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articles

HANDEL'S LAST COMPOSITIONS AND HIS BORROWINGS FROM HABERMANN (Part 2)

William D. Gudger

[*Editorial Note:* This concludes a two-part article. The first installment, in Issue 22/1976, dealt with Handel's composition of the Organ Concerto Opus 7 no. 3.]

If aspects of the B \flat major Organ Concerto are forward-looking, this is not the case with the choruses in *Jephtha*. In *Theodora* (written in 1750) and *Jephtha* there is a new tone in dealing with the libretto—"a pre-occupation with the profundities of this life,"¹ to quote Paul Henry Lang; indeed these last two oratorios are the only ones in which Handel overcomes the banality of Thomas Morell's poetry. Again to quote Lang's perceptive comments, "the solo numbers in *Jephtha* are all music in a modern language, but the choruses, as in the Greek drama, retain their Doric language, which gives them a particular solemn elevation."² All the choruses portray the thoughts and reactions of the Israelites, and, as was Handel's custom, the Hebrews are given contrapuntal music. (Jens Peter Larsen was the first to note the difference between the musical style of the Hebrew and heathen groups represented in the oratorios.)³ In the opening chorus of *Jephtha*, "No more to Ammon's god and king," the jangle of a pagan festival is reflected in the music, though it is the Hebrews describing their forced obedience to pagan gods. As is well known, this chorus uses material quite literally borrowed from Habermann. But also of great interest are the contrapuntal/fugal choruses, mostly somber in nature, in which this oratorio abounds.⁴ In his valedictory effort of composing these massive multi-sectional choral movements Handel turned often—more often than has previously been known—to Habermann's six masses for subjects capable of contrapuntal elaboration.

In Acts 1 and 3 of the oratorio the musical and dramatic climax occurs not at the end of either part, but in the middle. This is common in Handel's dramatic oratorios, for the last chorus, like the concluding *coro* in the composer's operas, seems especially perfunctory with regard to both

text and musical treatment. In the first act of *Jephtha*, that character's vow to sacrifice the first living thing he meets after achieving victory is followed by a chorus which represents the prayer of the Israelites before battle, "O God, behold our sore distress." In Act 3 "Theme sublime of endless praise" occupies a similar position; it comes after the plot has been resolved through the deus-ex-machina appearance of the angel. In both cases Morell supplied a quatrain for the composer to set, and to set each line Handel turned to Habermann's masses and used them as a compendium of fugal subjects.

The chorus in Act I has the following text:

O God, behold our sore distress,
Omnipotent to plague, or bless!
But turn thy wrath, and bless once more
Thy servants, who thy name adore.

Each couplet is stated homophonically (mm. 1-8; mm. 54-60) and then developed fugally.⁵ The fugal treatment of the first line (mm. 9-29), as already shown by Seiffert, follows the *Qui tollis* of Mass V. Handel scored the movement from the printed part-books⁶ on a page which survives in the Fitzwilliam manuscripts. (See No. 7 in the Appendix to this article.⁷) In the *Jephtha* chorus, the entire movement except the final four measures appears in halved note-values. The key is the same and the opening vocal entries follow the same order, but Handel has been able to eliminate one of the repeated *As* in the subject in order to accommodate the text. The chromaticism is effective in setting the words "sore distress." Sedley Taylor prints twelve measures of Habermann, Handel's copy of them, and the final form in *Jephtha* as his Example 12.⁸

The second line is set by a subject which surpasses the chromaticism of the previous section by using false intervals (diminished fourths and sevenths); as Winton Dean so perceptively guessed,⁹ it, too, is based on Habermann. On the reverse side (Appendix, No. 8) of the Habermann movement just mentioned, Handel apparently began to score the *Qui tollis* of Mass VI. He made a system including clefs for the vocal parts and a treble clef for the violins. But rather than scoring the movement, he expanded Habermann's imitative idea, which is used in only two voices, into a four-voice fugal sketch, thirteen measures in length. Though the sketch retains Habermann's countersubject, this is modified when used in *Jephtha*. Otherwise the whole section agrees with the sketch. (See Example 1.)¹⁰

After a close in A minor, the dominant minor, the words of the second couplet with its contrasting thought enter in F major. The first use of the major mode in this chorus creates, by its simplicity, a moment

EXAMPLE 1: a) Habermann, Mass VI, *Qui tollis*, mm. 1-7

Adagio

Qui tol- lis.

qui tol-lis...

mi-se-re-re...

qui tollis pe- mi-se-re-re...

ca-ta...

[vins.]

tr

[etc.]

b) Handel sketch (Appendix, No. 8)

[added in margin]

[etc.]

c) *Jephtha*, "O God, behold our sore distress," mm. 30-35 (HG 44, pp. 62-63)

om-ni-po-tent...

om-ni-po-tent...

Om-ni-po-tent to plague, or bless...

[etc.]

of choral grandeur. The choral basses and tenors announce the last line of text in a cantus firmus-like theme (mm. 58-61). The autograph of the oratorio shows that Handel at first began this statement with three quarter-notes, as is found in the following measures; the alteration to half-notes gives the theme its cantus firmus character. Against this subject is heard a rhythmically active countersubject for "turn thy wrath." Both subject and countersubject are taken from mm. 6 ff. of the *Kyrie* of Mass VI (Example 2). The tonality returns to D minor at m. 75, and the last statement of the cantus firmus theme is given in the bass at m. 87. The

EXAMPLE 2: a) Habermann, Mass VI, *Kyrie*, mm. 7-9

Allegro [Vins.]

Ky - ri - e... Ky - ri - e...

Ky - ri - e e - lei - son...

b) *Jephtha*, "O God, behold our sore distress," mm. 58-63 (HG 44, p. 65)

thy ser - vants... turn thy wrath, and bless once more...

Thy ser - vants who thy name a - dore, turn... turn...

[originally:
| ̣ ̣ ̣ ̣ |]

return to the minor mode allows Handel to make the line similar to the subject which set "Omnipotent to plague, or bless!" (Example 3.) This subtle reference, along with the more obvious return to the opening

EXAMPLE 3: *Jephtha*, "O God, behold our sore distress," mm. 87-93 (HG 44, pp. 68-69)

thy ser - vants who thy name a - dore, they name a - dore.

tonality, effectively unites the two parts of the chorus.

In Act 3 the chorus under consideration has the following text:¹¹

Theme sublime of endless praise,
Just and righteous are thy ways;
And thy mercies still endure,
Ever faithful, ever sure.

The *Osanna* of Habermann's Mass I was closely followed for the setting of the first line, and here also Handel's score of the movement survives. (Appendix, No. 19; see the parallel examples in Taylor's Example 13.)¹² The composer noted the text for *Jephtha* at the top of the score. "Just and righteous are thy ways" is set to the subject and countersubject from

EXAMPLE 4: Habermann, Mass IV, *Kyrie*, mm. 5-14;
Jephtha, "Theme sublime of endless praise," mm. 25-34 (HG 44, pp.
 217-128)

Allabreve

The musical score is presented in four systems, each with a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The first system shows the vocal line with the lyrics "Ky-ri-e..." and the bass line with "Ky-ri-e e-lei-son, e-lei-son...". The second system shows the vocal line with "Just and righ-teous..." and the bass line with "Just and righ-teous are thy ways...". The third system shows the vocal line with "Ky-ri-e..." and the bass line with "Ky-ri-e... [etc.]". The fourth system shows the vocal line with "Just..." and the bass line with "Just... [etc.]". The score is in the key of D major and 2/4 time, marked "Allabreve".

the *Kyrie* of Mass IV (Example 4). The use of the subject in imitation at the octave, which Handel used in mm. 18 ff. of this section, is found in Habermann's fugue. Habermann also attempts a stretto, but only one measure of the subject is used. Handel apparently noted this and demonstrated the actual solution for a stretto at the first entry of the soprano and alto in mm. 7 ff. of Example 4. The entire three-measure real answer in the soprano is followed by imitation in the alto which constitutes a tonal answer at the fifth below to the foregoing!

The key of the first Habermann borrowing, D major, may have been intended as the key for the movement, for sketches exist for the setting

of the final couplet of the text in that key. This tends to support Dean’s contention, based on the order of pages in the autograph, that “Theme sublime” may have been the original ending of the oratorio.¹³ D major is, of course, the key in which trumpets could be added to the scoring for the concluding chorus. The sketches are found on the left-over bottom

EXAMPLE 5: a) Habermann, Mass IV, *Osanna*, mm. 1-6

Allegro

O - san - na . . . O - san - na . . .

O - san - na in - ex - cel - sis . . .

b) Handel sketches (Appendix, No. 11)

[1]

[2]

lines of the first two pages on which Handel had scored the *Osanna* of Mass III by Habermann, which was used in the second movement of the

EXAMPLE 6: a) Habermann, Mass V, *Sanctus*, mm. 1-4

Vivace

San - ctus, san - ctus . . . ctus . . .

San - ctus . . .

[etc]

EXAMPLE 6: b) Handel sketches (Appendix, No. 10)

The image displays six numbered musical sketches, labeled [1] through [6], for a B \flat major Organ Concerto.
 [1] and [2] are single staves in treble clef with a key signature of one flat and a 6/8 time signature. [1] includes annotations 'x' and 'y' with arrows pointing to specific notes.
 [3] is a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) in the same key and time signature.
 [4] is a single staff in treble clef.
 [5] is a grand staff with a box around the final note in the upper staff, labeled "last note in letter notation".
 [6] is a grand staff with vertical dashed lines connecting the two staves, indicating a specific rhythmic or melodic relationship between them.

B \flat major Organ Concerto. On the second page are sketches (Appendix, No. 11) based on the *Osanna* of Mass IV, with the text incipit written above: "and thy mercies." (Example 5.) The opening measures of the *Sanctus* of Mass V were the basis for more extensive sketching for the last line of text (Appendix, No. 10), identified by the incipit "ever faith-

full [sic].” The motive labeled “x” in Example 6 was certainly intended for “ever faithful,” while the slower descending motive “y” would represent “ever sure.” Handel’s very first sketch tries them in combination, as they would work towards the end of the chorus. Then he goes about sketching various basses for either theme and works the first motive into a fugal subject.

But these sketches were not used for the setting of the chorus. Still other unused sketches are found on a double sheet (Appendix, Nos. 3-6) which contains fragments of an earlier setting of the quartet “O spare your daughter,” Iphis’ following words in recitative, and the beginning of “For joys so vast” set as an arioso. This must have been discarded from the main score when Handel decided to set “For joys so vast” as a recitative. The final blank page was used for sketching. Since the sketch at the bottom of the page (Appendix, No. 6) has the incipit “and thy mercies,” all of the sketching in the same key (D minor) on this page was

EXAMPLE 7: Handel sketches (Appendix, No. 6)

The image displays four musical sketches for the text "and thy mercies" in D minor. Each sketch is presented on a grand staff (treble and bass clefs).

- [Sketch 1]**: A single melodic line in treble clef. The text "[Theme sublime of end-less praise (?)]" is written below the staff. The sketch ends with "[etc.]".
- [Variant 1]**: A single melodic line in treble clef, similar to Sketch 1 but with different rhythmic values. It also ends with "[etc.]".
- [Variant 2]**: A single melodic line in treble clef with a different rhythmic pattern. It ends with "[etc.]".
- [Sketch 2]**: A two-part sketch. The upper part is in treble clef and begins with the text "and thy mercies". The lower part is in bass clef. Both parts end with a double bar line.

probably intended for the chorus "Theme sublime of endless praise." (Example 7.) As far as can be determined, these sketches are not based on the Habermann Masses, nor were they used in *Jephtha*. Handel's eventual setting of these words—the first line of the couplet homophonically in G minor and an imitative passage for the second—likewise do not depend on Habermann. The fugal passage on "ever faithful, ever sure" has a theme derived from a sketch in two voices (Appendix, No. 21; Example

EXAMPLE 8: a) Handel sketch (Appendix, No. 21)

A musical sketch in two staves, G minor, 3/4 time. The upper staff features a complex fugal texture with multiple voices. The lower staff provides a bass line with some rests. The piece concludes with the word "[etc.]".

b) *Jephtha*, "Theme sublime of endless praise," mm. 82-89 (HG 44, pp. 221-222)

A musical setting in two staves, G minor, 3/4 time. The upper staff is for Altos, with the lyrics "E - ver faith - ful, e - - - ver sure... faith - ful...". The lower staff is for Sopranos, with the lyrics "E - ver sure... faith - ful...". The piece concludes with the word "[etc.]".

8), among other sketches probably jotted down sometime before Habermann's six masses became the chief source for material for *Jephtha*. The idea to combine themes in the final part of this chorus first appeared in the sketches in Example 6; Handel does accomplish this by juxtaposing the first five notes of the fugal subject ("ever faithful") against "and thy mercies still endure," which is intoned, as it had been in its earlier homophonic appearance, on a single note. The long pedal tone, another example of Handel's effective madrigalisms, represents by simple musical means the word "endure."

The most extensive choral moment in *Jephtha* is the chorus which concludes Act 2. Like the two choruses just discussed it, too, is developed sectionally, but each part is further delineated by the alternation of common time and triple meter among the sections. The text, with the harmonic plan and tempo indication for each section, follows:

Largo, C, c to A \flat
 How dark, O Lord, are thy decrees!
 All hid from mortal sight!

Larghetto, $\frac{3}{4}$, *f* to *g*
All our joys to sorrow turning,
And our triumphs into mourning
As the night succeeds the day.

A tempo ordinario, C, E \flat to c (half cadence)
No certain bliss,
No solid peace,
We mortals know
On earth below.

Larghetto, $\frac{3}{4}$, *c*
Yet on this maxim still obey:
What God ordains is right.

As is well known, after completion of the whole chorus, Handel altered the last line to quote Pope: "What ever is, is right."¹⁴ Winton Dean has extensively analysed this chorus;¹⁵ his analysis may be amplified by pointing out further borrowings from Habermann.

The first section of this chorus is in homophonic style over an agitated dotted accompaniment. No particular borrowing from Habermann is present, but the harmonic scheme of mm. 13 ff. seems to have been suggested by the *Qui tollis* of Mass II, the source of material for the next two sections of the chorus. In terms of the figured bass, the harmonic change over a whole note is $\begin{matrix} 7 & 6 & 5 & - \\ \flat & 4 & - & \flat \end{matrix}$. This particular chromatic style is also found at the same part of the *Gloria* text in Mass I and Mass III.

