

#### CAMBRIDGE LIBRARY COLLECTION

Books of enduring scholarly value

#### Music

The systematic academic study of music gave rise to works of description, analysis and criticism, by composers and performers, philosophers and anthropologists, historians and teachers, and by a new kind of scholar - the musicologist. This series makes available a range of significant works encompassing all aspects of the developing discipline.

#### Gluck and the Opera

Early in his long career, the self-taught English music critic Ernest Newman (1868–1959) wrote this influential account of Gluck's life and musical achievements in relation to the intellectual life of the eighteenth century. First published in 1895, *Gluck and the Opera* traces the composer's ideas and his efforts to move opera forward after a period of stagnation. Musicians, thinkers and satirists had been writing for generations about the need to reform the opera, but it was Gluck who brought about far-reaching changes that paved the way for Mozart, Weber and Wagner. His most notable innovation was the fusing of the Italian and French operatic traditions. The first part of the book is a chronological account of Gluck's eventful career, which took him all over Europe but was centred on Paris and Vienna. The second part deals with Gluck in his broader cultural and intellectual context, and lists his works.



Cambridge University Press has long been a pioneer in the reissuing of out-of-print titles from its own backlist, producing digital reprints of books that are still sought after by scholars and students but could not be reprinted economically using traditional technology. The Cambridge Library Collection extends this activity to a wider range of books which are still of importance to researchers and professionals, either for the source material they contain, or as landmarks in the history of their academic discipline.

Drawing from the world-renowned collections in the Cambridge University Library and other partner libraries, and guided by the advice of experts in each subject area, Cambridge University Press is using state-of-the-art scanning machines in its own Printing House to capture the content of each book selected for inclusion. The files are processed to give a consistently clear, crisp image, and the books finished to the high quality standard for which the Press is recognised around the world. The latest print-on-demand technology ensures that the books will remain available indefinitely, and that orders for single or multiple copies can quickly be supplied.

The Cambridge Library Collection brings back to life books of enduring scholarly value (including out-of-copyright works originally issued by other publishers) across a wide range of disciplines in the humanities and social sciences and in science and technology.



# Gluck and the Opera

A Study in Musical History

ERNEST NEWMAN





# **CAMBRIDGE**UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge, CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge. It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

> www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108004640

© in this compilation Cambridge University Press 2013

This edition first published 1895 This digitally printed version 2013

ISBN 978-1-108-00464-0 Paperback

This book reproduces the text of the original edition. The content and language reflect the beliefs, practices and terminology of their time, and have not been updated.

Cambridge University Press wishes to make clear that the book, unless originally published by Cambridge, is not being republished by, in association or collaboration with, or with the endorsement or approval of, the original publisher or its successors in title.



# GLUCK AND THE OPERA





# GLUCK AND THE OPERA

### A STUDY IN MUSICAL HISTORY

BY

ERNEST NEWMAN

LONDON: BERTRAM DOBELL
77 CHARING CROSS ROAD
1895

All rights reserved





TO

JOHN M. ROBERTSON





#### GLUCK

Oft treibt es mich an hellen Wintertagen,
An deinem ehrnen Bild worbeizugehen,
Dir in das strenge Angesicht zu sehen,
Und jedesmal mit innigem Behagen.
Wüsst' einer nichts von dir, doch müsst' er sagen:
Das war ein Geist von frischem, scharfem Wehen,
Dem konnten keine Nebel widerstehen,
Und Wolken wusst' er in die Flucht zu jagen.

Ja, Wahrheit gabst du wieder deiner Kunst, Verschmähtest leerer Tone süssen Tand, Auf die Gefahr, der Menge zu missfallen. Lessing der Oper; die durch Göttergunst Bald auch in Mozart ihren Goethe fand: Der Grösste nicht, doch ehrenwert vor allen.

DAVID FRIEDRICH STRAUSS.





### PREFACE

So far as I am aware, there is no English biography of Gluck. The article by M. Gustave Chouquet in Grove's "Dictionary of Music and Musicians" is grossly inadequate, and little more can be said of the late Dr. Hueffer's article in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (9th ed.) For English readers, by far the best account of the musician and his work is that in Naumann's "History of Music," translated by Mr. Ferdinand Praeger.

