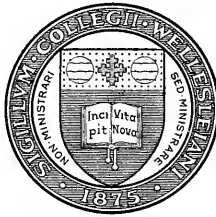


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Papers

International Congress of Musicology

Papers Read at the
International Congress
of Musicology

Held at New York

September 11th to 16th, 1939

Edited by

ARTHUR MENDEL, GUSTAVE REESE, and GILBERT CHASE

Published by the

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Note

This volume could not have appeared if it had not been for the cooperation of more persons and institutions than can be named.

The holding of the International Congress was made possible by a generous grant from the Carnegie Corporation. Many institutions opened their doors to meetings and concerts of the Congress. Their names are given in their proper places throughout this volume. To them all, but particularly to the Beethoven Association, which made its club-rooms available as Congress headquarters, the American Musicological Society is greatly indebted.

Toward the publication of these papers, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Music Educators' National Conference have given indispensable assistance.

THE EDITORS

Welcoming Remarks

(Monday, September 11th, at luncheon)

Carleton Sprague Smith

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY

IT IS A PRIVILEGE to see so many familiar faces here today, not only from the United States, but also from countries across the Atlantic to which we all owe a deep debt of gratitude. This is a solemn time. We are gathered together at an international congress of musical scholars, to exchange opinions and deepen our knowledge of music and life. This in itself is not so remarkable as the fact that our festival is taking place at a time when the world threatens to become involved once again in another terrible conflagration. Music is a language which many people understand. It is in some ways the greatest of the arts, and probably the most universal. It embodies the noblest aspirations of mankind and is capable at the same time of soothing the savage breast. Unfortunately, music has its limitations exactly as do human beings. It cannot accomplish everything. But, by and large, musical research has remained on a friendly footing, and scholars have been honest with one another. We have our differences of opinion and argue violently about matters of detail. This does not affect, however, our general kindly feeling for one another and our desire to find out the truth above all.

Many people unacquainted with the purposes of the International Society for Musicology have asked what musicology means and, since it is a very natural question, I should like to make a few remarks about it. The scholars here will forgive me; the newcomers may find these remarks of help.

Some people have undoubtedly never heard of the word *musicology* and may be surprised to learn that there is an AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY. *What is musicology?* It is primarily the scientific study of music.

A professor of English is not necessarily expected to be a *novelist* or a *poet* (although he can write prose and verse) but he is supposed to know a good deal about the subject—for instance, the construction of the language, the underlying social concepts of literature—and to be thoroughly conversant with the works of the great writers.

A professor of Music might reasonably be expected to exercise a similar function. It is a fact, however, that *musical professors* with scholarly standards and the scientific approach to the subject have been the exception rather than the rule. Music is too often regarded as an indeterminate thing that should be appreciated but not learned. There are classes everywhere on "The Appreciation of Music". Can one imagine, however, a professor teaching "The Appreciation of Chemistry"? Hardly. One learns chemistry, not the appreciation of chemistry.

Let me put it another way. If a young boy of fourteen becomes interested in mechanical things, it is probably because he has taken a bicycle or an automobile apart. He has had some practical experience, and knows certain principles of cause and effect. Most people would admit that the experimental method is a sound way of learning—and of teaching.

Musicologists try to teach music by the cause-and-effect method; they attempt to explain the evolution of music and carry out research just as does a scientist in a laboratory. The scientific study of music is the musicologist's creed, and his aim is to teach facts, not appreciation.

Musicologists believe in as much musical performance as possible—for instance, students are urged to sing the music they are transcribing. But musicologists' primary concern is to find out more about music itself and to impart it to others. Their search for knowledge—for the complete picture of music—is constant.

Playing, of course, is a continual part of every musical scholar's task. Indeed, he may be a concert performer or a composer, but he is also an analyst, critic, and historian. The physical, acoustical side is also important, and may prompt him to become an inventor.

The AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY was founded in 1934—although American musical scholars had been organized in one way or another since 1907. Alexander Wheelock Thayer, the great Beethoven authority, was the first American musical scholar with an international musical reputation, if we except Benjamin Franklin and Francis Hopkinson. Thomas Edison, of course, made one of history's most extraordinary musicological discoveries, the phonograph, which is an extremely important supplementary tool of the musicologist today. It is almost like an anaesthetic, for it enables one to put a symphony on an operating table for a certain length of time, without having it disappear into space.

The International Musicological Society Congresses, which since the First World War have been attended by American delegates, were held at Liège, Belgium, in 1930, Cambridge, England, in 1933, and Barcelona, Spain, in 1936. These festivals marked important milestones in the history of musical scholarship. Belgian, English, and Spanish music were featured along with subjects of more general interest, and the local municipalities did everything in their power to make the Congresses successful.

The present Congress comes three years after the Barcelona meeting, which I attended as the American delegate, and is held in this country because the musical program which was scheduled to take place at the New York World's Fair of 1939 induced the members of the society to plan a scientific Congress in connection with it. The Musical Festival at the Fair has been abandoned, but the Musicological Congress is going on just the same, despite cancellations, financial handicaps, and war. Nothing is able to stop music, apparently!

This first International Musicological Congress ever held in the United States has received the endorsement of our Government, and invitations to the foreign delegates were issued through the State Department at Washington. The Carnegie Corporation and Pan American Union also were helpful in bringing a number of the delegates here, and in organizing the Congress.

The International Musicological Congress has a special character in that a review of musical achievement in North and South America is being carefully planned, and artists from both continents will speak and play. For instance, Brazilian music will be featured this evening in the Brazilian Pavilion at the Fair. The distinguished composer-conductor-pianist Burle Marx and the brilliant pianist Noemi Bittencourt will give a half-hour program from 7:00 to 7:30 (which, incidentally, will be broadcast over Station WQXR). This morning the Roth String Quartet played compositions by J. K. Paine (the Harvard professor born just one hundred years ago), Arthur Foote (until his recent death the dean of New England composers), Quincy Porter (considered by many one of the best composers of string quartets in this country) and Roy Harris (the unpredictable, raw-boned Oklahoman, whose talent is tremendous).

Tomorrow evening the Old Harp Singers of Nashville, Tennessee, will sing Puritan Psalm tunes of the 17th century, two of John Wesley's hymns (published at Charleston, S. C., in 1737 [inci-

dentally this collection was really the first hymn book printed for the use of the Church of England]), some William Billings Fuguing Tunes, White Spirituals, and folk-songs.

Perhaps a word should be said about William Billings (1746-1800), one of our most significant colonial composers, who is sung today in many sections of the South, though forgotten by New England where he was born, worked, and died. Billings' imitative counterpoint, though violating the rules, was extremely effective. Let me quote a sentence or two from his *New England Psalm Singer*, published in 1770, the year of Beethoven's birth:

"for my own part, as I don't think myself confined to any Rules for Composition laid down by any that went before me, neither should I think (were I to pretend to lay down rules) that any who comes after me were any ways obligated to adhere to them any further than they should think proper: so in fact I think it is best for every composer to be his own learner. Therefore, upon this consideration, for me to dictate, or to pretend to prescribe Rules of this Nature for others, would not only be very unnecessary but also a very great piece of Vanity."

Wednesday evening, Mr. John Kirkpatrick will give a piano recital of American music by Louis Moreau Gottschalk (the famous New Orleans composer of Creole and Caribbean pieces), Edward MacDowell (who needs no introduction), Charles Ives (whom the late Lawrence Gilman considered our outstanding composer), and Roger Sessions (one of the most cerebral—one might even say musicological—composers of our day).

Friday evening there will be a concert of Hispanic Music, illustrating the musical culture of Colonial and Contemporary Latin America. Mission Church Music of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries will be featured, as well as pieces from the early California Missions.

The morning session on Wednesday will be devoted to papers on primitive and folk music of North America; Saturday's session to the Hispanic musical culture of our sister continent. Mr. Alfredo San Malo of Panama and Mr. Nicolas Slonimsky of Boston will collaborate on this program in half an hour of music by the South Americans Santa Cruz and Uribe Holguin. Ballad-singers and old-time fiddlers are coming to another session of the Congress to demonstrate folk music of the United States, and Alan Lomax—who recently performed at the White House before the King and Queen

of England—will presently sing various regional songs, accompanying himself on the guitar for you.

There is not time to say more. Your programs are fairly detailed anyway. We hope that the concerts at Fraunces Tavern, the Cloisters, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the New York State Historical Society, and the Juilliard School of Music will give our guests a rounded picture of Manhattan Island.

Musicology goes into many fields. As someone has said, it includes practically everything that lies outside “the personality of the performer and the purely technical aspects of his performance”. Attendance at this Congress should answer for many the question: “What is Musicology?”

Before closing, I want to read you the messages we received from two of our European friends who were unable to attend the Congress. Their letters are so beautiful that I know you will be greatly moved when you hear them. The first is from Albert Schweitzer, the great musical physician, who is head of an important hospital in Uganda, Equatorial Africa. It was actually in the Congo that he began his monumental study of Johann Sebastian Bach: [letter on p. 6.]

The second is from Romain Rolland, one of the deans of living musical scholars, a great poet, a noble soul. This letter is a perfect expression of the man: [letter on p. 7.]

A Letter from Albert Schweitzer

AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY

MR. GUSTAVE REESE, 3 EAST 43RD STREET, NEW YORK (N. Y.)

25. 7. 39.

CHER MONSIEUR,

Je suis très touché et très honoré de ce que l'American Musicological Society m'invite au Congrès qu'elle organise et veuille même me permettre de venir en U. S. A. sans faire les dépenses du voyage. J'aurais été bien heureux d'assister au Congrès et de prendre part aux débats dans les domaines musicaux qui sont les miens. Mais je ne puis quitter l'Afrique à cause de la situation politique. Dans le cas d'une guerre, je ne voudrais pas ne pas être dans mon hôpital, qui serait alors doublement nécessaire. Et si mes médecins étaient mobilisés il faudrait que je sois sur place pour faire le travail seul . . . Hélas, avec la situation, comme elle est en Europe maintenant, on n'est pas des hommes libres. C'est donc avec grand regret que je suis obligé de renoncer à donner suite à votre si aimable invitation, qui m'aurait encore donné le plaisir de voir bien des musiciens et des musicographes que j'aurais bien aimé connaître.

Veillez, je vous prie, exprimer toute ma reconnaissance et tous mes regrets au Comité de votre société. Heureusement que j'ai un piano avec pédales d'orgue ici, qui me permet de toujours continuer à étudier l'orgue. Je ne sais pas quand je rentrerai en Europe. Je garde l'espoir de venir un jour en U. S. A. . . . Mais, avec la situation en Europe il est difficile de faire des plans d'avance. . . Pour le cas où vous ne pourriez pas lire ma mauvaise écriture, je vous ajoute une traduction anglaise.

Veillez, je vous prie, transmettre mes bons messages au Congrès.

Votre dévoué

ALBERT SCHWEITZER.

A Letter from Romain Rolland*

A M^r LE PRÉSIDENT

DE L'AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY

POUR L'OUVERTURE DE L'INTERNATIONAL MUSIC CONGRESS.

MONSIEUR LE PRÉSIDENT:

J'adresse mon salut cordial à l'*American Musicological Society*. C'est un grand regret pour moi, que mon âge et ma santé ne me permettent point d'assister aux séances de l'*International Music Congress*, qu'elle a convoqué.

Les vétérans de la musicologie, comme moi, ont toutes raisons de se réjouir de l'importance d'un tel Congrès, qui consacre la place de premier plan qu'a aujourd'hui conquise, parmi les sciences, l'esthétique et l'histoire musicales. Quels progrès la musicologie n'a-t-elle pas réalisés, depuis quarante ans! Si elle avait toujours tenu son rang dans l'enseignement d'Allemagne, elle était totalement absente de celui de la plupart des autres pays, et particulièrement des pays latins. L'histoire de l'art ignorait la musique. Par nos efforts, elle y a aujourd'hui pris place, à égalité des autres arts. Et tous ensemble, tous les arts font partie intégrante de l'histoire générale. Comment celle-ci a-t-elle pu si longtemps s'en passer? Ils sont la fleur et le fruit des civilisations. Et bien souvent, ils portent la graine de l'âge suivant. Les grands artistes sont des précurseurs. Les grandes œuvres, en bien des cas, sont des hirondelles, qui annoncent le retour d'un nouveau printemps.

Ce n'est pas seulement pour l'histoire que la musicologie est et doit être une aide nécessaire. Elle offre des ressources encore inemployées pour la psychologie humaine. La musique est—et j'ai tâché de le démontrer dans mes analyses Beethoveniennes—la langue la plus précise et la plus exacte du subconscient. La vie secrète, la vie profonde y est inscrite; et l'on assiste, en l'observant chez les maîtres, au travail mystérieux de la création.

*A translation of this letter was printed in *The Musical Quarterly* for October 1939.

D'autre part, les recherches historiques et ethnographiques ont immensément élargi le domaine de la musique. Nous avons, depuis un demi-siècle, exhumé les richesses merveilleuses d'âges méconnus, tels les siècles médiévaux de l'Occident, et nous y avons fait la découverte que la musique était alors l'égale de l'architecture,—tant à l'époque des basiliques romaines et du chant grégorien, qu'à l'époque des cathédrales gothiques et de la maîtrise de Notre-Dame de Paris, de maître Perotin, de Guillaume de Machault, et de l'*Ars Nova*.

Même élargissement dans l'espace que dans le temps. Nous recueillons les chants de toutes les races, de tous les peuples, de toute la terre.

Ces découvertes ne demeurent point enfermées dans les salles mortes des bibliothèques et des musées. La radio les diffuse dans les plus vastes cercles populaires. Et les artistes créateurs s'alimentent à leurs sources. Elles renouvellent l'art vivant. J'ai été personnellement témoin de l'impression profonde ressentie par Claude Debussy et par une élite de la *Schola Cantorum* de Paris, en découvrant, aux concerts, l'art divin de Monteverdi,—et également, les orchestres et les danses de l'Extrême-Orient. Les semences de ces musiques antiques et exotiques (modes, rythmes et timbres orchestraux) ont fleuri en terre française.—Vous pouvez faire sans doute en Amérique des constatations analogues.

Félicitons-nous d'être venus dans un âge aussi fécond pour la musicologie! Et efforçons-nous d'organiser, sur le plan international, nos travaux!

J'exprime le vœu qu'avant toute chose, dans chaque pays, un catalogue soit dressé des archives musicales, conservées dans les bibliothèques et collections, publiques et privées.

Il fut un temps où les publications musicologiques gardaient un caractère jalousement national: Telles, les belles collections des *Denkmäler der Tonkunst*, les *Maîtres français de la Renaissance*, etc.—Pourquoi ne pas chercher maintenant à les établir sur une base vraiment mondiale? On a bien réussi à fonder, depuis vingt ans, des Assises de Concerts internationaux, à Salzburg, à Lucerne, à Florence, etc. Ne pourrait-on envisager une internationalisation des Sociétés d'his-

toire et science musicale avec des magazines rédigés dans les quatre langues des grandes nations musicales (allemand, italien, français, anglais) et, sous leur égide, des publications documentaires? L'état de troubles dont souffrent certains peuples de l'Europe paralyse leurs moyens d'éditions. Voici vingt ans, à titre d'exemple, que les *Cahiers de Conversations* de Beethoven sont prêts à être publiés par Walther Nohl et ne peuvent l'être, pour des raisons matérielles. Un tel devoir n'incombe-t-il pas à toutes les nations? Beethoven n'appartient-il pas à tous?—Il faudrait créer un fonds mondial des grandes publications musicologiques de toutes les nations. Il faudrait créer les Archives musicales du monde.

Dans le champ de l'art, il n'est pas, il ne doit plus être de rivalités entre nations. Le seul combat digne de nous est celui qui se livre, en tout pays, et à chaque heure, entre la Culture et l'ignorance, entre la lumière et le chaos. Sauvons tout ce qui, de la lumière, peut être sauvé! Il n'en est pas de plus splendide que la musique. Elle est le soleil de l'univers intérieur.

ROMAIN ROLLAND.

Vézelay, 20 août 1939.

Opening General Session
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 12TH
9:30 A.M.
at the Beethoven Association Club-Rooms
Carleton Sprague Smith presiding

Music and Government—Field for an Applied Musicology

Charles Seeger

WASHINGTON, D. C.

IT IS WITH THE GREATEST DIFFIDENCE, but with a deep sense of its urgent importance, that I approach the subject of music and government, and offer suggestions for the services musicology may render to each.

I must emphasize the fact that I am not here offering the results of intensive research, but rather broaching a problem, with the hope that more qualified students—and many of them—will in the near future turn their attention to what I feel is perhaps one of the most important fields available to musicology today.

I must emphasize also that what I have to say expresses solely my own thought and that of some other individuals who like myself find themselves inevitably drawn into consideration of such relationships as I propose to deal with here. My words, therefore, in no way express or allow inferences regarding any policy of the United States Government, or any agency of it—least of all, of the Federal Music Program, of whose staff I am a member.

* * *

The relationships of music and government are forced upon our attention today by the increasing interest in and control of music by governments in more than one part of the world.

In the United States for example, a dozen or more agencies of the Federal Government, exclusive of the Army and Navy, are conducting large-scale music activities (not to mention the 48 State governments).

Of major interest to musicologists is the Music Division of the Library of Congress, with one of the largest collections of music material in the world, comprising a rapidly growing phonogram archive, and including the Archive of American Folk-Song with the largest collection of discs of American folk-music in existence. The concerts and broadcasts of the Division are outstanding. The Smithsonian Institution, too, possesses a fine collection of phonograms—mostly of the music of the American Indian.

To the general public, the Federal Music Program of the Work Projects Administration is by now well known. This agency was set up to employ and re-train unemployed professional musicians. There have been about ten thousand on its rolls during the year 1938-39. About 90% of the work is in orchestras and bands; about 10% in teaching. Recording and broadcasting is upon a large scale.

I must list in an omnibus category a varied and widespread type of Government activity in music, namely, the encouragement of music as a community or social service, or what has been somewhat ineptly termed "social music". The Department of Agriculture supervises about 68,000 4-H Clubs and 42,000 Home Demonstration Clubs throughout the country. A rough estimate would indicate that some 10,000 to 20,000 leaders conduct the part-time music activities of the upwards of 2,000,000 members of these clubs. Of a similar nature are the activities of untold thousands of Government-paid workers and supervisors in the Recreation and Education sections of the Work Projects Administration, in the National Youth Administration, in the Civilian Conservation Corps, Farm Security Administration, U. S. Housing Authority and other agencies.

The number of American citizens receiving fairly substantial music services of some sort from one or another of these agencies cannot be even roughly estimated beyond the vague figure, "tens of millions".

Mention must be made of a factor of very great importance, namely, Government sponsoring of films and radio broadcasts. Two

outstanding films by Pare Lorenz ("The Plow that Broke the Plains" and "The River") offer us a bare intimation of the vast role such productions may play in the hands of practically every Government agency. Outstanding broadcasts, both nationwide and international, are also on the increase. Musical documentation and accompaniment of such films and broadcasts constitutes a rapidly growing field of Government music activity.

Lastly, I must mention the Federal Communications Commission, which regulates radio broadcasting and short-wave facilities throughout the country. About 60% of radio broadcasting time in the United States is given over to music. Although no specific rulings upon music have been made by the Commission, its role is especially important in the vast amount of music data compiled through its statistical and research activities, often in cooperation with universities and research institutions throughout the country.

* * *

These musical activities on the part of the United States Government were initiated at various times to meet the needs of various agencies as each need made itself felt. No broad national policy contemplated their existence. No basic plan or philosophy has been formulated to guide them. No coordination has been attempted. This is perhaps fortunate—so far. The time is approaching, however, when the problem of providing such apparatus must and will be faced. It is with an eye to this eventuality that the following preliminary considerations are offered. When that time comes, the experience of other governments (which it is not the purpose of this paper to discuss) will, we may hope, be closely studied.

Now that coordination is in view, it is realized that the handling of large numbers of workers necessitates more elaborate techniques than those we have so far developed.

Modern government, like modern industry, has a way of handling such situations. Increasingly in every branch of large-scale undertakings, corps of consultants and specialists advise the administrator and supervise headquarters and field activities. The best thought and knowledge in nearly every science are at one time or another brought to bear upon the activities involved. Policies are shaped in the light not only of the broadest social philosophies but of the most detailed laboratory techniques. In the background of every substantial phase of each undertaking there is at least one branch or, more often, a whole group of branches of pure learning upon whose findings and

in the light of whose thought policies are shaped and work administered. In most cases, special professions have sprung up whose fields are the application of branches of pure learning to the needs of large-scale undertakings and of everyday life. It has been commonly found, too, that although the bulk of the activity of the applied sciences has been of value for *use*, still many results of value to *knowledge* have been achieved, not only through the accumulation of new data for the parent sciences, but through actual cultivation of the parent sciences within the framework of the applied studies.

Where music is concerned, which discipline of pure learning may large-scale planning and coordination rely on?

The fields of the various branches of learning overlap, not only in the universe of discourse but in the universe of daily life. The task of interpreting the data and findings of the various sciences, in so far as they have bearing on music, is essentially the task of musicology, as is also the task of enlisting the aid of the non-musical sciences for the benefit of music. If musicology does not define the field of music, what else will? Surely, the proper guide for large-scale music undertakings must be musicology.

The question now must be asked, Is musicology ready to undertake the task that awaits it?

I believe we can say that already musicology has much to offer government agencies to aid in the conduct of its many types of music activity. We have come nearly within sight of our primary goal so far—the recovery of the essentials of our own musical past. Thus we can offer a fairly comprehensive and accurate basis of operation. We have developed techniques of paleography, iconography, textual criticism, comparative musicology, phonography, phono-photography, etc., which might have immediate and fruitful use. But are these techniques ready to hand? And have we the trained personnel to place at once where they can be used? Are there any actual positions in existence or contemplated involving this kind of work?

To all three questions the answer must be negative. We have been too busy recovering our past to have discovered our present. Our young musicologists would be as lost as our young musicians in facing large-scale, long-term musical and musicological development. Coordination is still in the future. We are here merely discussing its possibility and advisability.

The problem resolves itself, then, into the final questions: (1) Is it possible to convert our present musicological techniques to this new use? and (2) Would a substantial number of musicologists be willing to make the necessary re-orientation?

Let me present a brief outline of the problem as I see it.

* * *

Both government and music are functions of a culture. Most of the time each performs its function separately from the other. When they function together we may look at the situation either as (1) government enters into the field of music, or (2) music enters into the field of government.

There can be no question that we know a great deal more about government and its functions in a culture than we know about music and its function. Although music is nearly a billion-dollar industry, we know very little about music as a cultural function. We shall therefore more profitably study music with the aid of government facilities than government with the aid of music facilities. Absurd though this latter approach sounds on first hearing, I by no means wish to exclude it from the picture.

Profitably to discuss the relationship between music and government requires a placing of the two functions upon commensurable footings. I shall present my conception of an applied musicology under the heading of six steps or phases. These six steps are not in any temporal succession, but are simply six different phases of the task, all of which should be undertaken concurrently.

The first step or phase which I shall mention is *analysis and description of the field of music* in a culture. By analysis and description of the field I mean a detailed survey of the music of the whole people, of the various racial and national traditions, of folk, popular, and art idioms and repertoires, and of their location and numerical representation, the instruments used, the degrees and kinds of skill, and similar data that would contribute to a comprehensive picture of a music-cultural continuum. Very important are the attitudes towards music—of individuals as well as of age groups, and of various economic, political, social and sex groups. Sample surveys of music resources and needs should be made, for instance, of selected urban and suburban areas and in representative rural counties.

The next phase should be the *estimation of trends*. For all the data of the field are variables. Acculturation is the rule and may be extremely rapid. (Consider, for instance, the rapid growth of jazz

and swing.) Trends must be distinguished as local, regional, or national; dominant, stable, or recessive. Interplay of diversification and integration must be noted.

