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articles

THE GODDESS FORTUNA REVISITED

Julie E. Cumming

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Appendix 1 lists the *sigla* for all the sources and Appendix 2 all the settings that I could discover, with their sources. These settings are organized into several types; all later references will be keyed to these identifications. Only a brief explanation of the classification will be necessary here.

Section A of Appendix 2 consists of settings that retain two or more parts from the original chanson (i.e., the superius and tenor); in these pieces the basic polyphonic web of the chanson remains constant while other parts are added to it. Subsection A.I consists of the sources for what is considered to be the chanson in its original state with three parts. A.II is the group of arrangements of the original chanson that have a *si placet* contratenor added to this three part complex, and the setting by Agricola (A.II.5), which has three *si placets* or *concordantie,* resulting in a six part piece.[2] Several of these *si placet* settings have contrafact texts, indicated by ¢ in the margin. A.III consists of pieces that retain the original superius and tenor, but replace the original contratenor with a new one.[3]

Section B comprises those settings using one part of the chanson as cantus firmus for a completely new composition. B.I represents settings using the original tenor, B.II those using the superius, and B.III those that pitch the tenor "in mi," that is, a half step lower, in *e*, and in the Phrygian instead of the Lydian mode. Many of these settings combine the "Fortuna desperata" cantus firmus with another preexistent cantus firmus that carries its own text (except Senfl's "Fortuna ad voces musicales," B.I.13, where the other cantus firmus is the hexachord); these are indicated by an asterisk (*) and are referred to here as combinative settings. Several settings also have another text incipit in addition to or instead of the "Fortuna desperata" text, but no other known preexistent musical material; this is indicated by a "t," and these pieces will be referred to as emblematic settings.

The chanson is found in its original three parts in four sources. Only the

Segovia manuscript attributes the piece to Busnois. Catherine Brooks accepts the attribution in her article "Antoine Busnois, Chanson Composer"[4] and her dissertation,[5] but there are several aspects of the chanson that make this attribution seem unlikely. It is not found in any of the central Burgundian sources where many of Busnois's chansons are found,[6] and it is not typical of Busnois's work in general. All but one of his other chansons are in French, and the vast majority are in the *formes fixes*;[7] "Fortuna desperata" is in Italian and is strophic.

Furthermore, the large number of sources containing *si placet* and replacement contratenor settings cast doubt on Busnois's authorship. Most of the chansons that have *si placet* parts or replacement contratenors are originally French and do not have complete texts in the Italian sources, where most of these parts are found: "Fortuna desperata" is found in practically no French sources at all, and although Lon. 35087 (A.I.2) has the first stanza in all parts, the main sources for the complete text are Par. 676 (A.II.1.d), a northern Italian source,[8] and Perugia 431 (A.II.1.e),[9] both of which have the most popular *si placet* part. Thus it seems quite unlikely that "Fortuna desperata" is by Busnois, and more likely that it is of Italian origin, or by a northern composer working in Italy.

In the collection of settings of "Fortuna desperata" two unusual features appear; out of the twenty-four cantus firmus settings (B), five change the tenor from the original mode—Lydian with a flat—to Phrygian, and thirteen of the settings combine the "Fortuna" cantus firmus with another preexistent melody, another text, or both. Neither of these phenomena are unprecedented in isolated instances, but the relatively large number of "Fortuna" *in mi* settings and combinative and emblematic settings seems to demand investigation.

The ideas put forth in Edward Lowinsky's article "The Goddess Fortuna in Music"[10] and Maria Maniates's dissertation on combinative techniques in Franco-Flemish polyphony[11] provide a framework for explaining these features. Lowinsky first introduced the idea of musical symbolism of the "Goddess Fortuna" in his article on that subject. He takes the idea as a way of explaining peculiar key signatures and *ficta* problems in Josquin's "Fortuna d'un gran tempo." His description of the importance of the goddess Fortuna in Renaissance and humanist thought derives largely from H. R. Patch's book *The Goddess Fortuna in Medieval Literature*[12] (which deals with the Renaissance as well). Patch discusses, among other subjects, the symbolism of Fortuna's wheel,[13] and from that the ideas of abasement, misfortune, and lowered condition.[14] He also discusses the various related subjects that are frequently associated or identified with Fortuna: fate, or inexorable predetermination; chance, or blind luck; love (usually unfortunate); war; and death.[15]

Lowinsky takes this symbolism of Fortuna and associates it with musical terms and concepts. The word *mutare,* used by music theorists for changing

hexachords, was frequently used in literature when referring to the workings of Fortuna (by Boethius, a philosopher as well as a music theorist, and Horace, among others). Lowinsky mentions Hothby (an English theorist who worked in Italy and died c. 1487), who, in his *Calliopea legale,* discussed mutation in terms very appropriate to Fortuna. *Mi* was called *principe,* while *fa* was designated *comite,* and the process was described as follows: "lo principe si rivolta in comite, et lo comite si rivolta in principe," *mi* revolves into *fa,* and *fa* revolves into *mi.*[16] Thus the turning of Fortuna's wheel is illustrated in the process of mutation. Lowinsky also discusses the symbolism of the modes in Ramos de Pareja's *Musica practica* of 1482, where the Lydian and the Hypolydian are associated with Fortuna. Jupiter, or male Fortune, is connected with Lydian, while Venus, or female Fortune, is associated with Hypolydian.[17] Finally, Lowinsky gives examples of pieces using texts associated with Fortuna, that could be said to symbolize her, including Senfl's "Fortuna ad voces musicales" (B.I.13), Martini's setting of the superius (B.II.4), and some of the movements of the masses.[18] In another article[19] Lowinsky discusses Matthaeus Greiter's "Passibus ambiguis," which takes the first phrase of "Fortuna desperata" and moves it around the circle of fifths, adding one flat each time, until it ends on f-flat, and explains it in terms of the musical iconography of the workings of the goddess Fortuna.

Maniates's theory can also shed light on the "Fortuna" settings. She discusses the concept of "melos":[20] a melody is inextricably associated with its original text, whether or not the text is still present or replaced by another text. She also discusses polytextuality and the combination of two different cantus prius facti as a reflection of the complexity of the universe and the mystical aspect of mannerist thought.[21] She emphasizes the combination of disparate elements: courtly and popular, sacred and secular; disparate melodic styles; and antithetical musical structures.[22] Four genres of composition using these techniques are: (1) the quodlibet,[23] (2) the combinative chanson,[24] (3) the motet-chanson,[25] and (4) the motet with a secular cantus firmus.[26] Of all these genres, only the motet-chanson is unrepresented in our collection of "Fortuna" settings. Of the combinative chansons she emphasizes the relation of the texts: "Of twenty-four chansons in this category, only three unite unrelated melodies and texts,"[27] and "the formal (labyrinthine) aspect of mannerist composition was based on symbolic (mystical) relationships."[28] Of the motet with a secular cantus firmus she writes: "The coupling of a secular image with a sacred subject illustrates the ambivalence of meaning common to cryptic symbolism."[29] Thus Maniates claims that a cantus firmus in a piece from one of these genres retains the associations of the original text, which then relate in some way to the new text; this combination provides an expression of the complexity of the universe.

The theses of Lowinsky and Maniates relate to and complement each other; both emphasize the ideas of secret or hidden meaning and musical symbolism—Lowinsky in his iconographic illustration of a concept and Maniates in her combination of texts or "meloi" that can help explain the

significance of "Fortuna" *in mi* and the numerous combinative and emblematic settings of "Fortuna desperata."

Changing the mode of a cantus prius factus, as in the "Fortuna" *in mi* settings, is very rare. Transposition of a cantus firmus around the circle of fifths, which retains the mode, is common, and occasionally a minor third will be changed to a major third in order to make a combinative setting possible. In settings of no other cantus firmus, however, is there a consistent tradition of its use in a different mode.[30] There are no fewer than five settings of "Fortuna" *in mi* for an ensemble and at least two keyboard entabulations.[31] Lowinsky refers to "Fortuna" *in mi* only in a footnote, as an example of free treatment of a cantus firmus,[32] perhaps because he was then unaware of the other settings of "Fortuna" *in mi*.

The original text of the chanson is as follows:

Fortuna desperata iniqua e maledecta che, de tal dona electa, la fama hai denigrata.	O desperate Fortune unjust and damned who has blackened the reputation of so elevated a lady
O morte dispietata, inimica e crudele, che, d'alto piu che stelle, l'hai cussi abassata.	O merciless death, hostile and cruel who has thus debased one enthroned higher than the stars.
Meschino e desperato, ben pianger (e) posso (o) may; et desiro finire li mei guay.	Bitter and full of despair, Well can I cry now, and I desire to end my woes.[33]

As we see, Fortuna behaves in her usual way; she has ruined the reputation of a lady, and death, identified with Fortuna, has debased ("abassata") her from the top of her wheel to the bottom. The original tenor is in Lydian with one flat, which, as we know from Ramos, is the mode associated with Fortuna and especially with Jupiter, highest of the gods.

In "Fortuna" *in mi*, however, the goddess turns her wheel, and as Hothby said, "lo comite si rivolta in principe"—*fa* changes to *mi*; the mode is changed, or *mutatus* in the literal Latin sense, from Lydian to Phrygian. This concept of mutation is completely in accord with contemporary theory; Lowinsky's description of travelling around the circle of fifths comes from much later theoretical ideas, though it has its roots in the same concept. When we examine what Ramos has to say about the Phrygian mode, we discover the following.

Mercurius vero hypophrygium reget. Nam iste modus adulatorum est, qui vicio sos et sapientes proposque aequo modo collaudant et ad utramque partem facile convertuntur, hoc est ad lamentum et ad laetitiam, ad incitationem et ad sedationem, qualis est natura Mercurii, qui cum bonis bonus et cum malis est pessimus. Mars vero phrygium tenet, qui totus colericus est et iracundus; nam omnia mundi bona iracundia sua conatur destruere. Iunctus ergo Mercurius cum eo aut in aspectu quodam ita malus est sicut ipse Mars. Nam ille ense vulnerat, iste vero lingua.[34]

Mercury in truth rules the Hypophrygian. For that is the mode of flatterers, who praise the vicious and the proven wise equally, and are easily turned to any side, that is to lamentation and to happiness, to incitement and to appeasement, which is the nature of Mercury, who with good is good and with bad is the worst. Mars in truth holds the Phrygian, he who is completely angry and wrathful; for he is accustomed to destroy all the good things of the world by his wrath. Therefore Mercury joined with him in appearance is just as bad as Mars himself. For the latter wounds with the sword as the former in truth does with the tongue.

Thus Mercury has the same characteristics as Fortuna: he is changeable—"cum bonis bonus et cum malis est pessimus"—and can be swayed to any side equally, and he wounds with the tongue—"vero lingua vulnerat." Just so did Fortuna blacken the reputation of the lady: "che de tal dona electa la fama hai denigrata." Mars, on the other hand, the god actually associated with our composition, destroys all the good things of the world, just as "morte dispietata," "l'hai cussi abassata." Mars, i.e., war or death, has lowered the lady; Fortuna has turned her wheel, and the cantus firmus is literally a half step lower. It has gone from the mode of Jupiter, the highest of the gods ("d'alto piu che stelle") and of Venus, the goddess of love (and this is, after all, a love poem), to the mode of changeable and debasing Mercury and wrathful, destructive Mars; from the relatively cheerful Lydian to the mournful Phrygian. Thus "Fortuna" *in mi* is an especially apt illustration in music of the workings of the goddess Fortuna.

The earliest setting of "Fortuna" *in mi* (B.III.4) appears more than two decades after the work of the two theorists discussed above. However, theorists contemporary with its probable composer, Jachet,[35] also provide supporting evidence for this theory, if never quite as explicitly as either Hothby or Ramos.

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Although Ramos's *Musica practica* was written much earlier than the first appearance of "Fortuna" *in mi,* he had become the subject of a raging controversy in the early 16th century, involving many of the foremost theorists of the time including Gaffurius (1451–1522); Spataro (1485–1541), a student of

Ramos; and Aaron (ca. 1470–ca.1545), among others.[36] His works were certainly well known, if not always unanimously accepted. Gaffurius, for example, in his *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus,* which appeared in print for the first time in 1518 (the same time that Jachet's "Fortuna" setting was copied) refutes Ramos on several points.[37]

Hothby soon dropped out of sight, and no one else used terminology quite as specifically related to Fortuna as "Fa rivolta in mi." Gaffurius, however, did discuss mutation in a way that can be understood in terms of Fortuna's actions. In his *Practica musicae* of 1496, he quotes several discussions of mutation: "Gregory says in *Moralia* that 'mutation is the movement from one state to another which itself is not stable, for the one tends toward the other in the degree that it is subject to the movements of its own mutability.' "[38] This sounds very much like a description of mutable Fortuna herself. Gaffurius continues: "mutation occurs in a genus when the *lichanos* or *parnete* string of a diatonic tetrachord is lowered a semitone into the chromatic, or a whole tone into the enharmonic; such a change never occurs by raising the pitch, as Boethius states in Book IV. Aristotle also wished this to be understood when he said in musical *Problems,* 'what is naturally higher tends to descend, but what is naturally lower does not ascend.' "[39] Fortuna is undergoing mutation—descending a half step, according to Boethius—and "what is naturally high" ("d'alto piu che stelle") has descended ("l'hai cussi abassata"). It is true that Gaffurius himself did not use these definitions of mutation, but this idea of mutation can be associated with the mutable goddess, and thus with our group of "Fortuna" *in mi* settings. Although *Practica musicae* was published much earlier, as part of Gaffurius's trilogy it doubtlessly was still current at the time of the first "Fortuna" *in mi* composition. The idea of the *ethos* and characterization of the modes is not unique to Ramos. With the growth of humanism the idea gained more importance because of the growing interest in classical models and writers. Gaffurius was a humanist and had a number of Greek musical treatises translated into Latin.[40] In general he agreed with Ramos on the modes, if not on other issues.[41] In his famous chart,[42] which appeared both in *Practica musicae* and *De Harmonia,* he allied the modes with the planets and gods, just as Ramos did: Lydian and Jupiter, Hypolydian and Venus, Phrygian and Mars, and Hypophrygian and Mercury. Aaron followed Gaffurius and thus also agreed with Ramos.[43]

Humanist thought can also explain in part the large number of "Fortuna" settings. Fortuna was a pagan goddess, and as Patch says, "in the Renaissance she comes into full vigor as an embodiment of the paganism and superstition of the time."[44] Fortuna's frequent appearance in the works of the writers of the Roman Empire, such as Ovid, Pliny, Horace, Seneca, Plutarch, Livy, and Juvenal, made her an important figure in the eyes of the humanists. This fact especially can help explain the four out of five "Fortuna" *in mi* settings appearing in German sources. German humanism was at its height from 1520 to 1538, when these settings appeared (Erasmus died in 1536). Glareanus was a prominent humanist, a friend of Erasmus, and a great

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admirer of Gaffurius: "Franchinus and D. Erasmus of Rotterdam, the former my teacher through the written word, the latter through the spoken word, [are those] to whom I confess to be under as great an obligation as anyone whatever."[45]

The idea of ethos is certainly present in Glareanus as well as in Gaffurius,[46] and the idea was present in German humanists considerably before Glareanus. Johann Turmair (or Johannes Aventinus), for instance, in his *Musicae rudimenta* (Augsburg, 1516), also discusses the ethical properties of the modes and refers to ancient writers.[47] Mutation is also discussed by the German humanist theorists. Sebald Heyden, when discussing solmisation, writes:

> They should carefully observe through ♭fa and ♮mi, as principal keys in all songs, the use and movement of vocables and tones of all other keys. For nobody can sing a song accurately and dependably unless first he has expressly considered ♭fa and ♮mi and then decided where mi or fa should be applied.[48]

Mi/fa then is the key to everything, just as Fortuna is the ruler of all things. German humanism, therefore, increased the interest in Fortuna and caused the theorists to emphasize the importance of ethos in the modes, which, combined with the mi/fa relationship, is the key to "Fortuna" *in mi*.

Senfl's "Fortuna ad voces musicales" (B.I.13) is used as an example in three treatises: by Sebald Heyden, Glareanus, and Gregor Faber. This last also contains Greiter's "Passibus ambiguis" (B.I.5), the most complex representation of Fortuna's wheel. In this piece the first phrase of the original chanson is repeated over and over in the tenor, each time another step around the circle of fifths. It is perhaps not a coincidence that the piece ends on f-flat—a half step lower than it started—the pitch that is enharmonically identical with *mi*.

Some of the "Fortuna" *in mi* settings contain musical symbolism beyond the change of mode. The anonymous "Consideres" setting (B.III.2) repeats the first section of the tenor in diminution. This is probably an example of two wheels of Fortune, as Patch explains: "good and bad Fortune are symbolized . . . by two wheels, one fast and the other slow."[49]

The Breitengraser setting (B.III.3) is one of the only settings that does not treat the tenor strictly. It begins with imitation of the opening motive in descending order from the altus to the bassus, at changing metric intervals. The two bottom voices are in imitation throughout the piece, the bass a fifth below. This is very similar to the symbolism of Fortuna as expounded by Lowinsky. By the end of the piece both the tenor and the bass have lost any resemblance to the original tune, but closely imitate rapidly descending figures. The last sound in the piece is the descent of the bass down an octave to EE. Fortuna, as usual, is debasing and descending. Here the composer has sacrificed a completely faithful rendition of the cantus prius factus in order to present a more thorough representation of the concept associated with the

melody; the idea of the "melos" has become more important than its integrity.

Two of the settings of "Fortuna" *in mi* have additional texts associated with them (B.III.2 and 4). This brings up another question: Why the exceedingly large number of combinative and emblematic settings of "Fortuna desperata"?

Lowinsky and Patch have amply demonstrated the importance of the figure of Fortuna in the Renaissance. Identified both with blind fate and haphazard chance, Fortuna is an obvious choice for representations of the complexity of the universe and the mystical aspects of mannerist thought; as an important figure in love and death, Fortuna can be related to many subjects, either as a complement or as a contrast. The "Fortuna desperata" cantus firmus is combined with an unusually large number of other cantus firmi and texts. An examination of the relationship of Fortuna to these different texts and cantus firmi helps to uncover some of the many characteristics of the mutable goddess.

This group of settings can be divided into two basic types: those where the "Fortuna desperata" cantus firmus is combined with another preexistent cantus firmus (combinative settings); and those where the "Fortuna desperata" cantus firmus is used in a composition having an additional text in some or all parts, but no other preexistent musical material (emblematic settings).

The term "combinative" is self-explanatory, and of this type there are seven examples: B.I.9, 11, 12, 14, and B.III.2 and 3. B.II.3 also belongs in this category, although it is unusual in that the other cantus firmus consists of the hexachord laid out in a certain pattern. The term emblematic, however, is not so clear. It was suggested by Lowinsky's article on Greiter's *Passibus ambiguis* (B.I.5), in which he calls the piece an example of "emblematic music," referring to Othmayer's *Symbola illustrissimorum Principum* and comparing it to Alciati's collection of emblems.[50] While Greiter's "Fortuna" contains both musical symbolism and an additional text (which not all of these examples do), the term will be used here in referring to pieces with a text in addition to the "Fortuna" text. There are four such emblematic settings: B.I.5 and 8 and B.III.2 and 4. In Lowinsky's broad sense many of the combinative settings are emblematic as well, especially when the combination of cantus firmi results in musical symbolism, but emblematic is used here in the narrower sense just defined, unless otherwise indicated.

As a "melos," "Fortuna desperata" had a strong identity from the beginning. In the contrafact settings of *si placet* parts in Panc. and Cape 3.b.12 (II.1.b and II.4), both of which are fully texted with the same *lauda* text by Franc d'Albizi[51] in spite of the differing *si placets,* the title "Fortuna desperata" is written at the top of the pages. Thus Fortuna is identified with the music even when other words are present. The same holds true for settings without text: almost invariably the incipit "Fortuna desperata" appears, so

that even if the composition is not sung, there is an association with and often a representation of the goddess. Even without any incipit the tune was certainly familiar enough to any listener of the time. Maniates claims that the lack of words results in an even more hidden and complex expression of mannerist thought.[52]

The texts with which "Fortuna desperata" is combined can all be associated with Fortuna in one of her guises, and some use additional musical symbolism as well. Perhaps the texts that most clearly show the workings of the goddess Fortuna are Senfl's "Nasci, pati, mori" ("I was born, I suffered, I died") (B.I.8) and Isaac's "Bruder Conrat" (B.II.2). The Senfl piece, which repeats the same words over and over again, is clearly a description of Fortuna's effects and also clearly relates to the original text, where Fortuna made a lady suffer and die. The text of "Bruder Conrat" describes a man who is certainly dependent on the workings of Fortuna; he lies on his death bed.

Bruder Conrat der lag sich	Brother Conrad lay, and
her kunde weder sterben noch	no one knew if he would die
nicht den obnit und den morgen,	or get well. Night and day
Bruder Conrat was yn grossyn	Brother Conrad was in great pain:
ssorgin: ich far dohin!	I am going there!
Bruder Conrat der lag sich	Brother Conrad lay, and
deynli be irfrewit mich.[53]	I am very sorry.

This setting gives only incipits for both tunes, but the implications are clear.

"Consideres mes incessantes plaintes" (B.III.2) has only this incipit, and no continuation of the text has been found. However, the complaints could be caused either by death, as above, or by disappointed love, both of which are commonly subject to Fortuna. They are a natural reaction to most of Fortuna's actions, especially in the "Fortuna desperata" poem itself. This is one of the "Fortuna" *in mi* settings and thus contains musical symbolism as well.