The interesting canonic writing beginning with the text "All our joys"¹⁶ is based on mm. 66-70 of the *Credo* of Mass II, labeled in the organ part *Canon à 2*. (See Example 9.) Handel combines the separate notes on *a* to create a rhythmic (but not harmonic) hemiola which helps give the line forward motion. Modulation in the subdominant direction is created by the extension of Habermann's imitation at the end of the words "as the night succeeds the day." Handel was naturally attracted to Habermann's canon as an appropriate setting of these words.

Winton Dean discovered the derivation of material for the third section of the chorus from Habermann.¹⁷ What Handel develops in his sketching based on a theme from the *Gloria* of Mass II (Appendix, No. 14; transcribed by Dean, p. 613) is used as the tonal answer at "No certain bliss"; to this Handel creates a subject (Example 10). Like some of Handel's unusual but highly original fugal procedures, this example defies all rules: minor third, minor sixth is answered by minor second, diminished fifth. Dean, who was not aware of the borrowing in the second

EXAMPLE 9: Habermann, Mass III, *Credo*, mm. 66-79;
Jephtha, "How dark, O Lord," mm. 25-39 (HG 44, p. 177)

[Basso] solo

Cru-ci - fi - xus e-ti-am pro no - bis sub Pon-ti-o Pi-la - -

[Organo] Canon à 2

6 5 7 6 & 4 5 # 3 3 3

Larghetto

All our joys to sor-row turn-ing, And our tri-umphs in-to

All our joys...

to, pas-sus et se-pul-tus, se-pul-tus est.

3 6 6 6 & 3 2 6

All the joys...

mourning, As the night suc-ceeds the day, as the night suc-ceeds... All...

section, relates the fugal subject of the third section to that of the second; their common element is the rising minor sixth. Indeed, the first interval sung at the beginning of the chorus is the rising sixth of the altos, m. 3. The diminished sevenths in the second section are also paralleled by the use of the same interval in the last section, discussed below. Handel carefully integrates the various borrowings and themes, it seems, and by simple means these large multi-sectional choral movements are unified.

The source for the imitative entries which begin the fourth section of the chorus, "Yet on this maxim still obey," is unknown, and neither Habermann's masses nor Handel's sketches and autograph shed any light on the matter; however, the hemiola does parallel the other $\frac{3}{4}$ section.

EXAMPLE 10: a) Habermann, Mass II, *Gloria*, mm. 6-7

et in ter - ra pax, pax ho - mi - ni - bus [etc.]

b) *Jephtha*, "How dark, O Lord," mm. 89-92 (HG 44, p. 181)

A tempo ordinario
No cer - tain bliss, No so - lid peace, We mortals know, On earth be - low
No cer - tain bliss... [etc.]

The setting of "What God ordains is right"/"What ever is, is right" derives from the *Agnus Dei* of Mass III (of which the second repetition is quoted in Example 11).¹⁸ The repeated notes of the sopranos on "yet

EXAMPLE 11: a) Habermann, Mass III, *Agnus Dei*, mm. 8-9

mi - se - re - re... Agnus De - (i)
mi - se - re - re... [etc.]
A - gnus De - (i)

b) *Jephtha*, "How dark, O Lord," mm. 121-125, 140-141 (HG 44, pp. 184-185)

[Orch.]
What e - ver is, is right, what e - ver is
yet still o - bey

still obey" (m. 27 of this section) may also derive from the setting of the words "Agnus Dei" in the Habermann excerpt just quoted.

It is interesting to expand on Dean's point¹⁹ that Handel turned to the words "et in terra pax hominibus" to set the text "No certain bliss,/ No solid peace,/ We mortals know/ On earth below." If the new borrowings introduced in the preceding paragraphs are correct, then the following composite Latin text may be considered to parallel the four parts of the chorus "How dark, O Lord":

1. Qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis; qui tollis peccata mundi, suscipe deprecationem nostram.
2. Crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato, passus et sepultus est.
3. Et in terra pax hominibus.
4. (Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi,) miserere nobis.

This great chorus, then, created over a period of weeks during which Handel had trouble with his left eye, transforms Habermann's music for the Mass into what Lang terms "a religious confession."²⁰ Its place as the musical and psychological climax in Handel's telling of the tragedy of *Jephtha* is magnified when we realize its position in Handel's personal life—here so intimately bound up with his final statement as composer and artist.

Other borrowings from Habermann in *Jephtha* can be described with dispatch. Except for "In glory high" and "Doubtful fear," all the rest of the choruses in the oratorio borrow from Habermann. Sedley Taylor shows two sections of "No more to Ammon's god and king" in parallel passages.²¹ The sources of the ritornellos of "Cherub and seraphim" and "When his loud voice in thunder spoke" are quoted by Seiffert.²² A section of the latter chorus ("In vain their rolling tide," mm. 46ff.) has a borrowing, previously unidentified, based on an imitative subject from mm. 12 ff. of the *Kyrie* of Mass II (Example 12). One more new borrowing

EXAMPLE 12: a) Habermann, Mass II, *Kyrie*, mm. 12-14

Musical notation for Example 12a, showing a melodic line with lyrics "Ky-ri-e e-lei-son, e-lei-son" and a [etc.] (son) marking. The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 4/4 time signature. The melody is written on a single staff with various note values and rests. Above the staff, the text "Ky-ri-e..." is written with small numbers 1 and 2 under the first two notes. Below the staff, the lyrics "Ky-ri-e e-lei-son, e-lei-son" are written, with "[etc.] (son)" at the end.

b) *Jephtha*, "When his loud voice in thunder spoke," mm. 46-48 (HG 44, p. 85)

Musical notation for Example 12b, showing a melodic line with lyrics "In vain they roll their foam-ing tide..." and "In vain...". The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of one sharp, and a 4/4 time signature. The melody is written on a single staff with various note values and rests. Above the staff, the text "In vain they roll their foam-ing tide..." is written. Below the staff, the lyrics "In vain..." are written.

may be added: a section in the final chorus beginning “So blest are they who fear the Lord” derives its theme from the *Cum Sancto Spiritu* of Mass VI (Example 13). The three aria ritornellos based on material from

EXAMPLE 13: a) Habermann, Mass VI, *Cum Sancto Spiritu*, mm. 1-8

Alla breve [Altos] *Cum Sancto Spiritu*...

[Tenors] *Cum Sancto Spiritu in gloria Dei Patris. Amen* (men)

b) *Jephtha*, “Ye house of Gilead,” mm. 78-81 (*HG* 44, p. 257)

Allegro [Altos] *So are they blest who fear the Lord. Amen, amen* (men)

[Tenors] *So are they blest...* [etc.]

Habermann’s masses were among those borrowings identified by Seiffert and quoted in full by Sedley Taylor;²³ some further arias may possibly depend on borrowings from Habermann, but if this is the case the material has been completely transformed. The great effort which it always took Handel to shape an aria is no less apparent in the autograph of this work than in the operas and oratorios which preceded it.

As with the other sources to which Handel often turned for ideas—Gottlieb Muffat’s *Componimenti Musicali*, Urio’s *Te Deum*, Erba’s *Magnificat*, and others—once some very obvious borrowings have been identified, then others begin to suggest themselves as is the case with the additional borrowings from Habermann described above. While one may argue that in a number of cases a fugue subject or motive is so common that Handel was hardly borrowing it, the more extensive and unmistakable borrowings confirm that Handel turned to Habermann’s six masses as a compendium of themes. To the composer, even the simplest idea constituted fertile ground for development. Only a few of the parallels cited in this article are so vague—due to Handel’s alteration of the material—that the correspondence between Habermann and Handel could be coincidental.

The moral dilemma involved with the whole issue of borrowing has, one hopes, been put to rest by Dean and Lang. Not even the severest critics could fault Handel’s use, as enumerated in this article, of stock fugue subjects found in Habermann’s masses. The source could just as well have been Handel’s memory, aided by his pages of short jottings, or any one of hundreds of composers. Who knows from whom Habermann derived his material? In 1747 his fugue subjects were certainly not new;

for some of them, thousands of precedents could probably be traced in the Renaissance and Baroque.²⁴ In the particular case of Handel's final compositions, his use of Habermann's set of masses as a main source fortunately simplifies our task when we wish to explore the genesis and composition of the B \flat Organ Concerto and *Jephtha*. In Habermann's masses compositional raw material is found, freezing in time a small but illuminating aspect of the composer's art.

APPENDIX

Autograph Sketches and Fragments Related to the Composition of *Jephtha*

Note: Nos. 1-19 are from the Handel manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; Nos. 20-22 are from the Handel manuscripts in the King's Music Library, now permanently housed in the Music Division of the British Library, London.

1. Ms. 30.H.9, pp. 81-82. Fragment, 33 mm., of earlier setting of "Scenes of horror"; partially quoted in Dean, *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques*, p. 622.
2. Ibid., p. 83, lines 1-8. Fragment containing HG 44, p. 166, mm. 2-6, without the final violin and viola parts.
3. Ibid., p. 83, lines 9-10. Fragment, 3½ mm., of recitative for soprano, "spoke its approbation by success—Jephtha has triumph'd, Israel is free."
4. Ibid., p. 84; p. 85, lines 1-5. Fragment, 12½ mm., of an arioso setting of "For joys so vast"; partially quoted in Dean, p. 623.
5. Ibid., p. 85; lines 1-6. Two two-voice sketches containing material later used in "Doubtful fear."
6. Ibid., p. 86. On line 1 is a four-measure sketch in F major, apparently unrelated to *Jephtha*. On lines 2-8 are three fugal sketches in D minor, common time, perhaps intended as material for the opening of "Theme sublime of endless praise." On lines 9-10 there is a three-voice fugal sketch with the incipit "and thy mercies," intended for the second couplet of "Theme sublime." These are partially quoted in Example 7. No relation to the Habermann Masses has been identified.
7. Ms. 30.H.10, p.51. Wordless score of the *Qui tollis* from Mass V by Habermann, used in "O God, behold our sore distress," mm. 9 ff. partially quoted in Taylor, *The Indebtedness of Handel*, Example 12, pp. 21-22.
8. Ibid., p. 52, Fugal sketch in four voices based on the *Qui tollis* of

- Mass VI by Habermann, used in "O God, behold our sore distress," mm. 30 ff.; partially quoted in Example 1.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 54. Two-voice sketches for "Welcome as the cheerful light"; the treble of each is given in Dean, p. 624.
 10. Ms. 30.H.12, p. 51, lines 8-10. (Pages 51-53 contain the score of the *Osanna* from Mass III by Habermann, used in the second movement of the Organ Concerto Opus 7 no. 3.) Six two- and three-voice sketches, one of which carries the incipit "ever faithfull [sic]," based on the opening of the *Sanctus* of Mass V by Habermann and probably intended for "Theme sublime of endless praise"; quoted in Example 6.
 11. *Ibid.*, p. 52, line 10. (Cf. No. 10.) Two three-voice fugal sketches with the incipit "and thy mercies," based on the *Osanna* of Mass IV by Habermann and probably intended for "Theme sublime of endless praise"; quoted in Example 5.
 12. Ms. 30.H.13, p. 75, lines 5-6. (This page is reproduced in facsimile in Dean, Plate IX, facing p. 612.) Two-voice sketch, 11 mm., E minor, for the Menuet in the overture of *Jephtha*; cf. No. 20.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 75, lines 7-8. (Cf. No. 12.) The treble and the bass of the ritornello of the *Domine Deus* of Mass I by Habermann, used in "His mighty arm"; quoted in Taylor, Example 11, pp. 20-21.
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 75, lines 9-10. (Cf. No. 12.) Three fugal sketches based on mm. 5-8 of the Gloria of Mass II by Habermann, used in the third section of "How dark, O Lord"; transcribed in Dean, p. 613, as four sketches; cf. Example 10.
 15. *Ibid.*, p. 83. Wordless score of the *Kyrie* I of Mass I by Habermann, used in "No more to Ammon's god and king."
 16. *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85. Wordless score of the *Christe* of Mass I by Habermann, used in "Pour forth no more unheeded prayers."
 17. *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87. Wordless score of the *Kyrie* II of Mass I by Habermann, perhaps intended for use in *Jephtha* but not used; on line 10 of p. 86 Handel entered a varied form of the fugue subject used in the *Kyrie*.
 18. *Ibid.*, pp. 88-90. Wordless score of the *Cum Sancto Spiritu* of Mass I by Habermann, used in the second section of "No more to Ammon's god and king"; partially quoted in Taylor, Example 14, pp. 23-24.
 19. *Ibid.*, p. 90. Wordless condensed score of the *Osanna* of Mass I by Habermann, with the text incipit "Theme sublime of endless praise"; partially quoted in Taylor, Example 13, p. 23.
 20. R. M. 20.g.14, f. 49, lines 1-8. Two-voice sketch, 36 mm., G minor, for the Menuet in the overture to *Jephtha*; cf. No. 12.
 21. *Ibid.*, f. 49', lines 1-8. Two-voice sketch whose theme appears in

- mm. 82ff. of "Theme sublime of endless praise"; partially quoted in Example 8.
22. Ibid., f. 52, lines 7-8. Two-voice sketch in binary form whose first two measures are identical with the opening of "In gentle murmurs."

NOTES

¹ Paul Henry Lang, *George Frideric Handel* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1966) p. 486.

² Lang, p. 514.

³ *Handel's Messiah: Origins, Compositions, Sources* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1957) pp. 64, 80, 90; more extensively developed in Winton Dean's *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).

⁴ Of the discussions of the fugal chorus in Handel, the most complete is Hanns-Bertold Dietz, *Die Chorfüge bei G. F. Händel* (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1961); see also Heinz Meier, *Typus und Funktion der Chorsätze in Georg Friedrich Händels Oratorien*, Neue musikgeschichtliche Forschungen 5 (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1971) and Georg-Friedrich Wieber, *Die Chorfüge in Händels Werken* (dissertation: Frankfurt am Main, 1958).