The third step is *prediction*. Up to the present, musicology has been almost exclusively a descriptive science. The estimate of trends has usually been an estimate of past trends. Prediction has not been developed as a scientific technique by musicologists. Yet it has been developed and found generally useful by the social sciences, among which musicology is to be classed. Musicology cannot, of course, presume to the precision of the natural sciences, but there is no reason to believe it cannot develop prediction to a point equal to or even beyond that attained by some of the social sciences.

The development of techniques of prediction is essential to an applied musicology. It will involve (1) improved statistical apparatus and (2) controlled experiment. Orthodox musicology can view with equanimity the expansion of its statistical apparatus; but the prospect of the development of experimental techniques offers food for thought. In both statistical and experimental work the large scope and varied resources of government offer unequalled opportunities.

The three steps or phases I have outlined so far (description of the field, estimate of trends, techniques of prediction) are well within the limits of scientific method. But government makes demands upon its workers that go far beyond the limits of scientific knowledge and method. The essential problem of long-term, large-scale concern with any field begins to be seen at this point. For, once we are freed of the guiding techniques of science—because their efficacy and reliability weaken—the inevitable dependence must be upon common sense and political foresight, or, in the last resort, rule of thumb. In the fields where a well-organized applied science is found, this is not so markedly the case. Familiar with the directions in which a science tends to weaken and with the limits beyond which it cannot be relied upon, the best thinking (of which there is a surprising amount in government nowadays) borrows or devises critical methods which carry over a long way from the firm base of scientific knowledge before floundering must be admitted.

Musicology has developed critical acumen and, in textual exegesis, critical procedures. But, generally speaking, as compared with other branches of learning, it is without a value theory or a critical method. Our fourth step must be therefore to develop a *critical method and a value theory* for musicology.

Now, we may develop these in the study or in the office, or in both. The main responsibility must rest, of course, upon the study. But the more apparent urgency of the office constitutes an appropriate motivation and often an appropriate locale for critical formulation. The need is exceedingly strong. For the very nature of government work is to begin in the here and now and to write up a program to run six months, a year, ten years, or even more. The most comprehensive and precise analysis and description of the field, the most painstaking estimate of trends, and even phenomenally accurate prediction of future events—all these are but half the story of a long-term, large-scale government job. The vision, imagination and resourcefulness characteristic of the best scientific thought can carry over without perceptible break into the domain of criticism. The apparatus to effect this carry-over must, however, be ready. It cannot be prepared on the spur of the moment.

The fifth phase I would suggest might be termed *definition of objectives*. This step as I conceive it should be a happy mixture of scientific prediction and critical formulation. Dr. Carl C. Taylor, of the Department of Agriculture, puts it well when he says, "The wisest course for planning is to cooperate with the inevitable trends of culture and to seek to put intelligent guidance into the channel through which life normally flows".*

The objectivity sought for and demanded by science can be only about 50% operative in such a situation. We are lucky if the "inevitability" of trends can be determined with 50% accuracy. The "normal" in everyday life is more a critical than a scientific conception. I must hasten to add that this is not a disparaging statement. To the contrary, it should clarify the rational element in the often mysterious, if not mystic, realms of large-scale planning and administration. Policy is unquestionably in the main critical in character. Scholars may, perhaps, be permitted to say that there is on the whole rather too much value thinking and not enough scientific thinking in it. The value thinking, especially in regard to music activities, stands in urgent need of revision. Exhaustive study of critical method is the only way I can see of improving the situation. And in the succinct statement of objectives lies, I believe, the focus of critical method in an applied musicology.

The sixth and last phase I would suggest may be termed the

*Presidential address, Annual meeting of the American Country Life Assn., Columbus, Ohio, Sept. 19, 1935.

checking of the critical dicta against the scientific data. This, like all the other five phases, should operate concurrently with the rest. As large-scale work proceeds, and even before it begins, continual revision must be made, not only of the critical formulations adopted, but also of the scientific data accepted as relevant. We are not dealing, let me say again, with data which stay reasonably still while we study them, as may the data of history. We cannot make the assumption, so convenient in historical study, that a structural analysis of an isolated datum can be fairly complete in itself. In the field of an applied musicology, as in other applied studies, the data are a flow, a current, a continually changing series of functions. The unexpected frequently happens. Furthermore, our own action in the field may (though this is a possibility not to be lightly entertained) affect its conformation.

In the six steps or phases I have outlined we have shifted emphasis from the logic of structures to the dialectic of functions—from virtual objectivity to what may appear to many as virtual subjectivity. Please let me not be misunderstood. I am not advocating abandonment or watering down of analytical and objective thinking. Far from it. I am trying to show that the field of musicology can be vastly enlarged through the extension of analytical and objective thinking. A more thorough understanding of its own scope, present and potential, should reveal the need for a critical method if only better to control the subjective element.

The prime concern of an applied musicology as I see it must be to integrate music knowledge and music practice, especially in the planning and technical coordination of large-scale, long-term programs of development. It is a fundamental condition of such work that knowledge cannot but fail us at times—sometimes suddenly, more often so gradually that we are not aware that we have been for some time proceeding upon horse-sense and divination rather than rational thinking. This border region is pre-eminently the domain of critical method. Critical determinations frame and penetrate nearly every phase of scientific work. Indeed, the basic “it is worth while” upon which every science is predicated is itself a critical determination. In an applied musicology, no less than in the pure study, it is essential that the worker know as accurately as possible when the scientific gives into the critical and when the critical gives into the scientific. If I were to essay a definition of the task of critical method, I might put it: “To relate, and to aid in the integration of, what we

know, what we desire, and what we do not know but shall presently discover”.

Thus, far from leading musicology away from a primrose path into a wilderness, I would have it realize that the possession of an applied branch constitutes a veritable safeguard in the wilderness in which now—though it may not admit the fact—it actually exists. No field of learning I have ever heard of has suffered through the elaboration of an applied branch. There is no reason to believe that musicology would be an exception.

This sixth and last step I have put forward should provide, then, the balance wheel to the whole apparatus. The balancing would be dynamic—sometimes having to lean far to one side to compensate for a previous or a threatened unbalance in the opposite direction.

I have spoken of an applied musicology as an indispensable aid in the planning and technical coordination of large-scale, long-term music activities. To summarize: applied musicology would enter the field of contemporary music, (1) to describe this field, (2) to estimate its trends, (3) to predict the course of these trends, (4) to aid in the setting up of a critical method and value theory for musicology in general, which will be useful in both the applied and the general fields, (5) to formulate objectives for large-scale music development, both governmental and non-governmental, and, (6) to check up continually on the interplay of critical and scientific methods, not only in its field but also in the relating of its field to other fields.

* * *

I feel quite sure that in the back of every mind following this argument, there is one increasingly insistent question, namely: “Does this paper propose that government control music?”. I have persistently kept away from this question. I have dealt with it at some length before a Chapter of the Society in a paper which I hope to see in print before long, under the title, “Art as a Factor in Cultural Strategy”.*

There is a persistent tendency on the part of various functions of culture to control culture. Government is no exception. I may say in passing that it is my firm belief that the tail cannot wag the dog, though it may agitate him considerably. Government activities in regard to music may, as I see them, be of two main types:

*An abstract was printed in the Bulletin of the American Musicological Society, No. 3.

- (1) facilitation of development as a cultural function;
- (2) regulation, or the attempt to control.

How much facilitation and how much regulation of music may be exercised by a government depends very largely upon the general value theory underlying or expressed in the political and social philosophies dominating it, and upon the extent to which the musicological counterparts of these are integrated with them. For the United States, I hope there will never be anything but facilitation. I would as lief see music try to control government as government try to control music. But these are personal views which perhaps should not enter here. Such questions will, at any rate, have to be taken into consideration in the eventual elaboration of a value theory for musicology, when that is done. Such a task is far beyond the scope of the present paper. It is beyond the capacity of any one man. When we have an adequate value theory for musicology, it will be the culmination of the effort of many men, over a considerable length of time. Perhaps we shall never have complete agreement upon the value theory. But upon the critical method—which as I see it must contribute largely to the setting up of the value theory and must constitute its chief vehicle of expression—upon that, I hope there will be very general agreement. I, for one, would consider it a great honor to be able to lay even as little as one stone in its foundation.

Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries in Dalmatia*

Dragan Plamenac

DELEGATE FROM YUGOSLAVIA**

SCANNING THE MEDITERRANEAN SEABOARD to discover the different stages that the music of past centuries has traversed there, we find a land whose music has remained totally unknown, namely, Dalmatia. This country, whose contributions to literature and the visual arts have been the object of numerous studies of greater or lesser importance—even if they too have not been thoroughly explored in their minute details—, has remained to our days entirely neglected by the historians of music. The local situation, indeed, is not at all favorable from our point of view. In the libraries and archives of the land we do not find any music, either printed or manuscript, that dates from the 16th or 17th century. One finds, it is true, in different places, at Šibenik, at Trogir, at Split, and in several other towns, liturgical manuscripts of great value, dating from the 12th century on, that furnish proof of the important part performed by the art of music in the Middle Ages in the seats of the principal Dalmatian churches. Nevertheless, monuments of polyphonic music, religious or secular, are absolutely wanting. We may suppose that most of this polyphonic music, not having been printed and having been diffused only in manuscript, was discarded, beginning with the 18th century, because it was out of fashion. The music archives of the Cathedral of Split, in former times important but at present totally neglected, contain only music from about 1750 up to the present, and among the works are a certain number by composers of Dalmatian extraction, like Antonio Bajamonti, Ivan Jeličić and others; but the historian interested in more ancient music will find in these archives nothing to attract his attention.

The investigations of a group of 19th-century historians, who collected documents concerning the ancient local civilization, produced a few sparse notes relating to musicians of bygone centuries. In this way the names of several Dalmatian, and especially Ragusan, musicians of the 16th and 17th centuries appear in the lexicographic work by Šime Ljubić, written in Italian, *Dizionario biografico degli*

*Illustrations were performed by The Madrigalists.

**Now resident in the United States.

uomini illustri della Dalmazia, published at Vienna in 1856, and in Ivan Kukuljević's *Slovník umjetnikah jugoslavenskih* ("Dictionary of Yugoslav Artists"), published in incomplete form at Zagreb in 1858 and never finished. We shall rapidly name musicians like the Franciscan Antun Tudrović, Emanuel Zlatarić, Secundo Brugnoli, the Dominican Benedikt Babić, Nikola Gaudenzi, Gavro Temparičić, all of them belonging to the 16th century. These names remain to us without any real significance, as they are known to us only from records in literary or other non-musical sources. None of the music produced by these men having survived, we have no possibility of forming an opinion about them.

The musicographers who succeeded the above-mentioned pioneers in recounting the history of Dalmatian civilization merely reproduced the random notes of their forerunners without returning to the original sources and without adding new facts; it was almost taken for granted that music had left no mark on Dalmatian history. Yet, it remained incomprehensible that this country, so imbued with Humanism and in such close relations with Italy, which held the musical supremacy in 16th- and 17th-century Europe, should have been entirely sterile in music, while to architecture, to pictorial and sculptural art, not to speak of literature, she had made such valuable contributions. On the basis of closer investigations I have been able in these last few years to uncover new documents relative to the state of music in Dalmatia in its classical period (15th to 17th centuries) and to establish the existence of a certain number of musical works that bring some light into the former darkness. The result, though still far from definitive, is not unsatisfactory: it appears now that documents survive and, if they are not very abundant, owing to the carelessness of olden times and to damage of every description, they still exist in sufficient number to prove that music, in old Dalmatia, occupied an honorable position beside the other arts. It is not yet possible to give a comprehensive exposition of this development, but we can discern its general outline, thanks to some isolated artistic facts.

Before we turn to the strictly musical aspect of our subject, it will be useful to explain in a few words the evolution of the notion of "Dalmatia" from ancient times to our own, in order to record the artistic facts in a historically correct way. The name in its present sense is of very recent date; it goes back only to the 18th century. To have a correct idea of the past of Dalmatia one must

note that its name, in the course of the centuries, entirely changed its meaning. Roman Dalmatia extended to the frontiers of modern Albania and Serbia. In the Middle Ages the name of Dalmatia was used only for a few Byzantine towns on the Adriatic coast, while all the rest of the coast, which connected these towns with one another and with the Croatian centers of Nin, Biograd na moru, Šibenik, Solin, Omiš, etc., formed an integral part of the kingdom of Croatia, from both the ethnical and the political points of view. This is the period in which the Croats, having occupied the predominant part of the province we today call Dalmatia, erected and consolidated there a national state governed by native rulers. Only by degrees did it become a custom to apply the name Dalmatia to certain free towns of Croatian origin, like Šibenik and Nin, and to the islands. But only in the 17th century—that is to say, after the Venetians had expelled the Turks from these regions—did the name Dalmatia embrace all the land up to the Dinaric Alps, the modern border of this province. It follows that the country we today call Dalmatia was in the Middle Ages called Croatia, while modern Croatia long bore the name Slavonia. This use of these two geographical denominations ended only at the close of the 17th century. In order to understand this slow evolution, which took place in the course of several centuries, it is necessary to consider the importance of the unification of the medieval Dalmatian towns with the kingdom of Croatia from the point of view of ecclesiastical hierarchy. The Slavonic Croatian liturgy was eventually recognized by Rome. During the reign of Peter Krešimir, the Archbishop of Split (Spalato) became a subject of the Croatian King and a high dignitary at his Court; he received the title of a *primas Dalmatiae et totius Croatiae*, a traditional title that remained his also under Venetian domination. Between the old Latin towns of Dalmatia and the Croatian population of their environs very close relations were formed, and the progressive extinction of the old Latin families as well as the penetration of the Slavs into the towns ended up with a general Slavonization of the entire Dalmatian territory.

It may not have been superfluous to give a brief account, as we have done, of this evolution, and to lay stress upon the Slavic and Croatian character of the Dalmatian population. For, with the Venetian domination, which was established over the principal towns of the coast in the 15th century and which lasted until the 18th century, an important factor was introduced from the opposite coast of the

Adriatic in the form of Latin influence, which to a superficial glance might seem to obscure the Slavic character of the province. Of course, Venice through its functionaries introduced Italian as the official language of the administration. Italian became also the tongue in which the registers and other documents of the ecclesiastical chapters and parishes were written. Venice also introduced its architecture into Dalmatia, and this is the principal reason why a traveller at first glance may consider the Dalmatian towns, with their monuments of Venetian style, to be Italian from the ethnical point of view. Such an opinion, however, would be entirely erroneous. Venetian domination never succeeded in gaining ascendancy over the population outside the town-walls. Giustiniani, a Venetian official in Dalmatia in the middle of the 16th century, making his report on life in Split, states that all customs there have a fundamental Slavic character and that the Slavic language as spoken in Dalmatia occupies the same position of a standard as does Tuscan in Italy. "It is true", writes Giustiniani, "that all citizens speak the 'lingua franca' and that some of them are dressed in the Italian manner; but the women speak only their native language." In a word, borrowing the happy phrase of C. Jireček, the famous Professor of Slavonic Philology at Vienna, one may affirm that Italian was the official language, the language of the administration and commerce, while Croatian was the language of every day, the language of love and poetry.

As in the other arts, so in music, Italian influence was strong on the opposite shore of the Adriatic in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries. If this influence seems unavoidable to us in the other arts—considering geographical proximity, the multiple commercial relations, and, above all, the firm hold of the Venetian domination over a large part of the Dalmatian coast and the social and economic conditions that were the consequence of it—, a similar influence must necessarily seem still more natural in music. For, to repeat, it was the period when Italy loomed as the world's greatest power in music, imposing her artistic will upon highly developed civilizations, both near and far. If the Italian 16th-century madrigal produced a lively repercussion in all countries of the European West and North—in France, Germany, England, Scandinavia—and if Italian music after the invention of monody and opera reinforced its supremacy in the cultural centers of Europe, it can hardly be expected that Dalmatia, geographically and politically situated as she was, could escape the dominant Italian

influence. The Slavic character of the country was not yet able to find artistic expression in a musical language of its own. In literature, thanks above all to the national language, it was easier to move towards emancipation from the Italian pattern than in the visual arts and in music.

Economic conditions in Venetian Dalmatia being difficult, and Venice trying in different ways to hinder the development of a national civilization—by interdicting the establishment of public schools, the founding of printing-offices, etc.—, it is quite natural that artistic talents in Dalmatia, having as a rule no possibility of finding a sphere of activity in their native country, left it and went to Italy where they could work in an atmosphere more propitious economically, socially, and artistically. This refers primarily to Dalmatian painters and sculptors. In music the contribution of Dalmatia to Italian art is far from having equal importance. It would be rather difficult to explain the reasons for this; but it is a fact that we do not know the name of a single Dalmatian musician who played in Italian music a role analogous to that of the various painters surnamed “Schiavoni” (Ćulinović, Medulić), the sculptor brothers Laurana, and many others.

Living conditions were very precarious for musicians in Dalmatia. Here there were no sumptuous courts and opulent patrons as in Italy; besides, the Turks made frequent incursions and the towns on the coast were constantly threatened. Consequently, there were only two ways for a musician to organize his life in the modest and provincial frame of the country: in the first place, to devote himself to his art in the calm of a monastery, after having adopted the monastic habit, or else to find employment as chapel-master or organist at one of the cathedrals in the episcopal centers. The old Dalmatian musicians may be classified in two groups: musicians of Dalmatian birth and origin, and musicians who had migrated from abroad, principally from Italy. That country, at the time, had a great abundance of musicians of somewhat inferior but still very respectable talent who, after having finished their studies, looked about for employment; on the other hand, the Dalmatian chapters could find capable organists and chapel-masters among these Italian musicians more easily than among Dalmatian-born musicians. The musicians coming from Italy brought with them the artistic customs and the musical technique of their own land. Their activity is signifi-

cant from our point of view as it proves that the Dalmatian *milieu* was sufficiently developed to retain, occasionally, Italian musicians of some importance, including a number who passed their whole life there, like Tomaso Cecchini, to whom I shall return presently. It is unlikely that these artists would have been willing to pass their lives in a foreign country if it had been musically altogether uncultured. Moreover, we find interesting evidence concerning the position held by music in the intellectual and artistic life at least of Split, at the beginning of the 17th century, in the dedication of Cecchini's printed Opus 7; there Split is mentioned as a city in which *quest'Arte liberalissima, con applauso di mille orecchi, faccia prova di se stessa*. The fact that music was not neglected in other Dalmatian cities either is illustrated by the testimony we find in the diary for the year 1575 of the Venetian ambassador, Jacopo Sorranzo. There the author relates that he heard at Dubrovnik (Ragusa) *molti ottimi musici*.¹

Split was consequently a place in which music—both sacred and secular—was held in high esteem. By "secular music" I mean polyphonic art-music. It is a matter of course that in the period with which we are concerned, as subsequently, there should have existed in Dalmatia two parallel lines of musical evolution, two separated musical worlds, produced by political and social conditions: the traditional and ancient folk-music of the Slavic population and the art-music in the towns and ports open to influences from across the Adriatic. We shall omit consideration of the Dalmatian folk-song in the Croatian language, of which we find the first melodies in notation as far back as the 16th century, in the idyllic epic poem *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* ("The Fishing") by Petar Hektorović of Hvar; nor shall we give attention to the simple hymns, without artistic pretension, of which the most remarkable Dalmatian collection is that published by Athanase Georgiceo of Split under the title *Pisni za nayspoglavitiye, naysvetiye i naysveselye dni svega godischia* ("Hymns for the Most Important, Holiest, and Most Joyous Days of the Entire Year"), which appeared in Vienna in 1635. As to secular music of urban type, it cannot be doubted that in all centers of feudal Venetian Dalmatia it was under the decisive influence of Italian music. There was such a vogue for amorous songs accompanied on the lute that the Dalmatian moralists, headed by

¹ Cf. Sorranzo, *Diario* (ed. Matković), *Rad* 124 of the Yugoslav Academy, Zagreb (1895), p. 20.

Marko Marulić, and the Archbishops of Split in their constitutions, were obliged during the 15th and 16th centuries to take action against ecclesiastics who, by night, changed clothes and wandered through the dark streets singing love-songs, accompanying themselves on the lute or some other instrument.² At this point, it is fitting to mention the music that is suggested to us by the most ancient monuments of Ragusan literary Humanism, beginning with the end of the 15th century: the lyric poetry of Šiško Menčetić, Džore Držić, and their comrades. This poetry can hardly be conceived without a musical complement. Like the Italian *rispetti* and *strambotti*, this poetry was sung to the accompaniment of the lute, which is frequently invoked and apostrophized in the text. It is unfortunate that we are not in possession of even the smallest fragment of the music that accompanied the verses of these old Ragusan poets. To form an idea of what this music might have been, we are obliged to refer to analogous Italian works of the period. It was, beyond all doubt, a music of popular character and very simple; color was imparted to it by the interludes and postludes played on the lute.

As to the more highly developed forms of art, we possess documents that prove the Italian 16th-century madrigal to have been cultivated in the Dalmatian towns by the upper classes. We might here point to four 4-part madrigals composed by a musician of the island of Cres (Cherso), Andrea Patricio, which are to be found in a contemporary collection by Antonino Barges, *Il primo Libro de Villote*, Gardano, 1550.³ Patricio belonged to a noble and distinguished family, whose real name was Petris and whose descendants are still living today. He was certainly closely related to his contemporary, Francesco Patricio, also of Cres, the well-known neo-Platonic philosopher, who occupied himself also with Ancient Greek music. Among the four pieces by Andrea Patricio, there is one that shows a certain tendency towards the vehemence that was eventually to be introduced into the madrigal. Of course, we are here still very far from the dramatic life and the inspired harmonic innovations that later characterized the madrigalian masterpieces of a Gesualdo or a Monteverdi.

² Cf. *Stari pisci hrvatski* I, 118; Farlati, *Illyrici sacri*, Tomus III, Venice, 1765, P. 444.

³ Only known complete copy in the Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel.

ILLUSTRATION I

Andrea Patricio, Madrigal in 4 parts "Son quest' i bei crin d'oro"

Soprano *mf*
Son quest' i bei crin d'o -

Alto *p*
Son quest' i bei crin d'o -

Tenor *p*
Son quest' i bei crin d'o -

Bass *p*
Son quest' i bei crin d'o - ro

ro on - - - de m'av-vins' a - mor che

ro on - - - de m'av-vins' a - mor che

- - - ro on - - - de m'av-vins' a - mor che nel

on - de m'av-vins' a - mor che nel mio

cresc.
nel mio mal non fu mai tar - do, Son que-sti

cresc.
nel mio mal non fu mai tar - - do, Son que-sti

cresc.
- mio mal non fu mai tar - - do, Son que-sti gl'occh'

cresc.
mal non fu mai tar - - do, Son que - sti

gl'oc - chi ond' usc' il chia-ro sguar-do che con sua
 gl'occh' ond' usc' il chia - - ro sguar - do che
 ond' uso' il chia - - - ro sguar - do
 gl'occh'ond'usc' il chia-ro sguar - do che con, che con sua

forx' a mor - te mi so-spin - - - se? E
 con sua forx' a mor - te mi so-spin-se? E quest' il
 che con sua forx' a mor-te mi so-spin - se? E quest' il
 forx' a mor - - - te mi so-spin - se?

quest' il bianc'a - vo-rio che co - strin - se la
 bianc' a - vo-rio che co - strin - se la men-te mia
 bianc'a - vo - rio che co - strin - se la men - -
 E quest' il bianc' a - vo-rio che co - strin - se la

men - te mia nel fuo - - - co on - de tutt' ar - - -

men - te mia nel fuo - - - co on - de tutt' ar - - -

ar - do, Son que - ste quel - le ma - do, Son que - ste quel - le ma - do, Son que - ste quel - le man' è do, Son quo - - - ste quel - le ma - ni, è

ni, è quest' il dar - do che nel mio sangui - al - hor trop - ni, è quest' il dar - do che nel mio sangui - al - hor trop - quest' il dar - do che nel mio sangui - al - hor trop - quest' il dar - do che nel mio san - gual - hor trop -

poco affrett.

poco affrett.

poco affrett.

poco affrett.