Two more settings that concern love are Senfl's "Ich stuend an einem morgen" (B.I.9) and "Es taget vor dem Walde" (B.I.12), which have the following texts:

Ich stuend an einem Morgen	I stood one morning
hiemlich an einem Ort	secretly in a place
da hätt'ich mich verborgen,	where I had hidden myself.
ich hört'klagliche Wort'	I heard sorrowing words
von einem Fräulein hübsch und fein,	from a maiden beautiful and fair
das stuend bei seinem Buehlen.	who stood by her lover.
Es musst gescheiden sein.	There are always partings.

There are more verses where she entreats her lover to stay and he refuses.

Es taget vor dem Walde:	Day breaks by the woods
stand ûf, Kätterlîn.	Stand up, little puss!
Die Hasen laufen balde:	The hares will be running soon
stand ûf, Kätterlîn.	Stand up . . .
Holder Buehl, hieaho	Dear love, highaho,
du bist mîn, sô bin ich dîn:	You are mine, so I am thine,
stand ûf Kätterlîn.[54]	Stand up, little puss!

There are more verses on the same theme.

Fortuna, as seen before, is often identified with love,[55] and as Patch says, "she is particularly known for parting lovers."[56] In "Ich stuend" the woman is entreating the man to stay, and he refuses; "Es taget" is a *Tagelied,* or dawn song, telling the lovers to part.

Fortuna is also occasionally associated or identified with the Virgin.[57] There are two settings that reflect this aspect of Fortuna: Jachet's "Ave Mater" (B.III.4):

Ave mater matris dei	Hail mother of the mother of God
pro quam salvi fiunt rei	through whom all things are saved
Ave prole fecundata	Hail fertile offspring
Anna deo dedicata	called Anna by God
pro fideli plebe tota	for all people of faith
apud Christum fis devota	with Christ may you be adored
Alleluya.[58]	Alleluya.

and Senfl's "Virgo prudentissima" (B.I.11).[59] "Ave mater" is in praise of St. Anna, the mother of Mary, and it is the only full-fledged motet of all the settings. This is a good example of the combining of a secular image with a sacred subject creating the "ambivalence of meaning common to cryptic symbolism" described by Maniates,[60] and this is amplified by the musical symbolism inherent in "Fortuna" *in mi.* "Virgo prudentissima," the antiphon to the Magnificat in the first Vespers for the feast of Mary's Assumption, combined with Fortuna provides musical and textual symbolism. The chant, in Dorian, is the controlling cantus firmus for the mode of the whole piece, while the "Fortuna" cantus firmus is the only voice with a flat; the piece ends on d, with the "Fortuna" tenor on f. Fortuna's instability is perhaps represented in the relatively unusual minor triad at the end (which cannot be made major without violating the cantus firmus) and her changing and uncertain character through the uniqueness of her key signature. This uniqueness is emphasized very strongly in other ways as well. The "Fortuna" cantus firmus is stretched out into long notes, while the chant is treated in imitation and integrated into the texture. Here also is the combination of disparate elements that Maniates stresses.

These two settings can also be understood as a request for divine aid against the workings of Fortuna. Patch mentions that "the remedy of course, is to seek God and virtue, and not to prize the gifts of Fortuna,"[61] and this is

emphasized in Loeffler's article "Fortuna desperata: A Contribution to the Study of Musical Symbolism in the Renaissance."[62] Virtue and divine mercy were considered to be the only effective ways of combatting Fortuna. Isaac's "Sancte Petre ora pro nobis" (B.II.3) combines the "Fortuna" superius with a litany to the saints, thus invoking divine aid in the struggle. The "Virgo prudentissima" setting praises the Virgin and illustrates her battle with Fortuna, with whom she is at odds in mode and rhythmic movement.

Senfl's "Herr durch dein Blut" (B.I.14) is another example of this same technique.

Herr durch dein Bluet	Lord by your blood
hilf uns Armen,	help us poor people
tue durch dein Guet	through thy good
dich erbarmen	have mercy
unser Sünden und Gebräuchen	on our sins and crimes.
tue nicht, O Herr, mehr rächen	Cease to avenge, O Lord,
mach uns meiden	make us shun
durch dein leiden	through your suffering
all Bösheit und Misetät.	all evil and ill deeds.[63]

Here the German text, a contrafact for the chant "Pange lingua," enlists the aid of God, while the two preexistent lines, "Fortuna" and "Pange lingua," are in different modes (Lydian and Phrygian, respectively). The combination of modes in this piece provides a strong, if indirect, support for the thesis concerning the "Fortuna" *in mi* pieces. Senfl wrote more "Fortuna" settings than any other composer,[64] but all of them use the tenor in the original mode. He may not have been aware of the "Fortuna" *in mi* tradition, but by combining the two cantus firmi in this piece he exploits the same symbolism that inspired the "Fortuna" *in mi* settings. As in "Virgo prudentissima," "Fortuna" is once again the only part with a flat in the signature, and the other cantus firmus controls the mode of the whole piece. Here both cantus firmi are in long note values, so they are represented equally, but in order to reconcile the two modes, "Pange lingua" begins before and ends after "Fortuna," perhaps thus implying a victory on God's side. The two cantus firmi are also the only texted parts in the piece, and because "Fortuna" ends early, the last words we hear are "Bösheit und Misetät," which the speaker wants God to help him avoid (expressed by "li miei guai" in the last line of the "Fortuna" poem). In "Herr durch dein Blut" Senfl fuses the resources of the evocative combinative and emblematic techniques with those of musical symbolism and the change from *fa* to *mi*.

Of the settings not yet examined in detail B.II.1, the "Zibaldone," belongs to another tradition, that of the Florentine quodlibet of the combinative "cento chanson." The use of the "Fortuna" superius as the top line in combination with assorted lines from other chansons is surely inspired by the same intellectual tradition that caused the great number of other combinative settings.[65] B.I.5, Greiter's "Passibus ambiguis," and B.I.13, Senfl's "For-

tuna ad voces musicales," have already been discussed at length by Lowinsky and mentioned earlier here.

"Fortuna" *in mi* is an extremely clever musical representation of the goddess Fortuna and her effects. The "melos" of "Fortuna desperata," because of the importance of the goddess Fortuna and her many aspects, was peculiarly fitted for combinative settings; it served as a gloss to and was glossed by a large number of subjects. Together these symbolic representations and complex transformations of "Fortuna desperata" are an important example of the subtlety and complexity of mannerist and humanist thought.

NOTES

[1] There are also three masses based on the chanson: one by Josquin, one by Obrecht, and one anonymous, in Bologna, St. Petronio, Codex A XXXVIII.

[2] Other pieces of this type exist; the earliest I know of is the six-part Dunstable-Bedingham "O rosa bella."

[3] A.III.1 is edited by Alan Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier,* Musicological Studies 35, 2 vols. (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Medieval Music, 1975). He points out that the piece cannot be performed a5. Three of the parts given are the original three; one is the most common of the *si placet* parts, A.II.1, and the fifth is another contratenor bassus, written by Felice, which cannot be performed with the original contratenor bassus. The piece can be performed in the following ways: (1) the original three voices, (2) the original three voices plus the *si placet* altus, (3) superius and tenor with Felice bassus, and (4) superius and tenor with Felice bassus and *si placet* altus.

[4] Catherine V. Brooks, "Antoine Busnois, Chanson Composer," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 6 (1953):111.

[5] Idem, "Antoine Busnois as a Composer of Chansons" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1951).

[6] Ibid.

[7] Idem, "Antoine Busnois, Chanson Composer," p. 114.

[8] Atlas, p. 252.

[9] As edited by Torrefranca in *Il segreto del quattrocento* (Milan, 1939), p. 297.

[10] Edward Lowinsky, "The Goddess Fortuna in Music," *Musical Quarterly* 29 (1943):45–77.

[11] Maria R. Maniates, "Combinative Techniques in Franco-Flemish Polyphony: A Study of Mannerism in Music from 1450–1530" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University in the City of New York, 1965).

[12] Howard R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (New York, 1927; reprint ed., New York: Octagon, 1967).

[13] Ibid., ch. 5.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid., ch. 4.

[16] Lowinsky, p. 68.

[17] Ibid., p. 72.

[18] Ibid., pp. 73–76.

[19] Lowinsky, "Matthaeus Greiter's Fortuna: An Experiment in Chromaticism and in Musical Iconography," *Musical Quarterly* 42 (1956):501–19 and 43 (1957):68–85.

[20] Maniates, p. 12.

[21] Ibid., p. 254.

[22] Ibid. p. 6.

[23] Ibid., p. 13, ch. 2.

[24] Ibid., p. 74, ch. 4.

[25] Ibid., p. 159.

[26] Ibid., p. 157, ch. 5.

[27] Ibid., p. 113, note 110.

[28] Ibid., p. 113.

[29] Ibid., p. 187.

[30] The only exception to this is "L'homme arme'," but it was not a voice from a polyphonic composition, and it was consistently used by composers as a show piece for virtuosic compositional techniques; clearly it is a case different from "Fortuna desperata."

[31] Heinrich Isaac, *Weltliche Werke,* Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich 14 (1907), ed. J. Wolf. Two keyboard entabulations are published on pp. 143 and 144, only one of which is an entabulation of the piece supposedly by Isaac.

[32] Lowinsky, "The Goddess Fortuna," p. 55.

[33] As edited by Torrefranca, p. 297.

[34] Ramos de Pareja, *Musica practica* (1483), ed. J. Wolf, Publikationen der internationaler Musik Gesellschaft 2 (1910), Tractatus 3, Capitulum 3, pp. 58–59.

[35] Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1959), p. 367.

[36] Clement A. Miller, ed. and trans., Introduction to *De harmonia musicorum instrumentorum opus,* by Gaffurius, Musicological Studies and Documents 33 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1977), p. 19.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Gaffurius, *Practica musicae* (1496), ed. and trans. Clement A. Miller, Musicological Studies and Documents 20 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1968), p. 35.

[39] Ibid., p. 36.

[40] Miller, Introduction to *De harmonia,* p. 21.

[41] Gaffurius describes the relevant modes thus: "The Phrygian mode is depicted in a fiery color (as it provokes a greater movement of bile), for it is believed that it is appropriate to harsh and severe men in exciting them to anger. . . . It is said that with this mode, which uses the anapest, the Lacedemonians and Cretans were easily incited to war. . . . The Lydian mode offers a pleasing sound to those who are very agreeable and jovial in nature. . . but it is believed by many to fit weeping and lamentation, emotions for whose sake we said it was formed originally." Ibid., pp. 183–84.

[42] This chart is reproduced in the Miller translations of *Practica musicae,* p. 8, and *De harmonia,* p. 201.

[43] Pietro Aaron, *Trattato della natura et cognitione di tutti gli tuoni* (Venice, 1525), facs. ed., Musica revindicata, ch. 27 (Joachimstahl, Holland, 1966).

[44] Patch, p. 52.

[45] Heinrich Glareanus, *Dodecachordon* (Basel, 1547); ed., trans., and transcr. by Clement A. Miller, Musicological Studies and Documents 1 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1965), p. 129.

[46] As Miller says, "In common with most humanists, Glarean had a firm belief in a fundamental of Greek culture, the doctrine of *ethos.*" Ibid, p. 11.

[47] Johann Turmair—Johannes Aventinus, *Musicae rudimenta* (Augsburg, 1516), ed. and trans. T. Herman Keahey (Brooklyn, New York: Institute of Medieval Music, 1971). The passages on Lydian and Phrygian are on p. 29.

[48] Sebald Heyden, *De arte canendi* (Nürnberg, 1540); ed. and trans. Clement A. Miller, Musicological Studies and Documents 26 (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1972), p. 36.

[49] Patch, p. 170.

[50] Lowinsky, "Matthaeus Greiter's Fortuna," 42:511.

[51] Found in *Laude spirituale di Feo Belcari, di Lorenzo de Medici* (Florence, 1863), no. 142.

[52] Maniates, p. 12.

[53] Isaac, p. 189.

[54] Ludwig Senfl, *Sämtliche Werke,* ed. A. Geering and W. Altwegg, vol. 4, Das Erbe Deutscher Musik 15 (1940), pp. 5–6 ("Ich Stuend") and p. 18 ("Es taget").

[55] Patch, p. 90.

[56] Ibid., p. 96.

[57] Ibid., p. 61.

[58] As quoted in Maniates, 2:357.

[59] Senfl, 6:66.

[60] Maniates, 1:187.

[61] Patch, p.70.

[62] A. Loeffler, "*Fortuna desperata:* A Contribution to the Study of Musical Symbolism in the Renaissance," *Student Musicologists at Minnesota* 3 (1968–69), pp. 1–22.

[63] Senfl, 6:132.

[64] Four of Senfl's "Fortuna" settings (B.I.8–11) are found on adjacent folios of Vienna 18810 with sequential dates from September 23 to October 1, 1533. Perhaps some event in his life caused Senfl to write these four pieces, each emphasizing a different aspect of the goddess Fortuna.

[65] Cf. Maniates, ch. 2, on this type of composition.

APPENDIX 1: SOURCES FOR "FORTUNA DESPERATA" SETTINGS

Manuscripts and Sigla

Augs. 142a	Augsburg, Kreis und Stadtbibliothek, Ms. 142a
Bol. Q16	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliographico Musicale, Ms. Q16
Bol. Q19	Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliographico Musicale, Ms. Q19
Cape 3.b.12	Cape Town, South African Public Library, Grey Collection, Ms. 3.b.12
CortP	Cortona, Biblioteca del Comune e dell'Accademia Etrusca, Mss. 95–96 (sup. and alt.) and Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. Ms. 1817 (ten.)
Fl. 2439	Florence, Biblioteca del Conservatorio Luigi Cherubini, Ms. 2439
Fl. 121	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl., Ms. XIX 121
Panc.	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Panciatichi Ms. 27
Leipzig	Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 1494 (Niklaus Apel Codex)
Lond. 31922	London, British Museum, Add. 31922 (Henry VIII Ms.)
Lond. 35087	London, British Museum, Add. 35087
Mun. 1516	Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Ms. 1516
Mun. 328–31	Munich, Universitätsbibliothek, Mss. 328–31

Par. 676	Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, Res. Ms. Vm^{7} 676
Per. 431	Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale, Ms. 431
Reg.	Regensburg, Proske-Bibliothek, Ms. C121 (Pernner Codex)
Cas.	Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Ms. 2856
C.G.	Rome (Vatican City), Cappella Giulia, Ms. XIII 27
St. Gall 462	St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Ms. 462 (Heer Liederbuch)
Seg.	Segovia, Catedral, Ms. without shelf number
SevP	Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, Ms. 5–I–43 and Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr. Ms. 4379
Vienna 18746	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 18746
Vienna 18810	Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Ms. 18810

Prints and Sigla

Canti C	RISM 1504^{3}; Petrucci, *Canti C no. cento cinquanta*
Ott 121	RISM 1534^{17}; Ott, *121 newe Teutsche Liedlein*
TVC	RISM 1538^{9}; Formschneider, *Trium vocum carmina*

Theoretical Sources and Sigla

Faber	Gregor Faber, *Musices practicae erotematum: Liber III* (Basel, 1552)
Glar	Glareanus, *Dodecachordon* (Basel, 1547)
Heyden	Sebald Heyden, *De arte canendi* (Nürnberg, 1540)

APPENDIX 2: THE SETTINGS

A. The original chanson and its arrangements:
   I. 3 parts (original)
      a. Fl. 121, ff. 25′–26; x/–/–
      b. Lon. 35087, ff. 11′–12; t/t/t
      c. Per. 431, ff. 93′–94; x/–/–
      d. Seg., f. 174 (attribution to Busnois); t/x/x

II. Arrangements with si placet contratenors:
1. a. Canti C, ff. 126′–27; x/x/x/x
¢b. Cape 3.b.12, ff. 79′–80 ("Poi che te hebi")
¢c. Leipzig
i. #65 ("Virginis alme Parens"); -/-/t/-
ii. #115 ("Ave stella"/"Gemma caeli"); t/t (superius and altus only)
d. Par. 676, ff. 24′–25; t/x/x/x
e. Per. 431, ff. 94′–95; t/-/-/-
f. St. Gall 462, pp. 20–21; -/-/t/-
g. St. Gall 463, #44; x/x (superius and altus only)
h. SevP, f. 40′; t/x/x/x
¢2. Lon. 31922, ff. 4′–5 ("Fortune esperee"); x/-/-/-
3. Bol. Q16, ff. 131′–32; x/x/x/x
¢4. Panc., ff. 22′–23 ("Poi che te hebi"); t/x/-/-
5. Augs. 142a, 3 "concordantie," Agricola; x/-/-/-/-
III. Arrangements with replacement contratenors:
1. C.G., ff. 56′–57 (63′–64), Felice; x/-/-/-/-
2. Seg., #127, f. 182′, Josquin; x/x/x

B. Cantus firmus settings of voices of "Fortuna desperata"
I. Tenor:
1. Munich 328–31, #31, anon., incomplete
2. St. Gall 462, ff. 5′–6, anon. (in *ut*—free treatment); x/x/x
3. St. Gall 463, #29, anon., a3 incomplete
4. St. Gall 463, #214, Fabri, a6 incomplete
t5. Faber ("Passibus ambiguis"), Greiter
6. a. C.G., ff. 91′–92 (98–99), Isaac; x/-/-
b. Fl. 121, ff. 37′–38, Isaac; -/-/-
7. Fl. 2439, sections from *Missa Fortuna desperata*, Obrecht:
a. Kyrie 2, ff. 33′–34 (in tenor); x/x/x/x
b. Sanctus, ff. 34′–35 (in superius in *ut*); x/x/x/x
c. Hosanna, ff. 35′–36 (in bassus); x/x/x/x
t8. Vienna 18810, f. 43′, Senfl ("Fortuna/Nasci, pati, mori"); t/t/x/t/t
*9. a. Vienna 18810, f. 44, Senfl ("Fortuna/Ich stuend"); x/x/x/x/x
b. Ott 121, #26, 7 strophes; x/x/x/x/x
t10. Vienna 18810, f. 44′, Senfl ("Fortuna/Helena desiderio"); t/t/x/t/t
*11. Vienna 18810, f. 45, Senfl ("Fortuna/Virgo prudentissima"); t/t/x/t/t
*12. Ott 121, #30, Senfl ("Fortuna/Es taget vor dem Walde"); x/x/x/x/x
m13. a. Ott 121, #31, Senfl ("Fortuna ad voces musicales"); x/x/x/x
b. Faber, p. 102ff.
c. Glar., pp. 221ff.
d. Heyden, pp. 41ff.

*14. Ott 121, #100, Senfl ("Fortuna/Herr durch dein Blut/Pange lingua"); -/t/x/x/x

II. Superius:
*1. Fl. 121, #39, anon. ("Zibaldone"); t/t/t/t
*2. Vienna 18810, Isaac ("Fortuna/Bruder Conrat"); x/x/x/x
*3. Seg., ff. 117′-18 #46, Isaac ("Fortuna/Sancte Petre"); x/x/x/x/x
4. Fl. 2439, ff. 147-49, Martini; x/x/x/x
Seg., ff. 115′-16 (attributed to Isaac); x/x/x/x
5. Canti C, f. 69, Pinarol; x/x/x/x
Mun. 1516, #4; x/x/x/x

III. Tenor *in mi*:
1. a. Reg., ff. 284′-85, anon. (1521-23); -/x/x/x
b. Mun. 328-31, #42, anon. (1526-30); incomplete
t2. Vienna 18746, #20, anon. ("Consideres mes incessantes") (1523); x/x/x/x/x
3. Ott 121, #121, Breitengraser (1534); x/x/x/x
t4. Bol. Q19, ff. 106′-7, Jachet (1518); t/t/x/t/t
5. TVC, #88, Pseudo-Isaac (attribution in a later hand) (1538); -/x/-

KEY

t part is texted
x part has text incipit only
- part has no text or text incipit

Indications in front of the identifying number:
¢ contrafact text
t another text in addition to "Fortuna desperata"; an emblematic setting
m "Fortuna desperata" combined with preexistent music; a combinative setting
* "Fortuna desperata" combined with other preexistent text and music; a combinative setting.

Dates given are those of probable compilation for manuscripts and year of publication for prints.

This list is compiled from the following sources:

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and from additional information provided by Professor Richard Taruskin, Columbia University, whose continual aid, advice, and encouragement I wish here to acknowledge.

THREE LEVELS OF "IDEA" IN SCHOENBERG'S THOUGHT AND WRITINGS

Charlotte M. Cross

A musician typically studies the writings of Arnold Schoenberg to understand his theories of harmony or views of musical composition. To this end, such research is generally limited to the extended theoretical works, such as *Harmonielehre* or *Structural Functions of Harmony,* and to the essays in *Style and Idea* that seem relevant to a particular task. For example, if one wants to gain insight into Schoenberg's twelve-tone method of composition, one turns to the section of essays in *Style and Idea* entitled "Composition with Twelve Tones,"[1] or if trying to discover Schoenberg's view of Brahms, one reads "Brahms the Progressive."[2] But in studying these writings one may suspect that the nature of Schoenberg's writing is far more than a mere theory of harmony or a method of composition. Indeed, Schoenberg often turns his discussion away from purely musical concerns by raising and expounding upon philosophical issues. On occasion, the tone of his writing takes on a strong religious cast through unmistakable Biblical references. Upon closer inspection, what might first be construed as philosophical tangents and religious overtones prove essential to the issues at hand. One might even say that these "digressions" are the true issue, for Schoenberg considered himself more than a composer, music theorist, and teacher. Indeed, he thought himself a man with a universal message to convey to humanity, and he used all of his artistic powers in this quest for self-expression.

