possibilities between Le Guin’s cello and the oboe exist despite differences of instruments. And while crucially “only the performer has control over the sounding aspect of music”,<sup>8</sup> like the dances and *tableaux vivants* to which Le Guin compares it, performance also makes bodies legible, drawing the audience into the efforts of the performer in a way beyond the aural effects of the music.<sup>9</sup> Whether it is the power of circular breathing or the dramatic visual effects produced by bowing, physicality increases the effects of music on the audience. It is often the visual aspect that allows the audience to empathize with the performer, and to recognize the difficulty of their task, but also to become more fully invested in the emotions and affects of the piece which is being played; “we [performers] do well to assume our nearly constant role as portals into visualistic fantasies on the part of our audience”.<sup>10</sup> The performer’s actions, the way that these reflect and alter the sounds which they produce,

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even in some orchestral settings, such as Bizet’s *Symphony in C*, and can be put to great effect in works such as Pasculli’s etude *Le Api*, which presents the performer with seven pages without any rests, the technique has a downside. To an audience even minimally aware of the air requirements of a wind instrument, circular breathing can create anxiety, disturbing the illusion of the music rather than bolstering it.

<sup>6</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body*, p. 23. This is complicated by the upper register of the oboe, which uses the same fingerings, but with opposite effect. Withdrawing fingers and moving closer to the body is there connected with less comfortable and less secure notes. The result is that similar motions can be used to create wildly different effects depending on register. The other woodwind instruments discussed in this thesis of course broadly share the oboe’s physicality.

<sup>7</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body*, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> John Rink, “Translating Musical Meaning: the Nineteenth-Century Performer as Narrator”, in *Rethinking Music*, ed. by Nicholas Cook and Mark Everist (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 238.

<sup>9</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body*, p. 100.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

generate a fuller and clearer picture of a piece of music for both themselves and their audience.

## 5.2. The oboe's virtuosic physicality

Le Guin focuses on eighteenth-century performance, but applying her analytical methods to the virtuosic oboe works of Antonio Pasculli proves similarly enlightening of nineteenth-century virtuosity, the nineteenth-century body, and the nineteenth-century performer-composer. I have expanded on this in previous chapters, but to summarize, a great deal of nineteenth-century writing for the oboe was not virtuosic; besides the technical difficulties presented by the still developing key system, a “predominantly masculine form of exhibitionism” was not appropriate for such a “feminine” instrument.<sup>11</sup> Capitalizing on the oboe as an expressive instrument, composers from Beethoven to Tchaikovsky to Verdi wrote huge numbers of solos within orchestral works instead of solo works. And yet, although the oft-repeated statement that Pasculli referred to himself as “the Paganini of the oboe” is a myth (as I show in Chapter 2), Pasculli did write intensely difficult pieces for himself, seemingly in an effort to provide the technical challenge lacking in available repertory. Further, Pasculli was not writing or performing in a virtuosic void; earlier Italian oboe fantasias, like those by Giovanni Daelli, survive, though few approach Pasculli’s level of virtuosity, and the Besozzis were only one earlier family of Italian virtuoso oboists. And virtuosic works by oboists outside of Italy, such as Félix-Charles Berthélemy, and Henri Brod, survive as well.

Nonetheless, the oboe was generally treated rather as a “voice without language,” a “small voice lost in a storm” or, conversely, a seductive and sensual exoticized woman than as an instrument able to participate in “masculine” exhibition.<sup>12</sup> I have explored in detail in Chapter 3 the historical connection of the oboe to the specifically female body and the ways in which this is rooted in the reality of playing the oboe. Here I will focus on the physicality of oboe performance (and its appearance in Pasculli’s music) and the connection of this physicality to that discussed above. Of course, the firm rooting of the oboe in the physicality and emotions of the female body and mind means that the relationship between the body, the oboe, and the composition must be navigated through a different prism than that of the eighteenth-century cello. The precise physicalities of the two instruments are very different, and the composer-performers drew on different types of music and different conceptions of the body, the performer, the composer, and music itself. Nevertheless, analysing the physicality behind Pasculli’s virtuosity is enlightening and resonates with Le Guin’s study.

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<sup>11</sup> Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes, *The Oboe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 234.

<sup>12</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, pp. 234, 237.



As mentioned, in Chapter 3 I explore in detail connections between woodwind instruments and gendered physicality and emotional attributes. The oboe is strongly characterised as female, and pervasively associated with operatic women, and more specifically with the operatic woman experiencing loss. Further, the oboe's sound and physical characteristics are explicitly feminised and linked to the physical characteristics of a woman, often those that are either restricted or unruly. The oboe was modified considerably over the course of the century, and while these modifications served to greatly increase the instrument's technical capacity, as Burgess and Haynes write, they also sought "above all to attenuate its waywardness".<sup>13</sup> In addition to gaining keys, the body of the oboe was lengthened and narrowed throughout the nineteenth century, and the thickness of the wood increased. But while these changes resulted in a more stable, darker sound, the oboe remained temperamental, and also, as I have shown in Chapter 2, nineteenth-century oboists were often reluctant to play on up-to-date oboes. However, Omar Zoboli, a current oboist and scholar of Pasculli, is in possession of Pasculli's oboe, so we know it to have been a relatively modern Conservatoire system instrument. By the time that Pasculli was performing and composing, the oboes being produced would have been very near to today's oboe; from the adoption of the Conservatoire system to the present, changes have been few.

### 5.2.1. "To attenuate its waywardness"

That the oboe has long been seen as a particularly difficult and finicky instrument is borne out both in writing about the oboe and in the experience of every oboe student, who is inevitably asked "But isn't the oboe really hard to play?" This perception is firmly based in the reality of playing the oboe. In contrast to, for example, a flute, whose difficulty lies in building lung capacity in order to provide the instrument with the huge amounts of air which it requires, the oboe's difficulty lies in the air pressure, and the reed's restriction of the air stream, rather than volume required. The best example of the oboe as a "hysterical" instrument, however, again as discussed in Chapter 3, is that reed itself. Reeds require expensive machinery, sharp knives, and dexterity in extremely small motions. They are measured in tenths or even hundredths of millimetres; for an American player a piece of cane is shaved to between .45 and .60 mm, a reed tied on at 72 mm and then clipped shorter in infinitesimal degrees.<sup>14</sup> The reed controls pitch, volume, and tone, as well as the ability to articulate and to begin notes. A good reed cushions the player, making everything easier. A

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<sup>13</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 234.

<sup>14</sup> There are four different conventions of reed making, French, German, British, and American, of which American is the most drastically unlike the others. However, while the dimensions differ, the required precision remains the same. I give here the measurements with which I am most familiar. The cane used is *Arundo donax*.

bad reed, though it can still be played, battles with the player during already stressful performance. The professional player or advanced amateur spends huge amounts of time making reeds and sorting and discarding cane that is insufficiently perfect. No wonder, then, that oboists are seen as neurotic. To make matters worse, reeds have narrowed throughout the history of the oboe, requiring increased precision in manufacturing, and becoming less easy-blowing. The payoff of this development, however, is the ability to control tone production more precisely, as well as to play much more loudly. The difference is highly relevant when considering music and conceptions of the oboist's sound and ability from before the last decades of the nineteenth century, but while Pasculli's reeds would have been slightly wider and easier than those of a European oboist of today, the difference would have been slight, and not particularly significant in analyzing the virtuosity of his playing or compositions.

Though as mentioned above there has not been much change between the oboes of the late nineteenth century and modern instruments, one important difference in the technology of Pasculli's oboe and today's is the shift from open to closed keys. For much of the oboe's history, the main notes of the scale were fingered on open holes, much like a recorder. The nineteenth century saw the inclusion of more and more keys, but while metal rings like those still used on a clarinet – to allow connection to the increasingly intricate key system – were added to many of these holes, these remained open even at the time of the Conservatoire system and the turn of the century. Open keys perhaps required more deliberate finger placement, and provided less resistance when playing, making Pasculli's compositions, with their intricate technical passages more difficult for oboists contemporary with Pasculli than for oboists today.



Fig. 5.1 An open-keyed oboe from c. 1870



Fig. 5.2 A Conservatoire oboe from c. 2002

It seems almost redundant to say that the oboe is firmly rooted in physicality. After all, every instrument is in one way or another; Le Guin beautifully describes the “minute” movements of playing the cello – the “drawing in” of the left arm, the “frictive resistance” of the right arm moving the bow.<sup>15</sup> I have begun to show the ways in which the oboe’s real and perceived characteristics are reflected physically, and other woodwind instruments are much the same (though naturally as an oboist I wish to believe my instrument distinct and unique). Brass instruments, percussion, the piano all engage with myriad physical – or “carnal” in Le Guin’s terms – efforts by the player.<sup>16</sup> Still, the ubiquity of the “carnal” when performing does not diminish its legitimacy as a means of analysis, and perhaps it instead supports this approach; every instrument may be rooted in physicality, but the differences between the instruments are clear, and illuminating. Playing a trumpet, though it engages with breath, mouth, and fingers, is radically different from playing an oboe, and this difference will of necessity be reflected in the compositions for each instrument and the discussions thereof.

The oboe is deeply physical, as is every instrument. But not every instrument’s physicality is the oboe’s, with its reeds and fingers and historical associations. A review from 1988 describes oboist Léon Goossens as having “showed the way to making the instrument (previously considered “too strenuous”) into one suitable for young ladies”, showing the continued resonance of the oboe’s tricky historical physicality.<sup>17</sup> The oboe remains, to some extent, an instrument whose need to be controlled, and whose resistance to such control,

<sup>15</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body*, p. 18.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>17</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 246.

reflects a nineteenth century conception of a woman's body and of the activities appropriate for women.

### **5.3. Performative analysis: Antonio Pasculli's *Fantasia sull'opera Poliuto di Donizetti***

As John Rink does in his discussion of Brahms' *Fantasien* Op. 166, this chapter “attempts to show that analysis and performance can indeed be intimately linked – and in ways directly impinging on the act of interpretation, not just in some wishfully conceived, theoretically motivated fashion.”<sup>18</sup> Antonio Pasculli's composition *Fantasia sull'opera Poliuto di Donizetti*, which I discuss above in Chapter 3.3 on narrative, provides means of examining the intersections between virtuosity and physicality in his works; the composition is representative of Pasculli's writing style in terms of form, difficulty, instrumentation, and treatment of themes. Pasculli's use of themes from *Poliuto* with disparate styles and characteristics, from *Adagio* to *Allegro* and major to minor, roughly laid out as the exposition of a theme followed by ornamentation and variation on that theme, provides a wide range of resonances between composition and physicality.

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<sup>18</sup> John Rink, “Playing in time: rhythm, metre and tempo in Brahms's *Fantasien* Op. 116”, in *The Practice of Performance: Studies in Musical Interpretation*, ed. by John Rink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 254.

Table 5.1

		Operatic Source	Length	Marking in fantasia	Key in fantasia	Key in opera
1.	Theme 1	Act 2 Scene 2 – “Celeste un’aura” (Coro di Sacerdoti)	59 bars	<i>Maestoso</i>	A	D
2.	Theme 2	Act 2 Scene 2 (finale) – “La sacrilega parola” (Severo)	35 bars	<i>Largo</i>	d min	d min
3.	Theme 3	Act 2 Scene 2 (finale) – “Dell’iniqua” (Poliuto)	50 bars	<i>Più mosso</i>	D	D
4.	Theme 4	Act 1 Scene 1 – “Perchè di stolto giubilo” (Paolina)	121 bars	<i>Allegretto</i>	A	F
5.	Theme 5	Act 1 Scene 1 – “D’un alma troppo fervida” (Poliuto)	37 bars	<i>Adagio</i>	D	Db
6.	Theme 1		7 bars	<i>Allegro</i>	D	D
7.	Theme 1	Linking material loosely based on intro to “Celeste”	14 bars	<i>Moderato</i>	G	D
8.	Theme 6	Act 3 Scene 2 – “Il suon dell’arpe angeliche” (Poliuto)	27 bars	<i>Moderato</i>	G	E
9.	(Coda)		13 bars	<i>mosso</i>	G	

In what seems to be Pasculli’s typical style, he moves in a vaguely but not consistently chronological order through his chosen themes, presenting each theme before moving into a heavily ornamented version of or variation on that theme, and rarely returning to a theme once he has moved to the next – Pasculli reprises only one theme in this piece, “Celeste un’aura”, sung in the opera by the chorus of priests.<sup>19</sup> However, in this case the “vague” chronology takes the form of a flashback within the fantasia. The first three themes come from Act 2 and appear in order, but Pasculli follows these with two themes from the first half of Act 1, presented in reversed order, in which Poliuto embraces Christianity and Paolina worries about the reappearance of her past love (who in the fantasia has already appeared and threatened Poliuto), before returning to Act 2 through the reprise of “Celeste” and ending with the tragic

<sup>19</sup> Pasculli typically uses many operatic themes in a given fantasia and each specific theme is unlikely to be repeated. However, at the same time, Pasculli also typically will repeat one or two of the themes which he uses; thus each individual theme is rarely returned to while each fantasia likely features some repetition. Pasculli’s use of repetition can be seen clearly in *Simpatichi Ricordi della Traviata* and *Fantasia due sopra motivi dell’opera “Un ballo in maschera”*, both discussed in Chapter 3.

duet from the end of Act 3. Pasculli gestures towards the opera's love triangle but ultimately avoids emphasizing it, presenting it only within a flashback and emotionally distancing it from the player and therefore the listeners. Further, from Poliuto's perspective Severo appears here only as a religious opponent and not as a romantic one. Pasculli instead focuses on religion in his fantasia and embraces the tragic end of Poliuto and Paolina, both altering and reinforcing the operatic narrative.