⁵ Meier, p. 143, describes it as a prelude, fugue, and cantus firmus movement.

⁶ Copying errors and miscalculations in alignment prove part-books, rather than a score, to be Handel's source.

⁷ In the appendix to this article will be found a list of all sketches, fragments, and copies of Habermann's work in Handel's hand relevant to the composition of *Jephtha*. Since the Fitzwilliam manuscripts are collections of random loose sheets and bifolios bound together, the exact location of any sketch is of no significance.

⁸ Sedley Taylor, *The Indebtedness of Handel to Works by Other Composers* (Cambridge: at the University Press, 1906; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1971) pp. 21-22.

⁹ Dean, p. 603.

¹⁰ All examples are given in short score, with instrumental doublings omitted and only portions of the texts shown. Excerpts from the Habermann masses are based on my transcriptions from a microfilm of the printed part-books. The exact location of sketches may be found in the appendix to this article; dotted lines, square brackets, etc., show any additions to the original. For full scores of the excerpts from *Jephtha*, see the appropriate page of volume 44 of *Georg Friedrich Händels Werke. Ausgabe der Deutschen Händelgesellschaft*, ed. Friedrich Chrysander (Leipzig: der Gesellschaft, [1886]) [hereafter cited as *HG*].

¹¹ See Dietz, pp. 135-136.

¹² Taylor, p. 23.

¹³ Dean, p. 616.

¹⁴ *Essay on Man*, i, 294.

¹⁵ Dean, pp. 611-614.

¹⁶ See Wieber's analysis in *Die Chorfügen*, pp. 12-13, 184.

¹⁷ Dean, pp. 612-613.

¹⁸ For a discussion of a possible parallel to *Theodora* (an aria with the text "Fond, flattering world, adieu!") see Dean, p. 614.

¹⁹ Dean, p. 613.

²⁰ Lang, p. 522.

²¹ Taylor, Example 10, pp. 15-19, and Example 14, pp. 23-24.

²² Max Seiffert, "Franz Johann Habermann (1706-1783)," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 18 (1903) p. 89; borrowed from the *Kyrie* of Mass II and the *Sinfonia* to the *Kyrie* of Mass III, respectively.

²³ Taylor, "His mighty arm," Example 11, p. 20; "Hide thou thy hated beams," Example 15, pp. 24-25; and "Pour forth no more unheeded prayers," Example 16, pp. 25-27.

²⁴ Dietz, pp. 5-33, traces a number of prototype themes; the ultimate origin of some, not surprisingly, can be found in the shape of Gregorian intonations and formulas.

THE IMPLIED MODEL IN CLASSICAL MUSIC

Orin Moe, Jr.

As the music of the late 18th century receives increasingly sophisticated analysis, there has been a decrease of emphasis on its formal and structural stereotypes. "Sonata-form" appears less as a shape than as a bundle of compositional principles. In their most concentrated expression, these principles produce what is properly termed sonata-form. In a more dilute state, they can penetrate older designs such as the concerto and the rondo and, at their most flexible, the large structure of an opera or an oratorio.¹ The minuet, so consistent in form, can become unpredictable in its rhythm, phrasing, and texture. The period constructed of four-measure phrases is not so dominant as once believed.

However welcome these new interpretations are, they must not be allowed to obscure the fact that the composers of this time were very much concerned with models. This interest is found in the other arts of the 18th century as well. There are pastoral poems modeled after the Eclogues of Virgil, sculpture in the spirit of Classical Greece, and buildings reminiscent of her temples. The Renaissance classical imitation is itself imitated. Music could not return to the Greek past, however, since that art had not been preserved; nor could it normally assimilate earlier music to its present style. Thus composers expressed their interest in modeling by turning to the music of their own time.

One of the simplest ways in which this is done is the use of an explicit, external model. In most cases this model will be another composition, although the closeness of imitation will vary. Haydn's Symphony 31, "The Hornsignal," is apparently designed after his Symphony 72.² The movement sequences are extraordinarily similar. Mozart's late piano concerto in E \flat , K. 482, is similar in many respects to his earlier concerto in the same key, K. 271, particularly in the inclusion of a minuet as an episode in the rondo-finale. Another composer's composition may be involved, of course, or simply his style itself may become a model. One thinks of Mozart's overture in the style of Handel, K. 399, or the subtle evocations of Mozart in many of Haydn's late piano trios.

More complex and potentially more immediate to the listener is the use of an explicit, internal model. These are the models that a composer may set up, break down, and restore during the course of a single composition.³ Haydn's practice of treating the development and re-

capitulation of his sonata-forms as varied versions of the exposition is an apt illustration. The exposition is the model, the development is the furthest departure, and the recapitulation is a varied restatement, a partial return of the original. Patterning of this sort has to be created anew from composition to composition. It may occur at any dimension from the phrase to the period to the large section, may involve any musical element, and is most clearly connected with thematic development. In the first movement of Beethoven's "Appassionata" sonata, for instance, the opening theme or model is splintered as the music proceeds, providing material for other themes, and reassembled periodically to mark critical points of the form.

The most sophisticated example of this practice, however, is the implied model, which consists in the stylistic norms of the Classical period. Nineteenth-century theorists such as Czerny and Marx may have had this concept in mind when they "defined" sonata-form; they simply erred in making their model too inflexible. The implied model could not have been used until the style had reached a point of definition and was perhaps on the downward turn to disintegration. The listener had to be familiar enough with the precepts of the style to recognize departures from them. Of course, all styles eventually introduce departures from norms, but these usually appear gradually and almost imperceptibly. In the Classical period, however, certain composers seem to have designed these departures so that the attentive listener would be acutely aware of normal practice. In a sense, the norm is reinforced in the very process of moving away from it.

All the models discussed have one thing in common: they are a given which the composer develops. With the explicit, external model and the explicit, internal model, an actual musical entity exists which is then manipulated by the composer. With the implied model, however, there is no pre-existing entity. What subsists is only the development; the given has to be supplied from the listener's knowledge of the normative practices of the period. However desirable the increasing flexibility in analyzing Classical style is, we must maintain firm contact with these practices. After all, what is a sonata-exposition without tonal polarity? Tonal polarity without thematic underlining? A development without tonal digression, or a recapitulation without thematic and tonal return? Of course, we are not likely to lose sight of these things, but similar groupings of normative practices occur in all structural areas of Classical music. With the use of the implied model, it is even possible, as will be pointed out, to "develop" sonata-form and the movement sequence, since the composer is not limited to the conventional materials of development such as themes and motives. The possibilities are so diverse that the only

reasonable way to analyze them is to focus on the small, middle, and large dimensions of the music in turn. The following analyses will explore some of the varying uses of the implied model.

Starting at the smaller levels of musical structure, the opening period of Haydn's string quartet Op. 50 no. 3 provides a good demonstration (see Example 1). Externally there appears to be a common construction

EXAMPLE 1: Haydn, Op. 50 no. 3, mm. 1-8

Allegro con brio

The musical score consists of four staves: Violino I, Violino II, Viola, and Violoncello. The tempo is 'Allegro con brio'. The key signature has two flats (B-flat and E-flat). The first two measures are in 6/8 time, and the last two are in 3/4 time. The dynamics are marked *mf*. The first two measures feature a melodic line in the upper voices (Violino I and II) and a harmonic accompaniment in the lower voices (Viola and Violoncello). The phrase concludes with a cadence on the second measure of the 3/4 section.

of 4 + 4 measures, but the first of these phrases is anything but regular in internal construction. The harmonic progression I–V in the first measure is reversed in the second, so that the cadence falls on the second, weak beat. This position of the cadence is retained in m. 3, and m. 4 holds over the preceding tonic chord. The length of this phrase is four measures, but it nevertheless has the effect of being irregular. The shift in the position of the cadence is one reason; the weak cadence occurring in m. 3 is another. The most important reason, however, is that the phrase is effectively complete in three measures. Measure 4, which simply extends the tonic chord, is not strictly needed, though perhaps Haydn did not want to conclude the phrase on a weak beat. This separation between m. 4 and the preceding measures is also emphasized by a change in the melodic figuration in the upper voice and a change from 1 + 3 to a homorhythmic texture. The implied model in this case is a four-measure phrase with a balance of musical activity between measures and a consistent relationship between cadential progressions and metric accent.

An implied model on a larger scale can be found in another quartet,

Op. 33 no. 3 (Example 2). The work opens with the tonic chord in first inversion. This circumstance, along with the absence of the cello and the relatively high tessitura of the chord, makes the delayed entrance of the tonic root in the bass an important event, implying a strong metrical accent. Instead of placing the root on the first or third beat of the measure as would be expected, Haydn places it on the second (m. 4), thus shifting the 4/4 measure forward one beat so that the printed and the aural measure do not correspond. This shift is reinforced by *sforzandi* and by the sequential pattern of the cello. This interpretation is confirmed at the recapitulation when a V^7 chord resolves on this same second beat (mm. 110-111). At this level, the implied model is similar to that discussed in the previous example. However, beyond the level of the phrase, a much larger model comes into view.

In mm. 7-12, the phrase of mm. 1-6 is abruptly transposed into D minor, an unstable modulation which casts doubt on the proper key of the work. The third phrase (mm. 13-17) at first contributes to this ambiguity, then modulates back toward the tonic, C major. Thus the conventional expectation that the tonic key be clearly set forth at the beginning of a composition has been contradicted. This contradiction will have important repercussions on the middle structural level. Before proceeding to the analysis of this level, however, it will be necessary to recall the usual structure of a sonata-form exposition.

The basic pattern of an exposition is normally the opposition of two keys, the tonic and some other key, frequently the dominant, separated by a tonal transition. The two stable key areas are usually associated with material of clear thematic identity, the transition with less defined material.

The normal associations indicated above are here strikingly disrupted by Haydn. As described earlier, the first section of the exposition is tonally unstable. It is not until the second section, mm. 18-26, that metric and tonal ambiguity is firmly dispelled. By all odds this section should contain important thematic material, but instead it consists of neutral passage-work. Thus there is the following pattern: Section 1—thematic identity/tonal instability; Section 2—thematic neutrality/tonal stability. Section 3, mm. 27-42, which is the transition, returns to the distinctive thematic material of the opening, thus to the pattern of thematic identity/tonal instability. It is not until Section 4, mm. 42-59, that the usual association of thematic identity/tonal stability is achieved. This is all the more effective because Section 4 is based on the same motivic material as Sections 1 and 3. Therefore the movement to the dominant is powerfully reinforced by the tonal stabilization of this same motivic material.

EXAMPLE 2: Haydn, Op. 33 no. 3, mm. 1-18

Allegro moderato

Violino I
Violino II
Viola
Violoncello

p *cresc.* *f*

p *cresc.* *f* *f*

p *cresc.* *f* *f*

p *cresc.* *f* *f*

10

p *cresc.* *f*

p *cresc.* *f* *f*

p *cresc.* *f* *f*

p *cresc.* *f* *f*

The development does not take part in this use of an implied model; indeed it would be difficult for it to do so since there are few structural presuppositions associated with this section. In the recapitulation, however, Haydn continues to manipulate his implied model. Section 2, formerly tonally stable, is now made unstable. Thus no stability of any

EXAMPLE 2: Haydn, Op. 33 no. 3, mm. 108-111

sort is present until the appearance of Section 4. By way of compensation, a coda is added containing a perfectly ordinary version of the opening phrase.

As an example of an implied model on an even larger scale, consider the opening movement of Haydn's Symphony 45 in F# minor, "The Farewell." The exposition is monothematic to the extreme. The only significant thematic contrast occurs at mm. 56-59, and this simply serves to underline the arrival of the final key of the exposition. The tonal structure shows abnormal features for the seventh decade of the 18th century. Haydn prepares the listener quite conventionally to expect the relative major; instead, the opening theme of the movement enters in A minor (m. 38). This in itself would not be unusual if the composer eventually attained A major; however, at the aforementioned point of thematic contrast, he moves towards the dominant minor, in which key the exposition concludes. By the 1770s, the choice of this key would be uncommon. In light of the development section, though, both this key and the lack of thematic contrast in the exposition are readily understood. The relative major, denied the listener in the exposition, is supplied at the beginning of the development with a statement of the first theme, a conventional move to be sure, but a rather imaginative use of convention. Succeeding the relative major is a period of modulation, mm. 88-107. Note the reappearance of the contrasting material from the exposition at mm. 102-107, after which a new lyrical theme in D major is introduced. Now Haydn's intent is clear. The relative major and significant thematic contrast, normally to be found in the exposition, have been dissociated from that section and placed in the development. This intent is reinforced by the tonal structure which shows the distinct polarity A major to D major. The predominantly major sound of the development contrasts with the predominantly minor sound of both exposition and recapitulation. The descending-fifth relationship in the development is echoed by a similar relationship in the recapitulation

where the F \sharp minor statement of the opening theme at the beginning of this section is followed by a B minor statement of the same theme (m. 169).

As the Classical period proceeds, the uses of the implied model become ever subtler. Multiple models become common, particularly with Beethoven. The first movement of his piano sonata Op. 54, although superficially in rondo-form, makes complex use of the minuet and sonata-form as implied models. The most characteristic feature of this movement is the persistent return to the tonic, F major, of every phrase in the refrain. The suggestion of a move to D minor in mm. 9-24 only heightens the effect of this persistence. Beethoven's use of the conventions of the minuet as an implied model, so clearly indicated by the tempo direction and the melodic/rhythmic character of the refrain, strongly reinforces the refrain's tonal and formal anomalies. The minuet (referring to the first part of the minuet-trio-minuet complex) is always in ternary form with a modulation to the dominant in the middle part. The present refrain neither is ternary nor modulates. The two-fold repetition of the opening phrase (mm. 1-8) creates the familiar AA pattern of the first part of the minuet, but the similar repetition of the next and final formal unit (mm. 9-24) produces the pattern BB, avoiding the customary BABA conclusion. Thus the minuet-refrain is incomplete both tonally and formally, a situation which, in the context of the Classical style, must be resolved.

The first episode (mm. 25-69) supplies the thwarted modulation, moving to the dominant and then plunging beyond to A \flat major at m. 39. This obvious turn to a distant key combined with the strong contrasts to the refrain—loud vs. soft dynamics, legato vs. staccato, spun-out movement vs. articulated, descending motion vs. ascending—serve only to heighten the tension of the movement. Refrain and episode are linked through the modulation but otherwise seem rather unrelated.

