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contents

articles

THE MUSICIANS OF THE ROYAL STABLE UNDER CHARLES VIII AND LOUIS XII (1484-1514)

Stephen Bonime

In France during the Renaissance the personnel of the royal Ecurie (the king's Stable) included a special corps of musicians. They were the players of the loud winds (trumpets, fifes, sackbuts, and double-reeds), the "Swiss" field drums, and eventually the violins. All fit into the category of *hauts instruments,* in contrast with the soft *(bas)* instruments of the Chambre. These primarily outdoor musicians took part in state ceremonies, accompanied the army, and probably served as a royal dance band as well.

Virtually all contemporary accounts of French Renaissance *entrées,* coronation and funeral processions, and other pageantry mention the participation of trumpets.[1] They often designate the specific types: the straight *bucine* and, especially, the folded *clairon.* Chronicled almost as consistently are the fife and drum players, called *phifres* and *tabourins* or *tabourins souysses* (or *allemans*). This constellation of instruments calls to mind the text and music of two early 16th-century compositions by Janequin: a work celebrating a peace settlement of 1530, which opens with the words, "Chantons, sonnons trompetes, tabourins, phifres, et clerons;" and *La Guerre,* which imitates chorally the sounds of the Ecurie instruments on the battlefield of Marignano in 1515.

The trumpeters were the best paid and most numerous players attached to the Royal Stable until shortly after France's first invasion of Italy (1494-95), when Charles VIII and Louis XII began importing ultramontane *sacquebutes* and *haulxboys* (see Tables 1 and 2). Their introduction gave the French court at the turn of the century its first resident *alta*—the ensemble of double-reeds (shawm and bombard) and sackbut (or slide-trumpet), documented as early as *ca.* 1430 at the Burgundian court, 1450 in Florence, and 1516 in Emperor Maximilian's *Triumph.*[2] In pictorial representations these groups are shown most often playing

TABLE 1: Manuscripts containing records of the Royal Stable, 1487-1509.

10/87-9/88	Arch. nat. *KK.73*, fol. 174*
10/90-9/91	Arch. nat. *KK.76*
10/94	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2927*, fol. 193
2/95	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 3087*, fol. 96′
10/95	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2926*, fol. 78′
1/96	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2927*, fol. 8′
3/96	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2927*, fol. 104
4/96	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2914*, fol. 24
5/96	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2927*, fol. 84′
7/96	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2927*, fol. 125′
8/96	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2927*, fol. 207′
9/96	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2914*, fol. 42
1/98	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2926*, fol. 84′
2/98	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2926*, fol. 93
3/98	Arch. nat. *KK.74*, fol. 165′
Pre-6/98	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2927*, fol. 29′
7/98	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2927*, fol. 157′
9/98	Arch. nat. *KK.74*, fol. 172
10/98-9/99	Arch. nat. *KK.87*, fol. 71
10/02	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2926*, fol. 67
9/03	Bibl. nat. *Ms. fr. 2927*, fol. 67′
10/07-9/08	Arch. nat. *KK.86*, fol. 9
11/09	Bibl. nat. *Nouv. acq. fr. 21163*, fol. 1

* The folios listed indicate where the *musicians* are first mentioned.

in processions and for dances. Such activities also included fifes and drums, played by the consistently lowest-paid musicians in the Ecurie.

Most musicological research on music and musicians at the French court in the 15th and 16th centuries has concentrated on composers and singers of the Chapelle Royale, while ignoring the musical establishments of the Stable and the Chamber. The most notable exception is a 1911 article by Henri Prunières, "La Musique de la Chambre et de l'Ecurie sous le règne de François Ier: 1516-1547."[3] The disappearance of most of the salary lists for the French court and Chapel before François's reign makes identification of the royal *chantres* a challenging task. In fact there is no available official list of them for any year between 1476 and 1515.[4] Thus all we know of the Chapel musicians during this four-decade gap has been pieced together from miscellaneous documents, such as individual payments, litigations, letters, and poems.[5] But concerning the instrumentalists, particularly those of the Ecurie, there exists a wealth of organized archival information.

TABLE 2: Musicians of the Royal Stable, 1487-1509.

	10/87 -9/88	10/90 -9/91	10/94 +2/95	10/95 -5/96	7/96 -9/96	1/98 -7/98	10/98 -9/99	10/02 +9/03	10/07 -9/08	11/09
Trompettes										
Grant Jehan Taboulart	240	240	240	240	240	—	240	—	—	—
Nicodemus Baudegon	240	240	240	240	240	—	—	—	—	—
Jehan d'Amboise	180	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Charles de l'Aigle	144	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Pierre de Moulins	—	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jehan Francisque	—	?	240	180	180	—	240	—	—	—
Jehan Dominico	—	—	240	180	180	180	—	180	180	—
Jehan Pussetoye	—	—	240	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jacques de Cazal	—	—	180	144	144	144	—	144	—	—
Bernard de Verseil	—	—	144	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Guillaume de Janzac	—	—	180	—	—	—	—	144	150 (180?)	—
Guillaume Musnier	—	—	—	180	180	180	—	180	—	—
Pietrequin de Tombelle	—	—	—	—	—	180	—	180	(180?)	—
Anthoine Gallant	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	120	—	—
Augustin de l'Escarperie	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	180	—
Tabourins Souysses										
Michel Rouef	—	—	120	120	120	120	—	—	—	—
Paule Philfre	—	—	120	120	120	120	—	120	—	—
Petit Jehan Speet	—	—	120	120	120	120	—	120	—	—
Lyenard Frite	—	—	—	120	120	120	—	120	—	—
Sacqueboutes & Joueurs d'Instrumens de Haulx Boys										
Pierre de Modene	—	—	—	—	240	240	—	—	—	(Perrin:) *banner*
Berthelemy de Fleurance	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	120	(180?)	*banner*
Pietre Pagan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	120	180	*banner*
Philippes de Cosme	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	120	180	—
Benedit de Millan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	120	—	—
Jehan Ozel	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	120	180	—
Georges de Cazal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	120	180	—
Jacques Darobio	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	180	—

N.B.: Numbers following players' names indicate annual salaries; "?" means player, but not his salary, is listed.

In his excellent study cited above, Prunières indicates that François I, after 1515, created the musical organizations of the royal Chambre and Ecurie. However, yearly and monthly account books of François's immediate predecessors show, on the contrary, that they employed musicians "en la Chambre" as early as 1490,[6] and that under them the Stable included a growing musical contingent. While it is difficult to determine precisely what level of development "La Musique de la Chambre" had attained at the courts of Charles VIII and Louis XII, the Ecurie before François I presents no problem. The Archives nationales possess an annual account of the Royal Stable for the reigns of each of Francois's two predecessors. For the year 1487-88 Charles spent 804 L.t. for the salaries of four trumpeters;[7] twenty years later Louis spent over twice that amount for at least three trumpeters, two *tabourins souysses,* and five *sacqueboutes et joueurs de haulx boys.*[8] Several of these musicians continued in the service of the French court under François I.

Four manuscript volumes at the Bibliothèque nationale preserve many of the monthly Ecurie payrolls from October 1494 through September 1503.[9] They indicate an average expense of about 160 L.t. per month (nearly 2000 L.t. annually) for the musicians of the Royal Stable. They also show that three months after Charles's death (7 April 1498), Louis still retained the four trumpets, four "Swiss drums," and one sackbut employed at least since January by his predecessor.[10] The high point came at the beginning of Charles's invasion of Italy: in October 1494 and February 1495 he spent 142 L.t. for eight trumpets and 30 L.t. for three *tabourins souysses;* but that was during his successes. After his army barely survived the battle of Fornovo and escaped back to France in October 1495, he reduced his budget for these instruments by over twenty per cent. From then until the following May he allotted only 97 L.t. to his six remaining trumpets and 40 L.t. to four *tabourins souysses,* the lowest monthly amount recorded in the documents covering the nine-year period.

The payrolls also tell us when the royal Ecurie hired its first sackbut player: in June or July 1496, while Charles and Anne were in Lyon. Probably Italian, he is listed as Pierre de Modène (or Modaine) at a monthly wage of 20 L.t., or 240 L.t. per year, an amount equaled only by the king's best-paid trumpeters. The sole sackbut player for at least two years, his name does not reappear after July 1498, unless he is the Perrin de Modène mentioned in a payment dated November 1509 (see nn. 41-42).

Whereas Charles VIII hired the French court's first sackbut player, Louis XII expanded the contingent to such an extent that they rivaled the trumpets in their share of the Ecurie payroll. By 1502 he had hired six Milanese sackbut-and-shawm players. The first two still headed François I's list of Italian *haulxboys* almost three decades later. These instrumentalists will be discussed more fully after considering the trumpeters, who

outnumbered them two to one in the Royal Stable between 1487 and 1508. (See Tables 1 and 2.)[11]

TRUMPETS

Of the four trumpet players present in 1487-88, two, Jehan d'Amboise (paid 180 L.t. per annum) and Charles de l'Aigle (144 L.t. per annum), never reappear in the extant accounts.[12] On the other hand "Grant Jehan Tabolat," listed first with a salary of 240 L.t., remained a member of the Stable during most of Charles VIII's reign. He and Nicodémus Baudegon, also paid 240 L.t., continue to appear in the Ecurie's monthly payrolls, at the same annual salary, through at least September 1496.[13]

A copied list of the king's personnel "for the year 1490"[14] includes a *varlet de chambre* whose name is transcribed as "Jean Triboullart" (fol. 326′). Since his salary is 240 L.t. and he immediately precedes the musician Evrard de la Chappelle, he is very likely King Charles's first trumpet player. Furthermore, since later payrolls spell his name "Taboullart," it seems possible that the copyist of the 1490 list misread the second letter in his name. The account of Charles's *menuz plaisirs* in 1490-91 includes a payment to Grant Jehan of 105 L.t. (60 e.) for a horse and "to maintain himself more decently."[15] Added to his regular salary of 240 L.t., and allowing 35 L.t. for the horse, this would bring his income for the year ending September 1491 to 310 L.t. Jehan Francisque first appears in this account. The fact that he received 21 L.t. (12 e.) around February 1491 "to have a trumpet" may indicate that he had recently been hired.[16]

While absent from the first two payrolls of 1498, "Jehan Taboulart, dit Grand Jehan, trompete" and "Jehan Francisque, aussi trompete" appear among Louis XII's *huissiers de chambre* in the list of his *chambellans* "before his accession to the crown."[17] A hole in the page partially obliterates their salaries. But since the last part of both figures is "xl," it would not be hazardous to assume that Louis retained them at their original salary of 240 L.t. They both received that amount for the year beginning October 1498, again listed among the king's *huissiers de salle et d'armes*.[18]

The New Year's Day 1491 *étrennes* payment to Charles's trumpeters suggests that he employed five at the time. He gave 17 L. 10 s.t. (10 e.) "to Nycodémus de Bourdegnon and Pierre de Moulins and their fellows,"[19] which could be two *écus* apiece to five trumpet players. We know that two of the others were Taboulart and Francisque. The fifth might have been either Charles de l'Aigle or Jehan d'Amboise (from the 1487-88 Ecurie account), or Marian de Cassat, the marquis of Montferrat's trumpet player, whom Charles gave 87 L. 10 s.t. (50 e.) that summer to return to his master.[20] It is also possible that the king already employed seven trumpeters, each of whom would have gotten 50 s.t. for New Year's. In

that case all the players suggested could have been recipients. But considering that two years later Anne allotted her husband's trumpets 12 L. 10 s.t.—evenly divisible only by two, five, and ten—the first hypothesis seems more reasonable.[21]

Charles brought almost all of his court personnel with him to Italy. Of all the Ecurie payrolls I have seen, those for October 1494 and February 1495 show the greatest outlay for instrumentalists. In addition to Taboulart, Baudegon, and Francisque, who were each paid at the rate of 240 L.t. annually, there were five newer trumpeters: Jehan Dominico (240 L.t.), Jehan Pussetoye (240 L.t.), Jacques de Cazal (180 L.t.), Bernard de Verceil, "Savoyard, who serves in the band of Monseigneur le Vidame," (144 L.t.),[22] and Guillaume de Janzac, "who serves in the band of Monseigneur de Myolans," (180 L.t.).[23]

Since no monthly payrolls are available before October 1491, it is impossible to determine whether all (or any) of the latter five trumpet players belonged to the Royal Stable before Charles left France or if he hired them in September or October. An account of his crown's expenses for military decoration, established by letters patent dated 25 July 1494 (*KK.333*),[24] contains payments for "ten trumpet-banners to be used by the ten war-trumpets who will go to be in the company of [Duke Louis] d'Orléans."[25] This might apply to the eight from the October and February payrolls plus two trumpeters who served Duke Louis, but it could mean ten different players altogether.

Regardless of when Charles acquired his expeditionary trumpeters, there are three places from which they are likely to have come—Casale, Verceil (Vercelli), and the duchy of Milan. The first two are midway between Turin (which Charles entered 5 September) and Milan. There he could have hired "Bernard de Verseil, Savoysien"[26] and "Jaques de Cazal." And since Casale was the capital of the marquisate of Montferrat, it is worth remembering that one of the marquis's trumpets was at Charles's court before the summer of 1491. Milan, which in 1499 or 1502 provided Louis XII with six sackbut-and-shawm players (including Georges de Cazal), could have been a source of trumpet players as well. Jehan Francisque, whom the October 1494 payroll identifies as "ytalien," might have come from there: an account of Louis's *plaisirs et menuz affaires de sa chambre* for July through September 1504[27] includes a payment to "Jehan Francisque de Palme,"[28] a common French misspelling of Parma, which belonged to the duchy of Milan.

Two of Charles VIII's war trumpeters, Bernard de Verceil and Jehan Pussetoye, disappear forever from the Ecurie payrolls before the French army's return home. Of the remaining three who first appear in October 1494, Jacques de Cazal may have remained the shortest time. Having received 15 L.t. (180 L.t. per annum) then and four months later, he drew an annual salary of 144 L.t. from October 1495 until at least Sep-

tember 1503. He does not appear in the next available account, dated 8 October 1508, which records the unpaid remainders *(restes deues)* of Ecurie salaries for the year ending the previous month (see n. 8). This indicates either that he no longer belonged to the Stable, or else that by the date of the account he had already been paid in full.

Guillaume de Janzac, absent from the Ecurie between October 1495 and July 1498, reappears in October 1502. By that time and again eleven months later he received 12 L.t. (144 L.t. per annum), three pounds less than his original wartime wages (180 L.t. per annum). The 1508 *restes deues* account indicates that his salary was 150 L.t. (*KK.86,* fols. 9-10). But since this is the only one among scores of annual Ecurie salaries not divisible by twelve, I would guess that three *xs* have been left off what should have been 180 (clxxx) L.t.—the salary of the other two trumpeters listed. In 1547, at the death of François I, one of the Stable's seven trumpeters is listed as Guillaume de Zanzac.[29]

Retained by four French kings, Jehan Dominico (or Dominique) appears to have stayed on the royal payroll longer than any other instrumentalist. By the end of Charles's Italian campaign his salary had been reduced from 240 to 180 L.t., where it remained for at least thirteen years (October 1495-September 1508). Sometime between 1516 and 1531 he replaced Jehan Francisque as *huissier de salle* and regained his original salary. He retired at full pay in 1531[30] and was one of the two trumpeters who marched with two cornets and flutes in Francois I's funeral procession.[31] In 1550, under Henri II, Dominico received 260 L.t. as a "former *officier* of the late king."[32]

While three of Charles VIII's eight war trumpeters were absent from the October 1495 Ecurie payroll, there was one replacement—Guillaume Musnier. Hired at 180 L.t. per annum, he received the same salary for at least eight years. During his first twelve months he completed a contingent of six trumpets headed by Taboulart, Baudegon, Francisque, and Cazal, with Dominico at the end. Musnier does not appear in the *restes deues* account of 1508.

Sometime between September 1496 and January 1498 (perhaps to replace Baudegon), Charles hired a new trumpet player, Pietrequin de Tombelle (or Tumbelli). He heads a list of four trumpeters in January, February, and—under Louis XII—July 1498. That year Tombelle, Dominico, and Musnier were each paid 180 L.t., while Cazal received only 144 L.t. Meanwhile, from before 28 May 1498 until September 1499, Taboulart and Francisque served Louis as *huissiers de salle* at their Ecurie salaries of 240 L.t. (see nn. 17-18).

Tombelle heads the trumpet lists again in October 1502 and September 1503, still receiving 180 L.t. These payrolls include a new trumpeter, Anthoine Gallant, at only ten pounds a month, and Guillaume de Janzac, absent since the February 1495 payroll. Neither Tombelle nor Gallant

appears in the 1508 *restes deues* account; but, once again, this does not prove their absence from the Ecurie. Actually Tombelle, as first trumpet, was one of the Stable musicians most likely to have been paid in full by the end of the fiscal year—which would have precluded his appearance in this remainder account. The account of Louis's "Offerings, Alms, and Devotions" for the year ending September 1507 increases the likelihood that Tombelle still served Louis that year. On 3 July the king ordered a payment of three pounds "to Pierre la trompecte . . . to help cure him of the fever he has."[33]

At least one other trumpet player joined the Royal Stable during the reign of Louis XII—Augustin l'Escarperie. For the year beginning October 1507 he earned 180 L.t.[34] He may have been hired less than a year earlier, following the death of Philippe le Beau (25 September 1506), whom he served during the archduke's trip across France at the end of 1501.[35] He is probably the Augustin de l'Escarplan who received an appropriately elegant suit of clothes in August 1533 for the meeting in Marseilles on 12 October between Francois I and Pope Clement VII (Prunières, p. 246, n. 3).

TABOURINS SUISSES

In the account books for Charles VIII's reign the *tabourin suisse*[36] first appears in 1491. Three players, Pierre Mausifer, Angelin Cornet, and Jehan Pourry, performed for the king that February at Montilz-lès-Tours and Amboise. For this they received 35 L.t., and for playing "several times" before him Charles gave them another 30 L.t.[37]

The first mention of *tabourins suisses* in the extant Ecurie records occurs in the payroll for October 1494, the second month of Charles's Italian invasion. It lists three other players, Michel Rouef, Paule Philfre (Filfre), and Petit Jehan Speet. By a year later Lyenard Frite had joined them. Every account lists the four at ten pounds apiece each month. Louis kept them all at least until September 1498.[38] By October 1502, with Rouef gone, there were again three. Philfre and Speet, but not Frite, appear in the *restes deues* account of 1508 (*KK.86*, folio 10).

SACQUEBOUTES AND HAULXBOYS

Five years before he hired his own first sackbut player, Charles VIII contributed 175 L.t. to help pay off a debt incurred by Françoys de Malle, "sacqueboute de Monseigneur de Bourbon." The payment probably dates from around the beginning of 1491, when the court was in Moulins, the capital of Bourbon. Since there is no indication that Malle played for the king, the subsidy was probably given as a favor to Charles's sister Anne, the duchess of Bourbon.[39] About a month earlier Jehan

Rousset, *joueur du hault bois,* had performed along with tabourin and rebec players for Charles VIII at his first *entrée* into Grenoble. He gave them 21 L.t. (12 e.) to share.[40]

As stated earlier, we can be quite sure that Pierre de Modène, the first sackbut player employed by the Royal Stable, was hired in June or July 1496. Monthly payrolls are available for October 1494; February, October, December 1495; and for 1496, January, March, April, May, July, August, and September. Pierre de Modène first appears in the July 1496 payroll, between the four "tabourins allemans" and Jacques Robinet, who normally followed them.[41] He reappears only the following two months and in the next three extant payrolls—January, February, and July 1498—always at 240 L.t. He could also be the Perrin de Modène mentioned in a payment for sackbut banners dated November 1509.[42]

Sometime during his first four years as king, Louis XII hired six sackbut-and-shawm players from Milan—Berthélemy de Fleurance (Florence), Pietre Pagan, Philippe de Cosme (Como, in the duchy of Milan), Bénédit de Millan, Jehan Ozel, and Georges de Cazal—at 120 L.t. apiece per year. They all appear at this salary in the Ecurie payrolls for October 1502 and September 1503,[43] the only complete ones of Louis's reign that I have found besides the July 1498 payroll. It is likely that he acquired these musicians during his stay in Milan from 28 July to 8 August 1502, although it is conceivable that they joined the Stable during the king's previous visit from 6 October to 7 November 1499.[44] Since the paymaster still designates them as "venuz de Millan" as late as September 1503, it may be more reasonable to assume that the six players had been hired in 1502 rather than 1499. Of course it is possible that Louis summoned them to the court while he was in France.

The 1508 *restes deues* account includes four of the six—Pietre Pagan, Philippe de Cosme, Jehan Ozel, Georges de Cazal—and Jacques Darobio.[45] By then they all received 180 L.t. a year, equal to the highest salary of the Ecurie trumpeters listed in the account. Except for Ozel, "aussi sacqueboute d.S.," all of them played "instrumens de haulx boys" as well. Berthélemy de Fleurance, who a year later heads a list of three players receiving sackbut banners (and who headed the 1502-03 sackbut list), does not appear in the 1508 account. By 8 October, when it was written, he probably had been already paid for the year ending that September. If Louis always kept the number of sackbut-shawm players at six, then we could surmise that Jacques Darobio was a replacement for Bénédit de Millan, the other sackbut player missing from the remainder account.

Darobio served Louis XII and François I for over twelve years; the Bibliothèque nationale possesses the receipt for the full payment of his 180 L.t. salary for the year ending October 1519.[46] Prunières has published some interesting documents concerning two other players who

served both kings. He attests that "Pietro Pagano died in 1535"[47] having served the Ecurie until then. At least twenty-six years after Louis hired them, Berthélemy de Fleurance and Pietre Pagan still headed the lists of Francois's Italian *haulxboys*. The eight of them shared more than one payment of 41 L.t., for improved maintenance, from the account of the king's *menus plaisirs* from December 1528 through December 1529.[48] This document also reveals that Berthélemy and another royal *haulxboys* divided 20 L. 10 s.t. "to defray the expense of a trip they made in July by order of the [king], with their fellows, toward Madame [Louise de Savoie, the king's] mother, then in Cambrai, to play at the feast held there by [her]."[49]

Prunières also uncovered independent confirmation of facts that Louis's Ecurie payrolls reveal: Berthélemy de Fleurance's letters of naturalization, granted in November 1528, state that by that time he had resided in France for about thirty years, and that he was originally from *(natif de)* Milan (p. 240, n. 3). This evidence might justify us in sometimes considering the last names of the French court's Italian personnel as their family names, even when they are names of Italian towns.

With this in mind we can appreciate how many possible examples of kinship exist among musicians of the royal Ecurie between 1494 and 1547. We have already seen Jacques (the trumpet player) and Georges (the sackbut player) de *Cazal*—to whom we might add the marquis of Montferrat's trumpeter, if "Marian de Cassat" is a mistranscription (see n. 20). In 1510 the six trumpet players of the city of Milan included Julien and Charles de *Corregio*.[50] François I's *haulxboys* of 1529 included Christofle and Sanxon de *Plaisance* (Piacenza). At his death two of the seven trumpet players were Guillaume and Edmé de *Zanzac;* another pair were Francois and Gerard de *Rivet*; and François *Meunier*, who heads that list, could have been related to Guillaume *Musnier*.[51]

The documented existence of an organized musical establishment within the Royal Stable by the end of the 15th century alters our knowledge of the history of loud instrumental music *(haute musique)* at the French court. Moreover, it suggests that the music of the Chamber may have been considerably more advanced under Charles VIII and Louis XII than thought by Prunières. Further research may reveal that still other aspects of cultural development and royal splendor previously attributed to Francois I actually antedated his reign.

NOTES

1 See Edmund A. Bowles, "Musical Instruments in Civic Processions during the Middle Ages," *Acta musicologica* 33 (1961) pp. 147-161; and Stephen Bonime, "The Royal *Entrée* in Paris, 1467-1517," Ch. 6 of "Anne de Bretagne (1477-1514) and Music: an Archival Study" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1975).

2 See Heinrich Besseler, "Alta," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 1 (1949-51) cols. 378-79 and Plates XIV and LXVIII.

3 *L'Année Musicale* 1 (1911) pp. 215-51.

4 The few intervening chapel rosters in the Paris Bibliothèque and Archives nationales (1490, 1497-99, 1508-09) include only the ecclesiastical—not musical—personnel. Jeremy Noble has been kind enough to supply me with a list, very possibly complete, of thirteen royal *cantorescapellani*, that he has "derived from a series of executorial letters concerning benefices requested for them and granted by Innocent VIII, 28 July 1486."

5 The 1515 list (Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.89*, folio 88) comes from an account of royal expense for black cloth for those attending the funeral of Louis XII.

6 Specifically: "Anthoine de Hee, chantre et joueur du ludz en la chambre d'icelluy Seigneur" (folio 137); and "Evrard delachappelle, chantre et joueur d'orgues en la chambre dudit seigneur" (folio 172′), so designated in the account of "menuz plaisirs et privez affaires de la chambre" of Charles VIII, October 1490 through September 1491 (Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.76*). See "Musicians of the *Chambre* of Charles VIII and Louis XII," Ch. 3 of my dissertation, cited in n. 1.

7 *Livres, sols,* and *deniers tournois* will be abbreviated as L.t., s.t., and d.t.; an *écu d'or* (usually 35 s.t.) as e.; "dudit Seigneur" will appear as "d.S."

Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.73*, folio 2: "Compte vii^me^ de Rene de Nouveau, commis . . . a tenir le compte et faire les paiements des choses necessaires pour *le fait de l'escuierie* d.S.—De la Recepte & Despense . . . durant l'annee commencant le [1 octobre 1487] et finissant le [30 septembre 1488]." Folios 172 ff.: "Pensions, gaiges, & ordonnan[ces]."

8 Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.86*, folio " (2)" [*olim* i]: "Copie de certaines lettres patentes du Roy nostre sire donnees a Rouen le [8 octobre 1508] . . . par lesquelles . . . icellui seigneur a commis Michel Le Clerc, a present receveur de l'escuirye du Roy nostre sire, a *tenir le compte et faire le payement des restes deues par Adam Remy, nagueres receveur de ladite escuyrie*, aux officiers, [etc.] en icelle escuyrie—Et ce tant a cause de leurs gaiges que des parties de marchandises de leurs mestiers qu'ilz ont faictes, fournyes, et livrees sur le fait d'icelle escuyrie durant l'annee finye le [30 septembre 1508]."

KK.86, folios 32-175, contain the beginning of the account of the "Escuierie du Roy pour l'annee finie le [30 septembre 1509]." It cuts off at the first page of "Mises pour les paiges et varletz de pye" for March 1509—well before the section listing salaries. As of early 1974 folios xxxiii-xxxviii, the *lettres patentes* for the 1508-09 account, were bound in the middle of those for the *restes deues* account of the previous year, between folios ii and iii. The confusion was compounded by the fact that folio ii is labeled " (3)" and folio xxxiii is " (4)."

9 Paris, Bibl. nat., *Mss. fr. 2927* (8 months), *2926* (4 months), *2914* (2 months), and *3087* (1 month). Table 1, p. 8, shows the sources of the fifteen payrolls, listed in chronological order. They will not, therefore, be cited in the text. A footnote by R. de Maulde La Clavière in his edition of the *Chroniques de Louis XII par Jean d'Auton*, 4 vols. (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1889-95), which quotes one of the payrolls (see n. 43, below), led me to all fifteen used for this study.

10 In addition to the separate payrolls for January, February, and July 1498 in the Bibliothèque nationale, an account of the Ecurie for the fourteen-month period from October 1497 through November 1498 is preserved in the Archives nationales account book *KK.74*: (folio 5) "Compte dixhuitiesme et derrenier de Rene de Nouveau, commis . . . a tenir le compte et faire les payemens des choses necessaires pour *le fait de l'escuierie*." It also covers "le fait du sacre du Roy nostredit seigneur, nouvelles entrees es villes de Reims et Paris, . . . les habillemens de lui, ses paiges et chevaulx, [etc.] qui luy ont servy esdites entrees durant une annee et deux mois." The volume includes monthly expenses (which mention the four *tabourins souysses* twice) but no salary list.

An account of Louis XII's funeral (10-11 January 1515 in Paris) indicates that the king employed a dozen trumpets at the end of his reign—unless the players carried more than one *estandart* apiece: "Apres marchoient les trompettes dudit deffunt, chascun son estandart, jusques au nombre de douze, semes de fleurs de lys" (from *L'Obseque et enterrement du Roy,* published by Louis Lafaist [L. Cimber] and F. Danjou in *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France,* series 1, volume 2 [Paris: Beauvais, 1835] pp. 61-70).

11 By September 1508 the Ecurie still had no violins. With no records available for the end of Louis's reign, it is impossible to determine whether it was he or François I who introduced them.

12 Charles de l'Aigle had served the French court since the reign of Charles VII, according to information Leeman Perkins has gathered from 18th-century copies of royal account books in the Bibliothèque nationale. He appears as one of three "trompettes du Roy" for the year 1454-55 (*Ms. fr. 2886,* folio 20) and for the year ending September 1459 (*Ms. fr. 32511,* folio 204′).

13 *KK.73* (see n. 7), folios 174′-175′: "A Grant Jehan Tabolat, trompecte d.S., la somme de 240 L.t. . . . pour ses gaiges et entretenement en son service durant l'annee de ce present compte . . . qui est au feur de 20 L.t. par mois.

"A Nicodemus Baudegon, aussi trompecte d.S., la somme de 240 L.t. [etc.].

"A Jehan d'Amboise, aussi trompecte d'icellui seigneur, la somme de 180 L.t. [etc. (15 L.t. per month)].

"A Charles de l'Aigle, aussi trompecte d.S., la somme de 144 L.t. . . . pour ses gaiges par lui desserviz [etc.]."

14 Paris, Bibl. nat., *Vᶜ Colbert 54,* folios 326-28′: "Roole et Estat des officiers de la maison du Roy Charles VIII pour l'annee 1490 fait au Plessis du parc le 27 juin 1490 et à Moulins le 27 decembre ensuivant.

"Extrait du Compte de Mre Martin Berthelot."

15 *KK.76* (see n. 6), folio 201 bis: "A Grant Jehan Taboula, trompecte d.S., la somme de 105 L.t. . . . pour avoir ung cheval et soy entretenir plus honnestement en son service—Et oultre ses gaiges et autres dons dons [sic] et bienffaiz qu'il a et pourra cy apres avoir d.S."

16 *KK.76,* folio 156: "A Jehan Francisque, trompecte d.S., la somme de 21 L.t. . . . pour avoir une trompecte."

17 Paris, Bibl. nat., *Ms. fr. 2927,* folios 27-33′ (*olim* 66-72′): "Chambellans du Roy avant son avenement a la couronne qui ont este mis en pension" (Taboulart and Francisque on folio 29′).

18 Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.87* (Louis's account of the "gaiges des officiers de son hostel"), folio 71: "A Jehan Taboulas, trompette ordinaire d.S., la somme de 240 L.t. . . . pour ses gaiges."

Folio 72′: "A Jehan Francisque, trompette ordinaire d.S., la somme de 240 L.t."

19 Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.76,* folio 149′: "A Nycodemus de Bourdegnon et Pierre de Moulins, trompectes d.S., la somme de 17 L. 10 s.t. a eulx et leurs compaignons ordonnee pour leur [sic] estraynes du premier jour de janvier [1491]." (*Etrennes* are New Year's Day presents.)

20 *KK.76,* folio 194′: "A Marian de Cassat, trompecte du marquis de Montferre, la somme de 87 L. 10 s.t. pour soy en retourner devers ledit marcquis, son maistre." ("Cassat" is very possibly a scribal [or transcribal] error for Casale, the capital of Montferrat; see below for Ecurie players named Cazal, often spelled "Cazar.")

21 Paris, Arch, nat., *KK.83,* expenses of Anne de Bretague (1492-93), folio 46′: "Aux trompettes d'icelluy seigneur [du Roy] la somme de 12 L. 10 s.t. . . . pour leurs estrennes."

22 October 1494: "A Bernard de Verseil [February 1495: "Virsel"], Savoysien, qui

sert en la bande de MonSr le vidame, aussi trompette d.S., . . . au feur de 144 L.t. par an—12 L."

23 (Description in February 1495 payroll only): "A Guillaume de Janzac, aussi trompette d.S., qui sert en la bande de MonSr de Myolans [etc.]—15 L."

24 Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.333*: "Compte de certains estandars. bannieres, bannerolles, et autre parement d'une nef, ordonne pour le port de Monseigneur d'Orleans, Lieutenant-General du Roy nostre dit seigneur, en l'armee qu'il envoya au recouvrement du Royaume de Napples. Et aussi de l'achapt des coctes d'armes de heraulx, *bannieres de trompectes,* et autres choses necessaires aux officiers d'armes que menoit avecque lui."

25 *KK.333,* folio 18: "dix bannieres de trompectes . . . pour servir aux trompectes de guerre qui yront et seront en la compagnie de mondit Seigneur d'Orleans." (The total expense for these banners was over 260 L.t.)

26 David Boyden—*The History of Violin Playing from its Origins to 1761* (London: Oxford University Press, 1965) pp. 22-23—cites a payment of six *scudi* from the Savoy treasury, dated 17 December 1523, for "trompettes et vyollons de Verceil."

27 Paris, Bibl. nat., *Ms. fr. 2927,* folios 70-77′ (*olim* 8-15′): "Roolle des parties et sommes de deniers paiees, baillees et delivrees par maistre Henry Bohier, conseiller du Roy nostre sire, receveur general de ses finances et par luy commis a tenir le compte et faire le paiement des deniers de *ses plaisirs et menuz affaires de sa chambre* . . . durant les moys de juillet, aoust, et septembre [1504]."

28 *Ms. fr. 2927,* folio 77 (*olim* 15): "A Jehan Francisque de Palme, serviteur du conte de Murot, la somme de 30 escuz d'or soleil vallent 54 L. 7 s. 6 d.t. [36 s. 3 d.t. *per* escu] . . . En faveur de ce qu'il a apporte a icelluy seigneur deux sacres sors [*red falcons*] et presentez par sondit maistre."