At the beginning of Schoenberg's essay "New Music, Outmoded Music, Style and Idea [1946],"[3] he states that the first three aspects of his title have recently become frequent subjects of discussion, but that the fourth, "idea," which to him is the most important in art, has received little consideration. In spite of the obvious importance he attaches to his discussion of "idea," he leaves incomplete the section of his essay devoted to this concept, never fully exploring the meaning of the issue he raised. Beginning with what he considered to be the "idea" of a musical composition, the connotations of his notion of "idea" become progressively more far-reaching. By the end of the section he no longer refers to "idea" in a strictly musical sense, but to its meaning for art in general and to the artist's task with respect to the presentation of his "idea."[4]

This is not the only essay in which Schoenberg discusses these matters. Indeed, his preoccupation with "ideas" and their expression through music continually surfaces throughout his writings. However, Schoenberg never explicitly defines his meaning for the "idea" of a musical work of art.[5] Thus when his essays are read individually, one does not attain an adequate picture. And even if one reads all of Schoenberg's writings, the full profundity of his notion of "idea" is still elusive. Nevertheless, the interpretive problem of Schoenberg's meaning for "idea" can only be approached by studying his

writings as a totality.[6] By assimilating and interpreting the clues found scattered in Schoenberg's writings, an understanding of his meaning for "idea" and its more profound ramifications may be reached.

The very word "idea" poses a terminological problem in the English translation of *Stil und Gedanke* or *Style and Idea*. In German there are several terms that may be translated by the English word "idea" and each has a slightly different implication. Schoenberg uses "Begriff," "Gedanke," and "Einfall," but not "Idee," which in philosophy usually refers to Ideas in the Platonic sense (i.e., the eternal forms of things). Of the three mentioned above, only "Gedanke" and "Einfall" are significant to the present essay.

"Gedanke" is the most important and most frequently found term that Schoenberg uses for "idea." This is the word that appears in the original title of the essay, "Neue Music, veraltete Musik, Stil und Gedanke."[7] A liberal translation of "Gedanke" may include "idea," "thought," or "notion," but may also imply a "design," "purpose," or "plan." The definitions of all these English words overlap; they convey the sense of some mental plan or scheme that one intends to carry into effect. In this broad sense, Schoenberg uses "Gedanke" to signify the "idea" behind the product of any inventor or creator. On one occasion, for example, he refers to the mechanical "Gedanke" that led to the invention of pliers.[8] Most often, of course, he uses "Gedanke" with reference to a musical "idea."

"Einfall" means an idea or notion that occurs suddenly, and is translated as "inspiration" in the English version of *Style and Idea*. Schoenberg makes it clear that "inspiration" and "idea" are essentially the same.[9] However, "inspiration" refers more specifically to the *act* of taking an idea or purpose into the mind.

Schoenberg's "idea" emerges as a multi-dimensional concept in his writings. The surface level, that of the *musical* "idea," is the only one with which Schoenberg himself is concerned. The second and third levels of "idea" emerge from an exploration of the complex framework that surrounds Schoenberg's primary notion. These three levels are not entirely separate concepts, however; the additional levels are extensions of the musical "idea" into metaphysical aspects, and each has many contributing factors.

On the first level, Schoenberg refers to the "idea" of a musical composition. He disagrees with the commonly accepted definition of a musical "idea" as a theme, melody, phrase, or motive, insisting instead that it is the totality of a work that is its "idea." He recognizes the terminological problem that arises when he rejects the sense in which musical "idea" as a term is generally used, and points out that, as with most musical terms, the musical "idea" has multifarious meanings.[10] Schoenberg himself refers to themes, melodies, motives, and the like as musical "ideas," particularly in his pedagogical writings.[11] In actuality, though, he regards these aspects of a composition as "structural units" or "musical blocks,"[12] component parts through which the totality is made manifest. Themes, melodies, and motives are merely the details into which the whole breaks down during its presentation.

Schoenberg's notion of a musical "idea," therefore, encompasses those aspects of a work ordinarily considered the musical "ideas" themselves.

Schoenberg explains his meaning of the musical "idea" as the totality of a work thus:

> I myself consider the totality of a piece the *idea*: the idea which its creator wanted to present. But because of the lack of better terms, I am forced to define idea in the following manner:
>
> Every tone which is added to a beginning tone makes the meaning of that tone doubtful. If, for instance, G follows after C, the ear may not be sure whether this expresses C major or G major, or even F major or E minor; and the addition of other tones may or may not clarify this problem. In this manner there is produced a state of unrest, of imbalance, which grows throughout most of the piece, and is enforced by similar functions of the rhythm. The method by which balance is restored seems to me the real *idea* of the composition.[13]

Schoenberg's reference to the restoration of balance in a composition probably pertains not only to works he considers "tonal" in the traditional sense (i.e., all tones relating to one fundamental tone),[14] but to works composed according to the twelve-tone method as well. This, however, is not clear, because the example he uses refers to compositions that express a particular "tonal" key. For Schoenberg, the term "tonal" in its broadest sense means "in keeping with the nature of the tones,"[15] or the relationship of tones to one another.[16] According to Schoenberg, there is a tonal connection between any progression of two or more tones, either by virtue of the tones involved having a relationship to one tone, as "twelve tones related only to one another", or through some other relationship that may be discovered as man's knowledge of the laws governing the musical tones expands.[17]

In the traditional sense of a tonal work, a single tone may belong to one of several chords. Likewise, any chord may belong to several different keys. If the tone or triad stands alone, it may be taken as a tonic, an unequivocal expression of a particular key. However, as soon as a second tone or chord is added, doubt is cast on the meaning of the original tone or chord. The composer finds the means to overcome the tension resulting from this contradiction by using his knowledge of the way musical tones relate to one another. He thus makes the relationship of all melodic and harmonic successions to the fundamental tone clear.[18] In effect, all the events are unified in their meaning towards the expression of a particular tonality.

In a work composed according to the twelve-tone method, unity is achieved through the relation of all events to the basic set of twelve tones. Since both the thematic and harmonic material are derived from this prescribed order of tones, all events in both the horizontal and vertical planes can be related to the basic set. In a sense, the basic set functions much the same as a motive: this relationship of tones is elaborated upon and developed throughout the piece. At the same time, by regulating the harmony, it

substitutes for the unifying effects of traditional tonality.[19]

Thus, the composer's most important task is to make clear the unified relationship of all the elements in a piece, regardless of the method he uses. In both of the instances discussed above, the composer finds the means to achieve a balanced, unified composition in the nature of a specific relationship of tones to one another. Indeed, according to Schoenberg, the relationships that the composer perceives to exist among the tones are the source for musical "ideas."

> An idea in music consists principally in the relation of tones to one another. But every relation that has been used too often, no matter how extensively modified, must finally be regarded as exhausted; it ceases to have the power to convey a thought worthy of expression. Therefore, every composer is obliged to invent, to invent new things, to present new tone relations for discussion and to work out their consequences.[20]

The first step the composer takes in presenting tone relationships is the invention of his musical material—the motives, themes, or melodies.[21] The manner in which this material is worked out is intrinsically linked with the composer's need to make the most comprehensible presentation of his idea to the outside world. For Schoenberg, the comprehensibility of a musical work is chiefly dependent on form.[22] Form in this sense refers to the logical organization of a piece so that its parts function as a unified whole, like those of an organism.[23] In the process of organizing his "idea" for presentation, the composer invents his musical material and connects the various parts in a logical manner, so that they form a unit consisting only of what is necessary to render the "idea" intelligible and comprehensible to the listener while at the same time fully realizing the "idea."[24]

Schoenberg's insistence that the unified totality of a composition rather than the theme or motive is its real "idea" stems from his theory of the nature of artistic creation. According to Schoenberg, what first occurs to the composer is not a theme or motive but rather the inspiration for an entire work. Schoenberg wrote in his essay dedicated to the memory of Gustav Mahler:

> Music does not depend upon the theme. For the work of art, like every living thing, is conceived as a whole—just like a child, whose arm or leg is not conceived separately. The inspiration ["Einfall"] is not the theme, but the whole work. And it is not the one who writes a good theme who is inventive, but the one to whom a whole symphony occurs at once."[25]

This citation, made in reference to Mahler, is an autobiographical description of Schoenberg's own creative process. His compositional procedure arose from a vision; he merely filled in the details to re-create what as a mental picture was already whole. A totality as a mental phenomenon lacks specific details (the motives, themes, etc.), which are invented in the process of composition.[26]

Schoenberg believed that the creative act of a composer is in harmony with

the divine model of "inspiration and perfection, wish and fulfillment, will and accomplishment."[27] In fact, he set his most important discussion of the nature of artistic creation within the context of the Biblical story of creation:

> To understand the very nature of artistic creation one must acknowledge that there was no light before the Lord said: "Let there be Light." And since there was not yet light, the Lord's omniscience embraced a vision of it which only His omnipotence could call forth. . . . In Divine Creation, there were no details to be carried out later; "There was Light" at once and in its ultimate perfection.[28]

As in divine creation, the composer is first inspired: the "idea" for a composition occurs to him. He envisions the work in an unconscious flash of inspiration. The human act of creation is not identical with its divine model, however, for while human creators must laboriously carry out their inspirations, inventing the material and connecting the details into a "comprehensible message 'to whom it may concern,' "[29] in divine creation the inspiration and its realization are simultaneous, instantaneous, and already in perfect form.

Briefly summarized, the first level of Schoenberg's notion of "idea" is a purely musical phenomenon. Schoenberg considers the totality of a piece its "idea." The "idea" occurs to the composer in a moment of inspiration, a new perception into the relationships of musical tones to one another. The totality of the piece already resides in these newly perceived relationships, for the method or plan of working out the "idea" as a unified whole is derived from their nature.[30] Thus the relationships that the composer wants to present, the problems they raise and, perhaps most importantly, the method according to which they are presented in a comprehensible composition constitute the totality of a piece, which is its "idea."

Inspiration is an aspect of musical composition quite apart from compositional techniques, the means called upon in the expression of the "idea," and from form, which is necessary if the "idea" is to be comprehensible to others. It is also entirely distinct from style. In Schoenberg's thinking, style is the personal quality of a work that results from the self-expression of the individual composer.[31] Self-expression *per se,* of which style is the by-product, provides the link to the second level of Schoenberg's notion of "idea." On this level a number of questions arise: Inspiration is realized as a musical composition, but what gives rise to the inspiration? Where does inspiration come from? Indeed, who is inspired?

A clue to answering the first question lies in Schoenberg's emphasis on necessity. On the one hand, the "idea" must be presented in a logical manner so that others may understand it. More important to Schoenberg, however, the "idea" simply *must* be presented, regardless of the form of presentation. "The creator's *idea* has to be presented, whatever the *mood* he is impelled to invoke."[32] In this respect the composer is moved to express his "idea" by the force of an inner necessity. This internal force, so succinctly described by Schoenberg as "I must," provides the starting point for his

philosophical discussion of music and art, from which the explanation of his notion of "idea" on the second level is drawn.

To begin with, Schoenberg states:

> I believe art is born of "I must," not of "I can." A craftsman "can": whatever he was born with, he has developed, and so long as he wants to do something, he is able to. What he wants to do, he *can* do—good and bad, shallow and profound, new-fangled and old-fashioned—he can! But the artist *must.* He has no say in the matter, it is nothing to do with what he wants; but since he must, he also can![33]

Schoenberg establishes a clear distinction between the craftsman and the true artist—the man of talent as opposed to the man of genius. The primary basis of this distinction is whether or not one feels a personal urgency for expression. The merely talented composer does not follow the dictates of any inner compulsion: when he *wants* to compose, he can compose. When he composes, he draws upon existing styles and techniques of musical composition to *construct* a piece of music.[34] In Schoenberg's opinion, the craftsman does not really express himself because he copies from the styles of others.[35] The capacity for genuine self-expression is intrinsic to the artist, the genius. Unlike the craftsman, the artist only composes when he has a new musical message to convey.[36] Although the artist may not have been born with a technical command of his art, he finds that he naturally possesses the means to express his idea when the force of his need for self-expression becomes too great for him to contain it. Then, he *must* compose to rid himself of the pressure of his urge to create.[37]

Only the genius can be inspired, and his inspirations come to him unconsciously. "Inspirations [Einfälle] escape the control of consciousness, inspirations which come only to the genius, who receives them unconsciously."[38] In his use of the word "receive," Schoenberg implies that the raw material of musical inspiration is originally the perceptible essence of something in the world outside his mind. Schoenberg calls this outside world the cosmos. The cosmos is not the physical world, rather, it is man's conception of the universe as an orderly, harmonious system. The laws of order and harmony that govern the cosmos constitute its essential nature.

The genius alone possesses the special feelings and instincts, beyond the rationality of the conscious mind, that enable him to perceive what ordinary men can never know through such direct channels.[39] What he perceives is the essence or the inner nature of the cosmos. The cosmos is perceptible because the human mind is its microcosm;[40] it is subject to the same laws of order and harmony that govern the cosmos. The intuitive perception of the nature of the cosmos is the artist's inspiration. With the musical genius, this inspiration occurs as a perception of the nature of the relationships of musical tones. Thus what is expressed through music (and by this is meant a message that transcends the musical "idea") is a truth about the nature of the cosmos.

Why is music, in Schoenberg's view, the most suitable of the arts for the

expression of the perceptible essence of the cosmos? First of all, music itself, like the human mind, is a microcosm:

> I say we are obviously as nature around us is, as the cosmos is. So that is also how our music is. But then our music must also be as we are (if two magnitudes both equal a third . . .). But then from our nature alone can I deduce how our music is (bolder men would say "how the cosmos is!").[41]

The same cosmic laws that account for the logical operation of the human mind also govern musical tones. The composer naturally follows these laws when presenting his musical "idea." Indeed, he *must* follow these laws if the "idea" is to be comprehensible to another mind operating according to the same principles.

Other reasons for music's suitability as the language through which the essence of the cosmos can be expressed may also be found in Schoenberg's writings. In his view, music is the most "direct, pure mode of expression" among the arts. The essence of the cosmos is knowable only through perception, a direct form of knowledge that does not involve the conscious mind. Music is the most suitable language to express the merely perceptible because its nature is also essentially irrational.[42] On these points Schoenberg adopts the philosophy of Arthur Schopenhauer, whom he quotes in the opening paragraphs of his essay entitled "The Relationship to the Text": "Schopenhauer says, 'The composer reveals the inmost essence of the world and utters the most profound wisdom in a language which his reason does not understand, just as a magnetic somnambulist gives disclosure about things which she has no knowledge of when awake.' "[43] Unlike Schopenhauer, however, Schoenberg does not try to find correlates in the physical world for the different aspects of music.[44] Indeed, in Schoenberg's view, music *should* remain incomprehensible and merely perceptible.[45]

The distinction that Schoenberg makes between perception and comprehension is significant. Perception does not involve reasoning or intellect; it is intuitive knowledge. Comprehension, on the other hand, is essentially rational. It is conscious knowledge that is translatable into the terms of human language.[46] Thus, although the genius can intuitively grasp the essence of the cosmos, the extent to which he has comprehended it is limited.[47] Likewise, the truth expressed in music is perceptible, but man does not yet have the capacity to fully comprehend the cosmic secrets that the genius reveals to him through music.[48]

Schoenberg's belief that the secrets of music and the cosmos have neither been completely comprehended nor perceived is perhaps one of the reasons for his parenthetical remark (cited above) that only men more daring than himself would claim to "deduce how the cosmos is" on the basis of human nature, for although mind and cosmos are in accord, they are not *yet* identical.[49] Schoenberg's phrase "how our music is" refers to the extent of man's comprehension of music at the present moment. His comprehension of music

is equal to the extent of his comprehension of the cosmos. However, the extent of man's comprehension of both music and the cosmos is only equal to his understanding or knowledge of his own nature. When the genius presents a new musical idea, all of the cosmos and its truths are embodied in the microcosm (the composition), but only a certain amount of the cosmos can be made comprehensible at a given time. This is the new musical idea that the genius has perceived, is overcome with the urge to express, and consequently possesses the means to present in comprehensible form. What the genius is able to communicate through music is limited by his mind's capacities. Thus, what he expresses in a piece of music is only himself, in which everything else is contained. Indeed, self-expression is the highest goal that Schoenberg believes the artist can achieve.[50]

To summarize, the "idea" on the second level is equivalent to the artist's expression of himself. He perceives, though he may not comprehend, the essential nature of that with which he is in harmony (the cosmos) and thereby comes to know himself better. Inspired with this new perception of his own human nature and of the nature of the cosmos, he desires ("I must") to communicate his intuition to humanity. The best medium for this expression is music, the language of perception. The genius makes it possible for humanity to perceive through music what he perceives directly.

Knowledge of all truth is the goal towards which Schoenberg believes humanity is progressing.[51] When man achieves complete knowledge of the cosmos, he will also have achieved complete knowledge of himself. Man and cosmos will then be identical. The goal will not be reached immediately; it will be revealed as the future unfolds. This gradual revelation of the truth, the task of the genius, leads to the third and most profound level of "idea" in Schoenberg's writings. What Schoenberg believes to be the ultimate "idea" embodied in a musical work of art may be found on this level.

The genius, endowed with the power to see the future, lights a path to the goal through his work.[52] Just one work cannot be an adequate expression of the artist's message, however. The artist's dual revelation of himself and the essence of the cosmos is an evolutionary process that spans his lifetime and therefore can only be recognized through the sum total of all his works.[53] Born with the capacity for true self-expression, he has only to develop his potential. The genius continues to stride toward the goal under the power of his belief: belief in himself, belief in One more supreme than himself,[54] and belief that he will achieve immortality when he merges with the cosmos, with eternity.[55] He seeks and reveals the answers to the mysteries of the cosmos until he stands on the brink of disclosing a secret that the rest of humanity is not yet ready to know. At this point he must pass away.[56]

The genius is already closer to the goal than the rest of humanity. The goal is in the future, and the very nature of genius, according to Schoenberg, is that it *is* the future.[57] From his point on the path, the genius can see the light of the goal. Its brightness is too great for the rest of humanity to bear; they are only blinded by it.[58] Thus, through the power of his faith, the genius

draws the light of the goal (its essence) within himself. It pierces through his body and shines down on the path below where humanity struggles to follow him. Now they too can see. They glow in the light cast upon them by the genius, and in this way he has transmitted the power of his faith to them.[59] By drawing the essence of the goal within himself, the genius has become a prophet, an inspired revealer of the future.[60]

This is not the responsibility of one man, but the common task of all great men. Indeed, Schoenberg considered himself among the inspired, whose duty it is to light the way for mankind.[61] Because it is a common task, handed down from generation to generation, there can ultimately be only one content, one "idea," whose totality is gradually revealed through the works of those who have faith. For Schoenberg, this "idea" is God; and what he seeks is unity with God.

> . . . there is only one content, which all great men wish to express: the longing of mankind for its future form, for an immortal soul, for dissolution into the universe—the longing of this soul for its God. This alone, though reached by many roads and detours and expressed by many different means, is the content of the works of the great; and with all their will they yearn for it so long and desire it so intensely until it is accomplished. And this longing is transmitted with its full intensity from the predecessor to the successor, and the successor continues not only the content but also the intensity, adding proportionally to his heritage.[62]

As a conclusion, the three levels that emerge explicitly and implicitly in Schoenberg's writings will be summarized together. The first level strictly pertains to the musical aspects of the "idea," from the moment it occurs to the composer as inspiration through its realization in a musical composition. For Schoenberg, the musical "idea" includes far more than themes or motives. The totality of a piece is its "idea," and this totality is present in the composer's mind prior to the invention of themes, motives, or in the case of a twelve-tone composition, the basic set. The reasons for this view primarily stem from his theory of the process of musical creation, which can be divided into two parts. Musical creation has as its model God's creation of the world. When God wished to create light, He envisioned His wish fulfilled in its entirety. Likewise, the "idea" for an entire musical composition comes to the composer as a complete vision in a moment of inspiration. This inspiration or vision is a perception of relationships that exist among musical tones that the composer then feels compelled to present in a piece of music. God's creation was fulfilled in the moment of inspiration. Unlike this divine creation, however, the composer's desire to present his "idea" is not instantly realized. The laborious process of reconstructing his vision into a form that will be comprehensible to others makes up the second part of human creation. In reconstructing his vision, the composer invents the details such as themes, motives, or the basic set, which the inspiration itself lacks. All the details of the reconstructed totality, however, are determined by the nature of the specific tone

relations that the composer wants to reveal.

The two additional levels of "idea" are embodied in the musical composition. The first of these is the composer's expression of himself. Musical inspiration occurs only to the true artist or genius, who was born with a special inner necessity ("I must") to express himself. This need for self-expression serves as a catalyst in the inspiration for a composition. In any given composition, what the genius is able to express of himself is the extent of his knowledge of his own nature as representative of human nature. This corresponds to the extent of man's knowledge of the musical tones. The genius adds to this knowledge when he perceives and presents new tone relations. In expressing himself through music, the genius also reveals something of the essence of the cosmos. This is possible because of the parallel relationship that exists between music and the cosmos. The essence of the cosmos is by nature irrational and is knowable only by perception, a source of knowledge that does not involve reasoning. Music is a microcosm of the cosmos and is thus the language best suited to express knowledge gained by perception. The musical genius perceives the inmost essence of the cosmos. Through him, this perceptible essence is translated into musical terms so that ordinary men may also perceive it. This inmost essence of the cosmos is the third level of the "idea" embodied in a musical composition. Although Schoenberg adopted Schopenhauer's view that the composer discloses the inmost essence of the world through music, Schopenhauer refers to the Will as the absolute truth of the cosmos. Unlike Schopenhauer, Schoenberg unconditionally believed that God is the ultimate and absolute truth. The genius who is possessed by a faith in this supreme power functions as His mouthpiece.[63] Thus when he expresses himself, he also expresses the essence of God within him.