- po si tin - se? *mp* Son que - ste quell' av-ven-tu-ro -
 - po si tin - se? *p* Son que - ste quell' av-ven-tu-ro -
 - po si tin - se? *p* Son que - ste quell' av-ven-tu -
 - po si tin - se? *p* Son que - ste quell' av-ven-tu-ro -

- - - se pian - te ch'ad - or - nan d'a-marant'e
 se pian - te ch'ad - or - nan d'a-marant'e di vi-o -
 ro - se pian - - - te ch'ad - or - nan d'a - ma-rant'
 - se pian - - - te ch'ad - or - nan

di vi-o - le, ov - un-que po -
 le, d'a - ma - rant'e di vi-o - le, ov -
 e di vi - o - le, ov - un - que
 d'a-marant'e di vi-o - le ov - un-que po -

mf
 san l'orm' o - nest' e san - - - - - te.² Son
 un-que po - - - san l'or - me o - nest'
 po - san l'orm' o - nest' e san - te, o-nest'
 san l'orm' o - nest' e san - - - - - te, o - nest'

que - ste quell' an - ge - - - li - che pa - ro - le
 - e san - te? Son que - ste quell' an - ge - -
 - e san - - - te? *piùf* Son que - ste quell' an -
 - e san - te? *piùf* Son que - ste quell'an - ge - li -

sempre più *f*
 ch'heb - be, di-cev' io al - hor, glo - rie mai tan -
 - li - che pa - ro - - - le ch'heb - be, di-cev'
 ge - li - che pa - ro - - - le ch'heb - be, di-cev' io al -
 che pa - ro - le ch'heb - be, di-cev' io al -

mp calmando

te? quan - do ch'a - per - si gl'occh' -
 ioal - hor; glo - rie mai tan - - - te? quan -
 hor; glo - rie mai tan - - - te? quan - do -
 hor glo - rie mai tan - - - te? quan - do ch'a -

poco rit. *pp*

e vid' il so - - - - - le.
poco rit. *pp*
 do ch'a - per - si gl'occh' e vid' il so - - - - - le.
poco rit. *pp*
 - ch'a - per - si gl'ocche vid' il so - - - - - le.
poco rit. *pp*
 per - si gl'occh' e vid' il so - - - - - le.

Another work that is perhaps of still greater importance in establishing the cultivation of madrigal-singing in Dalmatia during the 16th century is a collection of madrigals in 4 and 5 parts, composed by Giulio Schiavetto, a musician attached to the service of Girolamo Savorgnano, Bishop of Šibenik from 1557 to 1573. This work, published in 1563 by Scotto in Venice, is dedicated to Schiavetto's patron, Bishop Savorgnano; but we cannot form an adequate idea of it, the sole surviving copy, which belongs to the Accademia Filarmonica in Verona, being defective.

The center of gravity of musical activity in old Dalmatia must, however, be looked for first of all in the sphere of sacred music.

This is quite natural if we bear in mind that, in default of princely courts and circles of wealthy amateurs, the development of secular music, which their opulence favored in 16th- and 17th-century Italy, could spread to the opposite shore of the Adriatic only in very attenuated form. It is not yet known, for example, at just what stage of its development opera may have reached Dubrovnik (Ragusa), or how it may have evolved there. Several of the first opera librettos were translated into the Serbo-Croatian language by Ragusan writers and are among the earliest translations of these pieces into any foreign language. The *Euridice* of Rinuccini (1600), translated—as the translator P. Primović Latiničić put it—from the “Latin” (by which he means Italian) into the “Ragusan” (meaning Croatian)⁴, was printed in Venice in 1617. *Arianna* was also translated, about 1620, by the great Ragusan poet, Dživo Gundulić, and was performed in this translated form. In the 18th century, similar translations continued with adaptations of works by Zeno and Metastasio. However, it has remained quite unclear to modern investigators whether these translations, beginning with Rinuccini’s *Euridice*, were performed without music, or with music different from the original, for every attempt to fit the Slavic text to the music that went with the Italian has failed of a practicable result. On the other hand, it is well known that Dalmatia gave to Venice in the 17th century one of her most esteemed librettists, Christopher Ivanović of Budva.

As I have already pointed out, the principal patron of music in Dalmatia at this time is the Church, and the musical centers are the Cathedrals in the episcopal seats, particularly those at Šibenik, Split, and Hvar. This flowering of sacred music in Dalmatia is reflected clearly in the works of Schiavetto, Lukačić, and Cecchini. Besides the incomplete copy of Schiavetto’s madrigal collection of 1563, a collection of motets of his, dating from 1564, likewise dedicated to Bishop Savorgnano, has been preserved. This proves that vocal polyphony of elevated style played an important role in Dalmatian churches in the middle of the 16th century, long before monodic elements had been introduced into religious music.⁵ Giulio Schiavetto (or Schiavetti) seems to have belonged to a family of old Šibenik extraction; his name is the diminutive of “Schiavo”, which signifies Slav, Croatian, Dalmatian, just as “Schiavone”—a designation that is

⁴ Iz *latinskoga u dubrovački jezik*. A copy is in the Library of the University of Zagreb.

⁵ Only preserved copy in the Berlin State Library.

familiar to us through the Schiavoni among the Venetian painters and the Riva degli Schiavoni in Venice—is the augmentative of it. From the beginning of the 17th century, the name Schiavetto can be found in the old registers of Šibenik, written down in the Slavic form, with the suffix -ić: Schiavetich. In Schiavetto's motet, *Pater noster*, there appears in full clearness the medieval ideal of musical structure, as the art of the Palestrinian epoch had preserved and developed it from its Franco-Flemish predecessors. Schiavetto's motets are built conservatively over fixed *cantus firmi* which, in the first and second tenors, are frequently elaborated in canon, entirely in the manner of the old Netherlands masters. The *Prima pars* of the beautiful six-part *Pater noster* introduces the canon at the upper fourth, while the *Secunda pars* has it at the lower fourth. It is the severe and logical construction of the piece—its implacable gradation, which ends only with the final chord—that produces much of the impression of abstract majesty that Schiavetto's motet creates, as does every piece of sacred music of truly polyphonic character.

ILLUSTRATION II

Giulio Schiavetto, Motet in six parts "Pater noster"

The musical score is presented in six staves, each with a vocal part label on the left. The key signature is one sharp (F#) and the time signature is common time (C). The Soprano staff starts with a piano (pp) dynamic and the lyrics "Pa - - ter no - ster qui es in coe -". The Alto staff has a piano (pp) dynamic and the lyrics "Pa - -". The Tenor I and Tenor II staves are empty. The Bass I staff has a piano (pp) dynamic and the lyrics "Pa - - ter". The Bass II staff is empty.

This system contains six staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: *lis, pa - ter - no - ster qui es in coe - lis,*. The second staff is another vocal line with lyrics: *ter no - ster qui es in coe - lis, Pa -*. The third staff is a basso continuo line with lyrics: *no - ster qui es in coe - - lis, qui es*. The fourth staff is a basso continuo line with lyrics: *Pa - - ter no - ster qui*. The fifth and sixth staves are empty. Dynamics include *pp* in the second and fourth staves.

This system contains six staves. The top staff is a vocal line with lyrics: *Pa - ter no - ster qui es in*. The second staff is a vocal line with lyrics: *- - ter no - - ster - - qui es -*. The third staff is a basso continuo line with lyrics: *Pa - -*. The fourth staff is a vocal line with lyrics: *ter no - ster qui es in coe. - -*. The fifth staff is a vocal line with lyrics: *in coe - - lis, qui es in coe - - - -*. The sixth staff is a vocal line with lyrics: *es in coe - lis, qui es in coe - lis,*. Dynamics include *pp* in the second and fourth staves.

coe - - lis, sancti-fi -
 in coe - - lis
 8 ter no - ster qui es in coe - -
 9 - - - - lis, sanc - ti - fi - ce - tur
 - - - - lis, Sanc - ti - fi - ce - tur no - -
 sanc - ti - fi - ce - tur no - men tu - - um

ce - - tur no - - - - men tu - um,
 sanc - - ti - fi - ce - tur no -
 8 - - - - lis, sanc - ti - fi - ce - tur
 8 no - men tu - um
 men tu - - - - um, ad -
 sanc - ti - fi - ce - tur no - men tu - -

ad-ve-ni-at reg-num tu-um

men tu-um, no-men tu-um, ad-

no-men tu-um

ad-

ve-ni-at ad-ve-ni-at reg-num tu-um

Fi-at vo-lun-tas tu-um

ve-ni-at reg-num tu-um

ad-

ve-ni-at reg-num tu-um

um, ad-ve-ni-at reg-

um, ad-ve-ni-at reg-num tu-

Musical score for the first system, featuring vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The key signature is G major (one sharp) and the time signature is 4/4. The lyrics are: *ve - ni - at reg - num tu - um* (top line), *Fi - at vo - lun -* (second line), *tas tu -* (third line), *um* (fourth line), *um, Fi - at vo - lun -* (fifth line), *tas tu -* (sixth line).

Musical score for the second system, continuing the vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The key signature changes to F major (one flat) and the time signature remains 4/4. The lyrics are: *sic - ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra.* (top line), *tas tu -* (second line), *um, sio -* (third line), *Fi - at vo - lun - tas tu -* (fourth line), *um* (fifth line), *um, sio -* (sixth line), *ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra* (seventh line), *sio - ut* (eighth line), *um* (ninth line), *sio - ut in coe - lo, sio -* (tenth line).

sic - ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra, sic -
 ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra, sic - ut in coe - lo
 - ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra
 sic -
 in coe - lo et in ter - ra, sic - ut in coe - lo,
 ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra, sic - ut in

^f
 ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra.
 et in ter - ra, sic - ut in coe - lo et
 et
^f
 ut in coe - lo et in ter - ra.
 sic - ut in coe - lo, sic - ut in coe - lo et in
 coe - lo et in ter - ra, et in ter -

Secunda Pars

Pa - - - nem no -
 in ter - - - ra. Pa - - - nem no - - - strum -
 in ter - - - ra.
 ter - - - ra Pa - - - nem no -
 - - - - - ra Pa - - - nem no - strum

strum quo-ti - di - a - num, quo-ti - di - a - num da -
 - quo-ti - - di - a - - num, quo-ti - - di - a - -
 Pa - - -
 strum quo-ti - di - a - num, quo - ti - di - a - -
 quo - ti - di - a - - - - - num, quo -

no - bis ho - di - e, da no - bis ho - di - e, da no - bis
 num da no - bis ho - di - e
 B nem no - strum quo - ti - di - a - num
 Pa - -
 num da no - bis ho - di - e, da no - bis ho -
 ti - di - a

ho - di - e, da no - bis ho - di - e, et di -
 et di - mit - te no - bis,
 da no - bis ho - di -
 a nem no - strum quo - ti - di - a - num
 di - e et di - mit - te no - bis, et
 num da no - bis ho - di -

mit-te no - - - bis, et di - mit - te

et di - mit-te no - bis de - bi-ta no - stra, et

e et di - mit - te no - bis

a da - no - bis ho - di -

di-mit-te no - bis, et di-mit - te

e et di - mit-te no - - -

no - bis de - bi-ta no - - - stra, de -

di - mit - te, et di-mit-te no - bis de - bi-ta no -

a de - bi - ta no - stra

e et di - mit - te no - bis

sic - ut et nos di-mit-ti - mus de - bi - to - - ri - bus

- - - - - bis de - bi - ta

bi-ta no-stra sic-ut et nos di-mit-ti-
 tra Sic-ut et nos, sic-ut et nos, sic-
 sic-ut et nos di-mit-ti-
 de-bi-ta no-stra
 no-stra sic-ut et nos di-

mus de-bi-to-ri-bus, de-bi-to-ri-bus no-
 ut et nos di-mit-ti-mus de-bi-to-ri-bus
 mus de-bi-to-ri-
 sic-ut et nos di-mit-ti-
 stris, de-bi-to-ri-bus no-stris
 mit-ti-mus

- - stris, et - ne nos in - du - cas
 no - - - stris, et - ne nos in -
 bus no - - - stris et ne
 mus de - bi - to - ri -
 et ne nos in - du - cas, et ne
 et ne nos in - du - cas in ten - tr - ti -

in ten - ta - ti - o - nem, et ne nos in - du -
 du - cas, et ne nos in - du - cas in
 nos in - du - cas in ten - ta - ti -
 bus no - - - stris et ne
 nos, et - ne nos in - du - cas in ten - ta - ti -
 o - nem, in - ten - ta - ti - o - - - nem

cas in ten-ta - ti - o - nem sed li - be - ra
 ten-ta - ti - o - - - - - nem sed li - be - ra nos,
 o - nem sed li - be - ra nos a
 nos in - du - cas in ten - ta - ti -
 o - nem, sed li - be - ra nos a ma - - - - -
 sed li - be - ra nos, li - be - ra nos a ma - -

f
 nos a ma - - - - - lo, sed li - be - ra
 sed li - - - - - be - ra, sed li - be - ra nos a ma -
 ma - - - - - lo, sed li - be - ra nos, sed
 o - nem sed li - be - ra nos a
 lo, a ma - - - - - lo, sed li - be - ra nos, sed -
 - - lo, sed li - be - ra nos a ma - lo, sed li - be -

nos, sed li-be-ra nos a ma-lo.
 lo, sed li-be-ra nos a ma-lo.
 li-be-ra nos a ma-lo.
 ma-lo.
 li-be-ra nos a ma-lo.
 ra, sed li-be-ra nos a ma-lo.

The new monodic style of about 1600 did not have to wait long to be introduced into Dalmatia. Of course the larger forms that the new conception prompted, primarily the opera, had to be neglected for the sociological reasons I have already mentioned. But in Dalmatian sacred music the new principles were introduced only a few years after the publication of the *Concerti ecclesiastici* by Lodovico Viadana, the representative work of the new style; the new manner is applied in Dalmatia particularly in the works of Ivan Lukačić and Tomaso Cecchini. The works of these two musicians, who passed their lives near each other, one at Split and the other at Hvar, represent the climax of musical activity in Dalmatia during the first half of the 17th century. Cecchini's lifework bears witness that a small Dalmatian town like Hvar was, at that time, sufficiently attractive to retain an Italian musician of talent for a whole lifetime; in Lukačić, on the other hand, we have a musician of Dalmatian origin who—in contrast to the Dalmatian painters and sculptors who emigrated to Italy—devoted all of his activity to his native country after having brought from Italy a perfect musical technique. The works of Lukačić and Cecchini prove that Dalmatian music of the beginning of the 17th century followed step by step the evolution of music in Italy. This is the more remarkable, as one might suppose that the music of

17th-century "bourgeois" Dalmatia—the artistic expression of a peripheral civilization—would have lagged in introducing the new esthetic principles. These works, especially the motets of Lukačić, may be placed on a level with respectable productions of contemporary composers in Italy.

Before dealing briefly with Lukačić and his *Sacrae Cantiones*, we shall give some account of the work of Tomaso Cecchini and his activity in Dalmatia.⁶ Cecchini, born about 1580 in Verona, passed the whole of his adult life in Dalmatia, having accepted as quite a young man the post of *Maestro di cappella*, first at the Cathedral of Split, and later at that of Hvar (Lesina), where he remained for thirty years, until his death in 1644. During his long sojourn at Hvar, Cecchini composed a considerable number of works, mostly of religious character, which were used for the services at the Cathedral under the composer's direction. These works, like the motets of Lukačić, provide a basis for forming a clear idea of the character and technical resources of Dalmatian music of the period. Of the works of Cecchini, nearly all published by Vincenti in Venice, eleven collections are preserved. Most of these are dedicated to Dalmatians. Michael Praetorius, the eminent German theorist and composer, citing in 1619 the name of Cecchini in the third book of his *Syntagma musicum*, at a time when Cecchini could hardly have passed his forties, testifies that our musician was not unknown to his foreign contemporaries. The introduction of monodic elements into sacred and secular music at Split is, in all probability, closely connected with the arrival of Cecchini who, having recently finished his studies in Italy, brought with him, about 1603, the most up-to-date technique of composition. Cecchini's very first printed compositions, which appeared in 1612 and 1613, belong to the literature of monodic vocal music, to the secular and spiritual madrigals for one voice or a small number of voices with accompaniment of cembalo, chitarrone, or some other instrument, and to the species of motets (*concerti spirituali*) with organ-bass. In his first secular works, he appears under the influence of Giulio Caccini. We can even find actual borrowings: the initial phrase of the madrigal *Caro dolce ben mio* (1612) is identical with the beginning of *Amarilli mia bella* in Caccini's *Le Nuove Musiche*.

At the end of 1614, Cecchini left Split, and accepted a new post

⁶ Cf. D. Plamenac, *Toma Cecchini* in the *Rad* of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1938.

at the Cathedral of Hvar. Here his activity as a composer took on a more rapid tempo; he now wrote works of different kinds, but still mostly religious—Masses and motets. The eight instrumental sonatas contained in Opus 23 (1628) deserve special mention. These pieces, which belong to the early specimens of trio- and solo-sonatas, are particularly interesting, as they constitute not only the sole purely instrumental works of Cecchini's that have reached us, but also the oldest known instrumental music written on Dalmatian soil. The first seven sonatas are written for one soprano instrument (violin or cornet) and one bass instrument (viola da gamba), while the last sonata is written for two soprano instruments with thorough-bass. The formal and stylistic characteristics of these sonatas clearly indicate the bonds that connect the early sonatas with the extensive old literature of dance pieces on the one hand, and the instrumental *canzone* on the other. These pieces, even at this early stage, reveal much variety and contrast. While one of them cannot conceal its derivation from the vivacious rhythms of the Gagliarda and similar dances, while another is manifestly descended from the pompous instrumental Intradas, there is one that is constructed in the form of variations over a short and characteristic *basso ostinato*, producing a sort of passacaglia, and in the last sonata we find a really inspired dialogue between two violins, which constitutes a perfect example of instrumental church music of the early Baroque. These sonatas are inserted in a collection of Masses and motets, because they were played as interludes between certain parts of the Mass. They belong to the period when the stringed instruments were in the process of replacing the organ in ecclesiastical functions. This process, which we observe in Italy after 1643, the year of the death of Frescobaldi, Cecchini's great contemporary, took place also in Dalmatia; Cecchini's sonatas bear witness to it.

While Cecchini, as a composer and organist, contributed to the raising of musical standards in Hvar to a very respectable level, Lukačić performed a similar role at Split. Of the compositions of this musician only the *Sacrae Cantiones*, a collection of 27 motets in 1 to 5 parts with thorough-bass, published in 1620 by the successors of Gardano in Venice, have been preserved. (There is a copy at the Berlin State Library.) But this single volume affords proof of the composer's rich musical gifts.⁷ Lukačić was born at Šibenik about

⁷ A selection of 11 motets was published by the author of the present paper in 1935, under the title *Odabrani moteti* (Hrvatski Glazbeni Zavod in Zagreb).

1585 and died at Split in 1648. After entering the Franciscan order, he pursued his studies in Italy, acquired the degrees of Bachelor and Master of Music and for years was guardian (superior) of the Franciscan monastery at Split. He began to exercise the functions of music master at the Cathedral of Split about 1615 and continued to do so almost to the time of his death. It is impossible to examine his work here in detail, but I should like to lay stress upon the richness of his means of expression, upon the variety in the structure and architecture of his music. Only fifty years had passed since the writing of Schiavetto's motets, but a basically different musical world had arisen. Vocal polyphony was in a state of decline and accompanied monody was taking its place. In every piece, Lukačić tries to give musical expression to a quite personal and differentiated emotion evoked by the religious texts. It is for this reason that one finds in his motets so great a diversity, with regard not only to vocal combinations but also to structure. In his work one can clearly observe the transition from contrapuntal forms that still maintain fairly close contact with the old polyphony to the rudimentary forms of the church cantata. His specimens of the latter type, which try to give the old texts a new vocal utterance full of intense expression according to the ideas of the new art, are certainly the most interesting pieces in the collection. Not always, but in his best compositions, Lukačić succeeds in escaping from the "devil of dilettantism who intrenched himself behind the new style"—to use a picturesque phrase of Alfred Einstein's. Among those pieces should be cited such a motet for a single voice as *Coeli enarrant* for bass. A particularly interesting form is that used in *Domine, puer meus iacet*; it is one of those early motets in dialogue that lead to the elaborate form of the oratorio: each person is musically characterized in an individual way and makes his appearance in realistic and, as it were, dramatic manner. *Panis angelicus*, in 5 parts, arouses our interest through the intensity with which the music expresses the mysticism of the medieval text. It is interesting to see how madrigalian elements are introduced here.

We shall end with *Canite et psallite*, in which soli alternate with brilliant and lively choral sections, in the *concertante* manner of the great Venetian masters of the time. In line with the rather slender means that were at Lukačić's disposal at the Cathedral of Split, the Venetian *cori spezzati* are replaced by simple soli and tutti.

ILLUSTRATIONS III-VI⁸

Ivan Lukačić, Motets

"Coeli enarrant"

"Panis angelicus"

"Domine, puer meus iacet"

"Canite et psallite"

What I have tried to say in a few words, and the musical illustrations offered by our singers, have shown you, I hope, that Dalmatia is by no means a land without artistic musical tradition and that its old musicians are worthy of its great poets and artists. If it does not occupy the position of a prominent center of musical activity, it nevertheless followed step by step, during the period we have discussed, the different phases of the evolution of music, and contributed a certain number of works that may rightly be named beside the productions of masters of the time in Western Europe.

⁸ All published in *Odabrani moteti*.

La Rappresentazione di Anima e di Corpo

Edward J. Dent

DELEGATE FROM GREAT BRITAIN

CAVALIERI'S *Anima e Corpo* was performed twice at Rome in February 1600, but, as far as I can ascertain, there has never been any complete performance of the work since then. Some sort of performance seems to have been given at Leghorn in 1911, as I learn from a little brochure published then by Luisa Guidiccioni Nicastro, presumably a descendant of the Laura Guidiccioni to whom the words of the poem have sometimes been attributed. I have no other information, but I can hardly think that the work was put on the stage for this occasion—a concert rendering is more probable. There was a performance at Munich in 1921; Dr. Hermann Springer informs me that this was merely a concert performance. At some fairly recent date excerpts were sung at the Augusteo in Rome and a fragmentary vocal score was printed by Marcello Copra at Turin. These extracts were performed not long ago at Frankfurt-am-Main under Hermann Scherchen. There is also a fragmentary arrangement by Malipiero. The late Sir Frederick Bridge performed extracts at lectures given by him in London many years ago. This summer the University Musical Society of Cambridge (England) planned to perform the whole work complete in March 1940, as nearly as possible as it was produced in Rome in 1600: that is, to put it on the stage and act it in suitable costumes, with or without scenery, preceded by its original spoken prologue, and accompanied with the nearest approach that we can achieve to the original instrumentation. Lastly, it was our intention to perform the work in the English language, and for that purpose I have already made a complete English translation of all the musical part, though I have not yet translated the prologue complete.

The *Anima e Corpo* is a work which every musician knows by name as the so-called "first oratorio". Extracts have been printed in various Histories of Music, but as far as I know the work has never been described in detail, and it is very little known, although now accessible in a facsimile of the original edition, printed in Rome in 1912.

The available information about Emilio de' Cavalieri is very

scanty. He was born at Rome about 1550; he was not a professional musician, but a gentleman amateur, like Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa, and many other composers of that period. From 1578 to 1584 he was chief organist of music at the Oratorio of the Arciconfraternità del Crocifisso a San Marcello in Rome: about 1584 he went to the court of the Medici at Florence where he composed or arranged music for several pastorals and *intermezzi*, including Tasso's *Aminta* (1590). The music for those works has all disappeared. In February 1600 the *Anima e Corpo* was performed in Rome; in October he was back in Florence, where he appears to have taken part in Peri's *Dafne*; he returned to Rome and died there in 1602.

