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Felix Mendelssohn's Influence on Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel as a Professional Composer*

By Marcia J. Citron

"Remember me to your good parents, your equally gifted sister, and your excellent master." Thus wrote Goethe in a letter to sixteen-year-old Felix Mendelssohn in 1825 upon receipt of Felix's B-minor Quartet dedicated to the venerated writer.[1] By "equally gifted sister," Goethe was referring to Felix's elder sister, Fanny, a musician he had met three years earlier and praised for her settings of his poems.

Fanny Mendelssohn Hensel, born in 1805, was four years older than Felix. They were the elder two of the four Mendelssohn children, and, largely because of their similar musical abilities and training, developed a closeness that, with very few exceptions, lasted until their deaths in 1847. Both received their earliest piano instruction from their mother, and later from the Berliner Ludwig Berger; both entered the newly-founded Berlin Singakademie; and both received training in theory and composition from Carl Friedrich Zelter, the man most responsible for molding Berlin's musical life during the 1810s and 1820s.

The events leading to Felix's emergence as a celebrated composer are too well-known to be discussed here at length; but three events demonstrate sufficiently how both his family and Zelter were carefully grooming him and encouraging him to pursue music professionally: his introduction to Goethe at Weimar in 1821, his introduction to Cherubini in Paris in 1825, and his introduction to English musical society in 1829. In all of these challenges he triumphed and laid the foundation for a highly successful career as a composer.

Fanny, on the other hand, despite her extensive musical training and acknowledged talent in both piano and composition, was not given such opportunities. In large part this is due to the attitudes of her family, particularly her father Abraham. In contrast to their liberal views of society and culture—their home, after all, was a leading *salon* for the artistic notables of the day—the Mendelssohns held traditional views regarding the proper duties of women.

Abraham many times raised a stern, fatherly voice to Fanny in advising her about her future. A striking passage occurs in a letter to the fifteen-year-old Fanny of 16 July 1820:

> What you wrote to me about your musical occupations with reference to

and in comparison with Felix was both rightly thought and expressed. Music will perhaps become his profession, while for *you* it can and must only be an ornament, never the root of your being and doing. We may therefore pardon him some ambition and desire to be acknowledged in a pursuit which appears very important to him, because he feels a vocation for it, while it does you credit that you have always shown yourself good and sensible in these matters; and your very joy at the praise he earns proves that you might, in his place, have merited equal approval. Remain true to these sentiments and to this line of conduct; they are feminine, and only what is truly feminine is an ornament to your sex.[3]

On Fanny's birthday eight years later, Abraham expressed similar ideas:

You must prepare more earnestly and eagerly for your real calling, the *only* calling of a young woman—I mean the state of a housewife.[4]

Such advice undoubtedly made a deep impact upon Fanny's perceptions of herself as a musician. She did, nevertheless, remain active as a composer throughout her life, writing over 400 pieces. Yet very few of her works were published; she thus did not attain full professional status as a composer. Felix, her most influential musical confidant, supported and praised her musical creativity but stopped short of giving his approval for publishing. In an effort to explore the nature of Felix's impact upon Fanny's publishing ventures, this article will examine unpublished letters and diaries from the Bodleian Library in Oxford and the Staatsbibliothek in West Berlin.

It is clear that Felix played a crucial role in all facets of Fanny's creative endeavors, especially her publishing of only a small percentage of her fairly sizeable compositional output. Of Felix's overall influence on Fanny as a composer, it appears that he was a great stimulus to her creative instincts. Not only did he pass judgment on her pieces and encourage her to send him new ones, but he also performed her music at informal gatherings outside of Berlin and sent back frequent reports on his pride in being the brother of so talented a composer. Felix's opposition to Fanny becoming a professional composer was inherited from their father—a man who molded Felix much in the way that Leopold Mozart shaped Wolfgang. Abraham Mendelssohn's patriarchal code accepted witty, culturally pluralistic women capable of organizing and starring in brilliant *salons* at home, but forbade their launching of careers outside the sphere of husband, children, and extended family circle.

In order to show how Felix affected Fanny's publishing activities, it is first necessary to establish their closeness as brother and sister, and also as fellow musicians. It is not often easy, however, to separate their personal and musical relationship, because for them, as for the entire Mendelssohn family, music was an integral part of daily life, whether it be composing, performing, listening, organizing concerts, or conversing in the *salon*. Fanny and Felix held very special personal feelings for each other as was demonstrated when

Fanny strongly expressed her love for Felix around the time of her marriage to Wilhelm Hensel in October 1829. In August she wrote to her fiancé:

> I love you both so very differently and yet so completely the same, that I believe it impossible to live happily without either of you. . . . I hope that you will also feel the strong unity of this trio.[3]

Her intense feelings were communicated to Felix in several letters. On 6 July she wrote:

> You can never pull any of your love away from me, for you must know that I cannot do without even the smallest part of it. I'll tell you the same thing on my wedding day.[4]

And on her wedding day, 3 October, she wrote to the absent Felix that

> Your picture is next to me, but as I write your name and imagine you actually here, I cry. . . . Your love has provided me with a great inner worth, and I will never stop believing in myself as long as you love me.[5]

Keeping in mind that these letters reflect the nineteenth-century penchant for heightened emotionalism, they nevertheless demonstrate that Fanny's feelings for her brother were intense and important to her. What these excerpts also reveal is her clear dependency on Felix's good opinions of her. The idea of dependency recurs in several letters. In a letter to Felix of 30 July 1836, Fanny writes:

> I don't know what Goethe means by the demonic influence, but it's clear that if it exists, you exert it on me. If you seriously suggested that I become a good mathematician, I wouldn't have any special difficulty in doing it; if you thought that I was no longer any good at music then I'd give it up tomorrow.[7]

Ten years later, Fanny wrote to Felix regarding plans for publishing:

> At age forty I'm afraid of my brother, as I was at fourteen of father—but afraid is really not the right word, but instead desirous of always pleasing you and everyone I love.[8]

In contrast to the hint of negativism that appears in this excerpt, it should be emphasized that, overall, theirs was a mutually affectionate relationship. Felix, for instance, used special nicknames for Fanny in his letters, such as "Fance" and "Fenchel." Fanny often signed her letters to him as "Fischotter," and she sometimes called him "Clown."

But what mainly concerns us here is their musical closeness. A sense of that closeness from their early years can be gleaned from Fanny's statement of 2 June 1837 referring to previous years:

> I [had] immediately found out about every thought that passed through your head, and knew your latest pieces by heart before you wrote them

down. . . . Because of our common musical pursuits our relationship was certainly rare between siblings.[9]

Beginning in 1829, the demands of family and career allowed Fanny and Felix relatively little time together. They did, however, engage in a lively and frequent correspondence that kept their mutual musical interests alive. The letters mention all facets of their musical life. Especially significant for the present study are the many detailed exchanges regarding their music—from initial conception through revisions after the finished product. They both highly respected each other's musical judgments and were influenced by each other's comments.

Fanny, in particular, took quite seriously Felix's assessments of her work and he was generally quite pleased with her pieces. For example, on 14 November 1836 Felix thanked Fanny for some pieces she had sent him:

> I'm again looking with the greatest pleasure at the piano pieces that Paul and Albertine brought me. There are some excellent ones among them and I thank you very much for the great joy I've derived from them. It's seldom that a piece of new music is so thoroughly pleasing.[10]

Fanny responded two days later:

> You can imagine how happy I am that you like my piano pieces, which leads me to believe that I haven't totally gone downhill in music.[11]

Although favorable comments by Felix far outnumber negative comments, a few letters contain extensive and detailed suggestions for revisions. For example, Fanny's orchestration and text-setting in a choral work are criticized by Felix in a letter of 28 December 1831.[12] Fanny on occasion reveals her sensitivity to Felix's negative remarks; for instance, after having received a lukewarm evaluation from Felix, she writes him on 10 January 1836:

> I am therefore hurt—although not out of wounded pride—that you haven't liked my pieces for such a long time. Did I really compose better in the old days, or were you merely easier to satisfy?[13]

Felix answers on 30 January with a long letter of reassurance. He begins by telling Fanny that one reason it appears that he has been criticizing her music more is that she has recently composed fewer pieces and thus negative comments seem more prominent now. He goes on to say:

> But you're totally wrong if you think that I consider your newer pieces somehow inferior to the earlier ones. I know of no better *lied* of yours than the one in g minor, or the close of the *Liederkreis*, and so many other recent ones.[14]

A brief incident captures the essence of Fanny and Felix's very special musical relationship. Felix made one of his many trips to England in July 1842 and was invited to Buckingham Palace for an audience with Queen Victoria and Prince Albert. During that visit the Queen was urged to sing

one of Felix's pieces from his Op. 8 *Lieder* collection, which was at hand. She selected *"Italien,"* which she executed well, according to Felix's account. "Then," writes Felix to his mother on 19 July, "I was obliged to confess that Fanny had written the song (which I found very hard, but pride must have a fall), and to beg her to sing one of my own also."[13]

How did Fanny react to this incident? With humor—as conveyed in a letter to her husband of 26 July 1842:

> Felix wrote a very funny letter today, in which he describes in detail his farewell audience with the Queen. Prince Albert played the organ for him, and the Queen sang. In fact it was *"Schöner und Schöner"* (i.e. *"Italien"*), which he then admitted was my property. The whole description will amuse you very much.[14]

In contrast to his approval and encouragement of Fanny's compositional activities, Felix was opposed to Fanny publishing her pieces. But before delving into Felix's role in Fanny's publishing ventures, let us briefly review her publishing history. Only a small percentage of the approximately 400 pieces she composed appeared in print. Table I lists her published works. The earliest published works were issued under Felix's authorship in his Op. 8 and Op. 9 *lieder* collections. It was a full decade before the next publication, which involved only one piece—a *lied*—in a Schlesinger anthology. With the exception of another single piece, published in 1839, no works were published until late 1846, at which point seven collections were issued in quick succession (Opp. 1–7). Four collections, as well as a few individual pieces, appeared posthumously (Opp. 8–11). It is interesting to note that Fanny's pieces were published under her own name only after the death of her father, in 1835. It is possible that she could not bring herself to undertake such a professional step while her father was alive, given his views on proper woman's work.

In late October 1836, Fanny began her inquiry to Felix about having her music published: "Lately I've become interested again in publishing something—should I do it?"[15] Felix replied negatively. A month later, in a letter to Felix of 22 November, Fanny broached the subject again:

> In regard to my publishing, I stand like a donkey between two piles of hay. I myself am quite neutral about it; . . . yet Hensel is for it, you are against it. In any other matter I'd naturally accede entirely to the wishes of my husband. But in this matter alone, it's crucial to have your approval; without it I might not undertake anything of the kind.[16]

Yet Fanny did go ahead and have a piece published, against Felix's wishes, in an anthology issued very early in 1837. After its appearance, Felix appeared glad her piece was published, as he wrote her from Leipzig on 24 January 1837:

> Do you know, Fenchel, that your A-major *lied* in Schlesinger's *Album*

raises a furor here? . . . That all say it's the best thing in the album? (A poor compliment, for what else is good?) That people are pleased with it? Are you now a true composer and does that make you happy?[10]

Table I: Fanny Hensel's Published Compositions

Op. 1: *6 Lieder für 1 Singstimme mit Pianoforte*. Berlin: Bote & Bock [1846].

Op. 2: *4 Lieder ohne Worte für Pianoforte*. Berlin: Bote & Bock, [1847].

Op. 3: *6 Gesänge für S.A.T.B*. Berlin: Bote & Bock, [1847].

Op. 4: *Mélodies pour Pianoforte*. Berlin: Schlesinger, [1847].

Op. 5: *Mélodies pour Pianoforte*. Berlin: Schlesinger, [1847].

Op. 6: *4 Lieder ohne Worte*. Berlin: Bote & Bock, [1847]

Op. 7: *6 Lieder für 1 Singstimme mit Pianoforte*. Berlin: Bote & Bock, [1847].

Op. 8: *4 Lieder ohne Worte*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1850].

Op. 9: *6 Lieder für 1 Singstimme mit Pianoforte*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1850].

Op. 10: *5 Lieder für 1 Singstimme mit Pianoforte*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1850].

Op. 11: *Trio pour Pianoforte, Violin, Violoncelle*. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1850]. Reprint edition: New York: Da Capo, 1980 (new introduction by Victoria Sirota).

Works Without Opus Nos.

Die Schiffende (Lied) in *Album*. Berlin: Schlesinger, 1837.

Schloss Liebeneck (Lied) in *Rhein-Sagen und Lieder*. Köln & Bonn: J.M. Dunst, 1839.

2 Bagatellen (Piano) *für die Schüler des Schindelmeisserschen Musik-Instituts*. Berlin: T. Trautwein, 1848.

Pastorella (Piano). Berlin: Bote & Bock, [1852]

Works Published under Felix's Name

In Op. 8 (1827): *Das Heimweh* (No. 2), *Italien* (No. 3), *Suleika und Hatem* (No. 12).

In Op. 9 (1830): *Sehnsucht* (No. 7), *Verlust* (No. 10), *Die Nonne* (No. 12).

And Felix wrote again six weeks later:

I, for my part, thank you on behalf of the public in Leipzig and other places for publishing your piece against my wishes.[11]

The only known comment by Fanny about this venture concerns her an-

noyance at the clumsy way some business details were handled.[9] But she apparently was not put off by the idea of publishing again, for her mother, Lea Mendelssohn, made a direct request to Felix later that year to assist Fanny in getting her works published. Lea Mendelssohn's letter of 7 June 1837 states:

> Permit me a question and a request. Shouldn't she publish a selection of *lieder* and piano pieces? For about a year she's been composing many excellent works, especially for the piano. . . . That you haven't requested and encouraged her to do it—this alone holds her back. Wouldn't it therefore be appropriate for you to encourage her and help her find a publisher?[10]

Felix's response, dated 24 June 1837 in the New York Public Library autograph but incorrectly dated 2 June in the *Briefe . . . 1830–1847*, is significant and worth quoting at length:

> You write about Fanny's new pieces and tell me that I should persuade her to publish them. You praise her new compositions to me, which really isn't necessary . . . for I think they're splendid and lovely. In addition, I hope I don't need to say that if she decides to publish anything, I will help her all I can and alleviate any difficulties arising from it. But I cannot persuade her to publish anything, because it is against my views and convictions. We have previously spoken a great deal about it, and I still hold the same opinion. I consider publishing something serious (it should at least be that) and believe that one should do it only if one wants to appear as an author one's entire life and stick to it. But that necessitates a series of works, one after the other. . . . Fanny, as I know her, possesses neither the inclination nor calling for authorship. She is too much a woman for that, as is proper, and looks after her house and thinks neither about the public nor the musical world, unless that primary occupation is accomplished. Publishing would only disturb her in these duties, and I cannot reconcile myself to it. If she decides on her own to publish, or to please Hensel, I am, as I said, ready to be helpful as much as possible, but to encourage her towards something I don't consider right is what I cannot do.[11]

Given the close nature of their relationship, and especially Fanny's desire to maintain Felix's good opinion of her, it is very likely that Felix's reluctance exerted a profound and lasting influence on her attitude towards herself as a potential professional composer.

With the exception of a *lied* published in an anthology in 1839, a decade passed until Fanny was again involved with publishing. In regard to her new publishing prospects in mid-1846, Fanny made it quite clear that she had not been active in pursuing publishers but rather merely passive in receiving offers from them—a role in line with Felix's expectations of his sister. Here is an excerpt from her letter to Felix of 9 July 1846:

I hope I won't disgrace you through my publishing, as I'm no *femme libre* and unfortunately not even an adherent of the *junges Deutschland* movement. Hopefully you will in no way be bothered by it, as I've proceeded, as you can see, completely independently, in order to spare you any unpleasant moment. If the venture succeeds, that is if the compositions are well-liked, it will be a great stimulus to me—something I've always needed to have anything published. Otherwise I'm very indifferent, as I've always been, and thus won't be upset or feel that anything has been lost if I subsequently work less or stop completely.[14]

One detects a tinge of bitterness in Fanny's assurances to Felix of his being spared any bother in this venture. Her statement about needing encouragement to publish adds considerably to our understanding of the impact of Felix's views on her having not published works more often. As had occurred a decade earlier, Felix soon relented and extended congratulations to Fanny in a letter of 12 August 1846:

[I] send you my professional blessing on becoming a member of the craft. This I do now in full, Fance, and may you have much happiness in giving pleasure to others; may you taste only the sweets and none of the bitterness of authorship; may the public pelt you with roses, and never with sand; and may the printer's ink never draw black lines upon your soul—all of which I devoutly believe will be the case.[15]

Fanny's diary entry of 14 August records her reaction:

At last Felix has written and given me his professional blessing in the kindest manner. I know that he is not quite satisfied in his heart of hearts, but I'm glad he has said a kind word to me about it.[16]

By the time Fanny died nine months later—in May of 1847—six collections of her music had appeared, with Op. 7 to be issued later that year. Felix, of course, was devastated by the sudden death of his "Fenchel"; many close friends attributed his own death six months later in no small measure to his intense grief over his sister's passing. One modern writer, a descendant of the Hensels and former president of the International Mendelssohn Society, asserts that in those six months Felix was planning to have more of his sister's music published.[17] Although this may very well have been the situation, no corroborating documentary evidence has yet been found.

Each of Fanny's collections from 1846 and 1847 was reviewed in at least one journal, with the exception of the Op.3 partsongs. The general tone of these reviews is favorable. One particular assessment—a review of her four piano collections in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* in June 1847—lavishes high praise on Fanny's compositional talents. Unusual not only for its length, the article isolates the various stylistic features that contribute to the music's success; it attributes a large part of Fanny's writing mastery to her study of Bach in her early years. The review concludes: "We express our sincere

thanks to the artist for the publication of these works. They will be welcomed by everyone who cherishes beauty within art."[28]

Felix Mendelssohn clearly cherished the musical creations of his elder sister, Fanny Hensel. His reluctance for her to publish stemmed more from societal and familial attitudes than from a lack of confidence in the quality of her works. As more of Hensel's music enters the public domain, a truer assessment of this largely forgotten 19th-century musician will emerge.

NOTES

* This paper was presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Boston, November 1981.

[1] Letter written from Weimar on 18 June 1825, in Karl Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Goethe and Mendelssohn*, M.E. von Glehn, transl., 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1874), p. 50.

[2] Sebastian Hensel, *The Mendelssohn Family (1729–1847)*, Karl Klingemann, transl., 2nd ed., 2 vols.; reprint of 1882 edition (New York: Haskell House, 1969), vol. I, p. 82.

[3] Ibid., vol. I, p. 84.

[4] Letter of 23 August 1829, Depositum Berlin No. 105, in the Mendelssohn-Archiv of the Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz in West Berlin [=MA]. Fanny uses the word "Dreieinigkeit"—a strong identification with the concept of the Trinity. (This translation and subsequent translations are by the author, unless otherwise designated.)

[5] 6–8 July 1829, No. 69 of Volume I of the Green Books letters collection at the Bodleian Library, Oxford [=GB]. The author is preparing an edition for Pendragon Press of Hensel's letters to Felix, in the original German and in English translation.

[6] 3 October 1829, GB vol. I, No. 98.

[7] 30 July 1836, GB vol. V, No. 112.

[8] 9 July 1846, GB vol. XXIV, No. 3.

[9] 2 June 1837, GB vol. VI, No. 43.

[10] 14 November 1836, MA Dep. Berlin 3, No. 15.

[11] 16 November 1836, GB vol. V, No. 135.

[12] Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, *Briefe aus den Jahren 1830–1847*, Paul Mendelssohn Bartholdy and Carl Mendelssohn Bartholdy, eds., 3rd ed. (Leipzig: Hermann Mendelssohn, 1875), vol. I, pp. 230–32.

[13] 10 January 1836, GB vol. V, No. 7.

[14] The autograph of Hensel's *Liederkreis* is in the Bodleian Library. The letter (30 January 1836) is in the MA, Dep. Berlin 3, No. 10.

[15] Hensel, *Family*, vol. II, p. 170.

[16] 26 July 1842, MA Briefe meiner Ur.ur Großmutter . . . , No. 177.

[17] 28 October 1836, GB vol. V, No. 132.

[18] 22 November 1836, GB vol. V, No. 139. The donkey imagery derives from a fable by Buridan.

[19] 24 January 1837, MA Dep. Berlin 3, No. 18; published in Hensel, *Family*, vol. II, p. 31.

[20] 7 March 1837, MA Dep. Berlin 3, No. 19.

[21] Letter to Felix, 27 January 1837, GB vol. VI, No. 9.

[22] 7 June 1837, GB vol. VI, No. 44.

[23] *Briefe . . . 1830–1847*, vol. II, pp. 88–89.

[24] 9 July 1846, GB vol. XXIV, No. 3.

[25] Hensel, *Family*, vol. II, p. 326.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Cécile Lowenthal-Hensel, "F in Dur und F in Moll, Fanny and Felix Mendelssohn in Berlin," *Berlin in Dur und Moll* (Berlin: Axel Springer, 1970), n.p.

[28] "Über die Clavier-Kompositionen von Fanny Hensel," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 49 (1847) pp. 381–83.

Haydn's Sonata-Form Arias*

By Mary Hunter

This essay is primarily concerned with the eleven Italian operas that Haydn wrote at Eszterháza between 1766 and 1783: *La canterina* (1766), *Lo speziale* (1768), *Le pescatrici* (1769), *L'infedeltà delusa* (1773), *L'incontro improvviso* (1775), *Il mondo della luna* (1777), *L'isola disabitata* (1779), *La vera costanza* (1779, revised, 1785), *La fedeltà premiata* (1780–81) *Orlando paladino* (1782), and *Armida* (1783). Haydn's remaining two full-length Italian operas, *Acide* (1762), and *L'anima del filosofo, ossia Orfeo ed Euridice* (1790–91), are omitted from this discussion for reasons of temporal, stylistic and geographical distance from the main body of Haydn's operatic output for the Esterházy establishment. *Acide* is a fairly typical midcentury *opera seria*, with arias mostly in *da capo* and *dal segno* forms (it is only partially extant). It thus reveals very little about Haydn's application of sonata principles to his vocal music. *Orfeo* was written for the London stage, though it was in fact never performed there or elsewhere, and it is clearly an attempt on Haydn's part to expand his operatic practices beyond what would suit the Esterházy performers and audience.[1] The eleven works listed above represent the "common practice" of Haydn's operatic composition, both formally and dramatically.

Almost all the one hundred and thirty-three arias in the eleven operas listed above bear witness to Haydn's continual concern with sonata principles and procedures. All but a handful of these arias begin with a full-fledged exposition which falls into two distinct key-areas and ends with an elaborate and prominent cadence on the dominant or relative major.[2] Haydn resolves the primary tension set up by the exposition in many different ways, but about seventy of these arias include a full recapitulation, beginning with the return of the first group material in the tonic and continuing with some sort of "symmetrical resolution" of second-group material.[3] Approximately two-thirds of these seventy arias include a passage of development or contrast between the exposition and the recapitulation.

Haydn's arias in sonata form are not simply sonatas, of course. They all respond sensitively and appropriately to their texts on a variety of levels, and most begin with an orchestral ritornello and use ritornellos to mark their primary formal divisions. The use of ritornellos and the careful observance of the text profoundly influence the manifestations of sonata form in Haydn's arias, but they do not alter the fundamental principles of that form. Indeed, in many instances they reinforce many of its determining features.

In setting his texts, for example, Haydn, like many midcentury composers of Italian opera, usually runs through the whole text twice in the course of a sonata- or binary-form aria. In the sonata-form aria, the beginning of the recapitulation is almost always reinforced by the return of the opening words, and it is generally true that any repetition of musical material is

accompanied by repetition of its original text. Within the exposition, and also the recapitulation, a new unit of text is usually set to new music, while the extension of a text or text-segment is usually set to a similar extension of a musical phrase. Haydn often arranges a two-stanza text in an exposition by setting the first grammatically complete sentence to the first group, the next sentence to the transition, and whatever remains to the second group (usually the whole second stanza), with as much local textual repetition as is necessary to fulfill the musical purpose of establishing a strong secondary key area. Table 1 shows this arrangement of text in the exposition of the slave Balkis' aria, "Ad acquistar già volo," *L'incontro improvviso*, no. 32.

Thematic Material		Text	Measures	Cadence
A	1	Ad acquistar già volo	18–33	
	2	la dolce libertà,		
	2′	la dolce libertà;		I
A′		e mi diletto solo	33–43	
B		poter fuggir,		
		fuggir di quà,		
B′		fuggir di quà, di quà.		V/V
C′		Il cor mi batte in seno,	43–51	
		si, mi batte in seno,		V
D		se penso a dissertar	51–57	V/V
E		se posso in ciel ameno,	57–64	V
E′		in ciel ameno		
F		la schiavitù,	65–82	
		la schiavitù cambiar,		
		la schiavitù cambiar.		V

Table 1. The Arrangement of the Text in the Exposition to the Aria, "Ad acquistar già volo," *L'incontro improvviso*, no. 32.

As it is the case with Haydn's setting of the text, his ritornellos usually emphasize the primary divisions and continuities of sonata form. Most sonata-form arias include ritornellos: one at the beginning, one in the secondary key at the end of the exposition, and one at the end of the aria. Unlike many of his concerto movements, Haydn's arias rarely include a ritornello in the submediant after the development section, and the recapitulations of his sonata-form arias, again with rare exception, never begin with a repetition of the opening ritornello.[4] This typical arrangement of ritornellos emphasizes the fundamentally binary structure of most of Haydn's sonata-form arias: the ritornello that comes between the exposition and the development section marks the division into two parts. This binary structure is, of course, basic to all versions of sonata form, but it assumes particular prominence among

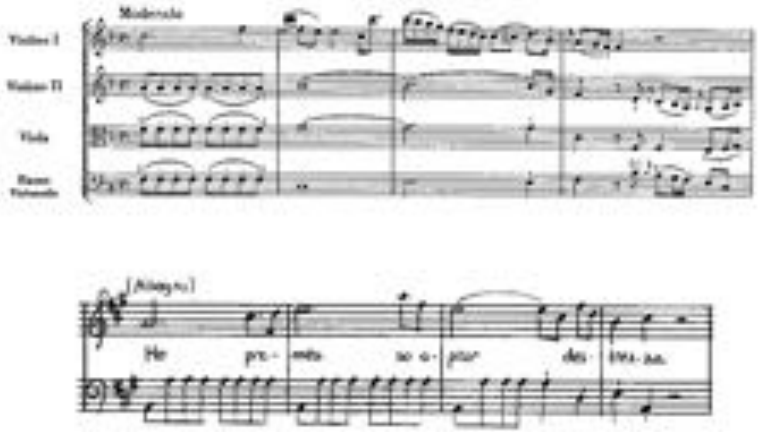
Haydn's arias in this form.

Contrary to the typical practice in Haydn's concertos (and, for that matter, Mozart's), the ritornellos in his arias are usually quite short, especially the ones after the exposition and those at the end of the aria, which are largely cadential in function. The opening ritornello in the arias always remains in the tonic. It usually anticipates only the vocal first theme to begin with, but it may conclude with a passage in a strikingly instrumental idiom. In a few arias, almost all written before 1776, the ritornello also introduces material to be heard later in the vocal second group, but even then the passage as a whole remains in the tonic.[5]

In a variety of complex ways, Haydn's arias both typify and stand apart from the general developments in his compositional style during the seventeen years under consideration. The following paragraphs focus on three issues which illustrate vividly the variety of relations between Haydn's vocal and instrumental music: first, the use of certain musical materials such as rhythmic contrasts, melodies of a characteristically vocal nature, and phrases of regular or irregular length, secondly, the shapes and proportions of the sonata forms Haydn created, and thirdly, the musical processes characteristic of these forms, in particular the use of repetition and development.

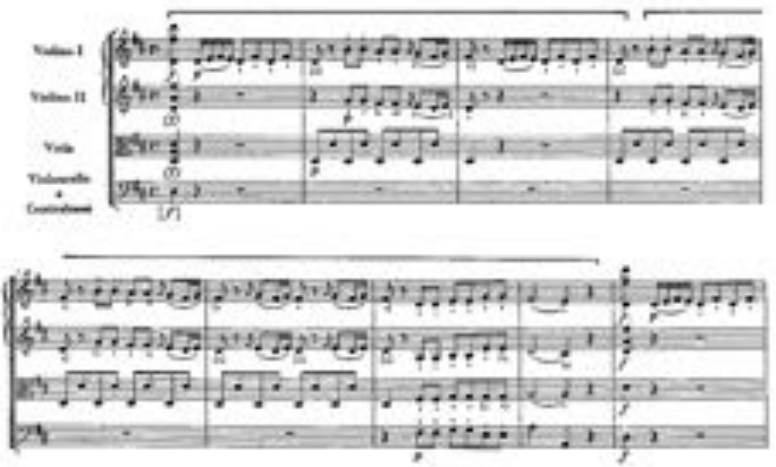
The musical materials of Haydn's sonata-form arias will be considered first. In order to do so, a distinction must be drawn between primary and secondary materials, between those melodic and rhythmic features particular to a given piece, and those shared by many pieces—common accompanimental motives, cadential figures, and what might be termed filler material. Two major points emerge from a comparison of the primary vocal material in the arias with the main thematic material in the contemporary instrumental music. First, even when vocal and instrumental themes share certain expressive or gestural characteristics, they often differ in important structural respects. Compare, for example, the opening of the String Quartet in F Major, op. 17, no. 2, with the opening vocal theme of Dardane's aria "Ho promesso oprar destrezza," *L'incontro improvviso*, no. 26, in example 1.

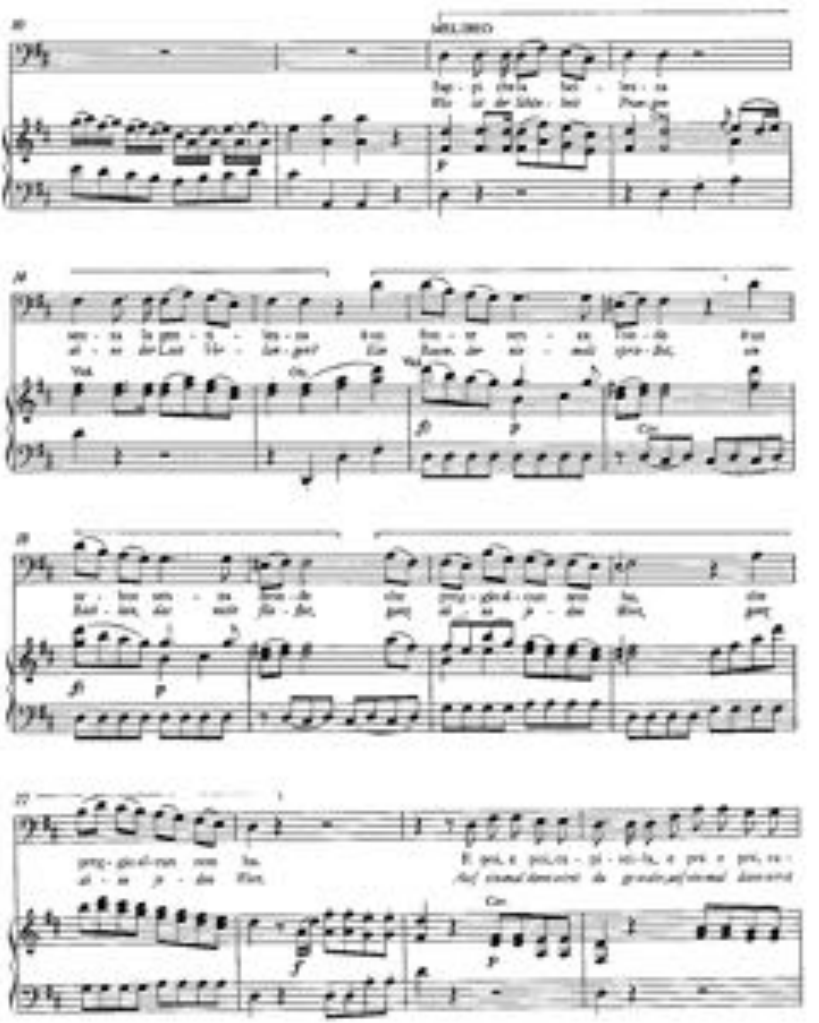
Both these themes have chord-defining opening motives, both use homophonic textures, and both evoke the world of *opera seria*. But the vocal theme occupies a smaller pitch-range than the instrumental one, and its relative lack of rhythmic contrast makes it seem not as rich in developmental possibilities. These characteristics are due partly to the particular capabilities of the voice, of course, but also to the text, which, like most seria-style texts, demands a fairly consistent declamatory rhythm. In a comparison of aria themes from the later operas with themes from the symphonies of the later 1770s and early 1780s, many examples of materials are found which appear at least as close in spirit as the two themes just discussed, but even further apart in substance. The subtle rhythmic tension of the opening to the slow movement of the Symphony no. 78 is quite foreign to Haydn's Italian aria themes in these years, for example, as is the apparent ingenious simplicity of the main theme of the finale of Symphony no. 77.



Example 1. Joseph Haydn, String Quartet, op. 17, no. 2, I, mm. 1–4 (*Werke*, Joseph Haydn-Institut, dir. Georg Feder, Reihe 12, Band II, 69); "Ho promesso oprar destrezza," *L'incontro improvviso*, no. 26, mm. 19–22.

Haydn's aria themes remain at once more regular on the measure-to-measure level, and less prone to symmetrical pairs of phrases on the level of the period. A comparison of the opening measures of the Symphony no. 61 with the opening vocal statement of Melibeo's aria "Sappi che la bellezza," *La fedeltà premiata*, no. 28, illuminates this relationship further. Both pieces begin with a fanfare-like headmotive, which is immediately followed by a more lyrical fragment that stresses scale degrees 6 and 4. But, typically, the opening of the symphony divides into two parts, while the vocal theme divides into three (marked with brackets in example 2). Moreover, the contraction of



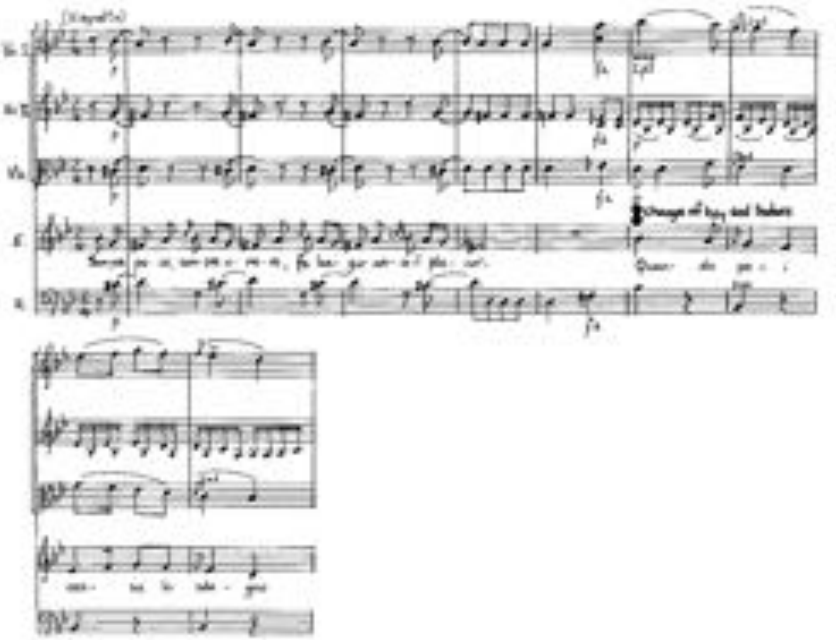


Example 2. Joseph Haydn, Symphony no. 61 (1776), I, mm. 1–9 (*Werke*, Joseph Haydn-Institut, dir. Georg Feder, Reihe I, Band VIII, 175); "Sappi, che la bellezza," *La fedeltà premiata*, no. 28, mm. 10–25 (ed. H. C. Robbins Landon, Salzburg: Haydn-Mozart Presse, 1970, p. 219).

the repeated motive in the symphonic theme from two measures to one measure and then to two beats would never be compatible with comprehensible text-setting at the beginning of an aria, though such a device might be used for comic emphasis later in the piece.

The second point that emerges from a comparison of the main thematic material in the two media is that instrumental themes and textures which

might normally be called vocal are in fact quite rare among Haydn's sonata-form arias. For example, slow periodic melodies over rocking or pulsating accompaniments, such as we find in the "Lamentation" movement of Symphony no. 60, "Il distratto," do not occur at all in Haydn's arias until the later 1770s. Even in the late 1770s such melodies and textures occur only in the most thoroughly serious arias, and within these arias only as a contrast to the prevailing more declamatory mode of the rest of the number. The second group of Ernesto's aria "Qualche volta non fa male," *Il mondo della luna*, no. 37, is such an example:



Example 3. Joseph Haydn, "Qualche volta non fa male," *Il mondo della luna*, no. 37, mm. 23–32.

Here the contrast is dramatic as well as musical. Ernesto is delivering a lecture on the necessity of difficulties in love; the change to the major and the entrance of the "vocal" melody and texture coincide with his description of the increased delights of love once the difficulties have been removed. Melodies of this sort occur with a slightly greater frequency after 1779, but they do not usually appear in sonata-form arias. Rather, they tend to constitute the opening sections of through-composed numbers, and as such, appear in most

cases only once in the course of the number. It is almost as if Haydn could not expect a singer, or for that matter a character, to engage in such intensity of expression for more than a few phrases.

Despite these differences in the use of such primary melodic materials between Haydn's arias and his instrumental music, there are consistent similarities between the secondary materials—cadence figures, accompanimental motives, so-called "filler material," and so forth. Many of the closing passages in the aria ritornellos are utterly symphonic in idiom, and "throwaway" figures, such as those in the second group of the first movement of Symphony no. 62 would be equally at home as accompanimental or filler material in a *buffo* aria.

The overall shapes and proportions of Haydn's sonata-form arias differ from those of his contemporary instrumental music in several respects. One of the most interesting characteristics of these arias is their tendency to divide into two approximately equal halves. There are, for example, many more sonatas without development among the arias than among the symphonies, quartets, and concertos written during the same period. Sonatas without development are obviously bipartite, but it is interesting to note that in the arias in this form the recapitulation is more often than not expanded by about the length of the opening ritornello, so that the two halves of the whole aria more nearly approximate each other in length. In a large number of arias in full sonata form, the development section is about the same length as the opening ritornello; in these arias the recapitulation tends to retain the same dimensions as the exposition. In a few other arias, the development is longer than the opening ritornello, but the recapitulation is then abbreviated, as if to compensate for the "extra" length of the development. In arias which correspond more closely to the latter model, there is often an interdependence between the development and the recapitulation, in that material used in the development tends to be the material that is omitted or abbreviated in the recapitulation.[5]

All in all, about ninety percent of Haydn's sonata-form arias exhibit these proportions, whereas they are highly unusual among contemporary instrumental pieces; fewer than ten percent of the symphony and quartet movements examined in this study had such proportions. The opening ritornello, as we have seen, is crucial to the binary symmetry of these arias; where that section is unusually long and complex, its integration into the whole structure is even more remarkable.

In Rezia's aria, "Or vicina a te," *L'incontro improvviso*, no. 29, for example, Haydn integrates into the bipartite structure of the whole not only the length of the ritornello and the unusually long opening section that results from it, but also the thematic repetition it entails. Figure 1 shows the mirror relationship between the two halves of the aria as far as harmonic movement and repose are concerned. The two strong tonic cadences found at the beginning of the aria—one at the end of the ritornello and one at the end of the vocal first group—are missing at the corresponding place in the recapitulation, the

Figure 1.

first because there is no repetition of the opening ritornello, and the second because the reprise of the first group is diverted to a half-cadence as it ends. The two tonic cadences thus avoided are then transferred, so to speak, to the end of the recapitulation, by means of the extension of the closing group, as the arrows in figure 1 indicate. Conversely, the strongly connected phrases that occur at the end of the exposition recur at the beginning of the second half of the form, in the development and at the beginning of the recapitulation. Thematic material is also treated in a complementary manner; as the diagram shows, material presented twice in the ritornello and exposition is heard only once in the recapitulation, while material heard only once in the first half of the form is given more emphasis in the second.

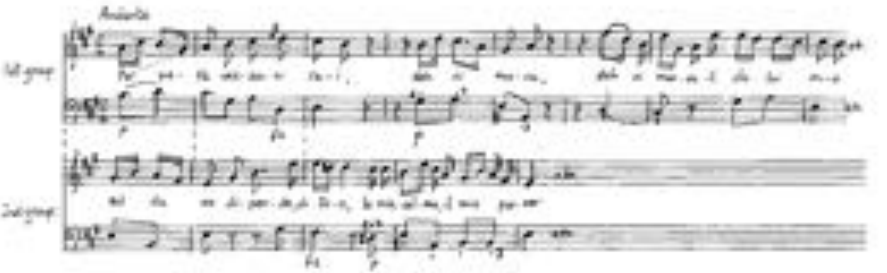
The implicit binary symmetry of the sonata principle is, then, made explicit and literal in most of Haydn's sonata-form arias. This is true neither of his concertos (with rare exception in some of their slow movements),[7] nor of the solos in his contemporary Masses. It would appear that the model for, or source of, this consistent tendency in the operatic arias is the convention of setting the text through twice in the course of an aria, with all the binary symmetry that that implies.[8] The sorts of musical practice typical of Haydn's arias allow the repetition of the text to be heard and comprehended as such. On a more abstract level, the music reinforces the binary essence of that textual repetition, and yet in an essentially Haydnesque way it lessens any sense of redundancy or routineness engendered by the repetition of so much material.

The final section of this essay will focus on the topics of repetition and development to represent as vividly and concisely as possible the many complex relationships between Haydn's operatic and instrumental styles, in terms of their characteristic musical processes.

Haydn's famous habit of avoiding literal repetition is as much a characteristic of his arias as it is of his instrumental music, despite the textual repetition which all the arias include. The situations and ways in which he avoids repetition in his sonata-form arias, however, reflect the particular constraints and demands of the genre. He both repeats less material and writes fewer developmental passages in the vocal expositions of his arias than he does in the expositions of his instrumental works. The arias, of course, almost all begin with a double statement of the first theme, first by the orchestra and then by the voice, but after this there is remarkably little immediate repeti-

tion of more than a motive. For example, the very common instrumental practice of beginning the transitional paragraph with a restatement of the opening material occurs in only nine of seventy arias examined in this study. The majority of these nine are lyrical effusions in *seria* style, whose texts elaborate a single, simple, and usually amorous conceit. The repetition of the first theme at the beginning of the transition emphasizes both the continuity of affect in the text and, in all these cases, the essential interchangeability of the different sentences of the poem. One might reasonably attribute Haydn's avoidance of this practice in most of his arias both to the characteristic double statement of first-group material mentioned above, and to the tendency of most texts to take a new tone after the first sentence.

The repetition of a segment of the first group in the secondary key area—so-called monothematicism, or, preferably, "main theme transposition"—is even less frequent among the sonata-form arias than is the repetition of the opening material at the beginning of the transition.[9] In just a handful of arias the second theme begins with a repetition of the opening anacrustic figure from the first group, but in all cases the immediate continuation of the material is strikingly different. Example 4 shows the beginnings of first and second groups of "Per pietà vezzosi rai," *La vera costanza*, no. 20, in which the degree of repetition is entirely typical of this small group of arias with main theme transposition.



Example 4. Joseph Haydn, "Per pietà vezzosi rai," *La vera costanza*, no. 20, mm. 10–17, 29–33.

One might understand this mere suggestion of repetition as different only in extent from the main theme transposition in contemporary instrumental works. It is, after all, unusual to find more than a couple of measures from the first group repeated in the second group of an instrumental sonata form, and even those few measures are typically varied or developed in some way.

On the other hand, one might understand this suggestion of repetition as being substantially different from its instrumental counterpart. In doing so, one must take the presence of the text in the arias into account. One of the purposes of the opening vocal section of an aria is to realize the rhetorical progression of the text in such a way that each poetic idea is clothed in

semantically suitable and appropriately memorable musical garb, a purpose to which the structure of a sonata exposition is particularly well suited. The second group of the exposition almost always sets a new stanza or other major division of the text, which almost always introduces a different tone, depicts a different image, or takes a different point of view from the first. Haydn's usual use of new or largely new material in the second group thus fulfills the formal and semantic requirements of the text.

Haydn typically uses the associations between particular segments of text and particular musical phrases, associations that he carefully establishes in the exposition, as a formal and dramatic resource later in the aria. For example, in developmental sections the repetition of a text may identify a variation of its original setting.[9] In arias about panic or confusion, one or more musical phrases will sometimes return unchanged but set with different words. The dramatic point of such a device would be lost without prior establishment of the original words and context for the phrase in question. The best example of this is in the reprise of "Non v'è rimedio," *L'infedeltà delusa*, no. 8, where Nanni, in a state of anger and confusion, first returns to the right material, with the right words, but in the wrong key (V of III, m.79). He then "corrects" himself musically, but continues with the second line of the stanza (m.83). Both the brevity of the "mistake" and the dramatic context allow this interpretation.[10] The clear thematic differentiation of first and second groups in the expositions of Haydn's sonata-form arias creates opportunities for these particular vocal and dramatic techniques of variation and development.

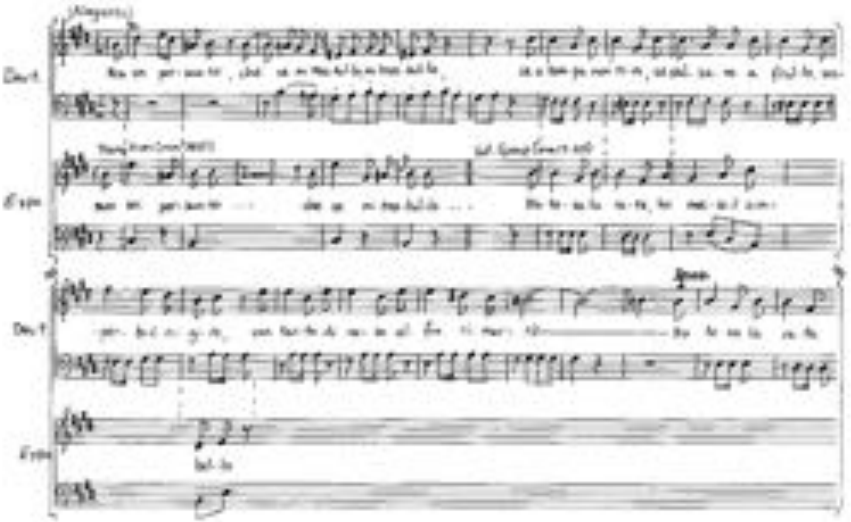
The relationship of developmental techniques used in sonata-form arias to those used in instrumental works is complex. There are obvious differences in the treatment accorded the two media. As noted above, truly monothematic pieces, those built primarily with permutations of a single motive, occur with extraordinary rarity among the arias, whereas they are, if not usual, at least familiar among Haydn's instrumental works, especially among finales. "Mille lampi d'accese faville," *Orlando paladino*, no. 26, is the only example of a truly monothematic sonata-form aria. On the other hand, a number of *buffa* arias in looser binary and through-composed forms employ the continuously developmental style of "Mille lampi."

Another obvious difference is the more frequent use of new material in the development sections of Haydn's sonata-form arias. Approximately twenty percent of the development sections in his arias in this form include significant new material (most of these sections also set new text). Development sections such as these come closer to Charles Rosen's nomenclature, "trio sections," used to describe the middle portions of most aria forms.[11]

Relationships of a greater subtlety between the two media may be found by comparing their actual developmental processes. The development sections in the arias are usually very brief, rarely more than a third of the length of the vocal exposition. The development sections of contemporary instrumental works, on the other hand, are on the average about two-thirds to

three-quarters of the length of the exposition.[10] The vocal development sections rarely include classically developmental passages of sequence or contrapuntal working-out, and they rarely contain more than two or three modulations.

Developmental processes vary considerably from one dramatic type of aria to another. *Buffa* arias, for example, tend to be more obviously developmental throughout than *seria* numbers, and in most respects the developmental processes in *buffa* arias differ more in extent than in kind from those in contemporary instrumental works. Example 5 shows the development section of "Ho tesa la rete," Vespina's last aria in *L'infedeltà delusa*, along with the expository sections from which it derives. The relationship of exposition to development in this aria is quite typical of Haydn's *buffa* arias in sonata and binary forms throughout the seventeen years of major operatic activity.



Example 5. Joseph Haydn, "Ho tesa la rete," *L'infedeltà delusa*, no. 24, Development and Expository Fragments.

The two subsections of this development, mm. 83–89 and 89–101, both begin with more or less literal repetition of a motive from the exposition, and then continue in a more developmental way. The first phrase adds a new tail to the motive from the transition, which then takes on a brief life of its own. The second extends the original material sequentially and then spins the melody out until it reaches the dominant. These procedures are characteristic of both the central and the recapitulatory or "secondary" development sections in Haydn's *buffa* arias; they may also be found in many contemporary instrumental works.[11]

One rarely finds motivic play more extended than this in Haydn's vocal

development sections. Arias with longer developments simply include more phrases from the exposition, treated in similar fashion. The absence of longer extension of single motives in this repertory may be related to the difficulties of text-setting in such a situation. On the other hand, James Webster notes that restatement of expository material without much change was quite common in all sorts of instrumental music before about 1780, so that one could see Haydn's arias as contemporary in this respect.[15] However, even Haydn's later arias do not include extensive development of material in the development sections, nor do they include coloratura passages, which would free the music from immediate reliance on the text. Coloratura occurs only in areas of complete tonal stability, and such passages are primarily cadential in function.

The development sections in Haydn's *seria* arias are of a greater variety and differ more from his usual instrumental practices than those in his *buffa* arias. The development sections in *seria* sonata-form arias also exhibit his characteristic inventiveness more than do the analogous sections in *buffa* arias. The nine-measure development section of "Deh! se in ciel pietade avete," Prince Ali's opening statement in *L'incontro improvviso* (no. 14) is one such passage. The development section of the aria is built of a continuous melody pieced together from different segments of the exposition. Each segment typically retains the basic rhythm of the original, but alters its melodic contours. This alteration and re-ordering of expository material may clearly be classified as development. The overall sense of the passage, however, is not at all developmental in the usual sense of the term, as it is applied to Haydn's instrumental works.

Some of the most extensive developmental writing in these arias is found in their recapitulations, particularly in the passages which replace the expository transition, and in certain closing sections. The processes of development and recomposition in these passages are essentially similar to those in the central development sections, but are often used in a more extended manner. The beginning of the closing passage in "Ah se dire io vi potessi," the servant Eurilla's only aria in *Orlando paladino* (no. 4 mm. 71–75), is a wonderful example of Haydn's ability to change the entire character and meaning of a motive by altering its articulation and context. The expository version of the motive (mm. 20–25) mocks the amorous sighs of the noble couple in the opera by imitating them, and in the closing passage Eurilla speaks in her own *buffa* voice and makes her ridicule of the enamored pair perfectly explicit. Eurilla's aria shows Haydn's ability to use motivic development for theatrical and dramatic effect.

In his biography of Haydn, first published in 1812, Giuseppe Carpani flatly asserted that "Haydn in teatro non è più Haydn."[16] One of the purposes of this essay has been to suggest the inaccuracy of this idea which has persisted in one form or another for a century and a half. Haydn's sonata-form arias do indeed differ in many ways from his instrumental sonata forms, but these are ways that reflect the particular challenges and constraints of a

theatrical and vocal genre. There are many fundamentally similar compositional concerns and stylistic elements beneath the rather diverse exteriors of Haydn's operatic and instrumental music, and it might not be an exaggeration to suggest that at least on the level of the individual aria, Haydn "in teatro" is most thoroughly himself when his arias are at their most characteristically vocal.

NOTES

*This essay is a revised version of a paper presented at the 1982 annual meeting of the American Musicological Society in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[1] Witness his comparison of the work to Gluck's *Orfeo* in a letter written in January of 1791 to Prince Esterházy: "das neue opern büchl so ich zu componiren habe, betitult sich Orfeo in 5 Acten, . . . dasselbe soll von einer ganz andern artt seyn, als jenes v. Gluck . . ." Joseph Haydn, *Gesammelte Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, ed. Dénes Bartha (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), pp. 253–54. Haydn had previously advertised his operas to Artaria in quite extravagant terms (see *Briefe* . . . , pp. 97, 135), but he had never before set himself up publicly as a competitor to an already renowned operatic composer.

[2] Only six arias do not begin with an exposition that polarizes tonic and dominant or tonic and relative major. In a small number of the other arias, however, that polarity is not very clearly defined.

[3] The term "symmetrical resolution" is borrowed from Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), pp. 50, 77.

[4] The two exceptions to this are "Oh che gusto," *L'infedeltà delusa*, no. 22, an immensely long and complex aria in which the return of the ritornello is one of the few formally clear moments, and "Io sposar l'empio tiranno," *La canterina*, no. 3, a full-fledged parody of *seria* styles and mannerisms, including outrageously long ritornellos and remarkably meagre dramatic content.

[5] Arias with unusually long ritornellos tend to be in *seria* style and to express either heroic or mock-heroic sentiments.

[6] "Io sposar l'empio tiranno," *La canterina*, no. 3, provides an unusually clear example of this procedure; the long development section, mm. 71–87, is largely based on a version of the closing phrase of the exposition, mm. 52–58, which then does not reappear at all in the abbreviated recapitulation. (This conciseness mitigates rather than reinforces the elements of parody in this number.)

[7] The slow movement of the Violin Concerto in A Major, Hob. VIIa:3, for example, falls into two fifty-one-measure halves around a seven-measure central ritornello, but the binary symmetry here is created by the simple device of repeating the opening ritornello at the end of the movement.

[8] The texts used for solo numbers in the contemporary Masses are typically so short that they must be repeated many times in the course of an aria, and thus cannot offer a model of binary symmetry to the musical form.

[9] I am indebted to Michelle Fillion for the term "main theme transposition." See her paper, "Sonata-Exposition Procedures in Haydn's Keyboard Sonatas," in *Haydn Studies: Proceedings of the International Haydn Conference, Washington, D. C., 1975*, ed. J. P. Larsen, H. Serwer, and J. Webster (New York: Norton, 1981), pp. 475–81.

[10] Compare, for example, mm. 36–37 from the end of the exposition of "Son fanciulla da marito," *Il mondo della luna*, no. 18, with mm. 58–59 from the end of the development. Here the reuse of the words, "se lo cerco il troverò" serves to emphasize not only the continuity of declamatory rhythm between these two phrases, but also the subtle continuity of the descending sixteenth-note scale, heard first in the first violin counterpart and then in the vocal line itself (on "troverò," mm. 58–59).

[11] In the few arias where the development section reuses the first stanza of text and the reca-

pitulation continues with the second, there is no reason to read a dramatic message into the procedure. See, for example, "Questa mano e questo cuore," *Le pescatrici*, no. 26, for this relatively unusual pattern of text-setting. Both these arias lack significant thematic contrast, so the change of words is not as startling as it might be in a more sectional number.

[12] Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms* (New York: Norton, 1980), p. 56. For a fuller discussion of the applicability of this term to Haydn's arias, see my dissertation, "Haydn's Aria Forms: A Study of the Arias in the Italian Operas Written at Esterhàza, 1766–1783" (Ph. D. diss., Cornell University, 1982), pp. 54–55.

[13] James Webster, "Sonata Form," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980). Webster estimates that Haydn's development sections average about seventy-five percent of the length of the exposition across his entire instrumental output. If we consider only the instrumental works written up to circa 1783, the average proportion of the development in relation to the exposition is somewhat smaller.

[14] I borrow the term "secondary development" from Rosen, *Sonata Forms*, p. 276.

[15] Webster, "Sonata Form," *NGDM*.

[16] Giuseppe Carpani, *Le Haydine, ovvero lettere su la vita e le opere del celebre maestro Giuseppe Haydn* (Milan: C. Buccinelli, 1812; 2d ed., Padua: Tipografia delle Minerva, 1823; reprint, Bologna: Forni Editore, 1969), p. 138.

Glareanus' *Dodecachordon* in German Theory and Practice: An Expression of Confessionalism

By Craig J. Westendorf

Until now the study of Glareanus' *Dodecachordon* of 1547 has dealt with the etymology of its terms, the precise nature of its modal definitions, and technical comparisons to the later theoretical treatises which it influenced.[1] However, the theological, liturgical, devotional, sociological, and educational milieu which fostered the practical application of Glareanus' attempt to purify the teaching of the eight-mode system through the addition of four more modes has been left uninvestigated. Any theoretical-critical work should be analyzed with these factors in mind, but the *Dodecachordon* is particularly deserving of further study from these perspectives for several allied reasons. The first known cycle of motets based on the entire cycle of gospel lections for the church year, Homerus Herpol's *Novum et insigne opus musicum* (1565), is organized according to the new 12-mode system. The dedicatee of Herpol's cycle, as well as of the *Dodecachordon* itself, was Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, Bishop of Augsburg, a highly influential political and intellectual figure in the Tridentine reforms.[2] Thus, the practical application of Glareanus' teaching, which was in itself an effort at reform, took place in the wider context of the Counter Reformation.

As yearly cycles of gospel motets became a particularly Protestant genre, Glareanus' teaching was applied in the sphere of evangelical reform. Of the 12 cycles that followed Herpol's,[3] three are organized according to the 12-mode system: Andreas Raselius' *Teutscher Sprüche aus den Sontäglichen Evangeliis durchs gantze Jar* (1594–1595), Philipp Dulichius' *Novum opus musicum* (1598–1599), and Christoph Demantius' *Corona harmonica* (1610).[4] These three cycles not only present modal reform, they set to music very specific gospel verses that were dictated by Lutheran preaching tradition. The gospel motet cycles, in fact, externally parallel the sermon collections known as Postilles, which contained homilies for every Sunday and festival of the church year. Further, these cycles were written in the era of Confessionalism, those decades of Reformation history which surrounded the theological formulation, finalized in 1577, known as the Formula of Concord. The death of Luther (1546), the recatholicizing Interim imposed by Charles V on evangelical territories after the Schmalkaldic War (1548), and the encroachment of Calvinism all produced both theological and political upheaval within Lutheranism. The three decades between 1546 and the finalization of the Formula of Concord produced 20 documents which were intended to create some theological conformity among the disciples of Luther.[5] Since the promotion of Lutheranism had been attached to the religious inclination of the nobility since its inception, a common confession would produce both theological and political stability. The Formula of Concord, although not fully accepted by evangelical Germany, still provided to Lutheranism at least a

modicum of stability and consistency well into the 18th century.[5]

The practical application of the *Dodecachordon* within Confessional Lutheranism, with its firmly controlled Latin schools and their choirs, took place in a complex environment of political and theological stability and the solidification and almost redundant transmission of a preaching tradition based on the yearly cycles of gospel pericopes. Another contemporaneous musico-historical factor was the adaptation by German theorists of Glareanus' system, which was essentially a monophonic theory, to polyphony. An examination of Glareanus' *Dodecachordon*, the German Lutheran Latin school treatises that accepted it, and the confessional and devotional mood that surrounded the production of the gospel motet cycles will clarify how these various historical phenomena functioned together.

Heinrich Glarean (1488–1563), imperial poet laureate, a contemporary and friend of Zwingli, student of Erasmus, professor of poetry and theology at Freiburg, and author of works on rhetoric, geography, poetry, and arithmetic in addition to his musical treatise, was undoubtedly the leading Swiss humanist of his generation. As a humanist, he at first embraced the Reformation but soon rejected it, following the lead of his teacher Erasmus, criticizing the Reformers for their destruction of fine arts.[7] After vehemently criticizing Oecolampadius for his efforts at reforming Basle, particularly for his attempt at introducing German songs into the mass,[8] Glareanus fled to Freiburg in 1529. As already mentioned, this rejection of the Reformation had no effect on the acceptance of his teaching in both Lutheran and Reformed circles. The reason for this lies in Glareanus' positive efforts towards reform, both in music and the reorganization of the university curriculum. In general, he shared the evangelical concern for educational reform.[9]

A brief description of music education in general in the Lutheran Latin school will be helpful for an understanding of the acceptance of Glareanus' teaching. Musical education in theory and practice was based on two assumptions: music's wholesome effect upon the student, and the community's need for music.[10] However, even a cursory survey of school orders shows that speculation on the effect of music was superseded by the demand for music at public worship. This is easily understood when the school is recognized as an institution in service to the church.[11] All items of instruction had as their end the building of solid, responsible citizens who could maintain a constant social order, a social order that could maintain the propagation of true doctrine.

The extremely influential Strassburg educator, Johannes Sturm, makes very clear the direct relation of music to religious education.[12] In view of Luther's love of music, and the large, new repertoire and collections of music within the Lutheran sphere, it might be assumed that music instruction received a duly proportional share of the school day. But there is less here than meets the eye. The teaching of rhetoric and classical literature dominated the lesson plans. Music instruction was almost universally assigned to the hour

from noon to one o'clock.[13] It was placed at this hour since it was seen both as an aid to digestion and as a practical exercise that could restore fatigued minds. As an exercise it often had to share time with other courses classified as exercises, namely calligraphy and arithmetic. The Nördlingen school order of 1555 is an example of this: in the two upper classes, arithmetic and "die *Musica Nicolai Listenii*" shared two instructional hours per week.[14] When music instruction was allotted one full hour daily, it often alternated between *musica theorica* and *musica practica*, that is, the learning of the reading of music, note values, and so forth, and the actual rehearsal of music, most likely the chant to be used the following Sunday. Examples of this plan are found in the following orders: Brieg (1581);[15] Braunschweig (1598)[16] and (1600);[17] Frankfurt (1579);[18] and Stralsund (1591),[19] among many others.

The actual treatise to be used in instruction is often mentioned in the school orders. Prescriptions that theoretical instruction be brief are also very frequent. The church order for electoral Saxony of 1580 is characteristic of both traits: "The teachers should not burden the boys with many long, spun-out precepts of art, but should only read to them the *Compendium Musicae* of Faber in which is sufficiently contained what is necessary for them to know."[20] The specification of Heinrich Faber's *Compendiolum Musicae pro Incipientibus*, first printed in Braunschweig in 1548, when Faber was Rector at the Martineum there,[21] is very typical. Easily the most popular treatise of the 16th century, its five chapters deal in the most succinct way with the letter names of the staff, solmization syllables, the quality of the three hexachords, four rules for the mutation of these hexachords, and finally the absolute minimum of information necessary to recognize note values. It is important to mention that this small treatise in no way deals with modes.

The next most popular treatise in 16th-century evangelical Germany was *Musica* by Nicolaus Listenius, first printed in Wittenberg by Georg Rhau in 1537.[22] Its greater complexity was recognized by educators, and the Listenius treatise was used in the upper classes as a complement to Faber's treatise.[23] This work is extremely characteristic of complete music instruction before the introduction of 12-mode teaching. As such, its structure and definitions can be taken almost as normative, and it will serve as a good basis for comparison to later treatises.

The entire treatise is divided into two parts, the first presenting information necessary for singing chant, the second presenting information necessary for singing polyphonic, or figural, music. The chapters of the first part are numbered, dealing with the definition of music, the letter names of notes, clefs, solmization syllables, mutation, hexachords, further instructions for solmization, the moving of clefs from their usual position, melodic intervals, and finally the modes. The second part then adds instruction necessary for the interpretation of the proportional complexities of performing mensural music. The placement of modal teaching at the end of the section dealing with chant is of some import, as will be pointed out later.

At the beginning of the chapter on modes, Listenius offers a short apology

that he has given the material as concisely as possible and has not entered into speculation. Rhymed rules are given for the recognition of a mode in its beginning, middle, and end, followed by notated examples of these rules. The various *differentias*, optional final cadences that create an artistic elision into a given antiphon, are presented for each mode. The psalm intonations in falso-bordone settings end this chapter. Listenius has remained true to his promise to avoid any argument or speculation and has presented the bare musical material necessary for the chant of Matins, Mass, and Vespers. Unlike Glareanus' treatise ten years later, *Musica* contains no attempt to define the modes by their characteristic 4ths or 5ths.

Glareanus' *Dodecachordon* is clearly a document aimed at the purification, or more specifically, the repristination, of chant. The dedication to Bishop Otto Truchsess already clearly expresses Glareanus' complaint of the variations and corruptions in the chant among different nations, dioceses, and orders.[34] The text of the treatise abounds with the desire for restoration; practically every chapter has criticism of "cupiditas rerum novarum."[35] In this rejection is the core of Glareanus' humanistic concern for a restoration based directly on ancient authority. Even in the dedication, Glareanus cites the basis for his new theory—the seven octave species as defined by Boethius, a theorist ransacked throughout the Middle Ages—finally concluding that his 12-mode system is nothing new but was instituted by the ancients.[36] That the *Dodecachordon* is thus a document of restoration of chant in reliance on ancient authority must always be considered alongside its theoretical, technical aspects.

Glareanus' theory is based on the seven species of octave from A to G, species distinguished by varying positions of the semitone. The octaves d–d', e–e', f–f', and g–g' had already been used to define the traditional eight modes in the 10th and 11th centuries. Glareanus used a logical extension of this teaching, which traditionally divided each of these four octaves into a 5th and a 4th, or a 4th and a 5th, and applied it to *all* seven of the octave species. Each octave species can be divided into a 5th plus a 4th, creating an authentic mode, or into a 4th plus a 5th, creating a plagal mode. Fourteen modes thus arise, but two must be rejected (B–f, f–b; f–b, b–f'), since they cannot be divided by a perfect interval. These two rejected modes are *nothi*, illegitimate; the remaining 12 are *genuini*, genuine or legitimate.