NOTES

[1] "Composition with Twelve Tones," in *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg,* trans. Leo Black, ed. Leonard Stein (New York: St. Martins, 1975), pp. 207–49.

[2] "Brahms the Progressive," in *Style and Idea,* pp. 398–441.

[3] "New Music, Outmoded Music, Style and Idea," in *Style and Idea,* pp. 113–24.

[4] Ibid., pp. 121–24.

[5] Among Schoenberg's unpublished papers are two essays that address the topic of the musical "idea." According to Josef Rufer, one is a nine-page essay that discusses the topic in some detail. The second is undated, but Rufer feels that it is the later of the two. Pasted on the back is the following remark, dated 7 April 1929: "The question of what a musial idea is has never been answered up till now—if, indeed, it has ever been asked." This is followed by two other remarks by Schoenberg. The first is undated: "I thought I would be able to state this clearly today, I had it so clearly in mind. But I must still wait. Perhaps, though, I shall come to it yet." The second comment is dated 1940: "I have dealt with all these questions much better later on." Josef Rufer, *The Works of Arnold Schoenberg: A Catalogue of His Compositions, Writings, and Paintings,* trans. Dika Newlin (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), p. 137. Schoenberg was apparently dissatisfied with his attempts to come to terms with this question. Although it is impossible to know exactly how he intended to treat the issue, most important is the implication in his final comment that the answer is incorporated in his writings.

[6] I have not used critical writings that deal with Schoenberg's life and its relationship to his

art. Two important studies of this kind are: Alexander Ringer, "Arnold Schoenberg and the Prophetic Image in Music," *Bulletin of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute* (1974):26–38, and Dika Newlin, "Self-Revelation and the Law: Arnold Schoenberg in His Religious Works," *Yuval: Studies of the Jewish Music Research Center* (1968):204–20. Ringer demonstrates that Schoenberg considered art an expression of the prophetic conscience of modern man. Newlin traces Schoenberg's spiritual autobiography as it emerges in his religious works. One of Newlin's most important premises is that Schoenberg's religious and philosophical ideas were a significant influence on his technical innovations such as the twelve-tone method of composition.

[7] "Neue Musik, veraltete Musik, Stil und Gedanke," in *Stil und Gedanke: Aufsätze zur Musik,* ed. Ivan Vojtech (Germany: S. Fischer, 1976), pp. 25–34.

[8] Ibid., p. 33.

[9] "Twelve Tone Composition," in *Style and Idea,* p. 208.

[10] "New Music, Outmoded Music, Style and Idea," p. 122.

[11] For example, see Arnold Schoenberg, *Fundamentals of Musical Composition,* ed. Gerald Strang and Leonard Stein (New York: St. Martin's, 1967).

[12] Ibid., pp. 2–3.

[13] "New Music, Outmoded Music, Style and Idea," p. 123.

[14] "Problems of Harmony," in *Style and Idea,* p. 270.

[15] "Hauer's Theories," in *Style and Idea,* p. 210.

[16] "Problems of Harmony," p. 270.

[17] In its broadest sense the term "tonal" simply refers to the relationship that naturally exists between musical tones. This relationship makes possible the combination of tones to form a piece of music. In this broad sense, a piece of music will always be tonal. Schoenberg believed that the capacity of audiences to comprehend tonal relationships was gradually increasing, so that one day they would be able to recognize the tonality of music presently considered "atonal." Thus Schoenberg viewed tonality as a concept gradually expanding to include any relationship of tones. See "Problems of Harmony," pp. 270–84.

[18] Ibid., p. 275

[19] "Composition with Twelve Tones," p. 219.

[20] "Problems of Harmony," p. 269.

[21] "Composition with Twelve Tones," p. 219.

[22] Ibid., p. 215. "Form in the arts, and especially in music, aims primarily at comprehensibility."

[23] *Fundamentals of Musical Composition,* p.1. Schoenberg devotes the first chapter of this book to the concept of form. "Used in the aesthetic sense, form means that a piece is *organized;* i.e., that it consists of elements functioning like those of a living *organism.*" Schoenberg believed that without such organization, music would be an unintelligible mass.

[24] Ibid., p. 213.

[25] "Gustav Mahler," in *Style and Idea,* p. 458. Schoenberg defends Gustav Mahler against the accusation that his themes are unoriginal. Art in general is not dependent upon the single part. Although the entire work is contained in the theme, the theme consists not only of the notes that are present, but also of their "musical destinies." Although Mahler's themes may appear to be uninspired successions of tones, his themes are in fact highly original because they offer a wealth of possibilities for the working out of the "idea."

[26] "Constructed Music," in *Style and Idea,* p. 107. "What I sense is not a melody, a motive, a bar, but merely a whole work. Its sections: the movements; their sections: the themes; their sections: the motives and bars—all that is detail, arrived at as the work is progressively realized."

[27] "Composition with Twelve Tones," p. 215

[28] Ibid., pp. 214–15.

[29] Ibid.

[30] "Twelve-Tone Composition," in *Style and Idea,* p. 208. Schoenberg makes a definite distinction between the basic set of a particular piece and its "idea." Although all the thematic and harmonic material is derived from the basic set, the particular set itself is determined by the "idea"—the tone relationships that the composer wants to present.

[31] "New Music, Outmoded Music, Style and Idea," p. 121. "Style is the quality of a work and is based on natural conditions, expressing him who produced it."

[32] "Composition with Twelve Tones," p. 215. The point of the discussion in which Schoenberg makes this statement is that the twelve-tone method of composition is simply a means of musical organization whose aim is comprehensibility.

[33] "Problems in Teaching Art," in *Style and Idea,* p. 365. In the second paragraph of the essay, Schoenberg substitutes the terms "genius" for "artist" and "talented" for "craftsman." From that point, he uses the terms interchangeably. They will also be used interchangeably here.

[34] "Constructed Music," p. 108. Schoenberg claims that his own music is the "constructed realization" of his vision of the whole (p. 107). However, truly constructed music is produced by a composer who did not start from a vision of totality.

[35] "Problems in Teaching Art," p. 365.

[36] "Folkloristic Symphonies," in *Style and Idea,* p. 165. In this essay Schoenberg discusses the unsuitability of folk tunes as thematic material for compositions. In his opinion, folk tunes are unsuitable because they are small forms, complete in themselves. They are independent structures that do not leave any problems unsolved. "A composer—a real creator—composes only if he has something to say which has not yet been said and which he feels must be said: a musical message to music-lovers."

[37] "Criteria for the Evaluation of Music," in *Style and Idea,* p. 135.

[38] "Gustav Mahler," p. 462.

[39] "Franz Liszt's Work and Being," in *Style and Idea,* p. 442. In the opening paragraph of this essay, Schoenberg establishes that Liszt, like all geniuses or great men, lived by his instincts and not by reason.

[40] "Hauer's Theories," p. 212.

[41] Ibid., p. 209.

[42] "The Relationship to the Text," pp. 141–42.

[43] Ibid., p. 142. Cf. Arthur Schopenhauer, *The World as Will and Representation,* trans. E. F. J. Payne (New York: Dover, 1969), 1:260.

[44] Schopenhauer, 2:447. According to Schopenhauer, the four voices of harmony—bass, tenor, alto, and soprano—correspond to the mineral, plant, and animal kingdoms, and to man, respectively.

[45] "The Relationship to the Text," p. 142. Schoenberg believed that Schopenhauer was wrong in trying to translate the details of music into rational terms (i.e., the terms of human language) because in so doing, the direct impression of the essence of the world communicated by music is lost.

[46] Ibid., p. 142. The distinction between perception and comprehension is made most clearly in this essay. Schoenberg comments that Schopenhauer "loses himself when he tries to translate details of this language *which the reason does not understand* into our terms. It must, however, be clear to him that in this translation into the terms of human language, which is abstraction, reduction to the recognizable, the essential, the language of the world, which ought perhaps to remain incomprehensible and only perceptible, is lost."

[47] "Hauer's Theories," p. 212.

[48] "Human Rights," in *Style and Idea,* p. 511. "Music speaks in its own language of purely musical matters. . . . That is not the language in which a musician unconsciously gives himself away, as he does when he formulates ideas which might even frighten him if he did not know that no one can find out what he hides while he says it. But one day the children's children of our psychologists and psychoanalysts will have deciphered the language of music."

[49] "Hauer's Theories," p. 212. "I believe that our brain (to the extent that we can comprehend the cosmos with it and with our other comprehending faculties—intuition, feeling, etc.) certainly functions according to the laws of the cosmos, even if it is not identical with it, and permits us to comprehend and perceive only whatever is in the cosmos."

[50] "Gustav Mahler," p. 454.

[51] "Franz Liszt's Work and Being," p. 446. Schoenberg states that the ideas of great men in general have little effect on the lives of the majority. As a result, it may be difficult to see what

progress is actually being made. However, there will always be men who seek the truth, although their greatest influence will be on the great men who succeed them. In this way progress is taking place, even if humanity is not aware of it.

[52] "Gustav Mahler," p. 471. Schoenberg traced Mahler's artistic evolution as revealed in his works. He demonstrated that in each successive work, Mahler revealed more of the nature of the world. In his Ninth Symphony he stood on the edge of disclosing something that the rest of humanity was not yet ready to know. He was called away before writing his Tenth Symphony because the riddles of the world may have been solved in it, and it was not yet time for this to happen. Mahler is representative of Schoenberg's view of the role of the genius in general. Each great man reveals just so much of the essence of the world through his works, thus leading humanity closer to the goal or truth that lies in the future. "And this is the essence of genius—that it is the future. This is why the genius is nothing to the present. Because present and genius have nothing to do with one another. The genius is our future. So shall we too be one day, when we have fought our way through. The genius lights the way, and we strive to follow."

[53] "Franz Liszt's Work and Being," p. 442.

[54] Ibid.

[55] "Gustav Mahler," p. 448. Schoenberg makes the following comment with reference to Mahler: "Here is the faith that raises us on high. Here is someone believing, in his immortal works, in an eternal soul. I do not know whether our soul is immortal, but I believe it. What I do know, though, is that men, the highest men, such as Beethoven and Mahler, will believe in an immortal soul until the power of this belief has endowed humanity with one."

[56] Ibid., p. 470.

[57] Ibid., p. 471.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid., p. 449.

[60] "Franz Liszt's Work and Being," p. 443.

[61] "Gustav Mahler," p. 449. "We, who are inspired, must have faith; men will sympathize with this ardour, men will see our light shining. Men will honour the one who we worship—even without our doing anything about it."

[62] Ibid., p. 464. Before making this statement Schoenberg discussed Mahler's relationship to Classical music. He felt that the relationship is much closer than may be realized at present. According to Schoenberg, Mahler progressed far beyond Classical music, but not so much in form and proportion as in content. The content is not greater, because there is only one content (refer to citation). What Schoenberg must mean is that the intensity of Mahler's longing for the goal was greater.

[63] Ibid., p. 470.

THE PRAISE OF MUSICKE: *JOHN CASE, THOMAS WATSON, AND WILLIAM BYRD*

Ellen E. Knight

In the Elizabethan age, when musical practice and education came under severe criticism from many a resolute and influential reformer and censor, two defenses of music appeared on the scene, published within two years of one another: the anonymous *The Praise of Musicke* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1586) and *Apologia musices* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1588) by John Case. The books have not gone without comment in musical scholarship, but the question of the authorship of *The Praise of Musicke* has received more attention than the more important issue of the value of the work and of its fellow defense, the *Apologia musices*. Although the present article will devote some attention to this question of authorship, it will also concentrate on Case himself and the madrigal by William Byrd and Thomas Watson associated with Case and his book(s).

Since the 17th century *The Praise of Musicke* has been attributed by some to John Case, author of *Apologia musices,* and since the same century that attribution has been questioned. While a full review of the dispute is not necessary,[1] a summary of the two sides may be of assistance to the reader. Some of the evidence that has been brought forward, taken at face value, is ambiguous. Some points of proof conflict, and each point may be (and has been) interpreted to support either side. The strength of each piece of evidence may be seen in the following summary, where the strength of the response of the opposition may also be appraised.

Evidence for Case as the author of *Praise*

Point: Thomas Ravenscroft, writing in 1614, quite clearly refers to *Praise* as a work by John Case.[2] *Response:* Ravenscroft was mistaken.[3]

Point: A madrigal written by William Byrd and Thomas Watson, "A Gratification unto Mr. John Case, for his learned Booke, lately made in the prayse of Musick," identifies John Case as the author of a "prayse of Musick."[4] Although some suggest the "prayse" referred to may have been the *Apologia,* an allusion in the poem is found in *Praise* but not in *Apologia.*[5] *Response:* The madrigal, now dated at 1589, refers to Case's "lately made" *Apologia* of 1588, not the *Praise* of 1586.[6] Watson's use of poetic license is not significant. *Counterpoint:* The inclusion of the title of *Praise* in the madrigal does suggest a reference to that work, perhaps a clever allusion to the anonymous book as well as the signed one. *Response: Apologia* is as much a praise of music as is *Praise;* therefore, the wording of the madrigal title is not significant. If Watson was being clever, he, like Ravenscroft, may have been misled by superficial resemblances between the books.[7]

Point: *Praise* was written by a classics scholar at Oxford with a music background, a description that fits Case. *Response:* This description hardly identifies a unique personality. *Counterpoint:* No alternative author has been suggested.

Point: *Praise* and *Apologia* are similarly written. In fact, *Apologia* is a Latin translation of the English *Praise.*[8] *Response:* *Apologia* is no translation; it is a completely different work.[9] (*Counterpoint:* The discussion below presents the counterpoint at length.)

Evidence against Case as the author of *Praise*

Point: The printer of *Praise,* Joseph Barnes, in writing the dedication, referred to the book as "an Orphan of one of Lady Musickes children," thus establishing the death of the author by 1586. Case died in 1600. *Response:* By "orphan" Barnes meant unacknowledged or anonymous.[10]

(The following points, of recent appearance, find their first response here.)

Point: John Case printed a list of his writings in his *Thesaurus oeconomiae* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1597). He did not include *Praise.*[11] *Response:* Case chose not to put his name to the book at publication; he still chose not to do so later.

Point: Case made reference to *Praise* in his *Sphaera civitatis* (Oxford: Joseph Barnes, 1588). Not only did he not claim authorship, he spoke of it in flattering terms prohibitive of his being the author. *Response:* Again, Case chose to preserve the anonymity of the book. To refer to one's own work as a "learned book" ("libellum doctum") is not too extravagant praise to give one's own creation. It is a learned work.

Point: William Gager, writing a commendatory poem to Case's *Sphaera civitatis,* referred to three works by Case, without including a book on music.[12] *Response:* Gager may not have been privy to *Praise*'s authorship. If he were, he might have conspired with Case (as Barnes may have) to keep the secret.

Point: *Apologia* differs internally from *Praise* and also conflicts on points of detail.[13] *Response:* The conflicts cited are negligible and do not preclude common authorship.[14]

All these arguments based on external points are inconclusive. There are two explanations for everything. One ends by doubting the veracity of every witness, including Case himself. Consideration of internal evidence, the books themselves, ought to be a more promising and enlightening method of answering the question, yet the interpretation of that evidence has also produced unconvincing arguments.

For example, when it was mistakenly supposed that the authors of *Praise* and *Apologia* were the same by virtue of the latter book being a Latin translation or copy of the earlier English volume, it was thought a curious thing that Case should duplicate himself and write the same book twice. With the realization that *Apologia* is not a translation has also come the supposition that if Case had written both, he would not have varied from the first book. In short,

it is incomprehensible both that Case would and that he would not duplicate himself.

Unfortunately, the most recent articles on the authorship question mix the issue of *Praise* as a translation with that of the authorship of the book. Howard B. Barnett's article, based on the mistaken translation premise, loses credibility at once on all points, though some are not without value. J. W. Binns's article, which provided the necessary correction of Barnett, mixes points for the translation disproof with those of the quite separate authorship question; yet they are separate issues, and the former is not a proof or disproof of the latter. The exposure of the mistaken translation postulate does not disprove the original hypothesis that Case wrote *Praise,* nor does it negate the possible validity of other factors. Mere difference is not cause for establishing the argument against Case. Incompatibility must be proven.

Difference, however, has been the most important consideration brought forward in the *Praise* authorship question. The major categories are: the different styles and personalities of the authors, the different purposes of the books, and the differences in the contents, in general and on specific points of detail. A brief summary will suffice for the first two categories, since they are the less telling.

Objections to Case as the author of *Praise* on the basis of style and content

Point: The styles of *Apologia* and *Praise* differ. That of the former is of a "dialectician addressing those trained in the schools and accustomed to the subtle distinctions and formalities of scholastic logic, and also . . . indulging in moral and didactic reflection."[15] The latter is more "light, poetical, and imaginative, with numerous digressions."[16] *Response:* Stylistic differences are admitted. Case, however, had two styles, that of the Latin treatises and another lighter and more poetic style evidenced in his English writings.[17] *Counterpoint:* The English pieces are letters and poems and are not comparable to the scholastic treatises.[18] *Response:* There exist no other English writings by Case with which to make a comparison, and these pieces do display another aspect of Case's style and personality.

Point: The aims of the two works are utterly different.[19] The end of *Praise* is to justify church music in response to a current controversy. The *Apologia* is a theoretical defense of music in general. *Response:* Of course, *Praise* was "more a political crusade than a scholarly exercise,"[20] but it was so for a reason. Case wrote each book to a different audience; music at that time was not only an academic subject but was also an object of controversy and abuse and thus of concern to a larger audience than the scholarly community.[21] For an author to write all his treatises but one in a strict scholarly manner in Latin addressed to an academic audience does single out that one as being uncharacteristic (though *Praise* is not an unscholarly book, as further considerations of the content will show). But Case was a versatile writer; he was capable of such writing. The Latin treatises do indicate that he was also a

consistent writer within a genre. Whoever wrote *Praise* did not do something impossible for Case, but he did have a different objective than Case had in *Apologia* and suited his writing to it. Whether Case's feelings for the subject were strong enough to prompt pursuit of that objective is a matter of opinion.

Point: As regards the contents of the two treatises, it has been noted that (a) the material covered varies from book to book, (b) expressions of one are absent from the other, (c) sources cited vary, (d) the structures differ, and (e) common points of detail conflict.[22] It is conceded that the books do have a common stand, the defense and praise of music, but that is about all.[23] *Response:* That is not quite all. Indeed, there are several differences; Case, whether he wrote *Praise* or merely read it, had no intention of duplicating that volume. Differences are readily admitted, but the importance of the differences is not admitted without examination and without a realization of the internal similarities in the construction and content of the treatises.

(a) Neither work is a practical work, a guide for learning the science or practice of music. Each is a philosophical treatise. *Praise* is a defense of church music, *Apologia* of music in general (though it includes church music). *Praise,* twice as long as *Apologia,* is a more comprehensive treatment of its subject, while *Apologia,* in shorter space, takes in more territory. Considering the sizes and scopes of the works, one would expect them to cover some different material, and they do. They also cover some common material. This simply shows that Case did not rewrite *Praise* in his *Apologia.*

(b) That expressions in one book ought to be in the other is an objection that has not been properly explained. It presumes the books ought to duplicate.

(c) Both books take the typical Renaissance approach to an argument: appeal to authority. Both are primarily based upon the authority of the Classic authors, with support from scriptural and patristic authorities for which *Praise* shows a preference over *Apologia,* perhaps corresponding to the different emphases of the books. In *Apologia* Case states that he could have addressed the issue of church music through reference to the scriptures and the Fathers.[24] He even begins briefly to do so but then confines himself to a more theoretical discussion. Thus it would appear that Case was capable of producing a section on church music similar to *Praise* but chose not to.

As with the stylistic differences, the issue is not Case's capabilities but his inclination. Thus the seriousness of this objection depends largely on one's views of consistency. The two preferences in sources could be a manifestation of the tastes of separate authors, of one author's differing intent, or, again, of his desire not to repeat himself (and thus, in a sense, put his signature to the anonymous book). Case may actually not have had any special feeling for any of the sources but used what first came to hand or whatever was appropriate merely as a demonstration of erudition.

(d) The structures, the organization, of the two works are actually very similar. Each book is composed of a series of chapters beginning with the origin of music, followed by positions taken on music historically and as evi-

denced in practice, and leading to the final chapter containing the climax of the works: refutations of current objections to music. The argument for music is built chapter by chapter, firmly establishing music's honor, worth, and necessity with innumerable citations of one authority after another. Upon that firm foundation current objections to music are tackled in the final chapter. In both books each objection is stated and answered until all are dispensed with. The mode of defense is singularly thorough and is constructed similarly in each treatise to the same general end.

(e) The format of the books, however, is not as important as their contents. While it is not so significant that two books should differ in scope and in some references, it is a weightier matter should they conflict where treating the same subject or source material. J. W. Binns states that "where they do treat of common ground . . . they differ in point of detail" and offers examples.[25] Most of the variants cited, however, could be attributed to a multiplicity of source material, used without preference or without the sense of consistency possessed by modern scholars.