Apart from the usual articles in the French and German Dictionaries and Histories, and the treatment of Gluck in books and articles dealing with the history of the opera, there are several foreign studies of the life and works of the master. Anton Schmid's "C. W. Ritter von Gluck, dessen Leben und Wirken" (Leipzig, 1854), is a very detailed biography, containing almost everything that is known of the life of Gluck. By far the best of all books on the subject, however, is the celebrated "Gluck und die Oper" of Adolph Bernhard Marx (2 vols., Berlin, 1863, afterwards published in one volume as "Gluck's Leben und Schaffen"), which,



# x Preface

besides narrating the life of the composer, and supplying details that have been overlooked by Schmid, gives a minute analysis of almost all his works. It is marred, however, by undue hero-worship, and is scarcely critical enough to be considered final. A. Reissmann's "Christoph Willibald von Gluck, sein Leben und seine Werke" (Berlin and Leipzig, 1882), is an admirable and well-balanced work of history and criticism, thoroughly sound in every respect, as far as it goes. A good piece of patient research is that of the French antiquarian, M. Gustave Desnoiresterres, "Gluck et Piccinni, 1774-1800; La Musique Française au 18me siècle" (2nd ed. Paris, 1875), a work which has served as basis for Barbedette's "Gluck, sa Vie, son Système, et ses Œuvres" (Paris, 1882). Heinrich Welti's "Gluck," in Reclam's "Musiker-Biographien," is small but good.

A goodly number of works exist for a history of the opera up to and including the time of Gluck, such as the "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de la révolution operée dans la musique par M. le chevalier Gluck" (Paris, 1781), and Arteaga's "Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano dalla sua origine fine al presente" (2nd ed. Venice, 1785, 3 vols.), of which a translated and abridged form was published in London in 1802. Marcello's "Il Teatro alla moda" is of course indispensable, though, as a satire, it has to be read with caution; it is easily accessible in the French version of



# Preface

хi

M. Ernest David (Paris, Fischbacher, 1890). One of the most suggestive writers of the epoch was Algarotti, whose various essays on the arts were translated into German under the title of "Versuche über die Architectur, Mahlerey, und musicalische Opera" (Cassel, 1769).\* Noverre's "Lettres sur la danse et sur les ballets" (Lyons, 1760), and Planelli's "Dell' Opera in musica" (Naples, 1772) are also useful.

For an accurate estimate of Gluck and the music of his time the general intellectual life of the eighteenth century has to be studied, especially in the works of those who wrote on music, such as Diderot, Rousseau, Grimm, Marmontel, Suard, La Harpe, Goldsmith, Harris, Du Bos, and others. Some of these men knew little of music in a practical sense, but they knew at least as much as Sonnenfels, whose "Briefe über die Wienerschaubühne" are always quoted approvingly. For a general survey of the music of the time by a competent musician, Burney's various works are of course indispensable; while the general musical life of the eighteenth century is well illustrated in Vernon Lee's "Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy."

Berlioz' "A travers chants" contains some interesting articles on Orfeo and Alceste, and articles on Gluck are scattered about the Revue des deux Mondes, the Revue Contemporaine, and the Revue Germanique.

<sup>\*</sup> English translations of his Essay on the Opera were published in 1767 and 1768.



# xii Preface

Schuré's "Le drame musical" treats cursorily of Gluck and the opera, but the book is too à priori in its method to be of much value. Ludwig Nohl's "Gluck and Wagner, ueber die Entwicklung des Musikdramas" (Munich, 1870) is Wagnerian in feeling, while an anti-Wagnerian counterpoise is to be had in C. H. Bitter's "Die Reform der Oper durch Gluck, und R. Wagner's Kunstwerk der Zukunft" (Brunswick, 1884). This gives a good account of the opera previous to Gluck, with copious musical examples.