In turning to the introduction of the 12 modes in the Lutheran Latin school, it will of course not be possible to survey here all those treatises written for either teacher, student, or composer.[37] Important features may be summarized and these generalities can be taken as a norm, since these treatises are hardly characterized by independent speculation or drastic reorganization of material. The first introduction of the 12-mode system in Germany was Gallus Dressler's *Practica modorum*, printed in Jena in 1561.[38] The dedication is appropriately humanistic, with reference to the pleasantness with which the ancient philosophers contemplated the modes. Glar-

eanus is praised for having cleansed and restored modal teaching after the other arts had been restored from their barbarous captivity.[7] The body of the text presents melodic intervals in a very traditional way, and then stresses the importance of the 4th and 5th in defining modes. Glareanus' 12-mode system is sufficiently distilled, and the modes are defined by his octave species. At this crucial point, however, the new teaching is abandoned in favor of the traditional definitions of the usual eight modes which were contained in Listenius' treatise. The reason for this sudden change may be the practical limitations of Dressler's instruction at Magdeburg. In discussing a motet in the 5th Mode with a signed B-flat, he revives Glareanus' definition of Ionian for such a situation but quickly drops it, as he says, to remain devoted to the boys.[8] That is, he does not want to argue here about the subtleties of the 12 modes and for the sake of simplicity remains with the traditional eight. A cursory attempt has been made at the propagation of 12-mode teaching, but Dressler has not been able to complete it because of the inexperience of his students.

The 12-mode treatise which intervenes between Dressler's two treatises, Nicolaus Roggius' *Musicae practicae sive artis canendi elementa* (1566), is likewise equivocal. To the catechetical question, "How many modes are there?" he answers: "Twelve, but from these only eight, or at the highest nine are used by us."[9] Roggius goes on to give examples of the 12 modes but strictly culls them from chant. "Tropus"-like examples follow his discussion of the different species of 4th and 5th. Various psalm intonations for each of the modes then follow.

By 1571, the year of Dressler's *Musicae practicae elementa*, a new amalgamation of traditional and 12-mode teaching can be seen. This treatise parallels the tripartite structure of the *Dodecachordon* in its division into the rudiments of musical nomenclature, a section on the modes, and finally a section on mensuration. The division is noteworthy since a large, independent second chapter on the modes was not included in school treatises up to this time. Like Roggius, Dressler attempts to combine 12-mode teaching and its ever-present corollary of octave division with the most practical information needed to perform the usual chant repertoire. When examples of the 12 modes are needed, Psalm and Magnificat intonations are given much in the manner of Roggius. But a new, fundamentally important direction comes in Dressler's admonition at the end of the *Secunda Pars*: The teacher should seek out examples of the 12 modes among the recent *polyphonic* collections, for God has aroused excellent composers who show the teaching of the 12 modes in a most beautiful manner.[10]

What is important here is the unequivocal linking of 12-mode teaching to polyphonic music. Modal teaching, as has already been seen, normally took its place at the conclusion of the first part of a treatise, presenting practical tables to be memorized to enable the student to actually perform the chant required by the church. Our archetypal school treatise, Listenius' *Musica*, minimizes speculation on the modes: "Here musicians are used to recounting

many things of the number of modes, and of their recognition, mixing together, etc. So that I may not appear to obscure the material more than illustrate it, I will speak of what pertains to this matter partially in prose, partially in verses, for the sake of the memory of the youth."[31] Sebaldus Heyden, in his *De arte canendi*, printed in Nürnberg (1540), relegates modal teaching to the very last chapter of his treatise, maintaining that it is of little consequence to pursue the limits of plagal and authentic modes and their differences when they have scarcely any relation to polyphonic music.[32] But the 12-mode system, with its division of 4ths and 5ths, was eminently suited to the analysis of the polyphony of the latter 16th century.

The first motet collection to illustrate 12 modes, that of Homerus Herpol, already mentioned, illustrates almost relentlessly how polyphonic lines that clearly delineate the characteristic 5th and 4th of each mode can be constructed.[33] That the teaching of 12 modes is directly applicable to the motet of the late 16th and early 17th centuries is attested by the manifold reprintings, until 1681, of Adam Gumpelzhaimer's *Compendiolum*. This work is particularly illustrative of the final melding of polyphonic and modal theory. Modal examples are almost completely removed from chant formulae, the only reminiscence of older treatises being the tropus formula for each mode. Like Herpol's motets, the brief, untexted polyphonic examples again illustrate the filling-out by conjunct motion of the characteristic 4th and 5th.[34] Gumpelzhaimer is also very careful to show the Cantus and Tenor as the mode-defining voices, the Altus and Bassus being in the corresponding authentic or plagal modes in complement to the two leading voices.[35] That this adaptation to polyphonic theory was successful is demonstrated by the fact that 12-mode teaching within the school program is found in Halle as late as 1661.[36]

The transition from 8-mode chant theory to 12-mode polyphonic theory has not been adequately dealt with in the history of theory. Such an examination would show that the German theorists being discussed here, almost all of whom were cantors and instructors, were crucial in this development. Glareanus, of course, had already applied the 12 modes to the analysis of polyphonic music. What is new is the German theorists' stratification of modal structure within their *Musica Poetica*.

Besides the relevance of the 12 modes to the counterpoint of the time, there is an even more important reason why this modal-polyphonic teaching arises between 1561 and 1571, the dates of Dressler's two treatises. It is precisely during this ten-year span that the singing of polyphony became a regular event in the German Latin school. It is freely admitted that polyphony was sung in schools long before this. Lucas Bacmeister's highly informative eulogy on Lucas Lossius relates how Lossius' uncle had introduced figural singing at the church and school at St. Johannes in Lüneburg in 1516.[37] One marvels that this is a date to be commemorated and celebrated! Polyphony outside of learned circles and highly professional court chapels was hardly a Sunday to Sunday occurrence. Even Glareanus complained he could scarcely bring three people together to sing polyphony.[38]

Many types of information support this thesis. The installation of a cantor for the first time can sometimes be taken as the date for the introduction of polyphony such as in Breslau, ca. 1541;[41] Görlitz, 1567;[42] Prenzlau, and Brandenburg, 1568.[43] Figural music was used for the first time at the Petrikirche in Bautzen in Saxony in 1571, according to city records.[44] Polyphony was definitely not heard in the Barfüsserkirche in Frankfurt am Main until 1573.[45] Remarkably, reference to figural music within music instruction occurs only once in the Pfalz, namely in Speyer, in 1594, a very late date.[46] Even in a large city like Nürnberg, the reinstitution of polyphony after the abolition of endowed memorials requiring singers was not immediate. The restoration of polyphony was not complete until around 1546,[47] and a higher level of excellence was not realized until 1570.[48] The prescription of church orders or the existence of payment records indicated the increasing use between 1580 and 1600 of the Stadtpfeifer every Sunday. The inclusion of instrumentalists within the liturgy is a definite indication of polyphony. In summary, the period of relative peace and culture initiated by the Peace of Augsburg, 1555,[49] greatly enhanced the posture of the Latin school. This created the medium for the expansion and differentiation of classes within the schools, with the ensuing result of initiation or expansion of polyphonic singing.

Reapproaching the first problem stated at the beginning of this paper, why motet cycles of gospel verses were so closely related to the *Dodecachordon*, one finds part of the solution in a comment from a school treatise by one of the gospel motet cycle composers, Andreas Raselius. Raselius, in his *Hexachordum* (Nürnberg, 1589), cites Lucas Lossius' *Psalmodia* by page number for examples of the 12 modes.[50] The *Psalmodia* (Nürnberg, 1553) is a highly confessional document, since its margins and introductory pages for various seasons of the church year are filled with commentary and catechesis on the texts of the chant. The prefatory material in the editions of 1561,[51] including an undated preface and a preface dated 1560 by Lossius, a letter by Melanchthon dated 1550, and a dedication by Lossius dated 1552, is very illuminating. Echoing Glareanus, humanistic concerns, such as how a change in the music damages the state, and Melanchthon's Aristotelian conception of the *sensus Musicus*, are evident.[52] Most helpful to our argument, however, are Lossius' comments in the dedication: "Our book of chant will not confirm papistic idolatry and errors, as if we approved, nor do we want to again carry into the church the hours, canons, masses, vigils, missals, and other idolatries and blasphemies of this type which remain in the songs of the papistic church. On account of this we have selected the purer songs of the ancient church, so that churches and schools, having been truly restored, may have a book containing incorrupt and useful songs. . . ."[53] It is significant that the same complaint of unreformed chant as "corrupt" occurs not only in Raselius' *Hexachordum*, but also in other treatises presenting the 12 modes.[54] Twelve-mode teaching, then, is related by the theorists directly to purity of liturgy and dogma, particularly to that purity that is a repristination, obtained from either a humanistic reliance on classical philosophy, the church fathers, or

scripture. School music, whose primary function is to provide the necessary music for public worship, cannot avoid being thrust into the new confessional delineation following the Peace of Augsburg.

This confessional delineation took on a new urgency immediately after the Peace of Augsburg, since a land had to remain free of Calvinism in order to enjoy the benefits of the treaty. Thus the maintenance of traditional liturgical forms, historically a defense against sectarianism, became a matter of concern for confessional Lutheranism.[15] Liturgical purity was not only a signal to the Holy Roman Empire that the Peace of Augsburg was being adhered to, but it was also a result within Lutheranism of the striving towards unity and "reinen Lehre" in the years immediately before the final stage of the Formula of Concord of 1577. It was at this same time that church orders themselves became highly confessional; that is, their reprintings included the Augsburg Confession and eventually the Formula of Concord. Practical church music was also subsumed under this urgent striving for historical foundation and proof of purity. A church order printed in Marburg in 1566, for the principality of Hesse, is illustrative in its very title,[16] and the texts of the liturgies themselves are interspersed with historical verification taken mainly from the church fathers.[17] The dedication of *Der alten reinen Kirchen Gesenge verdeutschet* (note title again) to Joachim II of Brandenburg in 1569, is yet another illustration.[18] A short historical discourse contains the familiar complaint of the monks corrupting the proper, old song of the ancient church and the substantiation for the preservation of the old, glorious songs of praise, lessons, and prayers.

The tone and even the exact vocabulary of the confessional documents cited above can be easily aligned with Glareanus' treatise. However, Glareanus' reasoned criticisms became polemical in the hands of extremely practical and confessionally aware German theoreticians. For example, Glareanus' restrained complaint that the Lydian pair of modes with a signature of one flat makes them Ionian became more severe in later works of German writers dealing with the 12 modes, particularly in Dressler. Adaptation of Glareanus' speculative style to the dryer catechesis of the school treatises leads to further stratification. Johannes Magirus, in his treatise of 1596, is symptomatic of the late 16th-century emphasis on confining all subjects of education to compact rules and tables in his reliance on the 12 modes as the first basis for proper composition. The singer who is unable to discern the differences between the modes will both ineptly compose and ridiculously sing.[19] In all these treatises can be seen the attempt at a practical definition of a composition that is constructed according to tested, traditional artistic precepts and thus is fitting to a theology and liturgy based on traditional precepts.

The connection between Glareanus' 12-mode system and gospel motet collections strictly organized according to the church year should be much clearer now. The prefaces of Dulichius' two-part cycle, printed in 1598 and 1599, are exemplary within this discussion. The 1598 preface quotes Glar-

canus precisely—that nothing pertains more to music than to be able to judge the modes in a learned manner.[46] The complaint of the rarely found pure Lydian pair of modes is again expressed. In both prefaces Dulichius insists that he has used those modes that are *genuini*, genuine, and that nothing foreign has been added. It would not be out of place to speculate here that this term, used by Glareanus in a technical sense, has in Dulichius taken on a confessional color. That is, his motets can be objectively judged in their use of "genuine" modes, modes that have already been proven to be the result of restorative theory. They can thus be sung within a liturgy that has also been subjected to historic scrutiny.

One more aspect of the connection between Glareanus and the gospel motet cycles needs to be discussed, namely, the nature of the texts themselves. Luther, through his own preaching practice,[47] retained the ancient pericopes of the Roman church from which the individual verses of the motet cycles were derived. In fact, the Reformation actually enhanced the value of the traditional pericopal cycle by reinstituting it as the basis for the Sunday sermon. The church orders themselves unequivocally ordained this cycle to be preached and explained every Sunday.[48] As in the first generation of the Reformation, the historical purity of the ancient pericopes was well established in the Confessional era, being traced back to the time of Charlemagne and even to the patristic era.[49] Thus, since they were established before the decay inflicted by the medieval church, they were worthy of preservation. The traditional pericopes were praised as a wise institution of the Fathers, as a means of good order in the church, as a vessel of the worthiest core of Christian teaching, and as the best means for the instruction of the simple.[50] The Confessional era was forced into further defense of the gospel pericopes against the criticism of Calvinism, which maintained that the selective pericopes and their yearly repetition did not allow for the teaching of the whole of scripture.[51] Such attacks, however, had virtually no effect on the continued application of the pericopal cycle as sermon subjects.

Not only were the pericopes themselves firmly established in the official liturgy and devotion of the Confessional era, the thematic material derived from each pericope became stratified in the course of the 16th century. That is, just as the pericopes were scrutinized, so their exegesis had to be properly carried out. The pericopally derived preaching tradition became solidified in the course of the 16th century in sermon collections called Postilles.[52] A Postille contained sermons for every Sunday and festival of the church year, each sermon usually preceded by the traditional pericope for that particular day. The evangelical Postille tradition was established by Luther, whose own sermons were published in this form in part as early as 1521. His Postilles, and indeed all the Postilles of the 16th and early 17th centuries, were intended as aids for insufficiently educated preachers,[53] and in some cases were read word-for-word from the pulpit.[54] The Postilles were also a very important source for private and family devotion. Andreas Kesler, church superintendant in Coburg and colleague of Melchior Franck, gives testimony both to

the benefits of these Postilles as well as to the merits of the yearly pericopal cycle in his *Theologia casuum conscientiae:*

> Praise and thanks to God, that in our evangelical churches we feel godly blessing in repeated usage. We do not see what damage the festival epistles and gospels do us, but we see much more the benefit, since the parents of the common social level prepare themselves and their children in the gospel books. When doing this they know what kind of text will be handled on Sunday and their memories are strengthened year by year through the repetition of a text.[55]

The strengthening of teaching through yearly repetition of the pericopal cycle implies also that the lessons derived from each pericope remained more or less constant from year to year. That is, both the pericopes and the dogma derived from them became stratified in the Confessional era. The Postille was not a work intended for subtle theological presentation, but rather a means for presenting simple moral and dogmatic teaching. To this end, each pericope carried with it two or three principal didactic points that were elaborated or ornamented from author to author.

Two examples will suffice to illustrate the maintenance of this teaching tradition, particularly within the latter 16th century. The pericope for Laetare, the fourth Sunday in Lent, is John 6:1–15, which relates the feeding of the five thousand. The principal teaching is that Christ will care for corporal as well as spiritual needs. This is easily substantiated by summarizing statements in such Postilles as those by Johannes Spangenberg, *Auszlegung der Epistel und Evangelien* (Nürnberg, 1572); Johann Mathesius, *Postilla* (Nürnberg, 1565); and Veit Dietrich, *Summaria Christlicher Lehr* (Nürnberg, 1565). Nicolaus Hermann's widely disseminated *Die Sontags Evangelia . . . in Gesenge gefasset* (Wittenberg, 1561), although not technically a Postille, nevertheless supports the teaching tradition for this pericope in its summarizing final prayer, which is the thanksgiving for spiritual and bodily bread. The traditional evangelical interpretation of the gospel pericope for the 18th Sunday after Trinity (the questioning of Jesus by the Pharisees as to the greatest law) is particularly apt to be explored here, as it incorporates the central Lutheran dichotomy of Law and Gospel. Veit Dietrich in his *Summaria* writes that the "Summa" of this pericope is that the two questions are related: Christ gives the finest law, but man is entirely lacking in the means to do it; therefore Christ declares himself to be son of God.[56] Spangenberg lays out clearly the difference between the two questions of this pericope, the one about Law, the other about Gospel.

Just as the Postilles carried out very traditional themes for every Sunday and festival of the church year, so the gospel motet cycles were compositions based on the most succinct, summarizing texts. These summarizing texts, or *Kernsprüche*, are often expressed directly in the Postilles themselves. Dietrich's *Summaria* has a summarizing verse along with his exposition that very often coincides with the text set by the composers of the gospel motet cycles. Even

more illustrative of the selection of individual verses as keystones for the Sunday pericopes is Casper Melissander's *Kinder Postill* (Leipzig, 1611). The pericopes are summarized as briefly as possible, then the *Kernsprüche* are presented to be memorized, ordered from the most important to be learned by even the youngest children to those for older children. Invariably this list of verses coincides with verses selected for the gospel motet cycles.

The texts of the gospel motet cycles themselves are proof of a very firm tradition. Among the three Protestant composers of cycles organized according to the 12 modes, Raselius, Dulichius, and Demantius, there is astounding agreement in the text selection. The text used by all three composers for the first Sunday in Advent is Matthew 21:9; that for the fourth Sunday in Advent is John 1:26–27; for the fifth Sunday after Easter, John 16:23–24, and so on. There are, of course, discrepancies, but these usually entail the composition of verses that surround the actual *Kernsprüche*. It is also very interesting that the discrepancies in text selection for the most part occur between the Latin motets of Dulichius and the German motets of Raselius and Demantius. That is, the texts in German set by Raselius and Demantius are virtually the same, while Dulichius' texts deviate.[11] It is very easy to speculate that the German gospel motets show a striving toward a propagation of the very fixed preaching tradition to a higher degree than the Latin motets.

The actual individual verses set to music by the composers in question were by no means selected at the whim of the composer. The texts were set because they reflected a summarizing teaching, a teaching that itself rested in a preaching tradition that in essence was subject to only slight variation. The texts themselves, then, were pure and *rein*, and thus part of that whole complex of confessional ideas already outlined. The application of the genuine modes of the *Dodecachordon* to pericopes that were used by the ancient church, and even more precisely to specific verses which contained dogmatic implications in their very isolation, makes the circle complete.

Several elements—social, musico-historical, and theological—came together in the decade from 1561 to 1571 to make the acceptance of Glareanus' 12-mode teaching possible. The expansion of the Latin school and a period of relative security made possible the regular use of polyphony. The polyphony of this era could most succinctly be described in terms of the 12 modes, rather than by the traditional 8 modes. The theory of the 12 modes was particularly suited to the practical necessity of short theoretical instruction within the school day. Modal theory could be much more quickly taught by a simple table of 5ths and 4ths rather than by tables to be memorized containing the specific melodic intricacies of the traditional eight modes. Finally, the confessional emphasis on liturgy, particularly as it was the result of a restoration of ancient practice, required a church music that could be objectively evaluated as being based on similar ancient principles. A *Kernspruch*, itself easily identifiable as doctrinally proper through the Postille tradition, when set to this music based on ancient, and thus equally proper tradition, produced a composition that was confessionally justifiable throughout. The con-

densation of Glareanus' teaching in Germany was both the result and symptom of regular, liturgical polyphonic music and an urgency to show objectively, according to ancient principles, that polyphonic music was both aesthetically and doctrinally "genuine."

NOTES

[1] See especially Walter Thomas Atcherson, *Modal Theory of Sixteenth-Century German Theorists* (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1960); Ignace Bossuyt, "Die 'Psalmi Poenitentiales' (1570) des Alexander Utendal. Ein künstlerisches Gegenstück der Busspsalmen von O. Lassus und eine praktische Anwendung von Glareans Theorie der zwölf Modi," in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 38 (1981), pp. 279–95; Clement A. Miller, "The *Dodecachordon*: Its Origins and Influence on Renaissance Musical Thought," in *Musica Disciplina* 15 (1961), pp. 156–66.

[2] Friedrich Zoepfl, *Das Bistum Augsburg und seine Bischöfe im Reformationsjahrhundert* (Munich: Schnell & Steiner, 1969), pp. 276ff. See also Miller, p. 162.

[3] Johann Wanning, *Sententiae insignieres ex euangeliis dominicalibus* (Danzig and Venice, 1584, 1590); Andreas Raselius, *Teutscher Sprüche aus den Sontäglichen Euangeliis durchs gantze Jar* (Nürnberg, 1594–1595); Friedrich Weissensee, *Euangelischer Sprüche Aus den Euangelien der vornemsten . . . Festtagen gezogen* (Erfurt, 1595); Philipp Dulichius, *Novum opus musicum* (Stettin, 1595, 1598); Seth Calvisius, *Biciniorum libri duo* (Leipzig, 1599); Georg Otto, *Bicinia* (Ms., Kassel, 1601); Georg Otto, *Opus musicum novum* (Kassel, 1604); Christoph Demantius, *Corona harmonica* (Leipzig, 1610); Melchior Vulpius, *Deutscher Sontäglicher Euangelischer Sprüche* (Jena, 1612, 1614); Thomas Elsbeth, *Sontäglicher Euangelien fürnembsten Texte* (Liegnitz, 1616, 1621); Melchior Franck, *Gemmulae Euangeliorum Musicae* (Coburg, 1623). Similar listings are to be found in *Key Words in Church Music*, ed. Carl Schalk (St. Louis: Concordia, 1978), p. 172; and in Hans Moser, *Die mehrstimmige Vertonung der Evangeliums*, 2nd edition (rpt. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1968), p. 26. The listing in *Key Words* is incorrect in including Volckmar Leisring's *Cymbalum Davidicum* (Jena, 1611), since it is a variegated collection of psalm, gospel, and devotional Latin texts. The Moser listing is similarly misleading by including the large Latin motet collections by Päminger and Handl, which are also based on a variety of scriptural texts.

[4] Arnold Geering, "Homer Herpol und Manfred Barbarini Lupus," in *Festschrift Karl Nef zum 60. Geburtstag* (Zurich: Gebrüder Hug & Co., 1933), p. 53.

[5] "Lutheran Confession," in *Lutheran Cyclopedia*, 2nd ed. (St. Louis: Concordia, 1975), p. 501.

[6] Ernst Wolf, "Konkordienformel," in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3rd ed. (1959), Bd. 3, col. 1777–78. It should be pointed out that the term "Confessionalism" to describe a specific period in Lutheran church history is somewhat problematic. E. Schott, "Konfessionalismus," in *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Bd. 3, col. 1747–49, defines it as a 19th-century movement toward the revival of the confessional documents of the 16th century. Friedrich Blume, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenmusik* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), pp. 79–82, defines the Confessional era as that period from shortly after the death of Luther to the death of J. S. Bach, that is, from the time of the political and theological formulation which led to the Formula of Concord through the period in which this document was arbitrarily signed by all those working in any official capacity for the orthodox Lutheran church. For this article, Confessionalism will refer to those decades which encompassed and immediately followed the acceptance of the Formula of Concord in central Germany, that is, c. 1560 to 1630.

[7] Otto Fridolin Fritzsche, *Glarean: Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Frauenfeld: J. Huber, 1890), p. 46.

[8] Ibid., p. 45.

[9] Ibid., p. 53.

[10] F. W. Sternfeld, "Music in the Schools of the Reformation," *Musica Disciplina* 2 (1948), p. 99.

[11] Georg Schünemann, *Geschichte der deutschen Schulmusik*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig: Fr. Kistner &

C. F. W. Siegel, 1931), p. 92.

[12] "*Quoniam igitur primus tenet religio, sacris canticus et recitationibus et concionibus primas damus . . . ,*" Johannes Sturm, "De Psalmodia," in *Classicorum epistolarum Liber III* (1565). [Reprinted in R. Vormbaum, *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh, 1860), p. 705.]

[13] Sternfeld, p. 100.

[14] Hans Ockel, *Geschichte des höheren Schulwesens in Bayerisch-Schwaben während der vorbayerischen Zeit.* Monumenta Germaniae Pedagogica, Bd. LX (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1931), p. 128.

[15] Vormbaum, pp. 297–345.

[16] Friedrich Koldewey, *Schulordnungen der Stadt Braunschweig vom Jahre 1251–1828*, Bd. I, Monumenta Germaniae Pedagogica, Bd. I (Berlin: A. Hofmann & Comp., 1886), pp. 157–61.

[17] Koldewey, pp. 146–57.

[18] Vormbaum, p. 637.

[19] Vormbaum, pp. 489–95.

[20] Johann Rautenstrauch, *Luther und die Pflege der kirchlichen Musik in Sachsen (14.–19. Jahrhundert). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der katholischen Bruderschaften, der vor- und nachreformatorischen Kurrenden, Schulchöre und Kantoreien Sachsens* (Leipzig, 1907), p. 72.

[21] Friedrich Sassenmann, *Die Musik als Unterrichtsgegenstand in den evangelischen Lateinschulen des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: E. Ebering, 1904), p. 40.

[22] George Schünemann, ed., *Musica Nicolai Listenii ab authore denuo recognita multisque novis regulis et exemplis adaucta. Norimbergae apud Johan. Petreium Anno M.D.XLIX* (Berlin: Martin Breslauer, 1927).

[23] In Halberstadt, Berlin, and Neuhaldensleben. See Schünemann, *Musica Nicolai Listenii*, p. xvi.

[24] Henricus Glareanus, *Dodecachordon* (Facs. New York: Broude Brothers, 1967), Prefatio: "*. . . quod cantus Ecclesiastici sint mire hodie per diversas nationes variati, praeterea discordibus ac ordinibus mutati, denique, a multis male depravati.*"

[25] H. Birtner, *Studien zur niederländisch-humanistischen Musikanschauung* (Heidelberg, 1930), p. 10.

[26] *Dodecachordon*, Prefatio: "*Contat igitur non esse novum rem hanc nostram de XII Modis assertionem, sed probam antiquitatis instaurationem.*"

[27] Within Germany up to the time of the Thirty Years' War these are (in order of first printing): Gallus Dressler, *Practica modorum explicatio* (Jena, 1561); Nicolaus Roggius, *Musicae practicae sive artis canendi elementa, modorumque musicorum doctrina* (Nürnberg, 1566); Gallus Dressler, *Musicae practicae elementa* (Magdeburg, 1571); Christoph Praetorius, *Erotemata musices* (Wittenberg, 1574); Johann Thomas Freigius (Conrad Stuberus), *Paedagogus* (Basel, 1582); Eucharius Hoffmann, *Doctrina de Tonis seu modis musicis* (Greifswald, 1582); Valentin Goetting, *Compendium musicae modulativae* (Erfurt, 1587); Andreas Raselius, *Hexachordum seu quaestiones musicae practicae* (Nürnberg, 1589); Adam Gumpeltzhaimer, *Compendium musicae* (Augsburg, 1591); Cyriacus Schneegass, *Isagoges musicae libri duo* (Erfurt, 1591); Seth Calvisius, *Melopoia sive melodiae condendae ratio* (Erfurt, 1592); Johann Magirus, *Artis musicae methodice legibus logicis informata libri duo* (Frankfurt, 1596); Valentin Gueck, *Musica methodice conscripta et in ordinem brevem redacta* (Ms., Kassel, 1598); Seth Calvisius, *Exercitationes musicae duae* (Leipzig, 1600); Peter Eichmann, *Oratio de divina origine* (Stettin, 1600); Peter Eichmann, *Praecepta musicae practicae sive elementa artis canendi* (Stettin, 1604); Maternus Beringer, *Musica, das ist die Singkunst, der lieben Jungen in Frag und Antwort verfasset* (Nürnberg, 1605); Eucharius Hoffmann, *Brevis synopsis de modis seu tonis musicis* (Rostock, 1605); Johann Kretzschmar, *Musica latino-germanica* (Leipzig, 1605); Otto Siegfried Harnisch, *Artis musicae delineatio* (Frankfurt, 1608); Melchior Vulpius, *Musicae compendium* (Jena, 1608); Bartholomaeus Gesius, *Synopsis musicae practicae* (Frankfurt a. d. O., 1609); Maternus Beringer, *Musicae, das ist der freyen lieblichen Singkunst erster und andrer Theil* (Nürnberg, 1610); Seth Calvisius, *Exercitatio musica tertia* (Leipzig, 1611); Johannes Lippius, *Synopsis musicae novae* (Strassburg, 1612); Johannes Nucius, *Musicae Poeticae* (Neisse, 1613); Johann Christoph Demantius, *Isagoge artis musicae . . . cui additus est Nicolai Reggii gottingensis tractatus de intervallis et modis musicis* (Goslar, 1617) (Note that earlier editions of Demantius' treatise do not deal with modes at all); Heinrich Elsmann, *Compendium musicae latino-germanicum* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619); Daniel Friderici, *Musica figuralis* (Rostock,

1618); Johann Magirus, *Musicae rudimenta* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619); Joachim Thuringus, *Opusculum bipertitum* (Berlin, 1624); Johann Crüger, *Praecepta musicae practicae figuralis* (Berlin, 1625); Erasmus Sartorius, *Institutionum musicarum tractatio nova et brevis* (Hamburg, 1635). The more speculative works of Joachim Burmeister are not included, since they are intended for the composer rather than the Latin school student.

[32] Bossuyt, p. 284, is incorrect in stating that the *Practica modorum* does not deal with 12 modes.

[33] "*Sed ut aliae bonae artes longo tempore in tanta superioris aetatis barbarie situ sunt obductae, ita et haec doctrina ignota et sepulta iacuit. Repurgatis vero reliquis artibus inventus est clarissimus vir Henricus Glareanus, qui hanc quoque Musices partem repurgaret, et ex vetustissimis atque optimis autoribus restitueret.*"

[34] "*. . . sed pueris nunc inservio.*"

[35] "*Duodecim, sed ex his tantum octo, aut ad summam nobis noti, et in usu sunt.*"

[36] Dressler, Part II, chap. viii, "*Extant exempla duodecim Modorum musicissima Norinbergae his proximis annis impressa, ex quibus huius artis studiosi ambitus clausulas et alia necessaria cognoscent. Nam Deus non tantum Theoricos, sed etiam excellentes Poeticos Musicos hoc tempore excitavit, qui doctrinam duodecim modorum pulcherrimis Cantionibus illustrarunt.*"

[37] "*Multa commemorare solent hic Musici de Tonorum numero, eorumque cognitione, commixtione etc. Ego ne videar sesquipedalis verbis, materiam plus obscurare quam illustrare, breviter quod ad rem ac negotium spectat, partim prosa, partim versiculis, memoriae iuvandae gratia, dicam. . . .*" *Musica Nicolai Listenii*, Schünemann, ed., chap. X.

[38] Heyden, Part II, chap. viii, "*De industria mihi hic temperabo a longiore Tonorum descriptione. Quod enim opus est Autentas ac Plagales Tonorum, ut vocant, limitationes, et cuique illorum superadditas differentias, religiosius prosequi, quarum in figuratis cantibus pene nullam rationem haberi cernimus?*"

[39] This is particularly clear in the last 12 motets, in which the harmonic and arithmetic divisions must be particularly emphasized as structural, since these 12 motets are organized according to octave species.

[40] Adam Gumpelzhaimer, *Compendium Musicae Latino-Germanicum*, Louise Cuyler, ed. (facs. rpt. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1965), pp. 17ff.

[41] For a detailed discussion of adjacent voices forming this plagal-authentic complement among 16th- and 17th-century theorists, see Bernhard Meier, *Die Tonarten der klassischen Vokalpolyphonie* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, Scheltema & Holkema, 1974), pp. 43ff. It is interesting to note that the earliest source cited by Meier is Dressler, *Practica modorum explicatio* (1561). His discussion could perhaps have centered more on Glareanus, who notes the coincidence of authentic-plagal voice pairs in the works of Josquin (*Dodecachordon*, pp. 362ff.). Glareanus is far from prescribing a regular system; his explanation of a Dorian or Phrygian Tenor having an Aeolian Bass, and so on, arising from the very nature of the modes should be recalled ("*. . . non sane Symphonetarum ingenio quaesitam, sed rerum natura id ita disponente.*" *Dodecachordon*, p. 251). Glareanus' ease in this matter should be compared to the German theorists' insistence on modal pairs. Like Meier, I believe these modal pairs are easily to be found within the repertoire of this Central and North-Central German tradition, but I would hesitate to make it apply to the entire "classical-polyphonic" tradition as Meier does. The important point for my argument is the polyphonic adaptation of modal teaching within a very specific tradition, that of the Lutheran Latin School.

[42] R. Vormbaum, *Die evangelischen Schulordnungen des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Gütersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1863), pp. 339–40.

[43] *Oratio de Lucas Lossio . . .* (Rostock, 1586).

[44] *Dodecachordon*, p. 178: "*Adeo rarum est vel tres hac in re simul convenire posse.*"

[45] Klaus Wolfgang Niemöller, *Untersuchungen zu Musikpflege und Musikunterricht an den deutschen Lateinschulen vom ausgehenden Mittelalter bis um 1600* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1969), p. 7.

[46] Ibid., p. 42.

[47] Ibid., pp. 54–55.

[48] Herbert Biehle, *Musikgeschichte von Bautzen bis zum Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: Fr. Kistner & C. F. W. Siegel, 1924), p. 62.

[49] Edmund Friese, "Verzeichnis der Kantoren an der St. Bartholomäus- (jetzigen Dom-) Kirche in Frankfurt a/M. nach der Frankfurt (a/M.) Chronik I. Teil," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte* 23 (1891), p. 185.

[40] Niemöller, p. 447.

[41] Bartlett Butler, *Liturgical Music in Sixteenth-Century Nürnberg: A Socio-Musical Study* (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1970), p. 565.

[42] Butler, p. 568.

[43] Lewis W. Spitz, "Further Lines of Inquiry for the Study of Reformation and Pedagogy," *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, Charles Trinkaus and Heiko A. Oberman, eds. (Leiden, 1974), p. 435.

[44] F. Onkelbach, *Lucas Lossius und seine Musiklehre* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1960), p. 209.

[45] The *Psalmodia* went through a total of six editions: 1553, 1561, 1569, 1579, 1580, 1595. See Onkelbach, p. 85, n. 82.

[46] Onkelbach, p. 86, n. 83.

[47] "*Neque vero hoc nostrum exemplum Papisticum εἰδωλοποιΐαν & errores confirmabit, quasi approbemus nos, aut iterum in Ecclesias inuehere velimus horas, ut vocant, canonicas, Missas, Vigilias, Agendas, & id genus reliquas idololatricas & blasphemas in Deum cantiones, Papisticae Ecclesiae. Nam propterea nos hanc cantica pariter ceteris Ecclesiae selegimus, ut Ecclesiae & Scholae recte instauratae haberent librum continentem incorruptas & utiles cantiones. . . .*" Lossius, *Psalmodia*, f. B3.

[48] Martin Ruhnke, *Joachim Burmeister: Ein Beitrag zur Musiklehre um 1600* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955), p. 128, n. 253.

[49] Butler, p. 361, n. 305.

[50] "*Kirchenordnung . . . für die Kirchen im dem Furstenthumb Hessen Aus der Aposteln / irer Nachfolger und anderer alten Christlicher reiner Lehrer schrifften gestellet.*"

[51] It is very interesting to note that instructions for clear, understandable chanting of the lessons are substantiated by reference to Athanasius and Rhabanus Maurus (fol. lxvii').

[52] Philipp Wackernagel, *Das deutsche Kirchenlied von der ältesten Zeit bis zu Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts*, Bd. I (Leipzig, 1864, rpr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1964), pp. 839–41.

[53] Eckhard Nolte, *Johannes Magirus (1558–1631) und seine Musiktraktate* (Marburg: Gorich & Weiershauser, 1971), p. 283.

[54] *Dodecachordon*, p. 251.

[55] A. Nebe, *Die evangelischen Perikopen der Kirchenjahrs wissenschaftlich und erbaulich ausgelegt*, 2nd ed., Bd. 1 (Wiesbaden, 1875), p. 23.

[56] Hans-Henrik Krummacher, *Der junge Gerhhius und die Tradition* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1976), p. 55.

[57] Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma Musicum*, Bd. I (1614–15): "*Sunt, qui tradunt Lectionum Ecclesiasticarum exercitia, imperante Carolo M. primum esse instituta. . . . Siquidem ex Scriptis Patrum, qui aetatem Caroli M. praecesserunt, liquido constat in certa tempora iamdudum diuisas fuisse lectiones et historias.*"

[58] Krummacher, pp. 58–59.

[59] Herwarth von Schade, "Das fünfte Verbrechen: Joachim Westphal, Johannes Calvin und die Perikopenfrage im 16. Jahrhundert," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie*, Bd. 22 (1978), pp. 124–29.

[60] Krummacher, pp. 507–59, gives a sizable but far from complete bibliography of Postilles from the 16th to the 18th centuries.

[61] Alfred Niebergall, "Die Geschichte der christlichen Predigt," *Liturgia*, Bd. 2 (Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag), p. 271.

[62] Nebe, Bd. 1, p. 55.

[63] "*Gott lob und dank, in unsern Euangelischen Kirchen spüren wir bey üblichen gebrauch auch göttlichen segen, und sehen nicht, was uns die Feyertägliche Epistel und Euangelia schaden sondern viel mehr den Nutzen, das die Eltern in gemeinen Stand sich und ihre kinder vorbereiten in den Euangelienbüchern, dieweil sie wissen, was vor ein Text am Sonntag wird gehandelt und ihr Gedächtnis jährlich gestercket werde durch eines Textes widerholung.*" Andreas Keuler, *Theologia Casuum Conscientiae . . . Das ist; Schrifftmässige und Ausführliche Erörterung unterschiedener denckwürdiger fund fürnemlich auff die gegenwärtige Zeit gerichteter Gewissens Fragen* (Wittenberg: Michael Wendt, 1658). Cited in Nebe, Bd. 1, p. 55.

[64] Veit Dietrich, *Summaria Christlicher Lehr / für das junge Volck. Was auff ein jeden Sontags Euangelio zu mercken sey* (Nürnberg, 1546), Sermon for the 18th Sunday after Trinity. "Wie der Schrifft-

gelerte erstlich Christum fraget / von dem fürnemsten Gebet im Gesetz / Christus aber die Phariseer wider fraget / wes Son Christus sey."

[1] Compare the texts among these three composers for the second and third Sundays in Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, the second Sunday after Epiphany, and the fourth Sunday after Epiphany, to offer only a few examples.

Concerning the Liturgical Usage of Dufay's Fragmentary Masses*

By Lia Laar

The early liturgical work of Guillaume Dufay includes, among other compositions, twenty-eight fragmentary settings—single movements, pairs, and two *missae breves*—of the ordinary of the Mass.[1] Most of these settings have been dated by Charles Hamm as far back as the 1430s; some, however, were composed later.[2] It is well known that during this period Dufay also completed cycles of hymns and sequences for all the major feasts of the liturgical year. This paper is a preliminary attempt at identifying the liturgical usage of certain of those fragmentary mass settings by Dufay.

The liturgical usage of Dufay's fragmentary masses has been discussed by Heinrich Besseler, but there are certain limitations to his study. In his critical notes to the modern edition, Besseler identifies most of the chants intercalated into these pieces and he outlines their liturgical usage.[3] Besseler, however, could not identify the usage of all the fragments, and his conclusions about the liturgical place of those identified may need revisions, for he relied upon a relatively modern chant source, the *Graduale Romanum*.[4] According to the evidence of older chant sources, several chants may well have served different liturgical purposes than those assigned to them in modern collections.

In attempting to clarify the liturgical usage of Dufay's fragmentary masses according to the chants paraphrased in them, various studies of *ordinarium* chants have been examined by the author.[5] In addition, the liturgical usages of the paraphrased chants as they appear in the *Graduale Romanum* (hereafter abbreviated *GR*) and in a Venetian gradual from the fifteenth century, the *Graduale Secundum morem Sancte Romane ecclesie* (hereafter abbreviated *GV*)[6] have been compared. The author has also examined the content of the tropes paraphrased in the fragmentary masses, the rubrics of the various fragments as they appear in several manuscripts, and the liturgical context assigned to some of the movements in the Trent Codex, No. 92–1 (hereafter abbreviated Tr. 92–1).

The chants paraphrased in sixteen of the movements and their probable liturgical usage, according to both the *GR* and *GV*, are presented in table 1. The numeration (using Arabic numerals in parentheses) of the movements to be used hereafter in both table and text is Besseler's from the Dufay *Opera Omnia*. Certain discrepancies between the two chant sources should be noted; for example, the chant melodies of Kyrie XIV and Gloria XIV, as they are numbered according to the *GR*, are numbered differently—as Kyrie 4 and Gloria 7—and given a different liturgical function in the *GV*. As mentioned already, Besseler identified these according to the *GR*.

Besseler also drew a tenuous relationship between Dufay's Sanctus (7),

TABLE 1

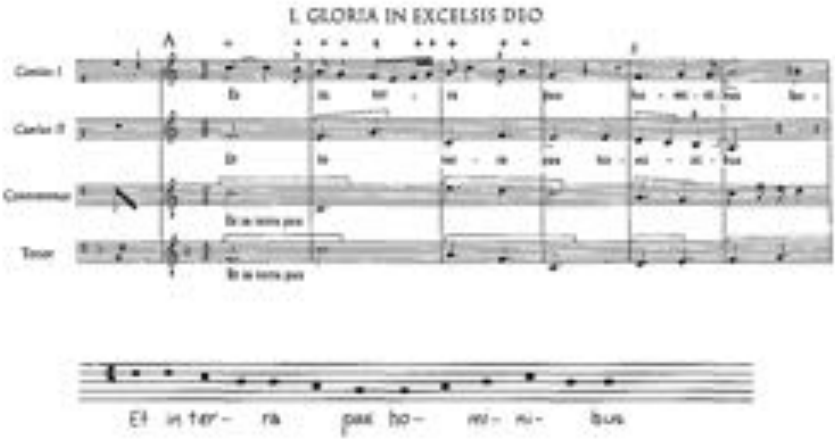
Movement	Chant (*GR*)	Rubric	Chant (*GV*)	Rubric
Agnus Custos et Pastor	(7) IX	In festis B. Mariae Virginis I	—	—
Sanctus	(8) VIII	In festis duplicibus V.	4	In festis minoribus semiduplicibus
Agnus	(8) VIII	In festis duplicibus V.	—	—
Kyrie Pater Cuncta	(9) XII	In festis semiduplicibus I.	7	In festis maioribus simplicibus
Kyrie Cunctipotens Genitor	(10) IV	In festis duplicibus I.	2	In festis minoribus duplicibus
Kyrie Orbis Factor	(11) XI	In dominicis infra annum	5	In dominicis diebus
Kyrie Orbis Factor	(12) XI	In dominicis infra annum	5	In dominicis diebus
Kyrie Jesu Redemptor	(13) XIV	Infra octavas quae non sunt de B. Mariae Virgine	4	In festis minoribus semiduplicibus
Kyrie Cum Jubilo	(14) IX	In festis B. Mariae Virginis I	—	—
Kyrie Lux et Origo	(15) I	Tempore paschali	—	—
Kyrie fons Bonitatis	(16) II	In festis solemnibus I	1	In festis maioribus duplicibus
Kyrie fons Bonitatis	(17) II	In festis solemnibus I	1	In festis maioribus duplicibus

Gloria Spiritus et Alme	(24)	IX	In festis B. Mariae Virginis I	—	—
Gloria In Dominicis	(25)	XI	In dominicis infra annum	5	In dominicis diebus
Gloria In Galli Cantu	(26)	XIV	Infra octavas quae non sunt de B. Mariae Virgine	7	In festis maioribus simplicibus
Gloria	(27)	XV	In festis simplicibus	8	In festis minoribus simplicibus

NOTES
Arabic numerals in parentheses are Besseler's from the Dufay *Opera Omnia*.
GR = *Graduale Romanum*
GV = *Graduale Secundum morem Sancte Romane ecclesie* (Venice, 1499)

identified as "Papale" in Tr. 92–I, and Sanctus VIII of the *GR*.[7] The association, implied by evidence from the *GR*, is again contradicted by the *GV*. Neither the musical relationship that Besseler suggests nor the liturgical context of the movement is clear. The text of the trope, "Ave verum corpus," which is intercalated in Sanctus (7), suggests a place for this movement in the liturgical year: it was probably designated for Corpus Christi, a major rank feast. One must also consider the rubric "Papale" attached to this movement which implies that it was to be sung when the Pope himself participated and celebrated the mass in the most important feasts. Sanctus VIII, however, is designated for feasts of various ranks on the liturgical hierarchy, namely "festis duplicibus" (according to the *GR*) or "festis minoribus semiduplicibus" (according to the *GV*). Attributions suggested by tropes and rubrics will be discussed at greater length below.

One more paraphrased plainsong identified among the fragmentary masses might be added to the chants identified by Besseler. Cantus I of Gloria (5) resembles an Italian Gloria, No. 34 in Detlev Bosse's collection (see example 1).[8]



Example 1. Guillaume Dufay, "Gloria in excelsis Deo," from a Gloria-Credo pair, Mass fragment no. 5, mm.1–6 (*Opera Omnia*, ed. H. Besseler, CMM 1, IV, 31); Gloria, no. 34, after Detlev Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien* (Regensburg, 1955), p. 95.

Table 2 lists the fragmentary masses that incorporated tropes. The trope texts suggest appropriate liturgical functions. The usage of the tropes intercalated in Sanctus (2), Credo (4), Sanctus (7), and Gloria (24) has already been identified in Chevalier's *Repertorium hymnologicum*,[9] the *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*,[10–11] and by Gustave Reese.[12] The liturgical context of Agnus (7) could not be identified according to its trope text.

The subject of the Gloria (4) trope is resurrection, and thus the fragment

might have been designated for Easter; an exact source for the trope has not been identified, however. Besseler assumes that the trope text "resurrexit dominus" is Dufay's. He claims: "It seems that the trope is unknown elsewhere in exactly the form it takes up here, and so it may be that the text was written by Dufay himself or at least someone among his immediate circle."[52] Besseler's attribution must be treated with care, for the trope to Gloria (4), "Resurrexit dominus et apparuit Petro," appears in the communion for the Monday of Easter in the *Liber Usualis*, as "Surrexit dominus et apparuit Petro, Alleluia."[53] This contemporary source would apparently support the hypothesis that Gloria (4) is designated for Easter.

Table 3 lists rubrics of the fragmentary masses taken from various manuscripts; table 4 presents the liturgical contexts assigned to the various movements in Tr. 92–1. This data can be used to help determine their place in the liturgy. Each gathering of Tr. 92–1, suggests Tom Ward,[54] seems to have been similar to the fascicle manuscripts,[55] so that the various compositions included in each gathering are related. Hence, the liturgical function of Dufay's mass movements might be derived from the context of the gathering in which they appear. For example, the liturgical usage of Sanctus (6) (folio 6'–7' in Tr. 92–1) might be considered related to the third mass of Christmas, as the introitus "Puer natus est nobis" suggests (see table 4).

The use of Kyrie (15) (folio 24) during Easter is suggested by its Paschal

TABLE 2

Movement		Trope	Feast
Sanctus	(2)	"qui januas mortis"	Easter
Gloria	(4)	"resurrexit dominus"	Easter
Credo	(4)	"dic Maria"	Easter
Sanctus	(7)	"Ave verum corpus"	Corpus Christi
Agnus	(7)	"Custos et pastor"	—
Gloria	(24)	"Spiritus et alme"	Marian feasts

rubric (see table 3) and confirmed by the liturgical context within which it appears in Tr. 92–1 (see table 4): it was copied into the manuscript together with another Easter piece by Dufay, the sequence "Victime Paschali." Kyrie (10) (folio 27) might be viewed as a Pentecost Kyrie, because the introitus "Spiritus domini" and the two settings of the hymn "Veni creator spiritus" are present in the same gathering. Kyrie (11) (folio 38'), as its rubric "in diebus dominicis" implies, might have been designated for Sundays throughout the year, or it might have been especially designated for Trinity Sunday, as the introitus, "Benedicta sit Sancta Trinitas" implies.

Kyrie (14) and Gloria (24) are designated for the Marian feasts in the *GR* (see table 1). The fact that these movements are placed within the gathering

TABLE 3

Movement		Manuscript	Rubric
Sanctus	(7)	Tr. 92, 213'–215	Papale
Kyrie Cunctipotens Genitor	(10)	Tr. 93	Solempne
Kyrie Orbis Factor	(11)	Tr. 87, 94; Tr. 90, 81'–82; Tr. 93, 112'113; Em. 33'–34; Tr. 92, 38'	de Martiribus in diebus dominicis
Kyrie Orbis Factor	(12)	BL, 126	in dominicis diebus
Kyrie Jesu Redemptor	(13)	Tr. 87, 93; Tr. 87, 101'–102	de apostolis
Kyrie lux et origo	(15)	Tr. 90, 75–75'; Tr. 93; 106–106', Em. 34'–35	Paschale
Kyrie Fons Bonitatis	(16)	BL, 127; Tr. 90, 64'–65; Tr. 93; 93'–94; Em. 127'–128	fons bonitatis
Kyrie	(18)	BL 128	in Semiduplicibis maioribus
Gloria In Quadragesima	(23)	BL 190	de quaremiaux
Gloria in Galli Cantu	(26)	Tr. 92, 149'–150	in galli cantu
Gloria	(27)	Tr. 92, 150'–151	dominicale minus

TABLE 4

Movement		Context in Tr. 92–1	Feast
Sanctus	(6)	"Puer natus et nobis"–introitus	Third Mass of Christmas
Kyrie	(15)	"Victime Paschali"–sequence	Easter
Kyrie	(10)	"Spiritus domini"–introitus; "Veni creator"–hymns	Pentecost
Kyrie	(11)	"Benedicta sit sancta Trinitas"–introitus	Trinity Sunday
Kyrie	(14)	Liebert Marian Masses	Marian Feasts
Gloria	(24)	Liebert Marian Masses	Marian Feasts
Gloria	(25)	"Asperges me"	Sunday
Gloria	(5)	"In medio ecclesiae"–introitus	Common of Doctors

in Tr. 92–I that follows Liebert's Marian Mass supports this notion. The liturgical usage of Gloria (25) is suggested by the paraphrasing of Gloria XI "In dominicis" of the *GR* (see table 1). This function is confirmed by the "Asperges Me" (celebrated on Sundays only) which follows the Gloria (folio 91'–92) in the Trent codex. The introitus of the mass cycle in which Gloria (5) is placed in Tr. 92–I (folio 13'–15) is entitled "In medio ecclesiae," the designation for the Common of Doctors. The precise liturgical rank of this feast could not be determined since the identity of the specific saint for whom the mass was assembled is unknown.

The four tables discussed above are summarized in one table, table 5, which presents the liturgical usages of various movements according to the criteria used in the present study. The specific liturgical usage of seven of the mass fragments still awaits clarification, as they might be ascribed different liturgical functions according to various criteria (see table 5, the seven mass fragments marked by #, *, †, ÷, /, ‡, ˣ).

Of these seven movements, Kyrie "Cunctipotens Genitor" (10), if judged by its liturgical context in Tr. 92–I, should serve as a Pentecost Kyrie. Its rubric (see table 3) supports this assumption. The paraphrased plainsong, however, indicates that this Kyrie is designated for a Duplex feast or a feast of lower rank (see table 1). These two assumptions would seem mutually exclusive, but the *Analecta hymnica* states that the trope "Cunctipotens Genitor" had various liturgical usages.[11] Indeed, it might be used in feasts of various ranks, for example, in "festa duplicia et capitalia," "magnae sollemnitates," "duplicibus minoribus," "semiduplicibus."

According to Guido Adler, the rubric of Gloria (26), "In Galli Cantu," indicates that the piece was composed for the first mass of Christmas.[12] Its paraphrased cantus, however, might indicate its usage to be in lower-rank feasts (see table 1). The possible attributions of the Kyrie "Orbis Factor" (11) have been discussed above. Kyrie "Jesu Redemptor" (13) is designated, according to its rubric, for the feasts of Apostles. The paraphrased chant, however, might indicate its usage to be in a lower-rank feast, i.e., "minoribus semi duplicibus" (see table 1).

Sanctus (7) is designated, according to its rubric (see table 3), for feasts in which the Pope participates. The liturgical context, however, might indicate its usage to be in Corpus Christi (see table 5). The intercalated "Qui Januas" trope in Sanctus (2) is an Easter prosula. Whether "Sanctus Vineux," which is also paraphrased in this movement, indicates a different liturgical usage is presently unknown.[13]

At this stage, it seems plausible to assume that Dufay's fragmentary masses are designated to cover many of the feasts of the liturgical year. Most of the movements can be matched to specific feasts. Furthermore, it is possible to note groups of movements designated for the same feast and composed in the same period. For example, it is clear from table 5 that Kyrie (14) and Gloria (24) were designated for performance at a Marian feast, and one can assume that both were written in the same period.

It must be noted that the rubrics and the place of the movements in Tr. 92–1 should not be used as ultimate confirmation of the liturgical function.[10] The scribes responsible for the organization of the manuscript probably added the rubrics.[11] Hence, these criteria should be used only to support other findings. The results of the present study may be viewed only as preliminary assumptions to be tested by a broader study into the specific liturgical sources and traditions used by Dufay.

TABLE 5

THE LITURGICAL USAGE OF DUFAY'S FRAGMENTARY MASSES

Feast	Movement	Criteria	Dating
Christmas–3rd Mass.	Sanctus (6)	Tr. 92	1433–1445
Christmas–1st Mass.	#Gloria in Galli Cantu (26)	Rubric	1433–1435
Lent	Gloria in Quadragesima (23)	Rubric	1433–1445
Easter	Kyrie Lux et Origo (15)	c.f.; Rubric	1433–1435
	!Sanctus (2)	trope	1415–1423
	Gloria–Credo (4)	trope	1415–1425
Pentecost	*Kyrie Cunctipotens Genitor (10)	Tr. 92	1433–1435
Trinity Sunday	*Kyrie Orbis Factor (11)	Tr. 92	1433–1435
Corpus Christi	/Sanctus (7)	trope	1433–1445
In Festis Solemnibus	Kyrie Fons Bonitatis (16; 17)	c.f.; Rubric	1433–1435
In Festis Duplicibus	*Kyrie Cunctipotens Genitor (10)	c.f.	1433–1435
	+Sanctus (8)	c.f. (GR)	1433–1445
	Agnus (8)	c.f.	1433–1445
In Festis Semiduplicibus Maioribus	Kyrie (18)	Rubric	1433–1455
In Festis Semiduplicibus Minoribus	+Sanctus (8)	c.f. (GV)	1433–1445
	:Kyrie Jesu Redemptor (13)	c.f.	1433–1435
In Dominicis Diebus (from Trinity Sunday up to Advent)	*Kyrie Orbis Factor (11)	c.f., Rubric	1433–1435
	Kyrie Orbis Factor (12)	c.f., Rubric	1433–1455
	Gloria in Dominicis (25)	c.f.	1433–1435

In festis simplicibus	Kyrie Pater Cuncta	(9)	c.f.	1433–1435
	#Gloria in Galli		c.f.	1433–1435
	Cantu	(26)		
	Gloria	(27)	c.f.; Rubric	1433–1445
Marian Feasts	Kyrie Cum Jubilo	(14)	c.f.; Tr. 92; Trope	1433–1435
	Gloria	(24)	c.f.; Tr. 92; Trope	1433–1435
	Agnus	(7)	c.f.	1433–1445
de apostolis	‡Kyrie Jesu Redemptor	(13)	Rubric	1433–1435
de martiribus	×Kyrie Orbis Factor	(11)	Rubric	1433–1435
Masses in Presence of the Pope	/Sanctus	(7)	Rubric	1433–1445

Note: The liturgical usage of the seven Mass fragments marked by #, *, †, x, +, /, ‡, still awaits clarification.

NOTES

*I am indebted to Professor Craig Wright, Yale Department of Music, for his help in preparing this essay.

[1] Guillaume Dufay, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Heinrich Besseler, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, vol. 4, *Fragmenta Missarum* (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1962).

[2] For the dating of Dufay's fragmentary masses see Charles Hamm, *A Chronology of the Works of Guillaume Dufay* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1964), 166–68. David Fallows, in his recent study *Dufay* (London: J. M. Dent, 1982, pp. 174–78), disagrees with Hamm on the dating of some of the movements. From our perspective, which concerns the liturgical usage rather than the exact dating of the works, this specific disagreement might be deemed a minor one.

[3] Dufay, *Fragmenta Missarum*, I–XXXII.

[4] *Graduale Romanum*, Desclee No. 696 (Paris, Tournai, and Rome, 1924).

[5] Margareta Melnicki, *Das einstimmige Kyrie der lateinischen Mittelalter* (München: Dissertation der Philosophischen Fakultät der Friedrich Alexander Universität, 1954); Detlev Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien zum "Gloria in Exelsis Deo"* (Regensburg: Gustav Bosse, 1955); Peter Joseph Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (München: Walter Ricke, 1962,); John R. Bryden and David G. Hughes, *An Index of Gregorian Chant* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969).

[6] *Graduale secundum morem Sancte Romane ecclesie*, published by Antonious de Giunta (Venice, 1499).

[7] Dufay, *Fragmenta Missarum*, XX.

[8] Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien* (Regensburg: G. Bosse, 1955), 95. Since the source (Molfetta Bibl. Cap. s.n.) was not available to me, I could not examine the liturgical usage of this Gloria.

[9] For Sanctus trope, "qui januas mortis": Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium hymnologicum* (Louvain: Imprimerie Lefever, 1879), vol. 2, No. 16436; cited also in Craig Wright, "A Fragmentary Manuscript of Early 15th-Century Music in Dijon," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 27(1974): 307.

[10] For Credo 4 trope, "dic Maria": G. M. Dreves, C. Blume, and H. M. Bannister, *Analecta hymnica medii aevi* (Liepzig: O. R. Reisland, 1905), 54: 366.

[11] For Sanctus 7 trope, "Ave verum corpus": ibid., 257.

[15] For Gloria trope, "Spiritus et alme": Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: Norton, 1959), 60; idem, "The Polyphonic 'Missa de Beata Virgine' as a Genre: The Background of Josquin's Lady Mass," in *Josquin des Prez*, ed. E. E. Lowinsky (London: Oxford University Press, 1976).

[16] Dufay, *Fragmenta Missarum*, III.

[17] *Liber Usualis*, ed. by the Benedictines of Solesmes (Tournai, 1963), 788.

[18] Tom Ward, "The Structure of the Manuscript Trent 92–1," *Musica Disciplina* 29 (1975): 128.

[19] Charles Hamm, "Manuscript Structure in the Dufay Era," *Acta Musicologica* 34 (1962): 166.

[20] Dreves, Blume, and Bannister, *Analecta hymnica*, 47: 32.

[21] Guido Adler, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (Berlin: Heinrich Keller, 1930), 302.

[22] On Sanctus "Vineux", see Wright, "A Fragmentary Manuscript"; and David Fallows, "Dufay and Nourion de vineux: Some Detail and Thought," *Acta Musicologica* 48 (1976): 44.

[23] For the content of Tr 92–1, see Ward, "The Structure of the Manuscript Trent 92–1," 129–33.

[24] Edward Kovarik, "The Performance of Dufay's Paraphrase Kyries," *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28 (1975): 235.

Alexander Johnson and the *Tennessee Harmony*

By David W. Music

One of the most interesting social and educational institutions of nineteenth-century rural America was the singing school. The product of an early eighteenth-century effort to bring order into the psalm singing of the church, the singing school was not only a training ground for musicians but was also a social event of some significance for the community in which it was held. The singing school was particularly popular with young people, for it gave them an opportunity to fraternize with other youth of the opposite sex in an approved social environment.

Singing schools were usually held in churches, and the great bulk of the music used was sacred in text. Sometimes the school was sponsored by a church or group of churches, but more often it was an individual enterprise on the part of the teacher. The teacher was himself almost invariably the product of a singing school. Although his training in music was often meager, the teacher was sometimes the compiler of a tunebook which he quite naturally used in his own schools.

Many of the nineteenth-century tunebooks used a system of "shape-note" notation which was invented late in the eighteenth century and first used in William Little and William Smith's *The Easy Instructor* (1801). In this system four shapes were used to represent the seven steps of the diatonic music scale. The method proved to be amazingly efficient and was widely adopted by rural tunebook compilers, particularly in the South.[1] Four-shape shape-note singing was largely displaced by the advent of a seven-shape notation in the mid-nineteenth century, but the earlier practice still lives on in certain "singings" using one of three tunebooks: William Walker's *The Southern Harmony* (1835), *The Sacred Harp* by B. F. White and E. J. King (1844), or *The Social Harp* by John G. McCurry (1855).

The nineteenth-century rural singing masters were a humble lot, the kind of men who seldom made headlines. For many of them the teaching of music was but a sideline to their real occupation. Thus, biographical data on them is scarce and their names and musical activities have largely been forgotten.

Among these early singing masters was a Tennessean named Alexander Johnson, compiler of the tunebook *Tennessee Harmony*. As late as 1876, W.S. Fleming of Maury County wrote that, "Among the old singing-masters, Major Samuel Rogers, and before him Alexander Dobbins and Alexander Johnson, will not soon be forgotten."[2] Unfortunately, time has not dealt fairly with Fleming's prediction nor with the memories of the three men he named. Thus, when William J. Reynolds found opportunity to include Alexander Johnson's name in the biographical section of his *Hymns of Our Faith*, he could accurately write that nothing was known of the compiler, "except that he was a singing school teacher in Tennessee in the early part of the nineteenth

century."[1] However, more recent research has uncovered a fair amount of biographical data on Johnson, which can here be set forth.

Alexander Johnson was born on February 25, 1791.[2] His father, John Johnson, was born in Maryland on January 5, 1753; his mother, Martha Allison Johnson, was born in 1758 in the same state. John and Martha were married in Baltimore during the summer of 1774.[3] Shortly after their marriage the Johnsons moved to the York District of South Carolina. During the Revolution John served about twelve months as a sergeant in the South Carolina Regiment and participated in the battles of Hanging Rock and King's Mountain.[4] Apparently, the Johnsons were still living in South Carolina when Alexander was born in 1791.

By 1807 John Johnson and his family had moved to Davidson County, Tennessee. On August 22 of that year John and Martha signed a petition urging the Tennessee legislature to approve the formation of Maury County. According to the petition they lived on the "North Side of Duck River."[5] Later, the family moved to the Hampshire area of Maury County.[6]

The first notice of Alexander Johnson appears in the records of the War of 1812, during which conflict he served as a private in Captain Samuel B. McKnight's company.[7] In June, 1813, he was appointed to work on a road "from James Fariss Junr to the top of the ridge west of Cathey's Creek."[8] On January 25, 1816, Alexander began his own home by marrying Nelly Craig in Maury County.[9]

Two major events in Alexander Johnson's life occurred during the year 1818. One was the death of his father on October 5;[10] the other was the publication of the *Tennessee Harmony*. The Maury County tax register for the same year listed him as a resident of the "South Side Duck River."[11]

According to the 1820 census of Maury County, the Johnson family consisted of Alexander (aged 26–45), Nelly (aged 16–26), one boy and one girl (both under 10 years), and one woman over 45 years (probably Alexander's mother). Alexander's occupation was listed as "Manufacture."

Sometime between 1820 and 1823 another man named Alexander Johnson moved into Maury County. This man was born in North Carolina on April 15, 1782, and died in Maury County on February 7, 1857. He was quite a prominent man in the county, serving as a justice of the peace, and his name appears frequently in the county records. When the name "Alexander Johnson" occurs in Maury County sources after 1820 it is sometimes difficult to know which Alexander Johnson is meant. Thus, when the *Columbia Review* of July 27, 1822, listed Alexander Johnson as having three letters to be picked up at the post office it is not certain whether this was designed for the tunebook compiler or the justice of the peace, though it was probably intended for the latter.[12]

There is at least one court record which might be of interest in the story of the tunebook-compiling Alexander Johnson. In the court term of April, 1823, a report was given of an estate sale held on February 22, 1823, to dispose of the property of Allen H. Young, deceased. Alexander Johnson was

named as the administrator of the estate. In connection with the sale, Johnson noted that, "some papers belonging to the deceased [have] fallen into my hands, purporting to be accounts for tuition of musick and for musick books on persons said to reside in the state of Alabama."[10] It is not certain which Alexander Johnson served as administrator of Young's estate. However, it is quite possible that the tunebook compiler performed this task. The "musick books" might well have been copies of Johnson's *Tennessee Harmony* which Allen H. Young had been authorized to sell at his singing schools in Alabama.

On May 3, 1829, Alexander Johnson married Lottie Stockard Mitchell (b. 1808) in Maury County, his first wife having apparently died.[11] Only one Alexander Johnson was listed in the 1830 census of Maury County, despite the fact that two are known to have been living there at the time. The man listed in the 1830 census was evidently the justice of the peace.

The exact date of the tunebook compiler's death is not known, but it occurred sometime during the month of December, 1832. Johnson was still alive on December 7, for his will was drawn up on that date.[12] According to Maury County Court records he was dead by December 19.[13] The place of Johnson's burial is not known. Perhaps he was buried in the cemetery at Pisgah Methodist Church in Maury County, since he is said to have been a Methodist and his father was reportedly buried there.[14] However, no tombstone or other record of his burial has yet been found.