That the two books provide different information on Greek modes may easily be attributed to differing sources. As the Greeks were not of one mind about the ethos of music, so also an Elizabethan with a variety of sources at hand need not have been confined to or decided upon one account.[26] A similar argument may be made for multiple versions of one story, such as the Sonus/Accentus tale (especially where in one place that story is used allegorically in a dedication).

Certain other conflicts between the books also do not cause irreparable damage to the argument for Case. For example, the author of *Praise* expends an entire chapter on the mythological origin of music, and Case in *Apologia* dismisses the myths and attributes the creation of music to God. Case's aversion to a retelling of the myths may have been for the retelling and not for the stories (especially where space was limited). The author of *Praise* actually had the same opinion on the origin of music as Case, for at the end he declares music to be the "invention and gift of God himselfe,"[27] thus, in a sense, dismissing the mythological origin. Of course, such differences could have been caused by a difference of authorship. The real difference, however, could be between Renaissance and modern historical method.

The crucial point is not whether *Praise* differs from *Apologia* in points of detail but on major stands. That is, while one author may quote conflicting, contradictory, or differing sources, he is less likely to disagree with himself.

The areas that might best settle one's mind on this point are the sections of the books devoted to refutations of objections. One sees immediately that *Apologia* deals with more and more varied objections. Naturally so, since the book covers wider and more varied ground. Where they do cover the same territory, i.e., in church music, they take the same general stand and many of the same specific positions.

The sections on objections to church music are not identical. *Praise* first handles three objections against "exquisite musicke" or non-congregational

music, and then three objections against any music in church. The chapter and book conclude with the author's final arguments in favor of music. *Apologia* does not make the above separation. It concentrates on the use of any music in church and adds several objections to instrumental music.

Curiously though, where the same objection is treated, the same answer, though differently worded, is given. To demonstrate, the two sections are summarized, beginning with *Praise*.

The Praise of Musicke; objections and answers (numbers added)

1. *Objection:* Exquisite music should not be used, because all people ought to sing together. *Response:* The people may take as good edification by the singing that others sing, as by the prayers that others read.

2. *Objection:* Exquisite music, with many repetitions, is confused and indistinct and the text cannot be understood. *Response:* If so, the fault is in them that so sing, not in the art. Because this obscurity can hardly be avoided, it has been provided for that nothing should be sung but such things as are familiar and known unto the people. The often repetition should rather be commended, for if by the number of voices a thing be not understood once, then the repetition should cause it to be understood the better. Repetition also causes the thing repeated to take deep root and work effectually in our hearts.

3. *Objection:* Exquisite music makes one more attentive to the note than to the matter—which St. Augustine confessed as a sin. *Response:* The fault is not that of music but of the listener. St. Augustine condemned not music but his own weakness. While some are carried away with the pleasure of the note, it causes others to give greater heed to the matter.

Conclusion: If singing be allowed in the church, if the worst is allowed [congregational], then much rather the better, which striketh deeper and worketh more effectually in the hearers.

4. *Objection:* God is a spirit and will be worshiped in spirit and requires not the outward actions of the body but inward motions of the heart. Gregory complains that the singing man often offends God while endeavoring to delight the people. *Response:* Again, the fault is not in music but in men. As God made both soul and body, both are to be referred to his glory. Outward service does not deny the inward. If singing agree with the harmony of the spirit, they profit not only themselves but others.

5. *Objection:* Pricksong is not literally commanded in the Gospel; it may not therefore be allowed. *Response:* The Old Testament hath approved it. Many things not commanded have yet been acceptable unto God.

6. *Objection:* Singing is a ceremonial thing, so it should be excluded. *Response:* Music was not ceremonial for it was not a type and figure of a substance to come. As it was not a part of the Law, it is not abolished by the Gospel.

Conclusion: "It is a despearate remedy, for some few abuses, and inconveniences, which might be better amended, to roote out al Musick from the

church."[28] In the New Testament music is neither commanded nor forbidden. It is the invention and gift of God. Musical harmony puts us in mind of the unity that ought to be in the minds as well as the voices of men. It allures men into the church. It helps them remember the teachings. It is of ancient and great continuance.

Apologia musices: objections and responses (first section only, freely paraphrased)

1. *Objection:* Vocal and instrumental music are not mandated in the express word of God and therefore ought not to be approved in the temple. *Response:* Though not mandated, the example of Christ and the exhortation of Paul and James praise music.

2. *Objection:* Music was a ceremony of the law; therefore, it must now be annulled; exhorted certainly by the new light of Christ, the clouds of the law have disappeared. *Response:* Music was not (as some teach) a shadow of the law. Moreover, many ceremonies that are the seat of devotion are retained in the church of Christ.

3. *Objection:* God is a spirit and should therefore be worshiped with the mind and the spirit. *Response:* This argument does not hang together because God fashioned the mind and the body. By praising him with music we do not disturb the inner harmony of the spirit, rather we inflame and arouse it.

4. *Objection:* God grants our prayers even before we pray and is not pleased with circuity and abundance of words. Therefore figural music with its inane repetitions of syllables is inappropriate. *Response:* God requires continuous prayer as a sign of our humility. Many prayerful repetitions appear in the scriptures. The seraphim say Holy, Holy, Holy.

5. *Objection:* In the confusion of voice and instruments, the sense of the divine word is either carried away or obscured. *Response:* This is true only of a poor performance.

6. *Objection:* Instruments lack voice and tongue and cannot express the word. They are also profane and foreign. *Response:* Instruments speak to the mind and stimulate devotion and the spirit.

7. *Objection:* Augustine and Gregory were disturbed by music. It is probable that the Fathers would not have approved of music in the church. *Response:* The Fathers did not accuse the art but human infirmity. Music is not the cause of distraction but rather careless listening.

8. *Objection:* The theoric life is fixed in God and has no need of music. *Response:* The theoric life is duplex: absolute in heaven, which is sufficient in itself; and comparative in the church of Christ, which is subject to persecution. This life needs music so that souls do not languish.

9. *Objection:* Some organists introduce impure songs into the church. *Response:* The argument is based on an accidental fallacy: because of the abuse, the legitimate use is abrogated.

10. *Objection:* It is a scandal to many to see and hear organs in church. *Response:* The scandal is accepted, not given.

11. *Objection:* Musical instruments are wood or metal and do not have the strength or virtue to move the spirit to the study of piety. *Response:* If one likes to argue in this way, hematite is a rock and rhubarb is a plant. Therefore the former has not the power to strengthen the blood nor the latter the power to purge choler. The strength lies not in the wood or metal, but in God.

The sections are not exact copies or even close imitations, nor would they have to be if Case not only read *Praise* but also wrote it. *Apologia* does, however, have the distinct appearance of being an improvement over the corresponding section of *Praise*. With the exception of the first, all of *Praise*'s objections and their basic replies are incorporated into *Apologia*, and additional points are considered in *Apologia*. This comparison may point up differences between the treatises on points of detail of construction and content; however, these are not incompatibilities.

While other aspects of the books differ, in sentiment and their positions on common stands they agree. This statement is not to be misinterpreted as attempted proof of Case's authorship of *Praise*. Two authors may easily concur in opinion. The comparison merely suggests a unity of spirit between the books and a tempering of the attitude that the "two works are completely different."[29] While the foregoing refutes the translation theory, it does not resolve the question of authorship. That controversy requires more attention to the contents of the treatises.

Regardless of who wrote *Praise,* the question remains why Case wrote *Apologia* when he was aware of an existing defense of music. The answers point up the differences between the books—especially their different purposes—and focus attention on what the books say rather than who said it.[30] Whether Case wrote one book or the two, he saw a place for the second. *Apologia* was not meant to correct or dispute *Praise;* it was a different treatment to a different end. The one, addressed to an issue, was a "trumpet call to wake England from its Philistine indifference to good music."[31] The other was a more concise general treatment with a broader perspective. *Apologia* is not evidence that Case was ashamed or disapproving of the first book, merely that he felt it was not the last word on the subject.

That Case was somehow ashamed or disapproving[32] of *Praise,* a book allegedly not up to his scholastic standards, has been put forth as a theory for the anonymity of the work from the time of Falconer Madan onwards. The theory is weak, especially since Case himself referred his readers of *Sphaera civitatis* to the book.[33]

There are, however, parts of *Praise* with which Case would probably not want his name associated: specifically, the anti-Catholic statements.[34] Their presence has been used as evidence that Case, an alleged Catholic, did not write *Praise*. Yet Case's religious persuasions have also been questioned. Proponents of the Case attribution have done themselves a probable disservice by attempting to deny Case's Catholic proclivities, for religion is in fact a likely reason for the anonymous publication.

Because *Praise* is a defense of church music against its detractors, especially the Puritans, it would hardly have the force desired if known to have been penned by a Catholic or a Catholic sympathizer. The author of *Praise* obviously had something of this sort in mind when he wrote his deprecations of Catholic music. The effect of these passages, however, would have been nullified if it were known that the author had Catholic sympathies. And if a Catholic had written those passages for the sake of the cause alone and not out of personal conviction, he would hardly want the taint of hypocrisy attached to his name. The work to which Case did put his name carries no such passages, and the anonymous book carries no name that would do the book any disservice. If Case had written *Praise* and placed the cause of music before that of the Catholic Church, it would be a significant comment on the place of music in Elizabethan thought.

Case's Catholicism is a biographical point that may be explored further. Anthony A. Wood first described certain of Case's Catholic activities.[35] These had not been challenged until Barnett argued that Wood's affirmation and the presence of a priest at Case's death-bed were not sufficient evidence of Case's Catholicism.[36] Wood himself supplied additional evidence for his stand. He recorded the name of one of Case's private students, Edward Weston. Weston's parents, strong Catholics, entrusted their son's education to Case for five years before he journeyed to France, where he took holy orders.

Another student of Case's whose name is known is Daniel Havernan. His name is preserved as an informant on Case's activities to government officials. The Ambassador to France, Lord Cobham, found Case's activities of sufficient interest in 1582 to mention them to Secretary of State Francis Walsingham:

> By the "same self" parties I am given to understand that Mr. "Hayse" and other Jesuits have dispatched one John Lohorayne, an Irishman, to Oxford, "and is to be" found in Mr Case's house there.[37]

> The papists amongst them look for one Mr Rycards, a minister of a village beside "Abbington"; who as they say through often recourse to the house of one Mr Case in Oxford has been converted to papistry. . . . It is thus reported by one Daniel Havernan, an Irishman, late scholar to that Mr Case, who within these few days passed over at Rye, meaning next week to take his journey toward Rome.[38]

Case's associations with Catholics, especially the Stanleys, could be brought in at this point; however, as too much may be made of one's associates, the matter will be considered as a separate biographical item. Even so, it seems most probable that, in this instance, Wood was not wrong; Case was "popishly affected."

Barnett's view of Case's Catholicism is only one point in his biography of Case that should be updated. As regards his list of Case's works,[39] although

he later mentioned two dedicatory letters, he failed to note a third prose dedication, this in Latin to an Oxford publication, John Rider's *Bibliotheca Scholastica: A Double Dictionairie* (1589). It is also possible to specify certain poems written by Case. They include contributions to the funeral collections published by the Oxford University Press in honor of Sir Christopher Hatton, *Oxoniensium στεναγμός*(1592), and Henry Unton, *Funebria nobilissimi ad praestantissimi equitiis D. Henrici Untoni* (1596).[40]

As part of his discussion of Case's varied interests, Barnett mentions certain associates of Case's: Richard Haydocke and Nicholas Breton. Other surviving documents[41] connect him with Robert Cotton and William Camden. A review of the commendatory pieces to his works provides a host of other names of admirers (if not friends), generally academicians. Notable among them is William Gager, an Oxford scholar (M. A. 1580) and author of Latin plays and poems. He and Case both contributed to the Unton funeral collection and to Breton's *Pilgrimage to Paradise*.

As the above-mentioned names belong primarily to the academic sphere, so also do those of Case's patrons. In general Case chose, understandably, to dedicate his books to Chancellors of Oxford. One exception is *Apologia*.[42] This bears a dedication to William Hatton and his friend Henry Unton. A single copy of *Apologia,* now in the Bodleian Library,[43] contains on a separate sheaf tipped in between the title page and the dedication to Hatton and Unton a separate salutation to Sir Christopher Hatton, William Hatton's uncle and Unton's employer. In it he states that he gave the book to Unton that it might live under Hatton's "roof and shield." Although Case later stated that he dedicated *Apologia* to Christopher Hatton,[44] he did not actually do so. Case probably prepared the additional page to go with a presentation copy of *Apologia* upon the occasion of Hatton's becoming Chancellor of Oxford in the fall of 1588, the year of the publication of *Apologia*.

Further exceptions are *Lapis philosophicus* (1599), dedicated to Sir Thomas Egerton, and *Ancilla philosophiae* (1599), dedicated to John Egerton. Case's interest in the Egerton family may well have stemmed from his association with the Stanley family. Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, the Earl of Derby, was at Oxford contemporaneously with Case. It is possible that they met there, although evidence of their association is of later date. Case, an M.D., was the attending physician at the death of Stanley in 1594. Case's will records gifts given him by the Earl.[45] After Stanley's death Case may have turned his attention to the Egertons, since Stanley's widow, Alice Spencer Stanley, remarried to Thomas Egerton (whose son John later married Alice's daughter, Frances Stanley). As the Stanleys' position in Elizabethan society and, hence, in modern scholarship is a prominent one, Case's association with them is not without interest, both with and without relation to the question of Catholicism, to which religion the Stanleys were eminent adherents.

Thomas Watson and William Byrd

Returning more specifically to Elizabethans associated with Case and *The*

Praise of Musicke, one comes to Thomas Watson and William Byrd. The relevance of their madrigal to the *Praise* authorship question has been touched upon above. Further observations, however, may be made about the composition.

It may first be noted that the madrigal text has never been reprinted correctly. The mistakes made by J. Haslewood and preserved by his copyists are few, but the correct text is as follows:

Let others prayse what seemes[46] them best,
I lyke his lynes above the rest,
Whose pen hath painted Musickes prayse,
By Natures law, by Wisdomes rule,
He soundly blames the sencelesse foole,
And Barb'rous Scithian of our dayes.

He wrytes of Angells harmonie,
Above the Harpe of Mercurie,
He wrytes of sweetly turning Sphaeres,
How Byrds and Beastes and Wormes rejoyce,
How Dolphins lov'd Arions voyce,
He makes a frame for Midas eares.

There may the solemne Stoickes finde,
That Momus and himselfe are blynde,
And that rude Marsia wanteth skill,
Whyles wyll and witlesse eares are bent,
Against Apollos sweet concent,
The Nursse of good, the scourge of ill.

Let Eris then delight in warres,
Let Envie barke against the Starres,
Let Folly sayle which way she please,
With him I wish my dayes to spend,
Whose quill hath stode fayre Musickes frend,
Chiefe friend to peace, chiefe port of ease.

The "Gratification" is the first known collaboration between Watson and Byrd. It was apparently an amicable one for it continued, Byrd contributing two madrigals (two settings of Watson's "This Sweet and Merry Month of May"), written "at the request of the sayd Thomas Watson,"[47] to Watson's *Italian Madrigalls Englished* of 1590 and possibly supplying music to other Watson texts.[48] How and when the collaboration began is unknown. A Case book (either *Praise* or *Apologia*[49]) may have occasioned their first joint work. As each had an interest in music, they may both have been drawn to praise a defense of music.

Byrd's interests as a composer and holder of a printing monopoly are well known. Watson's interests were apparently those of an amateur musician, and as they are less well known are briefly stated here. Watson styled himself

a gentleman; he was, no doubt, a musical dilettante. Lines from his *An Eclogue* (1590) suggest that he took some pride in his musical abilities.[50] It is possible that his publication of the *Italian Madrigalls Englished* grew out of his own practice of performing Italian music to his own translations or original poetry, as well as out of a genuine admiration for the music of Marenzio.

Watson shared with Case a grounding in the musical philosophies of the ancients. In a number of sonnets from his *The Hekatompathia* (Nos. XI–XVI) he used musical images drawn from Classic authors, as for example in these extracts from Sonnets XV and XII:

XV

For though rude Satyres like of Marsias songs,
And Choridon esteeme his oaten quill:
Compare them with hir voice, and both are ill.

XII

I mervaile I, why poets heretofore
Extold Arions harp or Mercuries,
Although the one did bring a fishe to shore
And th'other as a signe adorn'd the skies.[51]

It is not impossible that Watson, on the strength of the subject alone, admired Case's defense of music to the point that he prompted Byrd to join him in praising the man and his book (though the idea may have originated with Byrd). Although it is possible that Watson may have had personal acquaintance with Case, occasioned perhaps by mutual antiquarian interests or Oxford associations,[52] and thus wished to support a friend, to date only the poem definitely links their names.

The appearance of the poem suggests that the madrigal was a true collaboration and not an instance where the composer found a poem he liked and set it to music. This observation is founded upon the similarity of this text to Watson's other musical texts rather than to his independent poems.

There is some similarity among the structures of the three musical texts, "A Gratification," "This Sweet and Merry Month of May," and "With Fragrant Flowers." (With the exception of the text set by Byrd, the *Italian Madrigalls Englished* texts are not brought into consideration here as their structures are highly dependent on those of the music or the original texts.) Most of Watson's English poems are in sonnet form, of either the fourteen- or eighteen-line variety, each line usually of ten syllables in iambic pentameter. The musical texts are not sonnets. They are in strophic form, two with three stanzas of six lines each and the third ("This Sweet and Merry Month") having one stanza of eight lines. Each stanza of each poem has three rhymes, though arranged variously: aabccb, abababcc, aabbcc. In each poem the lines are eight-syllable iambic. Although Watson did not have one mold for his musical texts, the form of the "Gratification" is so much more similar to the other musical texts than to his free-standing English poems that it may be concluded that he composed it as a musical text.

Whoever suggested its composition, the Watson-Byrd madrigal has more to offer than its highly ambiguous reference to Case as the author of a praise of music. Just as *Praise* and *Apologia* ought to be viewed with an eye seeing beyond the question of authorship, so may the "Gratification" be seen as more than a piece of evidence in that dispute. In addition to what the treatises and the madrigal explain about their authors, they say something definite about music. The cause of music was neglected and maligned by a substantial portion of the population. That it needed support is confirmed by the very existence of *Praise* and *Apologia*. That the support came from an Aristotelian scholar and a poet-playwright as well as a musician indicates that the controversy over music was of common interest and concern to a goodly portion of Elizabethan learned society. That the controversy was not ended by the author(s) of *Praise* and *Apologia* was not for the lack of trying. The treatises stand as models of Renaissance defenses, supported by men of learning and artistic prestige.

NOTES

[1] The history is available in Howard B. Barnett, "John Case—An Elizabethan Scholar," *Music & Letters* 50 (1969):252–66; and J. W. Binns, "John Case and 'The Praise of Musicke'," *Music & Letters* 55 (1974):444–53.

[2] Thomas Ravenscroft, *A Briefe Discourse of the True (but Neglected) Use of Charact'ring the Degrees* (London: Edw: Allde for Tho. Adams, 1614; facs. ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1971), sig. **1. This passage was first noted by William Ringler, " 'The Praise of Musicke' by John Case," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 54 (1960):119–21.

[3] Binns, pp. 452–53.

[4] William Byrd and Thomas Watson, "A Gratification unto Master John Case for his learned Booke, lately made in the praise of Musicke" (London: T. East, 1589). Only two parts of this six-part madrigal survive. A cantus secundus is in the University of Cambridge Library, RISM B5222. A bassus is in the Bodleian Library, Don. a. 3(3). The madrigal was first used as evidence for Case by John Haslewood, "*The Praise of Musicke,*" in Sir Egerton Brydges, *The British Bibliographer,* 4 vols. (London: 1810–14), 2:541–46.

[5] The allusion to Marsias was first noted by Falconer Madan, *Oxford Books,* 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), 1:279. For more on the contents of the poem, see note 50 below.

[6] Binns, p. 453.

[7] Madan, p. 279.

[8] The mistake about translation is absent from most attributions of *Praise* to Case but occurs prominently in Barnett.

[9] Binns, p. 444.

[10] Ringler, p. 120.

[11] This reference and the following from *Sphaera civitatis* are cited with the given opinions in Binns, pp. 445–46.

[12] Binns, p. 446.

[13] Madan and Binns both discuss this point.

[14] The point has hitherto been answered with external evidence and the translation idea. The present response will be explored below.

[15] Madan, p. 280.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Barnett, pp. 260–61.

[18] Binns, p. 452.

[19] Ibid., p. 451.

[20] Barnett, p. 263.

[21] Ibid., p. 264.

[22] Each of these points is made by Binns, p. 451. Points b and c were earlier made by Madan, p. 280.

[23] Binns, p. 452.

[24] Case, *Apologia,* pp. 27–28, quoted in Binns, p. 449.

[25] Binns, p. 451.

[26] Along the line of points of detail, Binns, p. 451, mistakenly notes mention of the hypomixolydian mode (instead of hyp*er*mixolydian mode) in *Praise,* p. 55.

[27] *Praise,* p. 150.

[28] Ibid., p. 148.

[29] Binns, p. 447.

[30] To continue through *Apologia*'s refutation section alone is worthy of attention: Case counters objections to theatrical, ceremonial, and domestic music.

[31] Morrison Comegys Boyd, *Elizabethan Music and Music Criticism,* 2d ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), p. 21.