The only works of his which have survived are (1) the *Anima e Corpo*, printed at Rome in 1600—3 copies known (2 in Rome and one in Urbino); and (2) *Lamentazioni e Responsori per la Settimana Santa*, discovered by Alaleona, but apparently not yet published by him.

Further, it has been doubted whether Cavalieri was really the composer of the *Anima e Corpo*. Alaleona brings forward considerable evidence to show that the music was written by Dionisio Isorelli, but like most Italian historians Alaleona is very anxious not to upset an established tradition and compromises by suggesting that Cavalieri composed the music, and that Isorelli directed the performance. My own view is that all the evidence is capable of various interpretations, and that the music of the *Anima e Corpo* is such a jumble of styles, and for the most part so primitive and dull, that it is a matter of comparative indifference what the name of the composer or arranger was. All evidence goes to show that at this period, in Italy, France, and England alike, the music provided for masques and similar court entertainments was put together in a rather haphazard way. It was seldom planned as a complete work of art, an organic unity stamped in every bar with the composer's individual personality, like *Tristan und Isolde*.

Dionisio Isorelli, it may be mentioned, was another gentleman amateur, who divided his interest between the Oratorio of St. Philip Neri and the Court of the Medici. He entered the Congregation of the Oratorians in 1599 as a lay brother and occupied himself mainly with their musical affairs.

The words of the *Anima e Corpo* have been attributed to Laura Guidiccioni, authoress of the dramatic poems set by Cavalieri at Florence, and to Alessandro Guidotti, who was in some way respon-

sible for the publication of the *Anima e Corpo* and signed the dedication to Cardinal Aldobrandini. Alaleona, on fairly good evidence, maintains that the words were by Padre Agostino Manni of the Oratorio. As to Laura Guidiccioni, it seems clear that she was something of an arranger herself. Guidotti's position is very unclear: he seems to have been the publisher, or the person at whose expense the work was printed by Nicolo Mutij. It is more probable, I think, that Agostino Manni was the arranger of the words rather than their original author. It is known that part of the text is taken from *Laudi* that had been printed long before 1600, and the ms. biography of Manni quoted by Alaleona gives us a good idea of his methods. Padre Manni was interested in organizing dramatic performances by boys, and sometimes got them to sing dramatic dialogues in the recitative style, *componendo egli stesso a presto effetto le parole*. I suggest that *componendo* might include arranging as well as composing original words. This description of Manni at once leads our attention to the dialogue between Body and Soul in Act I, Scene 4, which comes from an earlier *Laude*, and also to the spoken prose prologue which is acted by two small boys called Avveduto and Prudentio.

It may be the function of musicology to discover exactly which words and which notes were written by which poets and which composers, but I suggest that it is much more important for us to analyze the work itself as a whole and consider how it can be made to arouse in a modern audience something of the emotions which it produced in 1600, though in our day we can hardly expect to be honored with the presence of fifteen or twenty cardinals, much less to see them dissolved in tears.

First, let it be understood that the *Anima e Corpo* is a stage play. A concert performance of it is as useless as a concert performance of *Dido and Æneas*: more useless in fact, for it has to be admitted that a great deal of the music to the *Anima e Corpo* is really very dull. According to ordinary definitions, the work is not an oratorio at all: the best way to describe it for a person who knows nothing of it is to say that it is much the same as the well-known play of *Everyman*, set to music of a very simple and unsophisticated kind intended for the sort of audiences which nowadays enjoy Stainer's *Crucifixion*.

It begins with a prologue in prose by two boys called, respectively, *Avveduto* and *Prudentio*: we may call them "Careful" and "Prudent". This is an elaborate and amusing rhetorical exercise. For

practical purposes it might be well to shorten it, but it would be a great pity to leave it out altogether, for it is clear from the life of Manni (as well as from Dr. Burney's account of the Oratorio) that such exercises by small boys were altogether characteristic of the spiritual entertainments held there.

I translate the beginning of it, to give an idea of the style.

CAREFUL. You seem to me to be a thoughtful and prudent youth: tell me, I pray, what think you of this mortal life of ours by which men set such store? In what conceit do you hold it? I desire your opinion, for I too would wish to live in such a way, that when I come to the end of my life I may not find myself, as happeneth to many, deceived by false hopes.

PRUDENT. I cannot fully satisfy your wishes, for my unripe years allow not that I should have seen much of this matter: yet from as much as I have been able to smell out at a distance, and from what I have learned from wiser men who have gone through life with a watchful eye, it seems to me that life is a vain show: fine raiment that hides the deformities of a vile body, a grassy meadow that within its green blades concealeth a venomous serpent. And you, what would *you* say that life was?

CAREFUL. I am but yet untried, but I could say that it was a narrow field full of hard stones; a thicket full of sharp thorns, a shady mountain full of steep cliffs, and in fact a great forest full of savage beasts.

PRUDENT. I would call it a dark vale of weeping, a barren forest of anxiety, a river turbid with tears and a stormy sea of misery.

CAREFUL. And I, if I have perceived aright, find that this life of ours is like the bubble in the water which suddenly vanishes, like the vapor of the air which soon disperses, and like the flower of the hedge which in a moment withers away.

There are 79 more of these comparisons, after which the young gentlemen take their turn in coming to the conclusion that it would be better to avoid the deceptions of worldly life. The final lines sketch out the general idea of what is going to happen on the stage, naming most of the characters in turn.

CAREFUL. Oh what happiness there would be for all men if they would rise from their senses to the height of *Understanding* and would see that neither riches, nor *Pleasure* nor ambition content the heart in this life, but only that which is good and near unto God: if they would discover that *Time* flies in the twinkling of an eye, if they would learn from *Good Counsel* that this little light of life is soon set, that the *Body* with its senses is always inviting the *Soul* to the love of

foulness. That *Paradise* shines above their heads, and *Hell* burns beneath their feet: that the *World* deceives them with vanity and that life slays them with flattery. And finally, that whoever fighteth manfully on earth against the temptations of the enemy will win an eternal and glorious crown in Heaven.

PRUDENT. That is most true. And since the complete understanding of what you have said is most important, for the sum of all things depends upon it: for this reason men have taken it on themselves to bring these things before our eyes. Here and now there is to be represented a living and wonderful example that will prove the truth of our conclusions. We shall see come before us those very things under the figures of persons, and while they delight us with new and strange devices, they will also teach us to recognize that this life, this world, this earthly grandeur, are in truth but dust, smoke, and shadow, and that there is nothing lasting nor great save only virtue, the grace of God, and the eternal Kingdom of Heaven.

But here comes an old man to make beginning of the show. Let us give place and stand apart.

CAREFUL. We will do so.

Here begins the music with the entrance of *Time* as prologue. Act I deals with the Conflict between the Soul and the Body, introduced by Understanding. Act II is introduced by Good Counsel, and shows how Body and Soul resist the temptation first of Pleasure and then of Mammon and Worldly Life: it ends with a vision of angels and Heaven. Act III shows the contrast between the visions of the damned souls in Hell and the blessed souls in Paradise. Each vision is shown twice: finally the blessed souls appear with the angels, and two alternative endings are printed, one with a dance, the other without.

A study of the poem suggests that it was made up from many sources, chiefly *laudi* already known. Instead of the irregular and unrhymed verse of the early operas, we have practically nothing but rhymed verse, and the fact that there are 290 rhymed couplets, 272 of which have two-syllable rhymes, makes it singularly difficult to translate into English.

There are three introductions to the printed score of 1600. The first is Guidotti's dedication to Cardinal Aldobrandini, which tells us a little about the first performance. The second introduction, presumably by Guidotti, for it speaks of Cavalieri as if he had nothing to do with the publication, deals generally with the production of all works of this kind, sacred or secular; how to put them together,

how to design them and get them up. It is not an instruction for the performance of the *Anima e Corpo* itself, but general advice for all who have the organization of similar entertainments, whether as stage-directors, poets, or composers. We could hardly imagine anyone today writing even a whole book, let alone an article of 800 words (about one-quarter the length of this paper) to teach people how to write, compose, and organize the production of an opera; but we could easily imagine something of that sort on the construction and production of school entertainments, or of historical pageants such as have been popular in England.

The third introduction concerns the *Anima e Corpo* itself, and tells us very little, though everything it tells us is of importance. This is a very practical sort of publication: it is the first case in which all airs, choruses, etc., are numbered consecutively, and the words printed again at the end, without the music, and with the corresponding numbers.

The show is not to begin straight away with the entrance of the two boys. Before the curtain falls (*calare*)—for it was a curtain that fell in the ancient Roman manner instead of rising, as our theatrical curtains do—there should be a full piece of music with doubled voices and a good quantity of instruments; the madrigal for 6 voices, No. 86—*O Signor sant' e vero*, which comes almost at the very end (the last number is 91)—will do very well. The curtain then discloses the two boys on the stage, and when Time comes in, the instruments accompanying are to play the first chord and wait for him to begin.

The chorus is to be on the stage, partly sitting, partly standing. The chorus does not take part in the action, and I see no reason why it should not sing from music-books, for the chorus parts would be extremely tiresome to learn by heart. But the preface says that the chorus is to take an interest in what is going on, and to change its position or move about. When the chorus has to sing, the singers are to stand up so as to execute their movements, and then return to their places. A reference to the libretto of *La Dafne* and contemporary drawings show that the usual arrangement of the chorus was a semicircle. As the choruses are in 4 parts (some are actually in 6 or 8) it is suggested that there should be 8 singers, if the stage is big enough.

The next direction suggests that Pleasure and his companions (who come in in Act II) should have instruments in their hands and

play their own *ritornelli*. He suggests a theorbo, a Spanish guitar, and a Spanish tambourine (but it must not make much noise!)—and that the singers should go out as they play the last *ritornello*. This direction is hardly practicable for modern performance, excepting as regards the tambourine.

At the end of Act I, Scene 4 (duet between Soul and Body), Body is to throw away some vain ornament such as a gold chain or a feather from his hat, etc.

The World (Mammon) and Worldly Life are to be very richly dressed, and when they are disrobed they are to be very poor and hideous: Worldly Life is to show herself as a skeleton. (This is, of course, a well-known tradition of the medieval morality plays.)

It is interesting to note that this very solemn play should end with a dance: the dance music is choral and fairly slow in character. The directions say it must begin in a solemn and reverent style: but that in the *ritornelli* they may dance galliards, canaries, and the corrente: but it is very important that the dances should be arranged by the best ballet-master who can be found.

I return to the general introduction, and select those passages which are applicable to a performance of the *Anima e Corpo*. The writer begins by saying that everything is to be of the best—the singing, the acting, and the instrumental playing. The singers are to sing without *passaggi*, that is, without interpolating flourishes, and *in particular*, they are to speak the words clearly, so that they are understood. He suggests that the room should not be too big, accommodating not more than a thousand persons: as a matter of fact, the *Anima e Corpo* was performed in the smaller hall of the Oratorio, which still exists and holds about 60. It is important that the words should be heard, he says, and that the singers should not have to force their voices, for that ruins the emotional effect: and all that music without words is boring. (This last observation is very significant.)

The instruments are to play behind the scenes where they will be invisible to the audience. This direction will hardly please modern conductors. The writer suggests as suitable instruments a bass-viol, a harpsichord, and a theorbo, as making a very good ensemble; or a soft organ with a theorbo. The instruments may well be changed to suit the different emotions expressed. But Alaleona tells us that one of the copies at Rome was used by the theorbo-player, and that his part is marked *tacet* in all the solo numbers.

The *Anima e Corpo* cannot be adequately represented by short excerpts: Malipiero's little publication in two volumes of the D'Annunzio "birds-and-ladders" series leaves out some of the most moving and beautiful moments. Most of the music is very dull, taken by itself: the poem has no great literary interest and the drama is primitive, with very little action. Considered as a whole, however, the work might well prove interesting and indeed affecting on the stage: but it needs most careful preparation and designing. Produced as drama, it might well be tedious: but produced ostensibly as a "devotion", it will be found singularly dramatic at unexpected moments. The music suffers, like so much music of that date, like the songs of Henry Lawes in England, from being neither air nor recitative but something between the two: the singers must consider very carefully how they can cover up the deficiencies, emphasizing the melody or the declamation, from bar to bar, as occasion arises. If the chorus music sounds dull, it must be sung with an affectation of deep devotional fervor.

The theology of the poem is very primitive—one might even call it undenominational. Its only doctrine is that Soul and Body must abandon the life of worldly pleasure and devote themselves to the service of God. It mentions God, Heaven, Hell, angels—including a guardian angel, and "*angeli feroci*" which we may translate as "demons"; but there is no mention whatever of the Trinity, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Devil, the Blessed Virgin, or of any individual saints. Nor is there any allusion either to Purgatory, Confession, Penance, or any Sacraments: the Church is not mentioned. I point this out because in these respects the *Anima e Corpo* differs considerably from *Everyman*, to which it otherwise bears a certain resemblance.

The *Anima e Corpo* is a product of the Counter-Reformation, an age of what we call "drawing-room religion" rather similar to that of Queen Anne and that of the Tractarian Movement. It made a great fuss over "reverence" and "seemliness" of behavior. Pope Paul III in 1539 had forbidden the performance of mystery and morality plays because of their alleged improprieties. In 1561, a few years after the foundation of St. Philip's Oratorio in Rome, a Confraternity which for many years had performed a Passion Play in the Coliseum on Good Friday attempted to get the play revived, but was forbidden to perform it. Alaleona suggests that by 1600 the new operas had become so fashionable that the Oratorio was prac-

tically forced to attempt something of the same kind as a pious counter-attraction. One can well imagine that what was forbidden as a *play* might be permitted under the title of a "moral representation in recitation musick" just as happened in London in 1656 with the *Siege of Rhodes*. The affectation of piety and reverence characteristic of the Counter-Reformation might then admit the representation of allegorical figures such as Time, Understanding, Pleasure, Mammon, Body and Soul, etc., while it would have strictly forbidden the appearance on the stage of characters out of the Bible: it might allow the pronunciation of such words as God, Heaven, and Hell, but at the same time forbid even the names of Christ or the Virgin to be mentioned on the stage.

As to the practical performance of old music of this kind, there are two schools of thought. One regards it as a profanation to use any normal modern instrument: we must have gambas and viols, recorders and regals and so forth. The other school wishes to orchestrate everything on the scale of Richard Strauss and Gustav Mahler. I would gladly return to the ancient instruments if it were practically possible to obtain them and to find players who could play them in a competent and natural manner. Fortunately a harpsichord and an adequate player are generally available in England, at any rate in such places as are likely to undertake historical performances: and an ordinary string quartet will supplement the harpsichord quite sufficiently. What is called *Bearbeitung* is almost invariably barbarism: the less arrangement is made, the better, for the simple reason that in old music it is always the voices, and not the instruments, which carry the composer's inmost thought.

If the *Anima e Corpo* is put on the stage complete, dressed perhaps in the style of Fra Angelico and Benozzo Gozzoli—or even in the semi-classical style of the early operas and *intermezzi*, for which many designs are extant—it will be seen that the play is definitely planned so as to rise to a climax. The first act merely presents the characters: the second shows the struggles of Body and Soul against temptation: the third presents the final vision of Paradise. Hell and Heaven are very sharply contrasted, and the blessed souls in Paradise express the joy of "eternal life" in *coloratura* passages which occur nowhere else in the work; they are recalled again by the final address of the Soul to the audience. The early choruses are all strictly homophonic, like most of the *laudi*; the final eight-part chorus (alternative to the *festa di ballo* or set of dances) breaks into imita-

tive counterpoint. This purely musical outburst at the end of the work is very striking: taken by themselves, these numbers are not really very interesting as compared with the best music of the madrigalists and monodists, but they always occur in exactly the right place, and it is the right *placing* of them which gives them their wonderful vividness of expression. For the sake of these moments the *Anima e Corpo* is worth performing: but it will be seen that the value of these single moments cannot be realized unless the work is performed complete and acted on the stage.

Venetian Folk-Songs of the Renaissance*

Knud Jeppesen

DELEGATE FROM DENMARK

THE GREAT ITALIAN 18th-century writer of comedies, Carlo Goldoni, says about Venice, his native town: "Everyone sings, on the squares, in the streets, on the canals. The merchants sing when they are selling, the workers going to their tasks, the gondoliers waiting for their masters."

We have evidence that Venice was a center of popular musical culture in earlier centuries also. This position was due first of all to the wonderfully rich-colored, gay, and vivacious life of the city—at that time, a world center—but also to its glorious vernacular, which possessed, as it still does, a unique faculty for dealing with comic themes. In order to illustrate this—especially with regard to the possibility of producing droll rhymes and rhythms—I shall read some stanzas of a burlesque Venetian poem of the 16th century:

Le non ha né ca né tetto, in effetto il marchetto
tutto ghe va in belletto e po del betolar
stentar, che no gh'è da magnar

E co ti ghe dà del naso a caso con un baso
le vol veste de raso e s'ti no ghe le fa
le sta col muso scorrozzà.

Epero tutti v'esorto, conforto, reporto
che ogn'un fazza d'accorto, lassela andar a far
picar per no ve rovinar.

—(*Lettere di Andrea Calmo*, ed. V. Rossi 1888, p. 288).

For several years, I have been occupied with preparatory studies for a rather large work—Ante-Palestrina (Before Palestrina, in other words), the History of Music in Italy from about 1500 to about the middle of the 16th century. In this connection I have had to deal with Italian secular music of the beginning of this century—with what is mainly called the *frottola*. The *frottola* is not true folk-music; it is not the song of the *popolo basso*. It is written to amuse the

*Illustrations performed by The Madrigalists.

upper classes, not for the pleasure of the man in the street. What the latter has sung—not only in Italy, but in nearly all countries—has been only poorly preserved. His songs have sprung up quickly and have also been quickly forgotten; they have not been regarded as things to be taken seriously, and it has not been found worth the trouble to write them down. For that reason, no real source—in the common meaning of the word—is now to be found for this music. Fortunately, the musicians of the period in question often thought it amusing to make use of real folk-songs in their compositions, either as *cantus firmi* or in other ways. Thus it is possible to excavate, so to speak, the folk-tunes from the polyphonic tissue of these pieces of art music, and in this way I have succeeded, little by little, in finding more than two hundred old Venetian folk-tunes, or at least their beginnings.

Of course I cannot, on this occasion, discuss my complete material. I must confine myself to some few of the more representative and instructive pieces of this sort.

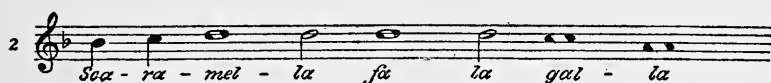
The first of them is a so-called *centone*, which is to be found in Petrucci's Ninth Book of *Frottole* (1508). A *centone* is a poem or musical composition that is completely patched together out of citations of folk-tunes or their beginnings. Generally the different parts of the composition, which at first employ independent musical themes, join at the end to execute a complete folk-song.

The *centone* in question was composed or, perhaps better, constructed by Lodovico Fogliano. He was born at Modena in the latter part of the 15th century and died in 1539 in his native town; for some years he was a singer in the choir at St. Peter's in Rome. The *cantus* begins with *Fortuna d'un gran tempo*.

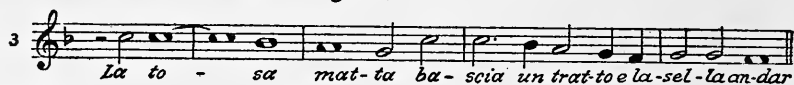


This folk-tune was exceedingly popular: we find it, for example, in a famous setting by Johannes Martini in Petrucci's *Odhecaton*, but it is also to be found as *cantus firmus* in a quite interminable number of compositions of this period.

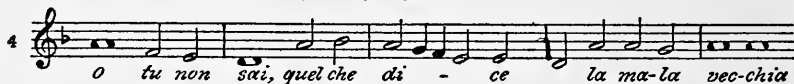
Immediately after this, the *cantus* commences singing another popular folk-tune: *Scaramella fa la galla*,



which likewise is known from a great number of polyphonic settings (by Josquin and Compère, among others). Then follow some quotations of folk-tunes (the second of which I have not seen elsewhere): *La tosa matta* ("That foolish girl")



and *O tu non sai, quel che dice la mala vecchia* ("O you don't know what this wicked old gossip is saying");



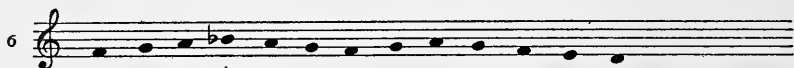
and finally follows the beginning of a song that attained wide dissemination: *De voltate in qua e do bella Rosina*.

The best form of this melody (which I have found in several sources) seems to me that in the frottola, *Poi ch'el ciel e la fortuna*, which has been published by Professor Einstein in Adler's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*. Here it forms the refrain. The text means: "Look here, O beautiful Rosina, because Gianol wishes to speak with you."



This song was very popular for a time, but then seems to have been forgotten. Tassoni says at the beginning of the 17th century, in his famous poem, *Sacchia rapita*, that one had not heard *la Rosina bella* sung for a long time.

The tune seems to have been one of the typical melodies of Dorian character in the Italian folk-music of this period, and I think that it is based on Gregorian psalmody (cf., for example, P. Wagner, *Gregorianische Melodien*, III, p. 9):



Similar melodies are: *E quando andare tu al monte* ("When are you going into the mountains"), which is to be found printed several times by Petrucci—for instance, in the frottola *Chi a martello* in Book 7.

7

È quan - do, quan - doan - da - re tu al
 mon - te, È quan - do, quan - doan - da -
 re tu al mon - te, bel pe - go - ra
 to, fra - tel mio caro ai - me

It is also quoted as the beginning of a song in the tenor of the *centone*:
E sì son sì son lasser mi esser ("And let me be just as I am").

8

È sì son sì son las - ser mi es - ser

The tune *Bel albero*, which is used as a refrain in the frottola, *Spenta mai del spectro amore*, in Petrucci's Seventh Book, also shows a similar treatment. The text is: "Beautiful tree, which is grown up at the highway, the twigs are of gold, the leaves of olive."

9

Bel al - be - ro che na - to, bel al - be - ro che
 Le ra - mel - le son d'o - ro, le ra - mel - le son
 na - to ne - la vi - li - vā, fo - gli - d'o - li - a
 d'o - ro, fo - gli d'o - li - a

Similarity with Gregorian melodies is also shown in a folk-tune *Villana che sa tu far*, the best form of which seems to me to be found in a *chansonnier* (written in Italy) at the Colombina Library in Seville. The words mean: "Farmer girl, what can you do?" "I can knit and I can sew, I can dance and I can sing." And then she can do some other things, which I think it better not to translate.

10

vil - la - na che sa tu far? so fi - lar e
 so nas - par, so chu - sir e so ta - giar,

so bal-lar e so can-tar e so far cha-chon-
 zel-le Non fe-ro, se non ho,
 se non ho her-be-ri-ne la fa-ri-ne et
 for-nai-o u-na gal-li-na,
 tan-ta-ra tan-ta-ra, de pur sus-su-so
 Al-xa la gam-ba, ex-au-di nos ky-ri-e-
 lei-son (ky-ri lei-son ky-
 ri e-lei-son.

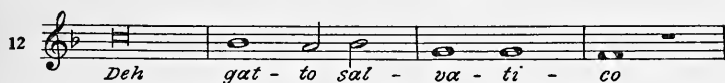
This song is a strange example of that singular amalgamation of bold and secular with pious and clerical elements, so typical of the medieval world. The *Kyrie eleison* at the close does not seem to be a direct musical quotation. But the whole melody is clearly related to different Gregorian themes of the Lydian mode—for example, the *Sanctus* of the *Missa in festis B. M. V.* I do not believe that the intention was of a parodistic nature; I think rather that it proves the connection between folk-song and Gregorian music at this time to have been as intimate in Italy as in many other countries, including my own.