Alexander is known to have had at least six children. His widow, Lottie, married again in 1838 to William Craig.[15] His mother survived him by at least nine years, for in 1841 she was allowed a government pension.[16]

Aside from his publication of the *Tennessee Harmony*, little is known of Alexander Johnson's musical activities. It can be surmised that he taught singing schools in Maury County and probably in neighboring counties as well. Like Allen H. Young he might have also taught schools in Alabama.

Johnson's *Tennessee Harmony* is one of the rarest and least-known of the southern shape-note songsters. No mention was made of Alexander Johnson or the *Tennessee Harmony* in any of George Pullen Jackson's pioneering books on American folk hymnody until the publication of his fourth major work in the field, *White and Negro Spirituals* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1943), when the second edition of Johnson's book was merely listed in the bibliography. Even today, over thirty-five years after the publication of *White and Negro Spirituals*, only five copies of the book have been located.

Despite its rarity, the *Tennessee Harmony* holds a significant place in the story of early American music, for it was one of the earliest shape-note books compiled in the South and was the first tunebook of any kind compiled in the Volunteer State. Johnson's book transmits a clear picture of the music that was popular in the early nineteenth-century churches and singing schools of Middle and West Tennessee. In addition, several original contributions to the tunebook were picked up by later compilers in Tennessee and other states and became part of the standard shape-note repertoire.

The only known copy of the first edition of Johnson's book is located in the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan.[7] A handwritten note in the front states that it was "Mr. James C. Haynes's book," that it cost $1.25, and was purchased on "Sept. 20th 1820." The complete title page of the book reads as follows:

> Johnson's Tennessee Harmony, containing, I. A copious introduction to the grounds of music. II. The rudiments of music, and plain rules for beginners, exhibited in the form of questions and answers. III. A collection of the most approved psalm tunes and anthems selected with care, from the best publications extant; with a few that are original; suited to a variety of metres. Published principally for the use of singing schools. By Alexander Johnson. Cincinnati: Published for the author. Morgan, Lodge, and Co. printers. 1818.

The copyright notice reveals that the work was registered in the "District of West Tennessee"[8] on April 20, 1818.

The theoretical introduction and explanation of the "grounds and rules" of music was an important part in most tunebooks of the period, particularly in a work designed "principally for the use of singing schools" as was the *Tennessee Harmony*. Few of the introductions in early American tunebooks presented original material, most of them being based to a greater or lesser extent on the introduction to some previous tunebook.

The same was true of the *Tennessee Harmony*. Many tunebook compilers did not reveal the sources upon which they drew for their theoretical introductions. Johnson, however, readily acknowledged his indebtedness to "Mr. 'Wyeth's Repository—part second' for many of the rules and remarks" in the introduction to the *Tennessee Harmony*.[9] John Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second* was published at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, in 1813. This collection left a deep imprint on the tunebooks of the South, primarily through its influence upon Ananias Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony* (Harrisonburg, Virginia, 1816 and later editions).[10] Nearly every statement in the introduction to Johnson's book can be found in a similar form in the book by Wyeth.

Johnson's *Tennessee Harmony* contains exactly one hundred pieces of music. These are set to a variety of sacred, secular, and patriotic texts.[11] As might be expected, the sacred texts are by far in the majority. The sources upon which Johnson drew for his texts are not named, except for one text attributed to "Dwight," but in general they are the same ones found in most of the southern shape-note songbooks. These were taken mainly from eighteenth-century English hymn writers such as Isaac Watts, Robert Robinson, John Newton, and Edmund Jones, together with a scattering of folk hymns of probable American origin.[12]

The preponderance of sacred texts in Johnson's book was typical of southern shape-note books in the early nineteenth century. However, the *Tennessee Harmony* was compiled primarily for the singing school, not the church, and

Johnson saw fit to include several patriotic and secular texts in his collection. Among the former are "Hail! Columbia, happy land" (p. 81) and "These western shores, our native land" (p. 110). The most striking secular text in the book is a lament for Corydon who "sleeps in the clay," leaving "sad Caroline" to bewail the loss of her love (p. 49). Other texts with secular leanings are "Friendship, to every willing mind" (p. 55), " 'Tis night, and the landscape is lovely no more" (p. 98), and "Say mighty love and teach my song" (p. 101).

According to the title page, the music of the *Tennessee Harmony* consisted of "psalm tunes and anthems." The term "psalm tunes" was probably used in a generic sense to include not only settings of psalm texts, but also strophic settings of hymns. Psalm and hymn tunes were composed to metrical texts and usually set in three or four voice parts with the melody in the tenor. They frequently consisted of four or more musical phrases sung in homophonic rhythm (i.e., all voices singing the same text simultaneously). Many of the psalm and hymn tunes in the *Tennessee Harmony* can also be classified as "folk-hymn tunes," since they seem to have been based on early secular folk melodies.

Anthems were extended pieces set to prose texts and usually contained both homophonic and contrapuntal sections, as well as solo passages. In contrast to most southern tunebook compilers, Alexander Johnson included very few anthems in the first edition of his book.

Several other types of setting occur in the *Tennessee Harmony*, though these were not named on the title page. One of these is the "fuging tune." The fuging tune was a carryover from the New England singing schools of the eighteenth century. Like psalm and hymn tunes, the fuging tune generally consisted of a metrical text set in four musical phrases. However, the third phrase of a fuging tune was written in an imitative fashion, the voices entering in succession; this was called the "fuging section." William Billings, one of the chief New England exponents of the fuging tune, claimed that there was "more variety in one piece of fuging music, than in twenty pieces of plain song."[8] Alexander Johnson must have agreed with Billings, for fully one-fourth of the tunes in the *Tennessee Harmony* were fuging tunes.

Another important musical form encountered in Johnson's book is the set piece. The set piece featured a metrical text, but in contrast to the psalm, hymn, and fuging tunes, it used different music for each stanza. Psalm, hymn, and fuging tunes generally covered only one page or one-half page of a tunebook whereas the set pieces and anthems frequently covered as many as five pages.

Eight of the tunes in the *Tennessee Harmony* were noted as "original" contributions to the book. Nine others were said to have been "never before printed." The remaining eighty-three tunes seem to have been drawn primarily from four sources: Wyeth's *Repository of Sacred Music* (1810) and *Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second* (1813), Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony* (2nd ed., 1817), and Amos Pilsbury's *The United States Sacred Harmony* (Boston, 1799). The

influence of these collections on Johnson's book is evident from the fact that no less than seventy-nine of the eighty-three borrowed tunes printed by Johnson appeared in one or more of the earlier publications.

Thirty-five tunes found in the *Tennessee Harmony* are also to be found in Wyeth's *Repository* (1810); three of these were exclusive to that collection, suggesting that Johnson borrowed them from the *Repository*. Twenty-nine tunes from Wyeth's *Repository, Part Second* (1813) appeared in the *Tennessee Harmony*, with fifteen of these not being found in the other three collections.

The second edition of Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony* (1817) included fifty-one of the eighty-three tunes which Johnson borrowed for his book. Only eight of these were not printed in any of the other books.[28] Pilsbury's collection included seventeen tunes used by Johnson, of which nine were not printed in the other books under consideration.

Forty-four of the eighty-three tunes for which Johnson claimed no responsibility appeared in at least two of the four books mentioned above. A comparison of the tune forms, attributions, and settings in Johnson's book with those in the other four books reveals that when he had two versions of a tune or setting to choose from he generally chose the Wyeth arrangement.[29]

Only four tunes acknowledged to have been borrowed cannot be accounted for in the books named above. One of these, "Few Happy Matches," was probably taken from Freeman Lewis' *The Beauties of Harmony* (2nd ed., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1816). "Hail Columbia," originally titled "The President's March," was composed by Philip Phile of Philadelphia about 1789 and first published ca. 1793. The "Hail Columbia" text was written by Joseph Hopkinson in 1798 and fitted to "The President's March."[30] The source of the arrangement printed by Johnson has not been identified, nor has the writer located previous printings of the tunes "Ohio" and "Surprise."

One of the most interesting aspects of Johnson's borrowing for the *Tennessee Harmony* is his rather extensive use of Pilsbury's *The United States Sacred Harmony*. Despite its Boston imprint *The United States Sacred Harmony* must be considered a southern tunebook, for Pilsbury was a resident of South Carolina at the time of its compilation. Pilsbury was apparently the first American to publish tunes using folk elements, a well-known example being "Kedron," which also appeared in the *Tennessee Harmony*.

The impact of Pilsbury's collection on southern folk hymnody has not yet been fully investigated. However, the book seems to have exerted little influence on later southern compilers, Alexander Johnson being a notable exception. Johnson's use of tunes from *The United States Sacred Harmony* probably reflects his South Carolina background or that of his parents. The tunes in Pilsbury's book were presumably ones that were popular among South Carolinians, and it is likely that Alexander or his parents purchased a copy of the book while resident in South Carolina and brought it to Tennessee. Alexander apparently attempted to transplant some of these tunes to Tennessee soil, but with little success.

Johnson's South Carolina background is also evident in at least one of the

tune names employed in the *Tennessee Harmony*. Wyeth's *Repository, Part Second* included a tune titled "Twenty-Fourth" and attributed to "Chapin," said to be Amzi Chapin.[47] In Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony* the same tune appeared, but this time called "Primrose" and again attributed to "Chapin." This tune became quite popular in the South, and, under the names "Twenty-Fourth," "Primrose," "Chelmsford," "Melody," "Memphis," among others, it was reprinted in most southern compilations of folk hymnody.[48]

Alexander Johnson was, however, one of the few compilers to give the tune the name "Orange." His use of this name for the tune is remarkable chiefly because the same tune had appeared in a rhythmically altered version in a manuscript tunebook compiled about 1809 by Jacob Eckhard, organist-choirmaster at St. Michael's Church in Charleston, South Carolina.[49] While the section of Eckhard's manuscript into which this tune was copied might date from after 1809,[50] the real significance of the tune's appearance in this source lies in the fact that it is named "Orange" there, just as it was in the *Tennessee Harmony*, presumably at a later date. Only one other use of the name "Orange" for this tune has been noted. This was in William Moore's 1825 book from Middle Tennessee, the *Columbian Harmony*. It seems rather evident that Moore must have borrowed the name from Johnson.

It would seem that in South Carolina this tune was popularly known as "Orange." Johnson probably knew the tune before he left South Carolina; when he saw it in the second edition of the *Kentucky Harmony* (from which he probably copied it), he undoubtedly recognized it, included it in his collection, and substituted the name which he had originally heard associated with it.

As previously noted, eight tunes were asterisked in the index of the *Tennessee Harmony*, the explanation being given that tunes so signified were "original." This was probably meant to indicate Johnson's own compositional efforts. Indeed, in the second edition of the *Tennessee Harmony* six of these original tunes were credited to Johnson.

However, not all the asterisked tunes can be unreservedly assigned to Johnson, for several of them seem to have appeared in previous collections. Johnson's "Christian Triumph," better known as "Pisgah," was first printed in the second edition of Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony* (1817), attributed to J. C. Lowry.[51] The tune "Captain Kid" was in print as early as 1805 when it appeared in Jeremiah Ingalls's *The Christian Harmony* (Exeter, New Hampshire) under the title "Honor to the Hills." In Johnson's behalf, however, it should be said that "Captain Kid" and "Honor to the Hills" represent different versions of the same folk tune, and it is unlikely that Johnson copied "Captain Kid" from Ingalls's book. It should also be noted that "Honor to the Hills" does not seem to have been used by later compilers of folk-hymn tunes, while Johnson's "Captain Kid" became a popular shape-note standard. Both Ingalls and Johnson probably copied the tune from oral tradition, but the Johnson version was the one that became most widely disseminated.[52]

Another "original" tune printed by Johnson, "Devotion," appeared in the *Original Sacred Harp: Denson Revision, 1971 Edition* (Kingsport, Tennessee: Kingsport Press, 1971), p. 48, where it was attributed to "Amarick Hall, about 1811." A note below the tune informs the singer that Hall—whose first name was actually Amariah—also composed a number of other tunes, including two titled "Canaan" and "Crucifixion." It so happens that two tunes bearing these names were indicated as originals in the *Tennessee Harmony*. The source of the information printed in the *Original Sacred Harp* seems to have been Theron Brown and Hezekiah Butterworth's *The Story of the Hymns and Tunes*, published in 1906.[8] However, while Brown and Butterworth's book contains extensive discussions of hymn tunes, none of the tunes are actually printed in the book. This suggests that the tunes "Devotion," "Canaan," and "Crucifixion" discussed in *The Story of the Hymns and Tunes* may not have been the same as those printed by Johnson in the *Tennessee Harmony*. Indeed, Hall's tune named "Devotion" has been found as early as Little and Smith's *The Easy Instructor* (1802), and in this source it is not the same as that found in Johnson's book. Thus, the identification of "Devotion" in the *Original Sacred Harp* as being by Hall is clearly in error. The other two tunes are probably different from the Johnson tunes as well.

Two of the three remaining "original" tunes were given names of significance to Middle Tennesseans: "Columbia" (the governmental seat and largest town in Maury County) and "Harpeth" (the Harpeth River). The other tune that can apparently be fully credited to Johnson is "The Prodigal Son."

Many of the problems involved with the "original" tunes in the *Tennessee Harmony* are also encountered in the nine tunes marked with a dagger in the index, signifying that they were "never before printed." The tune "Reflection" appeared as early as 1813 in Wyeth's *Repository, Part Second* under the name "New Canaan"; this tune also appeared in Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony*. Another *Kentucky Harmony* tune which Johnson claimed had never before been printed was "Salvation." In Davisson's book this tune was attributed to "Boyd," a fact which was acknowledged in the second edition of *Tennessee Harmony*. Two other tunes, "Solicitude" and "Leander," appeared earlier in Ingalls' *Christian Harmony* under the titles "The Lord Will Provide" and "Humility" respectively.[9] However, as in the case of the "Captain Kid" tune, these seem to be differing versions of two folk melodies. It is doubtful that Johnson copied them from Ingalls' book.

Thus, of the seventeen tunes claimed by Johnson as originals or first printings only eleven can be ascribed to him with some assurance: "Canaan," "Columbia," "Crucifixion," "Devotion," "Harpeth," "Jefferson," "New Jerusalem," "Olney," "The Prodigal Son," "Separation," and "Versailles." Three others—"Captain Kid," "Solicitude," and "Leander"—can be at least partially credited to Johnson since, though they were previously published, he seems to have either rearranged them or transcribed them from a different oral tradition. Finally, three tunes must be attributed to other com-

posers or transcribers: "Christian Triumph" ("Pisgah" by Lowry), "Reflection" ("New Canaan" in Wyeth's *Repository, Part Second*), and "Salvation" (by Boyd).

Johnson's *Tennessee Harmony* seems to have found an immediate and widespread acceptance in the rural sections of Middle and West Tennessee. By 1820 the supply of copies of Johnson's book must have been running low, for in that year he began work on a second edition. This was published at Cincinnati in 1821; a short preface by Johnson was included and dated "October 9th, 1820."[8] At least two copies of the second edition are in the holdings of public libraries: one in the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, and the other in a Cincinnati library.[9]

The theoretical introduction to the second edition was very nearly the same as that to the first edition. Likewise, the musical content of the two editions was very similar. Three tunes found in the first edition were omitted from the second: "Aylesbury," "Mear," and "Ohio." Since these three tunes covered the last leaf of the first edition, it is evident that Johnson simply deleted these two pages, replacing them with an appendix of fifteen tunes that covered eleven pages.

Five of the fifteen tunes in the appendix were attributed to the compiler, eight were credited to other composers, and two were listed anonymously. All the tunes attributed to other composers seem to have been taken from Davisson's *Kentucky Harmony*. The anonymous tunes in Johnson's appendix also appeared in a book by Davisson, the *Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony* (Harrisonburg, 1820). The two tunes were named "Bourbon" and "Mount-Joy." The last-named tune, usually called "Greenfields" (for example, in Davisson's book) or "Contrast" in the southern shape-note books, was traced by George Pullen Jackson to a German origin.[10] The earliest known printing of the tune in shape-notes occurred in a broadside published about 1816 for German singers in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia.[11] However, this was not the first American printing of the tune, for it had appeared as early as 1786 in Chauncey Langdon's *The Select Songster* (New Haven, Connecticut) under the title "Farewell Ye Green Fields." Set to John Newton's text, "How tedious and tasteless the hours," this tune was still in common use as late as the 1956 *Baptist Hymnal* (Nashville, No. 306).

"Redemption," one of the five new tunes claimed by Johnson in the second edition, had appeared the previous year in Davisson's *Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony* under the name "Crucifixion." Three of the remaining four tunes attributed to Johnson seem to have been rather quickly forgotten: "Brown's Station," "Revival," and "Submission." The fourth tune, "Nashville," obviously named for the major city of Middle Tennessee, was the only tune credited to Johnson in *The Sacred Harp* and other classic collections of folk hymnody. "Nashville" is quite similar to "Kingwood," a tune found in Davisson's *Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony;* both tunes are variants of the well-known "Garden Hymn."[12]

On Friday, May 7, 1824, *The Nashville Gazette* carried the following

advertisement:

> Just Published,
>
> and for sale by Alexander Johnson, near Columbia and Robertson & Elliott, Booksellers, Nashville, and in the principal towns in West Tennessee and Alabama, the Third Revised Edition of Johnson's Tennessee Harmony. Price $1 per copy, or $9 per dozen.
>
> The tunes in this Edition are so arranged as to be used in schools with the former editions.

The existence of a third edition of the *Tennessee Harmony* seems to have gone largely unnoticed among writers on shape-note hymnody.[4] A single copy of this book is known, located in the Tennessee State Library and Archives. Unfortunately, this copy of the third edition is incomplete and lacks all that should follow after page 118, including the index.

The preface to the third edition, dated "Maury County, W. T. Nov. 6, 1823," claims that "the books of the present [edition] may still be used in schools and societies, with those of the former editions," a claim that was made also in the newspaper advertisement quoted above. This implies that the arrangement of the book remained basically the same as that of the earlier editions. Nothing, however, could be further from the truth. In the third edition the tunes were arranged in a semblance of alphabetical order: all the tunes whose titles began with "A" appear first, followed by "B," "C," etc. The tunes in the first two editions had been rather indiscriminately arranged so far as their place in the book was concerned.

In addition, many tunes from the first two editions were omitted from the third, their places being taken by at least forty-one new tunes which were scattered among those previously printed rather than incorporated into a separate appendix. Thus, those who had purchased the third edition of the book must have been shocked when they attended a school or "singing" at which a previous edition was in the hands of the leader.

More important than this change of format, however, was the quite different character of the new music used in the third edition. The previous editions had been composed mainly of folk tunes and the rugged, if by that time somewhat old-fashioned, music of eighteenth-century New England composers such as William Billings, Jacob French, and Justin Morgan. While these styles were by no means neglected in the third edition, a sizable proportion of the new tunes consisted of European (mainly English) or "cultured American" music. Tunes such as "Bangor," "Hymn to the Trinity" (also known as "Italian Hymn," "Trinity," or "Moscow"), "Old Hundred," "Pleyel's Hymn Second," and "St. Martin's" reflect a more cosmopolitan outlook on the part of the compiler. No matter that these European classical tunes were mainly borrowed from other southern tunebooks such as the *Kentucky Harmony* and Allen D. Carden's *Missouri Harmony* (Cincinnati, 1820): they represented a very real broadening of taste on the part of public and compiler alike. This was acknowledged by Johnson in the preface when he observed

that a, "very considerable improvement, in the knowledge, and in the taste of musick, among the people of this country, have [sic] taken place since the appearance of the first edition." It should by no means be inferred that this expansion of musical style was restricted to Johnson's work, for it was also characteristic of other shape-note books that achieved more than one or two editions.

Despite the lack of an index in the only known copy of Johnson's third edition, it is certain that few if any of the added tunes were by the compiler himself. All but three of the tunes have been traced to at least one earlier printing. The three untraced tunes—"Despair," "Newark," and "Scotland"—are probably contained in printings unavailable to the writer.

It is interesting to note that one tune in the third edition of Ananias Davisson's *Supplement to the Kentucky Harmony* (1826) was attributed to "Johnston," almost surely a reference to Alexander Johnson whose name appeared occasionally in Maury County records in this form. However, the tune thus attributed, "Salutation," had appeared in two books previously published in Tennessee, Allen D. Carden's *Western Harmony* (1824) and William Moore's *Columbian Harmony* (1825). Both these books printed the tune anonymously and the source of Davisson's attribution is not known. Since "Salutation" did not appear in any of the editions of the *Tennessee Harmony*, the use of Johnson's name in Davisson's *Supplement* perhaps indicates some sort of direct contact between the two compilers.

Unfortunately, there are no records to indicate how widely any of the editions of Johnson's *Tennessee Harmony* were distributed. The only edition which seems to have been advertised in Tennessee newspapers was the third, notice of which appeared not only in the May 7, 1824 *Nashville Gazette* (quoted above), but also in *The Jackson Gazette* of October 22, 1825.[46] Since no edition of the *Tennessee Harmony* later than the third has come to light, it appears that the popularity of Johnson's book must have fallen off after 1824. Perhaps this was due to the drastic change of musical style in the third edition, for despite Johnson's claim of an improvement in the musical taste of Middle Tennesseans, the patrons of shape-note hymnody in the area may not yet have been ready for such books. It is also likely that the publication of other books by Middle Tennessee compilers during the years 1824–1825 helped break Johnson's near-monopoly on the Middle and West Tennessee markets.

Despite the popularity of Johnson's book in the western region of Tennessee, few later compilers seem to have borrowed directly from the first edition of the *Tennessee Harmony*. The book which apparently served as a catalyst in introducing new tunes from Johnson's book to a wider market was Carden's *Missouri Harmony* of 1820. Eleven of the fourteen[47] tunes which seem to have received their first printing in the *Tennessee Harmony* appeared in Carden's book. Significantly, the three tunes not printed by Carden did not become particularly popular with later compilers.[48] Three of the Johnson tunes which Carden included in *The Missouri Harmony* likewise failed to catch on.[49] However, the remaining eight tunes received numerous printings in later Tennessee

TABLE 1

Tunes by Alexander Johnson

TUNE	*MOH*	*COH*	*USH*	*SOH*	*UH*	*KNH*	*SAH*
"Brown's Station" (*TH2*)							
"Canaan" (*TH1*)	X						
"Captain Kid" (*TH1*)	X	X[1]		X		X[2]	
"Columbia" (*TH1*)	X			X		X	
"Crucifixion" (*TH1*)				X[3]		X[3]	
"Devotion" (*TH1*)	X	X[4]	X	X	X		X
"Harpeth" (*TH1*)	X			X			
"Jefferson" (*TH1*)	X	X	X	X		X	X
"Leander" (*TH1*)	X	X[5]	X	X	X	X	X
"Nashville" (*TH2*)				X[6]			X
"New Jerusalem" (*TH1*)	X	X	X	X		X	
"Olney" (*TH1*)	X	X[7]	X	X[8]	X[7]	X	X[9]
"Prodigal Son, The" (*TH1*)				X			
"Revival" (*TH2*)							
"Separation" (*TH1*)		X		X			
"Solicitude" (*TH1*)	X	X[3]		X		X	
"Submission" (*TH2*)							
"Versailles" (*TH1*)	X						

This chart includes only those tunes attributed to Johnson for which no previous printing has been found.

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS:

TH Alexander Johnson, *Tennessee Harmony*, 1818, 1821, or 1824.
MOH Allen D. Carden, *Missouri Harmony*, 1820.
COH William Moore, *Columbian Harmony*, 1825.
USH Allen D. Carden, *United States Harmony*, 1829.
SOH William Walker, *Southern Harmony*, 1835.
UH William Caldwell, *Union Harmony*, 1837.
KNH John B. Jackson, *Knoxville Harmony*, 1838.
SAH B. F. White and E. J. King, *Sacred Harp*, 1860.

NOTES

[1] Attributed to "Nicholson."
[2] Titled "Green Meadow."
[3] Titled "Maryville" in *KNH* and "Marysville" in *SOH*.
[4] Titled "Solemnity" and attributed to "Moore."
[5] Attributed to "Austin." This attribution also appeared in *TH2*.
[6] Titled "Indian Convert, (or Nashville)" in *SOH*, 1854 edition.
[7] Attributed to "Boyd."
[8] Attributed to "Chapin."
[9] Attributed to "Smith."

books and some of them became part of the central repertoire of southern shape-note hymnody (see table 1).

It is significant that not one of these later printings credited Johnson with the composition of any of these tunes. The reason for this is obvious: later printings of the tunes were mostly derived from Carden's *Missouri Harmony*. Carden's tunebook was unusual in that it carried no composer attributions. Thus, a later compiler borrowing one of these tunes from Carden did not know to whom it should be attributed. Consequently, he either left the tune uncredited or attributed it to an arranger.[9]

It has previously been noted that the only new tune in the second edition of the *Tennessee Harmony* which was used by later compilers was "Nashville." "Nashville" did not appear in any of the Tennessee shape-note tunebooks published before 1840. However, it did appear in William Walker's *Southern Harmony* (1835 and, as "Indian Convert or Nashville," 1854) and White and King's *Sacred Harp* (1844); in both cases the tune was attributed to "Johnson." Walker's use of the tune indicates that he was probably acquainted with the second or third edition of the *Tennessee Harmony;* White and King undoubtedly borrowed the tune from Walker.

The influence of the third edition of Johnson's book is more difficult to measure since it does not seem to have contained any first printings. The third edition of the *Tennessee Harmony* was quite similar to another tunebook published in Middle Tennessee the same year, Carden's *Western Harmony* (1824). Carden's book seems to have been published after Johnson's third edition was on the market[10] and it is possible that Carden's book was influenced by Johnson's. It is perhaps more likely that the similarities between the two books were due to an affinity of outlook rather than to the actual borrowing of material from one to another.

Alexander Johnson's tunebook may not have been as widely influential in the development and dissemination of shape-note hymnody as were those by Davisson, Carden, and later compilers, but it did provide the people of Middle and West Tennessee with the music they wanted to sing. In addition, Johnson introduced a number of tunes into the shape-note repertoire, some of which quickly became part of the standard stock of melodies used in later books. As the first southern shape-note tunebook compiler outside the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, Alexander Johnson deserves a niche in the history of American music.

NOTES

* The writer gratefully acknowledges receipt of a grant from the American Philosophical Society which made this study possible.

[9] For a description and examples of shape-notes see George Pullen Jackson, *White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands* (Hatboro, PA: Folklore Associates, Inc, 1964; reprint of 1933 ed.), pp. 11–14. The origin of shape-notes is thoroughly discussed in Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1964), pp. 77–88.

[10] W. S. Fleming, *A Historical Sketch of Maury County, Read at the Centennial Celebration in Columbia,*

Tennessee, July 4th, 1876 (Columbia: Excelsior Printing Office, 1876), p. 56.

[3] William Jensen Reynolds, *Hymns of Our Faith* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1967), pp. 325–326.

[4] Information from Jill K. Garrett, Columbia, Tennessee.

[5] Jill K. Garrett, ed., *War of 1812 Soldiers of Maury County, Tennessee* (Reproduced from typescript, 1976), p. 100.

[6] Annie Walker Burns, *South Carolina Pension Abstracts of the Revolutionary War* (Reproduced from typescript, n.d.), vol. X, p. 77.

[7] Flournoy Rivers, "The Beginnings of Maury County," *The American Historical Magazine* 3 (1898): 148.

[8] Information from Jill K. Garrett.

[9] "1812 Rosters of Companies Made Up of Maury Countians," *Historic Maury* 9 (January–June 1975): 92.

[10] "Road Minutes," *Historic Maury* 7 (July–September 1971): 88.

[11] Virginia Wood Alexander and Rose Harris Priest, *Maury County, Tennessee, Marriage Records 1807–1837* (Reproduced from typescript, 1962), p. 5.

[12] Burns, *South Carolina Pension Abstracts*, p. 77.

[13] "1818 Maury County Tax List," *Historic Maury* 8 (October–December 1972): 141.

[14] Jill Knight Garrett, *Maury County, Tennessee, Newspapers* (Reproduced from typescript, 1965), vol. I, p. 11.

[15] Jill K. Garrett and Marise P. Lightfoot, *Maury County, Tennessee, Chancery Court Records 1810–1860* (Reproduced from typescript, 1965), p. 60; see also Jill Knight Garrett, *Maury County, Tennessee, Court Minutes, 1807–1809* (Reproduced from typescript, 1965), p. 9.

[16] Alexander and Priest, *Maury County, Tennessee, Marriage Records*, supplement, p. 11.

[17] Garrett and Lightfoot, *Maury County, Tennessee, Chancery Court Records*, p. 94.

[18] "Wills & Settlements Book 6," *Historic Maury* 10 (January–March 1794): 6; see also Marise P. Lightfoot and Evelyn B. Shackelford, *"They Passed This Way," Maury County, Tennessee Records* (Reproduced from typescript, 1964), vol. II, p. 110.

[19] Information from Jill K. Garrett. The Pisgah church was organized in 1808, the first Methodist church south of Duck River in Maury County. The church ceased to function in 1953 (see Lightfoot and Shackelford, *"They Passed This Way,"* vol. I, p. A–126). According to Lucy Bates Womack, *Roster of Soldiers and Patriots of the American Revolution Buried in Tennessee* (Johnson City: Tennessee Society, NSDAR, 1974), p. 217, John Johnson was buried "7 mi. S of Nashville."

[20] Garrett, *War of 1812 Soldiers*, pp. 100–101.

[21] Burns, *South Carolina Pension Abstracts*, p. 77.

[22] As late as 1876, an original manuscript copy of the *Tennessee Harmony* was extant and owned by W. S. Fleming of Maury County (Fleming, *A Historical Sketch*, p. 56). Unfortunately, most of Fleming's papers were destroyed in a fire during the 1930s and the Johnson manuscript seems to have been among them. I am indebted to Jill K. Garrett for this information.

[23] That is, the area now referred to as Middle Tennessee.

[24] P. [xiii].

[25] Irving Lowens, *Music and Musicians in Early America*, pp. 138–155.

[26] One tune, "Newport," appears without text.

[27] For a discussion of the texts of American folk hymnody see George Pullen Jackson, *White and Negro Spirituals* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1943), pp. 38–63.

[28] William Billings, *The Continental Harmony* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews, 1794; reprinted, Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1961), p. xxviii.

[29] Johnson does not seem to have used the first edition of Davisson's book. Seven of the tunes borrowed from the *Kentucky Harmony* appeared in both the first and second editions of that book, but one tune ("Saints Repose") appeared only in the second edition.

[30] Only six tunes common to a Wyeth printing and Davisson's second edition seem to have been derived from the latter source: "Delight," "Easter Anthem," "Orange," "Reflection," "Rockbridge," and "Silver Spring." The tunes "Mear" and "Mendon" seem to have come from

Pilsbury's tunebook. The author was unable to ascertain precisely from which source Johnson borrowed the tunes "Concord" and "Kedron." Thus, it appears that at least thirty-four of the tunes found in two or more of the books were borrowed by Johnson from either the *Repository* or *Repository, Part Second*.

[31] Oscar George Theodore Sonneck, *Report on "The Star-Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia," "America," "Yankee Doodle"* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1972; reprint of 1909 ed.), pp. 61–72.

[32] William J. Reynolds, *Companion to Baptist Hymnal* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1976), p. 220.

[33] Cf. Dorothy D. Horn, *Sing to Me of Heaven* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1970), p. 153.

[34] *Jacob Eckhard's Choirmaster's Book of 1809*, a facsimile with introduction and notes by George W. Williams (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), no. 107, p. 71.

[35] Ibid., pp. 93–94.

[36] Reynolds, *Hymns of Our Faith*, p. 226. "Pisgah" is still in use today: cf. *Baptist Hymnal* (Nashville: Convention Press, 1956), no. 468, and *Hymns for the Living Church* (Carol Stream, IL: Hope Publishing Company, 1974), no. 544.

[37] For recent discussions of the tune (usually spelled "Captain Kidd") see Ellen Jane Porter, "Two Early American Tunes: Fraternal Twins?," no. XXX of *The Papers of the Hymn Society of America* (Springfield, OH: The Hymn Society of America, 1975); Alan Luff, "More on Two Early American Tunes," *The Hymn* 29 (October 1978): 222–224; and Ellen Jane Porter and John F. Garst, "More Tunes in The Captain Kidd Metre," *The Hymn* 30 (October 1979): 252–262.

[38] Reissued at Grosse Pointe, Michigan, by Scholarly Press, 1968.

[39] Horn, *Sing to Me of Heaven*, pp. 151, 155.

[40] Extracts from this preface are quoted in Reynolds, *Hymns of Our Faith*, p. 326.

[41] Shirley Ann Bean, "*The Missouri Harmony*, 1820–1858: The Refinement of a Southern Tunebook" (D.M.A. dissertation, University of Missouri at Kansas City, 1973), p. 92.

[42] George Pullen Jackson, *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1975; reprint of 1937 ed.), p. 93.

[43] Harry Lee Eskew, "Shape-Note Hymnody in the Shenandoah Valley, 1816–1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1966), pp. 85–87.

[44] George Pullen Jackson, *Down-East Spirituals and Others* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1939), p. 166.

[45] For example, it was not listed in Richard J. Stanislaw's *A Checklist of Four-Shape Shape-Note Tunebooks*, no. 10 of I.S.A.M. Monographs (Brooklyn: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1978). A reference to Johnson's third edition did appear in the bibliography of George Pullen Jackson's *Another Sheaf of White Spirituals* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1952).

[46] "*Just received and for sale*, ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY Copies of Johnson's *TENNESSEE HARMONY*, by PERKINS & ELLIOT." Though the advertisement does not explicitly state that this was the third edition, it could hardly have been either the first or second edition that was "just received" at that late date.

[47] This figure includes the three tunes "partially credited" to Johnson.

[48] "Crucifixion," "The Prodigal Son," and "Separation."

[49] "Canaan," "Columbia," and "Versailles."

[50] Several of the later tunebooks, most notably William Moore's *Columbian Harmony*, seem to have taken one or more of the eight tunes from one of Davisson's tunebooks, rather than directly from *The Missouri Harmony*. However, it is quite possible that the Davisson printings themselves were based on those in Carden's book.

[51] This is evident from the advertisements and prefaces of the two books. The first advertisement for Carden's book appeared on April 10, 1824, while Johnson's book was not advertised until nearly a month later (May 7). However, Carden's book was "Now in the press, . . . and will be published with all possible speed," while Johnson's was "Just Published." Johnson's preface was dated November 6, 1823. Carden, on the other hand, did not sign his preface until August of 1824.

Sketching and Schubert's Working Methods

By Stephen Carlton

Within the past few years, a considerable controversy has arisen over the usefulness of composers' sketches to the music historian.[1] While there is little consensus on whether sketches can be an appropriate aid in the analysis of a composer's music, most scholars would agree that sketches can be of service in a study of the composer himself. Sketches can, in fact, reveal a great deal about one of the most important facets of the composer's biography—the act of giving graphic life to a musical idea. As primary documents to that act, sketches have few equals. Statements by the composer can often portray the man as he would like others to think he actually worked, while reports by contemporary witnesses—if in fact they were ever in a position to observe the composer at work—are frequently subjective and open to a myriad of interpretations.

Perhaps the biography of no other composer has suffered more on account of reports by contemporaries than that of Schubert. No doubt it was in the spirit of the romantic conception of a genius that Schubert's friends described him as "occupied with composition, aglow, with his eyes shining and even his speech changed, like a somnambulist."[2] Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century writers took such statements as evidence that the composer expended little energy in creating or refining his music, relying instead on some heaven-sent gift.

No other biographer attacked such legends more vociferously than the late Schubert scholar Maurice Brown.[3] One of the most potent weapons in Brown's arsenal of proof that Schubert was an assiduous worker was the sketch. The fact that Schubert had made sketches was not unknown, for transcriptions of some of the composer's most famous sketches—including those for the B minor Symphony and the last three piano sonatas—are included in the Revisionsbericht of the first collected edition published in the late nineteenth century. Brown argued, however, that these few examples were not exceptions, but that it was Schubert's normal practice to make a sketch. Furthermore, he insisted in a number of cases that the absence of sketches connoted merely that the documents had disappeared.[4]

In the absence of sketches, can one confidently assume their loss in most if not all cases? This seems to be the common consensus. Most studies of Schubert's working methods subsequent to Brown's work have proceeded on the assumption that the composer generally made a sketch before embarking on a final draft.[5]

To test this hypothesis, I have considered both the function of sketching in Schubert's working method and the nature of those sketches. It is my conclusion that, if a sketch is defined as a document which the composer considered to be preliminary to the final score, we must revise our current impressions.

Many of Schubert's sketches do not seem to have been conceived as preliminary documents. Furthermore, many do not work out essential details; instead, they seem to be only an aid in representing what were already well-conceived musical ideas worked out in near-to-final form in the composer's mind before being committed to paper. Sketches of this sort were not obligatory for every work but only those where such a graphic aid was necessary.

My conclusion can be demonstrated by examining the composer's autographs not only to see what types of documents have been preserved, but also to come to grips with Schubert's basic working method and the function of each autograph within that procedure. To this end, I have chosen for discussion three works for which sufficient autograph documents have been preserved to allow an analysis: *Die Zauberharfe*, *Winterreise*, and the E-flat Piano Trio. These works provide an insight into the composer's typical working methods and at the same time highlight some of the problems encountered in sketch research.

Schubert began work on *Die Zauberharfe* in the summer of 1820 and the stage work was premiered on 19 August of the same year at the Theater an der Wien. In addition to the complete autograph score, a number of sketches have been preserved. The revised Deutsch Catalogue, the edition of the work in the *Neue Schubert-Ausgabe*, and Ernst Hilmar's catalogue of the Schubert manuscripts in the Vienna City Library all identify two types of sketches: those in full score and those on double-staff systems (like a "piano reduction").[4] Sketches on double-staff systems are extant for Nos. 1, 2, and 4 while sketches in full score have been preserved for Nos. 1, 5, and 9. An examination of both sketches for the first number of the drama will provide a good introduction to Schubert's working methods.[5]

A comparison of the structure of No. 1 in its final version with that of the sketch on double-staff systems reveals an important characteristic of Schubert's sketching habits: he appears to have conceived a work in near-to-final form, which he then sketched only parts of as an aid to memory. The sketches record primarily the principal melodic material, a vocal line, for example, to which other details were added, such as a bass line or accompanimental figure. They record, in shorthand, what appears to be the entire piece realized in detail in the composer's mind. These sketches are then transferred to a full score where this skeletal framework is filled out. Any subsequent changes to the sketch material are usually refinements of detail.

The first number of *Die Zauberharfe* is a chorus, "Harfentöne lasst erklingen," for Troubadours—tenors and basses—in E-flat major, with a tenor solo set in G major in the final score. The large form of the final version may be defined as A B A, with A setting the first stanza of the text and B the second. The two A sections are identical except for the solo tenor part which was added to the reprise. In the sketch, Schubert did not write out the second A section but noted only the first measure followed by "etc." The A sections are themselves tripartite: the form is a b b, with the two b sections identical. Schubert again did not write out the repetition; there is, however,

no indication in the sketch to confirm that a repetition was envisioned at this stage.

No trace of the ten-measure instrumental introduction of the final version is to be found in the sketch on double-staff systems for No. 1. It begins immediately with the vocal entrance, which is notated without text underlay. (A transcription of this sketch is found in example 1A.) In the first sixteen measures of the sketch (the first part of the larger A section), the upper staff presents the main melody found in the first tenor of the choral parts of the final version, while the lower staff provides a simple bass line. Measures 17–31 of the sketch are devoted to the b portion of the larger A section. In the first eight measures, Schubert notated a single melodic line designated to be echoed between the clarinet and chorus. In the final version the melody is given exclusively to the woodwinds and the choral parts are confined to block chords. The melody in the sketch, however, is used note-for-note in the final score; thus Schubert's alteration does not change the original structure or melodic contour of the passage, but reflects only a change in his plans for orchestration. The sketch continues (mm. 25–35) as a single-line melody with several dynamic indications. This line corresponds to the tenor I of the final version.

The remainder of the sketch concerns the central section of the final version. Schubert drafted the material in A-flat but later decided to transpose it to G. From mm. 37 to 61 the upper staff is used to notate the tenor solo line, the bottom staff to indicate occasionally the melodic line of the instrumental interludes. Likewise the entrance of the choral parts in m. 62 is noted on the lower staff. In the sketch the tenor solo joins the chorus four measures earlier than in the final version. Once again, the change in the final version does not alter the structure of the sketch but merely the scoring. In mm. 70–83 the tenor solo is notated on the upper staff of the sketch, with a choral and instrumental bass line in whole notes, on the lower. The sketch concludes with choral indications for the end of the central section and for the return of the opening chorus.

Before proceeding to the sketch in full score, several features of the sketch on double-staff systems may be summarized: the basic melodic structure is already complete in the sketch; the sketch clearly defines the structure of the movement; bass lines are occasionally provided, but specific details of accompaniment are not generally included; literal repetitions are not written out; and some indications of dynamics and orchestration are present.

The other sketch for No. 1, notated in full score on sixteen-staff systems and preserved on four loose leaves, contains fifty-five measures which correspond exactly to mm. 70–124 of the final version. (A transcription of the score sketch, reduced to double-staff systems, is provided in example 1, the systems marked B.) Some scholars regard this as an independent sketch in full score made prior to the final score.[8]

This extant fragment begins in the third measure of the central section of the movement and breaks off after the first measure of the final section, thus

containing practically the entire central section. Although staffs have been prepared for all the parts, only the vocal parts—both tenor and chorus—have been written out completely. Instrumental parts have been notated only when the vocal parts are resting and then are restricted to a melodic line in one part only. From the transcription provided in example 1, it is apparent that the correspondence between the two sketches is very close. Furthermore a comparison of the sketch in full score with the final version reveals one sole difference—tonality. The material in the sketch is in A-flat (the subdominant) while the final version is in G.

In reconstructing Schubert's working procedure in the opening number of *Die Zauberharfe* it is clear that he began by making a sketch on double-staff systems. The next step is not so immediately obvious. From reading any of the previously cited descriptions of the autographs, it would seem that he prepared an independent sketch of mm. 70–124 in full score before commencing the final score.

An examination of the final score suggests that this was not the case at all. Instead it would appear that the so-called score sketch was in fact once part of the final score. After measure 60 in the final score—the penultimate measure of the first A section of the movement and the last measure notated on folio 5r—all seven measures on folio 5v are crossed out. The first five crossed-out measures provide a transition to A-flat and the last two present the first two measures of the central section in A-flat. The so-called score sketch, which commences with the third measure of the central section in A-flat, was apparently at one time part of the final score and not an independent sketch.[9] After preparing the sketch on double-staff systems, Schubert evidently entered the leading melodic voices of the entire number into the score—a typical procedure for Schubert—and then, before filling in the other parts, decided to transpose the central section and therefore removed the four leaves. Thus while the sketches on double-staff systems were begun as preliminary documents which could be discarded once a final score was completed, the so-called score sketch was in fact once part of the final score.

This example highlights two problems which have largely been neglected in the study of Schubert's sketching procedures. The first is the problem of labelling certain documents as sketches in full score. *Die Zauberharfe* serves as a case in point. Inasmuch as the so-called score sketch was at one time part of the final score—and still would be part of that score had Schubert not decided to transpose the section—the designation "sketch" seems inappropriate for a document that shares a greater physical affinity to the final score than to the sketches. Similarly, the autograph of the opera *Sakuntala* and the Symphony in E major have perhaps also been inaptly described as sketches.[10] Here again Schubert prepared full scores for each movement by recording the leading melodic voices from beginning to end. These manuscripts were not begun as accessory documents to a final score. Rather it must have been Schubert's intention from the outset that they would be final scores. Had he filled in the other parts, the manuscripts would hardly be considered sketches

today. The sketch-like appearance of these extant autographs represents an intermediary step toward Schubert's final goal and is manifest only because Schubert decided to abandon the works before the scores were complete.

The second point to be drawn from this example concerns the content of the score sketches. A comparison of the score sketch with the sketch on double-staff systems for the first number of *Die Zauberharfe* reveals that both concern the notation of leading melodic parts—in this instance, primarily vocal parts. Furthermore, there is an extremely close correspondence between the material in both sketches. One marvels at the composer's ability to arrive very close to the final form of an idea already in its first graphic representation. Even the minor emendations which Schubert incorporated into the second draft of the present example tend to alter only the connection of phrases and leave the basic melodic line unchanged. While not all of Schubert's early drafts correspond so exactly with final versions, many do.[11]

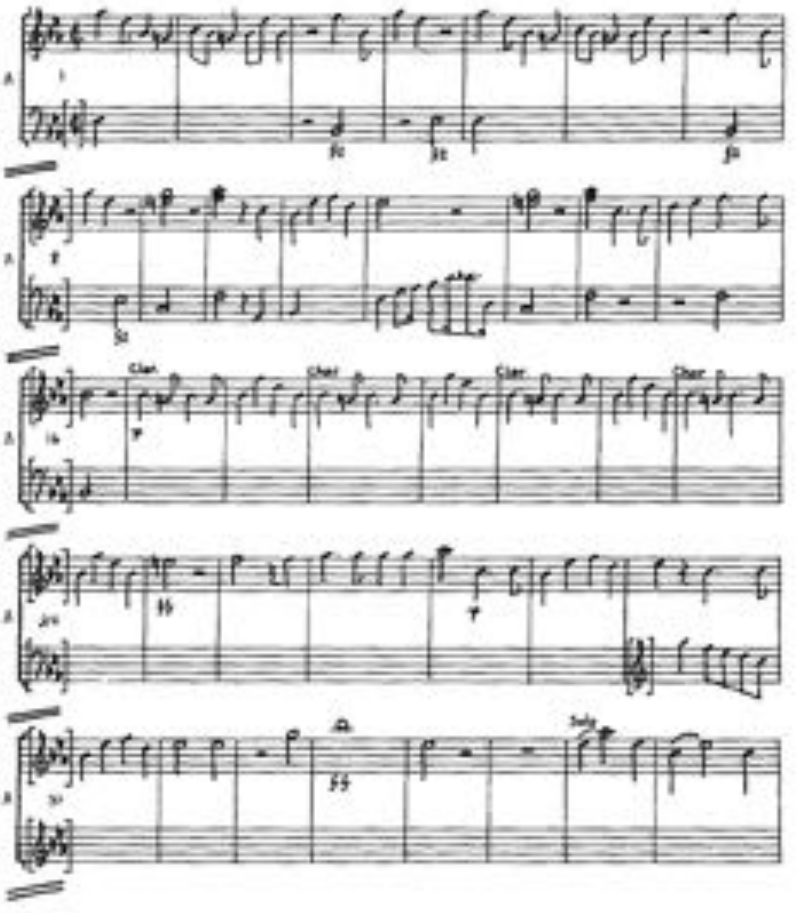
This leads us to the second problem in recent Schubert sketch studies, the assumption that Schubert found it necessary to prepare an independent sketch in all or nearly all cases. In light of the composer's habit of commencing a final score by first notating the leading melodic voices, a procedure closely resembling that of his preliminary sketches, the very nature of the procedure itself leads one to question whether Schubert always felt it necessary to prepare a preliminary sketch. The question is admittedly a difficult one to answer, for the mere absence of sketches—just as it is insufficient evidence to prove that they did exist—is, of course, insufficient evidence to prove that they did not. The second and third acts of *Die Zauberharfe*, for which no sketches have been preserved, serve to illustrate this point. Internal evidence suggests that Acts II and III may in fact have been entered into the score without the aid of preliminary sketches. After the leading melodic voices of the first and last numbers of the second act had been entered into the score, Schubert decided to make so many changes that he was forced to rewrite both numbers on new paper. The sheer number of changes in the full score is not characteristic of those parts of the opera preserved in preliminary sketches. In the same regard, the full score of the third act manifests a greater number of corrections than the previous acts.

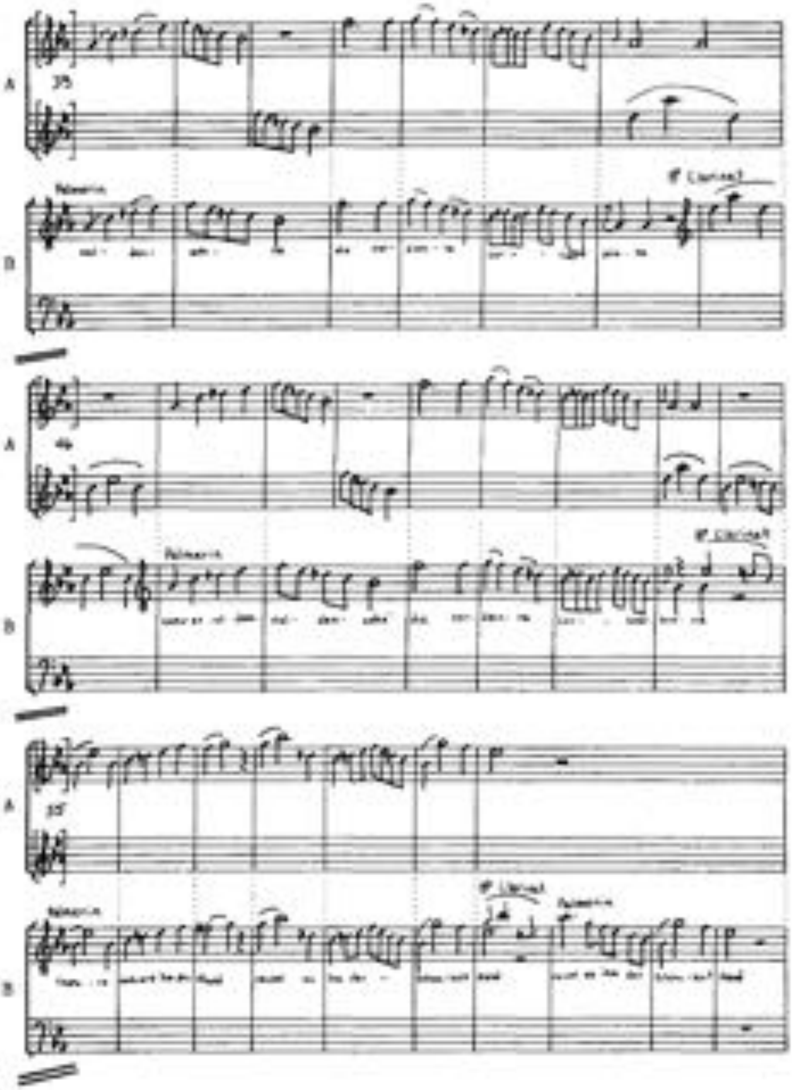
The autograph for the song cycle *Winterreise* provides evidence that Schubert did not always make separate preliminary sketches for every work. This document is one of the most fascinating testaments of the composer's working procedure in that it clearly reveals two types of handwriting. The manuscript can be separated accordingly into two types of documents: fair copies and first drafts.

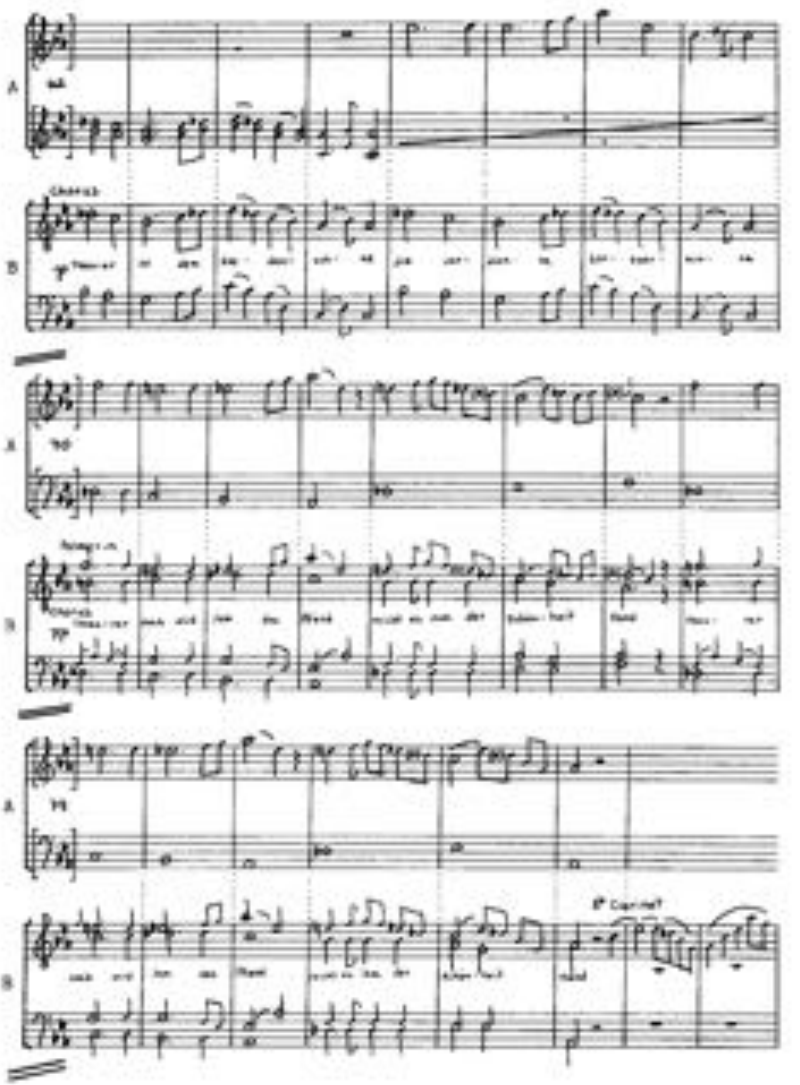
All the songs from the second part of the cycle as well as several songs from the first display Schubert's careful, meticulous hand—the type of writing associated with fair copies. Undoubtedly some other type of document must have preceded each of these songs.

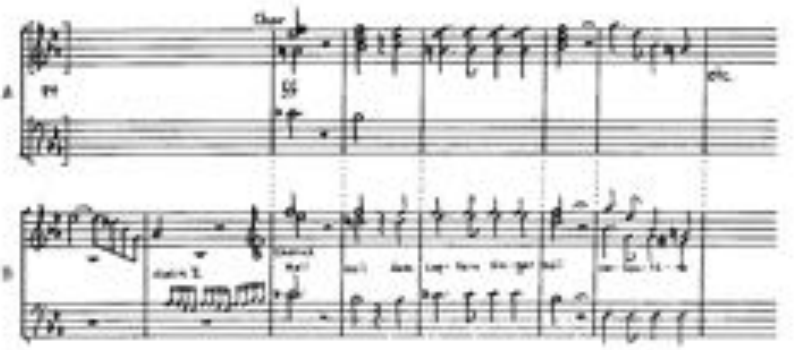
The majority of songs from the first part of the cycle, however, are set down in Schubert's ordinary hand. Presumably those songs involved a different

EXAMPLE 1. Sketches for the First Number of *Die Zauberharfe*, D. 644 (Vienna City Library, MH 167/c): A Sketch in Piano Score, B Sketch in Full Score*




A
B





* Original notated on sixteen-staff systems. Only the vocal parts have been notated in their entirety. Occasional entries are provided in the Clarinet and Violin I staves. All other staves remain empty. The present transcription presents the material on two staves to conserve space.

procedure—the composer working directly onto what becomes the final score, without the benefit of a preliminary document. Furthermore, two shades of brown ink—one light, one dark—may be distinguished throughout the first drafts, and these divulge a two-stage notational process. Since the light ink was employed consistently in all the first drafts to notate the vocal parts in their entirety and to provide occasional indications for the piano—particularly in the right hand when the vocal part is tacit—all the songs of the first half of the cycle must have been drafted before the remaining parts were added in dark ink.[10]

The contrast between the appearances of the fair copies and first drafts is striking. The neat, clean appearance of the fair copies demonstrates Schubert's ability to produce a virtually correction-free copy once his musical ideas have taken graphic form, cast in some preliminary document. On the other hand, in the first drafts the rapidity of the notation and the large number of emendations made in both light and dark ink portray a composer who was struggling to put his ideas on paper for the first time, not one who was copying from a preliminary sketch.

If for a moment we ignore the second-stage additions made in dark ink to the first drafts, the remaining material bears a remarkable resemblance to sketches of other songs. Apparently Schubert consistently set down the vocal parts in their entirety while only occasionally notating the piano part.[11]

Did Schubert begin those songs from *Winterreise* which are preserved today as first drafts as sketches which he later decided to fill in? Or was it his intention from the outset to produce a complete draft without the aid of a preliminary document? Or is it possible that Schubert was not even thinking in terms of sketches and first drafts but simply putting his ideas on paper? While the answer is a matter of speculation, the question itself points to the fact that Schubert's procedure for putting a musical idea on paper for the

first time was generally consistent—voice parts sketched in full before the piano part is completely notated—whether it resulted in an independent sketch or a sketch which was subsequently buried in a first draft.

The autograph of *Winterreise* demonstrates that the composer's original plan of action for drafting a work may not always be easily discernible from the extant documents. This problem is further illustrated by Schubert's E-flat Piano Trio—the last work I would like to discuss. Since both what appears to be a sketch and a complete autograph score have been preserved, one might assume that Schubert's first impulse, like any good composer's, was to draft a sketch and only then to tackle the complete full score. But the evidence of the autographs suggests that this was not the case at all. Instead one might conclude that what appears as a sketch was instead a first attempt at a final version, abandoned when major revisions were made to a part of it.

Like the full score, the apparent sketch of the Trio is notated on four-staff systems with a staff each for the two string instruments and two staffs for the piano. The eleven folios comprising the sketch are fully inscribed and contain only the first three movements, and thus they leave in question the existence of a sketch for the finale.

The sketch of the first movement is found on folios 1–4. On folio 1r and the top of folio 1v, Schubert was careful to notate all the parts, as if he had the intention of setting down a full score. From the middle of folio 1v onward, however, generally only two of the four staffs are filled simultaneously. With the start of the third theme in the middle of folio 3r, Schubert reverted to filling in all the parts.

The sketch for the first movement breaks off at the bottom of folio 4v—part way into the development section—with space for at least one more measure to have been added at the bottom of the page. Since the slow movement begins on a new page, Schubert easily could have added extra leaves to finish the movement on. If, however, the composer's mind was already pressed with ideas for the subsequent movements, there was no reason for him to finish the first movement at this point, for little new material was left to be written: the recapitulation is virtually identical to the exposition and the development consists of one fifty-two-measure section which Schubert states three times at different tonal levels.

The correspondence between the sketch and the final version is very close. Aside from the occasional addition or deletion of a measure, the only substantial change concerns mm. 23–85 and it is largely a matter of transposition: the first forty-odd measures of the passage were transposed a fifth lower than the sketch and the last twenty were rewritten so that the two versions eventually reach a tonal correspondence. Schubert could have accommodated these changes in the sketch with pastovers or with the addition of new folios. Yet in light of the emendations he was to make in the Andante, the only course was to commence a new draft.

The Andante is sketched all the way to the end of the movement. From the outset Schubert was careful to fill in all the parts, including purely accom-

panimental ones, again as if he were recording a final score. He did so until m. 154, twelve measures into the recapitulation of the second theme group. From m. 162 to the end, the notation is generally found in only two of the four staffs.

The sketch of the Andante comes to an end at the bottom of folio 9r. Schubert left the back side of the folio blank and commenced sketching the Scherzando on the top of folio 10r. It continues through the end of folio 11r, and the first sketch of the Trio is found on folio 11v. The Trio continues, however, on folio 9v, the back side of the end of the Andante, rather than on a new folio which would have been folio 12. Surely at this point Schubert must have had serious doubts about the sketch of the Andante as the final version, if not the work as a whole, to have confounded the order of the manuscript in this fashion.

There are no major structural differences between the sketch and the final version of the Scherzando. The most noteworthy distinction concerns the many fine details of articulation which Schubert apparently did not have time to include in the sketch but which are abundant in the final score. Two slight melodic corrections, however, were made in the sketch of the Scherzando in pencil, and in the Trio Schubert decided to expand several phrases by incorporating additional measures into the final version.

Sometime after sketching the Andante movement—perhaps even after the Scherzando had been sketched—Schubert went through the manuscript again, making notes for revision in pencil. These revisions were so extensive that he was forced to abandon this sketch and to draft a new score. The result of these revisions upon the form of the Andante may be briefly summarized. First, in terms of the primary theme, the exposition remained substantially unchanged. In the recapitulation, however, both statements of this theme were altered. At the first statement, Schubert noted "variirt" in the piano part of the sketch and consequently, instead of presenting the theme in octaves in the piano with a chordal accompaniment in the strings, he assigned the chordal accompaniment to the left-hand part of the piano and the melody to the right hand and created new accompanimental figuration for the strings. In the original sketch the theme was restated immediately in F major, but during the revision, Schubert added the instruction, "bleibt in c." And in the final version, instead of simply restating the theme, he decided on a short development of the material.

The form of the second theme group was drastically revised (see table 1). Schubert mapped out the changes in the sketch by crossing out material and by using symbols to join various sections. Furthermore, mm. 43–46, sketched in C major, were marked "in Es" and indeed appear in E-flat in the final version (mm. 67–80). In m. 86 of the sketch the piano part contains block chords. Schubert later wrote "mit mehr Coloratur" and devised triplet arpeggios for the final version (beginning in m. 57). While these many revisions altered structure and elaboration, it should be noted that the basic melodic substance of the sketch was taken over into the final version

Table 1. Structure of the Second Theme Group of the Second Movement of the Piano Trio in E-flat, D. 929, in the Sketch and Final Version

Sketch				Final Version		
c	a	x	b	a	b	c
43–58	59–74	75–85	86–96	41–56	57–66	67–83
a	x	b	c	a	b	c
143–158	159–170	171–181	182–219	129–144	145–157	158–195

unchanged.

Several observations concerning the sketch of the E-flat Trio may now be set forth. First, with the exception of the pencil revision of the Andante, most of the emendations are such that they could have been made directly into the existing score either by crossing out the old material or by replacing a leaf or two. Second, from the physical layout of the manuscript and from Schubert's use of four-staff systems, it is conceivable that the autograph could have served as the complete final score. However, two events in the notation of the draft set an irreversible course with the end result that the manuscript had to remain a sketch. First of all, Schubert's pencil revision of the Andante so altered the structure of the second theme group as to necessitate recopying the entire movement into a new autograph. The revision probably took place after the notation of the Scherzando portion of the third movement, as there are pencil corrections in the first two movements and the Scherzando, but not in the Trio. And secondly, the notation of the end of the Trio on the back side of the folio containing the end of the sketched Andante corrupted the order of the manuscript and made it unacceptable as a final draft.

Thus while these two factors eventually established the fate of the autograph, we are faced once again with the possibility that Schubert actually began the autograph with some other function in mind. Three different explanations seem possible: Schubert intentionally began the manuscript as a sketch which would remain incomplete and form the basis for a second, complete manuscript; he was notating a full score which subsequently was left incomplete because it could not accommodate certain revisions; or he began work by simply writing down the music without first deliberately considering the fate of the manuscript.

While the third rationale always remains a viable possibility, I believe that Schubert's copious provision of secondary and accompanimental parts as well as the appearance of the autograph itself suggest that the score was begun as a final score. Certainly its appearance is closer to that of Schubert's other final drafts of chamber works than to that of the famous sketches of the B minor Symphony or the last three piano sonatas.[14] Finally, this example was not presented in order to offer an irrefutable solution. Rather its purpose was to point out that the mere existence of a sketch for the E-flat Trio does

not indicate categorically that Schubert began work on the composition with the intention of first preparing a sketch. Indeed the function of the autograph may very well have changed once the composer decided to make emendations in the score.

Even from this brief examination of Schubert's working methods in a number of autograph documents, it is evident that the notion that Schubert systematically prepared a sketch and then completed a final draft for every work is both overly simplistic and fundamentally inaccurate. This misconception probably arose from a misunderstanding of the role of the sketch in Schubert's overall working method. In contrast to his famous Viennese contemporary, Schubert did not use sketches to work out such essential details of a composition as melodic shape and structure, thus making the sketch an intrinsic part of the composer's working procedure. For Beethoven, the very process of musical conception seems to have been inextricably linked with the act of sketching. He needed to experiment with and plan on paper various aspects of a musical work before the composition took final form. For Schubert, the sketch served as an aid in plotting out a graphic representation of a musical idea that apparently had been already well formed entirely in his mind. Schubert seems to have turned to this notational aid not in a habitual fashion but rather as the individual situation warranted.

As the foregoing discussion has shown, Schubert's decision to utilize a sketch was not always consistent even within a work. While sketches have been preserved for the first act of *Die Zauberharfe* and must have existed at one time for the second part of *Winterreise*, it is unlikely that Schubert jotted down independent sketches for the first part of *Winterreise* or the last two acts of *Die Zauberharfe*. Furthermore, in the case of the E-flat Piano Trio, the existence of a sketch may not reflect the composer's decision to begin the notation by preparing a sketch; rather the extant sketch may have been the result of the composer's decision to make changes in the work during the notational process, thus necessitating the completion of an additional autograph.

In this light, a definition of Schubert's working method in terms of a sequence of specific types and number of autograph documents would clearly be inappropriate. This is not to suggest that Schubert was an inconsistent worker. Schubert's practice of putting a musical idea on paper by first notating the leading melodic parts was generally consistent whether it resulted in an independent sketch or formed the framework for a complete draft of the work.

NOTES

[1] See the ongoing discussion in *19th Century Music* 2 (1978), pp. 5–17 and 270–279; 3 (1979), pp. 187–188; and 6 (1982), pp. 174–180.