[32] Various assumptions have been made regarding Case's character and attitudes. He has been thought too modest to apply "learned" to his own work, not too modest to let a work remain anonymous, too proud to acknowledge an inferior work. If there is evidence for any character assessment, it has not yet been presented.

[33] Anyone still loath to let go of this viewpoint, however, may consider Madan's evaluation of the author as "of imaginative mind, young in years," p. 279. Although published in 1586, the year of the writing of *Praise* is unknown. Had it actually been written earlier, some of the differences between it and *Apologia* might then be attributed to changes of viewpoint occurring over the passage of time; and the anonymity to reluctance to acknowledge an atypical early work.

[34] *Praise,* pp. 129, 133, 136. The passages are quoted in Madan, p. 280, and Barnett, p. 260.

[35] Anthony A. Wood, *Athenae oxoniensis,* ed. Philip Bliss, 4 vols. (London: Tho. Bennet, 1691; new ed., London: F. C. & J. Rivington, 1813–20), 1:685.

[36] Barnett, p. 265.

[37] Great Britain, Public Record Office, *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, of the Reign of Elizabeth,* vol. 15 (Jan 1581–19 Feb 1582): 19 Feb 1582, Cobham to Walsingham, p. 492.

[38] Ibid., 8 Feb 1582, Cobham to Walsingham, p. 486.

[39] This list has already had some correction by Binns, p. 446.

[40] The three works here noted are listed in Madan, 2:31–32, 35; 1:134; though only the Unton poem has received other notice.

[41] Letters from John Case to Robert Cotton, Oxoniensis Bodleianus, MS Smith 71.

[42] *Praise* was dedicated by the printer to Sir Walter Ralegh.

[43] Binns, p. 446, cites this as Wood (25); however, it is Wood (22).

[44] Case, *Thesaurus,* cited in Binns, pp. 445–46.

[45] Diana Poulton, *John Dowland* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), p. 396.

[46] The text as it appears in the madrigal parts quite clearly says "seemes," although as it appears printed separately under the bassus part, it reads "lykes." The former is probably the correct reading.

[47] Thomas Watson, *The First Sett, of Italian Madrigalls Englished* (London: Thomas Este, 1590). Further discussion of the collaboration and of Watson's musical activities appears in the author's "Thomas Watson and the *Italian Madrigalls Englished,*" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1978).

[48] Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962), p. 10 has suggested some possibilities. Also possible is a 1591 collaboration on Watson's text "With Fragrant Flowers." It is highly probable that the music used for this madrigal was by Byrd but adapted from "This Sweet and Merry Month of May" by Watson himself. See the author's dissertation, ibid, pp. 173–76.

[49] Watson, it should be noted, was an excellent Latinist, quite capable of comprehending and extolling *Apologia.*

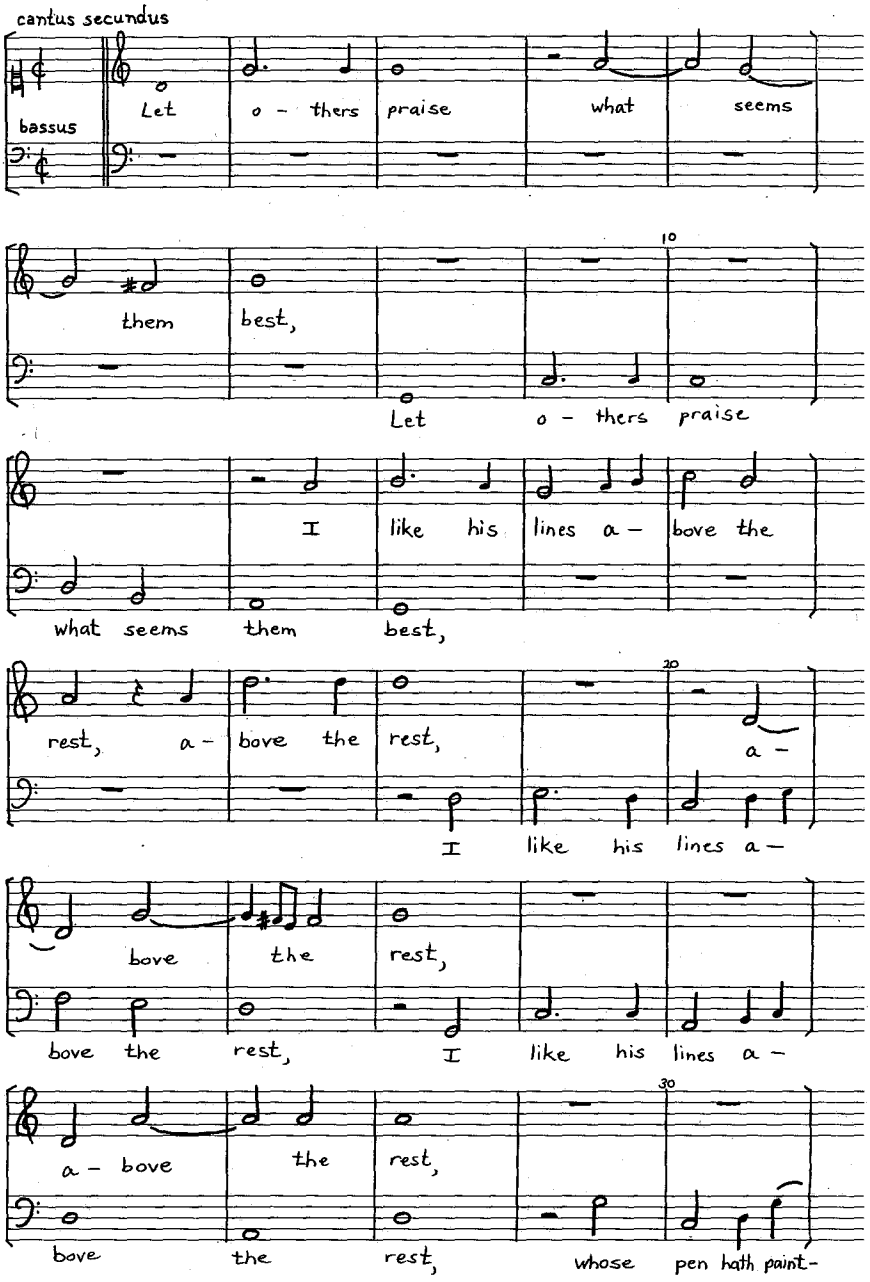
[50] Watson, in his *An Eclogue upon the Death of the Right Honorable Sir Francis Walsingham* (London:

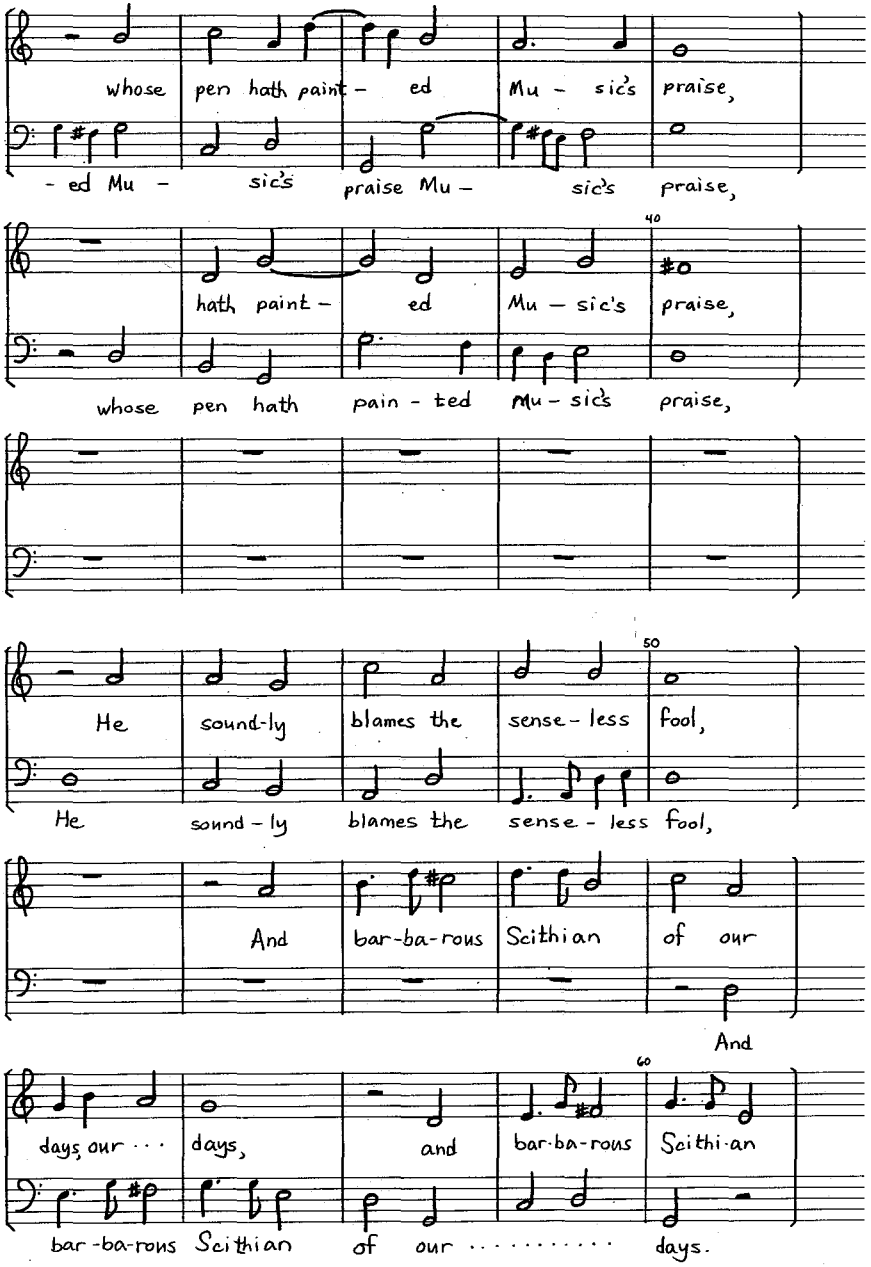
Robert Robinson, 1590), has a character say of himself:

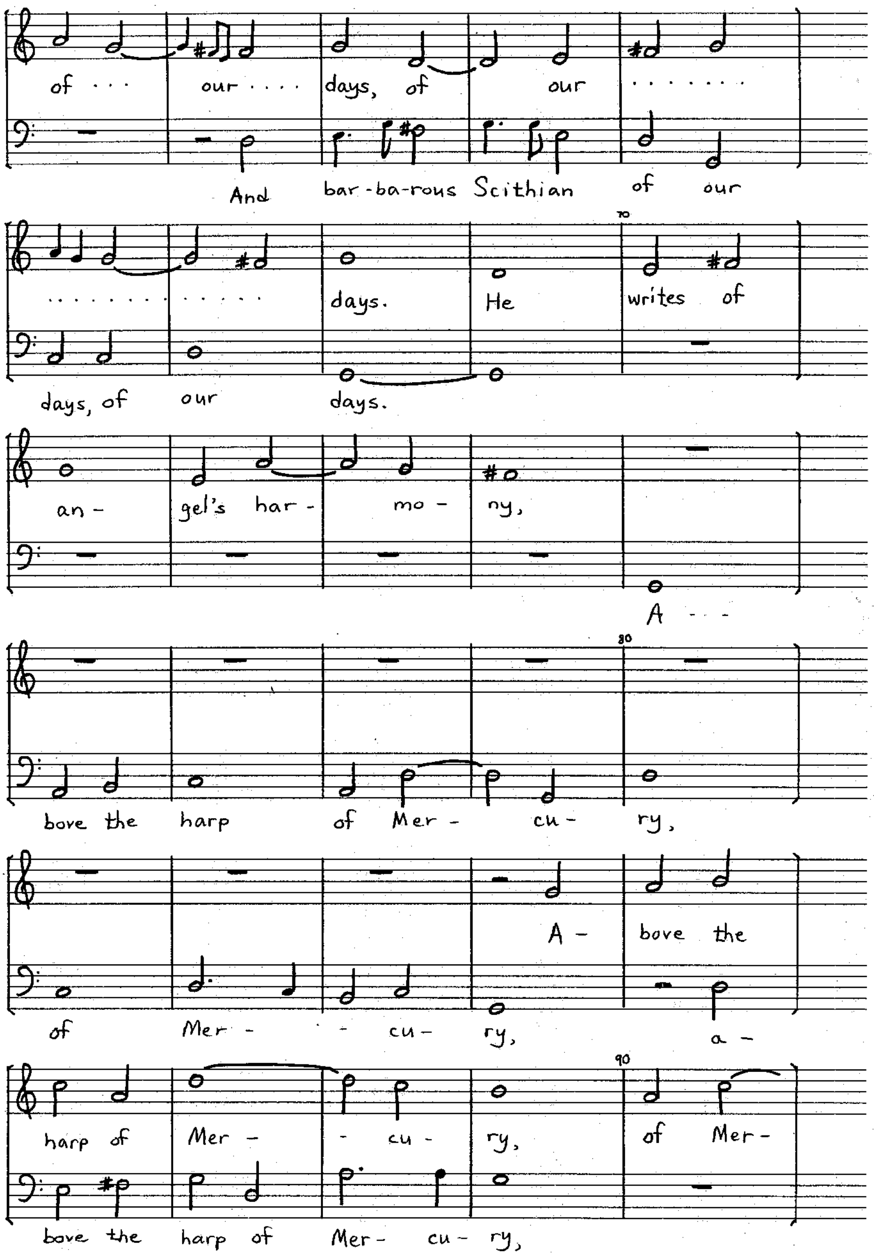
Thy tunes have often pleased mine eares of yore
Where milk white swans did flock to hear thee sing.

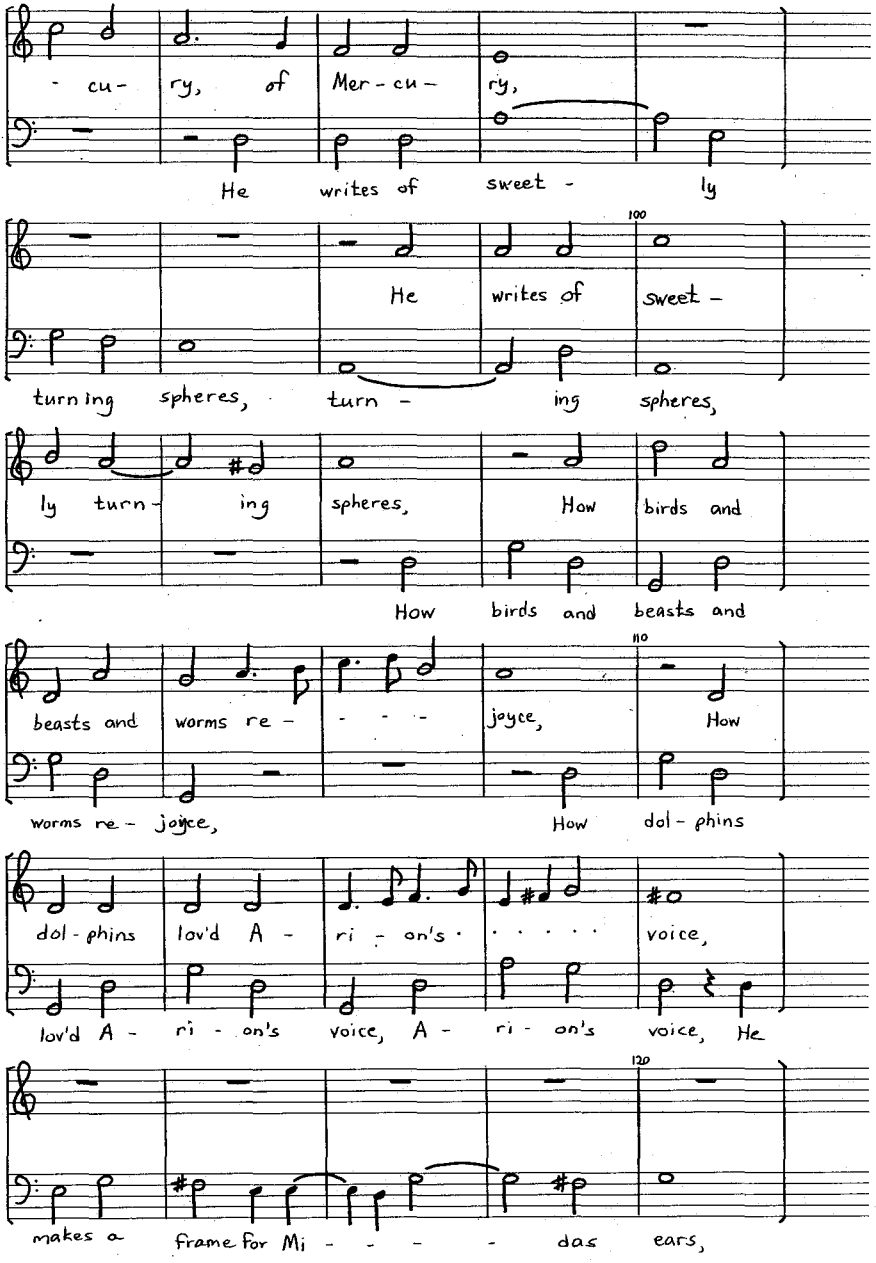
[51] Thomas Watson, *The Hekatompathia* (London: John Wolfe, 1582). As *The Hekatompathia* predates *Praise,* it is evident that Watson could have used poetic license in writing the "Gratification" and including reference to Marsias. That all of the allusions in stanza two of the poem are to be found in Chapter I of *Apologia* may point to only a quick check back to the book before writing the poem.

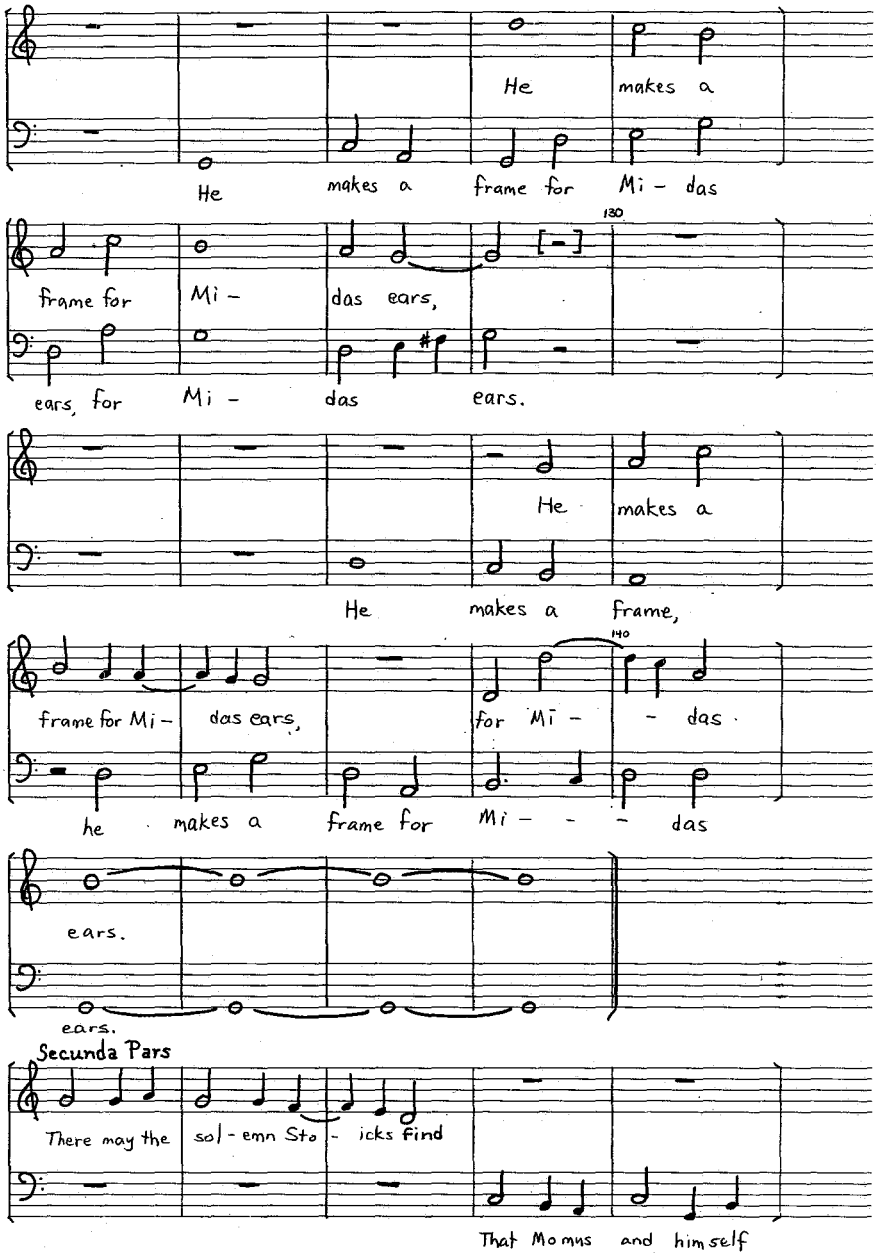
[52] Madan's view that Watson would not have known whether or not Case wrote *Praise* is founded upon an assumption that Watson left Oxford about 1579 never to return or have any further contact. The extent of Watson's Oxford association is, however, unknown. The Case-Byrd-Watson connection is explored in further detail in the author's dissertation.