At this point only the most naive listener would expect the movement to be concluded with the next occurrence of the refrain (mm. 70-93), even if the latter's previous anomalies were eliminated. The highly sectional character thus far points to the rondo, which is indeed the case, but one wonders how the explosive contrasts of this movement can be resolved within such a simple form. No answer is given with this statement of the refrain. It is repeated without structural alteration; the ornamentation of the phrase repetitions provides some superficial momentum but basically emphasizes the tonal immobility.

With the second occurrence of the episode (mm. 94-105), Beethoven's intentions become clearer. The sharp truncation of this statement reduces the effect of the contrasts mentioned above, but more importantly there is no modulation. The episode is *on* the dominant but not *in* it. This provides the clue to understanding this movement: behind the simple rondo-

pattern lies the implied model of sonata-form. (Sonata-rondo is common at this time, of course, but it is rather different from the pattern found here.) The extreme contrast between minuet-refrain and episode can be seen as part of an exaggeratedly dualistic sonata-form, the modulation denied in the refrain so as not to anticipate its occurrence in the episode/second-subject, the continuing modulation beyond the dominant in the latter as suggestive of a development section. Indeed the cursive thematic structure of the episode brings to mind a fusion of second-subject and development.

Since the principal means for resolving the tensions of sonata-form is the tonal stability of the recapitulation, the lack of modulation in the minuet refrain, first felt as a liability, becomes an asset from the second occurrence of the refrain on (the "recapitulation"). But what about the refrain's incomplete form? In its final occurrence (mm. 106-154), a "coda" is added, which although not identical to the A section, is similar enough to complete the ternary form. By delaying this completion until now, Beethoven is able to sustain tension across the movement. Although the rondo is the formal shell of the movement, the minuet and sonata-form models provide the substance. The minuet-refrain raises two problems, one of which—incomplete form—is solved within its boundaries. The other—tonal immobility—is solved and reinterpreted at the larger level of sonata-form, as is the extreme contrast between refrain and episode.

* * *

It is this author's belief that one of the prime elements of the mature Classical style is the frequent and obvious departure from an assumed and generally understood norm of compositional practice, examples of which have been discussed above. Such departures would scarcely be possible before the style had reached a point of definition, so one would not expect to find many before the 1770s. Departure from an implied model seems above all to be a characteristic of Haydn and Beethoven, but a wide range of literature needs to be examined, with the emphasis on major composers such as Gluck, Clementi, Mozart, and Schubert, since lesser composers are generally too predictable to take part in such procedures. One of Mozart's most interesting uses of an implied model is his "Prague" Symphony. Each movement is in sonata-form, but each is very different. Mozart is clearly showing the possibilities of manipulating the norms associated with this formal procedure.

Of the various dimensions in which this practice occurs, the small level has been most commented on in the literature—thus the frequent mention of Haydn's rhythmic and metric irregularities or his sudden moments of silence. Examples of these are particularly evident in the

string quartets from Op. 33 onward. Beethoven is also fond of these devices. Mozart, too, reflects this interest in the unexpected, but it usually occurs in a subtle manipulation of asymmetrical phrase structure.

To turn to the other end of the scale, the use of an implied model at the large level has received little comment. This may be partly due to the limited possibilities for this technique at the broad dimension. Certainly such a brilliant example as Haydn's "Farewell" Symphony would not be susceptible to frequent repetition. On an even larger scale than the movement level, however, the manipulations of expected movement sequence found in so many of Haydn's piano trios and Beethoven's late quartets can also be subsumed under the concept of the implied model. In Haydn's piano trio no. 44 in E major, there are two instances of monothematic sonata-form back to back, without drastic differences in tempo. The potential dangers of this unexpected imbalance are obviated by a striking difference in style, the first movement Classical, the second Neo-Baroque, and by the first's suggestion of ritornello-form and use of a development, neither of which is present in the second. This unexpected combination of movements causes the alert listener to be closely attentive and also gives more weight to the minuet-rondo than it would otherwise have, since it is a greatly different structural choice than movements one and two. Even more complex examples occur in Beethoven. In Joseph Kerman's analysis of the string quartet Op. 131, an entire seven-movement sequence is shown to be bound together by a delay of modulation and thematic contrast.⁴

The middle structural level, however, seems to hold the most potential for a study of implied models since there is not the frequently localized significance of the small-dimensional use nor the inherent inflexibility of the larger. Examples abound in both Haydn and Beethoven. There is a striking parallel to the tonal manipulation discussed above from Haydn's Op. 33 no. 3, in the opening of Beethoven's quartet Op. 59 no. 1. Instead of opening with the first-inversion tonic chord as in the earlier work, Beethoven uses the second inversion and delays the tonic root's appearance in the bass until the nineteenth measure. It would seem that Beethoven was quite familiar with the Haydn example. The earlier use of an implied model has now itself become an implied model.

Although structural divisions according to dimensions are useful, rigid categorization should be avoided. Many uses of an implied model are too difficult to characterize as to level. Is the incomplete structure of the opening theme of the "Eroica" Symphony and its eventual completion in the coda an example of small, middle, or large use of an implied model? Perhaps all three, with the emphasis on the middle. This

example is also interesting in that the "implied" model, a normal, periodic version of the opening theme, becomes explicit in the coda.

The concept of the implied model could serve to unite seemingly disparate phenomena in the music of the Classical period. How often have Haydn's and Mozart's departures from a normative movement sequence in some of their later works been related to those in Beethoven's late works? Or Haydn's irregular statement of the opening theme of his quartet Op. 33 no. 3, and its regular statement at the end of the work been related to Beethoven's similar procedure in the "Eroica" Symphony? These may be isolated examples of brilliance, but most likely they are examples of a consistent use of implied models that can be traced and documented.

NOTES

¹ For an example of the latter, see the present author's article "Structure in Haydn's *The Seasons*," *Haydn Yearbook* 9 (1975) pp. 340-348.

² Symphony 72 was drastically misplaced by Mandyczewski when compiling his chronological list of Haydn's symphonies. The evidence suggests that it was written in 1763, two years before No. 31. Although this cannot definitely be proved, the internal stylistic evidence supports this conclusion.

³ This process has been thoroughly discussed by Leonard Meyer in his *Emotion and Meaning in Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956).

⁴ Joseph Kerman, *The Beethoven Quartets* (New York: Knopf, 1967) pp. 325-349.

CHARLES IVES'S SONG "VOTE FOR NAMES"

Nachum Schoffman

In November 1912, Charles Ives jotted down a hurried, incomplete pencil sketch for a song. Apparently, he never touched it again, so that it remains in this unfinished state. John Kirkpatrick said of this page of manuscript: "It's no more than a hasty stab at a musical footnote, unfocused and unfinished."¹ The manuscript, photographed as negative No. Q2636 in the Ives Collection at Yale University, is reproduced with this article (Facsimile 1).²

An attempt at a realization of the song has been published,³ but to my mind it is an inadequate expression of the material that *does* appear in the manuscript. No editor is named, and no indication given of the many details that have been added and altered. It seems to me, however, that there is enough in the sketch to produce at least a conjectural realization, and that even the germ of this song is too valuable to be consigned to the limbo of abortive experiments. With the kind assistance of John Kirkpatrick, who generously gave me the benefit of his experience with Ives's music and difficult handwriting, and with a bit of detective work, I have attempted to generate a hypothetical complete song from Ives's sketch.

Examination of the verbal material in the manuscript will enable us to understand the historical background, and the ideas embodied in the song.

Across the top of the page is written in bold letters: "Vote for Names! Names! Names!" from which we may derive a title for the song. Under this appears: "all nice men!—3 NICE MEN." In Ives's vocabulary, "nice" was a damning epithet, meaning "conventional and insipid." An example of his use of the word "nice" as invective is the following:

London is a "nice" place for "nice" music!—Rollo says—(you know those Rollo lillies who write nice pieces about nice music in the newspapers). 5 columns to say Toscanini played that nice C maj. Sym. "real nice"—but Rollo forgot to say that it was the 587629th time Tossi had played it—and he knew every note real "nice"—⁴

In the upper right hand corner, the names of the three nice men are given: "Teddy Woodrow & Bill." These were the three candidates in the presidential election of 1912: Theodore Roosevelt for the Progressive

FACSIMILE 1

Vote for Names! Names! Names! (Teddy Woodrow Bill)
all "nice men" - 3. NICE MEN

Handwritten musical notation on a grand staff with lyrics: "up your swing time 1st + 2nd part. every 2 measures". Includes a circled "16" and other scribbles.

Handwritten musical notation on a grand staff with lyrics: "The new...". Includes a circled "16" and other scribbles.

Handwritten musical notation on a grand staff with lyrics: "I'll be with you - 1915 - just wash your face in".

Handwritten musical notation on a grand staff with lyrics: "A work night at Ogan!". Includes a circled "16" and other scribbles.



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Party (also called the Bull Moose Party), Woodrow Wilson for the Democratic Party, and William Howard Taft for the Republican Party. Together with these names, there is a crudely drawn face, apparently winking its right eye. A circular doodle at the bottom of the page may be another such face.

The text of the song reads: "After trying hard to think what's the best way to VOTE—I say—just walk right in & grab a ballot with the eyes shut & walk right out again!" The words "with the eyes shut" were an afterthought; they are enclosed in a circle, and a caret-sign shows where they are to be inserted. The idea in this text is one that occupied Ives for many years. He believed that it was both possible and desirable to modify the mechanism of representative democracy, allowing the people to vote directly on important issues rather than merely for the candidates of political parties. He formulated a proposal for a twentieth amendment to the Constitution embodying this scheme. In a printed circular explaining his proposal, which he had distributed in 1920, he wrote:

IT IS DISCOURAGING FOR THINKING PERSONS and the majority (the people) are thinking nowadays—TO GO TO THE POLLS AND FIND NOTHING ON THE BALLOTS BUT A MASS OF NAMES AND PARTY EMBLEMS staring dumbly up at them.⁵

Obviously, this is how Ives felt when he entered the voting booth in November 1912.

The notation in the first brace, under the repeated chords, reads: "etc. same chord hit hard over & over Hot Air Election Slogan." A separate memorandum adds:

this, this, or this??? A Sad Chord—a hopeless chord—a chord of futility—
§ Same 3. . . . After leaving the polls on Nat'l Election Day of 1912 walking back over Healey Chicken Farm [Hartsdale]⁶

In the election of 1912, there was certainly no lack of slogans. The Progressive Party promised the voters the "Square Deal" and a "New Nationalism"; the Democrats claimed to stand for the "New Freedom." Moreover, 1912 is a classic example of an election in which the choice offered to the voters did not represent the issues so much as the results of vicious conflicts within the parties. At the Democratic convention in Baltimore the first ballot gave a plurality, but not a majority, to Champ Clark. Seven days of behind-the-scenes machinations by Wilson's supporters followed, and finally, on the 46th ballot, "The Professor" won the nomination.⁷ At the Republican convention in Chicago the incumbent Taft was able to organize a "steam roller," which manufactured a majority and won him the nomination.⁸ Teddy Roosevelt and his indig-

nant followers thereupon withdrew to form a third party, thus splitting the Republican vote and assuring the election of Wilson.

The founding convention of the Progressive Party in Chicago was particularly replete with inflated political rhetoric. The demonstration in honor of Roosevelt lasted an hour, the crowd singing:⁹

Thou wilt not cower in the dust,
Roosevelt, O Roosevelt!
Thy gleaming sword shall never rust,
Roosevelt, O Roosevelt!

Roosevelt then gave his "Confession of Faith," declaring that the aim of the new party was "to dissolve the unholy alliance between corrupt business and corrupt politics."¹⁰ Ives had every right to be disgusted with the "hot air election slogans," and to rebel against voting for names.

We now turn to a consideration of the musical material in the manuscript.

Marginal notations refer to a "1st player," a "2nd player" (although this is crossed out), and, at the second brace, to a "3rd player." All the piano music occurs in the same range, thus the inescapable conclusion is that there must be three pianos. The sketch of these piano parts occupies the first 1½ braces, while there is nothing at all written under the actual voice part. Unless the patterns established in the pianos continue through to the end of the song, any attempt at a realization is hopeless. However, as I hope to show, a central idea of this song is precisely this: the fact that these patterns are mindlessly repeated throughout.

The pattern in the first measure, labeled "1st player," consists of a palindrome of consecutive minor ninths, nine notes long. A similar piano figure occurs in the central section of *Over the Pavements* (1906), where the ascending and descending minor ninths span the entire range of the instrument. Ives discusses such figures in his *Memos*, as an alternative way of playing chromatic scales.¹¹

The next two measures contain a series of identical chords. Ives was obviously too much in a hurry to write out all seven notes of each chord; he merely indicated the top E-flats, and then only the stems, but wrote underneath: "etc. same chord hit hard over & over." The dot at the bottom of the first of these chords is a tiny stain, and not a low F; it does not reflect light like the other note heads, which are written in pencil.¹² These chords are grouped by their beams into groups of 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7 sixteenth-notes. In other words, this is some sort of duration series, ordered by means of a rising arithmetic progression.

It is tempting to see these as equal sixteenth-notes. If this were so, there would be nine sixteenth-notes in the second measure, just as in the

first, and eighteen sixteenth-notes in the third measure—a rational temporal relationship between all the patterns based on multiples of nine. Unfortunately for this theory, the last three groups have the numerals 5, 6, and 7 written over them. This would indicate a constant quarter-note beat, divided into progressively shorter subdivisions. Duration series of this type also occur in *Over the Pavements* and in *The Gong on the Hook and Ladder* (1911). Moreover, on page 2 of the sketch for *The Gong on the Hook and Ladder*, which is on the reverse side of the piece of paper on which *Vote for Names* is sketched, the memorandum under this pattern reads: “same chord in Piano, as a gong, making beginning of ‘duration.’”¹³ However, this is inconsistent with the notation of the second measure, which does not show three quarter-note beats. This matter would be further complicated if the sign at the beginning of the second measure in the left hand were construed to be an eighth-rest. However, it is also possible that this is a belated F-clef, and it will be considered so here.