[2] See Josef von Spaun's recollection in O. E. Deutsch, *Schubert: Memories by His Friends* (London, 1958), p. 138.

[3] Maurice Brown, *Schubert: A Critical Biography* (New York, 1958) and *Essays on Schubert* (New York, 1966).

[4] Brown, *Biography*, p. 5 and *Essays*, p. 19.

[5] L. Michael Griffel, "A Reappraisal of Schubert's Methods of Composition," *Musical Quarterly* 63 (1977), pp. 186–210.

[6] O. E. Deutsch, *Franz Schubert: Thematisches Verzeichnis seiner Werke in chronologischer Folge*, new edition in German by the Editors of the Neue Schubert-Ausgabe and Werner Aderhold (Kassel, 1978), p. 376; Franz Schubert, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, II/4: *Die Zauberharfe*, ed. Rossana Dalmonte (Kassel, 1975), pp. 335–337 and 377–378; and Ernst Hilmar, *Verzeichnis der Schubert-Handschriften in der Musiksammlung der Wiener Stadt- und Landesbibliothek* (Kassel, 1978), pp. 20–22.

[7] See also Rossana Dalmonte, "Die Bedeutung der Skizzen der *Zauberharfe* D 644 zur Erkenntnis der Schubertschen Schaffensweise," in *Schubert-Kongreß Wien 1978: Bericht*, ed. Otto Brusatti (Graz, 1979), pp. 141–152.

[8] This autograph is described as an "Entwurf" in the three sources cited in note 6, implying that the draft was made prior to the final score. As my discussion will show, a better label would be "rejected leaves from the final score."

[9] The layout of the folios within the autograph of the final score further corroborates this conclusion. Bifolios 6/9, 7/8, and 10/15 were added to the manuscript to accommodate the new material. Folios 1, 2, and 3 were at one time bifolios joined to the first three folios which were excised. The foliation in the autograph of the final score can be represented as follows, with bifolia represented by connecting lines.

[10] Deutsch, *Verzeichnis*, pp. 413 and 429.

[11] See Stephen Carlton, "Schubert's Working Methods: An Autograph Study with Particular Reference to the Piano Sonatas" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1981).

[12] Schubert's working method can easily be detected in the facsimile of the autograph, *Franz Schubert—Die Winterreise: Faksimile-Wiedergabe nach der Originalhandschrift* (Kassel, 1966).

[13] See, for example, the sketches for the songs from *Wilhelm Meister*, D. 877, discussed in Franz Schubert, *Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke*, IV/3: *Lieder*, ed. Walther Dürr (Kassel, 1982), pp. 287–290.

[14] It is instructive to compare the appearance of the first page of the complete score of several of Schubert's mature chamber works—for example, the String Quartet in D minor, D. 810, from March 1824 and the String Quartet in G major, D. 887, from 1826—with that of the first page of the sketch for the E-flat Piano Trio from November 1827. From its outward appearance, the first page of the sketch for the Trio could easily pass for the final score. In fact it bears little resemblance to the hastily scrawled drafts Schubert made for the C minor Impromptu, D. 899, from 1827 or the late Symphony, D. 936A, from 1828.

Oratorio At Rome's Vallicella Oratory: New Sources

By Joyce L. Johnson

In our day and age, oratorio is performed less frequently than it was two hundred years ago. In the eighteenth century, oratorio was particularly popular in Rome, for in that city—the seat of the Papacy—it was exempt from Papal prohibitions against opera. While opera in Rome was restricted to the two months of Carnival (January and February), oratorios were performed between November 1 and Palm Sunday—nearly a six-month span. Despite the prominence of oratorio in music history, however, very little research has been done on oratorio of this period. By way of redressing this imbalance, in this article some light will be shed on the oratorio in Rome during the last third of the eighteenth century.

While oratorios were presented in a variety of locations in Rome—schools, churches, and private homes—the majority of performances took place at two oratories: one adjacent to the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella (the Chiesa Nuova; hereafter Vallicella), and another at the church of San Girolamo della Carità.[1] Performances of greater fame and musical significance were given at Vallicella. Many travelers visited this oratory in the eighteenth century and included mention of the performances in their diaries. Reports survive from such noted correspondents as Charles Burney, Jakob Adler, and Tobias Smollett.

Burney visited the Vallicella oratory twice. One of his accounts describes a service in which an oratorio was performed:

> In the afternoon I went to the Chiesa Nuova to hear an oratorio in that church, where the sacred drama took its rise. There are two galleries; in one there is an organ, and in the other a harpsichord; in the former the service was begun by the vespers in four parts, *alla Palestrina*; then the *Salve Regina* was sung *a voce sola*, after which there were prayers; and then a little boy, not above six years old, mounted the pulpit, and delivered a discourse, by way of sermon, which he had got by heart, and which was rendered truly ridiculous by the vehicle through which it passed. The oratorio of Abigail, set to music by Signor Casali, was then performed. . . . Between the two parts of this oratorio there was a sermon by a Jesuit, delivered from the same pulpit from whence the child had descended.[2]

Jakob Adler added further details, including a description of castrati:

> In the oratory of the church of Santa Maria in Vallicella, or Chiesa Nuova, the monks of the Congregation of the Oratorio gave performances of a drama in the winter months until Easter, every Sunday and feastday evening; I often heard these, and every time with pleasure.

> Most of the singers, except for the basses, are castrati. Female singers are forbidden, both in sacred music and in the theater.[3]

Further details about this oratorio tradition come from scores, librettos, the weekly publication *Diario ordinario di Roma*, and a few extant documents. Two documents, in particular, are central to this study; they are lists of the oratorios performed in the years 1767 to 1768 and 1788 to 1791, which were prepared by the Congregation's Prefect of Music. These lists are virtually complete chronologies of oratorio performances during these two periods.

The document dating from 1767–68, entitled "Giornale del Prefetto della Musica,"[4] included a listing of incidental expenses involved in oratorio productions: payments to a copyist for replacing vocal parts, payments for coffee and sugar; for small statues of the Congregation's founder, Filippo Neri, for librettos, for a driver to transport the musicians, and such. The bulk of the "Giornale" lists the oratorios performed on Sundays and special feasts. Included are the names of the solo singers hired, their stipends, and the supplementary instruments engaged for the performance. The "Giornale" thus enables us to construct a chronology of performances and to learn the composition of the ensemble.

Table 1 shows typical entries in the "Giornale." Those of November 21–23, 1767, concern the premiere of a new oratorio, *Gioas*, for the feast of St. Cecilia on November 22. Note that the unnamed composer was not paid a fee for the oratorio, but instead was given a gift of a silver piece. Also noteworthy is the rehearsal for this work, as rehearsals were held only for premieres; in 1767–68 there were but two rehearsals.

Since there were six solo roles in this setting of *Gioas*, it was probably based on Metastasio's text. Unfortunately, neither the *Diario ordinario* nor a libretto confirm the identity of the composer. It was probably Giovanni Battista Costanzi, former *maestro di cappella* at Vallicella; his *Gioas*, with the same ensemble, was performed a month later on December 21, 1767. The "Giornale" only rarely included names of composers, and most Roman oratorio librettos from the 1750s and 1760s do not give this information either. The primary importance of the "Giornale" lies in the information it contains about the composition of the orchestra. In this regard the November 22 listing in the "Giornale," if taken at face value, yields a strange ensemble indeed: one violin, one viola, two oboes, two horns. Since no entry lists other strings, the assumption must be that a regular orchestra of violins, cello, and bass was hired, and only occasional additions to this orchestra were noted—in the case of the *Gioas* premiere, an extra violin and viola. This is confirmed by the final entry in the "Giornale," which notes payments to four violinists, a cellist, bass player, and to Giovanni Battista Casali for playing the organ.[5] The basic Vallicella orchestra thus consisted of four violins, one cello, one bass, and organ continuo; when desired, viola, oboes, and horns were added.

A second, similar listing of oratorios is the document entitled "Elenco degli oratorii cantati," which covers the period November 1788 to April 1791

TABLE 1
Entries from "Giornale del Prefetto della Musica" 1767–68

A dì 21. In un Reliquario di Filograna d'Argento con sua custodia, che serve per regalo per la composizione in Musica del Gioas——1:11.

A dì 22 9bre. Il Gioas novo compresa la prova alli Seguenti scudi 14:25.

Signori Cristofori	2.—
Properzio	1:50
Luigi Bianchi	1:50
De Angelis	1:50
Andrea Cianchetti	1:50
Suo Scolare	1:—
Primo Violino	1:20
Viola	1:—
Due oboe	1:50
Due corni	1:50
Al Facchino per il trasporto del Violoncello	:05
	14.25

A dì 23 detto. Al Fratello Angelini scudi 4:30 moneta che disse aver pagato per numero 206 libretti stampati, del sopradetto Gioas, cioè numero 200 secondo il solito, e sei libretti con carta dorata, che in tutto sono——4:30.

A dì 29 novembre. La Morte d'Abelle alli seguenti——5:60.

Signori Cristofori	1:—
Borghesino	:75
De Angelis	:75
Cianchetti	:75
Giuseppe Brunetti	:75
Due oboe	1:—
Due corni	:60

A dì 30 detto. La Pazienza ricompensata di Tobia alli seguenti:

Signori Ucelli	:75
Borghesino	:75
Ottini	:75
Cianchetti	:75
Trombe	:60
	3:60

(see table 2).[8] Like the "Giornale," the "Elenco" contains oratorio titles, names of singers, and supplementary instruments. Unlike the "Giornale,"

TABLE 2
Entries from "Elenco degli Oratorii cantati dal 1 novembre al 17 aprile 1791."

Oratorii cantati dal dì primo 9bre dell'anno 1788 sino alla Domenica delle Palme 1789.

1 Novembre tutti i Santi——Trionfo di Mardocheo
Biagino 1:—
Lorenzino :75
Padre di S. Marcello :75
Trinca :75
Oboe, Corni, e Viola 1:50——4:75
2 di Domenica——Gionata di Digne
Biagino 1:—
Lorenzino :75
Fucigna :75
Trinca :75
Oboe, Corni, e Viola 1:50——4:75
9 9bre Domenica——Betulia liberata d'Anfossi
Biagino 1:—
Lorenzino :75
Padre di Santi Apostoli :75
Trinca :75
Oboe, Corni, e Viola 1:50——4:75
16 9bre Domenica——S. Filippo di Sacchini
Biagino 1:—
Lorenzino :75
Padre di Santi Apostoli :75
Tenore
Trinca :75
Oboe, Corni, e Viola 1:50——6:25
22 9bre S. Cecilia——L'Isacco di Mislivecek
Biagino 1:50
Lorenzino 1:—
Napoletanello :75
Tenore Padre Befani :75
Trinca Basso :75
Oboe, Corni, e Viola 1:50——6:25
23 9bre Giuseppe Riconosciuto d'Anfossi
Biagino 1:—
Lorenzino :75
Napoletanello :75
Galletti :75
Padre Befani :75

D. Pacifico	:75
Oboe, Corni, e Viola	1:50——6:25

however, it fortunately includes the names of composers.

In comparing the "Giornale" with the "Elenco," we find overall no major differences in orchestral size or in the number of singers in oratorios between 1767 and 1791. There were minor differences, however, in various performances of a single work both within and between these two periods. For instance, Casali's *La pazienza di Tobia* was performed on January 11, 1789, with an orchestra that included viola and contrabass; on January 31, 1790, there were no other instruments added to the basic ensemble of violins, cello, and bass; on November 30, 1790, it was performed with viola and horns included; and on February 6, 1791, with only a viola added to the basic ensemble. Another example is Sacchini's *San Filippo Neri*, performed on November 16, 1788, with horns, oboes, and viola added to the basic ensemble, on February 24, 1790, with only two horns and two oboes added, and on January 23, 1791, with only an additional viola.

It would appear that oratorios composed in the middle of the eighteenth century were constructed in such a way that instruments other than violins and continuo were dispensable: most of the melodic work was done by the violins, with horns filling in or emphasizing chord tones, and oboes playing a simplified doubling of the first violin part. Later in the century, a larger orchestra was required—including horns, oboes, flutes, clarinets, and bassoon—because each instrument participated in the melodic work and therefore could not be arbitrarily omitted without doing damage to the texture.

More oratorios were presented in the 1780s at Vallicella than in the 1760s, for more money was available. The funds came from both the Congregation proper, whose members were priests, and from the *Oratorio Secolare*, a branch for laymen. The congregation paid for the fall and winter oratorios while the *Oratorio Secolare* paid for those during Carnival and Lent. Prior to 1780, the Congregation donated sixty *scudi* for oratorio performances, and the *Oratorio Secolare* supplied eighty-eight; twenty additional *scudi* were given to the *maestro di cappella* to provide the keyboard accompaniment. But in 1780, a decree was passed allotting an additional sixty *scudi* for oratorios—enough to fund approximately twelve more performances.

Another major difference between the 1767–68 "Giornale" and the 1788–91 "Elenco" lies in the repertory of the respective periods. While the "Giornale" does not list composers, we do know that certain oratorios by Jommelli, Piccinni (*La morte di Abele*), Sacchini (*La regina Ester*), and Casali—at that time the Congregation's *maestro di cappella*—were definitely presented at Vallicella. Twenty years later, the repertory had changed, and recently composed oratorios by Pasquale Anfossi, Joseph Mysliweczek, Antonio Mariotti, and Giovanni Paisiello were integrated into the schedule.

Oratorios by Casali, Jommelli, Piccinni, and Sacchini, however, still remained in the Vallicella repertory. It is noteworthy that although Jommelli's

later operas (those composed at Stuttgart) were not performed in Roman theaters, his oratorios written in the 1740s continued to be presented at Vallicella. *La Passione*, for example, remained in the repertory for over forty years, and took its place alongside works by younger composers such as Paisiello and Cimarosa.

The most popular oratorios during these years were by neither Jommelli nor Paisiello, but by Pasquale Anfossi, who would later succeed Casali as *maestro di cappella* at Vallicella. Anfossi had been a favorite of the Congregation since the 1770s, when he was selected as Casali's successor.[7] Anfossi's oratorios, like the Congregation's tastes, were conservative. Based on Metastasian texts, the oratorios were set in a recitative and aria structure with few choruses. They featured attractive melodies and simple scoring.

As was noted above, both the "Giornale" and "Elenco" lists provide the names of singers. They are, in fact, the sole sources for this information. Oratorio librettos, unlike those for operas, did not include performers' names, nor were composers always named. This was in part because of the nontheatrical aspect of oratorio, in part because a single libretto, once printed, could then serve for many performances and even several different settings of the same text.

In both opera and oratorio, soprano and alto roles were sung by men, in Rome during this period. The castrati were able to prevail in this city due to the Papal ban on women appearing onstage, even though their heyday in other parts of Europe had passed. The castrati who sang at the Sistine Chapel were supposedly forbidden from stage appearances, but this did not preclude them from performing in oratorios, for we find names of Sistine Chapel singers in the Vallicella lists.

The Earl of Mount Edgcumbe, in his travel memoirs, recalled how pleased he was by the Roman oratorio performances and mentioned by name the soprano castrato Cristofori, whom the Earl heard in a private performance and at Vallicella. This singer was admitted to the Sistine choir in 1770 and also sang occasionally for special services in the Cappella Giulia at St. Peter's and in the Chiesa Nuova cappella. His career lasted from approximately 1761 to 1790, and he was praised by Burney, who wrote that "the Roman performers from whom I received the greatest pleasure were, in the vocal, Signor Cristoforo of the Pope's chapel for voice and high finishing."[8] Cristofori apparently never sang in opera. But his oratorio career at Vallicella was noteworthy. His name appears in the majority of listings for 1767–68, and he sang in such works as Casali's *Salomone Re d'Israele*, Costanzi's *Giosuè*, and Sacchini's *Ester*.

At some point, possibly about 1785, Cristofori's position as primo soprano was taken by a younger man, Biagio Parca. Although he was part of the Cappella Sistina and occasionally sang in the Cappella Giulia, Parca also appeared in numerous operas.[9]

Other Vallicella singers had flourishing operatic careers. Antonio Beccari, a tenor from Ferrara, began his career appearing in operas in Padua, Ferra-

ra, and Venice; he established himself in Rome about 1776, serving as a supplementary singer in the Cappella Giulia. Beccari sang in Vallicella oratorio performances when the opera season was over in Rome: during January and February, his name is absent from the oratorio lists, and it reappears for the first Sunday of Lent, when Carnival ended. Antonio Palmini, a noted alto, likewise served as an extra for the Cappella Giulia as well as appearing at Vallicella, and he too sang in operas throughout Italy.[9]

Only a few names of instrumentalists can be gleaned from the oratorio lists. The "Giornale" included the names of certain regular orchestra members, the violinists Signor Tommasino, Gerarducci, Aromatarj, and Nicolaj; but neither cello nor bass players are named. Neither listing includes the names of supplementary instrumentalists, but only the type of instrument used; the instrumentalists, it would appear, were considered of lesser importance than the singers.

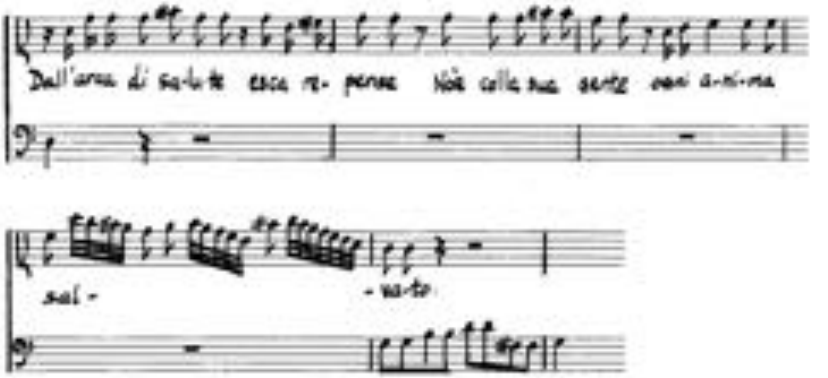
Since many vocal parts for the oratorios survive, and they include many changes and ornaments, we have some idea of vocal performance practice in that era. Markings in the parts can be found in recitative as well as arias. Embellished recitative must have been a common abuse in the eighteenth century, for several Italian theorists commented upon it. Liverziani was "of the opinion that the recitatives must have little or no fiorituras; otherwise the arias or duets which follow are bothersome instead of giving delight, since the listeners find nothing more there than what is in the recitatives."[10] And Arteaga, setting down rules for the performance of recitative and arias, flatly stated that "no embellishment must be added to simple recitatives, neither on the part of the instrumentalist, nor by the singer," because such ornamentation would obscure the listener's clear perception of the work.[11]

In some Vallicella parts one finds tiny note heads indicating scale passages and other ornaments in the recitative. Sometimes the complete figure—stems and barring—is written out, as in example 1. This scale may have served as a model, for in two later places in this recitative, the word *scala* follows a note. Example 2 shows other recitative embellishments.

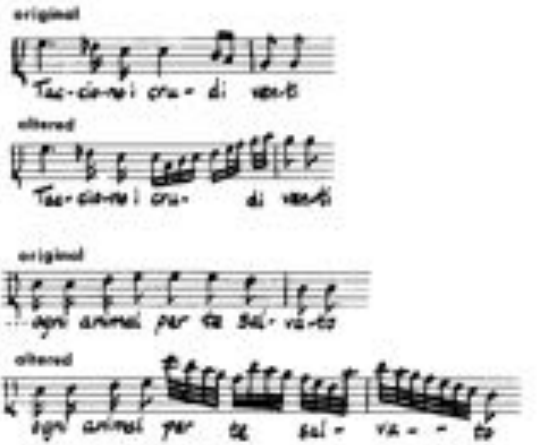
The vocal range of recitatives was also changed at times, and this practice, too, was mentioned by theorists. C. P. E. Bach wrote: "One should not always insist that the singer sing precisely the written notes and no others. . . . It is enough if the singer declaims in the right harmony. . . . The reason for such a change is often a desire to find a convenient pitch range."[12]

Arias, too, were ornamented in performance. Several of the parts to Vallicella oratorios contain written reminders of additional ornamental figures, and, as in the recitatives, there are instances of changing the range for the singer. Example 3 shows a simple melody made livelier through ornamentation.

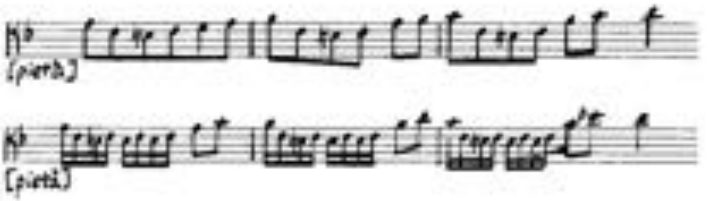
By the 1780s, there was a growing preference for a simpler melodic style. Once again, the theorists attest to this: Milizia called too-frequent *passaggi* "true interruptions of the musical sense,"[13] and Zatta, writing in 1783, complained that modern compositions were so "extravagantly written, with so



Example 1. Taken from Pasquale Anfossi, *Il sacrificio di Noè uscita dall'arca.*



Example 2. Taken from Pasquale Anfossi, *Il sacrificio di Noè uscita dall'arca.*



Example 3. Taken from Giovanni Casale, *La Pazienza ricompensata negli avvenimenti di Tobia.*

much vocalizing," that they were like "soup mixed with salad."[9]

Certain of the Vallicella vocal parts contain alterations that produce a simpler, and often shorter, melodic line. Such simplifications could, of course, have been necessitated by shortcomings in a singer's technique.

The 1780s were truly the heyday of oratorio at Vallicella. Ample funds were available for performances: we have seen that the Congregation mandated an extra sixty scudi to the Prefect of Music in 1780; in 1782 a new stage was installed in the hall; and the 1788–91 "Elenco" testifies to the richness and variety of the oratorio season. The 1790s were another story. By 1794 the financial situation of the Oratorian congregation had worsened as it had for most of Rome. The Congregation took action by presenting a "new plan" that called for a reduction in the number of oratorio performances.[10] Performances were limited to Sundays only, beginning not in November but in January, and not more than fifteen were permitted per season, as opposed to the customary thirty-five.

But the economic problems continued, and in August of 1794 the *maestro di cappella*, Pasquale Anfossi, and one singer were removed from their posts in an attempt to economize. Even liturgical music suffered a reduction in funds: the bimonthly allotment for the Chiesa Nuova *cappella* was reduced by thirty percent, from eighty-six to sixty-one *scudi*. (The lone voice of protest was that of the Prefect of Music—author of the "Giornale" and "Elenco"—who resigned from his post following these cuts.)

By 1798, the violent incidents occurring in Rome caused the Oratorian congregation to cancel oratorio performances. This journal entry by a member of the Congregation describes the cancellation:

> Thursday the fourth day of Christmas . . . after dinner, at nine, there were various incidents and homicides such as in Trastevere, in Campo di Fiori, and at San Carlo ai Catinari—not because of wine but rather the conduct of the people, who said in a loud voice "Viva liberty." And they did this in order to produce rebellion. . . . After all this tumult, that evening the Superior and Deputies met and discussed whether or not to present the Oratorio in music; it was resolved that not only would the Oratorio in music not be done, but that the outer door would be locked. . . .[11]

All mention of oratorio performances ceases after 1798; there were no oratorios (nor operas) presented in Rome in 1799 and 1800 due to the chaotic conditions in the city—Rome being under siege by French troops. Only in the nineteenth century did oratorio performances resume: a list of oratorios and their performers survives from 1804.[12]

During the latter part of the eighteenth century, all the major opera composers wrote oratorios, although these formed only a small portion of their total output. Vallicella, furthermore, occasionally commissioned oratorios, and the Congregation presented works by such important composers as An-

fossi, Cimarosa, Jommelli, Paisiello, Sacchini, and Zingarelli.

The Vallicella oratorios were not stylistically progressive. This conservatism can be seen in the existence of a revolving repertory, for maintaining a repertory minimizes introduction of new works. In fact, certain oratorios remained in Vallicella's repertory for decades. The reason for this may be that the Congregation had a smaller budget than a theater would have had, and thus a repertory could be maintained at less cost than producing only new works. Yet the Congregation engaged singers of at least local renown and presumably at some expense for their performances.

It would appear that the Congregation of the Oratorio in Rome was eager to present the oratorios in music as a means of attracting audiences and made restrictions on music only when financially obliged to do so. Despite the limited amount of clear and precise documentation about oratorio performances at Vallicella during the last third of the eighteenth century, it is clear that the oratorios were a major concern of the Congregation at Vallicella.

NOTES

[1] Both these churches were initially affiliated with the Congregation of the Oratorio, a religious order founded by Philip Neri. It was at Vallicella that the oratorio was born at the turn of the seventeenth century. San Girolamo allied with the Oratorians until the eighteenth century. See Carlo Gasbarri, *L'oratorio romano dal Cinquecento fino al Novecento* (Rome, 1963).

[2] Charles Burney, *The Present State of Music in France and Italy* (London: T. Becket, 1776), 375–78.

[3] Jakob Adler, *Reisebemerkungen aus einer Reise nach Rom* (Altona: J.D.A. Eckhardt, 1784), 150–151. "In dem Oratorio der Kirche S. Maria in Vallicella, oder Chiesa Nuova, der Mosche della Kongregazione dell'Oratorio, wird in den Wintermonaten bis Ostern jeden Sonntag und Festag Abend ein Drama aufgeführt, das ich oft und jedesmal mit Vergnügen gehört habe. Die meisten Sänger, die einzigen Bassisten ausgenommen, sind Kastraten. Weder in den geistlichen Musiken noch auf dem Theater, werden in Rom Sängerinnen geduldet."

[4] *I-Rsi*, Fondo Congregazione dell'Oratorio, Busta 112, no. 7.

[5] "Alli seguenti per loro mercede di tutti gl'oratori —— 78:30

Al Signor Tommasino Violino	12:—
Gerarducci	10:—
Avonatarj	10:—
Nicolaj	10:—
Violoncello	10:—
Contrabasso	9:—
Al Signor Casali per l'organo	6:30

[6] *I-Rsi*, Fondo Congregazione dell'Oratorio, Busta 112, no. 8.

[7] *I-Rf*, C I 10, "Libro IX de' Decreti," 11 March 1774.

[8] Burney, 374.

[9] Some of Parca's roles were: Rosalbina in *Gl'amori fortunati* (Rome: Pallacorda, 1765); Angelica in C. de Franco's *La pittrice* (Rome: Pace, 1768); Selene in Piccinni's *Didone abbandonata* (Rome: Argentina, 1770); Nearco in Jommelli's *Achille in Sciro* (Rome: Dame, 1771); Erissena in Anfossi's *Alessandro nelle Indie* (Rome: Argentina, 1772); and Onoria, in Guglielmi's *Ezio* (Rome: Argentina, 1774).

[10] Palsini's numerous roles included those of Monsieur Corteri, in Paisiello's *L'amore ingegnoso* (Padua: Teatro Obizzi, 1775); Ippolito, in B. Ottani's *Le industrie amorose* (Venice, 1778); Carillo,

in Rust's *Gli antiquari in Palmira* (Milan: La Scala, 1780); Don Ramiro in the pasticcio *Li raggiri felici* (Rome: Capranica, 1783); and Rosemondo in Spontini's *Adelina Senza* (Venice: San Samuele, 1797).

[11] Giuseppe Liverziani, *Grammatica della Musica o sia nuovo e facile metodo per istruirsi nell'intera corso della musica* (Rome: Cracas, 1798), 48. "Io son d'avviso, che i Recitativi debbono poco o niente abbellirsi con Fioriture per la ragione che l'Aria o Duetto ecc. susseguenti, invece di maggiormente dilettare piuttosto infastidirebbero non trovandoci gli Ascoltanti niente di più che nei Recitativi."

[12] Stefano Arteaga, *Le rivoluzioni del teatro musicale italiano dalla sua origine fino al presente*, 2d. ed. (Venice: Carlo Palese, 1785), 2:42. "No si deve aggiungere alcun abbellimento né dalla parte del suonatore né dalla parte del cantante ai semplici recitativi . . . perocché nascendo l'interesse dalla chiara percezione di ciò che il produce, lo spettatore non potrebbe commuoversi in seguito di prestar al filo dell'azione la dovuta attenzione."

[13] C. P. E. Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Klavier zu spielen, zweyter Theil* (Berlin: 1762, reprint Leipzig, 5th ed., 1925), 113f., quoted in Edward O. D. Downes, "*Secco* Recitative in Early Classical Opera Seria (1720–80)," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 14, No. 3 (1961): 55.

[14] Francesco Milizia, *Del Teatro* (Venice: G. B. Pasquali, 1773), 50. "E que' frequenti passagi da un polo all'altro, quando non siano richiesti dalla passione e dal moto, sono vere interruzioni del senso musicale."

[15] Antonio Zatta, *Il Parnaso italiano ossero raccolta de' Poeti classici italiani d'ogni genere* (Venice, 1783), quoted in *Giornale delle Belle Arti e della Incisione, Antiquaria, Musica, e Poesia* (Rome: Casaletti, 1784), 62. "Le moderne composizioni svobalate dalla stravaganza . . . tanta vocalizzi che il più delle volte vi stanno come le minestre coll'insalate. . . ."

[16] *I-Rsc*, Fondo Congregazione dell'Oratorio, Busta 112, no. 8.

[17] *I-Rf*, C II 21, "Annali o siano croniche della Congregazione . . . ," 28 December 1797. "Giovedì quarta Festa di Natale . . . dopo pranzo alle ore 21 in diversi siti vi successe diverse baldorie e diversi unicidii come in Trastevere alla Lungara, in Campo di Fiori e a S. Carlo ai Catinari, non per Vino ma per condotti di Genti, che dicevano evviva la Libertà e facevano questo per far nascere la ribellione come volevano . . . a questo tumulto la Sera si adunò il Superiori e i Deputati se si doveva fare l'Oratorio in Musica o no; fu risoluto che non solo non si facesse l'Oratorio in Musica ma che si serasse anche la Portaria. . . ."

[18] *I-Rf*, N I 5, "Miscellanea."

A Tudor Chansonnier: British Library Royal Appendix MSS 41–44

By Cheryl Noden-Skinner

When examining the effect of continental practices on English secular music of the sixteenth century, most scholars have dealt almost exclusively with the Italian influence on the court of Elizabeth I.[1] Recent studies, however, have begun to explore earlier continental influences on English music of this century, not only from Italy, but from France and the Low Countries as well.[2] Though the influence of sixteenth-century French and Netherlandish chansons is not immediately as apparent as that of the Italian madrigal, it nevertheless is significant and worthy of consideration. Many imported chansons appearing in English sources are disguised through the substitution of English or Italian texts, or the elimination of text altogether. In others, the chansons have been transcribed for lute or keyboard. Jane Bernstein[3] estimates that there are 242 chansons appearing in forty English manuscript sources during the Tudor and Stuart reigns. The circulation of these manuscripts was probably confined to royal circles, and the large number of chansons appearing in these sources most likely reflects the musical taste of the court of Henry VIII. Despite this, we would be mistaken to assume that the musical patronage of the Tudor monarchy had little influence on musical tastes and practices outside the court. Though the popularity of the chanson may not have been as widespread as the madrigal, it appears to have endured a much longer life.

Of the forty manuscripts mentioned above, Royal Appendix 41–44 is particularly noteworthy as it is devoted entirely to secular works with French texts, and therefore it deserves closer examination. RA 41–44, among other items from the collection of the Old Royal Library, was obtained by the British Library in 1757. Contained within the four paper partbooks are fifteen chansons, of which one is a duplicate. Each of the cantus, altus, and tenor partbooks consists of 26 folios, and the bassus has 28. The original foliation, located in the upper right corner of each recto, has been crossed out on folios one through seventeen and renumbered in pencil, beginning one folio before the original ink foliation. It is impossible to tell when the pencil renumbering occurred, although it is most likely the same hand which penciled in "also f. 11^{bis}" at the top of folio 8^{v} and "also f. 8^{bis}" at the top of folio 11^{v}. The foliation referred to in this paper indicates the penciled numbers.

The remaining folios (nine folios in the cantus, altus, and tenor partbooks, and eleven in the bassus) contain only blank staves. Folio 1 in each book and folio 14 in the cantus and bassus books have blank staves as well. The relatively few smudges, mostly in the lower right corner of the recto of each folio, and the manuscript's excellent condition, indicate that its use was very limited.

Two types of paper are found within the manuscript. One, with a watermark illustrating a crossbow within a circle surmounted by a fleur-de-lis, is of Italian origin. Similar to Briquet #762, dating from 1538/43 in Prague,[3] it is of a coarse, heavy quality, and is the primary one used throughout the manuscript (see example 1).

The guard sheets of the cantus and tenor partbooks are of a finer quality and have a watermark depicting the lower part of a hand and a portion of the wrist with the initials R.B. on the cuff (see example 2). This paper is similar to Briquet #11355,[3] except that the initials H.H. are found on this example. The provenance of papers depicting a hand is northwest France, and only later were they transported to the Low Countries. The oldest example of this type of watermark is 1526, and it is not found after the sixteenth century.[4] Briquet #11355, produced in Sassenberg, dates from ca. 1533.

Example 1. The watermark appearing on the primary paper used in Royal Appendix MSS 41–44.

Example 2. The watermark on the guard sheets of the cantus and tenor partbooks in Royal Appendix MSS 41–44.

RA 41–44 was copied by a single, unidentified scribe. Although the pages are gilt-edged, there are no colorful illuminations nor decorations of any kind within the manuscript. The scribe provides a full text underlay in each of the four partbooks, and indicates the repetition of text passages with a repeat sign—two diagonal lines, above and below which lie two dots running parallel to the diagonals. The text repetitions are written out less frequently. Because the French language of the sixteenth century had not yet become standard, words are found frequently in a variety of spellings within the partbooks.

With the exception of two minims squeezed into the second stave of folio 7^{v} of the altus partbook, there are no other apparent editorial corrections or additions to the manuscripts. Although the two minims are in the same scribal hand, it is impossible to determine whether they were added immediately upon discovering their omission, or whether they were added later.

The abbreviations in figure 1 are used in the text by the scribe. One searches in vain for hidden initials or other indications of possible identification, because the scribe, unfortunately, does not leave any apparent clues to his identity.

The brown calf bindings are stamped in gold with the Tudor royal arms and the identifying voice part (see example 3). This binding, once attributed to Thomas Berthelet,[7] is now known to be an example from the so-called King Edward and Queen Mary Binder.[8] The bindings from these two reigns, originally thought to be the products of two separate binders, are in reality from the same shop. A binding in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which combines the two styles and sets of tools, suggests that we are dealing with only one binder here.[9] The identity of this binder is unknown, however. We only know that he was working in London from the period ca. 1545–1558, and that he bound not only for the Royal family and members of the Royal Court, but for other patrons who had no obvious connection with the court.[10]

Two general types of bindings were being produced during the period: presentation copies, such as service books owned by the monarchs, which were elaborately bound and gold-tooled; and standard bindings, such as those used in the Royal Chapels, which may have contained the royal arms but would have been simpler in style.[11] As Howard Nixon has observed, "Many books bearing royal arms or emblems were never personally owned by the sovereign. Both arms and emblems were often used purely decoratively. . . ."[12] Therefore, the appearance of a royal crest did not necessarily imply royal ownership.

Jane Bernstein[13] has suggested that, because the identical stamp of the Tudor royal arms used on RA 41–44 (which was produced by several tools) is also found on two other extant books known to have belonged to Queen Mary I,[14] the appearance of the stamp on this manuscript must establish ownership by her as well. However, this stamp has since been found on no fewer than fifteen additional bindings, some of which were in the possession of Edward VI, Mary I, or other court members, and others which belonged

Example 3. The front binding of the tenor partbook, Royal Appendix MSS 41–44 (reproduced here by permission of the British Library).

to patrons who have no apparent royal connection.[13] Therefore, it cannot be assumed that the manuscript was in Mary I's collection by the appearance of the arms alone. In fact, no royal connection at all could be assumed were it not for the inclusion of RA 41–44 in the Old Royal Library.

The fourteen four-voice chansons in the manuscript date from ca. 1520–1540, with the exception of the earlier Josquin work (see the appendix to this article, table 1, for the contents of RA 41–44). The significance, if any, of the duplicated song cannot be ascertained. (There are no major differences in the duplication.) Although the manuscript contains no index, it is possible to identify the composers of all but three of the chansons through print and manuscript concordances.

Of the fourteen chansons in RA 41–44, thirteen have a thoroughly contrapuntal texture. This texture, ranging from non-imitative to highly imitative (as in the canonic "Plus nul regretz" of Josquin), is a characteristic of the Netherlands-style chanson. Several of the works represent a style, which, although contrapuntal in texture, combines several elements of the Parisian style with that of the Netherlands style. Hesdin's "Deuil, double deuilz" and Courtois's "Si par souffrir" are examples of this style, which Leta Miller refers to as "Provincial French chanson."[14] Only one work, Sandrin's "Vous usurpes, dames injustement," is truly representative of the Parisian style of the genre.

Half of the texts are decasyllabic quatrains or huitains; the remaining

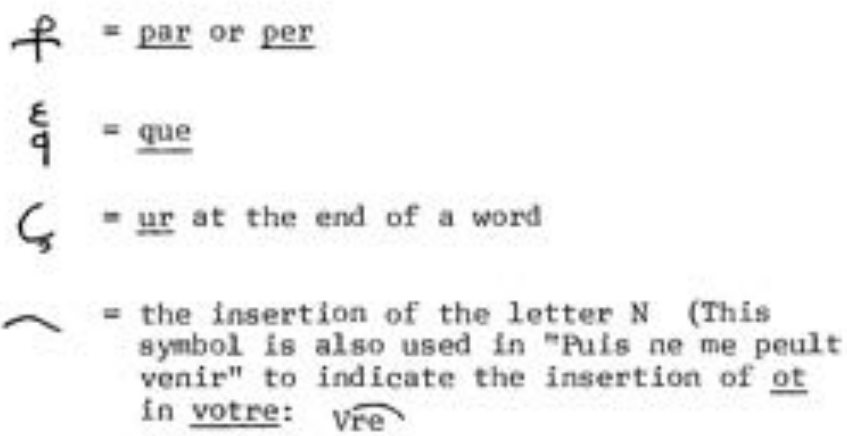


Figure 1. Abbreviations used in Royal Appendix MSS 41–44.

chansons are written in five, six, and seven lines. Alternating- or paired-line rhyme schemes are most common. The subject of all but one of the poems is love, usually of the unrequited variety.

A connection between RA 41–44 and the manuscript Cambrai 125–28 as well as the Melchior Kriesstein print of 1540 (1540') has been established.[17] Five of the chansons in RA 41–44 appear in both of these sources (see the appendix to this article, table 1, for concordances). Cambrai 125–28, compiled in 1542 for a merchant of Bruges, Zeghere van Male, contains works by each of the eight identifiable composers represented in RA 41–44.

It is difficult, nevertheless, to ascertain the provenance of RA 41–44. The dates of the papers and the repertoire, the working period of the binder, and the possible connection of RA 41–44 to Cambrai 125–28 (1542) and the 1540 print, support its placement in the period ca. 1540–1550. It is doubtful that the manuscript was compiled during Mary I's reign (1553–1558); rather, it probably arrived at the Tudor Court during the reign of Edward VI (1547–1553) or perhaps even as early as Henry VIII (1509–1547).

The lack of sumptuous bindings and colorful illuminations, mentioned above, would indicate that RA 41–44 was owned by a member of the Royal Chapel rather than one of the monarchs. Though one would conclude from this that the manuscript was prepared as a performing edition, the absence of any editorial additions or corrections (other than the added two minims already mentioned) and the manuscript's excellent condition seem to rule out that it was used extensively for performance. Even so, English manuscripts of the sixteenth century, such as RA 41–44, provide us with some insight into musical tastes of the Tudor court. Studies of these manuscripts will serve to pave the way for future research into continental influences on the secular music provided by native English composers of later generations.

NOTES

[1]The employment of Italian musicians in the Tudor court, particularly under Henry VIII, and the circulation in England of continental manuscripts and prints containing madrigals are major contributors to the Italian influence on English secular music. The English madrigal, which emerged in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, was based on the Italian form of the genre. Though it underwent a process of musical as well as cultural adaptation to English tastes, it still retained the external characteristics of the Italian model. The Elizabethan madrigal enjoyed such widespread popularity in England that it is not surprising that so much research has been devoted to the Italian influence. Two sources, in particular, should be consulted on this influence: E. H. Fellowes, *The English Madrigal Composers*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1948), and Joseph Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal: A Comparative Study* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1962).

[2]A thorough examination of the nature of continental influences on English secular music of the sixteenth century is presented in Iain Fenlon, "La Diffusion de la Chanson Continentale dans les Manuscrits Anglais entre 1509–1570," *La Chanson à la Renaissance. Actes du XX^e Colloque d'Études humanistes du Centre d'Études Supérieures de la Renaissance de l'Université de Tours, Juillet 1977*, ed. Jean-Michel Vaccaro (Tours: Éditions Van de Velde, 1981). Fenlon stresses the musical as well as cultural influences, both direct and indirect, of Italy, France, and the Netherlands. He concludes that, once a path of communication is established between two cultures, each will have a mutual effect on the other. Also see Jane Bernstein, "The Chanson in England 1530–1640: A Study of Sources and Styles" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1974) for a study of the chanson influence in particular.

[3]Bernstein, "The Chanson in England," p. 366. The following manuscripts are of particular interest: The Winchester Partbooks (1564); the manuscripts of the Arundel-Lumley Collection (RA MSS 23–25, 26–30, 31–35, 49–54, and 57); the manuscripts of Edward Paston's Collection (RA MSS 56 and 58) and British Museum Additional MS 31390.

[4]See C. M. Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire Historique des Marques du Papier*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (New York: Hacker Art Books, 1966), p. 49. According to this source, all the variations of the crossbow within a circle are of Italian provenance.

[5]Ibid., vol. 3, p. 576.

[6]Ibid., p. 573.

[7]British Museum, *A Guide to the Exhibition in the King's Library Illustrating the History of Printing, Music-Printing and Bookbinding* (London: British Museum, 1913), p. 140.

[8]See Howard M. Nixon, *Sixteenth-Century Gold-Tooled Bookbindings in the Pierpont Morgan Library* (New York: The Pierpont Morgan Library, 1971) for further discussion on the products of this binder.

[9]See Howard M. Nixon, *Five Centuries of English Bookbindings* (London: Scolar Press, 1978), p. 38. The source which combines the two styles and sets of tools—*Les Coustumes . . . des Bailliages, Seneschaussées et Prouostez royaulx . . . de France* (Paris, 1550)—is reproduced on p. 39, pl. 13.

[10]Mirjam M. Foot, *The Henry Davis Gift. A Collection of Bookbindings*, vol. 1. *Studies in the History of Bookbinding* (London: The British Library, 1978), p. 22.

[11]Howard M. Nixon, *Royal English Bookbindings in the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1957), p. 4.

[12]Ibid., p. 6.

[13]Bernstein, "The Chanson in England," p. 62.

[14]This emblem appears on *A Profitable and Necessarye Doctryne* (1555) and *Epitome operum divi Augustini*, Cologne (1549), both known to have belonged to Mary I. (Reproductions of these bindings appear in Nixon, *Royal English Bookbindings*, p. 12, pl. 4, and British Museum, *A Guide to the Exhibition*, p. 140, respectively.)

[15]Information obtained from Dr. Mirjam Foot, Assistant Keeper of Printed Books, British Museum. For example, the following bindings, on which the same tools have been used to form the same royal arms, were produced for patrons other than Mary I: *Liturgia sacra, seu ritus ministerii in ecclesia peregrinorum profugorum propter euangelium Christi Argentinae. Adiecta est ad finem breuis Apologia pro hac Liturgia, per Valerandum Pollanum Flandrum* (London, 23 February 1551), dedica-

tion copy to Edward VI—the binding cover is reproduced in G. D. Hobson, ed., *English Bindings 1490–1940 in the Library of J. R. Abbey* (London: The Chiswick Press, 1940), p. 9; *The Trinity College Apocalypse*—the binding of this thirteenth-century illuminated manuscript, produced for Trinity College ca. 1550–1555, is reproduced in G. D. Hobson, *Bindings in Cambridge Libraries* (Cambridge, England, 1929), p. 78; and *Voyage of Josaphat Barbare, A Citizen of Venice, Into Tana and Persia*, trans. William Thomas—this was dedicated to Edward VI and is reproduced in Henry B. Wheatley, *Remarkable Bindings in the British Museum, Selected for their Beauty or Historic Interest* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, and Rivington, 1889), p. 20, pl. IX.

[16] Leta E. Miller, ed., *Thirty-Six Chansons by French Provincial Composers (1529–1550)*, vol. 38, *Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance* (Madison: A-R Editions, Inc., 1981).

[17] The date 1540 with superscript ? refers to the entry in *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, Series BI, Vol. I (RISM). See Bernstein, "The Chanson in England," p. 77, for a discussion of the probable connection of these manuscripts.

TABLE 1

CONTENTS OF ROYAL APPENDIX MSS 41–44

Folio	Title	Composer	Poet	Modern Editions	Concordances*
1v	Puis ne me peult venir	anonymous	anonymous	none	none found
2v	Vous usurpes, dames injustement	[Sandrin (Pierre Regnault)]	[Francis I][a] (*La Fleur de poésie françoyse*, Paris: Alain Lotrain, 1543.)	*SandrinW*, p. 1	1538^{10}, 1538^{14}, 1540^{13}, 1546^{10}, 1551^{7}, 1551^{8}, 1555^{10}
3v	Plus nul regretz	[Josquin des Pres]	[Jean Lemaire][b] (*La pompe funeralle des obseques du feu Roy dom Phelippes*)	*JosquinW*, p. 74 *PickerC*, p. 280 *MaldeghemP* XXII (1886), p. 5 *LowinskyJ*, p. 675	Augsburg 142a Basel F.X.1–4 Brussels IV.90 Brussels 228 Florence 2442 Florence Magl. 164–7 Munich 1508 Munich 1516 Paris Vm⁷ 504 Regensburg C.120 Vatican 11953 Vienna 18810 1536^{10}, 1540^{7}, 1549^{A}, 1550^{f}, 1562^{14}, 1533_{1}
4v	Mon ceur chante	anonymous	[Charles d'Orléans][c] (*Le Jardin de plaisance*)	none	none found
5v	Vous scaves bien	[Johannes Lupi]	anonymous	none	London 58 1530^{4}, 1536^{4}, 1540^{7}

6v	Sur tous regretz	[Jean Richafort]	anonymous	*PubÁPTMII*, p. 213 *BerustreinC*, p. 68 *MoldenhemP* XV (1887), p. 37	Cambrai 125–28 Hague 74/H/7 Munich 1501 Munich 1516 1535A, [1535][b], 1540[f], 1544[m], 1545[n], 1546[n], 1547[m], 1552[m], 1555[n], 1564[n], 1571[s], 1563$_{12}$
7v	Se dire je l'ossoie	[Benedictus Appenzeller]	anonymous	*ThompsonB*, p. 505	Cambrai 125–28 Hague 74/H/7 Munich 1501 1534[n], 1540[f], 1542[h], 1552[n], 1560[p], 1570[s], 1563$_{12}$
8v	Si par souffrir	[Jean Courtois]	[Clément Marot][d] (*Sensuyvent plusieurs belles chansons*, 1535)	*MoldenhemP* XVI (1880), p. 34	Cambrai 125–28 Munich 1501 1534[n], 1540[f], 1544[n], 1546[n], 1562[m]
9v	Il n'est sy doulce vie	[Jean Richafort]	anonymous (text appears in farce *Deux gallans*) (Picot, *Recueil général*, I, 182)[e]	*BrownT*, p. 85, *MoldenhemP* XV (1880), p. 35 (to text "Chantons le doux esté")	Cambrai 125–28
10v	Deuil, double deuilz	[Nicolle des Celliers de Hesdin]	anonymous	*Das Chorwerk*, Vol. 15, p. 4[f] *MillerT*, p. 37	Basel F.X.22–4 Copenhagen 1848 Munich 1501 Gdańsk 4003 Passau 9822–23

Folio	Title	Composer	Poet	Modern Editions	Concordances*
					1530^{4}, 1536^{3}, 1537^{3}, 1537^{14}, 1544^{10}, 1546^{11}, 1549^{24}, 1552^{29}, 1556^{22}, 1562^{27}, 1561^{7}, 1567^{12}, 1573^{14}, 1563_{12}, D-78
11v	Se par souffrir (duplicate)	[Jean Courtois]	[Clément Marot]	see above	see above
12v	Pourquoy [langeur] me vient tu	[BenedictusAppenzeller]	anonymous	*MaldeghemP* XVIII (1882), p. 5 (to text "Il n'y a qu'um seul Dieu") *ThompsonB*, p. 502	Cambrai 125–28 1542^{8}, 1552^{29}
14v	Mort et Fortune	[Nicolai Gombert]	anonymous[g] (*La Fleur de poésie françoyse*, Paris: Alain Lotrian 1543)	*GombertW*, p. 41	1536^{4}, 1538^{19}, $[1538]^{21}$, 1546^{11}, 1550^{6}, 1550^{8}
15v	Ches facheux sotz	anonymous	[Clément Marot][h] (*Sensuyvent plusiers belles chansons*, 1535)	none	none found
16v	Changer ne puis	[Johannes Lupi]	anonymous	none	1533A, 1536^{3}, 1537^{3}, 1554^{24}

*Dates with superscript numbers refer to *Répertoire International des Sources Musicales*, Series BI, Vol. 1 (*RISM*); those with subscript numbers refer to Howard Mayer Brown, *Instrumental Music Printed Before 1600*. The single entry of 1533A is found in Robert Eitner, *Bibliographie der Musik-Sammelwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*; D-78 refers to the *Bibliographie des éditions musicales publiées par Nicolas du Chemin* by F. Lesure and G. Thibault. Printed

sources which could not be found in any of the major indexes are indicated by superscript letters (for example, 1542[a]). Reissues of printed sources have been included, but because of the numerous reprints produced in the sixteenth century, the list may be incomplete.

[a]See Lachèvre, *Bibliographie des Recueils Collectifs de Poésies du XVIe Siècle* (Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1967), p. 557.

[b]See Martin Picker, *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria*, p. 55. The text was written for the Treaty of Calais, December 21, 1507, and appears in Lemaire's *Chronique annale*.

[c]Lachèvre, *Bibliographie des Recueils*, p. 443.

[d]See George Karl Diehl, "The Partbooks of a Renaissance Merchant. Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale MSS. 125–128," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Pennsylvania, 1974), p. 364. "Si par soudfrir" is the third verse of "O doulce amour"—all nine stanzas are set separately by various composers in 1534[16].

[e]See Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theatre*, p. 229, for other references to the text.

[f]The frequent misattribution of this work to Lupi (as in this modern edition) is a result of its appearance in 1544[19] with Lupi indicated as the composer. Lupi composed a six-voice setting of this text, with no obvious connection to Hesdin's four-voice setting.

[g]Lachèvre, *Bibliographie des Recueils*, p. 371.

[h]See Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theatre*, p. 197, for additional information about this text.

Concordance Sources to Table 1

Manuscripts

Augsburg 142a	Augsburg. Staats- und Stadtbibliothek. MS 2° 142a.
Basel F.X. 1–4	Basel. Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F.X. 1–4.
Basel F.X. 22–4	Basel. Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität. MS F.X. 22–24.
Brussels IV.90	Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. MS IV.90.
Brussels 228	Brussels. Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. MS 228.
Cambrai 125–28	Cambrai. Bibliothèque Municipale. MSS 125–28 (*olim* 124).
Copenhagen 1848	Copenhagen. Det Kongelige Bibliotek. MS Ny kongelige Samling. MS 1848–2°.
Florence Magl. 164–7	Florence. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. MSS Magl. XIX. 164–167.
Florence 2442	Florence. Biblioteca del Conservatorio di Musica Luigi Cherubini. MS Basevi 2442 ("Strozzi Chansonnier"—bassus partbook missing).
Gdánsk 4003	Gdánsk. Biblioteka Polskiej Akademii Nauk. MS 4003 (*olim* Mus. q.20).
Hague 74/H/7	The Hague. Koninklijke Bibliothek. MS 74.H.7.
London 58	British Library, Department of Manuscripts. MS Royal Appendix 58.
Munich 1501	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung. Musica MS 1501.

Munich 1508	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung. Musica MS 1508.
Munich 1516	Munich. Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Musiksammlung. Musica MS 1516.
Paris Vm^{7} 504	Paris. Bibliothèque Nationale. Reserve Vm^{7} 504 (superius partbook only).
Passau 9822–23	Passau. Staatliche Bibliothek, Michaeligasse. Fürstbischöfliche bibliothek MSS 9822–23.
Regensburg C.120	Regensburg. Proske-Bibliothek. Cod.C.120.
Vatican 11953	Vatican City. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. MS 11953.
Vienna 18810	Vienna. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. MS 18810.

Modern Editions

BrownT	Brown, Howard Mayer. *Theatrical Chansons of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries*. Cambridge, 1963.
BernsteinC	Bernstein, Jane. "The Chanson in England 1530–1640: A Study of Sources and Styles." Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 1974.
Das Chorwerk	Lupi, Johannes. *Zehn Weltliche Lieder zu 4 Stimmen*. *Das Chorwerk*, vol. 15. Wolfenbüttel, 1932.
GombertW	Gombert, Nicolai. *Opera Omnia*. Edited by Joseph Schmidt-Görg. *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, vol. 6, no. 2.
JosquinW	Josquin des Pres. *Wereldlijke Werken*. Bundel III. Edited by Dr. A. Smijers. Amsterdam, 1971.
Lowinsky]	Lowinsky, Edward E., ed. *Josquin des Prez*. London: Oxford University Press, 1976.
MaldeghemP	Maldeghem, Robert J. van, ed. *Trésor Musical. Musique Profane*. Brussels, 1865–1893.
MillerT	Miller, Leta E., ed. *Thirty-Six Chansons by French Provincial Composers (1525–1550)*. Recent Researches in the Music of the Renaissance, vol. 38. Madison: A-R Editions, 1981.
PuBÄPTMII	*Ein hundert fünfzehn weltliche und einige geistliche Lieder*. Edited by Robert Eitner, et al. Publikationen älterer praktischer und theoretischer Musikwerke, Bd. II. Berlin, 1873.
PickerC	Picker, Martin. *The Chanson Albums of Marguerite of Austria: MSS 228 and 11239 of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1965.
SandrinW	Sandrin, Petrus (Pierre Regnault). *Opera Omnia*. Edited by Albert Seay. *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*, vol. 47.
ThompsonB	Thompson, Glenda Goss. "Benedictus Apenzeller: Composer for Mary of Hungary." Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1975.

Poetry

La Fleur de poisie françoyse, recueil joyeulx contenant plusieurs huictains, dixains, quatrains, chansons et autres dictz de diverses matières (Paris: Alain Lotrian, 1543).

Le Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethorique nouvellement imprimé à Paris (ca. 1502), ed. Vérard.

La pompe funerälle des obsequez du feu Roy dom Philippes. Ung chant nouvel touchant alliance dangleterre. Lepitaphe de feux maistre george chastelain et maistre Johan molinet, (Antwerp Guillaume Vosterman, 15 February 1508).

Sensuyvent plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles avec plusieurs autres retirées des anciennes impressions. Paris, 1535.

Problems Encountered in the Study of Portuguese Musical Relations with Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands during the Renaissance

By Manuel Carlos de Brito

> What might have been is an abstraction
> Remaining a perpetual possibility
> Only in a world of speculation
>
> (*Four Quartets*, I. Burnt Norton)

Thus said T.S. Eliot in the *Four Quartets*, and these simple lines, always pertinent where historical research is concerned, are particularly apt to describe the situation of Portuguese musical history, especially during the Renaissance. In fact, two of the main difficulties in studying this subject are, on the one hand, the relative scarceness of musical sources and, on the other, the accumulation of historical evidence which, as often as not, has no direct relevance for the study of those sources. Evidence relating to singers and players, court and cathedral chapels, music teaching and so on, usually fragmentary in any case, will only give a very limited picture as long as we remain in the dark about what music was studied, sung, and performed, whether of foreign origin or the product of native composers, about the relative proportions of vocal and instrumental music, of secular and religious music, of plainchant and polyphony, and so forth. As long as we are unable to establish this essential relationship between the surviving evidence and its context, the history of Portuguese music in the Renaissance will largely remain a matter of speculation: we may guess what it might have been, but will not be able to say what it really was.

It so happens that at the present moment fairly complete information exists on the musical sources which have survived in Portuguese libraries and on those which are scattered here and there in various European and American libraries; it is unlikely that any major surprises are to be expected in this field. The reasons for the relative rarity of musical sources are very much the same as those that Higinio Anglès has put forward in regard to Spain: "the absence of a generous musical press, the absence of libraries which might have carefully collected our music monuments, the wars, revolutions, and fires."[1] In the case of Portugal two particular calamities should be mentioned. One is the great Lisbon earthquake of 1755, which is generally held responsible for the loss of sources belonging to the Royal Chapel prior to the second half of the 18th century; the other the Napoleonic invasions and the Liberal Wars, which kept the country in a perpetual state of war and anarchy during the first half of the 19th century. To these must be added the dissolu-

tion of the monasteries in 1834 and the irreparable loss caused by the indiscriminate sale of manuscripts belonging to their libraries, many of which met their untimely end as wrapping-paper in grocers' shops.

As was the case in Spain, the National Library of Portugal did not try to preserve musical manuscripts, unlike the National Libraries of Paris, Munich, Vienna, Berlin, Brussels, or the British Museum. Portugal did not have a Padre Martini, or a Fétis, or a Proske. It is therefore very difficult, if not altogether impossible, to estimate what part of the nation's musical heritage has in fact survived to our own day and what part is irretrievably lost.

One must keep these limitations in mind when considering the musical relations between Portugal and the rest of Europe during the Renaissance. Of these connections, the most immediate and obvious is that with Spain, involving political and cultural as well as geographical ties. The Portuguese court in the 16th century was bilingual; this bilingualism was helped by a greater phonetic similarity between Portuguese and Spanish than exists today. This fact helps to explain why little more than twenty percent of the *villancicos* and *romances* preserved in the four known Portuguese musical songbooks of the Renaissance have Portuguese texts, the rest being in Spanish.

Although the existence of Portugal as an independent country antedated by more than three centuries the political unification of Spain, repeated efforts were made on both sides during the Renaissance toward the unification of the Spanish and Portuguese crowns (see Table 1). One Portuguese king, Manuel I (1469–1521), went so far as to marry successively three Spanish princesses—two sisters and their niece. As it turned out, political union was finally achieved at a time when both countries were already past the zenith of their historical importance and their empires were beginning to decline. Royal marriages occasioned a considerable interchange of musicians between Spain and Portugal, as was already evident in the fifteenth century. Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon sent musicians to his sister Eleanor, queen of Portugal, in 1428.[3] Tristano de Silva, a Spanish composer who was a friend of the theorist Bartolomé Ramos de Pareja, was in the service of King Afonso V of Portugal. King Duarte I complained in a letter written in 1434 to John II of Castile that the latter "has seduced to his own service one of the best Portuguese Royal musicians, Álvaro Fernandes, despite the fact that everything Fernandes knew about playing the organ and singing had been learned in Duarte's household."[4]

The chapelmaster to the empress Isabel, wife of Charles V of Spain, seems to have been a Portuguese along with some of the musicians. The concern over the preservation of national traditions led to arguments over whether the singers in the empress's service should only be paid 20,000 *maravedís*, as was the custom in the Portuguese court, or 40,000, as was the custom in Spain. Fortunately for the singers, the Spanish tradition prevailed in this instance.[5] Conversely, the two Spanish sisters Isabel and Maria, wives of Manuel I, took their musicians with them to Portugal, as did the princess Juana (1479–1555), sister of Philip II.

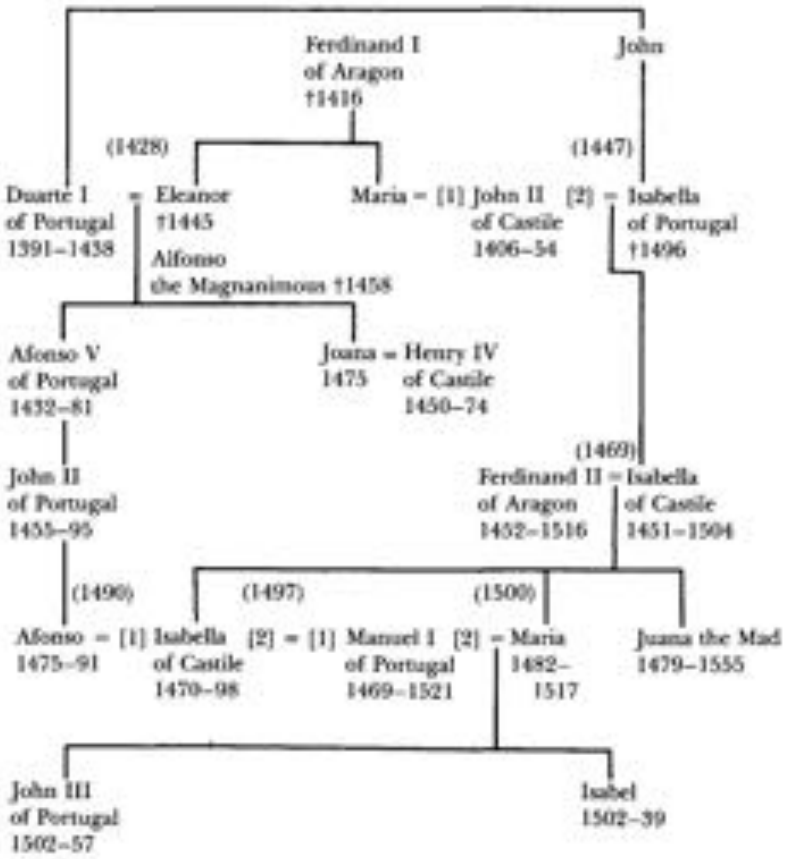
Pedro de Escobar, a famous composer who is represented in the *Cancionero de Palacio* and in various other Spanish and Portuguese sources of the early sixteenth century, and was chapelmaster at Seville cathedral between 1507 and 1514 has been identified by Robert Stevenson as Pero do Porto, a Portuguese singer in the court of the Catholic kings (see Figure 1).[1] He may also have been chapelmaster at Valencia and come back to Portugal to serve the cardinal Dom Afonso, son of Manuel I. As Stevenson puts it, he lived to regret his return home, complaining of the gravity and melancholic humor of his countrymen.[2] Another Portuguese in the Spanish service was the poet and musician Jorge de Montemor or Montemayor, author of the famous pastoral romance *Diana*, who may have come to Spain with Maria, the first wife of Philip II, and later served the princess Juana (1535–1573), daughter-in-law of John III of Portugal.

Portuguese patronage of Spanish musicians is particularly noteworthy in the reign of John III (1502–1557). Both Luís Milan and Francisco Guerrero visited Lisbon, the former to present the king with the first known book for the *vihuela*, *El Maestro*; the latter to present him with his first book of Masses. The theorist Fray Juan Bermudo dedicated to John the first edition of his *Declaracion de Instrumentos Musicales*. The king had in his service the Spanish *vihuelista* Hernando de Jaen, and one other composer for the *vihuela*, the blind author of the *Orphenica Lyra*, Miguel de Fuenllana, was in the service of King Sebastian between 1574 and 1576.

The presence of Spanish musicians in Portugal did not restrict itself to the court and the Royal Chapel. From Spain came the first known chapelmaster of Évora cathedral and first known music lecturer at Coimbra University, Mateo de Aranda. His two treatises on plainchant and polyphony seem to be the first books on music to have been printed in Portugal.[3] He boasted of having studied in Italy, besides having been the pupil of Pedro Ciruelo at Alcalá de Henares. In 1580 there were two Spanish organists at Évora cathedral, one of whom had previously served in Braga cathedral.

From Spain also came the first known chapelmaster of the dukes of Bragança at Vila Viçosa, Gines de Morata. A later director was António Pinheiro (d. 1617), who may have been a pupil of the Spaniard Francisco Guerrero. It is probably no mere coincidence in this respect that the three main centers of Portuguese polyphony in the south of Portugal, Elvas, Évora and Vila Viçosa, lie so near the border with Spain. Direct contacts with other musical centers on the other side of the border, such as Badajoz, are also well documented.[4] The Badajoz cathedral chapel and the Vila Viçosa chapel in particular helped each other whenever either of them was in sudden need of a replacement singer or player due either to illness or leave of absence.[5] It must also be remembered that Évora itself was often the residence of the Portuguese kings in the 16th century. In Coimbra as well, one of the main composers at the monastery of Santa Cruz in the 16th century, Dom Francisco de Santa Maria (d. 1597), was a Spaniard by birth. The musical contacts between Coimbra and Spanish centers such as Ciudad Rodrigo

TABLE 1
Family Ties Between the Houses of Portugal and Spain During the Renaissance



NOTES: Successive marriages are numbered in brackets.

