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articles

The Naples L'Homme Armé Masses and Caron:
A Study in Musical Relationships

By Don Giller

Ever since Dragan Plamenac first discovered the six anonymous *L'homme armé* masses, located in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VI E 40, they have been recognized as a unique achievement in 15th-century polyphonic music.[1] The special feature of this collection lies in its well-planned structure: the first five masses (all for 4 voices) each utilize a different portion of the "L'homme armé" tune for the *cantus firmus*. A verbal canon instructs the performer how each melody fragment is to be used: i.e., in various combinations of retrograde motion, inversion, and transposition. In addition, augmentation or diminution is applied to each tenor statement by way of various mensural signs. The sixth mass employs the entire tune, adding a fifth voice—a canonic imitation of the *c.f.* a fifth below the tenor.[2]

A substantial part of the collection's fascination lies in its anonymity. Who wrote it and for what purpose? Hard historical data on the manuscript is lacking, so one must focus on musical matters that may betray the stylistic mannerisms of a particular composer. This investigation will suggest that Caron—a supposedly minor musical figure of the third quarter of the 15th century—be considered as the composer of the Naples masses. Also, it will explore the questions of his identity and of his association with the Burgundian court.

An extensive survey of the Naples complex was not realized until 1968, when Judith Cohen had her descriptive analysis of the manuscript and the music published.[3] In her examination of the manuscript, she investigated a dedication at the end of the sixth mass and was able to determine from it that the manuscript was presented to Beatrice of Aragon, daughter of King Ferrante of Naples, at a time when she was "happily married to a king" (i.e., to Matthias of Hungary), that is, not before late 1476.[4] Furthermore, Duke Charles the Bold is mentioned in a manner that suggests his prior familiarity with the masses. Cohen suggested that the set of mass cycles was sent to the new queen of Hungary from someone at the Burgundian court searching for new employment. Due to the musical language and the Gothic scribal text hand, the masses are believed to be of Flemish origin, written some time between 1465 and 1475.

In her study of the music, Cohen investigated each mass individually and in relation to the whole cycle, discussing various general characteristics such as mensuration, modes, cadences, mottos, melodic structures, uses of se-

quences and canonic imitation, and the structure of each *cantus firmus*. In attempting to reach a conclusion concerning authorship, she was perplexed by what she saw as stylistic discrepancies between the masses: "the relatively advanced texture of the second, and in part also of the third mass, the antiquated style of the sixth, the 'Dufayisms' of the first mass," and "a peculiar coexistence of progressive and retrospective tendencies."[5] She earmarked the use of sequential passages as progressive and the strict, almost isorhythmic use of the *c.f.* as retrospective. She therefore suggested that "several composers collaborated in the project." In her view, a "Master" might have laid down the original structure and asked each of his pupils to write a realization.[6]

Cohen went on to hypothesize that Antoine Busnois, court composer to Duke Charles and one who "took great pleasure in poetical allusions and musical contrivances," might have played a major role in the planning of the Naples masses, and possibly might have written the second mass.[7] She compared his *M. L'homme armé* with the Naples cycle, acknowledging however that the Busnois mass was more advanced in technique. Attempting to strengthen her hypothesis regarding Busnois's association with the second Naples mass, Cohen relied on a comparison of the head motifs from the *Crucifixus* of that mass and *Cent mille escus,* a secular work she felt exhibited "motifs reminiscent of the Burgundian chansonesque style of Busnois."[8] (See Examples 1a and b.)

EXAMPLE 1

A. *Cent mille escus* (sup.)

B. Mass 2: *Crucifixus* (sup.)

However, this chanson has conflicting attributions, and recently it has been suggested to be a work by a contemporary of Busnois named Caron (forename unknown, but see below).[9] Besides, the use of this particular phrase as a head motif is not unique to these two instances; it also appears in the cantus of Ockeghem's *D'un aultre la* and the anonymous *Tart ara quaresme*.[10] (See Examples 1c and d.)

C. Ockeghem: *D'un aultre la*

D. Anon: *Tart ara quaresme*

Therefore, on the basis of Cohen's own stylistic criteria, one ought to discount the connecting of at least one of the Naples masses to Busnois. That he

was the master-mind behind the project appears to be pure conjecture; on the contrary, the evidence Cohen presents would appear to argue against Busnois.

In addition, the foundation for her conclusion that more than one hand composed the masses—namely, the thesis that the masses are stylistically different from one another—needs to be questioned. For example, the "Dufayisms" of the first mass may be due to the mode particular to that work, a mode Dufay incorporates in some of his late sacred works. The selection of particular modal pairs utilized in a piece of music does not alone constitute style. Also, the sequential passages to which Cohen refers as indicative of a progressive tendency occur in each of the masses except Number 6.

In her argument that the Naples masses were written by several composers, Cohen states that "except for the common plan ruling all six masses, no further thematic reference exists between them."[11] But a closer examination shows that this statement must be modified. Examples 2 through 5 illustrate samples of thematic unity in analogous sections of the Naples masses. As shown in Ex. 2, the head motif in every *Osanna* is derived from the same melodic intervals, here designated phrase 1. In Mass 5, the phrase appears a step higher, conforming to the mode particular to that mass. There appear to be melodic affinities between Mass 1 (*Osanna II*) and Mass 3 (*Osanna I*) (except for the cadence to F in Mass 3, where, at that moment, the *c.f.* appears in the tenor, beginning on C), and between Mass 4 and Mass 6.[12]

EXAMPLE 2

Phrase 1   Mass 1: Osanna I

Mass 1: Osanna II

Mass 2: Osanna I and II

Mass 3: Osanna I

Mass 3: Osanna II (sup. missing)

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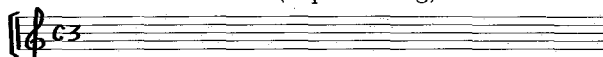
Mass 4: Osanna I and II
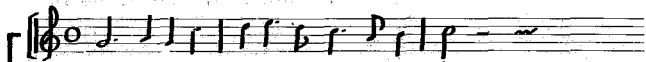
Mass 5: Osanna I and II
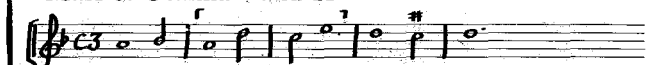
Mass 6: Osanna I and II
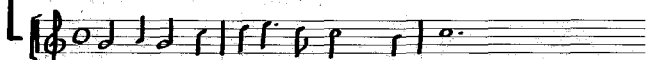
Other Mass Sections That Begin With Phrase 1
(All in sup. unless otherwise indicated)

Mass 1: Kyrie II (bass); Crucifixus (altus); Et in spiritum
Mass 2: Et unam sanctam
Mass 3: Et resurrexit; Agnus III
Mass 5: Christe; Kyrie II
Mass 6: Christe; Cum sancto
Caron, *M. Accueilly m'a la belle:* Qui tollis; Agnus III
      M. Clemens et benigna: Qui tollis*; Crucifixus*; Agnus II*
      ·*M. Sanguis sanctorum*: Christe
Busnois, *M. O crux lignum*: Benedictus*
    M. L'homme armé: Head motto
Ockeghem, *M. L'homme armé*: Et in terra; Patrem; Agnus I
Anon., *M. L'homme armé à 3* (Bol Q16): Kyrie I

While phrase 1 is found in many works of this period, its appearance as a head motif in the Naples cycle makes it somewhat significant, for its inversion equals the middle section of the "L'homme armé" tune. That this relationship was known to the composer of the Naples masses is evident when one examines the mass section *Qui tollis*, where phrase 1 and its inversion alternate as head motifs from Mass 1 to Mass 4 (Ex. 3).[13] In Mass 6, *Domine deus* begins the second section of the *Gloria*, instead of the text *Qui tollis*. The superius line is similar to the *Qui tollis* superius line in Mass 1, while the altus line sings phrase 1, transposed down a fifth. Phrase 1, again down a fifth, appears next in the superius, this time at the words "Qui tollis." One discovers, after examining mass settings that are believed to be written in roughly the same time period and region as the Naples cycle, that only Caron, in three of his five ascribed masses, begins his *Qui tollis* sections with either phrase 1 or its inversion, which in this instance is part of the *c.f.* to his *M. L'homme armé*.

EXAMPLE 3

Mass 1: Qui tollis (sup.)

Mass 2: Qui tollis (sup.)

Mass 3: Qui tollis (sup.)

Mass 4: Qui tollis (bassus)
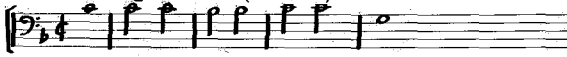
Mass 6: Domine deus (sup. and alt.)

Mass 6: Qui tollis (sup., mm. 28–31)

Caron: *M. L'homme armé* Qui tollis (ten.)

Caron: *M. Accueilly* Qui tollis (sup.)
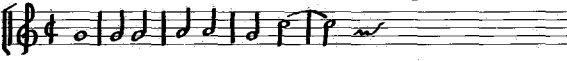
Caron: *M. Clemens* Qui tollis (sup.)
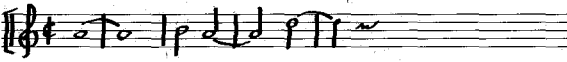
Another instance of thematic unity in the Naples masses can be seen in Example 4, where the *Pleni sunt* head motifs in Masses 2 through 6 all begin with the same rising melodic formula, here designated phrase 2. In Mass 2, phrase 2 serves as the motto for all five mass movements. In Mass 3, phrase 2 has been lowered a step, again to conform to the mode of the piece. Despite this transposition, a similarity in melodic motion exists between Mass 3 and Mass 6.[14]

EXAMPLE 4

Phrase 2   Mass 2: Pleni sunt
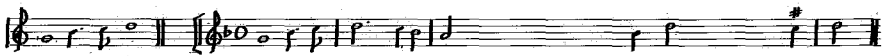
Mass 3: Pleni sunt
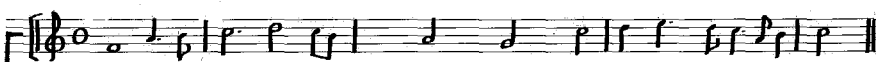
Mass 4: Pleni sunt

Mass 5: Pleni sunt
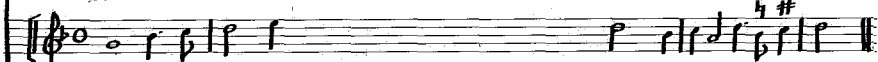
Mass 6: Pleni sunt
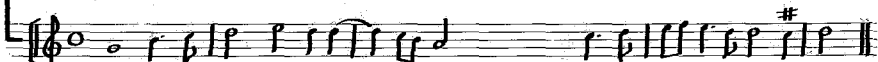
Other Mass Sections That Begin With Phrase 2

Mass 2: Head motto

Caron, *M. L'homme armé:* Et in terra; Sanctus, Pleni sunt; Agnus I, Agnus III
    M. Jesus autem: Christe
    M. Clemens: Domine deus, Benedictus
    M. Sanguis: Et in terra; Sanctus

Faugues, *M. L'homme armé:* Et in terra; Patrem

Dufay, *M. L'homme armé:* Pleni sunt, Benedictus

Finally, Examples 5a and b illustrate one small instance of thematic unity. The *Christe* head motifs in Mass 2 and Mass 4 begin in like fashion, each basing its melody on what here is signified as phrase 3. Not only are the superius lines similar, but the altus lines are almost identical, both quoting the middle section of the "L'homme armé" tune.

On the basis of these examples, it can be asserted that unity in the Naples masses is achieved not only by the basic structure underlying the *cantus firmi*, but also by the very clear thematic references in the head motifs of *Qui tollis, Pleni sunt, Osanna,* and, to a lesser extent, *Christe.* While Cohen suggests that each mass was written by a different composer partly because she saw no thematic unity between the masses, the particular melodic affinities found in the preceding illustrations might suggest the opposite: that one composer wrote the entire cycle.[15]

Previous mention was made of the appearance of phrase 1 and its inversion in the *Qui tollis* head motifs in three Caron masses. More specific examples of musical relationships between works of Caron and the Naples cycle shall be presented below. It should be emphasized that, after examining as

EXAMPLE 5

Phrase 3   A) Mass 2: Christe

B) Mass 4: Christe

C) Mass 4: Et ascendit

D) Caron: *Le despourveu*

many works from the period as were available, the following relationships appear to be unique only to Caron and the Naples masses.

As was shown in Examples 5a and b, the beginnings of the 3-part *Christe* from Masses 2 and 4 share the same head motif in both the superius and the altus. In Mass 4 (Example 5c), the head motif to the 4-part *Et ascendit* again shares the same superius and altus lines as the *Christe* examples, with an added bass part. (The *cantus firmus* appears 5 measures later.) These same three lines, with slight variation after the fourth measure, appear in the beginning of a chanson by Caron, *Le despourveu fortuné* (Ex. 5d). The second note in the bass appears in all but one of the sources that contain this chanson as a D above middle C. The one exceptional source, Casanatense MS 2856, has the D appearing an octave below, just as it appears in the *Et ascendit* head motif. No other composition of the period comes even close to this particular 3-voice resemblance.

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EXAMPLE 6
Phrase 4

A) Mass 5: Head motto   B) Caron, *M. Jesus:* motto   C) Mass 2: Head motto

Example 6 illustrates another relationship: the melodic motif here called phrase 4 serves as the motto of all five movements of Mass 5 and of Caron's *M. Jesus autem transiens.* The altus and bassus lines of the motto to Caron's mass share an affinity with their respective lines in the motto of Naples Mass 2. These relationships are found in Examples 6a to c. No other known composer of the period but Caron uses phrase 4 as the head motif to any mass section, motet, or chanson.

EXAMPLE 7: Closing formulas

A.   or

B.   or   or

C.   or

D.   or

Masses With These Closing Formulas

A. Mass 2 (3), 4 (2), 5 (2); 6 (1)
   Caron, *M. L'homme armé* (2); *M. Jesus* (6)
   Dufay (2)
   Ockeghem (5)
B. Mass 3 (6)
C. Mass 3 (2)
   Caron, *M. Sanguis* (3)
D. Mass 3 (1)
   Caron, *M. Sanguis* (1); *M. Accuielly* (4)

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Regarding closing formulas, Example 7 illustrates four common phrases, along with their particular rhythmic variants, that serve to end various sections of the Naples masses. (Actually, there are two distinct phrases: Ex. 7b is a transposition of 7a; Ex. 7d is a variant of 7c.) While the first two phrases can be found at the end of many mass sections of the period, the last two phrases cannot. Rather, they appear only at the end of three sections from Naples Mass 3 and seven sections from two of Caron's masses.[16]

Figure 1 illustrates the frequency with which the four phrases used as head motifs and the four phrases used as closing formulas appear in the masses examined for this study. Included in the chart are the number of masses ascribed to each known composer; the total number of mass sections found in each composer's works; the number of times any of the four opening phrases appear as head motifs and any of the four ending phrases appear as closing formulas; and the percentages derived from these statistics.

The findings reveal that the four head motifs appear in almost half of all of the head motifs in the Naples masses, while they appear in more than one-quarter of the masses by Caron. Regarding the closing formulas, the four ending phrases appear in 16.3% of all of the endings in the Naples masses, while they appear in 17.8% of Caron's masses. After comparing these figures with the other composers' figures in this chart, the results seem to bear out a strong relationship between the Naples cycle and the style of Caron.

But even more explicit musical relationships can be perceived. Melodic or rhythmic-sequential passages occur almost exclusively in tenorless sections (such as *Christe, Pleni sunt,* and *Benedictus*) in Naples Masses 1 through 5. One particular rhythmic sequence that was found in the *Benedictus* of Mass 2 (Ex. 8a, bassus) matched an identical rhythmic pattern in the *Benedictus* of Car-

EXAMPLE 8

A) Mass 2: Benedictus (end)

B) Caron: *M. Jesus* Benedictus, mm. 142–148

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Composer	Number of Masses	Number of Sections in Masses	Appearance of the Four Phrases as Head Motifs	Appearance of the Four Closing Formulas	Percent of the Four Phrases as Head Motifs	Percent of the Four Closing Formulas
Naples Masses	6	104	44	17	42.3	16.3
Caron	5	84	25	15	29.7	17.8
Faugues	5	93	5	0	5.4	0
Regis	2	39	0	0	0	0
Dufay	4	71	2	2	2.8	2.8
Busnois	2	31	6	0	19.3	0
Ockeghem	13	151	3	5	1.9	3.3
Anon.*	5	72	1	0	1.3	0
total	42	645	85	39	14.1	6.0

*1. *M. Sine nomine* (CS 14)
 2. *M. Puisque je vis* (CS 14)
 3. *M. Vinus vinna* (Faugues?) (CS 51)
 4. *M. La mort de St. Gothardo* (Mod. M 1.13)
 5. *M. L'homme armé* (Bol. Q 16)

FIGURE 1

on's *M. Jesus autem transiens* (Ex. 8b, altus). This singular rhythmic pattern was found in no other sequences in any other contemporary composition.

In discussing the melodic phrasing of the Naples masses, Cohen remarks that it is determined by "stereotyped formulas, which do not belong to the personal style of a single composer but to a whole generation."[17] The Naples complex, while containing many melodic phrases idiomatic to their time, nevertheless can be examined for individual conceptual and stylistic traits.

In Naples Mass 6, where the entire "L'homme armé" melody is used canonically and without any elaboration in two tenors, anticipatory imitation of the *c.f.* occurs in the altus at the beginning of the *Gloria* and *Credo*. It is sung a fourth above the first tenor (which enters 6 measures later). Example 9a illustrates this altus line. The tune as found in the altus has been embellished: the first phrase has some added rhythmic syncopation, and the falling fifth motif is repeated before the "L'homme armé" melody returns to its original form and descends stepwise to C. These same embellishments are found in the first eight measures of the tenor in the *Kyrie* of Caron's *M. L'homme armé* (Ex. 9b). Here, the falling fifth motif is repeated three times instead of once. Caron is the only composer among his contemporaries who makes use of such rhythmic syncopation and repetition of this particular falling fifth motif. That these features also appear in Mass 6 gives Caron's association with that mass all the more support.

EXAMPLE 9:

A) Mass 6: Et in terra, Patrem (alt), mm. 1–6

B) Caron: *M. L'homme armé* Kyrie I (ten.), mm. 1–8

The falling fifth motif is repeated at the end of the "L'homme armé" tune. In Mass 6 (Ex. 10a to c) and in Caron's *M. L'homme armé* (Ex. 11a and b), the bassus sings a fanfare-like imitation of this motif during rhythmic drives to both temporary and final cadences. While this particular feature would appear to have originated in Robert Morton's "Il sera pour vous/L'ome armé," Caron apparently is the only composer to have set it using such short rhythmic values in a polyphonic mass setting. Guillaume Dufay also sets this motif

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EXAMPLE 10: Mass 6

A) Cum sancto, mm. 298–300

B) Cum sancto, end

C) Osanna I and II, mm. 112–114

EXAMPLE 11: Caron: *M. L'homme armé*

A) Kyrie I, mm. 4–8

B) Agnus I, mm. 39–42

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EXAMPLE 12: Caron: *M. Jesus autem transiens*
A) Kyrie II, end   B) Sanctus, end   C) Agnus I, end

EXAMPLE 13

A) Mass 6: Confiteor, mm. 298–300   B) Caron: *M. L'homme armé* Kyrie II, mm. 50–54

in imitation in the two lower voices of his *L'homme armé* mass, but the rhythmic motion is much slower, consisting of longs, breves, or semibreves.[18]

Examining the cadences of Mass 6 in Examples 10a to c more closely, one finds that all four active voices consistently sing the same notes in the penultimate measure before the cadence. Because they all occur over the same corresponding place in the *c.f.*, this isomelic feature might not be all that unusual. However, in three final cadences in Caron's *M. Jesus autem transiens* (Ex. 12a to c), not only is the same isomelic principle at work, but one also finds the same lines in the penultimate measure before the cadence that were seen in the three cadences from Mass 6. (The superius lines may not be identical to those in Mass 6, but their melodic and rhythmic contours are very similar.) While each line examined individually would appear to be a common cadential figure, the confluence of these lines found only in Mass 6 and Caron's mass would seem to strengthen Caron's relationship to the Naples cycle even further.