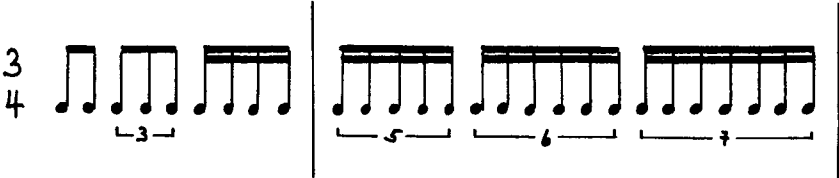
Thus, we have neither a consistent series of even sixteenth-notes in

EXAMPLE 1



multiples of nine (Example 1), nor a consistently accelerating series conforming to an even quarter-note pulse (Example 2). We have no choice

EXAMPLE 2



but to accept the typically Ivesian unconventionality of this series, which refuses to conform to any simple rule of arithmetic, and to realize that “in this and other songs . . . bars mark the phrase or sections instead of measures.”¹⁴

The pattern at the beginning of the second brace, labeled “3rd player,” consists of a minor ninth, two major sevenths, and finally two seconds separated by a minor ninth. There is a false start at notating the first two chords as connected with horizontal beams; the first has “RH” over it, the second only “L”. Apparently, at this point Ives changed his mind, gave each chord its own diagonal flags, and wrote “LH” under the sec-

ond. The rhythmic values, totalling ten sixteenth-notes, are again incompatible with any of the previous patterns, no matter how they are construed.

It is worthy of note that all these patterns are based on the minor ninth or its inversions. Also, the bass of all three is E: the lowest note in the first pattern, the lowest note of the repeated chord, and the lowest note of the last chord in the third pattern.

How do all these patterns fit together? One difficulty is the fact that nothing is clearly labeled "2nd player." However, since the first measure is clearly for the first player, and the pattern in the second brace is clearly for the third player, it stands to reason that the chord repeated 27 times is the second player's part.

In the first brace, there are three separate instructions: 1) "1st player \diagup . every turn"; 2) a sentence with the words "2nd player" crossed out, so that it reads: "1st & (2nd player) \diagup . every 2 mes"; 3) the sign \diagup spread over the two measures containing the 27 chords. Thus a "turn" is two measures long, and the two measures constituting such a "turn" are those comprising one series of 27 chords. It follows, then, that each time the second piano plays a series of 27 chords, the first piano plays its pattern together with the first measure of the second piano. This may explain the tie sign extending from the last note in the first measure over the bar line. The first piano, it seems, must hold its last note through the second measure of the second piano's pattern.

In my realization, I have taken one liberty with this pattern. At the beginning, Piano I plays its pattern alone, and is followed by Piano II, thus expressing at least once the sequence (rather than simultaneity) pictured in the manuscript, as well as making clearer the fact that the three pianos enter one after the other. From the second time round, beginning m. 4, the patterns appear together as described above.

When the third piano enters, there is an instruction indicating that the first and second repeat their patterns. There is also a repeat sign \diagup placed between the staves and spread over two measures, indicating that the whole complex, all three patterns, is repeated within the space of two measures.

There are also two dynamic markings. One is probably "*mf*" at the beginning of the sextuplet in the third measure. The other is what may be a faint crescendo mark in the second brace, extending diagonally through all three staves and both measures.

The upshot of all this is the following picture: Each piano has its own pattern, which it repeats "over & over." All three patterns have the same duration (a "turn") indicated by two "measures" not in any meter. The rhythmic values of the patterns are incompatible with each other.

At the beginning of the song, they enter one after the other, the dynamic level gradually rising.

It is now obvious that the three pianos represent the three candidates, all insistently mouthing their slogans at the same time. There is no rational relationship between the slogans; the candidates are simply trying to shout each other down. Once the complex pattern of the three slogans has been established, the voice enters, its part jumping and sliding about in a very wide range, and without any bar lines at all. This, then, must represent the voter who can think independently, and who sees through the campaign oratory. It is also obvious that there would have been no point in establishing the pattern of the pianos, unless it were to continue as an ostinato background for the voice part until the end of the song.

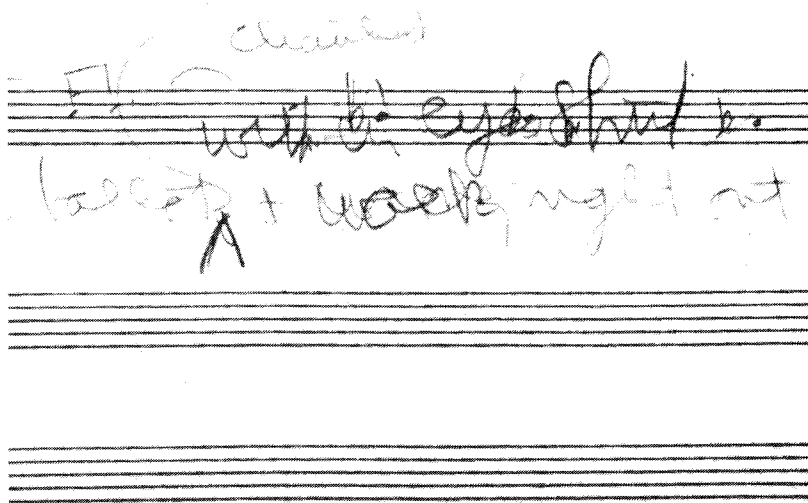
The haste and inattention to detail with which this sketch was written create difficulties in reading the voice part. Stems are not always placed correctly in relation to note heads. This is most obvious in the third note of the last brace, but can also be seen in the sketched quintuplet of chords in the third measure. In the grace notes over the word "I" in the third brace, in spite of the defective placement of the stems, it is clear from the beams that there are only two grace notes. The group of notes over the word "trying" in the second brace includes a final F, to which Ives apparently neglected to attach a stem altogether. But the note head is a pencil mark, not a stain.¹⁵ Note heads are also carelessly placed. The grace notes over the word "I" were probably meant to be B_b and C, although it is difficult to decipher them accurately. The second eighth-note over the word "what's" at the end of the second brace is probably C, and not another B; the following note is again B, and a threefold repetition of the same pitch would not be congruent with the general style of the voice part.

The additional words "with the eyes shut" were written over the notes previously written above the words "& walk right out," making this portion of the manuscript particularly messy and difficult to decipher. This is shown in Facsimile 2.

The original four notes for the four syllables of "& walk right out" can, however be discerned:

- 1) a B_b above "the";
 - 2) a flat sign inside the second *e* of "eyes" and a note head B without a stem inside the final *s*;
 - 3) a flat sign and a note head G without a stem inside the *s* of "shut";
- and
- 4) a clear A_b without a stem after "shut".

Although the text is badly underlaid, these four notes obviously belong



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to the text "& walk right out," thus leaving "with the eyes shut" with no notes at all. Furthermore, this phrase is enclosed in a circle, which also encloses the direction "chanted," and a fermata sign not over any specific note. It seems to me that the only sensible realization which takes all these details into account is one in which the pianos stop, having rests with fermatas, while the voice "chants" these four words without any specific pitches.

The foregoing assumptions will be warranted only if the result is a reading of the voice part that makes some sort of Ivesian sense. Fortunately, this is the case. Example 3 shows the suggested reading of the

EXAMPLE 3



fore, an important historical document as well as an amusing piece of music, and it would be a pity if it were lost.

I hope that the realization presented here will serve to bring this hitherto unnoticed work into the repertoire, and to add another bit of basis for the growing appreciation of this most unusual composer.

NOTES

¹ In a letter to the present writer, dated 6 May 1975.

² Reproduced by permission of Yale University Library Publications Office.

³ Charles E. Ives, *Vote for Names* (New York: Peer International, 1968.)

⁴ In a letter from Ives to E. Robert Schmitz, 1938. Reproduced in James Sykes, Program Notes to the record *The Shorter Piano Pieces of Charles Ives*, Folkways FM-3348 (1964), courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. Jean Leduc.

⁵ Charles Ives, "A Suggestion for a 20th Amendment," in *Essays Before a Sonata and Other Writings*, edited by Howard Boatwright (New York: Norton, 1962) p. 209.

⁶ John Kirkpatrick, *A Temporary Mimeographed Catalogue of the Music Manuscripts and Related Materials of Charles Edward Ives, 1874-1954*. (New Haven: Yale University Library, 1960) p. 221.

⁷ Eugene H. Roseboom, *A History of Presidential Elections from George Washington to Richard M. Nixon* (3rd ed., London: Macmillan, 1970) pp. 367-369.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

⁹ James MacGregor Burns, *The Deadlock of Democracy: Four-Party Politics in America* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963) p. 117.

¹⁰ Roseboom, p. 370.

¹¹ Charles E. Ives, *Memos*, ed. John Kirkpatrick (New York: Norton, 1972) pp. 44n, 63.

¹² Information received from John Kirkpatrick, in a letter to the present writer, dated 11 June, 1975.

¹³ Kirkpatrick, *Temporary Catalogue*, p. 47.

¹⁴ Charles Ives, *114 Songs* (Redding, Conn.: privately published, 1922) p. 78, footnote to the song "August."

¹⁵ Information received from John Kirkpatrick, in a letter to the present writer, dated 11 June 1975.

¹⁶ Judith Tick, "Ragtime and the Music of Charles Ives," *Current Musicology* 18 (1974) pp. 96-104.

VOYE FOR MALES

Charles Ives

Realization: Nachum Schoffman

Voice

Piano I

Piano II

Piano III

The first system of the score features a voice line and three piano accompaniment parts. The voice part begins with a melodic phrase in the first measure, followed by a whole rest in the second measure. Piano I plays a similar melodic phrase in the first measure, then rests. Piano II enters in the second measure with a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes, marked *(mp) (cresc.)*. Piano III remains silent. In the third measure, Piano II continues with a more complex rhythmic pattern, marked *mp*, with bracketed groups of 5, 6, and 7 notes. Piano I and Piano III remain silent.

Voice

Piano I

Piano II

Piano III

The second system continues the musical material. The voice part has a melodic phrase in the first measure, a whole rest in the second, and another melodic phrase in the third measure. Piano I plays the first melodic phrase, then rests. Piano II continues with the rhythmic pattern from the first system, marked *cresc...*. Piano III remains silent. In the third measure, Piano II continues with the complex rhythmic pattern, marked *cresc...*, with bracketed groups of 5, 6, and 7 notes. Piano I and Piano III remain silent.

Af - ter try -- ing hard to

(F)

(F)

(F)

think what's the best way to VOTE -- I say --

(F)

(F)

(F)

(chanted)

just walk right in and grab a bal- lot with the eyes shut

The first system of music consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in a 4/4 time signature and features a melodic line with lyrics: "just walk right in and grab a bal- lot with the eyes shut". The piano accompaniment is in a 4/4 time signature and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The piano part is divided into three measures, each with a bracketed number 5, 6, and 7 respectively, indicating fingerings. The piano part is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a time signature of 4/4.

and walk right out a - gain!

The second system of music consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in a 4/4 time signature and features a melodic line with lyrics: "and walk right out a - gain!". The piano accompaniment is in a 4/4 time signature and features a rhythmic pattern of eighth notes. The piano part is divided into three measures, each with a bracketed number 5, 6, and 7 respectively, indicating fingerings. The piano part is written in a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a time signature of 4/4.

A LITURGICO-MUSICAL REAPPRAISAL: TWO STUDIES

John Shepherd

Chapter 7 of *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* by Manfred Bukofzer is entitled “*Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study*.”¹ In it the author examines the cross-influences of various disciplines: musicology, liturgy, iconography, and art history. Bukofzer emphasizes the importance of such sympathetic interdisciplinary scholarship, and takes the opportunity specifically to link music with liturgy: “the musical and liturgical aspects . . . cannot be divorced; and they call for the joint efforts of specialists in both fields.”² However, in spite of his plea for balanced excellence, Bukofzer’s painstaking musicological documentation is hardly supported by equally meticulous liturgical research. Musical precision and liturgical speculation make strange bedfellows, and as a result of this uneasy alliance, several of his observations need revision.

Regarding the distinction between musical and liturgical unity, Bukofzer thought in 1949 that Peter Wagner’s *Geschichte der Messe* (1913) was “still the best book on the subject.”³ Much of the liturgical difficulty associated with his article begins here. While it is true that even today liturgical research remains a comparatively neglected topic, much significant work was achieved between 1913 and 1949, of which it appears Bukofzer could have more fully availed himself. No mention is made of one of the classic studies on the subject, *The Shape of the Liturgy* by Dom Gregory Dix, published in 1945, and which by 1949 had run to five printings.⁴ Although much of Dix’s work has now been developed and expanded, it is unwise even for present day scholars to enter the liturgical lists without reference to it. Admittedly the work is in English, but it is the English liturgy to which Bukofzer devotes significant attention, and it is important to familiarize oneself with contemporary scholars’ appreciation of their own liturgy. Other outstanding contributions in this area which would have proved useful for Bukofzer’s discussion are: W. H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum* (1898); M. Goguel, *L’Eucharistie, des origines à Justin Martyr* (1909); and W. K. Lowther Clarke, *Liturgy and Worship* (1932). For a more philosophical accounting of the relationship between worship and artistic expression, Austin Farrer’s *The Glass of Vision*, the Bampton Lectures at Oxford for 1948, has yet to be equalled.

Bukofzer claims that

from the liturgical point of view there was no need to unify the unchangeable items of the Ordinary, because they are not sung in direct succession during the celebration of the Mass, except for the Kyrie and Gloria. Even if there were unity it would be made immaterial by the intervening prayers and chants.⁵

Quite the opposite position seems more logical. Bukofzer has equated unification of "the unchangeable items of the Ordinary" with direct chronological succession. The two concepts have nothing to do with each other. Direct chronological succession was never a prerequisite for unification. The items of the Ordinary maintained their unity regardless of extra-Ordinary prayers, chants, and lessons. Indeed, if "direct succession" was the criterion for musical unity, then the Mass was significantly unified anyway, for from the Apostolic period until the Reformation the whole Eucharist was generally sung throughout. The use of the speaking voice was considered informal, particularly with regard to the solemn prayers of consecration.⁶ Furthermore, the melodic patterns sung by the celebrant, readers, and people of the early Church were directly based on common Hebraic melismatic formulae, of great antiquity and in constant use.⁷ These melodies, well known to both celebrants and people, were used throughout the entire Eucharist, including those sections later described as the Ordinary. That is, in the worship of the early Church, not only was there an inherent musical unity by virtue of the entire Mass being sung, but there was also no distinction between the music of the Ordinary and the music of the intervening prayers and chants. Historical precedent clearly supports total musical unity throughout the Mass.

