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Johannes Japart: A Fifteenth-Century Chanson Composer

By Ralph W. Buxton

Johannes Japart belongs to that sizeable group of Franco-Flemish composers who flourished in Italy during the last third of the fifteenth century. His surviving compositions consist of fewer than two dozen secular chansons; apart from this handful of works little else is known about him. Yet Japart merits our attention because his music proves him to be a composer of no small accomplishment. His chansons, while admittedly those of a *Kleinmeister*, impress us by their considerable charm and their refined workmanship, no less than by the surprising diversity of styles and techniques they exhibit.

Until recently we knew no more about Japart than did Fétis who wrote in his *Biographie universelle des musiciens*:

Il est regrettable que jusqu'a ce jour on n'ait pas de reseignements positifs sur cet artiste, qui fut, sans aucun doute, un des meilleurs musiciens de son temps.¹

He goes on to report that no less a musician than Josquin thought highly enough of Japart to compose for him a four-part chanson—the only living musician Josquin so honored. Unfortunately, one can only conjecture as to the circumstances surrounding this event; and the piece, which, as Fétis reports, began with this beguiling text, has since disappeared:

Revenu d'oultremonts, Japart,
Je n'ai du sort que mince part.²

Having come back from over the
mountains, Japart,
I have by fate only a scanty portion.

Recent archival research has now begun to give substance to the life of the shadowy figure of Japart. Edward Lowinsky has established Japart's connection with Josquin, having discovered two documents placing him as a singer in the court chapel of Galeazzo Maria Sforza in Milan. The first of these documents is a note dated 4 July (Lowinsky presumes 1476 to be the year), promising a benefice to one "Janni Japart"; the second is a letter of passage dated 6 February 1477 guaranteeing a number of musicians,

including "Johanne haepart," safe conduct from Milan after their dismissal from the chapel in the weeks following Galeazzo's brutal assassination on 26 December 1476.³

Beginning in 1472, Galeazzo had started implementing his plan to make the musical establishment at his court one of the finest in Italy. About this time he had work begun on a new ducal chapel.⁴ Meanwhile, on at least two occasions between 1472 and 1474, his newly-appointed *maestro di cappella*, Gaspar van Weerbeke, journeyed to Flanders to recruit new singers.⁵ By 1474, with the completion of the chapel, it is known that Josquin had been called from his post at the Duomo to join the chapel, and that on payment lists discovered for that year are listed, along with Josquin, the names of such well-known composers as Alexander Agricola, Loyset Compère and Johannes Martini.⁶ One has to assume that Japart was a rather late addition to the singers' roster: his name does not appear on a payment list dated 4 December 1475. This suggests, in light of the 4 July document mentioned above, that he began service in Milan sometime during the first half of 1476.

Lewis Lockwood has discovered that Japart went directly to Ferrara after his dismissal. There he joined one of the finest musical establishments in Europe—the court chapel of Hercules I of Este.⁷ Before Galeazzo's assassination, the Milanese and Ferrarese courts had vied for the services of many of the same musicians, chief among them being Johannes Martini who left Milan for Ferrara in 1473 to become *maestro di cappella* as well as music instructor to Hercules' daughter Isabella. He served in both capacities at Ferrara until his death in 1497.⁸ The existence of a long-standing rivalry between the two courts made it perhaps inevitable that Japart would seek a position at Ferrara; he could only have been helped in this endeavor by the presence of Martini. In any event, records of payment reveal Japart to have been at Ferrara from April 1477 to the end of 1480; and the amounts he received suggest that his patron held his singing in high regard. In addition, the rolls show him to have been from Piccardy. By 1481, his name can no longer be found in the payment registers.⁹ Again we must acknowledge Fétis who believed, from the quality of his compositions, that Japart had to have been connected with the court of Ferrara.¹⁰

With the disappearance of Japart's name from the lists of the Ferrarese court singers, direct knowledge of his life and whereabouts ends. However, indirect evidence can assist in expanding our view of the composer. Examination of the source distribution of his surviving works helps to confirm the archival evidence and to suggest further biographical possibilities. By examining the works themselves additional information can be gathered through comparative stylistic analysis.

From the geographical distribution and chronological breakdown of the manuscripts and prints which include Japart's music, we may conclude that the music was not widely known beyond the composer's immediate circle. It reached a wider audience only with its inclusion in Ottaviano Petrucci's three chanson collections, beginning with the *Harmonice musices Odhecaton A* of

1501. These publications, appearing over twenty years after the last documentary reference to the composer, include the bulk of his existing music. The *Odhecaton* contains ten chansons, while *Canti B* and *Canti C* have two and nine compositions, respectively. In addition, *Canti C*, appearing in 1504, is the latest source for a new composition by this composer. Beside the Petrucci prints stand a number of Florentine manuscripts as important repositories of Japart's music. These all date from c. 1490–95. Nine compositions by Japart are in Fl 229; five in Bol Q17; five in Fl 178; and five in C.G. XIII.27. A slightly earlier manuscript, Cas 2856, containing just three compositions, must be mentioned here. Not only did it originate in Ferrara about the same time Japart is known to have worked there but it can be directly linked to the most significant of the Florentine sources, namely Fl 229, with which it shares much of the same repertory.

The accompanying chart (see Figure 1) shows a breakdown of relevant sources by date and locale. This chronology will enable us to list the chansons in the order in which they first appear in the sources (see Example 1).

The earliest sources contain a total repertory of four pieces. *Famene um pocho*, texted in four voices and with no attribution, occurs in Sev/P, most likely a Neapolitan chansonnier originating from c. 1480. That a work of Japart's appears in a Neapolitan source so early may be explained by the close ties, both familial and political, which existed between Ferrara and Naples. Hercules I of Este had not only spent his boyhood in the Aragonese court but married Leonora of Aragon in 1473; this guaranteed an extensive cultural interchange between Ferrara and Naples.¹¹ *Famene um pocho* is identical to a composition entitled *Questa se chiama* appearing in *Canti C*—here we find the attribution to Japart. Ironically, it is the same piece which serves at once to mark the earliest and the latest appearances of new compositions by this composer. The Pixérécourt Chansonnier, compiled c. 1480 in Florence, but also showing Neapolitan influences in repertory, has a texted three-part popular arrangement, *Trois filles estoient*.¹² As in *Famene um pocho*, this piece is without attribution, but it is found in Cas 2856 with Japart's name. Believed to be a collection of music for the *pifaresca* at Hercules' court, Cas 2856 has also been thought to represent the musical tastes of Isabella of Este.¹³ Besides *Trois filles estoient*, this manuscript contains two other compositions attributed to Japart: the three-part *rondeau*, *Je cuide se ce temps* and the four-part triple chanson, *Amours fait moult/Il est de bonne heure nê/Tant que nostre argent dure*. Both the latter are among the most frequently occurring Japart compositions in later sources. The last piece, in particular, seems to have had the widest dissemination of all his works before 1504. Its inclusion in Ricc 2794, where it is found texted in three parts, but without attribution, merits comment. It is the only work of this composer to occur in a Franco-Burgundian source nearly contemporary with the composer himself. Rifkin states that while Ricc 2794 "clearly originated in French or Burgundian territory at some time in the later fifteenth century, its exact provenance and date have remained elusive."¹⁴

	Frnc/Burg	Naples/Rom	Florence	N. Italy	Other
1470's					
1480's.	Ricc 2794, c.1485	Sev/P, c. 1480	Pix, before 1484	Cas 2856, c.1485	
1490's			Bol Q17 Fl 178, c. 1491-92 Fl 229, c. 1491 C. G. XIII.27, c. 1492-94		Seg
1500's	Lon 35087, c. 1505	Vat 11953		Bol Q18 Cape 3.b.12 Panc 27, c. 1500 Odh, 1501 Canti B, 1502 P 676, 1502 Canti C, 1504 Ver 757, c. 1505-10	
1510's			Fl 107 bis, c. 1510-13 Cort/P, c. 1515		Bas F.X.1-4 Reg 120 Tour/Bruss, 1511 Schoffer, c. 1513
1520's					SG 463, c. 1520
1530's					Egenolff, c. 1535
1540's					SG 461 c. 1545

FIGURE 1: Sources of Japart's Chansons.

EXAMPLE 1: Chronological Breakdown by Sources

1480-5	4v.	Famene um pocho	Sev/P
	3v.	Trois filles estoient	Pix/Cas
	3v.	Je cuide se ce temps	Cas
	4v.	Amours fait/Il est/Tant que	Cas/Ricc
1490-5	4v.	Amours, amours, amours	Fl 229/Bol Q17
	4v.	Celas sans plus non sufi pas	Fl 229
	4v.	Dieu gard celle/Et qui la	Bol Q17
	4v.	Helas qu'il est a mon gre	Fl 229/Fl 178
	3v.	J'ay bien nori	Fl 229/Fl 178/ C.G. XIII.27
	4v.	J'ay pris amours (#12)*	Fl 229/Fl 178
	4v.	Nenciozza mia	Fl 229
	4v.	Tan bien mi son pensa	Bol Q17
	4v.	T'meiskin	Fl 229/Fl 178/ Bol Q17
1501	4v.	J'ay pris amours (#11)*	Odh
	4v.	Se congie pris	Odh
1502	4v.	Je cuide/De tous biens	Canti B
1504	4v.	De tous biens	Canti C
	4v.	Fortuna d'un gran tempo	Canti C
	4v.	Il est de bonne heure/ L'homme arme	Canti C
	4v.	Loier mi fault	Canti C
	4v.	Pour passer temps/Plus chascera y	Canti C
	4v.	Prestes le moy	Canti C
	5v.	Vray dieu/Sancte Jouanes	Canti C

*See Appendix A.

Several observations concerning the four works representing the earliest stratum of Japart's output seem pertinent—they are the source closest to Japart in both time and place that recognize him by name as their composer. When the compositions migrated from their assumed place of origin, Ferrara, they lost their attribution. The existence of texts in sources for two of the works found without text in the instrumental manuscript, Cas 2856, as well as the Italian text of *Famene um pocho* in Sev/P, bespeaks the vocal origin of the works in question, while hinting at an established tradition of instrumental performance. A certain number of his other works suggest that they may have been instrumental compositions from the start. Boorman, in his study of the Bologna copy of the *Odhecaton* (i.e., the so-called first edition), compares versions of Japart's *Je cuide* in order to trace possible sources of

transmission of the *Odhecaton* texts.¹⁵ Similar methods of manuscript comparison might show how a previously existing vocal piece might have been adapted to instrumental performance, accommodating to a greater or lesser degree specific instrumental requirements. Finally, one can note Japart's preference for popular arrangements over courtly settings—a tendency confirmed by those chansons found with his name in the Florentine sources and Petrucci prints.

In the forthcoming study of Fl 229 by Howard Mayer Brown, the reader is presented with a persuasive argument linking the manuscript to Ferrarese musical traditions. He believes this chansonnier was in all probability intended for the library of Matthias Corvinus, King of Hungary. Corvinus was married to Beatrice of Aragon; Beatrice, who knew and admired Johannes Martini and his music, must have influenced the choice of repertory. The composers represented in Fl 229 reflect to a remarkable degree an otherwise inexplicable confluence of Florentine and Ferrarese musical traditions. This is most obvious in the famous opening folios which alternate in succession works of Martini and Heinrich Isaac, the most prominent musicians at Ferrara and Florence, respectively.¹⁶ Not only is Fl 229 (along with Cas 2856) the principal source for Martini's secular music, but it contains music of many lesser composers, including Johannes Japart, who were known to be at Ferrara. Of course, one cannot rule out a possible connection between Japart and Florence, given the other sources of Florentine provenance in which Japart's music appears. But it is reasonable to assume, at least with Fl 229, that Japart's works make up part of the Ferrarese portion of the chansonnier's repertory and were included, as in the case of Cas 2856, because Martini was involved in its compilation.

In the Florentine sources are found three of the four works mentioned before; *Famene um pocho* does not appear. Nine additional chansons appear in these manuscripts (one three-part arrangement, *J'ay bien nori* and eight four-part arrangements). First, one sees a preponderance of four-part pieces, a revealing characteristic when it is recognized that the majority of the compositions in these sources (Fl 229, for example) are still in three parts. One also notices that of the entire group of chansons enumerated so far, there are but two courtly settings (*Je cuide*, #13 in App. A, and *J'ay pris amours*, #12) and possibly one additional triple chanson, *Dieu gard celle/Et qui la dira dira* (#5), much like *Amours fait/Il est/Tant que*. The remainder of this group use as *cantus prius facti* tunes which are probably popular monophonic songs.

The final group of sources to be discussed here—the three chanson collections published by Petrucci—recapitulates all but two of the previously mentioned compositions (#5 and #10 never appeared in print), and adds ten additional works, mostly *unica*, thereby making a total of twenty-three possible compositions by Japart. Although published in Venice, the *Odhecaton* and its companion volumes may represent a “northern Italian tradition, one that is distinct from the earlier Neapolitan and Florentine traditions with respect to both its repertoire and its readings.”¹⁷ If that is the case, the hypothesis that

Japart was primarily a Ferrarese musician gains credence when weighed against other possibilities; but it must await further evidence before it can be adopted as fact. Among this last group of compositions should be singled out the five double chansons (#9, #14, #17, #23 and maybe #19 in App. A). These may be Japart's most significant and characteristic contributions to the chanson genre.

The main criterion for including twenty-three works in the listing of Japart's complete works is their attribution to this composer in at least one source; these are either northern Italian or Florentine manuscript sources or prints by Petrucci. Six compositions from this list present problems of conflicting attributions which shall be dealt with here before embarking on an extended stylistic discussion of individual works:

Amours, amours, amours	
Busnois	Bol Q17
Japart	Odh
Amours fait/Il est/Tant que	
de la Rue	Bas F.X.1-4
Busnois	Bol Q17
Japart	Cas 2856 & Fl 229
Dieu gard celle/Et qui la dira dira	
Busnois	Bol Q17
Japart	Fl 107 ^{bis}
Ja bien rise tant	
Josquin	Fl 178
Japart	Fl 229
Joh. Joye	Seg
Je cuide se ce temps	
Congiet	Fl 229
Japart	Cas 2856
T'meiskin	
Isaac	Odh (first edition)
Japart	Fl 178
Obrecht	Seg

In the case of *Amours fait/Il est/Tant que*, Allan Atlas favors Japart as the composer for the following reasons: the ascription to Pierre de la Rue in Bas F.X.1-4 can be disregarded because the manuscript is a late, peripheral source; the readings of Cas 2856 and Fl 229, both of which credit Japart as the composer, show they stem from separate sources of transmission; and of the four pieces assigned to Busnois in Bol Q17, not one of the attributions goes unchallenged.¹⁸ It should be noted that in three out of four instances, an attribution to Busnois in this source comes into conflict with an attribution to

Japart in another; whereas, except for perhaps one piece (*J'ay bien nori*), none of the attributions to Japart in either Fl 229 or Cas 2856 can be seriously doubted.¹⁹

In deciding who might be the composer of *Amours, amours, amours*, Howard Brown considered the close stylistic resemblance of this piece, probably a popular arrangement based on a monophonic original, to others known to be by Japart.²⁰ He also felt that the overall reliability of the *Odhecaton* attributions should count in Japart's favor.²¹

One cannot unequivocally choose between Congiet or Japart as the composer of *Je cuide*. Brown finds this work similar in style and technique to another three-part chanson attributed to Congiet in Fl 229—a piece entitled *Madame Helas*.²² Atlas, on the other hand, favors Japart on the basis of his direct connection to the court of Ferrara, and the Ferrarese origins and earlier date of Cas 2856.²³

With *J'ay bien nori* one tends to discount the attribution to "Johannes Joye" in Seg because this composer, apart from this ascription is otherwise completely unknown: both Atlas and Brown think this name is in fact the fabrication of a scribe.²⁴ The two scholars disagree regarding the other two possibilities. Atlas leans towards Josquin on the basis of what he feels to be the reliability of the other Josquin attributions in Fl 178;²⁵ Brown finds stylistic evidence in the chanson to suggest Japart is the composer.²⁶ The *cantus prius factus* in *J'ay bien nori* is repeated in the concluding section in diminution. Brown finds that the change to triple mensuration in Japart's other three-part popular arrangement, *Trois filles*, causes a similar abrupt increase in rhythmic activity toward the end of the piece.²⁷ Actually, six of Japart's four-part chansons feature repetition of the borrowed melody in shorter note-values at the end of the piece; it seems to have been a favorite device of the composer.

Brown feels that any one of the composers credited with the authorship of *T'meiskin* could have written it: there are not enough distinguishing style characteristics in the piece to be able to decide one way or another.²⁸ The attribution to Isaac in the Bologna *Odhecaton* was repudiated in later printings of the collection as a mistaken identification, so perhaps Isaac might be discounted. The Segovia chansonnier, thought to be a Flemish manuscript, might bear more authority in naming Obrecht as the composer than Fl 178 in naming Japart, but the question remains open.²⁹

Nearly all of Japart's chansons make use of pre-existing melodies. It is convenient to group them according to the type of borrowed melody employed. This is not an arbitrary classification because the nature of the *cantus prius factus* determined for the composer how it would be treated within the composition. First and foremost are tunes with French texts drawn from a popular monophonic repertoire, represented in part by the contents of two important late fifteenth-early sixteenth century monophonic chansonniers, namely Paris 12744 and Paris 9346, the Bayeux chansonnier. These songs, referred to in the literature as *chansons rustiques* or *chansons à refrains*, differ quite

markedly, poetically and musically, from the courtly chanson types. While some of the poetic texts show traces of the *formes fixes* categories, these popular songs are usually less formalized, having a simpler poetic-musical structure. They tend to convey more down-to-earth sentiments than their courtly counterparts. Often humorous, even bawdy in tone, they occasionally flirt with the courtly style and its sentiments in witty parody. The melodies match the popular character of the lyrics with a suitably popular musical idiom—predominantly syllabic settings, frequently dance-like in character.³⁰ Japart shows a decided preference for borrowed material of this type: about two-thirds of his chansons are built around melodies drawn from this repertoire.