Continued on next page

Table 1—*Continued*

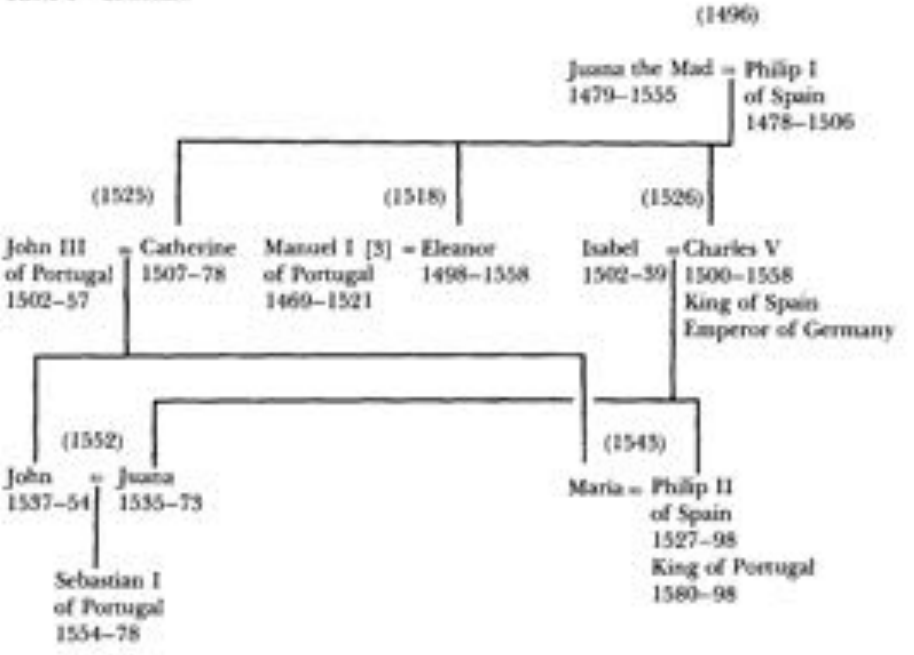


Figure 1. The Main Centers of 16th- and 17th-Century Portuguese and Spanish Polyphony, and Portuguese Composers Active at that Time

[1] Manuel Rodrigues Coelho (c. 1555–c. 1635) at Badajoz 1575–1577
[2] Estevão de Brito (d. 1641)
[3] Frei Manuel Correia do Campo (1593–1645)
[4] Frei Francisco de Santiago (c. 1578–1644)
[5] Pedro de Porto (Escobar?) (fl. 1500)
[6] Frei Manuel Correia (da Veiga?) (c. 1600–1653)
[7] Gonçalo Mendes Saldanha (c. 1580–1645)
[8] Frei Filipe da Madre de Deus (c. 1630–90)
[9] Frei Filipe da Cruz (fl. 1650)
[10] Manuel Machado (1585–1646)
[11] António de Macedo (fl. 1590)
[12] Nicolau Doizi de Velasco (d. 1659)
[13] Manuel Tavares (fl. 1630)
[14] Nicolau Tavares (son of Manuel)
[15] Leitão Avilês (17th century)
[16] Gregório Silvestre de Mesa (fl. 1500)
[17] António de Oliveira (fl. 1620; later chapelmaster of St. John Lateran in Rome)
[18] António Carreira the Younger (fl. late 16th century)
[19] Frei Francisco Baptista (fl. first half of the 17th cent.)

have also been studied.[10]

After Philip II ascended the throne of Portugal in 1580 the musical relations between the two countries were, if anything, intensified. The following year the organist Hernando de Cabezón, son of the famous Antonio, was called from Madrid to serve the king in Lisbon. Philip II also took with him to Madrid a number of singers in the Portuguese chapel, among them the composer António de Macedo.

Spanish rule coincides in Portugal with a period of economic and cultural depression, occasioned by, among other factors, the decline of the overseas empire and the suicidal African adventure of King Sebastian, where a large number of the country's aristocracy, and the king himself, lost their lives. It is not surprising, therefore, that many Portuguese composers in the first half of the seventeenth century sought posts in Spain. History has not been kind to them, as it has not been kind to Portuguese writers of the same period who lived in Spain and wrote in Spanish. Spanish research has dismissed them for being Portuguese; Portuguese research has forgotten them for being exiles. Only recently, and mainly through the work of the American musicologist Robert Stevenson, have details of their lives been unearthed and their works begun to be published. It is interesting to note that in many cases their music wandered far and is still to be found today in the cathedral archives of Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, Peru and Argentina. This has led us apparently away from the period under consideration, but in fact, one of the central problems in the study of the Portuguese musical Renaissance is precisely that the period of its flourishing falls outside that of the European Renaissance. We shall return to this central question below.

The relations between Portuguese and Flemish music tended to be, in part at least, mediated through Spain. It is true that the marriage of Isabel of Portugal, daughter of John I, with Philip the Good of Burgundy, may have occasioned some interchange of musicians, but this has not so far been documented. It is not even clear whether the two blind viol players who joined the duke's chapel in 1435, and according to Martin le Franc "put Dufay and Binchois to shame,"[11] were Portuguese. A point deserving attention in this connection is the European carrier of the basse-dance *Portingaloise* and its possible relation with the piece by Dufay entitled *Portugaler*.[12]

We know of foreign musicians other than Spaniards in the Portuguese court since the 15th century. The reliable chronicler of King Manuel I, Damião de Góis, tells us that he had in his service the best singers and players, who came from all corners of Europe.[13] In 1515, his first shawm player was a certain master Jacques, a Fleming by birth. On his advice the king wrote to his agent in the Low Countries, ordering him to hire four of the best shawm and sackbut players available.[14] On John III's payment roll were 52 singers and 8 chamber musicians, some of whom were Flemish and German. He also had in his service a certain Copym of Holland as harpsichord maker. The two sisters Eleanor and Catherine, wives of Manuel I and John III, respec-

tively, had been musically educated in the Netherlands, along with their brother, the emperor Charles V. John III's daughter-in-law, Juana, brought to Lisbon with her Flemish as well as Italian minstrels. One thing, however, must be pointed out: these foreigners were nearly all instrument players. The only known exception is the composer and chapelmaster to King Sebastian, Raynaldus van Melle or Rinaldo del Mel, who after leaving Lisbon in 1580 was active in Rome and Venice.[13] We do not know of any other Flemish or Italian composer who may have been in Portugal during the 15th and 16th centuries.

Portuguese musicians do not seem to have been frequently active in European centers outside the Iberian Peninsula. The presence of three Portuguese in Rome in the second half of the 16th century has been documented; one was a singer in the Cappella Giulia, another an organist or, more likely, organ mender in various churches. The third of these is the theorist and composer Vicente Lusitano, who became famous for his dispute on *genera* with Nicola Vicentino of which Lusitano was judged the winner. He published an *Introdutione Facilissima, et nouissima, di canto fermo, figurato, contrapunto* . . . , which had three editions (Rome, 1553; Venice, 1558; and Venice 1561); a book of motets for five, six, and eight voices (Rome, 1551 or 1556); and one Italian madrigal ("All'hor ch'ignuda d'herb' et fior la terra," in *Il Primo libro delle muse a tre voci* . . . , (Venice: Girolamo Scott, 1562).[14] Another Portuguese active in Italy was a certain Frei João Leite Pereira, who was organist to Vincenzo Gonzaga at Mantua in the first years of the 17th century and may thus have taken part in the first performance of Monteverdi's *Orfeo*.

The only other music by Portuguese composers known to have been printed abroad in the sixteenth century is a book of motets by João Álvares de Moura published in 1594, and three motets by the above-mentioned Damião de Góis, one of which, *Ne laeteris*, was included by Glareanus in his *Dodecachordon* (1547). Góis was an amateur musician and the leading Portuguese humanist. He was a secretary at the Portuguese factory in Antwerp at the time of John III and carried out several other diplomatic and commercial missions in Europe before resigning from government service to devote himself to humanistic studies. He studied in Padua and also became a close friend of Erasmus. It was while staying at the latter's house in Freiburg im Breisgau that he met and made friends with Glareanus.

The Musical Sources

Although the earliest polyphonic sources which have survived in Portugal date back to the end of the 15th century at most, we may be sure that polyphony was known and sung there before that period. King Duarte in his *Leal Conselheiro* ("The Loyal Councillor"), written before 1438, refers to those members of the chapel who shall sing alto, contra and tenor. Thus the problem mentioned at the beginning of this article is particularly acute with regard to the 15th century. We have a fair number of documents concerning musical activity and practice, but no actual musical sources which we can

relate with this practice. We know for instance that King Afonso V ordered Tristano de Silva to gather a collection of Franco-Flemish chansons, but if this was ever done, the collection did not survive.

The manuscripts from the monastery of Santa Cruz, now kept at Coimbra University Library, constitute the richest collection of 16th- and 17th-century sources that survive in Portugal. Several of these manuscripts, dating mostly from the 16th century, such as M.Mss. 2, 3, 9, 12, 32, and 34, contain masses and motets by Josquin, Compère, Mouton, La Rue, Willaert and many of their Spanish contemporaries. Two manuscripts, M.Mss. 48 and 242, contain organ intabulations and organ pieces by Clemens non Papa (29), Thomas Créquillon (20), Nicolas Gombert (13), Orlando di Lasso, Jacques Buus, and several other Franco-Flemish composers, as well as pieces by Cristobal Morales, Carreira, Cabezón, and other Spanish and Portuguese composers.

Of the four or five Flemish composers more widely represented in the Coimbra manuscripts, two of them, Gombert and Créquillon, were both members of the Flemish chapel, the *capilla flamenca*, of the emperor Charles V, and as such spent important periods of their lives in Spain. Thanks to the studies of Van der Straeten[11] and more recently of Paul Becquart[12] we know that after the death of the emperor, the number of Flemish musicians in the royal service did not diminish and seems to have grown. The Flemish chapel in fact existed as a separate institution until 1637. For the reign of Philip II alone, Paul Becquart found the names of around 100 Flemish musicians. These were mostly singers, but there is an important group of composers among them. Of these the most famous were Philippe Rogier, who died in 1596, aged 35, his disciple Gery de Ghersem, and his successor as chapelmaster, Mathieu Rosmarin or Mateo Romero, known as *"El Maestro Capitan."*[13] Their main creative field was the mass, the motet, and the religious *villancico*. As for their secular music, while Rogier still wrote a fair number of chansons, Romero seems to have cultivated almost exclusively the Spanish *romance* repertory.

It may be reasonably argued that this late flourishing of the Flemish tradition in Spain along with the cultural isolation into which the whole peninsula withdrew after the Counter-Reformation are mainly responsible for the conservative tendencies which are to be found in Spanish and Portuguese religious music well into the 17th century. As stated earlier, the period which has traditionally been considered as that of the greatest flourishing of Portuguese polyphony already falls outside the European Renaissance. Men like Filipe de Magalhães, Duarte Lobo, Manuel Cardoso, Francisco Martins or Estevão Lopes Morago (the last a Spaniard by birth), all belong to the first half of the 17th century, and even if we now possess a more complete knowledge of the music of their predecessors, such as the court organist António Carreira, or the Coimbra canon Dom Pedro de Cristo, this traditional view has not yet been seriously challenged. There does not seem to be any reason to think that this is so simply because more sources have survived from the

17th than from the 16th century. Therefore, an attempt must be made to seek some sort of explanation for this late flourishing of Portuguese religious polyphony. What must indeed be stressed is that these polyphonists confined themselves to religious music and went on writing in the *stile antico*, apparently unaware of the intense musical revolution which was going on, particularly in Italy, during their lifetime. Even in the slightly more progressive repertory of the religious *villancico*, stylistical innovation seems to have penetrated only slowly and timidly.

Although this has not been studied yet, a direct influence of those late Flemish composers on their Portuguese contemporaries is probably to be expected. The master of the Lisbon Royal Chapel, Frei Manuel Cardoso, for instance, visited his colleague Mateo Romero in Madrid in 1631.[9] King John IV, while still at his ducal palace of Vila Viçosa, was so enthusiastic about the works of these Flemish composers that he made every effort to acquire them for his famous library. John IV's father, Duke Teodosio II, had already ordered a number of works from Rogier, for which he had paid as much as 10,000 *reais*.[10] In the catalogue of John IV's library there are more than 200 works by Philippe Rogier, nearly 300 by Gery de Ghersem, and nearly 100 by Mateo Romero. John IV wrote two essays in Spanish defending Palestrina, which were published in the mid-17th century, in which he quotes several musical examples taken from Rogier. His admiration for this composer extended itself to an interest in the music of his disciples. It is, in fact, through his catalogue that the large majority of their works is still known today.

As for Mateo Romero, the Portuguese king tried not only to acquire his complete works, but also his musical library, both before and after the composer's death. Romero visited the then-duke at Vila Viçosa in 1638, remaining there nearly six months, and before returning to Madrid, he was royally paid for his troubles. In 1644 he was made a chaplain to the Portuguese court and allotted a life pension.[11] The fact should be noted that the War of Independence between Portugal and Spain did not prevent the Portuguese king from distinguishing thus the chapelmaster to the Spanish king.

It is well known that John IV spared neither effort nor money to gather one of the most remarkable musical libraries in 17th-century Europe, ordering as many as 162 different items from Italy at one time. This library was destroyed in the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, and only a part of it is known through the first volume of the catalogue mentioned above.[12] The list of French, Flemish, and Italian composers it includes is too long to be quoted in full. A few names will suffice: Créquillon, Gombert, Clemens non Papa, Orlando di Lasso, Willaert, Claude Lejeune, Gabriel Bataille, Titelouze, Jannequin, the two Gabrielis, Orazio Vecchi, Palestrina, Luca Marenzio, Monteverdi, Gesualdo, and the books on ornamentation by Bassano, Rognoni, Bovicelli, Banchieri, Conforti, and others.

The number of English composers is particularly striking: Byrd, Gibbons, Morley, Weelkes, Holborne, Rosseter, Pilkington, Robert Jones, Dowland, John Bartlet, Campion, Coprario, Tobias Hume, and the "anglicized" Fer-

rabosco, among others. Could it be that this was due to the influence of the king's supposedly English teacher, the otherwise unknown Robert Tornar (Turner?)?[29]

The case of John IV's library is the exact opposite of the general situation described above in relation to the 15th and 16th centuries. Here we have a list of a few thousand works by more than one thousand different authors, which we know existed in Portugal in the first half of the 17th century, even though only a few dozen have actually survived. The question that immediately comes to mind is this: was all this music ever performed either at Vila Viçosa or in Lisbon, and if not, what part of it really was used?

Everything we know about musical life at Vila Viçosa, about the king's musical education and personal tastes,[31] and about his own Spanish wife's puritanical mentality leads us to think that secular music was very rarely, if ever, played at court. It is very unlikely that French chansons, English airs, or Italian madrigals were ever performed. John IV's tastes seem to have been confined to religious polyphony, including religious *villancicos*, of which there were more than two thousand titles in his library.[32] A large part of the works in the king's library should therefore be seen as collector's items and not as reflecting actual musical practice in 17th-century Portugal. The almost total absence of secular vocal and especially instrumental music by native composers in 16th- as well as 17th-century sources seems to confirm a general religious trend in Portuguese Renaissance music.

Evidence produced so far allows us then only very limited conclusions regarding Portuguese music in the Renaissance and its relations with European music in general. First of all, judging by surviving sources alone, Portuguese Renaissance music seems to have blossomed relatively late. Second, musical contacts between Portuguese and Flemish music seem to have been largely mediated through Spain, and contacts with Italy seem to have been scarce. Thirdly, religious polyphony seems to have largely dominated in the 16th century, and even more in the 17th century. Almost all instrumental (keyboard) music which has survived is also related to church practices.

The question remains why the traditional golden age of Portuguese history—the first half of the 16th century—cannot be more clearly seen reflected in its musical life, which seems to have remained at a very provincial stage. This is particularly puzzling when we think that in that period Portugal had intense commercial and cultural relations with the Low Countries, with Italy, and in fact with all of Europe. The only reason this writer can offer is that Portugal's appearance at the forefront of European powers was too brief to compensate for the country's peripheral position in the continent and to encourage the development of a truly international musical life, autonomous from that of Spain. In 1536, the Inquisition was introduced in the country and in 1543, the first victims were burned at the stakes. At the same time, the first signs of a crisis in Portugal's overseas ventures were already apparent. The two factors of the Counter-Reformation and of the decadence of the empire soon combined to reduce the country to the state of cultural isolation

and political dependence which it was to know until the 18th century.[7] The case of Damião de Góis, the friend of Erasmus and Glareanus, is a good example of the new times. He returned home in 1548 to become the keeper of the national archive and official chronicler. In 1571, he was tried by the Inquisition and put in prison; his death followed soon afterwards. A witness at his trial declared that in his house in Lisbon he entertained foreigners, who ate, drank, and sang for a long time things which people could not understand and songs which were not customary in Portugal, and organ playing was also heard. To this charge he replied that Germans, French, Flemish, both musicians and non-musicians, as well as Portuguese came to his house, and after dinner he sang with them masses and motets, because he was a great music-lover.

We may be justified in saying, on the other hand, that Portugal turned its back on Europe as it embarked on its gigantic adventure of discovery and overseas expansion. The fascinating subject of Portuguese musical relations with the Far East has hardly been tackled yet, but a single example may be quoted: in his travel book, *A Peregrinação* ("The Pilgrimage"), Fernão Mendes Pinto describes the singing of religious *villancicos* accompanied by instruments in a Portuguese church in China in 1542.[8]

NOTES

[1] *La Música en la Corte de los Reyes Católicos*, vol. I: Polifonía Religiosa (Barcelona: Instituto Español de Musicología, 1941, 1960), p. 77. (Monumentos de la Música Española, I).

[2] Pere Met and Michelet de Necauvila, *Monumenta Henricina*, vol. III, p. 179, no. 90, quoted in J.V. Serrão, *História de Portugal*, vol. III (Lisboa: Editorial Verbo, 1978), p. 416.

[3] Quoted in Robert Stevenson, *Portuguese Music and Musicians Abroad (to 1650)* (Lima: Pacific Press, 1966), p. 7.

[4] Anglès, *La Música en la Corte*, pp. 29–30.

[5] This is doubtful, however: Tarazona cathedral MS 2, listed in Anglès, *ibid.*, pp. 122 ff., contains one piece by PORTO (no. 21) and 21 by ESCOBAR (nos. 1, 2, 12, 13, 14, 17, 20, 36, 37, 50, 54, 56, 59, 69, 73, 74, 98, 103, 109, 110, 111).

[6] Stevenson, pp. 8–9.

[7] *Tractado de cifra llana* (Lisboa: German Galhard, 1553), and *Tractado de canto mesurable* (Lisboa: German Galhard, 1555).

[8] See M.S. Kastner, "La Música en la catedral de Badajoz," *Anuário Musical* XII (1957), XV (1960), and XVIII (1965).

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] M.S. Ribeiro, "A Música em Coimbra," *Biblos—Revista da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra* XV (1939), pp. 439–466.

[11] The Jehan de Courdouval and Jehan Fernandes quoted in his poem *Le Champion des Dames*.

[12] The *Portugaler*, or *Portigaler*, by Dufay, is preserved in the Buxheimer Orgelbuch, ff. 21 and 65. The basse-dance *Portingaloise* is printed in *Basses danses*, M. Closson, ed. (Brussels: Société des Bibliophiles et Iconophiles de Belgique, 1912).

[13] *Crónica do Felicíssimo Rei D. Manuel* (Lisboa: 1567) parte IV, p. 224.

[14] Sousa Viterbo, *A Livraria de Música de D. João IV e o seu Índice* (Lisboa: 1900), p.1.

[15] See M.S. Kastner, *Três Compositores Lusitanos para Instrumentos de Tecla* (*Drei Lusitanische Komponisten für Tasteninstrumente*) (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1979), pp. 15–17, 157–59.

[46] M.A. Alves Barbosa, *Vicentius Lusitanus, ein Portugiesischer Komponist und Musiktheoretiker des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Lisboa: Secretaria de Estado da Cultura, 1977).

[47] *Les musiciens néerlandais en Espagne*, 2 vols. (Bruxelles: 1885 and 1888).

[48] *Musiciens néerlandais à la cour de Madrid (Philippe Regier et son école, 1560–1647)* (Bruxelles: 1957).

[49] Their dates are 1561–1596, c. 1572–1630, and c. 1575–1647, respectively.

[50] M.S. Ribeiro, *Frei Manuel Cardoso: Contribuição para o Estudo da sua Vida e Obra* (Lisboa: 1961), p. 25.

[51] Becquart, p. 25.

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 179–88.

[53] *Primeira parte do Index da Livraria de Música de . . . Rey Dom João IV. . . .*, J.A.F. Vasconcellos, ed. (Porto, 1874). See also *Livraria de Música de El-Rei D. João IV . . . .*, M.S. Ribeiro, ed. (Lisboa: Academia Portuguesa da História, 1967), a facsimile of the 1649 edition.

[54] The marriage of the king's daughter, Catherine, to Charles II of England occurred only in 1662, thirteen years after the catalogue had been published.

[55] D. Antônio Caetano de Sousa, in his *História Genealógica da Casa Real Portuguesa* (Lisboa: 1760), vol. VII, pp. 240–243, states that John IV did not usually want his musicians to sing secular music, but only religious music, as the former made their voices effeminate ("Não queria que os seus musicos de ordinario cantassem obras humanas, senão Música de Igreja, porque a outra afeminava as vozes.").

[56] 2,309 titles according to Robert Stevenson, ed. *Vilancicos Portugueses*, Portugaliae Musica, Série A, vol. XXIX, (Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1976), pp. xii and xliii.

[57] The recovery of independence from Spain in 1640 was obtained at the cost of growing dependence on other countries, especially England.

[58] Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação* (1614) (Lisboa: Edições Afrodite, 1971), vol. I, pp. 236–38.

The Geography of Folk and Popular Music in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography*

By Kip Lornell

American folk and popular music has been the subject of numerous articles, monographs, and books over a period of many years. These studies have been carried out from a wide variety of perspectives, but surprisingly few scholars have examined American folk and popular music from a geographic perspective. The purpose of this brief essay and annotated bibliography is to introduce this way of studying music to a greater number of scholars who may not be aware of the work already accomplished.

It is clear from a review of the articles, theses, and books included in the annotated bibliography that most of the work in the field has been done by geographers who have published their findings in journals as diverse as *Harper's* and *The Mississippi Geographer.* In fact, twenty-seven of the thirty-five published works on the geography of American folk and popular music are written by geographers. The rest are by folklorists or musicologists applying geographic methods to their own research interests.

There are two basic types of studies undertaken by cultural geographers, folklorists, and musicologists interested in the spatial aspects of American folk and popular music: diffusion and distribution studies, and studies of geographical themes. Most prevalent are the diffusion and distribution studies, which examine the movement of musical styles through time and space. They also study certain cultural elements related to music, radio broadcasts for example. Studies such as these have examined many types of music including bluegrass, white gospel quartets, rock and roll, and blues. Several questions underlie nearly all these studies: among them, why and when did each of these musical styles migrate from their hearth areas to secondary locations? and how was this music diffused?

Migration studies are the predominant means by which such questions are answered. Since most of the forms of music studied from a spatial perspective are relatively recent innovations, the theme of population migration is an extremely important one. Douglas Langille writes adamantly about this in his study of blues music: "When considering the processes and patterns of the diffusion of blues it is essential to relate and outline the patterns of twentieth-century black out-migration from the Southern United States. For it was the process and resultant pattern . . . that set the stage for diffusion of the regionally varied forms of traditional Afro-American blues."

Diffusion and distribution studies also address the travels that groups or individuals undertake to appear at functions such as churches, schools, clubs or festivals. This type of movement is, of course, migration, but it is of a transitory and temporary sort when compared with the migration studied by Langille. This temporary migration is closely related to the improvement of

the interstate road system and the availability of mass transportation in addition to the commercial viability of certain types of music. George Carney, for example, links the phenomenon of temporary migration with an increase in bluegrass festivals. By the mid-1970s, festivals had been held in nearly every state in the continental United States, and thus had helped diffuse this music far beyond its central Appalachian hearth.

These diffusion and distribution studies also generally emphasize the importance of increased technology and mass communication in the diffusion of music. It is difficult to underestimate the strong impact that radio and commercial recordings have had on the diffusion of American folk and popular music since the early 1920s. George Carney has, in fact, devoted three articles to a discussion of the spatial relationships between the diffusion of country music and the distribution of radio stations. Some of these same general themes—particularly the diffusion of rock and roll by means of radio broadcast—are discussed by Larry Ford in his studies of popular music.

The second type of study produced in this area focuses upon the use of geographic themes. Most of these studies examine the lyrics of songs in order to understand the musician's sense of place. For example, in his article about Woody Guthrie, James Curtis suggests that scholars interested in a spatial approach to the study of music need to examine lyrics as "an aural legacy of disaster, epic events and other dramas." Curtis studies the lyrics of Woody Guthrie's songs, especially those describing the physical geography of the "dust bowl."

Several other scholars have followed an approach similar to that used by Curtis. They study references to place names and other geographical features found in the names of musical groups or in the titles of their songs. Langille utilizes this approach in his study of blues, as does Alan Lomax in his work on folk music in America. The sort of names studied are typified by two examples found in Carney's article on bluegrass: "The Free State String Band" and Missouri's "Current River Boys."

In this brief introduction to the study of the spatial aspects of American folk and popular music, I have tried to outline some of the major trends in the field. The geography of American folk and popular music is obviously a recent field of study: all but four of the articles, theses, or books listed in the annotated bibliography were published after 1970. Even a cursory scan of the bibliography reveals that many types of American folk and popular music have never been scrutinized from a spatial point of view. This list includes Afro-American religious music, ethnic music such as that of the Polish-American or Swedish-American traditions, and Rockabilly. Other genres, such as jazz and native American Indian music, are poorly documented at best. In short, the wedding of cultural geography with the study of American folk and popular music is an important research frontier, a frontier complete with a ready-made data base and a seemingly endless future.

Brown, Donald N. "The Distribution of Sound Instruments in the Prehistoric Southwestern United States." *Ethnomusicology*, 11 (January 1967): pp. 71–90. Through the use of maps and a detailed narrative, Brown describes the spatial distribution of bone whistles, wood and reed flutes, conch shell trumpets, and conus rattles throughout present-day New Mexico and Arizona.

Burman-Hall, Linda. "Southern American Folk Fiddle Styles." *Ethnomusicology*, 19 (January 1975): pp. 47–65. This study examines a variety of musicological topics connected with Anglo-American fiddling and delineates several rather general geographic regions—Blue Ridge, Southern Appalachian, Western, and Ozark.

Carney, George O. "Bluegrass Grows All Around: The Spatial Dimensions of a Country Music Style." *Journal of Geography*, 73 (April 1974): pp. 34–55. The author considers the geographical implications of bluegrass music through an examination of "1) the spatial distribution of bluegrass musicians; 2) the man-land relationships which exist among bluegrass musicians; 3) the annual migratory routes that the musicians follow; 4) the origin and diffusion of the outdoor bluegrass festivals, and 5) the location of places that present bluegrass music on a regular basis."

———. "Country Music and the Radio: A Historical Geographic Assessment." *Rocky Mountain Social Science Journal*, 11 (April 1974): pp. 19–32. This article emphasizes "the importance of radio transmission in the diffusion of country music," especially in the areas "west of the Mississippi River," through an analysis of "1) shows which are sponsored by radio stations; 2) the effects of the Mexican border stations; 3) the impact of radio in the origin and evolution of country music styles; and 4) the expansion and hierarchical diffusion process that has occurred with the all-country radio station."

———. "The Diffusion of All-Country Music Radio Stations in the United States, 1971–1974." *John Edwards Memorial Foundation Quarterly*, 13 (Summer 1977): pp. 58–66. Carney describes and analyzes the diffusion of commercial country music radio stations through a series of maps and a narrative, concluding that such stations originated in the "South and South Central States . . . and diffused outward [through] . . . several different, seemingly disparate processes . . . from that hearth in all directions."

———. "From Down Home to Uptown: The Diffusion of Country Music Radio Stations in the United States." *Journal of Geography*, 76 (March 1977): pp. 104–110. The author traces the expansion and diffusion of

country music radio stations from large cities, such as Chicago and Fort Worth, in the 1920s outward across the South and Central states where the majority of such stations are found today.

——— ed. *The Sounds of People and Places: Readings in the Geography of Music.* Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1979. 336 pages. A compendium of 13 articles, a bibliography, a list of teaching resources and an essay by the editor, "The Roots of American Music."

———. "T for Texas, T for Tennessee: The Origins of American Country Music Notables." *Journal of Geography,* 78 (November 1979): pp. 218–225. Carney examines the birthplaces of some of the popular country music performers from the 1920s to the present day and concludes that their origins tend to be in Southern States and in rural areas or urban areas with populations under 50,000.

———. "Country Music and the South: A Cultural Geography Perspective." *Journal of Cultural Geography,* 1 (Winter/Fall 1980): pp. 16–34. The purpose of this article is to detail the area of origin and the diffusion routes of seven genres of country music—Traditional, Singing Cowboy, Western Swing, Honky-Tonk, Bluegrass, Country-Pop and Country-Rock—through a series of maps and a narrative. The author concludes that "country music continues to maintain its regional association with the American South" despite its widespread popularity across the entire country.

———. "Music and Dance." in *This Remarkable Continent: An Atlas of North American Society and Cultures.* Edited by John F. Rooney, pp. 234–54. College Station, Texas: Texas A & M University Press, 1982. Using a narrative and maps, Carney details the diffusion and migration of a variety of folk and popular music styles that have existed in North America from Colonial times to the present.

Curtis, James R. "Woody Guthrie and the Dust Bowl." *Places,* 3 (July 1976): pp. 12–18. This study analyzes the "credentials of Woody Guthrie as a folk chronicler" and surveys "some of the more prevalent [geographic] themes of the Dust Bowl as revealed in the lyrics of his songs."

Drum, Steven L. "Country and Western Music as Education Media." *Journal of Geography,* 70 (May 1971): p. 314. This brief article suggests several ways in which geography instructors can use country and western music as an educational tool.

Ford, Larry. "Geographic Factors in the Origin, Evolution, and Diffusion of Rock and Roll Music." *Journal of Geography,* 70 (November 1971): pp.

455–464. Ford focuses on a "concept of cultural diffusion" as it is illustrated by Rock and Roll music. He also looks at the music's hearth areas and discusses "the topic of cultural resistance to Rock and Roll," concluding that, despite initial resistance, Rock and Roll has continued to gain popularity to become the most pervasive form of popular music across the world.

Ford, Larry, and Floyd Henderson. "The Image of Place in American Popular Music: 1890–1970." *Places*, 1 (March 1974): pp. 31–37. The authors' hypotheses that popular songs "both reflect and influence the images people have of place and that these songs and images have changed significantly [between 1890 and 1970]" is examined using the concepts of "diffusion of ideas, perception of environment, migration and urban versus rural cultural traits." They conclude that their theses have been substantiated and that "the regions favored in popular music have [also] changed over time."

Francaviglia, Richard V. "Diffusion and Popular Culture: Comments on the Spatial Aspects of Rock Music." in *An Invitation to Geography*. Edited by David Lanegran and Risa Palm. New York: McGraw Hill, 1978, pp. 117–126. This chapter delineates the cultural hearth of Rock and Roll music and describes carriers, such as disc jockeys, records and television, which served to diffuse this music during the 1950s and 1960s.

Glasgow, Jon A. "An Example of Spatial Diffusion: Jazz Music." *Geographical Survey*, 8 (January 1979): pp. 10–21. The purpose of this article is to examine the movement of jazz between New Orleans, Chicago, and New York, and to "add some details and refinements to the account of the spatial diffusion" of this music.

Gordan, Jeffrey J. "Rock-and-Roll Music: A Diffusion Study." Unpublished Master's thesis, Pennsylvania State University, Department of Geography, 1970. 183 pages. This study analyzes Rock music "by studying its movement across space and through time in relation to communication centers or cities." Using as his primary data "record chart data for a number of cities for 1963–1966" which reveals the "profiles of record traffic flow among the selected urban centers," the author concludes that the selected "cities vary in their preferences and behavior in terms of adoption, duration, rejection and isolation" of this music.

Gritzner, Charles F. "Country Music: A Reflection of Popular Culture." *Journal of Popular Culture*, 11 (Spring 1978): pp. 857–864. The author suggests that American folk and popular country music is pertinent data for geographers and that the music frequently reflects such basic concepts in geography as sense of place, locational conditions and spa-

tial perceptions.

Henderson, Floyd M. "The Image of New York City in American Popular Music: 1890–1970." *New York Folklore Quarterly*, 30 (December 1974): pp. 267–279. The author studies attitudes and perceptions of New York City found in popular songs from 1890 through 1970 and concludes that the perception of the city changed from a positive to a negative image during the 1950s, and that these songs "have both reflected and influenced the image people have of" New York City.

Herzog, George. "The Yuman Musical Style." *Journal of American Folklore*, 41 (1928): pp. 183–231. In this study the author describes the "rise," a short section in a nonstrophic American Indian song which is repeated at least twice at different pitch levels, and delineates and maps its distribution.

Horsley, A. Doyne. "The Spatial Impact of White Gospel Quartets in the United States." *John Edwards Memorial Foundation Quarterly*, 15 (Summer 1977): pp. 91–98. Horsley notes the existence of four main nodes for this type of music; he describes through maps and a narrative the spatial distribution of "Fulltime Professional Quartets," "Gospel Music Radio Stations," "Gospel Quartet Travelling Regions," and the tour stops for four popular quartets in 1977. He concludes that "gospel quartet music which began within the southern states, has diffused nationally and is now spreading into international areas."

Jackson, George P. "Some Factors in the Diffusion of American Religious Folksongs." *Journal of American Folklore*, 65 (1952): pp. 356–369. The author traces the diffusion of Anglo-American religious folk songs from their Northern and New England core area in the 18th century to their present day stronghold in the South and South Central states, concluding that this music was diffused by way of camp meeting revivals which represent a type of expansion movement.

Ladd, Charles T. "Distribution of Jukebox Music Styles in Syracuse and Onondaga County, New York." Unpublished Master's thesis, Syracuse University, Department of Geography, 1978. 89 pages. Using quantitative methods of analysis, Ladd maps and describes the spatial distribution of musical styles found on jukebox phonograph records within his study area.

Langille, Douglas. "The Spatial Dynamics and Diffusion of a Culture-Specific Artform: The Geography of Blues." Unpublished B.A. thesis,

University of Guelph, Department of Geography, 1975. 183 pages. This thesis examines blues from a number of geographic perspectives including rural to urban migration, sense of place, man-land relationships, and diffusion from hearth to secondary centers.

Lomax, Alan. *The Folk Songs of North America in The English Language* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Company, 1960). 623 pages. Although this is primarily an anthology of Anglo-American and Afro-American folksongs, Lomax does include two pertinent maps: "A Map of Folksong Style Areas in the United States" and "A Map of the Names and Places in the Saga of American Folk Song."

Lornell, Kip. " 'Happy in the Service of the Lord': Afro-American Gospel Quartets in Memphis, Tennessee." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Memphis State University, 1983. 250 pages. Chapter Five evaluates the cultural geography of these quartets using the following approaches: performance migration, immigration, performance networks, and geographic themes.

———. "Spatial Perspectives On The Field Recording Of Traditional American Music: A Case Study From Tennessee in 1928." *Tennessee Folklore Society Bulletin*, 37 (Winter 1981): pp. 153–159. In this study the author examines the spatial variables related to recording traditional musicians in two consecutive Victor field recording sessions in Bristol and Memphis, and the underlying reasons why particular musicians were chosen to be recorded. Lornell concludes that these and possibly other field sessions constituted temporary cultural regions.

Marsh, Ben. "Sing Me Back Home: A Grammar of the Places in Country Music Song." Unpublished Master's thesis, Pennsylvania State University, Department of Geography, 1971. 81 pages. Using concepts of "popular" geography, a type of cognitive mapping, Marsh explores the relationship between the lyrics of popular country music and cultural geography. He concludes that "there is a coherent structure in the geography within country music which has discernible logical structure related to the cultural conditions of its audience."

Marsh, Ben. "A Rose Colored Map." *Harper's*, 255 (July 1977): pp. 80–82. Marsh presents two dominant themes in commercial country music—"life as it should be and life as it should not be"—and describes, using a mental map and narrative, how these themes relate to cultural geography and the values of "Southerners."

Meyer, Douglas K. "Country Music and Geographical Themes." *The Mississippi Geographer*, 4 (Spring 1976): pp. 65–74. Meyer describes the uses of American folk and popular music as a means of "illustrating many of the important concepts and themes in geography" to students through the use of "photo/music" essays.

Murray, Ronald S. "From Memphis to Motown: Some Geographical Implications of the Origin and Diffusion of Rock 'n' Roll Music." Unpublished Master's thesis, Oklahoma State University, Department of Geography, 1973. 93 pages. The author describes the genesis and evolution of rock 'n' roll music and examines the principal agents in the diffusion of this music—"independent record companies, the radio, the 45 rpm record, the juke box, television, and the movies." He concludes that it was mass media "as well as personal contact and the migration of rock 'n' roll performers that led to the diffusion of rock 'n' roll from the South in the early fifties to dominate American popular music nationally for several years."

Renner, James H. "Geographic Implications of the Fiddling Tradition in Oklahoma." Unpublished Master's thesis, Oklahoma State University, Department of Geography, 1979. 83 pages. Renner describes his objectives as adding "to the literature of folklife offering new insights to a traditional humanities study" and contributing "to the little-researched area of non-material culture in geography." He accomplishes this by utilizing three techniques—"the area study, man-land, and spatial traditions."

Schultz, Margaret. "An Analytical Methodology for Study of Regional Fiddle Styles Applied to Texas Style Fiddling." Unpublished Master's thesis, Oklahoma State University, Department of Geography, 1979. 170 pages. Schultz summarizes the purposes of her research as "1) to define Texas fiddling as it is now played, by reference to specific characteristics of the music, 2) to compile data on a subject upon which research has been hindered by its scarcity, and 3) to develop a research methodology which may be used for further research in the geography of traditional American instrumental music." The author attains her third and most important goal through a musicological analysis that includes five components: "1) Choice of tunes. 2) Choice of performers. 3) Number of tunes. 4) Source of tunes. 5) Treatment of tunes."

Spielman, Earl V. "Traditional North American Fiddling." Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, Department of Music, 1975. 623 pages. The author includes a description of Anglo-American

folk fiddle-style regions across North America based on their settlement history and the role played by fiddling within them. The dissertation includes transcriptions of several well-known fiddle tunes.

Stephenson, Larry, and Tamara Stephenson. "A Prologue to Listening." *Antipode*, 5 (March 1973): pp. 12–16. The authors suggest that Appalachian folk and popular music "is an important cultural component for it reflects a set of cultural norms, shared experiences and similar desires," and that geographers should examine "the lyrical content of country songs" in order to place them "within the broader framework of environmental and spatial perception."

Weiland, Eric. "Woody Guthrie: An Informant of Geographical Themes." *The Mississippi Geographer*, 6 (Spring 1978): pp. 32–37. This study stresses the importance of Woody Guthrie as a chronicler of geographic themes through an examination of seven songs and one poem which are analysed using geographic concepts such as environmental perception, man-land relationships and migration.

* The author wishes to thank Dr. George O. Carney, Department of Geography, Oklahoma State University, for his generous assistance in preparing this bibliography.

The Demise of Inversion

by Nachum Schoffman

When we consider the revolutionary changes in the use of chords since the middle of the nineteenth century, we justifiably focus our attention on the central problem, the loss of tonality and the functional progression of chords. In doing so, however, we lose sight of one of the stages in the process of tonal dissolution, a stage that is interesting and revealing in its own right, the loss of inversion. Inversion is, admittedly, only one aspect of harmony and certainly not an aspect central to the transformation of harmony in the last century and a half. Still, it is useful to isolate one part of a problem and thus reduce fundamental questions to a manageable form. Hopefully, the result may be a small contribution to the understanding of the problem as a whole.

Asymmetrical Chords

The tonal system of harmony is based on asymmetrical structures. The dominant is taken to be the midpoint of the octave, but the dominant is not at the midpoint. It is a fifth above the tonic, and the interval remaining to complete the octave is only a fourth. The basic chord of the system, the triad, covers a fifth; again, the remainder is a fourth. In the case of seventh chords, the remainder is only a second.

This asymmetry provides the basic means of orientation in tonal harmony, the identification of a root position chord with its inversions. Inversion produces new intervals which are the complements of those present in the root position chord. The second inversion of a triad, for example, produces a sixth and a fourth, the complements of the original third and fifth. The salient interval in many appearances of the dominant seventh chord is the major second, the complement of the original minor seventh. All this is, of course, expressed with telegraphic conciseness in the digits of a figured bass.

In traditional harmony, inversion of a chord does not change its identity: it is still perceived as being on the same degree, having the same root, and having the same function. This stability of identity under inversion works not in spite of the change of intervals, but because of it. The presence of the complementary intervals is the cue for orientation, so that the root of the chord, and thus its function, is still perceived.

Altered Chords and Substitute Functions

There are limitations to the concept of chordal inversion within the framework of traditional tonal harmony. It is possible to interpret an apparent inversion as an altered chord, or a chord with added notes—a suspension, an appoggiatura, or a neighboring tone—and to let the bass note assume the role of functional root. This tendency to favor the bass as root and consequently to discount the interpretation of all chords as either root position or inverted is part of the concept of functional harmony promulgated by Rie-

mann[1] and, in an entirely different form, by Schenker.[2]

We do not need a theory of functional harmony to see, for example, that in the context of the cadence: I^6_4–V–I, the chord I^6_4 can easily be interpreted as V with a double appoggiatura. The fact that the bass is on the dominant is more important than its apparent role as fifth of a I chord.

In functional analysis, substitution blurs the distinction between altered chords and chordal inversion. Since many substitute functions are removed by a lower third from their primary functions (for example, VI as substitute for I, II as substitute for IV), the first inversion of the substitute can easily be perceived as nothing more than an alteration of the primary function. When a triad with an added sixth, of which jazz musicians are so fond, is used as the tonic, it can no longer be construed as VI^6_5, but must be considered as I with an added note.

The subdominant function is particularly amenable to substitutions. Example 1 shows a variety of chords in which the bass note F is not the root. Theoretically, all are inversions, some with the root D and some with the root D-flat. But, in C major, any one of them could serve as a subdominant that moves easily and smoothly to I^6_4–V–I or directly to V^7–I. The fact that the bass is F obscures, to a certain degree, the interpretation of the chord as an inversion.

Symmetrical Chords

If the asymmetry of traditional chords provides orientation, the opposite is also true: symmetry weakens orientation and produces ambiguity. The symmetrical scales, both whole-tone and chromatic, are notorious for their lack of tonic orientation. The same is true of symmetrical chords.

Of the traditional chords, two divide the octave evenly: the diminished seventh and the augmented triad. In each case, the interval that completes the octave replicates the intervals within the chord. Thus, inversion of these chords does not produce new intervals, and this is the source of the ambiguity. The same holds for the one interval that divides the octave symmetrically, the tritone.

This ambiguity can be illustrated by resolving each chord in all its inversions. Example 2 shows the resolutions of a tritone in its two inversions. Depending on which note is in the bass, the same tritone resolves, with the same voice leading, to two different tonics a tritone apart.

The diminished seventh chord has a similar property. If, for example, it is considered to be a VII^7, each of its inversions (if one allows for enharmonic respelling) resolves to a new tonic, as shown in example 3. Note that the interval separating the resultant tonics is the same as that in the ambiguous chord, a minor third. Although the augmented triad has no such standard resolution, we can perform an analogous operation with it. As shown in example 4, if each inversion of the same augmented triad is resolved by the same voice-leading, the result is three different tonics a major third apart. All the ambiguities of symmetrical chords are, of course, solved through their

resolution: for example, resolution to an inverted tonic implies preparation by an inverted VII (see example 5). On paper, the spelling may give a clue, but the ear can only assess the inversion on the basis of the whole tonal context.

These symmetrical chords are noninvertible because all their inversions contain the same intervals as their root position forms. As a result, it is primarily the bass note that determines how they will resolve and consequently which functions they actually fulfill.

In this regard, motion of the bass through a minor third, major third, or tritone creates an ambiguity of a different sort. For example, two triads whose roots are a tritone apart can be, interchangeably, the Neapolitan sixth and the dominant of two tonics, these likewise a tritone apart (again allowing for enharmonic respelling). Each triad can progress to the other, as shown in example 6.[3] Such reversible progressions, however, are outside the purview of our discussion of inversions.

Pedal Points: Bass versus Chordal Root

Much as symmetrical chords and intervals produce ambiguity, so does a pedal-point bass. If it is to be at all effective, a bass pedal should produce some dissonance. This entails a clash between two functions, one implied by the bass, the other by the chords above it. In example 7, the first three chords can be interpreted as both a progression, I–IV–V^7, and as the alterations of a sustained dominant. The second chord, an F-major triad with a G in the bass, is interesting for the two possible, contradictory interpretations implied by the bass and the chord above. Although the first chord might be construed as I^6_4, the second, however, is surely not a ninth chord on F in its fourth inversion, but simply F major over a sustained bass G.

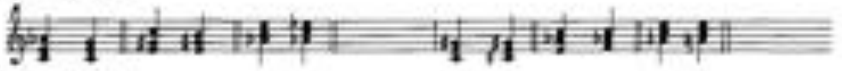
In the example above, the contradiction between bass and chord is possible primarily because the chord has a root that is perceived independently of the bass. Any weakening of this identity weakens the contradiction. For example, if we change the F-major triad in our example to an ambiguous diminished seventh chord, one that has no note in common with the bass, as in example 8, the whole situation is altered. The chord is no longer contradicted by the bass G, and it is certainly not an imaginary thirteenth chord built on F. In the context of its resolution, it becomes simply an appoggiatura to the following dominant seventh chord. In the absence of an independent root, it surrenders the determination of its function to the bass.

Parallel motion in the upper voices against a pedal bass produces a similar result, even when the individual chords have clear identities in their own right. In example 9, each of the upper chords is a major triad, and each of the dissonant chords—the second, third, and fourth in our example—forms together with the bass note a perfectly conventional seventh chord. Each of these would imply a different tonic, as shown in example 10: the second chord of example 9 can be interpreted as I^7 in C-sharp, the third chord as V^7 in G, and the fourth chord as II^7 in B-flat. In the context of the pedal point

Example 1

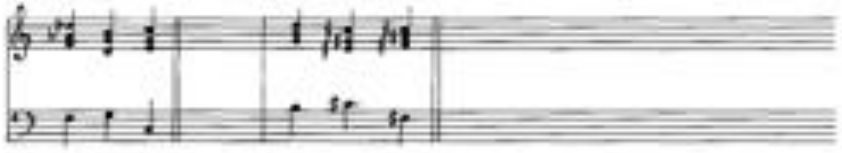
Example 2

Example 3

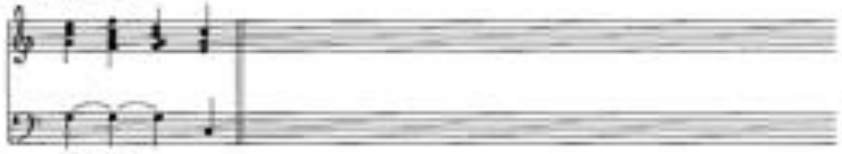


Example 4

Example 5

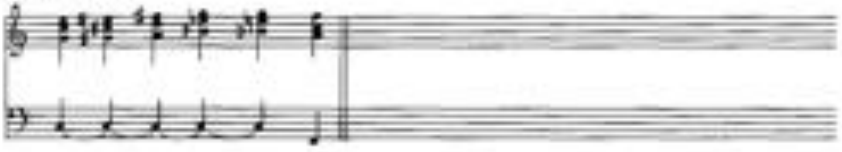


Example 6

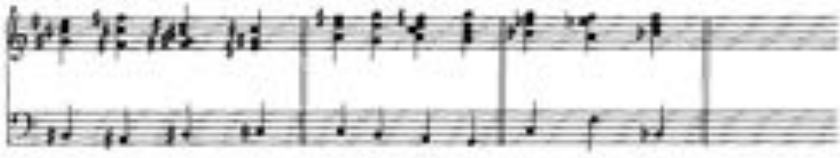


Example 7

Example 8

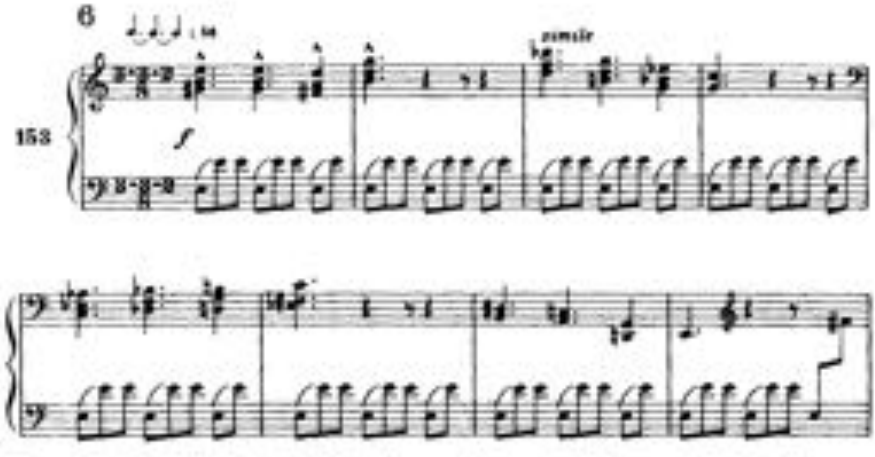


Example 9



Example 10

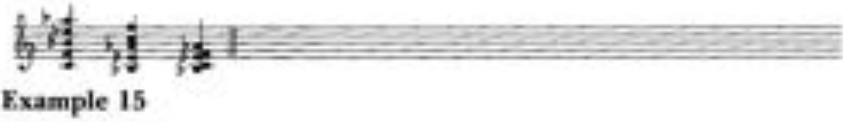
Example 11. Claude Debussy, *Préludes*, Volume 1, Number 7, "Ce qu'a vu le vent d'Ouest," mm. 21–22.



Example 12. Béla Bartók, *Mikrokosmos*, Volume 6, Number 153 (Six Dances in Bulgarian Rhythm, Number Six), mm. 1–8.

Example 13

Example 14



Example 15

and the parallel motion, however, none of these harmonic implications are realized, or even perceived. The pedal note remains, for all practical purposes, the root of all the chords.

We would naturally look for examples of parallel chords in the works of Debussy, and we find that in most cases they move over a stationary bass. A typical case is shown in example 11, from the Prelude "Ce qu'a vu le vent d'Ouest." It would be useless to "analyze" these chords. They have the shape, without the meaning, of various seventh chords in the third inversion; but because of their parallel motion, they have no functions in the traditional sense. The function is contained in the F-sharp bass, which has been sustained since the beginning of the piece.[8]

In the case of the pedal point that runs through the section "Rondes printanières" in Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du Printemps*, it is even more obvious that only the bass can constitute the root. Depending on one's approach to analysis, the whole section can be understood as either a static polychord with passing tones, or else an instance of polytonality. In either view, E-flat, and no other note, can be perceived as the root—not even the B-flat which is actually the final of the melodic line. The constant E-flat bass determines the tonic, or one of the tonics, and would not be perceived as such were it not in the bass. If this impression holds at the beginning of the section, it is felt even stronger further on, as more and more dissonances are piled on the foundation of the pedal point.

A final example of a pedal point, Bartók's Six Dances in Bulgarian Rhythm, Number Six, is shown in example 12. Again, none of the chords can be perceived unambiguously as inversions, but all are subordinate to the tonic function of the pedal point E. Consider, for example, the chord of m. 4. In no sense is it a first inversion of a C-major triad. In this context it is a chord on E, just like all the other chords in the passage.

Nonfunctional Harmony: Chords Composed of a Single Interval

In much twentieth-century music, the traditional functional relationships no longer apply: there is no single overriding tonality, the chords move in parallel motion, or the chords themselves are no longer primarily triadic. In the absence of function, the chords can no longer be considered to have roots in the traditional sense. Without roots, there can of course be no inversions.

But the problem of inversion goes even deeper: in nonfunctional harmony, the very spacing of the chords, i.e., the specific intervals between their members, constitutes their identities. Bartók described the situation thus:

> One works in homophonic music—so to speak—with tonal masses that sound simultaneously or in a more or less quick succession, and with dense or airy, massive or thin tone-patches [*Tonflecken*] whose features depend on the number of tones used, the absolute pitch, the relative (that is, open or close) position, and so forth. By means of these tone-patches, which have an intensity of varied gradation that corresponds

to the way in which they are combined, and whose single tones have different importance in accordance with the role they play in vertical grouping, the consequence of those very differences makes possible the plan of the 'horizontal line' of atonal music.[3]

Conversely, any respacing of such a chord would, by changing the array of intervals, change its identity and the nature of the progression. A respacing that placed a different member of the chord in the bass would certainly cause such a change. In nonfunctional harmony, the bass is not invertible.

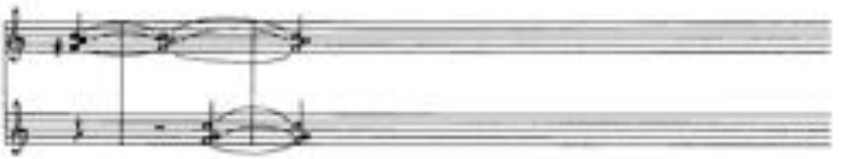
We can begin by considering the simplest case: that of fourth chords. Although it is nonsymmetrical within the octave, a fourth chord is composed of intervals that are all of one kind, and it is nonfunctional. Its identity depends on the characteristic sonority of the consecutive fourths. Thus, it is susceptible of inversion or respacing only to the extent that its unique sonority is not obscured by the new intervals produced. For example, fourth chords can be turned upside down to produce fifth chords containing the same notes, as in example 13, without seriously disturbing their harmonic identity.

The greater the number of notes in the fourth chord, the less stable it becomes under inversion. A fourth chord containing only three notes can be inverted in the traditional fashion, as in example 14, without losing its identity; the new interval produced, the major second, is perceived as the complement in a manner analogous to the perception of complementary intervals in inversions of triads. Example 15 contains a five-note fourth chord and two different spacings of its second inversion. In the first of these, the array of consecutive fourths has been preserved, with only one unavoidable third, and the chord is still recognizable. In the second case, a different spacing introduces so many seconds and thirds that, for all practical purposes, the chord is a different one altogether.

The thematic fourth chord of Schoenberg's *Sechs kleine Klavierstücke*, Op. 19, No. 6, shown in example 16, is precisely the sort of "tone-patch" of which Bartók wrote. Its identity is inseparable from its specific spacing. Were we to have the temerity to respace the same notes, as in example 17, we would discover that everything meaningful in Schoenberg's piece had evaporated.

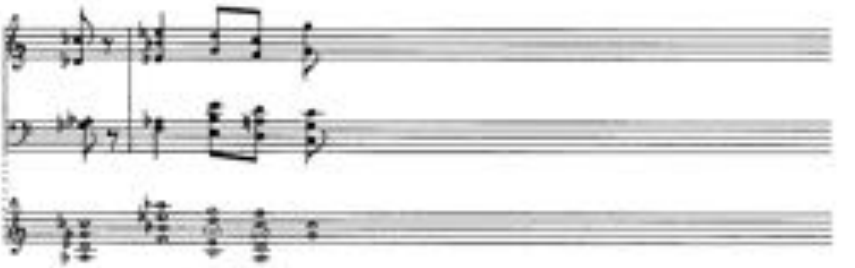
In Hindemith's music, we find examples of fourth chords which retain their identity with inversion or respacing as well as those that do not. In the excerpt from *Die vier Temperamente* shown in example 18, the spacing is such that only perfect fifths, perfect fourths, and major seconds appear. The chords are perceived not only as fourth chords but as inversions of the same or similar fourth chords, as shown in the harmonic sketch in our example. Example 19, from the same work, shows a different situation. The direction and the coherence of the progression is determined to a great extent by the descending scale in the bass. Only the last three chords in our example sound like fourth chords. The harmonic sketch appended to our example shows how all the chords could be analyzed as fourth chords through respacing. But we submit that such an analysis in this context is wrong: the spacing of

Example 16. Arnold Schoenberg, *Sechs kleine Klavierstücke*, Opus 19, Number 6, mm. 1–3.



Example 17

Example 18. Paul Hindemith, Theme and Variations: *Die vier Temperamente*, Fourth Variation, "Cholerisch," mm. 1–2.



Example 19. Paul Hindemith, Theme and Variations: *Die vier Temperamente*, Theme, mm. 29–30.

the first two chords is an inseparable part of their identity. Any attempt to apply the concept of inversion is misconceived.

The treatment of third chords is similar, even though they are the nucleus of the traditional system. Third chords composed of three or four notes—triads and seventh chords—are easily inverted and respaced without altering their identity or function. But, as with fourth chords, the more notes contained in the chord, the less stable it is under inversion. Unless eleventh chords, thirteenth chords, and higher-order third chords are spaced so that the array of thirds predominates, they lose their characteristic sonority, and their identitities.

The first chord in example 20 is the opening chord of Webern's Three Small Pieces for 'Cello and Piano, Op. 11, No. 1, a chord consisting almost entirely of thirds. To reduce it to closed position, as in the second chord of the example, would expunge the sound of thirds, and change it into something else entirely, something quite unsuited to Webern's piece. But a different arrangement of the same pitches, one which maintains the same wide range, as in the third of the chords of the example, would for all practical purposes make yet another, equally unsuitable chord.

It is almost superfluous to note that chords built of seconds, to the extent that they are meant to sound like clusters, cannot be respaced or inverted without ceasing to sound as such.

Nonfunctional Harmony: Chords Composed of a Mixture of Intervals

If we examine a few examples of nonfunctional harmony that use chords composed of a mixture of intervals, we find that no appeal to the concept of inversion is possible in their case, as well. In the progression shown in example 21, from Bartók's Improvisations, all the chords except one (the second chord in m. 11) are triads in root position, albeit with additions. The melody of this passage is heard in the preceding four measures (mm. 5–8) but in the left hand and harmonized as the roots of various triads.

It is tempting to analyze the whole passage in terms of triadic harmony. Stuart Thyne has done so in his analysis of this work.[8] In the example accompanying his analysis, Thyne marks certain "relevant" notes in the melody, notes that relate to the triadic accompaniment as consonant chordal members temporarily displaced by dissonances. In example 21, these notes are marked with an r, as Thyne has done in his example. Thus the note "relevant" to the G-flat major triad in m. 10 is the B-flat that sounds two quarters later. But with the problematic second chord in m. 11, Thyne is forced to admit that "the relevant note G is no longer a note of the triad but a seventh to it."[9] With the chord in m. 12, his system breaks down completely: "In bar 12 the relevant E-flat is an added sixth."[10] If one chooses to apply the concept of invertible chords, the second chord of m. 11 could be considered the second inversion of a seventh chord on A. But such an identification is useless and meaningless in this nonfunctional context.

Taking this chord at face value and not as an inversion, we note an impor-

tant harmonic fact: the top and bottom notes of the chord are a semitone apart, just as they are in the second chord in m. 10. Of the four measures in the example, only the middle two contain this sharp dissonance. It is the rise and fall of the level of dissonance, more so than the progression of implied triadic harmonies, that helps to shape the phrase.

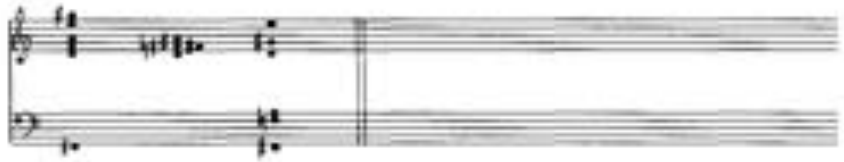
The excerpt from Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire* shown in example 22 represents an entirely different harmonic situation, but one to which the concept of triadic inversion is just as irrelevant. The total lack of tonal orientation is exacerbated by constant voice crossing which intentionally prevents smooth voice leading. Thus it is surprising to note that more than half the chords shown in our example are ordinary triads. The chords in the example are numbered consecutively for reference; numbers 1, 3, 5, and 6 are all inversions of the same diminished triad; numbers 7 and 20 are two inversions of the same augmented triad; and numbers 8, 9, 10, 12, and 16 are minor triads. All the remaining chords are nontriadic. In this context, the triads do not operate functionally, and their identities as either root position or inverted triads are of no use in analysis.

Example 23 contains another passage from Bartók's Improvisations, which begins with a pedal point on the bass C. With regard to this passage, Stuart Thyne again makes an oblique appeal to inversion: "There are three distinct tonal planes in the opening bars: C—the key of the piece, A-flat major-minor—the central chord, and B (C-flat)—the key of the melody, the second of these acting as the link between the other two."[9] By identifying the supposed root of this chord as A-flat, Thyne implies that it is in the first inversion. But if C is the tonic (and indeed the bass of the final chord of the piece is also C), why should the opening chord be thought of as built on any note but C?

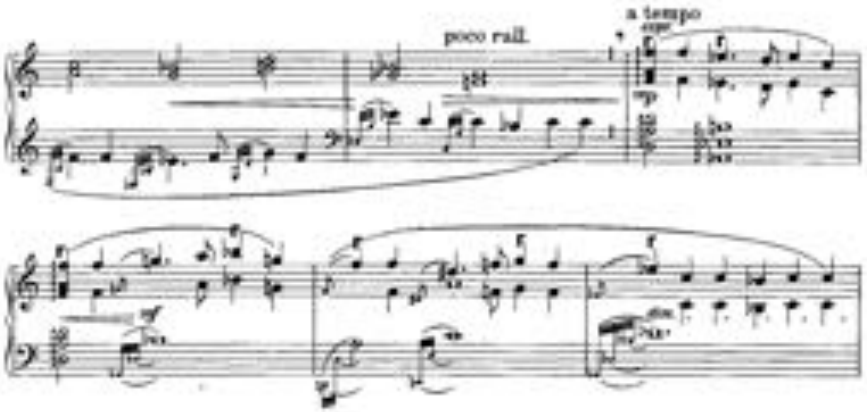
Relinquishing the idea of inversions, we find in this example a chord whose outer notes are a ninth apart. Beginning at m. 7, as soon as the pedal stops, the whole piece is harmonized with similar chords whose outer notes are separated by either a minor ninth or a major seventh. Many of these could also be construed as major-minor chords, but then the whole piece would be seen to consist of first inversions, a strange description for a piece with such thumping cadences. In the absence of functional roots, there can be no inversion.

Serialism and Inversion

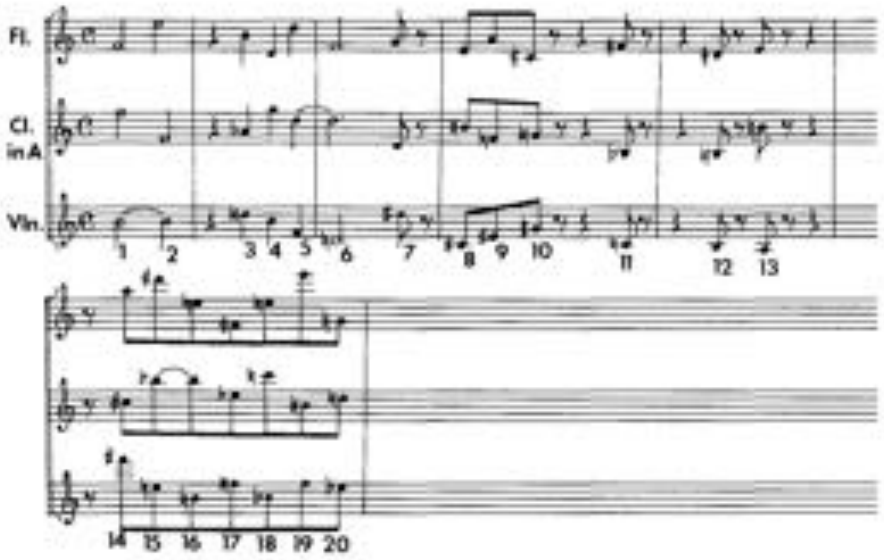
One of the weakest links in the theory of serialism is the contradictory status of the octave. Schoenberg, in his exposition of dodecaphony, forbids octave doubling, because of its supposed tendency to unbalance the equality of the twelve pitches and to hint at a tonal center.[10] What he actually explains in detail is the avoidance of the same pitch in a melody and its accompaniment at the same time.[11] These proscriptions are, by and large, observed not only in dodecaphonic, but in all serial music. On the other hand, octave displacement of single pitches is totally disregarded, so much so, that the



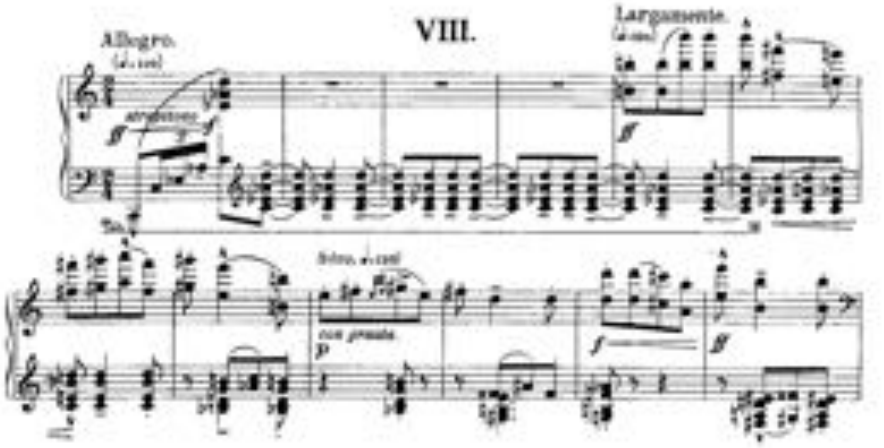
Example 20. Anton Webern, Three Small Pieces for 'Cello and Piano, Opus 11, Number 1, m. 1.