### 5.3.1. Pasculli's expressive physicality

From the oboe's first notes, Pasculli is engaged in a game of tension and release expressed both musically and through the oboist's physical efforts. After nineteen bars of the piano's twenty bar *maestoso* introduction, which is characterized by sweeping changes in dynamic from *fortissimo* to *pianissimo*, the oboe interrupts a *pianissimo* cadence with a dramatic flourish.<sup>20</sup> Pasculli gathers energy, rising up an octave and a fourth through a combination of half-steps and arpeggiation. E moves to D sharp, then E sharp; F sharp to F double-sharp to G sharp before temporarily alighting on A. To the ear, this series of half-steps creates a sense of (literally) rising tension – we await the lifting of the curtain, the entry of the operatic characters, discovery of where the action of the fantasia will begin within the plot of the opera and of how the soloist will impress us on the more intimate stage – and the same is true of the physical act of playing them. The movement from E to D sharp, the movement with which the oboist begins this technically demanding work, is the depression of the third and fourth fingers of the right hand, with the fourth finger in an extended position.<sup>21</sup> The movement is certainly a common one, and one fully engrained in the mind; no minute hesitations to double-check the motion are necessary. However, this motion causes additional tension in the fingers, and the depressed keys add additional resistance to the breath. Half-steps form somewhat of a motive throughout the first section of the fantasia, used both to gather energy and to increase tension. The oboist's first main thematic section is built around a held note which moves through a half-step lower neighbour into an upwards arpeggio,

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<sup>20</sup> As in many fantasias, this piano introduction is based on an operatic theme rather than freely composed. Here Pasculli uses the priests' chorus "Celeste un'aura", which he then greatly alters for the oboe to continue.

<sup>21</sup> For my purposes, and following general fingering chart convention, I will refer to the thumb as such, to the index finger as the 1<sup>st</sup> finger, and so down to the 4<sup>th</sup> finger. The thumbs, one of which holds the instrument and has no keys to press, and one of which is solely responsible for two octave keys (one octave key, in Pasculli's day), are always conceived of separately from the fingers by oboists, much like other wind players and string players. There are two conflicting schools of naming the keys and tone holes on the oboe, one which refers to a key by the name of the note which sounds when any keys further down the oboe are untouched – in which case the key which the second finger of the left hand covers would be the A key – and one which refers to a key by the name of the note which sounds through that tone hole – in which case that same key would be the B key. To avoid confusion, when discussing note names in conjunction with keys I will always include information about which fingers are used when playing the note.

launching the theme. And a miniature cadenza in bar 38 (fig. 5.3) consists of ten downward intervals, alternating whole- and half-steps. The cadential section of the theme draws upon the tension created both through half-steps and through finger motions, combining a repeated alteration between C sharp and D with A major and D minor arpeggios that require the movement of an entire hand (fig. 5.4). Tension builds through an entire measure of intricate motions of all fingers in the right hand, ending in an octave leap interrupted by yet another energy gathering lower neighbour half-step.

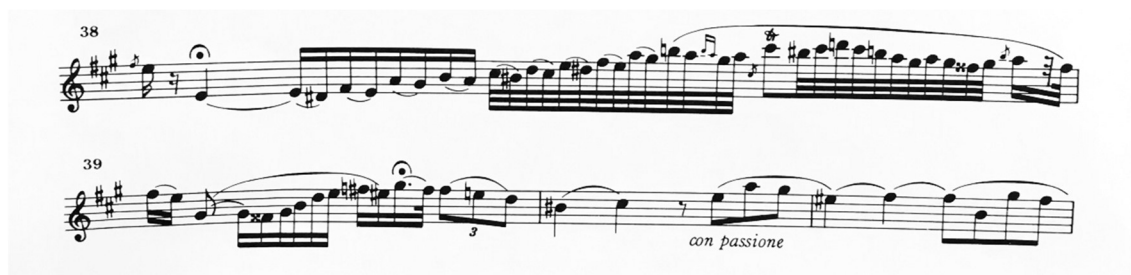


Fig. 5.3 A miniature cadenza in the oboe's first theme of Pasculli's *Poliuto* fantasia



Fig. 5.4 The cadential section of the same theme

From the oboe's first notes, the oboist is also intricately engaged with musical judgements. Though no dynamic is given in the oboist's part at the initial entrance, the assumption would be an approximate *mezzo-piano*; the piano plays at *pianissimo*, though its previous bar had been *fortissimo*, and the flourish rises to a held note and gently meandering line marked *elegante*. While Pasculli includes a crescendo, a too soft start would mask the oboe's intrusion into the piano's cadence and require a not-so-*elegante* increase in volume. And it is not only the fingers that react to the half-step alternations with which the oboe enters. Given that the *Fantasia* is in A major, sharps rather than flats are only to be expected, but a sharped note implies a tightening, an increase in wind pressure, an edging towards resolution through rising dissonance, and this feeds the sense of tension here. So with each successive sharp (or double sharp, for which this experience is heightened as the player, less instinctually familiar with the translation from double sharp to keyed note, requires an



additional millisecond of panic before muscle memory sets in), the performer is increasingly anxious, on edge, awaiting resolution, not through any musical affect (though this may be present), but simply due to the connotation of these notes for the psyche.

This first theme, the priest's chorus "Celeste un'aura" (then taken up by the female chorus as "Ver noi propizio"), appears near the end of Act 2 in Donizetti's opera; in the fantasia, the accompaniment plays a full and straightforward version of the choral melody for eighteen bars before the entry of the oboe. Aside from its general narrative trajectory, this fantasia is unusual in one further way. Though published in the nineteenth century and today as a piece for oboe accompanied by piano, the manuscript score of Pasculli's fantasia on *Poliuto* survives in the Palermo conservatory library with orchestral accompaniment. This raises additional questions: How would orchestral accompaniment have changed the piece's narrative overtones, and how would it have impacted the interactions between the performer and the accompaniment? Here, at least, the effect is similar whether the accompaniment is a piano or an orchestra, as the full orchestra enters from bar one and plays the choral melody in block chords.

Fig. 5.5 The homogenous orchestra of the first bars of Pasculli's fantasia



To some extent, though, the orchestral accompaniment compounds the association between the melody and a choir, as individual players, rather than simply fingers of a single player, come together to play-sing the priests' melody. And the fullness of the orchestration, which continues throughout much of the piece, could be seen as reinforcing the religious aspect of Poliuto's narrative drama, as the orchestra acts as either a community amassed against Poliuto or as a community joined with him in his beliefs.

While I have characterized the oboist's entry above as functioning like the anticipatory tension before the curtain rises, musically the effect is of sudden heavy ornamentation of a suddenly paused chorus. Indeed, the oboe's version of the theme is so altered as to be initially unrecognizable, and even the accompaniment shifts away from imitating the operatic chorus to a part more reminiscent of the accompaniment to an aria. It is at once anticipation of the curtain and the sudden raising of the curtain, revealing a new character. And, as in the selection of substitution arias, during which a singer "confronted a question as long-standing as it was predictable: which entrance aria would function most effectively as a showpiece for her talents?", this selection critically determines the introduction to the audience of the oboist's tone, technique, and musical stage presence.<sup>22</sup>



Fig. 5.6 Initial oboe entry in Pasculli's fantasia and shift in accompaniment

<sup>22</sup> Hilary Poriss, *Changing the Score: Arias, Prima Donnas, and the Authority of Performance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), p. 40.

But despite this seemingly bold replacement of vocal soloist with oboe, and despite the fluid step-wise motion of much of the following line, replete with scales and turns, the ornamentation here feels inherently instrumental rather than vocal. The breadth of range contributes significantly to this, as does the acceleration of the ornaments as the section progresses and, perhaps, the knowledge that fantasia sections based on chorus numbers are rarely significantly aligned with the oboe or oboist. Nevertheless, the section remains an aria-like version of the opening choral theme, and much of the oboe's initial line is influenced by vocal ornamentations, the divisions and graces of a *bel canto* singer. This tension sets up both Pasculli's usual approach to ornamentation and variation and the specific tension between vocal and instrumental virtuosity in this fantasia.

Moving on from the opening themes, which merge attention-seeking bravado with showy emotions, Pasculli whispers his way into Severo's aria "La sacrilega parola", a *Largo* that here sounds like a decelerated waltz. The melody is simple and repetitive, allowing the performer to concentrate fully on expressing Severo's dramatic condemnation and promises of "eternal punishment" for Poliuto.<sup>23</sup>



Fig. 5.7 "La sacrilega parola" in Pasculli's fantasia

But while this passage is easy to play, at least before it transforms into a series of virtuosic ornamentations that perhaps reflect Severo's increasingly overwrought emotions, the player here is not given the assistance Pasculli provides in the opening section. The As and Ds that form the foundation of this melody are easy-blowing on the oboe, with a clear sound. But they don't provide the cushion of the earlier sharps, and the more disjunct line requires more pronounced finger movements. Of course, it is easy to be led into overemphasizing this difference. Within the first eight bars of the oboe's entrance here, the melody reaches a G

<sup>23</sup> It would be tempting to associate this passage with Paolina's very similar following line "Qual preghiera al ciel rivolgo?", given Pasculli's usual focus on romantic pairings, but the oboe clearly plays Severo's version of the melody.

sharp and is filled with B flats, and while to the player a B flat “feels” very different from an A sharp (and most likely possesses slightly different tuning), the physical differences between the two are negligible. Still, the performer is the one interacting with the notes, their appearance on the page, and their translation to the physical, and within these two contexts the difference between an A sharp, which feels resistant to blow against and held up, and a B flat, which feels easy-blowing and centred, is pronounced. While the performer’s mind is busy projecting first Severo’s ever-less-restrained anger over Poliuto’s desertion of the Roman gods, then (perhaps) Paolina’s prayer to the Christian God for Poliuto’s life, it must also be busy stabilizing and clarifying the notes of the melody. The darker, hollower sound produced by these notes suits the minor-key melody and the pathos of the aria, and perhaps the mental effort required to produce this sound, rather than the buoyant cushioned sound of the opening material, also suits.

This is worth contrasting with the *Adagio* near the end of the fantasia, which is based on Poliuto’s first aria, “D’un’alma troppo fervida”. The two slow sections have certain similarities – a 3/8 time signature and disjunct melodies which nevertheless contain mostly small leaps and conservative ranges – but the scene for each is set in the first four bars, and the gap between the two quickly widens. The *Adagio* opens with a leap from A to D, the same “open” notes as the *Largo*, but it moves immediately to a slow, serpentine meander from D to F sharp, the instrument giving the performer all of the support and resistance needed to effortlessly connect through the phrase.



Fig. 5.8 “D’un’alma troppo fervida” in Pasculli’s fantasia

Further, the *Adagio* never gains the virtuosic ornamentations that Pasculli inserts into the *Largo*. Both are certainly welcome to the tiring performer, and also reflective of the operatic scene from which the music is drawn, in which Poliuto prays for God to temper his suspicions over his wife’s fidelity. Poliuto is supported by religion, the performer by the oboe.

### 5.3.2. Levels of difficulty

The virtuosic key-work (or its absence), physicality, and musical themes in fantasias also intersect in yet another way; Pasculli often plays with the distinction, generally known to the performer but not the audience, between music which appears or sounds difficult but which is easy to play (or at least which falls well on the instrument) and music which is at least as difficult to play as it sounds. Naturally, the performer prefers the former, but Pasculli presumably saw the benefits of both sides of this coin. Pasculli composed virtuosic pieces as a means of demonstrating his own prowess as a performer; the story, as presented in Omar Zoboli's writing and editions of Pasculli's works, is that no extant works were difficult enough to showcase Pasculli's skills, and so he composed his own to perform.<sup>24</sup> Despite his modesty – again, the myth of Pasculli's referring to himself as “the Paganini of the oboe” is only that – Pasculli surely would have wanted his audiences amazed by his technique and musical abilities in order to successfully perform and travel as a virtuoso oboist. And how better than through passages which sound more difficult to play than they are? But the feeling of accomplishment upon mastering a particularly tricky sequence is familiar to all performers, and it seems likely that the consummate musician and educator Pasculli also wished to honestly challenge himself in performance. The *Più mosso* and *Moderato* sections of the fantasia provide examples of the spectrum of virtuosity used by Pasculli.

The *Più mosso*, which follows the *Largo* based on Severo's “La sacrilega parola”, draws upon a second theme from the same scene of the opera, Poliuto's “Dell'iniqua, del protervo”. But while the oboist's *Largo* draws on the same emotions as those present in the opera, this cannot be said of the *Più mosso*. While Poliuto sings of the arrogance of the Romans and of his willingness to die for his beliefs, the oboist is frantically playing through the most virtuosic portion of the piece. In this passage the oboist is essentially playing both a melody and an accompaniment, and must project certain notes, notated with upwards stems, out of a chromatic wash of sound.

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<sup>24</sup> Omar Zoboli, “Afterword”, in Antonio Pasculli, *Fantasia sull'opera Poliuto di Donizetti* (Weisbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 2000).



Fig. 5.9 Excerpt from the *Piu mosso* of Pasculli's fantasia

Perhaps the performer also feels a martyr, but it seems disingenuous to suggest that while trying to make a true melody out of the picked-out notes the performer is truly portraying the meaning present in the opera. The passage is full of tricky chromatic alterations, with only enough repetitions to familiarize the fingers with one pattern before quickly shifting to another. Extreme dynamics, from *fff* to *ppp* increase the challenge, particularly when paired with a low register. There is no stretch required to link this musical virtuosity with physical virtuosity: they are one and the same. The difficulty of the passage lies in the finger motions required. The player is given one consolation. The passage sounds as difficult as it is.

In contrast, the final section of the fantasia, marked *Moderato* in modern editions but notated in cut time to allow for a nearly runaway tempo for the final passage of sixteenth-notes, sounds much more difficult than it is. Again, though, there is little possible connection between the emotions of the opera scene and the fantasia. While Poliuto sings about “immense pain” and “flee[ing] from death”, the mood of the oboist is rather more jubilant. Repetitions here serve not to confuse the fingers, but to aid them. Rather than constantly falling chromaticism, the main motives are lower and upper neighbour notes, which make use of the propulsive power of half-steps and the accompanying finger motions. This is most pronounced in the use of an entire measure of alternation between B and A sharp, which produces tension both through interminable repetition and the physical motion between the two notes. To move from B to A sharp, the oboist must depress both the second finger of the left hand and the first finger of the right hand, a motion which, though common and familiar, requires synchronization between the hands, making a crisp transition between the notes the smallest amount more difficult.<sup>25</sup> The section, and piece, ends with more half-step propulsion,

<sup>25</sup> This sequence of notes is in fact much simpler for a British oboist than for those of other nations; British oboes use an alternate “thumbplate” key system which alters the fingerings of Bb and C. However, Pasculli's oboe did not use this system.

as well as the use of ascending arpeggios, as at the piece's opening, and descending G major scales, which trip easily from the fingers.