The two three-part popular arrangements, *Trois filles estoient* and *J'ay bien nori*, charming yet modest compositions, are undoubtedly early works. Each chanson possesses a similar structure: the tenor presents the original tune unadorned and accompanied by two imitative parts. The latter piece uses a *cantus prius factus* that can be found in P. 12744, f. 20r under the same title. Fl 229 and Seg both list this piece under that title; it is possible that the as-yet unknown text of *Ja bien rise tant*, the incipit listed in C.G. XIII.27, is a variant. A monophonic source for *Trois filles estoient* has not survived, but this piece so closely resembles another three-part arrangement from C.G. XIII.27 that we may assume a family of tunes existed, one version of which Japart used for the superius.³¹

No fewer than six of Japart's four-part chansons use their borrowed melody to create a two-part imitative scheme that serves as a scaffolding for the rest of the composition. Japart favors this organizational technique, particularly for his popular arrangements. In this he may have been influenced by Josquin, whose use of the procedure is a hallmark of his style.³² Japart exhibits a high degree of ingenuity in constructing his imitative scheme, avoiding a sheerly mechanical application of the device. Generally, the imitative framework is built upon and meant to reflect the phrase structure of the original song. Sections of the composition are defined by changes in the interval of imitation and by the order of the entering voices for each phrase of the original. Japart frequently contrasts the middle section of a piece from the imitative outer sections by having the two structural voices share the tune in alternating statements. These two methods help to transfer the structural identity of the *cantus prius factus*, often a simple A-B-A, to a polyphonic legend.

Celas sans plus non sufi pas is typical of this group of pieces, even though each of them exhibits idiosyncrasies in the use of the imitation device. Brown states that the melody Japart uses is the same as Lannoy's setting of the well-known tune *Celas sans plus* found both in Fl 229 and in *Canti B*.³³ In fact, the two melodies are unrelated. Hewitt thinks it possible that "non sufi pas" might be a musical designation of some kind, i. e., "*Celas sans plus* does not suffice"; or this may be another of the family of poems that begin "*Celas sans plus*."³⁴ Whatever the origins of the borrowed material, the tune has a clear A-B-A structure. The imitation between the superius and the tenor in the A

section is quite exact, almost canonic, while the second phrase of the original song passes from the tenor to the superius in alternating statements. The superius probably represents the original tune more closely than does the tenor, which really serves a dual function: it states the phrase to be imitated, by the superius, and then continues with a filler part to help clarify the cadence points. The other two voices flesh out this structure: the altus takes a sporadic part in the imitation, but its main role is to provide satisfying counter-movement to the structural voices; the bass voice, on the other hand, has little melodic interest of its own, but serves mainly to knit the other voices together with clear harmonic support. Especially characteristic is the way the composer deliberately emphasizes the difference between the borrowed material and his own counter-melodies. The contrast between the straightforward simplicity of the borrowed material and the highly syncopated, melismatic added parts is one of the most striking aspects of Japart's music:

EXAMPLE 2: *Celas sans plus non sufi pas*, mm. 1-6.

Loier mi fault ung carpentier and *Prestes le moy*, both from *Canti C*, closely follow the procedures outlined above. Both pieces increase the level of rhythmic activity in their concluding sections by either switching to triple mensuration, in the former chanson, or by diminution of the *cantus prius factus*, in the latter. The monophonic originals have not been located but *Loier mi fault* may be a popular *bergerette*. It would seem that the monophonic original is best represented by the tenor of each piece; the superius often disguises the imitative framework by ornamentation and by interpolations.

Amours, amours, amours and *Helas qu'il est a mon gre*, like *Loier mi fault*, may both be popular *bergerettes*, but a monophonic source has been discovered only for *Helas* (P 12744; Gévaert #4). In these two pieces, and in *T'meiskin* as well, there seems to be little attempt by the composer to make the imitative framework canonic. The pieces do depend on an imitative framework of superius and tenor but the framework is much less rigid than in the previous examples. The pieces unfold in a series of imitative points with little attempt to follow the imitation past the beginning of each phrase.

The next group of the composer's chansons to be dealt with are the courtly *rondeaux* of which Japart provides four examples. Two of them are conventional settings—one is the three-part *Je cuide se ce temps*, which may not be

Japart's. A text beyond the incipit has not been discovered but the music suggests that the lost poem was a *rondeau cinquain*. The piece unfolds rather typically with an imitative dialogue between the superius and tenor—each phrase in a point of imitation. The contra provides textural and harmonic support yet does not take part in the imitation past the first phrase. Incidentally, the *Odhecaton* is the only source for the “si placet” part. It is evident that this fourth voice was composed (probably by the volume's editor, Petrus Castellanus) in order to “modernize” the setting. The four-part *J'ay pris amours* from the *Odhecaton* could be an early work. After highlighting the opening phrase of the superius with an accompaniment in long notes, in the manner of Busnois, the composer constructs a web of dense, non-imitative counterpoint in the three lower parts, upon which the unadorned superius rides.

Two other *rondeau* settings employ particularly ingenious canons to effectively disguise the borrowed melodies—these are two of the best-known, and most often-cited examples of canon in the chanson repertory, and it does not seem coincidental that Japart chose the models he did in order to apply the most arcane devices of *musica reservata*. In *Canti B* there occurs a *J'ay pris amours* which borrows the superius from his own setting in the *Odhecaton*. This part appears as the superius of the *Canti B* version, but with a canon which reads: *Fit aries piscis in licanosypathon*. As explained in Hewitt's edition of *Canti B*:

Aries (“the Ram”) is the first sign of the zodiac; *Pisces* (“the Fishes”), the last. In requiring that *Aries* become *Pisces* . . . the composer is directing that “the first shall be last; and that the last shall be first,” that is, the part is to be performed in retrograde motion. *Pisces* is the twelfth sign distant from *Aries*, which implies that the part must be transposed [downward] by a twelfth. . . . The canon concludes: *in licanos ypathon* [sic], a note precisely a twelfth below the opening tone, *a'*, of the borrowed *cantus firmus*.³⁵

Thus, the written superius becomes the sounding bass of the work.

An equally clever canon occurs in a setting of *De tous biens* from *Canti C* which borrows the tenor of Hayne's original for the altus of the new piece. The canon reads: *Hic dantur antipodes*, directing that the part is to be sung in contrary motion. One should note that in each piece the canonic device obscures, even conceals, the identity of the borrowed material. The secret would be known only to the eyes of the performer, not to the ears of the listener, except that Japart inserts clues into the other parts in the guise of melodic fragments from the original settings, thereby firmly establishing an audible family resemblance.

Japart's combinative chansons belong to a large group of compositions which depend for their effect on the harnessing together of two antithetical poetic-musical structures. Reaching a peak of development in the last years of the fifteenth century, such pieces were enjoyed for their contrapuntal

ingenuity and for the sometimes humorous, sometimes ironic contrasts that resulted from an unaccustomed juxtaposition of elements. Maniates recognizes several types of combinative chanson, and she classifies them according to the types of songs composers liked to combine. Her first category makes use of a popular melody as a *cantus firmus* in the tenor around which the composer builds a new polyphonic chanson.³⁶ This procedure is identical to that found in the so-called "motet-chanson" except that the *cantus prius factus* is secular. The melodic style and musical structure of the new piece is often at odds with the *cantus firmus*; for example, when the texts can be identified, one might see a superius following one of the *formes fixes* pitted against a tenor quoting a *chanson à refrain*. *Pour passer temps/Plus ne chascera sans gans* is a typical example. As in some of Japart's other chansons, two voices in imitation create a structural framework for the new composition. The borrowed tune is shared between altus and tenor in an imitative scheme set out as four separate points of imitation—strictly canonic. The superius is probably a *rondeau* and while one cannot be absolutely sure which poem entitled *Pour passer temps* was meant, Maniates discovered one in *Le Jardin de Plaisance* which fits Japart's superius pretty well.³⁷ Unfortunately, no text or monophonic source for the *cantus firmus* has been discovered.

Canti B contains a chanson which combines the superius of *Je cuide se ce temps*, Japart's own setting transposed down a fourth, with the slightly modified tenor of Hayne's *De tous biens*. So in this new composition there occurs the linking of two *formes fixes*—both borrowed tunes are *rondeaux*. Maniates defines this procedure as a separate category of combinative chanson.³⁸ This is the only known example of this type by Japart.

In *Il est de bonne heure né/L'homme armé*, the composer ingeniously links two favorite popular melodies. *L'homme armé* serves as the bass for an almost canonic presentation of *Il est de bonne heure né* in the tenor and superius. The middle section of the piece (beginning in m. 9) is an interesting example of the composer's playfulness. Here the tenor answers a quirky, syncopated embellishment of the tune in the superius by a similar rhythmic departure of its own. That, in turn, sparks the superius on a more elaborate flight with the altus and bassus chasing after. The passage ends with a return of the opening phrase of *Il est*, now in triple mensuration.

It was August Wilhelm Ambros who, as a footnote to his discussion of Japart's works in his monumental *Geschichte*, first noticed that the melody of Japart's setting entitled *Vray dieu d'amours* was exactly like an example in the *Liber de arte contrapuncti* (1477), Book III, chapter 3, of Tinctoris.³⁹ There the opening phrase of the melody is fitted with the words, "*Vray dieu d'amer conforte l'amoureux qui nuit et jour*," thus enabling one to match the tune with its proper *Vray dieu* text. Ronald Cross found the text of this poem, a *ballade*, in Arnoullet's *L'Esperit trouble*, published c. 1537 and he presents it in his edition of Pipelare's works.⁴⁰ Japart's setting is most peculiar for he combines the melody, which he places in the superius, with a recitation of the Litany of the Saints, which he divides between two tenors.

EXAMPLE 3: Il est de bonne heure né/L'homme armé, mm. 9–20.

The chanson *Se congie pris* may be a combinative chanson. The superius carries a melody which matches a song with the same title located in Paris 12744 (Paris and Gévaert edition, #52); the text found there is a *ballade*. None of the sources provide a textual incipit for the tenor voice, but its repeating phrase structure suggests that it too may be a *cantus prius factus*. The chanson pairs these two clearly patterned yet structurally different melodies with free counterpoint in the altus and bassus, whose asymmetrical character contrasts sharply with the superius and tenor.

The last two examples of the combinative chanson to be discussed here are triple chansons, i.e., the combination of two popular tunes, used as *cantus firmi* in two of the lower voices, with a courtly *rondeau* in the superius. Each piece derives its peculiar expressiveness from the clever way the composer juggles three simultaneously unfolding musical and poetical structures, somehow achieving a precarious balance of courtly and popular elements. In the first of these pieces, *Amours fait moult/Il Est/Tant que*, the two lower voices state rather straightforward versions of the tunes, *Il est de bonne heure né* and *Tant que nostre argent dura*, in the tenor and bassus respectively. The composer maintains the identity of each tune within the polyphonic complex while

interlocking them contrapuntally by a judicious use of rests between phrases. The two melodies then become a double *cantus firmus* providing a clearly articulated modal framework which sets the highly divergent musical-poetical structure and the disparate melodic style of the superius into bold relief. The altus has a dual purpose: it serves as an occasional harmonic support (e.g., the sounding bass of mm. 1 and 4); and alternately, provides necessary countermelodies and cadential filler (see mm. 5 and 7 of Example 4).

A-mours fait moult tost que ar-gent du-re, Quant
Et est de bonze heure né, Que tient sa dame en unq'pre, Sur l'her-be jo-li-e, Ma tres
Tant que nostre ar-gent des-ra, Que tant-tost faul-dra,

EXAMPLE 4: *Amours fait moult/Il est/Tant que*, mm. 1–7.

The second work, *Dieu gard celle/Et qui la dira dira*, requires some explanation if it is to be understood as a triple chanson. The monophonic source for the well-known popular melody, *Et qui la*, is P 9346, where both text and tune can be found (Gérold edition, #86). The altus, although without text or incipit in the sources, is identical to a melody found in the tenor of the second half of a combinative chanson by Petit Jan in the Mellon Chansonnier (f. 34v–35v, “Mon tres tout”). This tune carries the text of a poem entitled, *Dieu gard celle de deshonneur*, variants of which occur to an altogether different tune in P 12744 (Paris and Gévaert edition, #33) and P 9346 (Gérold edition, #32). The superius is most likely a *rondeau cinquain* for which not even a textual incipit survives.⁴¹

The final group of chansons comprises three compositions with Italian texts. The tunes chosen for elaboration are much simpler than the French popular songs used in his other works, yet they call forth some of the composer’s richest and most elaborate counterpoint. *Nenciozza mia* features a two-fold repetition of the *cantus prius factus*, the first time in the tenor, the second, one octave higher, in the superius. The accompanying voices surround the *cantus* with an intricate web of non-imitative, yet motivically related counterpoint. According to Brown, the tune itself is possibly the formula to which a

number of *strambotto* sequences, known under the collective title *La Nencia da Barberino* were declaimed.⁴² Brown feels Japart's composition to be an instrumental fantasia on the *strambotto* melody and not a demonstration of how *strambotti* were performed.⁴³ *Fortuna d'un gran tempo* may have had its origins as a monophonic dance tune, or it may be a *strambotto* melody, or both. The *cantus firmus*, a four-fold repetition of the basic tune, is found in the tenor. The nervous, athletic counterpoints clearly derive from the *cantus*; imitation is pervasive but highly unpredictable and non-schematic, thereby effectively disguising the structural role of the tenor. The tune of *Famene um pocho* (*Questa se chiama in Canti C*) has long been familiar from its being included in Isaac's well-known quodlibet *Donna di dentro* (Fl 229, f. 154v–156r) which also makes use of *Fortuna d'un gran tempo*. There the tune carries the text, "Damene un pocho di quella mazacrocha." The alternate text "Questa se chiama la bella mazacrocha," appears with a version of the tune featured as the second part of a *barzelletta* by Pifaro in Petrucci's *Frottole*, Libro VIII, f. 25.⁴⁴ It has been suggested that the word *mazacrocha* refers to a kind of cake or bun of particular appeal to Italians c. 1480.⁴⁵ As in *Fortuna d'un gran tempo*, the tune, placed in the tenor, generates the accompanying voices. Imitation is pervasive; the *cantus* with its distinctive rhythm and prominent falling fifth encourages motivic interplay between the parts, sometimes on more than one rhythmic plane. Japart winds up his setting with a striking passage of imitation based on this opening motive in diminution:

EXAMPLE 5: *Famene um pocho*, mm. 24–29.

In conclusion, Howard Brown has summarized perceptively what may be Japart's greatest strength as a composer—his talent for adding appropriate countermelodies to pre-existing ones so that the added parts highlight the borrowed ones by deliberately extreme contrasts. He explains: "There is in Japart's work a tension between the syllabic, partly declamatory and metri-

cally regular popular material and the more melismatic, syncopated, and faster moving countermelodies."⁴⁶ One might take this observation further to state that the composer's harnessing of opposites to work together in an uneasy alliance is more than a decorative feature of the composition. It penetrates every level of the work and may even account for its existence. By focussing our attention on these works, we do not mean to slight the boldness of the technical conceit on display in the canonic *rondeaux*, or to forget the stylistic prescience of the compositions based on Italian source material. Nevertheless, we might suggest that the combinative chanson provided the composer with a means through which the intentionally mismatched structural and stylistic components of a composition might resonate with the greatest expressive force.

NOTES

¹ F. J. Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, 2nd ed. (Paris: n.p., 1860–80), vol. IV, p. 428.

² *Ibid.*

³ Edward Łowinsky, "Asciano Sforza's Life . . .," *Josquin des Pres: Proceedings of the International Josquin Festival Conference* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 40.

⁴ Maria Peres, "Art and Architecture in Lombardy at the Time of Josquin des Pres," *Josquin des Pres . . . Festival Conference* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 143.

⁵ Ludwig Finscher, *Loysset Compère (c. 1450–1518): Life and Works* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, 1964), p. 17.

⁶ Claudio Sartori, "Josquin des Prés cantore del Duomo di Milano," *Annales musicologiques IV* (1956), pp. 64–6.

⁷ Lewis Lockwood, "Music at Ferrara in the Period of Ercole I d'Este," *Studi musicali I* (1972), p. 119.

⁸ Lewis Lockwood, "Josquin at Ferrara: New Letters and Documents," *Josquin des Pres . . . Festival Conference* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976), p. 106.

⁹ Allan Atlas, "Japart," *The New Grove Dictionary* (London: Macmillan Publishing Ltd., 1980), vol. IX, p. 553.

¹⁰ Fétis, *Biographie*, p. 428.

¹¹ Lockwood, "Music at Ferrara," pp. 111–12.

¹² Allan Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonier* (Brooklyn, NY: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1975), vol. I, pp. 254–5.

¹³ Edward Evans, *Introduction to Johannes Martini Secular Pieces* (Madison, WI: A-R Editions, 1975), pp. xi–xii.

¹⁴ Joshua Rifkin, "Pietrequin Bonnel and the Ms. 2794 of the Biblioteca Riccardiana," *Journal of the American Musicological Society XXIX* (1976), p. 288.

¹⁵ Stanley Boorman, "The 'First' Edition of the Odhecaton A," *Journal of the American Musicological Society XXX* (1977), pp. 199–201.

¹⁶ Howard Brown, *A Florentine Chansonier from the Time of Lorenzo the Magnificent* (in preparation), section I, chap. 8.

¹⁷ Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonier*, vol. I, p. 251.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 58–9.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.

²⁰ Brown, *A Florentine Chansonier*, section I, chap. 3.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonier*, vol. I, p. 131.