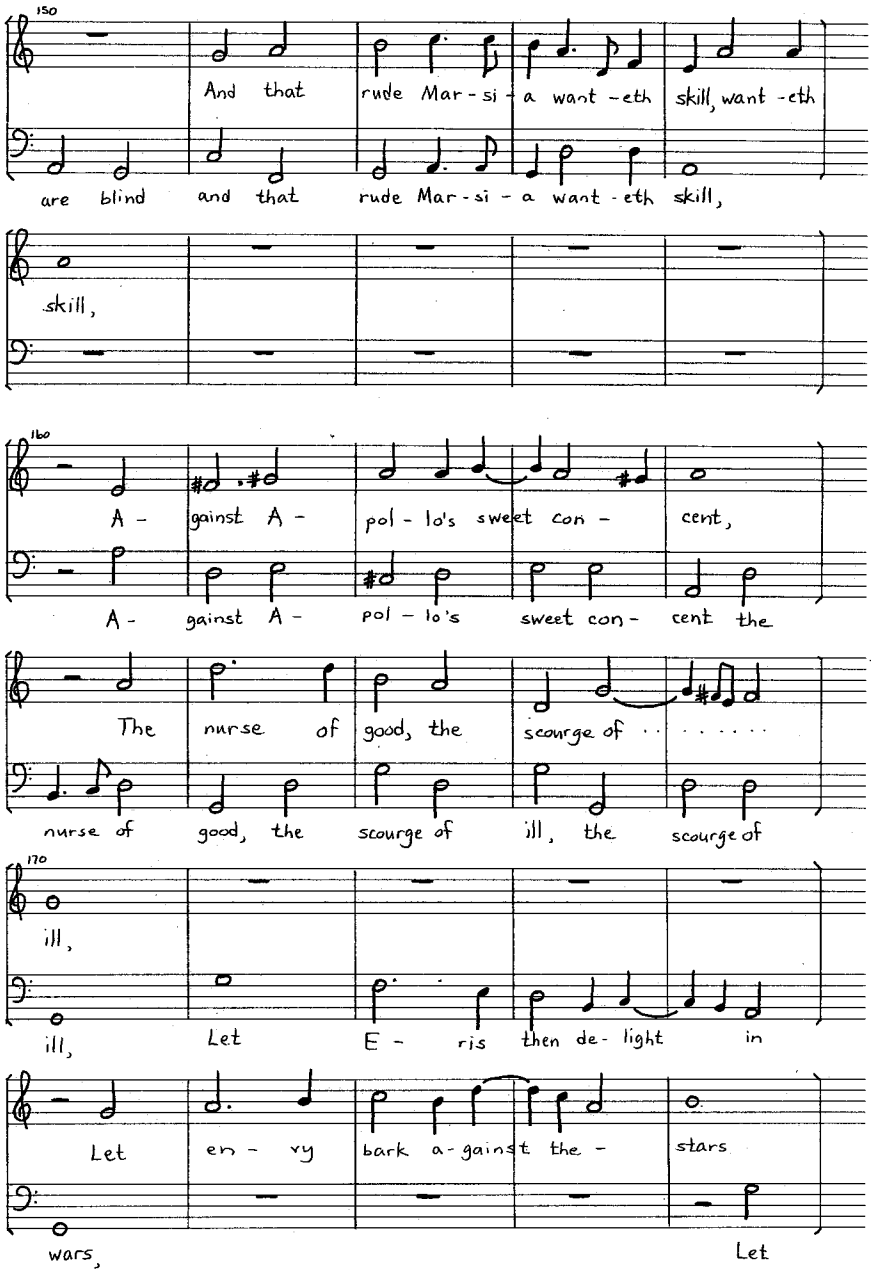

cantus secundus
bassus
Let o - thers praise what seems
them best,
Let o - thers praise
I like his lines a - bove the
what seems them best,
rest, a - bove the rest,
a -
I like his lines a -
bove the rest,
bove the rest, I like his lines a -
a - bove the rest,
bove the rest, whose pen hath paint-

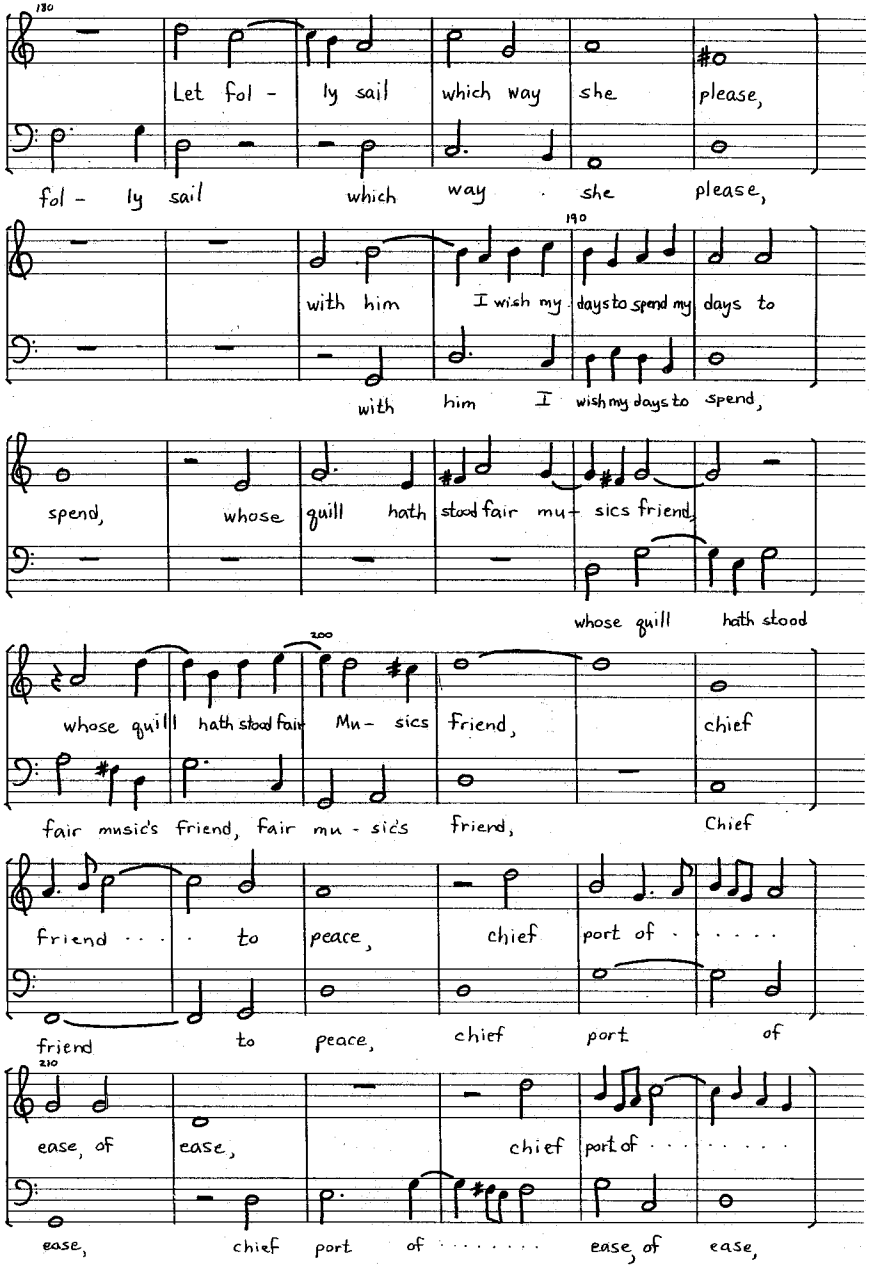

whose pen hath paint - ed Mu - sic's praise,
- ed Mu - sic's praise Mu - sic's praise,
40
hath paint - ed Mu - sic's praise,
whose pen hath pain - ted Mu - sic's praise,
50
He sound-ly blames the sense - less fool,
He sound - ly blames the sense - less fool,
And bar-ba-rous Scithian of our
And
60
days, our ... days, and bar-ba-rous Scithi-an
bar-ba-rous Scithian of our ..... days.

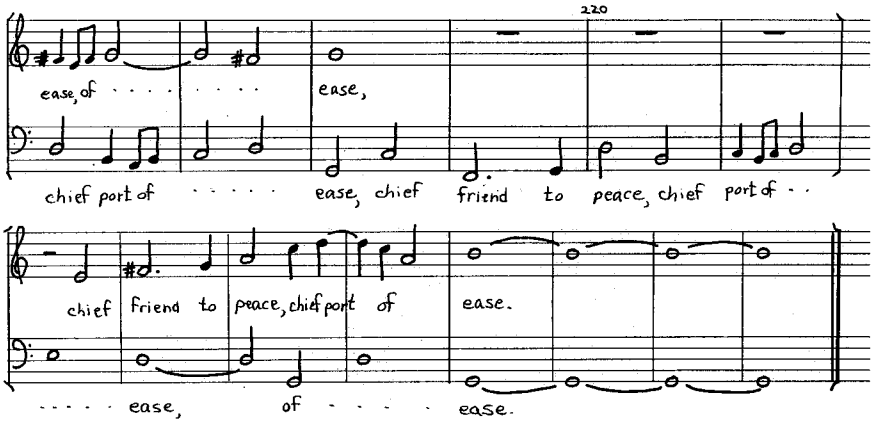

of . . . our . . . . days, of our . . . .
And bar-ba-rous Scithian of our
70
. . . . days. He writes of
days, of our days.
an - gel's har - mo - ny,
A - -
80
bove the harp of Mer - cu - ry,
A - bove the
of Mer - - cu - ry, a -
90
harp of Mer - - cu - ry, of Mer -
bove the harp of Mer - cu - ry,


- cu- ry, of Mer- cu- ry,
He writes of sweet - ly
100
He writes of sweet -
turn ing spheres, turn - ing spheres,
ly turn- ing spheres, How birds and
How birds and beasts and
110
beasts and worms re - - - - joyce, How
worms re - joyce, How dol- phins
dol- phins lov'd A - ri - on's · · · · · voice,
lov'd A - ri - on's voice, A - ri - on's voice, He
120
makes a frame for Mi - - - - das ears,


He makes a
He makes a frame for Mi - das
frame for Mi - das ears,
ears, for Mi - das ears.
He makes a
He makes a frame,
frame for Mi - das ears,
for Mi - - das
he makes a frame for Mi - - - das
ears.
ears.
Secunda Pars
There may the sol - emn Sto - icks find
That Momus and himself


150
And that rude Mar - si - a want - eth skill, want - eth
are blind and that rude Mar - si - a want - eth skill,
skill,
160
A - gainst A - pol - lo's sweet con - cent,
A - gainst A - pol - lo's sweet con - cent the
The nurse of good, the scourge of
nurse of good, the scourge of ill, the scourge of
170
ill,
ill, Let E - ris then de - light in
Let en - vy bark a - gainst the - stars
wars, Let


180
Let fol - ly sail which way she please,
fol - ly sail which way she please,
190
with him I wish my days to spend my days to
with him I wish my days to spend,
spend, whose quill hath stood fair mu- sics friend,
whose quill hath stood
200
whose quill hath stood fair Mu- sics friend, chief
fair music's friend, fair mu - sic's friend, Chief
friend to peace, chief port of
friend to peace, chief port of
210
ease, of ease, chief port of
ease, chief port of ease, of ease,


220
ease, of . . . . . ease,
chief port of . . . . . ease, chief friend to peace, chief port of . .
chief friend to peace, chief port of ease.
. . . . . ease, of . . . . ease.

reviews

Johannes Brahms. Concerto for Violin, Op. 77: A Facsimile of the Holograph Score. *Introduction by Yehudi Menuhin. Foreword by Jon Newsom. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1979.*

The appearance within the last decade of a number of color facsimile editions of composers' autographs shows an awareness on the part of publishers and institutions of the scholar's need to have unlimited access to exemplars that are as close as possible to their originals. Many factors often prevent one from spending as much time as one would like with the manuscripts in their "homes": limitations of time and money, the great distances that must often be travelled, and the very real concern of archivists and librarians for the preservation of the manuscripts. A color facsimile can serve splendidly as a reminder of the colors and textures of the original document and most often is a far better *Ersatz* than a microfilm, photograph, or halftone facsimile. Unlike microfilm and halftone plates, however, a color facsimile can have a dangerous effect on the reader: work with it long enough and it becomes easy to forget that it is not the original document.

Although the Library of Congress facsimile of the holograph full score of Brahms's Violin Concerto Op. 77 is a handsome volume, attractively priced, it must be approached with considerable caution owing to the color process employed in its production. The most valuable attribute of a color facsimile, of course, is that additions or corrections, often in a different shade of ink from the main body of the musical text or in varying shades and types of pencil, can easily be recognized. The nature of these emendations is often a crucial factor in recording the evolution of the musical text and in determining the function of the manuscript—the purposes that it served. Brahms's holograph score of the Violin Concerto, for example, served as *Stichvorlage* (engraver's copy) for the first edition of the score (Berlin: Simrock, 1879). The manuscript exhibits every sign of a *Stichvorlage,* including the annotation of the publisher's plate number on the first page of musical text, the engraver's layout indications for the beginning and end of each page, remarks of a technical nature addressed to the engraver in the hand of Simrock's editor, Robert Keller, and remarks in Brahms's hand addressed to Keller. Yet very few of these copious and carefully written annotations are visible in the facsimile, and one very important function of the manuscript is thus greatly obscured. Ironically, the library's desire for complete legibility appears to have led to the decision to abandon the traditional four-color separation process in favor of the one-color-at-a-time overlay method used in the printing of this facsimile.[1] As a result, many of the smaller details were

inadvertently omitted from the facsimile, and nuances in color and shading cannot be perceived.

Before citing specific instances of these details, most of which bear witness to the manuscript's role as *Stichvorlage,* it will be helpful to outline the sources for the concerto and to discuss the rather complex relationships among them. Although Jon Newsom in his foreword to the facsimile and Yehudi Menuhin in his introduction address these problems, they have overlooked much important documentary evidence, and their remarks are in need of supplementation and, sometimes, correction.

Not all of the sources for the concerto appear to be extant, but the missing manuscripts are documented in Brahms's correspondence with Joseph Joachim, Fritz Simrock, and Clara Schumann.[2] The extant sources include the holograph score (Washington, Library of Congress, ML/96/.B68/Case); a solo violin part, in a copyist's hand, that served as *Stichvorlage* for the first edition of the violin part and that contains many suggestions in Joachim's hand, corrections in Brahms's hand, and corrections in the hand of Robert Keller (Washington, Library of Congress, ML/31/.H43a/no. 43/Case); and an early version of the solo violin part (first movement and beginning of finale only), in Brahms's hand, with comments and suggestions in Joachim's hand (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Mus. ms. autogr. Brahms 9). The other sources mentioned in the correspondence but of unknown location today include a set of orchestral parts in a copyist's hand, a piano arrangement (apparently an autograph), and another solo violin part. Undoubtedly sketches also existed, although sketches are not mentioned as such in the correspondence.

Apart from the sketches, the earliest of these manuscripts is the autograph containing the first movement and the beginning of the finale of the violin part. Its text differs in numerous details from the text of the solo violin part in the holograph score, and many of Joachim's suggestions were later incorporated into the full score. Brahms sent this version of the solo part to Joachim on 22 August 1878,[3] asking for criticisms and suggestions and mentioning that the concerto had four movements; Joachim returned the manuscript to Brahms on 24 August.[4] The holograph full score, later used for all of the prepublication performances and as *Stichvorlage* for the first edition, dates from the autumn of 1878, apparently sometime after 23 October.[5] A short time later, in November, Brahms wrote Joachim that he had secured a fair copy of the solo part, that he would like to send Joachim the score, and that the middle movements had fallen by the wayside and been replaced by a "meager" (*arm*) adagio.[6] This fair copy of the solo part mentioned by Brahms is apparently no longer extant, but it seems safe to assume that it was in a copyist's hand (Brahms's words are: "Eine Stimme habe ich schön schreiben lassen.") and that this was the part from which Joachim played the work's première in Leipzig on 1 January 1879. Brahms subsequently sent this part to Joachim, together with several sheets of the score, around 12 December 1878. Brahms's copyist was preparing the orchestral parts from the score at that

time, therefore the composer could spare only a few pages of the score and wanted them returned immediately.[7]

After the Leipzig première of the concerto (Brahms conducting) and performances in Pest (8 January) and Vienna (14 January, Hellmesberger conducting), Joachim began preparations for a concert tour to England on which he would feature the concerto. Brahms wrote to Joachim on 21 January asking Joachim to have a copy of the solo part made for him because he wished to go through it with another violinist.[8] Sometime around 8 February Joachim sent the original copy of the part to Brahms, mentioning that he was taking another copy with him to England. This copy that Joachim had made for himself is, I believe, the solo part that eventually served as *Stichvorlage* (Library of Congress, ML/31/.H43a/no. 43/Case). Its suggestions, phrasings, and bowings in Joachim's hand, when taken together with the evidence in the correspondence, strongly suggest a time of origin after the January performances. Furthermore, the layout on the page shows that in several instances Joachim had his copyist leave room for additional *ossia* passages.[9] The piano arrangement, which is first mentioned in Brahms's letter to Simrock of 13 March 1879, again later in Clara Schumann's letter to Hermann Levi of 23 April,[10] and in numerous other letters exchanged by Brahms and Simrock during April, May, and June, was probably an autograph and may not have originated much earlier than March.[11]

Of the manuscripts described and arranged in approximate chronological order above, four were eventually used as *Stichvorlage* for the first edition: the holograph score, the copy of the solo part made for Joachim in February 1879, the orchestral parts, and the piano arrangement (the location of the last two mentioned is unknown). The score and the solo part each contain several layers of corrections that testify to their use as performance materials and engraver's copy and to the long period of revision to which each was subjected.

After the première on 1 January 1879 and before all the materials were submitted to Simrock between 8 June and 27 June for publication, Joachim played the concerto six times: Pest, 8 January; Vienna, 14 January; London, Crystal Palace, 22 February and 22 March; London, Philharmonic, 6 March; and Amsterdam, 25 May. His letters to Brahms during this period, many of which contain specific suggestions for the improvement of passages, and his annotations and emendations in the solo part document his role in finalizing the musical text of the concerto. Brahms too undertook revisions during this period. In fact, all of the manuscript materials were in almost constant movement as Brahms and Joachim shipped them back and forth to one another and to Simrock. It is a challenge to determine which materials were in whose possession and for how long during the busy winter and spring of 1879. Such a tabulation is necessary if one is to postulate with some degree of assurance when certain revisions were made. By comparing the evidence in the letters with the layers of revision in the score and solo part, a clearer picture may emerge.

The full score, with its wide array of inks and pencils, gives the most complete picture of the revision and finalization of the concerto, but only when the emendations it contains are compared with those in the solo part. The ink of the main musical text in the full score is today a medium shade of brown. Brahms used a thick blue pencil to add rehearsal letters and to reinforce the dynamics for the sake of legibility. These performance-oriented additions (conducting cues)—the first layer of additions—were undoubtedly undertaken just before the Leipzig première.

The corrections and revisions in Brahms's hand in the score are more difficult to pinpoint chronologically. They were written both in red pencil and ordinary gray pencil. The nature of the annotations in red pencil suggests two widely separated passes through the manuscript. The first was undertaken quite early. In a letter to Joachim of 24 January 1879, Brahms, about to send Joachim the score and orchestral parts so that the violinist could take them with him to England, asks Joachim if someone will be available to correct the parts again and to enter into them that which is marked in red in the score (dynamics and expression indications, as Joachim's reply of ca. 8 February makes clear). Brahms adds that he had hoped to be able to make more corrections but sees that most of the passages that did not come out to his satisfaction in the January performances are adequately marked in the score.[12] In January 1879 these red-pencil corrections may have been perfectly clear and obvious, but the score was subjected to so much subsequent revision, much of it altering the dynamic structure, that it is no longer possible to point with certainty to those corrections that were made in January.