29 Prunières, p. 246 (after Paris, Bibl. nat., *Ms. fr. 7856,* p. 994).

30 Prunières, p. 235 (after Paris, Bibl. nat., *Ms. fr. 21450,* folio 207′).

31 Ibid. (after Paris, Bibl. nat., *Ms. fr. 7856,* p. 956).

32 Ibid. (after Paris, Bibl. nat., *Ms. fr. 3132,* folio 67: "ancien officier du feu roi").

33 Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.88,* folio 176: "A Pierre la trompecte, le [3 juillet 1507], pour luy aider a soy faire penser des fievres qu'il a—60 s.t."

34 Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.86,* folio 9. He is the second employee and first musician of the Ecurie listed in the *restes deues* account.

35 He appears as Augustin de Scarparye, at a wage of "xii sols par jour," or 218 pounds a year—the same as all the other trumpeters and chapel singers. Louis Prosper Gachard published the list of Philippe le Beau's personnel as Appendix B (pp. 345-72) to his edition of Antoine Lalaing's contemporary *Relation du premier voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne* (pp. 121-340) in *Collection des Voyages des Souverains des Pays-Bas* 1 (Brussels: F. Hayez, 1874). The singers are listed on pp. 345-46 and the trumpeters on p. 366.

36 Keith Polk says this "must have been the grouping of transverse flute and field drums" (personal letter). See Francis William Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music,* 4th ed., rev. by Thurston Dart (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1965) pp. 179-80.

37 Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.76,* folio 162: "A Pierre Mausifer, Angelin Cornet, et Jehan Pourry, tabourins du pays de Souysse, pour avoir joue devant ledit seigneur du tabourin de Suysse durant ledit mois de fevrier aux Moultilz [*sic*] lez Tours et a Amboise, la somme de 35 L.t."

Folio 162′: "A P.M., A.C., J.P., tabourins du pays de Suysse, la somme de 30 L.t. . . . en faveur de ce qu'ilz ont joue par plusieurs fois devant ledit seigneur."

38 Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.74* (see n. 10), folio 172, includes a September 1498 payment of 7 L.t. (4 e.) for four pairs of shoes—one shoe red, the other yellow—one pair for each of the above-mentioned *tabourins souysses* d.S. For March there is a detailed description of their robes (folios 165-166).

39 Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.76,* folios 146′-147: "A Francoys de Malle, sacqueboute de Monseigneur de Bourbon, la somme de 175 L.t. pour soy acquicter de plus grant somme qu'il doit a aucuns ses creanciers et recouvrer partie de ses biens qu'ilz luy ont fait prandre par deffault de paiement."

40 Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.76,* folio 139: "A Anry Paston, joueur de tabourin, Jehan Rousset, joueur du hault bois, Raymonnet de Beauvoysin, joueur de rebec, la somme de 21 L.t. . . . en faveur de ce que ilz ont joue de leurs instrumens a sa premiere et nouvelle entree en la ville de Grenoble."

41 *Ms. fr. 2927,* folio 125′: "A Pierre de Modene, sacqueboute d.S., pour [ses gaiges ordinaires de cedit moys] et au feur de ij^{c}xLt [*sic*] par an, monte pour cedit moys—xxLt." (The annual rate should have been written "ij^{c}x*l*Lt," as it is in all subsequent payrolls, to accord with a monthly wage of "xxLt.")

42 Paris, Bibl. nat., *Nouv. acq. fr. 21163,* folio 1: "Parties de draps de soye et de layne fournies et livrees sur le fait de l'escuirye du Roy . . . durant le moys de [novembre 1509]."

No. 4: "la somme de 10 L. 2 s. 6 d.t. pour quatre aulnes et demie taffetas bleu . . . pour faire troys bannieres comme bannieres de trompetes pour servir a troys des sacqueboutes d.S., nommez Berthelemy de Fleurance, Perrin de Modene, et Pietre Pagan."

43 October 1502: "A Berthelemy de Florance, Pietre Pagay, a Philippe de Cosme, Benedit de Millan, Jehan Ozel, et Georges de Cazal, sacquebutes et joueurs d'instrumens de haulx bois venuz de Millan, pour leurs gaiges de ce present moys au feur de 120 L.t. l'an a chacun d'eulx, monté cy pour ledit moys—60 L.t." (Originally cited by Maulde La Clavière in his edition of d'Auton's *Chroniques* [see n. 9] vol. 3, p. 90, n. 6.) In my text I use the more frequently encountered spellings of the September 1503 payment.

44 Jean d'Auton describes both *entrées.* In 1499 Louis's way from the Duomo to the chateau was "accompaigné avecques sons et clangueurs de trompettes, bucynes, cors et tabourins" (vol. 1, p. 107). In 1502 "trompetes, clairons et tabours de Suyces retentissoyent" (vol. 3, pp. 24-25).

45 *KK.86,* folios 15-16.

46 Paris, Bibl. nat., *Ms. fr. 7835,* No. 4: "En la presence de moy, notaire et secretaire du Roy nostre sire, Jaques Darobio, sacqueboute et joueur d'instrumens de haulx boys d.S., confesse avoir eu et receu de Edmond Brethe, receveur et paieur du fait de l'escuirie d.S., la somme de 180 L.t. pour ses gaiges d'une annee entiere commancee le [1 octobre 1518] et finye le [30 septembre] ensuyvant aussi derrenier passe." (Dated 27 fevrier 1520.)

47 Prunières, p. 243, n. 4.

48 Paris, Arch. nat., *KK.100* (*olim K.343*), from which similar excerpts are quoted by Prunières, p. 241 and B. Bernhard, "Recherches sur l'histoire de la corporation des ménétriers ou joueurs d'instruments de la ville de Paris," *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* 4 (1842-43) p. 536, n. 3.

49 Prunières, p. 242, n. 1: "Barthélemy de Florence et Marchant de Milan reçurent 20 livres 10 sols pour 'subvenir à la despence d'ung voyage qu'ils ont fait durant ledit mois de juillet de l'ordre dudit seigneur, avec leurs compaignons devers Madame Mere d'iceluy seigneur, estant a Cambray, pour servir au festin fait audit lieu par ladite dame.'" (After *KK.100,* folios 74-75.) The feast must have been to celebrate the Treaty of Cambrai (the "Paix des Dames"), arranged by Louise de Savoie and Marguerite d' Autriche for the king and emperor, which was signed 3 August 1529.

50 Paris, Arch. nat., *J.910,* No. 1: "Estat de Millan pour l'année finissant mil V^{c} dix." Entry 407: "Plus, sera payé aux six trompettes qui vont dehors pour les affaires du Roy quand il est besoing, iiij^{c} xx l.: c'est assavoir, André Grison, de Bramalle, Anthoine de Postreme, Domat Beaulfilz, Julien de Corregio, Pourcien de Septimo et

Charles de Coregio, tous trompettes de Millan." Quoted in Maulde La Clavière, ed., *Chroniques* (see n. 9) vol. 2, p. 383.

[51] Guillaume Musnier was a trumpeter of the Stable between October 1495 and September 1503. (See p. 13.) The seven trumpets are listed by Prunières, p. 246 (see n. 29); the *haulxboys* on p. 241 (see n. 48).

THE THEATER OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO AND MONTEVERDI'S L'INCORONAZIONE DI POPPEA

Christine J. Day

Historians date the birth of opera—the *dramma per musica*—in 1597 with the performance of *Dafne* by Jacopo Peri.[1] The new hybrid art form was quickly accepted; between that date and 1636, nearly two dozen operas were produced in wealthy Italian courts.[2] 17th-century opera cannot narrowly be considered only in terms of the written music of the score, for then, as now, it was a multi-faceted art form that combined theater, music, and, very significantly, spectacle.[3] It often seems to the modern observer that operas were written to create an occasion for spectacle, rather than employing spectacle to complement the music. Thus, if a 20th-century critic is fully to appreciate 17th-century opera, he must consider the physical aspects of production and spectacle as well as the musical score.

At least eleven opera houses opened in Venice between the first production in S. Cassiano—the first public house there[4]—in 1637 and the close of the century.[5] One of the grandest and most important of the early houses was SS. Giovanni e Paolo (also called *Teatro Grimani*).[6] Martonioni, writing in Sansovino's commentary on Venice in 1663, says:

> In that of SS. Giovanni e Paolo are performed the Carnival Operas with marvelous scene changes, majestic and grand appearances [of the performers], machines, and a fantastic flying machine; you see, as if commonplace, glorious heavens, deities, seas, royal palaces, woods, forests, and other handsome and entertaining visions. The music is always exquisite, presenting the best voices of the city, with the best also brought in from Rome, Germany, and other places and particularly the women with beautiful faces, rich costumes, enchanting voices, and with acting appropriate to the characters that they are playing, producing astonishment and wonder.[7]

In this theater were produced many of the notable 17th-century Venetian operas, including works by Cavalli, Ziani, and Monteverdi. Famous performers, like the soprano Anna Renzi, sang there. It was at SS. Giovanni e Paolo that Monteverdi's final masterpiece, *L'incoronazione di Poppea,* was produced in the fall of 1642 and revived during the Carnival of 1646.[8] Monteverdi's genius for portraying human characters

and passions makes *Poppea* unlike any opera written before it and like few that came after it.

Knowledge of the physical aspects of the theater—the types of machines, the number of shutters, the size of the auditorium, the style of the scenic designers, the size of the stage—and information regarding production gleaned from surviving scenarios, libretti, and scores may enable the 20th-century critic to imagine what the original production was like, even if he will never be able to experience Monteverdi's *Poppea* in precisely the same manner that the Venetians did in the autumn of 1642. This may be accomplished when we are able to reconstruct in mind, if not in fact, those aspects of the spectacle not found in the score alone.

The history of the theater of SS. Giovanni e Paolo is like a fresco which time has caused to crack, flake, and fade. When the restorer attempts to reconstruct it, he is able to discern the overall design, but the details appear uncertain and illogically arranged. In time, however, the restorer is able to reconstruct the fresco by examining the details under a magnifying glass. Like the fresco in which the design is obvious, there are certain facts about SS. Giovanni e Paolo which are clear. The theater was owned by part of the Grimani family.[9] The first opera performance in this theater occurred in 1639 during the Carnival,[10] a production of Sacrati's *La Delia o sio la sera sposa del sole,* with a libretto by Guillo Strozzi and scenic design by Alfonso Chenda.[11] At least ninety-nine operas were produced from 1639 until 1700, although there were no performances during the years 1648, 1657, and 1700. On 29 December 1748 the roof caved in and the theater was closed.[12] Contemporary sources mention the reconstruction of a wooden theater of SS. Giovanni e Paolo into a theater made of stone, but give no date.[13]

A plan of the theater, executed *ca.* 1670, exists;[14] but the fact that a reconstruction of the theater had taken place, and that the only existing plans were drawn approximately thirty years after the house first opened, has caused much confusion concerning the nature of the building. Do the plans show the theater before or after its reconstruction? If before the reconstruction, how much was changed? If after, how much of the original building remained? When was it reconstructed? Authorities offer many conflicting opinions. Taddeo Wiel states, "It was reconstructed of stone, by G[iovanni] Grimani, in 1654. It stood near the Calle della Testa."[15] Leclerc dates the rebuilding of the theater in 1655[16] and Bruno Brunelli in the early 1640s.[17] Maria Teresa Murano agrees with Wiel's date.[18] None of these authors provides any references which might verify these dates; Brunelli admits that his is only a hypothesis.[19] There were no fires, earthquakes, or high water periods at around any of the suggested dates that might have necessitated a rebuilding of the theater. Moreover, the theater operated during all of the years suggested. The fact that three historians place the reconstruction *ca.* 1655, however, is

curious. Livio Niso Galvani's research suggests an explanation. During the 17th century, the Grimani family owned three theaters: SS. Giovanni e Paolo, S. Giovanni Grisostomo, and S. Samuele. SS. Giovanni e Paolo and S. Giovanni Grisostomo were opera houses; S. Samuele, built by the Grimani in 1655,[20] produced *commedie*. I believe that Wiel, Leclerc, and Murano have mistaken the building of S. Samuele for the rebuilding of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.[21]

Was there a reconstruction of SS. Giovanni e Paolo? Martonioni definitely discusses the theater as if there were two distinct houses:

> . . . one situated on the Nuove Foundamente (called SS. Giovanni e Paolo because it is near there) owned by Giovanni Grimani, because it was first built of wood, and not entirely on his own land, Grimani transported it with incredible speed, a small distance, onto his own property . . . and he built it entirely of stone.[22]

Worsthorne, Galvani, and Mangini believe that the reconstruction took place before it opened as an opera house,[23] a conclusion based on several pieces of evidence. Writing in 1681, Cristoforo Ivanovich does not mention any rebuilding after it opened: "The theater of SS. Giovanni e Paolo was opened in the year 1638. . . . *It has always been used,* and still continues to be used, for opera."[24] (Italics mine.) The first official record is part of the *Archivio di Stato,* dated 29 July 1658, in which Grimani states that he has built a theater.[25] In the *Archivio di Stato* of 1661, he again states that he has built the theater of SS. Giovanni e Paolo.[26] Bonlini, writing a century later, says that the theater was rebuilt entirely of stone in 1639, "come si trova al presente," in order to project the virtuosity of the singers.[27] All records that have survived indicate that if there was a reconstruction of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, it occurred prior to its opening as an opera house.

Donald Francis Tovey, when discussing the "unknown" librettist of Haydn's *The Creation* states:

> But I do not know what difficulty there is regarding the mysterious Lidley as a misprint for Linley, the name of a family of well-known musicians. . . . I am sure that Lidley is only Linley with a cold in his head.[28]

In the same way that a misprinted Linley created confusion about the identity of a librettist, the existence of the plans, *ca.* 1670, of SS. Giovanni e Paolo has created confusion about the possibility of a reconstruction of the theater. The execution of the plans of the theater *ca.* 1670 does not necessarily imply that the theater was built (or rebuilt) in 1670. Worsthorne provides perhaps the most sensible explanation for the plans,

suggesting that they are an architect's study of an existing house.[29] Even today architecture students copy a Frank Lloyd Wright house in order to understand his theories and methods. Although Mangini agrees that the theater was reconstructed before it opened as an opera house and dismisses the reconstruction theories and dates of Wiel and Leclerc, he still believes that the theater was also reconstructed *after* it opened as an opera house. He states:

> Probably [Zuanne Grimani's] last act was to order the necessary restoration (rebuilding) of the auditorium in order to meet the present day demands. In these years, in fact, the theater assumed its almost final form, that is to be more exact, as it was for the Carnival of 1663-64. And it was at this moment of its history that the unique plans, that you know, were recorded, that show an ample horseshoe-shaped hall with five levels of twenty-nine boxes (later it would have thirty-two), while the stage was framed with a proscenium arch.[30]

Here the existence of the *plans* suggests to Mangini that there was a second reconstruction. He bases his assumption on a description of the theater contained in the title of the libretto for the opera *La Rosilena*:

> *La Rosilena*/dramma per musica di Aurelio Aureli favola duodecima./*Rappresentata nel Novissimo* Teatro Grimano./L'anno 1664.[31]

However, the libretto of another opera at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, which was presented during the same carnival season and printed by the same publishers, does not refer to the same theater as "Novissimo."[32] Bonlini makes no mention of it when he reports the opera.[33] Similarly, there is no reference to it in the detailed travel log of Sir Phillip Skippon, an Englishman who visited Venice in 1664-65.[34] Sir Phillip and his friends attended both *La Rosilena* and *Scipione Affricano,* and although he carefully describes the opera, the singers, the hall, and the stage machinery, he does not say that the theater was recently rebuilt or refurbished. This omission is significant, for Skippon's manner of reporting is so detailed that, had the renovation been common knowledge or obvious to the viewer, he would certainly have recorded it. He describes the auditorium as having seven levels of boxes,[35] rather than five as in the Soane drawing, but the rest of his description indicates that the theater resembled the plans held in the Soane Museum. If there had been any reconstruction to increase the size of the hall, as Mangini contends, it resulted only in the addition of two more levels of boxes, making seven levels in all, as recorded by Skippon. It did not affect the stage area or the rest of the auditorium. The plans in the Soane Museum, therefore, are the plans

of the theater in which Monteverdi's and Busenello's *L'incoronazione di Poppea* was produced. The stage machines that Skippon reported are similar if not identical to those used in the production of Poppea.

What do the plans indicate about the original production? The term "public opera" suggests opera for the masses, a grandiose production lacking the intimacy of performance implied by the term "chamber opera" (often used to refer to operas produced for the courts). The plans for SS. Giovanni e Paolo, however, force us to qualify this conception. (See plans, Figures 1, 2.) The house was small in comparison with both modern and contemporary theaters. Converting from the measurements of the Venetian foot of 1650, the auditorium was only about 41½ feet long by 41½ feet wide.[36] There were five levels of twenty-nine boxes. The boxes were also small, measuring 4½ feet by less than 6 feet. This theater, therefore, only held an audience of approximately 920 people.[37] This "public" audience was, in fact, much smaller than most audiences at festival or court operas—the operas sponsored by the Barberini in Rome, for example, had three thousand spectators.[38] The stage of the theater was much larger than the auditorium. The length of the stage was nearly 73 feet and the proscenium opening of the stage was about 32½ feet wide. In such a small house, the scenic effects of such a large stage must have seemed very grand, impressive, and miraculous. The plans also indicate that the shutters formed acute angles to the proscenium opening, rather than running parallel to it. This technique heightened the perspective effects and improved the sight lines. The spaces between the shutters may have been used for entrances since they are marked "strade." If so, this would suggest that all the stage area could be used for the action. There was also a large back-stage area behind the last shutter, that must have provided ample room for special machines, effects, and storage.

Skippon reports that five shutters, plus the back shutter, were operated by a drum (located below the stage floor), a system of "slots" and pulleys activated by the force of a falling weight.[39] (See plans and description, Figure 3.) The changes were instantaneous and took place in front of the spectators. There was a similar system for the arches and clouds, located above the stage in the fly space. Above the stage there were other "floors" which probably were used for different effects such as floating glories and flaming infernos. The flying machine was attached above the grooves of the clouds and operated in the "stradi." (See plan and description, Figure 3.)

The scenario and libretto of *Poppea* do not name the designer for the production (nor, for that matter, do they mention Monteverdi, the composer). Alfonso Chenda, who designed the scenes for the first opera productions at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, died in 1640,[40] but it was not until 1643 that another designer's name is mentioned at the theater. Bjurstöm

notes that designers were normally employed by one theater at a time,[41] and we can assume that especially during the years 1640-1643, when SS. Giovanni e Paolo was competing for audiences with the popular Teatro Novissimo (which featured the designs of Giocomo Torelli), simple revivals of earlier spectacles would not have been considered adequate. It is probable, therefore, that Giovanni Burnacini of Cesena, who is known to have been employed at SS. Giovanni e Paolo in 1643,[42] was in fact active there one or two years earlier. Bjurstöm suggests that Burnacini was working at SS. Giovanni e Paolo as early as 1641, and the *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo,* noting that Burnacini designed a public spectacle in Venice about 1640, agrees with Bjurstöm's hypothesis.[43] We know that Burnacini was working as the designer for the theater in 1646 when *Poppea* was revived, and it seems most likely that he was the designer for the original production in 1642.

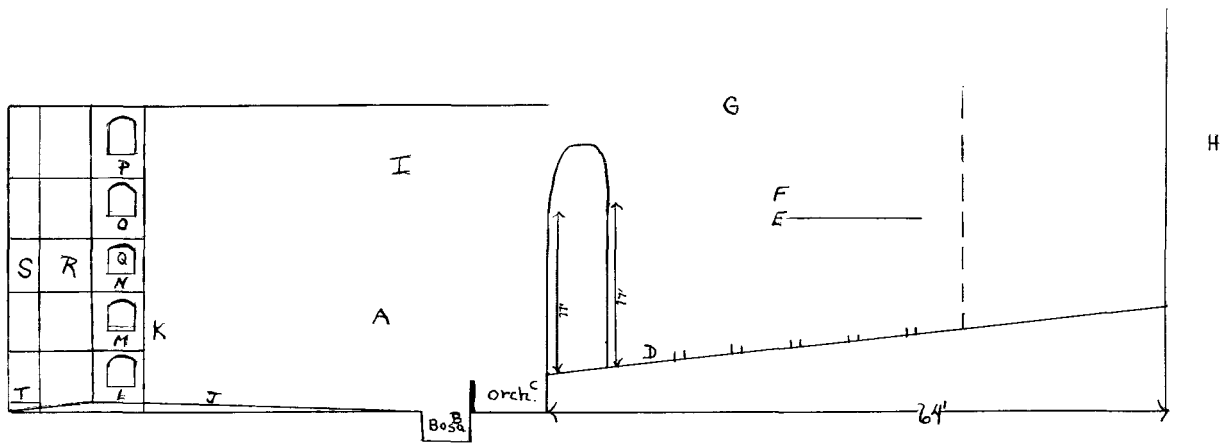
In the catalogue of the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana a scenario for *Poppea* is found under the listing *Nerone.*[44] It is not found under the listings *Poppea, L'incoronazione di Poppea,* Monteverdi, or Busenello, but the title page clearly identifies it as

> Scenario dell'Opera Reggia Intitolata/*La Coronatione di Poppea/* Che si rappresenta in Musica nel theatro dell' Illustr. Sig. Giovanni Grimani/In Venetia, 1643.

Although it is not as informative as some scenarios which identify the singers, the scenic designer, and other details of the performance, it does describe and label the seven scene changes. (See Table 1.) There are five sets mentioned: (1) "Palazza di Poppea," (2) "Città di Roma," (3) "Villa di Seneca," (4) "Giardino di Poppea," and (5) "Reggio di Nerone." Flying machines are mentioned for the prologue and the entrances of Palladio, Mercurio, and Amore. Examples of how Burnacini designed similar sets are shown in Figures 4-5. Judged by contemporary standards, the production of *Poppea* seems very modest and lackluster because of the limited number of scene changes, number and types of scenes, and the limited use of special effects such as flying machines. *Poppea,* however, did not depend on spectacle to succeed; its beauty and power lay in the drama and music. The scenic effects subtly augmented the music and drama without overpowering them. Burnacini was the perfect designer for *Poppea*; a master of the sublime and elegant, he created sets to enhance the richness and beauty surrounding the Roman court without employing frequent scene changes and spectacular effects which would have detracted from *Poppea*'s human drama.[45]

L'incoronazione di Poppea is one of the few early operas which has been revived successfully in the 20th century. The drama and music still attract the modern audience. Yet the fullness of its beauty becomes ap-

FIGURE 1: Theater of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, *ca.* 1670—profile.

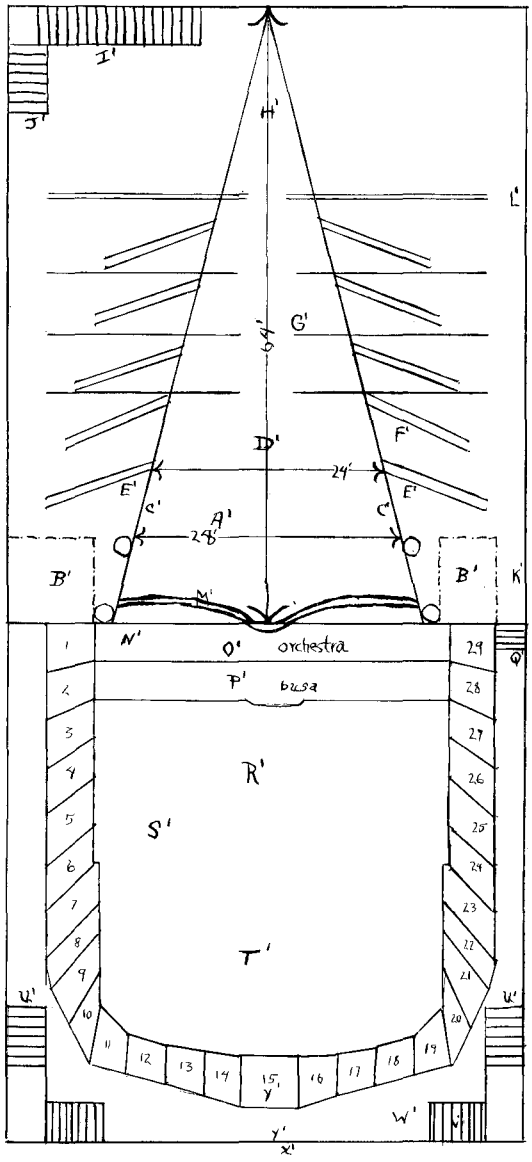


KEY TO PROFILE OF THE THEATER OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO

A. Profile
B. Pit
C. Orchestra
D. Floor of the stage, with its incline
E. Scale—20 Venetian feet [calibrated line to show scale]
F. The first flats measure 17 feet in length by 5 feet in width
G. Total length of the building from wall to wall 120 feet
H. [numbers in black ink] 75
5
9
91
–5
79 7/4 – 93 –
£4 –

I. [written in black ink] *Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paulo di Venezia*
J. Plan of the audience in profile
K. Height of the audience from floor to ceiling 31½ feet
L. Floor level
M. First level
N. Second level
O. Third level
P. Fourth level
Q. Width of the boxes 4 feet
R. Length of the boxes 5 feet
S. Corridor to the boxes 3 feet 3 inches
T. Small stairway

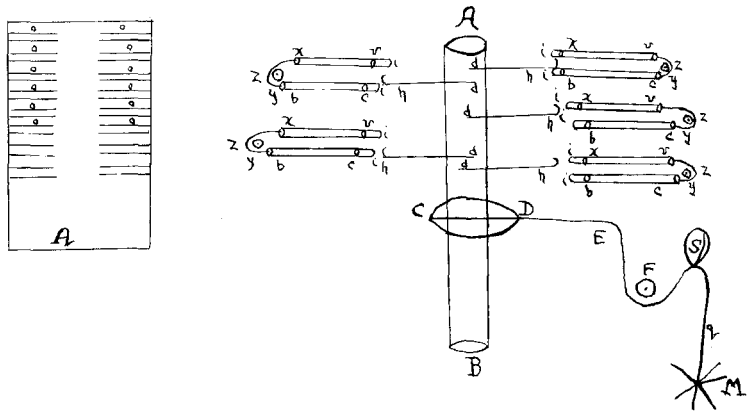
FIGURE 2: Theater of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, *ca.* 1670—floor plan.

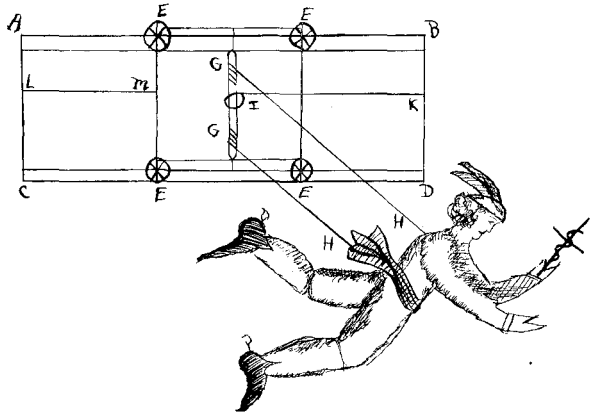


KEY TO FLOOR PLAN OF THE THEATER OF SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO

A′. Stage. Width of the stage 28½ feet. Its height is as high as the ceiling of the audience; its opening and as far as the second column is 24 feet high, making the proscenium lower than the entry door that leads to the stage.
B′. Boxes
C′. Sight line
D′. Stage length 64 feet.
E′. Grooves for flats (*telei*)
F′. Entrances
G′. Grooves for flats (*prospetti*)
H′. [?] without scenery
I′. Stairway leading to the ceiling
J′. Stairway leading to and from stage
K′. Door to the stage
L′. Line of [?]
M′. Groove for the lights
N′. Total width of the building from wall to wall 54½ feet
O′. Orchestra 8 feet 3 inches
P′. Pit 5 feet
Q′. Door to the stage
R′. Width of the audience 37 feet 3 inches
S′. Floor plan of the theater of SS. Giovanni e Paolo in Venice, for the Grimani by Tomaso Bezzi [?] [etc.]
T′. Length of the audience 37 feet 3 inches
U′. Door
V′. Stairway to the corridor to the boxes
W′. Two small stairways leading to the corridor to the boxes
X′. Through this door the people with tickets may enter
Y′. Entrance

FIGURE 3: Theater of SS. Giovanni e Paolo—stage machines, from Skippon, "An Account of a Journey."





DESCRIPTION OF STAGE MACHINES AT SS. GIOVANNI E PAOLO, from Skippon, "An Account of a Journey"

At the opera of *S Giov e Paolo* we observed the scenes to be changed after this manner.

Note: the stone *S,* and the pully *F* seem false represented in this scheme; for the stone should appear downwards in the motion, below *M.*

Over the top of the stage are many floors; and there is under the stage a long axis *AB* which hath fastened to it the cords *ddddd,* with iron hooks *hhhhh,* and a long rope *E;* which being pull'd down by the weight of the stone *S,* moves over the pully *F* and unwinds at *CD.* This stone, by the help of the cord *q,* is wound up over the stage at the turnstile *M;* and that being let go, the rope *E* unwinding off the axis *AB,* turns the axis from *C* to *D,* and winds up the cords *ddddd,* and the forementioned hooks being put into the nooses of rope *iiiii,* &c. pull towards the axis the *animae* or bottoms of frames wherein the painted scenes are, and bring them forward in the sight of the spectators: *yy,* &c. is a cord that couples two of those *animae;* and as the hook *i* is placed in the noose, so the bottoms of the frame or *animae* move forward or backward, *ex gr.* When *xv* is drawn forward, then *bc* is pull'd backwards, the cord *y* moving on the pully *z.* There is a man always stands ready at *M,* who lets the stone fall, and changes a great number of scenes on a sudden, there being many of these hooks and *animae.* Before another scene appears, the stone must be wound up again.

Those scenes which fall downwards, as arches, &c., are let down by a long axis above, just in the same manner.

The frames of the scenes move within slits *oooo,* &c., made in the floor of stage *A.*

The floor of the stage rises as prospects do from the eye.

The pictures scenes are very lively at a good distance, and by candle-light; but at near hand the work is very great and coarse.

The curtain before the stage, is drawn up by a great many ropes lapp'd about an axis, which is also turn'd by the weight of a great stone.

The Engine use'd to fly down with.

ABCD are two furrows in a long frame cross the top of the scenes. *EEEE* are four wheels belonging to a chariot that hangs underneath, and wherein an actor sits, who flies down by the help of two small chains *HH,* which chains unwind off the axis at *GG;* and as they unwind, a rope, tied to a beam at *K,* is wound up on a wheel *i,* and the chariot runs from *M* to *K.* Another rope is ty'ed to the back of the engine at *M,* unwinds off an axis at *L;* which being wound up again, draws back the engine.

TABLE 1: Sets and use of flying machine in Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea*

Scene	Set	Flying machine
Prologue		[character unspecified]
Act I scene i	Palazza di Poppea	
ii		
iii		
iv		
v	Città di Roma	
vi		
vii		
viii		Palladio
ix		
x		
xi		
xii		
xiii		
Act II scene i	Villa di Seneca	Mercurio
ii		
iii		
iv	Città di Roma	
v		
vi		
vii		
viii		
ix		
x	Giardino di Poppea	
xi		Amore
xii		
Act III scene i	Città di Roma	
ii		
iii		
iv		
v		
vi		
vii		
viii	Reggio di Roma	

parent when it is surrounded by its original production: the effect of a large spectacular stage on a small, intimate audience; rich costumes and perspective sets of ancient cities and palaces. The simple brilliance of a human love story would be accented and enhanced if it could be seen in its gilded 17th-century finery.

FIGURE 4: Set design by Burnacini.