²⁴ Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonier*, vol. I, pp. 79–80; Brown, *A Florentine Chansonier*, section II, chap. 3.

- ²⁵ Atlas, *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ Brown, *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ *Ibid.*
- ³⁰ Howard Brown, "The Genesis of a Style: The Parisian Chanson, 1500-1530," *Chanson and Madrigal, 1480-1530* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 20.
- ³¹ "Vire le galce," No. 92 (Anonymous), 3v, f. 99v-100r (106v-107r) in Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonier*, vol. I, p. 210.
- ³² Brown, "The Genesis of a Style," pp. 13-15.
- ³³ Brown, *A Florentine Chansonier*, section 2, chap. 3.
- ³⁴ Helen Hewitt, *Harmonice musices Odhecaton A* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1946), p. 89.
- ³⁵ Helen Hewitt, *Canti B: numero cinquanta* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. 63.
- ³⁶ Maria Maniates, "Combinative Techniques in Franco-Flemish Polyphony," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University (1968), vol. I, p. 85.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 109.
- ³⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 91.
- ³⁹ August Wilhelm Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, 3rd edition (Leipzig, F. E. C. Leuckart, 1887-1909), vol. III, pp. 616-17.
- ⁴⁰ Ronald Cross, "The Chansons of Matthaeus Pipelare," *Musical Quarterly* LV (1969), pp. 519-20.
- ⁴¹ Maniates, "Combinative Techniques," vol. I, pp. 115-16.
- ⁴² Brown, *A Florentine Chansonier*, section II, chap. 4.
- ⁴³ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁴ Gaetano Cesari, et al., *Le Frottole nell'edizione principe di Ottaviano Petrucci* (Cremona: Athenaeum Cremonense, 1954), p. xxxi.
- ⁴⁵ Dragon Plamenac, "A Reconstruction of the French Chansonier in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville," *Musical Quarterly* XXXVIII (1952), pp. 270-1.
- ⁴⁶ Brown, *A Florentine Chansonier*, section II, chap. 3.

A List of Sources and Their Sigla

Manuscripts:

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| Bas F.X.1-4 | Basel, Universitäts-Bibliothek, MSS F.X.1-4 (16th c.) |
| Bol Q17 | Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 17 (Florence, 1490's) |
| Bol Q18 | Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, MS Q 18 (Northern Italy, early 16th c.) |
| Cape 3.b.12 | Cape Town, South African Public Library, Grey Collection, MS 3.b.12 (Northern Italy, early 16th c.) |
| Cas 2856 | Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Cod. 2856 (Ferrara, c. 1485) |
| Cort/P | Cortona, Biblioteca del Comune e dell' Accademia Etrusca, MSS 95-96 (S and A); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. fr., MS 1817 (T) (Florence, c. 1515) |
| C.G. XIII.27 | Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cappella Giulia, Cod. XIII, 27 (Florence, c. 1492-94) |
| Fl 107 ^{bis} | Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabecchiana XIX, 107 ^{bis} (Florence, c. 1510-13) |
| Fl 178 | Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Magliabecchiana XIX, 178 (Florence, c. 1491-92) |
| Fl 229 | Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Banco Rari, MS 229 (Florence, c. 1491) |
| Lon 35087 | London, British Museum, MS Add. 35087 (France, c. 1505) |

- P 676 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Res. Vm. 676 (Ferrara, 1502)
- P 9346 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds fr. 9346 (*Le Manuscrit de Bayeux*—15th c. monophonic chansonnier)
- P 12744 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds fr. 12744 (15th c. monophonic chansonnier)
- Panc 27 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panchiatichi 27 (Mantua, c. 1500)
- Pix Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS fonds fr. 15123 (*Le Manuscrit Pixérécourt*—Florence, before 1484)
- Reg 120 Regensburg, Proske-Bibliothek, Cod. C. 120 (*Codex Pernner*—16th c.)
- Ricc 2794 Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, MS 2794 (Franco-Burgundian origin, c. 1485)
- Seg Segovia, Catedral, Codex (without number—before 1504)
- Sev/P Seville, Biblioteca Colombina, Cod. 5-I-43; and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS nouv. acq. fr. 4379 (Rome or Naples, c. 1480)
- SG 461 St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 461 (*Fridolin Sachers Liederbuch*, 1545)
- SG 463 St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 463 (*Aegidius Tschudis Liederbuch*, S and A only—c. 1517–20)
- Tour/Bruss Tournai/Dornijk, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 94 (T); Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS IV.90 (S) (c. 1511)
- Vat 11953 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codicetto Vat. lat. 11953 (Rome, c. 1500–10)
- Ver 757 Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 757 (Northern Italy, c. 1505–10)
- Prints:*
- Canti B Ottaviano Petrucci, *Canti B numero cinquanta*, Venice, 1502
- Canti C Ottaviano Petrucci, *Canti C numero cento cinquanta*, Venice, 1504
- Egenolff Christian Egenolff, [*Lieder zu 3 und 4 Stimmen*], [Frankfurt-am-Main, c. 1535] (Superius only)
- Odh Ottaviano Petrucci, *Harmonice musices Odhecaton A*, Venice, 1501.
- Schöffler Peter Schöffler, *Quinquaginta carmina*, Mainz, 1513.

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APPENDIX A: The Works of Johannes Japart

KEY

- x = Part bears text incipit appearing before the x
- = Part completely untexted with no incipit
t = Part is fully texted

1. Amours, amours, amours

Sources:

- Bol Q17 f. 67v-68r, A. Busnois, "Amours amours" x; x; x; x
Fl 229 f. 172v-173r, Anon., "Amours amours" x; x; x; x
Odh f. 25v-26r, Japart, "Amours amours amours" x; x; x; x

Modern edition:

Hewitt, *Odhecaton*, pp. 270-71

2. Amours fait moult/Il est de bonne heure né/Tant que nostre argent dure

Sources:

- Basel F.X. 1-4 #111, Pirson [de la Rue], "Tant que nostre argent" x; x;
x; x
Bol Q17 f. 63v-64r, A. Busnois, "Amours" x; x; x; "Tant que
nostre argent dura" t.
C.G.XIII.27 f. 3v-4r (10v-11r), Anon., "Amors fait molt" x; x; x; x
Cas 2856 f. 159v-160r, Jo. Jappart, "Amours fait mont" x; x; "Il
est de bon heure ne" x; "Tant que nostre argent dura" x
Fl 107^{bis} f. 7v-8r, Anon., "Amors fait moltant" x; -; -; -
Fl 178 f. 57v-58r, Anon., "Amors fait molt" x; -; -; -
Fl 229 f. 163v-164r, Jannes Japart, "Amours fait molt" x; x; -;
"Tant que nostre argent dure" x
Odh f. 33v-34r, Anon., "Amor fait mult" x; -; "Il est de
bonne heure ne" x; "Tant que nostre argent dure" x
Reg 120 pp. 214-15, Anon., "Tant que nostre argent" x; x; x; x
Ricc 2794 f. 26v-27r, Anon., "Amours fait mont" t; x; "Il est de
bonne heure ne" t; "Tant que nostre argent dura" t
Tour/Bruss f. 18v-19r, Anon., "Amours fait moult" t; "Il est de
bonne heure ne" t; (S and T only)
Vat 11953 f. 9r-9v, Anon., "Tant que nostre argent" x; (B only)

Modern editions:

- Hewitt, *Odhecaton*, pp. 286-87.
Torrefranca, *Il segreto del quattrocento*, pp. 544-46.
Wolf, *Jacob Obrecht: Wereldlijke Werken*, pp. 99-100.

3. Cela sans plus non sufi pas

Sources:

- Fl 229 f. 111v-112r, Jannes Japart, "Cela sans plus ne souffi

Odh pas" x; x; x; x
f. 26v-27r, Anon., "Cela sans plus non sufi pas" x; x; x;
x

Modern edition:

Hewitt, *Odhecaton*, pp. 272-73.

4. De tous biens

Source:

Canti C f. 79v-80r, Jo. Japart, "De tous biens" x; x; x; x (over
Contra: "Canon. Hic dantur antipodes.")

Modern edition:

Gombosi, *Jacob Obrecht: ein stilkritische Studie*, #49

5. Dieu gard celle/Et qui la dira dira

Sources:

Bol Q17 f. 66v-67r, A. Busnois, "Et qui la dira dira" x; x; x; x
Fl 107^{bis} f. 5v-6r, Japart, "E qui la dra dra" x; -; -; -

Modern edition:

Maniates, *Combinative Techniques*, vol. II, pp. 96-8

6. Famene um pocho (Questa se chiama)

Sources:

Canti C f. 115v-116r, Jo. Japart, "Questa se chiama" x; x; x; x
Sev/P f. 128v-129r, Anon., "Famene um pocho de quella
mazzacrocha" t; t; t; t

7. Fortuna d'un gran tempo

Source:

Canti C f. 52v-53r, Japart, "Fortuna dun gran tempo" x; x; x; x

8. Helas qu'il est a mon gre

Sources:

C.G.XIII.27 f. 47v-48r (54v-55r), Japart, "Elas queleste amongre" x;
x; x; x
Fl 107^{bis} f. 12r, Anon., -; -; (A and B only—f. 11v lacking; in
index: "Elas que lata mongre")
Fl 178 f. 45v-46r, Anon., "Che lata mongre" x; -; -; -
Fl 229 f. 152v-153r, Anon., -; -; -; -
Odh f. 32v-33r, Japart, "Helas que il est a mon gre" x; x; x; x
Panc 27 f. 64v-65r, Japart, "Helas que il est amongre" x; -; -; x
SG 463 #180, Japart, "Helas que il est a mongre" x; x; (S and A
only)

Modern editions:

Boer, *Chansonvormen*, #8

Hewitt, *Odhecaton*, pp. 284-85

Torre Franca, *Il segreto del quattrocento*, pp. 554-57

9. Il est de bonne heure né/L'homme armé

Source:

Canti C f. 78r-79v, Jo. Japart, "Il est de bone heure ne" x; x; x;
"L'ome arme" x

Modern edition:

Brown, *Theatrical Chansons*, #26

10. Ja bien rise tant (J'ay bien nori)

Sources:

C.G.XIII.27 f. 19v-20r (26v-27r), Anon., "Ja bien rise tant" x; -; -
Fl 178 f. 32v-33r, Josquin Despres, "Nay biem no rise tans"
x; -; -
Fl 229 f. 45v-46r, Jannes Japart, "Jay bien nori" x; -; x
Seg f. 189r, Johannes Joye, "Jay bien nori" x; x; x

Modern edition:

Atlas, *Cappella Giulia Chansonnier*, vol. II, pp. 14-15

11. J'ay pris amours

Source:

Odh. f. 23v-24r, Japart, "Jay pris amours" x; x; x; x

Modern edition:

Hewitt, *Odhecaton*, pp. 265-66

12. J'ay pris amours

Sources:

Canti B f. 33v-33r, Japart, "Jay pris amours" x; -; x; - (Canon
over S reads: "Fit aries pisces in licanosypathon")
C.G.XIII.27 f. 59v-60r (66v-67r), Jo. Japart, "Je pris amorus" x; x;
x; x (Canon over S reads: "Vade retro sathanas"—an
apparent reference to Math: IV, 10)
Fl 178 f. 4v-5r, Japart, "Jam pris amors" x; -; -; - (Canon
over S reads: "Antiphrosis baritonat")
Fl 229 f. 158v-159r, Jannes Japart, "Jay pris amours a ma
devise" x; x; x; - (Canon over S reads: "Ne sonites
amese—Lycanosypaton summite—Antiphrosis
baritonat")
Schöff p. 30, Japart, "Iai pris amours" x (T only)
Ver 757 f. 48v-49r, Anon., -; -; -; -

Modern editions:

Disertori, *Il manoscritto 1947-4 di Trento*, p. 15

Hewitt, *Canti B*, pp. 174-76

13. Je cuide se ce temps me dure

Sources:

Bol Q18 f. 71v-72r, Anon., "Je quide" x; x; x
Cape 3.b.12 f. 83v-84r (82v-83r), Anon., "Primam querite regnum
dei" t; t; t
Cas 2856 f. 128v-129r, Jo. Jappart, "Je quido" x; x; x

- C.G.XIII.27 f. 54v-55r (61v-62r), Anon., "Je cuyde" x; x; x
 Fl 229 f. 95v-96r, P. Congiet, "Je cuide se ce temps" x; x; x
 Odh f. 4v-5r, Anon., "Je cuide se ce temps me dure" x; x; x; x
 P 676 f. 49v-50r, Anon., "Ja cuide" x; x; x
 Ver 757 f. 22v-23r, Anon., -; -; -

Modern edition:

Hewitt, *Odhecaton*, pp. 222-23

14. Je cuide/De tous biens

Sources:

- Canti B f. 34v-35r, Japart, "Je cuide" x; x; "De tous biens" x; x
 Egenolf [Lieder]; vol. I, #32, Anon., S only with incipit

Modern editions:

Hewitt, *Canti B*, pp. 176-78
 Maniates, *Combinative Techniques*, vol. II, pp. 268-70

15. Loier mi fault ung carpentier

Source:

- Canti C f. 53v-54r, Japart, "Loier mi fault ung carpentier"
 x; x; x; x

16. Nenciozza mia

Sources:

- Fl 229 f. 105v-106r, Jannes Iapart, "Nenciozza mia" x; x; x; x
 Odh f. 9v-10r, Japart, "Lenchiozza mia" x; x; x; x (Index
 reads: "Lenciozza mia")
 SG 461 pp. 60-61, Japart, "Nenciozza mia" x; -; -; -

Modern editions:

Giesbert, *Ein altes Spielbuch*, p. 70
 Schering, *Geschichte des Musik im Beispielen*, p. 66
 Hewitt, *Odhecaton*, pp. 233-34

17. Pour passer temps/Plus ne chascera sans gans

Source:

- Canti C f. 80r-80v, Jo. Japart, "Pour passer temps" S; B; "Plus
 ne chascera sans gans" C; T

Modern edition:

Maniates, *Combinative Techniques*, vol. II, pp. 278-81.

18. Prestes le moy

Source:

- Canti C f. 97v-98r, Jo. Japart, "Prestes le moy" x; x; x; x

19. Se congie pris

Source:

- Odh f. 24v-25r, Japart, "Se congrie pris" x; x; x; x

Modern editions:

Boer, *Chansonvormen*, p. 65
 Hewitt, *Odhecaton*, pp. 267-69

20. Tan bien mi son pensa (Si je fet ung cop)

Sources:

- Bol Q17 f. 78v (f. 79 missing), Anon., "Tan bien" x; x; (S and T only)
Cort/P #15, Anon., "Si je fet ung cop" t; t; t (S and T in Cortona—T in Paris; B missing)
Odh f. 36v-37r, Japart, "Tan bien mi son pensa" x; x; x; x

Modern editions:

- Hewitt, *Odhecaton*, pp. 292-93
Maniates, *Combinative Techniques*, vol. II, pp. 312-13

21. T'Meiskin (De tusch in busch)

Sources:

- Bol Q17 f. 68v-69r, Anon., "De tous in busc" x; x; x; x
Fl 107^{bis} f. 4v-5r, Anon., "De tusch in busch" x; -; -; -
Fl 178 f. 75v-76r, Japart, "De tusche in busch" x; -; -; -
Fl 229 f. 162v-163r, Anon., -; -; -; -
Lon 35087 f. 52v-53r, Anon., T'meiskin was jonck" t; t; t
Odh f. 26v-30r, Anon. (first edition copy: Isaac), "T'meiskin" x; x; x; x
SG 463 (Index only: Anon., "T'meiskin")
Seg f. 103, Jacobus Hobrecht, "T'meiskin was jour" x; -; -; -

Modern editions:

- See Hewitt, *Odhecaton*, p. 143

22. Trois filles estoient

Sources:

- Cas 2856 f. 83v-84r, Jo. Japart, "Trois filliez estoient" x; x; x
Pix f. 104v-105r, Anon., "Tros fillies (. . . ?)" t; t; t

Modern edition:

- Pease, *An Edition of the Pixérécourt Manuscript*, vol. III, pp. 300-302
"Tractatus de musica figurata et de contrapuncto," (Anonymous) in
Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi* (Paris: 1864-1876), vol. IV,
pp. 456-7.

23. Vray dieu d'amours/Sancte Jouanes baptista/Ora pro nobis

Source:

- Canti C f. 95v-96r, Jo. Japart, "Vray dieu damours" S; T; B;
"Sancte Jouanes baptista" t; "Ora pro nobis" t (Litany
of the Saints in the two A's)

Modern edition:

- Maniates, *Combinative Techniques*, vol. II, pp. 288-91

Two Previously Unpublished Transcriptions

Fortuna d'un gran tempo

Canti C, ff. 52v-53r

Japart

The image displays a musical score for the piece "Fortuna d'un gran tempo" by Japart. The score is organized into four systems, each consisting of four staves. The first system begins with a treble clef, a 3/4 time signature, and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, as well as rests. The second system continues the piece, featuring a change in key signature to one flat (Bb) and the appearance of a double bar line. The third system shows further melodic and harmonic development, with a return to the one sharp key signature. The fourth system concludes the piece with a final cadence. The score is marked with dynamics like "ff" (fortissimo) and includes performance instructions such as "Canti C" and "ff. 52v-53r".

*G in Canti C

The first system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a melodic line with a quarter rest, followed by a half note, and then a series of eighth notes. The second staff is in treble clef and contains a series of eighth notes, with a sharp sign (#) above the second measure. The third staff is in treble clef and contains a series of quarter notes. The fourth staff is in bass clef and contains a series of quarter notes.

The second system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a series of eighth notes, with a sharp sign (#) above the first measure. The second staff is in treble clef and contains a series of quarter notes, with a sharp sign (#) above the fourth measure. The third staff is in treble clef and contains a series of quarter notes. The fourth staff is in bass clef and contains a series of quarter notes, with a flat sign (b) above the fifth measure.