While other musical relationships between the Naples cycle and works by Caron can be demonstrated, one last example should suffice, Examples 13a and b illustrate corresponding sections of the "L'homme armé" melody located in the tenors of Mass 6 and Caron's *M. L'homme armé*. In what would seem to be some sort of isomelic design in two different masses, very similar corresponding lines in the bassus and superius surround the tenor in both examples. Even the altus lines follow melodic patterns similar to each other. All of the respective voices might be almost identical were it not for the augmentation of the first six notes in Caron's tenor. When the tenor resumes the "L'homme armé" melody in its original values (m. 53), the cadential phrases in the outer parts are identical with their corresponding parts in Mass 6.

This quasi-isomelic feature occuring in two different works, along with all of the other relationships already documented, would appear to suggest two possibilities: that two composers are at work here, one using the other's mass as a model for his own; or that one composer wrote all of the masses, taking musical ideas from one mass and incorporating them into another. That composers of this and later periods borrowed from other composers' works or used fragments of other compositions as models for their own is no revelation. While this sort of borrowing appears more frequently somewhat later in the 15th century (such as Josquin quoting from Ockeghem), only recently have musicologists begun to discover borrowings within the period under study. Leeman Perkins has demonstrated that musical and mensural relationships exist between the "*L'homme armé*" masses by Busnois and Ockeghem, Morton's "Il sera pour vous/L'ome armé," and Ockeghem's "L'autre d'antan."[19] In his revised *M. L'homme armé*, Guillaume Faugues has rewritten the beginning of the *Sanctus*, quoting the motto from Busnois's *M. L'homme armé*.[20]

The second possibility, that one composer lifted ideas from his own previous works and used them for a new work, is also not unknown for this

FIGURE 2

General Motivic References

1. *Osanna* head motif   : same in all six masses
2. *Pleni sunt* head motif : same in Masses 2 through 6
3. *Qui tollis* head motif : alternates motif and its inversion in
   Masses 1 through 4, then transposed
   in Mass 6

Specific Motivic References

1. Mass 1: *Osanna* II (head motif, sup.) = Mass 3: *Osanna* I (head motif, sup.)
2. Mass 2: *Christe* (h.m., sup. & altus) = Mass 4: *Christe* (h.m., sup. & altus)
3. Mass 2: Motto (altus & bassus)   = *M. Jesus autem transiens*: Motto (altus & bassus)
4. Mass 2: *Benedictus* (sequence, bassus) = *M. Jesus autem transiens*: *Benedictus*
   (sequence, altus)

5. Mass 3: *Pleni sunt* (h.m., sup.)   = Mass 6: *Pleni sunt* (h.m., sup.)
6. Mass 3: Closing formulas   = *M. Sanguis sanctorum*: Closing formulas
                                       = *M. Accueilly m'a la belle*: Closing formulas

7. Mass 4: *Osanna* (h.m., sup.)   = Mass 6: *Osanna* (h.m., sup.)
8. Mass 4: *Et ascendit* (h.m., all)   = *Le despourveu fortuné* (h.m., all)
9. Mass 5: Motto (sup.)   = *M. Jesus autem transiens*: Motto (sup.)
10. Mass 6: Anticipatory imitation of   = *M. L'homme armé*: *Kyrie* 1 (tenor)
    c.f. (altus)
11. Mass 6: Falling 5th motif imitated   = *M. L'homme armé*: Falling 5th motif imitated
    in bassus   in bassus
12. Mass 6: Cadential passages   = *M. L'homme armé*: Cadential passages
    (isomelic design)   = *M. Jesus autem*: (isomelic design)

period. Dufay took the head motif and its canonic imitation from the second *Agnus dei* of his *M. Ecce ancilla domini* and incorporated it into the beginning of *Christe II* of his *M. Ave regina coelorum*. In another by now well-known self-borrowing, one troped passage from his motet *Ave regina coelorum*, where Dufay's supplication takes place, is quoted at the end of the second *Agnus dei* of his *Ave regina* mass. In the *Et incarnatus* sections of his *Credo sine nomine* and *M. Au travail suis*, Ockeghem wrote almost identical polyphonic settings.

Thus, either possibility has a precedent in this period. However, when regarding the musical relationships in the Naples complex within themselves and comparing them with the works of Caron, it seems somewhat unlikely that another composer could emulate Caron's style to such an extent that he borrow a motto from one mass, a closing formula from another mass, a 3-voice head motif from one chanson, and cadential formulas from still another mass. Rather, it seems likely that the same composer, i.e., Caron, was involved in an extensive exercise of self-borrowing when the Naples cycle was composed. Figure 2 summarizes the musical relationships presented in this study. Given the web of thematic references in the Naples masses along with a further interlacing of motifs in Caron's works that relate to different sections of each Naples mass, it seems that only one conclusion can be drawn: that Caron composed the Naples complex. While of course there is no direct proof, the musical evidence supports this deduction.

If we can accept Caron's authorship for the moment, we now come to the even more speculative matter of his identity. Which Caron is our composer, and, since the dedication in the Naples manuscript hints at Duke Charles's knowledge of the cycle, what connection might there have been between Caron and the Burgundian court? There are three names under consideration: Philippe, Jean, and Firminus.[21] Both Philippe and Jean were associated with the cathedral of Cambrai. James Thomson suggests Philippe, arguing that a choirboy by that name is mentioned in a Cambrai document that dates from the middle to latter half of the century.[22] However, Craig Wright testifies that Philippe "would have been too young to have composed the [unnamed] Mass by Caron copied in Cambrai in 1472." Instead, Wright suggests the singer Jean Caron, who was employed at the cathedral as a *petite vicaire* from 1455 to 1458.[23]

It is Tinctoris who refers to Caron as Firminus, Firmini, and Firminum in three of six references to the composer in three of his theoretical writings. In *Complexus effectum musices* (dated c. 1472–75),[24] Tinctoris includes Firminus Caron as one of several composers deserving of his adage, "music glorifies all those that are expert in it."[25] In his *Proportionale musices* (ca. 1476 or earlier), Tinctoris first includes Caron as among those who are "the most excellent of all the composers [he has] ever heard," but later admonishes him (along with others) for neglecting to include rubrics indicating proportional meaning for parts in major prolation. He excuses these composers for their ignorance, for he has "heard that they are but slightly read."[26] In both instances Tinctoris refers to Caron only by his surname. In the *Liber de arte contrapuncti*

(October 1477), the composer is referred to as Firminus Caron,[27] Firmini Caron,[28] and simply as Caron.[29]

It has been suggested that Tinctoris had mistaken this composer for an older one who is thought to have resided in Amiens in the first quarter of the century.[30] An Amiens document records that Firminus le Caron was *primus musicus* at the cathedral of Amiens in 1422.[31] However, this document is a 17th– or 18th–century copy of records pertaining to the history of Picardy. Page 183 of the document (the only page available) lists portions of *excerpta ex registris de liberationum, ordine alphabetico*, and the dates entered are, in this order, 1666, 1638, 1639, 1668, and 1422. Because it is a collection of data copied from sources that were, at least in Caron's instance, over two centuries old, there exists the possibility of an error in dating.[32] Still, even if the document's date of 1422 is questionable, the substance of it remains of interest: that a Firminus Caron, *primus musicus*, was associated with the cathedral of Amiens. The likelihood of this Caron flourishing in the latter half of the 15th century is favored by two factors: one, Tinctoris's repeated references to him as a contemporary, and two, a late 15th-century manuscript, San Pietro B 80, which ascribes a *M. L'homme armé* to "F. Caron."[33]

But what connection could this composer from Amiens have had with the Burgurdian court? Charles, as Count of Charolais, had gained possession of Amiens, as well as other Somme towns—which had become "vital strategic bastions against French military power"—by way of the War of the Public Weal in 1465.[34] The Count travelled to Amiens a year later, on 18 May 1466, and remained there for almost two weeks, until 30 May, in his only extended visit there as either count or duke.[35] Perhaps it was at this juncture that Charles and Caron may have met. The Count's endeavors on the battlefield are well documented, and perhaps, as tribute to his own military adventures, Charles may have commissioned the *L'homme armé* mass complex from Caron at that time.[36] Admittedly, the above discourse depends upon conjectures that are based on very uncertain evidence. But if Firminus Caron has been established as the composer of the Naples complex, a plausible explanation may have also been provided for when and why he may have written them.

It must be recalled that Tinctoris was in Naples during the time when the *L'homme armé* masses were presented to Beatrice. Most likely he would have had access to the music manuscript, and may have known the master who composed them. Perhaps it was for that very reason that he was willing to include Firminus Caron in his various lists of musicians who he felt were entitled to both his lowest condemnations and highest praises.

NOTES

* I would like to thank Professor William Mahrt of Stanford University and Professor Lee-man L. Perkins of Columbia University for the valuable criticisms and suggestions they offered throughout the various stages of this study.

[1] Dragan Plamenac, "La Chanson de 'L'homme armé' et le manuscrit VI E 40 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Naples," in *Annales de le fédération archéologique et historique de Belgique, Congres jubilaire*, vol. 25 (1925), pp. 229–30.

[2] All six masses have been published in L. Feininger, ed., *Monumenta Polyphoniae Liturgicae Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae*, ser. 1, vol. 3 (Rome: Societas Universalis Sanctae Ceciliae): Masses 1, 2 (1957); Masses 3, 4 (1965); Mass 5 (1966); Mass 6 (1974).

[3] Judith Cohen, *The Six Anonymous L'homme Armé Masses in Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, MS VI E 40*, Musicological Studies & Documents 21 (Dallas, American Institute of Musicology, 1968).

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 60–7. Her betrothal to Matthias Corvinus occurred in 1475, but she did not marry until 15 December 1476. A blazon appears underneath the dedication, but it has yet to be identified. A motto underneath the blazon reads, "Que par Dieu soit."

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 68.

[6] *Ibid.*

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] See James Thomson, "The Works of Caron, A Study in Fifteenth Century Style" (New York University, PhD. diss., 1959), vol. 1, pp. 199–206; James Thomson, *An Introduction to Philippe (?) Caron*, Musicological Studies no. 9 (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1964), pp. 16 and 24–5; and Allan Atlas, *The Capella Giulia Chansonnier (Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, C.G. XIII. 27)* (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1975), part 1, pp. 97–8.

[10] Located in Dijon, f. 54^v.

[11] Cohen, *The Six Anonymous L'homme armé Masses*, p. 68.

[12] Other mass sections in the Naples cycle and in other contemporaneous mass settings that begin with phrase 1 are as follows: (all in superius unless otherwise indicated): Mass 1: Kyrie II (bassus), Crucifixus (altus), Et in spiritum; Mass 2: Et unam sanctam; Mass 3: Et resurrexit, Agnus III; Mass 5: Christe, Kyrie II; Mass 6: Christe, Cum sancto; Caron, *M. Accueilly m'a la belle:* Qui tollis, Agnus III; Caron, *M. Clemens et benigna:* Qui tollis, Crucifixus, Agnus II; Caron, *M. Sanguis sanctorum:* Christe; Busnois, *M. O crux lignum:* Benedictus; Busnois, *M. L'homme armé:* head motto; Ockeghem, *M. L'homme armé:* Et in terra, Patrem, Agnus I; anon., *M. L'homme armé* (Bol Q16): Kyrie I.

[13] In the *Qui tollis* section of Mass 5, the superius is missing, but phrase 1, raised a step higher, could be realized as a counterpoint to the surviving bassus and altus parts.

[14] Other mass sections of this period that begin with phrase 2 include: Caron, *M. L'homme armé:* Et in terra, Sanctus, Pleni sunt, Agnus I, Agnus III; Caron, *M. Jesus autem transiens:* Christe; Caron, *M. Clemens et benigna:* Domine deus, Benedictus; Faugues, *M. L'homme armé:* Et in terra, Patrem; Dufay, *M. L'homme armé:* Pleni sunt, Benedictus. Lewis Lockwood has made notice of this phrase and a melodic extension to it in regard to *L'homme armé* mass settings by Dufay, Josquin *(super voces musicales)*, and Palestrina, as well as Prioris's *M. de Angelis*, an anonymous chanson in Florence 229, and Taverner's *M. Gloria tibi trinitas*, in "Aspects of the 'L'homme armé' Tradition," in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association, Centenary Essays*, vol. 100 (1973–74), pp. 116–25. I would suggest, at least in regard to the short rising melodic fragment that unifies the *Pleni sunt* sections in the Naples cycle, that this phrase may have been lifted from Robert Morton's combinative chanson "Il sera pour vous/L'ome armé," where the cantus begins in the same manner. This work seems to have been the inspiration for several *L'homme armé* settings, the most striking, of course, being Busnois's.

[15] In a separate investigation on the Naples cycle, Barbara Haggh and Steve Whiting, students at the University of Illinois, concur with the belief that all six mass settings were composed by one person. They base their hypothesis on the close textural–musical parallels between the *cantus firmi*, the Kyrie tropes, and the canons.

[16] The following closing formulas appear in these works:

26

Ex. 7a: Mass 2: Et in terra, Et unam sanctam, Osanna (I = II); Mass 4: Tu solus, Sanctus; Mass 5: Kyrie I, Confiteor; Mass 6: Sanctus; Caron, *M. L'homme armé:* Et expecto, Sanctus; Caron, *M. Jesus autem transiens:* Kyrie II, Cum sancto, Patrem, Confiteor, Osanna II, Dona nobis pacem; Dufay, *M. L'homme armé:* Sanctus (altus); Dufay, *M. Ave regina coelorum:* Patrem (altus); Ockeghem, *M. De plus en plus:* Sanctus (altus); Ockeghem, *M. Ecce ancilla domini:* Et resurrexit; Ockeghem, *M. Au travail suis:* Patrem (bassus), Et resurrexit, Agnus II (tenor); Basiron, *M. L'homme armé:* Kyrie I, Et unam sanctam; Tinctoris, *M. L'homme armé:* Qui tollis, Confiteor, Osanna (I = II), Agnus III.

Ex. 7b: Mass 3: Christe, Et in terra, Cum sancto, Patrem, Sanctus, Agnus I.

Ex. 7c: Mass 3: Kyrie I, Patrem; Caron, *M. Sanguis sanctorum:* Kyrie II, Et in terra, Qui tollis.

Ex. 7d: Mass 3: Cum sancto; Caron, *M. Sanguis sanctorum:* Osanna II; Caron, *M. Accuielly m'a la belle:* Qui tollis, Et unam sanctam, Agnus III-Dona nobis pacem.

[17] Cohen, *The Six Anonymous L'homme armé Masses,* p. 46.

[18] This falling fifth motif is not to be confused with another falling fifth motif, which consists of three D's instead of two, and which appears between the first and middle sections of the "L'homme armé" tune. That motif is imitated in all four voices in Busnois's parody of Morton's setting in the Tu solus section of his *L'homme armé* mass.

[19] Leeman Perkins, "Busnois and Ockeghem: A Comparison," paper read at the American Musicological Society meeting in Minneapolis, 10 October 1978.

[20] There are two widely-differing versions of Faugues's mass setting. George Schuetze, Jr., gives evidence suggesting that the versions found in CS 14 and Ver. 761 are the earlier ones, while the manuscript Mód. M. 1.13 gives the later. See Schuetze, *An Introduction to Faugues* (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1960), p. 23. Both versions are published in the same author's *Collected Works of Faugues* (Brooklyn: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1960), pp. 85–146.

[21] There is at least one other name—Jehan le Caron, *sommelier* at the Burgundian court from at least 1436 through 1468—but he has been eliminated from consideration due to his lowly and nonmusical position in Burgundian activities. See Jeanne Marix, *Histoire de la Musique et des Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne sous le règne de Philippe le Bon (1420–1467)* (Strasbourg: Heitz, 1939), pp. 242–60.

[22] Thomson, "The Works of Caron," vol. 1, pp. 15, 17–18.

[23] Craig Wright, "Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions," *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* vol. 28 (1975), p. 205.

[24] Albert Seay, ed., *Johannes Tinctoris, Opera Theoretica,* Corpus scriptorum de musica 22 (American Institute of Musicology, 1975), vol. 1, p. 7.

[25] *Ibid.,* vol. 2, p. 176.

[26] *Ibid.,* vol. 2a, prologus and book 3 (American Institute of Musicology, 1978), pp. 10, 49; also Seay, tr., "The *Proportionale musices* of Johannes Tinctoris," *Journal of Music Theory,* vol. 1, no. 1 (1957), pp. 27, 42. There are no known works of Caron that would have provoked such an outcry from Tinctoris. Perhaps the theorist was referring to the Naples complex, where the tenor mensuration in the various mass cycles is in major prolation with proportional meaning, but not indicated as such in the manuscript.

[27] Seay, *Johannes Tinctoris,* vol. 2, p. 12.

[28] *Ibid.,* p. 156.

[29] *Ibid.,* p. 143.

[30] Thomson, "The Works of Caron," p. 15.

[31] *Ibid.,* p. 13. Thomson gives the source as Ms. 516, p. 183 of the municipal library at Amiens. A facsimile of this page is given by him as plate 1, following page 14.

[32] René Vannes, in his *Dictionnaire des musiciens belges (compositeurs)* (Brussels: Larcier, 1947), asserts that the date "should read '1472,' " but gives no substantiation.

[33] F. 99ᵛ. All other attributions to Caron's works give only his surname. Thomson acknowledges that the attribution in SP B 80 is clearly recognizable, but suggests that the F. "could just as well stand for the Italian form Filippo, which would indeed not be out of place in the manuscript, which was written in Italy." (Thomson, "The Works of Caron," p. 16).

[34] Richard Vaughan, *Charles the Bold* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1973), p. 42. He subsequently lost it in January–February, 1471.

[35] Herman, Vander Linden, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, Duc de Bourgogne (1419–1477) et de Charles, Comte de Charolais (1433–1467)* (Brussels: Palais des académies, 1940), p. 495. As Duke, Charles and his troops rested at camp outside Amiens on 1, 2 and 10 April 1471 in their attempt to recapture the city from the French. (Vander Linden, *Itinéraires de Charles, Duc de Bourgogne, Marguerite d'York et Marie de Bourgogne (1467–1477)* (Brussels: Palais des académies, 1936), p. 30.

[36] This visit may also account for a textless chanson of Caron's entitled *Vive Charloys*.

A Comparison of the Five Monochords of Guido of Arezzo

By Clyde W. Brockett, Jr.