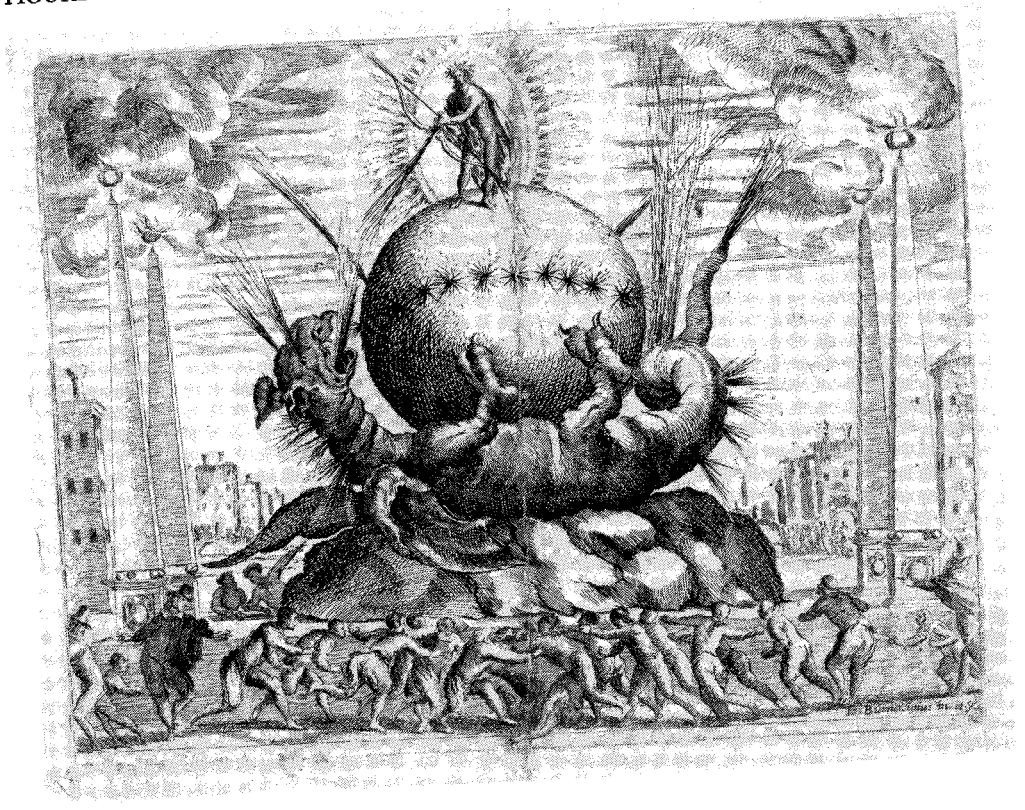
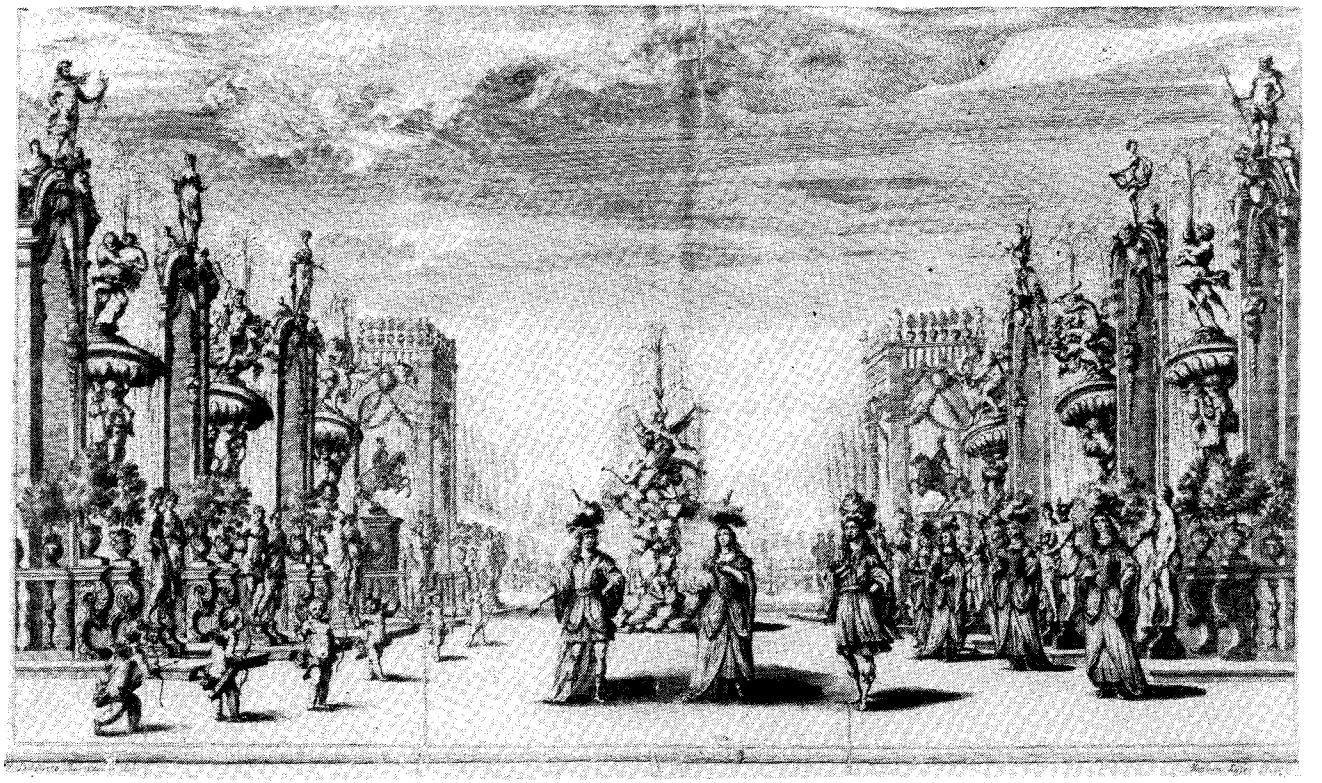


FIGURE 5: Set design by Burnacini.



NOTES

[1] Donald J. Grout, *A Short History of Opera*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965) p. 37.

[2] Alfred Loewenberg, ed., *Annals of Opera* (Geneva: Societas Bibliographica, 1965) pp. 1-16.

[3] Simon Towneley Worsthorne, *Venetian Opera in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954) Chapter 4, pp. 37-50.

[4] Simon Towneley Worsthorne, "Some Early Venetian Opera Productions," *Music & Letters* 30 (1949) p. 146.

[5] Simon Towneley Worsthorne, "Venetian Theatres: 1637-1700," *Music & Letters* 29 (1948) pp. 263-275.

[6] Another theater, also owned by Grimani, S. Giovanni Grisostomo, built in 1678, was the grandest by the end of the century.

[7] Francesco Sansovino, *Venezia città nobilissima et singolare descritta in XIIII Libri ecc.,: con le aggiunte di D. Giustiniano Martonioni* (Venice: Steffano Curti, 1663) p. 397.

[8] Grout, p. 85.

[9] Nicola Mangini, *I teatri di Venezia* (Milan: Mursia, 1974) p. 57.

[10] Contemporary reporters confirm this date. See Giovanni Carlo Bonlini, *Le glorie della poesia e della musica nell'efatta notita di teatri della città di Venezia* (Venice, 1730); and Cristoforo Ivanovich, *Minerva sulla tavolina* (Venice: Nicolo Pezzona, 1681).

[11] Worsthorne, *Venetian Opera*, p. 29.

[12] Worsthorne, "Venetian Theatres," p. 271.

[13] Martonioni in Sansovino, *Venezia*, p. 397; and Ivanovich, *Minerva*, p. 399.

[14] "Plans of the Teatro Tor do Nono—del C. Carlo Fortuna di Roma, Firenze, Siene, Fano" (31 designs) no. 34, "Il Teatro SS. Giovanni e Paolo," Sir John Soane Museum, Lincoln Fields Inn, London, England. The date 1670 is an approximation based upon mention in the plans of the construction of the Teatro S. Giovanni Grisostomo, which occurred during the 1670s.

[15] Taddeo Wiel, *I teatri musicali veneziani del settecento* (Venice: Vesenti, 1897) p. xliii.

[16] Worsthorne, *Venetian Opera*, p. 29

[17] Bruno Brunelli, "Notes and Comments," *The Mask* 13 (1926) p. 134.

[18] Maria Teresa Murano, "Teatri—Venezia," *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo* 9 (Rome: Le Maschere, 1962) pp. 1546-1547.

[19] Brunelli, "Notes," p. 134.

[20] Livio Niso Galvani [Giovanni Carlo Salvioli], *I teatri musicali di Venezia nel secolo XVII* (Bologna: Forni, [1879] 1969) p. 29. This date is confirmed by Bonlini (*Le glorie*, p. 29) and Ivanovich (*Minerva*, p. 399).

[21] The Italian can be ambiguous. SS. Giovanni e Paolo was known as "teatro Grimano" or as "teatro di Grimani," but S. Samuele was also Grimani's theater and therefore also "teatro di Grimani." In Bonlini's text the beginning of the paragraph discusses S. Samuele. S. Samuele is still being discussed later in the same paragraph when Bonlini says, "Questo teatro di Grimani," built in 1655 (p. 29). He is not referring to SS. Giovanni e Paolo. In addition, the word *fabbricare* can mean to build or to rebuild.

[22] Sansovino, *Venezia*, p. 397.

[23] Worsthorne, *Venetian Opera*, pp. 30-31; Galvani, *I teatri*, p. 29; Mangini, *I teatri*, p. 56.

[24] Ivanovich, *Minerva*, p. 399.

[25] *Archivio di Stato di Venezia X Savi sopra le Decime*, B. 210, n. 15006. 29 July 1658. ". . . haver fabricato un teatro in contrà si Sta. Marina in Calle delle Teste."

[26] *Archivio di Stato di Venezia X Savi sopra le Decime*, B. 218, n. 1036. 1661.

[27] Bonlini, *Le glorie,* pp. 20, 37.

[28] Donald Francis Tovey, *Essays in Musical Analysis: Vocal Music* 5 (London: Oxford University Press, 1937) p. 119.

[29] Worsthorne, *Venetian Opera,* pp. 31-33. See also Per Bjurstöm, *Giocomo Torelli and Baroque Stage Design* (Stockholm: Almquist and Wiksell, 1962) p. 35; and W. J. Lawrence, "Notes and Comments," *The Mask* 13 (1926) p. 134.

[30] Mangini, *I teatri,* p. 59.

[31] (Venice: Francesco Nicolini).

[32] Nicolo Minato, *Scipione Affricano,* dramma per musica/nel Teatro a SS. Gio[vanni] e Paolo/L'anno 1664.

[33] Bonlini, *Le glorie,* cf. the years 1663-1665.

[34] Sir Phillip Skippon, "An Account of a Journey made thro' part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy, and France," *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, Some First Printed From Original Manuscripts, Others Now First Published in English* 6 (London: Henry Lintot and John Osborne, 1732).

[35] Ibid., p. 506.

[36] One Venetian foot of 1650 was equal to 0.347 meters or 13.66 inches (English). This information was drawn from Luigi Jacono, "Piedi," *Enciclopedia italiana* 27 (Rome, 1935) p. 168.

[37] This number is based on the following calculations: (1) area of the stalls, 1728.06 square feet, divided by 5.06 square feet (the area needed per person, 2 feet 3 inches square) equals 341 "seats;" (2) four persons per box times twenty-nine boxes times five levels equals 580 "seats;" (3) the sum of (1) and (2) equals a total of 921 or about 920 seats.

[38] Bjurstöm, *Giocomo Torelli,* p. 21.

[39] Skippon, "An Account of a Journey," p. 508.

[40] "Alfonso Chenda," *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo* 3 (Rome: Le Maschere, 1956) pp. 589-590.

[41] Bjurstöm, *Giocomo Torelli,* p. 50.

[42] When he designed the sets for *La finta savia,* composed by Laurenzi, Crivelli, Merula, and Ferrari (libretto by Guillo Strozzi). See Worsthorne, "Some Early Venetian Operas," p. 148.

[43] Bjurstöm, *Giocomo Torelli,* p. 5; "Burnacini," *Enciclopedia dello spettacolo* 2 (Rome: Le Maschere, 1954) p. 1374.

[44] *Scenario dell'opera reggia intitolata La Coronatione di Poppea* of G. F. Busenello (Venice: Gio[vanni] Pietro Tinelli, 1643).

[45] *Scenario dell'opera . . . Poppea*; "Burnacini," p. 1374.

EDGARD VARESE: AN ORAL HISTORY PROJECT, SOME PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS

Ruth Julius

Edgard Varèse's music and his position in 20th-century music have not yet been thoroughly examined. Since his death in 1965, there have been several dissertations on and biographies of the composer; the literature, however, is appallingly scanty. Analyses of some of his works have appeared in major music journals, but in many ways are inadequate. The doctoral seminar on Varèse conducted by Professor Sherman Van Solkema at the City University of New York, from which this oral history project arose, is the first of its kind to deal with this major musical figure both historically and analytically. By conducting this series of interviews, I hoped to clarify issues and to draw some preliminary conclusions concerning Varèse, his oeuvre, and the world in which he lived and worked.

My data has been culled from fourteen taped interviews with composers living in the New York area. (The one exception was Roger Reynolds from California, who was interviewed while visiting New York.) A list of interviewees and the dates of the interviews is found in Table 1.

TABLE 1: List of interviews

Interviewee	Date
Roger Reynolds	4 November 1976
Henry Weinberg	18 November 1976
Eric Salzman	19 November 1976
Henry Brant	20 November 1976
Vivian Fine	21 November 1976
Milton Babbitt	29 November 1976
Earle Brown	1 December 1976
Otto Luening	7 December 1976
Robert Starer	8 December 1976
Harvey Sollberger	10 December 1976
John Cage	14 December 1976
Vladimir Ussachevsky	17 December 1976
Ross Lee Finney	23 December 1976
Charles Wuorinen	3 January 1977

The tapes and transcripts are housed in the Project for the Oral History of Music in America office at the City University of New York for the future use of scholars and researchers. Roger Reynolds and Ross Lee Finney were interviewed as part of the Varèse seminar; after my initial questioning, the discussion was open to all members of the seminar. Professor Van Solkema and I spoke to Robert Starer in a joint interview. The remaining interviews were conducted by me alone. Responses to my requests for interviews were excellent. Of the seventeen composers I approached, fourteen accepted, two declined, and one was unavailable in the United States this year.

This paper is an interpretation of these interviews, which contain a wealth of information on Varèse and other subjects relevant to 20th-century music. The interviews were structured to include certain topics, but some were more fruitful than others. The quoted material has been edited grammatically, to avoid repetition, and for reasons of space. The broad themes dealt with here are Varèse's concept of spatiality, his "liberation of sound," influences on him, his influence and importance in 20th-century music, and Varèse, the man.

A clear distinction can be made on the question of the interviewees' first encounters with Varèse's music on the basis of their age. Henry Brant, Vivian Fine, Otto Luening, John Cage, and Vladimir Ussachevsky, all born before 1915 (Finney is in this age group, but he is an exception), first heard Varèse's music in live performances. The world premiere of *Ionisation,* conducted by Nicholas Slonimsky, took place in New York on 6 March 1933 in what is now Carnegie Recital Hall. Shortly afterwards, Slonimsky brought it to the Hollywood Bowl. There were American performances of Varèse's works in the 1920s, but only Brant remembers hearing *Arcana,* conducted by Stokowski.

Those composers born after 1915 first heard Varèse on recordings. *Ionisation* was recorded on a 78 RPM disc in the 1930s on New Music Records, as were *Density 21.5* and *Octandre.* There was also an E.M.S. (Elaine Music Shop) recording made in 1950 of *Octandre, Density, Ionisation,* and *Intègrales* with Frederick Waldman conducting. After the *Ionisation* premiere in 1933, no Varèse work was heard live in New York (with the exception of the solo flute piece) until 1947, when *Hyperprism* was performed at a memorial service for the critic Paul Rosenfeld. It was not until the 1950s that Varèse began to reappear in the public musical ear, through long-playing recordings and live performances of all the works. Younger and older composers alike attended the New York premiere of *Déserts* on 30 November 1955 in Town Hall with Jacques Monod conducting. (The U.S. premiere had been held in Bennington, Vermont on 17 May 1955.)

The composers' initial impressions of Varèse's music varied according

to which work was heard first, by what medium, and when. Those hearing *Ionisation* live in 1933 were bowled over by the daring qualities of this music; namely, its use of an all-percussion ensemble, and an almost "electronic" concept, as Fine describes it. Cage speaks of the Hollywood Bowl performance as "inspiring, invigorating, and electrifying." Brant was "startled by a piece that didn't seem to need strings, woodwinds, brass, or even much pitched percussion."

From the 1950 E.M.S. recording, Reynolds remembers being struck by the "short-range intensity of the impulse in Varèse, who was willing to achieve tremendous impact in the space of ten seconds, as opposed to a minute and a half." Earle Brown, who listened to the same recording, found his "ears turned around" by Varèse, and was impressed by the composer's time sense. In the early 1950s, Brown was interested in the works of James Joyce, Gertrude Stein, and Virginia Woolf. He sensed intuitively that Varèse, like these writers, was involved with a new sense of the way time moved.

> By the focus on, or exposition of an area, these artists achieved through words what Varèse achieved through sounds. When I first heard Varèse, the immediate connection was that repetition in Stein, who maintained that there was no such thing as repetition. Woolf slowed up time and Joyce almost stopped time. Joyce was exploring a situation in depth in a density kind of way, rather than horizontally, which was what Varèse was doing by observing the sheer fact of the sonic objects' reality which he constructed. He wanted the sounds to just sit there, and have people listen in to the sounds.

Harvey Sollberger, a flutist who thinks of *Density* in "autobiographical terms," speaks of the "inexorable flow of the music, the very controlled motion from one point to another, and the need to keep going. It almost compelled you, pulled your attention along." Perhaps Wuorinen best sums up his hearing of Varèse, "In a word, world-opening."

One of Varèse's great interests was the concept of spatiality in music—spatial projection, sounds moving in space, musical space as being open and unbounded. Although the notion of space in music differs depending on who is asked, those interviewed showed a high degree of concurrence in their feelings regarding Varèse's idea of spatiality. At times, even the same language was used to articulate the idea.

Reynolds referred to his colleague Robert Erickson's term "sound icons"[1] in discussing spatiality.

> Varèse was talking about the problem of how to describe, metaphorically, the listening to of agglomerations of carefully controlled sound and fused timbres, and understanding that they are significantly dif-

ferent when the entrances and exits are patterned in a different way, and when the dynamic flux is different. These sounds are different entities, rather than differently performed or expressed versions of the same thing. Part of Varese's use of a spatial analogy was an effort to say that a performance or a realization of a chordal sonority could be seen as two distinct phenomena. His sounds are sculptural in terms of their opacity, their density.

Varèse's sculptural quality is alluded to again and again in discussions of spatiality. Sollberger notes the relationship between Varèse's idea of crystalline structure and music in space.

> In *Octandre,* for example, there are certain reference sonorities that assume a physicality which one hears; simultaneously, you have an impression of shifting perspective, as if you were looking at a sculpture from different angles, being different every time, and yet obviously it's the same object rotating and changing its elements. What Ralph Shapey has called the "graven image" (Varèse's term) is a particular configuration of sound, either vertical or horizontal, through repetition and juxtaposition in different phases against each other, forming a network of relations that were changing, yet whose basic elements were always the same.

Like Sollberger, Brown uses the image of sculpture to describe spatiality in Varèse. However, the term "sculpture," for Brown, has a more static quality: "The movement is there in an acoustic way, not in an aural or kinetic way; you can hear the sounds go across the orchestra." Brown, along with Reynolds and Sollberger, is aware of the variegated perspective in Varèse's music. He compares Varèse's breaking up of chords to the cubists' fragmentation of painted objects into planes, masses, and volumes. Brown compares Varèse at work to the sculptors Archipenko and Gonzalez, or a metal sculptor. Fine specifically mentions Brancusi, whose simplification and streamlining of materials is similar to that of Varèse.

Babbitt, a more mathematically oriented composer, does not speak of the sculptural analogy regarding spatiality. "Spatiality in Varèse's music involves the degree of total range, his constant varying it with regard to certain kinds of rhythmic ratios, and the placing of instruments within that range."

Varèse's use of metaphorical language and his association with other arts and artists are clearly important factors is his music. His scientific background must not be downplayed either, as it, too, affects this language. The image of the crystal structure, which Varèse frequently used, attests to his interest in the physical world. Brown tried to tie the two together: "I thought I knew how he composed by referring what I heard

of Varèse back to Schillinger, principles of structuring masses, densities, time spans, and time proportions." It seems possible, thus, that Varèse used metaphors pre-compositionally as well as post-compositionally.

Unlike the majority of the interviewees, Weinberg and Wuorinen did not connect Varèse's music with other art forms, and they also objected to metaphorical language in discussing the music. Wuorinen asserts that "metaphors are useless, misleading, false, and dangerous, because they are too often used as a substitute for cognitive musical thought, information, and skill."

Varèse referred to sound as living matter and spoke of the "liberation of sound."[2] Perhaps this term was suggested to Varèse by certain passages in Busoni's 1907 *Sketch for a New Esthetic of Music,* one of the first books to treat electronic music. Busoni had written that ". . . a musical score is free, and to win freedom is its destiny."[3] I asked the composers how they thought Varèse liberated sound. It was interesting to discover that most of the composers, whatever their orientation toward music, found the term "liberation of sound" meaningful. Wuorinen and Finney were the only exceptions; Wuorinen felt the phrase itself was, like all metaphorical language, nonsense; while Finney maintained that all composers "liberate sound." Luening felt that "Varèse didn't liberate sound—he liberated himself to work more freely in this area."

Babbitt and Weinberg conceive of Varèse's "liberation of sound" as an attempt to structure sound elements that were previously unacceptable to the traditional listener. Weinberg commented on Varèse's inclusion of noise elements into a musical composition.

> He spoke of the chromatic scale as a restricting element. Varèse wanted to return sound to nature and to structure the noise element. He wanted not merely two categories of pitch and noise, but a continuum of these. Varèse enlarged the scope of music by taking a realm that was totally unstructured and drawing it into structure, thereby leaving less to chance. One could regard Varèse as a formalist in sound. In order to get away from the clichés of meaning, one must be formalistic about considering the elements aside from their associations.

Babbitt answers the question in similar terms.

> Anything that can be discriminated aurally in context could now be structures. What Varèse meant by the "liberation of sound" was the sense that you begin with the human component and you end with the limitations of the human perceptor. Music was liberated because it was no longer the intervention of instruments whose limitations

were artificial and fictitious regarding the human's capacity to differentiate musical context.

Reynolds feels that Varèse liberated sound "by providing us with indisputable sonic experiences that had sufficient authority to stand on their own, and by allowing somewhat more untrammeled notions of what is proper into music." Brown states the same view in more concrete terms: "Varèse freed a D major seventh chord of its necessity of going somewhere; he freed it from the 19th-century baggage. Sound could now exist as an object, a physical presence without the consequence of polyphonic or harmonic responsibilities." Starer concurs with Brown, but extends the "liberation" to include rhythm: ". . . any rhythm does not have to be an evolving motive; it needs no reason to exist." Ussachevsky touches on all of the above points, but concludes that "the ultimate liberation, for Varèse, was a machine obedient to his command to produce any possible sound."

The most problematic issue for the composers I interviewed was determining those qualities in Varèse's music that set him apart from his contemporaries. Brant was the most articulate in his response, because of his conviction that Varèse was a highly individual composer. What he finds unique in Varèse is the "absence of protracted horizontal material, its extreme chordal character and the pyramid nature of the chords."[4] Brant also finds "violent and dissonant harmony in the aggregate as well as in the detail. The amount of highly contrasted material in all the works is an individualistic element." He concludes that Varèse's music is a unique form of vertical, harmonic music.

Indeed, all of the composers were struck by Varèse's combinations of instruments to create block sounds. Weinberg cites Varèse's "unparalleled mastery of integration of tone color with instruments as well as electronically. How he makes and arranges these scales of tone color is fresh and exciting. Not only is the concept of blocks of sound important, but the relationships among the elements that make up the blocks are marvelous." Reynolds and Brant mentioned Varèse's unusual use of the piano in its extreme high and low ranges combined with other instruments. Reynolds sees Varèse's uniqueness in his "short-term development of force and his capacity to create fusions" and in "his relative lack of dependence upon root progression and harmonic, melodic, or motivic structure in the traditional sense." But perhaps, most important, according to Reynolds, is the "sonorous size of his objects, their frequency or repetitions and the short duration with which he is willing to move over very wide ranges of dynamics of timbre and range."

Fine felt that the source of Varèse's individuality is the unity of his oeuvre. She feels, along with Brant, that all of Varèse's works are really one long work, even though there was a hiatus of eighteen years, from

1936 to 1954, in which no composition was completed. Brant feels that Varèse saw his role and capacity in one way only, and that was to write his music his way, with no digressions. Fine says,

> You sense the search for the realization of this central idea or image that he has. It might be something quite simple, like his knocking on wood with his knuckles and saying, "From this, I can make a whole composition." Varèse was not seduced by sound; his desire to fix things in sound is very strong in his music. He wanted the tone out there, to exist as an object, so you could walk on it, which I sometimes feel I can.

Brant and Brown emphasize the static quality of the music as far as pitch is concerned. "There are so many ways he can vary the pitches to give the effect of an enormous amount of action," says Brant. Perhaps this explains why Fine thinks Varèse's music is "somewhere between static and non-static." Even Wuorinen, the only composer interviewed who cannot include Varèse in the "pantheon of great composers because of his relative indifference to pitch relational matters," firmly believes that Varèse's major innovation was in dealing with musical time. He sees Varèse's contribution as "his proposal to mark the passage of musical time by juxtapositional means rather than by developmental ones from the past. The music proceeds according to the juxtaposition of differentiated elements, rather than the inter-connection of evolutionarily related elements." Wuorinen cites *Octandre* and *Ionisation* as the most successful pieces in this respect.

All artists are influenced by their backgrounds, their physical surroundings, people with whom they come into contact, and art of the past and present. Certainly Varèse was no exception to this, but in his case it is particularly difficult to trace the origins of and influences on his music. Before the First World War, Varèse lived in Paris and was educated at the Schola Cantorum under d'Indy and Roussel. He fled from that conservative atmosphere to Berlin, where he was befriended by the conductor Karl Muck, Richard Strauss, and Ferruccio Busoni. Varèse's music was performed in both cities, and he enjoyed quite a career in Europe before coming to the United States in December 1915. His first piece written here, *Amériques,* is the earliest work that survives. Much was lost in a Berlin warehouse fire, and in 1962 he destroyed *Bourgogne,* a work conducted by Josef Stransky in Berlin in the teens.

Only Brant dissents from the widely-held view that *Amériques* was influenced by *The Rite of Spring.* Varèse's treatment of percussion and of rhythm are very different from Stravinsky's, but one can hear a connection in sound and large-scale form between the two works. Varèse knew and

admired Debussy; however, the only musical relationships between the two composers suggested to me were by Salzman and Brown in *Jeux*, and by Fine and Sollberger in *Syrinx*. In *Jeux*, Debussy intimates the idea of masses, textures, and densities of sound, which Varèse certainly picked up. *Syrinx* and *Density* are similar in medium and in use of intervallic structure.

Weinberg believes that all the composers born between 1881 and 1883, including Stravinsky, Bartók, Webern, and Varèse, share the common base of a "slow rate of harmonic change of pitches." Brant stands in opposition to this, maintaining that all the aforementioned composers are highly individual and do not share any traits. Both Brant and Weinberg feel that Varèse's use of the twelve tones of the octave did not necessarily come from Schoenberg. The unfolding of the chromatic scale was something that was very much in the air in the 1920s. Weinberg continues on the Schoenberg-Varèse relationship, "In the third piece of *Five Pieces for Orchestra* Op. 16, Schoenberg de-linearized the surface of the piece, which is the aspect that Varèse dwells on at great length." Cage and Luening share the minority point of view in hearing Varèse as coming from a Germanic tradition because of his use of a large orchestra.

Brown feels that Varèse was influenced by his early training in mathematics and by the visual arts. "The roots of Varèse's thinking are in Dadaist books and Futurist manifestos. His esthetic was formed largely by his ruminations about implications of Russolo's and Marinetti's thinking on noise."

Reynolds mentions New York with its sounds and energies as being the biggest influence on Varèse. "He processed New York." According to Reynolds, Varèse's musical and human personality was so forceful that only the most extraordinarily powerful ideas would get through to him.

One could say that Varèse had three careers; one in Europe before the First World War, the second in New York in the 1920s as a composer-conductor and as organizer of the International Composers Guild, and the third as an international composer in the 1950s when Varèse emerged from almost two decades of obscurity. He lectured at Darmstadt in 1949; pieces such as *Ionisation* and *Octandre* were discussed in Messiaen's master classes which Boulez and Stockhausen attended in the late 1940s. A reissue of the Waldman recording appeared on a French label in the 1950s. Varèse's influence only began to be felt in this third stage. The composers interviewed could not name anyone composing in the 1930s in the United States or in Europe on whom Varèse had a profound influence. Although he was friendly with Ruggles and Cowell, they "were doing their own thing," according to Fine. She continues, "Varèse was considered a radical of the twenties who was temporarily put on the shelf in the thirties and forties." She feels that the "eclipse of the avant-garde" in the 1930s deeply affected composers' styles. "Varèse couldn't

change and didn't change; perhaps that's why he was so out of phase for so long."

It is the impression of most of the composers interviewed that post-World War II Europe was concerned with following the path marked by Webern. Brown recalled a conversation between himself and Boulez in 1965 in Paris about Webern and Varèse. Boulez said that "what we need now is clean music, constructivist serial plotting of pitches. Varèse is too Beethovenian, too emotional." Brown, at that time, was convinced that "Varèse represented a new way of thinking about sound, in masses, volumes, and densities, whereas Webern was an old polyphonist." Brown speculated that music would go far more in the direction of Varèse than that of Webern, and believes that he is correct today. "There are very few people writing twelve-tone, post-Webern serial music today compared to the number of people working in a more inclusive area, such as Xenakis, Ligeti, and Penderecki." Xenakis is cited most frequently as a second-generation Varèsian—Xenakis the mathematician, designer, architect, working with planes, masses, proportions, and sculptural objects, seems especially close to Varèse. Brown states that "there could not have been a Ligeti or a Penderecki without a Varèse. The sounds from these three composers are very much like the sounds from *Amériques.*"

Among Americans, Varèse seems to have had more of an attitudinal than a stylistic influence. Varèse did not have many pupils and was not affiliated with a university. There was never a group of composers writing pieces like Varèse, as there was with Stravinsky and Schoenberg; however, Brown now sees Varèse in the center of mainstream developments of music. "Varèse was not polemic; he didn't leave us any techniques. He left us a body of works which stands very strongly."

Varèse's influence affected composers differently. Brant says, "Every time I want to write a really sour and dissonant chord with pyramids, I think of Varèse's example, which nobody could beat. I also owe to Varèse the method I use to get the ear-splitting results you hear." Wuorinen's interest in loud volumes of sound is acknowledged by him to come partly from Varèse. "My thoughts on form and continuity have been influenced by what I've taken out of Varèse's music; perhaps an orchestrational or instrumental attitude, too."

While Weinberg thinks it is too soon, twelve years after Varèse's death, to detect an influence, Reynolds is firmly convinced of Varèse's influence on contemporary composers—"We're standing on him now." Reynolds cites Varèse's blocks of sound and his short-term intensity as the two most important influences on himself. He also acknowledges that his concept of "timed mixtures," the idea of not going anywhere within a certain period of time, was influenced by the example set by Varèse.

Babbitt acknowledges a Varèse influence in one of his early pieces, but goes on to say that more importantly, "all composers have been

influenced by the general gesture, the kind of sound, and the liberation of the percussion set by Varèse. Varèse's music has become part of our internalized theory of music." Starer echoes this by saying that Varèse's musical language has become "common parlance" among composers today.

In conversations with the composers, several specific projects for the future were discussed. These include revision of an article written by Brown twenty years ago, consisting of excerpts from Varèse's writings and lectures on his music. Brown's article was accepted for publication by the British magazine *The Score,* edited by William Glock, but it went out of business before the article was published. Ussachevsky would very much like to restore *Poème électronique* in the next four or five years. The original components had nine tracks which were later reduced to three. He wants to reconstruct this masterpiece from the original sources onto nine tracks. Wuorinen has conducted *Déserts* several times in the complete instrumental and tape version, and has always been baffled by the relationship between the tape part and the instrumental part. He would like to perform it with only its instrumental sections (a possibility suggested in the score), to see whether the work might not present a more coherent entity without the tape. Perhaps Fine most succinctly expressed her desire for more live performance of Varèse's music, "What we need is a Varèse revival."

Varèse the man cannot be divorced from Varèse the musician. A picture of Varèse as a human being has begun to emerge from this project. All of the composers had some personal contact with him; some, more than others. "He was an immense man with an immense concept of sound," is the way Sollberger describes him. Several composers interviewed spoke of the extremes in his personality, that he was capable of great rancor and also of great kindness. This may be reflected in the extremes in his music in range, volume of sound, and the use of highly contrasting materials. Salzman associates Varèse's "earthy, proletarian, peasant origins with his earth-rooted, solid, rough-hewn sculptures in sound." Varèse had an intense personality which resulted in music that imposed upon the listener. His sounds were "rich, vibrant, and sensual, close to the experience."

Varèse is described by Wuorinen as "a grand seigneur, a patrician with no pretensions. His gentlemanliness, although he was a rough character at times, made it possible for him to have the most rebellious of musical attitudes without ever seeming to turn against the fabric of civilization itself." Babbitt is intrigued by Varèse's whole personality and the whole "complex of cultural reactions which made him a complicated and volatile man, which, in turn, affected his relationship to music and musicians."

Fine feels very strongly that "Varèse never lost his cast of being a mem-

ber of the avant-garde. He held onto that idea; that was his stamp. He said to me at the end of his life, 'You know, some people shouldn't have to die.' He wanted very much to go on living and creating. I think he would have continued to be an avant-garde composer always." This point of view is challenged by Starer and Wuorinen who maintain that the term "avant-garde" is meaningless today, because, as Wuorinen says, ". . . the questioning of artistic limits and possibilities has become so complete that there is nothing further that can be done." Starer speaks of the "military function" of the avant-garde, which, when it remains in enemy territory for twenty-five years, ceases to be meaningful. "Avant-garde now simply means one kind of music."

Whether or not we label Varèse "avant-garde" or anything else (Varèse despised labels), the fact remains that Varèse's music clearly stands out in the minds and ears of these composers as a substantial contribution to 20th-century music. Babbitt seems to speak for all the composers when he says, "There's not one of those pieces which would still not interest me, both to hear in a very good performance and to go over again with a student. I have a very strong feeling that I haven't by any means plumbed Varèse."

NOTES

[1] Robert Erickson, *Sound Structure in Music* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975) p. 185.

[2] Edgard Varèse, "The Liberation of Sound," *Contemporary Composers on Contemporary Music,* ed. Elliott Schwartz and Barney Childs (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1967) pp. 196-208.

[3] Ferruccio Busoni, *Sketch of a New Esthetic of Music,* trans. Theodore Baker (New York: G. Schirmer, 1911) p. 5. Varèse knew Busoni in Berlin and admired him tremendously.

[4] Brant borrows the term "pyramid" from commercial music, where it is used to describe chords with notes entering and leaving one at a time.

*A PARISIAN IN AMERICA: THE LECTURES AND LEGACIES OF CHARLES KOECHLIN**

Elise Kuhl Kirk

In the spring of 1928, Catherine Urner's Musical Arts Studio of Oakland, California, circulated a leaflet with the following announcement:

> Plans are now underway for the coming of Charles Koechlin to the Pacific Coast for a three months' stay. This celebrated French composer, intimate friend and former pupil of Gabriel Fauré and Debussy, and author of valuable works on harmony and counterpoint, has the distinction of being the most outstanding teacher of composition and orchestration in Paris. Hence his visit to the Pacific Coast will prove an event of phenomenal interest to many musicians, composers, students and all music lovers in this vicinity.

With its somewhat panegyrical tone, this announcement heralded the opening of the door for Americans to the unexplored world of Charles Koechlin, one of music history's most fascinating enigmas. Born in Paris in 1867 within the prophetic *fin-de-siècle* atmosphere, Koechlin died in 1950 at the age of eighty-three after having witnessed three major wars and varied artistic styles ranging from the peak of post-romanticism to the dawn of the electronic age. His position within this significant time span, moreover, was a paradoxical one. Believing in the composer's right to create in his ivory tower, he still observed everything around him, drawing from and blending various styles as an artist chooses and mixes paint. He was a formidable teacher without a "school;" an ancient sage and youthful rebel; an original and an eclectic; a beloved, highly esteemed composer whose diverse output of over 220 opus numbers including every genre was rarely performed and even more rarely published.