Example 21. Béla Bartók, Improvisations, Opus 20, Number 1, mm. 7–12.



Example 22. Arnold Schoenberg, *Pierrot Lunaire*, Opus 21, Number 4, "Eine blasse Wäscherin," mm. 1–6.



Example 23. Béla Bartók, Improvisations, Opus 20, Number 8, mm. 1–12.

theory speaks not of pitches but of pitch classes, not of intervals but of interval classes. The identity of pitches an octave apart is thought to be so obvious as not to require mention, just as the identity of complementary intervals is thought to be so obvious as to render their consideration superfluous.

In the linear aspect of music—that aspect which serialism claims to have totally rationalized—the identity of octaves is manifestly untrue. A melodic line that leaps up a major sixth is not the same as one that descends a minor third. In the vertical, harmonic aspect of music—which serialism sees as being derived from the linear—it is only in functional harmony that octave displacement can be disregarded.

In functional harmony, octave displacement of any of the members of a chord changes the spacing and the timbre, but not the identity of the chord. Even inversion—octave displacement of the root so that it is no longer in the bass—does not change the identity of the chord. Thus, any spacing of a functional chord, any combination of octave displacement of its members, is perceived as one manifestation of a prime form represented by its theoretical closed position.

In serial music, chords are considered to be simultaneities, members of the series sounded together instead of consecutively. The fact that the members of a chord may be adjacent members of a series is quite irrelevant from the harmonic point of view. Both the salient intervals of a chord and the voice leading of prominent parts might easily have nothing to do with the original series. Simultaneities, in the sense that they are chords, are simply nonfunctional chords in a nonfunctional context. Such chords are not amenable to inversion or respacing; no supposed octave transposition, no theoretical closed position, can explain them.

In summary, inversion is not a universal property of chords, but only an

attribute of traditional, functional harmony. The demise or loss of inversion is one symptom of the dissolution of the traditional harmonic system. Inversion is only possible when the following conditions are met: the chords are asymmetrical and contain three, four, or at most five notes; roots, chord identity, function, progression, and tonality are standard or unambiguously understood from the context; the voices are not led through parallel motion over a sustained bass. Outside the area circumscribed by these limiting conditions, the sounding bass must be understood to be the functional bass.

NOTES

[1] Hugo Riemann, *Vereinfachte Harmonielehre oder die Lehre von den tonalen Funktionen der Akkorde* (London and New York, 1893).

[2] Heinrich Schenker, *Neue musikalische Theorien und Phantasien von einem Künstler, Erster Band: Harmonielehre* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1906).

[3] I am indebted for this idea to George Rochberg, who kindly allowed me to see his unpublished paper, "Chromatic Harmony: Principles, Derivations, Consequences."

[4] For a more detailed discussion of the foregoing, see: Nachum Schoffman, "Pedal Points, Old and New," *Journal of Musicological Research* 4 (1983): 369–397.

[5] Béla Bartók, "The Problem of the New Music," in *Béla Bartók Essays*, selected and edited by B. Suchoff (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976), 457. The original, in German, in *Melos* 1, no. 5 (16 April 1920): 107–110.

[6] Stuart Thyne, "Bartók's 'Improvisations': An Essay in Technical Analysis," *Music and Letters* 31, no. 1 (January 1950): 30–45.

[7] Thyne, 34–35.

[8] Thyne, 35.

[9] Thyne, 44.

[10] Arnold Schoenberg, "Composition with Twelve Tones," in *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, edited by Leonard Stein with translations by Leo Black (London: Faber, 1975), 219.

[11] Schoenberg, 228, 232ff.

"Colored" Musicians in Cape Town: The Effect of Changes in Labels on Musical Content

By Erica M. H. Mugglestone

The study of South African urban music as a sound phenomenon divorced from social context can be rather like chasing a will-o'-the-wisp; the music may change labels but not content, or content but not labels, and, like the labelling of the South African population itself, it may do so frequently. These frequent changes reflect a struggle now taking place in the urban environment for full rights of citizenship for all population groups, a struggle brought on by the current phase in the ideological development of *apartheid*. Urban South African music can be studied as an isolated sound phenomenon, but a more fruitful approach will take into account the struggle for ethnic identity by treating the music in terms of group interaction.

In this paper, I shall discuss briefly the changing concept of ethnicity in South Africa and the role it plays in the policy of *apartheid*. I shall relate this to the music of a Colored Muslim minority in Cape Town, known locally as "Cape Malays." In essence, I have found that changes in the style of urban South African Colored music have little or nothing to do with intrinsic motivation—with modernization for its own sake, for example. Instead, these changes reflect the current stance of either claiming parity with White culture or asserting political alignment with the Black population.

I shall begin by introducing two important concepts: the idea of ascribed versus achieved identity, and the concept of micro- versus macrosociological levels of interaction. Some years ago Ralf Dahrendorf commented on the "refeudalization" of society, by which he meant the return of ascribed rather than achieved characteristics. In the context of South African *apartheid*, identity is ascribed; it is legislated according to biological and regional origin. In other parts of the world one may achieve an identity. In North America, for example, one often achieves what may be called an ethnic "American" identity through the accumulation of wealth and the concomitant abandonment of one's traditional ethnic ties.

The social stratification of South Africa was founded on "racial" ascription and rendered static by law. The "race" or "class" of Coloreds is determined by this ascription. For example, the Population Registration Act (No. 30 of 1950) and Proclamation R 123 of 1967 defined Colored as a separate political and cultural label, as neither White nor Black.

Ascriptive ethnicity plays a fundamental role in determining the dynamics of group interaction. The racial system of stratification is impermeable; the twin categories of physical appearance and legal status drastically circumscribe one's choices, particularly that of group allegiance. Even if physical appearance allows assimilation into another group, it is effectively precluded by legal ascription.

Two general levels of social interaction can be described by the terms micro- and macrosociological: the relationship of the individual to the group is microsociological; relations among groups are macrosociological. In this sense, Orlando Patterson viewed ethnicity as essentially microsociological in its terms of reference.[3] In South Africa, however, any sociological study must be both micro- and macrosociological. Whenever individuals meet they rarely transcend their awareness of group affiliations. One must be continually aware of this state of affairs especially when dealing with South African music in an urban setting, where many groups, each with its own rigid ethnic ascriptions, are brought frequently into mutual contact.

In the last two decades, the official description of South Africa's ethnic population has changed. Until 1951 the decennial census taken of the non-White population groups enumerated Coloreds and Asians as a single entity. The 1951 census subdivided the Colored population into seven subgroups according to the initial racial definition of ethnicity, namely, Cape Colored, Malay, Griqua, Chinese, Indians, other Asiatics, and other Coloreds. When the question of Asian status was finally resolved in the sixties, Chinese, Indians and other Asiatics were classified as a separate population group. The 1982 Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa lists only two Colored subgroups, the "Cape Malays" and Griquas. According to the 1980 census figures, the "Cape Malays" form roughly six percent of the 2.5 million Coloreds.

Ironically, however, the term "Cape Malay" never delineated an ethnic group in terms of biological or regional origin, as it was, and often still is, assumed to do. Historically, the Coloreds are the offspring of sexual relations between Whites, Khoikhoi, and slaves, convicts, and political exiles introduced by the Dutch East India Company. The relatively small number of convicts and political exiles came predominantly from Company territorial possessions in the East Indies. The slaves stemmed from four distinct geographical and cultural areas, India and Sri Lanka, the Indonesian archipelago and Southeast Asia, the east African coast (particularly Mozambique) and Malagasy, and finally Angola and West Africa. The early polyglot Cape population communicated by means of Cape Dutch, Malay, and Creole Portuguese. Until the midnineteenth century, the Colored Muslim minority continued to spice its Dutch/Afrikaans with a smattering of Malay, hence the local name for them came into existence.

The change in the official ascription of ethnic identity has affected the self-ascription made by the various non-White populations. They see that in one sense the theoretical and ideological framework governing the political use of ethnicity has shifted from racism to pluralism; ethnicity among non-White populations is now based upon cultural differences. Reacting to this change, the Colored Muslim minority at the Cape rejects the name, "Cape Malay," as a label serving discriminatory ends.

In terms of culture, they argue parity with the White population. The only discernible difference is one of religious practice, which they hold to be irrel-

evant since religious freedom is observed, Islam is a respected religion, and religion does not define culture. They opt to identify themselves in national terms as "South African," to which they may ally the still broader identification with Islam as a world religion by calling themselves "South African Muslims" or "Cape Muslims." The group's rejection of ethnicity brings it into line with the same political stance adopted by the broader Colored and Asian populations.

It should be noted, however, that the Colored and Asian populations generally define themselves politically as Black, despite their claims for cultural parity with Whites. Because of official ascription, Blacks, Colored, and Asians share a political stance. Despite changes in labels, in this sense the fundamental pattern of group interaction in South Africa has remained relatively unchanged.

Let me summarize briefly the social context in which the music of the "Cape Malays" must be viewed, before I proceed to specific illustrations. Their social status is determined by ascription: politically they are considered and they consider themselves to be non-White; culturally, however, they consider themselves the equals of Whites. Because of this complex pattern of ethnic ascription, social intercourse is both micro- and macrosociological. The awareness of ethnic distinction permeates all forms of social interaction. This complex situation underlies and determines to a great part the meaning of musical activity.

Singing competitions have long been a feature of the cultural life of all population groups. They are organized along the lines of those of the Welsh coalminers, and are often even described as *Eisteddfodau* (the term refers to ancient Celtic bardic competitions). The "Cape Malay" version was begun in the late thirties. Colored recreational clubs, usually connected with some sport, have provided an important social venue for males and at the same time an answer to White exclusiveness. In the absence of other entertainment, such sporting clubs would often get together to sing, and a competition between these "choirs" was initiated. It is still an annual event, taking place in Cape Town in late January. The adjudicators are usually Whites. In former times they were local dignitaries (such as the Mayor of Cape Town) who frequently had no interest in music or musical training. Today they are usually local musicians who judge the choirs on such parameters as diction, balance of tone, retention of pitch, and so on.

Choirs compete in four categories of song; these may be identified as the "Nederlandse lied" (songs with Dutch texts, sung in a particular style), the "comic song," the "combined chorus," and the "solo song." From the White viewpoint, the first two categories are considered traditional and therefore favored, while the last two categories are seen as too imitative of White music, especially as the solo song is likely to be chosen from an operetta, musical, or current popular recording.

From the "Cape Malay" point of view, the last two categories are the most important. The choir that wins the trophy in either or both categories gains prestige, at least for the next year. In a social milieu in which the Colored male's opportunity to excel is so limited, music provides a significant means to gain prestige. In this context then, any analysis of the competition as an intragroup contest must take cognizance of the crucial intergroup relations, as here between "Cape Malays" and Whites.

The contest for the category of combined chorus poses a special problem for the "Cape Malay" participants. The songs for this competition are patriotic. In light of the political alienation of Coloreds from Whites, these songs are disliked precisely for this sentiment.

In this competition, the "Cape Malay" composer is drawn by two antagonistic, self-ascribed identities. On the microsociological level—that of individual to group—he must provide his chorus with a winning song, one that will appeal to and stress equality with Whites. He must do so even if he finds its topic distasteful in macrosociological terms, in the political terms of Colored versus White. The chorus is drawn by two similar antagonistic attractions: as cultural equals to the Whites, they strive for greater prestige; but they also recognize their political inequality, a stance that manifests itself in distaste for the patriotic sentiment.

My second illustration perhaps better reflects the recent shifts in self-ascribed ethnic identity among the "Cape Malays." I should explain first that the Coloreds experienced the full impact of *apartheid* with the implementation of the Group Areas Act. Cape Town has always been a more liberal-minded city, so that choice of housing was largely determined by economic means. This meant that certain areas became White or Colored residential areas, while in others Whites and Coloreds were neighbors. One such area was District Six, which has been rezoned as a White area. The residents were moved to new housing in the allotted areas on the Cape Flats. People who had dwelt in close contiguity now found themselves in separate suburbs miles apart. As in most modern cities, transportation tends to be arterial. Therefore, to traverse the city to visit old friends can be difficult, time-consuming, and costly. The social bitterness engendered is not hard to imagine.

The musical show *Carnival la District Six* lamented the demise of District Six, which is now remembered nostalgically and mythically as representing a golden age of racial harmony. The show is but the latest in a long line of urban Black musicals which characteristically take the form of a variety show. The formula is successful as it allows a loose plot to connect a series of otherwise discrete stage events such as a solo song, a chorus, a comic or dance routine, a dramatic sketch, and so on. Most if not all of the musicals with a Black musical content were the products of collaboration between Whites and Blacks in Johannesburg. Examples that come to mind are Ike Brooks' *Zonk*, Alfred Herbert's *African Jazz and Variety Show*, *King Kong* (which has nothing to do with the ape on the Empire State Building, but is based on the life of Ezekiel Dhlamini, a heavyweight boxer who murdered his girl-

friend), and *Ipi Tombi*.

To the best of my knowledge, the Colored musical did not involve White collaboration, at least in its creation, and it remained a true variety show, rather than deliberately created to resemble one. By this I mean that the composer had to build his show around the particular skills and repertory of individual performers, so that only certain items were devised specifically for the show.[7]

Choices shaping a sound phenomenon are best revealed in those items in which a composer has some freedom. One such item in the show is "Nederlandse lied," which category, it will be remembered, has ascribed to it traditional status. The song in question, "Rosa," is also the best known of this type; in terms of the "Cape Malays" it has the same strength of association as "Waltzing Matilda" with Australia. The song is presented in the context of a sketch depicting preparations for a choral competition, here the "Coon Carnival" from which the show derives its name. In this context it would have been appropriate to have used the song unchanged. However, the composer chose to render it as a modern popular song. The traditional style is that of a leader who embellishes the melodic line, with a choral response towards the end of each phrase. The updated version retains the spirit of the song, but the treatment of the chorus is now much more that of a vocal backing group.

The composer chose a modern rendition of "Rosa" and thus sacrificed its traditional identity. He did so in accordance with a self-ascribed cultural affinity to the White population, to claim parity with White culture.

On the other hand, the instrumental interludes of the show are arranged to reflect political affinity with the Black population. They use the instrumentation, and to a large extent the structure and style, of Johannesburg *marabi*-derived jazz and *kwela*. The choice of instrumentation is partly dictated by availability. It may also be affected by familiarity with this style of urban Black township jazz, as there has always been a good deal of interchange between Colored and Black musicians. These factors, however, do not completely explain the choice of a Black instrumental style here, particularly as the subject matter of the show is not concerned with Blacks. Instead, the use of Black music accords with the self-ascribed political allegiance to the Black population.

My point is that the composer demonstrably commands the ability to use different styles. Bearing in mind the political alignment of Coloreds with Blacks, the general theme of the show, and the fact that it was taken on tour throughout South Africa and played to White and Black audiences, I suggest that the choice of musical style for the interludes makes a covert political statement in the same way as the updated form of "Rosa" does. The two statements differ markedly in content but not in kind.

My conclusion is brief. I have argued that, in the urban environment in particular, musical expression may be manipulated as a means serving a variety of ends. Both means and ends can only be determined by analysis that

takes into account the specific social dynamics of group interaction and the context in which a sound phenomenon takes place.

NOTES

[1] Orlando Patterson, "Context and Choice in Ethnic Allegiance: A Theoretical Framework and Caribbean Case Study," in *Ethnicity, Theory and Experience*, edited by Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 311.

[2] I should add that I have deliberately used the term "composer" throughout this discourse, as it is used by the musicians themselves, even to the extent that the term appears on business cards. Clearly, the content of the term will not be that associated with Western art music; the composer acts as arranger as well.

Advertising and Latin Music at a New York City Jazz Club: Interrelationships That Shape the Musical Event

By Janet L. Sturman

This study was designed to investigate the role of advertisement in the presentation of *salsa*, an ethnically defined, urban popular music, in a New York City jazz club. During a study of the correspondence between presentation format and advertisement policy, it became increasingly clear to me that music as a sound product was only a part of the total unit of investigation. It also became clear that, in explaining the dynamic that shapes such an urban music event, the interaction between musical and nonmusical components must be taken into account.

Advertisements, by definition, are designed to create a product image that appeals to a target audience.[1] In this case, the title of the Latin music series, "*Salsa* Meets Jazz," serves as an important marketing device and is used consistently in advertisement and promotional contexts. As with all advertisements, one can assume that the title of the series embodies a certain purposeful manipulation of what actually takes place during the performance. The club's advertisements emphasize selected features of the "*Salsa* Meets Jazz" series while ignoring other features in order to attract a target audience. The word "meets" in the title ambiguously suggests a union of the two kinds of music, but exactly how *salsa* "meets" jazz is not explained. Neither the format of the series, nor the proportions of the components in the implied mix can be deduced from this title. To explain the nature of the advertising for the SMJ series and its role in shaping the musical event, one must take into account the participants (the audience, the musicians, the staff and proprietor of the club), the socio-cultural context of the performance venue, and the musical product. In the latter case, one must consider both its current and traditional formats.

As I began this study, I found the frequency with which New York jazz clubs feature performances of Latin music groups on a regular basis quite striking. The Village Gate stands out as an example of a jazz club that has elected to present Latin music on a weekly basis. Advertisements and publicity notices for the Village Gate's Latin music series entitled "*Salsa* Meets Jazz" appear regularly in the *New York Times*, the *Village Voice*, and the *Daily News*, three newspapers whose combined circulation reaches a large heterogeneous population in the New York area. I was struck by the fact that, although the kind of Latin music known as *salsa* appeals primarily to a Hispanic audience, the club decided to advertise in the newspapers cited above, rather than in publications catering solely to Hispanic readers. This prompted my interest in the motivation behind the series and how this motivation relates to the club's advertising policies.[2]

Every Monday night the Village Gate presents an established Latin music group—for example, Tito Puente and his Latin Jazz Ensemble, Machito and his Afro-Cubans,[3] *merengue* artist Johnny Ventura y Su Combo Show, El Gran Combo de Puerto Rico, or Jorge Dalto and his Inter-American Ensemble. A well-known jazz soloist is invited to sit in for only one number of each set the Latin group performs.

Since the club opened in 1958 its presentations have ranged from poetry readings to punk rock, but as its owner Art D'Lugoff asserts, "jazz works best," and the Village Gate is primarily known as a jazz club. This assertion prompts one to question why there is a need for *salsa* in a club where "jazz works best." According to D'Lugoff, the series, which began in April of 1980, was initially intended to capitalize on the improvisational opportunities shared by both jazz and *salsa*. The Village Gate's association of Latin music with jazz is not unprecedented. In the 1950s Hispanic musicians on the East Coast performed with jazz musicians and created music with ties to the big-band swing style, in particular its brass and reed arrangements. This music was often referred to as Latin jazz. During the 1960s and 1970s, Latin musicians began to take renewed pride in the African features of their music, and it is during this period that the word *salsa* was applied to Latin music.[4]

The word *salsa*, the Spanish word for sauce—especially hot sauce—was originally used, like the word soul, to indicate the quality of a performer or a performance. "Music played *con salsa* is hot, gutsy or soulful."[5] The term is now widely used, although with some controversy,[6] to describe contemporary urban Latin music, a music tradition that can be traced at least as far back as the 1940s. John Storm Roberts explains that *salsa* bands evolved as a combination of the *conjuntos*, dance bands that featured voices and trumpets against a background of conga and bongo drumming, and *charangas*, dance orchestras in which flutes and violins played melodies of European-derived dances.[7]

Salsa is dance music. "*Salsa* rhythms," Roberts points out, "are based on Afro-American dances such as the *bolero*, *cha-cha-cha*, *guaguanco*, *guaracha*, *mambo*, and the *son montuno*." The unifying rhythm in a *salsa* piece is *clave*,[8] a term that refers to an ostinato-like rhythmic pattern as well as the pair of hardwood sticks most often used to articulate that pattern. Even if it is not articulated, the *clave* must always be felt. It forms a time-line, creating what Friedman and Singer refer to as "the backbone around which other sounds are interwoven and organized."[9] In addition, a *clave* rhythm is often clapped by the listeners at a *salsa* performance as a sign of enthusiasm and musical appreciation.

As in jazz, improvisation is an important feature of *salsa*. Most *salsa* pieces include some variation on these three basic sections: an introduction, or head; a *montuno* or *coro* section, where the lead singer sings verses in alternation with a repeated vocal refrain sung by two or three singers (the *coro*); and a *guajeo* or *mambo* section where an individual instrumentalist will improvise, staying in *clave*, of course, while he is supported by rhythmic and harmonic

ostinatos performed by the rest of the group. At various points the brass or reed players may insert short, repetitive, melodic passages (riffs) sometimes referred to as *montuno* to act as a kind of high-tension obbligato to the playing of the full group. The opportunities for improvisation in *salsa* always require the performer to adhere to the *clave*; this is not a characteristic of standard jazz improvisation.

Although an amalgamation of *salsa* and jazz is suggested by the title of the Village Gate series, a mix is not really accomplished during most of the sessions, nor do the types of music receive equal time. A successful union would require that both the *salsa* element and the jazz element be perceived as contributing to a unified number. Yet in performance, the brass and reed performers in a *salsa* band frequently drown out the attempts of the jazz soloist. Even in the more successful combinations of *salsa* and jazz, *salsa* is certainly the dominant partner. The jazz artist is on stage for only one number, and because he is playing with the *salsa* band that number is shaped by the *salsa* performers and the requirements of *salsa* rhythms and harmony.

In discussing the origin of the series, cofounder Roger Dawson explained that he felt that the chord changes in *salsa*'s harmonic structure are not as varied as they often are in jazz, and thus he felt that he could ask a jazz performer to come in and play through a Latin number without having to rehearse.[11] Despite certain similarities between jazz and *salsa*, the addition of a jazz soloist does not always prove to be as simple as Dawson implied in that early assessment. It helps if, in addition to being able to follow the chord changes, the jazz soloist is also familiar with *salsa* patterns, especially rhythms. The most successful integrations of jazz into the *salsa* framework that I observed occurred when the jazz artist was also a Latin musician.

There is, however, no doubt that performers on the Monday night series often try to produce music that matches the advertisement image of *salsa* "meeting" jazz. Even with the constraints described above, there are evenings where, in one piece, *salsa* does seem to blend with jazz. For example, when the Cuban jazz saxophonist Paquito D'Rivera [sic] joined forces with El Gran Combo, a Puerto Rican *salsa* group, the combo's lead vocalist incorporated D'Rivera's first name into the lyrics of the verse and then encouraged the audience to sing his last name as the *coro* response. In the third section of the number, the improvisation or *mambo* section, the combo dropped out and allowed D'Rivera complete freedom with his solo.

With frequency the guest jazz soloist is also a Latin musician. This underscores *salsa*'s strong ethnic associations. Although the Village Gate does not stress these ethnic associations in any of their advertisements, it is clear that ethnic identity plays a very important role in virtually every aspect of the SMJ series. The lyrics of the songs performed are sung only in Spanish, and performers encourage, and even expect, their audience to sing the *coro* response for various numbers. Announcements are usually made in English, but frequently performers tell jokes or offer explanatory comments in Spanish. The audience is encouraged by the master of ceremonies to clap a *clave*

rhythm before and during performances to demonstrate appreciation, understanding, and enthusiasm. Patrons are encouraged to dance Latin dances such as the *guaguancó* and *cha-cha* in addition to *salsa*. Quite simply, the behavior of the patrons at SMJ events tends to separate them into two broadly defined ethnic groups, Hispanic and non-Hispanic—those who are expected to understand and participate fully, and those who are not.

Hispanic is used here to refer to those people who identify themselves in terms of their Latin-American or Iberian heritage, no matter what their specific national association may be. Though in the minority, there is always a group of non-Hispanic patrons. This minority is heterogeneous in its ethnic composition and always includes a number of students and tourists. Though the non-Hispanic group is in the minority on Monday nights, they seem to form the majority on other nights of the week at the Village Gate.

The Hispanic audience could be broken down into groups according to more circumscribed, national associations; New York's Spanish-speaking population reflects a broad spectrum of nationalities: Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Venezuelan, Ecuadorian, among others. Hispanic patrons at SMJ do not respond, however, as members of these subgroups, but as members of one large Hispanic group.[11]

Sociologists have long realized that "an essential feature of any group is that its members have something in common and that they believe that what they have in common makes a difference."[12] One feature that the audience as a group shares is an active role in supporting Latin music, and a large portion of that group is Hispanic. Despite Latin musicians' attempts to reach a larger, non-Hispanic public, *salsa*'s heavy reliance on Spanish lyrics has kept it from receiving substantial recognition among non-Latins. As a critic for the *New York Times*, Robert Palmer, explains: "The movers and shapers of Latin music and the performers whose names are familiar in every Latin household have rarely tasted the advantages that come with major record label affiliation, airplay on pop and progressive radio, and exposure to other media."[13]

The Village Gate's primary printed advertising routes are those English-language publications that reach a cross section of New Yorkers, particularly those within a middle income bracket or above: readers of the *New York Times*, the *Daily News* and the *Village Voice*. Articles and listings frequently appear in *New York Magazine*, the *New Yorker*, and *Latin NY*, and the club makes use of the SMJ sponsors (a radio station and a fast food chain) to help them reach a still larger public.[14] The advertisement copy, particularly the title of the series (with its reliance on the word *salsa*), and the media chosen by the Village Gate for their advertising suggest a target audience that is ethnically marked—in this case Latino—but not exclusively so. Members of this target audience are English speaking, most likely familiar with Latin music (since no attempt is made to describe *salsa* in the advertisements), and are, in socio-economic terms, middle class or above.

The Village Gate has tailored its series so that Latin music, here labeled as

salsa, takes the dominant role, thus paralleling the size and ethnic diversity of the Latin component of the audience, and yet jazz is still included, thus paralleling the non-Latino portion of the target audience.

The shared features of a common language and a common support for Latin music become important in light of the efforts of both the *salsa* artist and the proprietors of the Village Gate to reach as large a potential audience pool as possible. Latin musicians have attained some of their non-Hispanic support through their associations with jazz musicians. Two Latin musicians who regularly appear on the SMJ series, conga player Ray Barretto and timbalist Tito Puente, have openly used jazz elements in their music and are frequently referred to as Latin-jazz performers.

The jazz component in the SMJ advertising and program format suggests that potential patrons can expect the physical set up of the club to differ very little from the set up on other nights of the week when jazz may be the only kind of music featured. For the most part, jazz patrons expect to sit down at tables and drink while they listen to the music. They rarely dance, and therefore would not be dismayed by the meager accommodations that the Village Gate provides for dancing: the club seats 450, but not more than seventy people can dance at any one time. Once again, the Village Gate demonstrates a desire to attract a heterogeneous audience by presenting Latin music associated with dancing in a setting familiar to an audience accustomed to just listening.

Admission prices to SMJ range from $8.00 to $20.00 per night, depending upon the performers. Patrons are required to purchase at least one drink—drinks cost a minimum of $1.25—per set, in addition to the admission charge. These prices are high but not out of line with what one might expect to pay at any downtown jazz club. Such prices also indicate that the Village Gate is interested in attracting patrons with middle-class incomes or above. The club's unsuccessful efforts to sell tickets through outlets in East Harlem[15] suggest that the Hispanic patrons at SMJ are not from the less-affluent Hispanic community of East Harlem, but instead are representatives of a middle-class segment of New York's Hispanic population, a group that sociologist Milton Gordon might refer to as an Eth-Class because of the intersection of ethnicity and socio-economic class.[16]

The musical products of SMJ are not only tailored to attract a cosmopolitan, middle- to upper-income clientele, but the product is advertised in particular media and in a manner that make it desirable to its target audience. Ads appear in English-language newspapers read by the larger New York society including a smaller group thereof, the Hispanic readers of English. The catchy SMJ label highlights the two musical components and presents them in a form that will attract *salsa* lovers, jazz lovers, and fusion aficionados. But the advertising ignores the relative importance assigned to each component in actual practice by using the word "meets" and, thus, evades the issue of whether jazz and *salsa* fuse or combine successfully.

In summary, many features of the SMJ series that are not overtly articulat-

ed in the advertisements are the very features that respond to and help shape the musical performances. Once one understands the type of audience that the Village Gate is trying to attract—of middle income or above—and the corresponding response of New Yorkers, then it is not surprising to see *salsa* groups from many different Hispanic countries, with many different musical styles, performing on the same series together. The word *salsa*, in the context of the SMJ, functions as an umbrella term for Latin music and it is accepted by patrons who, in the ostensibly non-Latin setting of the Village Gate, submerge their more circumscribed national identities in order to form a united Latin audience to support and enjoy Latin music.

My analysis of the SMJ series indicates that neither the musical event, nor the musical product in an urban area can be completely understood without careful consideration of factors that ethnomusicologists frequently refer to as "extra-musical" throughout the course of research.

The Village Gate is a commercial enterprise eager to attract a clientele with the ability to pay their prices, who accept the club's implied rules of social behavior; ethnic identity is a secondary consideration for the proprietors. The club's proprietor made this perfectly clear when he stated: "We're interested in customers who pay cash."[17] Hence, SMJ presents two highly salable kinds of music in a specially designed format.

The Hispanic clientele of the SMJ series responds primarily as a Latino group. National distinctions—Puerto Rican, Dominican, and so forth—have secondary or little significance. The middle or upper socio-economic bracket of this Hispanic group can be reached through the kinds of media used by the Village Gate in advertisements, and these advertisements reach non-Hispanics in the same socio-economic bracket as well. Therefore the target audience can be described as heterogeneous. In practice, however, the audience at the Village Gate's SMJ series can be more completely explained by reference to the sociological concept of Eth-Class, a combination of ethnic affiliation and socio-economic bracket, rather than by simply referring to a common interest in either jazz, or *salsa*, or both.

Through the selection of printed media and the choice of title, SMJ advertising brings together a specific kind of musical product and a specific kind of consumer. The consumer response to the series has helped to insure that Latin components dominate the musical presentation. Patrons accept different kinds of Latin music—*samba*, *merengue*, *Latin-jazz*, and *salsa*—as aspects of one umbrella term, *salsa*. Likewise, Hispanic patrons respond not as many separate groups defined by their individual national affiliations but as one all-embracing Latino group defined by the broader ties of a shared language and culture.

The relationship of advertising and musical performance is a dynamic one: they mutually affect each other. An understanding of the interaction among the many factors involved, only some of which are overtly musical, is needed to explain the role of advertising as well as both the form and function of the musical series discussed above. It is hoped that this study, despite

its specific focus on Latin music in New York City jazz clubs, illustrates the necessity of considering music as only a part of the total object of study whenever a researcher confronts urban musical phenomena.

NOTES

[1] S. Watson Dunn, *Advertising: Its Role in Marketing* (Hinsdale, Illinois: Dryden Press, 1978), p. 8.

[2] From November 1982 through January 1983, I examined the listings of music events in major New York newspapers to determine patterns in the performances of Latin music in New York. I noticed that Latin music groups frequently perform at jazz clubs. Since the Village Gate is a jazz club that has elected to present Latin music on a weekly basis, I chose to investigate its Monday night series called "Salsa-Meets-Jazz." I collected data on location through participant observation by attending performances of both Latin music and jazz. I supplemented my observations with data gathered through interviews, as well as from journalistic and promotional literature. The bulk of the fieldwork for this paper was conducted from February through May of 1983.

[3] The Cuban band leader Machito died at the age of 76 on November 30, 1983 in London, England.

[4] Joseph Blum, "Problems of Salsa Research," *Ethnomusicology* 22, no. 1 (January 1978): 146.

[5] Ibid.

[6] *Salsa* is not an undisputed title. Many musicians consider it a commercial label for a long-existing music. See Blum, "Salsa Research," pp. 144–145, where he quotes Tito Puente's remarks on the subject: "This is not musical terminology at all. The music that I am playing today, which I have been playing for the last 20 years or more, if they want to call it *Salsa* or matzo ball soup, the name doesn't make any difference to me. But, I would imagine that the younger generation has to have a title for this music so that it can be used commercially." (Tony Pabon, et al., "What is Salsa," *Latin NY*, Oct. 1975, 33–34.) I have heard Machito make similar remarks to audiences at the Village Gate.

[7] John Storm Roberts, "Salsa," *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan, 1980), 16:430.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Robert Friedman and Roberta Singer, descriptive notes for "Puerto Rican and Cuban Musical Expression in New York" (New York: New World Records, NW 244), pp. 1–4.

[10] Roger Dawson, interview with author, New York, March 27, 1983.

[11] This is not surprising in light of contemporary sociological literature which indicates that upwardly mobile, more cosmopolitan Latinos often submerge their individual national associations in order to present a more unified identity in the face of the larger New York society. See Adelaida Reyes Schramm, "Ethnic Music, the Urban Area, and Ethnomusicology," *Sociologus* 29 (1979):12.

[12] Michael Olmsted and A. Paul Hare, *The Small Group*, 2d ed. (New York: Random House, 1978).

[13] Robert Palmer, "Can Salsa Escape the Cultural Ghetto?" *New York Times*, 23 January 1977, Sec. 2, pp. 22, 29.

[14] *Latin NY* magazine also regularly prints reviews, announcements, or comments on the SMJ series at the Village Gate. In the words of its founder, Izzy Sanabria, this English-language publication tries "to cover New York City from a Hispanic point of view . . . while most people consider our forte to be salsa and entertainment, we certainly have moved into many other areas. However, underneath it all, what *Latin NY* tries to represent is the good life and how to go about enjoying oneself." (*Latin NY*, 1983, no. 7, p. 6). Although *Latin NY* is openly supportive of the SMJ series, the Village Gate does not buy advertisement space in the magazine.

Kentucky Fried Chicken has sponsored the SMJ series for a month at a time. The franchise has also featured pictures and endorsements of well-known musicians—including the Latin

band-leader and conga player, Ray Barretto—on their billboard advertisements.

Radio station WKTU (FM 92) is a regular sponsor of SMJ and their Latin DJ, Paco, often acts as master-of-ceremonies on Monday nights. The station features mostly disco pop music and gears its programming to a young, urban crowd.

[31] The Village Gate allows the East Harlem School of Music to sell twenty-five admission tickets to each SMJ show. After selling the tickets the school may keep the proceeds. The school has never sold more than ten tickets. (Johnny Colon, interview, New York, April 4, 1983).

[32] Milton Gordon, *Assimilation in American Life, The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

[33] Art D'Lugoff, interview, New York, April 4, 1983.

Dagaba Xylophone Music of Tarkwa, Ghana: A Study of "Situational Change"*

By Francis A. Kobina Saighoe

The difference between rural and urban life can be dramatic: particularly in countries that are yet to be fully industrialized, the behavior of rural dwellers contrasts greatly with that of their urban counterparts, so much so that rural dwellers who migrate to an urban area have to adapt their behavior in special ways in order to participate in the social life of their new environment. In the course of their adaptation, diacritical elements of their tribal culture as well as their basic value orientations assume new meanings and functions. Within his framework for studying urban life, Mitchell has designated as *situational change* the transformation of the tribal institutions and symbols of immigrants, where this transformation is generated by a change in their social situation.[1]

This paper arises out of fieldwork undertaken to test the utility of situational change as a framework for explaining urban transformations of rural musical traditions. The context of the study was Dagaba music as it is performed in Tarkwa, a gold mining town in Ghana.

Dagaba music, like most music traditions, has close relationship with social behavior. For example, song texts reflect and explain social and contextual usages—the texts arise out of the context of performance—while the poetic structures of the same texts determine the structural patterns of the song. Because of this intrinsic relationship between music and social behavior, it was assumed that change in the social situation of Dagaba immigrants as they adjusted to the demands of the urban setting would effect a corresponding change in their musical behavior.

Research, however, indicates that there is no correlation between the considerable change in the social situation and change in the musical behavior of Dagaba immigrants in Tarkwa. Though these immigrants have made noteworthy modifications in their material culture to be able to satisfy their biological needs as well as to meet the physical demands of their new environment, their tribal musical behavior has not been affected in any significant manner. The aim of this paper to is examine those factors that have enabled the Dagaba to maintain their tribal musical traditions with minimal changes.

The following questions which guided the fieldwork will be addressed: What social factors impinge directly or indirectly on Dagaba music as the immigrants adjust to urban life? Which components of the music are affected, and how? How do the actors themselves perceive the effect of the impingement on their music? To what extent do the changes in the music, if any, reflect changes in the social behavior of the actors and vice versa? If there are no changes in the music as performed by the immigrants, how do we account

for the lack of change?

The study called for the identification of the socio-musical components of a traditional Dagaba community and the social patterns that impinge upon these components in Tarkwa, the urban setting, in order to isolate the musical patterns that result from urban interaction. The data used in this paper form part of materials collected from Nandom, the traditional home of the immigrants under study, and Tarkwa, their new home. Research was done in Nandom, a village in upper-west Ghana, because about eighty-five percent of Dagaba immigrants in Tarkwa hail from there. Eight months were spent doing fieldwork in Nandom, and twelve months in Tarkwa, which is about 525 miles away from Nandom.

Poor transportation facilities severely limit mobility of the immigrants to and from their homeland; thus, it was thought that musical practices and repertoire as well as populations and social conditions in the rural and urban situations would be distinct in each case, and that their comparison would cast valuable light on the concept of situational change.

The Dagaba migrated to Tarkwa to meet a demand for labor caused by the establishment of the gold mines in Tarkwa in 1882 and by the reluctance of the local people to work for the mining companies.[3] Before their migration to Tarkwa, Dagaba male youth used to serve as farm laborers in Ashanti during the dry season when they were economically least productive in their homeland. The migration to Tarkwa as miners was a welcome alternative to working on Ashanti farms.

At Tarkwa, the Dagaba were first settled at Akoon Vertical Shaft Compound (commonly known as A.V.S. Compound) among workers of Nigerian origin. At some point, a quarrel which led to a bloody fight between the Nigerians and the Dagaba ensued. After its settlement, Dagarti Compound was built for the Dagaba,[4] who formed the majority of the mine's labor force. After the 1970 exodus of Nigerians in adherence to the Ghana Government's "Aliens Compliance Order,"[5] A.V.S. Compound was occupied by workers of diverse ethnic backgrounds. Today, the Dagaba form the majority of the population of both Dagarti Compound and A.V.S. Compound. The two compounds are about a mile apart. All Dagaba socio-musical activities take place in Dagarti Compound. Among themselves the Dagaba do not differentiate between the two compounds; the chief of Dagarti Compound provides cultural, social, and political leadership and guidance for all of them. The few non-Dagaba residents act according to the directives of the Dagaba chief.

The miners are replaced every now and then for various reasons: old age, incapacity resulting from ill health or occupational hazards, or resignation for personal reasons. The need for replacement creates a need for new hands. One would reason that since the Dagaba have sojourned in Tarkwa for a hundred years there would be generations of successors in Tarkwa to fill the places vacated by the aging and ailing workers. But this essentially is not the case. Like most migrants, the Dagaba in Tarkwa wish for their children a

better socio-economic station in life. They therefore encourage their progeny to get as much education as possible to qualify them for relatively more lucrative and "safer" jobs. To be able to help their children pursue higher education while planning for the uncertainties of their own future at the same time, most parents take advantage of the free secondary-school education in their home regions.

As part of the campaign to combat the high rate of illiteracy in Ghana at the time of her independence from British colonial rule, free educational programs were implemented in the nation. Because the northern and upper regions were the least developed and also had the highest rate of illiteracy, special financial incentives were offered the youth there to speed up their education. Today, these incentives are no longer available, but secondary education in the two regions continues to be free. While secondary-school students of the other regions pay boarding and lodging, those in the two regions do not. And these "free schools" are reserved essentially for the youth of the area. Because of this situation, Tarkwa-born Dagaba mid-teenagers leave Tarkwa for their home regions. If and when any of them come back to Tarkwa in later years, they come only to visit with their parents, relatives, or friends but not as miners. Consequently, to replace the retirees and the incapacitated, new hands are recruited from the homeland. It is significant to note that a special office has been created in the mine's personnel system to handle such recruitment.

All new recruits are housed in Dagarti Compound or in A.V.S. Compound. Even those who come without any previous job connections gravitate towards Dagarti Compound, where they remain under the tutelage of friends and relatives until they secure a job. If for any reason a new arrival is employed outside the mines and, therefore, must live outside the compound, his links with his tribesmen are not severed.

The spatial isolation of Dagaba with regard to the greater Tarkwa populace gains in significance when viewed against the backdrop of general group relations in African towns. Though town dwellers participate jointly in urban social, political, and economic systems,[5] cultural differences often lead to conflict of interest and hostility in group interaction. Ethnic groups, therefore, maintain a strong attachment to their common homeland. Individuals place tribal interest above that of the larger society, and there is an urgency for immigrants to seek out their own kind and live among them. Thus, most African towns, as typified by Tarkwa, are clusters of partly overlapping ethnic enclaves.[6]

Dagarti Compound is geographically isolated but its inhabitants interact on certain levels with members of other groups placed in other compounds. Therefore, though these enclaves may be geographic realities, it must be understood that they are also "behavioral realities."[7] The Dagaba treasure their isolation because it provides them with a cultural base where, as a collective group, they can afford to do things their way within certain limits. Within the socio-cultural security of their compound they work out strategies

for coping with the anxieties, stresses, and uncertainties that arise in their interaction with non-Dagaba.

The Dagaba have made a few adjustments in their material culture to enable them to survive in their new environment. This adjustment is particularly observable in their eating and drinking habits. The stable food of the Dagaba in their homeland is *saab*, a dough meal obtained from guinea-corn. *Saab* can also be made out of other grains like millet and maize. However, in Nandom, the traditional homeland, *saab* from any other grain but guinea-corn is scorned. People will eat millet or maize *saab* only in times of need. The same attitude is displayed towards *pito*, a local beer. Like *saab*, *pito* can be brewed from millet, guinea-corn, or maize; but the Dagaba has a predilection for guinea-corn *pito* and will drink *pito* from other grains with much reluctance.

In Tarkwa, however, both *saab* and *pito* obtained from millet and maize are consumed with relish. Guinea-corn is not obtainable in Tarkwa but maize and millet are, so, in order to survive, the immigrants have given up their bias for guinea-corn products; they consume products from all grains available to them with equal readiness. They have even learned to eat *kenkey* and *fufu*, the staple food of the local Akan people obtained from corn and cassava (manioc) respectively, and to drink palm-wine and *akpeteshie*, two potent drinks which are products of the palm-tree.

There has not been any perceivable change in the clothing of their women. The men, however, tend to prefer European clothes to their traditional *fugu* (smock) and pantaloons. Because the smock and pantaloons hang loosely on the wearer, the Dagaba find it clumsy to go to work in them. They generally wear them on holidays and on festive occasions.

Tarkwa as an urban center supports a number of musical activities, popular as well as traditional; the Dagaba, however, do not, generally, patronize these activities. They cite the distance of four miles between their compound and Tarkwa as the cause. Furthermore, there is no public transportation, and taxis charge between $7.00 and $10.00 one way, fares which, by Ghanaian standards, are rather high. Since their economic aspiration compels them to live frugally, they try to avoid the use of taxis. But when they have to, the Dagaba walk to town "without tears." Their children walk to and from school. The Catholics among them (and there are many) walk to town to attend service every Sunday and on holy days. Their women walk to the central market in Tarkwa when they need to replenish their groceries.

Why then do they refuse to walk to town to participate in the musical activities there? Why do the few Dagaba who live in town walk to the compound to make music with their tribesmen but refuse to participate in the musical activities in Tarkwa?

Certain psychological and economic factors interplay to create a social distance between the Dagaba and the southern groups. The most palpable of these is the psychological sense of inferiority most northerners feel in their relations to southerners, particularly to the Akans. This, probably, is due to

the historical relationship between Ashantis and northern groups. During the period of Ashanti territorial expansion, some northern groups were conquered at war. This led to a master and servant relationship, with the vanquished state paying homage to the Ashanti sovereignty, and its members obliged to humor the Ashanti. The seasonal migration of northerners to Ashanti to become farm laboerers cemented this relationship and acted to ingrain in the northerner the sense that he is inferior to the Ashanti.

But the Dagaba did not go to war with the Ashanti. Why then do they place the southerner on a pedestal in relation to themselves? The Ashanti did not have differential treatment for their farm laborers. A laborer, notwithstanding his ethnic background, was perceived and treated as a servant. In essence, the Dagaba, as a farm laborer, saw himself that way—a servant of the Ashanti. Because of this rather restrictive attitude, interaction on the emotional level was not observable between the Dagaba and the southern groups. For example, intermarriage between a Dagaba and an Akan, to put it mildly, was not encouraged.

Furthermore, of about 348 Dagaba workers at the mines, only two are in administrative positions: the Assistant Resident Engineer and the Senior Mine Captain. On the middle management level, there are sixteen of them who function as supervisors, shift bosses, and chief samplers.[8] This indicates that even though the Dagaba form the majority of the mines' labor force, they occupy the lowest rung of the socio-economic hierarchy of the mines, a situation that widens the social distance created by the psychological factors already mentioned.

The Dagaba interact with other groups mostly on the occupational level; this is especially so among the underground workers. Underground mining is hazardous so there is the need for cordial relations among the miners and for each one to be his brother's keeper. Once they are down in the pit, all socio-economic disparities and ethnic differences are ignored. When the day's work is done and the Dagaba go back to their compound, however, they maintain their traditional concepts and socio-cultural practices, particularly through music.

In their musical intra-action, three categories of xylophone music are emphasized: *bewaa* recreational dance, *kwerbine* funeral music, and music in Christian worship. *Bewaa* literally means, "young people, come together." It is a call for young adults of both sexes to come together and make music. In the homeland, *bewaa* is performed anywhere in the village. Its dance includes leaps, runs and body contractions and releases. It also involves much stamping by the dancers who, holding iron castanets in their hands, sound them to reinforce the rhythmic vitality of the music. It is recreational music performed most often in connection with social events like the enskinment of a chief, durbars, and celebration of marriages. It may also be performed to entertain the chief and his special guest. But the performance of *bewaa* occurs with greatest frequency during the harvest of the year's farm products; it is performed to express the joy of the harvest.

In Tarkwa, *konsa* is performed on Sunday afternoons when most of the workers are off duty and members of the community can come together to entertain themselves. At about 3:00 P.M., instruments of the *konsa* ensemble are brought under a shed erected for this purpose. When the music begins, adults and children of both sexes come to sing, dance, and enjoy themselves. Among them are often some who have walked four miles from town. They have come not only to drink *pito* beer and to make merry, but also to visit with relatives and friends, and to share each other's concerns for survival in their new setting. Issues worthy of consideration, including matters arising out of news from home and occupational problems, are discussed. New arrivals are introduced on such occasions.

As part of its program to promote fellowship and cultural interaction among its workers, the management of the company organizes a number of recreational and socio-cultural activities including music and dance at the end of each year and awards prizes to deserving groups. Because these activities are organized on tribal levels, they fail to promote the intended fellowship; on the contrary, they strengthen the desire of each group to maintain its ethnic identity. The occasion offers the participants, the Dagaba in particular, the opportunity to demonstrate their distinctive cultural patterns and to remind each other of their uniqueness.

Another traditional musical activity that the immigrants value highly because of their location is funeral music. The xylophone is used in announcing the news of death to the entire settlement. This is possible because they are residentially concentrated and can, therefore, be reached by the messages underlying the xylophone's musical patterns. *Lankoni* funeral-dirge singing, accompanied by xylophones and *kuor* funeral drum, is used to mourn the deceased publicly.

The Catholic Church also offers the Dagaba an avenue for the performance of their tribal music. Because Catholicism is the only Christian faith that has gained ground among the Dagaba, most Dagaba immigrants in Tarkwa are Catholics, and they form an appreciable percentage of the Catholic community there. Because of their active involvement in the activities of the church, a priest goes to their compound once a week to celebrate the Mass there. On the last Sunday of each month, the main Mass in St. Matthew's Catholic Church, the parish church of Tarkwa, is celebrated in Dagaare. On such occasions, a Dagaare-speaking priest is brought from Prestea, a neighboring gold-mining town, to conduct the service. At all of these services, the prayers are said in Dagaare, the language of the Dagaba. The songs, sung to the accompaniment of xylophones, drums and cane rattles, have Dagaare texts.

In the urban performances, a few deviations worthy of note were observed, although the actors themselves did not consider these deviations as change and neither did their kinsmen in the homeland. Instead of the fourteen-key *legsil* (xylophone), the eighteen-key *daga-gsil* was used in the *konsa* ensembles. A wooden packing case was used in place of the usual *gangaar* cylindri-

cal drum to provide the rhythmic accompaniment. The text of one of the *bɔɔsa* songs was in Twi, a language of the Akan group of people. When I played music recorded in Tarkwa to master xylophonists and other musicians in the homeland, the only negative comment they made was in regard to the lack of adequate cohesion between instrumentalists and singers. In other words, the criticism was directed more against the quality of the performance in terms of technique than against the musical content.

The fact that the actors themselves and their kinsmen did not perceive these deviations as change raised a very important methodological problem. Because Dagaba music is basically improvisatory, musicians are not only supposed to reproduce what they have learned, but also to recreate it within acceptable patterns. In such a tradition, where can the fine line between variation and change be drawn? That is, at what point does a musician's recreation of existing patterns constitute change? In trying to resolve this problem, I was guided by Blacking's suggestion that "'. . . if we are going to distinguish an analytic category of 'change', it really must be something more than flexible variation. . . . To qualify as musical change, the phenomenon described must constitute a change in the structure of the musical system, and not simply a change within the system.'"[9]

The actors saw the few deviations mentioned above as temporary modifications of their musical patterns. They argued, for example, that the performance of *bɔɔsa* serves not only as an avenue for artistic expression, but also as a vehicle for communicating individual as well as group sentiments through the verbal references of its texts; *bɔɔsa* songs are therefore songs of protest. They may be sung to insult, ridicule or admonish. The singing in Twi of a particular song referred to above was prompted by the need to make the texts, meant to ridicule, understandable to the addressee, a southerner who did not understand Dagaare. All other aspects of the music—singing style and technique, as well as melodic structure and instrumental accompaniment—follow traditional patterns. Even though the texts of the song were in Twi and not Dagaare, the meaning conformed with the tradition of protesting through music. On the basis of the actors' argument, which strongly underscores Blacking's suggestion, these deviations are considered as variations rather than changes.

The evidence assembled in this study leads to the conclusion that the adaptation of Dagaba immigrants to Tarkwa urban setting has not effected any significant changes in their musical behavior. The Dagaba have simply not become integrated into the Tarkwa social system.

Individuals or groups who interact and express themselves together, musically, share certain common emotional or ideational perspectives. Such perspectives result from the integration of the individuals or groups involved.[10] But factors like intermarriage and common area of residence that promote integration in an urban area are not generated by the social patterns of Tarkwa. The factors discussed below interplay to militate against the integration of Dagaba into the Tarkwa social system.

Because the Dagaba, like other ethnic groups, are residentially concentrated, they are able to maintain and nurture their tribal cultural practices and perspectives, particularly through music. Their spatial isolation serves as a partial barrier between them and the larger society. This situation is compounded by a social distance created between them and the dominant Akan groups by economic inequalities and an inferiority complex of the Dagaba. All these factors interplay to hamper the development of an interethnic sense of community.

In the case of the Dagaba this situation is perpetuated by the departure of Tarkwa-born Dagaba youth to their home-region—an act which significantly affects, so to speak, their "detribalization." While these children are growing up, they attend school with non-Dagaba children; they learn English and Fante, the dominant language of communication in Tarkwa, and acquire non-Dagaba cultural traits. For example, I observed on more than one occasion Dagaba children doing the bebop dance to their traditional *bɛnɛa* music. This happened at school away from their parents. Under the eyes of their parents these children refused to repeat the dance as they did it at school for fear of being reprimanded. It is plausible to assert at this point that if these children later, as young adults, continued to live in the compound and helped in the direction of its affairs, the socio-cultural behavior in the compound would betray to some degree the patterns they consciously or unconsciously picked up while in school with their non-Dagaba peers. I am even inclined to suggest that if they got their higher education in Tarkwa and its environs and became economically well placed there, the social barrier between the Dagaba and the members of the Akan group would wear off significantly. The possibility of intermarriage and other forms of interaction on the emotional level would not remain as remote as it is now.

But this link is broken by the exchange of places between Tarkwa-born Dagaba youth who must go back to their home-region to continue with their education and those born in the homeland who come to Tarkwa to work as miners. The latter come to reinforce Dagaba traditions established in the compound. Younger musicians are always recruited from among them, and being new to the place, they conform to the pattern of behavior established for them by their aging predecessors. So, in essence, the "Dagabaness" of the socio-musical behavior of the Dagaba in Tarkwa is boosted anytime new recruits arrive from the homeland. On the other hand anytime Tarkwa-born youth leave for the home-region the compound is robbed of agents of change.

Because there is no interethnic sense of community in Tarkwa, there is very little musical interaction and exchange among the groups. The organization of musical activities on the very few occasions that call for intergroup musical expression tends to be divisive, with each group isolated to demonstrate its uniqueness, instead of performing with the others to promote socio-cultural interaction. Dagaba exposure to musical activities supported by Tarkwa, therefore, is too fleeting and not intensive enough to consciously or unconsciously influence their traditional musical practices and perspectives.

NOTES

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[1] J. Clyde Mitchell, "Theoretical Orientations in African Urban Studies," in *The Social Anthropology of Complex Societies*, ed. Michael Banton (New York: Tavistock, 1973), 43.

[2] E. A. Boateng, *A Geography of Ghana* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 88.

[3] Joseph Bewong, interview with author, 1982.

[4] In 1970, the government of Ghana ordered all aliens out of the country. This was done to stop the monopolization of the country's economy by aliens and to boost Ghanaian entrepreneurship.

[5] William John Hanna and Judith Hanna, *Urban Dynamics in Black Africa: An Interdisciplinary Approach* (New York: Aldine Publications, 1981), 108.

[6] Ibid., 112–14.

[7] Ibid.

[8] Joseph Bewong, interview with author, 1982.

[9] John Blacking, "Some Problems of Theory and Method in the Study of Musical Change," *Yearbook of the International Folk Music Council* 9(1977): 19.

[10] Julian H. Steward, "Levels of Sociocultural Integration," in *Readings in Anthropology*, ed. Morton H. Fried, 2nd ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1968), 482.

Young Composers in the Federal Republic of Germany: The Search for a New Identity*

By Wolfgang Burde

A few years back, in a lecture delivered in Darmstadt bearing the title, "Of the Simple, the Beautiful and the Simply Beautiful," Carl Dahlhaus dispelled any notion that neo-tonal music belonged to a cultural backwater or that it was basically provincial in spirit. In Dahlhaus's lecture, however, one finds this qualifying sentence: "[But] to entertain the conviction of representing the mainstream would be sheer delusion."[1] In fact, neo-tonal music has in the meantime ceased to be cultivated merely in the backwaters of Germany, but rather it reached New York some time ago, as a recent series of concerts dedicated to neo-Romantic music of American origin demonstrates. It now seems more worthwhile than ever to understand the historical preconditions of this musical movement and certain of its psychological motives and aesthetic intentions.

At the present moment there are three categories of New Music competing with each other worldwide, the origins of which can be traced back to the 1950s and 1960s: tone-surface composition; compositional attempts to integrate traditional and contemporary characteristics into a new musical language—in the Federal Republic this tendency is known as "neo-Romanticism"; and finally minimal or periodic music.

Today, tone-surface composition, inaugurated in the 1950s by Ligeti and Penderecki, has become a musical world language, attractive even to musicians of Asia for example. The peculiar neutrality of this musical language, in terms of tradition, results from the fact that neither its principles or concepts of form, nor its musical material are too closely linked with the European Classical-Romantic tradition.

This neutrality was soon relinquished, even by Ligeti himself. His Requiem (1963/65), his Cello Concerto (1966), and above all *Lontano* (1968) contain traces of Romantic expressive gestures—chromatic runs or pale orchestral pedals, for example. This method of enriching neutral material has been consistently pursued by Ligeti in works such as the Horn Trio of 1982, which he dedicated to Johannes Brahms. Not only is the Trio characterized by traditional forms such as chorale, march, and passacaglia, but the texture itself bears the mark of traditional motivic-thematic work.

Ligeti's tone-surface style of composition was in itself a reaction to certain problems of serial composition. The idea of tone-surface composition came into being as early as 1950. Ligeti discovered that the mechanism of serial composing produced permeable structures; the strict rational ordering of the

musical material led, only to a very limited degree, to foreseeable compositional results, and the rational conciseness of the serial system was perceptibly eroded by the insertion of chance-determined structures.

Serial music and tone-surface composition had one feature in common: they did not actually dispense with tradition but rather pushed it to one side. Both compositional styles developed as "negative" forms, that is to say, they developed their respective languages based on certain compositional taboos. Motivic elaboration of the melody was taboo; a harmony that was expansive, not merely statistical or organized as clusters, but capable of gravitation, was taboo; the unfolding of rhythmic patterns that produced a sense of growth was also taboo. In the 1950s, terms such as unfolding and development provoked ridicule. The concept of structure seemed to have superseded these ways of thinking once and for all. The musical "Bauhaus" culture of the 1950s—by "biography-less" composers, as Herbert Eimert has phrased it—wanted to admit music only insofar as it followed the laws immanent to it.

The new beauties of serial music, its "Asiatic" rigidity, its hard density, its colorfulness, and the elegance of its ornamentation, accompanied a far-reaching loss of expressive character. Form was no longer a spiritual or sensuous measure of internal conflict.

Many composers of the 1960s—alongside those concerned with the dominant trends of tone-surface composition and the painful aftermath of serial composition—wore themselves out with an abundance of highly specialized compositional solutions which were designed to overcome the loss of a historical continuum in the 1950s. Berio and Zimmermann worked on musical collage. Numerous European improvisational ensembles of the 1960s—those of Evangelisti or Stockhausen, Globokar or Cardew—and the up-and-coming Free-Jazz or Free-Music groups created a musical atmosphere in which postserial gestures and jazz spontaneity, slapstick, and dadaist flavored neotonality led an unhealthy coexistence—not to mention the temptations aroused by Cage and his school, or the growing familiarity with non-European music.

This historical background makes it easier to understand why West German composers now in their thirties have, for ten years, been stimulating discussion about contemporary music not merely in the *feuilleton*, but also to an increasing extent in musicological seminars. While many young composers of the 1950s and 1960s were satisfied to exhaust the various aesthetic norms, in order to prove themselves as the most advanced, this new generation would appear to have completely left behind all avant-garde ambitions. They are not prepared to share the Dada sphere of experimental action with the widely disseminated Cage school and thus to relinquish music's artistic claims, nor do they show any inclination to force a musical work into that straitjacket which at one time, thanks to Theodor W. Adorno's thesis of the progressive historical tendency of musical material, became a binding aesthetic norm: the straitjacket of dialectical composing. This dialectic has fallen into neglect today, not without giving rise to pangs of conscience, but all

the more thoroughly for that.

It is true that composers such as Hans Jürgen von Bose, Wolfgang Rihm, Wolfgang von Schweinitz, among others, do not constitute a group or school, belong to none of the centers of the New Music in Donaueschingen, Darmstadt, or Cologne, and they would certainly not be able to draw up a "neo-Romantic" manifesto. Nonetheless there are aspects of their attitude and work as composers which are comparable: all share an allergy to the constraints of serial music and tone-color composition, and all are trying to attain an integrative music.

Whether one studies their essays or listens to their lectures and confessions, the composers have little to say about the new beauties of their music (even though it is for these beauties that they are attacked), but they speak rather about human injuries and fears of isolation. Although one would prefer to describe the musical styles of this generation of composers as divergent, their literary testimonies reveal a series of common themes, which I would like now to discuss.

One such theme is the belief that the progress of the 1950s and 1960s, which produced a remarkable amount of material fetishism, was no progress at all. Wolfgang Rihm, who studied with Klaus Huber and Karlheinz Stockhausen, talks in this connection of a voluntary, nauseating castration of the composer. He means by that the loss of a conception of a compositional totality.[5]

Wolfgang Rihm pleads for an "unfathomable, clear, confused, and impassioned music, a music which is precise and astonished—as is human existence itself." He adds: "For me it is becoming more and more evident that my composing is not synonymous with my arranging, but that I express states of music itself when I jot something down. Not something which is on standby and at my disposal, but something at whose mercy I find myself, something which also imposes its state upon me and puts me in the position of having to make concrete this state. . . . Nothing, absolutely nothing, will relieve us of the burden of having to find our own language. The whole nostalgic fuss in all its sentimentality has shown how quickly the attempt to secure history fails, when one continues it with a thread that has already been used."[6]

Wolfgang Rihm's music, rich in gestures, does indeed reflect a human and artistic conception—music as a record of overwhelming emotions. It sounds as though it were composed amidst bursts of excitement, less in accordance with an overall formal plan or the logic of rigorous motivic connections, and more with its own instinctiveness, its musical-spiritual expansive force.

It is with considerable hesitancy and scepticism that Hans Jürgen von Bose evaluates the musical and spiritual possibilities of his generation: the socialized individual finds himself in a spiritual situation in which he knows neither what is necessary nor obligatory for him to do. There is a lack of instinct and a far-reaching loss of tradition, which leads to conformity and totalitarianism in our societies: either people decide blindly to desire what others desire, or else they carry out what is expected of them. The frightful

fashion of simply rigging up postserial structures in imitation points to such conformity. The serial dogma belongs to the category of totalitarianism. Such is von Bose's conviction.[8]

The loss of values on the part of Western societies and the resultant basic feeling of the meaninglessness of human existence—this basically passive attitude—cannot in the long run be countered by rediscovering the cheap romanticism of neo-tonal music. "What once distinguished tonal music, that is to say precisely, the flexibility of expression, the slightest variations that could be produced within the system—all that, so I believe, cannot again be achieved by a "neo" oriented music; at all events it has not, in my opinion, been achieved by this music up until now. It still remains reaction pure and simple, no matter how necessary this might have been at one time."[9]

According to von Bose, there are, however, certain possibilities for handling tonal music structures in order, for example, to formulate definite illusions, recollections of the past, and longings. Such work had led him to use tonal elements almost in a semantic sense, "such as in certain collages, in which even a form that belongs to tonality is quoted (as, for example, the introduction of a dance form or something similar). In retrospect it is difficult for me to verify two aspects of these works: firstly, these moments have a strangely subdued character; secondly, there is almost a feeling of embarrassment, perhaps the unconscious perception of an inadequacy, which, in the final analysis, is inherent in the vocabulary, an inadequacy which had led me virtually to conceal tonal elements in collages."[10]

Wolfgang von Schweinitz, who studied with Esther Ballou at the American University in Washington and with György Ligeti in Hamburg, suffers likewise from an allergy to the euphoric rationalism of the serial aesthetic and to the material fetishism of the 1960s, which trivialized the music medium and prostituted its sensory qualities. Like Wolfgang Rihm, von Schweinitz emphasizes the need in his generation for musical intensity; this intensity has become, so he states, the essence of their work and has taken over the function of constructive planning and the materialistic idea of technical innovation.

Von Schweinitz once described the role of harmony in his compositions in the following manner:

"In my harmonic style, the idea of tonality plays the central role of an allegory (set intuitively and communicating itself in a sensuous and spontaneous manner) for a language which is not yet alienated, psychically integrated, and harmonious. As utopia, it is the object of longing. Its nostalgic tendency—the identification of that which is sought after with that which is in the past—is understandable, in view of the gradual process of historical alienation."[11]

Von Schweinitz's harmonic style is not that of traditional tonal harmony: it is based on the antagonism of triad and cluster. Through the integration of these two elements, a tonal cluster-harmony is created. The cluster itself, whose primary function up to now has been to give form to neutral tone

surfaces, is given a new semantic content, now becoming the bearer of harmonic tension—for example in the sense of unresolved suspensions relating to an imaginary harmony. "By virtue of the fact that its degree of dissonance clearly emerges in the tonal context, the cluster assumes—in conjunction with an excessive use of microtones—the function of harmonic focusing and alienation. Thus a disillusionment with tonal utopias by means of estranged material creates a new expressive quality of harmony."[8]

The basis of such harmonic work is the recognition that a tonal utopia cannot in fact be realized, an insight which von Schweinitz believes to be lacking in the more recent American West Coast Music. The direct experience of harmony which would seem to be possible in that music is naively bought, according to von Schweinitz, at the cost of fleeing from reality. "Drugs offer only a sham solution, in which the psychic alienation—musically evident in (for example) the inhuman mechanisms of the structural patterns of this music—continues to exist untreated."

Wolfgang von Schweinitz would like to make music more human, would like to dissolve those material-mad compositional processes which in the 1950s and 1960s took possession not only of harmony, but also of melody, rhythm, and instrumentation, and which made uniform the instrumental tone-colors, or deprived rhythms of all corporeality. Today von Schweinitz is certainly not in search of regressive pseudosolutions but rather of that qualitative leap which makes it possible for his music to reconcile the living features of tradition with those of the deindividualized phase of the New Music. How that might come about, what new attitude to music would be necessary in order to promote such riches in truly integrative compositional works, will become evident from one final quotation taken from Wolfgang Rihm's lecture, "The Composer in Shock."