After this little digression, let us go on with the description of our *centone*. The *cantus* continues with *La traditora, la vol ch'io mora* ("That treacherous girl, she wishes me to die"),

11

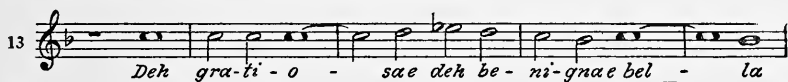
La tra-di-to-ra la vol ch'io mo-ra

and directly after this comes *Deh gatto salvatico*,



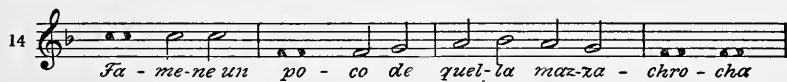
the continuation of which we find in another *centone* in the Ms. Q. 21 of the Liceo Musicale at Bologna: *Deh gatto salvatico, quando saras tu domestico* ("O wildcat, when will you be domesticated?").

It is not possible—because of the limitation in time—to mention here all the quotations made in the other parts. I must, therefore, confine myself to a selection of them. Of the quotations in the alto, I single out for mention especially *Deh gratiosa e deh benigna e bella* ("Oh gracious, oh gentle and beautiful lady"),



a song which is quoted also in the refrain of a *frottola* in Petrucci's Seventh Book, *Poi ch'el ciel*.

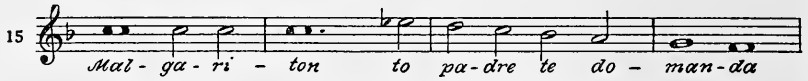
In the tenor, I should particularly point out the song, *Famene un poco di quella mazzachrocha*. We meet this song several times not only in Petrucci, but also in the above-mentioned Ms. at Seville and in other mss., such as Cod. XIX, 59, of the National Library at Florence. In this last source it is to be seen as part of a well-known and beautiful *quodlibet* by Heinrich Isaac, which was first printed in Volume V of Ambros' History of Music. This tune must have been much loved and widely disseminated. The text is: "Give me a little of this mazzachrocha", and then, with variants: "Give me thereof, but do not give me too much", or: "but give me it well cooked."



I am not able to say what the word *mazzachrocha* really means, but I have the comfort of knowing that this has puzzled eminent Italian philologists also, who have discussed the matter with eagerness. One of them has, in his desperation, even thought that this word was not Italian at all, but belonged to the gipsy language. I think it surely must be Venetian. But the dialect of the 15th century is still filled with dark riddles of this kind, for philologists as well as musicologists.

The tenor quotes another tune, which I have not observed in

other sources, and which I should mention especially because of its clear Mixolydian character, *Malgariton to padre te domanda* ("Marguerite, your father asks you").



The *bassus* begins with a citation of a song of a burlesque bell-imitating character: *Dagdun dagdun vetusta*,



but then foregoes further citations and sings: *E sole e chiachiere, e sole e chiachiere*, which means: "What I now sing is only nonsense". Finally all parts—*cantus*, *altus*, etc.—execute the song of the *Mala zotta* ("The wicked limping woman"). It is a dreadfully indecent text. The music is entertaining and fascinating in its rhythm.



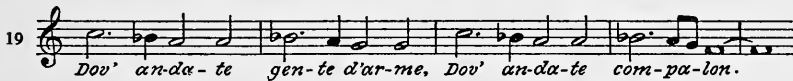
In Ms. XIX, 164-167, of the National Library at Florence, a Ms. that was probably written about 1520, we see three *centoni*, of which Johannes Wolf has published one in his edition of the works of Obrecht. I should like to devote some attention to another of these

centoni. At the beginning the three upper parts sing *Jam pris amours*, while the *bassus* has another French song, *Ma bouche rit*. These two chansons were very much esteemed in Italy. *Jam pris amours* (or, as its beginning correctly goes, *J'ai pris amours en ma devise*) was particularly famous and is to be seen in all imaginable musical combinations. I found new proof of its popularity some time ago, at Urbino in Italy. In the castle of the famous Duke Federigo di Montefeltre, in his wonderful little studio, the walls are decorated with inlaid woodwork. Two of these represent manuscripts of music. The wood is inlaid with such admirable fineness that the notes may be read clearly; the words, however, are rather indistinct. There are two compositions, of which one is a hymn in honor of the duke. The other has hitherto been regarded as a corresponding song of homage to the duchess, beginning with the words: *Primus amor canat Ducise*. But this is a mistake: the notes show clearly that the piece is a three-part setting of *J'ai pris amours* in the form in which it is to be found, for example, in Ms. frç. 4379 of the National Library at Paris. For the rest, it is interesting that the Ms. pictured in the studio of Duke Federigo, as regards the writing, etc., seems very similar to Ms. XIX, 176, of the National Library at Florence, which important Ms. has always seemed to me very difficult to date. But I think now that it was written about 1480, at the same time as Bacio Pontelli and Francesco di Giorgio Martini are known to have made the inlay for the Duke.

Among the great number of citations of folk-tunes in the *centone* in question, I shall mention only some of the most amusing: *Facti et non parole* ("Deeds and not words"—it sounds quite modern),



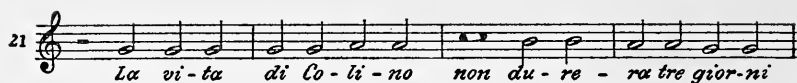
Dov'andate gente d'arme? ("Whither are you going, soldiers?"),



and *Brama pan che non c'è pan* ("One desires bread because there is no bread").



Also interesting is the quotation of a song: *La vita di Colino non durera tre giorni*,



which I know from two different settings in Ms. 871 of the Abbey of Monte Cassino near Naples.

This Ms. has clear connections with the court of the Aragonese Kings in Naples and may have been written about 1480. The texts are often half Spanish, half Italian or French. In this codex we find our tune as *cantus* of a piece, *La vida de culin*, and then later as tenor in a composition, the two upper voices of which have the French text: *Que faray je mal fortune?*

In the latter composition the text is most complete, and it is possible to understand the meaning: "The life of Colin [it is a man!] can't last long, the way they are behaving, those brave fellows. They go to the tavern with great devotion."

22

La vi-da de cu-lin non du-ra

tous - iors man til se gou-ver -

nent ce gen-til com-pa - nyons

etc.

co - mant il se go -

ver - nant se gen-til com-pa - nyons,

il vont a la ta-ver - na con gran de -

vo - ci - on etc.

I think it is worthy of notice that in the latter setting there are certain passages without words, which one consequently may be inclined to regard as of an instrumental character. But the same passages

are provided in the first setting with the vowel "o", written distinctly under every note.

23

La vi - da de cu - lra non du - ra pas
 tor - iors Co - man ti si go - ver - na le
 sue - go o o o o o o o o
 o o o o o o o
 o Ho - ra mo - ra gui - lle - min

I find this important and think it is probable that many passages without text in the old music, which are generally regarded as instrumental, are really vocalises, just as in the Graduals or Alleluias of Gregorian chant. Besides, I should remark that this tune, the second part of which has the text, *Hora mora guillemin*, seems to have some connection with the dance tune, *Folia Guglielmo*, which appears in the treatise on dancing by Antonio Cornazano, a treatise Professor Kinkeldey has dealt with in his excellent essay on the dancing master Guglielmo Ebreo. Furthermore, others of these Italian dance tunes are taken from polyphonic settings of secular songs. Thus the dance tune, *Gratioso*, by Guglielmo Ebreo—in spite of many small differences—is obviously identical with the *cantus* of the song, *O gratiosa viola mia*, which is to be seen in Ms. IV a. 24 of the Library of the Escorial in Spain; and the dance tune, *Leoncello*, seems to have much to do with the tenor of a piece, *L'ucello mi chiamo*, in Ms. G. 20 of the Public Library at Perugia. A systematic

comparison surely would enable us to make further identifications in this field.

Codex Q 21 of the Liceo Musicale at Bologna is a very important source. I think it was written about 1530; it contains a rather large number of *centoni* and settings of folk-tunes and seems in this respect to be perhaps the most interesting of all the Italian sources. It is of course quite impossible to mention here even a small part of the folk-tunes that are quoted in this codex. I shall consider only a few of the most remarkable ones. Thus in No. 47 of this collection there appears a tune, *Alpe de la montagna*, which is one of the most beautiful and melodically embellished of these folk-songs. This tune is to be found, in nearly the same form, as the tenor of a four-part setting in Petrucci's Eighth Book. Here the text is *Ape de la montagna* ("Bee of the mountains"), while in the Ms. at Bologna the form *Alpe de la montagna* ("Alp of the mountains") appears. The real meaning—which, since the musical accent goes counter to the verbal accent, is slightly obscured by the former—is of course *Al pe* ("At the foot of the mountain will we plant the standard").

24

Al pe del - la mon - ta - gna pian - te - re - mo

lo sten - dar - do, al pe del - la mon - ta -

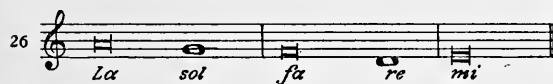
gna pian - te - re - mo lo sten - dar - do.

Another quotation that seems interesting to me is that of the song *Lassa fare a mi* ("Leave it to me"). The same tune is quoted in a *villotta* by Ruffino d'Assisi in Ms. IV 1795-98 (in the San Marco Library at Venice). Ruffino was choirmaster in the church of San Antonio in Padua (1519-25, 1531-32) and in San Francesco at Assisi (c. 1534-39). Finally, the same tune is used by Josquin des Prez as *cantus firmus* in his famous mass *La sol fa re mi*, which was published by Petrucci in 1502. The well-known Italian musicologist, Fausto Torrefranca (cf. *Nuova Antologia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 1934, p. 107ff), concludes from this that Josquin was influenced by the *villotte* of Ruffino, and sees here a proof of his hypothesis that it is to the Italian four-part *villotta* and not to Josquin that we owe the

clarification of polyphony at the beginning of the 16th century. I must confess that I do not agree with this, and find it in any case exaggerated. It does not strike me as very probable that it was the *villotta* of this younger composer that Josquin used as *cantus firmus* for his Mass, published as early as 1502, especially when we consider that this *villotta* is only to be found in a copy obviously written after Josquin died. I think it far more reasonable to deduce that Josquin and Ruffino both employed a much-loved folk-tune, which in the Ms. of Bologna has this form:



In Josquin's Mass the form is:



The last part of the composition consists of the setting of a merry song: *Non è più bel amor che la vicina, veder si puo la sera et la mattina* ("Love for the girl next door is best, for one can see her both evening and morning"). The tenor has the melody:



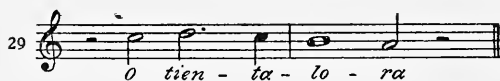
This tune I have found provided with other words also: *Di la d'al acqua sta.*

Finally, in order to give you a real impression of the sort of music of which I have spoken today, The Madrigalists have been so kind as to prepare a composition for you. This piece I have scored after the Ms. at Bologna, but it is also to be found in Ms. XIX, 122-125, in the

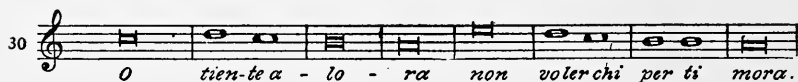
National Library at Florence (a Ms. I should date about 1535) and in the collection, *Canzoni, Frottole et Capitoli*, etc., printed at Rome in 1526 (copy in the State Library at Vienna). In this latter print it is supplied with the initials F. P., which I should be inclined to interpret as standing for Francesco Patavino, the name of a composer who served in the first part of the 16th century (1519-29 and 1538-51) as a choirmaster at the Cathedral of Treviso near Venice, and for a few years also at the Cathedrals of Chioggia and Udine. This piece is certainly not as rich in quotations of folk-tunes as the others I have named; but it is esthetically, in its fresh and artistic treatment of the themes, one of the finest specimens of its type. It begins, as do so many pieces of the period, with imitation between two voices. The subject is the French song, *Vrai dieu d'amour qui me confortera?*



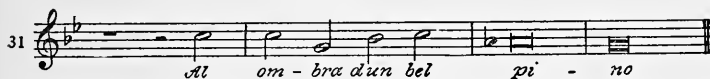
We find settings of this melody, or of a melody very similar to it, in one of the Harley Mss. in London and in Ms. frç. 12744 of the National Library at Paris. After this rather broad introduction (or first movement, one could say) follows a sort of interlude, and then as the third and last section of the piece there is a setting of the folk-song, *Uccellino bel uccellino*. The interlude quotes three tunes. The first of them, *Ch'io son fora di prison*, seems to be related in certain ways to a *frottola* by Tromboncino in Petrucci's Fifth Book, *Hor ch'io son di prison fore* ("Now that I am escaped from the prison"). The second is the famous folk-song, *O tentalora*.



It is named among others by the 16th-century Italian poet Folengo in his *Baldo*, where he says: "*Sed modo confessus gaudet titaloraque cantus,*" and in a *centone* without music in the Library of the University of Bologna, *La bella Franceschina tentalora*. Among the sources in which the music is to be found is Petrucci's Eighth Book, where it appears in a piece by Nicolo Brochus, in which the tenor has the *cantus firmus*.



After this the *bassus* quotes *Al ombra d'un bel pino* ("In the shadow of a beautiful pine"),



which is practically identical with the beginning of the upper voice in a piece in Petrucci's Eleventh Book: *Al ombra d'un bel velo*.



The last part of the composition has in the tenor as *cantus firmus* the folk-tune: *Uccellino, bel uccellino* ("Bird, little bird, how beautifully you are singing"). This song is mentioned in the comedy *Vaccaria* of Ruzzante, a Venetian poet of the 16th century, and in the *centone* from Bologna. It is also to be found, in quite the same form, in the Ms. of the San Marco Library. Here it is:



And now, because of the time, I shall have to end this paper and beg The Madrigalists to be so kind as to perform the whole piece for us.

I think from my research in this field one may deduce:

That there is far more folk material in the secular polyphonic music of Italy about 1500 than has hitherto been supposed;

That the Italian folk-tunes of this period are often very much influenced, in their melodic unfolding, by Gregorian chant;

But that in their rhythms they are on the contrary very symmetrical, in the manner Hugo Riemann called "*Vierhebigkeit*". I think that this is of some importance, because, since the appearance of Ernst Kurth's book on Bach's counterpoint, one has been inclined to think that this is a phenomenon that belongs mainly to the 18th century. In fact, it is perhaps as old as European music and probably even older.

Session on
PRIMITIVE AND FOLK-MUSIC IN NORTH AMERICA
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13TH

9:30 A.M.
at the Beethoven Association Club Rooms
George Herzog presiding

Some Enemies of Folk-Music in America

George Pullen Jackson

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

MAY I ASK your forgiveness for a few autobiographical allusions, the reasons for which I shall make clear presently.

When I was very young our "hired girl" Annie Cole used to sing to whichever child of the family was youngest:

B - a - bay, b - e - bee,
B - y by ba - bee - by,
B - o bo, ba - bee - by - bo
B - u bew ba - bee - by - bo - bew.

Another favorite of Annie's was the song about the three little kittens who had lost their mittens. My mother used to sing her babies to sleep with

Sleep, baby, sleep,
Thy father tends the sheep.

With other children I played and sang "The Needle's Eye", "London Bridge is falling down", "Ring around the rosie", "King William was King James's son", "There were three crows", "'We'll hunt the wren,' said Robin to Bobbin", "I put my right foot in", "There was a frog lived in a pool", and numbers of other ditties or songs associated with games. My father sang, too. I remember his

Oh my! You oughter seen us kitin'
Two-forty in the sand on the road to Brighton.

And I recall a ballad of my mother's which reported that

A man whose name was Johnny Sands
Had married Betty Hague.

There was nothing remarkable about this singing of folk music. It was a perfectly natural activity, which none of us children or the grown-ups ever thought of trying to rationalize. All the folks in that New England village knew the songs and many others of similar nature. And in neighboring villages the situation was, as far as we knew, the same.

Then I grew up and put away childish things, or tried to. I became a student and a rider of musical hobbies. Through a chain of circumstances my interest centered eventually on the poetry and art-music, and then the folk-song, of some European nations; and I learned of the European recognition of the importance of folk-song both for its own sake and as the proper basis of poetic and musical art-developments in their lands. Such observations led me subsequently to cast about in my own land, to see if perhaps similar folk-song conditions and intelligent recognition of them obtained here; for I was culturally quite patriotic, with a touch of the missionary. But I soon found the American scene rather dark. No one seemed to know or care whether we had any folk music or not. This, in the first decade of the present century.

Some signs, to be sure, pointed to the presence of folk-song in this land. In Child's compendium of English and Scottish popular ballads I ran across the "Three Crows" of my youth. But this one accidental discovery failed somehow to bring the British material and the songs of my childhood into one category in my mind. It pleased me nevertheless when I observed that others were hunting and finding, right here in America, more and more of the Child ballads and their beautiful tunes. It was still more pleasing to see these song-

hunters opening their eyes also to other folk-songs, which were not of the story-telling variety found in Child. But the high spot in my whole activity in delving into the songs of the people came not long ago when I opened Miss Flanders' book of *Vermont Folk-Songs and Ballads* and found the whole melodic store of my boyhood on its pages. I had wandered around the world, so to speak, and had returned home. I had studied folk-song quite objectively as an academic discipline and had come at long last to find it within me, a part of me. This is the end of my autobiographical reflections; and I hasten to explain their connection with my subject.

A certain participation in folk-song, one similar to mine, is probably the good fortune of most American children, certainly of those whose families are not of too recent coming to this land and of not too urban residence. It is also probable that most of these children, when they grow up, put aside the songs of their childhood as I did. It is highly improbable, however, that any considerable number of them would be found returning to and discovering the value of their early song environment—discovering the folk-song within themselves, as I happened to. If these assumptions are in the main correct, we have perhaps come upon one good reason for the still widely observable lack of any deep interest, on the part of Americans by and large, in their own folk music. Not having discovered it in themselves, they ignore it or give it at most that modicum of mild and superficial interest which is accorded to a thousand other matters that are extraneous to one's real self. We might therefore call this subjective non-coöperative attitude folk music's Enemy No. 1, the enemy within.

But the pervasive feeling that folk-song is not of us, and is therefore an unimportant thing, is not the only reason for our apathy toward it. There is another more positive reason, namely, that another music has taken its place in our *minds*, if not in our souls. I refer of course to that music which is produced by individuals and is given the name "art-music". It is well known that the line of demarcation between these two musics in western civilization has grown in distinctness for centuries. It is equally well known that the gap developing between the two has been bridged at times and to the great benefit especially of art-music. But the gradual deepening of the gap will be generally admitted by thoughtful people of musical interests. It will also probably be conceded that the alienation of the two musics, and thus also of those who are their bearers, has been

more complete in English-speaking lands than elsewhere. British authorities agree on this point and attribute the alienation to a bad case of musical extroversion, a cultural disease which has caused the English to despise their indigenous music. Gustav Holst, for example, stated that he was brought up on the popular fallacy that folk-songs were either bad or Irish. And Vaughan Williams stated that the English musical extroversion, one persisting since the 18th century, had brought about the conviction among his people that if they wanted music they would have to hire a "damned foreigner" to make it. I think we have here a true picture of what might well be called Musical Dualism; the one element being the native music, persisting but despised; the other being the borrowed musical plumage of other peoples.

Whether Americans inherited these attitudes from the English is beside the point. The fact remains that our views are strikingly similar to those of Albion, and have been for a long time. As soon as any musical opinion at all developed on these shores it was directed toward the despising of the native—identical then with the English—and the borrowing of that music which had developed among various other peoples, of the European mainland. As witness to the persistence today of the ignorance of and contempt for the American white man's native music, I cite the general tendency of even musical people to regard the perfectly extraneous Indian songs as American, the perfectly integral Negro songs as African, and the rest as "punk". And to dwell on the extroversion of art-music in present-day America would be an elaboration of the obvious. We are therefore justified, I think, in looking upon this tonal extroversion, and its accompanying aversion to the native, as folk music's Enemy No. 2.

There are still other reasons for the complete alienation of the two musics in this land. One of them is bound up with our topography and the related character and distribution of our population.

Since folk music is by nature country music, the Dualism promptly took on the aspects of city *versus* country. From the start, the dwellers in the small towns and cities of the Atlantic seaboard fostered the borrowed art-music zealously—this in the keen but not very far-sighted realization of their responsibility for raising the musical level of a new and crude nation. And they did their best to cast all that was native and folky into outer darkness. The country people meanwhile carried on their own racial tonal tradition for the

mere love of it and hence with no conscious effort. That this geographical differentiation of the two parties to the Musical Dualism worked greatly to the disadvantage of the country folk and country music, just as do all city-country differences of culture and opinions of culture, goes without saying.

But even in the great inland regions the song tradition of English-language provenience, though dominant in most parts, did not enjoy complete hegemony. The German-language island in Pennsylvania, the French colony in Louisiana, and other, smaller settlements, formed barriers to its spread in those localities. In the plains region of Ohio and to the west, while the first settlers were of the basic British Isles stock, they were soon joined by groups speaking other tongues and singing other songs. And while the songs of the newcomers (chiefly Germans and Scandinavians) died with the disuse of the languages in which they were sung, the newcomers' adoption of the song-lore of the English settlers was naturally slow and partial. The basic tradition in such regions was thereby thinned and weakened.

Though hampered thus in rural sections of radically mixed population, American folk music remained comparatively vigorous elsewhere. This was true of the great inland and upland stretches from the far Northeast to the far Southeast. The areas of New England and New York remained the habitat of a live English song tradition up to times within the memory of oldsters now living. Its more recent desuetude there may be attributed to the gradual seeping in of urban musical influences. From Pennsylvania and New Jersey southward, however, and from the Appalachian Piedmont a thousand miles or more westward, song persistence conditions have been least unfavorable. The Saxons, who were the first on the ground there, were reinforced quickly and continually by great floods of Irish, Welsh, and Scotch settlers, who sang much the same songs and were immensely proud of them. Even the Germans, who gradually became a sizeable component of this population, merged music-culturally with the dominant strain. City influence was kept out by the fact that the cities were remote and that these farmers built no cities of their own. Under such protective conditions there came into being more than a century ago that which is rightly called the Great American Song Belt. In that region, which takes in roughly a dozen states, millions of Americans, white and black, still sing the ancient songs in the ancient manner; the songs of childhood, the hoary

ballads and newer ones, folk-hymns centuries old, and "fritterminded" parodies of them. And the Old Fiddler and his older tunes are still youthful.

I realize of course that the picture I have sketched is subject to revision. My statements have been based on the evidence presented by folklorists of our own and comparatively recent times and, in a measure, on pertinent historical data. If my deductions are found to be shaky, the condition may be due in part to the paucity of historical evidence. For in a land like ours, which has only recently become folk-music conscious, the search of the past is bound to be hit-or-miss, quite laborious, and often fruitless.

My own venturings have been merely into the past of one sort of native music, the spiritual folk-songs. And I shall ask your indulgence while I trace briefly the historical trend of this branch of folk music, as far as that trend has become apparent, chiefly as a case report, revealing some of the activities of folk music's Enemy No. 2.

Our spiritual folk-songs have been principally group songs. They came into existence probably among the despised and persecuted Baptists of the British Isles and in the 17th century; though we are still looking for more evidence on these points. The Baptists sang these songs apparently because they loved them and because they were free from the taint of the Established Church dogma and music. And the Established Church, in persecuting the Baptists, functioned as the Enemy No. 2 whom we have just met.

When thousands of Baptists were driven out of Britain, destiny brought them to America; not to New England with its smug Established order or to the southern colonies with their Established Church, but to New Jersey and Pennsylvania where they were freer. There the spiritual folk-songs took root and spread northward and southward into the unfriendly preserves of the dominant sects, carried thither by preacher-singers who were often jailed for their preaching, if not for the songs they sang.