A few words remain to be added as to the general method and purport of the present volume. So far as the biographical portion of it is concerned, I have, of course, been entirely dependent upon the recognised authorities, whose united labours have covered the whole field exhaustively. In the critical portions I have attempted to sum up the measure of Gluck's achievement in relation to the intellectual life of his day. As the book is meant rather as a tentative contribution to culture-history from a side hitherto painfully neglected, than as a mere narration of a thrice-told tale, I have thought it well to dispense with the history, in detail, of the technical side of the opera. This can be had in many excellent works, and it were superfluous to devote another volume to the task. I have rather endeavoured to view the subject philosophically, and to bring the opera of the eighteenth century in general, and Gluck's work in particular, into line



# Preface

xiii

With the whole intellectual tendencies of the time. Thus in the sketches in Part II. of the rise and development of the opera in Italy, France, and Germany, I have dealt only with such historical phases of it as fall within the province of culture-history. This seemed to me the more important and the more pressing work in view of the present condition of musical culture in England; while those who wish to supplement the account of the intellectual development of music in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by an account of the formal development of the expressive side of music and of musical structure, will find this without difficulty in any of the numerous histories of the art.

My grateful acknowledgments are due to my friend Mr. F. H. Woollett for his constant assistance and advice.





# CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF GLUCK'S WORKS

- ? De profundis.
- 1741 Artaserse.
- 1742 Demofoonte.

  Demetrio (Cleonice).

  Ipermnestra.
- 1743 Siface.
  Artamene.
- 1744 Fedra.
- 1745 Alessandro nell' Indie (Il Re Poro).
- 1746 La caduta de' Giganti. Piramo e Tisbe.
- 1747 Le nozze d'Ercole e d'Ebe.
- 1748 La Semiramide riconosciuta.
- 1749 Tetide.
  Telemacco.
- 1751 La Clemenza di Tito
- 1754 Le Cinesi.
  L'orfano della China.
  Il trionfo di Camillo.
  Antigono.

- 1755 La Danza.
  - L'innocenza giustificata.
  - Les amours champêtres.
- 1756 Il Re Pastore.
  - Le Chinois poli en France.
  - Le déguisement pastoral.
- 1758 L'île de Merlin. La fausse esclave
- 1759 Cythère assiégée.
  - ? L'arbre enchanté.
- 1760 Tetide. L'ivrogne corrigé.
- 1761 Don Juan. Le cadi dupé.
  - ? Le diable à quatre.
- 1761 Il trionfo de Clelia.
- 1762 On ne s'avise jamais de tout. Orfeo.



# xvi Chronological List of Gluck's Works

- 1763 Ezio.
- 1764 La rencontre impré-
- 1765 Il parnasso confuso. La corona.
- 1767 Alceste.
- 1769 Paride ed Elena.
  Prologo delle Feste
  d'Apollo.
- 1769 Bauci e Filemone. Aristeo.
  - ? Klopstock's Oden und Lieder.
  - ? Hermannsschlacht.
- 1774 Iphigénie en Aulide.
- 1777 Armide.
- 1779 Iphigénie en Tauride. Echo et Narcisse.

<sup>\*\*\*</sup> In the case of some of the early operas, of which it is impossible to learn the real year of the first performance, the above dates are merely approximative.



#### CONTENTS

#### INTRODUCTION

The comparative method in criticism—Deficiencies of musical criticism in England—Need of wider culture—The development of musical form—No form absolute—Necessity of an historical view—The influence of Wagner on criticism—Weakness of the Wagnerian method—Contrast between the metaphysical and the scientific methods—Failure of the metaphysical method to account for the changes in music—The historical explanation the true one—Correlation between the music and the general culture-conditions of any epoch—The historical method as applied to the eighteenth-century opera—Gluck and "nature"—A new musical criticism wanted—Histories of music should be physiological, not merely anatomical. p. 1

#### PART I

## LIFE

## CHAPTER I. 1714-1746

Ancestry and birth of Gluck—Early years—Education at Kommotau and at Prague—At Vienna—At Milan



#### xviii

#### **Contents**

under Sammartini—The De Profundis—Artaserse—
Demofoonte—Demetrio, Ipermnestra—Artamene—Siface
—Fedra—Alessandro dell' Indie—In London—La
Caduta de' Giganti—Relations with Handel—Piramo e
Tisbe—The supposed awakening of Gluck . p. 16