Fig. 5.10: Excerpt from the *Moderato* and finale of Pasculli's fantasia

Five repetitions of a scale fragment from D to G leading directly to the final cadence propel as well, the oboist's fingers taking off literally as the music does so figuratively. The result is a triumphant ending, resulting both from the musical material and from the oboist's relative comfort and thus success. Pasculli provides yet more comfort in the final two measures of the fantasia, ending on the G above middle C, a secure, easily played note for the fatigued performer. Further, in the final four bars the accompaniment functionally doubles the soloist. In the orchestral version the accompaniment is full, as at the piece's opening, including winds, brass, and strings. There is perhaps some challenge in projecting a soloistic final few notes over an entire orchestra, but given a sensitive conductor and orchestral players the soloist would be more protected than challenged. We see Poliuto-as-oboe surrounded by a comforting rather than challenging chorus, perhaps – to stretch the metaphor – joining together with his religious fellows rather than standing out from the priests of another community as the oboe and Poliuto do initially.

### 5.3.3. Emotional connections: performer, instrument, character

To complete the discussions of virtuosity and physicality, let us return to the intersection of performer, oboist, and character discussed in Chapter 3 and alluded to above in summarizing the physical connections and implications of the feminine oboe. While not universal (just as physical motions are necessitated by certain notes and not only linked to emotional states), in some situations virtuosity serves to magnify rather than limit possible connections between the emotions of an opera scene or character and the fantasia.

In this fantasia Pasculli seems to align the oboe with Poliuto, the tragic male title character, rather than casting the oboe as the tragic female role and altering her story to have a happy ending. Three of the seven operatic themes appearing in the composition are sung by Poliuto, although the cabaletta “Perchè di stolto giubilo”, sung by Poliuto’s wife Paolina, is featured at great length in the middle of the piece. Occurring after Poliuto’s most difficult variation and before what may be his most emotional one, this section serves as an upbeat break for both performer and audience. As such, Pasculli does not seem to identify the oboe or performer with Paolina; his usual two methods of alignment, passionately difficult virtuosity and straightforward copying of an emotionally charged vocal line, are reserved for the two themes of Poliuto’s on either side of Paolina’s. Instead, Pasculli’s version of “Perchè di stolto giubilo” first combines Paolina’s vocal line with the orchestral parts which accompany her, a task made easy by the fact that the woodwinds accompany and comment on the vocal line in Donizetti’s operatic score, and then moves on to a decidedly instrumental variation full of leaps, changing articulations, and chromatically inflected arpeggios that contrast with the vocal line’s scalar ornamentations.



Fig. 5.11 Variation on “Perchè di stolto giubilo” in Pasculli’s fantasia

The passage is not a very easy one, and from the very first notes of the oboe’s entry the oboist must play ornamentation not present in the vocal line, but it falls well on the oboe, and its difficulty pales in comparison to the preceding section on “Dell’iniqua, del protervo”.

The use of an operatic orchestral line that ornaments the vocal line it accompanies is common in fantasias by Pasculli and many other composers, but the treatment here stands out as a way of connecting the oboe to its own physicality rather than to a female character. Paolina’s scalar ornamentations become Pasculli’s arpeggios and chromatic semiquavers (the passage of semiquavers which Pasculli preserves (fig. 5.12) is notably that which features

descending skips rather than steps), and Paolina's rests are filled in by orchestral restatements. Pasculli preserves the original contrast between staccato and legato portions of the melody, but crucially does away with the sforzando triplet upbeat played by the orchestra. This characteristic triplet therefore becomes integral to the vocal line as the instrumental part slowly takes over Paolina's.



Fig. 5.12 Vocal ornamentation in Pasculli's oboe line, bars 182-183, and vocal triplet, bar 184

Though the longest section within the fantasia, “Perchè di stolto giubilo” stands apart from the surrounding music. Pasculli's distancing of the oboe from Paolina is perhaps most clearly seen through contrast with the other theme that Pasculli emphasizes. Paolina's potentially resurfacing feelings toward Severo, the subject of “Perchè”, are not treated elsewhere in the fantasia and are given nowhere near the emotional weight afforded to Poliuto's religious conversion and the conflict that arises from it. Poliuto's prayer “Dell'iniqua, del protervo” from the finale of Act 2, which follows “La sacrilega parola” in the fantasia as it does in the opera and which immediately precedes “Perchè di stolto giubilo”, is emphasized through virtuosity rather than length.

“Dell'iniqua” is certainly the showpiece of the fantasia. The oboist projects the melody out of a chromatic wash of sound while “performing” Poliuto's anger at the Romans and willingness to martyr himself. Unlike the following section on Paolina's cabaletta, there is no merging of vocal and instrumental ornamentations here, and no association of the oboe with an orchestral part. Pasculli immediately launches into intensely difficult hemidemisemiquavers (see fig. 5.9 above) after a seven bar introduction which interrupts the cadenza concluding “La sacrilega parola”. Often the oboist is not even aided by an accompanimental doubling of the picked out melody, a further departure from the operatic score where the orchestra consistently doubles Poliuto's line. It is the oboe and only the oboe that can embody and voice the protagonist of the scene. There is nothing vocal about this music, but this lack of a middle ground contradictorily links the oboe and oboist far more



closely to Poliuto than the half-vocal version of “Perchè di stolto giubilo” can link the oboe to Paolina.

#### 5.3.4. Pasculli in summary

As I discuss in Chapter 3, Pasculli seems to use slow, emotional themes and virtuosic work to associate the oboe with a character or plot line, and as a result this fantasia as a whole reads as a character study of Poliuto. The three themes connected to Poliuto include the final one used in the fantasia, one of the two slow sections of the piece, and this most virtuosic variation. They also all deal with Poliuto’s religion; rather than retelling a love story in this fantasia, Pasculli meditates on Poliuto’s religious development throughout the opera. Virtuosity is in some ways a play of the unexpected across a musical foundation, and (as mentioned in Chapter 4) the fantasia can also be seen as this, as the familiar made more “interesting” or unique. In Pasculli’s fantasia on *Poliuto*, the pairing of “technical riskiness” and emotional extremes not only reveals Pasculli’s virtuosic talents but also reflects the underlying relationship between performer and instrument for an oboist and reinforces narrative overtones within the piece.<sup>26</sup>

#### 5.4. Conclusion

About halfway through her book, Le Guin makes a fairly dramatic caveat; “for all the visual imagination that the performer or his audience brings to the performance, not every movement an instrumentalist makes is legible. In...most cases, truth be told – what the string player does makes no sense as pantomime, and signals nothing at all except what it actually is”; “what it actually is” being only the necessary movements and physical effects required to draw sound out of the instrument.<sup>27</sup> She further argues, “in instrumental music...visible realization is forever half-formed”.<sup>28</sup> Certainly this is true. A cellist’s progression up the fingerboard is a necessity if the composer ever wishes to include an ascending line in a piece, and the oboist must lift fingers from keys in order to do the same. But for a performer, the finger motions necessary to play an ascending arpeggio, while simple and unremarkable, can be used as a piece of showmanship to gather energy and rocket upwards. The resistance of certain notes is a happenstance of physics, but a performer may still use the variance in resistance when forming a personal conception of the music or to heighten the drama of a

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<sup>26</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body*, p. 112. Le Guin’s discussion of personas, characters, and the reflection of emotional state in musical risk resonate strongly with my approach to musical narrative in the opera fantasia. (See Le Guin, pp. 112-117 and following)

<sup>27</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body*, p. 103.

<sup>28</sup> Le Guin, *Boccherini’s Body*, p. 104.

phrase. Further, these physical elements can often be linked to narrative or character-based moments of emphasis. John Rink writes of his melding of performance and analysis that his intention is “to discover specific ways in which analysis can help – rather than constrain – the performer”, and this is also one of the key efforts of this thesis as a whole, and specifically of this chapter.<sup>29</sup> My conclusion remains that physicality is at once vital and nearly incidental to Pasculli’s virtuosic compositions.

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<sup>29</sup> Rink, “Playing in time”, p. 255.

## CONCLUSION

Opera fantasias are not merely series of beautiful and famous tunes strung together to snare an audience of fans who want to hear their favorite songs replayed in sparkling and exciting virtuosic ways. Certainly the name of a beloved opera, or of a new and intriguing opera by a beloved composer, must have drawn audiences in. And a hometown hero performing a jaw-dropping version of a favorite aria must have inspired pride to those listening (and sometimes donating to charity through their ticket purchases). Yet fantasias reveal purposeful compositional choices and powerful negotiations with and against the operas on which they are based. By looking beyond the surface of the music we can more than glimpse the unconscious implications of these pieces and their position in society. The interaction between the structural ordering of the fantasia and the character types of the fantasia allows for it to function as commentary, the virtuosic ornamentation on the opera melodies reflects vocal and instrumental performance decisions and creates strong associations between instruments and characters, and the huge stores of surviving fantasias and the myriad discussions of them in contemporary journals further demonstrate the importance of opera to the community in which these virtuosos were composing and performing. “The text of music is a performance.”<sup>30</sup> This is inescapable, and the importance of performance to these works is perhaps beyond that of many genres. But even 100 or 150 years or more removed from their original performances, the manuscript texts and printed texts of these works and the literal texts on which they are based show how the woodwind opera fantasia was conceived of and heard and interpreted – and, yes, performed.

Carolyn Abbate writes of Mozart’s *Queen of the Night* that she, “by killing language, also kills plot, and herself as a character. She suddenly becomes not a character-presence but an irrational nonbeing, terrifying because the locus of voice is now not a character, not human, and somehow not present. This same uncanny effect, I would claim, can govern moments marked by a singing voice in instrumental (that is, nonvocal, textless) music.”<sup>31</sup> Yet “music’s voice” survives; it is a “physical and sensual force, something beating upon us”.<sup>32</sup> Thus in the opera fantasia. And in the fantasia, the singing instrumental voice is not unhuman, not un-present, not terrifying or irrational, but human and physical and evocative of operatic character and plot and tradition.

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<sup>30</sup> Carolyn Abbate, *Unsung Voices* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> Abbate, *Unsung Voices*, p. 11.

<sup>32</sup> Abbate, *Unsung Voices*, p. 12.

In textless instrumental music, “dramatic roles like protagonist and antagonist”,<sup>33</sup> rather than specific characters problematically assigned to instrumental themes by theorists, are clearly useful, allowing for the mapping of narratives while avoiding what Almén calls “failures of signification”.<sup>34</sup> This approach also draws upon the roles and functions of Propp’s *Morphology of the Folktale*; the theorist applies, for example, the archetype (or role) of villain, rather than a specific villainous character, and the plot point (or function) of villainy that “motivates the actions of the hero”, rather than the specific villainous act, to a theme or its treatment. Similarly, in contrast to the preceding paragraph, it can be argued that in a fantasia the specific villainy matters less than how “villainy” is located and treated in the fantasia. Though any given fantasia does draw upon the specific plot points of its opera, the fantasia’s ability to either reinforce or subvert the opera’s narrative is not strongly connected to specific actions, but rather how the act of villainy is placed within the fantasia. That is, the interaction between the structural ordering of the fantasia and the character types of the fantasia allows for the fantasia to function as commentary. The villain is relegated to the accompaniment or avoided completely; the tragedy is reordered to create a happy ending; the love song is repeated. Yet the specific characters or plot points of a given opera or fantasia are hardly inconsequential. A fantasia’s narrative is meaningful in large part because it can clearly refer to the story and characters of a specific opera rather than merely to operatic or musical archetypes.

Edward J. Dent’s argument (in an overview of the real events behind the story of *Un ballo in maschera*) that “in all historical drama truth to character is more important than chronological accuracy” nicely sums up the approach to operatic themes in fantasias on the opera.<sup>35</sup> Chronology is subordinated not only to depictions of characters from the opera but also to the general character of the virtuosic fantasia. And yet that character is deeply connected to Italian operatic traditions; the combination of emotional, tragic arias with buoyant, showy melodies seems tailor-made for compositions like the fantasia, which tends to include both varieties of themes to create musical contrast as well as to emphasize the musician’s emotive abilities or *cantabile* style and his technical virtuosity. This suitability of affect contrasts with a perceived lack thereof noted in later, non-Italian critiques of fantasias based on tragic operas such as Bellini’s *Norma*, described by Charles Suttoni as “too

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<sup>33</sup> Gregory Karl, “Structuralism and Musical Plot”, *Music Theory Spectrum*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring 1997), p. 22.

<sup>34</sup> Byron Almén, *A Theory of Musical Narrative* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2008), p. 12.

<sup>35</sup> However, he follows this with a description of the love story inserted by Eugène Scribe into the libretto of Daniel Auber’s *Gustave III* as a “glaring falsification”. Edward J. Dent, “Un Ballo in Maschera”, *Music & Letters* Vol. 33, No. 2 (Apr., 1952), p. 105.

poignant” for “glib passagework”.<sup>36</sup> Similarly, in his dissertation on piano fantasias, Suttoni argues that “the most successful opera fantasias are those which respect the nature of the original material”.<sup>37</sup> Of course, fantasias on tragic operas abound; to cite merely Chapter 4, *Rigoletto*, *Il trovatore*, and *Un ballo* itself are clearly tragedies. But the spectrum of characters and melodies allows a fantasia composer to pick emotional and flashy musical themes without “disrespecting” the original operatic material.