The third system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef and contains a series of quarter notes, with a sharp sign (#) above the second measure. The second staff is in treble clef and contains a series of eighth notes, with a sharp sign (#) above the first measure and a flat sign (b) above the second measure. The third staff is in treble clef and contains a series of quarter notes. The fourth staff is in bass clef and contains a series of quarter notes, with a flat sign (b) above the second measure.

The first system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a 3/8 time signature. It contains a melodic line with eighth and sixteenth notes. The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and contains a similar melodic line. The third staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and contains a melodic line with some rests. The fourth staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp and contains a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes.

The second system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and contains a melodic line. The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and contains a melodic line with some rests. The third staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and contains a melodic line with some rests. The fourth staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp and contains a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes.

The third system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and contains a melodic line. The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and contains a melodic line with some rests. The third staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and contains a melodic line with some rests. The fourth staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp and contains a bass line with eighth and sixteenth notes.

Questa se chiama

Canti C, f. 115v-116r

Jo. Japart

The first system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a common time signature. The second and third staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature. The music features a variety of note values including quarter, eighth, and sixteenth notes, as well as rests and accidentals.

The second system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature. The second and third staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature. The music continues with similar rhythmic patterns and includes some complex passages with beamed notes.

The third system of musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature. The second and third staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature. The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one sharp and a common time signature. The music concludes with a final cadence and a sharp sign at the end of the bottom staff.

*supplied from *Sev*

The first system of handwritten musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The third staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs.

The second system of handwritten musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The third staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs.

The third system of handwritten musical notation consists of four staves. The top staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The third staff is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The bottom staff is in bass clef with a key signature of one flat (Bb). The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and phrasing slurs.

Key Structure and Tonal Allegory in the Passions of J. S. Bach: An Introduction

By Eric Chafe

"Allegory" is the term used by Bukofzer to describe a relationship of coherence between a musical element and something extra-musical.¹ For example, the triad can be used to represent the trinity because it embodies the concept "three in one"—three notes, one chord. *Tonal* allegory, then, is the use of any tonal element—key, modulation, sharp sign, enharmonic change, cross relation or even the entire key structure of a lengthy work—to express a coherent relationship with something extra-musical.

Key structure is a term not quite so easily agreed upon. In fact, Bukofzer denied its existence in the Bach passions and Handel operas, although his denial was perhaps intended more as a commentary on the musicological literature on the subject of key structure than on the actual tonal plans of the works in question.² An allegorical tonal plan he would certainly have accepted, but in the face of blatantly unhistorical presentations of key relationships, Bukofzer tended to stick with the concept of closely related keys that obviously held true in the cantatas, sonatas, concertos, and so on: that is, tonic, dominant, subdominant and their relative minors, the common chords of the key. In his view no satisfactory rationale had been found for the very wide range of keys in the passions. This is a crucial point, for their wide key range is the single aspect of tonality which most conspicuously divides the passions not only from the cantatas, but from the other larger works as well. The *Easter and Ascension Oratorios*, the *Trauer-Ode*, *Magnificat*, *B-Minor Mass*, *Christmas Oratorio*, *Missae Breves*, and others, all stick very closely to what Heinichen called the "ambitus" of six keys that represent the nearest tonal relationships and the normal limit of modulation within a single movement.³ It is most important not only to recognize the special position of the extravagant key range in the passions within Bach's output, but also to realize that to a great extent the juxtaposition or confrontation between remotely related or unrelated keys belongs in these works as part of the allegory of the irreconcilable conflicts of the passion story.

Analysis of the passions is done a disservice, therefore, by H. J. Moser's equating of the key of A-flat major to G-sharp major in the *St. Matthew Passion*;⁴ or the fairly frequent statements by Moser and others that widely separated movements in C-major and c-minor in both passions are to be thought of as being in the same key;⁵ or Dieter Weiss's inclusion of the C-major chorus, "Lasset uns den nicht zerteilen" in the *St. John Passion* within a "scene" in E-flat.⁶ On the contrary, Bach shows rather an acute awareness of the *distances* between these keys, and exploits them in his structures.

The rationale behind Bach's tonal procedures in the passions is illuminated by a document by Johann Kuhnau, his predecessor and the founder of Leipzig's eighteenth-century passion tradition just two years before Bach's

arrival in that city. It was in Kuhnau's preface to his *Biblical Sonatas* that Bukofzer found an explicit definition of musical allegory and the composer's reference to a striking instance of its tonal application: his representing Laban's deceit with a "deception of the ear," that is, with a sudden modulation from one key to another.⁷ Kuhnau published an even more interesting preface to a cycle of church cantatas for the year 1709-10.⁸ In it he called for two special qualities from the composer of church music: first, that he be able to stir the affections, and second, that he be no stranger to hermeneutics (the art of scriptural exegesis), and understand both the correct *sensus* and *scopus* of the words. (These terms will be illustrated below.) Kuhnau furthermore outlines his approach to setting the beginning of the first Psalm, which, as it happens, presents the same kind of split that occurs in the passion story, that between the *Gottlosen* ("ungodly") and the *Frommen* ("pious"). He prescribes several different kinds of tonal or harmonic shift. They include repetition of the word "dem" ("Wohl *dem*," "Blessed is *he*") in "unexpected keys, which bring the hearers to attention"; taking the word "wandelt" figuratively to refer to the "twisted circumlocutions" of the ungodly, then setting it with many passages that "wander outside the scale"; setting the word "Gottlosen" ("im Rath der *Gottlosen*," "in the council of the *ungodly*") with a "hard dissonance"; setting the word "Rath," in "remote and unforeseen keys" ("since a council often comes to an unpredictable decision"); moving away from the right key and "erring" into foreign tonalities for the word "Sünder." In addition to these passages, Kuhnau prescribes one further tonal shift that, from his description, appears to be of a more extreme nature and of greater importance to the structure as a whole:

... *Sondern hat Lust zum Gesetz des Herrn.* There, in consideration of the adversative conjunction, "sodern," [the music] should proceed in a completely different key, with mi transformed into fa, or fa into mi⁹

This last modulation corresponds to a major structural division in the text of the Psalm, between the first and second verses, and even more importantly, it expresses the central issue of the text, the split between the way of the ungodly and that of the righteous.

Kuhnau perhaps meant an enharmonic change when he spoke of "mi" being transformed into "fa," or at the very least a sudden turn from sharps to flats or vice-versa. Similar expressions can be found made by other writers of the time. Georg Muffat on the *relatio non-harmonica*, for example:

... with "mi" those well versed in the art mean the \flat mi or hard notes which are signed with a \sharp or diesis; with "fa," they mean the $\flat\flat$ "mollia," or otherwise soft signs. In every such false interval there are always found two such signs in opposition, namely, one which is *dur* and the other *moll*, or soft; therefore it is called *mi contra fa*.¹⁰

In the writings of Werckmeister, Scheibe and others we find references to modulations made by means of cross relations, enharmonic changes, and so

forth, described as the confrontation between sharps and flats or the transformation of the one sphere into the other.¹¹ Still others, such as Heinichen, will stress the "extreme" nature of keys that are removed from C-major by more than a few sharps or flats.¹² As will be shown below, it is the idea of separation, and even of opposition between sharp and flat keys that Bach makes into his main allegorical structural principle in the two passions.

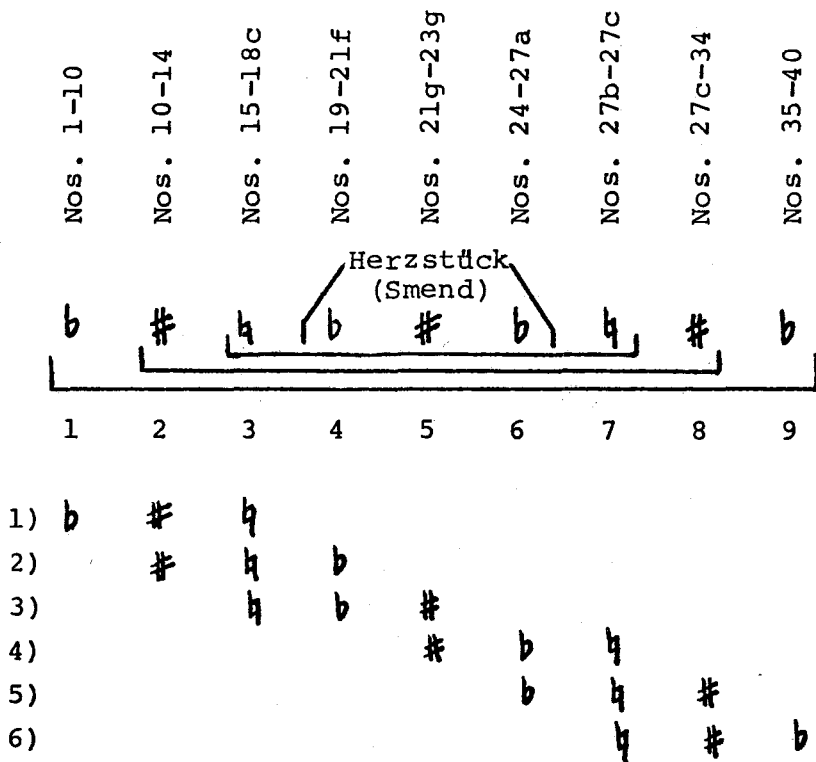
In turning first to the *St. John Passion*, one encounters an astonishing work of scriptural exegesis. It is almost a virtuoso exercise in the presentation and musical allegorizing of theological themes. Perhaps Bach was determined to show, in the first Leipzig passion after Kuhnau, his mastery of the hermeneutics Kuhnau had required of the church composer. The *St. John Passion* presents a thoroughly johannine conception of the passion, overlooking none of the special characteristics of John's account. John's emphasis on the trial and his arranging it in a dramatically-conceived *chiasmus*¹³ are amplified by Bach in the central symmetry of the setting, what Smend calls the *Herzstück*.¹⁴ The themes of Jesus' majesty, of His all-powerful nature throughout the passion, of the passion as a glorification rather than an abasement are given full announcement in "Herr, unser Herrscher" and echoed throughout the work, for example, in "O grosser König," "der Held aus Juda siegt mit Macht" (c.f., the final line of the *Easter Oratorio*, "der Löwe von Juda kommt siegend gezogen"), the final chorale, with its pronounced associations of victory.¹⁵ Space does not permit reference to the many other instances of Bach's catching the tone of the johannine narrative perfectly.

An additional point that might have been of special importance to Bach in his planning the structure and character of the *St. John Passion*, is the fact that Luther, in his *Preface to the New Testament*, had named the gospel of John, along with the epistles of Paul (especially Romans), as pre-eminent among the books of the Bible.¹⁶ The Epistle to the Romans he often referred to as the most important book of the Bible. Indeed, Luther's writings are filled with references to Paul: his doctrine of substitutionary atonement; the law of the spirit versus that of the flesh; the fulfillment of the law through faith and God's grace, *not* through works; the cross and faith setting the Christian free from sin, or the law of the flesh; and so on. The reason Luther gave for placing John's gospel above the others was John's emphasis upon the *teachings* of Christ as opposed to the focus upon His *works* that Luther saw in the synoptics. In other words, Luther viewed John through the eyes of Paul.

That Bach was thoroughly conversant with these ideas hardly need be questioned. And that he embodied them in certain works of a pronounced "theological" or "doctrinal" character is known. In the motet "Jesu, meine Freude" he gave full voice to all the aforementioned ideas by means of his interweaving of five crucial verses of Romans 8 with the six of the chorale. The work's structural symmetry is well known, and so is the relation of its central fugue—with ten entries of its subject—to the central fugue choruses of the *St. John Passion*, especially "Wir haben ein Gesetz." The themes of both were apparently modelled on the ten-commandments chorale, "Es sind die heil'gen zehn Gebot."¹⁷ In both passion and motet Bach created a Lutheran

(and johannine) juxtaposition of opposites: flesh versus spirit in the one instance, the law of the Jews versus the freedom of Christians in the other. Bach had allegorized the same idea many years earlier, in the middle movement of the *Actus Tragicus*, Cantata 106, where the juxtaposition was described in terms of the old covenant versus the new. In passion, motet and cantata, and in a number of comparable works, Bach's use of symmetrical ground plans seems to create a structural image of the formality and solidity of the doctrines involved. Symmetry was the first clearly recognizable structural pattern developed by Bach in his church works, the so-called "tropierende Spruchkantaten";¹⁸ a clear line of descent runs from these works to the *St. John Passion*. The antithesis specifically derived from Luther appears in the *St. John Passion* at the very center, where the chorale "Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn" echoes all at once the close of the preceding chorus, "we have a law, and according to the law he must die, for he has made himself to be the son of God"; the discussion between Jesus and Pilate concerning freedom; and most interestingly of all, the pauline theology that Luther expounded most eloquently perhaps in his tract, *The Freedom of the Christian*. Bach, of course, had to seek out a chorale that would express just this combination of structural and theological motives. Hence, in "Durch

FIGURE 1: The pattern of key areas in the *St. John Passion*



dein Gefängnis," one finds the only certain chorale contrafactum in his church music.

To clarify how Bach uses tonality to allegorize these great issues, the basis of his procedure is shown in Figure 1. He arranges the entire passion into a huge chiasmus, forming a nine-fold (3 x 3) division of the key areas of the work.¹⁹ We are reminded of Smend's nine-fold division of the Credo of the *B-minor Mass*; in that work the three central movements are preceded and followed by a group of three others; as Smend states, "in the middle stands the word 'crucifixus.'" ²⁰ So it is with the *St. John Passion*: Smend's *Herzstück* comprises a three-fold segment of strong internal coherence; it is flanked by three preceding and three following "scenes." The very center allegorizes the cross by means of its sharp keys (*Kreuztonarten*)²¹ and, above all, by the fact that the modulation from the flats of "Wir haben ein Gesetz" to the sharps of "Durch dein Gefängnis" is placed very precisely by Bach on the word "kreuzigen" (Example 1). In a series of movements that constitute the pivot of the *St. John Passion's* structure we perceive four stages in the delineation of the theology of redemption, the soteriology of the cross:

1) The Jews refer to the law in the F-major chorus, "Wir haben ein Gesetz"; the grounds for crucifixion are stated in its final words, "denn er hat sich selbst zu Gottes Sohn gemacht."

2) In a recitative dialogue Pilate claims to have the power to crucify Jesus or to set him free. This claim is denied by Bach's carrying the "kreuzigen" interval (an augmented fourth) sequentially further into sharps, as well as in Christ's answer to Pilate. Pilate has power only to carry out events foreordained by God—in this case crucifixion. The cross (G-sharp) is agent of the modulation.

3) The outcome of the modulation is the key of Christian freedom ("Durch dein Gefängnis," E-major), which, according to Bach's allegory, is attained through the cross and God's plan of salvation.

4) As the music of the F-major "Wir haben ein Gesetz" is heard with a new text, "Lässest du diesen los," in E-major (Kuhnau's "fa [F] transformed into mi [E]," as it were), we perceive Bach's musical allegorizing of an idea that resounds throughout all of Luther's work, and especially in *The Freedom of a Christian*: through faith in Christ crucified the Christian is freed from the law. The law is reinterpreted and fulfilled only through faith in His sacrifice.

Whether or not Bach's juxtaposition of F-major and E-major can be called a *mi contra fa*, and hence a sort of cross relation, is arguable. That the overall structure was designed to allegorize the cross is, however, probably indisputable. A few moments' reflection on the pattern of key areas in the passion shows further that once Bach had decided upon sharps for the central segment (the fifth) and flats for the fourth and sixth (to provide the fa/mi shift as well as the maximum contrast), the choice of key areas for all the others

Pilatus Pe-dest du nicht mit mir? weissest du nicht, dass ich Macht habe, dich zu Kreuzigen und Macht habe,

Basso cont.

Pilatus dich los-zu-ge-ben?

Basso cont.

EXAMPLE 1: *St. John Passion*: recitative no. 21g, mm. 7–10; Pilatus and basso continuo

became inevitable. For only with this arrangement (shown in Figure 1), could he provide all six permutations in the ordering of the three signs. There is thus a play with the number three embedded in the structure of the work. Bach's plan is in many respects highly abstract and predetermined, a trait that is very much in accord with the nature of a gospel whose first half is commonly called the Book of Signs and its second, beginning with the passion, the Book of Glory. Moreover, it is a gospel which is characterized throughout by a decidedly deterministic cast. Bach's structure is also composed of *musical* signs and glory, and his extensive pre-planning mirrors the johannine structure and theology of pre-destination.²²

Incidentally, when Bach sets the word "kreuzigen" with a tritone leap up to a sharp, he is representing what Kuhnau called the *sensus* of the word. However, when he makes this detail into merely a single element in a full allegory of the theological meaning of the passion as a whole, he provides us with one of the most impressive instances of his penetration of the *scopus* of the text. The most conspicuous musical agent of that allegory is tonality.