The Revolution brought better times to such underdogs as the Baptists. They began to multiply, and their songs began to spread, until, when carried along by the camp meetings of the Great Western Revival, they reached the ends of the land. Enemy No. 2 was for a time in retreat; but it got into action again in the 1820s. This time, too, it appeared in the guise of great church organizations, and it was reinforced by individual musical reformers. Together they waged a war of attrition against the camp-meeting lyrists which it

took half a century to win—so firm was the hold of their songs on the masses. And even then (around the Civil War period) the enemy was unable to consolidate his victory without the rather inglorious aid of the young Gospel Hymn Boys—which wasn't quite cricket.

Spiritual folk-song in America is down but not out. Its survival is no fault of the enemy, now known as the Hymnal Committee. It is due rather to the fact that those who sing these songs today are beyond the reach of the enemy. These singers are the completely satisfied and unambitious Primitive Baptists, the legions who have the time of their lives at the Southern "old-timey" all-day singings, and those Negro congregations who have not yet allowed these songs to be cultured out of them.

A week ago I visited a little Primitive Baptist church in Hopewell, New Jersey, less than a hundred miles from New York city, where we are celebrating the glittering material advances of the age. In Hopewell they celebrated last April the 225th anniversary of the founding of their church with singing of the same folk-hymns which their forefathers brought from provincial Britain more than two centuries ago, songs which they have sung ever since. They sang these songs also in the early manner, without instrumental aid.

While the Hopewell church-goers and a few other like-minded groups have been carrying on the Old-Time Religion and the Old-Timey Songs, other sections of the denomination, bearing the same Baptist name, have come to make up one of the largest Protestant bodies in America. This they have accomplished by casting off piecemeal those traditions—the folk-song tradition among them—which hindered their keeping up with the times.

In the contrast presented by Hopewell's Primitive Baptist music and that of Manhattan's Baptist churches, one may see with marvellous clarity the first and last stages of a process in the course of which the art-music produced by individuals has completely submerged the music of *ein dichtendes und singendes Volk*.

In closing, I shall renounce the pleasure of moralizing. Instead of that I wish to make one statement and to ask one question which I myself cannot answer. The statement is that I do not wish to be classed with those who believe that folk-song is dying of senility; for I am convinced that it is being killed. The question is: What can be done in opposing the forces which are bringing about the extinction of American folk-song?

Modal and Melodic Structure in Anglo-American Folk Music

A Neutral Mode

Annabel Morris Buchanan

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THE SERIOUS STUDENT of Anglo-American folk-song is continually confronted with the difficulty of confining its fluid melodic substance within the strict walls of formal analysis. Yet he is increasingly aware that, beneath innumerable variations in structure or melodic content, the form is there; and if so, it is subject to analysis. In the present revival of interest in folk-ways, our American composers are experimenting more and more with their native music as a foundation for creative art. But this experimentation will lead nowhere unless the basic modal and melodic structure of our folk melodies is understood.

After study of many thousand folk-tunes and variants—Old World and New—and of theories advanced by Miss Anne Gilchrist, Cecil Sharp, Herman Reichenbach, and others in this field, I have reached certain conclusions which, seemingly at variance with some of theirs, may perhaps only place me in the position of the recruit who considered all the soldiers but himself to be marching out of step. In reality, however, these conclusions as here offered seem but the logical continuation and development of ideas and principles already established or suggested, though possibly taking new directions following American tune-trends.

The ancient pentatonic or "gapped" scales in which many of our folk airs are cast, and the diatonic (church) modes derived from these scales, are doubtless familiar to all students of folk-song. When Cecil Sharp classified his Appalachian tunes recorded in 1916, he based his analyses, with slight modification, upon the modal system already evolved by Miss Anne Gilchrist for Gaelic melodies. Considering the diatonic modes as derived from earlier pentatonic scales, Miss Gilchrist, to establish a full scale on the basis of each of the pentatonic modes, allowed the lower gap (D-F) to be filled by E or E \flat ; the upper (A-C), invariably by B \flat . Sharp modified this principle by considering E as the invariable tone, with B or B \flat filling the upper gap. After his later recordings in the Appalachians (1917, 1918), he found it necessary to revise his own modification by allow-

ing a third combination, the lower gap completed by E_b and the upper by B_b .¹ The Sharp-Gilchrist chart, with or without this final modification, has, I believe, along with Sharp's earlier *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions*, formed the basis for most of our serious folk-music study in America.

My own earlier chart, offered in simplified form,² was in accordance with Sharp's later conclusions, though arrived at through independent study before the publication of his final analyses.³ As will be observed from the chart following, this classification permits the formation of three different diatonic scales from each of the first four pentatonic modes, according to the filling of the gaps, and two from the fifth mode: Ionian and Phrygian each appearing twice; Dorian, Mixolydian, and Aeolian each three times. The Locrian mode, theoretically possible in Mode 5, is omitted as being absent from our folk music.

CHART I, FOR PENTATONIC MODES

Whole notes form pentatonic modes. Completion of either gap alone forms a hexatonic mode; completion of both gaps forms a heptatonic mode. Any scale may be transposed to any pitch-level.

Mode 1	Mode 2	Mode 3
(No 3rd or 7th)	(No 2nd or 6th)	(No 4th or 7th)
Ionian ($E\sharp, B\sharp$)	Dorian ($E\sharp, B\sharp$)	Ionian ($B_b, E\sharp$)
Mixolydian ($E\sharp, B_b$)	Aeolian ($E\sharp, B_b$)	Lydian ($B\sharp, E\sharp$)
Dorian (E_b, B_b)	Phrygian (E_b, B_b)	Mixolydian (B_b, E_b)
(No 3rd or 6th)	(No 2nd or 5th)	
Mixolydian ($B\sharp, E\sharp$)	Aeolian ($B\sharp, E\sharp$)	
Dorian ($B_b, E\sharp$)	Phrygian ($B_b, E\sharp$)	
Aeolian (B_b, E_b)		

¹ Cecil J. Sharp, Maud Karpeles, *English Folk-Songs from the Southern Appalachians*. (Oxford University Press, 1932.) Vol. I, Preface, p. xix; also Introduction to first edition, Olive Dame Campbell, Cecil J. Sharp. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917).

² See Annabel Morris Buchanan, "Anglo-American Folk Music", *International Cyclopaedia of Music and Musicians*. Ed. by Oscar Thompson. (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1938). Also given earlier in *White Top Folk Trails*.

³ I believe Hilton Rufty's classifications, as given in Reed Smith's *American Anthology of Old-World Ballads* (J. Fischer & Bro., 1937), and George Pullen Jackson's *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America* (Augustin, 1937), though in accordance with Sharp's final theories, were also made independently.

The modes have been in process of evolution for many centuries. Gradually the gaps in the pentatonic forms began to be filled, with intervening tones added hesitatingly, sometimes wavering in pitch, until our full modern diatonic scale was reached. Some of our loveliest folk melodies are in the pentatonic modes; many are hexatonic; comparatively few, in the Appalachians, are in the final modal state in which every note is used independently. Folk-melodies found elsewhere with full scale are sometimes sung in the gapped modes by Appalachian folk, whether as a result of a breakdown of the tonal structure, or because the singers have not yet entirely emerged from the pentatonic stage of musical development. The modality (Dorian, Mixolydian, etc.) is, of course, determined by the pitch and stress of the intervening tones. As shown on the chart, these added tones may be either \flat or \sharp (*i.e.*, minor or major), though they are often uncertain or varying in pitch.

This chart, though not perfect, seemed to me fairly adequate for our Anglo-American folk melodies, until recent discussion with Professor Herman Reichenbach concerning English, Gaelic, and German folk-song, and careful study of his own scholarly treatise,⁴ opened a new approach for my own research. Professor Reichenbach, basing his theories (already tested with regard to German folk-song) upon his own statistical investigation of Gregorian melodies, makes several definite assertions which are opposed to certain views held by Miss Gilchrist and Percy Grainger, and represent alterations or expansions of Sharp's ideas, though agreeing in many respects with the classifications made by those students. Towards an understanding of the evolution of the theories here offered, these diverging views are briefly quoted.

Professor Reichenbach, supporting his theory with analyses of English and Gaelic folk-tunes, presents tables showing numerically the relative infrequency of the "weak" notes and the rhythmic preponderance of the pentatonic substantive notes in Dorian (corresponding to Mode 2, pentatonic), Lydian (Mode 3), and two types of Mixolydian airs (Modes 1, 4).

"Which of these [diatonic scales] is the right one," he declares, "does not depend on the hazards of a system; it is exactly determined by the frequency, the immutability (in the sense that they remain

⁴ Herman Reichenbach, "The Tonality of English and Gaelic Folksong", *Music & Letters*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, July, 1938.

unaffected by accidentals) and the importance of the five 'substantive notes' among these seven notes."

This agrees with the Gregorian tonal relationships he also offers, and substantially, so far, with the Sharp-Gilchrist system. Reichenbach, however, rejects both Aeolian and Ionian modes as being not genuine but, "on the contrary, the first and last attempts to introduce the modern tonalities of major and minor into the system of the church modes, an attempt made by Glareanus in 1547. Aeolian is either Dorian or minor, Ionian either Lydian or major."

He rejects the possibility of Dorian folk-airs except in Mode 2, and of Mixolydian except in Modes 1 and 4; he rejects other classifications except Aeolian (with Dorian) in Mode 2, and Ionian (with Lydian) in Mode 3, though not admitting these as true modes. He recognizes the Lydian scale not only in the rare tritonal melodies, but in those Mode 3 folk-airs retaining their fundamental pentatonic structure, basing their harmony not on the cadence but on a pedal, or those having strong major 3rd with weak or absent 4th and 7th—major 3rd with strong perfect 4th being major or Ionian. Mode 3, he asserts, cannot be Mixolydian because of its strong 3rd and 6th, the former being generally weak or wholly lacking in true Mixolydian mode.

This is contrary to the view of Miss Gilchrist, who writes me: "Pentatonic Mode 3 I do not really consider Ionian in character; because, according to my theory, the 7th, when it first came in, was \flat , not \natural (*i.e.*, minor, not major)."

Professor Reichenbach further considers that the Dorian mode cannot be derived from pentatonic Mode 4, because of the essential strong Dorian 3rd—the dominant in plagal Dorian. He considers the Mixolydian mode distinguishable from the Lydian or from the modern major by the preponderance of the 4th and subordination of the 3rd (often flattened to a transitory Dorian in a Mixolydian melody), and therefore possible only in Modes 1 and 4. Noting the "coincidence of the minor 7th with the major 3d" in occasional English or Gaelic songs, he declares, however, that for the Mixolydian mode to be constructed on such basis, the pattern 12357 would have to be presupposed, in which case, "the five substantive notes could not conform to the system of pure fifths." Such instances he regards either as incidental alterations in true Mixolydian tunes, or, when more pronounced, as in Lydian mode in spite of Mixolydian scale, because of the substantive note-stress and melodic structure.

He continues: "A basic system that takes no account of the consonance of pure fifths cannot be elaborated on a principle of *consonance* at all, but only on a principle of *distance*. In such cases the seconds cannot be pure $9/8$ or $16/15$ either, as we are accustomed (not to complicate matters by mentioning the fact that we actually are not, if we use equal temperament); they are neutral intervals approximating to $3/4$ or $5/4$ of a whole tone. The tuning of the bagpipe, the gramophone records taken by Percy Grainger, and the reports of collectors like Cecil Sharp themselves agree in demonstrating that the position of the subsidiary notes, which fill in the two gaps in the pentatonic scale, must originally have been taken according to a principle of distance, not of consonance."

Testing these conflicting theories in our Anglo-American folk-song, with consequent re-analysis of hundreds of tunes and innumerable variant forms, I have arrived at a conclusion perhaps foreshadowed by Professor Reichenbach's last statement here quoted, and borne out by the findings of other theorists. I have long felt the need of a neutral mode for accurate classification of the neutral 3rds and varying 7ths that constantly recur in our Anglo-American folk music, especially in the Appalachians, and that other collectors have also noted through oral tradition in both Old World and New. But it was not until I tried to reconcile the apparently irreconcilable theories of Miss Gilchrist and Professor Reichenbach that I made a discovery which for me was like a sudden discovery of the moon: a neutral mode, existing as surely (or so it would seem) among the variable forms of our folk-melody for these centuries as the moon has existed among the shifting cloud-patterns of the sky.

This newly discovered mode I would class as Mode 2, Neutral, or perhaps as an entirely separate Mode 6, Neutral, being a neutral or Mixolydian form of Mode 2 (Dorian or Aeolian), with substantive note-pattern 13457.⁵ In this mode, the neutral 3rd and 7th, instead of being weak and hesitatingly introduced, are, with the perfect 5th and (generally) perfect 4th, strongly preponderant and heavily stressed, though sometimes varying in the same melody. The 2nd and 6th are usually weak, the latter following the general tend-

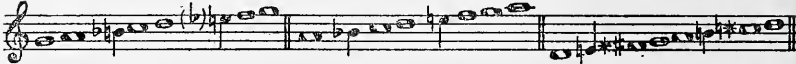
⁵ When I first spoke of this new mode, I classed it rather hesitatingly as Mode 2, Neutral. Since then, after consultation with Professor Reichenbach, during which he carefully studied my theory and numerous musical illustrations, I have followed his suggestion and my own first inclination, and offer it as Mode 6, Neutral or Mixolydian form of Mode 2.—A.M.B.

ency of most (though not all) of our Mixolydian, Dorian, and Aeolian tunes. It is the stress on the neutral or major 3rd, perfect 5th and minor (or neutral) 7th together that determines, according to my theory, the neutral mode. The neutral 3rd, between the major and minor of our tempered scale (perhaps it is occasionally pure major) and the varying minor 7th suggest the basis of "nature's chord" and the corresponding intervals of the harmonic series. Perhaps "natural mode" would be a better term for the one containing these varying but decisively stressed tones. The 3rd, when minor, fits naturally into Mode 2, Dorian or Aeolian. The neutral, natural, or Mixolydian forms fit none of our hitherto recognized modes, because of the strong 3rd and 7th. The major 7th of the tempered scale occurs occasionally as leading tone or as auxiliary tone; rarely, perhaps never, in this mode, as substantive tone. The 7th, when stressed in Anglo-American folk-airs, is generally minor; unless in a frankly major melody, with every note used independently. This seems to bear out Miss Gilchrist's theory that the 7th was originally minor: or perhaps "pure major".

My revised modal chart for Anglo-American folk melodies has been evolved through consideration of all these theories and all the tunes. For convenience, I have enumerated under each pentatonic mode the possible diatonic modes, according to the views of each theorist in turn, ending with my own classification. The asterisk (*) indicates neutral intervals.

CHART 2, WITH MODE 6, NEUTRAL

	Mode 1	Mode 2	Mode 3
	(No 3rd or 7th)	(No 2nd or 6th)	(No 4th or 7th)
<i>Gilchrist</i>	Dorian (E♭, B♭) Mixolydian (E♯, B♭)	Phrygian (E♭, B♭) Aeolian (E♯, B♭)	Mixolydian (B♭, E♭) Ionian (B♭, E♯)
<i>Sharp</i>	Dorian (E♭, B♭) Mixolydian (E♯, B♭) Ionian (E♯, B♯)	Phrygian (E♭, B♭) Aeolian (E♯, B♭) Dorian (E♯, B♯)	Mixolydian (B♭, E♭) Ionian (B♭, E♯) Lydian (B♯, E♯)
<i>Reichenbach</i>	Mixolydian (E♯, B♭) (Ionian?) (E♯, B♯)	Dorian (E♯, B♯) (Aeolian) (E♯, B♭)	Lydian (B♯, E♯) (Ionian) (B♭, E♯)
<i>Buchanan</i>	Mixolydian (E♯, B♭) (Ionian) (E♯, B♯) (Dorian?) (E♭, B♭)	Dorian (E♯, B♯) Aeolian (E♯, B♭)	Ionian (B♭, E♯) Lydian (B♯, E♯) (Mixolydian) (B♭, E♭)

	Mode 4	Mode 5	Mode 6 Neutral
			
	(No 3rd or 6th)	(No 2nd or 5th)	(No 2nd or 6th)
<i>Gilchrist</i>	Dorian (B \flat , E \natural) Aeolian (B \flat , E \flat)	(Locrian?) (B \flat , E \flat) Phrygian (B \flat , E \natural)	
<i>Sharp</i>	Mixolydian (B \natural , E \natural) Dorian (B \flat , E \natural) Aeolian (B \flat , E \flat)	Aeolian (B \natural , E \natural) Phrygian (B \flat , E \natural)	
<i>Reichenbach</i>	Mixolydian (B \natural , E \natural)	Phrygian (B \flat , E \natural)	
<i>Buchanan</i>	Mixolydian (B \natural , E \natural) Dorian (B \flat , E \natural) (Aeolian) (B \flat , E \flat)	Phrygian (B \flat , E \natural)	Neutral (F \ast , C \natural *) Mixolydian (F \sharp , C \natural) (E and B always \natural)

It is the neutral or natural mode which I believe is preeminently the mode of the folk—whether purely neutral, or varying to Dorian (Mode 2) or, less often, Mixolydian. Even as I write, there floats up through my windows from the shade of the lindens along a Richmond street the cry of a fruit-vendor:



And I have many times heard rural ministers or elders praying and "exhorting" in a chant which follows nature's chord, with 3rd varying from neutral to major or (generally) minor,—



Time after time I have heard folk-singers free from printed-song influences producing neutral 3rds throughout a given melody, generally with minor or perhaps neutral 7th; or country gatherings such as the "feet-washing", "all-day singing", or "June meetin'", modalizing (generally into Dorian) folk-hymns I had found as Aeolian, major, or minor in early hymnals. This unconscious modalizing, or mode-varying, of sacred or secular airs (illustrated below) has been noted also by Phillips Barry, John Powell, George Pullen Jackson and doubtless others in this country; while Sharp, Grainger and other English collectors have commented upon the neutral intervals among

Old World folk-singers as well as in America. Cecil Sharp, writing as early as 1907 concerning the pitch variations and neutral or natural tones of his own countrymen, declared:

English folk-singers have, no doubt, a racial scale of their own, but how this may compare with the folk-scales of other nations it is impossible in the present state of knowledge of the subject to say.⁶

It is interesting to note here that the three English Mixolydian folk-airs cited by Sharp as illustrating the variable 3rd (flattened and changing the mode technically, though not actually, to Dorian in the same melody)⁷ are all in what I have termed the neutral mode. The substantive note-pattern (not indicated by Sharp) is 13457 in the first two; and the last follows closely "nature's chord", 13*57*, if the varying 3rds and 7ths indicate neutral or natural intervals. Stress on the 2nd occurs only once, lightly, in each of the first two melodies, not at all in the last. The 6th is weak throughout.

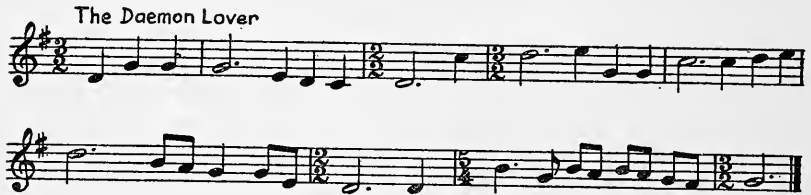
One might speculate upon whether or not this neutral mode embodies the "racial scale" which Sharp deemed probable. In the light of my own research so far, the mode seems more Gaelic than English in character; though this may be due to the stage of development which the corresponding melodies have reached. Professor Reichenbach refutes Percy Grainger's earlier assertion that all English folk-songs are based on a single scale. I do not know which scale Grainger had in mind, nor do I, in the light of present evidence, hold with a single-scale theory for English or Anglo-American folk-song. In the pentatonic mode-revision which I offer here, in Mode 2, or its neutral-Mixolydian form, Mode 6, the Phrygian mode has, so far, appeared only once, the Lydian doubtfully, the Ionian not at all (though further instances might yet develop); and by no means all of our folk-melodies conform to such a modal pattern, as will be shown herewith. Moreover, having recognized this same neutral mode in the tonal structure of American Indian, native African, and American Negro folk melodies, I conclude that it exists, doubtless, in many other nationalities as well: a very early and prevailing mode of the folk.

Considering the pentatonic modes in order of their appearance on the chart, it will be observed that my own Mode 1 classification

⁶ Cecil J. Sharp; *English Folk-Song: Some Conclusions* (Novello, 1907), p. 72.

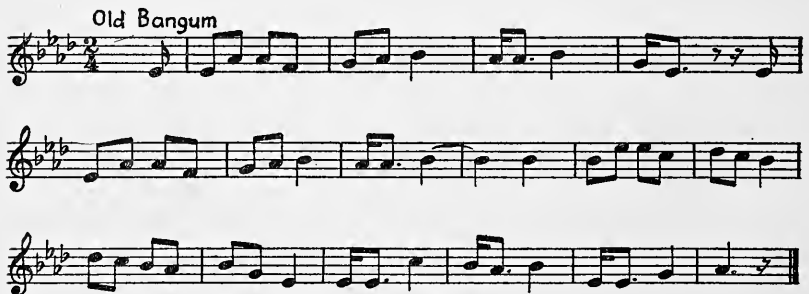
⁷ *Ibid.* p. 70. "Barbara Ellen", "Down in the Groves", "As I Walked Through the Meadows".

agrees substantially with that of Professor Reichenbach. I have found this mode almost altogether Mixolydian in our Anglo-American folk-airs. While Ionian and Dorian are theoretically possible therein, most of such melodies as I have examined, classed as Mode 1, are irregular, and seem to me to belong elsewhere. For example, in Sharp's Appalachian tunes, the heptatonic No. 35 K, "The Daemon Lover" (Tenn.), classified by him as Mode 1, Ionian, lacks the characteristic decisive 2nd of Mode 1, but possesses the strong major 3rd which seems to indicate Mode 3, in the irregular substantive note-stress of 1345.



However, No. 75 D, "If You Want to Go a-Courting" (Va.), one of his later recorded tunes (1918), not classified by Miss Karpeles except as "Hexatonic (no 3rd)", seems, with its strongly pulsing 12456, clearly to belong to Mode 1. In each of these examples I suspect, from the general structure, a previous Mixolydian modality now "degredated" (to use an Appalachianism) into major.

Similarly, "Old Bangum", appearing in Reed Smith's *American Anthology of Old-World Ballads* and there assigned by Hilton Rufty to "Mode 1, heptatonic Ionian", may also have lost his modal characteristics along with his knighthood, in this rollicking Virginia metamorphosis of the chivalric "Sir Lionel". In any classification the tune is irregular (12357):



I strongly suspect the ending to have been long ago altered from a possible E_b final:



The emphasis on A_b and D_b , with the melodic structure, suggest the 4th and 7th of the Mixolydian mode, rather than a previous Mixolydian modality (7th G_b) with A_b final as given; though the latter is possible. Such is the fluid character of folk melodies! The present form, though irregular, seems to me to belong to Mode 3 in spite of the emphasis on the 7th (G) and the weak 6th. If it be protested that this suggested change of final (thereby mode) is only a means of forcing Old Bangum into the bed of Procrustes, I point out that, with E_b tonic, the pentatonic Mode 6, Neutral (13457), emerges clearly, in its Mixolydian form. If the Procrustean bed fits not only the extremities but the entire body of the melody, is it, then, Procrustean?

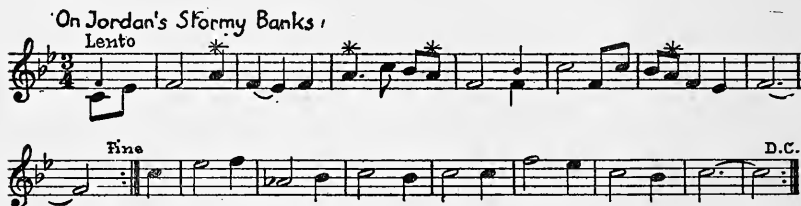
One other puzzling but very beautiful melody must be cited here, Sharp's No. 101 D, "The Brisk Young Lover" (N. C.). Recorded in 1918, the tune is classified by Miss Karpeles (or Sharp?) only as "Heptatonic. Dorian."