As they recur in an opera fantasia, musical themes from distinct and evocative scenes function as proto-leitmotifs, adding dramatic resonance. As well as allowing easy cross-references within the opera, particularly striking devices allow fantasia composers to more fully evoke characters and plots from the opera, forming a more accurate and meaningful (altered) recreation or “vaudeville”.<sup>38</sup> A high degree of resonance and clarity of musical themes also would have increased the meaningfulness of operatic material for listeners with minimal musical effort on the part of the composer, boosting any skills in rewriting and altering themes in a fantasia which may have been lacking in musicians who were more performers than composers.

However, while the underlying, subtextual narratives of the opera fantasia create musical interest as well as reflections of societal conventions (which “are – like operas – seldom so irrelevant as they seem”<sup>39</sup>), it is the virtuosity of fantasias that resurfaces again and again as characteristic in analyses of context, the broad genre, and specific works. That virtuosity is praised, disparaged, the aim of the fantasia, and problematic when assigned to woodwinds or as serious music.

In a sense, though, the fantasia sits outside of any fight between “empty” and “true” virtuosity.<sup>40</sup> Fantasias do indeed serve to display an instrumentalist’s talents, perhaps bringing attention away from the music itself. Yet, while frequently critiqued as serving only as a means of display for the instrumentalist and thus as detached from true musical expression and meaning, fantasias in fact use virtuosity as a means of emphasizing and evoking operatic melodies, characters, and scenes and as a means of amplifying the musical characteristics created by the original operatic composers of the melodies they use. A review from 1850

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<sup>36</sup> Charles Suttoni, “Instrumental Solo and Ensemble Music By Giulio Briccialdi, Antonio Pasculli”, *Notes*, second series, Vol. 46, No. 4 (June 1990), p. 1071.

<sup>37</sup> Charles Suttoni, “Piano and opera: a study of the piano fantasias written on opera themes in the Romantic era” (unpublished doctoral thesis, New York University, 1973), p. 10.

<sup>38</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3, Kenneth Hamilton relates nineteenth-century description of the fantasia “as the equivalent of the ‘Vaudeville of a novel’”. Hamilton, “The opera fantasias and transcriptions of Franz Liszt: a critical study” (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1989), p. 8.

<sup>39</sup> Allen J. Frantzen, *Before the Closet: Same-sex Love from Beowulf to Angels in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), p. 37.

<sup>40</sup> For a discussion of this dichotomy, see Maiko Kawabata, *Paganini: The ‘Demonic’ Virtuoso* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2012), p. 111.

describes clarinetist Ernesto Cavallini as “like a bee” who “lands on the most favorite flowers of the immortal Rossini to suck the essence”, evoking the operatic melodies with “sweetness, gentleness, liveliness, and philosophy”.<sup>41</sup> The melodies remain intact for the listener, and Cavallini draws on them in a way that is both mutually beneficial (as bees are necessary for flowers) and parasitic (as something might be sucked dry).

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In the introduction to this thesis, I asked the following questions of the fantasia:

How can critical discussions of virtuosity, genre, popularity, and the critical power of composition be applied to opera fantasias? Are there patterns in the chosen operas? Were operas chosen for their story features, or more purely for musical elements? Do fantasias function as criticism of gendering, of societal concepts, of operas themselves? What do primary sources reveal about how these pieces were originally received, critically and popularly? Further, how have performers themselves interacted with these fantasias? After all, for these pieces, composer and performer were primarily one and the same.

Some of these questions remain difficult to answer. The performers left few written comments and certain kinds of evidence remain scarce. Nevertheless, critical analysis of virtuosity, genre, popularity, and compositional approach have revealed layers of meaning embedded in these works and their relationship to society, audiences, performers, and critics. There are patterns in the chosen operas, with an increased focus on past operas as the century progressed and with some operas more popular among certain instruments. Musical elements certainly strongly influenced the choice of operas, but it seems highly likely that narrative content also played a role. The intersections between operatic music and instrument create often potent commentaries on gender and operatic narrative. And despite the difficulties of dealing with ephemeral and biased primary sources, these pieces were clearly received positively by critics and audiences, while performers used them to promote their own abilities, their students, and their musical taste, as well as means of gathering patrons or associating themselves with prominent other artists.

Not all fantasias suit a narrative discussion, or are deeply virtuosic, or reveal unconscious commentary about their cultural context. Nevertheless, approaching fantasias critically reveals both unconscious social and musical frameworks and information about ways in which operas, opera melodies, instruments, composition, and life as a performing

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<sup>41</sup> “Come ape il compositore posò sui più prediletti fiori dell’immortale Rossini per succhiare le essenze. Con quanta dolcezza, soavità, brio e filosofia ei ci ricordasse col difficile istromento i variati pensieri di diverse opera del pesarese, noi lo diremmo ai nostri lettori, se il nome di Ernesto Cavallini non ce ne dispensasse.” Carlo Gaetano Antonini, “Concerti. Teatro Carcano”, *L’Italia musicale*, Anno II, N. 22 (13 April 1850), p. 85.

musician were conceived of at the time that these pieces were written. It is easy to obscure the fact that many opera fantasias are not sparkling examples of lost great musical literature. Nevertheless, Bruce Haynes' statement on unpublished and forgotten musical compositions resonates with the state of the opera fantasia: "The first thing to say is the ones that are not published are not necessarily worse than the ones that are published, that's the amazing thing. A lot of the treasures are totally unknown and compared to some of the things that are published, they're a lot more worthwhile."<sup>42</sup> The fantasias available only in a single Italian library in manuscript form, or published in the nineteenth century but no longer available to performers, of which there are vast quantities, contribute as much or more to creating a wider picture of the genre as those few fantasias that still circulate.

This tide is changing: increasing numbers of opera fantasias have been reissued either by Ricordi, or by large and small publishing houses outside of Italy such as Musica Rara and Phylloscopus. These compositions are increasingly performed in conservatories and public concerts, and they are increasingly studied by performers. While flautists were certainly the most prolific composers of woodwind opera fantasias, Rosario Profeta's mid-twentieth-century statement that "oboe virtuosos who wrote for their instrument are rare" has plainly been proved incorrect.<sup>43</sup> As opera fantasias become increasingly known, understanding of their musical and social context also becomes more critical. Ralph P. Locke writes that rather than merely reflecting their surroundings, operas are "active units of cultural discourse"; they both create cultural objects and allow us to inspect and consider complicated aspects of culture.<sup>44</sup> Opera fantasias similarly, though less overtly, responded to and reflect contemporary issues that remain relevant and determinative. Discarded by critics and yet intimately involved with music praised in its original operatic context, opera fantasias walk the line between trivial and art music, satisfying the desire for virtuosity, emotionally affecting music, the familiar, and the artistic.

These works should not be mindlessly idolized, but neither should they be indiscriminately cast away. A full critical response to the opera fantasia must engage not only with current and intermediary musical views but also with contemporary musicians' interactions. The social context of the nineteenth-century Italian opera fantasia is key to

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<sup>42</sup> Aaron Cohen, "Bruce Haynes: Oboe-ologist", *The Journal of The International Double Reed Society*, Vol. 18, No. 3, (Winter, 1995), p. 77.

<sup>43</sup> "sono rare le figure dei virtuosi d'oboe che scrissero per il loro strumento". Rosario Profeta, *Storia e letteratura degli strumenti musicali* (Florence: Marzocco, 1942), p. 534.

<sup>44</sup> As discussed in Chapter 3. Ralph P. Locke, "What Are These Women Doing in Opera?", in *En travesti: Women, Gender Subversion, Opera*, ed. by Corinne E. Blackmer and Patricia Juliana Smith (Chichester, NY: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 76.

understanding the musical content of the genre; simultaneously, the musical content of these works is key to understanding contemporary responses.

“The most beautiful fantasia by Prof. Gatti on the motifs of Bellini, of that god Bellini, who is not of the past, not of the present, not of the future, but has made the music of eternity, of that which we will also hear in that other world that never ends...”<sup>45</sup>

“For who, if not Paganini the Oboe, could have better expressed the extraordinary combination of classical music and bicycles?”<sup>46</sup> Who indeed!

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<sup>45</sup> “La bellissima fantasia del Prof. Gatti sui motivi di Bellini, di quell divo Bellini, che non del passato, non del presente, non dell’avvenire, ma ha fatto la musica della eternità, cioè quella che sentiremo anche in quell’altro mondo che non finirà mai...” Anon, “La bellissima fantasia del Prof. Gatti”, *Napoli Musicale*, Anno VIII, No. 1 (7 Jan 1875), p. 2.

<sup>46</sup> “Denn wer, wenn nicht der Paganini der Oboe, hätte die außergewöhnliche Verbindung von klassischer Musik und Fahrrädern besser zum Ausdruck bringen können?” <http://www.pasculli.de/radmanufaktur/geschichte-pasculli/>



## Appendix 1: Biographies of Select Fantasia Composers

Some of this information is contained within Chapter 2. However, these slightly extended biographies may be of interest. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the information provided here is likely the most comprehensive collection of biographies of these musicians available in English. Because of the detail with which I discuss Pasculli in the same chapter, I do not include his biography here.

### FLUTE

**Giulio Briccialdi (1818-1881)** was a “famous virtuoso, acclaimed in Europe and America, as well as a polished and elegant composer”.<sup>707</sup> In his youth, his family pressured him to join the church, but he “fled” to Rome, where he graduated from the Accademia di S. Cecilia at only 15.<sup>708</sup> Following this, he embarked upon an “intense” concert career as a virtuoso flautist, which took him to Europe and America; he also taught in Milan in 1839 and Vienna in 1841, and from 1870 he was the flute professor at the Florence conservatory.<sup>709</sup> He wrote only one opera, *Leonora de’ Medici* (Milan 1855), but he composed scores of fantasias and etudes for the flute.<sup>710</sup> He also was well known during his lifetime for the technical changes he made to the flute; the “Briccialdi flute” – an attempt at a modernized flute, though more old-fashioned in style than Boehm’s – was publicized and discussed repeatedly in journals and was at the centre of much debate among Italian flautists. Though his flute gained some popularity in Italy, in time Boehm’s flute became ubiquitous.<sup>711</sup> However, the B flat lever known as the “leva di Briccialdi” was incorporated into Boehm’s key system.<sup>712</sup> Along with frequent appearances in the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Briccialdi is mentioned in concert reviews in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* (1848) and the *Allgemeine Wiener Musik-Zeitung* (1841). He was so well known that not only were his concerts reviewed, but also his concert tours were advertised; an 1852 edition of the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* warns its Milanese

<sup>707</sup> “concertista famoso, acclamato in Europa ed in America, nonchè forbito ed elegante compositore”. Rosario Profeta, *Storia e letterature degli strumenti musicali* (Florence: Marzocco, 1942), p. 478.

<sup>708</sup> “Briccialdi, Giulio”, *La Musica: Parta seconda: Dizionario*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: Unione Tipografica – Editrice Torinese, 1968), p. 287.

<sup>709</sup> “Briccialdi, Giulio Baldassarre”, *Enciclopedia della musica*, ed. by Claudio Sartori (Milan: Ricordi, 1963), p. 321.

<sup>710</sup> “Briccialdi”, *Enciclopedia della musica*, p. 321.

<sup>711</sup> “Flauto”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della musica e dei musicisti: Il lessico*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: UTET, 1983), p. 249.

<sup>712</sup> “Briccialdi, Giulio”, *La Musica: Parta seconda: Dizionario*, p. 287.

readers that Briccialdi “has left for Venice, in order to give concerts there. From there he will go to Bologna, Florence, Rome, and Naples.”<sup>713</sup>

**Giuseppe Francesco Gabriele Patrizio Gaspare Gariboldi (1833-1905)** wrote not only opera fantasias, but also three operettas, *La Rêve d'un écolier* (1868), *Au clair de lune* (1872), and *La Jeunesse de Hoche* (1872).<sup>714</sup> It is no longer true of Gariboldi that “we do not know where and when he died, [which] is for us Italian flautists a real embarrassment”.<sup>715</sup> Born in Macerata in March 1833, Gariboldi died in Castelraimondo in April 1905, although in English-language sources little is known about him except that he was born and died in Italy.<sup>716</sup> After travelling to Belgium and Holland for two years, he spent much of his career in Paris and was professor at the Paris Conservatoire for a time.<sup>717</sup> Italian-language sources reveal that Gariboldi immigrated to France “for political reasons”, knew Rossini, and was an opera director as well as a renowned flautist frequently praised in musical newspapers.<sup>718</sup> His works for the flute include pieces based on *Carmen*, *Don Pasquale*, *La Forza del destino*, and Chopin waltzes, among other themes, as well as on Filippo Marchetti’s *Ruy Blas*, an opera nearly as obscure as Gariboldi himself. Gariboldi also composed at least one piece for oboe, the *Mosaico sopra La Traviata di Verdi*. Published in 1866 by Ricordi, it was dedicated “Al suo amico Monsieur Michel Colinet de Bruxelles”, whom Gariboldi presumably met in Belgium.

**Emanuele Krakamp (1813-1883)**, though a famous flautist in his own right, was frequently compared to or linked with Briccialdi in reviews, perhaps because of their battle over the Boehm flute. Born in Palermo and linked to Naples – where he taught at the conservatory from 1860 – for large parts of his career, Krakamp toured not only Europe but also Tunisia and Alexandria and Cairo, Egypt as a soloist.<sup>719</sup> Many concert reviews of Krakamp survive,

<sup>713</sup> “è partito per Venezia, allo scopo di darvi concerti. Di là si recherà poi a Bologna, Firenze, Roma e Napoli.” Anon, “Bordeaux”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno X, No. 51 (19 December 1852), p. 227.

<sup>714</sup> “Gariboldi, Giuseppe”, *Enciclopedia della musica*, ed. by Claudio Sartori (Milan: Ricordi, 1963), p. 277.

<sup>715</sup> “non sappiamo dove e quando sia morto, ed è per noi flautisti italiani una vera mortificazione”. Fortunato Sconzo, *Il Flauto e i flautisti* (Milano: Ulrico Hoepli, 1930), p. 117.

<sup>716</sup> “Gariboldi, Giuseppe”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della musica e dei musicisti: Le biografie*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: UTET, 1983), p. 123.