The few words on the form of the modes and neumes which I have set down both in prose and in verse, as prologue to the Antiphoner will perhaps briefly and sufficiently open the portals of the art of music. And let the painstaking seek out our little book called *Micrologus* and also read the book *Enchiridion* most lucidly composed by the most reverend Abbot Odo, from whose examples I have departed only in the forms of the notes, since I have simplified my treatment for the sake of the young, and in this . . . following Boethius, whose treatise is useful to philosophers, but not to singers.[1]

With these words, Guido of Arezzo closes his *Epistola Michaeli Monacho* ("Letter to Brother Michael"), advocating recourse to the already-published doctrines of *Enchiridion* by Abbot Odo (which probably refers to the French theory cycle *Musica enchiriadis)*, and Boethius' treatise.[2] Guido, in addition to commending his own earlier works, claims that his *Epistola*, his last work, is essentially a simplification of ideas already in circulation. On the contrary, it includes a remarkable innovation: solmization interpreted through *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*. When Oliver Strunk translated Guido's procedure, he brought to a wide readership the origin and language of a paradigm for singing, "do-re-mi," which has become both facile and ubiquitous. However, Strunk did not translate all of Guido's *Epistola;* he left out the portion on the monochord, which represents another way of facilitating singing. It is not surprising that Guido's monochords have made little impression upon scholars and have engendered little separate comment.

The monochord of Guido's day was a single-stringed "pitch-pipe" and musical interval-measuring device both in one convenient instrument. It was the physical model of theoretical precepts that Guido needed to illustrate his treatises. He constructed monochords in three of his treatises, and it is through these constructions that we can correlate the *Micrologus*, Chapter 3; the rhymed antiphoner prologue which Guido entitled *Regulae rhythmicae de ignoto cantu* ("Rules in verse on unrecognized chant"); and the *Epistola*. Such comparison among his treatises is invited by Guido; it is particularly useful in strengthening a grasp of Guidonian doctrine.

Since comparisons must rely on Guido's own words, they must avoid complexities of which Guido was uninformed and by which he could not have been perturbed. Mathematical abstractions, high-order functions, and involved logarithmic apparatus unavailable to Guido, would be perhaps as unscientific as they would be anachronistic in the schemes set forth here. On the other hand, computations not actually written in by Guido, but inevitable in devising all monochords, are presented in the examples as the simplest estimates of those he could have made.[3]

FIGURE 1 *Micrologus,* **Main Turning**
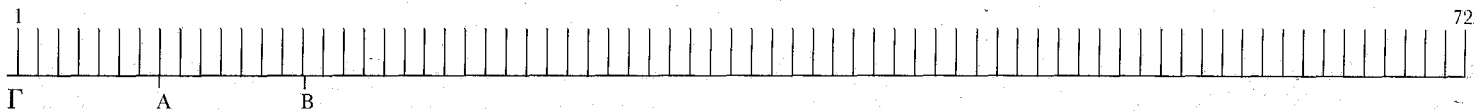
1) By ninths

A: $72 \div 9 = 8$, LR64

B: $64 \div 9 = 7\frac{1}{9}$, LR56$\frac{8}{9}$
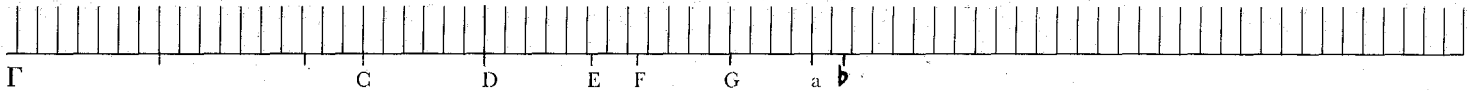
2) By quarters

C: $72 \div 4 = 18$, LR54

D: $64 \div 4 = 16$, LR48

E: $58\frac{8}{9} \div 4 = 14\frac{8}{9}$, LR42$\frac{2}{3}$

F: $54 \div 4 = 13\frac{1}{2}$, LR40$\frac{1}{2}$

G: $48 \div 4 = 12$ $(= \frac{36}{72})$, LR36

a: $42\frac{2}{3} \div 4 = 10\frac{2}{3}$, LR32

$\flat$: $40\frac{1}{2} \div 4 = 10\frac{1}{8}$, LR30$\frac{3}{8}$.

3) By halves

$\natural$: $56\frac{8}{9} \div 2 = 28\frac{8}{9}$

c: $54 \div 2 = 27$

d: $48 \div 2 = 24$

e: $42\frac{2}{3} \div 2 = 21\frac{1}{3}$

f: $40\frac{1}{2} \div 2 = 20\frac{1}{4}$

g: $36 \div 2 = 18$

$^{a}_{a}$: $32 \div 2 = 16$

$\flat$: $30\frac{3}{8} \div 2 = 15\frac{3}{16}$

$\natural$: $28\frac{8}{9} \div 2 = 14\frac{8}{9}$
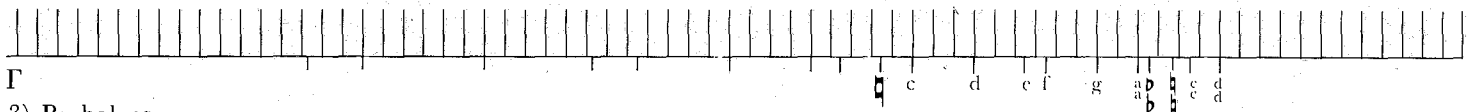
$^{c}_{c}$: $27 \div 2 = 13\frac{1}{2}$

$^{d}_{d}$: $24 \div 2 = 12$

In his *Micrologus*, Guido produces two versions of the monochord. Figure 1 reconstructs Guido's main scheme,[1] in which he says:

> After marking Γ at the beginning, divide the space beneath the string from there to the other end into nine parts, and at the end of the first ninth put the letter A, with which all the ancients began. When you have likewise measured a ninth part [of the length] from A to the far end of the string, in the same way place the letter B. After this, going back to Γ, divide the string from there to the other end by four, and at the end of the first quarter, you will find C. By a similar division into quarters, just as C was found from Γ, in the same way you will find successively D from A, E from B, F from C, G from D, a from E, and b-flat from F. The following notes are all easily obtained one after the other as halfway points of notes similar in sound and the same in letter: so, halfway from B to the far end of the string, you put another ♮. Likewise C will point out another c, D will point out another d, E another e, F another f, G another g, and the rest of the notes in the same way.[5]

This tuning is apparently adapted from an anonymous Lombard's *Dialogus de Musica*, to which, as Michel Huglo makes plain, Guido was indebted.[6] Although it has six pitches fewer than Guido's, the *Dialogus* starts tuning by octaves, logically enough, at G, rather than B, two tones higher, as Guido does. Guido's revision obviously sprang from a desire not to interfere with b-flat, which is the last letter he derives from the quartal division. Although the same tuning is recommended in the *Dialogus*, here the b-flat, termed the first ninth and also derived from F, is detached from the rest of the order in a separate paragraph. The anonymous Lombard's own résumé, which comes on the heels of his tuning instructions, reattaches the two b's in a third paragraph. This résumé is quoted below after Strunk, who also translated much of the *Dialogus* including passages on the monochord.[7]

		Γ		
First step		A	Eighth step	a
Second step		B	First ninth step	♭
			Second ninth step	♮
Third step		C	Tenth step	c
Fourth step		D	Eleventh step	d
Fifth step		E	Twelfth step	e
Sixth step		F	Thirteenth step	f
Seventh step		G	Fourteenth step	g
			Fifteenth step	a a

Guido's alternate tuning he describes as "harder to memorize" but by using it he says, "the monochord is more quickly divided." The instruction, shown in Figure 2, reads as follows:

> You make nine steps, that is [equal] segments, from Γ to the other end.

FIGURE 2 *Micrologus,* **Alternative Tuning**

Γ   A   D   a   d   a/a

1) By ninths
$$72 \div 9 = 8, LR64$$

upper limit of all
further tunings

Γ   (A)   B   E   ♮   e

2) By ninths
$$64 \div 9 = 7\frac{1}{9}$$

Γ   C   G   g

3) By quarters
$$72 \div 4 = 18, LR54$$

Γ   (C)   F   c   c/c

4) By quarters
$$54 \div 4 = 13\frac{1}{2}, LR40\frac{1}{2}$$

Γ   (F)   ♮   f   f/f

5) By quarters
$$40\frac{1}{2} \div 4 = 10\frac{1}{8}$$
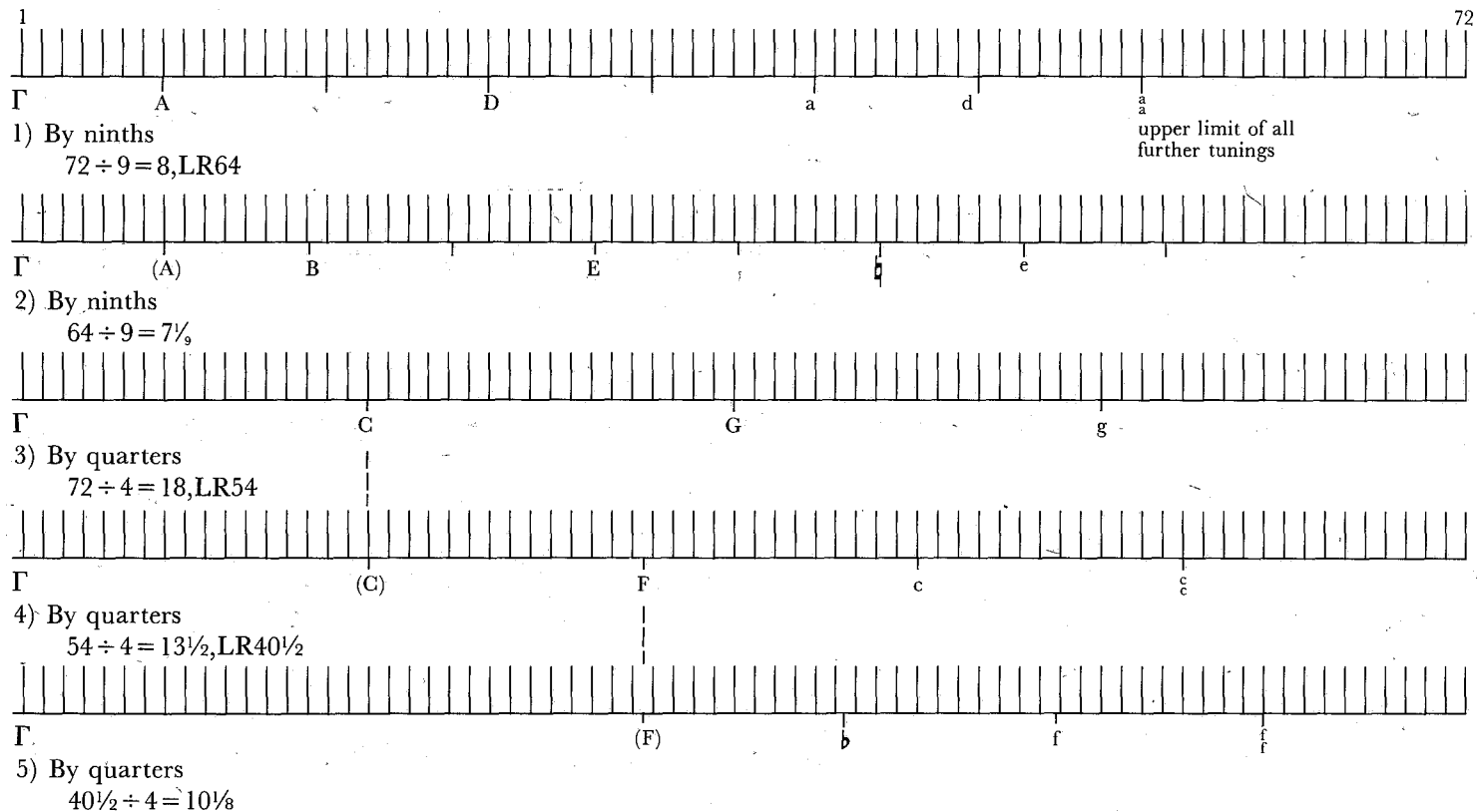
The first step will end at A, the second will have no letter, the third will end at D, the fourth will be unlettered, the fifth will end at a, the sixth at d, the seventh at $\frac{a}{a}$ and the others will be unlettered. Likewise, when you divide [the length] from A to the other end into nine parts, the first step will end at B, the second will be unlettered, the third will end at E, the fourth will be unlettered, the fifth will end at ♮ , the sixth at e, the seventh at ♯ , and the rest will be unlettered. When you divide [the length] from Γ to the other end into quarters, the first step will end on C, the second on G, the third on g, the fourth at the end of the string. Of the four similar steps from C to the other end of the string, the first will end on F, the second on c, the third on $\frac{c}{c}$, the fourth at the end of the string. Of the quarter-length steps from F, the first will end on b-flat, the second on f.[8]

As this instruction tells the reader, this monochord, although lacking the high b-flat and high d, the eighteenth and twenty-first steps of Guido's first series, still goes far enough to indicate an acceptance of the b-flat, ninth above.[9]

In his *Regulae rhythmicae*, Guido approximates the same main tuning advocated by the author of *Dialogus*. Guido's verses 24–33, 39–46, and 51–53 describe this monochord. To quote Guido's rhymes, realized in Figure 3:

Verse

24	They place the Greek gamma in front of the first letter
25	from which the whole line is divided into nine increments.
26	Where the first increment ends, the first letter will occur.
27	Similarly, they make the same number of steps from the first letter
28	and the location of the second is plain in the above order.
29	This interval learned musicians call the tone.
30	Going back to gamma, divide the entire string by four.
31	The third [letter] straightway sings next to the second.
32	The diatesseron is only slightly higher than the two tones.
33	That short space is called a semitone.

. . . .

39	In this way the first [letter] gives evidence of the fourth in quarters,
40	and by the same number, the second [letter] serves to show the fifth.
41	The third brings the sixth without changing the calculation.
42	For the sake of the seventh, take the middle of the whole length from gamma,
43	from here the octave from the first [sic Γ] will assume its proper place.
44	From the bottom the first [letter] octave from the first occurs without changing the number.
45	The second produces the second, and the third the third,
46	the fourth the fourth, the fifth the fifth, each its letter

1) By ninths: A–B derived as in Figure 1, division 1)

Γ   C   D   E   F

2) By quarters: C–F derived as in Figure 1, division 2) but not continuing to b-flat, as shown above

Γ   (A)   G   a   ♮ c   d   e f   g   a̱a̱
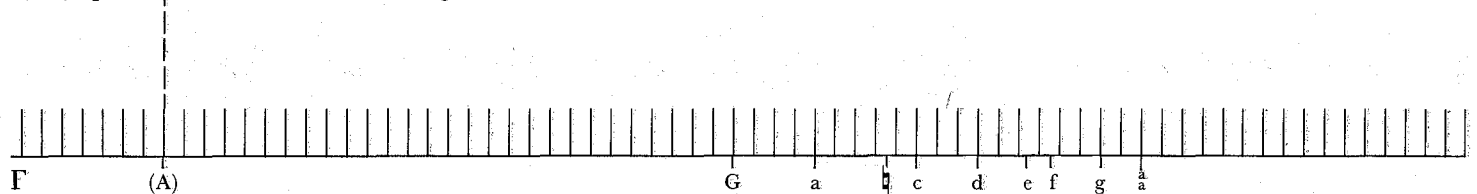
3) By halves: ♮ –a̱a̱ derived as in Figure 1, division 3)
    G: $72 \div 2 = 36$
    a: $64 \div 2 = 32$

FIGURE 3 *Regulae Rhythmicae*, **Main Tuning**

. . . .

51   . . . The entire line
52   is divided by two steps into the same letter
53   which twice replicated terminates the monochord.[10]

This latter limit—the same letter "bisque geminata"—may be defined as the first location of the tripling of a letter. With A as the first letter, this termination may be fixed at $\frac{a}{a}$, giving fifteen steps above gamma, identical to the range of the *Dialogus*. But it is *without b-flat,* first ninth step, and herein lies the difference. The sixteen-pitch limit without b-flat is confirmed, as far as we can trust the Guidonian purity of Gerbert's source, by the *Regulae*'s constitution of pitches inserted between verses 17 and 18, Γ A B C D E F G a ♮ c d e f g $\frac{a}{a}$.[11] More important than dependence upon the *Dialogus* is this scale's *non*-dependence on the *Micrologus.*

For confirmation of Guido's intention to discard b-flat, yet otherwise to hew to his precursor's pitch constitution, we need only check the alternate tuning. As in the *Micrologus,* so in the *Regulae,* this "quick" method, verses 60–73, directly succeeds the main tuning. We can follow Guido's parallel to Chapter 3 of the *Micrologus,* flatless now, and compare this version with Figure 2.

Verse

60   Likewise from nine increments, which we have described,
61   at the first [ninth] the first [A], so the third [ninth] the fourth [D],
62   the fifth [ninth] the first [a], the sixth [ninth] the fourth [d].
                The seventh [ninth]returns the first [$\frac{a}{a}$].
63   Also to the first [letter], the first increment produces the second [B],
64   and thus the third [ninth] stops on the fifth [E].
65   The fifth [ninth] generates the second [♮]; the sixth [ninth] repeats
                the fifth [e].
                [The seventh ninth repeating the second, ♯ is omitted, this pitch
                lying above the limit of $\frac{a}{a}$]
66   Once again dividing by the aforesaid increments of quarters of
                gamma,
67   the first [quarter] reveals the third [C], the second [quarter] the
                seventh [G],
68   the third [quarter] marks the tripled seventh [g].
69   Dividing the third [letter] now by four, we effect the sixth [F].
70   In another increment further, we rewrite the third [c].
71   Dividing this by four, we achieve another sixth [f].
72   There are those who add next to the first [letter] in the high
                [letters],
73   but this licentiousness [!] does not please Father Gregory.[12]

Here we have a scheme similar to the *Micrologus'* alternate tuning but

35

1) By ninths: A–D–a–d–$\overset{a}{a}$ derived as in Figure 2, division 1)
2) By ninths: B–E– ♮ –e derived as in Figure 2, division 2)
3) By quarters: C–G–g derived as in Figure 2, division 3)

1   72
|||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||

Γ   (C)   F   c
4) By quarters and addition:
    F: $54 \div 4 = 13\frac{1}{2}$
    c: $13\frac{1}{2}$[C–F]$13\frac{1}{2}$, LR27

|||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||||

Γ   (c)   f
5) By quarters:
    f: $27 \div 4 = 6\frac{3}{4}$
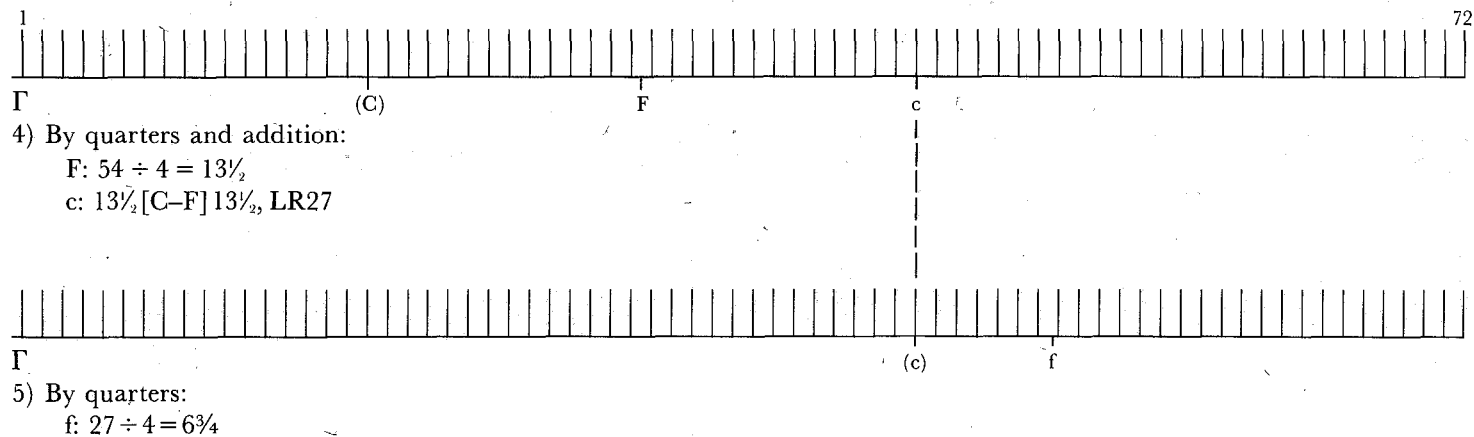
FIGURE 4 *Regulae Rhythmicae*, **Alternative Tuning**

without b-flat. Divisions (1) through (3) as shown in Figure 2, are retained, omitting ♮ in division (2). Because quartal division of f generates the dreaded b-flat, Guido must undertake the division of c in order to achieve high f (verse 71). This complicates his procedure, because he cannot enter the division from the remainder of division (4), but instead must, in a new step, calculate the remainder from stopped c, and only then divide by four, as shown in Figure 4.