The Brisk Young Lover



If D is final, the melody is apparently in Mode 1, although Mode 2 is also possible. However, in spite of the minor 3rd, and although Dorian harmonization is entirely possible and perhaps obvious, this does not seem to me a true Dorian tonality. To my mind, the mode is Mixolydian, with either D or G as final; or perhaps bimodal, Dorian and Mixolydian. If it is Mixolydian, with D as final, we should have the curious and perhaps untenable anomaly of a normally major 3rd ($F\#$) given as minor in its only two appearances. If G be final, the tune is circular, Mixolydian, with Ionian a possibility. This is the type of folk-melody which evades the theorist and haunts the composer with its elusive beauty, impossible to confine in any harmonization.

Considering the neutral mode next, as a variant of Mode 2, a typical example is here offered in a folk-hymn sung to me in the Cumberlands by a Primitive Baptist elder of eastern Tennessee. His 3rds were neutral, here indicated by an asterisk; with minor 3rd in the one instance given (A \flat). The hymn, one of the many settings of Samuel Stennett's "On Jordan's Stormy Banks I Stand", was learned by the singer in childhood, he told me, from a very old preacher in North Carolina. It was sung to me on several occasions, each time as here given.



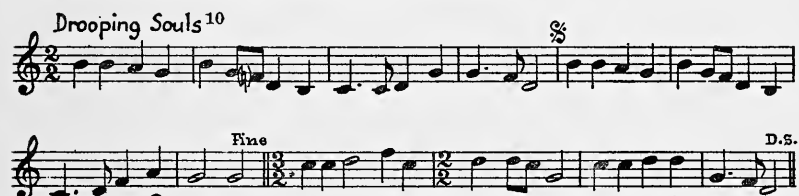
When recording the tune, being puzzled as to the mode, I sang it back to him first with major 3rds, then with minor. He said, "It's the *first* way—it ought to go *up*." Yet he insisted on the minor 3rd at A \flat . Finally I sang quasi-neutral 3rds, with the one minor. He exclaimed, "That's it, that's it, sister! The only thing needful is a *leetle* more dynamite behind the voice!"

A widely found instance of the neutral 3rd occurs in another camp-meeting setting of the same text, with refrain "I am bound for the promised land." As a child, I heard "Promised Land" sung in its old Aeolian form in Alabama and southern Texas, and sometimes gradually raised to major by an urban congregation. In the Cumberlands and Great Smokies and in southern Kentucky I have heard this process reversed—a rural congregation gradually lowering the 3rd of the major form. Usually, however, this hymn is raised in Aeolian cadences by some white-haired singer as a "parting song" at close of rural services, accompanied by tears and general handshaking. I have often heard "Promised Land" sung with neutral 3rds throughout. The melody is of the pentachordal type, employing only the first five notes of the scale;⁸ it illustrates the neutral mode varying to the Aeolian form (mode 2), though the 6th and 7th are lacking.

⁸ Pentachordal melodies are generally of the primitive type, such as early camp-meeting hymns. Among those noted are "Albion" (No. 78), "O Ye Young and Gay and Proud" (No. 111), "My Home is Over Jordan" (No. 154), "Death, Ain't You Got No Shame" (No. 158), "Sweet Canaan" (No. 190), "Heavenly



"Drooping Souls", another of the folk-hymns, illustrates, in the eastern Tennessee version here quoted, the neutral mode in its Mixolydian form. If the ancient plagal modes as well as the authentic be recognized, this melody, because of its wide range, belongs to the so-called *tonus mixtus*, or mixed mode: in this instance, Mixolydian, with its relative plagal, the Hypomixolydian.



It is the Mixolydian form of the Neutral Mode which seems to me the most striking and hitherto unrecognized, and which I offer in opposition to Professor Reichenbach's assertion (based on Gregorian melodies) that the Mixolydian mode is found only in pentatonic Modes 1 and 4: *i.e.*, with subordinate 3rd (also subordinate 7th, in Mode 1), and stressed 2nd and 4th. I append to this article a list of some 60 or 70 Mixolydian folk-airs from Sharp's Appalachian collection. These tunes were assigned by him or by Miss Karpeles perforce to Modes 1 or 4 (occasionally to Mode 3), in the absence of a mode corresponding to their true tonal pattern (13457); or, in many instances, were not classified at all with respect to their pentatonic structure. All seem to me clearly to belong to the neutral Mode 6 in its Mixolydian form. Some of Sharp's English folk-airs, in addition to those already noted here, also fit this mode. "The Saucy Sailor"¹¹

Port" (No. 201), etc. Numbers refer to order in George Pullen Jackson's *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America*, with modal classifications by Hilton Rufty.

⁹ "Promised Land", setting and notes, No. 46 in *Folk-Hymns of America*, Annabel Morris Buchanan (J. Fischer & Bro., 1938).

¹⁰ "Drooping Souls", *ibid.*, setting and notes, No. 32.

¹¹ Cecil J. Sharp, *One Hundred English Folk-Songs* (Oliver Ditson, 1916), No. 45.

was classified by him as "irregular, Aeolian with sharpened 3rd", and referred to by Reichenbach as belonging to Mode 4, with the 6th as "minor auxiliary note and the 3rd a major one". This melody seems to me in Mode 6, Mixolydian, though with lowered 6th; with the tonal stress on 1345 and (lightly) on the minor 7th, the 6th a very light passing note, and the 2nd also weak.

Some of the airs I have classified as being in the neutral mode seem undoubtedly only neutral or Mixolydian forms of tunes perhaps originally Dorian—though who can say which of these forms is oldest? Sometimes a singer may have been uncertain of the pitch until finally a tune was definitely altered. Again, banjo, guitar, or other chordal or harmonic influence may have affected Dorian airs. But there are other tunes, like "Drooping Souls", or "Golden Lane" (below), which seem obviously conceived in the 1357 Mixolydian form. "Golden Lane" displays especially strong chordal influence, and was certainly never Dorian.

A sea shanty recorded from an old sailor now living in southwestern Virginia was sung to me in both Mixolydian and Dorian forms; with the 3rd and 7th, though stressed, varying in pitch from minor to pure major, occasionally in the tempered scale, more often sounding the chord of nature, or a neutral chord, in the note-stress 13*57*, Mode 6, Neutral. Here is his "Haul Away, My Johnny-O", with variants omitted to save space:



The same singer "deedled" for me many dance tunes which he had learned in childhood in Liverpool, from his Irish mother and Scottish father. Among these was an Irish jig (or hop-jig) which he called "Golden Lane"—

"Walkin' down Golden Lane I met one Mary Jane,
And she talked me clean out o' the price o' my clothes,—"

The substantive note-stress could fit nowhere else than in our newly recognized "Mode 6, Neutral", Mixolydian form, pattern 13(5)7.

Golden Lane

Fine

1. 2. D.S.

Detailed description: This is a musical score for a piece titled "Golden Lane". It consists of four staves of music in G major (one sharp) and 9/8 time. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 9/8 time signature. The melody is written in a single line. The second staff continues the melody and includes a "Fine" marking. The third staff continues the melody. The fourth staff features a first ending (marked "1.") and a second ending (marked "2.") which concludes with a double bar line and a "D.S." (Da Capo) instruction.

In the re-analysis of tunes and modes, I found Mode 2 to include not only a strong percentage of Dorian airs, but most of the Aeolian as well. There are many Aeolian tunes in our folk-music. Many of these strike me as having been originally Dorian. They *feel* Dorian. In certain instances, the Dorian 6th may have proved difficult in its particular melodic passage, or may have been altered in some printed form. The latter supposition is borne out by the fact that so many printed folk-hymn versions are Aeolian, though generally sung Dorian by the folk, and it is in accordance with Professor Reichenbach's assertion as to their non-genuine folk quality. Although some of our most beautiful folk melodies are Aeolian, some of those generally accepted as such might prove fundamentally, or originally, Dorian. For example, the tune of that rare ballad, "King John and the Abbot", recorded by Phillips Barry in Rhode Island and included by Reed Smith in his *American Anthology of Old-World Ballads*, is classified and arranged by Hilton Rufty therein as heptatonic, Mode 4, Aeolian.

King John and the Abbot

Vivo

Detailed description: This is a musical score for a piece titled "King John and the Abbot". It consists of three staves of music in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The first staff begins with a treble clef and a 2/4 time signature. The tempo marking "Vivo" is placed above the first few notes. The melody is written in a single line. The second staff continues the melody. The third staff concludes the piece with a double bar line.

This melody feels Dorian to me. Despite Mr. Rufty's fine setting, perforce Aeolian because of the minor 6th, the structure, with strong minor 3rd and 7th, and the weak character of the 6th itself, seem to indicate Mode 2, Dorian.

Often, too, a gapped tune, lacking the determining 6th, may be harmonized in either Dorian or Aeolian mode: e.g., "The Cruel Mother", an eastern Tennessee version in my own collection. I have given this an Aeolian setting, though it may be (convincingly?) set in Dorian mode.



On the other hand, in such an Aeolian heptatonic melody as Sharp's very beautiful Virginia version of "The Green Bed" (No. 58 D in the Sharp-Karpeles collection), in spite of the stress on the 7th, the minor 6th (C) is an essential part of the melodic structure, its only entrance being through the characteristic and beautiful rise of a minor 7th from D (7th in the mode). I wonder if modalities have become confused in this melody, the true ending being on D, Mixolydian, instead of on E, Aeolian, as given? The first part of the tune, however, also seems to indicate E as final.



So far I have not found a Phrygian Anglo-American folk-air in Mode 2, although such tunes may exist. Phrygian melodies, rare in any case, are, in my experience, found generally in Mode 5, with the

6th prominent along with the 3rd and 7th. Yet, one of the most familiar Phrygian airs is Sharp's English traditional

"Matthew, Mark, Luke and John,
Bless the bed that I lie on."—¹²

This is clearly in Mode 2, heptatonic, pattern 1(2)3(4)57. The reason for the customary Phrygian stress on the 6th, lacking here, may be that the 6th is the dominant in the ancient Phrygian scale; whereas, Sharp's melody is really Hypophrygian (range extending from the 4th below to 5th above the Phrygian final), with dominant accordingly on the 4th instead of the 6th, though with the same final.

In surveying our folk-melodies some time ago I found that Mode 3 (generally Ionian or major) occurred oftener than any other, with Mode 2 (Dorian or Aeolian) next. Reconsidering the Mode 3 melodies in the light of Professor Reichenbach's statements, I found many that seem definitely major, or perhaps Ionian, an occasional tritonal Lydian, and pentatonic airs which may perhaps be Lydian in the Reichenbach sense of basing their harmony on a pedal. There are also a few airs in this mode which are Mixolydian or of Mixolydian trend, supporting Miss Gilchrist's theory of the early flat 7th in this mode.

Professor Reichenbach's assertion that the Ionian mode is not genuine seems puzzling when we remember that centuries ago the *modus lascivus* was rejected by the church as being the mode of "ribald ballads" of the people. The Ionian and Aeolian modes with their plagals, while their existence was not recognized until far later than that of the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian and Mixolydian, nevertheless date back several hundred years.

I can see no trace of fundamental Lydian modality in such pentatonic airs, for instance, as Sharp's English versions of "Little Sir Hugh", "The Barley Mow", or "Barbara Ellen", among those which Reichenbach cites.¹³ The last-named melody has come down to us in innumerable variant forms, English, Celtic and American (generally Ionian or major), to which tune-family I have already devoted much time and attention.¹⁴ Here is one of my own variants as "Brother Green" from the Allegheny mountains of southwestern Virginia, very like the beautiful Kentucky melody to the same folk-

¹² S. Baring Gould, Cecil J. Sharp, *English Folk-Songs for Schools* (Curwen, 1906). "The Evening Prayer", No. 36.

¹³ Sharp's *One Hundred English Folk-Songs*, Nos. 8, 99, and 7, respectively.

¹⁴ Buchanan, *Folk-Hymns of America*, "Dunlap's Creek", No. 4, setting and notes.

song introduced to the world by Loraine Wyman and Howard Brockway.¹⁵ The pentatonic air seems wholly Ionian, or major.



The pentatonic Mode 3 folk-air of "The Two Sisters" (Missouri), No. 1 in the Smith-Rufty collection, seems strongly Lydian in cast, if F, tonic as given, is really the final. I believe this melody, however, though necessarily classified as Ionian in the form recorded, to be Dorian with false ending, the true one being on D.



"The Farmer's Curst Wife" (N. C.), No. 20 in the same collection, "The Elfin Knight" (N. C.), No. 1 B in the Sharp-Karpeles collection, and numerous other such Mode 3 airs in various collections may be Lydian in the Reichenbach sense, though I can discover no definite Lydian trend.

I have recorded several fiddle tunes with Lydian 4th. Most of these seem to me actually Ionian or major, with the 4th accidentally raised in playing and occasionally varying. One of the folk-airs in my collection which I regard as truly Lydian is a spiritual, "Rise, King Jesus", recorded from the Primitive Baptist elder mentioned above, and learned by him in childhood through purely Anglo-American oral tradition. The melody, which I heard on several differ-

¹⁵ For Brockway setting, see page 18, *Lonesome Tunes* (H. W. Gray, 1916), Loraine Wyman, Howard Brockway. Choral settings, Brockway (H. W. Gray).

¹⁶ Choral setting, SSA with piano, Annabel Morris Buchanan (J. Fischer & Bro.)

ent occasions, was sung slowly, with deep feeling, and invariably with Lydian 4th.

Rise, King Jesus
 ♩³ T_{ento}

Fine

D. S.

Technically in Mode 3, this folk-air actually follows no recognized modal pattern, but presents a curious Lydian-major version of "nature's chord". Were other such tunes to be recorded, Mode 6, Neutral, might have to be revised to permit such a combination; though the present example does not decisively follow the 13457 pattern.

The following Virginia version of the singing game, "King William Was King James's Son", from my own collection, is definitely Mixolydian. With the irregular pentatonic note-stress of 1(2)357, the heptatonic tune may be regarded as either Mode 3 or Mode 6, though it is nearer the latter mode.

King William was King James's son

I have noted other Mixolydian airs in the same 12357 pattern: e.g., Sharp's No. 28 I (N. C.), "The Maid Freed from the Gallows"; and No. 33 G (Va.), "The Gypsy Laddie".

"Frog Went a-Courtin'", as I heard it in childhood from my grandfather in Alabama, is undoubtedly Mode 3, Mixolydian. His hexatonic version, with flat 7th (F), seems to me even older than the pentatonic form usually heard (with 6th instead of 7th), and, if so, may again bear out the Gilchrist theory. However, this and hundreds of other Mixolydian, Dorian, and Aeolian secular and

sacred airs, sung by him and my father, may have been influenced by their own individual or family musical tastes.



"Pretty Sally", Mode 3, heptatonic, has been set both by John Powell and by me, from the same singer on White Top Mountain in southwestern Virginia. The Powell version is Ionian throughout.¹⁷ My own version, recorded later, was sung to me with varying 7th, generally as here given:



Mr. Powell has included in the same collection with the preceding tune a folk-song of my own recording, "At the Foot of Yonders Mountain", also from southwestern Virginia. The tune is Mode 3, hexatonic (no 7th), pattern 12356. His setting, part Ionian and part Mixolydian (both possible in the absence of the 7th), is an interesting experiment in variety of modal treatment. Cecil Sharp's Appalachian collection includes a few Mixolydian airs which I would class as Mode 3: e.g., No. 33 C (N. C.), "The Gypsy Laddie", pattern 12356 (classified by Sharp as Mode 1, Mixolydian), with variable 7th; and No. 48 D (N. C.), "In Seaport Town", pattern 12356 (given by Sharp as Mode 4, Mixolydian).

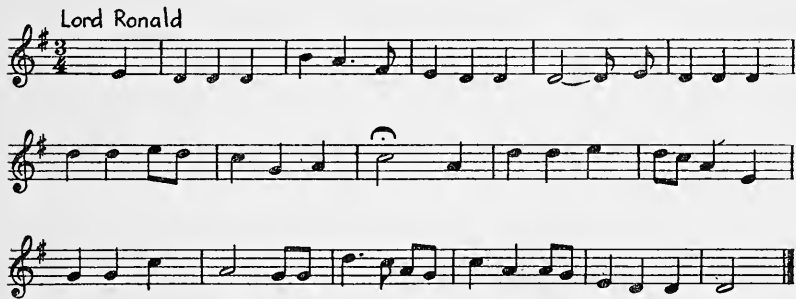
In Mode 4, I have found both Mixolydian and Dorian folk-airs, with a few Aeolian. Most of the Dorian are irregular: e.g., Sharp's No. 5 B (Va.), "The Two Sisters", heptatonic, with varying 3rd

¹⁷ John Powell, *Five Virginian Folk Songs* (J. Fischer & Bro., 1938), No. 1.

and note-stress 123*457*, suggesting Mode 6. Others are in true Mode 4 pattern, as his No. 41 A (N.C.), "The Golden Vanity", heptatonic, Dorian. John Powell's beautiful Virginia version of "The Two Brothers" (Mode 4, hexatonic) has been given by him a Dorian setting,¹⁸ although the 3rd is lacking. Hilton Rufty's Dorian setting of "The House Carpenter"¹⁹ (Mode 4, hexatonic) is no less convincing, though also minus the determining 3rd.

There are many pentatonic Mode 4 airs which might be either Dorian or Mixolydian: e.g., my own Kentucky version of "Come All Ye Fair and Tender Ladies", which I have set in Dorian mode.²⁰ The irregular pattern of 12357 occurs in a few Dorian airs, such as Sharp's No. 4, F, G, (both Va.), "Earl Brand". These might perhaps be classified in Mode 4;²¹ though they may be, with Mixolydian airs already noted, establishing another modal pattern.

Sharp's No 2 A (Tenn.), "The False Knight Upon the Road", is Mode 4, hexatonic (no 6th), Mixolydian with occasional major 7th, pattern 1457, with light accent on 2. One of the most beautiful folk melodies in my collection is in Mode 4, Mixolydian: an Ohio version of "Lord Randal", sung to me by Mrs. Mary O. Eddy as "Lord Ronald". The strong 2nd (E) and weak 3rd mark the difference between Mixolydian tunes in Mode 4 and those in Mode 6, with 3rd stressed.



Aeolian tunes, rare in Mode 4, occur generally among the folk-hymns; and, in some instances, seem to belong equally to Mode 2: e.g., "Zion's Soldier", "Female Convict", and "Redemption", in Dr. Jackson's collection,²² classified by Hilton Rufty as Mode 4.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 2.

¹⁹ No. 18 in the Smith-Rufty collection.

²⁰ Choral setting, SSA, piano and small orchestra, J. Fischer & Bro., 1933.

²¹ Recorded in 1918; described only as "Heptatonic. Dorian."

²² Nos. 41, 42 and 48, respectively, in *Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America*.

"Paralytic"²³, however, in the same collection, is clearly Mode 4, heptatonic Aeolian, as indicated therein. I find in Mode 4, as elsewhere, melodies recorded as Aeolian that seem to me Dorian or Mixolydian instead, such as the New Brunswick air of "The Rantin' Laddie"²⁴, included in the Barry-Eckstorm-Smyth collection from a manuscript sent by the singer. I suspect this folk-air, labeled "Aeolian mode" (hexatonic, no 3rd), to have been wrongly recorded. The minor 6th, appearing lightly once, should, I feel, really be major, thus changing the modality to Mixolydian or Dorian.

Mode 5 has, so far, in my research, yielded only the rare Phrygian tunes. The 2nd is sometimes lacking in this mode: as in Alverson, and in my own version of "The Hebrew Children". I have given both a Phrygian setting because of their structure, even without the characteristic minor 2nd.²⁵ Here is "Alverson", sent me by Dr. George Pullen Jackson from *The Revivalist* (1872 ed., Albany or Troy, N. Y.)—to my mind one of the loveliest of the folk-hymns. This is one of the "Barbara Allen"- "Brother Green"- "Dunlap's Creek" variants already mentioned, though apparently in Phrygian mode.



Occasionally a folk-melody may combine two modes in such a form as to be considered bimodal. Of this type is Sharp's "Gently, Johnny, My Jingo"²⁶, which is partly Mixolydian and partly major, or perhaps Ionian; with first the minor and then the major 7th stressed. Phillips Barry classed as bimodal a few of the Maine folk-airs recorded by Dr. George Herzog appearing in the Barry-Eckstorm-Smyth collection: e.g., "The Keach i' the Creel",²⁷ given as "Bimodal: Mixolydian-Major", and combining both Mixolydian and major 7ths, though the latter is only lightly accented. In Dr. Herzog's fragment

²³ *Ibid.*, No. 20.

²⁴ Phillips Barry, Fannie H. Eckstorm, Mary W. Smyth, *British Ballads from Maine* (Yale Univ. Press, 1929), p. 303.

²⁵ Nos. 33, 31, respectively, in *Folk-Hymns of America*, setting and notes to each.

²⁶ *One Hundred English Folk-Songs*, No. 65.

²⁷ Page 337.

of "The False-Hearted Knight", in the same collection,²⁸ the very beautiful melody is classified as "Bimodal air: Dorian, Aeolian". This folk-air, interestingly, is a variant of the Dorian folk-hymn tune, "Pensive Dove", recorded by Phillips Barry in Maine and included with setting in my own recently published collection.²⁹ The mode of "The False-Hearted Knight" seems to me Dorian, of the type that has an occasional incidental or passing note not affecting the modality. The Aeolian 6th (F) is introduced only lightly, on a high note where F# would be more difficult to sing. I quote the fourth stanza:

The False-Hearted Knight



Here is a Virginia tune from my own collection, also sung to me as "The False-Hearted Knight" ("Lady Isabel and the Elf-Knight"), and a variant of that wide group appearing in various modal forms, perhaps most often to "The Daemon Lover". The melody might be classed as bimodal—Dorian and Mixolydian; or as Mode 6, Neutral, with varying 3rd, pattern 13457.

The False-Hearted Knight



Sharp's "Young Hunting", recorded in Virginia, 1916 (No. 18 D), is classified as "Heptatonic. Major Mode (Mixolydian influence)". This melody seems to me genuinely Mixolydian, in Mode 6, with note-pattern 1(2)3(4)57 (light stress on 2 and 4). The minor 7th is heavily stressed, the major 7th occurs only once (or twice, in the same strain repeated), very lightly.

There are many other irregular tunes in our folk music, reminding us continually that fluid melody cannot be confined in set forms,

²⁸ Page 22.

²⁹ No. 9, *Folk Hymns of America*, setting and notes.

but breaks through to form new patterns or to bring to our attention others long undiscovered. There is, for example, "War Department" (No. 115 in the Jackson collection), noted by Hilton Rufty as "Chinese pentatonic, cannot be classified". With the pattern 12456, apparently Mode 1, the 6th is minor. Pentachordal melodies have already been noted. There are also traditional airs using only four tones of the scale. "Boundless Mercy", a folk-hymn set by Rufty,³⁰ is of this type, employing only the tones G, A, B, D, with G tonic, Ionian or major. My own collection includes several four-tone melodies. Here is one such, a southwestern Virginia version of the old English singing game of "The Miller", generally found through the Appalachians as a "play-party game", or as introducing the "twistification" in square-dance sets. This is a member of the "Old Mother Oxford"- "Natchez on the Hill"- "Turkey in the Straw" tune-group.