With the foregoing analysis as a basis, understanding the more complex tonal procedures in the *St. Matthew Passion* becomes much easier, even though that work is not at all as obviously "patterned" as its predecessor. The character of Matthew's gospel and of Bach's setting is quite different from the *St. John Passion*—Matthew placing emphasis upon the church as an institution—and his ecclesiology is mirrored in Bach's dialogues between the church and the faithful, in Bach's series of verses of the same chorale, in his turn to the passion sermons of Heinrich Müller for a considerable number of texts²³ (especially those of the most conspicuous "new" element, the eleven "ariosi"), and in Bach's special arioso treatment of the words of institution of the Lord's Supper. Although Matthew's passion is of the suffering rather than the victorious Christ, and is clearly treated as such by Bach, the basic theological issues, which transcend the question of differences among the gospels and necessarily center around the meaning of Christ's sacrifice, remain the same as those of the *St. John Passion*. Again, in dealing with Matthew's gospel, Bach makes his structure pivot around the issues that were at the center of the *St. John Passion*; and he retains the idea of opposition between sharp and flat keys in his new setting. But otherwise his means of allegorizing the meaning of the whole of Matthew's text leads ultimately to a very different structural realization. The tonal areas of the *St. Matthew Passion* are not arranged in any kind of cross or symmetrical pattern. Instead, Bach chose to interpret the sharp and flat keys as descendants of the old system of hexachords, *cantus durus* and *cantus mollis*, which were still very much alive as a conceptual framework for key relationships, although rapidly becoming more and more outmoded.²⁴ By Bach's adopting this view of the passion's wide range of keys, instead of the passion story being accommodated to an abstract or partially predetermined tonal plan, the result is that the keys follow the text, allowing it to determine the course of musical events (i.e., the

tonal shifts) to a much greater extent. It might be said that the treatment of sharp and flat tonalities constitutes a plan in the *St. John Passion*, but a procedure in the *St. Matthew Passion*.

This is the first level of tonal allegory in the *St. Matthew Passion*. Bach aligns the full range of tonalities in the work to the text—as interpreted and amplified theologically, of course—so that its *durus* and *mollis* states are given expression according to the traditional *proprietas*.²⁵ The “hard” realm of affections encompasses all that was described of old as *asperitas*: the crucifixion in all its stages—the trial and shouts of the mob for Jesus’ death, the scourging, and so forth. But it also represents a group of positive emotions which derive from the traditional interpretation of *durus* as masculine and *fortius*: Christ’s prediction of the Kingdom of God, the spread of the gospel, the resurrection, the *parousia*, Peter’s repentance, Jesus’ resolve at the close of Part I, and so on. Contrariwise, the “soft” affections comprise weakness (reflecting ancient associations of *mollis* with the feminine and imperfect): Jesus’ difficulty accepting the cup at first, His depressed states on the Mount of Olives (“Meine Seele ist betrübt”) and on the cross (“Eli, Eli”), and His resignation before Pilate. *Mollis* also represents the comforting, gentle and sympathetic associations of “feminine”: the Christian reactions to Jesus’ sufferings (“Ich bin’s,” “Wer hat dich so geschlagen,” “O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden”), the reaction of Pilate’s wife, the disciples’ sleep in the garden, Jesus’ final sleep in the grave, His arms open to the Christian seeking redemption, His finding rest in the believer’s heart.

In general terms, the polarities involved are principally light/dark, active/passive, tension/resolution, weak/strong, hard/soft. As reflected in this interpretation, the prediction of the resurrection and the agitated events surrounding the capture of Christ call forth the extremes of sharp-key tonality in the passion: E-major, g-sharp minor, and c-sharp minor, while the anticipations of betrayal and denial, Jesus’ crisis on the Mount of Olives, and the darkness and despair of His last moments and words are set in f-minor, A-flat, b-flat minor, and even e-flat minor, the flat “extremes” of the passion and of well-tempered tuning generally. “Ach! Golgotha” hovers around G-flat, D-flat and even a-flat minor; the word “Finsternis” is sung on f-flat.

The organization of tonal shifts within the passion is carefully planned, sometimes even patterned, although its relation to the text is more direct than in the *St. John Passion* (see Figures 2a, 2b). The most satisfactory means of comprehending the many shifts of tonal direction is in terms of *anabasis* (motion upward or “sharpward” through the circle of fifths) and *catabasis* (the reverse). The burial and all anticipations of death, for example, mark conspicuous turns “flatward” (“dass mann mich begraben wird”; “und wenn ich mit dir sterben müsste”; “meine Seele ist betrübt bis an den Tod”; “Er ist des Todes schuldig”; Jeremiah’s prophesy of the buying of the potter’s field, and so on. From this standpoint we find that a very large span of Part I (two-thirds) is occupied with two extended and very regular *anabases*, each moving from four flats to four sharps in very extended and

SHARPS I (1-4b)	No. 1	INTRODUCTION: The road to Golgotha	(e)
	2	Prediction of the crucifixion	(b)
FLATS II (4c-4e)	4a, b	Plotting of the Jews against Jesus	(e/C/G)
	4c	Bethany ("Bethanien")	(d)
	4d	Anointing of the Messiah	(g/d)
	4e	The disciples' reproach Jesus: "For ye have the poor always with you; but me ye have not always." Anticipation of the burial	(a/C) * (e) (c) (g) (d)
SHARPS III (4e-9c)	(4e)	Prediction of the spread of the gospel	(a) * (e)
	5, 6	Arioso and aria on the anointment	(b, f#)
	7	Judas and the High Priests	(D)
	9a-c	Preparation for the Passover	(G/e/C)
FLATS IV (9c-11)	9c	The Last Supper ("Abend") and Prediction of the betrayal	(F/g) * (c)
	9d, e	The disciples' response Further remarks about the betrayer Judas identified as the betrayer Institution of the Eucharist: bread wine	(f) (E-flat) (g) (F) (C)
SHARPS V (11-16)	(11)	Anticipation of the Kingdom of God	(G)
	14	The Mount of Olives Prediction of the disciples' desertion Prediction of the resurrection	(D) (f# / A) (E)
	15	CHORALE: "Erkenne mich mein Hüter"	(E)
	16	Peter avows his faithfulness Peter's denial foretold Peter reaffirms his loyalty ("sterben")	(A/b) (D/e) (c)
FLATS VI (16-24)	17	CHORALE: "Ich will hier bei dir stehen"	(E-flat)
	18-19	Gethsemane: Jesus' conflict	(A-flat/f)
	20	DIALOGUE: "Ich will bei meinem Jesu wachen"	(c)
	21	Jesus' prayers: "Mein Vater..."	(g)
	24	Jesus returns to the sleeping disciples "The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak"	(F) (a) *
	SHARPS VII (24-29)	(24)	Jesus prays again ("betete"): "Mein Vater..." Jesus awakens the disciples and announces his imminent capture
26		The Betrayal and capture ("Verräter")	(f#, c#, g#)
27		DIALOGUE: "So ist mein Jesus"/"Sind Blitze"	(E/e)
28		Jesus speaks against the sword "The scripture must be fulfilled" Announcement of scriptural fulfillment The disciples flee	(e) (b) (f#) (A) (c#)
29		CHORALE PANTASIA: "O Mensch, bewein"	(E)

FIGURE 2a: Outline of the major tonal shifts and patterns in Part I of the *St. Matthew Passion*. All sharp/flat modulations are underscored. Dialogues and movements which display parallels to one another have been set apart. The "naturalis" centers of three *anabases*, marking the divisions between total groupings II and III (a-minor, the Gospel), IV and V (C-major, the Eucharist) and VI and VII (a-minor, Spirit versus Flesh) are marked with asterisks. Words which are the objects of particular focus in the modulations—"Bethanien," "Evangelium," "Abend," "sterben," "betete," and "Verräter"—are placed in parentheses.

systematic fashion. The first of these starts with the prediction of betrayal and the disciples' reaction ("Herr, bin ich's," f-minor; "Ich bin's, ich sollte büßen," A-flat) and moves through the circle of fifths, one key-signature level at a time, until we reach Jesus' prediction of resurrection and the chorale, "Erkenne mich, mein Hüter," both in E-major. After that point Jesus predicts Peter's denial, Peter makes a musically and textually ironic protestation of loyalty in a sudden *catabasis* (modulation to c-minor) and the chorale is repeated a half tone lower in E-flat—the kind of parallel encountered at the center of the *St. John Passion*—another transformation of "mi" (E) into "fa" (E-flat). Now Jesus' words, "meine Seele ist betrübt" (A-flat) and the arioso, "O Schmerz" (f-minor) mark the start of a second, much longer *anabasis*, more than twice the length of the first, which leads in regular steps to E-major again, and the end of Part I ("O Mensch, bewein").²⁶ These two *anabases* were, of course, very carefully thought out. Their boundaries—four flats and four sharps—mark the limits of flat and sharp keys for any movements in the passion; only specially selected recitative passages extend farther in either direction. In that sense the two progressions traverse the

SHARPS (30-31)	I	No. 30	INTRODUCTION: Lament over Jesus' arrest	(b)		
		31	Jesus before the High Priest	(e/a/c)		
FLATS (31-38a)	II	33	False witnesses sought ("Hohenpriester")	(F/d/B-flat)	anabasis	
		34-35	False witnesses	(d/F)		
		36a	Jesus' silence	(g)		
		36b	Arioso and aria on Jesus' silence	(d/a)		
SHARPS (38a-43)	III	36a	Jesus; "Du sagest's"; prediction of the <u>parousia</u>	(e)	sudden catabasis	
		36b	"Er ist des todes schuldig"; start of <u>turba</u> "series"	(g/e-g)		
		36c,d,37	Jesus punished and mocked	(d/F)		
		38a	Peter denies Christ; "Dieser war auch mit dem Jesu von Nazareth," etc.	(d/B-flat/e/D)		
		38c,39	Peter's repentance	(f#b)		
		41a-c,42	Judas' remorse and suicide	(e/b/G)		
		43	Buying of Potter's Field ("Blutakker")	(e/d)		
		Jeremiah's prophecy	(F/g/c)	catabasis		
		Jesus before Pilate; "du sagest's"	(c)			
		43).....	Pilate: "Hörest du nicht, wie hart sie dich verklagen?" ("hart"="durus")	(d/a/f#D)		
45a	Pilate and the people (Pilate's wife)	(A/D/a)				
45b	"Lass Ihn Kreuzigen"	(C/F/g)				
SHARPS (43-50e)	IV	45b	"Lass Ihn Kreuzigen"	(a-v of e)	anabasis	
		46	Chorale, "Wie wunderbarlich"	(b)		
		48	Arioso, "Er hat uns allen"	(e/C)		
		49	Aria, "Aus Liebe"	(a)		
		50a	"Lass Ihn Kreuzigen"	(b)		
		50d	Judgement of death from the people	(b-v of f#)		
		50e	Jesus scourged and delivered over for crucifixion	(b/D)		
FLATS (51-58a)	V	51	Christian reaction to the trial and scourging; enharmonic change from sharps to flats at end of "Erbarne es Gotti"	(e)	sudden catabasis	
		52-57	Jesus' punishments and mocking; Christian meditative responses	(f#G)		
		58a	Arrival at Golgotha; the crucifixion ("gekreuziget")	(g/d/F/d)		
SHARPS (58a-58e)	VI	58b	"Der du den Tempel"	(C/F/d-e/b/D/A)	c#/#/b)	
		58d	"Andern hat er geholfen"; ending of <u>turba</u> "series" and e-minor passion on "ich bin Gottes Sohn" cadence in octaves	(b)		
		58e	Recitative with cross relation (<u>parrhesia</u>) between "Mörder" and "ihm"	(e)		
		60	"Sehet, Jesus hat die Hand"	(e/c)	sudden catabasis	
FLATS (58e-68)	VII	61a	Darkness; "Eli, Eli..."	(E-flat)	anabasis	
		61b,c	Choruses beneath the cross	(b-flat/e-flat)		
		61d, 62	Jesus' death; "Wenn ich einmal..."	(c/g-d)		
		63a	Outbreaks of nature: "Und siehe da,"	(a;e-phrygian)		
		63b	"Truly this was the Son of God"	(C/d/g)		
		63c-66c	The burial and related events	(A-flat)		
		67	"Nun ist der Herr zur ruh gebracht"	(c/g/B-flat/)	catabasis	
		68	"Wir setzen uns mit Tränen nieder"	(E-flat/c)		
					(E-flat/c)	
					(c)	

FIGURE 2b: The complex pattern of tonal fluctuation in Part II. Less patterned than Part I, Part II gives greater emphasis to *catabasis*, especially sudden ones. They are almost all associated with the death and burial of Jesus. *Anabasis* patterns coincide with the prediction of the *parousia*, the increase in intensity between the two "Let him be crucified" choruses, and the change from the darkness and despair of Golgotha to the point of Christ's death. As in Part I, there are seven major tonal divisions in Part II.

entire tonal space of the work. Each *anabasis* also has a carefully arranged "center" (i.e., the "neutral" keys of C-major and a-minor respectively, both of course equidistant from the extremities), although any feeling of symmetry is decidedly secondary. In each case, however, the half-way region of the *anabasis* is reserved for a particularly Lutheran and "Matthean" theological *locus*. The first is the institution of the Eucharist: F-major for the bread (body), C-major for the wine (blood), G-major for the anticipation of the Kingdom of God. In the second instance the pivot between flats and sharps is given to the words, "the spirit is willing but the flesh is weak" (a-minor cadence with change of key signature and turn to e-minor). Once again Bach pays special attention to the juxtaposition of flesh and spirit, this time amplified to the level of the entire second *anabasis*, from Jesus' and the disciples' human weakness in Gethsemane through Jesus' resolve to obey the Father's will and his announcement of the fulfillment of scripture. The root word

“Will” appears in Matthew’s text several times and is introduced several more times by Bach and Picander in the non-biblical movements: “Ich *will* hier bei dir stehen” and “Ich *will* bei meinem Jesu wachen” (two *mollis* expressions of the weakness of the flesh since they follow out of Peter’s protestation of loyalty); “Was mein Gott *will*, dass g’sch eh’ allzeit” (a *durus* extension of Jesus’ resolve to accept the “Kelch”—that is, to undergo the crucifixion). Along the way from flats to sharps Bach draws a *mollis/durus* parallel between Christ on the Mount of Olives, at first (in No. 21) tormented by the flesh and asking that the cup pass from Him, if possible; the second time (in No. 24) ready to accept it in fulfillment of God’s will. This is illustrated in Example 2. Above and beyond the physical events of the pas-

a)

V. 1
V. 2
Va.

Jesus
Mein Va-ter, ist's mög-lich, so gehe dieser Kelch von mir, doch nicht wie ich will, sondern wie

Basso cont.
7b 64 6/3 8 76

du willst.

b)

V. 1
V. 2
Va.

Jesus
Mein Vater, ist's nicht möglich, dass dieser Kelch von mir gehe, ich trinke ihn denn, so geschehe dein

Basso cont.
5 5b 5 7 5 7# 6 4# 2#

Wille.

EXAMPLE 2: Comparison of the endings of recitatives no. 21, mm. 3–7 (a) and 24, mm. 11–15 (b) from the *St. Matthew Passion*.

sion drama, the second great *anabasis* provides us with an allegory of the very Lutheran doctrines of man's inability to attain salvation through his own efforts, of Christ's fulfillment of the law on our behalf, of the difference between the disciples and Jesus, and even an allegory of God and man in Christ. The structure does not give the impression of pre-planning to the extent that the *St. John Passion* does; nevertheless one encounters the same issues and a fascinating new use of tonality to present the *scopus of the passion*.

The rest of the *St. Matthew Passion* is, as one would expect, dominated by prominent *catabases*; and in fact the entire tonal structure of the work has been described by Rolf Dammann as one huge *catabasis* by virtue of its beginning in e-minor and ending in c-minor.²⁷ This point brings in the second level of tonal allegory in the *St. Matthew Passion*: its dual key structure.²⁸ From the sharp and flat tonal spheres Bach chose e-minor and c-minor for special emphasis, the first representing the stages of the crucifixion drama itself, the second associated with the regions of contrast. E-minor is the predominant key of the work up to No. 58d, "Andern hat er geholfen," at which point the crucifixion is a *fait accompli*. After that point it is never heard again, and the final one-sixth of the passion is confined to flat keys, ending in c-minor. The choice of e-minor was an easy one; it is the key of many baroque works of lamentation including passions and passion-related works (e.g., Schütz's *Seven Last Words*). Its lines of descent from the Phrygian mode, and perhaps even the association of the Phrygian mode with the hard hexachord led Bach to this traditional key of lachrymose affections.²⁹ He then arranged that the successive stages of the crucifixion drama should be prominently centered in that key, almost like a representation of the stations of the cross:

- 1) "Kommt, ihr Töchter": Prologue
- 2) Jesus' prediction of Peter's denial
- 3) The betrayal and arrest of Jesus: "So ist mein' Jesus nun gefangen"
- 4) The judgement of death from the High Priests: "Er ist des Todes schuldig," the first in the famous set of ten *turbae* choruses in Part II³⁰
- 5) The trial and the call for crucifixion
- 6) The delivering over of Jesus for crucifixion and the scourging
- 7) The crucifixion itself and the last of the ten *turbae*
- 8) Jesus' death: chorale "Wenn ich einmal soll scheiden," in e-Phrygian, not e-minor

In addition, six times in the *St. Matthew Passion* Bach confronts e-minor and c-minor at close quarters, c-minor mostly succeeding e-minor in a manner that seems to point to the final outcome of the passion: the prediction of betrayal, Peter's mention of Jesus' death, the buying of the potter's field, and so on. The last, most significant and prominent of these *catabases* is the tonal hiatus that occurs after the great e-minor cadence in octaves on the words "ich bin

Gottes Sohn" (in No. 58e). This point marks the last use of sharp keys in the passion as well as the culmination of the crucifixion and the close of the series of ten *turbæ* which Smend and Jansen interpreted, correctly I think, as representing the Law once again.³¹ This is the pivot of the *St. Matthew Passion's* structure, the point of correspondence to the center of the *St. John Passion*. The sequence of ideas is remarkably similar to that of the earlier work:

1) Now Jesus is on the cross; the reason for His death is the same as that given in "Wir haben ein Gesetz": he has called himself the Son of God. The law is represented by the ten *turbæ*; the cadence in octaves perhaps makes an ironic confessional of Jesus' identity out of the words of the mockers, for Werckmeister had called the octave the interval of the Son (the unison represented the Father, the fifth the Holy Spirit)³²

2) The modulation to flats is made in a precisely placed *cross* relation on the words "Mörder" (the end of sharps) and "ihm" (the point at which "mi" is transformed to "fa" and sharps into flats, a progression Werckmeister called a "grosse Metamorphosis in der Harmonie."³³ (See Example 3.) The rhetorical term for the cross relation was *parrhesia*, "the manner in which one introduces a detested object, then tries to temper it."³⁴ The "detested object" in this case is, of course, the cross, which is transformed at this point from instrument of death into emblem of salvation. The modulation thus allegorizes the soteriology of the cross just as did the "kreuzigen" *mi contra fa* of the *St. John Passion*.