Koechlin's critical articles, moreover, number in the hundreds, and his didactic writings include a three-volume *Traité de l'harmonie,* a four-volume *Traité de l'orchestration,* two important Lavignac monographs, and biographies of Debussy and Fauré. Under this French master's heuristic tutelage, Francis Poulenc, Germaine Tailleferre, Jean-Louis Martinet, Roger Désormière, Henri Cliquet-Pleyel, Maxime Jacob, and Henri Sauguet, among others, formulated their respective styles, the latter four students eventually comprising Satie's famous "Ecole d'Arcueil."

Of special significance to the present discussion are Koechlin's four

visits to the United States in 1918, 1928, 1929, and 1937, at which time he lectured and taught classes in harmony and counterpoint principally on the California coast. These important sojourns are documented through characteristically voluminous notes, diaries, correspondence, and formal discourse that help to dispel the clouds of arcanum which have surrounded the composer for decades, by exposing pertinent aspects of his aesthetic orientation, personality, and artistic tenets. The transmission of this classical French heritage, moreover, moved down the coast from Berkeley to San Diego through the devotion of a small group of American pupils, one of whom, the gifted Catherine Urner, became a life-long friend, promoting his music and even influencing certain aspects of his singular, little-known style of composition.

The circumstances surrounding Koechlin's first U.S. journey were decidedly different from those of his later three visits. From 9 November 1918 to 4 January 1919 he traveled across the country presenting lectures as the musical member of a commission of seven noted French scholars each representing a different discipline.[1] According to the *New York Times* of 18 November, the party was expected to counteract the efforts of Prussian propaganda which attempted to prove that the French were a declining people, physically and intellectually.

The mission arrived two days before the Armistice and three days before President Wilson promulgated the idea that it was the patriotic duty of all American teachers to return to temporary service in order to offset a shortage of some 50,000 university and public school pedagogues.[2] That the scholars were welcomed openly everywhere is established by Koechlin's diary accounts of the period.[3] The group was, in fact, entertained royally for three days in Washington, D.C., highlighted by a reception and a luncheon with President Wilson in the White House. Koechlin commented on the President's evolving plans concerning the League of Nations, and Wilson's words "It took three years of war to come to believe in the unbelievable" made a strong impression on the composer.[4]

When Koechlin came to teach at the University of California during the summer sessions of 1928 and 1929 upon the arrangement of his favored pupil Catherine Urner, a visiting European professor in the music department was rare indeed. French performing artists touring America during the decade of the 1920s, however, would not have seemed uncommon. This was due largely to promotion by the eminent French pianist E. Robert Schmitz who founded the Franco-American Musical Society in 1920. With Koechlin, Bartók, Ives, Varèse, Roussel, and other luminaries on its advisory board, the society linked France and the United States culturally by the active interchange of major performances and the publication of a journal to which Koechlin contributed several articles. (The organization remained active until 1929, having

changed its name in 1925 to Pro Musica to reflect a more international image.) On the East Coast, d'Indy conducted in 1923; Darius Milhaud conducted and presented lecture recitals in 1923 and 1926; Honegger and Ravel came in 1928. Through the efforts of Schmitz in San Francisco and Modeste Alloo, professor at the University of California, Berkeley, the Northern Peninsula also enjoyed a representative sampling of French music at this time.[5] However, if it had not been for the efforts of Charles Koechlin and Catherine Urner, Southern California, especially the San Diego area, would have been considerably less fortunate.

Koechlin's views of America in 1918 were expressed in abusive denunciations that appear considerably softened in his letter to Georges Duhamel after his 1929 visit.[6] However, his disdain of the overabundance, of the easy life ("la vie heureuse") that he found in America, was as much of a reflection of his personality as it was the understandable reaction of a Frenchman at the close of World War I. American society seemed to equate success with the amount of money earned and to chain itself to such personal possessions as the telephone (which he called "le tyran du Nouveau-Monde") or the automobile (to which he always preferred walking or bicycling). He would rather be poor than sacrifice his personal freedom—and this powerful tenet of "Liberté" became, as he said, "l'esprit de mon oeuvre—et celui de toute ma vie."[7]

Qualities which the Parisian master admired in Americans seemed to be those which he himself possessed as well. These included candor, initiative ("allant"), optimism, and the firm belief that things would work out ("cela ira").[8] To Koechlin, New Yorkers were energetic and healthy; U.S. professors were noble like those of Oxford; and this British heritage was noted also in the American's love of his home and in his Puritanism which, unfortunately, smacked of a certain insincerity under his credo that he could do what he wanted as long as he was not seen doing it.

With his candid, perceptive eye, Koechlin saw American musical taste in 1918 moving directly and without transition from under the thumb of Brahms to the very new styles of Stravinsky, Schoenberg, and Milhaud. California in 1929, however, still held as its musical gods Puccini and Tchaikovsky, with Fauré virtually unknown. Koechlin also recommended that Americans take time out from their busy lives to dream under the moon ("songer sous la lune") and perhaps to suffer a little in order to regain aesthetic nourishment and offset a superficiality which seemed to characterize their art.

As he wrote to Duhamel,

> Even more often than in France an artist's success is determined by the amount of money he earns. I have concluded that [in America] a true heroism is necessary, a mysticism. One must be an apostle, must dare, in order to be a profound musician. With the lack of solid

training in harmony, counterpoint and fugue (and good didactic works), it is understandable that "grands musiciens" are rare in the United States. . . . Let us hope that certain "jeunes" (involved with the technique of Mme. Boulanger who realizes the trust of her American students in Paris) will go farther than their ancestors. In New York, certain young composers appear to be bluffing—Gruenberg, Cowell and, I believe, even Edgard Varèse. Their art is noisy, mechanical, "boxeur" and this they call *modern*!

However, I had some students in California who worked very seriously and were truly gifted . . . but lacking the courage to continue, some have admitted "What for?" People would laugh at their compositions if they were serious, since anything profound chills the concert hall. Although Ernest Bloch received $3000 for his symphony *America,* his quintet, six months after publication, sold only three copies in the entire United States. (Et nunc intelligite, reges . . .)

As a whole, American society thinks of art as merely entertainment, just as the bourgeois Frenchman regards music as "art d'agrément." They want practical results without consenting to serious study. . . . To be in the possession of a solid technique or theory because of the beautiful possibilities that it offers, for the new life that it opens up, for creativity, thought and final effect—this has constituted for a long time our French method of secondary and higher education.[9]

Any suggestion of commercialism was anathema to the personal and artistic views of this genteel French philosopher. Unlike many of his compatriots at this time, he disliked jazz and discussed this candidly in his diary accounts of the 1928 ocean voyage to America: "Almost every evening after dinner, the music played in the dining hall or parlor consists of these wretched jazz tunes . . . and what worries me is that the people here do not appear to be suffering from the vulgarity of this art."[10]

Interestingly, he respected the primitive, simple blues and found some kinds of American music "joyously breathless . . . the fire of diamonds that sparkle." His charming account of the singing of the young women at New Orleans's Newcomb College reaffirms his respect for the "populaire" in its broadest and noblest sense, for this old American folk tune seemed an instinctive, natural creation, sensitive and rhythmically supple.[11] To the French visitor, it appeared to rise like the sun over the sea, obeying mysterious natural laws which haunted him long after his return to Paris. Significantly, this description could apply to his own melodic style as well. Sharing with his teacher Gédalge the belief that melody was the essence of music, Koechlin, in fact, had always maintained that all music had its origins in singing, in the purely naïve expression of religion or folklore.

Koechlin was an esteemed critic and aesthetic journalist from 1900 to

the end of his long life.[12] The lectures which he brought to America acquainted Californians with a valuable, perceptive overview of French music, and more specifically with Koechlin's own classical French heritage. Carefully translated by the composer's wife Suzanne in 1928 and by Catherine Urner in 1937, the lectures were presented by the composer in his heavy French accent in Wheeler Auditorium of the University of California and in the Urner studios of Oakland and San Diego (see Table 1). University of California Professor Emeritus Charles Cushing, who studied with Koechlin in 1928, felt that these papers brought very new concepts to the audience at this time.[13] Koechlin's wide-ranging knowledge embraced art history, classical literature, and mathematics, as well as musical scholarship. With his numerous analogies and poetic expressions, he was marked as a romanticist, but with modern perception and characteristic French logic. Most of the lectures were illustrated with musical examples, often with selections from the composer's own works.

In his lecture "The French Symphonic School from Berlioz to Franck and Fauré"[14] Koechlin lamented the Frenchmen's pet vice of running themselves down. In contrast, he found Gounod to be the authentic grandfather of Fauré and Debussy, and Berlioz the true fountainhead of modern French music. As one of the first critics to recognize the genius of this neglected compatriot, Koechlin recommended looking deeper into Berlioz's soul, beyond the *Symphonie fantastique,* wherein lay a true classicism, order, concision, and a naturally contrapuntal language. Rather than in an overboiling heart and unchained passions, the true romanticism of Berlioz lay in his need (like Koechlin's) for complete artistic freedom.

The bearded guest professor also defended the misunderstood Saint-Saëns as a bold precursor in his youth and noted that Massenet, Koechlin's teacher, had been influenced by J. S. Bach, like himself. To his three gods, "Chabrier, Debussy and Fauré," the master devoted an entire lecture,[15] and indeed, his astute commentaries help us to understand the origins of his own original, truly French musical language.

To Koechlin, these three artists were different from those "pretended connoisseurs" who, like puppets on a stage, beat their drums crying "louder, louder" to announce the least innovation which would win the critics, and "les snobs" to their cause. The revolution of Chabrier, Debussy, and Fauré was one of light, charm, and grace in the liberty of the artist from his own pride—in the courage to obey his musical intuition and write that which he loves. Koechlin saw Chabrier's bold harmonic writing and modal predilection as having a marked influence on Satie, Debussy, Ravel, and himself. He felt that the profound majesty of Chabrier's *Gwendoline,* moreover, was overshadowed by his lighter works and cites a comment to Benjamin Goddard as illustrative of Chabrier's laconic sense of humor. Having been a child prodigy, Goddard remarked to Chabrier one day, "What a pity, my dear Emmanuel, that you began

TABLE 1: Charles Koechlin's lectures and courses in America

Lectures	Courses	Dates	Location
Tradition in French Music or Modern French Music		25 November 1918 26 November 1918 29 November 1918 2 December 1918 9 December 1918 12 December 1918	Cleveland Museum of Art Butler College Northwestern University University of Chicago Rice Institute University of Texas
1. Music of the Middle Ages 2. The Sixteenth Century 3. The French Symphonic School from Berlioz to Franck and Fauré 4. Musical Evolution from 1900 to 1916 5. The Contemporary Movement	Counterpoint	2 July-11 August 1928	University of California, Berkeley
Same as above but with "Chabrier, Debussy and Fauré" substituted for No. 3	Harmony Counterpoint Orchestration	June-August 1928	Urner-Van Loben Sels Studio, Oakland
Topic unidentified		20 October 1928	Harvard University
	Harmony Advanced Harmony	1 July-10 August 1929	University of California, Berkeley
	Harmony Counterpoint Fugue Chorale Harmonization Orchestration	15 June-15 August 1929	Urner-Van Loben Sels Studio, Oakland
1. The Sixteenth Century 2. Fauré and Debussy 3. Contemporary Music 4. The Music of Charles Koechlin	Harmony Counterpoint Fugue Orchestration	1 August-15 September 1937	Urner Studio, San Diego

music so late." Chabrier replied, "And what a pity, my dear Benjamin, that you began so early."[16]

Claude Debussy, Koechlin felt, had marvelously understood all the beauty which lay in what he called *the dream.* His discourse continued with the following comment on this magnet, this guiding star of French music:

> Debussy saw that there [in the dream] lay the most real, the most powerful influence in human life, our regrets, our aims, our ideals, the force of our flame, the only thing perhaps which survives across the chain of generations—the dream. It is our most intimate possession, and to that we owe some devotion of time, of solitude, of calm —to be able to look into the heavens from afar and see the clouds 'the marvelous clouds,' as Baudelaire once wrote.[17]

To understand this comment is to perceive the elemental spirit of Charles Koechlin and his music.

The students in San Diego in 1937 also learned that it was characteristic of the Frenchman to restrain his feelings and, as Koechlin said, "to control himself so that we cannot see that he is weeping."[18] Fauré's music attained a sense of depth without underlining it, like unseen waves at the bottom of the ocean. His modulations, on the other hand, were rather rapid and audacious, reflecting those of J. S. Bach, while he achieved a beauty of proportion that should be a model for every student. A simple melody of Fauré, Koechlin continued, is far greater than some of our noisy symphonies.

Koechlin also understood the music of his non-French contemporaries with astute perception. Although he considered some forms of "dynamisme" to have fallen under the influence of the speeding automobile with the driver taking no time to observe the landscape, he recognized the greatness of Stravinsky and Schoenberg at a time when they were generally denounced. In his lecture, "The Contemporary Movement," he expressed his approbation of the "primitive frenzy" in the former's *Les Noces* and *Le Sacre du printemps,* noting that such apparent "animal barbarism" is beautiful—it lives, has meaning, and is *human* even in its cruelty.[19]

His review of the premiere of Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* in Paris, 16 January 1922, praised the charming refinement of the work which he found "doux avec ses perpétuelles dissonances." This was a striking contrast to Richard Aldrich's evaluation of the U. S. premiere in the *New York Times* where the Viennese master's "melodrama" was described as nothing but a "wearisomely repugnant succesion of disagreeable noises."[20]

Although he condoned the expressive atonal language of Alban Berg, he criticized serialism in general as academic and unmusical. "The desire

to be modern is one of the worst diseases of our time," he warned. "Today composers are afraid of not being original. But genius will always find its own expression. . . . We must not forget the dictum of Arnold Schoenberg, 'There is still quite a lot of music to be written in C major.' "[21]

Koechlin was a "clear-sighted and enthusiastic defender of everything young and bold and," according to his devoted friend, Paul Collaer, "he expended more effort in promoting the works of young composers than in spreading his own compositions."[22] Contrary to what some writers have indicated, he was not a recluse. Virgil Thomson, for example, claims that he was seen at *everybody's* concerts.[23] Although he felt that teaching was often fatiguing and time-consuming, it resulted in the improvement of his own craft for, as he said, a teacher's best pupil is himself. Recalling his consummate classical heritage from the Conservatoire, Koechlin's American students describe their mentor as one who never resorted to purely didactic methods and always allowed his pupils to develop their own potential. Convinced that a firm tonal foundation was necessary before abandoning oneself to modern liberties of poly- and atonality, he advised his students further, "Know your own style, be sincere, friendly, loving, full of imagination, naïve enthusiasm and musical sense. And perhaps you will become a genius. But this is the secret of the future."[24]

Who were Koechlin's American pupils? The list is as varied as Koechlin's personality. It includes Cole Porter, who studied with Koechlin at the Ritz Hotel in Paris and whose ballet *Within the Quota* Koechlin orchestrated in 1923. Another talented pupil, Alexander Lang Steinert, having won the Prix de Rome in 1927, conducted the first revival of *Porgy and Bess* in 1938 and thereafter became a noted composer, conductor, and arranger in Hollywood. Alfred Beck, Beatrice Colton, Charles Cushing, Charles Shatto, and the noted violinist/composer Albert Spaulding all fell under the trenchant tutelage of the French master.

One student in particular, however, occupied a very special place in the life of the composer; the name Catherine Urner permeates Koechlin's writings throughout the greater part of his life. He found the comely woman to be a true artist with special gifts in melodic composition, and he speaks of her frequently as having an intelligence more profound, more European, than any other American musician he had known. This truly gifted American was responsible for bringing Koechlin to the California coast for his last three teaching visits and, indirectly, for his receipt of the Hollywood Bowl prize in 1929. But more significantly, through the strong bonds of friendship, affection, and respect which they maintained for each other throughout the years, the musical styles of Charles Koechlin and Catherine Urner became inextricably intertwined.

In the weekly correspondence between Koechlin and Catherine Urner, which extended over a two-decade period, significant aspects of Koechlin's personality rise to the surface. Contrary to current opinion that the

reticent composer was uninterested in having his works performed, this corpus of correspondence proves that he did try to interest conductors and publishers in his compositions. However, he never seemed to show the aggressiveness or enterprise necessary for promoting his variegated music, which was not cast within the stylish "dynamisme" of the day. When disappointment ensued, his comment was usually to the effect that things would work out next time ("Mais je me dis, comme toujours: 'Enfin, on verra . . .' ").[25] He tried, for example, to interest E. Robert Schmitz in a Pro Musica orchestral concert of his music in San Francisco, but when Schmitz replied that the month of September was not favorable, Koechlin let the matter drop.

Catherine Urner understood the character and music of Koechlin with a perception that few afforded him during his lifetime. Born in Mitchell, Indiana, on 23 March 1891, she pursued her studies in piano, voice, and composition at the Peabody Institute in Baltimore and received a Bachelor of Arts degree from Miami University, Oxford, Ohio, in 1912. During her post-graduate studies at the University of California, Berkeley, she attracted considerable attention as a composer and was the first person to win the esteemed George Ladd Prix de Paris for the years 1920-21. This award of $1900 sent her to Paris to study with Koechlin upon the recommendation of William McCoy, her harmony teacher at the university.[26]

At four other periods of her life, Catherine Urner sailed to France to study with Koechlin: from December 1922 to July 1923, from June 1924 to the following June, from November 1928 to April 1929, and finally from August 1929 until the end of 1933. During this last long visit, she stayed in the Koechlin home and became an integral part of the composer's family.

The time she spent learning her mentor's craft during his three summers in the United States added a further dimension to her own personal and artistic development. She brought his concepts to Mills College where she was Director of Vocal Music from 1921 to 1924. Ultimately, she set up her own studio in Oakland where Koechlin taught from June through August in 1928 and 1929. After she received her certificate in music education from UCLA in 1935, she presented courses for the University Extension and taught harmony, counterpoint, and voice in her San Diego studio. To judge by her letter of 26 June to Koechlin, she was evidently a successful teacher, with students coming from as far as Pasadena. Eventually she added three more teachers to her staff and established two separate studios.

One month after the seventy-year-old Koechlin left San Diego following his six-week course in harmony, counterpoint, and fugue, Catherine Urner at forty-seven married her pupil Charles Shatto who was sixteen years her junior. Shatto, an active organist and composer, also studied with Koechlin, and after the French pedagogue's return to France, sent him

compositions and counterpoint exercises by mail. He grew to love Koechlin's piano pieces, especially *L'Ancienne maison de campagne* Op. 124 and the suite *Paysages et Marines* Op. 63.

Catherine Urner's heritage from Koechlin extends not only to her music but also to her whole outlook on life. Like Koechlin, she was dedicated to her art and constantly struggling financially. In a touching tribute to her, Koechlin wrote to the esteemed patron of modern music, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, on 18 October 1928, a week before his return voyage to Paris. The composer, himself financially bereft, wrote warmly and unselfishly in behalf of his thirty-seven-year-old student.

> My Dear Madame
>
> I do not ask anything for me by this letter, but I want to write you about one of my pupils, because I consider her a most interesting American musician, Miss Catherine Urner. I can tell you very sincerely that she is not only very gifted, but also that she has personal musical ideas, because she has a *personal* and *profound* soul. She also has great energy, but she is not at all rich and, unhappily, these last years she was obliged to give lessons of singing to earn her living —this is not her real life; she could not compose.[27]

Mrs. Coolidge's reply of 15 November politely regretted that she had no resources to apply at that time.

In her letters to Koechlin, always in flawless French, Catherine often spoke of the paucity of imagination in California musical circles. Professors of piano at Mills were narrow in their choice of repertoire, keeping with Chopin and Grieg, afraid to try new things.[28] She admitted she worked better in Paris where the pace of life was not so fast, and found she had to give all her energies to her pupils. She tried to interest a group in Los Angeles in playing her string quartet, but they said it was "too difficult"—"impossible to play."[29] As for finding serious students for Koechlin's American visits, she admitted he would have only a small group of devoted followers. "There are those professors here," she said, "who believe that American teachers are good enough without bringing over foreigners. It would be funny if it were not so tragic. Where are all those great masters?"[30]

In spite of its naturally beautiful climate and surroundings, Catherine Urner had a low opinion of the California coast. She felt that the people needed to study things in more depth. In her letter of 6 February 1935, she shared with Koechlin some of her thoughts. "Society is always grateful to those who make material life more attractive—the plumber, the inventor of the telephone and other comforts. But those who are concerned with the needs of *l'âme*, with the true beauty of music, of poetry, suffer indignities, even cruelties. Such a society does not even deserve the

designation 'civilisée.' These are the same things you have told me many times."[31]

During the following months she expressed her desire to start a Schola Cantorum on the West Coast, bringing Koechlin and other guest professors from Paris and New York so that serious students would not have to go to the East Coast to study. "I want so much to be identified with an artistic movement which would be true and meaningful. It will happen some day . . . I am constantly seeking for what I should do *for* music here. Since I must earn a living, I am not sure I can find the means to remain an artist. But we'll see—if, in any case, I *am* an artist."[32]

Catherine Urner was, indeed, an artist. Writing rapidly, like Koechlin, she composed over one hundred songs, thirty choral works, thirty chamber works, twenty sets of piano pieces, fourteen orchestral works, and various transcriptions and arrangements.[33] Important premieres of her muisc took place under the auspices of the Société Musicale Indépendente and the Salle Pleyel in Paris.

Koechlin felt that his favorite pupil was especially gifted in melodic writing. During his ocean voyages between Europe and America in 1928 and 1929, he realized a series of chorales based upon her "chants," a difficult task because of their tonal instabilities, he admitted, but an excellent exercise for the improvement of his own technique.[34] He also admitted that his pupil's influence spread across diverse areas of his work and resulted in some interesting compositions. The plaintive modal settings *Vingt chansons bretonnes* Op. 115 for cello and piano (1931), for example, fell under her shadow, for she was with Koechlin at Villers when he wrote them at the old piano which responded to his "frozen fingers as the fire was dying out in the hearth."[35]

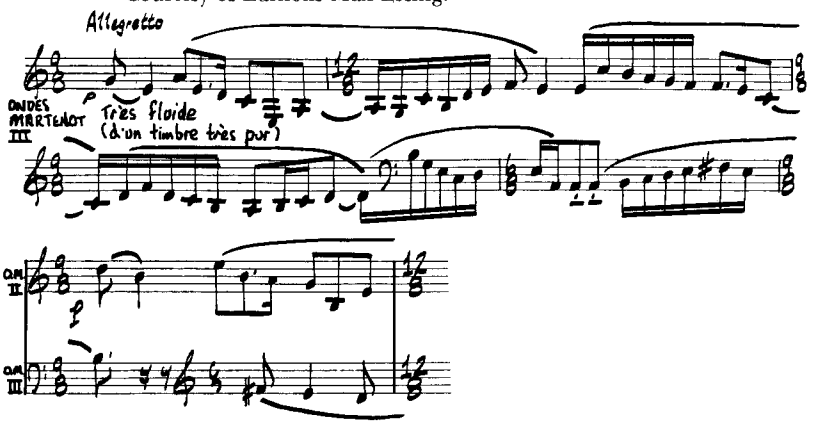
It was in the summer of 1929 at the University of California that Koechlin's interest in fugal writing gained momentum, and thereafter was reflected in several works composed during the decade of the 1930s. This included his increased attraction to the ancient modes "especially after the realization of some modal fugues on the subjects of Catherine Urner."[36] From 1931 to 1934 he composed over twenty fugues on his own or Catherine's subjects. Many of these, although written in the form of scholastic fugues, were freely composed as to the movement of parts, especially Opp. 113 and 114 (1930 and 1931) on Urner subjects. Koechlin felt that the orchestral "Fugue en fa" Op. 112 No. 2, on a subject of his own, expressed a special sentiment which "develops, evolves and finally concludes in serenity."[37]

Some of the most harmonically and formally interesting fugues are for string quartet, and these include Opp. 122, 126, 133, and 137 on an Urner subject, with didactic labeling of "counter-subject" etc. throughout. Fugal elements infuse other works of this period, such as the *Septuor* for winds Op. 165, which Koechlin completed in San Diego in 1937, and the

charming *"Primavera" Quintette* Op. 156 of 1936 for harp, flute, violin, viola, and cello. Probably the most impressive contrapuntal endeavor of the period is the four-volume "Traité sur la polyphonie modale" written between 1931 and 1932. Still unpublished, it remains a monument of studied pedagogical writing.

Large works in which Koechlin and his student collaborated were the symphonic poems *The Bride of a God* Op. 106 (1929, based upon a Hindu legend) and *Sur les flots lointains* Op. 130 (1933), and also the organ pieces *Trois sonatines* Op. 107 (1929). In all of these cases Catherine Urner provided the melodic lines and, in *The Bride of a God,* certain developmental passages as well. When in 1945 Koechlin learned of her death, he orchestrated her beautiful, poetic *Esquisses Normandes* written in 1929, and the year after her death he chose one of her melodies as the subject for the fourth movement, "Fugue modale," of his powerful *Second Symphony* Op. 196 (see Example 1).

EXAMPLE 1: Opening, fourth movement ("Fugue modale") of Charles Koechlin's *Seconde symphonie* Op. 196 (1943-44), on a subject of Catherine Urner. Courtesy of Editions Max Eschig.



Catherine Urner also recognized Koechlin's skills as an orchestrator and often expressed her desire to acquaint U.S. audiences with this multi-hued art. She encouraged her teacher to enter the Hollywood Bowl Contest for which a prize of $1000 was to be awarded for the best orchestral composition. Koechlin submitted his "La joie païenne," the finale of *Etudes antiques* Op. 46, composed between 1908 and 1910. On 19 May 1929 Raymond Brite, General Manager of the Bowl Association, informed Koechlin that the judges, Leopold Stokowski, Eugene Goossens, and Henry Eicheim, were so impressed with his "poème symphonique" that they had decided to award him the coveted prize, even though his work did not fall under the category of "orchestral suite" as the contest had specified. Mr. Brite, however, closed his letter by requesting that Koechlin bear expenses for added players and rehearsal time since the work was "quite difficult" and would require an augmented orchestra.[38]

The audience reaction to this world premiere conducted by Eugene Goossens on 13 August 1929 was one of general bewilderment. Isabel Morse Jones of the *Los Angeles Times* (15 August) found it intricate, modern in its harshness, and primitive in its emotions, with some expressive moments. Koechlin recalled overhearing someone in the audience say that this was the worst music he had ever heard.

Catherine continued to perform Koechlin's music publicly and to spread his theories and philosophies. Her students used his *Traité de l'harmonie,* volume 1 of which she had expertly translated into English, along with the entire *Théorie de la musique.*[39] Charles Wakefield Cadman visited her classes on several occasions and expressed enthusiasm about her studios and the monumental *Traité* as well. In her letters to Koechlin, she often mentioned presenting lectures on French composers, such as Berlioz (she had read his complete *Traité d'instrumentation . . .*) and Koechlin with illustrations of his music. A year after her marriage to Charles Shatto, she gave a lecture on contemporary music for the San Diego Music Teachers Society and used material mostly from Koechlin's own U.S. lecture.

With the war raging, correspondence became difficult and sporadic, and Catherine mentioned in her letter of 15 July 1941 that she was not at all certain her letter would ever reach Koechlin. "But I must express all that lies in my heart," she said, "of my warm affection, of my constant anguish over the injustices you have received, of the huge void in my life in not having received news of you. It is difficult to think clearly of the future and to retain hope in humanity—all is confused, uncertain—the harmony of the nations of the world—when will it ever come?"

This was the last letter Koechlin received from her. She was killed in an automobile accident on 30 April 1942 and Koechlin did not learn of her untimely death until three years later. When mail service eased after the war, a letter from Darius Milhaud dated 21 March 1945 transmitted the disconcerting news to the aged composer.

But the Koechlin-Urner tradition continued. Severely injured in the accident which killed his wife of four short years, Charles Shatto found himself physically and mentally unable to approach music for several years. Nevertheless, with the consoling thought of resuming his studies and associations with Koechlin, he went to Paris in 1950, only to find the old master weak and tired. As a memorial to the composer after his death, Shatto presented a concert of his music in San Diego, programing the organ, piano, and chamber works which the Californian had loved and taught for many years.

Today Charles Shatto at seventy retains his post of the past twenty years as noted composer and organist at the French catholic church Notre Dame des Victoires in San Francisco. Like many others who knew Koechlin, he recalls the Frenchman as the most fantastic person he has ever

met—kind, helpful, quietly vibrant with an unbelievable breadth of knowledge that seemed to radiate like so many electrical bolts from his brilliant mind.[40] His teaching opened up a whole new world to the American and to his pupils in turn. David Zea, who studied with Castelnuovo-Tedesco, as well as with Shatto, feels he too has been influenced by the music and teaching of Charles Koechlin. Zea is currently editor and compiler for the F. Eugene Miller Foundation, and with Shatto recently completed a catalogue of the works of Catherine Urner. Ultimately, the Catherine Urner Archive will reside within the permanent collection of the Music Library at the University of California's Berkeley campus.

A concluding, ancillary aspect of Koechlin's American visits is his relationship to the ambience, terrain, and cultural milieu in which he found himself. California, the French visitor recalls, contained elements of beauty and "lumière." Its "neo-pagan" atmosphere, for example, totally suited the excellent performance of Debussy's *Sirènes* which he reviewed in San Diego where the "bathing girls" and "Stars of Hollywood" enjoyed the sun and waves.[41]

Koechlin conceived his "Le voyage chimérique" from *L'Album de Lilian* Op. 149 as a musical reliving of his oft-traversed path across the country to California. In a dream-like fantasy, the little train arrives in Hollywood to the strains of "The Star Spangled Banner" in Koechlinesque polyharmonies, heralded by the words "U.S. National Anthem. Stand Up!" (see Example 2).

Although in 1918 he called the American film "immoralité absolue,"[42] his letter of 1930 to Duhamel lauds the scenic beauty and sensitive organists of some "interesting" American motion pictures. Some of Koechlin's finest music stems from the decade of the 1930s when his fascination with certain films and, as he said, "the spiritual grace and insolent beauty" of their stars took firm hold.[43] Paradoxically, this period was also that of increased interest in modal counterpoint and the didactic fugues related to his teaching, discussed above.

In one of his most curious writings, "En marge de 'The Seven Stars' Symphony," Koechlin discloses the inspiration behind his multi-hued orchestral suite composed in 1933. Each of the seven large sections is named after a star whose film or photograph made a special impression on the composer. In a writing style as eclectic as his music, Koechlin alternates extended, complex sentences with brief colloquial interjections in his discussion of each of the movements, entitled Douglas Fairbanks, Lilian Harvey, Greta Garbo, Clara Bow, Marlene Dietrich, Emil Jannings, and Charlie Chaplin.

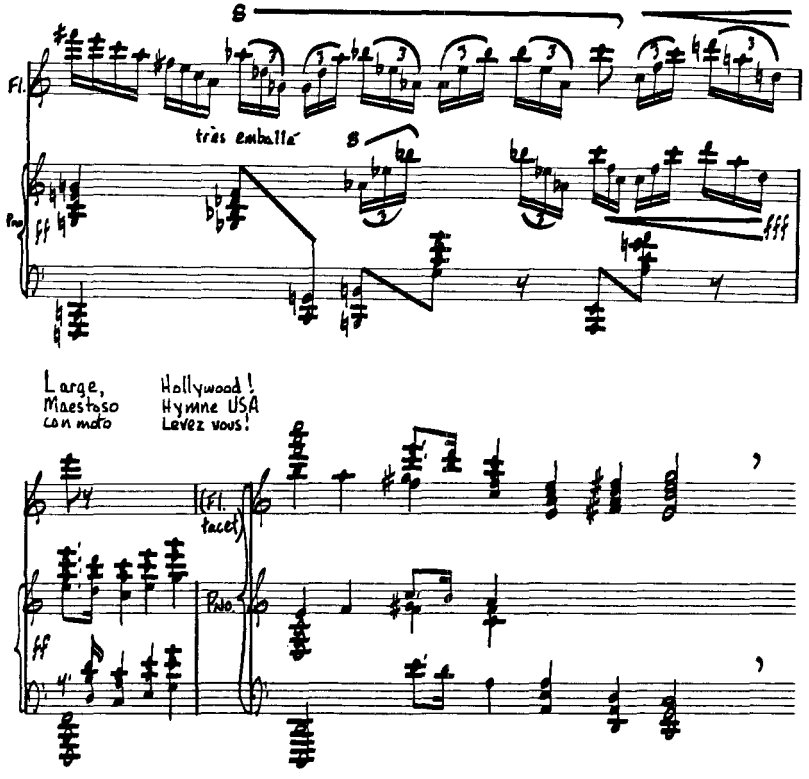
The opening of the suite Koechlin calls a "little Oriental improvisation" inspired by Douglas Fairbanks's lithe, spontaneous role in the *Thief of Bagdad*.[44] In the choice of registration, widely spaced polychords, and quartal figurations, Koechlin's characteristic preoccupation

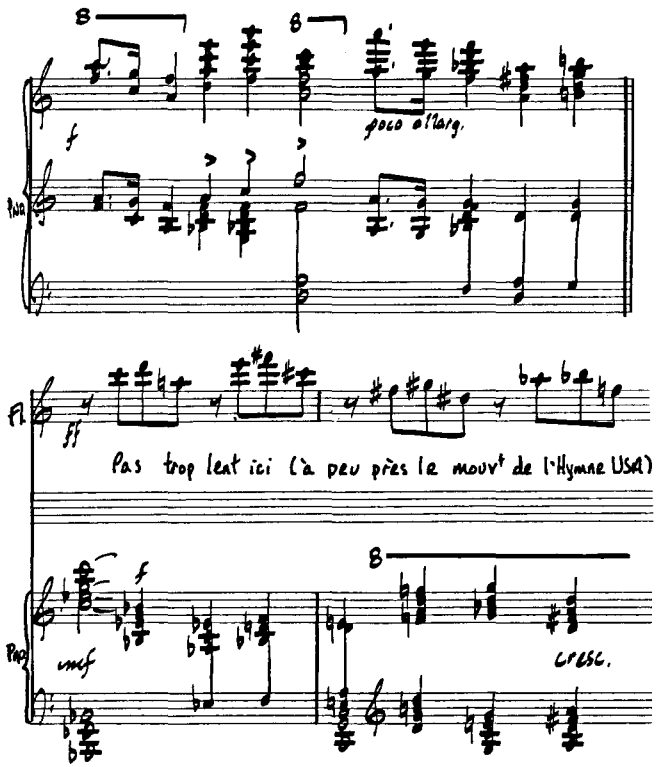
with harmonic sonorities shows its derivation from the color and "lumière" of the Impressionist painter. It is significant that this luminous harmonic language can be noted as early as 1904 within the sketches for the metaphysical Viola Sonata completed in 1915.