The unity of the Eucharist was achieved rather through (1) the evolution of an overall liturgical form based upon a principle of clear internal development, easily discerned and actively participated in by the worshipper, and (2) a subsequent movement away from this initial practice towards an increasingly passive role afforded the worshipper. These are the two distinct criteria affecting the unity of the Ordinary. Firstly, from Apostolic times there had been developing a carefully defined understanding of the shape of the liturgy. It constituted a formal, structural entity, based upon theological principles of preparation for the consecration and reception of the Sacrament. It is clear from descriptions of early Christian liturgies that the worshippers participated to a great extent in the liturgical action.⁸ The primitive Church regarded the Eucharist as primarily an action that involved the corporate participation of all worshippers. The Eucharist was not the private domain of the celebrant and his assistants, but rather the joint action of the whole Church. The cele-

brant's contribution formed just one aspect of a larger corporate action, of which the focal points constituted what was later understood as the Ordinary. Therefore, from the very beginnings of Christian liturgy, the parts of the Ordinary were clearly highlighted as the supreme moments of corporate praise within the solemn worship of the Eucharist. In consequence, a distinct conception of the unity of the Ordinary emerged, stemming directly from the active participation of the worshippers in the liturgy.

Secondly, from the later 14th and 15th centuries the central point of eucharistic devotion turned away from the corporate, communal, active involvement of the laity, and focused increasingly on purely personal adoration. The generally uneducated laity were denied frequent communion,⁹ and were presented with a Mass entirely in Latin. Consequently, and not surprisingly, the medieval worshipper resorted to private adoration. He became "a mere spectator and listener, without a 'liturgy' in the primitive sense at all."¹⁰ Characteristic medieval piety, therefore, was individualistic and subjective devotion. This accent on personal, mystical piety represents a complete reversal in eucharistic worship from the corporate involvement of the early Church.¹¹ Yet, as a result of this enormous shift of emphasis, the unity of the Ordinary became even more apparent. Once just the highest point of participation, the Ordinary was now all that was left for the laity to attend to directly. Worshippers were even provided with private meditations to use during the liturgy, except for the parts of the Ordinary, to which they were expected to pay attention. This is clear from a study of private devotional handbooks of the period.¹² To put it in its crudest terms, priest and people went their separate ways, and kept in touch at the Ordinary. The medieval worshipper, therefore, was given a very clear idea of the unity of the Ordinary—it was now the only part of the Mass to which he directly related. Like ports in a storm, he clung to the items of the Ordinary as never before. The Ordinary now stood out clearly as a distinct, coherent unit.

That the parts of the Ordinary "were not sung in direct succession" therefore bears no relevance to the liturgical fact of their unification, a unification which had been exceptionally strong since Apostolic times, and which was at its strongest during the medieval period. There was certainly no lack of liturgical unity for the composer to overcome and bind up. Rather the opposite. A unity was already there that for too long had not been taken advantage of by composers. From the liturgical point of view, there was every need for the composer to unify the items of the Ordinary because, although they were not sung in direct succession during the celebration of the Mass, these constituent parts formed a clearly established unity in the minds of the worshippers. Of this previously

established and long acknowledged cohesion the particular unifying techniques of medieval composers proved a welcome manifestation. Bukofzer imagines that it would take "a very bold and independent mind to conceive the idea that the invariable parts of the Mass should be composed not as separate liturgical items, but as a set of five musically coherent compositions."¹³ However, by musically unifying the Ordinary, the composer was only giving form in art to what was already there in substance. In fact it would have taken a notably stagnant and philistine mind not to have noticed that the invariable parts of the Mass were not separate liturgical items, and were in consequence capable of musically cohesive composition. Rather than reflecting a "weakening of liturgical consideration," as Bukofzer suggests,¹⁴ this reflects instead a strengthening, for the unity of the Ordinary became even more obvious to the worshipper. This is not to say that the musical unification of the Ordinary did not represent a musical, as distinct from a liturgical development. But that is a different question.

Bukofzer claims that "many pious souls have found it shocking that love songs appear as *cantus firmi* of Mass cycles. This certainly is indicative of the weakening of liturgical observance."¹⁵ How? The distinction between sacred and secular is anachronistic for this period of historical development. Any assessment of medieval piety and its artistic expression must take care not to be influenced by the attitudes of post-Reformation Protestantism. In fact this distinction of sacred and secular, which lies at the heart of Bukofzer's observation, developed as a direct result of the Nominalistic thrust of the Reformation.¹⁶ In its extreme form, it virtually placed the physical world outside the sphere of redemption altogether. Those souls attracted by this limited and limiting theological outlook may well find love song themes in Mass music "shocking". For them the liturgy is a means of escape from the implications of life in the world, and certainly not the place to confront the pressures of contemporary creation. Such "pious souls" still exist, and are currently combating, not medieval love themes (whose "shocking" associations have been redeemed by time) but the dissonances of contemporary classical composers, whose sounds so effectively represent the world they would rather forget.¹⁷ On the other hand, the medieval worshipper had not yet had his artistic freedom circumscribed, and thought it normal to include all aspects of life in worship, for all aspects of life were capable of redemption. This attitude is clearly reflected in the sculptures and carvings of the great cathedrals and churches of Europe, the mystery plays, and contemporary literature. The commercial business of the cities was conducted in large measure actually inside the cathedrals.¹⁸ The basis of this attitude is the theological understanding of God and man that believes it

possible for the Christian to be brought into living contact with the substance of the Divine Life, and, in the words of the Patristic writers, "divinized." The Eucharist offers the whole of man's being to God in worship. Consequently the artist includes all aspects of life, including those relating to the natural affections, in his creations. Therefore the composer draws his material from all sources, and would certainly find nothing contradictory in including love songs in the music for the Mass.

Bukofzer states that "the mixture of Ordinary and Office and the non-liturgical use of a liturgical melody betrays, perhaps, a more serious lack of liturgical propriety than the choice of a secular cantus firmus, which, at any rate, could not create liturgical confusion."¹⁹ This statement represents a narrower view of liturgical propriety than was current in the 15th century. Firstly, as discussed above, "secular" cantus firmus is meaningless in this historical context, and there was certainly no liturgical impropriety in its use. Secondly, it is incorrect to label the Ordinary as liturgical, and the Office as non-liturgical, and therefore the subsequent musical interchange as improper. Both Office and Eucharist are liturgical. The word "liturgy" is used to describe all the prescribed services of the Church, including the canonical Hours. Only in the Eastern Orthodox Church was its meaning ever restricted to just "Eucharist."²⁰ For all those priests, clerics, and members of religious orders who participated in the daily Offices and the Eucharist, there was no dramatic separation of the two, because it was usual for the Eucharist to immediately follow an Office.²¹ In these circumstances, musical interchange would be most natural.

* * *

Jacquelyn Mattfeld has written an extremely detailed and comprehensive article entitled "Some Relationships between Texts and Cantus Firmi in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Pres."²² The purpose of her investigation is to "observe correlations between a given classification of the texts and the presence or absence of cantus firmus writing."²³ After extensive research she is able to conclude that "every motet whose text had had its own melody in the liturgy uses that melody as cantus firmus."²⁴

The bulk of the essay is spent relating texts used by Josquin to their liturgical source. Of the sixty-six motet texts found in liturgical books of the 14th to the 16th centuries, fifteen belong to Propers of the Mass. Of these one is an epistle, one a tract, nine are sequences, and four are gospel lessons. Forty-nine use texts of the canonical or votive Offices of the day. Four of these are lections, two are responsories, thirteen are Marian antiphons, twenty-five are psalms, and two are canticles. The

remaining one occurs as a hymn in the hours of a specific Office. There are also, in addition to these texts from the Mass and Office, five settings of prayers found in assorted liturgical books which were to be said before or during Mass or the Hours. These are the writer's conclusions.²⁵ There seem to be times, however, when the process of categorization becomes a little strained. For example, the text of *Vultum tuum*, which "seems to have been made up of a disjunct accumulation of six brief independent prayers to the Virgin, each of which contains a patchwork of quotations from various Marian prayers and antiphons, the Litany, etc., followed by a three-fold prayer to Christ."²⁶ In examples of this sort, the hope for watertight categorization is very faint. The author openly acknowledges the difficulty: "there are texts of introits, graduals, antiphons, and responsories, which are often a juxtaposition of materials from several places in the Bible."²⁷ There is a similar lack of precision in placing the Davidic lament *Planxit autem David*, which exactly follows the text of II Samuel 1: 17-27, set without deletions or alterations. The best that can be done is to relate parts of this text to a most remote source, the lections of the Hours of the Second Sunday after Trinity.²⁸ Overall, Mattfeld has to deal with many instances of textual sources that are either ill-fitting, or remote, or both. This observation is inevitably coupled with questions as to the appropriateness of motets at some of the specified liturgical occasions. For instance, four motets contain texts from various lections of Matins: *Responde mihi*, *Stetit autem Solomon*, *Liber Generationis Jesu Christi*, and *Factum est autem*.²⁹ Even if Josquin did select the texts from the lections as they fell within this particular Office, it would be unwise to assume, as Mattfeld does,³⁰ that the subsequent motets were composed for performance at that Office. Matins was prescribed for the eighth hour of the night, i.e., 2 a.m. It had been observed as such by the chief religious orders and by the great secular cathedrals and churches since the general adoption of the Rule of St. Benedict of Nursia (ca.480 - ca.550) throughout Western Europe by the 8th century.³¹ The only variation in the time of performance would be if the rule were slightly relaxed to allow the recitation of Matins immediately before Lauds (6 a.m.). Either way, the practicalities involved in achieving musical coherence from a group of musicians or a group of musical ecclesiastics at 2 a.m. or 6 a.m. would be formidable, especially if confronted with the demands of a motet by Josquin.

There is an aspect of medieval liturgical practice not treated by Mattfeld that helps to explain the occasions for which these motets were composed, and which certainly alleviates the task of aligning musical performances with often obscure Offices that were unlikely to require music anyway. The solution turns upon the principle of extemporization

within the Mass itself.³² Mattfeld tends to limit the use of the motet to the liturgical occasion which contains the texts.³³ This approach falls within her overall tendency to accent the inflexibility of liturgical form: "writers felt far less bound by the authority of tradition and Holy Scripture as implicit in the Mass when they turned to the Office."³⁴ Again:

Although the liturgy of the Mass had gradually incorporated patristic texts, especially where newly instituted feasts were difficult to express in Biblical texts alone, personal expression and imaginative creativeness were never encouraged as a means of enlarging the repertory of available texts. Poetic liberty in the Mass is evidenced only in the Alleluia and the tropes and the sequences, and these were not accepted everywhere.³⁵

This attitude is most strange considering the widespread medieval practice of extemporization at the Mass. Perhaps there is a confusion with the Byzantine Church, whose liturgy did indeed settle into profound immobility during the medieval period. But not so in the West, where there was continuous and lively development, chiefly within the principles laid down by Alcuin (735-804), the great inspirer of the Carolingian Renaissance. The shape of the liturgy certainly retained its distinctive overall format, so that even the most remarkable of the medieval rites—Paris, Trier, Sarum, Autun, Rouen, Hereford, Carmelite, Carthusian, Dominican—are all clearly derived from the one universal "Western" rite which the work of Alcuin had created. Nevertheless there remain important variants in details of ceremonial, in the priest's private prayers, and in the texts of the Propers. Freedom to compose and use local Propers was hardly affected by Charlemagne's reforms,³⁶ and the formation of local Propers continued throughout the Middle Ages. This practice accounts for differences even within an individual rite. For instance, the Propers of the Sarum rite according to the Norwich use vary significantly from the same rite as used in Salisbury. The compilation and writing of new Propers for such votive Masses was prolific. The Propers had to correspond to all sorts of local commemorations, customs, and regional idiosyncracies. Some of these votives were preserved for regular use—for example, the Mass in Time of War, the Mass of the Five Wounds, the Mass against the Pagans. Those of more limited pastoral application, or pertaining to more local situations either have not been preserved or are coming to light very occasionally, mostly in the form of battered service sheets.³⁷ Their prolific existence is testified to, however, by the recorded efforts of the curial Congregation of Rites in the post-Tridentine period to centralize and control the haphazard array of local votives. The French dioceses resisted such control until the period immediately fol-

lowing the Revolution, and the system of curial control never became fully effective in France until the 19th century.³⁸ The history of Western liturgy is therefore littered with discarded devotions of all kinds, most of which were never reproduced in missals because of their localized relevance.

It is within this category that many of Josquin's motets seem most appropriate. They are likely to be occasional works, composed for one time at one place, and as such form part of the devotional pattern of the Western Church which, contrary to Mattfeld's understanding, was extremely fluid with regard to the ascriptions of its worship, and maintained a flexible spontaneity concerning the choice of Propers most suited to the particular votive being celebrated. Josquin may well have taken texts from the responsories to the fourth and second lections at Matins on the Feast of Mary Magdalene,³⁹ but very likely that was just where he found the verses best suited to his votive assignment for the occasion. It certainly does not follow that the motet was composed for and sung at the service from which the text was derived. It was the Mass which was the form most used for the expression of votive intentions, and it was at this service, rather than at one of the Offices, that the liturgical motet would have been most appropriate.

Two other observations should be made. Firstly, Mattfield mentions motet texts that are comprised of a selection of some of the verses appropriate for the day. It is likely that these abbreviated texts were an increasingly necessary contraction during the Middle Ages as the accent in worship changed more and more to private adoration on the part of the worshipper, outlined in the first study above. As the laity's role in active eucharistic participation gradually declined,⁴⁰ so the people's oblation at the Offertory gradually disappeared. Therefore, less music was required to cover the Offertory ceremony, which once involved the whole congregation in the presentation of the eucharistic offerings, but which now required just the celebrant and his immediate assistants in a simple preparation. As a result, the passages designated for the Offertory, usually psalm verses, were not set in their entirety by composers.