In Guido's third treatise on constructing the monochord, we find confirmation of the tunings of the *Regulae*. It is also here that Guido's simplifying is manifest in his decision to include just the main tuning without the alternative. Thus, through the course of his writings his descriptions of monochords number five, instead of three pairs.

Here is what Guido has to say about this fifth and ultimate version, which in the course of reading shall be found closely comparable to the third, earlier demonstrated in Figure 3.

> Put first the Greek Γ, that is, the Latin capital G. Next, at the beginning of the entire line, drawn underneath the sounding string, divide it carefully into nine sections, and where the first ends next to gamma, put the first letter A. From this point to the end of the string likewise divide into nine sections, and where the first section ends, add the second letter B. Next, going back to Γ divide the string from it to the end into four sections, and at the end of the first of these, put C; likewise from A, divide into four and mark the fourth letter D. In the same fashion in which you have located the fourth letter with the first, you will find the fifth, E, with the second, the sixth, F, with the third, and the seventh, G, with the fourth. From there, returning to the first A, you will find another a, halfway between the first and the end of the string, and similarly you will find another ♮ with the second letter, c with the third, and so also the rest by the same means throughout the octave.[13]

Both the extent of the scale and this flatless approach are patent in Guido's construction represented in Figure 5. Only one difference in concept separates this from the first monochord of the *Regulae*, its tuning the G octave from D, the fourth below, rather than from gamma, of which it is half. Also, it disagrees with the *Micrologus* in initiating the octave tunings from the a instead of the ♮.

Two more features are significant here: no b-flat is authorized and the last term, "throughout the octave," seems to mean that this monochord must terminate at the end of the second octave, in other words, at $\frac{a}{a}$. This is nearly exactly what happened in the first scheme in Guido's *Regulae rhythmicae*. The presence of this similar scheme in the *Epistola* necessitates the correction of Gerbert's source, which reads Γ–$\frac{d}{d}$ without b-flats, to read Γ–$\frac{a}{a}$ without b-flats.[14]

In his analysis of this final monochord, Hans Oesch, noting that, indeed,

FIGURE 5 *Epistola Michaeli Monacho*
1) By ninths: A–B derived as in Figure 1, division 1)
2) By quarters: C–G derived as in Figure 1, division 2)
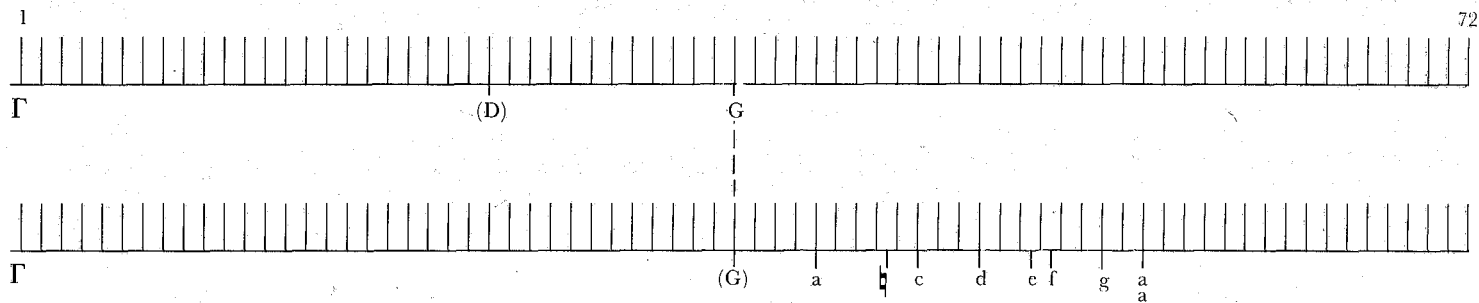
3) By halves: a--$\overset{a}{a}$ derived as in Figure 3, division 3)

b-flat is missing, went so far as to assume that Guido disliked b-flat.[15] Wheth-
er or not this overstates the case *contra* b-flat, which I believe it does not, we
cannot impute to Guido much accrued concern in the last monochord for
this distant secondary, or, according to the alternate tuning in the *Micrologus*,
tertiary pitch. Certainly, b-flat could not have meant enough to Guido to
name a clef after it, as one fairly recent writer has flatly stated.[16]

In the *Epistola* and his earlier treatises Guido's use of the monochord is
considered. In this regard, Guido's cue appears to have been taken from the
Dialogus, whose author declares that both first and second ninth steps "are
not regularly found in the same melody."[17] Could this not explain the mono-
chord's function to accompany singing or execute a melody? Guido may have
understood singing to the monochord as a practical application of melody
and the concomitant discipline central to the two antiphoner prologues, with
their explanation of the melodies' notation. The following excerpts from the
prose prologue address the clear relation between chord steps, notated pitch,
and chanting:

> And in order that you may also understand to which lines or spaces
> each sound belongs, certain letters of the monochord are written at the
> beginning of the lines or spaces and the lines are also gone over in
> colors . . .

and continuing:

> For we use two colors, namely yellow and red, and by means of them I
> teach you a rule that will enable you to know readily to what tone and
> to what letter of the monochord every neume and every sound belong,
> most useful if, as is very convenient, you make frequent use of the mon-
> ochord and of the formulas of the tones.[18]

The employment of a well-tuned monochord, as well as the tonary, in the
cells of monks where organ or bells would not fit, could not be brought, or
might be too loud, is probably meant by the latter recommendation.

Summarized by Virgil's *septem discrimina vocum* axiom (or as Guido writes,
"The letters of the monochord are seven"),[19] Guido's monochords of both the
Regulae rhythmicae, probably the promised sequel to the prose redaction, and
the *Epistola* assume their authority from that axiom. It is stressed that these
companions to the practice of intoning and chanting, the prologues and *Epis-
tola,* have a purpose more pragmatic than the *Micrologus* itself, which was
intended predominantly for study and musical learning. Yet, the monochord
is mentioned in Chapter 17 of *Micrologus*, alongside Guido's primitive solmi-
zation scheme: a–e–i–o–u, used to translate pitches C–D–E–F–g.[20] It comes
as no surprise that Guido should limit this monochord's range, previously
constituted in Chapter 3, to the range described in the prologue, Γ–$\frac{a}{a}$. Nor is
his eliminating b-flat in Chapter 17 surprising.

Finally, in the *Epistola*, Guido confirms the two scalar intervals upon which
his monochord is based: the tone and semitone. He carefully specifies their
positions in the following remark:

> Note that between the second and third or the fifth and sixth [letters]
> the smallest intervals called semitones occur. Larger intervals called
> tones occur between the other notes.[21]

Again no place for a b-flat is found in this scheme. The reason, as was im-
plied earlier, may have been that the practice of pitching the voice to the
accurately tuned monochord while interpreting the written *note* and the de-
termined *mode* did not require it. Moreover, the pitches marked in order be-
neath the string, when sung thus, were bound to confuse the voice
unaccustomed to a placement or existing chant passage, recalling the anony-
mous author of the *Dialogus* and his implication that consecutive ninth steps
were irregular (both first and second ninth steps "are not regularly found in
the same melody"). Let it be underscored, however, that the withdrawal of
b-flat from the *Epistola* could not have altogether resulted from Guido's poli-
cy of simplification, since already in his antiphoner monochords he had re-
jected that "first ninth." Indeed, in so doing he had even invoked the highest
mortal authority, Gregory himself. The significance of this fifth monochord,
then, is one of tipping the scales toward denial of b-flat: three against, two for.

So as to keep Guido's construction simple and to appreciate any similari-
ties and differences, as he would have it, before concluding our own recon-
struction, let us examine tuning procedures in their economy of means.
Guido needs to position only the absolutely required pitches from gamma to
erect the entire monochord: Γ–$\frac{a}{a}$, not requiring b-flat. These are, in fact, the
limits to which Guido confines himself. In the rhyming prologue he tunes
with bases A–f and in the *Epistola* with bases A–g. This standard of economy
adds to simplification while it diminishes b-flat's value to the system. For if
Guido had desired to tune b-flat here, he would have had to continue the
quartal tunings, as described in the *Micrologus,* all the way up to F–b-flat.
The similarities and differences among Guido of Arezzo's monochords are
thus made clear. The similarities, in summary, are noticed in the diatonic
range of at least two octaves with b-flat occasionally added; the differences lie
in extensions beyond two octaves and in whether or not b-flat is admitted in
both higher octaves.

Perhaps one cannot fully appreciate the intentions of such a renowned
theorist as Guido until having dissected and compared the anatomies of the
monochords, as we have essayed. Nor can one, I believe, reconstruct these
tabletop instruments, either on paper or sounding, without a deep satisfac-
tion, which Guido, or for that matter, Euclid, long before him, must also
have felt at the rediscovery of the laws of Nature. One cannot thereby help
but be astounded at the simultaneous complexity and simplicity of these
laws. It is in such a satisfying rediscovery and visual representation of natu-
ral truth that ancient and medieval teachings link with modern.[22] It is also in
such an actualization of principles that Guido of Arezzo, transmitter of an-
cient speculations and interpreter of them for singers—as he advertised him-
self in the quotation heading this article—continues posthumously to earn
recognition as a master.

[1] Oliver Strunk, transl., *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1950), p. 125. Cf. Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores ecclesiastici de Musica* (St. Blasien, 1784), vol. II, p. 50b. Readers familiar with this passage will notice the omission of "not" ("in this *not* following Boethius") of Strunk's translation. The uncorrupt and consentient reading of the manuscript is: "Boethium in hoc sequens." See Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, *Guidonis 'Prologus in Antiphonarium,' Divitiae Musicae Artis*, A. III (Buren, 1975). My ellipsis is a step toward revising Strunk's translation.

[2] Michel Huglo, "L'Auteur du 'Dialogue sur la Musique' attribué à Odon," *Revue de Musicologie* LV (1969), pp. 131–32.

[3] To explore the faculty to calculate precise lengths before the eleventh century, one is referred to the treatise chiefly on organ-pipe measurement, *Mensura fistularum et monochordi*, widely attributed to Gerbert of Aurillac. Cf. Gerbert, *Scriptores*, vol. I, pp. 314–30. Gerbert of Aurillac is commonly claimed to have introduced Arabic numerals into general use in the West.

[4] In all these constructions the string's length is fixed at 72 increments. The abbreviation LR will indicate the length of string remaining, a vital factor in all required divisions.

[5] Warren Babb, transl., *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music*, edited with introduction by Claude V. Palisca (New Haven, 1978), p. 60. Cf. Joseph F. Smits van Waesberghe, ed., *Guidonis Aretini Micrologus,* Corpus Scriptorum de Musica (CSM) no. 4 (Rome, 1955), pp. 96–8. On the letter-pitch notation prior to Guido, see Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, "Les Origines de la notation alphabétique au moyen âge," *Anuario Musical* 12 (1957), pp. 3–16. On Guido's system, see Huglo, "L'Auteur," pp. 143–47. A rationale which I suspect may have underlain the prefacing of gamma to the Latin alphabet for the "open" string was to allow the first "stopping" of the monochord to correspond to the "first" letter. This makes as much sense, when dealing with the monochord at least, as the provision of gamma, without which a chant "would have nowhere to descend to if Γ were not appended," as John of Afflighem maintains in *De Musica cum Tonario* (ca. 1100); see *Hucbald, Guido, and John*, p. 108.

[6] Huglo, "L'Auteur," pp. 170–71.

[7] *Source Readings*, p. 106. Cf. Gerbert, *Scriptores* vol. I, pp. 253a–b. The *Dialogus–Micrologus* relationships in tuning are discussed by Hans Oesch, *Guido von Arezzo* (Bern, 1954), pp. 80–1. Unfortunately, Oesch noticed neither of the crucial differences between the two authors' tunings: the octave-division base, G versus B, and the integration of b-flat versus its separation.

[8] *Hucbald, Guido, and John*, p. 60; cf. CSM no. 4, pp. 99–100.

[9] John of Afflighem, who by his own admission imitated Guido often, uses this tuning, but completes and thereby improves this monochord on his own. *(Hucbald, Guido, and John*, p. 109). John again acknowledges Guido as the originator of the twenty-one-pitch range (p. 108).

[10] Gerbert, *Scriptores* vol. II, p. 26.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 25. The only original source to which I presently have access, B.N. lat. 10508, fol. 143^r, has the scale exactly as it is copied above from Gerbert's edition.

[12] Gerbert, vol. II, pp. 26–7.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 46a–b. See Guido of Arezzo, *Epistola Michaeli Monacho*, parts hitherto not rendered in English, translated by C. W. Brockett, Jr. (Brooklyn, N.Y., AMS/MLS Translations Center, 1970), pp. 1–2.

[14] According to B.N. lat. 10508 at least, on fol. 147^v, the scale runs A–G minus introductory Γ, then a–g minus b-flat, then a̋, thus following Guido's written out requirements exactly, excepting the Γ prefix.

[15] Oesch, *Guido von Arezzo*, p. 83. But the monochords of the *Regulae rhythmicae* are overlooked in Oesch's inference that the omission of b-flat, "dropped" in the *Epistola*, was there innovative.

[16] In a quite casual, disappointing, one-page generalization of Guido of Arezzo's contributions, false and indifferent with regard to documentation, George F. Strickling ("Sixth Degree–Guido's Scale," *Choral Journal* X/2 (July–August, 1969), p. 16, abstracted in *RILM*, VIII/2–3: No. 3886ap, p. 270) credits Guido with the assignment of b-flat to a green line–clef. Actually, the b-flat clef was anonymous and the least frequently used of all. See Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, *De musico-paedagogico et theoretico Guidone Aretino: eiusque vita et moribus* (Florence, 1953), p. 66. Clefs which Smits reports are, in order of descending frequency: F, c, f, C, D, a, g, e, Γ, B, ♮, and ♭.

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[17] *Source Readings,* p. 106. Cf. Gerbert, vol. I, p. 253b.

[18] *Ibid.,* p. 119. Boethius' works, other than his *Music,* deserve scrutiny as possible phraseological models. A rhymed correlation of strings, tuning, and vocal practice,

> *Illic blanda sonantibus*
> *Chordis carmina temperans*

("tuning beguiling songs of praise on resounding strings"), in its reference to contemporary kitharody may have set a precedent, even if not literally borrowed by the medieval apologist. See *Boetii De Consolatione Philosophiae . . . ad Usum Delphini* (London, 1823), p. 305 (Liber II, Metrum XII, vv. 20–21). Guido's reasoning in attaching the monochord's use to singing and the notation of pitches to be sung probably resulted in the incorporation of low G (vocal notation) to adapt to the monochord's gamma. In his *Breviarium de musica,* Frutolf of Michelsberg (d.1103) writes "*ad gamma scilicet* Γ *assumens tonum a modernis necessario pro facilitate canendi monochordi additum*" ("assuming gamma, that is Γ, the whole-step added by the 'moderns' [is] necessary for the facilitation of the measurement of singing to the monochord"). Around 1100, however, the monochord's function as a tuning device was evidently beginning to wane. John of Afflighem advises the substitution of the pitch-jointed hand, which, incidentally, he does not credit to Guido. John further advises use of the hand over the monochord to "test, correct, or compose a song." (*Hucbald, Guido, and John,* p. 104).

[19] *Source Readings,* p. 119; Gerbert, vol. II, p. 28 (v. 107). Cf. *Micrologus,* ch. 5; *Hucbald, Guido, and John,* p. 62; CSM 4, p. 112.

[20] *Hucbald, Guido, and John,* p. 75; cf. CSM 4, p. 188.

[21] Gerbert, vol. II, p. 46b.

[22] I should like to acknowledge the enthusiasm of the class in Humanities and Music, "The Art of Medieval Music" which I taught for Old Dominion University and Christopher Newport College jointly in fall, 1980. Their participation in actual monochord construction greatly furthered interest and facilitated study.

Siegfried and Brünnhilde and the Passage of Time in Wagner's Ring

By Kenneth G. Chapman

Siegfried and *Götterdämmerung,* the final two parts of Wagner's Ring cycle, are closely related dramatic works, telling the story of Siegfried from adolescence to death. The final scene of *Siegfried* and the prelude to *Götterdämmerung* take place in the same location: the mountain top where Brünnhilde has spent her period of penance for having disobeyed Wotan. In the final scene of *Siegfried,* the youthful hero of that name reaches the mountain top, passes through the ring of fire protecting Brünnhilde from all but the greatest of heroes, and wakens the sleeping valkyrie. After declaring their undying love they disappear into her cave, which is usually at the back of the set.
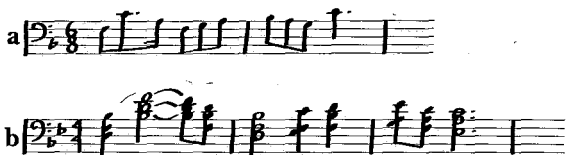
In the prelude to *Götterdämmerung,* following an introductory scene between the three Norns, Siegfried and Brünnhilde emerge from the cave as the sun rises. It is natural at this point to ask how much time has elapsed between the final scene of *Siegfried* and the prelude to *Götterdämmerung.* A number of authors have suggested a wide range of time intervals to choose from. Robert Bailey, in his article "The Structure of the Ring and its Evolution," in the journal *19th Century Music,* asserts that "a lapse of a generation" has taken place.[1] He offers no evidence for this assumption other than the change of titles of the two works that Wagner made in 1856, but his assumption is perhaps a structural one, based on the fact that a generation lapses between each of the foregoing parts of the Ring: between *Rheingold* and *Die Walküre,* while the various progeny of Wotan—the Wälsungs and the valkyries—are growing up, and between *Die Walküre* and *Siegfried,* while Siegfried is being born and growing up.