Evangelist

Basso continuo

Desgleichen schmäheten ihn auch die Mörder, die mit ihm gekreuziget wa-ren

6 7^b 5 4 b 4 b

EXAMPLE 3: *St. Matthew Passion*: recitative no. 58e

3) The theology of redemption is presented in the dialogue "Sehet, Jesus hat die Hand," which serves as introduction to the flat-key close of the passion, a counterpart to and replacement of "Kommt, ihr Töchter."³⁵ The Law has given way once again to Christian freedom.

Bach uses tonality in the *St. Matthew Passion* to represent the issues of greatest concern to the Lutheran church; in this he was undoubtedly following methods understood by his contemporaries and described by Kuhnau. If the method seems overly intellectual to us today, that is the measure of our distance from the kind of thought which Bukofzer called "the unity of sensual and intellectual understanding."³⁶ Kuhnau's words on this subject reflect the composer's attitude:

... I can already hear some people say, "these are speculations, of

which only the smallest part can be perceived by the listeners." I agree with this; yet inquiring minds ["curieuse Köpffe"] turn to this sort of thing with respect, and the composer has at the very least this advantage from it [the allegorical method] that in this way the path to invention is opened up for him.³⁷

NOTES

¹ Manfred Bukofzer, "Allegory in Baroque Music," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* III (1939-40), pp. 1-21.

² Manfred Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era* (New York, 1947), p. 367.

³ Johann David Heinichen, *Neu erfundene und Gründliche Anweisung . . .* (Hamburg, 1711), pp. 262-5.

⁴ H. J. Moser, *Die Passion von Schütz bis Frank Martin* (Wolfenbüttel, 1967), n.p.

⁵ H. J. Moser, "Zum Bau von Bachs Johannespassion," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1932), p. 156. Graham George, *Tonality and Musical Structure* (London, 1970), pp. 41-4.

⁶ Dieter Weiss, "Zur Tonartgliederung in J. S. Bachs Johannes-Passion," *Musik und Kirche*, Jahrgang 40 (1970), p. 33. Also George, *Tonality and Musical Structure*, p. 44.

⁷ Bukofzer, "Allegory in Baroque Music," p. 19.

⁸ Kuhnau's *Texte zur Leipziger Kirchen-Music* (Leipzig, 1710) is reprinted in B. F. Richter, "Eine Abhandlung Joh. Kuhnau's," *Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte*, XXXIV/9 (1902), pp. 148-54. All references are to this edition.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 152. "Sondern hat Lust zum Gesetz des Herrn. Da soll es bey Erwegung der Conjunctionis adversativae kî im Sondern, gantz aus einem andern Tono gehen, und das Mi in Fa, oder das Fa in Mi verwandelt werden."

¹⁰ Georg Muffat, *An Essay on Thoroughbass*, edited with an introduction by Hellmut Federhofer, American Institute of Musicology, Musicological Studies and Documents 4 (Tubingen, 1961), pp. 65-6. ". . . durch das mi verstehen die Kunstgelehrte die ♯ mi oder harte Noten, so mit einem ♯ oder Diesi gezeichnet seynd, durch das fa aber die bb mollia oder sonst weiche Claves. In jedem falschen Intervallo aber befinden sich allzeit solche zwey wiederige Claves, nemlich eine so dur und die ander so moll oder weich ist, dahero es mi contra fa heist."

¹¹ Andreas Werckmeister, *Harmonologia Musica* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1702), No. 67-77. Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Compendium Musices*, an undated manuscript treatise published in Peter Benary, *Die deutsche Kompositionslehre des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1960), pp. 72-3; *Eine Abhandlung von den musicalischen Intervallen und Geschlechtern* (Hamburg, 1739), pp. 47ff., 105ff.

¹² Heinichen, *Neu erfundene und Gründliche Anweisung . . .*, pp. 261ff.

¹³ For detailed analysis of the structure of John's gospel see Raymond Brown, *The Gospel According to John*, two vols., The Anchor Bible (New York, 1970), especially pp. 785-6, 859.

¹⁴ Friedrich Smend, "Die Johannes-Passion von Bach," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1926), pp. 105ff; new printing edited by Christoph Wolff in Friedrich Smend, *Bach-Studien* (Kassel, 1969), pp. 11-23.

¹⁵ Compare its use in the cantatas for St. Michael's day, for example, *BWV* 149, "Man singet mit Freuden vom Sieg."

¹⁶ John Dillenberger, *Martin Luther: Selections from his writings edited and with an introduction* (New York, 1961), pp. 18-19.

¹⁷ Friedrich Smend, "Bachs Matthäus-Passion," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1928), pp. 40-1. Martin Jansen, "Bachs Zahlensymbolik, an seinen Passionen untersucht," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1939), pp. 97-9.

¹⁸ Alfred Dürr, *Stüdien über die frühen Kantaten Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Wiesbaden, 1977), p. 212.

¹⁹ And the revisions made by Bach to the passion for the performance of 1725 clearly amplify this tonal symmetry; the chorale additions involve flat-key chorale fantasias in the outermost segments as well as a four-part chorale and an aria with chorale (the same one) in the second and penultimate "scenes" of the work (in sharps). See Alfred Dürr, "Zu den verschollenen Passionen Bachs," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1950), pp. 81-99.

²⁰ Friedrich Smend, "Luther and Bach," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1947), p. 37.

²¹ Thomas Balthasar Janowka (*Clavis ad Thesaurum Magnae Artis Musicae*, Prague, 1701, p. 14), for example, describes the sharp keys as "durum aut cruciatum" and "in cantu cruculis."

²² It may also be mentioned that the question of God's foreknowledge and the extent of man's free will in attaining salvation had been the central issue in Luther's polemical book, *The Bondage of the Will*, written in refutation of Erasmus' *The Freedom of the Will*. Luther held that there was no free will apart from the grace and will of God.

²³ See Elke Axmacher, "Ein Quellenfund zum Text der Matthäus-Passion," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1978), pp. 181-91.

²⁴ Apart from usages such as those quoted in notes 10 and 21, the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century theorists often applied the terms "dur" and "moll" to sharp and flat keys respectively. Examples of this usage can be found in two articles by Joel Lester, "Major-Minor Concepts and Modal Theory in Germany, 1592-1680," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* (Fall 1979), pp. 208-53; "The Recognition of Major and Minor Keys in German Theory: 1680-1730," *Journal of Music Theory* (Spring 1978), pp. 65-103.

²⁵ See Carl Dahlhaus, "Die Termini Dur und Moll," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XII (1955), pp. 280-96.

²⁶ It is impossible here to explore these tonal procedures in detail throughout Bach's work (or even only the passions). The reader's attention is drawn to the few cantatas in which conspicuous examples of "tonal allegory" occur (these will be discussed in full in the author's forthcoming book on the passions). The idea of *anabasis* was developed by Bach early in his career in some of the "sermon cantatas" of the Weimar period (see Dürr, *Studien* . . . , p. 213), for the purpose of allegorizing a sequence of increasingly positive emotions; that is, a "successive" rather than "simultaneous" (symmetrical) approach to antithesis. The quintessential instance is *BWV* 21, "Ich hatte viel Bekümmernis," in which Bach matches the textual change from fear and trouble to comfort and joy with a long progression from c-minor (and f-minor) in Part I to C-major in the final chorus of Part II. The change is brought about by a regular motion through the circle of fifths. Although *anabasis* seems to have been created by Bach as an alternative to symmetry—the dynamic of inner change, perhaps, rather than the formality of doctrine—it can be just as "patterned" as any symmetrical structure. A good example of the pattern of *anabasis* occurs in one of the most "doctrinal" of all Bach's cantatas, *BWV* 9, "Es ist das Heil uns kommen hier," which presents Luther's doctrine of justification by faith and not works in a form that Whittaker likened to that of a "theological discussion" (W. Gillies Whittaker, *The Cantatas of Johann Sebastian Bach* two vols. (London, 1959), I, p. 501). After the E-major chorale fantasia the first recitative "sinks" to b-minor, the analogue of our fallen, sinful nature under the law; then the first aria, in e-minor, gives voice to our state at that time, "We had already sunk too deep. The abyss swallowed us up completely." Then a series of four movements relates the coming of Christ, His fulfillment of the law on our behalf, the new doctrine of faith, the replacing of the law by the gospel, and our being able to trust in God. The music all the while moves regularly back to E-major through the circle of fifths. This work sheds light on the structure of the *St. Matthew Passion* in much the way that "Jesu meine Freude" does on the *St. John Passion*. Other instances of tonal allegory in the cantatas are: *BWV* 109, "Ich glaube, lieber Herr, hilf meinem Unglauben" (faith versus unbelief); and *BWV* 213, "Hercules auf dem Scheideweg" (the choice between pleasure and virtue).

²⁷ Rolf Dammann, *Der Musikbegriff im deutschen Barock* (Köln, 1967), p. 88.

²⁸ See also George, *Tonality and Musical Structure*, pp. 41-4.

²⁹ Dahlhaus, "Die Termini . . . pp. 290-1, n. 2. It may also be mentioned in connection with the two tonal centers of the passion that Bach might possibly have found a model in Buxtehude's cycle of seven cantatas, *Membra Jesu Nostri*, a setting based upon the well-known address to the parts of Christ's body on the cross by Bernard of Clairvaux. Buxtehude's plan starts from c-minor ("To His Feet"), then progresses upward through the keys as the eyes move up Christ's body (E-flat, g-minor, d-minor, a-minor, e-minor, c-minor). At the end the cantata addressed to the heart is given a "special" setting with the strings now replaced by viola da gamba consort; its e-minor tonality, used frequently by the composer for cantatas on the name or person of Jesus, is then juxtaposed to the return to c-minor for the final cantata ("To His Face,") the origin of Gerhardt's "O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden").

³⁰ Smend, "Bachs Matthäus-Passion," pp. 16ff. Jansen, "Bachs Zahlensymbolik . . .," pp. 99–100.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Andreas Werckmeister, *Musicalische Paradoxal-Discourse* (Quedlinburg, 1707), pp. 92, 100.

³³ Andreas Werckmeister, *Harmonologia Musica*, No. 72.

³⁴ The quotation is from J. C. Gottsched, *Vorübung der Beredsamkeit* (Leipzig, 1754), V., paragraph 37, cited along with other references to *parrhesia* in H. H. Unger, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Musik und Rhetorik im 16–18. Jahrhundert* (Würzburg, 1941), reprinted Hildesheim, 1968, p. 87.

³⁵ Smend, "Bachs Matthäus-Passion," pp. 50–3, points out the parallels between "Kommt, ihr Töchter" and "Sehet, Jesus hat die Hand."

³⁶ Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era*, p. 369.

³⁷ "Ich höre schon etliche sagen: Das sind Speculationes, deren der wenigste Theil von denen Auditoribus kan gewahr werden. Ich gestehe dieses auch: Doch geben curieuse Köpffe schon auf dergleichen Dinge mit Achtung, und der Componist hat zum wenigsten diese Avantage davon, dass ihm dadurch die Bahn zur Invention gebrochen worden." Richter, "Eine Abhandlung . . .," p. 153.

Germany's First Major Opera House: A Reassessment of its Design*

By Dennis R. Martin

The construction of and physical facility available at a theater are matters not always considered under the topics of performance practice or the development of musical style. Stage structure and equipment, however, had a great deal to do with the kinds and quality of works that could be presented in a particular theater, affecting not only the scenery but aspects of the performance, such as staging, action, and ballet; and in some cases they certainly influenced compositional decisions. The old Hamburg theater, built in 1677 in the Goosemarket, was the first major opera house in Germany and, until it was torn down in the mid-eighteenth century, it served as an important center of German theatrical and musical activity and was the site of premiere performances of works by Keiser, Mattheson, Telemann, Handel, and others. Because of the close relationship between a theater's structure and the works that could be written for and performed on its stage, and because of the important position of the Hamburg opera and its composers in northern European operatic history, the structure and layout of the stage of the Goosemarket Theater is of considerable interest.

In a paper read before the 1956 IMS Congress in Hamburg, in his *Die Barockoper in Hamburg*, and in *Oper, Szene, und Darstellung von 1600 bis 1900*,¹ Hellmuth Christian Wolff attempted to reconstruct the layout of the Hamburg stage, showing its size and the position of the stage machinery. Material either unknown or unavailable to Wolff, however, suggests that a reassessment of the construction of the Hamburg opera house stage is needed and leads to a different conclusion.

During the Baroque era the stage in continental Europe was usually designed with sets of slots or grooves cut through the stage floor in the wings. Flats were placed in the grooves, generally in groups of two to five flats per set of grooves,² and each flat rested on a small, wheeled cart that stood on a floor just under the stage. A system of pulleys and ropes connected to the carts allowed the scenery to be changed very quickly, by retracting one flat and immediately substituting another within the same set of grooves. The two rows of grooves formed an isosceles triangle on the stage floor, with the curtain line as the base, the two wings of flats as the equal sides, and the apex far in the back. Thus, by careful attention to the rules of perspective, the scenographer could arrange his scenery along the wings so that it created an illusion of almost infinite depth.

Wolff's reconstruction diagram of the Hamburg opera house stage (reproduced in Plate I)³ is based on a description of the theater stage and machinery by an Italian architect, Nicodemus Tessin, who visited Hamburg and the opera house in 1687 as a student.⁴ Tessin's account gives the width and depth of the theater and the depth of the stage (which Wolff interprets as

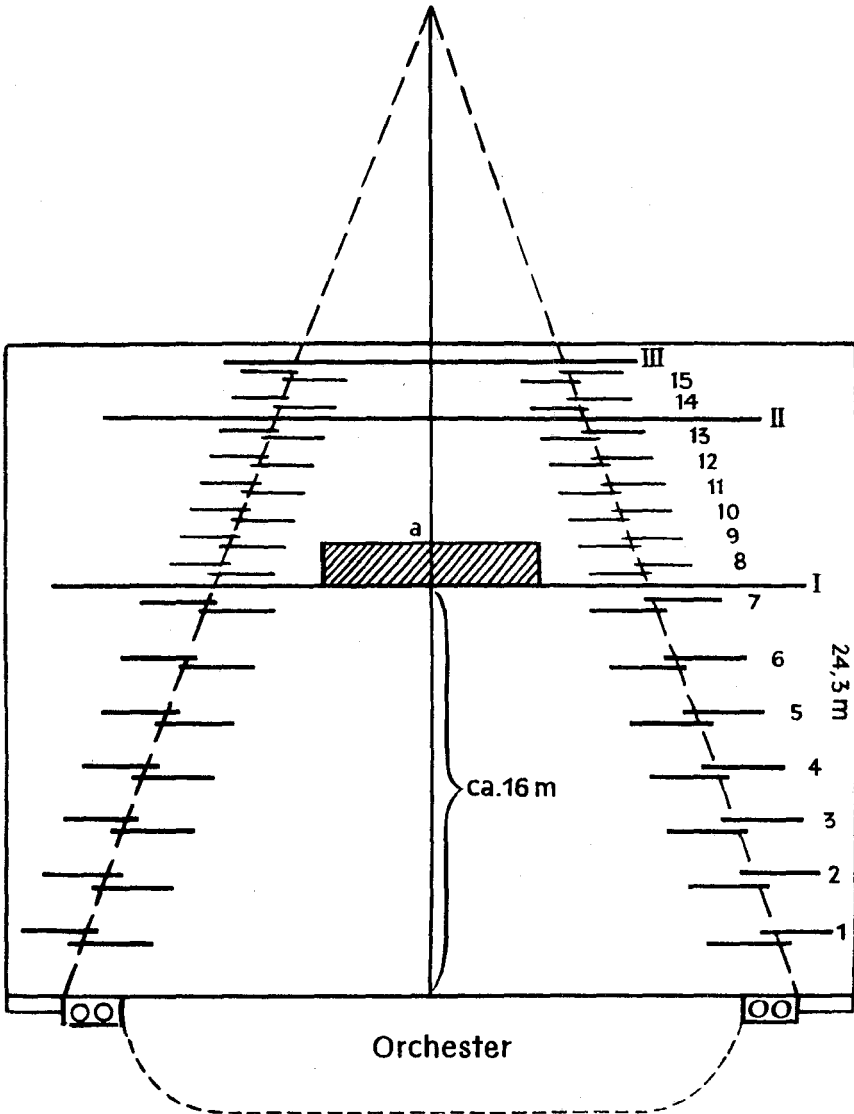


PLATE I. Wolff's diagram of the Hamburg opera house stage.

48.65 m. by 20.15 m. for the theater and 24.3 m. for the stage depth), as well as the general location of the fifteen sets of grooves in the wings, three sets of backshutters (large flats that could be slid completely across the stage to serve as backgrounds or to hide things behind them), a machine that could move part of the stage floor up and down, and other equipment. Tessin does not include the width and height of the stage or of the proscenium, so that Wolff was only able to guess at their dimensions.