<sup>717</sup> Michele Fiala, “Preface”, in Giuseppe Gariboldi, *Mosaico sopra La Traviata di Verdi* (Laggan Bridge, Scotland: Phylloscopus Publications, 2002).

<sup>718</sup> “Gariboldi, Giuseppe”, *La Musica: Parta seconda: Dizionario*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: Unione Tipografico – Editrice Torinese, 1968), p. 750.

<sup>719</sup> Mariateresa Dellaborra, “KRAKAMP, Emanuele”, *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, Vol. 62 (2004), [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/emanuele-krakamp\\_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)/](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/emanuele-krakamp_(Dizionario-Biografico)/); [Anon], “Cronaca straniera. Alessandria d’Egitto [Fondazione di un collegio musicale da parte di Emanuele Krakamp]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XIV, N. 5 (3 February 1856), p. 38; [Anon], “Genova. Notizie varie [concerto del flautista Krakamp]”, *L’Italia musicale*, Anno VIII, N. 70 (30 August 1856), p. 280.

particularly from the years 1850 to 1857, frequently mentioning his fourth *Norma* fantasia by name and describing him as the Liszt of the flute. One reviewer compares Briccialdi and Krakamp, “two artists of the first order but of opposite kinds”; Briccialdi’s pure sound, “caressing the notes”, is paired with “pure phrasing” and “gracious”, “uniform passages” that contrast with Krakamp’s “energetic”, “powerful” sound, and “marvelous execution” that is at its best in chromaticisms, and for these reasons Briccialdi is called the Rubini of the flute (Giovanni Battista Rubini, a renowned *bel canto* tenor) and Krakamp the Liszt.<sup>720</sup> Krakamp appears not only in reviews but also – like Briccialdi and Cavallini – in announcements of his upcoming activities; in 1855, the *Gazzetta musicale di Firenze* alerted its readers that “the flautist Krakamp has left for the country of the pyramids of Egypt”.<sup>721</sup> In Alexandria, Krakamp seems to have established a school and then to have returned to Italy by the following year.<sup>722</sup> As mentioned above, Krakamp was an ardent supporter of the Boehm flute over the Briccialdi flute, and repeatedly – as early as 1851 and as late as 1874 – wrote to the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* on the topic; it seems a small stretch to hear exasperation in the *Gazzetta*’s use of “again” in the titles “Ancora del flauto vecchio e del flauto nuovo di Böhm” and “Ancora dei Flauti Briccialdi e Böhm”.<sup>723</sup>

**Donato Lovreglio (1841-1907)** was a flautist who lived most of his life in Naples; he remains far more elusive than fellow flautists Briccialdi and Krakamp, but he was involved in the debate over the Briccialdi and Boehm flutes and had an active concert career, which often included his wife as pianist and his three sons on wind and string instruments.<sup>724</sup> The majority of English-language writing on Donato Lovreglio, found unsourced in CD-liners and editions

<sup>720</sup> “Il Briccialdi ed il Krakamp sono due artisti di primo ordine, ma d’un genere l’uno affatto opposto all’altro. Briccialdi ha un’imboccatura purissima, accarezza le note, colorisce e freseggia netto; i suoi passi sono graziosi, calcolati, uniformi: Krakamp al contrario ha un’imboccatura energica, cava note potenti, l’esecuzione n’è meravigliosa, e tratta a preferenza il genere cromatico. Lo chiamerei il primo il Rubini dei flautisti, e il secondo il Liszt.” Fama, “Notizie. Milano. Concerto privato [Casa di F. Ferrari: flautisti Briccialdi e Krakamp]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno X, N.o 48 (28 November 1852), p. 215.

<sup>721</sup> “Il Flautista Krakamp è partito per il paese delle Piramidi d’Egitto. Gli auguriamo fortuna più di quella che non ha avuta fra noi. A proposito di questo flautista, e della polemica sostenuta da questa *Gazzetta* contro il flauto alla Boehm, il Giornale le *Scintille* ha posto in caricatura la gran lotta dei due flauti Krakamp e Briccialdi col motto ‘si vedrà quello che è di legno più duro’”. Anon, “Compendio. Sul flautista Krakamp”, *Gazzetta musicale di Firenze*, Anno III, N. 14, (13 September 1855), p. 56.

<sup>722</sup> Anon, “Cronaca straniera. Alessandria d’Egitto [Fondazione di un collegio musicale da parte di Emanuele Krakamp]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XIV, N. 5 (3 February 1856), p. 38; Anon, “Teatri e notizie diverse. Genova. Notizie varie [concerto del flautista Krakamp]”, *L’Italia musicale*, Anno VIII, N. 70 (30 August 1856), p. 280.

<sup>723</sup> Emanuele Krakamp, “Ancora del flauto vecchio e del flauto nuovo di Böhm (Livorno, 18 dicembre)”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno IX, N. 52 (28 December 1852), p. 240; “Ancora dei Flauti Briccialdi e Böhm [lettere di E.Krakamp, del D.r O.C. (Chilesotti), di Briccialdi, di R.Galli]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XXIX, N. 38 (20 September 1874), pp. 306-09.

<sup>724</sup> See, for example, Anon, “Concerti. Napoli [concerto del maestro Lovreglio]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XLVIII, N. 26 (25 June 1893), p. 432.

of his compositions, states that, as a flautist, he composed numerous pieces for his own instrument, as well as three for the clarinet and one for the oboe. Leonardo de Lorenzo's *My Complete Story of the Flute: The Instrument, the Performer, the Music* reveals that Lovreglio "wrote an opera, overtures, and some chamber music", describing him as an "Italian flutist and composer of orchestral and band works".<sup>725</sup> The opera is not named and no other references to it seem to survive. From Profeta we also learn that Lovreglio – unusually – wrote method books for many instruments.<sup>726</sup> However, Lovreglio seems to have survived nearly entirely as a clarinet composer. His three clarinet compositions – *Fantasia sull'opera "Un Ballo in Maschera" di Verdi*; *Fantasia sull'opera "La Traviata" di Verdi*; and *Fantasia sull'opera "Maria Stuarda" di Donizetti*, all of which were published in 1865 by Ricordi – are generally listed explicitly, while the many flute compositions he allegedly wrote remain unspecified. Lovreglio's clarinet pieces may have been composed for his son, a clarinetist who often performed in concerts with Lovreglio.<sup>727</sup>

## OBOE

**Ricordano De Stefani (1839-1904)** studied with oboist Baldassare Centroni (1784-1860) in Bologna, but he began playing in the Parma Teatro Regio and royal orchestras while still a student. He also quickly began travelling as an orchestral oboist, notably playing in the 1864 concert dedicating the monument to Rossini in Pesaro.<sup>728</sup> Later, he spent nearly 30 years as professor at the Parma Conservatory. We also know that De Stefani, "noted for his conservatism", "remained faithful to a Koch oboe [a ten-keyed oboe developed in the 1820s] into the 1880s which he played with exceptionally wide reeds", another conservative trait.<sup>729</sup> Though relatively well-studied in English-language sources, De Stefani does not appear in the Ricordi encyclopedia or *La Musica*, or even in Profeta's history, though Bigotti describes him as having a "wonderful career".<sup>730</sup> He wrote four published opera fantasias, and many other

<sup>725</sup> Leonardo de Lorenzo, *My Complete Story of the Flute: The Instrument, the Performer, the Music (Revised and Expanded Edition)* (Lubbock, Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 1992), pp. 373, 251. De Lorenzo was himself a flautist and a composer of fantasias for the flute.

<sup>726</sup> Profeta, p. 531.

<sup>727</sup> Anon, "Notizie italiane — [Bari (dal "Roma"): serata dei concertisti Donato e Adelina Lovreglio]", *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XL, N. 34 (23 August 1885), p. 294.

<sup>728</sup> "De Stefani Ricordano", *Dizionario Della Musica del Ducato di Parma e Piacenza*, accessed August 2017, <http://www.lacasadellamusica.it/Vetro/Pages/Dizionario.aspx>.

<sup>729</sup> Geoffrey Burgess and Bruce Haynes, *The Oboe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 180; Bruce Haynes, "The Addition of Keys to the Oboe, 1790-1830", in *The Journal of the International Double Reed Society* (No. 22, July 1994), available from idrs.org, accessed September 2017.

<sup>730</sup> Giovanni Bigotti, *Storia dell'oboe e sua letteratura* (Padua: G. Zanibon, 1974), p. 41.

works for oboe that were never published; he also occasionally composed for band and for the piano.<sup>731</sup> The four published pieces are his two fantasias on *Attila*, and his fantasias on *Il trovatore* and *I Lombardi*. He wrote “a monumental three-volume *Gran Metodo pratico per Oboè e corno inglese* and a further sixteen volumes of unpublished studies” as well as a considerable number of fantasias, variations, and “Songs without Words” for oboe and piano.<sup>732</sup> The manuscript of the *Gran Metodo* was never published but is accessible in the Parma Conservatory library.<sup>733</sup> De Stefani seems to have courted a certain amount of outrage in his publications, as can be seen in reviews of his *Della scuola di oboe in Italia: memoria inviata dall'accademico onorario M.*, a short monograph which is held in the Biblioteca Palatine in Parma.<sup>734</sup> This monograph apparently caused quite a stir in the contemporary musical world; the *Gazzetta Musicale di Milano* mentioned it on 13 June 1886, commenting that “De Stefani, professor of this most difficult instrument, talks [in *Scuola di oboe in Italia*] about his part in revealing to us things mostly unknown, and as such draws the attention of scholars of that instrument...just short of murder, in several instances”.<sup>735</sup> Luckily, despite his sometimes uncharitable remarks and his discussion of oboe “secrets”, De Stefani seems to have escaped any significant revenge on the part of other oboists.

**Giacomo Mori (1810-1865)** was an oboist and clarinettist based in Parma. Neither the Ricordi encyclopedias nor *La Musica* have an entry on Mori, but Profeta does discuss him briefly, remarking that while Mori was a great oboist, he was more admired as a concert clarinettist.<sup>736</sup> Profeta goes on to comment that Mori left no music for oboe or clarinet, most likely because Mori’s compositions were never published and exist only in manuscript in the Parma conservatory library. However, the *Dizionario Della Musica del Ducato di Parma e Piacenza*, hosted by the Parma Casa della musica, reveals a long and illustrious performance career; Mori unusually held positions in the Ducale Orchestra of Parma on both oboe and clarinet, and he frequently spent single opera seasons holding temporary positions in a wide

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<sup>731</sup> “De Stefani”, *Dizionario Della Musica del Ducato di Parma e Piacenza*.

<sup>732</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 180.

<sup>733</sup> Bigotti, p. 41. “Tra le sue composizioni eccelle un *Metodo*, utilizzato in parecchie scuole, purtroppo soltanto in copie manoscritte, per essere rimasto inedito.”

<sup>734</sup> The Parma library catalogue lists the monograph under a slightly different title, *Della scuola di oboe in Italia: memoria letta nell'adunanza del di 17 gennaio 1886 / dell'accademico M. Ricordano De Stefani*, but it is the same work.

<sup>735</sup> “Il De Stefani, professore nel difficilissimo istrumento, ne parla da par suo rivelandoci cose per lo più ignorante, e tali da richiamare l’attenzione dei cultori di quell’istrumento...poco meno che omicida, in parecchi esempi”. “Bibliografie — Riccardo Botey, Higiene, desarrollo y conservacion de la Voz — Leopoldo Mastriqli, Beethoven, la sua vita e le sue opere — Una memoria di Ricordano De Stefani sulla Scuola d’oboe in Italia”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XLI, N. 24 (13 June 1886), p. 186.

<sup>736</sup> Profeta, p. 529.

range of orchestras throughout Italy as well as in Spain and England.<sup>737</sup> He also taught both flute and clarinet at the Regia Scuola di musica di Parma (now the Parma Conservatory) from 1845. At least nine of his manuscripts are extant in Parma, and the entry lists five other opera fantasias which “remained popular in Parma for a long time”.<sup>738</sup> His surviving compositions are heavily weighted towards the oboe, but a single fantasia for clarinet survives in the Archivio Storico Comunale of Parma.<sup>739</sup> In addition to his own compositions, Mori is also the dedicatee of many fantasias in the Parma library, including compositions by Charles Comandini, Nicola De Giovanni, and Ricordano De Stefani.<sup>740</sup>

**Raffaele Parma (1815-1883)** is described by Profeta as a famous oboist and a good composer who wrote transcriptions on Verdi operas, but – as with De Stefani – more information is available about Parma in modern English-language sheet music editions than in Italian-language sources.<sup>741</sup> Also like De Stefani, Parma studied in Bologna with Baldassare Centroni, whom he later succeeded in the Accademia Filarmonica and as professor at the Liceo Musicale (now the Conservatory). He wrote mostly opera fantasias, including the *Pot-pourri sopra motivi dell’opera Rigoletto di Verdi*, and etudes and teaching material for the oboe.<sup>742</sup> Giovanni Bigotti, in his brief history of the Italian oboe, mentions also that Parma’s *Sei grandi capricci* were popular at Italian conservatories and that Parma wrote “many good opera transcriptions”.<sup>743</sup> However, the number of accessible works by Parma is small; his available, and typically cited, pieces include those six capriccios, dedicated to Centroni, and three fantasias, variably titled as *rimembranze* and *pot-pourri*, on Verdi operas.<sup>744</sup>

**Louis Stanislas Xavier Verroust (1814-1863)** was born in Hazebrouck, in northern France, and first studied with his father, learning the violin, flute, oboe, cor anglais, and musette (this

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<sup>737</sup> “Mori Giacomo”, *Dizionario Della Musica del Ducato di Parma e Piacenza*, accessed August 2017, <http://www.lacasadellamusica.it/Vetro/Pages/Dizionario.aspx>.

<sup>738</sup> Ibid.

<sup>739</sup> Ibid.

<sup>740</sup> These include Charles Comandini’s *Fantaisie pour l’Hautbois sur des Motifs de la Guzman de Verdi*, Nicola De Giovanni’s *Souvenir di Linda per Corno Inglese* (1846), and Ricordano de Stefani’s *Divertimento per oboe sopra motivi dell’opera I Lombardi*.