At the other extreme lie the opinions of a number of contemporary scholars. Carl Dahlhaus in his study *Richard Wagner's Music Dramas* sees the interval as having been extremely short: "Only a few days pass between the beginning of *Siegfried,* when Siegfried forges a new sword from the fragments of Nothung, and the end of *Götterdämmerung,* when Valhalla burns down: the two works come very close to fulfilling the classical postulate of unity of time."[2] John Culshaw, in his *Reflections on Wagner's Ring,* seems to view the situation in a similar light: "With the coming of dawn, we meet Siegfried and Brünnhilde, man and wife, living very much in a world of their own, or at least in one not very much like ours. They have emerged from their wedding night in a cave on the top of a mountain and they are radiantly happy."[3] Richard David, in his essay "Wagner the Dramatist" in *The Wagner Companion,* combines the views of Dahlhaus and Culshaw in an argument discussing why Act I, Scene 3 of *Götterdämmerung* belongs in that act and not in Act II: "The first [reason] is his instinctive adherence to the unity of time: the scene on the rock belongs to the same day as the first scene in the hall, and the *second night* in Brünnhilde's cave rounds off the act as the *first night* rounded off

the preceding opera."[4]

It is quite obvious that these two extreme viewpoints cannot be reconciled: either Bailey must be wrong, or Dahlhaus, Culshaw and David must be wrong. Of course, it is quite possible that they are all wrong, and that the truth of the matter lies somewhere in between these extremes. If one looks back into older works discussing the Ring, one sees that this is a distinct possibility: both Ernest Newman in *The Wagner Operas*,[5] and Ernest Hutcheson in *A Musical Guide to the Richard Wagner "Ring of the Nibelung,"*[6] stress that Siegfried has matured in the interval between the two music dramas, in both cases basing their argument on the musical development that has taken place in the motive associated with Siegfried in these works. Curiously, Dahlhaus points out this development, but fails to draw the most obvious logical conclusion from it. Apparently he feels that such a great change as that depicted in the music could take place during one magical night of making love to Brünnhilde: "The Siegfried of *Götterdämmerung*—from the very first, not just from the moment when the magic potion alienates him from his true nature—is separated from the young dragon-killer of *Siegfried* by a gulf that could hardly be deeper: a gulf expressed musically, for instance, by the difference between Siegfried's innocent horn call [Example 1a] and the portentous Hero theme that it becomes in *Götterdämmerung*, in which the clank of chainmail is almost audible. [Example 1b]"[7]

EXAMPLE 1

If we proceed backwards in time to critics before Newman and Hutcheson we find specific references to the passage of an appreciable period of time between Act III of *Siegfried* and the prelude to *Götterdämmerung*. Albert Lavignac in his influential study *Le voyage artistique à Bayreuth* describes Siegfried and Brünnhilde at this point in the drama as "l'amoureux couple, qui goute déjà depuis de longs jours un radieux bonheur."[8] W. J. Henderson, in his *Richard Wagner, His Life and His Dramas*, stresses a long period of time: "How long they were together on the mountain no one knows. It was long enough for the youth to become a man, and to learn all Brünnhilde's wisdom."[9] Anna Alice Chapin, in her book *Wotan, Siegfried and Brünnhilde*, expresses a similar point of view: "After a long lapse of time, Siegfried, urged by Brünnhilde, determined to go forth into the world. . . ."[10]

Since this matter of the extent of the passage of time between the end of

Siegfried and the beginning of *Götterdämmerung* is of great importance for inter-
pretation, it is worth subjecting it to detailed scrutiny to try to determine
what Wagner's actual intentions were. There are three aids in this task: Wag-
ner's text, the literary sources (German and Scandinavian) that he used in
creating his text, and the music itself, which, as is always the case in Wagner
criticism, must remain the ultimate criterion.

Even a glance at Wagner's text shows immediately that nothing approach-
ing a unity of time is possible in the dramatic sequences under consideration.
This is clear even within Act I of *Götterdämmerung*. At the end of the Prelude,
during the orchestral passage known in the concert hall as "Siegfried's Rhine
Journey," the curtain is lowered. At the end of Scene 2, when Siegfried and
Gunther leave the hall of the Gibichungs to go and claim Brünnhilde for
Gunther, the curtain is again drawn and when it is once more raised we are
back on Brünnhilde's mountain top. This is in sharp contrast to the "trans-
formations" with open curtain elsewhere in the Ring (as well as in Acts I and
III of *Parsifal*), where unity of time is specifically implied: between all four
scenes of *Das Rheingold,* and between Act III, Scenes 2 and 3 of *Siegfried* as
Siegfried, having broken Wotan's spear, climbs the mountain to awaken
Brünnhilde. That one can be fooled into assuming a unity of time in Act I of
Götterdämmerung is due to the nearly unbelievable musical unity that Wagner
has given this act through its key structure.[11] Under the influence of Wag-
ner's magical modulations it is easy to forget that the Rhine is a long river.

Looking at the text itself, one sees immediately that a passage of time is
not only implied, but specifically stated. In the Prelude to *Götterdämmerung*
the second and third Norns tell us what has happened since the final scene of
Siegfried:

> a hero broke it [Wotan's spear] in two;
> with shining sword
> he destroyed the god's holy laws.
> Then Wotan ordered
> Walhall's heroes
> to hack down
> the World Ash's trunk,
> and cut its branches to pieces. . . .
>
> That mighty hall
> the giants have raised—
> there the immortals and heroes
> all have assembled;
> there Wotan sits on high.
> But all around it
> there are heaped
> like a wall
> huge, mighty branches:
> the World Ash-tree once they were![12]

Waltraute tells Brünnhilde of the same events in Act I, Scene 3:

> But then he [Wotan] came home;
>   in his hand
>   his sacred spear was splintered,
> that spear which a hero had shattered.
>   He gave a sign:
>   Walhall's heroes
>   went on their way—
> the World Ash-tree was fated.
>   The sacred branches
>   he bade them break,
>   then pile in a heap
> all round the glorious hall.
>   The holy clan
>   came as he called them;
>   and Wotan, on high,
>   took his place.
>   By his side
> in fear and dismay they assembled;
>   in ranks around the hall
> he stationed his heroes.
>   He sits there,
>   speaks no word,
>   enthroned in silence,
>   stern and sad;
>   the spear in splinters
>   grasped in his hand.
>   Holda's apples
>   tastes he no more.
>   Fearful and trembling,
> the gods look on in silence.[13]

There is in both these passages a clear indication of the passage of a considerable amount of time. It would obviously take a while for all the gods to assemble and deport themselves as is described in these passages. To make the case complete, two more passages can be cited. Before Siegfried arrives at the hall of the Gibichungs, Hagen is telling of him and his fame. He concludes:

> Merrily seeking
> adventure and fame,
> he sails the Rhine,
> he roams the world:
> his journey will bring him this way,
> to the Gibich hall on the Rhine.[14]

Such adventure-seeking and world-roaming takes time, and the implications are clear that Siegfried has been underway for quite some time.

Finally, Brünnhilde's own words as soon as she and Siegfried emerge from the cave also clearly indicate that they have been together quite a while:

> To deeds of glory,
> brave beloved!
> My love for you
> bids you be gone.
> One care constrains me,
> makes me linger,
> I've not repaid you
> for all you brought.
>
> What gods have given me,
> I've given to you:
> all that they taught me,
> all is yours;
> all of this maiden's
> wisdom and strength
> given to the man
> who is now my master.[15]

With such clear evidence in the text itself, it is natural to ask why so many modern critics have failed to realize that much time has indeed passed between the end of *Siegfried* and the events depicted in *Götterdämmerung*. The answer probably lies in the fact that modern critics are not as familiar with Wagner's sources as both earlier (especially 19th-century) critics were, and as Wagner expected his audience to be. During the entire 19th century the various legends and tales that form the basis for Wagner's texts were being transformed into literary works at an amazing rate. Between 1803 and 1893, some 75 to 80 literary and dramatic works based on this material appeared, not including translations of the original texts. These literary and dramatic works appeared not only in German, but also in the Scandinavian languages, as well as some very notable ones in English (of which more in detail later). Such important writers as Friedrich Hebbel and Henrik Ibsen tried their hands at the material in 1862 and 1858, respectively, and Wagner's successor as Kapellmeister in Riga, Heinrich Dorn, produced an opera on the subject, *Die Nibelungen*, in 1854. Everyone with the least smattering of literary culture was completely familiar with the material on which Wagner based his cycle. It would therefore be of value to take a brief look at how the original sources treat the relationship between Siegfried and Brünnhilde, or, more correctly, between the characters which can be most closely identified in the various sources with the Siegfried and Brünnhilde of Wagner's version.

As is well known, Wagner based his cycle of music dramas on both German and Scandinavian literary sources. The primary German source was

the *Nibelungenlied*, a 13th-century Middle High German verse epic describing, in quite historically inaccurate poetic form, the struggles between certain early Burgundian princes and the invading Attila the Hun (who appears in the work under the name Etzel). It is primarily a tale of military conquest, deceit and vengeance, and its first section served Wagner roughly as the basis of the plot of *Götterdämmerung*.

The plot material of the three earlier operas in the Ring cycle, however, was taken, primarily from Scandinavian sources, both poetic and prose. The poetic sources consisted of the Old Icelandic heroic Eddic poems that tell the story of Sigurd and Brynhild, as they are called in these works, and various mythological poems dealing with the Old Scandinavian gods and their origins and destruction. The prose sources consisted primarily, though not exclusively, of the 13th-century Icelandic historian and poet Snorri Sturluson's prose version of these poems (the so-called *Prose Edda*) and of the late 13th-century *Saga of the Volsungs* in which an anonymous compiler tried to combine and coordinate earlier prose and poetic versions.

Wagner used all this material with a great deal of poetic license, changing and combining episodes and motives so that his work became a quite distinct and unique literary product. He was certainly entitled to do this, since his various sources themselves often give contradictory versions of the events they relate, and his purpose was to produce a unified work of art. His treatment of the relationship between Siegfried and Brünnhilde is a good example of this, skillfully combining, condensing and altering their relationship as he found it presented in the various sources to produce his own version that best served his dramatic and musical purposes. One of the most important aspects of Wagner's version of their relationship is their acquaintance with each other prior to Siegfried's second visit to Brünnhilde's rock to claim her as Gunther's bride (Act I, Scene 3 of *Götterdämmerung*). It should be pointed out immediately that this prior acquaintance between Siegfried and Brünnhilde is part of the Scandinavian tradition only, and is not to be found in the German tradition. Thus, in the *Nibelungenlied*, Brünnhilde and Siegfried have never seen each other before he and Gunther arrive to claim her for Gunther. In fact, the version of this incident in the *Nibelungenlied* is radically different from Wagner's version, Brünnhilde being the queen of an island kingdom whom Siegfried, in Gunther's guise, must defeat in tests of strength. Wagner's version of the prior acquaintance and love between the two was based on the various Scandinavian sources alone, and these various sources can at times be difficult to reconcile with each other and to interpret.[16]

If we look first at the *Saga of the Volsungs*, we once again see that some fair amount of time has passed between when Sigurd (Siegfried) wakes the sleeping Brynhild to life and love and when he arrives at Gunnar's (Gunther's) hall. After the awakening there is once again much teaching of wisdom and pledging of love for each other before Sigurd departs. But then a strange thing happens. He stops at the estate of Brynhild's foster-father, Heimir, and stays there "a long time" (Chapter 24).[17] Then an even stranger thing hap-

pens: Brynhild shows up, having apparently descended from her mountain top. Sigurd recognizes her as Brynhild, but they behave toward each other in a strangely ambiguous manner, both as if they were acquainted with each other on one hand, and as if they were strangers on the other. Brynhild tells Sigurd that he will marry Gudrun (Gutrune). Since Brynhild is known as a wise woman, Gudrun comes to her to have a dream she has had interpreted (dream interpretation is a nearly mandatory element of the Icelandic saga). Brynhild interprets the dream to the effect that Gudrun and Sigurd will marry. It is not clear from the saga whether or not Sigurd is still in the vicinity while Gudrun is visiting (he probably is, although there is no mention of their meeting then). Eventually Sigurd arrives at Gunnar's hall, is given a magic potion, falls in love with and marries Gudrun, and returns to Heimir's estate, where Brynhild is still in residence but is now in a hall surrounded by fire. He passes through the fire in Gunnar's guise, passes the night with Brynhild with his sword separating them, and so on as in Act I, Scene 3, of *Götterdämmerung*.

It is obvious from this cursory summary of the plot of the *Saga of the Volsungs* that Wagner has greatly simplified the material in the interest of dramatic unity and romantic intensification. It is also clear that his text reflects fairly well the passage of time in the Scandinavian tradition, although in neither Wagner's version nor the *Saga of the Volsungs* is it possible to determine the exact amount of time that has passed. The *Saga of the Volsungs* offers another tidbit to stimulate the imagination, and perhaps raise the eyebrows a bit. Before Brynhild leaves with Sigurd and Gunnar, she says to her foster-father: "Aslaug, Sigurd's daughter and mine, shall be brought up here with you" (Chapter 29). It would seem that the passage of time implied in the *Saga of the Volsungs* is indeed greater than that implied in Wagner's text, but the exact amount of time that has passed is not important. It is obviously greater than a single day, but probably considerably less than a full generation.

In Acts II and III of *Götterdämmerung*, which take place in the course of a very short period of time, Wagner actually did greatly compress the passage of time for obvious dramatic purposes. Both in the *Nibelungenlied* and in the *Saga of the Volsungs* a considerable amount of time elapses between the marriage of Brünnhilde (Brynhild) and Gunther (Gunnar) and the death of Siegfried (Sigurd). In the *Saga of the Volsungs* not only do Sigurd and Brynhild burn on the pyre, but also Sigurd's three-year old son by Gudrun, "whom Brynhild had ordered to be slain" (Chapter 33).

There are several points in the version of the *Saga of the Volsungs* that are confusing. Not only Brynhild's behavior, but also her very identity are at times puzzling. By looking at the poetic sources, the Old Icelandic anonymous heroic Eddic poems, some of the confusion can be explained, if not completely eliminated. Unfortunately, the poetic source material is incomplete: there is a gap, called the Great Lacuna, in the oldest manuscript of the material that encompasses precisely the material most relevant for the purpose of this study. The version of the events related in these poems breaks off

just after Sigurd has awakened the sleeping valkyrie on her flame-surrounded mountain top, and does not pick up again until after he is dead. None of the prose versions based on these lost poems can completely answer all our questions. The poetic versions introduce, as a matter of fact, an even greater uncertainty on one point: the identity of the woman awakened by the hero and that of the woman later won by Sigurd for Gunnar. Indeed, it seems quite clear from the extant poetic material that they were *not* one and the same person. The name of the valkyrie whom Sigurd wakes up in the Eddic poems is not Brynhild, though it is not clear whether the name assigned to her (Sigrdrífa) is a name or an epithet ("producer of victory"). Apparently, the version in the *Saga of the Volsungs* represents a confluence of two originally quite separate heroic traditions: one involving the killing of a dragon and waking of a maiden (a fertility cult tradition?), and the other involving a tale of power, deceit and vengeance.

Wagner was fully aware of the fertility cult elements in the material. He explicitly discusses this aspect in his background prose sketches for the music dramas,[18] and it appears in the music dramas themselves in the words that Brünnhilde addresses to Siegfried when she awakens from her long sleep:

> Heil dir, Sonne!
> Heil dir, Licht!
> Heil dir, leuchtender Tag!
>
> *(Siegfried*, Act III, Scene 3)

These words that Wagner put in Brünnhilde's mouth are in fact a close paraphrase of words that the awakening valkyrie Sigrdrífa addresses to Sigurd in the Eddic *Lay of Sigrdrífa*. By combining this Scandinavian version of an ancient fertility myth with the legends of the struggles for power of the early German tribes described in the *Nibelungenlied,* Wagner was able to synthesize a tale which appealed strongly to 19th-century Romantic sensibilities. Nor is it surprising that Wagner, who felt that Mozart's comic operas were too risqué for respectable young ladies, while emphasizing Siegfried and Brünnhilde's prior acquaintance, left out all references to the daughter supposedly produced as a result of this acquaintance. As a matter of fact, this is an element of the Scandinavian tradition that was added rather late, certainly not before the 13th century. Its purpose was to derive the lineage of the Norwegian kings from the dragon-slaying hero Sigurd through the girl Aslaug, who according to this tradition was the wife of the semi-legendary early Viking king Ragnar Lodbrok.

Although Wagner chose to ignore this aspect of the legend, it was a well-known element in the literary treatments of the legend in the 19th century. It encompasses the entire third play of the first extensive dramatic treatment of the material, the trilogy *Der Held des Nordens* (1812) by Friedrich Baron de la Motte Fogué, and keeps popping up in other dramatic versions throughout the century.

One version of the legend in English is the poem "The Fostering of As-

laug" in the fourth and final volume of William Morris' *The Earthly Paradise* (1870). Although Morris is best known to the 20th century as a founder of modern design, he was much better known in his own day as a poet whose popularity, at the time, even exceeded that of Alfred Lord Tennyson. Morris' most popular work was the four-volume collection of poems on classical and ancient themes entitled *The Earthly Paradise*, but the poetic work which he himself valued most highly was the long epic-style poem *Sigurd, the Volsung*, which contained his own version of the Nibelung-Volsung material and was published in 1876, the same year as the first performances in Bayreuth. Morris also distinguished himself as one of the first translators of Icelandic sagas into English, including the first translation of the *Saga of the Volsungs*, which appeared in 1870. It was during his work on this translation that Morris became inspired to produce his own poetic version of the material, which is nearly a forgotten work today. However, if one were to compare *Sigurd, the Volsung* with the text of Wagner's Ring operas, it would not be difficult to perceive which of these contemporary works was the greater work of poetry. Morris' poem, despite the archaic language and the Victorian sentiments, is a profoundly moving work, while Wagner's texts vacillate between dullness and doggerel with only occasional uplifting moments, such as Brünnhilde's words upon awakening, which paraphrase closely the Icelandic original. Nor is it difficult to perceive why Morris' work is now forgotten, while Wagner's is enjoying an enthusiastic renaissance. The genius of Wagner's innovative musical style makes inconsequential whatever weaknesses there may be in the text and has rescued it from the oblivion that nearly all other 19th-century literary and musical treatments of the same material have suffered.

It is Wagner's music that is always of primary importance in deciding any point of dispute concerning his work, and this is no less true concerning the question of the lapse of time between Act III of *Siegfried* and the Prelude to *Götterdämmerung*. If there are clear indications in the text, and in the literary background material, that a fair amount of time has lapsed, the indications in the music are even clearer, and decisive.