Additional information is found in the works of Thomas Lediard, an

Englishman, who was the scenographer and perhaps director and manager of the Hamburg opera house from 1724–1728, and possibly longer.⁵ Lediard's *Eine Collection curieuseer Vorstellungen in Illuminationen und Feuer-Wercken* (Hamburg, 1730) and *The German Spy* (London, 1735) contain detailed accounts of performances in Hamburg; the first also incorporates large plates of some of Lediard's scenography for the theater, while the second gives descriptions of the theater layout, including the dimensions of the stage itself. In writing about the Hamburg celebration of the coronation of George II as King of England, presented in the Hamburg opera on 22 October 1727, the author of *The German Spy* tells that:

The stage was now about 100 foot long, 40 foot broad, and 32 foot high [the writer is speaking of English feet], in the front, all, even the platfonds, transparent, which diminishing, according to the Rules of Perspective gave it the appearance of twice the length.⁶

This unequivocal statement by one who had worked on the Hamburg stage gains additional credence, since the 32 x 40 ft. dimensions of the proscenium arch opening, a 4:5 ratio, almost exactly match the ratio of the dimensions of the plates in Lediard's *Eine Collection curieuseer Vorstellungen*, which average approximately 33 x 45 cm. However, in his floor plan in Plate I, Wolff has drawn a stage that appears to be about 70 ft. wide, a distance which, in addition to being greater than the width of the entire theater as given in Tessin's account (20.15 m. or 66.1 ft.), would require a height of the proscenium arch of over 55 ft. in order to retain the proportions of Lediard's plates. But such a height would be far out of proportion to the size of the human figures in Lediard's drawings, which were scenographic designs and representations by an architect for whom proportion and perspective were the very essence of his art. (See Plate II, a Lediard set from *Eine Collection curieuseer Vorstellungen*, designed for the celebration of the birthday of King George I, presented in the Hamburg opera 9 June 1727.)⁷

A stage of the dimensions given by Lediard, much deeper than it is wide, might at first appear odd to those familiar with modern theater architecture, in which stages are more often square, or when rectangular, have their longer side toward the audience. A survey of Baroque stage designs, however, indicates that a narrow, deep stage with over half of the stage devoted to scenery was not at all unusual and existed throughout much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. (See Plate III, the floor plan of the Paris opera, built in 1764, a late eighteenth-century example of the deep, narrow stage.)⁸ The Hamburg opera, according to Lediard's writings and extant libretti, seems to have resembled the French theater in the function as well as the design of its stage, with all the space in front of the first set of shutters (about 40 ft. square) being utilized for singing, dancing, speaking, and large spectacles. Performers rarely, if ever, would have gone behind the line of the first set of shutters, for in addition to the dangers of crossing a large hole in the stage floor, anyone too far back into the scenery would have destroyed the per-



PLATE II. Lediard's scenery for the celebration of the birthday of King George I, presented 9 June 1727, reproduced from *Eine Collection curieuseur Vorstellungen*.

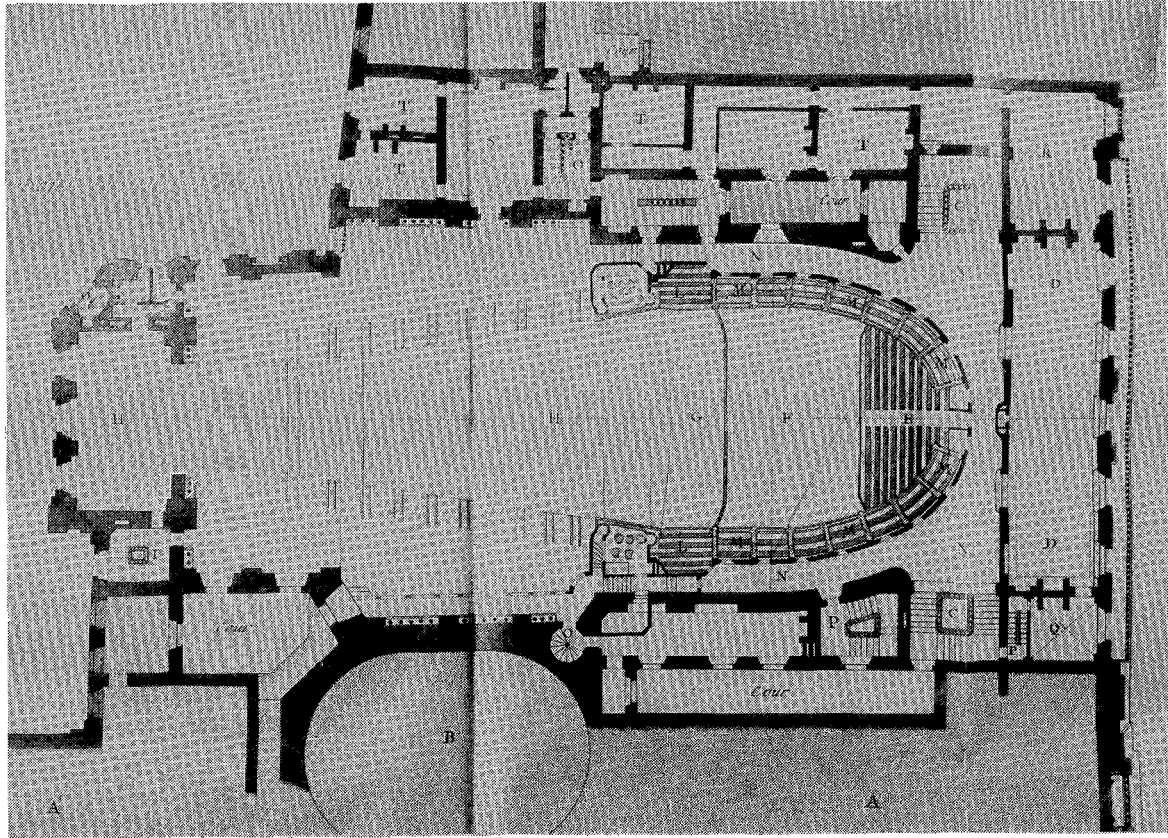


PLATE III. Floor plan of the Paris opera, 1764, reproduced from the *Receuil des planches*.

spective effects. With fifteen sets of grooves, three sets of backshutters, and such a large playing area, the Hamburg opera house was much larger and better equipped than most other theaters in Europe.⁹

While acknowledging the possibility of a deep, narrow stage, the disparity of stage depths as given by Lediard and Tessin may still seem difficult to reconcile. Actually the disparity is easily explained away, for in his descriptions Tessin generally measures from the curtain line, as in the following statement, where he compares the relative sizes of the proscenium arch opening and the apparent opening at the back of the stage and takes the proscenium opening, or curtain line, as the point of reference for his proportions.

The theater [stage] rises fairly sharply, the vanishing point occurring only 1/3 outside the end of the theater; the height of the forward opening becoming only a third as great behind.¹⁰

Lediard, on the other hand, habitually includes the stage apron and the orchestra when discussing "the stage" or "the theater," a terminology not uncommon in his time. *The German Spy* writes that:

The front of the stage opens, in a grand manner, with a double portico, one over the *Orchestre*, and the other over about eight or nine foot of the stage, instead of a sound-board.¹¹

The argument that the orchestra, inside the second portico, was considered as much a part of the stage as the apron, inside the first portico and called "the stage," is strengthened particularly in relation to the Hamburg theater, for there the orchestra was separated from the rest of the house not only by the customary wall or railing, but by a lowered walkway about ten feet wide.¹² In considering Lediard's earlier figure of 100 ft. for the stage depth, if one allows eight or nine feet for the apron and ten to twelve feet for the orchestra,¹³ the approximately 80 ft. remaining from the curtain line to the back of the stage is remarkably close to Tessin's distance of 24.3 m., or 79.72 ft.

In addition to miscalculating the stage size, Wolff omitted the boxes on either side of the proscenium arch, which can be seen clearly in some of the plates in *Eine Collection curieuseur Vorstellungen*. (See Plate IV, the opening plate of the book, showing the scenery for a celebration on 8 June 1724 of the birthday of King George I.) The author of *The German Spy*, in relating his initial impression of the theater, also described the boxes:

There are two rows of boxes, one above the other, but both too high, and a gallery over them. Excepting the middle front-box, and the two side-boxes, nearest the stage, with two balconies over the ends of the *Orchestre*, the rest, in both rows, are divided into small family-boxes, for four or six persons, which are let, some by the year, and others by the day.¹⁴

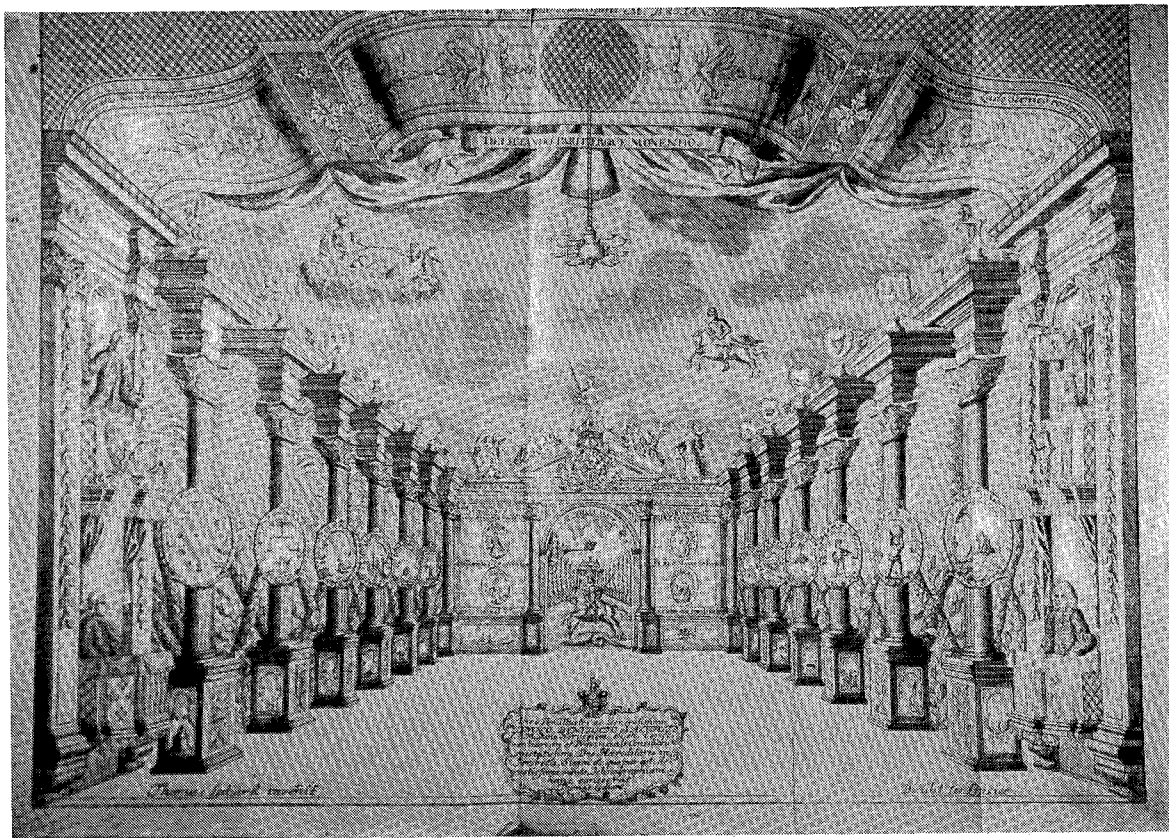


PLATE IV. Lediard's scenery for the celebration on 8 June 1724 of the birthday of King George I, reproduced from *Eine Collection curieuseur Vorstellungen*.

"The two side-boxes, nearest the stage" would seem to be those pictured in Plate IV, to which should be added the "two balconies over the ends of the *Orchestra*." If one also considers *The German Spy's* statement concerning the front of the stage, quoted above, the stage boxes and the orchestra balconies were probably set in the theater's double, flaring proscenium arches, the boxes in the first arch and the balconies in the second. In addition, it is notable that both the front angle and the position of the boxes, when arranged according to such a theory, are consistent with the appearance and position of the boxes pictured in Plate IV and the other plates in *Eine Collection curieuseur Vorstellungen*.

Another aspect of Wolff's floor plan requiring reconsideration is the decreasing distance between the eight sets of grooves that are behind the first set of shutters (grooves eight through fifteen). After examining dozens of eighteenth-century theater designs, it is apparent that equidistant sets of grooves in the stage floor were almost universal. Wolff's justification for assuming shorter distances between the grooves that are in back of the first shutters is never clearly stated, and no information in either the description by Tessin or in Lediard's works indicates or supports any arrangement other than equidistant grooves. The sets of grooves in the Hamburg stage were probably all the same distance apart, like those of most other European theaters.

Using all the information now available, the floor plan in Plate V is offered as the most likely arrangement of the Hamburg stage. The dimensions and locations of all items on the stage are consistent with the original sources cited above, although the dimensions of the external walls are only schematic. In instances where the sources either give insufficient or no data about something (i.e., the exact size of the central machine or the distance between the grooves), the most likely figures or arrangements have been used, or the item has been omitted entirely. Therefore, the diagram, while not exhaustive, accurately depicts all the essential details of the layout of the Hamburg stage.

It is hoped that this more accurate description of the structure of the Hamburg Goosemarket Theater will aid further investigations into connections between stage structure and performance practices, the influence of theater facilities upon composers and the works written for a particular theater, and possible relationships between Hamburg theatrical practices and those elsewhere. Perhaps as the design of other early opera houses are studied, a better assessment of the relationship between theater architecture and Baroque operatic conventions and tastes will become possible.

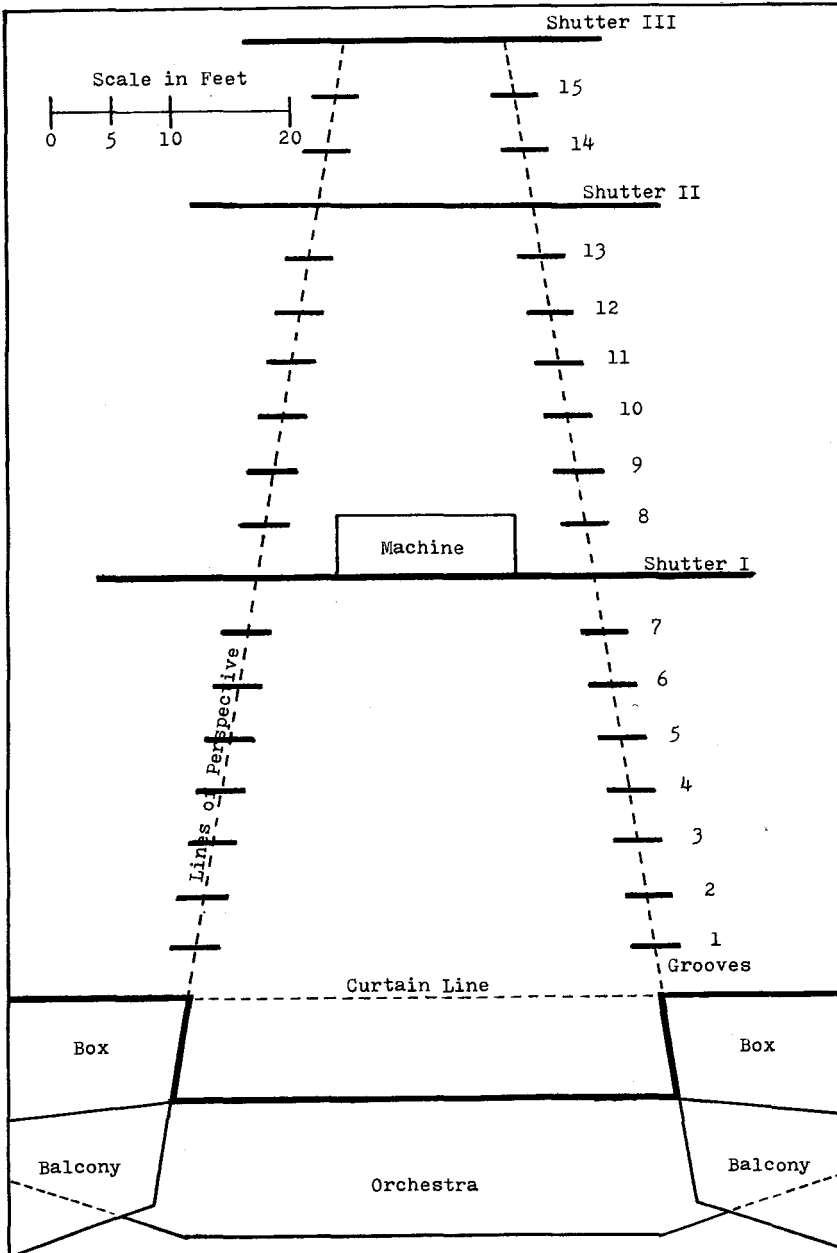


PLATE V. Suggested floor plan of the Hamburg opera house.

NOTES

* This article is a companion to "Eine Collection curieuseer Vorstellungen (1730) and Thomas Lediard, an Early Eighteenth-Century Operatic Scenographer," *Current Musicology* 26 (1978), pp. 83-98. I wish to thank Dr. Frederick B. Crane of the University of Iowa musicology faculty for preparing the photographs used as illustrations in both articles.

¹ Helmuth Christian Wolff, "Rekonstruktion der alten Hamburger Opernbühne," *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Hamburg, 1956* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956), pp. 235-39; *Die Barockoper in Hamburg*, Bd. I (Wolfenbüttel: Moseler, 1957), pp. 351-54; *Oper, Szene und Darstellung von 1600 bis 1900*, Bd. IV, Lf. 1 of *Musikgeschichte in Bildern* (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1968), pp. 70 ff.

² The Hamburg stage had room for up to eight flats in many of its sets of grooves. Part of a seventeenth-century description of the opera house by Nicodemus Tessin, quoted in Wolff's *Die Barockoper*, p. 352, reads: "Die Thelaren [grooves], seynd 15 hinter einander, die vordersten 7 veränderen sich 8 mahl, die hintern 5 mahlen, undt die interscenien [backshutters] nur 8 mahl."