"We must thus endeavor to develop a new notion of synthesis, one which no longer boils down to the belief that everything can be linked with everything, but rather is nourished by the idea of integration. . . . Since music never depicts in the first instance, it is dependent on its own resources. But it does not have the confidence to be itself, and instead makes its appearance in the consequence of its own form. We are not unconsciously conscious of the indivisibility of form and sound. We are constantly attempting to formulate the one by means of the other. Naturally music possesses form constantly because it still has a beginning and an end. . . . In spite of that, form is more of an unavoidable result than the inevitable starting point of invention. Furthermore, every thought discovered in music creates its form for itself. Out of the language which the composer chooses, out of the ideas which provoke his utterances, from the wave-dynamic of the sound, from the relations of unplanned association there arises form in all distinctiveness, but once and only once, only for one piece. Everything else is academic."[9]

Wolfgang Rihm's confessions reflect a concept that has a fertile tradition in Germany, that of expressionism. One is dealing ultimately with an old, Romantic problem of how music becomes the sound of the subject or, in Hegeli-

an terms, how the subjective inner life is transformed into the medium of music. In any event, the demand set by Hegelian aesthetics is unrealized to this very day: "For insofar as it is the subjective inner life itself that aims to give the music meaning, not as outward form nor as objective work, but to reveal itself as subjective inwardness, the utterance must also immediately reveal itself to be the communication of a living subject, in which the latter invests all his individual inner life."

The claims raised by such composers take us a long way from the backwaters. In view of the complexity of our contemporary life, the appeal that we should shun the small-scale, specialized artistic solutions and face the totality of all that is possible today has been received worldwide. Only one who has analyzed history and who is firmly rooted in his own tradition can survive nowadays, as an artist.

NOTES

* A version of this paper was read at the German Academic Exchange Service Conference in Bloomington, Indiana, October 19–22, 1983 (see the conference report elsewhere in this issue).

[1] Carl Dahlhaus, "Vom Einfachen, vom Schönen, und vom einfach Schönen," *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik* 17 (1978): 33.

[2] Wolfgang Rihm, "Ins eigene Fleisch . . . (Lose Blätter über das Jungerkomponistsein)," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 140, no. 1 (January–February 1979): 6–8.

[3] Ibid., 176.

[4] Hans-Jürgen von Bose, "Suche nach einem neuen Schönheitsideal," *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik* 17 (1978): 35.

[5] Hans-Jürgen von Bose, "Versuch einer Bestimmung meines momentanen Standortes," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 140, no. 1 (January–February 1979): 10.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Wolfgang von Schweinitz, "Standort," *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 140, no. 1 (January–February 1979): 19.

[8] Ibid., 20.

[9] Wolfgang Rihm, "Der geschockte Komponist," *Darmstädter Beiträge zur Neuen Musik* 17 (1978): 46.

Transformational Analysis: An Essay Toward an Analytic Model*

By James L. Zychowicz

One of the best statements about present-day ideologies in musical analysis is offered by Leo Treitler.[1] Identifying the general characteristics of contemporary analysis, Treitler first describes a certain prerequisite order based

an terms, how the subjective inner life is transformed into the medium of music. In any event, the demand set by Hegelian aesthetics is unrealized to this very day: "For insofar as it is the subjective inner life itself that aims to give the music meaning, not as outward form nor as objective work, but to reveal itself as subjective inwardness, the utterance must also immediately reveal itself to be the communication of a living subject, in which the latter invests all his individual inner life."

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One of the best statements about present-day ideologies in musical analysis is offered by Leo Treitler.[1] Identifying the general characteristics of contemporary analysis, Treitler first describes a certain prerequisite order based

upon the perception of the whole. He continues by describing the following: a concentration upon melodic and harmonic features to the exclusion of other factors in a work such as timbre, rhythm, and text; a stratified or retrospective concept of musical analysis which does not account for the progressive nature of musical experience; a concentration upon the *a priori*—the composer's sketches or intentions or some generalized historical perspective—rather than the experience *a posteriori* of the listener; and the avoidance of any historical considerations in an attempt at rationalist description, even though such considerations underlie and are thus inseparable from analytic method.

> First, the point of view is holistic and unitarian. The work must be explicable in terms of a single principle, and every detail must be derivable from the idea of the whole. Second, the focus is mainly on pitch structures. . . . Third, the analytical perspective tends to be from the inside out, or from back to front, rather than from beginning to end. . . . Fourth, analysis seems to be of an *a priori*, rationalist nature. It proceeds from universals about how music works, more than it seeks to discover how musics work. . . . Finally, prevailing modes of structural analysis are anti-historical in two respects: they decontextualize their objects in their rationalistic treatment of them; and they are taught and practiced without notice of their historicality, or in general, of the role that particular models play in organization of understanding.

The goal of this paper is to briefly review some contemporary modes of analysis in light of Treitler's remarks and to suggest, again briefly, a new perspective on analysis, which I term "transformational."

Several current approaches to music analysis are founded on the concept of a single basic shape as the underlying source for a given composition. It is from such a basic shape that a work might be recomposed in analysis in order to provide some understanding of the inner workings of the music. This approach is found in the works of Heinrich Schenker and Arnold Schoenberg, among others.[3]

Any approach based upon the concept of a single shape seems, however, to create a system which inevitably becomes holistic, as Treitler describes it. Such a methodology demands that a structure be devised to show how the basic shape pervades the music. In doing so, it inevitably demonstrates how the various factors involved in the work combine as a whole to produce a single effect.

One means for studying music—a means that does not rely to as great a degree upon holistic concepts—is what I term componential analysis, a method of accounting for the various features of a work by organizing its parts according to some predetermined mold, according to traditional formal designations for example. Componential analysis involves separating the particular elements of a work, as if it were being catalogued. Such analysis

employs a formal-descriptive approach: it lists what is involved in the music without necessarily explaining its integration into the musical experience.

Analysis along these lines contributes information about the music, but it does not serve as a basis for a thorough understanding of the processes involved in the art. In some respects, componential analysis deals with the "what" of music but never allows for a full exploration of the "how." It seems necessary to move away from the form-and-content framework of the componential approach and establish some basis for discussing the processes of music.

An exploration of the processes which operate in a musical work would reveal more about how the various elements of music work together to produce a certain effect. Since none of the factors involved with the music operate independently of each other, an understanding of the processes would reveal the way these factors are fused and blended in the music. The study of process need not suppose, however, a holistic frame of reference.

Schenkerian analysis explores the processes of a musical work, albeit from just such a holistic perspective. In a similar way, Arnold Schoenberg posits an approach based upon a *Grundgestalt*, a concept which resembles Schenker's idea of the *Ursatz* to a degree. According to Schoenberg, an initial generative musical thought pervades a work. The *Grundgestalt* is not limited to melodic or harmonic dimensions; the rhythmic, timbral, and textural aspects of this basic shape may also be traced throughout the musical composition.

Interpreting this concept in *Beyond Orpheus*, David Epstein states that the parameters of the *Grundgestalt* encompass every aspect of music.[3] Any of the qualities peculiar to the basic shape are open to analysis. These qualities become a generating force in the perception of the work, and they may be analyzed according to an inherent dynamic process.

In such a way, a whole, a unity may be seen to proceed from the *Grundgestalt*. It is as if the basic shape is constantly translated as the details of the music unfold according to the creative will of the composer. This sense of wholeness and unity need not restrict itself to issues of harmony and melody. Much broader ideas of style may be inferred from the way a basic shape is extrapolated throughout the work.

This interpretation of the concept of *Grundgestalt* suggests a shift from the *a priori* to the *a posteriori* experience of music, to the perception of the listener, which Treitler alludes to. Rather than treat artworks as the product of the composer alone, the music becomes an entity that exists just as crucially in the perception of the listener, in the process of listening. The application of the *Grundgestalt* idea to analysis provides a model of the artwork as a continuously transformed entity limited only by the nature of the basic shape.

Analysis based on the idea of the *Grundgestalt* would offer an investigative tool that is not so stratified as the Schenkerian model. An analytical model based on such a concept would be restricted only by the nature of the basic shape inherent in the composition being studied. As such, the exploration of

the music need not result in a structure entirely governed by a harmonic-melodic bias; analysis instead allows for a much broader representation of musical experience.

With analysis founded on the concept of a basic shape, it is important to specify precisely just what is involved in the musical structure. This approach being more open-ended than those of other methodologies, the necessary terminology must be made extremely clear. In this respect, the basic shape itself must be regarded as something directly related to the remembered image of the music. Instead of a chronology of what happens with the elements of the piece, the structure derived from the *Grundgestalt* should represent the overall effect of the music. Such an effect would be synchronous—a byproduct of, rather than equal to, a diachronic representation of the events involved with the work.

Analysis proceeding from the concept of the basic shape would be something other than a list of events, as exemplified by approaches such as the "implication-realization" model of Eugene Narmour.[1] Instead, if it were viewed as a network of causes and effects applicable to a given composition, analysis based on the *Grundgestalt* would be integrally bound to the context of the piece, a context which shapes and determines such a network. Ultimately, the manner in which a basic shape pervades a work would illustrate the context. In this sense, the basic shape cannot be isolated from the experience of the music, as often occurs in more stratified approaches.

Rather than content itself with the identification of elements involved in the basic shape and in the perception of the music, a transformational analysis would attempt to describe those elements by examining the ways in which the basic shape is manipulated by the composer. The basic shape may exist as an abstraction, but as such, it lacks specificity. The analyst must consider how the shape is borne out in the work itself.

In this respect, specific rules of transformation would emerge for a given piece. These rules may, for example, elucidate some pattern in the repetition of a musical idea throughout a work. The pattern derived need not conform to more traditional formal structures: it may be peculiar to the work itself, and thereby offer insights which would not have been found if a more traditional approach were used.

When studied through transformational analysis a musical work would not become bound to *a priori* expectations. The work would provide its own context instead of relying upon the dictates of a generalized historical-analytical perspective. Treating analysis in such a way, of course, does not remove historical considerations from formal study; it would, however, remove those historical considerations which posit an external or artificial *a priori*.

Several concepts seem crucial to an analytical framework based upon the transformation of a basic shape: the concept of wholeness, the idea of a transformational process operant within a work, and some self-regulatory rules of transformation which elucidate the context of the music. In such a way, a transformational approach has the potential for treating each piece as a self-

contained system.[5]

In transformational analysis, the delineation of the basic shape would require synthesizing many diverse aspects of musical experience, and such a synthesis would involve different kinds of musical knowledge. The perception of a basic shape requires not only a technical knowledge of the work, but also an understanding of its affective and interpretive dimensions. It is not desirable to describe or analyze the basic shape solely in technical terms, because the affective and interpretive as well as the technical domains—although they may be separated in principle—influence the basic shape in a combined fashion. One cannot discuss the affective dimension of music, for example, without venturing into the interpretive; at the same time, the interpretive cannot be always removed from the technical. A discussion of the technical aspects of music which does not contain any reference to the interpretive and affective domains would seem to deny the complete experience involved in a work of art. Analysis founded upon the idea of a basic shape should reflect both the technical details of the work and the experience of the listener. Such an approach should identify both the details peculiar to a given piece and the processes which fuse those details into the musical whole.

By analyzing on levels of understanding other than the sheerly technical, transformational analysis would provide a means for expressing the individuality of the music. Such an approach would provide a means for departing from an expression of, as Treitler states, the "universals of how music works," and provide a means "to discover how musics work."

NOTES

*The term, transformational, as it is used in this essay, bears no intentional resemblance to Noam Chomsky's linguistic theories of a transformational grammar. This article represents some aspects of a study in style analysis made with Dr. Ruth K. Inglefield at the College of Musical Arts of Bowling Green State University (Bowling Green, Ohio) between 1979 and 1982. While the essay offers several points of arrival, it is by no means a final statement.

[1]Leo Treitler, "Structural and Critical Analysis," in *Musicology in the 1980s*, ed. D. Kern Holoman and Claude Palisca (New York: Da Capo Press, 1982), 73–74.

[2]In my unpublished master's thesis I summarize several related approaches to analysis. James L. Zychowicz, "Style Analysis: Critique and Methodology," (Master's thesis, Bowling Green State University, 1981), 22–37.

[3]David Epstein, *Beyond Orpheus: Studies in Music Structure* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1980), 17–21.

[4]Eugene Narmour, *Beyond Schenkerism: The Need for Alternatives in Music Analysis* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1977), 122–26.

[5]These are conditions that Jean Piaget sets forth in his definition of structuralism in *Structuralism*, Chaninah Maschler, trans. and ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 3–16.

Leon Plantinga. ***Romantic Music: A History of Musical Style in Nineteenth-Century Europe.*** **Norton Introduction to Music History.** New York: W.W. Norton, 1984.

Romantic Music by Leon Plantinga fulfills its primary mission. As one of six books that will constitute the Norton Introduction to Music History, it addresses a largely predetermined audience, namely, students of music history at colleges or conservatories and harried doctoral candidates on the lookout for an up-to-date survey of nineteenth-century music. Such readers ought to welcome Plantinga's effort, so well has he kept their needs in view. Their satisfaction is all but guaranteed, for the firm of W. W. Norton knows this market, having over the years acquired (in the words of Joseph Kerman) "a corner on 'official' musicological texts."[1] Some notable attributes of *Romantic Music* are those suggested by the term *official*—factual certitude, the appearance of evenhandedness, and the voicing of established opinion.

Beyond its general usefulness and authoritative tone, Plantinga's work can be recommended for its diversified plan. Of the several possible approaches—the organizing of his subject matter by chronology or by geography, around great men, predominant genres, or prevailing stylistic trends, through a focus on emblematic compositions or on social or cultural developments—Plantinga has chosen not one but all. That is, he lets one approach rule here and another there. The subject headings of the eleven chapters following his introduction (chapter one) indicate this. Five of his chapters highlight the importance of influential masters (chapters two through four, Beethoven; chapter eight, Schumann; chapter nine, Wagner). Three define themselves in terms of genres (chapter five, the *Lied* through Schubert; chapters six and ten, opera). Chapter seven covers "Paris from 1830 to 1848," whereas the last two encompass broader territory—"Nationalist Music" and "Crosscurrents in the Late Century."[2] Within chapters and subsections the topics gain additional significance by their discriminating placement; Plantinga is especially skilled at linking one subject to another.

Of course any history that takes in a whole continent and a whole century will be occasionally forced to jumble the march of time, to discuss *Parsifal* before *Nabucco*, for example, or Puccini before Brahms. Only the contents of chapter eleven, "Nationalist Music," cause any uneasiness in this connection. Here, having dealt in the preceding chapter with works by Vincent d'Indy (d. 1931) and Pietro Mascagni (d. 1945) among others, the author introduces such musicians as Friedrich Kuhlau (d. 1832), Henry Bishop (d. 1855), Franz Berwald (d. 1868), Jan Bedřich Kittl (d. 1868), and Mikhail

Glinka (d. 1857), each entering under his nation's banner. The pianist-composer Maria Szymanowska (1789–1831), who toured from Russia to Britain in her day, appears under the heading "Poland," though her fellow countryman Chopin has figured at length in the Paris chapter about 150 pages earlier.

The reader's misgivings, aroused by these dislocations, may grow when he sees how the gauging of national character in music has narrowed the frame of reference in this part of the book. In sixty-five pages chapter eleven must come to terms with the achievements of Smetana, Dvořák, Musorgsky, Rimsky-Korsakov, Tchaikovsky, and Grieg. This effort is hampered by being enveloped in a discourse on lesser nationalistically inclined composers, that is, on a legion of musicians active during the nineteenth century in ten different countries. Consequently, the book's richness of organization seems diminished in this chapter.

If diverse interrelations generally control the succession of topics in *Romantic Music*, a comparable flexibility shows itself in Plantinga's straightforward style of writing. In his hands difficult and potentially boring matters become both accessible and attractive. Though his manner is smoothly impersonal, Plantinga is not afraid to appear censorious on a few occasions. Thus he points out some "vaguely awkward" moments in Beethoven's *Fidelio* (page 47) and calls Robert Franz's attempts to modernize the music of J. S. Bach "this unfortunate work" (page 258).

The design of the volume is as pleasing as Plantinga's style. Abundant and diversified musical illustrations are distributed through the text, providing the author with a ready means of forwarding his arguments. The examples are clearly printed, explicitly labeled, and placed as near as possible to the comments on them. Less praiseworthy is the spotty treatment given the words in the vocal excerpts; no rule governs the problem of whether to translate foreign languages and, if so, how literally. A few accidentals are missing from the examples, a clef is misplaced, and in at least five of their headings the number of measures they contain is misrepresented.

Romantic Music boasts more than a hundred pictures, many of which are not just decorative but immediately useful, since they relate directly to the text. Besides the expected depictions of celebrated musicians and scenes of music making, the book offers its readers landscapes and battle paintings, posters and title pages. Perhaps least appropriate to a study of nineteenth-century music are several photographs of twentieth-century opera productions. The care that was taken in selecting the illustrations has to some extent been defeated by the small size to which each is reduced. Certain choice autograph pages fade into illegibility as a result. Faced with such miniaturization, one longs for fewer but larger and clearer pictures.

A "List of Illustrations" is printed on pages vii to x, and from it the reader gets a foretaste of the carelessness with which details have been handled in putting the book together. Two pictures are not entered on the list, and for five the specified page is wrong. Credit for one illustration goes to the "*Ri-*

chard-Schumann-Haus, Zwickau." In sum, twenty or so items on the list include mistakes or conflict in substance with the captions carried by the pictures themselves.

Indeed, throughout *Romantic Music* copyediting and proofreading appear to have been botched. Proper names and titles take on puzzling forms: Mendlessohn (pp. vii, 252, n. 36, and 253), *Tänshäuser* (pp. ix and 265), Heilingenstadt (p. 15), E. T. A. Hoffman (p. 20), Nicholas Johann [van Beethoven] (p. 26), Mac Ardle (p. 32, n. 12), Paisello (p. 133), *Aenied* (p. 207), Eichendorf (p. 235), Adolf Berhard Marx (p. 248, n. 31), *Die Götterdammerung* (p. 293), Bortnyansy (p. 363), and Stefan Georg (p. 456).[3] Everyday English words also suffer misspelling, as the evidence of *correspondances* (p. 200), *adument* (p. 235), and *predominante* (p. 267) makes clear. Numerals—dates in particular—are too often askew.[4] Some verbal errors can perhaps occasion a smile, as, for instance, certain attempts at fractured French: *Société nationale de music* (p. 441), *Institute nationale* (p. 442), and *tragedy lyrique* (p. 467). And should "Schubertiade" (pp. viii and 126) be understood to mean a soft drink popular in Vienna during the 1820s? "Ridi, pagliacco," as page 325 says.

The lesser arts of capitalization, italicization, and hyphenation, the spelling out of numbers, the use of initials rather than first names, the transliteration of Russian words, the inclusion of diacritical marks, and consistent footnote citations are handled with no greater skill. The reader can only guess at what went wrong in the production process. Surely, given time the employees of W. W. Norton could have untangled these matters, could have adopted standard usages, corrected typos, and checked doubtful spellings and dates. But perhaps the book was sent to the printer with reckless dispatch.

Near the end of *Romantic Music*, followed only by a slim yet useful index,[5] a substantial bibliography of perhaps nine hundred titles appears. In filling almost a tenth of the volume and in being set in type no smaller than the rest of the book, this section receives a privileged treatment. Most of its contents, thirty-seven of its forty-six pages in fact, are entered under composers' names. At first glance these lists may seem no more than distillations of bibliographies available in *The New Grove Dictionary*, to which every student will have easy access; the inclusion of many recently published items, however, makes this observation unfair. The form of the entries accommodates all the needed information and more.[6]

In *Romantic Music* Plantinga has tried to subdue a huge mass of fact and comment to the governance of some recurring themes. The overall sweep of his material is extraordinary. "In this book I seek to give an account of art music in nineteenth-century Europe" (page xi); this, the first sentence of the preface, indicates Plantinga's subject more accurately than does the title *Romantic Music: A History of Musical Style in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. In Plantinga's account no single-minded concentration on romanticism controls the discourse, nor does the book constitute an episode in the history of musical

style. Several other topics compete with these to give cohesion to the story that Plantinga tells.

Chapter one sets forth the themes that will have abiding interest. Among the subsections of this introduction are three that discuss, respectively, "The Composer's Training," "Historicism in Music," and "Music, Patronage, and the Public." Around such topics large quantities of information can gather in the course of the book. So, for instance, when short biographies of illustrious composers appear, the facts about musical training are found in each, and substantiating details thereby fill out the summary notion of how late and how fitfully many of the very best nineteenth-century composers were trained. In every epoch self-education has been vouchsafed to genius at all stages of life, but in the nineteenth century it became almost an obligation.

"Historicism in Music" refers mainly to the impress made by music of the near and distant past on that of the nineteenth century. Under "Music, Patronage, and the Public" Plantinga outlines the conditions that had developed up to *ca.* 1800 with respect to musical institutions and concert life, piano manufacturing and music publishing, composers' employment, and the like. The follow-through given these topics later in the book is variable. *Romantic Music* devotedly tracks down the influence of Bach and Beethoven; they reappear often, sometimes to inspire and sometimes to hinder their awed successors. But several topics to which attention is directed in chapter one come to less than their introduction—or their importance—warrants.

Music publishing is a case in point. The entrepreneurs who controlled this business managed both to shape the tastes of music lovers and to guide the activities of the composer. In relation to composing they carried out some of the functions earlier filled by courtly and ecclesiastical patronage, and could see themselves as surrogates for the public. The way composers adapted to publishing practices might affect even the formal contours of pieces.[3] And when careers of nineteenth-century masters are described, publishers should enter the picture as friends as well as musical advisors. For example, not to mention the Ricordi family and firm is to pass over a key ingredient in the lives of both Verdi and Puccini.

The publisher afforded the composer a link to a large public, which embraced many amateur musicians. As customers they consumed a wide array of transcriptions and arrangements and also much "easy music" in its original state. Middle-class interest and participation in music constituted a kind of sea on which the professional musician might float. Home music making attracts little notice in *Romantic Music*, though amateur singing groups both large and small are touched on. Four-hand music as well as solo piano pieces destined for home use deserve attention on the basis of intrinsic merit alone. No one is likely to miss Wilhelm Taubert's *Minnelieder* or Theodor Kirchner's many piano works, but Schubert's four-hand pieces, Beethoven's *Bagatelles*, and Mendelssohn's *Songs without Words* are regrettable absentees. Their inclusion by Plantinga would in some small measure balance the fullness and care

with which the dazzling world of pianistic virtuosity is treated.

As was mentioned, the piano itself—its manufacture and capabilities—for a time becomes Plantinga's topic near the beginning of the book. Here what receives discussion is more the undertaking of Johann Andreas Stein than that of Steinway & Sons, but *Romantic Music* throughout favors the piano above all other instruments (so, of course, did the nineteenth century). In striking contrast, Plantinga assigns no space either to the adopting of valves by trumpet and horn or to the remarkable inventions of Theobald Boehm and Adolphe Sax. Nor does the flourishing of conservatories as training grounds for instrumentalists draw his attention. While he carefully demonstrates how certain composers of orchestral music wrought their purposes through intricate calculations of sound, Plantinga neglects the technological and social circumstances that made such calculations possible.

The coverage that *Romantic Music* gives to the splendid violinists and pianists of the century has no counterpart with respect to singers. Aside from Jenny Lind, the only opera stars mentioned are those who married leading composers. One knows how closely tied to opera production were such masters as Weber, Wagner, and Verdi and how knowledgeable the successful opera composer had to be concerning the vocal resources available to him. Introducing Giulia Grisi, Wilhelmine Schröder-Devrient, Adolphe Nourrit, Pauline Viardot, Ludwig Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Francesco Tamagno, or comparable figures would serve two purposes. One would be to show the reader how potential casting and the demands of a role may interact even as an opera is being written. The other would be to underline the fact that an opera is not as determinate an artwork as is a symphony or string quartet. (Opera revisions by Wagner and Verdi are commonly regarded as normal acts of invention, while symphonic revisions by Schumann and Bruckner appear on their face to be signs of confusion.)

In chapter one the prehistory of nineteenth-century concert life fills a page or two, but *Romantic Music* too seldom turns back to this subject. Scattered information is given about available concert halls and concert series, old and new. But as to the size of concert halls, the frequency of concerts, their financing and patronage, the length and makeup of programs, the social and economic status of orchestral musicians—as to all of this, one must look elsewhere.

On the other hand, the reader of *Romantic Music* can learn much about nineteenth-century views on music's expressive meaning and intent. The introductory chapter contains a section on "Musical Aesthetics," and in it Plantinga has occasion to remark that in Schopenhauer's scheme of things "art does duty for both metaphysics and religion" (page 14). Though Plantinga does not pursue at length the ramifications of this exalted opinion of art, they might be discovered to have had a strong effect on the world of music making. To the extent that art in the nineteenth century became a proxy for religion the concert, the recital, or the opera performance functioned as a sacred service. In this regard the extreme was probably reached

within the precincts of Bayreuth. Yet something of the same attitude may lie behind the importance that music as enactment attained in this age before the recording of sound. In playing pieces from what was becoming a standard repertory, performers gave listeners their interpretation of ordained texts. Or they spoke in tongues, *i.e.*, improvised. The esteem and even veneration felt by the nineteenth-century public for gifted performers and their calling tell much about what music itself at the time was understood to be.

Romantic Music neatly pinpoints the most celebrated performer and composer pairs: Johann Michael Vogl and Schubert, Clara Wieck and Schumann, Joseph Joachim and Brahms. But the broader picture of interdependency among the makers of music—that is, between those who conceived it and those who performed it—remains shadowy at best. During the nineteenth century "getting performances" was a major challenge to the composer, since no fixed chain of production, so to speak, effortlessly established itself. In view of this unsure situation the desire or need to seek out conducting engagements, an impulse felt by many masters, can be seen as a compensatory response.

More persistent interest in the mechanisms and practices of performance might have led Plantinga to relate this area to those that *Romantic Music* has covered fairly intensively. By this means more light could have been thrown, say, on the late nineteenth-century careers of those two powerful immortals, Beethoven and Bach. In speaking of Mahler's First Symphony, Plantinga remarks on how the work shows "the spector [sic] of Beethoven's achievement" still haunting "symphonic composers of the period" (page 452). *Romantic Music* has said nothing about the interpretive revolution in the rendering of established orchestral pieces that Wagner and his well-placed conducting allies had tried to bring about. Thus the reader is not told that the Beethoven who haunted Mahler was in some respects a very different composer from the one who, according to this book, had earlier spooked Schubert. The oft-appearing figure of Bach would likewise acquire clearer lineaments were greater attention given to organ building and organ playing. This would point to Paris, where Bach held the allegiance of many in the late nineteenth century. Plantinga ably traces his influence in the music of Saint-Saëns and Franck. But nothing is said as to how the capabilities of contemporary Parisian organs and organists helped to reshape Bach's image. (What emerged was a turn-of-the-century hero, Bach the "musician-poet" of the organ loft.)

Here French musical interests are passed over. Not that this is the only time in *Romantic Music* that France is slighted. German music inescapably forms the core of the book, and Italian music has, with rough justice, been consigned to sections on opera. But where does one fit certain categories of French music—the stage works of Adolphe Adam, François-Adrien Boïeldieu, and, later, Léo Delibes, the "oriental" compositions of Félicien David, the piano pieces of Alkan, the songs of Henri Duparc, and the varied output of Edouard Lalo? *Romantic Music*'s answer to this question is "nowhere." In

this history ballet and pre-1850 opéra comique are largely brushed aside, and in any history singular minor masters like Alkan and Duparc are hard to place.

For the second half of the nineteenth century subdivision by genres seems inappropriate, if not invalid. After all, genres are socially and institutionally determined entities that had by this time lost much of their cohesion and stability. Devoting sections to the outstanding figures is wisely accepted by Plantinga as the best alternative, though in such a scheme the inclusion of second-rank composers of whatever nationality becomes problematic. The historian's dilemma here arises mainly from the period's belief in the supremacy of individual genius.

In *Romantic Music* the second half of the century is given much less space than the first. The author makes clear one reason for this, since his preface states that the innovative ferment of the 1890s will be discussed in the twentieth-century volume of the Norton series. Moreover, Plantinga's cast of mind is such that he feels compelled to explicate origins, as befits a historian. Given this tendency, he cannot help but grant a fuller exposition to what falls earlier in the century. Rarely but significantly, musicians active mainly in the late eighteenth century appear to oust some of their own nineteenth-century successors from the spotlight. So, among composers of *Lieder*, Johann Rudolf Zumsteeg (1760–1802) and Johann Friedrich Reichardt (1752–1814) have their works discussed and exemplified, while the songs of Adolf Jensen (1837–1879) and Peter Cornelius (1824–1874) go unmentioned.

Yet in the end one can only be impressed with how much ground Plantinga has contrived to cover. Each major composer receives his due; his life along with his musical outlook and achievements is presented concisely and with no sense that a mere grab bag of facts is being offered. Into these presentations Plantinga sensitively weaves the composers' own words along with those of critics and other writers of the time (even Mark Twain is quoted). Minor masters are thoughtfully dealt with, often in relation to the influences and trends that made themselves felt in the primary genres. In short, much of *Romantic Music*'s strength lies in putting the composers and the repertory into the most telling perspective.

Romantic Music contains abundant analytical commentary, some of it focused on the short excerpts appearing as the book's musical illustrations, the rest directed at a number of complete works, scenes, or movements.* The author's preface itself gives notice that analytical discussion will bulk much larger than is usual in this kind of comprehensive music history. The way in which Plantinga has intermingled the historical approach with a close examination of single works or passages shows him to be in agreement with Carl Dahlhaus's assertion that it is not enough

> to piece together analytical remarks on art works like so many stones in a mosaic and to call the resulting view of the past 'history', but it is

equally inappropriate to resort to cultural, intellectual or social history, which may well link facts into historical narrative but only at the exorbitant price of reducing works of art to their documentary value.[3]

To get a sense of Plantinga's analytical methods one can sample four or five applications of them. Naturally, alternate approaches to Plantinga's come to mind, though whether they would suit the purposes of *Romantic Music* has to be decided through a case-by-case appraisal. At any event, the very fullness and diversity of the book's musical examples stimulate the reader to ponder analytical explanations that Plantinga would have no room for.

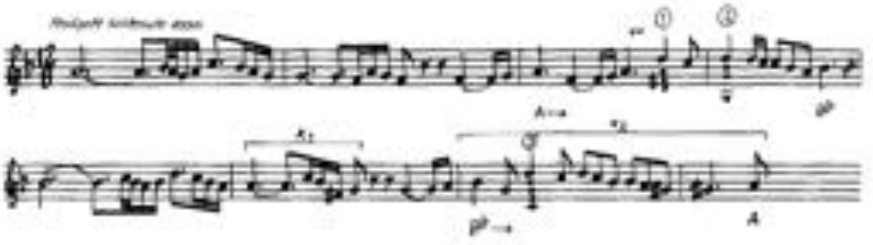
As one example, *Romantic Music* supplies the opening eight-measure strain of the cavatina "Casta diva" from Bellini's *Norma* printed in piano-vocal score. These eight measures, Plantinga says,

> are built from exactly symmetrical two-measure modules, each finishing with a feminine cadence whose resolution (except for the last one) is decorated with typical ornamentation. The vocal part as a whole is also laden with ornament. The first two measures of melody are at root only a descent from A to F, the second two an ascent from A to B-flat; the rest is all embellishment. (page 141)

These statements speak to an important point, but they could leave the impression that a sinuous melody like this one is largely indescribable, that its twists and turns have only local significance and no larger consequences. To disabuse the reader one might specify that the second two-measure module, the rise from A to B-flat, presents in all its detail a contour that is reshaped in the fourth module, now to become a descent from B-flat to A (see ex. 1; note that the four "symmetrical two-measure modules" vary in length and begin and end sometimes on a weak beat, sometimes on a strong). The contours of the first and third module in their turn are identical except for the fresh cadential move closing the third. This feature (x_1 in ex. 1), transposed up a second and rhythmically enlarged, underlies the end of the fourth module (x_2), with the presence of the only chromatic alterations in the melody heightening the kinship between the two endings. In the issue, the approach to the last cadence combines two different explicit back references. Here and elsewhere in "Casta diva" what appears as embellishment nonetheless has a structural function.

Looking beyond the aria's melody to the accompaniment as well, Plantinga says, "Harmonically the example is simplicity itself. . . . There is nothing here to distract the listener's attention from sensuous, eminently singable melody" (page 141). Though the harmony may not deflect attention from the melodic line, its meaning is inseparable from it. The four phrases of the melody are carried forward on cresting wavelets of dissonance and chromaticism. (Wagner did not deny his deepest musical inclinations in warming to Bellini for a time.) At the heart of the harmonic idiom of "Casta diva" is the reinterpretation of certain scale degrees, sustained or recurring, as when the

high D appears successively as the root, fifth, and ninth of the supporting chord (see points one, two, and three in ex. 1). In the opening bars, the mediant A receives a like treatment. This chordal reorienting of the mediant degree colors many noteworthy moments of "romantic" harmony, the foremost among them being the technique's *locus classicus*, Liszt's *Liebestraum* No. 3. One might expect Plantinga somewhere to comment on this technique, for he more than once speaks of common-tone modulation, which is in a sense an extension of the same procedure.



Example 1. Bellini, "Casta diva."

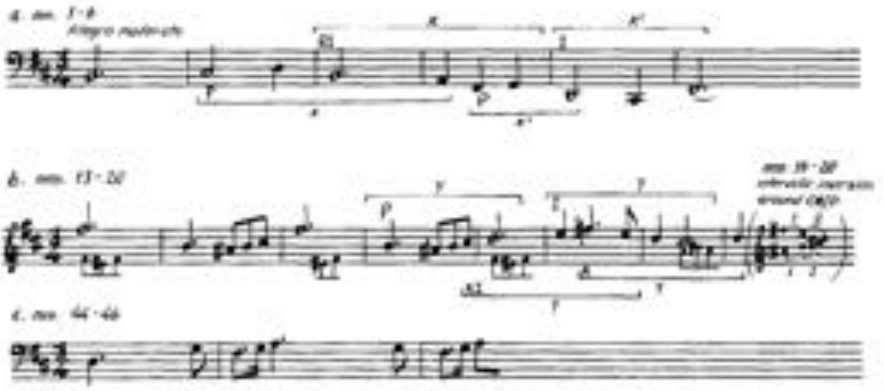
Plantinga tends to give a closer examination to selected concert works by the great Austro-German symphonists than that granted "Casta diva." The contrast in treatment shows itself, for instance, when he discusses certain components of Schubert's *Unfinished* Symphony. Of the melodies partially set out in ex. 2 he writes: "These themes are . . . related by distinct motivic connections; disjunct melodic motion with prominent leaps of a fourth or fifth, as well as a rising three-note stepwise motion, are important features of all three" (pages 86–87). The likeness between two of the melodies can be more precisely specified, as the alignment of ex. 2b with ex. 2c suggests. The aligned notes fall on the same scale steps, given the keys of the two themes.

Of Schubert's exploitation of the themes Plantinga writes: "His materials simply do not lend themselves very well to Beethovenian treatment. All three melodies of this movement have a lyrical, 'closed' character; they are more like finished products than raw material suitable for rigorous development" (page 87). But are these themes any more self-contained than a number of celebrated themes by Beethoven? Among others, the main themes of three first movements, those of the *Emperor* Concerto, the *Archduke* Trio, and the Seventh Symphony, demonstrate otherwise.[9] The harmonic underpinnings of a theme may prevent it from achieving closure; that shown in ex. 2b, a passage for which *Romantic Music* prints all the voices, provides just such a case. Of course, the road by which the harmony veers from an opening in B minor to a D-major cadence is signaled in advance, albeit ambiguously. That is to say, the F-natural and B-flat that hint at D *minor* find their way prepared by having earlier been given prominence in their enharmonically opposite guises of E-sharp and A-sharp.

If this is the sort of harmonic nicety that a book like *Romantic Music* can

justifiably pass by, so too perhaps are certain facts about the melodies in ex. 2a and ex. 2b. Behind the "lyrical" surface of each lies an intervallic economy more extreme than that which Plantinga mentions. This characteristic can be inferred from the permutations of the bracketed melodic cells x, x′, and y. The appearances of y even create their own inversional field. It is, furthermore, suggestive that permutations of the same kind operate within the opening theme (measures 4–8) of Schubert's B-flat Piano Sonata, D. 960, which is another excerpt set forth and discussed in *Romantic Music*. But a comprehensive history textbook is probably not the place to ponder such fine points.

Plantinga devotes his greatest attention to the harmonic dimension of



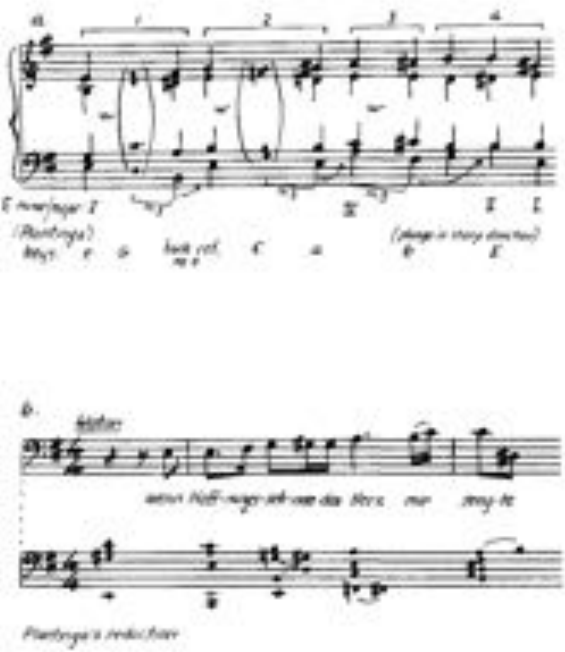
Example 2. Schubert, *Unfinished* Symphony, first movement.

nineteenth-century music. Sometimes he focuses closely on the makeup and connection of chords; sometimes he stands back in order to explain comprehensive harmonic plans. One can best judge his understanding of harmony by studying a passage that he treats in both its larger and its smaller dimensions. A suitable specimen is a sixteen-measure excerpt from Wagner's *Die Walküre*, namely, the passage in "Wotan's Farewell" beginning with the words "wenn Kampfeslust ein Kuss."[11] As a guide to this passage Plantinga provides a series of forty or so chords extracted from the orchestral parts. More than half of the chords, which are expressed in undifferentiated, stemless black notes, bear Roman numeral designations that give an account of five keys as they succeed one another. Plantinga describes the whole harmonic progression in these terms:

> Starting in E minor, this passage moves directly into G, its relative major, and then, after a fleeting reference back to E minor, to C, the subdominant of G. A tonally unstable passage centering around A minor

(relative minor of C) completes this exploration of the "natural" keys in the orbit of E minor. Then, at "webendem Bangen," a plunge in the sharp direction brings a series of harmonies pointing toward B minor, which in the major mode becomes the dominant leading back to E. (page 276)

Plantinga later states that "the key of E . . . dominates the passage" (page 277). Since he has already said of Wagner's mature harmonic style that "on both a local and long-range level, it expands upon the usual relationships of tonal harmony" (page 275), the reader might expect to be shown the means through which the key of E prevails during this particular sixteen-measure passage. It could be easily done. The excerpt falls into four phrases of four measures each, and the opening and closing chords of each unit operate to mark out one long progression in E (ex. 3a). In phrase four the next-to-last chord provides the structural dominant; in phrases one and two the next-to-last chords are involved in root progressions of a descending minor third and so provide a precedent for the framework of phrase three. Such a scheme as this might help the student to grasp why the passage sounds so much less unsettled than he or she might conclude it to be from Plantinga's harmonic reduction and prose description.



Example 3. Wagner, "Wotan's Farewell."

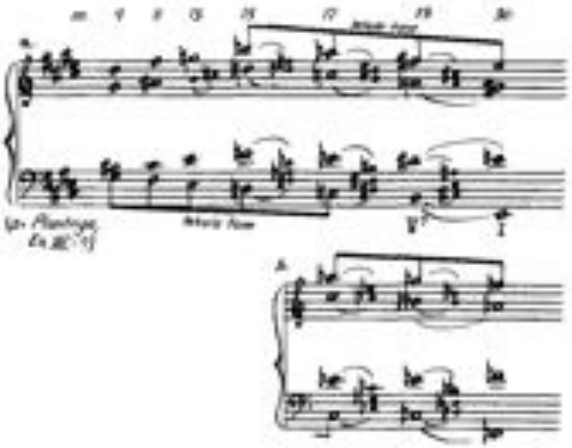
The top voice of the chords in ex. 3a has been modeled partly on the melodic ascent found in the first semiphrase of phrase three (ex. 3b). This measure and a half to some extent encapsulates the whole sixteen-measure passage up to the dominant chord. In this it is an instance of the mirroring on a small scale of a large-scale event, a technique cogently dealt with at several points in *Romantic Music*. At the same time, the move from the E chord to the F in this measure prefigures (at the whole step below) the "deceptive cadence" that links phrases three and four.

Perhaps the most harmonically fascinating music that Plantinga scrutinizes occurs in Liszt's *Sposalizio* from his *Années de Pèlerinage*. In explaining measures 9–19, Plantinga speaks of the whole-tone motion that "virtually obliterates any sense of tonality"; "the measures that follow reestablish E major" (page 188; see ex. 4a). But in fact the voice-leading and root progressions of the passage direct themselves inescapably to the key of F-flat (see ex. 4b). Such contradictions as this can be resolved only by the nineteenth century's near-total acceptance of equal temperament and of the enharmonic thinking that flows from it. *Romantic Music* wholly lacks a discussion of such "enharmonicism" and of the notational sleight of hand necessitated by it. More than one inviting opportunity to explain these matters awaits the analyst of *Sposalizio*. For instance, in measures 27–76 a harmonic plan regulated by rising minor thirds creates a symmetrical division of the octave; here four minor thirds miraculously make up not a diminished ninth but an octave.

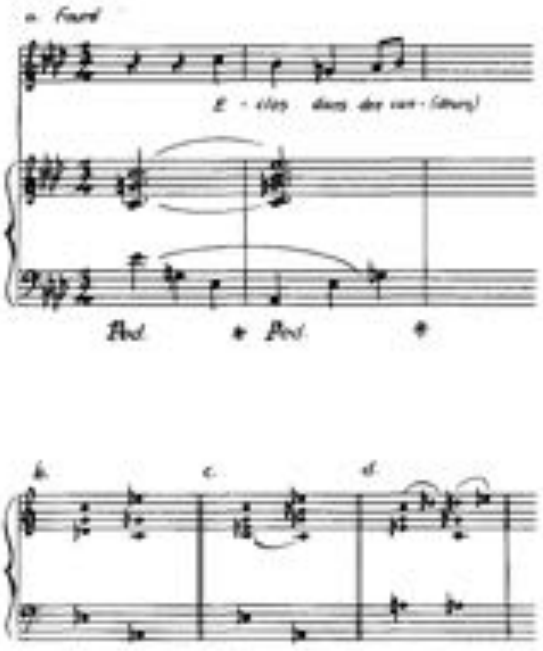
Romantic Music's attention to harmony continues through its last chapter, in which Fauré is singled out for his contributions to the impending idiom of French music around 1900. To make the point, Plantinga describes what is novel about some harmonies that occur in Fauré's song "Une Sainte et son auréole" (ex. 5a). One could, contrariwise, use these measures for a backward glance at nineteenth-century harmony by setting these chords (ex. 5c) between a harmonic cliché (ex. 5b) and a more complex progression (ex. 5d), which the chapter on Wagner has subjected to close inspection. So much alike and yet so distinctive, ex. 5c and ex. 5d could almost serve as touchstones for the divergent French and German harmonic usages current near the close of the nineteenth century.

In *Romantic Music* harmonic progressions on the largest scale, harmonic layouts coextensive with form, are seen to govern whole pieces or movements. Plantinga repeatedly outlines a given composition by coordinating its key scheme with its distribution of themes. Most of his longer analytical descriptions, whose subjects represent all the predominant vocal and instrumental genres, rest on this kind of segmentation. Sonata-form movements especially get this treatment, to which in general they yield well.

Early in *Romantic Music* Plantinga lays the groundwork for his subsequent discussions of sonata-allegro pieces by diagraming the prototypical sonata form. Here one omission symptomizes a shortcoming in his approach: no telltale squiggle indicates harmonic instability following the recapitulation's initial return to the tonic. Within the recapitulation the regaining of the tonic



Example 4. Liszt, *Sposalizio.*



Example 5.

foe the "second theme area" is ordinarily the crucial harmonic event. The listener and the analyst alike must be alert to catch what occurs at this juncture, whether it be a recomposed "bridge" or a more elaborate "secondary development" (to use Charles Rosen's terminology).[9] And by thinking of how on occasion the secondary development can become primary, the

reader might penetrate further into some of the works described in *Romantic Music*. For instance, the scherzo of Mendelssohn's Piano Trio in D Minor, Opus 49, a movement to which Plantinga does not apply the label *sonata form*, might from this angle reveal a new face.

Throughout his book Plantinga's treatment of harmony and form is so generous that by comparison melody, rhythm, and texture may appear to be neglected. But the descriptive commentary on major works often contains ad hoc insights into these subjects. To go farther afield, to formulate generalizations as to the practices and trends of nineteenth-century music in these areas, might have been foolhardy. Perhaps, though, the reader should be referred to authors who have developed conclusions on these topics as they touch nineteenth-century music—for instance, Bence Szabolcsi on melody, Edward T. Cone on rhythm, and Rosen on both texture and rhythm.[3]

Romantic Music achieves a fine balance between its descriptive analyses and its historical discourse—perhaps inevitably, a balance rather than a synthesis. Asking for more is to mistake Plantinga's intentions. He is writing for neither specialist-scholars nor would-be deep thinkers; his book deserves to be received with respect and satisfaction by a much larger group of readers than these. Certainly it has flaws in both production and presentation. But through its inclusiveness, its deft organization, and its judicious tone *Romantic Music* effectively delivers the account of nineteenth-century music that it promised.

—*Christopher Hatch*

NOTES

[1] Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 59.

[2] The geographical basis upon which the contents of these two chapters are separated shows Plantinga for the most part observing a distinction between peripheral countries, the homelands of "nationalist music," and a European mainstream, in which the "crosscurrents" of German and French music are situated. This distinction has recently been brought into question by Richard Taruskin in his article "Some Thoughts on the History and Historiography of Russian Music," *Journal of Musicology* 3 (1984): 321–39.

[3] Other mistakes in names are the following. Each name is given first as it appears in *Romantic Music* and then in its corrected form. P. 111, n. 1—Philippe/Philipp; p. 144—Phillipe/Philippe; p. 148—le Jouy/de Jouy; p. 152, n. 21—George/Georg; p. 153, n. 26—Edward/Eduard; pp. 155, 177, and 411—Theodore/Theodor; p. 186—*Pélerinage*/*Pilgrimage*; p. 186—Senancour/Sénancour; p. 205—Anton/Antoine; p. 209—Paul/Pierre; p. 214—Étienne Alexandre/Alexandre Étienne; p. 228—Ernestina/Ernestine; p. 248—Fuzili/Fuseli; p. 334—*Herodiade*/*Hérodiade*; p. 338—*Salammbo*/*Salammbô*; p. 392—Fredrik Vilhelm/ *usually called* Ludvig; p. 393—Johann/Johan; p. 395—Bjoernson/Björnson; p. 403—Ramon/Ramón; p. 412—Edward *and* Edvard/Eduard; p. 431—*Gesange*/*Gesänge*; p. 458—August/Auguste.

[4] The following are some errors of this sort. The correction is given after the number as it appears in *Romantic Music*. P. 4—1760/1762; p. 31—K. 96/K. 464; p. 43, n. 25—34/37; p. 84—m. 72/mm. 72–73; p. 110—from 1777/perhaps as early as 1780; p. 116—1727/1726; p. 116—1752/1747; p. 144—1790–75/1708–75; p. 150—1748–88/1722–95; p. 208, n. 33—493/593; p. 390—1915/1921; p. 400—1929/1924. Two important events wrongly dated in *Romantic Music* are, first (p. 273), Wagner's completion of the music of *Siegfried* in its first draft (not 1857, but 1869) and, second (p. 446), the première of Debussy's *L'Après-midi* (not 1896, but 1894).

[5] In the index some misspellings have been carried forward from the text, and some new ones have been added (*e.g.*, on p. 514, "Herlossohn" for "Herlossohn" and "Hoffmann, Georg von" for "Hofmann").

[6] Many of the mistakes to be found in the bibliography are inconsequential. The following corrections are directed at mistakes that might mislead the reader. The location of each is given by page number and the author's name that starts off the entry. P. 465, Palmer—*of Democratic*/ should read *of the Democratic*; p. 466, Matthews—should indicate that Matthews is editor; p. 466, Kravitt—17/*should read* 18; p. 468, Mahling—Helmut/*should read* Hellmut; p. 469, Strunk—should indicate Strunk is editor; p. 470, Temperly—*should read* Temperley; p. 470, Temperley (2)—(1963):/*should read* (1962):; p. 470, Véber—Gyvla/*should read* Gyula; p. 476, Macdonald (4)—Original Benvenuto Cellini."/*should read* Original 'Benvenuto Cellini.'"; p. 477, Klein—Sons."/*should read* Son."; p. 477, Boheth—*should read* Bobéth; p. 477, Barkan—*Theodore*/ should read *Theodor*; p. 480, Delage (2)—4./*should read* 346.; p. 485, Orledge—Eulenberg./*should read* Eulenburg.; p. 488, Mongrédien—Jean. *Le Sueur*:/ *should read* Jean. *Jean François Le Sueur*:; p. 490, Del Mar—Eulenberg/ *should read* Eulenburg; p. 492, Seaton—62 (1976): 1./ *should read* 68 (1982): 398.; p. 493, Frankenstein—Musorgsky."/ *should read* Mussorgsky."; p. 494, Výborný—*should read* Výborný; p. 497, Brown (3)—52/ *should read* 57; p. 497, Chusid (2)—Quartet/ *should read* Quintet; p. 497, Deutsch (1) and (2)—one book entered as two different books; p. 498, Lewin—"Schubert, *Auf dem Flusse*."/ *should read* "*Auf dem Flusse*: Image and Background in a Schubert Song."; p. 499, Rosner (1)—107./ *should read* 97.; p. 501, Del Mar—1969–73. Rerpint/ *should read* (*with publisher's name also changed*) 1962–73. Reprint; pp. 501–2, Abraham (1) and (4)—one book entered as two different books; p. 502, Loft—Memories/ *should read* Memoirs; p. 505, Mitchell—Structures."/ *should read* Structure."

[7] See Jeffrey Kallberg, "Compatibility in Chopin's Multipartite Publications," *Journal of Musicology* 2 (1983): 391–417.

[8] Most of this music is printed in *Anthology of Romantic Music*, ed. Leon Plantinga (New York: W. W. Norton, 1985), which is designed as a companion volume to the book under review.

[9] Carl Dahlhaus, *Foundations of Music History*, trans. J. B. Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), p. 28.

[10] See also the Beethoven themes discussed in Dénes Bartha, "On Beethoven's Thematic Structure," in Paul Henry Lang, ed., *The Creative World of Beethoven* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971), pp. 257–76.

[11] Users of the companion *Anthology of Romantic Music* should note that the measures have been miscounted and wrong measure numbers printed in this very passage as it appears in the anthology.

[12] Charles Rosen, *Sonata Forms* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1980), pp. 104, 250, and 276–77.

[13] Bence Szabolcsi, *A History of Melody* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1965), pp. 158–94; Edward T. Cone, *Musical Form and Musical Performance* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968), pp. 78–82; Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: Viking Press, 1971), pp. 453–55.

Leoš Janáček. Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Reihe C, Band 1: ***Männerchöre I.*** Herausgaben von Leoš Faltus, Petr Oliva. Prague: Supraphon, and Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1983.*

The sixth volume of the Complete Critical Edition of Janáček's works, consisting of the early unaccompanied male choruses, has recently appeared. This collection, which covers the years 1873 to 1897, takes us from the very beginning of Janáček's compositional career up to the composition of *Jenufa*. These are not Janáček's greatest works in the genre; that distinction is reserved for works like *Kantor Halfar* (Schoolmaster Halfar), *Maryčka Magdónova*, *Sedmdesát tisíc* (The Seventy Thousand), and *Potulný šílinec* (The Wandering Madman), which were composed between 1906 and 1922. Yet this collection is nonetheless an important one; it marks the first time that all of Janáček's early male choruses have been available together. Thus it becomes possible to follow the progress of the composer from *Orání* (Ploughing), where, as a nineteen-year-old, he was almost completely indebted to the musical language of his teacher Pavel Křížkovský, to *Slavnostní sbor* (Festive Choir) of 1897, a work which reflects elements that we associate with Janáček's mature style: incessant repetition; short, jagged phrases; and fresh modulations and inflections.

The problems and strengths of the Janáček Edition itself have been discussed rather fully in the last several years, by myself and others.[1] The remarks here will only concern themselves with specific features of the present volume.

The volume is handsomely presented and has many attractive qualities, but there are several elements that reduce its value, particularly for the English-speaking reader. The first of these concerns the opening notes by Ivo Stolařík. The content of the notes, especially in the Czech version, is for the most part quite good, yet the English translation is totally inadequate. Witness the following description of the years after 1886 (at least one *assumes* the passage refers to those years since no dates are given): "a new intensive creative period timidly began for Janáček after the culminative [*sic*] accumulation of those non-composing duties. . . ." (p. xvii). The entire introduction is couched in that "dialect" of English which we students of Czech music lovingly call "Supraphonese."

As well, the introductory notes do not provide much background to the text. For example, Janáček's teacher, Pavel Křížkovský (1820–85) was, as mentioned above, one of the most important influences on Janáček's early choral works. Křížkovský's compositions for unaccompanied male chorus reflect both his love for the folk song and his strongly nationalist orientation; these make him one of the most important precursors of the Smetana school. Though his name is mentioned several times in the text, no information about the composer is given, whatsoever. Nor is there so much as a note

about any of the other figures who dominated this period of the Czech national awakening. It would certainly be an improvement if future volumes of the edition supplied additional information in the German and English translations of the introductory notes, material which may be common knowledge to Czech musicologists but completely unknown to others. This is especially important for a composer such as Janáček, who came of age in a milieu unknown to most Western readers. The introduction might also have profited from an extended treatment of Janáček's ethnographic studies in the 1880s, the period during which he developed many of his most characteristic ideas, especially his famous "speech melody" theory, a theory which no doubt played an important role in changing his approach to text setting.

The most serious problem in this volume, however, involves the translation of the text. The English texts provided for the works themselves are quite simply travesties, and this is unforgivable in an avowedly definitive edition which purports to be international in character. As a choice example of both the carelessness of production and of purely linguistic problems, we might take a look at the translation of the following stanza, one of Janáček's favorite snippets of folk poetry:

O lásko lásko ty nejsi stálá
jako voděnka mezi horama studená
Voděnka plyne láska pomine
jako lísteček na rozmarýnč zeleném

A literal translation of these lines would be something like:

O love, love, you are not constant
like a cold mountain brook.
The brook flows and love disappears
as a leaf on the green Rosemary.

This line occurs in two separate choruses. In the chorus "O lásko," composed in 1886, the following translation is given:

O love, o true love never long remains
as water constant between the mountains.
Water flows onwards but love does not last
like Rosemary leaves whose day is soon passed, green of hue.

Now this isn't too terrible, although the flavor of the vocative case is lost, and the image of cold water is missing, yet compare this with another translation of the *very same text* in "Nestálost lásky" (Fickleness of Love), composed in 1873:

O love, o passion, you are not constant
as the plashing rills sporting twixt the hills, ever cold.

Water, the water always flows, love may surely die,
like the handsome leaves of the Rosemary, shrivelled old.

This is simply ghastly! It is no doubt an inferior, singing translation made many years ago. The text would seem to belong in *Acis and Galatea* rather than in this volume.

Sometimes the translations are passable, but more often they evoke spontaneous giggles, as does this example from "Výhrůžka" (The Threat) of 1886, which recalls *Ruddigore* and *Iolanthe:*

Mark well, O sonny, what I now say,
if you're a bad lad turn from that way.
I've considered my position,
leaving you is my decision.

This kind of translating cannot go on. Janáček was obsessed with words, with both sound and meaning. An edition which purports to be definitive must do better. I would strongly suggest that, in the future, literal translations be given for all texts, preferably in a separate section.

Yet, despite all these pitfalls, the works themselves are exceedingly attractive and absolutely essential to a fuller understanding of Janáček's career as a composer. A final note: anyone who wishes to study these works should perform them, even with one on a part. Janáček's activity as a choral conductor, well documented in the introductory notes, made him especially sensitive to choral sound and effect. These are not "paper" harmonies, but living ones which only come to life in performance. When one considers the quality of Janáčrk's choral works and the interest in choral music in general in this country, it is astonishing that his works are not presented more often. Hopefully the publication of this volume will lead to greater frequency of performance and will awaken scholarly interest in this neglected area of the composer's works. —*Michael Beckerman*

NOTES

* 156 pp.; full score with text in Czech, German, and English; introduction.

[1] For reviews and responses to the editorial principles and general characteristics of the edition see the following reviews: Rudolf Firkušný and Roland John Wiley, [Piano Music] *Notes* 37 (1981): 942–44; Paul Wingfield, [Piano Music] *The Musical Times* 125 (July 1984): 394; Roland John Wiley, [*Taras Bulba*] *Notes* 39 (1983): 683–84; Michael Beckerman, [*Na Soláni Čarták*] *Notes* 40 (1984): 637–39; and Beckerman, [*Návod pro cvičování zpěvu*] *Notes* 41 (1984): 369–71. For a full discussion and debate over the editorial principles see: Michael Beckerman, "Janáček's Notation Revisited: An Interview with Jarmil Burghauser," *Notes* 41 (1984): 249–58.

Prosdocimo de' Beldomandi. ***Contrapunctus.*** Edited by Jan Herlinger. Greek and Latin Music Theory, edited by Thomas J. Mathiesen, vol. 1. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

This counterpoint treatise is the first volume of a new series of publications by the University of Nebraska Press, a series devoted to Greek and Latin texts in music theory not yet available in critical editions. The general editor of the series is Thomas J. Mathiesen, who describes in a short preface the features each volume will include. The first of these is an introduction that will discuss the author of the treatise, his works in general, the contents of the treatise to be presented, its place in the history of theory, and the manuscripts in which it has been preserved.

Between Mathiesen's preface and the introduction in the present publication there is another short preface by Jan Herlinger, the editor of the first volume, which includes, among other things, the following excellent paragraph:

> Prosdocimo de' Beldomandi, professor of arts and medicine at Padua in the early fifteenth century, brought to his eight treatises on music an originality, a scientific rigor, and an aesthetic sensitivity that made him one of the preeminent music theorists of his time. In the *Contrapunctus* (1412) he surveyed the practice of counterpoint and musica ficta, codifying each in six rules. Unlike most of his contemporaries, who were satisfied merely to state their rules, Prosdocimo justified his, thus making the treatise a primer of the musical aesthetics of his time.

The text itself is printed in Latin and in English on facing pages, with the variant readings of the different manuscripts duly noted at the bottom of each Latin page. Notes at the bottom of the English pages give the sources of quotations, provide explanations of important points, and connect various ideas with those of other treatises. There are also complete indexes at the end.

In fact Jan Herlinger seems to have conformed perfectly to the principles announced by Mathiesen and to have produced an edition that is a model of utility and completeness. The translation is both accurate and readable. And justice is done to the crucial relationship between an individual theoretical tract and the history of theory. Obviously our understanding of an individual document is furthered by a knowledge of trends and contexts, while our understanding of trends in turn depends on the investigation of individual documents. At any stage of study, then, this reciprocal relationship should be evident in the presentation of an individual treatise, which will gain significance to the extent that it is illuminated by general trends. In this important regard also the present edition leaves little to be desired.

If any fault is to be found at all, it is with respect to the physical qualities

of the book, which is an example of the new publishing procedure of having the author or editor of a book prepare camera-ready copy. One could wish here for a more attractive printout, and for a difference in typeface, as a minimum, between the text and the notes. To these failings there must be added the use of paper in the manufacture of the book that seems poor in quality. In my copy also the cover has gradually curled up instead of remaining flat. But because of the virtues of having such editions, we cannnot complain too loudly if economies are the necessary price of publishing them.

—*Edward A. Lippman*

Kurt Blaukopf. ***Musik im Wandel der Gesellschaft; Grundzüge der Musiksoziologie.*** Munich: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, and Kassel, Basel, and London: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1984.

In the latest of the "introductions" to the sociology of music, a characteristic kind of contribution to a field still concerned about defining itself, Kurt Blaukopf rejects as a goal the explanation of the state of musical practice and espouses the task instead of explaining its process of change. Thus his title, "Music in a Changing Society." The historical scope of the work is appropriately large, and it seeks to encompass as well every socially relevant aspect of musical experience and behavior. The result is a diversified series of twenty-nine chapters that extend from the goals of musical sociology in general to the description of new tasks to be undertaken, the social characteristics of music in different countries, and the characterization of a world history of music.

In between are such topics as the social aspect of music history, the contributions of acoustics, sociology, and ethnology, the implication for art of a materialistic conception of history, the factor of technology in music, the influence of leisure, the evaluation of instrumental music, the sociological analysis of music, the social significance of chordal style, the musical outcomes of Christianity, the influence of electronic and mass media, the role of architecture, the acoustical environment, the character of the musical public, and so on. There are also discussions of Taine, Marx, Simmel, Combarieu, Max Weber, Alois Riegl, Charles Lalo, and Adorno, among many others. Indeed, even this incomplete list reveals the remarkable range and variety of Blaukopf's concerns. There is no question that his reputation as essentially a sociological theorist of tonal systems will have to be completely revised. His discussion of the sociology of tonal systems in the present work has been reduced to a few pages (chap. 19, pp. 237–40).

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As a broad and thoughtful introduction to the field, Blaukopf's new book

has an important place alongside Adorno's *Introduction to the Sociology of Music* (1976, translated from the German edition of 1962), Kneif's *Musiksoziologie* (1971), and Rummenhöller's *Einführung in die Musiksoziologie* (1978). It does not duplicate these, nor is it an alternative to them, but acts as a valuable complementary perspective that rounds out our view of the field.

—*Edward A. Lippman*

A. Peter Brown. *Carlo d'Ordonez 1734–1786: A Thematic Catalog.* Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1978.

Of the great many minor yet significant composers who lived around the time of Haydn and Mozart and who deserve to be better known, Karl von Ordonez,[1] a Viennese composer born two years after Haydn, has been the subject of much recent scholarly interest. H. C. Robbins Landon introduced the composer to the modern musical world,[2] and since then Ordonez has figured in books, monographs, and articles and has been the subject of recent studies, the most numerous of which are by A. Peter Brown.[3] Professor Brown's catalog was designed to meet the need for "an accurate accounting of [Ordonez's] works," and "also to provide other students of the period with possible concordances for their own investigations."

The catalog is in the main soundly organized: "the larger organization is modeled after Anthony van Hoboken's *Joseph Haydn: Thematisch-bibliographisches Werkverzeichnis* (Mainz, 1957–1971), while within each group a system of ordering described by Jan LaRue in *Fontes Artis Musicae*, Vol. VI (1959) is employed." However, for ease of reference it would perhaps have been better to have distinguished minor-mode instrumental works from major; for example, Symphonies G6, G7, and G8 could have been labelled G mi. 1, G mi. 2, and G mi. 3. "At the end of each group are listed those works of *questionable* paternity (e.g. I/Q:C1) and those considered *spurious* (e.g. I/S:C1)." The material provided "for other students of the period" includes numerous tracings of watermarks, facsimiles of selected copyists, and an index of watermarks and copyists.

As a works list, the catalog is an impressive achievement. Listed as authentic are the following: seventy-three symphonies (Group I); other works for orchestra (Group II), comprising a violin concerto, an antiphonal wind serenade (31 wind instruments), a partita (strings, 2 oboes, 2 horns, 2 trumpets, timpani, snare drums and cymbals), minuets (strings in three parts), and a ballet; divertimenti, etc. (Group III), comprising an octet (2 oboes, 2 cor anglais, 2 bassoons and 2 horns), a sextet (2 horns, 2 violins, viola and bass), and four quintets (three for 2 horns, violin, viola and bass, the fourth for 2

has an important place alongside Adorno's *Introduction to the Sociology of Music* (1976, translated from the German edition of 1962), Kneif's *Musiksoziologie* (1971), and Rummenhöller's *Einführung in die Musiksoziologie* (1978). It does not duplicate these, nor is it an alternative to them, but acts as a valuable complementary perspective that rounds out our view of the field.