Secondly, it is much more likely for motets to have been sung at the Mass than at the Office in view of the time available for meditation. At the Office there was total participation from all present. Everyone could join in throughout. Not so in the Mass. Much time was made available for the laity to proceed with their private devotions, especially throughout the consecration, elevation, and reception of communion by the clergy. It is during these periods of silent adoration that the liturgical motet of which Mattfield speaks would have the most meaningful place.⁴¹

NOTES

¹ Manfred F. Bukofzer, "Caput: A Liturgico-Musical Study," in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950) pp. 217-310.

² Bukofzer, p. 306.

³ Bukofzer, p. 218, footnote 3.

⁴ Dom Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (London: Dacre Press, 1945).

⁵ Bukofzer, p. 217.

⁶ Dix, p. 141.

⁷ Eric Werner, "Music," *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* 3 (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962) pp. 457-469; Werner, "The Attitude of the Early Church Fathers Towards Hebrew Psalmody," *Review of Religion* 7 (1943) pp. 339-352; and Werner, "The Origin of the Eight Modes of Music," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 21 (1948) pp. 211-255.

⁸ Clement of Rome, "First Epistle to the Corinthians, XL-XLII, XLIV," in *The Apostolic Fathers*, ed. J. B. Lightfoot (London: Macmillan, 1889-1890) pp. 26-29 (English trans., pp. 292-294. Also in *A New Eusebius*, ed. J. Stevenson [London: S.P.C.K., 1963] p. 11); "The Teaching of the Apostles, (The Didache) VII-XV," in *The Apostolic Fathers*, pp. 220-224 (English trans., pp. 232-235. Also in *A New Eusebius*, p. 126); Justin, "Apology, I, 61-67," in *A New Eusebius*, p. 65 (also in *Documents of the Christian Church*, ed. H. Bettenson [London: Oxford University Press, 1959] pp. 93-95); Tertullian, "Apology, XXXIX, 1-6," in *A New Eusebius*, p. 174; E. C. Whitaker (ed.), *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy* (London: S.P.C.K., 1960.)

⁹ Even where lay communion was more frequent than it was in medieval England (as in western Germany and the Low Countries), the development of individual piety remains dominant.

¹⁰ Dix, p. 598.

¹¹ Dix, p. 249.

¹² Gaston Bonet-Maury, *Gérard de Groote* (Paris: Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1878); Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance* (New York: Century Co., 1925); E. F. Jacob, "Gerard Groote and the Beginnings of the 'New Devotion' in the Low Countries," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 3 (1952) pp. 40-57; "Langeforde's Meditations in the Time of Mass," in *Tracts on the Mass*, ed. John Wickham Legg (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1904) pp. 19ff.

¹³ Bukofzer, p. 218.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Bukofzer, p. 225.

¹⁶ Louis Bouyer, *The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism* (London: Harvill Press, 1956).

¹⁷ John H. Shepherd, "Music and Liturgy," *The AGO Times* 1 (New York City Chapter—American Guild of Organists, 1976) no. 3, pp. 4-6, 24-25.

¹⁸ L. W. Cowie, "Paul's Walk [until the Great Fire]," *History Today* 24 (1974) pp. 41-47.

¹⁹ Bukofzer, p. 225.

²⁰ "Liturgy," *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross (London: Oxford University Press, 1958) p. 815.

²¹ John David Chambers, *Divine Worship in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London: Pickering, 1877) pp. 309ff.

²² Jacquelyn Mattfeld, "Some Relationships between Texts and Cantus Firmi in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Pres," *Journal of the American Musicological*

Society 14 (1961) pp. 159-183. This article is reduced from the author's Ph.D. dissertation entitled *Cantus Firmus in the Liturgical Motets of Josquin des Pres* (Yale University, 1959).

²³ Mattfeld, p. 159.

²⁴ Mattfeld, p. 177.

²⁵ Mattfeld, p. 167.

²⁶ Mattfeld, p. 162.

²⁷ Mattfeld, p. 163.

²⁸ That Mattfeld specifies Trinity II as "the octave of the Feast of the Holy Sacrament" (p. 166) makes the occasion no less remote. In fact, the celebration of Corpus Christi (the Feast of the Holy Sacrament) had taken place on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday since Pope Urban IV's "Transiturus" Bull of 1294. If a Sunday observance were also required, then this would have occurred on the First Sunday after Trinity, the only Sunday within the octave, not on the Second Sunday after Trinity.

²⁹ Mattfeld, p. 169.

³⁰ Mattfeld, pp. 169, 173.

³¹ Richard W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, Pelican History of the Church, 2 (New York: Penguin Books, 1970) chapter 6, especially pp. 218-223; Dix, p. 603; "Breviary," *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross (London: Oxford University Press, 1958) pp. 196-197.

³² "Extemporization" in the sense of a free local orientation of the intention of the Eucharist for a particular occasion, for which musicians were expected to prepare relevant compositions.

³³ The "liturgical occasions" are mostly Offices, in forty-nine out of sixty-six instances. Mattfeld, p. 167.

³⁴ Mattfeld, p. 160.

³⁵ Mattfeld, p. 161.

³⁶ The whole subject of Carolingian reform is well treated in Erna Patzelt, *Die karolingische Renaissance* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1965).

³⁷ For example, see Christopher Wordsworth and Henry Littlehales, *The Old Service-Books of the English Church* (London: Methuen & Co., 1904).

³⁸ Alexander R. Widler, *The Church in an Age of Revolution, 1789 to the Present Day*, Pelican History of the Church, 5 (New York: Penguin Books, 1971 [rev. ed.]).

³⁹ Mattfeld, p. 162.

⁴⁰ Dix, p. 598ff.

⁴¹ These two studies have sought to update extant research into the relationship between music and liturgy. Both were prepared for courses at Columbia University under Professor Lecman Perkins. For his inspiration and assistance I am extremely grateful.

*THE KETCHAM TUNE-BOOK:
EXAMPLES OF 18th-CENTURY
HYMNODY IN INDIANA*

Claude K. Sluder

The Indiana University Music Library in Bloomington, Indiana, now possesses a manuscript tune-book which appears to date from the early decades of the 19th century. Approximately 5½ by 8 inches (14.1 by 20.2 centimeters), this oblong manuscript is roughly bound in a cloth-cardboard cover. Handwritten comments on the inside covers are illegible because of water and insect damage and a broken board.

Since the title page is badly torn, the identification of the owner poses a problem.

The manuscript was given to the Music Library by Miss Josephine Ketcham Piercy, who reports that it had been in her family as long as she could remember and had always been referred to as John Ketcham's.¹ Miss Piercy is the great-great-granddaughter of John Ketcham.²

Autobiographical comments by John Ketcham and remarks by Rev. Hopkins, his pastor, recorded in the *Reminiscences of Col. John Ketcham*, printed in 1865, indicate that he was an educated and religious man.³ Rev. Hopkins notes that in Ketcham's later years, when he lived some distance from the church, he would assemble his family on Sabbath evenings and have his son read from a collection of sermons and have the whole family "sing their familiar hymns, often selecting those which were his favorites."⁴ A man of such piety may well have owned one or more tune-books.

With such evidence supporting the attribution of the manuscript to John Ketcham, there only remains to determine if his name will fit into the space available on the page. At first glance, the space will not hold the missing five letters. However, a comparison of the extant letters shows that they differ in width; the small capital E following the K is significantly narrower than any other small capital letter. If the E is taken as a standard, the missing five small capital letters fit readily into the available space as can be seen in Example 1. Therefore, taking into account all the available information, I see no reason not to continue referring to this manuscript as the Ketcham Tune-Book.

John Ketcham was born in 1782 in Washington County, Maryland. In 1784, his family moved to the Kentucky territory and settled some six

EXAMPLE 1: Title Page, reconstructed



miles from Boone's Station, which was founded by Squire Boone, Daniel's brother, in 1779 in what is now Shelby County, Kentucky.⁵ Between 1784 and 1792, Indians killed three men on Ketcham's father's farm and forced the family to "seek protection in Boone's Station."⁶ In 1792, Ketcham's father was captured by the Indians and taken as a slave to their village near Detroit, Michigan, but finally escaped to return to Kentucky within a year of his capture. Such was the context of John Ketcham's younger years.

In 1802—the year appearing on the title page of the manuscript—John Ketcham married Elizabeth Percy. The tune-book and this event may then be related, as such special gift books were popular for such occasions during the early 19th century. In 1811, he moved his family to Jackson County in the Indiana Territory.

During the Indian Wars of 1812 to 1814, those who remained in Indiana transformed their homes into forts identified by the family or families living therein. In March of 1813, the Indians badly wounded John and killed one of his companions, but by June of the same year John apparently had recovered enough to enlist in the mounted Rangers. Within his first month, he killed and scalped an Indian and, in John's words, "Was very proud of it—got leave to go to Kentucky to show it to my Daddy and Momma—I guess they thought I had done it about right."⁷

After his service, John tells us that Governor Harrison, "hearing that I was a fellow of pluck and had killed an Indian, sent me a commission as an Associate Judge."⁸ Killing an Indian may seem a dubious criterion for political success, but it insured him a fast rising future. In 1818, the family moved west to Monroe County, Indiana, where John became a successful farmer, owned a grain mill, built the county court house, and continued his duties as an Associate Judge in Monroe County. He was elected colonel in the militia because he was the only one in the community with a saber. He also served as one of General Andrew Jackson's electors and served in the state legislature.

John Ketcham died in 1865 and was buried beside his wife in the family cemetery that is just south of Bloomington, Indiana. The log cabin that he probably built, and in which he may have lived, once stood within a half mile of the Ketcham Cemetery. The cabin, which was dismantled by the Folklore Department of Indiana University, will soon become a part of the Pioneer Village of Indiana University.

The adversities and hardships during the settlement of the frontier must surely have made religious men more fervent in their faith. It is not surprising that references to items of the period should appear in the hymn texts. How meaningful the text of the Danbury hymn must have been to those men and women when it compared life's brevity with the

so familiar phenomena of their existence: "Time, what an empty vapor tis and days how swift they are; Swift as an Indian arrow flies, or like a shooting star."⁹

The original table of contents of the manuscript, being on the reverse side of the title page, has also been damaged, and, in addition, it omits several items. The Appendix provides a complete table of contents which supplies the composers, who were not given in the manuscript. Table 1 contains a breakdown of the various items within the manuscript.

TABLE 1: Breakdown of Contents

1	Title Page (incomplete and damaged)	
1	Table of Contents (incomplete and damaged)	
1	poem (on back leaf; some parts damaged)	
6	pages of theoretical comments called "Gammit" (on pages 84-89)	
78	musical items	
	72 hymn tunes	6 anthems
	1 .. 1-voice	1 .. 3-voice
	5 .. 2-voice	5 .. 4-voice
	64 .. 3-voice	
	2 .. 4-voice	
	Included in the 72 hymn tunes are:	
	12 tunes in shaped-notes	
	2 .. 2-voice	
	10 .. 3-voice	
	19 fuguing tunes	
	18 .. 3-voice	
	1 .. 4-voice	
	Only one anthem (4-voice) uses shaped-notes	

The manuscript consists of three gatherings. A comparison of the number of pages within each gathering indicates that one leaf is missing from the first and also from the third.

No watermarks are discernible in the first or third gatherings, but the second gathering contains the watermarks of DELAWARE and WY & Co. The Historical Society of Delaware identifies this as the William Young and Company of Delaware.¹⁰ This paper mill was active from 1795 until its destruction by fire in 1814. Thomas S. Gravell, who has done extensive research on the watermarks of this area, says that Young did not acquire molds large enough for this manuscript until 1800.¹¹ Therefore, the paper of this manuscript was produced between 1800 and 1814.

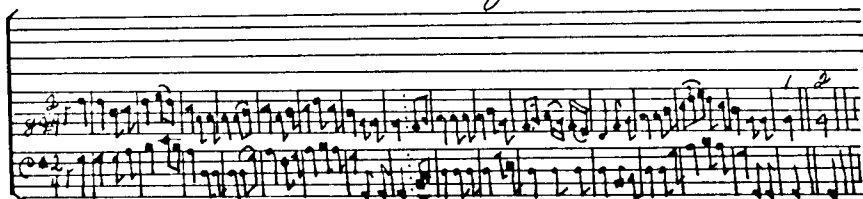
Not only the notation, but also the staves were drawn by hand, and of

course the text was hand copied as well. The number of staves per page varies from four to eight. The size of the individual staff sometimes varies and the pen occasionally slips while drawing a staff.

Shaped-notes appear in the last third of the manuscript. The four shapes—triangle, circle, square, and lozenge as seen in Example 2—re-

EXAMPLE 2

Indian Chief P. M.

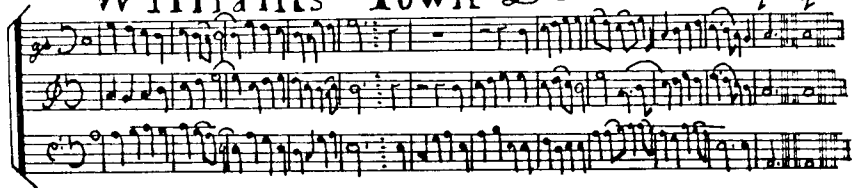


semble the system found in the *Easy Instructor* of Little and Smith which appeared around 1800 and which was one of the first successful tune-books with shaped-notes.¹² Since the titles of nearly all the shaped-note tunes are in script, while the others have been painstakingly drawn in block letters, and since the shaped-notes themselves appear less carefully formed, this part of the manuscript may be in another hand. These two notations occur in irregular alternation in the closing portion of the manuscript.

The plain note sections, as shown in Example 3, also contain certain

EXAMPLE 3

Williams Town L. M.