Koechlin made the acquaintance of Clara Bow from a photograph in a magazine purchased just after he had judged a fugue competition at the Royal Conservatory in Brussels. As he commented,

> After a few hours spent in comparing the respective values of thematic exposition, development and stretto, not boring hours, to tell the truth, but serious, even perhaps austere, the unexpected appearance of Clara evoked the open air for me, and all the sun and feast of this pagan California that I really cannot forget. . . . I identified Clara with the thrilling optimism of "burning the candle at both ends" typical of the USA ten years ago . . . in those jumps of joy all her being was laughing in the sun and I dedicated to her this Scherzo-Waltz.[45]

EXAMPLE 2: Excerpt (pp. 12-13) from "Le voyage chimerique," *L'album de Lilian* Op. 49 (1935). Courtesy of Editions Max Eschig.





The movement which immediately follows, called "Marlene Dietrich," is a set of variations on the letters of the star's name. "But," the composer continues, "there will be found some Schumann intermingled with some Fauré and also, I believe, with some Charles Koechlin in reflection upon the star's role in *Shanghai Express.*"[46]

"The Seven Stars" Symphony will receive its U.S. premiere during the 1979 season of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Eduardo Mata. It requires a large orchestra including the seven-octave grandfather of modern electronic instruments, the Ondes Martenot, which is designated for the third movement, "Greta Garbo." The symphony also demonstrates Koechlin's respect for complete artistic liberty, for admitting the legitimacy of diverse styles within one composition as an integral means of expressivity. Koechlin deplored being called an "éclectique," however, and once berated a student who described him thus after one of his lectures. "If being an eclectic (that nasty word!)," he said, "means to search for admiration of beauty in all forms, characters, epochs, and styles, then, yes, I am an eclectic. But in my own mind, to what school do I belong? To my own, of course. For," as the composer

summarized in the final line of his autobiography, "one must be himself. Then one can say with confidence, 'It is I who have lived and not a figment of my imagination or my pride.' "[47]

NOTES

* Paper presented at the opening meeting of the Greater New York Chapter of the American Musicological Society, 22 October 1977, Princeton University.

[1] Other members of the mission were Professor Theodore Reinach, Editor of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* and scholar in Greek history; Professor Emmanuel de Martonne of the University of Paris, noted French geographer; Professor Fernand Baldensperger of the Sorbonne and Columbia University visiting faculty, speaking on "The Human Tendencies in French Literature;" Professor Louis Cazamian, Professor of English Literature whose lectures included "The France of Today and Tomorrow;" Dr. Etienne Burnet, microbiologist of the Pasteur Institute (whom the *New York Times* mistook for a woman); and Seymour de Ricci, art critic and editor of *Art in Europe*. Document of the American Council on Education, 309 Munsey Building, Washington, D.C., 1918. For Koechlin's lectures see Table 1.

[2] "The Papers of Woodrow Wilson," Reel 236, Series 4, Case 185 (1918 September—1920). Microfilm. Original papers in possession of Library of Congress.

[3] "Notes sur l'Amérique," typewritten copy of Koechlin's diaries from 23 October 1918 to 13 January 1919, 96 pp. All unpublished Koechlin material, unless designated otherwise, is quoted by kind permission of Mme. Madeline Li-Koechlin and her brother, M. Yves Koechlin.

[4] Ibid., p. 25.

[5] Modeste Alloo was a staunch Francophile, who founded the University of California Symphony Orchestra in 1924. He often conducted works of Franck, Debussy, Schmitt, and Roussel, adored Fauré, and brought to the campus a rigorous course in solfège from his native Liège.

[6] Koechlin had planned to write a book derived from his "Notes sur l'Amérique" of 1918, which was to be called "L'Art et la Nature," but the work never materialized. Instead he wrote a long letter on 29 June 1930, to his friend the noted novelist and playwright Georges Duhamel, who had just completed his *Scènes de la vie Future* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1931). The book, a stern criticism of America, was reprinted by Arno Press in 1974 in its 1931 translation by Charles Thompson entitled *America the Menace: Scenes from the Life of the Future* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin) and is now part of Arno's series, "Foreign Travelers in America, 1810-1935." Koechlin's twenty-nine-page letter often eschews his friend's harsh diatribes and comes to the defense of American civilization.

[7] "Etude sur Ch. Koechlin par lui-même," p. 35.

[8] "Notes sur l'Amérique," p. 40.

[9] Letter to George Duhamel, 2 rue Vauthier, Boulogne s/Seine, 29 June 1930, pp. 8, 9, and 11.

[10] "Journal de bord (Traversée du Hâvre à Houston)," 21 June 1929, p. 7. Diaries from 26 May to 11 June, typescript, 20 pp.

[11] "Les Amazones de Newcomb College," Villers, 12 September 1919, p. 3. Koechlin compares the young women's cries, "Hurrah! French Mission," to the joyous paganism of the Valkyries.

[12] For an overview of Koechlin's published critical writings see Elise K. Kirk, "The Chamber Music of Charles Koechlin" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1977).

[13] Interview with Charles Cushing, Berkeley, California, 24 August 1977.

[14] Handwritten, 38 pp., with musical examples.

[15] Handwritten, 41 pp.

[16] Ibid., p. 9.

[17] Ibid., pp. 28-29.

[18] Ibid., p. 34. In his "Notes sur l'Amérique" of 1918, Koechlin elucidates the double nature of the Frenchman, which he feels the foreigner does not seem to comprehend: ". . . cette retenue et même cette *blague* mélangée de mysticisme (Erik Satie), l'humanisme et la tendresse, mais réfrénée, la philosophie sceptique, le lyrisme et des copies de ce lyrisme en ironie," p. 35.

[19] Ibid., p. 27. For Koechlin's additional views on modernism, see his "D'une nouvelle mode musicale," *La Revue Musicale* 9 (July 1921) pp. 132-46, and "Sensibility in Contemporary Music II," *Pro Musica Quarterly* 6 (December 1927) pp. 4-19.

[20] Koechlin's review appears in *Le Monde Musical,* February 1922, p. 47. It is interesting that Aldrich's pejorative remarks about the Schoenberg work extend similarly to Koechlin's *Sonate pour deux flûtes* Op. 75, given its U.S. premiere on the same program (ICG, 4 February 1922, in New York). The reviewer found the sonata "merely rambling."

[21] Charles Koechlin, "Quelques réflexions au sujet de la musique atonale," *Music Today* 1 (1949) pp. 26-35. Rollo Myers's summary in English, p. 34.

[22] Paul Collaer, *A History of Modern Music,* trans. Sally Abeles (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1961) p. 181.

[23] Interview, New York City, 11 November 1976.

[24] Charles Koechlin, "D'une nouvelle mode musicale," p. 146.

[25] Charles Koechlin, "Histoire de ma vie musicale et de mes oeuvres," Villers-sur-mer, 1 September 1945, p. 19.

[26] Charles Cushing also received the award in 1929 after studying privately with Koechlin at Berkeley during the summer of 1928. Ernest Quinan, who won the prize in 1925, translated Koechlin's *Précis des règles du contrepoint* into English (Paris: Heugel, 1927). The 50-year-old Quinan found his appointment protested vehemently on the grounds that he was not a graduate of the university, a specification listed erroneously in the official catalogue.

[27] Letter to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, New York, 18 October 1928. Possession of the Library of Congress.

[28] Mills College, 18 February 1922.

[29] Oakland, California, 7 December 1928.

[30] N.p., 29 January 1928.

[31] Los Angeles, 6 February 1935.

[32] Los Angeles, 29 May 1935.

[33] For a comprehensive listing of Catherine Urner's works, see "The Musical Works of Catherine Urner," compiled by Charles Shatto and David Zea, 1977, typescript.

[34] Charles Koechlin, "Histoire de ma vie musicale et de mes oeuvres," p. 14. The chorales comprise five series: Opp. 102, 103, 105B, 109, and 111. The latter two series were written during the return to France of Koechlin and his pupil on the SS Berengaria (28 August—4 September 1929) and shortly thereafter.

[35] Letter to Koechlin, Los Angeles, 6 February 1935. Koechlin had just sent her a newly published copy of twelve of the "chansons."

[36] "Histoire . . ."

[37] Review in *Le Guide du Concert,* December 1935, p. 36.

[38] Hollywood, 19 May 1929.

[39] The English translation of volume 1 of the *Traité* exists in handwritten manuscript and in 431 typewritten pages. The translation of *Théorie de la musique,* missing pages 1-16 in its handwritten form, may be combined with the incomplete typescript (one original, two copies) to provide a complete translation. Both *Traité* and *Théorie* are in the possession of Charles Shatto, San Francisco.

[40] Interview, 15 September 1977.

[41] Charles Koechlin, "Californie," *La Revue Musicale* 177 (October 1937) pp. 273-74.

[42] "Notes sur l'Amérique," p. 45.

[43] "Histoire . . . ," p. 15.

[44] "En marge . . . ," *VI Les roles masculin*, p. 15. For more on Koechlin's film-inspired period see Robert Orledge, "Charles Koechlin and the Early Sound Film, 1933-1938," *Proceedings of the Royal Music Association* 98 (1971-72) pp. 1-16.

[45] Ibid., *IV Clara Bow, et la Joyeuse Californie*, pp. 9-10.

[46] Ibid., *V Marlene Dietrich*, pp. 12-14.

[47] "Etude sur Ch. Koechlin par lui-même," p. 41.

NO ONE CAN POSSIBLY MISTAKE THE GENRE OF THIS COMPOSITION

Robert T. Laudon

In recent years we have tightened our use of certain terms. We still seem, however, to be uncertain about the proper use of "program music" and other terms related to it. "Program music," in fact, is all too often employed as a wide-sweeping generic term, a sort of linguistic "coverall." Frequently the word is even used in a manner opposite to its fundamental definition as the "listing of the order of events."[1] My reading of the historical record from 1780 to 1850 indicates that "descriptive music" would be the preferred generic term; that, for the period in question, "characteristic music" should be reinstated as an honorable part of our vocabulary; and that "program music" is, to be blunt, a "Johnny-come-lately." The record indicates further that the borderlines between terms are frequently blurred, a vexing problem to which I shall attempt a solution.

My report is drawn from a monograph in progress, "The Dramatic Symphony and the Realist Crisis." My title is taken from Berlioz. When his *Romeo and Juliet* was first performed in Paris during November and December of 1839, the composer indicated that it was a "dramatic symphony," and in his later preface he confidently (or ironically) wrote, "No one can possibly mistake the genre of this composition."[2] Yet that is exactly what happened to *Romeo* and other "dramatic" symphonies. The questions in dispute were complex. Even though *Romeo* was, like Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony,* a "symphony with chorus," the subject matter was not an idealistic paean like the *Ode to Joy,* and the treatment was not as abstract. *Romeo* was an important step toward realism and, as such, posed the question of what truly was the proper symphonic realm.

A half-century before Berlioz's work, the symphony had become a pinnacle of musical art. By the 1780s and 1790s, aestheticians were describing the genre in idealistic terms.

> The symphony is created primarily for the expression of the grand, festive, and sublime. Its aim is to prepare the listener for important music or in the case of a chamber concert to proclaim the very splendor of instrumental music itself. . . . The chamber symphony as a self-sufficient whole that does not prepare for some following music attains its purpose only through a full-toned, splendid, and fiery

style of writing. The allegros of the best chamber symphonies contain great and bold conceptions. . . . Such an allegro in the symphony is what the Pindaric Ode is to poetry; like the ode it raises the soul of the listener, affects it deeply, and needs the same spirit, sublime power of imagination, and artistic knowledge to be completely successful.[3]

Lacépède called it the "most remarkable and imposing" type of instrumental music,

> which can unite richness and variety into a single beautiful ensemble, which can link pleasant and touching details to suave and enchanting melodies and to harmonic masses, powerful in their extent and rapid movement, which can offer every image, present every expression, and which is almost always intended to increase the pomp of public festivals, to resound in the palaces of kings, and to heighten interest in the great theaters of the tragic stage.[4]

Such definitions reflect the commanding position of the symphony, the first genre to challenge seriously the popularity and artistic merits of opera. While they admit that the symphony is used in the theater, they also indicate its "purity," its fundamental independence from elocutionary and visual art. By the 1840s, the symphony could truly be called the "crown of all instrumental music" and a "dream world of tones,"[5] the "highest poetic form of pure music."[6]

Quite naturally after the masterworks of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, the symphony was considered typically German, and the quality of "purity" noted above was often cited as a major characteristic of the "German" symphony.

> The field of the symphony has belonged for a long time undisputedly to the Germans, a nation devoted above all to instrumental music and in which the symphony itself forms the most important genre. France and Italy understand with great difficulty that they cannot express this dream world of tones which the Germans have created, which needs no words, which can lead the imagination of the listener to a definite concept only through the agency of free tonal patterns used with all the art of composition.[7]

Yet side by side with "pure" symphonies and idealistic concepts of the genre, another type of symphony had been developing that tried to describe events and moods more distinctly and that was justified by musical essayists and lexicographers in various concepts of "imitative" or "descriptive" *(mahlende)* music. Around 1780 the term "characteristic"

began to be applied by the Germans to this type of music "whose emotional quality can be exactly determined and explicitly stated in words."[8] Small lyric or genre pieces for keyboard that had been called *Handstücke*[9] could now be called *Charakterstücke,* and in 1783-1785 Dittersdorf called his twelve symphonies on subjects from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* "characteristic symphonies."[10]

The term "characteristic" had appeared a little earlier in discussions of poetry and the visual arts. It was found in the *Sturm und Drang* generation of the 1770s as a rallying cry and reappeared even more forcibly in the 1790s when Aloys Hirt, a Berlin aesthetician, launched an attack upon the concept of "pure beauty" that had been used by the German Classicists to explain the power of the Laocoon statue. Hirt was regarded by some almost as a barbarian for seeing the struggle and individual suffering, the "characteristic" in "form, movement, gesture, mien, and expression" as the source of artistic worth rather than the "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur" that Winckelmann saw, the abstract beauty that Lessing and Herder found, or the "ennobling form" that Goethe and Schiller proposed. Hirt's view that individual content must be expressed in individual form occasioned a bitter controversy near the end of the century, a quarrel which subsided, but did not completely end, with the acceptance of the "characteristic" by the Romantics Friedrich Schlegel, Novalis, Schelling, and Schadau.[11]

A musical contribution apropos of this quarrel was made by Christian Gottfried Körner in Schiller's magazine *Die Horen* where Hirt's articles also appeared. Körner, a jurist of Dresden and friend of Schiller, recognized several phases of art history: (1) the sensual period—dance, music, and poetry as ends in themselves; (2) the representative period—the "imitation of nature;"[12] (3) the period of "better taste"—the "expression of man's feelings begins to take the place of expressionless *(seelenlos)* noise."[13] We see in this threefold division the new outlook of the Galant-Classic period which is, naturally, the period of "better taste," the rejection of older Baroque concepts, and the possibility of using the words "character" or "characteristic" for the newer style. This more ideal sphere is found by Körner in human activity represented musically by melodic action whose dynamic nature is all the more evident as it encounters the stability of the tonic, of a given range and symmetrical structure.[14] In the final analysis what he desires of the artist is "character interpreted," an artistic contribution to the "moral life," and he relates this to the moral attitudes associated with art by the Greeks.

Other musical theorists had been certain of the need for "character," if somewhat imprecise in detailing how to obtain it. The new outlook appeared in the first edition (1771) of Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der*

schönen Künste, where affections are treated under the "modern" rubric of "passions," expression is considered the "soul of music without which it is merely a pleasant mechanism and through which it becomes a forceful speech touching the heart irresistibly," and "character" is thought to be the *sine qua non* of composition.

> Each composition, whether intended for songs with words or for instruments, must have a certain fixed character and must awaken in the mind of the listener feelings of a definite kind. How foolish it would be if the composer began his work without the character of his piece firmly decided. He must know whether the language that he will handle will be the language of pride or humility, courage or fright, petition or command, love or anger. If he finds his theme by chance or through inspiration, he must examine its character so that he may keep it intact until the completion of the composition. If he has firmly grasped the character of the piece then he must place himself in that state of feeling that he wishes to bring to others. It is best if he imagines a plot, an event, a situation in which a completely natural tune appears in the light in which he wants to express it; and if his imagination will be thus placed in the fire of necessity, then he can place the proper emphasis on a part or a figure that lies outside the general character of his piece.[15]

A "characteristic instrumental piece" and its dependence upon a particular tonality had been casually mentioned by Engel when discussing the means for musical tone-painting in his letter "Über musikalische Malerei" to Reichardt in 1780.[16] In 1792 Koch devoted several pages to characteristic music in discussing Batteux's concept of the decadence of art, the affectation which came with "intricacy, mystery, wit."[17] Later, Koch in his *Musikalisches Lexikon* of 1802 discussed "character," which he believed was fixed in music through meter, tempo, rhythm, kind and use of melodic figures, form, accompaniment, modulation, and style, all leading to the "underlying emotion." He cited the march as a composition capable of displaying various characters of pomp, triumph, and nobility, but it was not until 1807 that he included a separate entry on "character piece" in his *Handwörterbuch.* Such compositions, he thought, should not only be well-written but should awaken pleasure, display unity, and refer to an exact subject.

> To express feelings is the object of music; thus it follows that unity of emotion must be observed when a composition becomes a character piece. Since, however, in each artwork, unity must be present, so must every single composition itself be a character piece strictly speaking. Usually, however, one understands the character piece as

only that composition which has a well-defined character, as, for example, the march or any similar piece whose character is announced by means of a title.[18]

The term "character piece," however, was not even then fully accepted by lexicographers, and the still more tentative entry "characteristic symphony" did not occur until 1826 in Lichtenthal's dictionary.

This composition has the purpose of musical painting, either of some moral character, as *The Distratto* of Haydn; of some event, as *The Fall of Phaeton*;[19] or of some physical phenomenon, for example, *The Tempest, The Fire, Incendio, la Caccia,* etc. Pastoral, military, etc. symphonies belong to this genre of composition.[20]

Within these lexicons as well as in other essays on musical painting or imitation, certain trends are apparent. First, the essayists are opposed to the old Baroque concept of restricting music to the presentation of a single affection throughout a movement as well as to extensive word painting that seized upon every available word for elaboration. Such attempts at characterization were now considered too dry and rationalistic. Engel insisted that the principal object of the composer is to paint man's inner feelings, the very movements of the soul. Therefore it is better to suggest the soul's torment during a storm than to imitate the storm itself.[21] Koch quoted Batteux's comments on witty rationalists (*beaux esprits*) to show the dangers of a composition that forsakes emotional character and becomes as it were "a mechanical toy for the intellect" (*Spielwerk für den Verstand*).[22] Sulzer, who early championed "character," added a comment in 1792 showing how impossible it was for him to grasp that a man of Handel's talent could musically describe a plague of locusts and lice in *Israel in Egypt,* and in 1802 Koch quoted Daniel Webb that it is better in music to "trust to the simple effects of impression than to the idle conceits of a forced imitation."[23]

On the other hand, if these men of the late 18th century rejected the static rationalism of the Baroque and even agreed on the primal force of music as the expression of man's emotion,[24] they did not agree on how far one might go on a new path. Engel warned against creating a wild fantasy.

A symphony, a sonata, or any musical work not dependent on oratory or mime . . . must be the realization of a single passion . . . or must present a series of emotions that can be understood as a whole, as one general passion.[25]

He maintained that a successful composition shows the complete un-

folding of the emotions and gave some examples of what he considered well-conceived pieces to be. Koch in 1807 went only a little further in directing that a character piece should be error-free, should awaken pleasure, represent its character exactly, and have unity in variety.

Were these essayists seeking something relatively static or did they truly champion the cause of a dynamic, almost dramatic, music? Probably no clear-cut answer is possible. They themselves were uncertain of the limits and direction of the new genres. When Lichtenthal said in 1826 that the characteristic symphony should be the musical painting of a moral character, he must have had a relatively static ideal in mind. But when he continued that the genre also included the painting of events and physical phenomena, he could have had in mind a more dynamic one. In addition, he seems to be the first lexicographer who described program or historical symphonies[26] as those "which express historical subjects, . . . the *Seven Words* of Haydn belongs to this genre of symphonies."[27] In this, the first mention of "program symphony" in the best-known lexicons, it is difficult to know if Lichtenthal was concerned with classifying subject matter or envisioned a fundamental musical difference between "characteristic" and "program."

Gathy, in 1835, tried for a more effective definition but ended up in contradictions. For him the *Sinfonie à Programme* (*Malende Sinfonieen*) were

> the representation of events and individual states [*Situationen*] in the form of a symphony whose most important content is briefly described in the program. To this genre belong Beethoven's *Pastoralsinfonie,* Spohr's *Weihe der Töne,* and most especially, the famous *Symphonie Fantastique* of Berlioz. Dittersdorf and Rosetti were the first to cultivate this type.[28]

Unfortunately for Gathy, Beethoven had considered the term "characteristic" for his *Pastoral Symphony.*[29] Spohr published his symphony with the subtitle "Characteristisches Tongemälde in Form einer Sinfonie,"[30] and Dittersdorf called his symphonies "characteristic." It appears that Gathy tried to rename the characteristic symphony. He then tried in turn to define a "characteristic symphony" as an overture before a play or melodrama, only to contradict himself again in suggesting that battles, hunts, and similar pieces are characteristic, and that such a composition is an instrumental piece in which

> the composer designs sharply fixed expressions of character, states of the soul, affections and passions, and also certain feasible events and scenes of nature, and strives to carry these designs through to completion.[31]

It appears that both Lichtenthal and Gathy were confused about the meaning of "program symphony" and were not capable of applying it with exactitude.

The first use of the term "program music" rather than the earlier phrase "program symphony" seems to have occurred in an essay of 1856 by Franz Brendel.[32] It was published in the *Anregungen für Kunst, Leben und Wissenschaft* as an answer to Liszt's article on the *Harold Symphony* of Berlioz published in the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* slightly earlier in the year. Brendel makes clear the association of the new term with the fundamental meaning of the word "program" and tells how "people laughed at the programs that he [Berlioz] placed in the hands of the audience." He excused this as a French fault that surely would not have been committed by a German knowledgeable in aesthetics. Brendel also recognized the violent quarrel already brewing in regard to descriptive music, refused to take sides, and found merit in certain arguments advanced by the various factions. From this time on, the term "program music" as we know it gained acceptance, though without a clear-cut definition and often with the bitter partisan connotations that marked the quarrel over realism.

When we leave the lexicographers and essayists and turn to the music itself, we find similar contradictions. The symphony had developed to the point where it was more than a technical accomplishment and a vehicle of pure art; it spoke an emotional language both in the character of its musical themes and in the implicit drama of its formal design. The mature symphonies of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven were so vivid that they were given popular poetic or characteristic titles at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries. Analysis has consistently revealed their dramatic nature. Comparisons of Haydn's symphonies with his masses or Mozart's symphonies with his operas have convinced theorists and practical musicians alike of a "content" in these works that is as uncontested as it is difficult to express. How much may be hidden in them was indicated by Beethoven's teacher, Neefe, who said in 1785, "The great and true artist paints and says nothing of it, the bungler tells us all and paints nothing."[33]

The French readily accepted characteristic music though they seldom employed the term except in titles of 19th-century salon music. Both their tradition of descriptive music and their love for music allied to drama inclined them to that favorable view of character in music which found expression in the most influential treatise on aesthetics of the 18th century, Batteux's *Les beaux arts réduits à un même principe* (1746). Here the author maintained that while speech as a means of expression of ideas is given much attention, truly, tone of voice and gesture are more natural and everywhere more commonly used; the "dictionary of simple Nature," they "reach the heart directly with no

detour."[34] Music, in its meter, movement, melody, and harmony, should be able to suggest human tones and gestures effectively if not quite as freely as nature and in doing so represent the sentiments and passions of men—music has "character."

> The worst kind of music is that which has no "character." There is not a sound in that art but what has its model in Nature and which ought to be, at least, a beginning of expression just as a letter or a syllable in speech.[35]

Batteux believed that calculated and geometric music would be like a prism that produces pretty colors but no picture.[36]

The problem for the French was not to embrace or deny characteristic music but to justify or repudiate purely instrumental music. Any alliance to words was immediately grasped and often considered superior to that rather uncertain music of instruments. Thus for Batteux the music of a symphony is significant even though it has "only a semi-life, only half of its being," whereas when joined to song it becomes the "picture of the human heart."[37] Yet he is by no means sure that this rational explanation will suffice because "the heart has its intelligence independent of words, and when it is touched, everything is understood."[38] Rousseau in 1768 divided music into two categories: (1) natural, that is acting only upon the senses, and (2) imitative, that is expressing scenes and the passions.[39] He believed that the imitative type was possible only in vocal music or in the theater.

Rousseau's definition was widely copied. Its very frequency could lead to the belief that his was the prevailing French view. In truth, a school of symphonic composition was flourishing,[40] a series of treatises on orchestration was being produced, and opera itself had adopted a symphonic type of orchestra by the end of the 18th century.[41] Even a dramatic style of instrumental music was beginning to be known. Lacépède in 1785 spoke thus of the three movements of the symphony:

> It would be necessary only to consider them as three great acts of a stage play so that he might fashion a tragedy, a comedy, or a pastoral following the special aim of his symphony.[42]

And in 1807, Momigny explained the Haydn and Mozart symphonies in terms of drama. It is not surprising that by 1821, Castil-Blaze, a devotee of opera, could assert that

> in order for music to have character, it is not enough that it expresses the words to which it is applied or even the dramatic situation, because a symphony performed in concert and without words can also

have this quality. It must in its utterance have something special that catches the ear and heart [*âme*] of the listener and makes him believe that the feeling that one wished to express [*peindre*] could be rendered in no other fashion.[43]

The Escudiers in 1844 added nothing new to the discussion of the characteristic symphony and did not recognize the program symphony[44] already included by Lichtenthal, the Viennese resident in Milan, in his dictionary of 1826 (translated into French in 1839).[45] The term "program music" in fact remains outside French usage[46] probably because they already possessed the terms imitative, descriptive, dramatic, and even fantastic, and their music, and more generally their art, had frequently represented the physical world and the passions. Long after the vogue for strict imitative art in the older manner, Blanchard still praised, in 1840, the "fantastic genre,"[47] and later in an outline of his aesthetic views, he made a central point of "character."[48] Bourges in 1845 still used the term "descriptive genre."[49] When the word "program" was used, it was understood in the original sense. Thus Blanchard, speaking of the quartets of Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, glories in savoring music with "no mise-en-scène . . . no romantic program."[50]

Thus we have the strange situation in which a French word "program" is added by the Germans to the words "symphony" or "music" without following a French custom and without a clear definition of the combined terms. It also should be noted that no fixed pejorative meaning is attached to the term either, despite the lively discussion of descriptive (*mahlende*) and characteristic music.[51]

As we now look back, we find theoretical recognition of (1) pure symphonies, (2) characteristic symphonies, a term used in several different ways, and (3) dramatic or program symphonies, terms even more tentatively used. At the same time in practice, we find (1) symphonies of seemingly purely musical interest, (2) untitled symphonies that exhibit either simple or dramatic character, and (3) titled symphonies varying from rather stable to more dynamic outlook. Any meaningful classification scheme, it seems, must proceed not by the presence or absence of titles nor by the extramusical subject matters but by the three principal categories of "pure," "characteristic," and "dramatic" (or "programmatic").

A more exact definition of the latter two categories does not seem to have been completely accomplished even after the middle of the 19th century, although it was gradually agreed that "characteristic" referred more to compositions that express a single mood or idea (perhaps with slight contrast), and that "dramatic" or "programmatic" referred to compositions that more actively develop conflicting or evolving ideas.

Frederick Corder, writing in the first edition of *Grove's Dictionary* (1883), says that "programmatic" should apply to

> that small but interesting class of music which, while unaccompanied by words, seeks to pourtray, or at least suggest to the mind, a certain series of objects or events.[52]

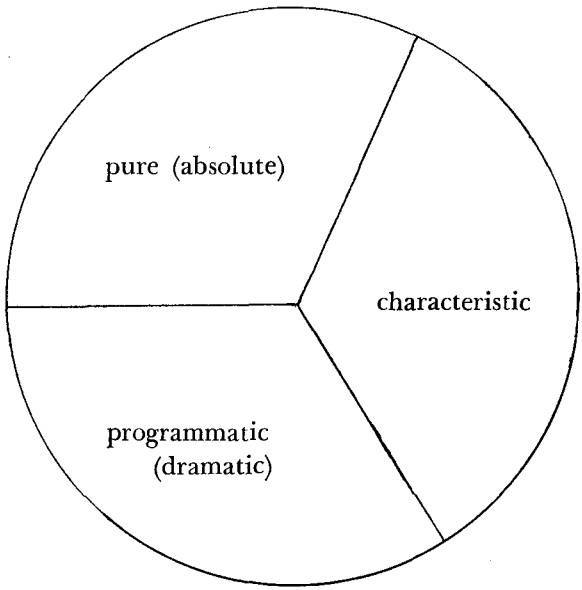
He contrasts this with another type that only assumes "a definite colour or character." He would like to see a word invented for this large class of compositions and suggests some term like "tinted music." Yet Ebenezer Prout, the distinguished theorist, in a volume of the same dictionary six years earlier (1879) had already defined music that "is designed as the expression of some special sentiment or circumstance" as "characteristic." Corder confesses that the term "programme music" is "also applied with deplorable vagueness of meaning, to all dramatic, characteristic, or imitative music whatever."

Of course, many lexicographers are not content to record usage but frequently have a specific aesthetic to uphold in the quarrel between the advocates of descriptive music and absolute music that developed shortly before 1850.[53] All too often in the heat of controversy aroused as music moved more and more toward programmatic ideals, the essayists tended to reduce the whole problem to bipartite conflict, an "either-or" situation. For some it became a choice between pure and contaminated. And this two-pronged approach has persisted to this very day despite the evidence in both theoretical and practical sources that the question is really a tripartite one. When it has been recognized at all, "characteristic" music has still been conceived as part of a duality—for Bodky, "a way station between absolute and program music,"[54] and for Moser, "half way to program music,"[55]—more or less a linear design.

absolute	characteristic	programmatic

This concept recognizes the important part that "character" and "characteristic"[56] should play in our terminology. It does not suggest the importance of the French words "imitative" or "descriptive," which seem, at any rate, to be truly generic terms. It continues the use of "programmatic" as something that *must* have an opposite, a usage that might better be confined to our discussions of the 19th-century realist quarrel.

A more fruitful concept and one more in accord with facts and theory would be to envision the three types within a circle.



Only such a concept allows for the inherent flexibility of the various compositions and for the differing judgments made about them. Thus a piece of music might be heavily dependent on sonorous values alone, such as Mozart's Symphony in G Minor (K.550), and would therefore find a place in the "pure" sector of our circle. On the other hand, the agitated nature of the first theme, its entrance and departure on weak beats, its contrast with the more stable second theme, its violent modulations in the development section, and its persistent return and dominance in the entire movement might indicate a very human type of passionate agitation, and some listeners would then place the symphony in the pure sector but closer to the characteristic sector. Some might even conceive the movement in terms of a drama and therefore move it more toward the dramatic sector. Similarly a story-telling piece such as Richard Strauss's *Till Eulenspiegel* might be judged by some not so much on the progress of its episodes but more on the formal basis of a rondo, and placed closer to the pure sector, though still within the dramatic sector.

It is apparent that this circular construct accords with the historical facts and terms, and it allows for flexible interpretations. It has the serious defect of gliding over the problem of exact definitions. But perhaps after two hundred years of attempted categories, not highly successful, it is better to be able to point in a direction rather than to erect further rigid barriers and absolute systems.

NOTES

1 William Morris, ed., *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (New York: American Heritage, 1969) p. 1045.

2 "On ne se méprendra pas sans doute sur le genre de cet ouvrage."

3 J. A. P. Schulz, "Symphonie," in Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (Leipzig, 1794) vol. 4, p. 480; also quoted in Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* (Leipzig, 1793) vol. 3, pp. 302-304.

4 Comte de Lacépède, *La poétique de la musique* (Paris, 1785) vol. 2, p. 329; Jérôme-Joseph de Momigny, *Cours complet d'harmonie et de composition* (Paris, 1806) p. 583, quotes Lacépède.

5 Review of Mendelssohn's *Symphony in A Minor* in *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* 45 (1843) pp. 341-344, signed A. K. [August Kahlert].

6 Gustav Schilling, *Musikalisches Conversations-Handwörterbuch*, 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, 1856) p. 794, apropos of Haydn.

7 Review of Mendelssohn's *Symphony in A Minor*, p. 341.

8 Frank E. Kirby, "Beethoven's Pastoral Symphony as a *Sinfonia caracteristica*," *Musical Quarterly* 56 (1970) p. 611.

9 Robert Soffer, "From Pièces de Genre to Handstuecke," *Musicology* 2 (1949) pp. 303-313.

10 Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf, *Karl Ditters von Dittersdorf, Lebensbeschreibung seinem Sohne in die Feder diktiert* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1940) p. 207; Friedrich Niecks, *Programme Music in the Last Four Centuries* (London: Novello, 1906) p. 88.

11 Admirably reported by Ferdinand Denk in his dissertation *Das Kunstschöne und Charakteristische von Winckelmann bis Friedrich Schlegel* (Munich: Huber, 1925) and in "Ein Streit um Gehalt und Gestalt des Kunstwerkes," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 18 (1930) pp. 427-442.