<sup>741</sup> Profeta, p. 529.

<sup>742</sup> Sandro Caldini, “Notes”, in Raffaele Parma, *Pot-pourri sopra motivi dell’opera “Rigoletto” di Verdi* (Laggen Bridge, Scotland: Phylloscopus Publications, 2002).

<sup>743</sup> Bigotti, p. 40.

<sup>744</sup> Alfredo Bernardini, “Due chiavi per Rossini? Storia e sviluppo dell’oboe a Bologna prima del 1850”, *Il flauto dolce*, No. 17-18 (October 1987 – April 1988), pp. 25-26. See also the catalogue of *L’Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo Unico*. Bernardini describes Parma’s composition as “arrangiamenti e variazioni” on Verdi’s operas, but they are fantasias rather than variation sets or mere arrangements.

could refer to either small bagpipes, or a sopranino oboe-like instrument<sup>745</sup>), before attending the Paris Conservatoire. There, he studied with Gustave Vogt and received the Premier Prix in 1834. He began his career by playing in small orchestras and teaching at the Gymnase de Musique Militaire, but then succeeded Henri Brod as the first oboist at the Paris Opéra and Vogt as professor at the Conservatoire. The modern edition of his *Don Pasquale Fantaisie* (Op. 39) concisely reveals that “in middle life he began drinking seriously and gradually lost all his positions, eventually falling into “un atonie absolue” (dementia). In hope of a cure he was sent back to his native Hazebrouck, but had hardly arrived when he died on 9<sup>th</sup> April 1863.”<sup>746</sup> Nevertheless, he wrote many pieces for the oboe, in large part variations and fantasias, “which were handled with such elegance that they were considered some of the best music ever written for the oboe.”<sup>747</sup> His compositions have not fared as well in the twentieth century, though they may occasionally be found on a conservatory recital programme. He remains known because while at the Conservatoire he taught Georges Gillet, one of the most famous virtuoso oboists and teacher of Marcel Tabuteau.<sup>748</sup>

## CLARINET

**Ernesto Cavallini (1807-1874)** was internationally renowned as a clarinetist during his lifetime, and the Italian *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale* (1983) also acknowledges him as a composer.<sup>749</sup> He was the principal clarinetist at La Scala from 1839 to 1852, during which time he was given the title “virtuoso di camera onorario” by the Duchess of Parma in 1846.<sup>750</sup> He was then the court clarinetist in St. Petersburg from 1852 to 1867, and taught at the Milan Conservatory from 1871.<sup>751</sup> He also gave concerts throughout Europe – reviews of concerts in London (1842, 1844), Madrid (1852), Marseilles (1852), Paris (1842 – performing at Henri Herz’s salon, 1853), and the Netherlands (1854) survive.<sup>752</sup> Described in 1843 as “the

<sup>745</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 188. Verroust wrote a *Petite Méthode pour le hautbois*, which included music for these small oboes, known as both the hautbois pastoral and the musette, and used in military bands.

<sup>746</sup> Myron Zakopets, “Preface”, in Stanislas Verroust, *Don Pasquale Fantaisie Op. 39*, edited by Myron Zakopets (Ampleforth: Emerson Edition, 2004).

<sup>747</sup> Zakopets, *Don Pasquale Fantaisie*.

<sup>748</sup> Burgess and Haynes, *The Oboe*, p. 191.

<sup>749</sup> “Cavallini, Ernesto”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della musica e dei musicisti: Le biografie*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: UTET, 1983), p. 162.

<sup>750</sup> “Cavallini”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della musica e dei musicisti: Le biografie*, p. 162.

<sup>751</sup> “Cavallini, Ernesto”, *La Musica: Parta seconda: Dizionario*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: Unione Tipografica – Editrice Torinese, 1968), p. 373.

<sup>752</sup> [Anon]. “Mr. H. G. Blagrove and Mr. John Parry’s concert [Cavallini (clarinetist), Parish Alvars]”, *The Musical World*, Vol. XVII, No. 22 (June 2, 1842), p. 173; [Anon], “Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Seguin and Mr. Handel Gear [Thalberg, Cavallini (clarinetist), Offenbach, John Parry, Benedict (conductor)]”, *The Musical Examiner*,

powerful king of the clarinet”, Cavallini appeared in papers as early as 1827 and was still performing well-received concerts as late as 1871.<sup>753</sup> In fact, his fame was such that both the *Gazzetta musicale di Milano* and the *Gazzetta musicale di Firenze* announced his moving to Russia in advance.<sup>754</sup> He was the inspiration for several notable clarinet solos in Verdi’s operas, and he is mentioned by name in reviews of opera performances. Though Cavallini wrote many pieces for the clarinet, he seems to have concentrated on three pieces in his own concerts, a fantasia on *La Sonnambula*, one on an unknown Greek song, and one entitled *Fiori Rossiniani* and based on several Rossini operas. Others particularly mentioned in reviews include fantasias on *Elisa e Claudio*, *Guillaume Tell*, and *Elisir d’amore*.

## BASSOON

**Giuseppe Tamplini (1808-1888)** is primarily mentioned in the context of his ill-fated attempt to create a Boehm-inspired bassoon; in 1888 he published his treatise *Brevi cenni sul Sistema Boehm e della sua applicazione al Fagotto*, and he had also presented on the topic in London at the Great Exposition of 1851, but the instrument never gained polish or popularity.<sup>755</sup> Though one of the most prolific of bassoon composers of fantasias, he is hardly discussed in English- or Italian-language secondary sources, from encyclopedias to instrument histories; bassoon composers in general are even more elusive than those of other woodwind instruments, thus the inclusion of only one here. However, he does appear in the pages of contemporary papers, which review his concerts, including a Ricordi-sponsored *accademia* in

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No. 87 (June 29, 1844), p. 658; [Anon], “Madrid [dall’“Illustracion”: T. Real: concerto di Ernesto Cavallini, del soprano Josefa Cruz Gassier e del baritono Luigi Gassier]”, *L’Italia musicale*, Anno IV, N. 28 (7 April 1852), pp. 110-11; [Anon], “Marsiglia [da un giornale locale: il clarinettista Ernesto Cavallini]”, *L’Italia musicale*, Anno IV, N. 60 (28 July 1852), p. 239; Henri Blanchard, “[Salle Herz: Cavallini, Giulia Grisi, Mme Persiani, Lablache, M. et Mme Balfe]”, *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, Neuvième [9] année, no 6 (6 February 1842), p. 53; [Anon], “R. Revue théâtrale: Le Prophète à Florence— Reprise de Lucie à Paris — Il Proscritto — Cavallini — La Faridondaine”, *La Revue et Gazette musicale de Paris*, 20e année, no 2 (9 January 1853), pp. 9-10; Dr. Kist, “Tweede stadsconcert, op zaterdag den 10. dec. 1853 [Mw. Schumann-Wieck, Cavallini (klarinetist), Hildebrand Romberg (cellist)]”, *Caecilia. Algemeen Muzikaal Tijdschrift van Nederland*, Elfde jaargang [XI] no. 1 (Utrecht, 1 January 1854), pp. 6-7.

<sup>753</sup> “il potente re del clarinetto”. Bermani, “Grande accademia al ridotto dell’I. R. Teatro alla Scala [Cavallini, la cantatrice Ducrest, pianista Rhein]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno II, N. 31 (30 July 1843), p. 135.

<sup>754</sup> Anon, “Notizie diverse. Pietroburgo [Sul clarinettista E. Cavallini]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Firenze*, Anno II, N. 5 (13 July 1854), p. 20; Anon, “Rivista settimanale (Milano, 1 luglio). [Ernesto Cavallini nominato dall’imperatore di Russia solista degli Imperiali Teatri e maestro al Liceo di musica di Pietroburgo]”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno XII, N. 27 (2 July 1854), p. 214.

<sup>755</sup> Achille Montignani, “La grande esposizione di Londra”, *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno IX, N. 21 (25 May 1851), pp. 100-1; “Fagotto”, *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della musica e dei musicisti: Il lessico*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: UTET, 1983), p. 198. A digital copy of Tamplini’s treatise is available from archive.org; unfortunately, Boehm is misspelled as “Bohem” throughout the edition. Giuseppe Tamplini, *Brevi cenni sul sistema Bohem [sic] e della sua applicazione al fagotto* (Bologna: L. Andreoli, 1888), accessed August 2017.



1845 and many concerts that he gave in the Netherlands with his wife, a singer, in 1845 and 1846; these reviews also mention that he was the bassoonist of the Italian theatre in Amsterdam for a time.<sup>756</sup> He published at least five opera fantasias with Ricordi in the 1840s and 1850s, including one on Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, a highly atypical opera on which to base a fantasia.

## OTHER

**Nicola de Giovanni (1802-1856)** is a rare example of a non-woodwind-playing composer of woodwind fantasias. He was a violinist, at one point studying with Paganini, and a conductor as well. He spent eight years in Bologna as a violinist<sup>757</sup> and was named director of the Parma Teatro Ducale in 1837; he also frequently travelled as a performer.<sup>758</sup> He wrote many non-fantasia works as well, including a Requiem Mass.<sup>759</sup>

**Giovanni Rossi (1828-1886)** was another violinist who wrote woodwind fantasias; his oboe fantasias are held in Parma in manuscript form. He was a widely accomplished musician: concertmaster at the Parma theater from 1851; the organist of the court chapel from 1852; and a vocal professor at the Regia Scuola di Musica, where he also taught composition from 1856 and became director in 1864. He moved to Genoa in 1873 to become orchestra director of the Teatro C. Felice and of the musical institute. Alongside fantasias, he also wrote four operas – *Elena di Taranto* (1852), *Giovanni Giscala* (1855), *Nicolò de' Lapi* (1865), and *La Contessa d'Altenberg* (1871) – as well as an oratorio and several masses.<sup>760</sup>

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<sup>756</sup> La Red, "Rivista della settimana. Accademia in casa Ricordi," *Gazzetta musicale di Milano*, Anno IV, N. 24 (15 June 1845), pp. 103-04; N.N., "Gorinchem [Derde damesconcert: mw. Costa-Tamplini, Tamplini, Gravenstein jr.]," *Nederlandsch Muzikaal Tijdschrift*, Achtste [VIII] jaargang no. 3 (1 March 1846), pp. 21-22.

<sup>757</sup> "De Giovanni. 2) Nicola", *La Musica: Parta seconda: Dizionario*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: Unione Tipografico – Editrice Torinese, 1968), p. 497.

<sup>758</sup> "De Giovanni", *Enciclopedia della musica*, ed. by Claudio Sartori (Milan: Ricordi, 1963), p. 27.

<sup>759</sup> "De Giovanni. 2) Nicola", *La Musica: Parta seconda: Dizionario*, p. 498.

<sup>760</sup> "Rossi, Giovanni Gaetano", *La Musica: Parta seconda: Dizionario*, ed. by Alberto Basso (Turin: Unione Tipografico – Editrice Torinese, 1968), p. 892.



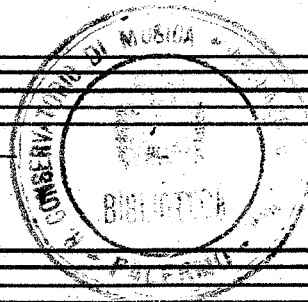
**Appendix 2:**

**Antonio Pasculli's *Simpatichi Ricordi della Traviata***



33 B 28a

3594  
8028



*Impatiu Ricordi*

*della Craviata*

*Fantasticati per*

*Oboi ed accomp: di P.P.*

*da*

*A. Pasulli*

No Inventario: .....

Oboè

Pianoforte

Adagio

*trémulo*

Handwritten musical score system 1, consisting of three staves. The top staff contains a melodic line with various note values and rests. The middle staff contains a vocal line with lyrics written in cursive: "ve - rum - do". The bottom staff contains a bass line with chords and some melodic fragments. The notation is dense and includes many slurs and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score system 2, consisting of three staves. The top staff continues the melodic line. The middle staff contains a vocal line with lyrics: "ti - bi - us". The bottom staff contains a bass line with chords and melodic fragments. The notation is dense and includes many slurs and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score system 3, consisting of three staves. The top staff contains a melodic line with lyrics: "p. dolce" and "con espansione". The middle staff contains a vocal line with lyrics: "col etc". The bottom staff contains a bass line with chords and melodic fragments. The notation is dense and includes many slurs and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score system 4, consisting of three staves. The top staff contains a melodic line with lyrics: "pp. velocissime". The middle staff contains a vocal line with lyrics: "col etc". The bottom staff contains a bass line with chords and melodic fragments. The notation is dense and includes many slurs and dynamic markings.



Handwritten musical score, first system. It consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The music features various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. There are some ink smudges and corrections throughout the system.

Handwritten musical score, second system. It consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The music features various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. The word *con passione* is written in cursive across the first two staves. There are some ink smudges and corrections throughout the system.

Handwritten musical score, third system. It consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The music features various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. The word *crescendo* is written in cursive across the first two staves. There are some ink smudges and corrections throughout the system.

Handwritten musical score, fourth system. It consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in alto clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The music features various note values, rests, and dynamic markings. The word *cresc.* is written in cursive across the first two staves. There are some ink smudges and corrections throughout the system.

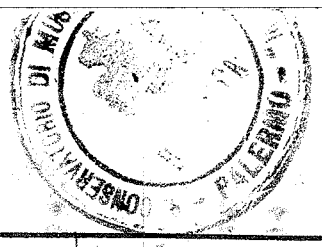


Handwritten musical score system 1, consisting of three staves. The top staff features a melodic line with trills and slurs, marked with *tr*. The middle and bottom staves contain accompaniment with chords and rhythmic patterns. A dynamic marking of *ff* is present on the right side of the system.

Handwritten musical score system 2, consisting of three staves. The top staff has a melodic line with a long slur and a dynamic marking of *pp*. The middle and bottom staves have accompaniment. A tempo marking of *ad libitimo* is written across the system.