Brahms also used red pencil to augment and to call attention to an extensive revision that he had undertaken in gray pencil. These indications in red, which appear very frequently throughout the score, are typical of the cautionary remarks an author inserts in the margins to call his editor's attention to changes made in the text. I believe that they and the gray-pencil corrections they augment represent a relatively late stage of revision prior to the submission of the score for publication. Table 1 is a chronological reconstruction, based on the published correspondence, of the travels of the manuscript material prior to its submission to the publisher. It is striking to observe that Brahms sent the score around 20 May to Amsterdam for Joachim's concert there on the 25th, did not get the score back from Joachim until 22 June, and then immediately sent it to Simrock on the 23rd. The cautionary annotations in red pencil could have been made in one day on Brahms's last look through the score, but the more elaborate gray-pencil revisions undoubtedly required more time. The correspondence indicates that Brahms undertook his major revision of the concerto between his meeting in Berlin with Joachim ca. 14 April and ca. 20 May, when he sent all of the performance material to Amsterdam. During this time the composer had all of the manuscripts except the piano arrangement in his possession, even though he had the solo violin part for only a few days.[13] It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that the revisions in gray pencil in the score and

TABLE 1

Date	*Event*	*Comments*
22 Aug. 1878	Brahms sends Joachim the early version of the solo part.	
24 Aug. 1878	Joachim returns the part to Brahms with annotations.	
ca. 12 Dec. 1878	Brahms sends a fair copy of the part and several sheets of the score to Joachim.	Joachim has the solo part (the copy that Brahms had made in Nov.)
ca. 19 Dec. 1878	Joachim sends the sheets of score back to Brahms.	
28 Dec. 1878	Brahms arrives in Berlin for rehearsals with Joachim.	
1 Jan. 1879	Première in Leipzig	
8 Jan. 1879	Performance in Pest	
14 Jan. 1879	Performance in Vienna	Joachim keeps the part; Brahms keeps the score and orchestra parts.
21 Jan. 1879	Brahms asks Joachim to have a copy of the solo part made for him.	
24 Jan. 1879	Brahms, about to send the score and orchestra parts to Joachim, asks Joachim to have the orchestra parts corrected.	
ca. 8 Feb. 1879	Joachim thanks Brahms for the orchestra parts and score and sends the solo part back to Brahms because he has had a new copy made for himself. Joachim leaves for England.	Joachim has the score, orchestra parts, and his new copy of the solo part. Brahms has the original copy of the solo part.
22 Feb. 1879	Joachim's concert in the Crystal Palace	
6 Mar. 1879	Joachim's concert with the Philharmonic	
13 Mar. 1879	Brahms tells Simrock that the piano arrangement is in Frankfurt (with Clara Schumann). Brahms is going to Frankfurt and will take the (Nov.) copy of the part to hear it played by Heermann.	Clara Schumann has the piano arrangement.
22 Mar. 1879	Joachim's second concert in the Crystal Palace	

Date	*Event*	*Comments*
end of Mar. 1879	Joachim has already sent the orchestra parts to Brahms; he wants to meet with Brahms.	Brahms has the orchestra parts.
ca. 14 Apr. 1879	Brahms and Joachim meet in Berlin. Joachim returns the score to Brahms but evidently keeps the solo part.	Brahms has the score and orchestra parts.
12 May 1879	Simrock retrieves the solo part from Joachim and forwards it to Brahms.	
13 May 1879	Joachim, who gave the solo part to Simrock on 12 May, proposes to Brahms a change in mm. 510ff of the first movement.	
mid May 1879	Brahms now has the solo part; he asks Joachim about violin articulations in mm. 57ff of the finale.	Brahms has the score, orchestra parts, and solo part.
ca. 20 May 1879	Brahms sends the score, orchestra parts, and solo part to Amsterdam.	Joachim has the score, orchestra parts, and solo part.
25 May 1879	Joachim performs a concert in Amsterdam. Joachim has the parts (and solo part?) sent to Brahms; he takes the score with him on the train.	Brahms has the orchestra parts (and the solo part?). Joachim has the score.
8 June 1879	Brahms receives the piano arrangement from Clara; he sends it and the solo part to Simrock.	
12 June 1879	Simrock receives the solo part and the piano arrangement.	Simrock has the solo part and piano arrangement.
22 June 1879	Brahms receives the score from Joachim.	
23 June 1879	Brahms sends the score to Simrock.	
27 June 1879	Simrock receives the score. (He has had the orchestra parts for several days; Brahms had evidently left them in Vienna with Arthur Faber when he departed for Pörtschach for the summer. Faber forwarded them to Simrock.)	Simrock has the score, orchestra parts, solo part, and piano arrangement.

also most of those in Brahms's gray pencil in the solo part were made at this time.

Joachim's suggestions for phrasing and bowings and for the revision of certain passages to make them more grateful are not in his hand in the full score. Most of them, however, are present in the solo violin part, and here they *are* in Joachim's hand. This violin part is intrinsically connected with the full score, so much so that it is impossible to unravel the intricacies of one without consulting the other. Therefore, it is unfortunate and somewhat baffling that the Library of Congress, in whose collection both manuscripts reside, did not include the violin part in its facsimile edition. Most of Joachim's annotations in the solo part are in a dark-brown shade of ink that is very close in color to the ink used by his copyist for the main body of the text (a few are in pencil). Even though the inks are similar in appearance, it is evident from a perusal of the manuscript that Joachim changed many of the original phrasing indications and added others (this can also be determined by comparing the phrasing in the solo part with the phrasing as it originally appeared in the score). Articulations, for example the ones in the finale at measures 57ff argued at some length by Brahms and Joachim in their correspondence,[14] are frequently in Joachim's hand in the solo part. The passage at measures 57–60 is of particular interest because Brahms crossed out in pencil the articulation slurs that Joachim had placed over the original staccato dots and substituted staccato wedges for the dots. Many of Joachim's suggestions in the solo part were adopted by Brahms, and the composer's hand, confirming the revisions or clarifying them for the engraver, appears frequently in the manuscript. It is beyond the scope of this review to discuss the interrelationships of full score and solo part in the degree of detail that they merit, particularly since the part is not available in facsimile, but a brief consideration of the part can perhaps indicate the role it played in the finalization of the text of the score, and also the role that both manuscripts played as *Stichvorlage*.

It is clear from Brahms's correspondence with Simrock that the solo part and the piano arrangement were the first manuscripts of the concerto to be sent to the publisher. Brahms sent them on 8 June 1879, and Simrock received them on 12 June.[15] The Brahms-Simrock correspondence also gives important and precise details about the four manuscripts that served as *Stichvorlage* and how their texts were adjusted in order to conform with one another. Simrock's editor, Robert Keller, played a leading role in this process. His hand is present in both the full score and the solo part, and were the piano arrangement and orchestral parts available for comparison, Keller's hand could undoubtedly be seen in those manuscripts also. In the full score the extensive emendations in red ink, most of them corresponding to changes that Joachim suggested and that appear in his hand in the solo part, are in Keller's hand.[16] Clearly, the solo voice in the full score was corrected from the reading in the part. This supposition is confirmed by Brahms's letter of 22 June 1879 to Simrock. Here the composer states that the solo voice in the

score must also be corrected from the part (the "also" implies that the solo voice in the piano arrangement had already been corrected from the solo part), but that the orchestral parts must be corrected from the score, and very thoroughly. The *ossia* passages were only to appear in the solo part and not in the score or piano arrangement.[17] In his letter of 23 June, the letter accompanying the score, Brahms reiterates that with the exception of the solo part everything must be corrected from the score. He also mentions that the *ossia* on page 35 of the score still has to be entered into the solo part.[18] The implications of this last instruction perhaps warrant a digression, since they are of interest from the standpoint of the interrelationship of the score and solo part and the chronology of both.

In the full score (page 35) Brahms wrote the *ossia* for measures 348–53 of the first movement in gray pencil on an empty staff above the solo line. Inspection of the manuscript reveals, however, that this heavy gray pencil has been superimposed on the same pitches written in a faint gray pencil. Under staff five of the score, after the word "ossia," an instruction written in gray pencil has been erased. This instruction is illegible (I cannot identify the hand and can make out only the words "wird auf . . . die Solostimme!"). In the right-hand margin of the page a "?" in red pencil and a "NB ?" in red pencil (Brahms's hand?) refer respectively to the *ossia* and the original passage. Also appearing in the right-hand margin, in Brahms's hand and in the same heavy gray pencil as the *ossia* itself, is the instruction "ossia für die Solostim̄e!" and, in lighter gray pencil, the word "ossia." The presence of this *ossia* in the score and not, originally, in the solo part might lead one to assume that it was a late addition—a passage decided upon after Brahms had sent the solo part to Simrock (8 June). In this instance such an assumption, based solely on the score, would be erroneous, however, for in the solo part itself (page 9) Joachim has written in ink, "Ossia wie in der Partitur," a remark augmented for the publisher by Brahms in pencil: "Ossia *blos* in die Stim̄e." To the left of Joachim's instruction Keller has written in red ink, "siehe unter!" and the *ossia* from page 35 of the score appears on the lowest staff of the page in Keller's hand in red ink. Since Joachim appears to have had the solo part sent to Brahms after the 25 May concert in Amsterdam along with the orchestral parts,[19] and since Brahms subsequently sent the part to Simrock on 8 June, Joachim's instruction in the part—"Ossia wie in der Partitur"—must have been written sometime before the Amsterdam concert. This implies that the *ossia* had been decided upon considerably earlier than the evidence in the score would suggest, and I propose that the *ossia* is one of the passages that Brahms and Joachim worked out together when they met in Berlin around 14 April, that the passage was entered in light pencil into the score at that time (perhaps even by Joachim), and that it was later reinforced by Brahms in heavier pencil. Note that Joachim kept the solo part after the meeting in mid-April until he grudgingly gave it to Simrock on 12 May at Brahms's request, so that it could be forwarded to Brahms.[20]

In addition to correcting the score from the part (and sometimes vice ver-

sa) in red ink, Keller also standardized the copy for the engraver. His editorial emendations appear in the score in a light-gray pencil: instructions to engrave certain passages an octave higher ("hochstechen") where Brahms had written 8va, instructions to print in full figures such as triplets when Brahms had used abbreviations ("ausstechen," sometimes simply "aus"), etc. Several entries in bright blue pencil are also in Keller's hand (e.g., the question mark on page 50 of the score, calling attention to an ambiguity in measure 510 of the first movement in the corrected solo violin part). Many of Keller's remarks or queries written in the margins of the score in pencil were subsequently partially erased as a result no doubt of Brahms's corrections on the proof sheets.

The full score, in addition to the numerous corrections and additions in Keller's hand, contains several annotations made at the Simrock publishing house: the plate number of the first edition, 8133, in orange-red pencil in the middle of the bottom margin of the first page (not visible in the facsimile); a remark written in blue pencil diagonally across the top margin of the first page and mostly erased (I can make out only the word "sofort" and a number that appears to be 31074); an annotation on page 56 at the end of the first movement, again written diagonally and in faint blue pencil, incorporating what appears to be the cautionary symbol "NB" and the numbers 4 and 6 (neither of these annotations in blue pencil are visible in the facsimile). At the Leipzig firm of C. G. Röder (Simrock's engraver) a layout engraver went through the score totalling in pencil the number of measures on each page (right-hand side of the top margin) and marking the page turns of the first edition (a consecutive series of page numbers in pencil running along the bottom margin of each page and corresponding to the pagination of the first edition).

It should be apparent from the foregoing discussion of the layers of revision and the different hands in the manuscript that the "Color Key" accompanying the facsimile (facing page 1) is far from adequate; it does not take sufficient consideration of hands other than Brahms's and it does not make adequate distinctions among different shades of the same color. However, these are trivial problems when viewed against the major shortcoming of the facsimile: the color reproduction is both poor and misleading. As mentioned earlier, the Library of Congress decided not to use the traditional four-color separation process in printing this facsimile. The superimposition of screened halftone plates in the three basic colors (magenta, yellow, cyan) and black to achieve the effect of the full range of colors was deemed inadequate. Instead, the Library of Congress chose to use a halftone print of the manuscript in a monochromatic shade of light brown (deliberately softening the contrasts) as the basis for the facsimile and to mix each additional color separately, overprinting these colors only in those places where they are present in the original document. Such a procedure is extremely risky, leaving a tremendous margin for error and loss. All of the gray pencils, for example, are not the same; therefore why should there be only one shade (and density) of gray?

How many red pencils did Brahms actually use? And so on. But perhaps the most serious error is one of oversight: far too many details of the manuscript were simply overlooked in the process of overprinting the various colors. Therefore either these details are not visible at all, or they are rendered in the basic brown of Brahms's original text.

None of the colors in the facsimile are true to those of the manuscript. In the manuscript the brown ink of the main body of the text is darker, with considerably more fluctuation from light to dark, particularly in the finale. Brahms's gray pencil is lighter in shade and much more normal in appearance than the heavy black of the facsimile would suggest.[21] Similarly, Brahms's blue pencil in the original document is a conventional light blue; in the facsimile it has been reproduced inconsistently as a much darker hue, sometimes bordering on navy. Keller's red ink is a lighter, almost cherry shade in the manuscript. Brahms's annotations in red pencil are of varying densities.[22]

It is not intrinsically important that the colors in a facsimile be reproduced so as to duplicate exactly those of the original; the ability of the reader to distinguish among the different colors should be the main criterion. This facsimile, however, displays discrepancies in some of the colors from one page to the next, and also from one copy to the next—discrepancies that do not exist in the original. Gray and blue pencil are the colors most frequently involved. For example, in one copy of the facsimile that I examined, Brahms's additions in gray pencil on pages 4 and 5 of the score are so dark as to resemble black ink. In another copy the gray-pencil annotations on page 4 are much closer to the true, ordinary gray color, while those on page 5 look like black ink.

Perhaps a more serious problem presented by this facsimile is the frequently poor alignment of the colors printed over the basic halftone image. The reproduction of annotations in Keller's red ink is particularly faulty in this regard. In the manuscript, of course, these additions in red ink most frequently stand by themselves, although sometimes they are superimposed on annotations in pencil. In the facsimile the light-brown image that was supposed to have been obliterated by the red ink is often visible, giving the false impression of red ink superimposed on an entry written in the main ink of the manuscript, thus making it difficult to distinguish between a real superimposition and poor alignment (examples occur on pages 2, 8, 9, 41, 42, 50, 53, 67, 75, 89, 90, etc.). Although the poor alignment of red ink is most noticeable, the same type of misalignment occurs in conjunction with the gray-pencil annotations and sometimes with those in red pencil. It should be mentioned that some of the alignment problems had been corrected in another, presumably later copy that I consulted, but in that copy new misalignments had been created.

The problems of color discrepancy and poor alignment, serious though they are, pale before the facsimile's most grievous shortcoming: the frequent omission of colors altogether through sheer oversight. As a result, very few of

Keller's editorial annotations in gray pencil (and sometimes in blue pencil) have been rendered in their correct medium; and those—the vast majority—that were not overprinted with the uniform color selected for "gray pencil" look as if they were written in the brown ink of Brahms's main musical text (some reproduced so faintly because of the deliberate lightening of contrast that they are barely legible). Similarly, most of the Röder engraver's layout numbers—several appear in the bottom margin of every page—are imperceptible because they were not reproduced in the correct color (another gray pencil). Like Keller's pencilled annotations, those that can be seen at all look as if they are in brown ink. In one instance even some of Brahms's more important emendations cannot be perceived for what they are because a color has been omitted from the facsimile. On page 75 of the score the solo violin line at letter B (finale, measures 57ff) was originally articulated with staccato dots (main ink of the manuscript). Brahms, after much discussion with Joachim (see above), subsequently articulated the passage with staccato wedges. He entered the wedges into the solo violin part, and Keller, transferring the revisions in the part to the score, elongated the score's original dots into wedges in red ink, adding a cautionary "Strichpunkte!". In the facsimile, only "Strichpunkte!" is in red ink; the wedges have been overlooked and thus appear as though they were written in the brown ink of the main musical text.

It is particularly unfortunate that most of the omissions of proper colors from the facsimile involve entries that clarify the role of the holograph score as *Stichvorlage* (the omission of Simrock's plate number, 8133, from the bottom of page 1 is symptomatic). When these omissions are coupled with Jon Newsom's failure to discuss this aspect of the manuscript's history in the Foreword, a distorted and misleading picture emerges. No facsimile, no matter how excellent, can ever serve in lieu of the original document for serious scholarly work, but only in conjunction with it. Those studying Brahms's Op. 77, however, will need to exercise special care in the use of this facsimile.[23]

—*Linda Correll Roesner*

NOTES

[1] See the explanation accompanying the "Color Key" facing page 1 of facsimile.

[2] *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim,* 2d ed., ed. Andreas Moser, 2 vols. (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1912). *Johannes Brahms Briefe an P. J. Simrock und Fritz Simrock,* ed. Max Kalbeck, 4 vols. (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1917–19). *Johannes Brahms und Fritz Simrock: Weg einer Freundschaft. Briefe des Verlegers an den Komponisten,* ed. Kurt Stephenson (Hamburg: J. J. Augustin, 1961). *Clara Schumann-Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853–1896,* ed. Berthold Litzmann, 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1927).

[3] Brahms was not in the habit of dating his letters; therefore the editors of his correspondence have supplied conjectural dates based on postmarks and the replies of his correspondents.

[4] *Brahms-Joachim,* 2:140–41.

[5] See the postcard from Brahms to Joachim dated 23 October in which Brahms mentions that the adagio and scherzo (the projected and subsequently rejected middle movements) are stumbling blocks. *Brahms-Joachim,* 2:146.

[6] Ibid., 2:147.

[7] Ibid., 2:148.

[8] Ibid., 2:153. Brahms remarked that he would be grateful if Joachim could supply some *ossia* passages because the other violinist (Hugo Heermann in Frankfurt/M.) was not as good as Joachim.

[9] It is unfortunate that the original copy, the copy that Brahms had made in November, seems no longer to be extant. This is presumably the copy that Brahms took to Frankfurt on a visit to Clara Schumann to hear the work played by Hugo Heermann. See Brahms's letter of 13 March 1879 to Simrock *(Brahms-Simrock,* 2:112). In this letter Brahms mentions that the piano arrangement is already in Frankfurt and that he will take the violin part with him in order to hear it played by another violinist. See also Clara Schumann's letter of 23 April 1879 to Hermann Levi, in which she relates that Brahms has sent her the piano arrangement of the concerto and that she and Heermann have played the work many times (Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann. Ein Künstlerleben: Nach Tagebüchern und Briefen,* 2d ed., 3 vols. [Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1903–08], 3:400). See also Brahms's letter to Clara of late June 1879, in which he reminds her that Heermann still has the solo part (erroneously printed as *Solostimmen* in the correspondence) of the concerto and that she should send it along when convenient since there are some *NB* indications in it that he can perhaps use when correcting proof *(Clara Schumann-Johannes Brahms,* 2:174).

[10] See note 9.

[11] Joachim, in a letter of 17 May 1879 to Richard Barth, states that he has never had a piano arrangement of the concerto, although one exists. See *Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim,* ed. Johannes Joachim and Andreas Moser, 3 vols. (Berlin: Julius Bard, 1911–13), 3:210. An exchange of letters between Brahms and Simrock in early June implies that the manuscript was an autograph. Brahms warns Simrock that the engraver will not be able to use the piano arrangement and asks Simrock to have the copying done at Brahms's expense *(Brahms-Simrock,* 2:118). Simrock replies that the engravers at Röder (the Leipzig firm of C. G. Röder used by Simrock) are familiar with Brahms's hand *(Brahms-Simrock: Weg einer Freundschaft,* pp. 142–43).

[12] *Brahms-Joachim,* 2:154. Jon Newsom in his foreword to the facsimile (p. vi) has misinterpreted a portion of this letter and mistranslated another. When Brahms refers to the parts ("Stimmen") he naturally means the individual orchestral parts and not the systems in the full score designated for orchestral instruments (as opposed to the solo violin line)! In general, Newsom's foreword is insufficient because it takes into consideration only Brahms's correspondence with Joachim while ignoring the rest of Brahms's correspondence that relates to the concerto. Menuhin's introduction, although often enlightening from the point of view of violin performance, suffers from a failure to determine the relationships among the sources.

[13] See also Joachim's letters of 19 April 1879 to Hans von Bronsart and 17 May 1879 to Richard Barth. In both letters Joachim states that Brahms has asked for the score in order to make revisions. In the letter of 17 May the violinist also mentions that he has sent the solo part back to Brahms with some suggestions for bowings and notes *(Briefe von und an Joseph Joachim,* 3:207, 210).

[14] *Brahms-Joachim,* 2:161–68.

[15] *Brahms-Simrock,* 2:118; *Brahms-Simrock: Weg einer Freundschaft,* p. 114.

[16] The identity of Keller's hand can be confirmed by comparing the score of the concerto with the color facsimile of the score of Brahms's Fourth Symphony, a work published by Simrock in 1886 (Johannes Brahms, *4. Symphonie in E-Moll Op. 98: Faksimile des autographen Manuskripts aus dem Besitz der Allgemeinen Musikgesellschaft Zürich,* introduction by Günter Birkner (Zurich, 1974). The same type of editorial entries in the same hand appear in the two scores, both of which served as *Stichvorlage.* A letter from Brahms to Simrock of 27 June 1886 (*Brahms-Simrock,* 3:124) removes any doubt that the editorial additions are in Keller's hand. Brahms specifically asks Keller to make a change in the score (see pp. 8, 9, and 10 of the finale in the facsimile edition of the Fourth Symphony).

[17] *Brahms-Simrock,* 2:120–21.

[18] Ibid., 2:121–22.

[19] Joachim rushed out of the concert before it was over to make a train connection, taking

Brahms's score with him but leaving the parts behind to be shipped to Brahms. See *Brahms-Joachim,* 2:165–66.

[20] *Brahms-Joachim,* 2:160. I believe that *Stimmen* here is a typographical error and should read *Stimme;* see Brahms's reply of mid-May, p. 161. See also Brahms's letter to Simrock of 7 May (*Brahms-Simrock,* 2:115).

[21] Black *ink* occurs in only one place in the manuscript (p. 2, staff 6, mm. 3–4, the added notes in the horn part); in the facsimile its shade is indistinguishable from that of the gray pencil. After his Amsterdam concert Joachim suggested strengthening the oboe line by doubling it with the horn (see Joachim's letter of 26 May 1879, *Brahms-Joachim,* 2:165–66). Brahms, therefore, probably added this passage for the horn on 22 June, after he received the score from Joachim and before he sent it to Simrock on the 23rd.

[22] The red-pencil annotations require more intensive scrutiny, as do the few annotations, probably not in Brahms's hand, in an "apricot" shade of pencil (reproduced as orange in the facsimile).

[23] In the time since this review was submitted for publication Professors George Bozarth and Robert Pascall have kindly informed me that the piano arrangement of the concerto is indeed extant (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, S.m. 19.658). Professor Bozarth further communicates that with the exception of the beginning of the first movement the piano part is in Brahms's hand. The solo violin part and the beginning of the first movement of the piano part are in the hand of a Viennese copyist. The manuscript also contains editorial emendations in the hand of Robert Keller.