12 A reference to the French theories of imitation stemming from the work of Batteux.

13 Christian Gottfried Körner's "Über Charakterdarstellung in der Musik" was published in *Die Horen*, 1795, in a Leipzig edition of 1808, and is republished by Wolfgang Seifert in *Christian Gottfried Körner* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1960). Seifert does not seem to recognize Körner's relationship to the general quarrel.

14 He compares the height and depth of tones to colors and the moving sound of melody to the moving image, but always in the most ideal sphere. His thought bears some obvious similarities to that of Hanslick but is not mentioned by the latter. One might also recall the primacy of melody in the new "Classic" style as admirably set forth by Friedrich Blume in *Classic and Romantic Music* (New York: Norton, 1970).

15 Sulzer, "Ausdruck in der Musik," *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (Leipzig, 1771) p. 111.

16 Johann Jakob Engel, *Schriften* (Berlin: In der Myliussischen Buchhandlung, 1802) vol. 4, p. 309.

17 Koch, *Versuch* (Leipzig, 1787) vol. 2, pp. 40-42; Charles Batteux, *Les beaux arts réduits à un même principe* (Paris, 1746) pp. 75-76.

18 Koch, "Charakter-Stück," *Kurzgefasstes Handwörterbuch der Musik* (Leipzig, 1807).

19 Referring to Dittersdorf's Symphony.

20 Peter Lichtenthal, *Dizionario e bibliografia della musica* (Milan, 1826). Daniel Gottlob Türk, in his *Klavierschule* (Leipzig and Halle, 1789) p. 392, had already defined "characteristic symphony" as that kind of opera overture which was related to the following dramatic action.

21 Engel, p. 320.

[22] Koch, *Versuch*, vol. 2, p. 40.

[23] Koch, "Malerey," *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt am Main, 1802); Daniel Webb, *Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music* (London, 1769) p. 143.

[24] Koch, "Charakter-Stück," *Musikalisches Lexikon*, "Empfindungen auszudrücken ist der Gegenstand der Tonkunst." See also the list amassed by Eduard Hanslick at the end of Chapter 1 of his *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* (Leipzig, 1854).

[25] Engel, pp. 319-320.

[26] Note that "historical" may mean a series of events and is thus akin to the fundamental definition of "program."

[27] Lichtenthal, *Dizionario*.

[28] August Gathy, *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1835).

[29] Kirby, p. 609.

[30] A Pastoral and a Hunt Symphony by Rosetti are extant; the intriguing *Calypso et Télémaque, grande symphonie imitative* has never been found. See Oskar Kaul, *Thematisches Verzeichnis der Instrumentalwerke von Anton Rosetti* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1968).

[31] Gathy, "Charakteristische Tonstücke," *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexicon*.

[32] Karl Franz Brendel, "Programmusik," *Anregungen für Kunst* 1 (1856) p. 83.

[33] Christian Gottlob Neefe, *Dilettanterien* (Bonn, 1785) p. 133.

[34] Batteux, *Les beaux arts*, pp. 254-255.

[35] Ibid., p. 265.

[36] Ibid., p. 269.

[37] Ibid., p. 267.

[38] Ibid., pp. 268-269.

[39] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768) p. 308.

[40] Barry S. Brook, *La symphonie française* (Paris: l'Institut de Musicologie de l'Université de Paris, 1962).

[41] Robert T. Laudon, *Sources of the Wagnerian Synthesis* (Munich: Katzbichler, forthcoming) Ch. 8; Hans Bartenstein, "Die frühen Instrumentationslehren bis zu Berlioz," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 28 (1971) pp. 97-118.

[42] Lacépède, *La poétique de la musique*, p. 331.

[43] Francois Henri Joseph Blaze (Castil-Blaze), *Dictionnaire de musique moderne* (Paris, 1821) p. 90 (a discussion of *caractère*).

[44] Frères Escudier, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1844).

[45] Translated by Dominique Mondo.

[46] Even in Michel Brenet (Marie Bobillier), *Dictionnaire practique et historique de la musique* (Paris: A. Colin, 1926), the term is barely mentioned compared to the extensive treatment of *musique descriptive*.

[47] Henri Louis Blanchard, *La Revue et Gazette Musicale* (1840) pp. 425-426.

[48] Blanchard, *La Revue* (1844) pp. 11-13.

[49] Jean Maurice Bourges, *La Revue* (1845) p. 59.

[50] Blanchard, *La Revue* (1843) p. 368.

[51] The term *programme* seems to have been borrowed from the French by the English and the Germans in the early 19th century. It meant simply the listing of concert pieces. More investigation is needed to determine exactly how and when it began to be associated with descriptive music. Two articles, Nicholas Temperley's "The *Symphonie Fantastique* and its Program," *Musical Quarterly* 57 (1971) pp. 593-608, and Wolfgang Dömling's "Die Symphonie fantastique und Berlioz' Auffassung von Programmusik," *Die Musikforschung* 28 (1975) pp. 260-283, are concerned with this question.

[52] Frederick Corder, "Programme-Music," *Grove's Dictionary* 3 (London: Macmillan, 1883) p. 34.

[53] Riemann, for instance, relies heavily on his aesthetic ideas expressed in *Wie hören wir Musik* in writing supposedly objective dictionary articles.

[54] Erwin Bodky, Preface to *Das Charakterstück* (Berlin-Lichterfelde: C. F. Vieweg, 1883) p. 34.

[55] Hans Joachim Moser, *Musiklexikon* (Hamburg: H. Sikorski, 1951) p. 172.

[56] This is not to deny the unfortunate connotation that the word has from many an "Alpine Storm" or "In a Persian Market."

*FROM THE DIARY OF A 16TH-CENTURY PAPAL SINGER**

Richard Sherr

Among the many manuscripts in the Cappella Sistina collection of the Vatican Library not catalogued by Haberl or Llorens is one numbered 651 (hereafter CS 651).[1] This paper manuscript of thirty-six folios bound in parchment is a combination diary/account book compiled by one of the most long-lived of papal singers, Giovanni Antonio Merlo, who joined the chapel in September 1551 after having served in the Cappella Giulia, and remained until his death on 28 December 1588.[2] The manuscript contains notes and jottings made over a number of years (1559-1588) in approximately chronological order.[3] Included are drafts of correspondence and memoranda, lists of assets and debits, and mention of historical events (there is even a fragment of music), all combining to give an idea of the daily concerns of a typical papal singer in the second half of the 16th century.

The majority of entries are financial. As a member of the papal chapel, Merlo received a monthly salary of 9 ducats,[4] but such salaries had never constituted the whole remuneration given the singers. It had long been the custom, for instance, for gratuities to be given the singers by celebrants of Masses and by newly created cardinals; Merlo actually records a number of payments in the diary,[5] and is further careful to record the special payments made *sedia vacante* (the period between the death of one pope and the election of his successor).[6] He apparently had other avenues open to him also, being at various times in the employ of Cardinal Sermoneta (in 1559) and Cardinal Farnese (in 1569), and in later life (1575-1580) receiving a pension from the pope of first 40, then 50 ducats a year.[7]

But the most common way of augmenting the salaries of papal servants was by the granting of benefices. Clerical preferments in Italy, France, and Spain had long been conferred upon members of the chapel, of course with the understanding that they would not have to take up residence in order to enjoy the income.[8] In the second half of the 16th century, however, a new reforming spirit had taken over in these matters, as the following excerpt from CS 651 relates:

1567	1567
Die xxiii mense februarii D.ns Marinus Lupi occurse che m. Marino Lupi gli fu comendato da Mons.r	On 23 February D.no Marino Lupi. It happened that M. Marino Lupi was commanded by Msgr. Romanetto

Romanetto per parte de Sua S.ta havendo una parrochiale in la sua patria che dovess'andar'a resider' overo resignar' detta parrochia il detto m. Marino dimando licentia alla compagnia et al m.o di cappella per andar alla patria per accomodar detto suo benefitio et gli fu dato licentia per mesi dui el detto m. Marino ritorno dalla patria et non portando cosa niuna sopra la risegnia di detta parrocia capito avanti a Mons.r Romanetto con dirgli che non haveva trovato il vescovo di Ascoli in la cita et che per questo non haveva potuto interamente far quanto era el desiderio suo ma che il vicario d'Ascoli gli haveva dato licentia per vinti giorni potessi venir in Roma per espedir le cose sue finalmente el detto Mons.r non gli volse far buona alcuna sua ragione ma volse che in termine di otto giorni devessi ritornar alla sua cura vetandogli che in modo niuno non potessi venir a servir la nostra chappella. Et questo fu tempore Pii Quinti Anno secundo pontificatus sui 1567.[9]

in the name of His Holiness that, since he had a *parrochiale* in his country, he should either go and reside there or should resign it. M. Marino asked the Chapel and the maestro di cappella for a leave of absence to go home and arrange things about his benefice, and he was given leave to go for two months. The said M. Marino returned from his home and [since] he did not have anything concerning the resignation of the benefice, he appeared before Msgr. Romanetto and told him that he had not been able to find the Bishop of Ascoli in the city, and therefore could not entirely do what he desired, but that the bishop's vicar had given him leave for twenty days to return to Rome for his affairs. But finally the said Msgr. did not accept his reasons and demanded that he return to his cure within eight days, letting him know that there was no way he could return to serve in our chapel. And this was in the time of Pius V, the second year of his pontificate, 1567.

It is probably no accident that this strict enforcement of the rules of residence comes a few years after the final sessions of the Council of Trent (the Council's decrees being quite specific on this point).[10] The singer in question appears to have attempted a bit of subterfuge (saying he could not find the bishop and therefore could not resign the benefice), but was sternly ordered away from Rome. Shortly after, he did resign the benefice, returned to Rome with proof, and was readmitted to the chapel.[11]

In spite of this, Merlo himself held for many years an absentee benefice in Bisignano (Calabria), appointing a vicar and enjoying the income without ever being called into account. The first mention of the benefice is in 1560.

1560 Santa Maria Nova
Addi quindici di ottobre hebbi li primi denari del mio benefitio quali furno scudi trentuno con il nome di iddio benedetto.[12]

1560 Santa Maria Nova
On 15 October I had the first money from my benefice which consisted of thirty-one ducats. Blessed be the name of the Lord.

In December 1560 he received 36 ducats, and continued to hold the benefice at least until 1574. However, many of his entries about it indicate that he had appointed a vicar; the clearest of these is dated 15 March 1566.

Addi quindici di Marzo de 66 hebbi da s.r scipione spinola per commissione di m. Baldessar' calamaro segretario di Mons.r de Bisignano scuti trent'uno di oro in oro et giulii duodeci quali sono per l'affitto de s.ta maria la nova dell anno 1566 Il qual'affitto incomincia il di xii de Maggio 1566. Et detto m. Baldessar e mio procurator di detto benefitio dal giorno sopradetto xii de Maggio.[13]

On 15 March 1566, I had from Sig. Scipione Spinola acting for M. Baldessar Calamaro, secretary of Msgr. of Bisignano, thirty-one gold ducats and twelve giulii which are for the rent of Santa Maria la Nova for the year 1566 which begins on 12 May 1566. And the said M. Baldessar is my vicar for that benefice from that day, 12 May.

It would appear that Merlo cleared about 40 ducats a year from his benefice in Calabria, but this may not have been the only one he had. In February 1563, for instance, he renounced a benefice in favor of one Giovanni Antonio Longobardo, and was reimbursed for his trouble, and there is even mention of a priory in Rouen granted Merlo through the good graces of Cardinal del Monte; in fact, he probably owed his Bisignano benefice to his one-time employer Cardinal Sermoneta, Bishop of Bisignano from 1558 to 1563.[14] Perhaps Merlo was never disciplined like his colleague Lupi because he had special influence or because the benefices were of a type not requiring residence.

In fact, CS 651 makes Merlo appear to be financially successful. Many entries show him employed in money transactions, and he is constantly lending funds. This occurs so frequently that it suggests a thriving money-lending business, even though he often specifies that the money is being lent *gratis* (at the same time being careful to list the collateral put up by the borrower). In any case, the extent of some of the transactions suggests a healthy amount of capital, as does Merlo's investment in 1565 of 300 ducats in the Monte della Farina at 8 per cent interest (the sum being about three times his yearly chapel salary of 108 ducats).[15]

Merlo was also a home- and landowner; a long list of payments in 1565 and 1566 concerns the construction of a "giardino" (with house) at the cost of several hundred ducats.[16] The expenses included large amounts of lime (*calcie*), rock, boards (*tavole*), roofing tile (*teicole*), and nails, the digging of a well, removing earth and building a cellar (*cantina*), and a hedge (*fratte*) to separate the property from the neighbors. But almost as soon as the house was finished, Merlo rented it out, and con-

tinued to rent it for many years; indeed that may have been the reason it was built in the first place.[17] The entries concerning this make it possible to locate the property. Merlo on various occasions refers to it as being "in the new street which goes towards the Borgetto," as being "under the monte della trinita," and as the "casa di populo."[18] It is likely then that the house and garden were situated on the via del Babuino, newly completed in 1565, running from the Piazza di Spagna (then Piazza della Trinità) to the Piazza del Popolo, the last street it crosses being the viccolo del Borgetto. This area, known as the Campo di Marzo, was largely unpopulated until the second half of the 16th century, and Merlo represents one of the influx of new homeowners.[19] He received a yearly rent of 24 ducats for the house, and in 1568 himself rented another house at the cost of 38 ducats a year.[20]

That Merlo was generally trusted in money matters is indicated by entries showing him acting as an agent for members of the papal chapel who were on leave and not in Rome. From 1561 to 1564, for instance, he procured letters of credit for Giovanni Antonio Latino, a singer attending the Council of Trent; Merlo would pay money to Venturino Manelli in Rome who would then transfer the funds to his brother Antonio, *depositarius* of the Council, for payment to Latino in Trent.[21] Merlo's services for another singer, Niccolo Barrone, included picking up his salary as well as buying various items in Rome and having them shipped; needless to say, he expected to be repaid for these favors.[22] For many years, Merlo also acted as the agent for a certain Madonna Antonia de Amatis and later for her daughter Emilia in various transactions, and in 1573 received 62 ducats, 50 baiocchi from Cardinal Savello who was renting Madonna Antonia's house (of course, the relationship Merlo had with the lady that allowed him to act for her in such matters must remain in the realm of speculation).[23] All this suggests that Merlo was well off or at least comfortable; certainly the diary contains no evidence of monetary difficulties or complaints of poverty, but seems rather to be a record of profitable investments. However, only a thorough study of the economy of the time would yield a true assessment of his worth.[24]

From our point of view, the most interesting sections of CS 651 are those dealing directly with matters concerning the papal chapel. The lists of gratuities have already been mentioned; folios 9′ and 13′ record ceremonies held on important feast days in 1567, mentioning the celebrant, the number of singers attending, and the tip (usually one or two giulii) given each singer. Notices of this nature are also to be found in the *Diarii Sistini*, except that the *Diarii* record singers who were absent and fined for being so.[25] However, Merlo also wrote a number of *memorie* dealing with other matters. For instance, he describes a direct affront to the College of Singers in the year 1571.

Nel 1571 al tempo de Mons.r sacrista et nostro m.o de chappella chiamato Giuseppe occurse un caso di molto consideratione et fu questo venendo occhasione de ricever'cantori per la nostra chappella el nostro m.o ne propose tre cantori uno chiamato m. Ipolito et l'altro m. Tomasso et l'altro m. Francesco venimo al scrutino el primo ebbe voti 12 el secondo 7 et l'altro nove et noi eravamo cantori decidotto al votare de maniera che niuno di questi ebbe il compimento intiero delli voti secondo i nostri statuti attal che tutti tre furno esclusi mentre di meno el sopradetto nostro m.o con l'aiuto del R.mo Char.le Morone nostro protectore con esponergli alcuna cosa contra di noi ottene di poter ammetter'li detti cantori ancora che fusse contro gli nostri statuti et un' sabbato matina detta la cotta a tutti tre senz'il voler nostro subbito ricorremo da N.S. con un memoriale narrandogli com il fatto era passato dicendogli che Sua S.ta era gabbato et che nui avendogli giurato fidelta non potevamo maneare far'il debbito nostro in fargliele intendere pero Sua S.ta era padrone facessi quello che a lei piacesse Et anco incorremo da Mons.r Carniglia come sopraintendente della casa di Sua S.ta pregandolo fussi contento farne una parola con Sua S.ta el quale Mons.re ne parlo al papa et intendendo che non erano entrati secondo l'ordini nostri dette commissione si dovessero mandar' con dio Et detti tre cantori servirno con la cotta un'mese intiero etiam in una messa papale et in capo de un'mese furno licentiati tutti tre dal sopradetto nostra m.o cosa che credo veramente non sia occursa in molt'anni Onesto lo dico accio che voi che verrete dopo noi vi ricordiate di mantener queste nostre costitutione et far'come avemo fatto noi altri per servitio di quelli

In 1571 in the time of Msgr. Sacrista and our maestro di cappella named Giuseppe, there occurred an event of much importance, which was this. It being the occasion for us to receive singers into our chapel, our maestro proposed three, one called M. Ippolito, another M. Tomasso, and the third M. Francesco. We voted, and the first had twelve votes, the second seven, and the third nine, and there were eighteen of us voting, so that none of them had the number of votes required by our statutes, and they were all rejected. But nonetheless, the said maestro with the help of our protector Cardinal Morone [obtained] by telling him certain things against us, managed to get them admitted even though it was against our statutes, and one Saturday morning gave them the *cotta* all without our consent. We immediately sent a memorandum to His Holiness telling him what had happened and that he had been deceived, and that we, having sworn fealty to him were only doing our duty in letting him know, although His Holiness was the master and could do anything he wished. And also we went to Msgr. Carniglia as superintendant of the papal household and asked him if he would please have a word with His Holiness, and the said Msgr. talked about it to the pope who, hearing that they (the singers) had not been admitted according to the correct manner, ordered that they be sent on their way. And the three singers served with *cotta* for a whole month including a papal Mass, and at the beginning of the next month they were fired all three by the said maestro, something which had not occurred in many years. I say this honestly so that you who will come after us will maintain our constitution and do as we did for the

che verranno dopo noi si com'anno fatto i nostri passati per noi Di poi passati giorni 15 ritornammo a pigliar' un contralto de questi che furno espulsi chiamato m. Ipolito per causa che Mons.r m.o de chappella ne proposa che questo m. Ipolito era ricorso da Sua S.ta dolendosi che avendo auti le doi parte delli voti et non manchandonegli se non uno pregava Sua S. li volessi far' gratia insieme con la compagnia admetterlo tanto piu quanto essendo un delli nostri cantori amalato chiamato Don Paulo Biancho et per causa del'infirmita non si puotte trovar'el giorno del scrutino ma ben si trovo el giorno che detti cantori furno provati et avendolo sentito et satisfattogli gli mando el suo voto in scriptis et fu dato in mano del m.o de chappella attal' che ne parse admetterlo per tutti questi rispetti ancora che fu contrastato molto sopra questo voto che fu mandato cosi in scriptis per rispetto che chi voleva che fusse valido et chi no pero la cosa non fu decisa per non esser'occurs'altre volte ma resto impendente tempore Pii Quinti 1571 mense februarij.[26]

good of those who will come later, as our predecessors have done for us. Furthermore, after fifteen days, we reconsidered the contralto of the three named M. Ippolito because Msgr. the maestro di cappella said that this Ippolito had complained to His Holiness saying that he had had two-thirds of the vote, and since only one [more vote] was needed, asking that His Holiness have the goodness to admit him into the chapel, even more so because one of our singers named Don Paulo Biancho was sick and therefore could not attend on the day of the voting, but was there when the said singers were auditioned and, having heard him and being satisfied, gave him his vote in writing. And this was given to the maestro so it appeared that he should be admitted because of this, although there was much debate concerning this vote sent in writing; whether it was valid or not. But the thing was not decided for lack of precedent and rested impending in the time of Pius V, 1571, the month of February.

Here are chapel politics in action. Three singers are proposed to the chapel by the maestro di cappella; they are auditioned and then a vote is taken. According to the chapel constitution, a more than two-thirds majority of those present was needed for admission, and none of the singers receives the required number of votes. The matter should have ended there, but the maestro must have had a personal stake in the affair, since he enlists the help of Cardinal Morone "by telling him certain things" against the singers, and manages to have his protégés hired. The singers are not going to stand for this, and immediately address themselves directly to the pope through a memorandum and through the superintendant of the papal household. When the pope (the austere Pius V) hears that the three singers have not been correctly admitted, he orders them to be fired—a clear victory for the College of Singers. But complications arise. One of the singers had received exactly two-thirds of the vote (twelve out of eighteen), and complains to the pope that he should be admitted, especially since the singers had failed to count a deciding vote

in his favor, sent in as a proxy by a singer who was ill at the time of the scrutiny, but who had heard the auditions. The matter is, however, left up in the air for lack of precedent. The point is that the singers successfully defended their rights and privileges in the face of their own maestro di cappella (who was a prelate) and in the face of Cardinal Morone, the savior of the Council of Trent.[27]

It turns out that Merlo may have had a personal reason for being so interested in this affair, for he himself had nearly been expelled from the papal chapel for opposing a similar arrangement. The *Diarii Sistini* record that in March 1558 Pope Paul IV (Gian Pietro Caraffa) had decided to bring to the chapel two singers from Naples, Ferdinando and Francesco Bustamante (the Caraffa were a Neapolitan family). In April a vote was held, and the newcomers were unanimously approved by the singers with the exception of Merlo and Nicolo Clinca, who apparently refused to vote at all (not accepting the *fabas botandum* or "voting beans") to the great annoyance of the maestro who began proceedings against them for insubordination. Now, an interpretation of Merlo's action could be that he felt that the new singers were being forced on the chapel by the pope, and, since he could not prevent their admission, he refused to have anything to do with a "sham" procedure. This must have angered the pope (who was a difficult man to get along with in any case), and he sent his nephew Cardinal Caraffa to the chapel with the order that Merlo and Clinca be expelled; it was only by special petition that the other singers managed to get this punishment reduced to a fine.[28] The memory of the affair might explain why Merlo was careful to record in great detail, and for no apparent purpose, a similar incident in which "right" prevailed (i.e. the singers refused to allow outside interference), and it might also throw some light on one of the few purely historical notations in the diary.

Addi sei de marzo 1561 fu strangolato il Char.le Charaffa in castello et tagliato il capo al s. ducha suo fratello insieme con il conte de Alife suo cognati et don Leonardo de Chardini Requiescant in pace.[29]	On 6 March 1561, Cardinal [Carlo] Caraffa was strangled in the Castello, and his brother the Duke had his head cut off along with the Count di Alife his brother-in-law and Don Leonardo de Chardini. Requiescant in pace.

Merlo was in the chapel during several of its reforms, including the "cardinals' commission" of 1565, when he was a member of the delegation of singers that met with Cardinals Borromeo and Morone.[30] The result of the reform was the reduction of the number of singers by ten, who were then designated "Second Class" and paid reduced wages (presumably they ceased singing in the chapel). It may also have been in response to a wish for information about the chapel that Merlo began a list of singers,

now on folio 22 of CS 651, stating the year of entry if he knew it, and continuing the list until 1585.

Twenty years after the cardinals' commission, Merlo was involved in yet another reform.

Memoria qualmente addi 20 di giugnio 1586 la S.ta di N.S. Papa Sisto Quinto avendo ragionato piu volte con meco et il s.r Sotto cantor' di cappella sopra il nostro m.o de cappella dicendo che a lui pareva cosa giusta che avend' aver la cappella un m.o li pareva cosa giusta che piu presto fuss'un' huomo della medesma professione che un prelato il qual'non avessi intelligentia di musica gli fu da noi replicato che non era cosa solita ne vi era di bisognio per tal effetto essendo che quasi tutti quelli che erano m.i detta cappella erano huomi sufficienti da poter' reger' detta cappella In resulutione Sua S.ta si risolse di voler che a'hogni modo fussi m.o di cappella uno della professione et ci mando a dir per il s. Antonio Bocchapaduli nostro m.o di cappella et da parte del R.mo Char.le Azzolino segretario di N.S. che Sua S.ta ci proponeva questi infrascritti partiti che vedessimo se tra nui vi erano huomini a questo proposito che lui si contentava che si elegesse uno di nui in quel modo che a noi piacesse cioe o per tre mesi o per sei mesi o per un anno overo perpetuo overo se volevamo alcuno fuora del gremmio overo lui cenne averria dato un a suo modo basta che ne fece proporre tutti li sopradetti partiti cosa veramente di grandissima consideratione della sua grand' amorevolezza verso di nui.[31]

Memorandum that on 20 June 1586, His Holiness Pope Sixtus V discussed many times with me and with Sig. Sotto, singer in the chapel [the subject of] the maestro di cappella, saying that it appeared to him that it would be a good thing, considering that the chapel had to have a maestro, that he be a man of the same profession rather than a prelate who might not understand music. We replied that it was neither usual nor necessary considering that practically all who had been maestri had known enough to be able to direct the chapel. In resolution, His Holiness decided that at all costs the maestro should be one of the profession, and ordered our maestro di capella Sig. Antonio Bocchapaduli, speaking also for the Most Rev. Cardinal Azzolino, secretary to His Holiness to propose the following: that if there were people among us [who could do the job] he suggested that one of us be elected in any way we wished, for three months, or for six months, or for a year, or for life; or we could select one from outside; or he could appoint one himself. Finally he had proposed all the above suggestions, something which truly showed his great tenderness towards us.

In 1586, the energetic Pope Sixtus V suggests a major change in the hierarchy of the chapel. In the past, although the positions of *Abbas, Decano,* and *Punctatore* had been held by singers elected for a certain period of time, the job of maestro di cappella had always gone to a prelate (usually a bishop). The pope, perhaps with the examples of St.

Mark's in Venice and St. Peter's in Rome before him, has come to the conclusion that the maestro should be "one of the same profession," i.e., a singer. The idea is not greeted enthusiastically by the singers, who state that the earlier maestri had generally known enough about music to run things (but perhaps not enough to interfere). Sixtus, however, will not be thwarted, and so gives the singers a wide choice; they can elect one of their number for three, six, or twelve months, or for life, or one can come from the outside, or the pope can appoint one. Eventually the singers decided to elect one of their own number for a year, and the first recipient of the honor was none other than Giovanni Antonio Merlo himself.[32] He thus becomes the first singer since Carpentras to lead the papal chapel, and the first to be elected by the other singers. Undoubtedly his age had something to do with it; he had been in the chapel for thirty-five years in 1586.

By far the most intriguing entries concerning the chapel appear on folios 30′ and 31 of CS 651, and may shed some light on the pieces actually sung by papal singers in 1568.

Avertire che il giorno della creation'de Sua S.ta e il gradual vol'esser' Beata gens et poi veni sancte spiritus cioe il giorno del'epifania 1568 tempore Pii V	Remember that on the day of the election of His Holiness the Gradual should be *Beata gens,* and then *Veni sancte spiritus,* that is the day of Epiphany 1568 in the time of Pius V.[33]
Ottobre Avertire che un mottetto di Giovanni Moton Confitebimur a un contralto sopra il tenore che va alla quarta	October Remember that a motet, *Confitebimur,* by Jean Mouton, has a contralto over the tenor at the fourth.
Un altro mottetto del medesmo auttore che dice Benedicamus domino a una parte sopra il tenore che aspetta dui tempi et si piglia una voce piu alta del tenore	Another motet by the same author called *Benedicamus Domino* has a part over the tenor which waits for two beats and begins a step higher than the tenor.
La epifania el mottetto Illumina	For Epiphany, the motet *Illumina.*
El giorno della creation'del papa e di poi de epifania el mottetto Veni sancte spiritus Infra ottava epifania cie un mottetto di Compert	For the day of the pope's election and also for Epiphany, the motet *Veni sancte spiritus.* Within the Octave of Epiphany there is a motet by Compère.
In die coronationis si canta Corona Aurea di Arcadelt	On the day of the Coronation, *Corona aurea* by Arcadelt is sung.
In die chatedra S.ti Petri Quem dicunt homines	On the Feast of St. Peter's Chair, *Quem dicunt homines.*

Avertir'che la notte del natale quando Sua S.ta fa l'uffitio quando dice il suo evangelium ditto che averra Jube domini benedicere bisogna responder' Amen

Remember that on Christmas Eve when His Holiness is celebrating, when he reads the Gospel, at the point where "Jube domini benedicere" comes, it is necessary to respond "Amen."

Ricordo
Avertire che il vespero del'epifania vol esser'intonato molto basso

Reminder
Remember that the Vespers of Epiphany should be intoned very softly.

Avertir'che l'ultimo notturno delli morti vol esser'intonato basso

Remember that the last Nocturne of All Soul's should be intoned softly.

Per l'ottavia di homnia santi ce una messa di Comper'molto bona con il suo motetto Ave Maria la mess'e del 4 tono

For the Octave of All Saints there is a Mass by Compère which is very good, with his motet *Ave Maria.* The Mass is in the fourth mode.

Una messa vecchia di Rubret' Fevino nel libro vecchio

An old Mass by Robert Févin in the old book.

Un'altra chiamato La chastagnia

Another called *La Castagnia.*

Una missa de Pipelare super'L'om' arme ad Agnus ce un contr'alto sopr'el basso che va all decima el basso un duplichato

A Mass by Pipelare on *L'homme armé.* At the Agnus there is a contralto over the bass which duplicates the bass at the tenth.[34]

Una messa di Giovanni Monton sopr'Alma redentoris

A Mass by Jean Mouton on *Alma redemptoris.*

Domenicha 3 adventus se dice Alma redemptoris (overo Veni domine) di Constantio Festa

On the third Sunday in Advent *Alma redemptoris* (or *Veni Domine)* by Costanzo Festa is sung.

Domenicha 4 Missus est

Fourth Sunday, *Missus est.*

Natale
La notte del natale il primo responsorio va cantato con il contrapunto et cosi l'ultimo el secundo non si fa contrapunto avertir'a pigliar'un poco basso el secundo noctturno

Christmas
On Christmas Eve, the first responsory is sung in counterpoint as is the last.[35] The second is not sung in counterpoint. Remember to begin the second Nocturne a little softly.

El secundo giorno del natale si suol' dir'el mottetto O beata infantia di Pieton

On the second day of Christmas, the motet *O beata infantia* by Piéton is usually sung.

El vespero di pasqua rosata vol esser intonato molto basso	The Vespers of Pasqua Rosata should be intoned very softly.
El vespero della trinita vol esser intonato basso	The Vespers of Trinity should be intoned softly.
Ricordo che la domenicha delle palme si cantano li Chirie della madonna in canto fermo sono in la fine del libro	Remember that on Palm Sunday the Kyrie is that of the Madonna in chant at the end of the book.
Un mottetto per l'otttavia del epifania vechio di non so se dice In illo tempore cum battizaretur'di	An old motet for the Octave of Epiphany by I-don't-know-who called *In illo tempore cum battizaretur* by

There are two categories of entries; one deals with performance (the correct way to begin Offices, when to sing in improvised counterpoint), and one specifies a repertory of pieces sometimes ascribed to particular composers and assigned to particular feasts. Much of the polyphony can be found in extant manuscripts in the Sistine collection. Going down the list: the motet by Mouton called *Confitebimur* may be the one entitled *Confitemini Domino* in CS 38 which has a canon at the fourth;[36] the second motet by Mouton is almost certainly the *Benedicam Dominum* in the same manuscript with a canonic voice at the second entering after two semibreves; no composer is named for *Illumina,* but there is a setting of *Illumina oculos meos* by de Silva in CS 55; there are many settings of *Veni sancte spiritus;* the motet by Compère for the Octave of Epiphany has not been identified; Arcadelt's *Corona aurea* is in CS 24; there is a setting of *Quem dicunt homines* by Richafort in CS 46; Compère's *Ave Maria* is in CS 15, and his *Missa L'homme armé* which is in the fourth mode is in CS 35; there are two Masses by Robert de Févin in the collection—the *Missa Le villain jaloux* in CS 23 and the *Missa Ave Maria* in CS 26; the *Missa Castagnia* has not been found; Pipelare's *Missa L'homme armé* is in CS 41; Mouton's *Missa Alma redemptoris* is in CS 45; neither of Festa's motets could be found; there are settings of *Missus est* by Josquin in CS 63 and 19, and by Mouton in CS 42; *O beata infantia* by Pieton is in CS 24; *In illo tempore cum battizaretur* might be the motet *Factum est cum baptizaretur* by Prioris in CS 42.

A striking thing about the repertory is its age. The list was apparently written ca. 1568, yet Palestrina is not mentioned once, although he was regularly being paid to produce music for the use of the chapel, nor is there any mention of other composers living and working in Rome at the time.[37] The references to Mouton, Arcadelt, and Festa are, on the other hand, not surprising as their music was still being copied into chapel manuscripts.[38] This was not the case with some of the other names on

the list, however. Merlo specifically mentions an "old Mass by Robert de Févin in the old book," and indeed the manuscripts containing Masses by that composer could have been considered old in 1568; the same holds true for Pipelare's *Missa L'homme armé*.[39] Most interesting are the references to Compère, the oldest composer in the group, one who had long since dropped out of the repertory, whose pieces were preserved in the oldest of the "old books."[40]

It seems then that these *ricordi* are the fruits of a search through the library of the chapel, including some of the oldest musical sources contained therein. They have all the markings of a selection of repertory for the papal singers (hence the connection of certain pieces with specific feasts) and are interspersed with practical performance hints. This implies that Merlo had at one time the job of picking the chapel repertory, and it is true that from 1566 to 1569 he held the administrative post of *Abbas,* although there is no indication that the functions of the position ever included the selection of works to be sung.[41]

Also, although the list is far from comprehensive, it suggests a retrospective attitude (soon to be a characteristic of the papal chapel); this is strange, however, because the music for the chapel at this time should have been selected according to the standards laid down by the Council of Trent, standards presumably not met by these pre-Tridentine pieces.[42] The list, then, may reflect nothing more than Merlo's personal antiquarian interests and his knowledge of the chapel library, although the real possibility exists that the list constitutes one of our few references to pieces actually sung by the chapel in the 16th century; as such it provides evidence that motets with texts appropriate to certain feasts were actually sung during those feasts, not, however, specifying when in the service they were performed.[43]

CS 651 also contains entries of a more personal nature. For instance, we learn that Merlo was the brother of Alessandro Merlo, the composer and famous bass, whose admission to the papal chapel is recorded with pride.