Handwritten musical score system 3, consisting of three staves. The top staff has a melodic line with a long slur and a dynamic marking of *pp*. The middle and bottom staves have accompaniment.

Handwritten musical score system 4, consisting of three staves. The top staff has a melodic line with a long slur and a dynamic marking of *pp*. The middle and bottom staves have accompaniment. A tempo marking of *rall. pp* is written across the system.



*pp. dolce a piacere con passione*

*pp. Col canto*

*pp. rall.*

*And.te*

*pp. And. to*

*pp.*

*ven. con molta espressione*

Handwritten musical score for the first system, consisting of three staves. The top staff contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The middle and bottom staves contain accompaniment with chords and rhythmic patterns.

*Allegro*

Handwritten musical score for the second system, including the word *Allegro* and *marcato*. The notation continues with complex rhythmic figures and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score for the third system, featuring dynamic markings like *pp*. The notation includes various rhythmic patterns and articulation marks.

*Respiro*

Handwritten musical score for the fourth system, including the word *Respiro* and *Vivace*. The notation concludes with various musical symbols and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score system 1, consisting of three staves. The top staff features a melodic line with a *crescendo* marking. The middle and bottom staves contain accompaniment with chords and rhythmic patterns.

Handwritten musical score system 2, consisting of three staves. The top staff begins with a *in grazia* marking. The middle and bottom staves continue the accompaniment with various rhythmic figures.

Handwritten musical score system 3, consisting of three staves. The top staff continues the melodic line, while the middle and bottom staves provide accompaniment with chords and rhythmic patterns.

Handwritten musical score system 4, consisting of three staves. The top staff features a melodic line with a *crescendo* marking. The middle and bottom staves contain accompaniment with chords and rhythmic patterns.



*accelerando*  
*accelerando*

*accelerando molto*  
*accelerando molto*  
*rall.*

*meno*  
*Con mistero*  
*legatissimo ppp*  
*rall.*  
*meno*  
*Con mistero*

*ppp*

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring a melodic line with various note values and rests.

Two staves of handwritten musical notation. The upper staff contains a melodic line, and the lower staff contains a complex accompaniment with many beamed notes. The word *crescendo* is written in cursive above the upper staff.

Two staves of handwritten musical notation. The upper staff contains a melodic line, and the lower staff contains a complex accompaniment with many beamed notes. The word *crescendo* is written in cursive above the upper staff.

Two staves of handwritten musical notation. The upper staff contains a melodic line, and the lower staff contains a complex accompaniment with many beamed notes. The word *crescendo* is written in cursive above the upper staff.

Two staves of handwritten musical notation. The upper staff contains a melodic line, and the lower staff contains a complex accompaniment with many beamed notes. The word *crescendo* is written in cursive above the upper staff.

Handwritten musical score system 1, consisting of three staves. The top staff features a *tr* marking and a *crescendo* instruction. The music includes complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines.

Handwritten musical score system 2, consisting of three staves. The notation continues with dense melodic and rhythmic passages across all staves.

Handwritten musical score system 3, consisting of three staves. This system includes a tempo change to *Vivace* and a time signature change to 2/4. The word *Vivace* is written in three locations: above the top staff, above the middle staff, and below the bottom staff.

Handwritten musical score system 4, consisting of three staves. The notation continues with melodic and rhythmic elements.

Handwritten musical score, first system. It consists of three staves with musical notation, including notes, rests, and bar lines. There are some scribbles and corrections in the first two staves.

Handwritten musical score, second system. It consists of three staves. The middle staff contains several measures with notes and rests, and some handwritten markings that appear to be 'p' and 'f'.

Handwritten musical score, third system. It consists of three staves with musical notation, including notes, rests, and bar lines. The notation is dense with many notes.

Handwritten musical score, fourth system. It consists of three staves with musical notation, including notes, rests, and bar lines. The notation is dense with many notes.



System 1: Four staves of music. The top two staves contain melodic lines with various note values and rests. The bottom two staves contain a rhythmic accompaniment of eighth notes. The word "Solo" is written vertically on the bottom two staves.

System 2: Four staves of music. Similar to System 1, it features melodic lines on the top two staves and a rhythmic accompaniment on the bottom two staves. The word "Solo" is written vertically on the bottom two staves.

System 3: Four staves of music. Continues the melodic and rhythmic patterns from the previous systems. The word "Solo" is written vertically on the bottom two staves.

System 4: Four staves of music. The top two staves have melodic lines, and the bottom two staves have a rhythmic accompaniment. The word "Solo" is written vertically on the bottom two staves. The word "Largo" is written in cursive above the top two staves.

Handwritten musical score system 1, consisting of three staves. The top staff contains a melodic line with various note values and rests. The middle and bottom staves contain accompaniment with chords and rhythmic patterns. There are some scribbles and corrections in the notation.

Handwritten musical score system 2, consisting of three staves. The top staff begins with a '3' above it, indicating a triplet. The middle staff has the handwritten instruction 'maggiore' written across it. The bottom staff features dense chordal textures. Dynamic markings include 'ppp' and 'm.d.'.

Handwritten musical score system 3, consisting of three staves. The top staff has 'pp' and 'su' markings. The middle staff has 'su' markings. The bottom staff has 'm.d.' markings. The notation includes complex rhythmic figures and chordal structures.

Handwritten musical score system 4, consisting of three staves. The top staff has 're scendo' written above it. The middle staff has 'su' markings. The bottom staff has 'm.d.' markings. The system concludes with several chords and melodic fragments.

Handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The score is organized into systems of two staves each, with a brace on the left side of each system. The first system contains several measures of music with notes and rests. The second system features a prominent section with many notes, possibly a melodic line. The third system includes a section with notes and rests, followed by a section with notes and rests. The fourth system contains notes and rests. The fifth system features a section with notes and rests, followed by a section with notes and rests. The sixth system includes a section with notes and rests, followed by a section with notes and rests. The seventh system contains notes and rests. The eighth system features a section with notes and rests, followed by a section with notes and rests. The ninth system includes a section with notes and rests, followed by a section with notes and rests. The tenth system contains notes and rests. The score is written in black ink on aged paper.

Dynamic markings include *rall.* (rallentando) and *Vivace*. There are also some handwritten annotations and corrections throughout the score.

*Andante mosso*

Handwritten musical score for the first system, consisting of three staves. The top staff contains a melodic line with various note values and rests. The middle and bottom staves contain accompaniment, primarily consisting of vertical strokes (chords) and some rhythmic patterns. The tempo marking *Andante mosso* is written in cursive above the middle staff.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, consisting of three staves. The notation continues from the first system, with similar melodic and accompanimental parts. The tempo marking *Andante mosso* is also present at the beginning of this system.

Handwritten musical score for the third system, consisting of three staves. This system includes a tempo change indicated by the handwritten marking *Alleg. marcato* in the middle of the second staff. The notation features more rhythmic activity and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical score for the fourth system, consisting of three staves. The notation continues with melodic lines and accompaniment. There are some scribbles and corrections in the lower staves of this system.



Handwritten musical score, first system. It consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a G-clef and contains a melodic line with many beamed notes and slurs. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef with F-clefs and contain accompaniment with chords and some melodic fragments. There are some scribbles and corrections in the middle staff.

Handwritten musical score, second system. It consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a G-clef and contains a melodic line with many beamed notes and slurs. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef with F-clefs and contain accompaniment with chords and some melodic fragments. There are some scribbles and corrections in the middle staff.

Handwritten musical score, third system. It consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a G-clef and contains a melodic line with many beamed notes and slurs. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef with F-clefs and contain accompaniment with chords and some melodic fragments. There are some scribbles and corrections in the middle staff.

Handwritten musical score, fourth system. It consists of three staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a G-clef and contains a melodic line with many beamed notes and slurs. The middle and bottom staves are in bass clef with F-clefs and contain accompaniment with chords and some melodic fragments. There are some scribbles and corrections in the middle staff.

*Allegro 2<sup>o</sup> volta pp. come un'eco*

Handwritten musical score for the first system. It consists of two staves: a treble staff and a bass staff. The treble staff contains a melodic line with various note values and rests. The bass staff contains a rhythmic accompaniment with vertical strokes and some notes. There are handwritten annotations above the staves, including "pp." and "Allegro sf.".

Handwritten musical score for the second system. It consists of two staves. The treble staff continues the melodic line. The bass staff has a measure rest of 8 measures, indicated by a dashed line and the number "8" above it. The notation includes various note values and rests.

Handwritten musical score for the third system. It consists of two staves. The treble staff continues the melodic line. The bass staff continues the rhythmic accompaniment. The notation includes various note values and rests.

Handwritten musical score for the fourth system. It consists of two staves. The treble staff continues the melodic line. The bass staff continues the rhythmic accompaniment. The notation includes various note values and rests. There are handwritten annotations, including "Piu mosso" written in three places.

Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff with a treble clef. It features a melodic line with various note values and rests, including a long note with a fermata. A large slur covers the first few notes.

ve - sen - do

Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff with a treble clef. It includes a melodic line with notes and rests, and a series of rhythmic markings (plus signs) below the staff.

ve - sen - do

Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff with a treble clef. It features a series of rhythmic markings (plus signs) and some notes, with a dashed line above the staff.

Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff with a treble clef. It contains a complex arrangement of notes, rests, and rhythmic markings, including a series of plus signs.

Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff with a treble clef. It shows a melodic line with notes and rests, and some rhythmic markings.

Four empty five-line musical staves.



3594

8028



**Appendix 3:**

**Antonio Pasculli's *Fantasia sull'opera Poliuto di Donizetti***



Reg. 764

St. A. P. 1

Fantasia per Clavic.  
su vari motivi dell'opera  
Polinto





*Flauto*  
*Flauto*

*Oboe*

*Clarinetti*  
*in Do*

*Fagotti*

*Cori in re*

*Violoncelli*  
*in re*

*Violoni*

*Opflauto*

*Oboi obbligati*

*Violini*

*Viola*

*Violoncelli*

*Contrabasso*

A handwritten musical score on aged paper, featuring multiple staves for different instruments. The instruments listed on the left are: Flauto (Flute), Oboe, Clarinetti in Do (Clarinets in C), Fagotti (Bassoons), Cori in re (Choir in D), Violoncelli in re (Violoncellos in D), Violoni (Violins), Opflauto (Ophicleide), Oboi obbligati (Oboes ad libitum), Violini (Violins), Viola, Violoncelli (Violoncellos), and Contrabasso (Double Bass). The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style with various musical notations such as notes, rests, and clefs. There are some ink stains and signs of age on the paper.



This block contains the first system of a handwritten musical score. It consists of ten staves. The notation is dense and includes various rhythmic values, clefs, and dynamic markings. There are several instances of heavy scribbling and crossing out of notes, particularly in the middle and right-hand sections of the system. The paper shows signs of age and wear.

This block contains the second system of the handwritten musical score, consisting of four staves. The notation continues from the first system, with similar density and complexity. It features many notes, rests, and some large-scale scribbles. The bottom of the page shows the beginning of a third system of staves, which are mostly empty.



4

Handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings. The score is written in brown ink on aged paper.



Viol.  
 Contrabajo

*Allegro*

*arco*

*arco*





Handwritten musical notation on the lower portion of the page, consisting of five staves. The notation is dense and includes various musical symbols such as notes, stems, beams, and rests. The handwriting is in a cursive style typical of 18th or 19th-century manuscripts. The notation is written across the lower half of the page, starting from the first staff and ending at the fifth staff. There are some ink smudges and a large black mark at the bottom left corner of the page.





Handwritten musical notation on three staves. The notation includes various note heads, stems, and clefs, appearing to be a vocal or instrumental line. The notes are arranged in a sequence across the staves, with some rests and dynamic markings.

A dense section of handwritten musical notation on six staves. The top staff features a complex, highly rhythmic passage with many notes and slurs. The lower staves contain more standard musical notation, including notes, rests, and clefs, possibly representing a different instrument or voice part. The notation is somewhat crowded and shows signs of being a working draft.





Handwritten musical score on a page with ten staves. The notation is dense and includes various symbols, clefs, and rhythmic markings. The score is organized into measures across the staves. There are several instances of crossed-out or heavily scribbled-out sections, particularly in the lower half of the page. Some legible markings include the number '5755' and other numerical or symbolic notations. The handwriting is in dark ink on aged, slightly stained paper.

*[Handwritten musical notation and symbols]*

*[Handwritten musical notation and symbols]*

5755

5755

5755

5755

Main body of handwritten musical notation on ten staves. The notation includes various note values, stems, and clefs. There are several instances of crossed-out or heavily scribbled-out sections, particularly in the lower half of the page. Some legible markings include the number '5755' and other numerical or symbolic notations. The handwriting is in dark ink on aged, slightly stained paper.



8

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation consists of several measures of music, primarily using eighth and sixteenth notes, with some rests. The handwriting is fluid and characteristic of 18th or 19th-century manuscript notation.

Handwritten musical notation on two staves. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The bottom staff appears to be a bass line, with notes written below the staff line. The notation includes various rhythmic values and some accidentals.

A dense section of handwritten musical notation on multiple staves. The notation is highly detailed, featuring complex rhythmic patterns, including many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. There are several dynamic markings, such as *ppz* (pianissimo) and *arco* (arco). The handwriting is very busy and intricate, typical of a complex musical score.



Handwritten musical notation on a single staff. It begins with a treble clef and contains several rhythmic symbols, including vertical lines with flags and dots, possibly representing eighth or sixteenth notes. There are some scribbles and corrections in the notation.

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff. It starts with a treble clef and contains rhythmic symbols similar to the first staff, including vertical lines with flags and dots. There are some scribbles and corrections.

A series of empty musical staves, consisting of five horizontal lines each, with no notation present.

Handwritten musical notation on five staves. The notation includes rhythmic symbols and the word "arco" written in cursive. The notation is dense and appears to be a complex piece of music. There are some scribbles and corrections throughout the piece.