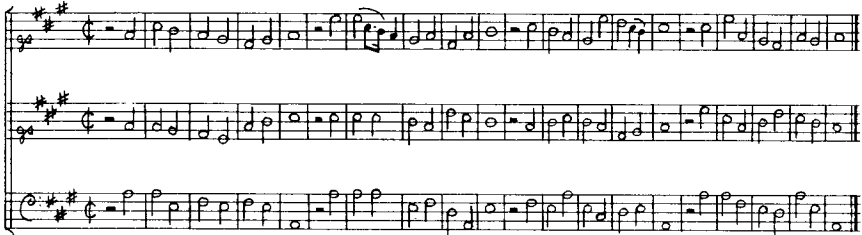
peculiarities. The G clef is drawn as a script g, the semicircle of the bass clef is reversed, and our treble clef is placed on the third line to indicate the pitch b. The manuscript also uses the alto clef. Another peculiarity is that all downward stems connect to the right-hand side of the note head.

Theoretical examples, referred to within the manuscript as the "Gammit," were copied on the last page of the manuscript running backwards. It gives the fasola scale, the number of each line and space of the four clef signatures, a small dictionary of terms and signs used within the manuscript, and a brief summary of the "Moods" of common and triple

time. The theoretical explanations seem to be of English provenance. The fasola system was commonly used in England and in the colonies; the explanation that a flat before a note sinks it a half-step is peculiar to English usage of this period, and the terms crotchet and quaver are used in the discussion of the moods.

THE MUSIC

Since the tunes were unfamiliar to me, I was momentarily at a loss to locate the part which carried the melody. Then I found the “Old 100th,” a tune familiar as the “Doxology.” This setting, given in Example 4: “Old 100th” (L.M.)



4, can serve as an introduction to the other hymn tunes.

The initials L.M. indicate long meter and mean that any poem of four lines with eight syllables per line can be used with this tune. The other metric indications used in the Ketcham Ms. can be seen in Table 2.

TABLE 2: Metric Indications

- C.M. .. common meter: four lines of 8, 6, 8, and 6 syllables
- S.M. .. short meter: four lines of 6, 6, 8, and 6 syllables
- P.M. .. peculiar or particular meter: any other combination of eight or six syllables
- L.M. .. long meter: four lines of 8, 8, 8, and 8 syllables

Obviously, these were all-purpose tunes appropriate for use with any text of matching metric structure. There are seventy-two (72) tunes in the Ketcham Ms. Twelve tunes have the complete text and nine others give an incipit of the first line.

The middle voice (or the tenor) carries the melody of the “Old 100th”—a common feature of many of the American tune-books of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. The three-part setting of bass, tenor (melody), and treble corresponds to the norm of the manuscript.

Notice the harmonic structure. The sound of diads involving $\frac{8}{3}$ or $\frac{8}{5}$ constructions is characteristic of this style. In the “Old 100th” triads occur

in 13 of 32 sonorities; 15 of the 32 sonorities are diads which include the interval of the third. The first phrase opens with a unison; the next three phrases open with triads. The final cadence is a unison/octave; two inner cadences are diads of $\frac{8}{3}$ and one inner cadence is a $\frac{12}{5}$ construction.

In the style of these 18th-century tunes, parallels can occur between any interval including the unison, the perfect fourth and fifth, and the octave. Thus "William's Town" (Example 3) contains a number of parallel sounds. This style results from the movement of the individual voice line being more important than the vertical harmonic structure.

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY OF METER SIGNATURES

C	1 time
♯	7 times (twice in anthems)
o	57 times (nine times in anthems)
$\frac{2}{4}$	20 times (ten times in anthems)
$\frac{3}{4}$	10 times (once in an anthem)
$\frac{3}{8}$	2 times
$\frac{6}{8}$	1 time (in an anthem)
$\frac{6}{4}$	3 times (twice in anthems)
$\frac{6}{8}$	3 times (used only in anthems)

METER CHANGES IN ANTHEMS

"David's Lamentation," Billings ..	$\frac{2}{4}$	no changes
"Denmark," Dr. Madan ..	$\frac{2}{4}$ - $\frac{3}{8}$ - $\frac{2}{4}$	
"Rose of Sharon," Billings ..	$\frac{2}{4}$ - $\frac{6}{4}$ - $\frac{2}{4}$ - $\frac{6}{8}$ - $\frac{2}{4}$ - $\frac{6}{4}$	
"Farewell Anthem," French ..	o - $\frac{2}{4}$ - $\frac{6}{8}$ - $\frac{6}{4}$ - o	
"Heavenly Vision," French ..	o - ♯ - o - ♯	
"The Dying Christian," Billings ..	o - $\frac{2}{4}$ - $\frac{3}{4}$ - o - $\frac{2}{4}$ -	
	o - $\frac{2}{4}$ - o - $\frac{6}{8}$ - $\frac{2}{4}$ - o	

As observed in Table 3, there are nine meter signatures in the manuscript—four duple meters, three simple triple meters, and two compound meters. The hymn tunes maintain the same meter throughout; but five of the six anthems change meters frequently. Table 3 also shows the meter changes occurring within the anthems.

The theoretical explanations of the Ketcham Ms. include a discussion showing the “mood” of common and triple meters. The first mood of common meter, similar to our 4/4, has a semibreve in a measure which is held four equal beats, two down and two up, or which is leisurely counted one, two, three, four. Explained by their relationship to the first mood, the remaining three moods of common time are given proportional tempos such as “half as quick again (as the first),” or “as fast again as the first, two beats in a bar,” or “beat like the third mood only a third faster.” Clearly, a meter marking during this period implied a tempo.

The Ketcham Ms. contains nineteen fuguing tunes. According to Irving Lowens, the fuguing tune developed in England; James Lyon introduced it to the colonies in his *Urania*, a tune-book of 1761.¹³ Fuguing tunes were being composed by the American William Billings during the 1780s; they quickly spread and remained popular well into the 19th century with such composers as Lewis Edson, Timothy Swan, and others.

“Lenox,” a typical fuguing tune by Lewis Edson (1748-1820), enjoyed especially wide popularity, finding its way even into the Ketcham Ms. (see Example 5). The tune, in two sections, begins homophonically and

EXAMPLE 5: “Lenox” (Fuguing tune in P.M.)



moves to a definite cadence on the tonic. Each voice then enters imitatively within the harmony. Repetition of the imitative section would result in the overall ABB form which was commonly used.

The Ketcham Ms. contains six anthems. These vary in length from one to ten pages; as seen in Table 3, five of the six anthems are characterized by frequent meter changes. The anthems often consist of several sections; each section setting a portion of text in a style similar to the hymn tunes. Thus, the anthem sometimes resembles a series of hymn

tunes unified into a work because they set a part of the text. Thematic devices of organization, such as forms like AAB, ABA, fugal forms, or sonata-type forms with development of thematic ideas, are not used in the Ketcham Ms.

Occasionally, while copying the manuscript, the scribe, or scribes, made errors as, for example, in the tune of "Eunitia." The Ketcham version is in A major, but on the fifth note, the treble slips into G major. This is the same key which is used in the setting found in the Wyeth *Repository of Sacred Music, Part II* of 1813. Could the scribe have been copying Wyeth, while attempting to transpose the whole piece up a tone?

In "Newport" the scribe completed only the top line. Comparing it with a setting in the *Missouri Harmony* of 1814, several errors appear. In the first phrase, the opening rhythm should be a half-note and two quarter-notes, not a whole-note; thus, the first phrase is off two beats. The second phrase does not match anything in the *Missouri Harmony* at all. The third and fourth phrases are correct. The scribe's pen slipped when drawing the second group of staves. This tune suggests that, regardless of where the melody appeared, the copyist worked from the top down. It also shows, along with other two-part settings, that the scribe occasionally must have ruled three staves for several pages and then used only the number of staves necessary for the tune.

Curiously, the tune "William's Town" contains a single, correct shaped-note. This is the only shaped-note in the first gathering of the manuscript, but it suggests that at least some of the examples in normal notation were copied from an original source in shaped-notes.

The tune in the Ketcham Ms. of "New 100th" matches nearly note for note the three-voice setting in *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes* of Rev. Tufts in 1726. According to Irving Lowens, most of Rev. Tufts's music can be traced to John Playford's *Whole Book of Psalms* or to Thomas Walter's *Ground and Rules of Musik Explained*.¹⁴ The "New 100th," however, has not been traced to any other English or American source. Thus, it may well be the oldest American psalm tune and may be unique to the history of American hymnology.

Many of the tunes in the Ketcham Ms. are among the most popular of the period. Sixteen of them are also found in the Wyeth *Repository of Sacred Music, Part II* of 1813. Eight of these sixteen have been identified by Irving Lowens as folk-tunes which were printed for the first time in Wyeth; and, if Lowens' dating of these folk-tunes is correct, then portions of the Ketcham Ms. may date after 1813.¹⁵ The *Sacred Harp* contains thirty-two of the same tunes, and the *Missouri Harmony* contains over forty. It should be noted that nearly all of the tunes in the Ketcham Ms. are three-voice settings while the same tunes appear in

Wyeth, the *Sacred Harp*, or the *Missouri Harmony* in four voice settings. A comparison of the two settings shows that frequently the Ketcham Ms. leaves out the alto part of the four-voice setting while copying the other three parts nearly note for note. None of these three sources, however, match the ordering of the tunes or the arrangement of the pages found in the Ketcham Ms.

Within the Ketcham Ms. we find a large collection of hymn tunes and anthems, many the most popular of the early 19th century, that were composed in the style of the late 18th-century New England composers. We can prove that this body of music was selected to be copied and was used within one community of southern Indiana. Hopefully, by tracing the possible sources from which these tunes were copied, we can identify what tune-books were available in this area and then perhaps start to piece together the puzzle of the musical influences in the Midwest for the period from the Revolution to the Civil War.¹⁶

NOTES

¹ Josephine Ketcham Piercy, telephone conversation, 5 March 1974.

² Lura B. Emery, "Ketcham, Percy and Lewis Genealogy" (typescript).

³ Rev. Hopkins, *Reminiscences of Col. John Ketcham*, (Bloomington, Indiana: Whitaker & Walker, Printers, 1866). Unless stated otherwise, all biographical information on John Ketcham is taken from this source.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵ George L. Willis, Sr., *History of Shelby County Kentucky*, (Louisville, Kentucky: C. T. Dearing Printing Company, Inc., 1929) p. 47.

⁶ Hopkins, *Reminiscences*, p. 7.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Ketcham Manuscript, Bloomington, Indiana, Music Library, Rare Book MI .K43, p. 53.

¹⁰ Historical Society of Delaware, personal letter.

¹¹ Thomas S. Gravell, personal letter.

¹² Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America*, (New York: Norton & Company, 1964) p. 116.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁶ The author wishes to thank Dr. Malcolm Brown for the help, advice, and encouragement which he has given.

APPENDIX: Table of Contents of the Ketcham Tune-Book

F <u>All Saints</u> . . Hall	27	<u>New 100th</u>	14
Amenda . . Morgan	41	<u>New Monmouth</u> . . Billings	4
Amherst . . Billings	49	<u>Newingham</u>	13
Aylesbury . . Chetham	6	<u>Newport</u> (a1)	48
Batrell	55	+ <u>93rd</u> . . Chapin	5
F <u>Bridgewater</u> . . Edson	22	+ <u>95th</u> . . Chapin	5
Brunswick	14	F <u>Norwick</u> . . Hibbard	15
Bunkershill . . A. Law	8	F <u>Ocean</u> . . Swan	16
Cap. Kidd (a2)	63	<u>Old 100th</u>	6
Carlisle	8	<u>Paris</u>	53
Coleshill . . Barton	12	<u>Pilgrims Farewell</u>	47
<u>Cookham</u> (a2)	56	F <u>Pleasant Valley</u> . . Morgan	26
F <u>Danbury</u> . . Read	53	* <u>Portland</u>	79
David's Lamentation, anthem by Billings	43	F <u>Rainbow</u> . . Swan	45
Denmark, anthem by Dr. Madan	18	<u>Rochester</u> . . Holdroyd	7
* <u>The Dying Christian</u> , anthem by Billings	80	+ <u>Rockbridge</u> . . Chapin	1
+ <u>Eunita</u> . . Chapin	10	+ <u>Rockingham</u> . . Chapin	2
Fairfield . . Hitchcock	12	<u>Rose of Sharor</u> , anthem by Billings	29
<u>Farewell Anthem</u> , anthem by French	64	<u>Rose Tree</u> (a2)	62
<u>Gethsemane</u>	40	<u>Salisbury</u> . . Brownson	52
F <u>Greenfield</u> . . Edson	23	* <u>Salvation</u>	78
<u>Heavenly Vision</u> , anthem by Billings	70	* <u>Seasons or 121st</u>	55
<u>Hiding Place</u>	3	<u>Shelbyville</u>	3
F <u>Huntington</u> . . Morgan	24	F <u>Sherburne</u> . . Read	42
** <u>Indian Chief</u>	78	* <u>Shropshire</u>	59
* <u>Indian Philosopher</u>	54	<u>Sophonria</u>	7
<u>Kingsbridge</u>	25	<u>Springfield</u>	28
F <u>Lenox</u> . . Edson	11	<u>Stockbridge</u>	41
<u>Lexington</u>	49	<u>Suffield</u> . . King	15
<u>Liberty Hall</u>	2	* <u>30th</u>	57
F <u>Lisbon</u> . . Read	13	* <u>Tribulation</u> . . Chapin	57
<u>Maryland</u>	44	F* <u>Tumbrill</u> . . Benham	58
<u>Mear</u> . . Williams	11	+ <u>24th</u> . . Chapin	4
<u>Mendum</u> . . Billings	51	+ <u>Vernon</u> . . Chapin	10
<u>Middle Town</u> . . Bull	50	<u>Virginia</u> . . Brownson	21
F <u>Milford</u> . . Stephenson	46	<u>Wells</u> . . Holdroyd	1
F <u>Montgomery</u> . . Morgan	16	F* <u>Williams town</u> . . Brown	22
* <u>New America</u> . . Whitmore	62	contains one shaped-note	
		* <u>Winter</u> . . Read	56
		F <u>Worcester</u> . . Wood	60
		* <u>Wrey</u> (a2)	59

Underlined items not contained in original Table of Contents.

F stands for fuguing tune.

* stands for shaped-notes used.

+ means a folk-tune identified by I. Lowens as published the first time in Wyeth Repository, Part II, 1813.