The passage of time is immediately apparent in the musical themes associated with Siegfried and Brünnhilde. This has already been pointed out with respect to Siegfried (see above, Example 1). The F-major solo horn theme is associated with Siegfried throughout *Siegfried*, while the B♭-major brass choir variant is first heard as Siegfried makes his appearance, stepping forth from the cave, in the Prelude to *Götterdämmerung*. Clearly, he has changed from the rambunctious boy of *Siegfried* to the mature, responsible hero of *Götterdämmerung*. The change implied by these two versions of the same theme could hardly have taken place overnight. The same is true in the case of Brünnhilde. The music most closely associated with her throughout *Die Walküre* and *Siegfried* is the famous "Ho-jo-to-ho" call of the battle-eager valkyrie:

ho - jo - to - ho! ——
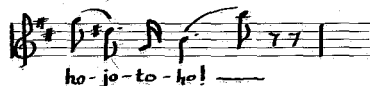
As soon as she appears in *Götterdämmerung* at the side of her transformed hero, the theme associated with her there (appearing after the first full statement of the theme of the mature Siegfried), tells us that she too has been transformed, indeed even more than he has:

This lovely theme, so expressive of tenderness and loving as it is first enunciated by the clarinet, is basically an inversion of the valkyrie's call, with the strident octave swoops diminished to a sixth and a seventh, and with Wagner's beloved turn added to increase the impression of sweet femininity. The fierce, tempestuous valkyrie that Wotan put to sleep for disobeying him has been transformed by her relationship with Siegfried into a docile, feminine companion.

Even more indicative of the change that has come over these two, and over the entire situation in which they find themselves, is the contrast between the music of the awakening of Brünnhilde in Act III of *Siegfried,* and the orchestral introduction to the Prelude to *Götterdämmerung* (see Figure 1, the piano scores of both passages, and Figure 2, a diagrammatic analysis of the cadences and orchestration of both passages). The two passages consist of precisely the same cadences, but with significant differences in key structure and development. The most immediately noticeable difference is that the cadences are a half-tone lower in the Prelude to *Götterdämmerung,* giving a much more somber and serious impression.[19] This is reinforced by the orchestration: a bass trumpet is added to the first chord in *Götterdämmerung* and the sixteenth-note triplets in the harps of the *Siegfried* passage are replaced by eighth-note triplets in the lower strings in *Götterdämmerung.* The overall effect is to replace the brilliant, shimmering texture of the "Awakening" scene with a darker, more somber texture in the orchestral passage that introduces the Norns' scene in the Prelude to *Götterdämmerung.*

Figure 1: Piano Scores of *Siegfried:* The "Awakening" Scene and *Götterdämmerung:* Opening of the Prelude

a) *Siegfried:* The "Awakening" Scene

Heil dir, leuch - - tender Tag!
Hail, o ra - - di-ant day!

c—C

Fate

BRÜNNH.

Etwas weniger breit.

Awakening

Lang war mein Schlaf;
Long was my sleep;
Etwas weniger breit.

b) *Götterdämmerung:* Opening of the Prelude

Müssig langsam.

PIANO.

eb—Cb

eb

db

The cadences are repeated twice in *Siegfried,* each time followed by a theme usually known as the "Awakening" motive. The entire passage in both *Siegfried* and *Götterdämmerung* is followed by a statement of the well-known "Fate" motive: in *Siegfried* with Brünnhilde singing the words "Lang war mein schlaf" with string accompaniment; in *Götterdämmerung* in instrumental form only with the darkest possible orchestration, a choir of tubas and bass trumpet. The orchestration reflects the seriousness of the situation to be described by the Norns and also the change in the relationship between Siegfried and Brünnhilde, reflecting their period of living together.

It should be clear from all this evidence, textual, literary-historical and musical, that a substantial amount of time must indeed have passed between the moment when Siegfried and Brünnhilde first find love together in the final scene of *Siegfried* and when they appear in the Prelude to *Götterdämmerung,* despite frequent statements to the contrary by contemporary scholars. This is a point that has a great deal of significance from the standpoint of character interpretation, and should certainly be taken into consideration by directors staging the Ring. There is no reason to assume, however, that as much time as a generation has passed, as Bailey suggests, and any indication of such an exaggerated lapse of time should be avoided in staging. It should also be clear that there is no hope of ever resolving all the bits and pieces of conflicting and contradictory material that make the Ring imperfect as a dramatic work. Even the extensive condensing, revising and altering to which Wagner subjected his source material was not sufficient to make coherent what is intrinsically dramatically incoherent. By means of his musical genius, however, he was able to create a powerful and moving work that still fascinates long after other 19th-century literary and musical treatments of the same material have been forgotten.

FIGURE 2—Cadences and Orchestration in *Siegfried*: The "Awakening" Scene and *Götterdämmerung*:
Opening of the Prelude

a) *Siegfried:* The "Awakening" Scene

Number of measures	1	5		1	5		1	8 ("Awakening")
Cadences	e	C_____		e	d____		e	C_____
Orchestration	Obs. Clar. Hrns.	Fls. Eng.Hn. Trp. Trmb. Bass Tuba Tymp.	add: 6 harps, upper strings		—same—		Fls. Obs. Clar. Eng.Hn. Bsns.	woodwinds over ascending upper strings then full orchestra

add soprano voice _____

Number of measures	1	3		1	3		1	5 ("Awakening")	1
Cadences	e	C_____		e	d___		e	C_____	"Fate"

Orchestration	Obs. Clar. Eng.Hn. Hrns. Bsns.	Fls. Trp. Bass Trp. Trmb. Bass Tuba Tymp.	add: harps, other woodwinds, upper strings	—same—	Obs. Eng.Hn. Hrns.	ascending fls. and clars. harps, then full orchestra	upper strings

---

b) *Götterdämmerung*: Opening of the Prelude

Number of measures	1	7		1	7	1	1	
Cadences	e$\flat$	C$\flat$___		e$\flat$	d$\flat$__	e$\flat$	C$\flat$"Fate"	
Orchestration	Obs. Clar. Hrns. Bass Trp.	Fls. Eng.Hn. Bsns. Tubas (ten., bass, contra) Cellos	add: Clar. Vlas. Vlns. Trp.	—same—		Obs. Clar. Hrns. E$\flat$ Trp.	Tubas Bass Trp.	

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NOTES

[1] *19th Century Music*, vol. 1, no. 1 (July 1977), p. 49.

[2] Carl Dahlhaus, *Richard Wagner's Music Dramas*, (Cambridge, 1979), p. 126.

[3] John Culshaw, *Reflections on Wagner's Ring*, (New York, 1976), p. 52.

[4] Richard Davis, "Wagner the Dramatist," in *The Wagner Companion*, (Cambridge, 1979), p. 128 (italics mine).

[5] Ernest Newman, *The Wagner Operas*, (New York, 1949), p. 594.

[6] Ernest Hutcheson, *A Musical Guide to the Richard Wagner "Ring of the Nibelung,"* (New York, 1940), pp. 138–39.

[7] Dahlhaus, *loc. cit.*

[8] Albert Lavignac, *Le voyage artistique à Bayreuth*, 11th ed., (Paris, 1919), p. 188.

[9] W. J. Henderson, *Richard Wagner, His Life and His Dramas*, (New York and London, 1901), p. 411.

[10] Anna Alice Chapin, *Wotan, Siegfried and Brünnhilde*, (New York and London, 1899), p. 63.

[11] This is precisely the main topic of Bailey's article (see footnote 1): Scene 1 opens in B minor and, after proceeding through what seems to be a myriad of keys, Scene 3 ends in B minor.

[12] Richard Wagner, *The Ring of the Nibelungs*, Andrew Porter, transl., (New York, 1977), p. 249.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 273–74.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 252–53

[16] The reader interested in a detailed discussion of all the many versions, both Scandinavian and German, will find one in R. G. Finch, "Brunhild and Siegfried" in *Saga-Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research*, vol. XVII (1967/8), parts 2–3, pp. 224–60.

[17] This, and all following quotations from the *Saga of the Volsungs* are taken from *The Volsunga Saga*, R. G. Finch, ed. and transl., (London, 1965).

[18] See "The Wibelungen" in *Richard Wagner's Prose Works*, William Ashton Ellis, transl. vol. VII, (London, 1898), pp. 259–98. "At the farthest point to which we can trace it, the Frank stem-saga shews the individualised Light or Sun-god, who conquers and lays low the monster of ur-Chaotic night: —this is the original meaning of *Siegfried's fight with the Dragon*, a fight like that Apollo fought against the dragon Python." (page 275)

[19] Robert Bailey, (see footnote 1), explains in detail precisely why these keys are employed (pp. 53, 59–61). The key of E♭ is the original basic key of the Ring music, evolving from Wagner's first sketches of the music for the Norns' scene, so in reality the cadences in *Siegfried* are a half-tone raising of those in *Götterdämmerung*, but the dramatic effect, when one listens to the music dramas in proper sequence, is one of lowering.

Observations on a Cabaletta from Verdi's *Il Corsaro*

By Stephen Town

Any body of composition reflects the style, tradition and convention of the milieu in which it is created. This statement is axiomatic when applied to the early Verdi corpus, for it reflects the theatrical and artistic standards of the *primo ottocento* operatic world—a world in which the composer was a subordinate of the singer and impresario, and which justified as "performance practice" all kinds of irresponsible tampering with the compositional creations of others. Opera composers of this period created a work with a particular opera house in mind, tailoring the music to the specific abilities of the singers at hand. A successful opera would soon be staged in many different theaters with different casts. In certain instances, the composer would be commissioned to provide fresh numbers where necessary and to "adapt the music already written to a company's needs by a process known as *puntatura,* whereby the vocal line is altered while the harmony remains unchanged."[1] The composer might even be commissioned personally by one of the principals to provide an alternate aria which then became the singer's *proprietà assoluta* ("absolute property"). These *puntature* and occasional numbers may be termed "non-definitive revisions."

In many instances a composer was not present to complete the revision; then the work of adaptation was left to a local maestro. In fact, once the composer had fulfilled the terms of his contract by composing and rehearsing the music; once he had directed the revival of the opera—if he did so—adapting it to the new cast and composing fresh numbers, his control over the work ceased. His opera was left at the mercy of the singer and impresario.

In this environment, it is not surprising to find that the operas of Verdi before *Macbeth* were subjected to revisions designed for specific singers and specific productions. These revisions were completed by Verdi, or by others when he was unwilling or unable to do so, as was often the case. The revisions made to the early oeuvre consist of entirely new pieces, usually arias; *puntature;* and simple transpositions.[2]

The purpose of this essay is to examine the revisions made to the cabaletta from Seid's third-act "Scena ed Aria" of *Il Corsaro,* beginning with the text "S'avvicina il tuo momento," utilizing the autograph, three extant, complete manuscript copies of orchestral scores, and a fragmentary fourth; to comment on their differences and similarities; to identify the kind of revision that has been made; and to hypothesize about where and when the revisions were performed.[3]

A manuscript copy of *Il Corsaro,* used for the first performance at the Teatro Grande di Trieste in 1848,[4] contains an alternate version of the cabaletta which differs from the one appearing in the autograph, the extant manuscript copies, and in the piano-vocal scores examined.[5] A comparison of the cabaletta contained in the Trieste manuscript (see Figure 1), with those of the

autograph and two complete manuscript copies located in the Naples Conservatory library is illuminating, for it reveals similarities as well as differences.[6] One immediately notices that both versions are in the key of F major, in common time, bear a tempo marking of *Allegro maestoso*, and consist of sixty-eight measures. The texts are identical:[7]

S'avvicina il tuo momento,	Your moment is approaching
fiera sete di vendetta;	my fierce thirst for vengeance;
già pensando al suo tormento	Already at the thought of your torments
m'incomincio a vendicar.	I begin to avenge myself.
E Gulnara! . . . Se l'inganno	And Gulnara! . . . If she harbors
in quell'anima s'alleta,	deceit in her soul
dee, lo giuro, il suo tiranno	I swear it, she will
nell'amante ritrovar.	find a tyrant in her lover.

These cabalettas are of a genre representative of the early- and mid-*primo ottocento*, orthodox types based on a customary scheme. The musical setting of the two quatrains contained in a single strophe is based on the pattern a-a'-b'a'', each section of which comprises two lines. This structure is repeated after the intervening orchestral ritornello, which is amplified in the coda.[8]

The voice part of the Trieste version differs substantially from the other four sources in melodic and rhythmic material, except at the fourth beat of m. 24, at m. 25, the fourth beat of m. 49, and at m. 50—all cadential points—and in the coda, where it is the same. The Trieste cabaletta melody suggests an alteration for a different tessitura and voice type:[9] the tessitura for the Trieste cabaletta is slightly higher than the autograph; the range of the Trieste cabaletta (f to f') is slightly smaller than the autograph (e to f'). While the melodies are simple but accented, the Trieste version is much more interesting due to its emphasis on passing tones, arpeggios, and appoggiature. Vocally, both versions are tense, vigorous, declamatory, and employ *canto spianato*,[10] a vocal style without *abellimenti* or *fioritura*. (See Example 1 for a comparison of the melodies.)

The orchestra in the Trieste version reflects the changes of the vocal line. That is, where the orchestra doubles the vocal line and the vocal line is altered from the autograph, the orchestral part is altered as well. Therefore, the Trieste orchestral introduction differs inasmuch as the melody it introduces is different from the version in the other sources. The orchestral part is identical in the ritornello and coda of the two versions. A systematic inventory of the two versions is provided in Table I.

Apparently the alternate version of the cabaletta found in the Trieste manuscript is an example of *puntature*, adjustments made to adapt a vocal passage to the resources of a specific singer with the orchestral accompaniment—but not the fundamental harmony—changed to correspond. Verdi could not have made the changes for the première because he did not attend it, although it can be demonstrated that at one time he did plan to do so.[11] It is likely that his precarious relationship with Francesco Lucca, his publisher,
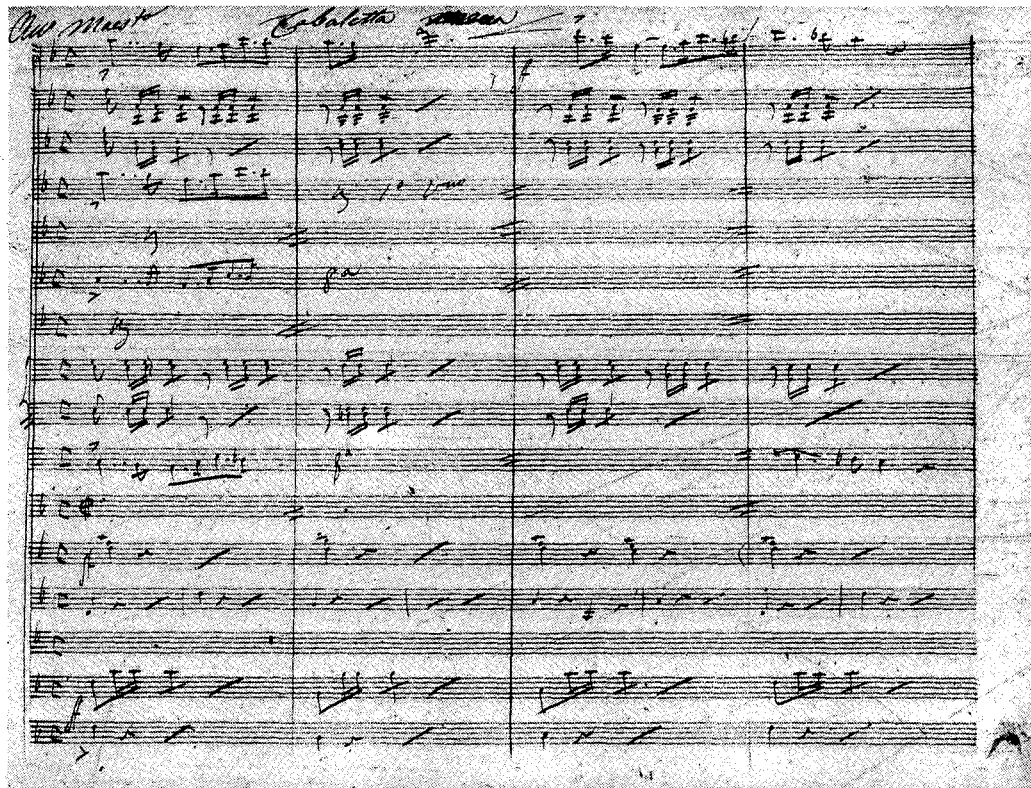
FIGURE 1a, b, and c: Pages from the cabaletta, "*S'avvicina il tuo momento,*" revealing altered introduction and *puntature*. Manuscript copy used for the first performance in Trieste. [Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.]

contributed as much as bad weather did to Verdi's decision to remain in Paris.[12] In his absence, therefore, the *puntature* were probably completed by a *maestro concertatore,* whose function was similar to that of a modern *répétiteur,*[13] either for the première or for a revival of the opera.

It is impossible to identify the date and place where the alternate version of the cabaletta was performed; however, an examination of several documents of the period reveals some intriguing information. After a revival of the opera at Cagliari in 1849, an article appeared in the *Gazzetta dei Teatri* stating that the performance was given *"con mutilazione, con aggiunte e correzioni, e tali da svisare in più brani l'originale lavoro"*[14] ("with mutilations, additions and corrections, and cuts that distorted many passages of the original work").

In a letter of 10 March 1853 to Lucca, Felice Varesi stated that he was able to restore his reputation as Seid after his disastrous performance as Germont in *La Traviata,* when *Il Corsaro* was mounted as an *opera di repiego* ("standby opera") at Venice at 1853. The letter is presented here in part:

Approfitto della gentile esibizione che mi facesti del tuo breve soggiorno in Venezia e ti prego, dando i ragguagli dell'opera di Verdi La Traviata, *di prendere le mie difese contro l'imprudente articolo della* Gazzetta di Venezia, *che ha indignato gli stessi idolatri di Verdi.*

Ti citerò a testimoni veri milanesi fra i quali l'Ariolo, il Giulini e Vittadini qui presenti, coi quali potrai parlare fra alcuni giorni a Milano, e che ti diranno il come ho cantato nella Traviata, *e se ero in voce, e poi la prova ancor più potente si è che essendo stata sospesa la terza recita per malattia di Graziani ed avendo rappresentato* Il Corsaro, *ne ho ricavato tale effetto e tanti applausi da far dichiarare al pubblico che io non ero riconoscibile da un'opera all'altra.*[15]

I am taking advantage of the kindness you showed me during your brief stay in Venice and I beg you, in giving information about Verdi's opera *La Traviata,* to defend me against the imprudent article in the *Gazzetta di Venezia* which has outraged even Verdi idolators.

I will cite for you as witnesses, true Milanese including Ariolo, Giulini, and Vittadini here present, with whom you can speak in Milan in a few days. They will tell you how I sang in *La Traviata,* and whether I was in voice; and the most powerful proof is that, since the third performance was suspended because of the illness of Graziani and they put on *Il Corsaro,* I made such an effect and won such applause that the public declared I was unrecognizable from one opera to the other.[16]

Example 1: "S'avvicina il tuo momento": A comparison of the two cabaletta melodies

Allegro maestoso

Autograph, Naples I & II

Allegro maestoso

Trieste

We might then speculate that the *puntature* were written for Varesi. However, the libretti for these performances and others offer critical information showing whether the text for the cabaletta was printed or not and, therefore, sung or deleted (see Table II). In fact, the text was not included in the libretti for Modena (1852), Milan (1852), or Venice (1853), all the performances Varesi sang, therefore it must not have been written for him. On the other hand it was printed in libretti for Cagliari (1849), Turin (1853), Novara (1853), Opôrto (1846), and an unspecified city, as well as the première.