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violins, 2 violas and bass); twenty-seven string quartets (Group IV); twenty-one string trios (Group V); two duos for violin and bass (Group VI); vocal works (Group VII), comprising two operatic works—a marionette opera, *Musica della Parodie d'Alceste*, and a *Singspiel*, *Diesmal hat der Mann den Willen*—and a cantata, *Der alte Wienerische Tandelmarkt* (1779, only the libretto survives). To have examined nearly all the copies of these works, preserved in over forty European and American archives, is no mean feat, but it is surprising that when drawing up his works list the compiler apparently did not make use of Landon's manuscript thematic catalog of the works of Ordonez.[4]

Perhaps there is sufficient doubt about the authenticity of Symphony F10 to warrant its being placed in the Q (= questionable) rather than authentic category: only in the Pirnitz catalog is the work attributed to Ordonez, whereas there are attributions to F. X. Körzl in the Gottweig catalog, and to J. G. Lang in the only surviving copy (Stams, Zisterzienserstift; the Doksy copy listed by Brown [p. 54] is in fact a violin concerto attributed to Körzl). In his article on the symphonies, Brown argues, however, that the authenticity of this work is supported by, firstly, evidence of payment made to Ordonez by the Collalto court in 1764 for a symphony and, secondly, stylistic evidence.[5] Symphony Q:C2 seems to have a stronger claim to authenticity than F10: the only surviving copy (a reliable Viennese one) names Ordonez as the author; the Lambach catalog, on the other hand, attributes the work to Wagenseil. In his article on the symphonies, Brown presents stylistic evidence in favor of Wagenseil, but against this interpretation one could point to evidence in favor of Ordonez, such as the abrupt transition to the dominant in the first movement, and the presence of the "Ordonez trill" (in fairness, Brown does acknowledge that both Q:C1 and Q:C2 "could very easily be works in which Ordonez was imitating the style of a famous and older colleague"[6]). A copy of Symphony G3, preserved at Prague, Národní muzeum, is cited as being attributed to J. K. Vaňhal; in fact, only in the card index at Prague is this misattribution found, for the title page is missing.[7]

Precise details of instrumentation are given for every entry, as well as variations of instrumentation between the sources. The timpani designation in the Rajhrad copy of Symphony D6 is overlooked, however, and Brown's *solo* cello indication for Symphony D5 is erroneous. A generous thematic incipit is provided for every movement of every instrumental work and for every instrumental and vocal number (with text) of the two operas. However, Brown's policy of taking the incipits from the first violin part in virtually every case—irrespective of whether that instrument is significant, or even playing at all, at the opening—is ludicrous; for example, surely the first trumpet part should have been shown at the start of Symphony C10, or the first viola at the start of Symphony B-flat4. Moreover, the incipits contain an unacceptably high number of mistakes; there are far too many to list here in full, but, as an example, the C major symphonies alone contain at least six mistakes, as follows: C2, Larghetto, bar 2/note 2 = a (rather than g); C3 Finale, 1/3 = e (d); C9, Allegro, 2/3 = c (b); C11, Finale, 1/1 = eighth-note

(quarter-note); C12, Andante, 2/3 = eighth-note followed by eighth-note rest (sixteenth-note, followed by quarter-note rest); C13, Finale = ¢ (C). The Andante arioso of Symphony E1 and the Andante of B-flat4 are erroneously shown as slow introductions, whereas they stand, in fact, as complete movements.[8] Two more points concerning the incipits: it would have been helpful to have given the number of bars in each movement, and to have indicated which source was used for each incipit (this additional information need have taken up no extra space).

Catalog references are given; the terminal date for these is the midnineteenth century. The Breitkopf entry for Symphony C9, and the *Quartbuch* C12 entry are missed, however. A list of copies and their locations is given; the generic title of each source is provided. The provenance of the copyists is stated or suggested, and facsimiles of many copyists' scripts are included. Innumerable watermarks are described and many illustrated. Modern editions and references in the literature are also cited.

When considering the provenance of the sources one must take into account Brown's more recent research, as a result of which he revises some of the data in the catalog.[9] In particular, Brown now concludes that the Viennese copyist Simon Haschke is apparently not the copyist designated "Viennese No. 6" (compare p. 234 of the catalog)—that is, Haschke did not copy Group I: C2, F6; Group IV: F4, B-flat3, Opus 2; Group V: B-flat1; Questionable: G1, Q:A-flat1; Spurious: S:E-flat1"— and, further, that "some of the manuscripts attributed to Viennese No. 4 in the Ordonez catalog can definitely be attributed to Johann Schmutzer; others, including the Ordonez violin concerto, were copied by either Haschke or a copyist in his employ. Thus, some of these works now have a *terminus ad quem* of 1776,"[10] the date of Haschke's death.

Mistakes, however, remain, and shortcomings are evident, in the information provided for Group I (symphonies). Brown frequently overlooks the fact that a source may have been copied by more than one hand; examples are as follows: C3 (Kremsier Schloss), C4 (Rajhrad), C5 (Osek), C7 (Krumau), C8 (Kremsier Schloss), Q:C1 (Kremsmünster—the naming of Franz Sparry as the copyist of this source and the date of 1757 are puzzling; the original title page and first violin appear to be the work of a Viennese professional, while a second title page and the other parts seem to have been produced by local copyists; presumably a complete set of parts was originally purchased from Vienna, all except the first violin then lost, and the missing parts were replaced by local copyists, who perhaps used as their source the copy at Lambach), C14 (Kremsier Schloss and Piaristen), D9 (Osek), F5 (Florence), F6 (Krumau—here the parts are enclosed within two folders, each with its own title page; the first folder contains the basic set [although the bass is missing], while the second has an extra first and second violin part and two extra bass parts; both scripts are Viennese), G7 (Krumau), A1 (Doksy). Moreover, Brown's descriptions of the Rajhrad copies of B-flat4 and D6 are unsound: B-flat4 was not copied by Pater Maurus (compare p. 69)—the

inscription on the title page reads, "Procuravit *Pater* Maurus *Regens* Chori 1779," which may mean that Maurus obtained the master copy and possibly supervised the copying, which was executed by two Rajhrad trumpeters, Wentzl Müller (violins, violas, cello, bass, on 22 and 23 March) and Franz Langer (winds); the same inscription occurs on D6, which was copied by another Rajhrad trumpeter, Anton Joseph Troltsch (violin, viola, cello, bass) and perhaps a second, anonymous hand. (A similar mistake occurs in the description of Osek D10 [compare p. 42]: Joseph Loš was not the copyist but an owner, for the inscription reads, "Ad usum Isidonis Winkler [the name is struck out] Joseph Loš [written beneath Winkler's name].")

Similarly, Brown has frequently failed to indicate when a source is made up of more than one make of paper, as in the cases of symphonies C10 (Doksy—three papers), E-flat1 (Dosky—two papers), or A1 (Osek—two papers), although he does acknowledge (p. 10) that, for various reasons, watermark data are not presented "as accurately and completely as might be desirable." Perhaps as a result of these oversights or shortcomings concerning copyists and paper types, he has consistently failed to indicate when a source originated from more than one area: in a typical example, the basic set of parts will have been produced by a copy shop, and duplicates made elsewhere. In order to give substance to these observations I will discuss two archival holdings now preserved in Prague, Národní muzeum. The collection of Count Jan Pachta von Rájov includes nine Ordonez symphonies (C2, C8, D2, E-flat4, E-flat5, G4, A1, A6, A8). Each source consists of a set of parts in Viennese handwriting (as described by Brown), plus one extra copy of each first violin, second violin, and bass part. These duplicates (which are ignored by Brown) were probably copied locally, on paper from an Italian mill, and bear the watermark star with a circle in the middle[17] and crescent countermark[18] (only the countermark appears in C2). Brown has recognized this second paper type only in the A8 Pachta source, but even here fails to mention the local duplicates. The collection of Count Christian Philipp Clam-Gallas of Frýdlant Castle in northern Bohemia includes five Ordonez symphonies (C9, C10, F4, A4, B-flat5). Three of these (C9, C10, B-flat5) contain (like the Pachta sources described above) a basic set of Viennese parts (as described by Brown), plus duplicate first and second violin and bass parts (again ignored by Brown), probably copied locally (C10 has new flute parts, presumably added locally). Two further points concerning the Clam-Gallas collection: the F4 source is probably Viennese rather than local (compare p. 50), for not only does the script suggest Viennese provenance but the paper is of the type used for the Viennese parts in Clam-Gallas C10 and A4 (this latter source is missing from the catalog); the watermark given by Brown (p. 34) for C10 and elsewhere should read primitive flower with C–S–c.[19] Finally, some miscellaneous points: the watermark in Symphony D4 (Doksy) should read BVT within a frame, and not "3 crescents/anchor, W below" (compare p. 38). Brown provides no watermark descriptions for symphonies D9 and D10 (Osek); the D9 mark is a double-headed eagle and

crown, with IGS countermark, and D10 has the watermark star with a circle in the middle and crescent countermark (a second paper type has an indecipherable watermark). The Rajhrad copy of F9 is probably Viennese rather than local, whereas the Doksy copy of this same work is probably local rather than Viennese[4]; the copyist of symphonies and a quintet preserved at Göttweig is called Pater Leander (Brown consistently and inappropriately gives his name as it appears in the sources—that is, in the Latin genitive form of Leandri).

In conclusion, although the catalog is flawed by an unacceptably high number of errors in the incipits and suffers as the result of a lack of attention to detail in the materials "for other students of the period," Professor Brown has compiled a most useful works list for which he deserves our gratitude.

—*David Young*

NOTES

[1] A. Peter Brown favors the spelling Carlo d'Ordonez, on the grounds that this is the form which appears most often in the musical sources (*cf.* pp. 10–11 of the work under review). Elsewhere, however, I argue against the adoption of this spelling and advocate instead, with supporting evidence, the form Karl von Ordonez. See my article "Karl von Ordonez (1734-1786): A Biographical Study," *Research Chronicle* 18 (forthcoming).

[2] H. C. Robbins Landon, "Problems of Authenticity in Eighteenth-Century Music," *Instrumental Music: A Conference at Isham Memorial Library, May 4, 1957*, ed. David G. Hughes (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), 31–56.

[3] A. Peter Brown, "The Chamber Music with Strings of Carlos d'Ordoñez: A Bibliographic and Stylistic Study," *Acta Musicologica* 46, no. 2 (1974): 222–72; idem, "Structure and Style in the String Quartets of Carlos d'Ordoñez (1734–1786)," *Report of the Eleventh Congress Copenhagen 1972*, ed. Henrik Glahn, Søren Sørensen, and Peter Ryom (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1974), vol. I, 314–28; idem, *Carlo d'Ordonez: 7 Symphonies* (ed. by Brown), in *The Symphony 1720-1840*, ed. Barry S. Brook (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979); idem, "Ordonez," *The New Grove*, ed. Stanley Sadie (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980); idem, *Carlo d'Ordonez: String Quartets, Op. 1* (ed. by Brown), vol. 10 of *Recent Researches in the Music of the Classic Era* (Madison: A-R Editions, 1980); idem, "An Introduction to the Life and Works of Carlo d'Ordonez," in *Music East and West: Essays in Honor of Walter Kaufmann*, ed. Thomas Noblitt, Festschrift Series 3 (New York: Pendragon Press, 1981), 243–59; and idem, "The Symphonies of Carlo d'Ordonez: A Contribution to the History of Viennese Instrumental Music During the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century," *The Haydn Yearbook* 12 (1981): 5–121.

[4] Announced in H. C. Robbins Landon, "Ordonez," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. Friedrich Blume (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962), cols. 194–6, *cf.* col. 194. Brown thanks Landon, "who compared the entire typescript with his own files" (p. 13 of the catalog under review), but makes no mention of Landon's catalog.

[5] A. Peter Brown, "The Symphonies of Carlo d'Ordonez," 30.

[6] *Ibid.*, 30–31.

[7] The shelf number should read XXXIII E 81, not XXXII A 81. See Brown, "The Symphonies," 30: contrary to Prof. Brown's statement, Vaňhal's name does not appears on the bass part or anywhere else in this source.

[8] Brown accurately describes the first movements of E1 and B-flat4 as complete movements rather than slow introductions in "The Symphonies," 53, 99.

[9] A. Peter Brown, "Notes on Some Eighteenth-Century Viennese Copyists," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 34 (1981): 325–38.

[9] *Ibid.*, 327.

[10] *Ibid.*, 328.

[11] *Cf.* H. C. Robbins Landon, *The Symphonies of Joseph Haydn* (London: Universal Edition and Rockliff, 1955), 615, watermark L85.

[12] *Cf.* Dénes Bártha and László Somfai, *Haydn als Opernkapellmeister: Die Haydn—Dokumente der Esterházy—Opernsammlung* (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1960), 447, watermark 241.

[13] *Cf.* Jan LaRue, "Die Datierung von Wasserzeichen im 18. Jahrhundert," *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Wien Mozartjahr 1956: 5 Bis 9 Juni*, ed. Erich Schenk, Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe von Denkmälern der Tonkunst in Österreich (Graz: Verlag Hermann Böhlaus, 1958), 318–323, watermark No. 1.

[14] Brown comes round to this view in "The Symphonies of Carlo d'Ordonez," 28.

Patricia Fallows-Hammond. ***Three Hundred Years at the Keyboard: A Piano Sourcebook from Bach to the Moderns.*** Berkeley, Calif.: Ross Books, 1984.

In her preface to *Three Hundred Years at the Keyboard*, Patricia Fallows-Hammond makes the following statement, which serves as a guiding principle for the book: "As students progress they find that piano repertoire does not exist in a vacuum, but reflects the historical and cultural changes of each generation, most important of all, their own." The advanced student, for whom this book is designed, will find it quite exciting and stimulating, and it may broaden the student's awareness of keyboard music. The text should be read with caution, however. It is marred by the author's judgment, much of it unsupported, in matters of selection and arrangement and by an apparent lack of understanding and sympathy for twentieth-century music.

The guiding premise of the book is a good one, and its overall arrangement is sound. Fallows-Hammond has realized the need for "a shortcut from the reference shelf to the music rack" and has taken great pains to provide her readers with a wealth of detailed information on the lives and musical styles of composers who wrote for the keyboard. The book is divided into nine chapters each of which is devoted to a specific music style period. The work begins with a discussion of the evolution of the keyboard and it continues chronologically to the topic of twentieth-century piano music. A musical example, consisting of an entire piece or one or more complete movements of a work, is included for each composer treated at length in the book.

Unfortunately, throughout the text the author imparts large doses of personal opinion and broad simplifications that she makes no attempt to justify, and she offers no explanation of the criteria leading to her conclusions or her decisions on what material to include. Particularly baffling to this reader was the treatment given certain portions of the repertoire. For example: why are the Toccatas of J.S. Bach discussed under the section heading "Partitas or German Suites," and why is Liszt's B Minor Sonata treated only in a paren-

[9] *Ibid.*, 327.

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thetical passage concerned with absolute music?

As another instance, the entire discussion allotted to the French Suites of J.S. Bach comprises the following lines: "Bach composed the French Suites in Cöthen for his youthful second wife. The Fifth comes close to the bright, melodious style of Handel" (p. 10). But in the arrangement of the text, the French Suites are given a separate section heading. If this is all that the author wished to say about them, then a simple entry in a list of works would have sufficed. Works lists are appended to all extended discussions of individual composers, but once again the author leaves unstated her criteria for selection of the entries they contain.

The treatment accorded twentieth-century music is perhaps the most disturbing aspect of the book. The decision to divide contemporary composers into national schools according to birthplace is motivated apparently by a desire to show historical continuity in the development of national styles. But the attempted connection of contemporary trends and historical styles takes up an inordinate amount of space. The reader is left with several paragraphs that simply survey the works of selected twentieth-century composers. Debussy, MacDowell, and Bartok are the only twentieth-century composers who are highlighted in subunits and for whom musical examples are included.

The emphasis on nationality in this final chapter, rather than on musical style, as the emphasis has been in all the preceding chapters, detracts from the cohesion of the survey and does not do justice to the piano repertoire in a way that reflects the historical and cultural changes of each generation. Classification according to national schools, although a popular way of organizing the overwhelming number of twentieth-century composers and styles, is a limited solution at best for it presupposes the primacy of national and geographical boundaries in an era of unprecedented cultural exchange. Fallows-Hammond's decision to devote the final paragraph of her subunit on the Austro-German school to the French composer Boulez in effect acknowledges the fluid boundaries between national styles and suggests that a common musical technique may be just as important as a common national origin, if not more so. The author owes it to her readers to acknowledge the important stylistic relationships between individual compositional styles in the twentieth century; this information should not be buried in chapters stressing geographical boundaries.

In general Ms. Fallows-Hammond's approach to contemporary music is guarded, and the tone of her writing may make students wary of new music. Some statements suggest that she views contemporary piano music with trepidation, for example: "George Crumb's ideas (he was born in 1929) remain comprehensible, and his pianistic effects are not quirky but poetic" (as if a contemporary composer's work should be quirky and incomprehensible as a matter of course). The lack of space devoted to contemporary piano music only reinforces this impression.

On the positive side, the book contains some informative sections such as

the discussions of editions and catalogues of composers' works, which are placed at the ends of chapters and subunits. These sections pose even more problems, however, since, depending on the relevant chapter, they lump together catalogues such as the Köchel catalogue for Mozart's works, scholarly editions such as those of the Liszt Society, and publishers' editions like those of Henle and Peters, all without distinction under the subheading "Editions."

In conclusion, *Three Hundred Years at the Keyboard* does have its strengths: pianists have not had a basic introduction to keyboard repertoire to match the scope of this one. But it should be used with the guidance of a well-informed teacher who can round out, and at times temper, Fallows-Hammond's presentation. Given such guidance, this single volume could provide the student with a broad introduction to the world of keyboard music.

—*Janet Sturman*

Michael Collins and Elise K. Kirk, eds. *Opera and Vivaldi.* Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1984.

"Crosscurrents and the Mainstream of Italian Serious Opera, 1730–1790, A Symposium, February 11–13, 1982." *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* 7, nos. 1–2 (1982).

Opera seria on the modern stage has received vigorous and generally positive responses from both the public and musical scholars in recent years. Enlarging and enriching our perspective of such developments, *Opera and Vivaldi* comprises a series of nineteen essays related to the Dallas Opera Symposium held in 1980 in conjunction with the first fully staged performances in America of an opera by Antonio Vivaldi, *Orlando furioso*. Add to this another twelve essays from "Crosscurrents and the Mainstream of Italian Serious Opera, 1730–1790," the proceedings of a symposium sponsored by the Department of Music History at the University of Western Ontario, and the present-day prospects for this musical genre seem brighter and more exciting than ever. After all, our notions of opera seria derive not from an historically rooted critical tradition but rather from modern—usually scholarly—reconstruction. Both of these symposia reveal opera seria as a rich and varied vein crisscrossing national boundaries and stylistic strata, and they can boast of significant contributions that will help shape the direction of current musicology.

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"Crosscurrents and the Mainstream of Italian Serious Opera, 1730–1790, A Symposium, February 11–13, 1982." *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* 7, nos. 1–2 (1982).

Opera seria on the modern stage has received vigorous and generally positive responses from both the public and musical scholars in recent years. Enlarging and enriching our perspective of such developments, *Opera and Vivaldi* comprises a series of nineteen essays related to the Dallas Opera Symposium held in 1980 in conjunction with the first fully staged performances in America of an opera by Antonio Vivaldi, *Orlando furioso*. Add to this another twelve essays from "Crosscurrents and the Mainstream of Italian Serious Opera, 1730–1790," the proceedings of a symposium sponsored by the Department of Music History at the University of Western Ontario, and the present-day prospects for this musical genre seem brighter and more exciting than ever. After all, our notions of opera seria derive not from an historically rooted critical tradition but rather from modern—usually scholarly—reconstruction. Both of these symposia reveal opera seria as a rich and varied vein crisscrossing national boundaries and stylistic strata, and they can boast of significant contributions that will help shape the direction of current musicology.

Beginning with *Opera and Vivaldi*, Michael Collins provides historical background in the opening essay by defending practices in seventeenth-century libretti that have been overlooked or devalued because of attention to reforms initiated by Roman literati toward the end of that century. Members of the Accademia dell'Arcadia, these reformers disparaged both the freedom of dramatic structure and the pleasure-dominated public taste that they felt had corrupted the theater of their day. They desired, in Collins's words, "a return to the rigid classicism of Aristotelian authority."[1] Collins traces this return with a knack for drawing concise and concrete fundamental distinctions among dramatic and poetic formal structures—for example, Cinzio's *tragedia mista, commedia seria,* and Guarini's *tragicommedia*. He also argues convincingly for the influence of Spanish drama on the seventeenth-century libretto, pointing out that a Spanish mixture of poetic meters and disregard of Aristotelian unities, combined with extravagant spectacle from Italian *intermedii*, characterized Italian opera as early as 1632 when the Teatro Barberini opened in Rome. The influence of French Anacreontic poetry is adduced in Chiabrera's handling of the popular *canzonetta* by which, according to Collins, the most suitable type of poetry for musical setting in opera was created.[2] Collins concludes that the seventeenth-century libretto has greater vitality and is less conventional than that of the eighteenth century—a somewhat wry preparation for the subsequent essays in this volume, but a striking viewpoint and significant, new solution to a longstanding aesthetic issue.

Gary Schmidgall scrutinizes the eighteenth-century libretto from a very different angle in his article. For him, opera seria, with all its exaggerated heroics and emotional hyperbole, expresses temptations, despairs, and aspirations to which each of us is heir: "For these characters, life without risk is nothing. . . . They all exist primarily in passionate and willful states of being."[3] He defines this risk as an eloquent confrontation with emotion, and while discussing the aesthetic relationship between Ariosto's epic and Vivaldi's opera he makes such risks relevant to our own experience as well. But Schmidgall has serious reservations about recreating opera seria, and while he speaks well for the period in which opera seria flourished, he speaks even better for that which is our own. By emphasizing the differences between the expectations or responses of an eighteenth-century audience and those of a modern audience, he addresses an important issue related both to the Dallas performances of *Orlando* and to this book—the successful presentation of opera seria on the modern stage.

In 1957, the same year in which Arthur Mendel suggested that performance and scholarly investigation were "aspects of the same search," Donald J. Grout questioned a number of "tacit assumptions" in the performance of "old music."[4] Since that time many a scholar and performer (nowadays often one and the same person as reflected in many articles in this volume) has contributed to the cause of "early music." Vivaldi's *Orlando*, originally produced at Venice's Teatro Sant'Angelo in 1727, was transcribed and edited by Claudio Scimone for the 1978 tercentenary celebration of the composer's

birth. The special nature of this revival of *Orlando* stems from its commitment to a theatrical experience of opera seria—in the words of the producer Plato Karayanis, "a living art, not merely a museum piece."[5] Thus, for the Dallas performances, there were extensive cuts in the score, the stage was raked and runways were extended into the audience in a hall almost ten times larger than the Teatro Sant'Angelo. The part of Medoro was recast for tenor instead of soprano voice "to achieve a more palatable balance of voices." In keeping with eighteenth-century practice, additions of cadenzas and embellishments in da capo arias were made to suit the vocal qualities of the singers.

Clearly, advocates of "authentic" performances may not be wholly satisfied with such a production, but they will find their viewpoint amply represented in *Opera and Vivaldi*. Seeking to mediate among practical and ideal solutions to the problems of performing opera seria, Andrew Porter demonstrates in his essay a finer sense for authenticity than that provided by the performances of *Orlando*. His criticism of Scimone's edition is sensible and well aimed, as are his more general prescriptions for stylistic accuracy.[6] (When Porter gets down to the authenticity of the prima donna's eyelashes his approach appears a shade too rigorous.)

The critical perspective is only one facet of *Opera and Vivaldi*, however; the full range of its purview comes to light by surveying some of the source materials discussed by various contributors. Eleanor Selfridge-Field, for example, draws upon anonymous manuscripts that served as *avvisi* (entitled *Pallade veneta* after a short-lived Venetian journal of that name). From these she concludes that there was a shift in interest from the musical aspects of opera to its visual and dramatic effects during Vivaldi's lifetime. She also describes several striking differences between opera and oratorio, distinctions that would remain obscure with only stylistic appraisals of these two genres.

Howard Mayer Brown provides instructive guidelines for performing cadenzas in arias. His contribution consists of a summary of theoretical sources, a comparison of extant cadenzas of Farinelli and Faustina Bordoni Hasse, and a description of an anonymous set of cadenzas in a hitherto unexamined source, Chicago manuscript 1267. Brown's article may indeed set a precedent for studies of similarly overlooked sources, which the author describes as "gold mines of information . . . about operas that do not survive complete and about music by lesser composers."[7]

That Tiepolo's Valmarana frescoes were imbued with theatrical elements is generally acknowledged, but do they reflect the theater, particularly the operatic theater, of their time? William Barcham explicitly delineates the two, with special emphasis on operatic costume design, in one of the most profusely illustrated articles in this volume. Iconographic evidence can only suggest movement, stance, and physical presence of performers on stage, but by correlating such information with that available in dance treatises of the time Shirley Wynne reveals the importance of gesture and movement on the eighteenth-century stage.[8] William C. Holmes also addresses visual aspects

of opera seria in a highly informative overview of Italian theater, stage, and set designs during Vivaldi's era.

Naturally, recitative and aria figure prominently in *Opera and Vivaldi*. Two articles are devoted to the former, those of Michael Collins (his second contribution to this volume) and Mary Cyr, and two primarily to the latter, those of Ellen T. Harris and John Walter Hill. Collins offers a reconsideration of the *cadenza trovata* by affixing its meaning to the vocal rather than to the accompanimental part. Cyr's concern is for the declamatory and expressive delivery of recitative in both Italian and French opera. She calls forth a variety of eighteenth-century commentaries on tempo, vocal register, and instrumentation of accompaniment in recitative. This, in fact, is an enormous amount of material from which the reader can only conclude that performance problems of recitative defy general solutions.

With reference to eighteenth-century operatic settings (by Porpora, Haydn, Vivaldi, Fux, Handel, and Latilla) and libretti (by Metastasio, Porta, Braccioli, Pariati, Capeci, and Tullio) based on Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, Ellen T. Harris distinguishes specific conventions among arias appropriate to pastoral, comic, and heroic operatic genres. She notes Handel's adaptations when borrowing arias from one genre to substitute in another. Other variables, such as local traditions or practices, adaptations of roles for specific singers, and, especially in later German operas, the purposeful mixing of genres, might seriously challenge Harris's conclusions. John Walter Hill finds what he terms a "pattern of unity" in Vivaldi's *Orlando*, a pattern resulting from substitutions and reworkings of arias from other operas by Vivaldi, including his 1714 revision of Ristori's setting of *Orlando* of 1713. This pattern is created by grouping types of arias within scene complexes, in contradiction to the reported practice of the time of alternating types of arias. This suggests that Vivaldi was more innovative than has been thought.

Certainly no group of essays focusing on Antonio Vivaldi's operatic works would be complete without a contribution from Eric Cross. Here, he addresses the manner in which Vivaldi musically shaped the drama that was potential in his libretti. According to Cross, Vivaldi used choruses or ensembles to increase a sense of climax, as in the second act of *Griselda* (1735). He used tonality and rate of harmonic movement to underline dramatic contrasts, to spotlight important entrances, and to heighten tension. Special instrumental effects and figurations, as well as various types of *recitativo accompagnato*, were means by which Vivaldi linked his music to textual details. Although Cross views him as a more conventional operatic composer than Handel, he also suggests that Vivaldi was ready to forsake convention for characterization when needed—for example, in the aria "Tu non meriti pietà" in *La verità in cimento* of 1720.[5]

Other contributors to this volume are Sven Hansel, C. Peter Brand, Ellen Rosand, Roger Covell, Klaus Kropfinger, Alan Curtis, and Marita P. McClymonds. All in all, it is an impressive array of articles which draws upon scholarship, involvement in performance, and experienced critical

acumen.

Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario is a journal now looking back on a full decade of contributions to the field of musicology. It does not demonstrate the lavish care of the Vivaldi volume; however, publication of the proceedings of the Ontario symposium, in contrast to those of the Dallas symposium, can be seen as part of a continuing scholarly tradition. "Mainstream" in the title specifically means the Metastasian libretto. But, as Nino Pirrotta points out in his final summary of the symposium, the many exceptions and reforms, the crosscurrents in this courtly tradition tend to direct scholarly interest down a variety of paths.

The basis for the Ontario symposium is the idea that the "norms" of eighteenth-century operatic convention are defined by the Metastasian tradition: this tradition establishes a conceptual framework by which conformity and exception to norms can be measured. The methodological limitations of this approach are all too apparent: a tendency to classify musical thinking according to a rigid hierarchy with an emphasis on progress and the "enduring" works of a relatively few "great" composers (or librettists). On the other hand, this approach does develop a critical, distinct, and well-defined historical perspective that, though it may not prove always correct, proves challenging and relevant to our own musical interests. We can never be completely assured of ferreting out every element and trend of a given period, but we can make convincing arguments for the most interesting and perhaps significant of them. The Ontario symposium not only grapples with this thorny issue but it also often demonstrates the value of its chosen framework as well.

If the concentration on the Metastasian libretto is narrow, nonetheless this symposium deserves credit for bringing a topology of the "mainstream" into notably better focus. Pirrotta describes the ironic success of both Zeno and Metastasio as "poets" supported by the Hapsburg monarchy. With literary ambitions restrained by limitations of the operatic genre, they were, in the more generalized words of Pier Jacobo Martelli, "not poets but versifiers."[10] Daniel Heartz succinctly identifies the characteristics of Metastasian verse that assured successful musical setting, and Don Neville clarifies the influence of Cartesian moral philosophy on the Arcadian movement, which provided much of the impetus for Metastasio's innovations. Though the main characters of Metastasian opera seria confronted moral dilemmas as did their counterparts in nonmusical theatrical tragedy, the virtuous choices they made to overcome their peril may not have been intended so much to instruct audiences as to mirror the character of members of the imperial dynasty. As Michael Robinson puts it, "all eighteenth-century librettists, by putting princely characters onto the stage, were to some extent inviting audiences to make comparisons between the actions of these characters and those of live, contemporary royalty."[11] Under such circumstances, tragic endings tended to be replaced by endings in which virtue obtained its happy reward.

It was the da capo aria that provided a hothouse for the triumph of moral

righteousness in the guise of free will. Robinson states, "Through the medium of the da capo aria, composers gave librettists the prerequisite they desired, namely a set of characters demonstrably amenable to reason. . . ."[6] (A note of caution regarding this conclusion: see Pirrotta's reference to a letter written by Zeno in 1730, in which the *ariette* are listed among the "inconveniences" of musical drama.)[7]

Some particularly fruitful investigations into cross-currents were brought to light at the Ontario symposium. Michael Robinson identifies a setting of *Mitridate* (previously attributed to Allesandro Scarlatti) as the second of two settings (for Rome and London respectively) by Nicola Porpora in the 1730s. The libretti were both derived from Racine's *Mitridate*, but the first (written by Filippo Vanstryp) complicates the original plot in order to provide occasions for exit arias, while the second (by Colley Cibber under the pseudonym Gavardo da Gavardo Giustinopolitano) provides some interesting departures from the mainstream, including a significant increase in accompanied recitative, and a decrease by half in the number of arias which were apparently not planned as exit or da capo arias. Musical material from Porpora's first setting was apparently not used again in the second. The second setting also contains a broader range of keys and the more frequent use of triple meter. Robinson concludes that Porpora's second *Mitridate* was an unsuccessful experiment catering to English, specifically Whig, taste, a conclusion which seems to be on firm ground, but I wonder if his description of the placement of arias as apparently "arbitrary" does justice to his otherwise finely honed argument.[8]

Daniel Heartz sees "blurring the boundaries between set pieces and their surrounding recitatives" as a "forward-looking trait around 1760, one that would reach its artistic culmination in Mozart's *Idomeneo*."[9] In this context, he mentions the omission of orchestral ritornelli and the abbreviated reprise characteristic of Traetta's arias. Marita McClymonds finds "the use of instruments in the recitative to interpret the words and to blur the sharp lines between recitative and aria" a motivation in Mattei Verazi's libretti that parallels an aim of Gluck, as put forth in the preface to *Alceste* (1769). She also credits Traetta's *Sofonisba* (1762) for the first usage of extensive instructions for action during an aria.[10] While both authors deal with *azioni teatrali*—somewhat hybrid forms arising after midcentury that crossed French spectacle with Italian opera seria—the *feste teatrali* in Vienna and Parma covered by Heartz differ substantially from the blood-and-thunder spectacles Verazi provided for Mannheim, Stuttgart, and Ludwigsburg, addressed by McClymonds.

Is *Singspiel* to be considered a crosscurrent to opera seria, or is it a mainstream itself? Walter, Riemann, and Kretschmar, around 1900, interpreted it as a manifestation of German nationalism, but Roland Würtz, in two contributions to the Ontario symposium, cites evidence and draws conclusions to the contrary. He finds an "obvious dependence upon the genre of opera seria" in Ignaz Holzbauer's *Günther von Schwarzburg* (Mannheim, 1777). In

summarizing the librettist Christoph Wieland's *Versuch über das deutsche Singspiel* of 1775, however, Würtz's argument is not convincing. Wieland apparently considered *Singspiel* a new genre; he found the Italian (and French?) domination of German musical life and aesthetics deplorable; and he considered *Singspiel* to be both a useful influence on taste and an opportunity for public pleasure. This does not seem to support Würtz's conclusion that Wieland was expounding "an aesthetic of the *Singspiel* that does not break with traditional opera."[1]

"From a composer of reformed *opera seria* into a precursor of French grand opera"—the composer matching this description could, of course, be none other than Luigi Cherubini.[2] According to Stephen Willis, Cherubini's preparation for and interest in opera seria was not characteristic of opera composers in that era. Yet, in observing the career of a composer trained in sacred polyphony turn to opera seria and then flourish on foreign soil with a distinctly personal musical style that breaks away from a mainstream, one is reminded of other composers. Dealing with scanty evidence, Willis does a fine job of demonstrating that Cherubini's position with regard to the mainstream is unmistakably his own, but he whets our appetite for comparing previous situations of this sort.

Daniel Heartz questions "the unified and exhalted tone" of Mozart's *Idomeneo* in a detailed article that continues his argument for the stylistic appropriateness of Mozart's revisions for the Viennese revival of *Idomeneo* in 1786. His critical, descriptive style conjures up a series of pictures, which recalls Robinson's well-chosen quote of Calzabigi, "that tragedy must consist of a group of pictures which a selected tragic subject can conjure up in the imagination and fantasy of one of those excellent painters who deserve to be distinguished by the title. . . ."[3]

What can we conclude from these two symposia? Certainly the Dallas symposium refutes once again that aged prejudice that maintained Vivaldi composed the same concerto a thousand times and that *seicento* and early *settecento* opera seria was an unimaginative cloning of the same idea over and over again. The Ontario symposium, concentrating its efforts on areas north of the Alps, establishes a framework for further unraveling of the complexities of opera seria as it extended throughout the eighteenth century. Looking back with our own perspective as scholars and audience, we may never don carnival masks and recapture its spirit wholly, but we can restore to some degree opera seria's frame of reference, dazzling diversity, and power to move our own affections. Will the future witness even greater resurgence of the Enlightenment's lyrical if not always tragic muse? The events in Dallas and Ontario bode well for such a future. —*Sandra Pinegar*

NOTES

[1]Michael Collins, "Dramatic Theory and the Italian Baroque Libretto," in *Opera and Vivaldi* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1984), p. 15.

[2]Ibid., p. 28.

[3]Gary Schmidgall, "Ariosto's *Orlando* and Opera Seria," op. cit., pp. 66–67.

[4]Arthur Mendel, "The Services of Musicology to the Practical Musician," in *Some Aspects of Musicology* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1957), pp. 1–18; and, Donald J. Grout, "On Historical Authenticity in the Performance of Old Music," in *Essays on Music in Honor of Archibald Thompson Davison* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 341–47.

[5]Elise K. Kirk, "Introduction. Vivaldi's *Orlando furioso*: The Dallas Opera Production and Symposium," in *Opera and Vivaldi*, p. 10.

[6]However, the title role of Orlando was sung in 1727 by a woman, Lucia Lasscrtti, and not by a castrato as Porter states in "Opera Seria Today: A Credo," op. cit., p. 361.

[7]Howard Mayer Brown, "Embellishing Eighteenth-Century Arias: On Cadenzas," op. cit., p. 267.

[8]It should be noted that Watteau did not give the title to his painting *L'Indifférent* as Wynne states in "Baroque Manners and Passions in Modern Performance," op. cit., p. 176. A posthumous series of engravings after the paintings, the *Recueil Jullienne*, gave titles to his works. See, Margaret Grasselli and Pierre Rosenberg, *Watteau 1684–1721* (Washington: National Art Gallery, 1984), 389–92.

[9]Eric Cross, "The Relationship between Text and Music in the Operas of Vivaldi," in *Opera and Vivaldi*, pp. 297–98, 304.

[10]Quoted by Nino Pierotta, "Metastasio and the Demands of his Literary Environment," in *Studies in Music from the University of Western Ontario* 7, no. 1 (1982): 16.

[11]Michael F. Robinson, "The Ancient and the Modern: A Comparison of Metastasio and Calzabigi," *Studies in Music* 7, no. 2 (1982): 139.

[12]Michael F. Robinson, "How to Demonstrate Virtue: The Case of Porpora's Two Settings of *Mitridate*," *Studies in Music* 7, no. 1 (1982): 58.

[13]Pierotta, loc. cit.

[14]Robinson, op. cit., p. 48.

[15]Daniel Heartz, "Traetta in Vienna: *Armide* (1761) and Iffigenia in Tauride (1763)," *Studies in Music* 7, no. 1 (1982): 71.

[16]Marita McClymonds, "Mattei Verazi and the Opera at Mannheim, Stuttgart, and Ludwigsburg," *Studies in Music* 7, no. 2 (1982): 105–106, 131.

[17]Roland Würtz, "Anton Schweitzer and Christoph Martin Wieland: The Theory of the Eighteenth-Century Singspiel," *Studies in Music* 7, no. 2 (1982): 149.

[18]Stephen Willis, "Cherubini: From *Opera seria* to *Opéra comique*," *Studies in Music* 7, no. 2 (1982): 153.

[19]Robinson, "The Ancient and the Modern," p. 145.

Thomas Emmerig. ***Joseph Riepel (1709–1782): Hofkapellmeister des Fürsten von Thurn und Taxis.*** Thurn- und Taxis-Studien, vol. 14. Kallmünz: Verlag Michael Lassleben, 1984.

Thomas Emmerig's *Joseph Riepel (1709–1782): Hofkapellmeister des Fürsten von Thurn und Taxis*, volume 14 in the Thurn- und Taxis-Studien, is a welcome work which should be of central significance in the recent revival of interest in the life and work of Joseph Riepel. This relatively small volume (177 pages, including indices) contains a biography and catalog of Riepel's theoretical writings as well as a complete and thoroughly annotated thematic

[3]Gary Schmidgall, "Ariosto's *Orlando* and Opera Seria," op. cit., pp. 66–67.

[4]Arthur Mendel, "The Services of Musicology to the Practical Musician," in *Some Aspects of Musicology* (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1957), pp. 1–18; and, Donald J. Grout, "On Historical Authenticity in the Performance of Old Music," in *Essays on Music in Honor of Archibald Thompson Davison* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), pp. 341–47.

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[13]Pierotta, loc. cit.

[14]Robinson, op. cit., p. 48.

[15]Daniel Heartz, "Traetta in Vienna: *Armide* (1761) and Iffigenia in Tauride (1763)," *Studies in Music* 7, no. 1 (1982): 71.

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[17]Roland Würtz, "Anton Schweitzer and Christoph Martin Wieland: The Theory of the Eighteenth-Century Singspiel," *Studies in Music* 7, no. 2 (1982): 149.

[18]Stephen Willis, "Cherubini: From *Opera seria* to *Opéra comique*," *Studies in Music* 7, no. 2 (1982): 153.

[19]Robinson, "The Ancient and the Modern," p. 145.

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catalog of his compositions.

The design of Emmerig's book is clear; its contents readily accessible. Following a brief foreword, Emmerig presents an exhaustive bibliography in three segments: unpublished sources, literature specifically about Riepel, and other related articles and books. Next comes a thorough biography in which Emmerig quotes extensively from Riepel's own writings. Following this is the thematic catalog itself, in which the works are grouped according to genre. Persons, places, and titles of works and texts are then indexed, and the work concludes with twenty-five photographs of significant persons and places in Riepel's life as well as facsimiles of title pages from some of his compositions and theoretical works.

In his foreword, Emmerig recognizes the recent resurgence of interest in Riepel both as a theorist and as a composer. While giving well-deserved credit to earlier writers on Riepel, such as Twittenhoff, Schwarzmaier, and Merkl,[1] Emmerig states that a complete and clear portrait of Riepel has not yet been painted. With an eye to this worthwhile goal, he undertakes the task of presenting the necessary material for the creation of such a portrait. In evaluating Emmerig's work, it is important to remember that he does *not* claim to present such a portrait himself, but rather to supply needed information for those who wish to come to a clearer understanding of Riepel's life and work.

Emmerig has attempted to compile a complete bibliography of secondary sources relating to Riepel's life and works, and students of eighteenth-century music should rejoice to see the resulting list, which is remarkable in both its length and variety. In view of the usefulness of this bibliography, one would have welcomed a broad list of primary sources relating to eighteenth-century composition and theory; however, such a work would be far beyond the scope of Emmerig's study.

Emmerig's biography of Riepel draws heavily upon Riepel's own writings. Because in the majority of his works Riepel writes in a colloquial style, presenting a dialogue between student and teacher, Emmerig has been able to glean a great deal of information about the details of Riepel's life, much of which cannot be found in other existing primary sources. Emmerig's biography thus presents an entertaining and highly personal view of Riepel—a view which allows us to see Riepel as a man with a lifelong interest in music (in spite of his long years of study and work in other disciplines), rather than as one who experienced a sudden "conversion" around 1740. It would seem advisable to regard rather cautiously much of this "patchwork-quilt" portrait, pieced together by Emmerig's painstaking attention to detail from Riepel's clues scattered throughout his writings; one writing in the later years of his life may not recall all of the earlier years with the accuracy a biographer might wish! Nevertheless, Emmerig's biography is by far the most complete of any of the current Riepel sources.

Emmerig's list of Riepel's theoretical writings is not, however, as complete. He lists these works with information about the autograph, original publica-

tion and other existing copies, and literature relating to each work; no mention is made, however, of either the lost *Eine Abhandlung vom Kanon* or the unpublished *Silva rerum, ein Notiz-Exzerptenbuch*. In spite of these two omissions, this annotated list is quite useful, especially in regard to his citations of the existing secondary sources in which each work is discussed.

Several features contribute to the potential usefulness of Emmerig's catalog of Riepel's compositions. Unlike Merkl's catalog,[2] Emmerig's incipits contain the opening of the bass as well as of the melody, and the incipits of the vocal works also contain the opening text setting. With each example Emmerig cites the instrumentation, information about the autograph and other extant copies, and references to the work in other catalogs, articles, and books, and in Riepel's own writings. He comments (where appropriate) upon Riepel's notations on the score or other information about the work. The works are arranged by genre, and Emmerig regrets the difficulty of arranging them in chronological order because of Riepel's failure to date his manuscripts. A number of works are cited which do not appear in Merkl's list, and in one case Emmerig claims to correct a rather serious misprint in Merkl's work.

Nevertheless, it is not to be assumed that Emmerig's book supplants the earlier works of Merkl, Schwarzmaier, and Twittenhoff. In particular, Twittenhoff's book contains valuable summaries of the contents of Riepel's theoretical treatises, and Merkl's contains descriptions of Riepel's works by genre; these descriptions are beyond the scope of Emmerig's book, and he is correct in recognizing the value of these works. Emmerig does not claim to replace these earlier works, but rather to fill the gap in knowledge which they leave, and he has fulfilled this goal admirably. This book, the latest in Emmerig's series of works and concerts promoting Riepel's music and theoretical writings, is a valuable and much-needed addition to the existing scholarship on Riepel, and it should assist greatly in the delineation of that clear and complete portrait of Riepel which Emmerig so justly calls for in his foreword.

—*Nola Reed Knouse*

NOTES

[1] Josef Merkl, *Joseph Riepel als Komponist (1709–1782). Ein Beitrag zur Musikgeschichte der Stadt Regensburg* (Kallmünz: Michael Lassleben, 1937); Ernst Schwarzmaier, *Die Takt- und Tonordnung Josef Riepels. Ein Beitrag zur Formenlehre im 18. Jahrhundert* (Wolfenbüttel, 1936; reprint edition, Regensburger Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft 4, Regensburg: Gustav Bosse Verlag, 1978); and Wilhelm Twittenhoff, *Die musiktheoretischen Schriften Joseph Riepels (1709–1782) als Beispiel einer anschaulichen Musiklehre* (Halle, 1935; reprint edition, Hildesheim, 1971).

[2] Merkl, pp. 69–86.

R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn's Musical Education: A Study and Edition of his Exercises in Composition; Oxford, Bodleian MS Margaret Deneke Mendelssohn C. 43.* Cambridge Studies in Music. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

In terms of pure compositional technique, there can be no doubt that Mendelssohn was the outstanding master of his time. Although he was almost universally admired during his lifetime, his facility in composing was also turned against him in the critical reception of his works after his death. Wagner, for instance, argued in his racist pamphlet *Judaism in Music* (1869) that although members of the Jewish race might well master a craft, they could never achieve the depth of feeling that is necessary for art, and he cited Mendelssohn as his example. Other authors refer to his skill as "fatal facility" and suggest that his music is characterized by "too facile and flawless a technique."[1]

To assess fairly Mendelssohn's position in music history, it is essential that he be regarded as the scion of a particular musical tradition. His heritage was that of a Berlin school that traced its roots directly to J. S. Bach. Bach's student Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721–1783) was the teacher of Carl Friedrich Zelter (1758–1832), who, in turn, taught Mendelssohn. Zelter was, outside of the opera house, the musical leader of Berlin in the first decades of the nineteenth century. He directed the *Singakademie* and the *Liedertafel*, and gave private composition instruction to a generation of younger composers. He regarded himself, quite reasonably, as the custodian of Bach's pedagogical method, just as his *Singakademie* library was the greatest contemporary repository for Bach scores. Certainly, to the degree that Zelter and his circle preserved this unique, Berlin-centered approach, the roots of Mendelssohn's style took their nourishment from deep wells of conservative tradition, rather than from delta floods of each new season.

Professor Todd's excellent book clarifies the means by which Mendelssohn achieved his compositional mastery. Todd has as the source for his investigation a remarkable notebook, containing the boy musician's exercises from nearly a year and a half of study—from about late August 1819 to January 1821, a period ending shortly before the composer's twelfth birthday. The notebook is held in the important Bodleian collection of Mendelssohniana.[2]

Todd's study consists of a compact prose text, tracing Mendelssohn's progress through Zelter's course step by step, followed by a detailed table of the notebook's contents and a transcription of the entire manuscript. As to the latter, it is no difficult matter to decipher Mendelssohn's musical calligraphy in general. In this case, however, editorial problems arise from the multiple stages of the student's and teacher's work that resulted in layers of notations. To indicate the problems involved, we might take as an example one chorale-

setting assignment, "Chorale 7," shown in facsimile (Todd, Plate 7, p. 32) as well as in the edition. Here Zelter first notated the (newly composed) melody to be harmonized; next Mendelssohn entered his solution in pencil; Zelter then made corrections; and lastly Mendelssohn traced the final reading in ink. The editorial procedure is to indicate Mendelssohn's notation in large notes and Zelter's in small notes. The result is a bit peculiar to read as music, and the student of the edition must get used to an awkward situation in which the smaller notes indicate the cantus firmus and, where two readings are juxtaposed, the musically superior reading. (On this same page is a small editorial slip—the *e* in the tenor four bars from the end of the exercise was originally written by Zelter, then cancelled in favor of *a*; Todd's edition indicates that the *e* was Mendelssohn's.) In another place the presence of a marginal notation by Zelter, a rising tetrachord scribbled in pencil at the top of fol. 68^{v} (Todd Plate V; the notation is not shown in the transcription section or mentioned in the text), only serves to remind the reader that the notebook cannot show everything that passed between teacher and pupil. One wonders in vain what point the master wished to stress by such a musical example!

Most impressive in the body of the text is Todd's own thorough grasp of the music theory involved. He both sees and discusses clearly the essential problems presented by Zelter's assignments, and he evaluates Mendelssohn's work convincingly. He demonstrates his own control of the theoretical literature of the time in his ability to draw on the principles expounded by Fux, Marpurg, Rameau, Kollmann, Gottfried Weber, and A. B. Marx, to supplement the main focus on the Kirnberger tradition. He also offers discerning asides relating Mendelssohn's work to that of other composers.

Zelter's course began with the realization of figured basses. In this notebook, the exercises start at a fairly advanced stage in the development of this skill. They provide Todd a chance to illustrate that although the curriculum derives directly from Kirnberger, Mendelssohn's harmonic style was already affected by that of the early Romantic period, with freer treatment especially of the diminished-seventh chord. It is clear that although he was following a pedagogical plan developed in the first half of the eighteenth century Mendelssohn had sympathy for a newer, Romantic language.

The next project for Mendelssohn was the setting of chorales in four parts. As Todd emphasizes, this craft was taught by Bach and his successors as an introduction to more complex contrapuntal writing—an alternative to the progression of species counterpoint espoused by Fux. Zelter, following Kirnberger, took Mendelssohn from a series of simple, note-against-note chorale settings, through embellished arrangements, and finally to the composition of his own chorale melodies and full settings, employing texts by the poet Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769). The chorale, of course, became an important component of Mendelssohn's mature style; among his works are numerous examples, both based on existing chorales and using original melodies. This use of chorales suggests an aesthetic question, not within the

scope of Todd's study, but important to the understanding of Mendelssohn's position in this time: Is the use of chorales and chorale style to be regarded as a sign of a reactionary tendency on the composer's part or, quite contrariwise, as a genuinely Romantic gesture in which the Bach style becomes an archaism used for its expressive symbolism? There is certainly no doubt that the style was recognizably archaic. As Todd makes clear, the principles of composition in the genre had been radically reformed as a reflection of the Enlightenment, primarily due to the arguments of Johann Adam Hiller (1728–1804). Probably the most obvious example of the adoption into a larger work of the more up-to-date style, which may be identified as "hymn style" rather than "chorale style," is the theme of the variation movement of Haydn's "Kaiserquartett," Op. 76, No. 3. The expressive potential of the chorale style as an archaic element within a larger context is illustrated by the chorale for two armed men in Mozart's *Die Zauberflöte*. Mendelssohn's aesthetic intentions in his uses of the chorale style—reactionary or Romantic—would be well worth further study beyond that which Todd is able to give them in this context.

After completing his exercises in chorale setting, Mendelssohn was led through studies in counterpoint—invertible counterpoint (at the octave only), canon, and fugue. The text follows his track step by step, with careful evaluations at every stage. Todd's sharp eye and ear are more perceptive than even Zelter's here, and he points out errors and weaknesses that the teacher himself had overlooked. Even so, the boy's progress seems remarkable; he must have been developing already that rigorous self-criticism that characterized his work throughout his life. By the time he began to work on three-part fugues, as Todd demonstrates, the ingenuity of Mendelssohn's handling of material surpassed considerably the mere routine of copy-book exercises. These fugues, some paired with preludes, are scored for violin and piano so that they could be tried out by the boy composer on the violin with his teacher (or perhaps his sister Fanny) at the piano. It hardly needs to be emphasized that Mendelssohn's later output included many fugues. These range from those in the early string symphonies that continued the youth's growth in contrapuntal writing, to the fine preludes and fugues for piano and organ, to the magnificent fugues in the large choral works. Mendelssohn's canons, mostly written as album leaves or similar presentation pieces, are largely unavailable and still insufficiently studied, but they, too, are evidence that the composer maintained as an adult his interest and ability in the more learned genres he had studied as a boy.

One important point to be made here is that Zelter always matched his teaching to his students. In the case of the singer G.W. Teschner (1800–1883) the master concentrated on vocalises to solve specific problems and on simple dance pieces.[5] The focus on contrapuntal studies in the Mendelssohn notebook indicates that from the beginning the intention was that he should master the most difficult skills of the composer's craft, making his career rather as a creative than as an interpretive artist.

The final chapter of the text is devoted to a few pieces that appear in the notebook alongside the curricular compositions, but that are not part of the regular progression of assigned tasks. These include a French song, "Pauvre Jeanette," and several works for piano solo or violin and piano. Although they incorporate some of the contrapuntal techniques Zelter was teaching Mendelssohn at this time, Todd shows that these pieces were modeled largely on Haydn and Mozart. Todd may attribute too much of the impetus for the compositions to Zelter, however. It seems equally probable that Mendelssohn independently tried his hand at free composition, perhaps based on the Classical styles with which he would have become familiar through his violin and piano lessons with C.W. Henning (1784–1867) and Ludwig Berger (1777–1839) respectively. These free pieces are simple and still somewhat conservative for the time. The forms are mainly binary and variation designs; not yet did Mendelssohn attempt a true sonata-form movement. Nor do the influences of burgeoning Romanticism appear: Beethoven and Weber, from whom Mendelssohn was soon to absorb much, had not yet entered his compositional consciousness.

The last observation raises a larger issue, one broader than the focused scope of Todd's study, but one that all Mendelssohn scholars must certainly confront: the relationship of compositional technique to style. Mendelssohn's mature style is characterized by masterful atmospheric scorings, evolving thematic connections, imaginative harmonic effects, and literary inspirations, none of which he learned from his composition lessons with Zelter! With certain exceptions—for example, fugues and chorales—his technique merely operates within his highly personal style. It is the balance between the two that accounts on the one hand for Mendelssohn's stern judgements of some of his less technically skilled contemporaries, and on the other for the attacks on his work by critics of later generations, who placed such value on the indulgence of an individual style that a polished technique in and of itself could be regarded as evidence of an insufficiency of imagination. The search for the right balance between style and technique was certainly a conscious concern for Mendelssohn himself in his criticism of his own works.[1]

Professor Todd's investigation constitutes a major contribution to Mendelssohn research. It not only gives access to a new source from the composer's boyhood and elucidates its contents with perceptive critical commentary, but it also opens up some of the main issues in the composer's maturity and the understanding of his place in history. Moreover, it bears significantly on such a variety of subjects as the character of Zelter, the continuity of the J. S. Bach tradition, and the independence of a Berlin style in the early years of the Romantic movement. Thus, the importance of this fine study ranges beyond its narrow focus, and the work merits attentive study by scholars in many specialties.

—*Douglass Seaton*

NOTES

[1] Alexander Brent Smith, "The Workmanship of Mendelssohn," *Music and Letters* 4 (1923): 18–25; Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy, *Letters*, ed. by G. Selden-Goth (New York: Pantheon, 1945), p. 13.

[2] *Cf. Catalogue of the Mendelssohn Papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Volume 2: Music and Papers*, comp. by Margaret Crum (Tutzing: Hans Schneider, 1983), p. 2.

[3] Douglass Seaton, "A Composition Course with Karl Friedrich Zelter," *College Music Symposium* 21, no. 2 (Fall 1981): 126–138.

[4] An outstanding example, as Professor Todd himself has shown elsewhere, is the revision of the concert overture *Die Hebriden*, Op. 26; see R. Larry Todd, "Of Sea Gulls and Counterpoint: the Early Versions of Mendelssohn's *Hebriden* Overture," *19th Century Music* 2 (1979): 197–213. Also of relevance here are Friedhelm Krummacher, *Mendelssohn—der Komponist: Studien zur Kammermusik für Streicher* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1978), especially pp. 61–77; Douglass Seaton, "A Study of a Collection of Mendelssohn's Sketches and Other Autograph Material: Deutsche Staatsbibliothek Berlin *Mus. ms. autogr. Mendelssohn 15*" (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1977), especially pp. 245ff.

James Anderson Winn. *Unsuspected Eloquence: A History of the Relations between Poetry and Music.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981.

Originally published in 1981, *Unsuspected Eloquence* has recently come out in paperback. One might view with some skepticism a book that promises to deliver—in a mere 346 pages—a "history of the relations between poetry and music." Such an undertaking requires a thorough knowledge of poetry and music (and of poetic and musical theory) throughout the ages; competence in several languages, living and dead; and an ability both to assimilate a great quantity of abstruse information and to convey it clearly. Satisfying these requirements, James Winn has written a history, in sparkling prose, that will prove enlightening to students of literature and of music.

In order to write this comprehensive work, Winn has had to depend—often heavily—on secondary sources, on what specialists have said about music and poetry in various eras. He uses his sources well, elegantly incorporating them into his own text (though one occasionally tires of shifting from Winn's ideas to someone else's). At times, unfortunately, his dependence on secondary material results in his making vague, even inaccurate, statements. But on the whole, Winn uses his sources with discrimination. Although *Unsuspected Eloquence* has a recurring theme—"that great music and great poetry invariably involve both construction and expression"(299)—the book is largely an account of the history of ideas in the West, with emphasis on music and poetry. Since the work is more a history than an argument, a critical précis of *Unsuspected Eloquence*, rather than an examination of the author's reasoning, is perhaps in order.

The first chapter covers music in primitive cultures and in the antique

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world. Throughout the chapter, Winn stresses that poetry and purely verbal sound are closely linked; ancient and primitive cultures, for example, sometimes used vocables rather than denotative words in their songs (1–3). The ancient Greek poets—lyric, dramatic, and epic—joined music in one form or another to their texts; "Sappho, Pindar, and Euripides were evidently poet-composers, and their lyric forms, complex in meter and elaborate in euphonic pattern, demanded melodic ability" (17). Winn discusses how the spread of the written word and the development of music theory brought about a greater division between musicians and poets.

To preface the second chapter, on musico-poetic relations in early Christian times, Winn discusses four aspects of music and poetry that the Greeks and Romans "passed on to later Western culture": musical composition and performance, literary composition and performance, musical theory and philosophy, and rhetorical theory. He goes on to discuss medieval sacred music and offers a stimulating allegorical analysis of Notker's "Quid tu, virgo mater" (60–65).

The third chapter covers the troubadours and some polyphonic composers of the Middle Ages. Much of what Winn has to say about the troubadours and trouvères derives from studies by Hendrik van der Werf;[1] yet Winn's own analysis of Jaufre Rudel's "Lanquan li jorn son lonc en may" will serve as a good introduction to the virtuosic poetic craft of the Provençal poets. Speculating on the medieval love of allegory—of presenting two stories at once, so to speak—Winn suggests that early polyphony

> was initially a metaphor, an attempt to create a musical equivalent for the literary and theological technique of allegory. . . . [W]e have seen how the process of troping, with its constant alternation of old chant and newly composed music, Old Testament text and New Testament commentary, implied a mystic simultaneity of events from different times. . . . I suspect that polyphony was invented when someone recognized that *actual* simultaneity could be achieved in music. (87–88)

As Winn stresses, medieval poets and musicians skillfully used constructive devices, such as rhyme and acrostic, polyphony and canon; but only in rare cases (the *caccia*, for example, with its musical "chasing") are these devices used expressively (115). Though necessarily brief, Winn's examination of poetic and musical constructive devices conveys well the medieval fascination with the complex.

In the fourth chapter, on the "Rhetorical Renaissance," Winn discusses the importance of ancient rhetorical works (particularly those of Quintilian and Cicero) and their influence on Renaissance composers, many of whom strove to make their music expressive by strengthening the link between text and music. Extending the ideas on counterpoint made in the previous chapter, Winn argues that Renaissance composers could "express and surpass literary oxymoron" by having the singers simultaneously declaim different words, such as *vita* and *morte* (148). In general, "composers and poets in the

Renaissance learned to appropriate as means of expression techniques which the Middle Ages had developed as a means of construction" (156). Winn discusses musical humanism succinctly, though he wrongly asserts that Glareanus's settings of Horace's odes "are lost and we cannot be sure of their rhythmic method" (169). These settings, printed in Glareanus's *Dodecachordon* (1547), are in fact interesting in that they attempt not only to illustrate Horace's meters—as did the Horatian settings by Tritonius and his followers—but also to express the emotional content of the poems.[1] Although Winn has apparently looked at the original edition of the *Dodecachordon* (since on p. 165 he alters Strunk's translation), I must assume that he relied on a secondary source when writing of these supposedly lost pieces. This inaccuracy, of course, does not invalidate what Winn has to say about musical humanism (or about Glareanus), but it does point out the dangers inherent in any scholarly enterprise that must rely more on secondary than on primary sources.

This is not to suggest that Winn's scholarship is slipshod, for generally he uses his sources with laudable discretion. In a discussion of Lowinsky's theories on tonality and the Netherlandish "secret chromatic art," for example, Winn adduces a large number of articles for and against Lowinsky's theses (132–33, n.). This approach is, I think, fairer to the reader than that of, say, Howard Mayer Brown, who confidently writes that Clemens non Papa "and a few other Netherlandish composers expressed their unorthodox beliefs by means of a 'secret chromatic art'"[2]—not even hinting that this issue is controversial.

"Imitations," the fifth chapter, deals with poets and composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whose works sometimes aroused "the passions of their hearers (by essentially rhetorical means)" and sometimes expressed "the passions of role-playing poets and composers" (198–99). Winn comments on the struggle between those who felt that great artists are born, not made, and those who felt that the great artist ascends Parnassus step by step, learning rule after rule. Those artists who believed that great art resulted from imitation of great art found models on which to base their own work: poets could model their work on Virgil; composers, on Palestrina and Fux (204–212).

After illustrating Giovanni Baptista Draghi's use of expressive devices to set a text by Dryden, Winn shows how Bach used "musical materials originating from local imitations as the fundamental building blocks for a whole piece" (220). The striking contrast between Draghi's technique and Bach's serves as a cogent testimony of Bach's genius and of his sensitivity to his texts. Winn presents a clear account of number symbolism in Bach's works, but one senses that he is again drawing much (perhaps too much?) from secondary sources. For example, we read that "a cantata for the New Year uses the calendar numbers 30, 31, and 365" (223). Which cantata does this? If we check Winn's source, Paul Henry Lang's "The Enlightenment and Music," we read the following: "Bach was devoted to [number symbolism]

and often went to fantastic extremes, as for instance in one of the New Year Cantatas where the symbol figures of 30, 31, and 365 are used in notes and measures."[4] We still do not know the cantata in question. (Did Winn know which cantata Lang meant, or was he simply repeating Lang's statement?)

Frequently discussing antecedents of Romanticism, Winn sees the *Affektenlehre* as

> a transitional doctrine, embodying old and new ideas: its workmanlike emphasis on classification and arrangement of passions and their musical equivalents . . . suggests Renaissance beliefs and procedures; but its broad interest in the passions . . . led to more revolutionary later developments. (234)

A teacher of eighteenth-century English literature, Winn offers some thought-provoking insights into the relations between music and poetry in England during the 1700s. Drawing more from primary than from secondary sources, he amply supports his thesis that many English men of letters considered music—especially operatic music—"foreign, effeminate, destructive of sense, and successful only when imitating the passions" (244). His quotations from Daniel Webb's *Observations on the Correspondence between Poetry and Music* (1769) are fascinating in their anticipation of Romanticism. Though often enlightening, Winn's discussion of classical and Romantic music—only about twenty pages long—could use further development. He draws an interesting parallel between Haydn's use of tonality and Pope's use of grammar and the heroic couplet (267–69) and continues this idea when writing of Romantic poetry and harmony:

> The diminished seventh chord was to music what the adverbial clause beginning "where" or "when" was to Romantic poetry: a smoothly plausible way of continuing motion, a means to juxtapose and associate images or key-areas without committing oneself to one unequivocal grammatical relation between those elements. (279–80)

The sixth and last chapter, "The Condition of Music," takes its title from a statement by Walter Pater that "all art constantly aspires to the condition of music." Certainly in the early twentieth century, poets like the French Parnassians and the symbolists pushed "poetry in the direction of music" (296); and Joyce, in *Finnegans Wake*, used individual words somewhat as composers use chords, often combining two or more words in one: in the word *penisolate*, for instance, "we hear 'penis,' 'penultimate,' 'peninsular,' 'isolate,' and perhaps 'desolate.'" (335). Ending his book with a discussion of the music of Schoenberg and Stravinsky (both of whom are praised for using constructive devices expressively), Winn condemns Krenek's "total serialism," considering it dry and academic, and insists that the "death of tonality" does not mean the death of musical expression (344–45).

This sketchy summary of *Unsuspected Eloquence* gives, I hope, a general idea of Winn's approach. The book, covering the major aesthetic movements in

Western history, often synthesizes others' ideas. Winn's writing is at all times admirably lucid, flowing most smoothly in the section devoted to English eighteenth-century poetry and music, where he seems most in control of the primary sources. Typographical errors are few and minor.[5] Because of its broad scope, Winn's book will appeal more to readers who want a survey than to those who want a thorough examination of the music and poetry in a given period. A valuable and long-needed text for the general reader and for many specialists, *Unsuspected Eloquence* affords an impressive overview of musico-poetic relations from antiquity to the present century.

—*Erik Ryding*

NOTES

[1] Van der Werf is unfortunately referred to throughout as van den Werf.

[2] See especially Glareanus's setting of "Cum tu, Lydia" (*Dodecachordon*, bk. 2, ch. 39), which expressively uses high notes on the words "vae" and "fervens" and a happy melisma on the word "Felices."

[3] *Music in the Renaissance* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1976), 206.

[4] *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 1 (1967): 96.

[5] The errors occur chiefly in passages containing foreign languages. The quotation from Augustine's *De Doctrina* should read "Serpentis sapientia," not *sapientiam*, "decepti sumus, Dei stultitia liberamur" (49, n.); Zarlino's famous treatise is *Le istitutioni harmoniche*, not *Instituzione armoniche* (145); "*vers et musique mesurés à l'antique*," not "*mesures á*" (169); *stile* (not *stilo*) *recitativo* (172). The last system of the example from Berg on page 307 should begin with two g-clefs, not with a g- and an f-clef.