Largo

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on ten staves. The notation is dense and includes various rhythmic markings such as 3/8, 3/4, and 3/2. The word "Largo" is written at the top and bottom. The score is partially obscured by ink smudges and a vertical line.

*istesso*

Largo





Handwritten musical notation on the bottom six staves of the page. The notation includes various notes, rests, and slurs, with some ink bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The notation is written in a style characteristic of 18th or 19th-century manuscript notation.



①

This page contains a handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is written in dark ink on aged, yellowish paper. The score is organized into two systems of five staves each. The top system begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as *pp.* (pianissimo) and *ppp.* (pianissimissimo). There are several instances of heavy scribbles and diagonal lines across the staves, possibly indicating corrections or deletions. The bottom system continues the musical piece with similar notation and dynamic markings. The overall appearance is that of a working draft or a composer's sketch.



9

Handwritten musical notation on three staves. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes several measures of music with eighth and sixteenth notes, some beamed together. The middle and bottom staves also contain musical notation, including rests and notes.

Handwritten musical notation on seven staves. The top staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation is dense, featuring many beamed notes and complex rhythmic patterns. The lower staves contain more rhythmic notation, including rests and notes, with some staves showing repeated rhythmic figures.



14

The first system of the handwritten musical score consists of seven staves. The top staff contains a series of notes, some with stems pointing upwards and others downwards, indicating a melodic line. The second staff has rests, suggesting a vocal line. The third and fourth staves contain rhythmic patterns with stems pointing downwards. The fifth and sixth staves are filled with dense, repetitive notes, likely representing a keyboard accompaniment. The seventh staff contains notes with stems pointing downwards, possibly a bass line. The system concludes with a double bar line.

ac - ce - le - ran - do

On the left side of the page, there is a vertical column of handwritten musical notation. It begins with a treble clef and a series of notes, some of which are grouped together. Below the notes, there are several rests and other markings, possibly indicating a specific performance instruction or a continuation of the piece.

The second system of the handwritten musical score is similar in structure to the first. It consists of seven staves. The top staff has notes with stems pointing upwards and downwards. The second staff has rests. The third and fourth staves contain rhythmic patterns with stems pointing downwards. The fifth and sixth staves are filled with dense, repetitive notes. The seventh staff contains notes with stems pointing downwards. The system concludes with a double bar line.

ac - ce - le - ran - do sur -



Handwritten musical notation on five staves. The first staff contains rhythmic markings and a few notes. The second staff has similar markings. The third and fourth staves feature dense, repetitive rhythmic patterns, possibly representing a keyboard accompaniment. The fifth staff contains a few notes and rests.

*piu mosso*

Handwritten musical notation on five staves. The first staff shows a melodic line with many notes. The second staff has a similar melodic line. The third and fourth staves contain rhythmic patterns, with the word *arco* written between the staves. The fifth staff has a few notes and rests, with the word *pre piu mosso* written below it.



A handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is in brown ink on aged paper. The score is organized into two systems of five staves each. The top system consists of two staves with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat), containing several measures of music with notes and slurs. The bottom system consists of three staves with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat, containing more music with notes and slurs. The notation is dense and appears to be a single melodic line or a simple harmonic setting. There are some faint markings and a large scribble at the bottom left corner.



Handwritten musical notation on five staves. The top staff contains rhythmic patterns with vertical stems and flags, possibly representing eighth or sixteenth notes. The second staff shows a melodic line with notes and slurs. The third and fourth staves appear to be accompaniment or harmonic support, with notes and rests. The fifth staff contains a series of rhythmic markings, possibly a bass line or a specific rhythmic pattern.

Handwritten musical notation on five staves. The top staff is very dense with many notes, possibly a complex melodic line or a fast-moving passage. The second staff continues with a similar density of notes. The third and fourth staves show a more rhythmic pattern with notes and slurs. The fifth staff contains a series of rhythmic markings, possibly a bass line or a specific rhythmic pattern.



2

This section of the manuscript contains five staves of handwritten musical notation. The notation is dense and includes various note values, rests, and clefs. The first staff begins with a treble clef and contains several measures of music with notes and rests. The second staff continues the notation with similar note values and rests. The third and fourth staves show more complex rhythmic patterns and note groupings. The fifth staff concludes this section with a final note and a double bar line.

This section of the manuscript contains five staves of handwritten musical notation. The notation is very dense and includes many notes, rests, and clefs. The first staff is particularly dense with many notes and rests. The second and third staves continue this dense notation with many notes and rests. The fourth and fifth staves show more complex rhythmic patterns and note groupings. The notation is highly detailed and appears to be a complex piece of music.



This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged, yellowed paper. The page is numbered '19' in the top right corner. The notation is spread across several staves. At the top, there are five staves with some faint, possibly scribbled-out notes. Below these, there are four more staves. The middle section features a prominent staff with a dense, rhythmic pattern of notes, possibly a melodic line or a complex rhythmic figure. To the right of this staff, there is a vertical line of notes that appears to be a continuation or a specific part of the composition. The bottom section consists of four staves with various musical notations, including what looks like a large, sweeping curve or a specific melodic phrase. The handwriting is somewhat fluid and appears to be a working draft or a composer's sketch. There are some ink smudges and a small dark spot near the bottom right corner of the page.



This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on ten staves. The notation is written in dark ink on aged, yellowish paper. The score is organized into two systems of five staves each. The first system (top five staves) contains several measures of music, including notes, rests, and some complex rhythmic markings. The second system (bottom five staves) also contains musical notation, with some measures featuring double slashes, possibly indicating a repeat or a specific performance instruction. A large, vertical, double-lined scribble is present on the right side of the page, overlapping the right half of both systems of staves. The page number '20' is written in the top left corner.



*Allegretto*

This page contains a handwritten musical score for a string quartet, consisting of four staves. The tempo is marked *Allegretto*. The notation includes various rhythmic values, rests, and dynamic markings such as *mf* and *f*. The score is written in a cursive, historical style. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 3/4 time signature. The second and third staves use alto clefs, and the fourth staff uses a bass clef. The music is organized into measures, with some measures containing complex rhythmic patterns and others being rests.

*Allegretto*



22

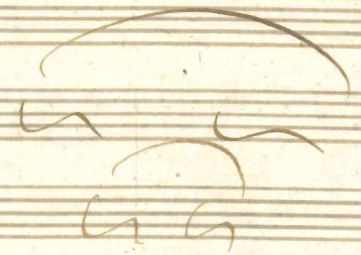
A handwritten musical score on ten staves. The notation is a form of musical shorthand, possibly a simplified staff notation, with various symbols, beams, and clefs. The lyrics are written in Hebrew characters below the staves. The score is organized into two systems of five staves each. The first system includes a circled '22' in the top left corner. The notation is dense and appears to be a working draft or a specific shorthand system. The paper shows signs of age, including some staining and discoloration.



Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a series of rhythmic notes with stems and beams.

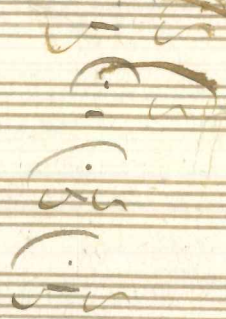


Handwritten musical notation on two staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The bottom staff has a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. Both staves contain rhythmic notation with stems and beams.



Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, featuring a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp, and a series of rhythmic notes with stems and beams.

Handwritten musical notation on four staves, each with a different clef (treble, alto, tenor, and bass). Each staff contains rhythmic notation with stems and beams.





Handwritten musical notation on five staves. The notation includes various note values, rests, and clefs. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation is dense and appears to be a complex piece of music, possibly a study or a short composition. The staves are connected by a large bracket on the left side.

Handwritten musical notation on five staves. This section begins with a double bar line and a key signature change to one sharp (F#). The notation includes various note values, rests, and clefs. The staves are connected by a large bracket on the left side. The notation is dense and appears to be a complex piece of music, possibly a study or a short composition.





Handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff. The notation includes various rhythmic values and clefs. The notes are arranged in a sequence across the staff, with some notes beamed together. The handwriting is in a cursive style.

Handwritten text on a five-line staff, possibly representing a vocal line or a specific instrument part. The text consists of several groups of notes and rests, separated by vertical bar lines.

A large section of handwritten musical notation on a five-line staff. This section is more complex, featuring many beamed notes, slurs, and dynamic markings. The notation is dense and covers most of the staff's width. There are also some vertical lines and symbols interspersed among the notes.



This page contains a handwritten musical score on aged, yellowed paper. The score is organized into several systems of staves. The top system consists of two staves with handwritten notation and some ink blots. The second system also has two staves, with the right-hand staff containing a large, circular scribble. The lower portion of the page features a more complex arrangement of staves, including a grand staff with a treble and bass clef, and several single staves below it. Some of these lower staves are crossed out with diagonal lines. The handwriting is in a cursive style, and the paper shows signs of age, including foxing and staining.



Hand piano

~~Handwritten musical notation, heavily scribbled out with dark ink.~~

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, possibly a chord or a short melodic phrase.

Handwritten musical notation on multiple staves, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

*Handwritten text or signature in the bottom left corner.*



28

A handwritten musical score on 12 staves. The notation is a form of musical shorthand, possibly a tablature or a simplified notation system, with various symbols, lines, and clefs. Hebrew text is written below the staves, corresponding to the musical lines. The paper shows signs of age, including some staining and discoloration. The score is organized into two main sections, each consisting of six staves. The first section ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The second section also ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign. The overall appearance is that of a historical manuscript or a personal study score.



~~Handwritten scribbles and notes at the top right of the page.~~

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, including notes, rests, and clefs.

Handwritten musical score consisting of multiple staves. The notation includes notes, rests, and clefs. The bottom right of the score features the word *finis* written in a decorative script.



30

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, including clef, key signature, and notes.

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, including clef, key signature, and notes.

Handwritten musical notation on a system of six staves, including clef, key signature, and notes.



~~Handwritten musical notation, possibly a title or key signature, crossed out with a thick line.~~

Handwritten musical notation on a single staff, including a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp (F#), and a 3/4 time signature. The notation consists of several measures with notes and rests, some of which are underlined.

A system of six staves of handwritten musical notation. The top staff contains a complex melodic line with many notes and accidentals. The lower staves appear to be accompaniment, with some staves showing rhythmic patterns and others showing more melodic fragments. The notation is dense and somewhat difficult to decipher due to the handwriting and the number of notes.



32

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged, yellowed paper. The page is numbered '32' in the upper left corner. The notation is organized into several systems of staves. The top two systems each consist of two staves with dense, vertical-like markings, possibly representing chords or complex rhythmic patterns. Below these are two staves with more traditional notation, including notes, stems, and rests. The lower half of the page features a system of two staves with very dense, overlapping notes, followed by two staves with more spaced-out notes and stems. The handwriting is in dark ink, and the paper shows signs of age, including some staining and discoloration.



Handwritten musical score on five staves. The top staff has a treble clef and a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). The second staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The third staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The fourth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The fifth staff has a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes various rhythmic values and accidentals.

Handwritten musical score on five staves. The notation is dense and includes many slurs and accidentals. The staves are filled with rhythmic patterns and melodic lines.



34

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged, yellowed paper. The page is numbered '34' in the upper left corner. The notation is organized into two main systems, each consisting of five staves. The notation is dense and appears to be a form of shorthand or tablature, possibly for a lute or guitar, given the frequent use of vertical lines and specific rhythmic markings. The first system occupies the top half of the page, and the second system occupies the bottom half. The handwriting is in dark ink, and the paper shows signs of age, including some staining and discoloration. The notation includes various symbols, including what looks like clefs, rhythmic values, and vertical lines that might represent fret positions or string numbers. The overall style is that of a historical manuscript.



This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged, yellowed paper. The page is numbered '35' in the top right corner. The notation is organized into several systems of staves. The top system consists of seven staves with various musical notes and clefs. Below this, there is a section with a single staff containing a series of notes, followed by a section with four staves featuring rhythmic patterns and slurs. The bottom section contains several staves with notes and clefs, some of which are partially obscured by a large, dark smudge or ink blot. The handwriting is in dark ink, and the paper shows signs of age and wear.



36

This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged, yellowed paper. The page is numbered '36' in the top left corner. The notation is arranged in several systems of staves. The top two staves are mostly blank, with some faint markings on the right side. Below these, there are several systems of staves containing musical notation. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as 'p' (piano) and 'f' (forte). The handwriting is in dark ink and appears to be from the 18th or 19th century. The paper shows signs of age, including foxing and some staining.



This image shows a page of handwritten musical notation on aged, yellowed paper. The page is numbered '37' in the top right corner. The notation is organized into two main systems, separated by a vertical bar line. The upper system consists of two staves with handwritten notes and rests. The lower system is more complex, featuring multiple staves with dense, overlapping notation, including what appears to be a melodic line and several accompaniment parts. The handwriting is in dark ink, and the paper shows signs of age, including some staining and discoloration. The overall appearance is that of a historical manuscript or a composer's draft.



38

A handwritten musical score on aged, yellowed paper. The score consists of approximately 12 staves of music. The notation is dense and includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings. A large, dark ink scribble is present in the lower-left quadrant of the page, partially obscuring the musical notation. The word "pizz." is written in the lower-middle section, and "arco" is written in the lower-right section. The paper shows signs of age, including foxing and some staining. A vertical line is drawn through the right side of the page, possibly indicating a page fold or a section boundary.



A handwritten musical score on 12 staves, organized into four systems of three staves each. The notation is dense and includes various symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and bar lines. The first system (staves 1-3) features a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second system (staves 4-6) continues the notation with similar symbols. The third system (staves 7-9) includes a double bar line and a key signature change to one flat (Bb). The fourth system (staves 10-12) concludes the page with a final double bar line. The paper shows signs of age, including yellowing and some staining.



40

Handwritten musical score on 15 staves. The notation includes various notes, rests, and clefs. The right side of the page contains a vertical sequence of notes, possibly a bass line or a specific instrument part.



8023



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In all cases, capitalization is given as in the language of the source (ie. minimal capitalization is used for Italian language sources and English title capitalization is used for English language sources).

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