Addi 12 de decembre 1561 Alessandro mio fratello fu votato dalli cantori de N.S. et hebbi egli a suffitientia quanti bisognavano et di piu.[44]	On 12 December 1561, my brother Alessandro was elected to membership in the papal singers, and he had more than enough votes.

The brothers lived together, and entered the services of the same cardinals. This is true at least of Cardinals Sermoneta and Farnese, and it could be assumed that a notice that Alessandro was attached to the Cardinal of Aragon means that Giovanni was also in his employ; the entry also indicates that the brothers could afford a servant.[45] The Merlos also had a sister who was a nun living in the convent of Santa Lucia in Silice

and who died on 7 September 1577, and there is mention of an aunt, named Pantasilea, who died on 11 September 1574.[46]

Finally, the diary ends with a number of miscellaneous notes; a homily to patience, information concerning indulgences, fragments of poetry, and some home remedies, two of which are given here for the benefit of those who may find themselves stranded and afflicted in Italy some day.

Recetta per oppilatione Farrete prendere oncia sei di acciaio fino che non sia ruginoso e lo farrete inforchare et poi spengerlo in accqua Et poi lo farrete limar'sottilmente lo metteret' amollo in aceto biancho e forte Et la schiuma che farra si toglia via Et cosi se gli muti l'aceto 4 volt'il giorno per spatio di tre giorni all fila Et poi mettasi asciugare sopr'un tagliero netto e asciutto e poi si metti in un fiasco di vin'biancho maturo e ben chiaro e si lasci cusi per spatio di tre giorni Et poi si comminci a prendere di quel vino sei oncie la matina a levata de sole e oncie cinque ne pigli la sera tre hore avanti cena tanto la matina quanta la sera si facci exercitio continuando a chavar'la ditta quantita di vino e agiungercelo matin'e sera quanto ne chavera cioe fino che giudichi che quello che resta nel fiascho lo possa condurre fino al termine di un mese.[47]

Prescription for constipation. Take six ounces of fine steel which is not rusty and heat it [red hot] and then plunge it in water. And then polish it finely and soak it in strong white vinegar and remove the foam that appears. And continue to change the vinegar four times a day for three days in a row. Then let [the steel] dry on a clean and dry wooden cutting block, and then put it in a flask of mature, very clear white wine, and leave it for the space of three days. And then begin to take six ounces of that wine in the morning when the sun rises and take five ounces in the evening three hours before dinner, and get used to doing this in the morning and the evening continuing to take the said amount of wine and replacing in the morning and evening the amount taken until you judge that there is enough left in the flask to last until the end of a month.

Contra il fegato
Piglia tre scudi di oro di tre cogni et piglia una scodeletta di creta biancha con accqua corrente et farrai el segnio della croce sopra di quel'accqua et voltate dond'escie il sole et piglia uno di quelli scudi et tocchari il corpo overo sopra li panni et dirrai fele torna avacca et oro torna in accqua fele torna above et accqua torna in oro Et hogni volta butter quello scudo in quel'accqua et la dirai nove volte Et si vol dire il giovedi et la domenicha prima che escha il sole et poi che glie calato il sole.[48]

For the liver
Take three gold ducats [weighing] three *cogni* and take a white clay saucer with running water [in it], and make the sign of the Cross over the water. Turn to the East and take one of the ducats and touch your body or clothes and say, "Bile return to the cow and gold return to water, bile return to the ox and water return to gold." And each time throw the ducat in the water, and do this nine times. And this should be done on Thursdays and on Sundays before the sun rises and before it sets.

NOTES

*This article is an expanded version of a paper read before the New England Chapter of the American Musicological Society in Boston on 14 May 1977. In the transcriptions of Italian, I have expanded all simple abbreviations, but not titles (m. = *messer*, m.o = *maestro*, S.ta = *Santità*, R.mo = *Reverendissimo*, etc.).

1 See Franz Xaver Haberl, *Bibliographischer und thematischer Musikkatalog des päpstlichen Kapellarchives im Vatican zu Rom*, Bausteine für Musikgeschichte 2 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1888), also in *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 19 (1887) and 20 (1888) Beilagen; and Joseph Llorens, *Capellae Sixtinae Codices musices notis instructi sive manu scripti sive praelu excussi* (Vatican City, 1960). These catalogues only deal with the music sources in the collection. An index of the other manuscripts is in the Index Room of the Vatican Library. I hope to publish a complete transcription of this document elsewhere.

2 See Ariane Ducrot, "Histoire de la Cappella Giulia au XVI[e] siècle depuis sa fondation par Jules II (1513) jusqu'à sa restauration par Grégoire XIII (1578)," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 75 (1963) pp. 179-240, 467-559; and E. Celani, "I cantori della Cappella Pontificia nei secoli XVI-XVIII," *Rivista Musicale Italiana* 14 (1907) p. 103, who gives his last name as "Merula."

3 But not always. See fol. 15′ with entries dated 1571, 1577, and 1585.

4 See the records of the *mandati camerali* in the Archivio di Stato di Roma. In December 1540, the singers had gotten their first raise in about a hundred years when their monthly salary was augmented by one ducat from 8 to 9. (The ducat was the largest unit of currency at the time and was divided into 10 giulii, the giulio divided into 10 baiocchi. There was also a distinction made between a cameral ducat—"oro in oro"—and a ducat "de moneta," the cameral ducat being worth slightly more.)

5 See folios 9′, 10, 13, and 14.

6 See folios 5, 5′, and 15′.

7 See folios 1, 6′, and 15. This is, as far as I know, the first documentary evidence to come to light showing that singers were employed by cardinals at the same time that they were members of the papal chapel, and is of some interest to students of an earlier period, especially considering Edward Lowinsky's theories about Josquin and Cardinal Ascanio Sforza. See his "Ascanio Sforza's Life: a Key to Josquin's Biography and an Aid to the Chronology of his Works," Lowinsky ed., *Josquin des Prez, Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival Conference . . . June 1971* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976) pp. 31-75.

8 For an excellent discussion of how this worked in the late 15th century, see Jeremy Noble, "New Light on Josquin's Benefices," ibid., pp. 76-102.

9 Folio 11. Lupi is absent from the *mandati* lists from February to November 1567 (actually his name is crossed off the list of January 1567). See Archivio di Stato di Roma, *mandati camerali* 917, folios 116 ff. Interestingly, there is no mention of this case in the *Diarii Sistini* for the year 1567 (see Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Sistina, ms. *Diarii Sistini*, 8).

10 See H. J. Schroeder, O. P. ed., *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1960) pp. 164-166.

11 Folio 11. Actually, Merlo says that Lupi was not readmitted until January (1568), while the *mandati* have him back in December 1567. Another reference to a singer's benefice on folio 15 shows the chapel supporting Christian Ameyden in litigation for a benefice in Douai.

12 Folio 3.

13 Folio 6.

14 Folios 4, 16′, and 36.

15 Folio 3′. On the Monti, see Jean Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale de Rome*

dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle, Bibliothèque des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 184, pt. 2 (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1959).

16 See particularly folios 7-9.

17 It was first rented in November 1567 (see folios 12′ and 21).

18 Folios 21, 21′, and 25; this last entry is dated 28 March 1588.

19 See Delumeau, pt. 1 (1957) p. 307.

20 Folio 21.

21 See Folio 2′.

22 See folios 6′, 16, and 17. Among the things Merlo procured for Barrone were a copy of two motets and a "salve for obesity [unguente per carnosica]." He performed similar services for Giovanni Figueroa in 1568 (see folios 12 and 16′).

23 See folios 6′, 18, and others.

24 See, for example, the discussion in Delumeau.

25 See Raffaele Casimiri, *I Diarii Sistini, i primi 25 anni (1535-1559)* (Rome: Edizioni "Psalterium," 1939); also in the journal *Note d'Archivio per la Storia Musicale* vols. 1 (1924) through 16 (1939) *passim*.

26 Folios 27 and 27′.

27 The *mandati* record that on 9 February 1571 Ippolito Gambocci, Thomasso Gomez, and Francesco Adriano were admitted to the papal chapel (*mandati* 923, folio 164). The three do not appear on any lists, but on 13 March 1571 there is a notice (folio 168) that Hipolito Gamboccio, priest from Gubbio, has been admitted to the chapel, and he is added to subsequent chapel lists. This means that the "matter left undecided" in Merlo's memorial was in fact decided that very month and that the proxy vote was accepted. There is no mention of this in the *Diarii* for 1571 (*Diarii Sistini* 9).

28 Casimiri, pp. 380, 410-411. There were two cardinal nephews, Alfonso and Carlo Caraffa, but only Carlo was referred to as Cardinal Caraffa, the other being called the Cardinal of Naples. It should be remembered also that Paul IV had caused Palestrina, Leonardo Barre, and Domenico Ferrabosco to be expelled from the chapel because they were married. The other singers managed to get them put on permanent pensions amounting to about two-thirds of their regular salaries (5 ducats, 87 baiocchi).

29 Folio 3. On the downfall of the Caraffa, see Ludwig Pastor, *History of the Popes* vol. 15, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1928) pp. 131-178.

30 Folio 7. See Franz Xaver Haberl, "Die Cardinalskommission von 1564 und Palestrinas Missa Papae Marcelli," *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 7 (1892) pp. 82-97.

31 Folio 26′. This document is partially quoted in Giuseppe Baini, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* (Rome: Società Tipografica, 1828) vol. 1, p. 272, n. 375.

32 See Baini, vol. 1, p. 269-272, and also a notice in the *Diarii Sistini* for 1587 to the effect that Merlo has given up the job of maestro (*Diarii* 16—there is no diary for 1586). Incidentally, Merlo was succeeded by Sotto.

33 Michele Ghislieri was elected pope and took the name Pius V on 7 January 1566, but apparently the anniversary of his election was celebrated on 6 January.

34 This is a mistake; the canonic voice is at the octave.

35 *Contrapunto* or improvised counterpoint. All singers were supposed to be able to sing *contrapunto*. This remark is in keeping with chapter 64 of the Chapel Constitution of 1545 as published in Haberl, *Die römische 'schola cantorum' und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Bausteine für Musikgeschichte 3 (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1888); also in *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 3 (1887) pp. 284-296.

36 Although it is at the lower fourth.

37 Beginning in August 1565 Palestrina is paid in the *mandati* a monthly salary of

3 ducats, 13 baiocchi "ex causa diversarum compositionum musicalium quas hactemus ededit et est editurus ad comodum dicte cappelle." Since he was already receiving a pension of 5 ducats, 87 baiocchi, this brought his salary up to 9 ducats, equal to that of the other singers.

[38] See CS 38, dated 1563, and containing motets by these and other composers.

[39] The section of CS 23 containing this Mass was probably copied ca. 1507 and the entire manuscript put together before 1512; CS 26 was written during the reign of Leo X (1513-1521); the section of CS 41 containing Pipelare's Mass was probably copied ca. 1503-07 and the whole manuscript put together before 1513. See Richard Sherr, "A Note on two Roman Manuscripts of the Early Sixteenth Century," *The Musical Quarterly* 63 (1977) pp. 48-73, and "The Papal Chapel ca. 1492-1513 and its Polyphonic Sources," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1975).

[40] CS 15 was probably written ca. 1492-1501, and most of CS 35 was probably written during the reign of Innocent VIII (1484-1492). See Sherr, diss.

[41] See Chapter 38 of the Constitution. A note in the diary of 1569 states that Merlo has been *Abbas* for three years, and was just giving up the post (*Diarii* 9, folio 6′).

[42] There is evidence that people in Rome took these standards seriously. See Lewis Lockwood, *The Counter-Reformation and the Masses of Vincenzo Ruffo* (Venice: Universal Edition, 1970); and Haberl, "Cardinalskommission." In 1566-68, Giovanni Animuccia is paid by the Cappella Giulia for writing pieces "secundum formam concilii." See Ducrot, pp. 514-516.

[43] For instance, *Corona aurea* is assigned in the list to commemorate the coronation of the pope, *Quem dicunt homines* to a feast of St. Peter, *Missus est* to Advent, *O beata infantia* to Christmas.

[44] Folio 2.

[45] Folio 4′.

[46] Folios 21′ and 10. What appears to have happened is that on 20 November 1570 Merlo's sister left the convent since he collects (riscuotere) the dowry. On 20 May 1571 she returned, and on 7 September 1577 she died in the convent.

[47] Folio 35.

[48] Folio 35′.

MUSIC IN PROVENCE IN THE 14TH CENTURY

Neal Zaslaw

Music historians have customarily regarded Provencal music as limited to the chivalric tradition of the troubadours which flourished during the 11th through the 13th centuries.[1] Following the ravages of the Albigensian Crusade (1208-29) and the regular establishment of the Inquisition (from 1233 on), the culture which sustained the troubadours was gradually enfeebled. Because of this cultural decline, modern scholars have shown little interest in writing about the general history of the 14th century in Provence, and no interest in writing about its musical history.[2] It has thus been customary to state that Guiraut Riquier, who died in 1292, was "the last of the troubadours."[2a]

While the music of the 14th century has dropped from sight, Provençal poetry can be traced throughout the period, although it is reduced in quantity and quality compared with the preceding centuries. Now unless we find evidence of a new attitude concerning the relationship between poetry and music, we must suppose that music continued to exist in Provence along with literature, for, as the early 13th-century troubadour Folquet of Marseilles wrote, "A verse without music is a mill without water."[3] Perhaps John Stevens's explanation for the paucity of musical sources in England around 1500 holds true as well for Provencal music of more than a century earlier:

> The surviving . . . songs . . . are few. But poems (verses without music) can be numbered in their hundreds. . . . Allowing for the greater difficulty of writing music, these figures nevertheless prove that the public for verse was incomparably larger than that for written music. Nor has poetry been exceptionally favored by the ravages of time. . . . One very likely explanation is that musical manuscripts were never numerous. Written part-music . . . was . . . a luxury only to be afforded by the few.[4]

The 14th century was not a time of luxury in Provence. Raging epidemics and famine, combined with roving bands of marauders, led to depopulation and a severe recession which lasted throughout the second half of the century.[5] The few in Provence who could have afforded to have music copied and to hire musicians to sing and play that music had succumbed to influences from the north, giving up the *langue d'oc* in favor of the *langue d'oeil.* As one historian has explained this phenomenon:

> . . . after the end of the 13th century Provençal poetry is hardly represented. With the accession of the second house of Anjou (1382), French became the court language even more than under the first Angevins. . . . In imitation of the court, the use of French spread to the great Provençal nobility. . . . The petty rural nobility, as well as the bourgeoisie, remained attached to the Provençal language.[6]

Barring evidence to the contrary, we may assume that such indigenous music as there may have been followed a path similar to that taken by the poetry—that is, traveling down the social scale from the domain of the higher nobility to that of the bourgeoisie (in the cities and towns) and the minor nobility (in rural areas).

It is true that during this very period Avignon had become an international center due to the presence of the popes of the Babylonian Captivity (1309-77) followed by the anti-popes of the Great Schism (1377-1417). But the influence of the brilliant Avignon court upon Provençal culture proved remarkably diffuse.

> The literature and arts of Provence from the 13th to the 15th century present little of original character. The country is a crossroads, very well situated and subject to diverse influences, coming above all from Italy and Burgundy. The presence of the popes at Avignon attracted a wealth of scholars and artists, but it was a superficial coming and going which left few traces on the mentality of the Provençal of the time.[7]

This judgment is confirmed in the domain of music: the late 14th-century repertory believed to have originated to a great extent from the papal court at Avignon[8] is written in an international idiom which can have had little to do with such indigenous Provençal music as may still have existed.[9] The musicians of Provencal birth active at the court of Avignon had eschewed their own culture and embraced the international styles current at the court. (The spectacle of artists of colonized or conquered nations abandoning their own culture in favor of that of their conquerors has appeared in many eras, and it certainly is not unfamiliar in our own.)

The strongest influence sustaining Provençal poetry in the 14th century was that of the *Consistori de la subregaya companhia del Gai Saber* ("Consistory of the very gay company of Courtly Love"). This group was founded by seven would-be troubadours who banded together in 1323 in Toulouse to revive the languishing art of Provencal poetry.[10] Whereas the earlier troubadours had been almost exclusively noblemen, the seven

founders of the *Consistori* included a nobleman, a bourgeois, two bankers, two merchants, and a minor court functionary. The *Consistori* began to meet on Sundays and soon issued a public letter addressed to all poets of the *langue d'oc* inviting them to a poetic tournament to be held in Toulouse on the first day of May 1324. The winner of this competition was to be publicly awarded "a jeweled crown of fine gold." The invitation to the competition stated plainly that the poets would be expected to recite and sing their verses. In the morning and evening of the first day of the tournament the authors presented their poems, on the second day the *Consistori* met privately to discuss its decision, and on the third day the winner was proclaimed and received his laurels. The victor was the poet Arnaut Vidal de Castelnaudary, whose poem to the Virgin so pleased the *Consistori* that they subsequently awarded him a diploma by acclamation, making him a "Doctor of Courtly Love." Among the requirements of the honorific diplomas "Bachelor of Courtly Love" and "Doctor of Courtly Love" as found in the statutes of the *Consistori* were that the candidate must compose *cansons, vers,* or *dansas* "with a gay melody" *(am gay so).*

A primary means by which the *Consistori* chose to systematize and disseminate its ideals was the commissioning, editing, and making public of a code of courtly poetry, which they named *Las Leys d'Amors*—"The Laws of Love." An early version of the *Leys d'Amors* was in existence by 1341, and the final version was issued in 1356. It is a scholastic treatise which reveals that the love celebrated was to be love of God and, especially, of the Virgin. Form is stressed at the expense of content. Music is mentioned little, but yet enough that, clearly, it was still considered part of the tradition. The letter of 1356 by which the *Consistori* promulgated the final version of the *Leys d'Amors* stated that prize-winning poems must be performed complete with suitable melody. The *Leys* offer some tautological definitions of music[11] and speak of "Verses, chansos, sirventes, pastorelas,/Am bel so gay, melodios, plazen . . .,"[12] but furnish no specific technical details of the music which might enable a modern scholar to guess at its form and style.

Since the activities of the *Consistori* furnish irrefutable evidence for the continuation of Provençal music during the 14th century, it would seem logical to ask why none of this music was notated, for apparently none of the surviving manuscripts of poetry contains a note of music. The answer to this question depends upon the answer to a second question: why were troubadour melodies, which represented an essentially oral tradition (with all that that implies), ever written down?[13]

The modern idea of reading off a piece of music *prima vista* was alien to the medieval mentality. This has been clearly stated in the domain of language and must apply all the more to music:

> The medieval reader, with few exceptions, did not read as we do; he was in the stage of our muttering childhood learner; each word was for him a separate entity and at times a problem, which he whispered to himself when he had found the solution. . . .[14]

Therefore, we must doubt that musical notation was much used in the performance of troubadour melodies, any more than written scripts were needed for *commedia dell'arte* performances. Perhaps the notation was intended as a pre-performance mnemonic aid (like the "fake" books used by 20th-century dance bands), but oral traditions have seldom required such aids; those unaccustomed to writing things down have keener memories than those accustomed to it. The troubadours (or their jongleurs) were always ready to improvise poems and melodies drawn from their stock of formulas, and a melody in such a tradition had no definitive version but was, on the contrary, in a constant state of evolution.

This last point is perhaps the most important. It has been expounded in the work of Milman Parry and Albert B. Lord on epic poetry. Their painstaking investigations of illiterate epic poets in the Balkans revealed a 20th-century vestige of a tradition which may stretch back through the Middle Ages and ancient times to Homer. Among the many insights of their research, one in particular helps us to understand why troubadour melodies were customarily not notated:

> Any particular song is different in the mouth of each of its singers. If we consider it in the thought of a single singer during the years in which he sings it, we find that it is different at different stages in his career. . . . Our real difficulty arises from the fact that, unlike the oral poet, we are not accustomed to thinking in terms of fluidity. We find it difficult to grasp something that is multiform. It seems to us necessary to construct an ideal text or to seek an original. . . . The art of narrative song was perfected . . . long before the advent of writing. It had no need of stylus or brush to become a complete artistic and literary medium. Even its geniuses were not straining their bonds, longing to be freed from its captivity, eager for the liberation by writing. When writing was introduced, epic singers, again even the most brilliant among them, did not realize its "possibilities" and did not rush to avail themselves of it.[15]

Insofar as we have poems written down without melodies, we may also conclude that linguistic literacy was more advanced than musical literacy—a condition which prevails and has prevailed in all times including our own.

The melodies for only 264 troubadour songs dating from between

ca. 1090 and *ca.* 1290 are extant, although the verses of more than 2600 compositions from that period survive. The chansonniers preserving these 264 melodies were written in the 13th and 14th centuries—that is, in precisely the period when the troubadour tradition was under attack and declining. Why were these songs notated? One explanation may be that the notation was an attempt to preserve a dying oral tradition and was thus a manifestation of the same spirit which led to the founding of the *Consistori.* It is rather remarkable that the songs were copied at the very time when the Inquisition exerted strong and effective pressure against such songs. Had the revival movement begun by the *Consistori* achieved the kind of international prestige attained by Provençal culture in the 11th and 12th centuries, it too would have found chroniclers anxious to preserve its melodies. This, however, never happened.[16]

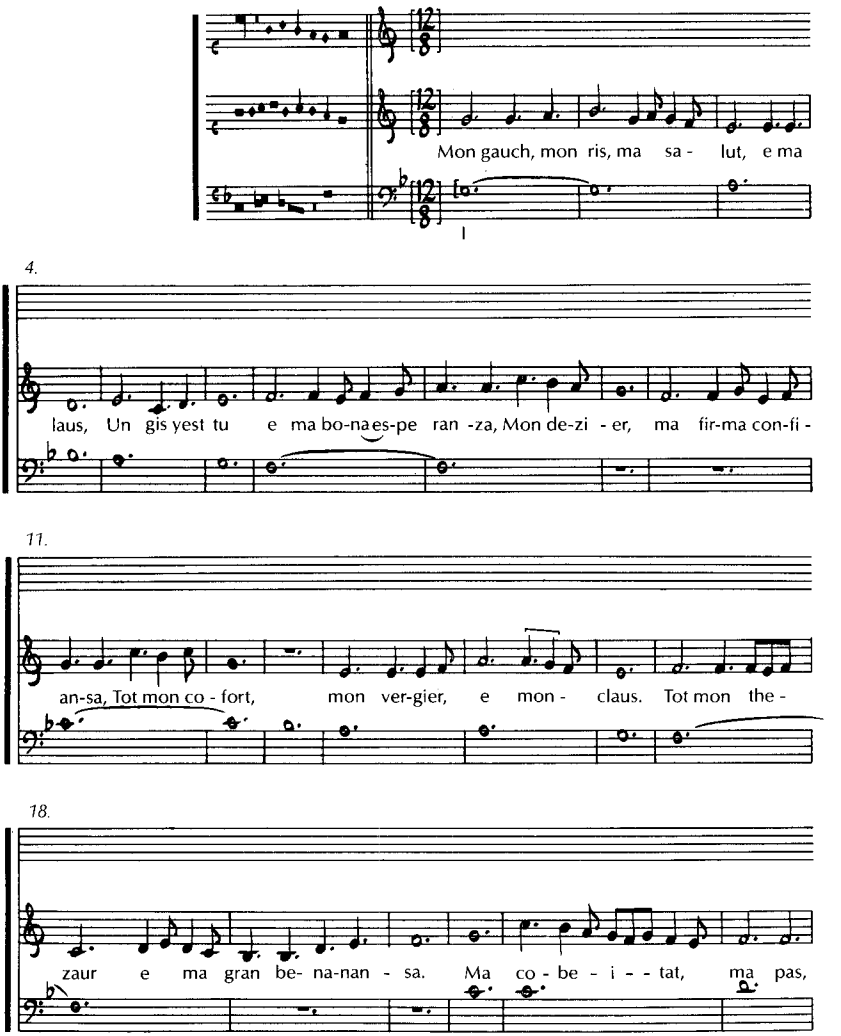
The absence of musical notation in the manuscripts of 14th-century Provençal poetry is not illogical. The creation of musical manuscripts was then a costly luxury. The bankers and merchants who swelled the ranks of the *Consistori* were not likely to have wished to create lavish monuments to themselves at a time when the Inquisition had only so recently permitted them to reintroduce poetry in their native tongue on the stern proviso that it be used to the greater glory of God, scrupulously avoiding the heresies of the earlier troubadours.

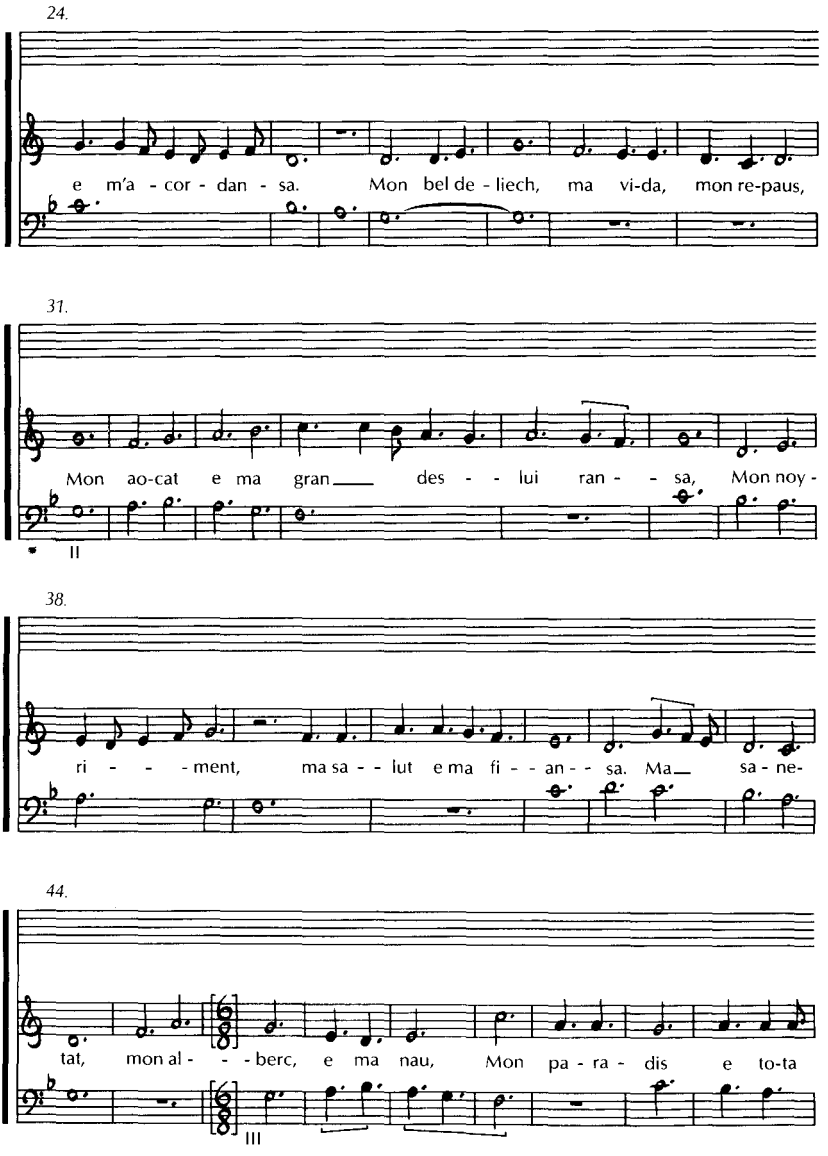
* * * *

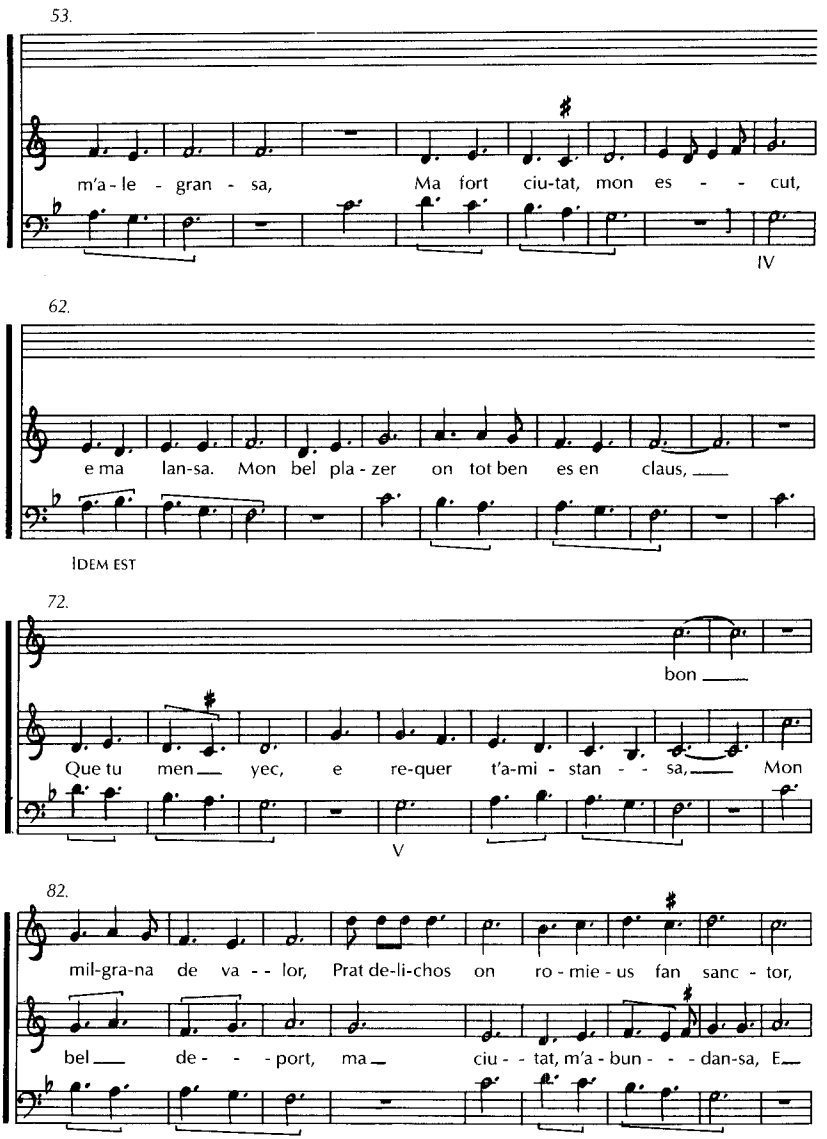
There is no way of knowing whether the motet which forms the main exhibit of this essay is the sole remaining evidence of a once thriving "underground" Provençal musical culture, or whether it represents an isolated experiment. In any case, by its existence we are further confirmed in our belief that music to Provencal texts continued to exist in at least some guise along with the late poetry. The motet (see Example 1) is found in an early 15th-century manuscript fragment in Gerona (Archivo de la Catedral).[17] The fragment, aside from the unique Provençal motet, contains sacred music with Latin texts believed to have emanated from the Avignon court, and is available in a modern publication by Frank Harrison (see note 8). The presence of the manuscript fragment in northern Spain may be accidental, but, more likely, it is further evidence that Provencal culture, when it was suppressed at its center, lingered on at its periphery. Colonies of emigrants from southern France were found from the 13th century on living in northwestern Italy and northern Spain, and only gradually becoming assimilated. The Kingdom of Aragon in northern Spain was especially attractive to Provençal musicians because of the generous patronage of the musical John I (1350-96).[18]

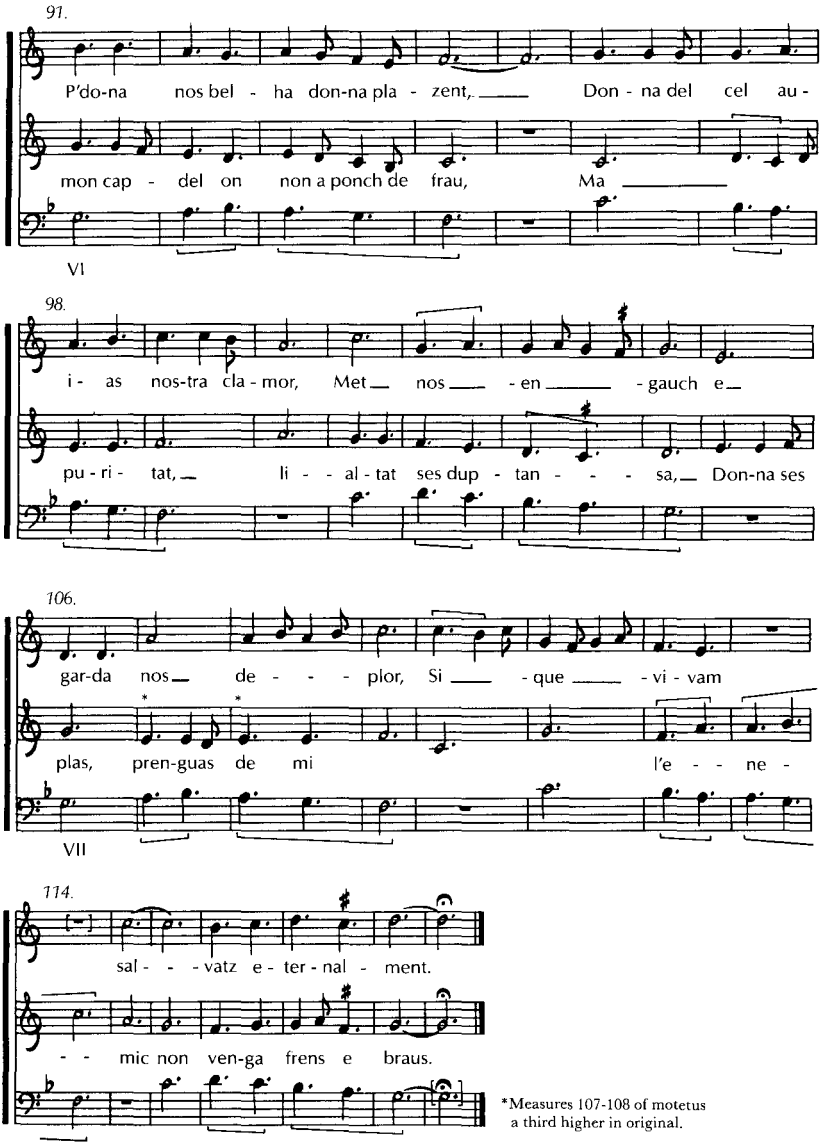
The Gerona fragment contains all or part of eight compositions. Another bifolio in Barcelona, apparently once part of the same manuscript, contains all or part of another two pieces. Of these ten compositions,

EXAMPLE 1: Provençal motet, . . . *bon milgrana/Mon gauch/tenor . . . idem est;* Barcelona-Gerona frag. folio xxiii^{r}.