## CHAPTER II. 1746-1762

At Hamburg and Dresden—Le Nozze d'Ercole e d'Ebe—
At Vienna—La Semiramide riconosciuta — At Copenhagen—Tetide—Rome—Telemacco—At Vienna again
—Marriage—At Naples—La Clemenza di Tito—At
Vienna—Le Cinesi—At Rome—Il Trionfo di Camillo
—Antigono—La Danza—L'innocenza giustificata—Il
Re Pastore—Tetide—Don Juan—At Bologna—Il
Trionfo de Clelia—Durazzo and Favart—Gluck's work
in light opera—L'arbre enchanté . . . p. 29

## CHAPTER III. 1762-1769

Gluck's intellectual life—His studies—Influence of the system of patronage upon eighteenth-century music—Lack of esteem for musicians in the eighteenth century—Gluck's early environment harmful—Strength of nature required to rise above it—Growing perception in Europe of the need for a reform in opera—The deepening of Gluck's ideas—His meeting with Calzabigi—Their collaboration in Orfeo ed Euridice—Gluck's probable share in the libretto—The first performance—The poem of Orfeo—The music—Ezio



#### Contents

xix

—Les Pèlerins de la Mecque—The engraving of Orfeo
—Philidor and the aria of Gluck—Il parnasso confuso
—La corona—Short visit of Gluck to Paris—Production of Alceste at Vienna—The Italian and French forms of the opera—The music of Alceste—Paride ed Elena—The dedicatory epistle—Prologo delle Feste d'Apollo—L'Atto di Bauci e Filemone—L'Atto d'Aristeo—Gluck's life at Vienna—Burney's visit—Klopstock's Oden—The Hermannsschlacht . . . . . p. 46

## CHAPTER IV. 1769-1787

Gluck's desire for an opening in Paris—Collaboration with Du Roullet-Letter of Du Roullet to Dauvergne-Gluck's letter-Iphigenia in Aulis-The story according to Euripides-According to Racine-Modifications by Du Roullet—The opera—Gluck's position in Paris -His relations with Rousseau-State of the opera in Paris at that time — Gluck's conversations with Corancez-Profits from Iphigenia in Aulis-Production of Orfeo-Changes necessitated in it-L'arbre enchanté—Return to Vienna—Meets Klopstock at Strasburg — Specimen of Gluck's letter-writing — Cythère assiégée-Armida and Roland-Intrigues at Paris - Piccinni - Gluck's letter to Du Roullet -Journey to Paris-Production of the French Alceste-Gluck and Corancez-Rousseau on Alceste-"La soirée perdue à l'Opéra "-Gluck's explanations of his method-Death of his niece-Bust of him by Houdon -Iphigenia in Aulis reproduced-The literary war-



ХX

#### Contents

Arrival of Piccinni—Armida—Gluck and Piccinni at dinner—At work on Iphigenia in Tauris—Gluck's letter to Guillard—Piccinni and the directors of the Opera—Production of Iphigenia in Tauris—Its balance and proportion—Echo et Narcisse—The arrangements for Hypermnestra—Gluck's enfeeblement—Les Danaïdes—Letter of Calzabigi to the "Mercure de France"—Gluck's life in Vienna—Visit of Klopstock—Le Jugement dernier — Death of Gluck — Proposal of Piccinni to found an annual concert in his honour—His portrait, physique and character . . p. 111

#### PART II

# GLUCK'S RELATIONS TO THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE OF HIS EPOCH

#### CHAPTER I

I. Course of the Opera in Italy. An outgrowth of the Renaissance—The Florentine reformers—Artificial from the beginning—The "music of the Greeks"— Imitation of the antique—Evil influences of the Renaissance in Italy—Declamation in the opera—Mythological subjects—Italy too weak to produce genuine drama—Gorgeous decoration in the opera—It passes from the Courts to the public—Growth of the lyrical element—Rise of the singers—The domination of the singers not wholly harmful—Need for lyrical uplifting