Fragments of a fourth manuscript copy of *Il Corsaro*[17] contain a substitute version of Seid's third-act cabaletta, including a new verse:

Oh! scellerato, la mia vendetta	Oh! wicked one, my merciless vengeance
fera, crudele su te cadrà.	upon you will fall.
L'ira che m'arde solo mi detta	Burning anger alone tells me to
stragi, ruine, ogni empietà.	slaughter, ruin every ungodliness.
Trema, sì trema, se mi schernisti	Tremble, yes tremble, if you mocked me
donna perversa, ti punirò.	perverse woman, I shall punish you.
Se il tradimento con lui compisti	If you betrayed (me) with him
il reo tuo sangue pur verserò.	I shall shed your guilty blood.

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TABLE I

"S'avvicina il tuo momento": A Comparison Indicating the Differences Between the Trieste Version and the Autograph

Trieste	Autograph
Introduction	*Introduction*
7 measures long. Melody, presented by the orchestra, begins on the downbeat of m. 1	7 measures long. Melody, presented by the orchestra, begins on the upbeat to m. 1
m. 7, beat 1—triplets for all instruments not playing melody	m. 7, beat 1—quarter notes for all instruments not playing melody
m. 7, beat 1—the corni in fa part has an additional note; written g, sounds as c	m. 7, beats 1, 3, 4—the tromboni part has an added note, c
	m. 8, beat 1—the tromboni part has an added note, c.
	m. 8, beat 1—the clarini in do part has a c instead of an f
a section	*a section*
voice enters downbeat of m. 9	voice enters upbeat to m. 9
	m. 9, beats 2, 3—violini I have a half-note on c
mm. 10, 11—violini I, beginning on the 2nd beat of m. 10, double the voice with a melodic fragment d c f; rhythm: ⟪ ♩ ♩ ⟫	
	m. 13, beats 2, 3—violini I, flauto and clarini in do have a half-note on c
mm. 14, 15—violini I, flauto and clarini in do double the voice part at the octave beginning on the 2nd beat of m. 14. The melodic pattern is: e d c d e f to the rhythm: ⟪ ♩ ♩ ⟫	m. 14—violini I have an ascending melodic pattern—fragment of the voice part—beginning on the 2nd beat of m.14 and ending on the 2nd beat of m. 15. The melodic pattern is: d e f—f to the rhythm: ⟪ ♩ ⟫
	mm. 14, 15—flauto and clarini in do have the same melodic and rhythmic pattern and continue doubling the voice at the octave
	m. 16—flauto has an f on the downbeat
	m. 16—corni in fa play in sixths; corni in do play in thirds
m. 16, beats 2, 3—flauto, oboe, clarini in do and trombe in do share a melodic/rhythmic motive; it is a d c f to the rhythm: ⟪ ♩ ⟫	m. 16, beats 2, 3—flauto, oboe, clarini in do and trombe in do share a similar melodic/rhythmic motive . but the notes are changed: a c a f
b section	*b section*
m. 17, beat 2—violini I have an A-flat to this rhythm: ⟪ ♩ ⟫	m. 17, beat 2—violini I have an A-flat to this rhythm: ⟪ ♩ ⟫

m. 18—the violini I part doubles the vocal part at the octave; it has the following:
d−d↓ c↓g to | ♩ ♫♩ ↴ |

mm. 19, 20—violini I, flauto, oboe and clarini double the voice part beginning at beat 2 and ending beat 3, m. 20. Beginning m. 20, beat 3, second eighth-note of triple figure, violini I, flauto, clarini and trombe have an ascending scale passage from c to a on triplet rhythms.

mm. 21–23—the above instruments double the voice part at the octave

mm. 23, 24—rhythm is:
| ♫♫ ♫♩ ↴ ↴ | ♩ ↴ ⌢ |

Ritornello

m. 33—ottavino has no c on beat 2: tromboni have sixths on beat 2

a" section
repeat of above

Coda

m. 18—the violini I part doubles the voice part at the octave; it has the following:
g↓ f↓e to | ♫♩ – |

m. 20—violini I, beginning on beat 2, double the voice part at the octave; ends 1st beat of m. 23

m. 20—flauto, oboe and trombe join violini I a beat later, to double the voice at the octave; ends 1st beat of m. 23

mm. 23, 24—rhythm is:
| ♫♫ ♫♩ ↴ ↴ | ♩ ↴ ⌢ |

m. 24—flauto has an e notated; clarini has a dyad, e–g; tromba has octaves, e

Ritornello
identical except for m. 33: ottavino has a c on beat 2; tromboni have an added c

a" section
repeat of above

Coda
identical

A comparison of this piece to the other versions reveals that this cabaletta shares the key of F major, but is in ¾ time, and has a tempo indication of *Allegro vivo*. It has the same formal structure, but is constructed of completely different melodic, rhythmic and harmonic material. This cabaletta also appears to have been written to accommodate a singer with a higher tessitura. Moreover, the range of this version is the most extensive, reaching from c to f′. It is also vigorous and declamatory (see Example 2).

The orchestration reveals similarities to the other versions. For example, the orchestra doubles the voice line much of the time in all three versions. However, it shows signs of more complexity, if less skill, than the two versions discussed above. In general, the scoring is fuller and there is more use of altered chords (see Figure 2). From the evidence at hand it is clear that this version is an insert cabaletta completed for the Naples revival of 1854, and a libretto for this performance carries the substitute text (see Table II). We can be quite sure that Verdi did not compose it. Upon hearing about the performance, Verdi remarked, "Not a happy inspiration—least of all for the San Carlo."[18] The insert cabaletta, much like the earlier one, points to another, less experienced and skillful maestro.

The revisions in Act III of *Il Corsaro* are representative of a genre and indeed of a milieu from which Verdi was eventually to divert Italian opera. The desire to protect the artistic integrity of his definitive versions led him to assert successfully, if gradually, his supremacy over the singers, local *maestri*, and impresarios of the time, thus changing the conventions of the early- and mid-*primo ottocento* operatic world.

Example 2: "Oh! scellerato, la mia vendetta": Melody and text of the substitute cabaletta

TABLE II
A List of *Il Corsaro* Libretti on Film
at the Verdi Archive at NYU

1. IL/CORSARO/POESIA/DI PIAVE/MUSICA/DI VERDI./DA RAP-
   PRESENTARSI/NEL TEATRO GRANDE DI TRIESTE/L'AU-
   TUNNO DEL 1848./MILANO/Coi Tipi di FRANCESCO LUCCA.
   32 p. Original US-Wc; AIVS, MS 49 V48 s312 v. 1 (Achille De Bassini[a]/
   text printed[b]).

2. IL CORSARO/MELODRAMMA/DI A. [*sic*] PIAVE/DA RAPPRE-
   SENTARSI/NEL TEATRO/DI CAGLIARI/Il Carnovale 1849–50/MI-
   LANO/COI TIPI DI FRANCESCO LUCCA. 32 p. Original I–Rsc;
   AIVS, Roll 150,[c] 3836 (cast not indicated/text printed).

3. IL CORSARO/POESIA DI/F.M. PIAVE/MUSICA DI/GIUSEPPE
   VERDI/DA RAPPRESENTARSI/AL TEATRO CARCANO/nel Carno-
   vale 1852./MILANO/COI TIPI DI FRANCESCO LUCCA. 31 p. I–
   PAvi; AIVS, ML 49 V48 v. 7 (Luigi Walter/text deleted).

4. IL CORSARO/POESIA DI/F.M. PIAVE/MUSICA DI/GIUSEPPE
   VERDI/DA RAPPRESENTARSI/AL TEATRO CARCANO/nel Carno-
   vale 1852./MILANO/COI TIPI DI FRANCESCO LUCCA. 31 p. I–
   Vm; AIVS, ML 49 V48 v. 20 (Luigi Walter/text deleted).

5. IL CORSARO/POESIA DI/F.M. PIAVE/MUSICA DI/GIUSEPPE
   VERDI/DA RAPPRESENTARSI/AL TEATRO CARIGNANO IN
   TORINO/NELL' AUTUNNO 1852./MILANO/COI TIPI DI
   FRANCESCO LUCCA. 31 p. AIVS, ML 49 V48 v. 3 (Leone Giraldoni/
   text printed).

6. IL CORSARO/POESIA DI/F.M. PIAVE/MUSICA DI/GIUSEPPE
   VERDI/DA RAPPRESENTARSI/AL TEATRO DUCALE DI MO-
   DENA/Il Carnovale 1852–53./MILANO/COI TIPI DI FRANCESCO
   LUCCA. 31 p. I–Vgc; AIVS, ML 49 V48 v. 12 (Cesare Morelli Condol-
   mieri/text deleted).

7. IL CORSARO/POESIA DI/F.M. PIAVE/MUSICA DI/GIUSEPPE
   VERDI/Cavaliere della Legione d'Onore./DA RAPPRESENTARSI/
   NEL GRAN TEATRO LA FENICE/Il Carnovale 1853./MILANO/
   COI TIPI DI FRANCESCO LUCCA. 31 p. I–PAvi; AIVS. ML 49 V48
   v. 7 (Felice Varesi/text deleted).

8. IL CORSARO/POESIA DI/F.M. PIAVE/MUSICA DI/GIUSEPPE
   VERDI/Cavaliere della Legione d'Onore./DA RAPPRESENTAR-

SI/NEL GRAN TEATRO LA FENICE/Il Carnovale 1853./MILANO/
COI TIPI FRANCESCO LUCCA. 31 p. I–Vm; AIVS, ML 49 V48 v. 15
(Felice Varesi/text deleted).

9. IL CORSARO/POESIA DI/F.M. PIAVE/MUSICA DI/GIUSEPPE
VERDI/Cavaliere della Legione d'Onore./DA RAPPRESENTAR-
SI/NEL GRAN TEATRO LA FENICE/Il Carnovale 1853./MILANO/
COI TIPI DI FRANCESCO LUCCA. 31 p. I–Vm; AIVS, ML 49 V48 v.
20 (Felice Varesi/text deleted).

10. IL CORSARO/POESIA DI/F.M. PIAVE/MUSICA DI/GIUSEPPE
VERDI/DA RAPPRESENTARSI/NEL TEATRO DI NOVARA/Il
Carnovale 1853./MILANO/COI TIPI DI FRANCESCO LUCCA. 31
p. I–Vm; AIVS, ML 49 V48 v. 20 (Lorenzo Montani/text printed).

11. IL CORSARO/DRAMMA TRAGICO/IN/TRE ATTI/DA RAPPRE-
SENTARSI/NEL/REAL TEATRO S. CARLO/NAPOLI/TIPOGRA-
FIA FLAUTINA/1854. 24 p. I–Vm; AIVS, ML 49 V48 v. 21 (Luigi
Walter/substitute verse).

12. IL CORSARO/DRAMMA TRAGICO/IN/TRE ATTI/DA RAPPRE-
SENTARSI/NEL/REAL TEATRO S. CARLO/NAPOLI/TIPOGRA-
FIA FLAUTINA/1854. 24 p. I–Rsc; AIVS, Roll 150,[c] 3841 (Luigi
Walter/substitute verse).

13. O CORSARIO/MUSICA/DE/GIUSEPPE VERDI/REPRESEN-
TADO/NO/REAL THEATRO DE S. JOÃO DO PORTO/PORTO/
TYPOGRAPHIA DE ANTONIO JOSÉ DA SILVA TEIXEIRA/
CANCELLA VELHA, 62/1864. 31 p. I–Rsc; AIVS, Roll 150[c] (Allessan-
dro d'Antoni/text printed).

14. IL CORSARO/POESIA DI/F.M. PIAVE/MUSICA/DI GIUSEPPE
VERDI/TRIESTE. 30 p. I–Vgc; AIVS, ML 49 V48 v. 12 (Felice Varesi/
text deleted).

15. IL CORSARO/POESIA DI/F.M. PIAVE/MUSICA DI/GIUSEPPE
VERDI/MILANO/COI TIPI DI FRANCESCO LUCCA. 31 p. I–Mr;
AIVS, ML 49 V48 v. 8 (Luigi Spellini/text printed).

Seven of 15 have text of cabaletta deleted, 2 have substitute text "O scellerato . . . ," and only
6 have text as in the autograph and libretto for the first performance.

[a] Vocalists mentioned here and elsewhere in the list sang the part of Seid and are identified in
the page of each libretto devoted to the cast (when the singers are identified).

[b] "Text printed" or "text deleted" refers to the cabaletta text.

[c] Temporary call number.

FIGURE 2a and b: Pages from the substitute cabaletta, *"Oh! scellerato, la mia vendetta."* Compare with Figure 1 and note the fuller orchestral scoring. This manuscript was used for the 1854 revival of *Il Corsaro*. [Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica S. Pietro a Maiella, Naples.]

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NOTES

[1] Julian Budden, "Verdi and the Contemporary Italian Operatic Scene," *The Verdi Companion*, William Weaver and Martin Chusid, eds. (New York, 1979), p. 84.

[2] Most of Verdi's non-definitive revisions have been discussed and catalogued by David Lawton and David Rosen in "Verdi's Non-Definitive Revisions: The Early Operas," *Atti III° del Congresso internazionale di Studi verdiani* (Milan, 1972), *passim*. While their catalogue ends with *Attila*, they indicate that further study could reveal additional examples of *puntature*, even from late in the composer's career. Regarding substitute pieces, they mention that Verdi's production of these numbers ends with *Macbeth*, with the exception of the *romanza* written for the 1863 revival of *Les Vêpres Siciliennes*.

[3] These revisions were discovered in sources located in the Verdi Archive of the American Institute for Verdi Studies.

[4] A notation by Francesco Lucca, publisher of *Il Corsaro*, appears on the title page and on the first page of the sixth number; the notation confirms that this copy was used for the first performance. The manuscript is a bound, oblong score, three acts in one volume, containing 472 unnumbered pages. There appears to be no inserted material, the paper has aged equally throughout, and the penmanship is fairly consistent. The manuscript does show visible signs of tampering, for there is French text as well as Italian. The Italian text is in brown ink, by the same hand, and is most probably the work of a single copyist. The French text is in red ink, fitted above the stave, and was undoubtedly added by a different person. Additional signs of tampering are visible. Blue crayon has been used to give the Italian headings French ones and also to designate some instrumental parts. Red ink and pencil have been used to add some instrumental passages. (*Il Corsaro*, manuscript copy [Library of Congress M1500 .V48C5]; also *Il Corsaro*, microfilm of the Library of Congress copy [Verdi Archive M 1500 V48 v. 2].)

[5] The 1849 piano-vocal publications by Lucca and Chabal (see Appendix) have the melody as in the autograph and two complete manuscripts of the Naples Conservatory.

[6] The first of these manuscripts (microfilm of the Naples Conservatory copy: Verdi Archive, Roll 116), designated here "Naples I," indicates on the title page that it was used at a revival of the opera in 1854 at the Teatro San Carlo. The second manuscript (microfilm of the Naples Conservatory copy: Verdi Archive, Roll 116 through Act II [f. 65^r] and Roll 172 [f. 65^v to end]), designated here "Naples II," gives no indication as to when or where it was used.

[7] The cabaletta, "S'avvicina il tuo momento," is part of Seid's larger "Scena ed Aria" of Act III. It should not be considered as either a superfluous appendix or as a self-contained number; but rather, as an integral part of the dramatic process, establishing and confirming the mood of the situation. As Act III opens, Seid is alone in his room in the fortress, musing on his victory. Gulnara has pleaded for Corrado's life, and the thought fills him with jealousy. "Cento leggiadre vergini," he states, have vied for his love; yet the only one for whom he cares may be in love with his worst enemy. So much the worse for her if this should be true. How can he find out? He summons Selim, orders him to send for Gulnara, and to see that the next day Corrado will die in fearful agony. When Selim has gone, Seid breaks out with "S'avvicina il tuo momento."

[8] Frits Noske, "The Notorious Cabaletta," *The Signifier and the Signified: Studies in the Operas of Mozart and Verdi* (The Hague, 1977), pp. 280, 287.

[9] David Lawton, *Tonality and Drama in Verdi's Early Operas* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1973), pp. 137–8.

[10] Rudolfo Celletti, "On Verdi's Vocal Writing," *The Verdi Companion*, p. 234.

[11] In a letter dated 14 February 1848, written to the sculptor Vincenzo Luccardi, Verdi stated, "I have written an opera for the publisher Lucca of Milan and I was counting on taking it to Italy myself, but I decided to send it because I didn't feel fit to undertake the long and tiring journey at this time of year. . . ." (Quoted in translation in Frank Walker, *The Man Verdi* [New York, 1962], p. 185.)

[12] Lucca was the publisher of three of Verdi's operas, *Attila, I Masnadieri,* and *Il Corsaro*. The latter was originally intended for Her Majesty's Theatre in London, but *I Masnadieri* was produced there instead. After the production, Verdi was offered the position of Musical Director there, an offer he apparently considered accepting, for he asked Lucca to release him from his

contract in return for generous compensation. Lucca flatly refused and, although the London offer fell through for other reasons, Verdi never forgave him. Verdi returned to Paris, where *Il Corsaro* was composed, but declared to Lucca that he would only attend the earliest performances if the publisher made it worth his while. Evidently Lucca refused and Verdi remained in Paris. The composer's letters from this period to his friends and associates are full of complaints about Lucca and the abovementioned incidents. See, for example, a letter to Emilia Morosini of 30 July 1847 *(Copialettere,* pp. 460–1); to Giuseppina Appiani of 22 September 1847 *(Ibid.,* p. 461); to Clarina Maffei of 3 December 1847 *(Ibid.,* pp. 461–2); and to Piave of 14 January 1848 (Allesandro Luzio, ed., *Carteggi Verdiani* [Rome, 1935–47], vol. 2, p. 350).

[13] Julian Budden, *op. cit.,* p. 84.

[14] Guglielmo Barblan, "La lunga quarantena del Corsaro," printed in the program book for the opera's revival during the 1970 –71 season at Teatro la Fenice, Venice, p. 304.

[15] Franco Abbiati, *Giuseppe Verdi* (Milan, 1959), vol. 2, p. 229.

[16] William Weaver, *Verdi: A Documentary Study* (New York, 1977), p. 190.

[17] Microfilm of the Naples Conservatory copy: Verdi Rari 234896–234900; Verdi Archive, Roll 214.

[18] Allesandro Luzio, *op. cit.,* vol. 1, p. 350.

Appendix
Title Pages from the First Complete Editions of
Il Corsaro

Italy: 1849 (probably the first complete edition)

[within a wide border with frame lines printed in green] IL CORSARO/ Melodramma Tragico/DI/F. M. PIAVE/MUSICA DI/GIUSEPPE VERDI/ [decorated rule]/Riduzione per Canto con accomp^{to} di Piano Forte/Di E. MUZIO/Prop degli Editori [decorated rule] Dep. all'I.R. Bib./CANTO con accompagnamento di piano forte fr. 36./MILANO presso F. LUCCA dirimpetto al Gran Teatro alla Scala/[in lower left corner] Albini inc./[outside the border] Firenze A. Lucherini, Chiasso Euterpe Ticenese, Paris Chabal, Lipsia Kistner, Londra Addison E Hodson.