24.
e m'a - cor - dan - sa. Mon bel de - liech, ma vi-da, mon re-paus,
31.
Mon ao-cat e ma gran des - - lui ran - - sa, Mon noy -
II
38.
ri - - - ment, ma sa - - lut e ma fi - - an - - sa. Ma sa - ne-
44.
tat, mon al - - - berc, e ma nau, Mon pa - ra - dis e to-ta
III


53.
m'a - le - gran - sa, Ma fort ciu-tat, mon es - - cut,
IV
62.
e ma lan-sa. Mon bel pla - zer on tot ben es en claus,
IDEM EST
72.
bon
Que tu men yec, e re-quer t'a-mi - stan - - sa, Mon
V
82.
mil-gra-na de va - - lor, Prat de-li-chos on ro - mie - us fan sanc - tor,
bel de - - - port, ma ciu - - tat, m'a - bun - - - dan-sa, E



*Measures 107-108 of motetus a third higher in original.

five have concordances in manuscripts at Apt, Ivrea, Toulouse, Barcelona, and Strasbourg.[19] The manuscripts of this repertory have thus not strayed far from their points of origin, and their present locations circumscribe the region from which our motet probably originated.

The editors of the facsimile of the Barcelona-Gerona fragments describe the Provencal motet thus:

> Of Barcelona-Gerona 4, a non-isorhythmic double motet, we possess only the second page with the conclusion of the triplum, the whole motetus, and the second half of the tenor. This composition is especially noteworthy because it is the only known motet in the Provençal language. Its text is sacred and appears not to have been previously mentioned in the literature.[20]

The text of the motetus has three six-line stanzas and a one-line envoi, organized according to the following pattern of rhyme scheme and syllable count:

a	10	⎫
b	11	⎪
b	11	⎬ three times
a	10	⎪
b	11	⎪
b	11	⎭
a	10	

The text reads:

Mon gauch, mon ris, ma salut, e ma laus,
Un gis yest tu e ma bona esperansa,
Mon deziner, ma ferma confiansa,
Tot mon cofort, mon vergier, e mon claus,
Tot mon thezaur e ma gran benanansa,
Ma cobeitat, ma pas, e m'acordansa.

Mon bel deliech, ma vida, mon repaus,
Mon aocat e ma gran desluiransa,
Mon noyriment, ma salut, e ma fiansa,
Ma sanetat, mon alberc, e ma nau,
Mon paradis e tota m'alegransa,
Ma fort ciutat, mon escut, e man lansa.

Mon bel plazer on tot ben es in claus,
Que tu men yec, e requer t'amistansa,

Mon bel deport, ma ciutat, m'abundansa,
E mon capdel on non a ponch de frau,
Ma puritat, lialtat ses duptansa,
Donna ses plas, prenguas de me peansa,

Que l'enemic non venga frens e braus.

(My joy, my laughter, my salvation, and my praise,
Such a one are you and my good hope,
My desire, my firm confidence,
All my comfort, my orchard, and my cloister,
All my treasure and my great good fortune,
My desire, my peace, and my harmony.

My lovely delight, my life, my repose,
My advocate and my great deliverance,
My nourishment, my salvation, and my trust,
My health, my refuge, and my ship,
My paradise and all my joy,
My strong citadel, my shield, and my lance.

My lovely pleasure where all good is kept,
That you allow me, and I ask your friendship,
My lovely delight, my city, my abundance,
And my ruler where there is no deception,
My purity, loyalty without doubt,
Lady without taint, take care for me.

That the enemy does not come, strong and harsh.)[21]

To call this poem *geistlich* is correct, but perhaps does not do full justice to a genre of poetry in which the poet delights in employing the vocabulary of courtly love in praise of the Virgin. There is no imagery in the three full stanzas that cannot be found in traditional courtly love poems. It is only the final added line that breaks the ambiguity of the poem and indicates clearly a plea to the Virgin. This mixture of genres—by no means a new idea—was a basic tenet of the *Leys d'Amors.*

Since no concordance to the text of the motetus has thus far been found, another Provencal poem of similar content may serve to suggest the tradition in which our anonymous poet worked. It is the work of Bertran de Falgar, *seynor de Vilanova,* a resident of the area around Toulouse who flourished *ca.* 1355 and was a member of the *Consistori.* Alfred Jeanroy has transcribed portions of the beginning of the poem:

Flors de beutat, dona, don vos etz flums,
Claus de bon pretz, palays fortz e segurs,

Sala de joy, frugz plazens e madurs,
D'enseynamens, claustra de bos costums . . .

Rosa gentils, purgamens de totz crims,
Soleys de may, [e]stella resplandens,
Luna d'azaut, saphirs gays e plazens . . .

(Flower of beauty, lady, of which you are a torrent,
Key of good merit, palace strong and assured,
Hall of happiness, pleasant and ripe fruit
Of good doctrine, cloister of good costumes . . .

Noble rose, purification of all faults,
May sunshine, resplendent star,
Beauteous moon, joyous and pleasant sapphire. . . .)

About this Jeanroy comments:

> These lines might, strictly speaking, be devoted to an earthly beauty, but all doubts cease when we see the author implore his lady to "protect his body and his soul from the attacks of the cruel leopard, the treacherous crook with his concealed ruses."

In his opinion poems like this

> . . . do not merit a great deal of study: they consist of cascades of fanciful invocations whose bizarreness and incoherence surpass all bounds.[22]

To call such poetry "bizarre" and "incoherent" is surely to misjudge the aesthetic of poets such as Bertran de Falgar and the unknown author of our motet texts. As in all allegory, a deliberate obscurity veils the meaning. The loosely-woven imagery, wavering among themes of piety, affect, horticulture, warfare, and so on, the extravagant vocabulary, the repetitive formulations of language—these are features well calculated to call to the medieval mind the obsessive fervor of worship or courtly romance. In fact, H. J. Chaytor correctly points out that,

> The poetical and rhetorical treatises of the period recognized this type of reiteration as a legitimate method of amplification—their term for it was *frequentatio*—and numerous examples can be cited in both Old French and Provençal verse.
>
> The troubadours themselves regularly distinguished between the *trobar ric*—the clear, light, easy, straightforward style—and the

trobar clus—the obscure, close, subtle style, often favoring the latter. The troubadour Giraut de Bornelh clearly felt that his "art was degraded, if it could be intelligible to anyone without trouble and study," or, in his own words: ". . . people will say that if I took trouble to sing in the light style, it would be much better for me. And it is not true; for sense which is remote brings worth and grants it, even as unbridled stupidity impairs it; but I certainly believe that no song is ever worth as much at first as it is later, when it is understood.[23]

This style is a logical enough result of the dual influences of the *Leys d'Amors* and the ever-watchful eyes of the Inquisition. The spirit of those times has been aptly characterized by Paul Henry Lang:

> The invasion of middle-class spirit becomes apparent in all domains of arts and letters. . . . A certain encyclopedic tendency indicates the presence of another influence, scholasticism, which emanated from the universities. While middle-class lyricism was steadily gaining, Provencal poetry was rapidly declining. . . . Pursued by the Church on account of its connections with heretical manifestations, troubadour art turned slowly from a sensuous secular world to moral and pious subjects.[24]

To the extent that it can be judged by what remains of it, the text of the triplum has none of the ambiguity of the motetus, speaking unequivocally to the Virgin:

. . . bon milgrana de valor
Prat delichos on romieus fan sanctor,
Perdona nos belha donna plazent,
Donna del cel auias nostra clamor,
Met nos en gauch e garda nos de plor,
Si que vivam salvatz eternalment.

(. . . good pomegranate of worth,
Lovely field where pilgrims become more blessed
Pardon us, lovely gracious lady,
Lady of heaven, hear our lament,
Place us in joy and keep us from tears,
So that we may live eternally saved.)

Similarly effusive, expostulatory Marian verse was known in other parts of Christendom too, as an example taken from a roughly contemporaneous English source, *The Old Hall Manuscript,* suggests:

Mater sancta Dei, fuga noctis origo diei,
Luminis etherei stella memento mei.
Per te de sede sophia venit ad ima,
Hine rursum sursum trahis infima tu, via prima;
Tu requies species facies et manna saporis,
Nutrix adjutrix tutrix in agone laboris:
Tu libanus plantanus clibanus per flamen amoris,
Balsamus et calamus, thalamus, spiramen odoris:
Hortus conclusus perfusus messis abundans,
Fons illibatus signatus flumen inundans,
Fons saliens indeficiens stillans bonitate,
Presidium, pia virgo, tuum tribui precor a te.
Stella decoris cella pudoris,
Mater honoris stella nitoris,
Gemma valoris lima doloris,
Ad renam renie renio, reniam mihi quero,
Te portum portans portantem sportula, spero.

(Holy Mother of God, dispeller of night and source of day, o star of aetherial light: remember me. Through Thee wisdom comes from the throne of God to the depths, whence Thou raisest up the basest of sinners, Thou most excellent way of salvation: Thou relief, splendor, beauty, manna of great flavor, nurse and arbiter, watching over us during the distress of hardship: Thou frankincense, plane-tree: Thou vessel of love through the Holy Ghost: Thou balsam and sweet scent, marriage-bed, fragrant zephyr: Thou consummate garden perfused with moisture, copious harvest, unharmed pure fount, flooding stream: Thou constant springing fountain, overflowing with goodness: having rendered Thee what is Thine, pious virgin, I beseech Thy protection. Thou lovely star, sanctuary of modesty and Mother of honor, lustrous star and valuable gem, mitigation of grief. I come to the vessel of goodwill, the gift of which I seek for myself: bearing the offering of gifts. I hope for a haven from Thee.)[25]

The fragmentary text of the tenor of the Provençal motet consists of one-and-a-half or two words of the end of a text incipit which once served to identify the source of the melody. As well as can be made out, these two words read ". . . *Idem est.*"[26] Although the *cantus firmus* of a sacred motet in this period was most likely drawn from the plainsong repertory, the origin of the tenor of the Provençal motet has so far not been identified.[27]

The tenor was constructed according to a peculiar quasi-isorhythmic pattern of repetitions, enabling us to reconstruct its missing portion (see Example 1). The tenor begins with long note values and proceeds by

means of diminution of those values. This results in the pattern 60+30+15+15+15+15+15 breves of the motetus. Accelerating tenors were common in the 14th and 15th centuries,[28] although not in the pattern found in this motet. The "normal" tenor had a rhythmically complicated *talea*, rather than even notes resembling plainchant, and the *talea* and *color* were customarily of different durations. Also, the acceleration of the tenor usually meant that successive sections of the pieces grew proportionally shorter. We may take the works of two composers falling chronologically on either side of our motet as examples of the more usual arrangements for accelerating tenors. Machaut's motets numbers 2-5, 10, and 18 are constructed in the ratio 2:1 while his motet 1 is in the ratio 3:1.[29] In Dunstable's works one can find the ratios 6:4:3 (Nos. 15, 16, 24, 26, and 28), 3:2:1 (Nos. 25, 27, 29, 30, and 32), and other ratios as well.[30] Ratios found in the corpus of French motets (Harrison, p. 201) include 2:1, 6:4:3:2, 9:6:4, and others. The Provençal motet proves unique with its construction 4:2:1:1:1:1:1 or, considered another way, 4:2:5.

Albert Seay has suggested that the sort of relation between *color* and *talea* exhibited by the tenor of the Provençal motet is not properly speaking isorhythmic. As he puts it, "The tenor may be arranged in something resembling an isorhythmic pattern, but it lacks the dependence on *color* and *talea* non-coincidence found in true isorhythm. Most of the Mass sections in the Ivrea manuscript are of this type."[31] Harrison (pp. xi-xiii) and the present author, however, consider such a definition of isorhythm too narrow; the piece under consideration is isorhythmic.

The underlay of the text in the manuscript is reasonably clear in most places. The relation of the text to the music is the "abstract" one of the *Ars nova*, although the ends of lines correspond to long notes or cæsuras in the music more often than not. The style of the music is that of the French *Ars nova*, too. Looked at from the three categories of Stäblein-Harder—conductus style, discant style, and motet style—this motet falls into the third, due to its multiple texts and isorhythm,[32] although the relative rhythmic activity of the three voices (the triplum originally occupied ten staves, the motetus six, and the tenor two) harks back to the late 13th-century style of Petrus de Cruce.

If we consider Apel's three categories—Machaut style, manneristic style, and modern style—this piece falls into the first category. Apel had originally suggested that his three categories coincide with three stages in a chronological development extending "approximately from 1350 to 1370, from 1370 to 1390, and from 1390 to 1400, naturally more or less over-lapping."[33] After these time spans were criticized by several scholars, Apel defended them by means of reasonably substantial (if circumstantial) evidence and by refining the boundaries of the three periods to 1350-65, 1365-90, and 1390 into the first decades of the 15th century.[34] Finally, in

a recent article[35] Apel gives an overview of the entire known 14th-century French repertory. He now suggests dividing the musical styles as follows: pre-Machaut (from *ca.* 1300), Machaut (from *ca.* 1335 to *ca.* 1375), post-Machaut (from *ca.* 1350), manneristic (from *ca.* 1360), and modern (from 1380). In terms of Apel's final classification the Provençal motet still most closely approximates the Machaut style.

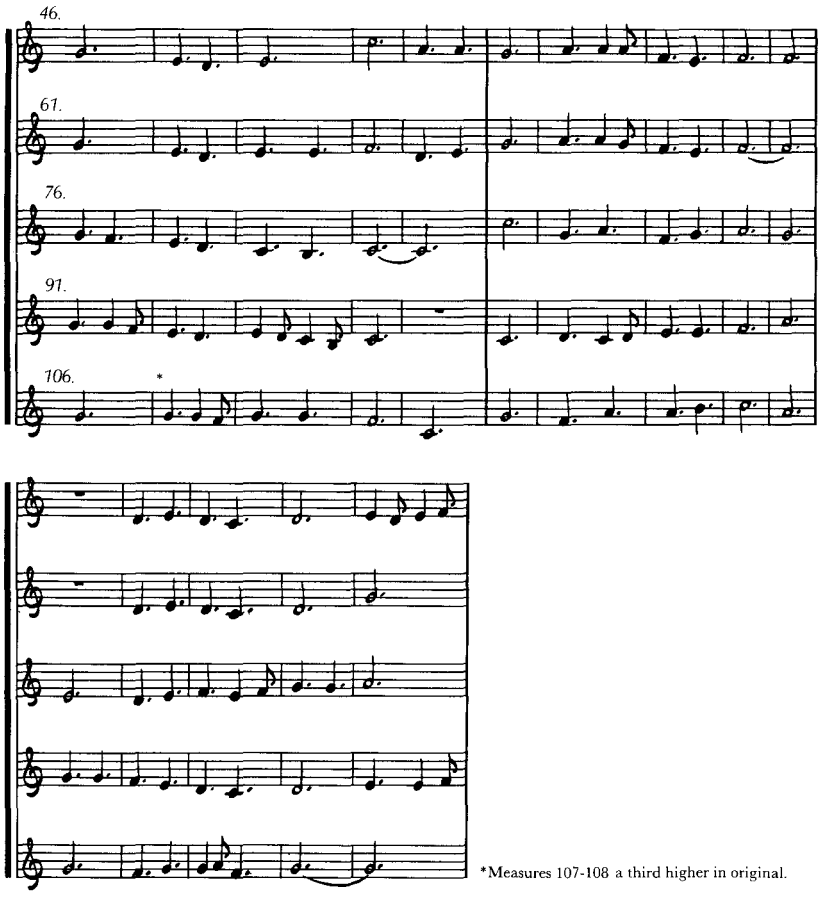
The part-writing exhibits certain crudities, for instance, the accented dissonances at the beginnings of measures 52, 67, and 102, and the peculiar heterophony between the triplum and motetus in measures 82-83 and 111-112.[36] The two upper voices share with the text a repetitive quality perhaps brought about by the ostinato-like character of the tenor. In fact, the portion of the motetus from measure 46 to the end can be considered partially isomelic as well (see Example 2).

Six cadences in that portion of the piece for which all three voices are complete are examples of the double leading-tone cadence.[37] More interesting, and less expected, are the fauxbourdon-like approaches to the two of those cadences at measures 93-94 and 103-104. Much has been made in music histories of the introduction of this style—the so-called *contenance angloise*—to the courts of Burgundy and Paris in the second decade of the 15th century. These cadences serve as a reminder that there was commerce of various kinds in the 14th century between England and many parts of the continent.[38] A further suggestion of English influence may be seen in an unpublished Marian piece found in the Barcelona-Gerona fragments, an anonymous three-voice antiphon in conductus style, *Ave regina celorum* (see Example 3).[39] The striking parallel six-three harmonies at the word *gloriosa* suggest that the author of this composition may have had some familiarity with contemporaneous English music, or that the piece may be of English origin. This slender hypothesis is strengthened by Frank Harrison's observations concerning 14th-century English music:

> The polyphonic votive antiphon in England probably originated about the mid-fourteenth century. . . . A number of devotional pieces to the Virgin with non-ritual texts and music . . . have survived. They are probably of the first half of the 14th century, and are written in simple descant style. . . . The antiphon does not seem to have been set in polyphony by continental composers before *ca.* 1420. Some of the earliest examples, all in chanson style, are *Ave regina caelorum, mater regis angelorum,* by Binchois, *Tota pulchra es* and *O pulcherrima mulierum* by Arnold de Lantins, and *Salve regina* by Hugh de Salinis.[40]

If Harrison is correct in stating that polyphonic votive antiphons were not composed on the continent prior to *ca.* 1420, either the date of the

EXAMPLE 2: Motetus, mm. 46-120 aligned to show isorhythmic and isomelic tendencies.



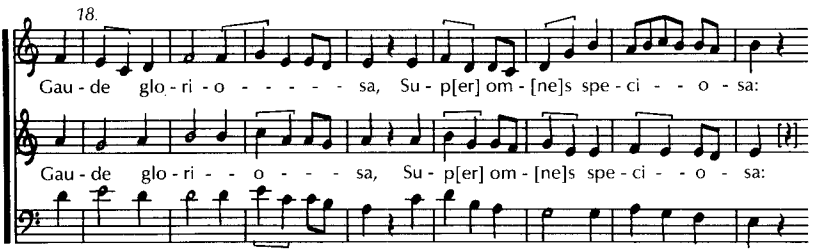
*Measures 107-108 a third higher in original.

Barcelona-Gerona fragment must be advanced or some English connection must be hypothesized.

* * * *

In summary, in the Provençal motet we find a manifestation of the vestigial Provencal culture which lingered on in southern France and neighboring territories in the second half of the 14th century. Text and music suggest the work of artists of less than the first rank, creating in conservative idioms deriving from northern France (and perhaps also England) for the music, but from Provence for the poetry. This work's proximity in the manuscript with works intended for the Avignon court suggests that the motet may have been written for a minor nobleman or bourgeois who had dealings with court circles even if he was not neces-

EXAMPLE 3: Antiphon, *Ave regina celorum*, mm. 17-25; Gerona frag. folio 1v.



sarily part of those circles. Is it being too fanciful to imagine a music-loving burgher, an early *bourgeois gentilhomme*, wishing to imitate the Papal court and enjoy the beauties of polyphony while preserving his beloved Provencal language, commissioning this piece and paying for a performance in his well-appointed town house?[41] On the other hand, an equally plausible hypothesis for the origin of the Provencal motet is one of the courts that patronized expatriot troubadours, such as those of John I of Aragon or Gaston Phebus, Count of Foix.

Whether or not either of these hypotheses is the correct one, it is clear that during the 14th century the destruction of manuscripts must have been so great, and the proportion of music notated so small, that we may never succeed in reconstructing a satisfactory history of the music in Provence during that epoch. The little we have glimpsed of musical life in that time and place, however, has been enough for us to see that it must not have been at all what Keats imagined when he wrote,

O, for a draught of vintage! that hath been
Cooled a long age in the deep-delved earth,
Tasting of Flora and the country green,
Dance and Provencal song, and sun-burnt mirth!

NOTES

1 See, for instance, the excellent discussion in Chapter 7 of Gustave Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages* (New York: Norton, 1940).

The terms "Provence" and "Provencal" in this essay refer to the geographic area in which the *langue d'oc* was spoken. This area corresponds roughly to the southernmost third of modern France (see Pierre Bec, *La Lanque occitane* [Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1967] p. 8). In no instance does this essay intend the ancient kingdom/countship/province of Provence which occupied only the southeast corner of the larger area.

2 As one historian has put it, "La fin du XIV^{e} siècle et la première partie du XV^{e} ont été considérées comme une époque trop stérile pour mériter autre chose que des études très fragmentaires" (Alfred Coville, *La vie intellectuelle dans les domaines*

d'Anjou-Provence de 1380 à 1435 [Paris: Droz, 1941] p. 4). Coville remedied that neglect with this book in which, however, music is not mentioned.

2a Wilibald Gurlitt (ed.), *Riemann Musik Lexikon* (12th edition), *Personenteil A-K* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1959) p. 698.

3 Reese, p. 205.

4 John Stevens, *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London: Methuen, 1961) pp. 7-8.

5 Edouard Baratier, *La démographie provençale du XIII^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1961) pp. 119-121; Philippe Wolff, "Trois études de démographie medievale en France méridionale," *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori* (Milan: Istituto editoriale cisalpino, 1957) pp. 495-503; Jean Lartigaut, "Témoignages sur la dépopulation du Quercy au XIV^e siècle," *Annales du midi* 84/106 (Jan.-Mar. 1972) pp. 5-15; Marie-Josèphe Larenaudie, "Les famines en Languedoc aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles," ibid. 64/17 (Jan. 1952) pp. 27-39.

6 Edouard Baratier, *Histoire de la Provence* (Toulouse: Privat, 1969) pp. 210-211. For a detailed study of this Frenchification of the Provencal nobility, see Auguste Brun, *Recherches historiques sur l'introduction du français dans les provinces du midi de la France* (Paris: E. Champion, 1923). According to Brun, although French was the official language, Provençal was widely spoken until at least the middle of the 16th century. In adopting the French language, many of the nobility also adopted French music. This repertory is preserved in manuscripts such as the Chantilly manuscript (Musée Condé 1047) which is believed to have been copied in the 1390s and which contains music with French texts thought to have originated at the court of Gaston Phebus, Count of Foix. See Gilbert Reaney, "The Manuscript Chantilly Musée Condé 1047," *Musica Disciplina* 8 (1954) pp. 59-114. The French repertory of Provence is available in the publications of Apel cited below in note 8 as well as in Gilbert Reaney, *Early 15th-century Music* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1955-75). Gaston Phebus also patronized troubadours; see Martin de Riquer, "Le Troubadour Peyre de Rius et Gaston Fébus, comte de Foix," *Annales du Midi* 66 (1954) pp. 269-273 (kindly brought to my attention by Professor Don Randel of Cornell University). Phebus's native tongue was the Provençal dialect Gascon, and he himself wrote Provençal poetry; one of his poems is preserved with the heading, "Canso de mossen Gasto, comte de Foix, per la qual gazaynet la joya a Tholoza," which shows us that he received laurels from the *Consistori* at Toulouse (Alfred Jeanroy, "Poésies provençales inédites du XIV^e siècle d'après le manuscript de Barcelone," *Annales du midi* 52 [1940] pp. 241-279).

7 Ibid., p. 215.

8 This repertory is published in Willi Apel, *French Secular Music of the Late 14th Century* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Medieval Academy of America, 1950) and *French Secular Compositions of the 14th Century* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1970-72); Hanna Stäblein-Harder, *14th-Century Mass Music in France* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1962); Frank Ll. Harrison, *Motets of French Provenance* vol. 5 in the series *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (Monaco: Editions de L'Oiseau-Lyre, 1968).

9 For a misguided attempt to prove the contrary—the supposed influence of regional music upon the international repertory of the Avignon court—see Amédée Gastoué, "La musique à Avignon et dans le Comtat du XIV^e au XVIII^e siècle," *Rivista musicale italiana* 11 (1904) pp. 265-291; 12 (1905) pp. 555-578, 768-777.

10 The discussion of the *Consistori* which follows is drawn from Joseph Anglade, *Las Leys d'Amors* (Toulouse: Privat, 1919-1920), especially from vol. 4, pp. 15-51. I am indebted to Professor Alice Colby of Cornell University for calling this work to my attention. Cf. also the relevant articles in the *Dictionnaire des Lettres françaises: Le moyen age*, ed. R. Bossuat, L. Pichard, and G. Raynaud de Lage (Paris: A. Fayard, 1964). The prize-winning poem of Arnaut Vidal may be found with a French translation in Alfred

Jeanroy, *Les Joies du Gai Savoir* (Toulouse: Privat, 1914; New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1971).

11 Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 53-54: "Accens es regulars melodia o tempramens de votz, lequals estay principalmen en una sillaba; melodia, so es, chans melodios o plazens sonoritatz per loqual melodios can o plazen sonoritat tota dictios, en can que es votz, es segon dever pronunciada am elevacio oz am depressio. Et entendatz can melodios qu'om fay legen o pronuncian e non ges de muzica; e quar aquest tempramens de votz se fay per alcuna demora de temps qu'om fay en las sillabas, per so mostram ayssi qu'es temps."

12 Ibid., vol. 1, p. 33.

13 Perhaps the clearest demonstration of the oral nature of the troubadour lyrics and the relationship of the notated music to that tradition is in Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: a Study of the Melodies and their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1972).

14 H. J. Chaytor, *From Script to Print: an introduction to medieval vernacular literature* (Cambridge, England: The University Press, 1945) p. 10. Chaytor's evidence for this assertion is extensive.

15 Albert B. Lord, *The Singer of Tales* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960) pp. 100, 124.

16 A reference in a recent *R.M.A. Research Chronicle* (No. 11 [1973] p. 22) to an early 15th-century manuscript in Pistoia containing Provençal songs is a clerical error. The manuscript in question is actually that in RISM B IV4 pp. 1013-1016 (information kindly provided by Dr. Bojan Bujic of the University of Reading).

17 Hanna Harder and Bruno Stäblein, "Neue Fragmente mehrstimmiger Musik aus Spanischen Bibliotheken," *Joseph Schmidt-Görg zum 60. Geburtstag; Gemeinsam mit seinen Kollegen, Schülern und Freunden im Auftrag des Beethovenhauses*, ed. Dagmar Weise (Bonn: Beethoven-Haus, 1957) pp. 131-141 and 14 plates.

The transcriptions and basic research upon which the present article is based were carried out during 1964-65. Since that time the Provencal motet given as our Example 1 has been published (Harrison, pp. 185-187) in a transcription differing in a number of details from that presented here.

18 Higini Anglès, "Cantors und Ministrels in den Diensten der Könige von Katalonien-Aragonien im 14. Jahrhundert," *Neue Schweizerische Musikgesellschaft. Kongressbericht: Basel, September 26-29, 1924* (Leipzig, 1925), and "Gacian Reyneau am Königshof zu Barcelona in der Zeit von 139 . . . bis 1429," *Studien zur Musikgeschichte. Festschrift für Guido Adler zum 75. Geburtstag* (Vienna: Universal-Edition, 1930) pp. 64-70. Also Felipe Pedrell, "Jean I d'Aragon, compositeur de musique," *Riemann-Festschrift. Gesammelte Studien Hugo Riemann zum sechzigsten Geburtstag überreicht von Freunden und Schülern* (Leipzig: M. Hesse, 1909) pp. 229-40. John I of Aragon founded in 1393 an academy modeled closely upon the *Consistori* and called the *Consistori de la Gaya Ciencia*. This group quickly produced a redaction in Catalan of the *Leys d'Amors*. The cultural ties between Toulouse and Barcelona suggest the routes by which the manuscript containing the Provencal motet may have traveled to its present location.

19 For complete details concerning these manuscripts, see Stäblein-Harder. The Apt manuscript is believed to date from *ca.* 1360-70. The Strasbourg manuscript was completed in 1411.

20 Stäblein and Harder, p. 140. It is perhaps not completely accurate to call this piece, ". . . die einzige bisher bekannte Motette in provenzalischer Sprache . . ." (see Gordon A. Anderson, "Motets of the 13th-century Manuscript La Clayette," *Musica Disciplina* 27 (1973) pp. 11-40 and especially p. 38).

21 I wish to express my gratitude to Professors Joan Ferrante of Columbia University and Alice Colby and Robert A. Hall, Jr. of Cornell University for their helpful suggestions and for assistance in translating the Provençal texts.

22 Alfred Jeanroy, "La poésie provençale dans le sud-ouest de la France et en Catalogne du début du milieu du XIV[e] siecle," *Histoire littéraire de la France* 38 (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1949) pp. 115-119. This poem is found in Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 146, whose contents are published in Jeanroy, "Poésies provençales inédites . . ." (see note 6).

23 Chaytor, pp. 61 and 67-71.

24 Paul Henry Lang, *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: Norton, 1941) pp. 111-112. Lang refers here to the 13th century, but the same trends continued unabated during the following century.

25 *The Old Hall Manuscript* transcribed and edited by Andrew Hughes and Margaret Bent in *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* 46 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1969) vol. 1, pp. 410-414. The repertory contained in this manuscript is believed to date from between *ca.* 1355 and *ca.* 1425.

26 In this reading of the remains of the tenor incipit I follow Gilbert Reaney ed., *Manuscripts of Polyphonic Music (c. 1320-1400)* RISM BIV[2] (Munich: G. Henle, 1969) p. 96.

27 An antiphon coincides for the first nine pitches with the motet's *cantus firmus,* but for the rest the two are dissimilar. See *Le Codex 601 de la Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Lucques: Antiphonaire Camaldule (XII[e] siècle),* ed. Dom André Mocquereau (*Paléographie musicale* 9: Tournai, October 1905—July 1909), no. 345 ("Egregie cristi martyr").

28 ". . . a procedure normally employed in isorhythmic motets" (Willi Apel, *Harvard Dictionary of Music,* 2nd ed. [Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969] p. 427).

29 The numbering of the motets is the standard one based upon the Machaut manuscripts and followed in the modern editions of Ludwig and Schrade.

30 The numbering of Dunstable's motets is that of the Bukofzer edition (*Musica Britannica* 8).

31 Albert Seay, *Music in the Medieval World* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965) p. 138. Hence Seay agrees with Stäblein and Harder that the tenor of the Provencal motet ought not to be called isorhythmic.

32 Stäblein-Harder, *Critical Text,* pp. 15-19.

33 Apel, *French Secular Music . . . ,* p. 10.

34 *French Secular Compositions . . . ,* vol. 1, pp. xxiv-xxv.

35 "The Development of French Secular Music during the 14th Century," *Musica Disciplina* 27 (1973) pp. 41-59.

None of the rhythmic, structural, and melodic complexities found in the late 14th-century motet by Ursula Gunther are present in the Provençal motet. See her article, "The 14th-century Motet and its Development," *Musica Disciplina* 12 (1958) pp. 27-58.

36 Also measures 107-108, should our emendation of the motetus in those measures prove unjustified.

37 At measures 88-89, 93-94, 98-99, 103-104, 108-109, and 118-119. Calling the first, fourth, and sixth of these "double leading-tone cadences" is based on the assumption that the *musica ficta* provided in Example I is correct. (Important research undertaken since the completion of the present article suggests that the conventions requiring singers to add accidentals arose later than the 14th century. See Jean Harden, " 'Musica Ficta' in Machaut," *Early Music* 5 [1977] pp. 473-476.)

38 For documentation of contacts between England and Spain see Higini Anglès, "La Música anglesa dels segles xiii-xiv als paisos hispànics," *Analecta sacra tarraconensia* 11 (1953) pp. 219-233, and also Harrison, p. xv. The extent to which parallel six-three harmonies should be considered "English" during this period remains unclear. Stäblein-Harder (p. 88) points out that a number of compositions in the Apt, Ivrea, and

Barcelona manuscripts have passages in those harmonies. *Cf.* also Reese, pp. 333, 399, and 402. The dispersion of English pieces in continental manuscripts of the 15th century is well documented. For the 13th and 14th centuries see Ernst Apfel, "England und der Kontinent in der Musik des späten Mittelalters," *Die Musikforschung* 14 (1961) pp. 276-289.

39 If the tenor of this composition is a *cantus prius factus,* its source has not been discovered. It does not appear to be among the Gregorian or Sarum chants for the *Ave regina caelorum* text, nor can this melody be located with another text in Bryden/Hughes, *An Index of Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969). (There is no extant Mozarabic version of the *Ave regina caelorum.*)

40 Frank Ll. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain,* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge and Paul, 1963) pp. 295-298. *Ave regina caelorum* exists in at least six early 15th-century polyphonic settings: two anonymous, two by Lionel Power, and one each by Dunstable and Frye. (Charles Hamm, "A Catalogue of Anonymous English Music in 15th-century Continental Manuscripts," *Musica Disciplina* 22 [1968] pp. 47-76.) The Barcelona *Ave regina caelorum* stands midway stylistically, and undoubtedly chronologically, between these settings and the simple descant settings mentioned by Harrison.

41 Such a man, for example, was Bertran Boysset of Arles, whose diary serves as good evidence of the life of a bourgeois at that time. Boysset's chronicle has been published at least twice: as "Les mémoires de Bertrand Bousset, bourgeois d'Arles," *Musée d'Arles* (1876-1877), and as "Die Chronik des Garoscus de Ulmoisca a Veteri und Bertrand Boysset (1365-1415)," ed. Franz Ehrle, *Archiv für Literatur- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters* 7 (1893-1900) pp. 311-420.