³ I wish to thank VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, Leipzig, for their kind permission to reproduce the illustration in Plate I from one of their publications: Helmuth Christian Wolff's *Oper, Szene und Darstellungen von 1600 bis 1900*, Bd. IV, Lf. 1 of *Musikgeschichte in Bildern* (1968), p. 70.

⁴ The account is quoted in Wolff, *Die Barockoper*, p. 352.

⁵ See the title-pages of Lediard's *Eine Collection curieuseer Vorstellungen in Illuminationen und Feuer-Wercken* (Hamburg: Philipp Ludwig Stromer, 1730) and his English opera *Britannia* (London: J. Watts, 1732), as well as his *The German Spy* (London: J. Mechell & Bailey, 1738), pp. 96, 288, 381. Also note the Lediard article mentioned above (*Current Musicology*, 1978).

⁶ Lediard, *The German Spy*, p. 385.

⁷ Lediard, *Eine Collection*.

⁸ Reproduced from *Recueil des planches*, Vol. X (Paris: Briasson, 1772), Pl. II. The *Recueil* is the eleven-volume supplement of plates to the *Encyclopédie*: this plate, attributed to Robert Bénard, is entitled "Plan du Théâtre et des Premières Loges de la nouvelle salle de l'Opera . . ."

⁹ Covent Garden, the largest theater in London at the time, had only five sets of grooves on the floor, as did London's King's Theatre, where most of Handel's operas were produced. The famous Dresden opera had six sets of grooves and a much smaller playing area than Hamburg. Italian theaters occasionally had as many as ten sets of grooves, but rarely more. See *The London Stage (1660-1800)* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1960-70), Pt. 5, Vol. I, p. lviii; Winton Dean, *Handel and the Opera Seria* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), frontispiece; Donald C. Mullin, *The Development of the Playhouse* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1970), p. 55; Carini Motta, *Trattato sopra la struttura de theatri, e scene* (Guastalla: Alessandro Giavazzi, 1676); Martin Hammitzsch, *Der moderne Theaterbau* (Berlin: E. Wasmuth, 1906); as well as other works on the subject.

¹⁰ "Der Theater gehet zimlich steill auff: der punct is nur 1/3 ausserhalb das ende vom Theater genommen; die Höijde von der Öffnung vor wirdt nur ein drittel hinten." Quoted in Wolff, *Die Barockoper*, p. 352. The steep rise described by Tessin refers to the angle of the stage floor, which slanted up from the front of the stage to the back in order to maintain the perspective effect. The fact that the steep rise and the near vanishing point, only one-third outside the end of the theater, were exceptional can be seen by examining other Baroque stage designs. In Plate III the distance from the final set of shutters back to the vanishing point is greater than the distance from the shutters forward to the curtain line.

¹¹ Lediard, *The German Spy*, p. 97.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

¹³ At least ten to twelve feet would have been necessary to contain the Hamburg opera orchestra in the arrangement described in Wilhelm Kleefeld's "Das Orchester der Hamburg Opera, 1678-1738," (*SIMG I*, 1899), p. 234. Kleefeld shows one side of the orchestra seated in three rows (first violins, second violins, and cellos and basses) parallel with the front of the stage.

¹⁴ Lediard, *The German Spy*, p. 97.

Adrienne Fried Block and Carol Neuls-Bates, comps. and eds. *Women in American Music*. Westport, CT, and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1979.

Women in American Music is a handsome-looking, ambitious volume compiled and edited by Adrienne Fried Block and Carol Neuls-Bates. Its three principal goals are cogently stated in the book's useful "Historical Introduction." The authors deliberately chose to emphasize the actual music written by women, which explains why 3,200 of the 5,024 annotated entries in this bibliography are for compositions. Additional goals of the compilers of *Women in American Music* were "to stimulate further research about women, not only as composers but also as performers, conductors, educators, and patrons," and "to restore women to their rightful place in American music history, and, as a result, to enhance the status of contemporary women in music."¹

An impressive panoply of research methods has been brought into play to achieve these goals. Funding for this volume came from various sources including the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Ford Foundation, the College Music Society and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. The project also enlisted the aid of a distinguished advisory board of scholars well known to all musicologists—Barry S. Brook, Vivian Perlis, Eileen Southern, and Judith Tick. The resulting work adheres to the RILM format, which accounts for the resemblance that bibliographic entries in *Women in American Music* have to *RILM Abstracts*, a derivation generously acknowledged by Block and Neuls-Bates.

Because of the enormous scope of this two-year project, a large staff and the latest in computer technology combined to aid the work of the compilers, their advisory board, and a large number of librarians and musical organizations throughout the United States, who also cooperated in this effort. Several individual musicologists not on the advisory board contributed abstracts to the lengthy bibliography. When the abstractor is someone other than one of the two compilers of the book, that person's name is given at the end of the abstract—a most helpful feature.

Since Block and Neuls-Bates chose to concentrate on the music itself, they included an extensive discography. All works written by women covered in the bibliography and known to the compilers are listed there as part of the bibliographic entry for each piece. Other helpful data are also given in the discography: instrumentation, duration, author(s) of the text(s) and complete bibliographic citations for all music included. These entries follow after each chronologically organized section listing literature about women as composers, performers and patrons. The music bibliography is further subdivided by performance medium.

Few of the entries in *Women in American Music* duplicate those in Don L. Hixon and Don Hennessee's *Women in Music*.² Hixon and Hennessee's volume dealt primarily with biographical articles about women that were to be found in general music dictionaries. Since almost all of these reference works were either published in Europe or were distinctly European in their emphasis, a bias in favor of European women—both composers and performers—was unavoidable in Hixon and Hennessee's book. The volume by Block and Neuls-Bates, on the other hand, is far more clearly focussed on American music, or rather, to make an important distinction, "music in America."³

JoAnn Skowronski's *Women in American Music*,⁴ which predates the Block and Neuls-Bates book, is far more complete when it comes to popular music. Although Block and Neuls-Bates do not specifically say so, their bias is distinctly in favor of art music rather than popular music, especially insofar as the 20th century is concerned. Such well-known figures as Joan Baez, Roberta Flack and Janis Joplin, to cite only three, are not once mentioned in the Block and Neuls-Bates book. This limits its usefulness to scholars and others concerned with popular music, and forces the researcher to turn to other sources for such information.

Block and Neuls-Bates enumerate yet another purpose for their volume. It was intended, they tell the reader, "to isolate information about the social context in which women's activities should be viewed."⁵ This is an absolutely overwhelming task, one which cannot possibly be accomplished satisfactorily in a book of which more than two-thirds is devoted to listings of music itself. Perhaps the compiler-editors intended the large number of "parlor songs" and other entertainment and chamber music pieces composed by women to explain to the reader the social limitations under which these composers labored. Unfortunately these references to more trivial pieces decrease the space that might have been devoted to literary materials necessary for the type of in-depth research into cultural history envisioned by the book's compilers.

One standard by which a reference book must be judged is the consistency with which its defined purposes and criteria for the inclusion and exclusion of material are applied. Here, the stated criteria for selection of literature are inconsistent with the bibliography. Under "Criteria for the selection of entries, Literature," for instance, we find the following:

Subjects must be native-born or have spent ten years or more in the United States during which time they were active in music. An exception has been made in regard to Jenny Lind, whose impact on the United States' musical history is far greater than her two short stays would indicate.⁶

This explicit statement of criteria is contradicted by the eleven separate bibliographic entries on Nadia Boulanger which appear in this work. Boulanger herself made seven trips of a few weeks each to the United States.⁷ Her only period of extended residence in this country was during World War

II (November 1940–December 1945). Taken all together the total time she spent in the United States would not qualify her for inclusion in this bibliography according to the criteria stated at the outset by the compilers.

Yet Nadia Boulanger's importance to the development of music in America is such that her contribution can hardly be ignored. Even so the bibliographic data chosen for inclusion in the present volume seem ill-considered. Under "correspondence," for instance, there is only one entry under Boulanger's name, a reference to the New York Public Library. Yet it would have seemed prudent for the compilers of this bibliography to have checked at least a few of the institutions with which Nadia Boulanger's name was so closely linked while she was in America—Harvard and Radcliffe, to cite only two of the most obvious. Under "interviews" the information is equally disappointing, the only citation being one New York *Times* interview. Nevertheless, a perusal of *The New York Times Index* would have revealed that there had been many more with her over a period spanning more than fifty years.

Such inconsistencies in the applying of methodology are compounded by what is perhaps a more consistent failing of *Women In American Music*: pursuing arcane sources while leaving the most obvious untouched. There is no reference in this volume, for example, to Mildred Woods Bliss, the patron who commissioned Stravinsky to write the *Dumbarton Oaks Concerto*. Why should this be so? The première of this work was an important musical event in Washington, D.C. in 1938, and Mrs. Bliss was for years a patron of music in the nation's capital. Material on her and her activities appears in sources on Stravinsky as well as in periodical articles. Yet she is overlooked by Block and Neuls-Bates.

There are also philosophical problems, posed by *Women in American Music*. Musicians such as Nadia Boulanger and pianist Teresa Carreño are included in bibliographic citations, but the music they composed is totally ignored. Nevertheless, both wrote music, a fact that is acknowledged in Carreño's case by a single reference in the abstract of entry number 1046 in the literature section.⁸ Who can say that Boulanger's experiences as a composer did not influence her teaching of composition, as the omission of her compositions might imply. The fact that both women are better known as influential teachers is hardly justification for ignoring their creative efforts or their published works. These omissions seem capricious and are never explained by the book's compilers.

Even more serious is the fact that this volume systematically excludes material printed in languages other than English, despite the fact that no such policy is enunciated either in the "Historical Introduction" or in the "Guide to the Use of the Bibliography," where the criteria for the selection of entries and the compilers' editorial policies are set forth. Apparently it seemed axiomatic to them that nothing worthwhile on this subject would have been written abroad. This assumption has led Block and Neuls-Bates to leave out many important references—the German and Spanish sources of material on Teresa Carréño, for instance. Such an omission hints at chauvinistic snobbism.

This is a pity, for it fails to call to the attention of researchers the wealth of material in northern European jazz magazines, in addition to material readily available on earlier American women who were interesting to European readers—among them Clara Louise Kellogg, Mrs. H.H.A. Beach (Amy March Chaney Beach) and Mary Garden. Finally, it also leads to the omission of references to interviews given by European women musicians in which they described for journalists of their own country their experiences in America. Had such items been included in *Women in American Music* they would have gone far toward presenting a balanced view of this subject, helping to establish the sociological context that the volume's compilers originally stated was one of the goals of this bibliography.

This reference tool contains the most extensive bibliography of music written by women who were active in American musical life, and that is what makes it indispensable. However a close examination shows that Block and Neuls-Bates's well-intentioned effort suffers from the problems inherent in what might be called, for want of a better term, a "second-generation reference tool." Earlier books such as the Hixon and Hennessee work simply list encyclopedia and dictionary entries, and represent the first attempt, or "first generation" of books on women in music. *Women in American Music* treads an uneasy path. At every step it is dogged by the gremlins of inconsistency and superficiality that mar its excellent intentions and keep the book from being a totally successful addition to the literature. It is to be hoped that some future bibliographer will compile a truly representative bibliography that shows the contributions women have made both to music in America and to American music. The scholar or scholars who accomplish this task will consistently apply a well-structured, carefully thought out methodology, and the result will be a "third generation" book. Far more research is needed before such a reference tool can be published, one that truly integrates musicology and women's studies into the broader context of history and sociology.

—Léonie Rosenstiel

NOTES

¹ Adrienne Fried Block and Carol Neuls-Bates, comps. and eds., *Women in American Music* (Westport, CT, and London, England: Greenwood Press, 1979), p. xvii.

² Don L. Hixon and Don Hennessee, comps., *Women in Music: A Bibliography* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1975).

³ Cf. Nicholas Tawa, "Crisis in the Recording Industry," *Sonneck Society Newsletter* VI/1 (1980): p. 17.

⁴ JoAnn Skowronski, comp., *Women in American Music* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1978).

⁵ Block and Neuls-Bates, p. xvii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. xii.

⁷ In 1925, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1952, 1958, and 1962.

⁸ Block and Neuls-Bates, pp. 67–8.

Annals of Opera 1597–1940. *Compiled from the original sources by Alfred Loewenberg, with an introduction by Edward J. Dent. Third edition, revised and corrected. Totowa, New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978.*

As any serious researcher in the field of opera soon discovers, Alfred Loewenberg's monumental *Annals of Opera 1597–1940* is an indispensable tool. Ostensibly a compilation of some 3,600 operas which have been produced on the stages of the world (unperformed works are not included), it is in fact much more than that. In addition to the title, composer, librettist, and date and place of performance, it often gives the source of the text, bibliographical references, and annotations of great interest. Readers will discover, for instance, that Heinrich Dorn's *Die Nibelungen* (1854), despite its title, has very little to do with Wagner's work, either musically or textually. Conversely, Giuseppe Gazzaniga's *Don Giovanni Tenorio* (1787) does indeed bear significantly on its more famous namesake. The Mozart opera, listed under *Il Dissoluto punito*, was given some eight months after the Gazzaniga work (in the *Annals* all titles are given in the form in which they first appeared on playbills or librettos and in the language in which the operas were initially produced). Cross-references in the index of titles are limited to well-known operas whose original names are obscure, as in the case of *Don Giovanni*.

The first edition of the *Annals*, published in 1943 in Cambridge, England, and running almost 900 pages, was enthusiastically received, and its admirers ranged from Eric Blom in *Grove's* to Carl Engel, who reviewed the work in *The Musical Quarterly*. Similar acclaim was accorded the second edition, which appeared in 1955 and was published in Geneva. This version, expanded to over 1700 pages, was based on Loewenberg's interleaved and copiously annotated copy of the first edition. His premature death in 1950 at the age of forty-seven left the task of completing the revisions for the second edition to Theodore Besterman and Frank Walker, who included alterations, corrections, and new dates and facts from the late author's notes. The 1955 version was in two volumes, the second consisting of indices with titles of operas, composers, librettists, and general subjects. The scope of the book remained the same, and it still did not contain operas past 1940.

In 1970, *Annals* was published as one volume, by the American firm Rowman and Littlefield, which has also printed the newest edition. The 1970 version was basically the same as the 1955 edition, with a number of corrections and dates added for composers who had died after 1955. The 1978 edition, the third, has been revised and updated by Harold Rosenthal. More death dates have been added; curiously, however, Stravinsky's passing (in 1971) has not been entered. Another feature of the latest edition is the inclusion of asterisks next to titles of operas that have been revived recently or performed in new versions. These works are to be discussed in greater detail in the supplementary volume which Mr. Rosenthal is now preparing. The 1978 edition, then, is in essence the same as those of 1955 and 1970. It should be

noted, however, that it is virtually impossible to obtain a copy of these earlier printings, even after much searching. Scholarly Press of St. Clair Shores, Michigan, issued reprints of the 1955 edition (unchanged except for a much reduced page size) in 1971, but in the spring of 1978, was unable to supply this reviewer with a copy.

Although the number of operas discussed by Loewenberg represents only a fraction of the operas performed in the time span between 1597 and 1940 (a fact that the author himself noted in his preface), it is still a more comprehensive listing than any other work in this field, given the wealth of information contained in each entry. John Towers' *Dictionary-Catalogue of Operas and Operettas Which Have Been Performed on the Public Stage* (1910, reprinted 1967), for example, has some 28,000 entries, but it gives only the title, the composer, his dates and nationality, and the number of times the work was set to music. Considering Towers' early publication date, many of his statistics are obsolete, and errors are quite common. Similar in format but including some 60,000 titles (among them oratorios, ballets, and dramatic works with incidental music, as well as operas and operettas) is Franz Stieger's multi-volume *Opernlexikon*, which was compiled in the early part of this century. The work contains four parts, three of which (in three volumes each) have appeared to date. The first two parts list titles of operas and composers, the third part lists librettists, and the fourth is a supplement. The price for the three parts already published is over \$800, making its purchase by anyone but institutions difficult. As for the more extensive dictionaries, Félix Clément and Pierre Larousse's *Dictionnaire des opéras* (1905, reprinted 1969), and Hugo Riemann's *Opern-Handbuch* (1887) are very out of date and contain a number of errors. Modern opera encyclopedias cover only a few hundred operas, since they also discuss performers, theaters, definitions, and many other matters.

Despite its extensive and detailed coverage of operas, *Annals* is hampered by the fact that it stops at 1940 (and gives only three operas from that year). One must therefore adjust to the fact that major twentieth-century composers like Benjamin Britten and Gian Carlo Menotti do not appear at all in the volume. In fact, Menotti's *Amelia Goes to the Ball*, which received its première under Fritz Reiner in Philadelphia on 1 April 1937, is not included. Going further back in opera history, one looks in vain for certain works of other major operatic composers, such as Donizetti's *Maria Stuarda* (1835) and *Catarina Cornaro* (1844), Mussorgsky's *The Marriage* (stage première 1917), Shostakovich's *The Nose* (1930), and Lehár's only opera, *Giuditta* (1934). Prewar Russian works are particularly under-represented, presumably because information on them was hard to obtain.

The supplement to the *Annals*, now being compiled by Harold Rosenthal (the present editor of the journal *Opera* and coauthor with John Warrack of the excellent *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Operas*) will have a large void to fill. The second edition of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* (1979) is a useful source of information for more famous modern operas, while *The Simon &*

Schuster Book of the Opera (1977) pays special attention to contemporary Italian creations. Horst Seeger's *Opern-Lexikon* (1979), on the other hand, is notable for its focus on the Eastern European stage. Quaintance Eaton's two-volume *Opera Production: A Handbook* (1961, 1974) is particularly helpful for those who wish to perform twentieth-century pieces. All of these books, however, cover only a fraction of the many operas written since 1940. One awaits with eager anticipation Rosenthal's companion volume to the Loewenberg work which, to this day, remains a remarkable and useful piece of scholarship.

—Margaret Ross Griffel