Plate numbers: 7101–7114 throughout. US-NYcu, Music 91.7 V584 C81
Variants: The entire title page is printed in black, and there is no price.[1]
I–PAvi; AIVS Film M 1503 V48 R4

France: 1849 (probably the first French edition)

[within a decorated border] IL/CORSARO,/Melodramma tragico in tre atti,/Poesia di Piave,/Musica/del Maestro/G. VERDI/[decorated rule]/PRIX

12^F. NET./Publie a PARIS, par CHABAL, Boulev^t. Montmartre, 13./Pro-
priete des Editeurs./Milan, F. Lucca. Leipzig, Kistner. Florence, Lucherini.
/Londres, Addisson et Hodson./[outside border] A. Vialon
Plate numbers: 662–664. US–NYp *MS

[1] This variant is discussed in Cecil Hopkinson, *A Bibliography of the Works of Giuseppi Verdi
(1813–1901),* vol. 1: Operatic Works (New York, 1973–78), p. 68. Hopkinson indicates that a
copy is located in the Parma Conservatory (I–PAvi).

List of Abbreviations

AIVS American Institute for Verdi Studies New York University

I–Mr Milan, Ricordi (Casa Editrice)

I–Vgc Venice, Istituto di Lettere Musica e Teatro, Sezione musicale, Biblioteca, Fondazione Giorgio Cini

I–Vm Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana

I–PAvi Parma, Istituto di Studi verdiani

I–Rsc Rome, Conservatorio di Musica Santa Cecilia

US–NYcu New York, Columbia University, Music Library

US–NYp New York, New York Public Library, the Research Libraries

US–Wc Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Music Division

reviews

Richard Studing and Elizabeth Kruz. Mannerism in Art, Literature, and Music: A Bibliography. *San Antonio, Texas: Trinity University Press, 1979.*

This slim volume, part of *Checklists in the Humanities and Education: A Series*, is indeed a timely publication in that, as its compilers state, it assembles secondary sources in several specialized disciplines related to the controversial topic of Mannerism. According to the general editor, Harry B. Caldwell, the series answers the needs of students and hence conforms to criteria of selectivity and conciseness. The bibliography unfortunately exhibits evidence of considerable difficulties in the application of these criteria as well as problems of accuracy and commensurate coverage of different fields.

The book opens with an introduction providing an impartial assessment of the research and disposition of each discipline as well as a brief survey of terminology. In view of the cross-disciplinary nature of the contents, it is natural for Studing and Kruz to stress the value of comparative method. Less convincing is their assumption that such a method must govern any view of Mannerism as a historical period covering the sixteenth and part of the seventeenth centuries. And although it happens that this reviewer agrees with both method and historical conception, the reader should be aware of the authors' failure to describe adequately the most notable objections invited by the two issues.

On a general level the bibliography is organized into five sections explained at the end of the introduction—namely, Art, Literature, Exhibitions and Related Publications, Music, and Interdisciplinary Publications. At the end of the book one finds a sixth section, Addendum, which comprises items previously overlooked or ones published too late to be included in the main work; these items are not divided into categories parallel to the rest of the book.

The major portion of the book lists entries in alphabetical order under each section, and this system controls multiple entries under one name as well. In addition, each entry is assigned a number, the numbers running consecutively through the book. It is here that one encounters the first quandary about methodical efficiency. It seems that these numbers have no discernable purpose, for the bibliography does not contain any indexes to which they might refer. The sole use of the numbers occurs in connection with twenty-five essays where the reader is referred to other numbers designating the full description of the volumes in which the essays are published.[1] No page numbers are given for the numbered essays, a curious omission considering that one of the volumes is a journal (#55) and that the compilers otherwise provide pagination for self-contained entries of both journal articles and essays from books of one kind or another. Oddly enough, there are four other individual entries with pagination for four essays from one volume with the

title and imprint repeated each time.[2] This lapse aside, the compilers' goal to avoid redundant titles (somewhat inconsequential when a volume contains three or four items) could have been accommodated in the list of abbreviations given at the start of the book, which abbreviations, by the way, do not always follow standard systems used in the various disciplines.

Before dealing with other discrepancies and errors,[3] note must be made of an editorial policy concerning format—the use of English capitalization for titles in foreign languages. To be sure, capitalization is but a convention; nevertheless it is customary in the professional literature to follow the conventions of each language. If this custom prevents general uniformity, it also prevents other incongruities arising from prepositions and ambiguous words.[4]

Incorrect or incomplete titles comprise the first set of errors, and these result mainly from carelessness in including subtitles.[5] Besides being more accurate and consistent, the inclusion of subtitles often alerts the reader as to the bias of an item; and in one instance (#33) the subtitle suggests that the entry belongs under Interdisciplinary Publications rather than Art. The second set of errors involves pagination, partially discussed above, and also involving a journal and an encyclopedia. In the case of two other articles, the compilers failed to provide additional pagination for ensuing sections appearing in the same journal.[6]

Another question surfaces in relation to the inclusion of encyclopedias, dictionaries and histories. If this policy is to be understood as one aimed at giving students reference tools for basic research on historical concepts other than Mannerism or on the creative artists and theorists of the pertinent centuries, then it must be pointed out that this policy has not been instituted systematically in the sections on Music and Literature. If, on the other hand, the compilers list only such books containing material directly relevant to Mannerism, then one encounters other dilemmas. For example, the reader who looks up Mannerism in entry #566 will be disappointed to find a brief sentence on *Maniera* which hardly seems worth the listing. But in fact, a more substantial article on *Maniera* by Leo Schrade (not by Willi Apel, as the entry states) appears in the first edition of the *Harvard Dictionary of Music* (1944). Such anomalies can be corrected only if bibliographers check between the covers of a book before ruling on its pertinence.

As for conciseness, the problems are legion. Whereas the four parts of one article printed in four issues of a journal are listed succinctly in a single entry in the case of #561, there also appear no less than sixteen individual entries under P. J. Hayward (#177–192). Since these represent four multi-partite articles in one journal, they should have been condensed to save space and reduce redundancy.[7] Moreover, the articles are collected in a single book listed as #617. Another idiosyncrasy that leads to the proliferation of numbered entries is the separate listing of items available in several languages.[8] Even worse from the standpoint of the novice is the lack of cross-references, particularly needed when the titles are neither exact in translation nor adja-

cent to each other. Such is the case with #127, one of two articles by Walter Friedländer that was translated and incorporated as half of his book (#128). The other one, omitted for some unaccountable reason, is "Der antimanieristische Stil um 1590"; and this lacuna seems all the more embarrassing inasmuch as the article contributed to the title chosen for #128. These important essays are available in an English paperback as well as in an excerpted version (#129). Even without using cross-references, there are other simple mechanisms for clarifying the identity of several versions of one item—such as that used for #302 where two publications of the article are listed in a single entry. But even in such mundane cases, discrepancies seem to be the rule.[9] One final comment on the problem of translations must be made here. In comparison with the fourteen instances where translations are provided, the bibliography omits nine publications in the original language and three translations from the original.[10]

In dealing with the matter of content, it seems necessary to emphasize the responsibility for informed judgements required of compilers of selective bibliographies. The criteria for selection must be firmly established (even if not divulged to the reader) and then strictly adhered to. It is clear that Studing and Kruz are most familiar with the field of art history, for they include not only most of the literature in which aspects of Mannerism figure prominently but also studies that treat these aspects in a tangential way, not to mention the high number of standard reference works.[11] Unfortunately, a similar level of expertise is manifestly lacking in other sections of the book—the worst in this regard being the one on music. To help users of this bibliography eight additions under Art, two under Exhibitions, twenty-three under Literature, thirty-five under Music, and twenty-seven under Interdisciplinary Publications—all published before 1980—are provided here (see Appendix).

Selective or not, a bibliography is valuable to the extent that it embodies clear organization, detailed precision, and meticulous coverage. The bibliography by Studing and Kruz is certainly original, a first of its kind, and the two compilers deserve credit for tackling a complex and formidable subject. At the same time, the range of their subject appears to defy rigorous control over format and content, and as a result the shortcomings of the book severely limit its usefulness, at least as it now stands. If the compilers' prediction comes true and the bibliography encourages further study of Mannerism, there may come another opportunity to improve on this initial effort.

—Maria Rika Maniates

NOTES

[1] Seven entries refer to #363, six to #605, five to #55, four to #211, and three to #209.
[2] See #331, 402, 527, and 535.
[3] Typographical mistakes are relatively few: #44 *Maniériste;* #149 *Palazzo;* #232 *Ut pictura poesis;* #474 *Maniera;* #425 'Aesthetics'; #511 insert *The* at the start of the title; #575 Harrán;

#576 *Madrigale*. Moreover, the correct alphabetical listing for #107 is Nicco Fasola, Giusta, and #367 belongs under Interdisciplinary Publications.

[4] See #32, 105, 150, and 215.

[5] In #200 a semicolon should precede *der Neo-Manierismus*. The full titles of the other six books are as follows: #30 *L'école de Fontainebleau: le maniérisme à la cour de France;* #33 *The Art of the Renaissance in northern Europe: its Relationship to the Contemporary Spiritual and Cultural Movements;* #294 *Die Wissenschaft am Scheidewege von Leben und Geist: Festschrift Ludwig Klagen;* #363 *The Renaissance and Mannerism: Studies in Western Art.* Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of Art, vol. 2; #492 *Manierismus in der Literatur: Sprach-Alchemie und esoterische Kombinationstechnik.*

[6] To #570 should be added pp. 411–444, and to #590 pp. 98–117 and 152–170.

[7] One entry for #177 & 178, one for #179–182, one for #183–185, and one for #186–192.

[8] The relevant entries are: #12 & 13; #42–44; #64 & 65; #101 & 102; #155 & 156; #168, 173 & 174; #169–171; #269 & 270; #273 & 277; #274 & 275; #420, 423 & 424; #469 & 470; #602 & 603; and #609 & 610.

[9] In #302, the first of the two items lacks an imprint. Furthermore, #341 & 342 as well as #551 & 552 are similar cases and yet they appear as separate items. Furthermore, the article #563 has been reprinted in René Wellek's book, *Concepts of Criticism* (New Haven: 1963), but no mention is made of this duplicate source.

[10] In the first group we find #26, 46, 66, 166, 199, 223, 267, 383, and 413; and in the second #40, 46, and 402. Since #402 is an Italian article, it is worth mentioning that a French translation can be found in *Informations de l'histoire de l'art* (Paris: 1962), pp. 113–125.

[11] Noticeably lacking in this and other sections is a complete listing of editions of primary sources. Once again, this policy can be defended on several grounds, not the least of which is brevity. It would help, however, if the policy were applied regularly. But since haphazard entries of such collections (not single items) do appear, the Appendix below includes missing items of this nature.

APPENDIX

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*This issue of *Studi Musicali* contains the "Atti del congresso internazionale sul tema 'Manierismo in arte e musica,'" and provides resumés of panel discussions as well as formal papers.

Mercedes Viale Ferrero. *La scenografia dalle origini al 1936.* Storia del *Teatro Regio di Torino.* Volume 3. Turin: Cassa di Risparmio, 1980.

The history of Italian opera is a field in which much primary research is still to be done. In the period from the 17th through the early 19th century, for example, even moderately accurate worklists are not yet in existence for some important composers; the careers of many celebrated performers have not been adequately traced. This makes it difficult to chart even basic stylistic developments with precision. Of the kinds of research needed to fill in these gaps, studies of theaters can be among the most valuable by providing accurate information on repertories, personnel, and local conditions and taste. Since for much of the history of the genre a large part of the special character of any opera resulted from its composer's response to specific singers working within the conditioning environment of a particular theater, individual studies of any of these theaters can be of importance in forming a larger view of the genre.

The historical study of Italian opera houses has been erratic and uneven, some important ones having so far received either no coverage or superficial coverage of little value to scholars. The Teatro Regio of Turin has been relatively fortunate in this respect. This theater's early history was chronicled fifty years ago by Stanislao Cordero di Pamparato in his *Il Teatro Regio dal 1678 al 1814* (Turin, 1930), while more recent contributions have been made by Luciano Tamburini in his *I teatri di Torino* (Turin, 1960) and by the several researchers who collaborated on *Il Teatro Regio di Torino* (Turin, 1970). The study of which Ferrero's volume is the third installment far surpasses the earlier ones in exhaustiveness, being one of the most ambitious ever undertaken on any theater. Its first two volumes, Marie Thérèse Bouquet's *Il Teatro di Corte dalle origini al 1788* (Turin, 1976) and Alberto Bassi's *Il Teatro della Città dal 1788 al 1936* (Turin, 1976), provide a general history of the house, while the third concentrates on its scenography. Mercedes Viale Ferrero is one of the leading Italian scholars in this field, having produced important monographs on Juvarra and the Galliari brothers (all of whom also figure prominently in this work), as well as many smaller studies, many of them focused on her native Turin. The present book thus synthesizes a major part of her life's work, and this is evident in its mastery of a large and complex subject, which is handled with considerable breadth, including detailed stylistic analyses of pictorial material, the absorption of large amounts of archival research, and a very strong sense of the links between the subject and larger cultural and socio-political issues. The result is a large and rather opulently produced work containing 454 pages of text, 136 pages of illustrations and another 136 pages of archival extracts.

Turin's place in the history of Italian musical theater was a prominent but not a central or determining one. Its greatest days are probably to be found

before the advent of opera there, in the court *feste* of various sorts put on in the first two thirds of the 17th century. Twelve of these, from 1640–67, were commemorated in richly illustrated manuscript volumes that have been much studied (by Viale Ferrero among others) and that have made these *feste* among the best known of the period. Although this activity predates the establishment of a permanent court theatre in 1681, which Viale Ferrero takes as the starting point for the present study, she makes a sweep through this material for background. By doing this she provides a needed pictorial starting point, since there are few scenic illustrations surviving from the later part of the century, except for the last of the manuscript codices, which commemorates *Lisimaco*, the opera that inaugurated the first permanent Teatro Regio in 1681.

Opera established itself slowly at Turin. Regular carnival seasons (in which two *opere serie* were usually produced) did not begin until 1688 and thereafter they were frequently cancelled because of war or mourning. A new Teatro Regio opened in 1740 and there followed a long period of theatrical stability, terminated by the revolutionary turmoil at the end of the century, which led to the upheavals of the Napoleonic period, restoration, risorgimento, and the unification of Italy. Unification relegated Turin, which had been the stage of many of the events leading to it, to provincial status, no longer the capital of a kingdom and the seat of a court. Changes in the nature of opera in the 19th century, most notably the increasing standardization of the repertory, exalted the composer's function while reducing the influence of specific singers and theaters in the shaping of new works. Although the Teatro Regio was the site of an occasional première of importance (e.g. *La Bohème*, 1896), it was no longer the sustained creative force that it had been. This was of course less true of scenography, which did maintain localized activities, but Turin's was of no great significance. By the time the Teatro Regio was destroyed by fire in 1936 its great days were long past.

Viale Ferrero is a wide ranging and very thorough scholar. The research for this book was obviously long and laborious, involving the locating of a large number of scenographic sketches, assigning them to the most likely opera or ballet (they often have no identifying marks), as well as extracting and arranging a vast amount of archival data and other material, such as contemporary newspapers and periodicals, which begin to provide relevant matter in significant quantities early in the 19th century. The scenographic sketches surviving from the Teatro Regio are not evenly distributed in time, there being lengthy periods for which they are almost or entirely lacking. (Even so Viale Ferrero is in a much better position in this respect than some other researchers have been; Franco Mancini, for example, wrote his *Scenografia napoletana dell'età barocca* (Naples, 1964) with only one illustration of a set from a work performed at the Teatro San Carlo during the whole period covered by his book, and that not from an opera but a minor genre, the *serenata*.)

Viale Ferrero firmly adheres to the school of historical writing that believes

in the efficacy of presenting large amounts of factual detail. To say that the book is solidly based on fact is a considerable understatement; at times it seems almost buried in it. Balancing this to some extent, however, is the author's strong sense of the underlying socio-political forces at work in all manifestations of culture and art. This gives a point to what often might seem a pedantic proliferation of detail. Thus in the sections on the 17th and early 18th centuries, considerable attention is devoted to tracing the non-theatrical activities of scene designers who also worked as architects, painters, and decorators of churches and palaces.

There might seem to be no reason to include these data in a work of this sort, except that its author discovered them; but in fact this information buttresses themes central to the book. In the first place it helps to document the close stylistic links in this period between scene painting and the other visual arts, by showing that artists moved freely among them. Beyond that, the existence of this relationship between the opera house and the aristocracy in the employment of artists and the style of the art resulting from it reinforces the book's view of the *opera seria* (a traditional view to which Viale Ferrero gives new emphasis) as a cultural and ideological expression of the *ancien régime*. This socio-political emphasis informs the whole book. As one might expect, it comes out most strongly in the chapters dealing with the troubled period from the French Revolution to the unification of Italy, a period when the theater's links to politics were most direct (and pictorial sources rather scanty for long stretches of time).

Viale Ferrero seems somewhat less keenly interested in the practical than the ideological aspects of staging. Her stylistic analyses of scenographic sketches and other illustrative material seldom attempt to show how the sketches might have been realized. In general, the study of scenographic sketches of the 17th and 18th centuries, as practiced by scholars in that field, has some similarities of approach and emphasis to the study of opera scores of the same period by musicologists. Both sketch and score are at one remove from "reality." Sketches seldom have any written indication of how they were meant to be translated into the collection of overlapping paintings that constituted a set. The score of an early opera aria (particularly when, as often happens, there is no written indication of the instruments that were intended to play the accompaniment) presents similar problems of realization. However, musicology is set up in such a way that to focus on these problems is to enter a specialized field, that of performance practice, and musicologists frequently make detailed stylistic analyses of scores without feeling the need to involve themselves in these questions at all. A similar attitude toward the stylistic analysis of sketches seems to prevail among historians of scenography. Very likely a good deal is lost in both disciplines by the persistence of scholarly conventions that too easily allow an incomplete notation of the work of art to become the principal object of study and do not demand more strenuous attempts to get closer to the artwork itself.

It is also likely that a good deal is lost because of a lack of easy communi-

cation among scholars of the various arts that make up the operatic genre. In musicological studies of 18th-century *opera seria*, for example, one of the major obstacles to understanding has been an excessively simple-minded tendency to regard the relation between recitative and aria in a negative way— as being "undramatic" or "unrealistic," as an "abuse" leading to the "reforms" of Gluck. However, if one brings other components of the genre into consideration, this argument, often overstated even in its own terms, is easily seen as the result of a basic failure of perception. Briefly stated, the dramatic or emotional abstraction embodied in the aria is found throughout the genre. Characterization is by types, reflecting a theory of drama in which individualization ("realism") of personality was condemned as lessening the force of characterization by diluting its universality. As Viale Ferrero points out, scenographers and costumers of this period also aimed less at realism or historical authenticity in their designs than at the heightening of the dramatic situation or the creation of psychological effects or symbolism. Further, if one considers that most of the action tended to take place toward the front of the stage, the actors never moving upstage within the set in a "realistic" way, it would appear that there was a degree of abstraction in the relation of actors to scenery that parallels those already mentioned.

This list of instances could be extended, but it is already long enough to suggest that the *opera seria* manifests a coherent dramatic system that permeates all its elements and that should be understood on its own terms. Viale Ferrero has almost nothing to say about music directly in this book. It is, however, to be hoped that this will not discourage operatically inclined musicologists from reading it, since it contains much that should be relevant to them, especially if they mean to comprehend the whole genre and not just its music.

—*Dennis Libby*