#### Contents

xxi

- —Absence of dramatic feeling in Italian audiences— The Commedia dell' Arte and the opera buffa . p. 200
- 2. Course of the Opera in Germany. Popularity at the Courts—Took root in Italian—Intellectual condition of Germany at the end of the 17th century—Absence of an indigenous literature—Improvement in the 18th century-Simultaneous awakening in music-Emotional effect of the Thirty Years' War-Gradual humanising of music through Bach and Handel, culminating in Gluck-Growth of the native German spirit in opera-Kusser-Keiser-His seriousness of purpose - Based his airs on the Lied - Wrote to German words—His preface to Almira and Octavia— Telemann — Growth of the scenic element — Encroachment of the Italians-Steffani-Zeno-Metastasio - Hasse, Graun and Naumann followed the Neapolitan school—Growing vogue of pasticcio operas— The strength of Germany up to this time in ecclesiastical rather than in operatic music
- 3. Course of the opera in France. Development from the ballet—Le ballet comique de la rayne (1581)—
  Perrin and Cambert—Lully in France—The French opera restricted in purpose and method—Comparative unimportance of music in it—Lully's mode of working—Absence of lyrism in his music—His basis poetical and declamatory—Prominence of the danse—
  The ouverture—Louis and Jean Louis Lully—Colasse—Marais improved the aria—The French opera ap-



#### xxii

#### Contents

proaching the Italian—Brought back by Rameau—His advance on Lully—Visit of the Bouffons—The opera buffa a healthier and more natural growth than the opera seria—Its influence on the French opéra comique—General European contempt for French music—Opinion of Burney—Evil condition of opera in Europe at the time Gluck's career began . . . p. 217

#### CHAPTER II

Gluck's ideas not of sudden origin—National and physiological factors in music—His development retarded by social conventions—Aristocracy in art—The patronage of music in the 18th century—Gluck not alone in his demand for reform in opera—Algarotti, Addison, Marcello, D'Alembert, La Bruyère, Boileau, Panard, St. Evremond, La Fontaine, Dryden—Importance of Algarotti's book—His main ideas—Reform in the libretto—The overture to anticipate the opera—Recitative—Trills and ornaments—Pauses in the music—Repetition of words—Ritornelli—Display of technique—The aria—Had Gluck seen Algarotti's Essay?....p. 228

#### CHAPTER III

The preface to Alceste—The music to second the poetry—Banishment of abuses from the opera—The overture to prepare the spectators for the coming action—His main purpose "to seek a noble simplicity"—His



### Contents xxiii

assistance from Calzabigi-Gluck's other writings and conversations - Contradictions in his ideas - The attempted reconciliation of Marx futile-Gluck's ideas varied at different times-Necessity of judging his theories by the general æsthetic of his epoch-Basis of his theory—The appeal to "nature"—General revolt against the artificiality of the stage-Art and "imitation" in the 18th century—Influence of Aristotle— Confusion of artistic media-"Reason" in philosophy and art-Mistaken view of the function of the imagination-Comparatively low stage of evolution of music-The theory of the "imitation of nature"-Diderot's advice to the artist—The "nature" principle in Algarotti, Avison, Rameau and others-Illustrations of 18th century æsthetic from Grimm and Rousseau-D'Alembert on "painting" in music-Harris on music -Du Bos-Attempts to make music an imitative art-Its dependent position in the 18th century relatively to poetry paralleled in Greek culture-Aristotle and Plato - Chastellux - Evidence from Gluck's own writings of the subordinate position of music-Absence of appreciation of music for its own sake—Rousseau— Melody and harmony—Form and colour—Baumgarten -Winckelmann-Rousseau on vraisemblance in opera -- "Imitation of nature" in the ballet-Noverre-General drift of opinion in the 18th century as to the function and nature of music-Beattie and Twining on music as a mimetic art—Burney—Gluck's ideas merely the ordinary æsthetic of his time . p. 238



xxiv

Contents

#### CHAPTER IV

The practical working of Gluck's theory—Subordination music to poetry—"Painting" in music—His differentiation of character by "painting" depends mainly on the physical elements of music-His theory fails of itself-Is only efficient to define types, not characters-The theory breaks down where strong passion comes into play-Gluck's theory constantly contradicted by his practice—Difference between Romantic and pre-Romantic art in their attitudes towards music and poetry-Criticism of Berlioz-The divergence of poetry and music in evolution-The higher imaginative existence of music-Herder's anticipation of modern musical æsthetic-Foreshadowing of it in Rousseau-Externality of Gluck's mind-The opinion of Michael Kelly-Marmontel disparages Gluck by comparing him with Shakespere-Neural differences between the 18th century and the 19th-The correlation between art and physique-Music no longer the handmaid of poetry in our day-The real value of Gluck's achievement—His immortality

p. 275