In the harmonization of folk melodies, the apparently anomalous question sometimes arises, "When is a modal tune not modal?" The answer is *not* "When it has accidentals." As has already been shown, auxiliary or passing tones, or even leading tones, do not always affect the modality of a folk melody. Occasionally, however, a seemingly Ionian heptatonic, hexatonic, or even pentatonic folk-air may be frankly major in quality, not distinguishable from other major tunes in harmonic implications. Of such type are the familiar "Lord Lovel",³¹ and my own "Wings of the Morning", "Bright Canaan", and "Heavenly Union".³² The first and third are hexatonic; the second and fourth pentatonic. Even the four-tone air of "The Miller" just quoted seems major rather than Ionian. The composer seeking to preserve (or recreate) the modal atmosphere of such major-

³⁰ No. 3, *Twelve Folk Hymns*, ed. by John Powell, harmonizations by John Powell, Annabel Morris Buchanan, Hilton Rufty (J. Fischer & Bro., 1934).

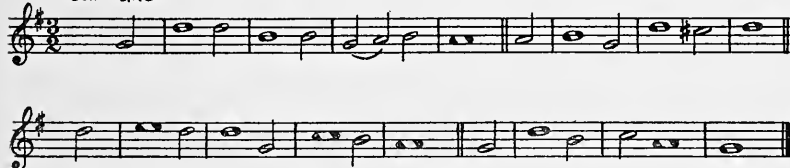
³¹ See No. 26, Sharp's *One Hundred English Folk-Songs*, or No. 8 in Reed Smith's *American Anthology of Old-World Ballads*, etc.

³² Nos. 16, 35, 38, respectively, in Buchanan's *Folk-Hymns of America*.

sounding though traditional melodies can only strive to avoid major harmonization—commonplaces and emphasize the impersonal Ionian modal quality instead.

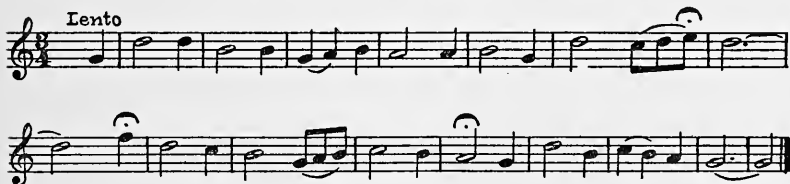
The tendency of the folk to modalize well known airs has been mentioned: quite ordinary tunes sometimes so taking on new beauty and dignity. Whether this indicates an older form of the same melody or an unconscious lapse into an accustomed idiom is not always determinable. Rarely—almost never—does a leading tone or minor implication occur among the folk melodies in our oral tradition, except as a variation in pitch in the same melody. For example, there is “Mear”, known in America for some 200 years, and attributed variously to English, Welsh, and American sources. The earliest printed appearance of this hymn, so far as I can find, is in *Urania*, published in Philadelphia, 1761. I quote, from the original edition of *Urania* in my own library, “Mear Tune”, as still sung in our churches (occasionally in 4/4 time):

Mear Tune



An 82-year-old woman in a remote corner of the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia sang for me a number of hymns learned in childhood from her grandmother. Among these was “Mear”, in the following form, sung to “From all that’s mortal, all that’s vain”:

Lento



Since the Blue Ridge singer had learned her songs purely through oral tradition and knew nothing of their names, modes, or sources, one may only speculate as to whether her introduction of the Mixolydian 7th was an individual or family tradition, or represented a far older form than that of the hymnals.

In summing up the problems and theories here discussed, it should be remembered that Cecil Sharp and Miss Gilchrist, both great authorities in the field of folk-music, were also pioneers in this field. Their conclusions must certainly, in some instances, have been arbitrary, with the vast body of material scarcely touched, especially in America. The fact that Miss Gilchrist's earliest theories, evolved for purely Gaelic folk-airs, Sharp's, with hers, for the first modal-study of English and American tunes, and Herman Reichenbach's for Gregorian and German melodies, should also serve (with some alterations) as a basis for more comprehensive study as our American field broadens, proves not only the close-knit modal and melodic structure of our folk music, but the soundness of the basic principles of these theorists. American composers and folklorists owe a debt to all three.

One may wonder whether the Gregorian or Old World church melodies have influenced the secular folk-airs now extant, or whether the "profane" airs have affected the "godlie",—as in the case of our folk-hymns, based largely on secular folk-song. In the beginning were the *folk*, not the church musicians. Yet, few of even our oldest traditional melodies probably date back further than a few centuries; and some of these have their analogies, whether through actual relation or by coincidence, in medieval hymns.

Further: have the modal patterns of our folk music determined its melodic forms? Or has not, more probably, the stream of folk melody created its own channels, with new currents ever pouring through, in new directions? Is, perhaps, our American folk-music tradition, while holding to some of the old-world forms, yet diverging into other, newer patterns? Or, instead, are all of these New World forms centuries old, and only lately recognized?

Perhaps all such speculation is futile. The melodies are here, filled with power and beauty: a living tradition, and our common heritage. What shall we do with them?

Note: The following folk-airs from Cecil Sharp's Appalachian collection are all in what I have termed Mode 6, Neutral or Mixolydian form. Pattern of substantive notes 13457; occasionally irregular, with 2nd or 6th stressed in addition to 3rd and 7th, though not decisively enough to belong in Mode 1 or 4. The stress on 3rd, 5th and minor 7th together determines Mode 6, Neutral. Sharp-Karpeles classification quoted for each; also substantive note-pattern (lighter stress given in parenthesis). Other tunes from the same collection fit this mode as well as any other.

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- No. 4 E (Va.), Earl Brand. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian [Sharp-Karpeles classification]." 123(4)57.
- No. 5 B (Va.), The Two Sisters. "Heptatonic. Mode 4, a+b (dorian)." 123*457*. (Variable 3rd and 7th.) N (Ky.), "Heptatonic. Mixolydian." 1(2) 3457. (Mode 4 or Mode 2, Neutral.)
- No. 7 H (Va.), Lord Randal. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian." 1345(6)7. I (Va.), "Heptatonic. Mixolydian." 1345(6)7.
- No. 8 G (Va.), Edward. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian." 13457.
- No. 10 A (N. C.), The Cruel Mother. "Heptatonic. Mode 1, a+b (mixolydian)." 134567. I (Va.), "Heptatonic." 123457. (Variable 3rd and 7th, Dorian plus Mixolydian, with leading tone.) L (N. C.), "Heptatonic. Mixolydian." 1345(7).
- No. 11 A (Va.), The Three Ravens. "Heptatonic. Mode 1, a+b (mixolydian)." 13457. (An especially good example of Mode 2, Neutral.)
- No. 12 C (Va.), The Two Brothers. "Heptatonic. Mode 1, a+b (mixolydian influence)." 13457. (Mixolydian, leading tone added.) L (Tenn.), "(No 4th or 6th)." 12357.
- No. 18 B (N. C.), Young Hunting. "Hexatonic. Mode 4, b." 123457. (Mode 4 or Mode 2, Neutral.) C (N. C.), "Heptatonic. Major mode (mixolydian influence)." 123457. (Mixolydian with one light leading tone.) D (Va.), "Heptatonic. Major Mode (mixolydian influence)." 13(4)57. (Mixolydian with unaccented leading tone). L (N. C.), "Hexatonic (no 6th)." 12345(7). (Mode 4 or Mode 2, Neutral.) M (N. C.), "Hexatonic (no 6th)." 123457. (Mode 4 or Mode 2, Neutral.) N (N. C.), "Hexatonic (no 6th)." 123457.
- No. 19 Ee (N. C.), Lord Thomas and Fair Ellinor. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian." 1(2)3457.
- No. 20 C (N. C.), Fair Margaret and Sweet William. "Heptatonic. Mode 1, a+b (mixolydian)." 1345(6)7. (Mode 2, Neutral [Mixolydian], especially with variant.) G (Va.), "Heptatonic. Mode 1, a+b (mixolydian)." Irregular. 13567. K (Va.), "Heptatonic. Mixolydian." 1345(6)7.
- No. 22 C (Tenn.), The Wife of Usher's Well. "Mode 4, b (no 2nd)." 1357. H (N. C.), "Mode 4, b (no 2nd)." 13(4)57. (No 2nd or 6th.) Q (N. C.), "(No 2nd or 6th)." 13457. (Leading tone.)
- No. 23 P (Va.), Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian influence." 12357. (Variable 7th. Irregular, Mode 2, 3, or 4.)
- No. 24 P (Va.), Barbara Allen. "Hexatonic (no 6th)." 1(3)457.
- No. 29 C (Ky.), Johnie Scot. "(No 2nd or 6th)". Irregular. 1235(7). Leading tone.
- No. 31 F (Va.), Sir Hugh. "(No 4th or 6th)." Irregular. 1235(7).

- No. 32 B (Ky.), The Death of Queen Jane. "Hexatonic (no 6th)." 1(2)3457.
- No. 33 G (Va.), The Gypsy Laddie. "Heptatonic. Mode 1, a+b (mixolydian)." 1(2)357.
- No. 44 E (Va.), The Brown Girl. "Heptatonic. Mode 1, a+b (mixolydian)." 1345(6)7.
- No. 46 (N. C.), The Blind Beggar's Daughter. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian." 1357.
- No. 48 E (Ky.), In Seaport Town. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian influence." Irregular, 12(3)5(6)(7). (Mixolydian mode with leading tone.)
- No. 49 B (Tenn.), The Cruel Ship's Carpenter. "Hexatonic. Mode 4, b (with sharpened 7th)." 123457. (Belongs equally to Modes 2 Neutral and 4. No 6th.) C (Ky.), "Hexatonic. Mode 4, b (with sharpened 7th)." 1(3)457. (Variable 3rd and 7th. No 6th.) M (Ky.), "(No 4th or 6th.) These F's [7ths] were sung neutral." 1357*. (Variable 7th.) S (Va.) "Hexatonic (no 6th)." 1357. (Variable 7th.)
- No. 50 C (Ky.), Shooting of His Dear. "Hexatonic. Mixolydian influence." 1357. (Leading tone added.) D (Va.), E (Ky.). Both "Hexatonic (no 6th)." 13457. (Leading tone added.)
- No. 51 B (Tenn.), The Lady and the Dragoon. "Heptatonic. Mode 4, a+b (mixolydian)." 1357.
- No. 52 A (N. C.), The Boatsman and the Chest. "Hexatonic (no 6th)." 13457.
- No. 54 B (Ky.), Polly Oliver. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian." 13457.
- No. 58 C (Ky.), The Green Bed. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian." 1(2)3457.
- No. 60 C (Ky.), The Three Butchers. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian." 123(4)5(7).

VOLUME II

- No. 80 B (N. C.), Locks and Bolts. "Heptatonic. Mode 1, a+b (mixolydian)." 1345(6)7.
- No. 82 F (Tenn.), George Reilly. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian." 13*457. (Neutral 3rd.)
- No. 85 (N. C.), Black is the Colour. "Mode 4, b (with sharpened 7th; no 4th)." 1357. (No 4th or 6th; unaccented leading tone.)
- No. 96 A (N. C.), My Parents Treated Me Tenderly. "Hexatonic. Mode 4, b." 13457.
- No. 97 D (N. C.), The Sheffield Apprentice. "Mode 1, a+b (mixolydian influence, no 2nd)." 13457. (Variable 7th, minor stressed.)
- No. 104 B (N. C.), Loving Reilly. "Hexatonic. Mode 4, b." 1345(7). (Pentatonic except for variant introducing 2nd and minor 6th. Mixolydian with variable 3rd [\sharp on accent, \natural on high note], one leading tone, occasional lowered 6th.)

- No. 106 A (N. C.), Sweet William. "Hexatonic. Mode 4, b." 134(5)7. (No 6th.) C (N. C.), "Heptatonic. Mode 1, a+b (mixolydian influence)." Or "In Mode 4, a+b, with sharpened 7th." 134(5)7. (Mixolydian with variable 7th, minor 7th stressed.)
- No. 107 A (N. C.), Good Morning, My Pretty Little Miss. "Heptatonic. Mode 4, a+b (mixolydian)." 13457.
- No. 110 B (Tenn.), The Lover's Lament. "Heptatonic. Mode 4, a+b (dorian)." 13457. (Variable 3rd.) E (N. C.), "Heptatonic. Mode 4, a+b (mixolydian)." 13457.
- No. 118 H (Ky.), Come All You Fair and Tender Ladies. "Pentatonic. Mode 2." 1357. (No 2nd or 6th. Mixolydian, with leading tone added.)
- No. 152 B (N. C.), The Gambling Man. "Hexatonic (no 6th)." 1357.
- No. 157 A (Ky.), The Rebel Soldier. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian influence." 1345(7). (Variable 7th, stress on minor.) G (Ky.), "(No 2nd or 6th)." 13457. (Mixolydian with leading tone.)
- No. 171 E (Ky.), William Hall. "Hexatonic (no 4th)." 135(6)7.
- No. 186 A, B (Va.), The Sunny South. Both "Hexatonic (no 6th)." 13457. (Variable 7th, minor stressed. Printed popular song modalized?)
- No. 187 A (Va.), True Love from the Eastern Shore. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian." 1345(7).
- No. 188 B (Ky.), The Drummer and His Wife. "Hexatonic (no 2nd)." 13457. (Mixolydian with leading tone.)
- No. 194 (Ky.), Daniel in the Lion's Den. "Hexatonic (no 6th)." 1357.
- No. 227 B (Ky.), What are Little Boys made of? "Hexatonic (no 6th)." 13457.
- No. 230 A (Ky.), The Good Old Man. "(No 4th or 6th)." 1357.
- No. 267 B (N. C.), Charlie's Sweet. "Hexatonic (no 6th)." 13(4)57. D (Ky.), "Hexatonic (no 2nd)." 1357.
- No. 270 (Ky.), Swing a Lady. "Heptatonic. Mixolydian influence." 1(2)35(7). (Variable 7th, minor stressed.)

English Broadside Ballad Tunes of the 16th and 17th Centuries

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FROM THE EARLY YEARS of the 16th century in England down to the present, broadside ballads have been current. They were crude journalistic productions, purveying political and sensational news, together with "moralizings", love, and romance. Printed on one side of single sheets, usually in black letter, they were "adorned" with whatever woodcut was at hand. In spite of occasional official frowns, they flourished until the Puritan Revolution, when they suffered a clean-up campaign which destroyed some of their vigor and currency. But with the Restoration they flooded the streets once more. One of the greatest collections of this material we owe to the perseverance and foresightedness of Samuel Pepys. In the 18th century, the growth of newspapers and of journalism in general cut down the circulation of broadside ballads as vehicles for news and scandal, but in some of the Roman letter ballads of the period are preserved important texts of English and Scottish traditional ballads. Many may be seen in the Percy collection at Harvard University.

In both England and America in the 19th century, sheet-songs of the broadside variety almost completely displaced the broadside ballad, but the practice of writing contemporary words to well-known tunes, so important as a broadside practice, became a feature of the verse of the broadside type found in the many songsters from 1830 to 1860.

This brief picture of the broadside ballad is intended to serve only as a background for a discussion of its tunes, more particularly the English tunes. On the music of the American broadside ballad much work yet remains to be done.

Literary historians, with a few notable exceptions, have paid little attention to these ballads. But William Chappell, both as an editor of ballads and as a writer on their tunes, set a standard for later workers in the field. The best contemporary editions of 16th- and 17th-century broadside ballads have been made by Professor Hyder E. Rollins. Historians, especially Macaulay, were quick to see the value of ballads as social documents. Musicologists, except for such

men as William Chappell and Frank Kidson, have given the tunes of these ballads only a fleeting glance. Some of the tunes are, even from a non-historical point of view, unusually attractive. Yet the musicologists who have studied folk music have found little in broadside-ballad tunes to attract them. For the interest of the modern musicologist, I should like to offer three tentative observations derived from a study of broadside-ballad tunes.

1. Many broadside-ballad tunes belong in the realm of folk music if we consider the evidence of modal structure valid.

2. Most broadside-ballad tunes in general, whatever their origin, exhibit much of the same simplicity of structure and rhythm found in folk-tunes.

3. Many composed or "art" tunes used for broadside ballads have in one way or another been accepted by the folk and subjected to the regular process of "communal recreation" or recomposition that characterizes folk-tunes.

It is my opinion after a study of broadside melodies that the majority of tunes in current use prior to 1660 may have originated as folk music, either in folk-songs or dances. From 1660 on, the increased popularity of the common *art* song, more or less of the music-hall type, the popularity of "playhouse tunes", the growth of instrumental music, the influence of French dance tunes, and the "editing" of real folk-tunes in country-dance books make the study of broadside-ballad tunes complicated.

From the whole number of ballad tunes popular up to 1700, it is interesting to draw some observations. On the 10,000 ballads now extant from that period, one finds 1,766 names of tunes indicated. Now, names are deceptive. A single tune in the course of its association with various ballads even over a short period of time may acquire several names, taken, for example, from the title of the ballad, the refrain, or the first line.

From the 1,766 names, I have tabulated the following results:

<i>Tunes named from:</i>	<i>Number of names</i>	<i>Approximate percentage</i>
1. First lines of ballads, poems, and songs	645	36
2. Titles of ballads	561	31
3. Refrains of ballads	390	22
4. Dances	100	6

<i>Tunes named from:</i>	<i>Number of names</i>	<i>Approximate percentage</i>
5. Marches	12	1
6. Historical figures, proverbial and current phrases, dates, place-names, etc.	42	3
7. Uncertain sources	16	1
Total	1,766	100

About ninety per cent get their names from ballads they accompany. Less than ten per cent are named from dances—both country dances and dances of the “art” type such as pavans and galliards.

But where do the tunes come from to which the first lines, titles, and refrains of ballads become attached? Many undoubtedly were composed by fiddlers and ballad-singers; many, especially after 1660, were the work of well-known composers such as Purcell, Farmer, and Locke; but most of the tunes are as anonymous as folk-tunes. In my opinion, most of them were of the country-dance pattern, floating free, ready to be used. Some gained wide popularity. Others appeared on a few ballads and were mentioned no more.

Just how popular some of these tunes were may be indicated by a study of the extant ballads. Such a study is merely an indication of possible fact, for much more of the ballad has been lost than retained.

A study again of 1,766 tunes reveals that 31 tunes appear in connection with 20 or more extant ballads up to 1700. The following table may illustrate this record:

<i>Tune</i>	<i>Number of individual ballads</i>
Packington's Pound	99
{ Aim not too high	56 }
{ Fortune my Foe	35 }
{ Which nobody can deny	48 }
{ Greensleeves	14 }
{ The Blacksmith	18 }
Hey boys up go we	68
Let Caesar live long	45
Russell's Farewell	43
Digby's Farewell	43

<i>Tune</i>	<i>Number of individual ballads</i>
Hark, the thundering cannons roar	39
Lilliburlero	37
If Love's a sweet passion	35
The Country Farmer	35
Chevy Chase	35
Jenny gin	33
In Summer Time	33
Ladies of London	31
Fond Boy	28
The Two English Travelers	27
My Bleeding Heart	27
Let Mary live long	27
My Life and my Death	26
The Lady's Fall	24
Now now the fight's done	23
A Touch of the Times	22
Flying Fame	22
The fair one let me in	22
The Doubting Virgin	22
The Spinning Wheel	21
The Rich Merchantman	21

Packington's Pound, known also as a tune for the lute and as a country-dance tune, leads the list. It is a fine example of a melody current as early as 1594 and still sung in the first half of the 18th century. It was extremely popular for political ballads in the 17th century. Its metrical and musical pattern is pleasing and attractive. By no means is it of the quality of the tunes in the usual "gut-scraper's" repertoire.

Second in popularity (judged by the number of extant ballads) is *Fortune my Foe*, a tune often used by lute and virginals composers in the 16th and 17th centuries. It is mentioned by Shakespeare in *The Merry Wives* (II, 2), by Ben Jonson, by Beaumont and Fletcher, and others. Its alternative titles were *Aim not too high*, and *Doctor Faustus*, from ballads sung to it. It became the hanging tune *par excellence*, and was the most popular tune for "good-nights", ballads of execution, and warnings against sin.

Third on the list is the Elizabethan tune *Greensleeves*, with 80 ballads extant. In a shortened version popularly called *Which nobody*

can deny or *The Blacksmith*, it was one of the most widely used tunes of the last half of the 17th century for political ballads, and continued in popularity in the 18th.

On the whole, the tunes up to 1700 are more attractive than the texts they accompanied. Yet of the many tunes sung in the period, the music of only about 200 remains, and these melodies are extant only in other forms such as lessons for instruments and dances. In general the printed sources of broadside tunes are scanty, scattered, and varied, and very little dependable music appears on the ballads themselves. Ballad tunes were frequently used for country dances in the 16th century, and many dance tunes were also used for ballad music. Yet there are no Elizabethan collections of these country-dance tunes. The earliest sources of the ballad tunes are printed and manuscript practice books for the lute and virginals. Prominent composers such as Orlando Gibbons, Dr. Bull, and William Byrd rearranged dance and ballad tunes with brilliant variations for the virginals. *The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* and *My Ladye-Nevell's Booke* are two fine examples of this type of manuscript. They contain many ballad tunes, including *Sellinger's Round* and *Fortune my Foe*. A manuscript book of lute-tunes, known as *William Ballet's Lute Book*, a treasure of Trinity College, Dublin, dating from about 1550 or 1560 (with some parts probably from as late as 1600), contains 114 tunes, most of which were used for ballads down to 1700 and later.

The country-dance tunes, perhaps, are the best source of our knowledge of ballad tunes. The country dance had been in vogue in England since the days of Robin Hood plays and mummers' plays, and was very popular during the reigns of Elizabeth and James, even becoming a fad in the Court from about 1600 on. Apart from a few melodies which found their way into the virginals and lute books, none of these country-dance melodies had been brought together in any appreciable form until 1650 when John Playford, the first regular professional publisher of English music on a large scale, published the first edition of *The English Dancing Master*, just at the beginning of the period of Puritan supremacy! *The Dancing Master*, as it was called in later editions, was one of the most popular music books of the 17th century, reaching twelve editions up to 1701 and a final edition, the so-called Third Volume or eighteenth edition, in 1728, when Gay's *Beggar's Opera* fixed the fashion of the Ballad Opera and put ballad tunes to a new use. The significance of this interesting publication is that it is not only singular

evidence of prime importance for the study of folk-dancing, but the sole record of many broadside-ballad tunes.

Out of the 104 tunes in the first edition of *The Dancing Master*, at least 33 were also ballad tunes. *All in a Garden Green*, *Bobbing Joe*, *Cuckolds All Arow*, *Drive the cold winter away*, *Heart's Ease*, *Millfield* and *Stingo, or The Oyle of Barley* are typical examples. Of the 500 tunes published in *The Dancing Master* in the many editions down to 1728, about one-third were current as ballad melodies.

Many Elizabethan tunes in *The Dancing Master* also illustrate a statement I made in discussing the confused state of ballad tunes about 1660: namely the striking ignorance of the modal character of ballad and dance tunes common to early editors. Inasmuch as the British Museum possesses the only complete collection of all the editions of *The Dancing Master*, my evidence must come from a second-hand but reliable source, Cecil Sharp's *The Country Dance Book*, Pt. II. This distinguished collector selected for illustration *Jenny Pluck Pears*, a tune not used for ballads, but essentially identical in character with numerous regular ballad tunes. The first edition of *The Dancing Master* in 1651 printed the tune in its original, correct form, a simple folk melody in Dorian on G.¹ In the preface to the second edition (1652) Playford announced the correction of many "grosse errors" of the first edition. Playford's "correction" of the tune in question consisted of introducing F# into the notation, placing the tune in a plain minor key.² In the fourth edition (1670) and later editions, Playford changed the tune into an undistinguished-sounding tune in G major, merely by changing the signature and retaining the accidentals.³ The "editing" of Playford needs careful scrutiny.

The 17th-century sources outside the country-dance books are again for the most part from the publications of John Playford and from some printed and manuscript collections of English and Dutch music. Most of the "lessons" for the virginals, harpsichord, viol, flageolet, and recorder were the popular ballad and dance tunes of the time. In a manuscript list from a commonplace book of about 1685 (British Museum Ms. Egerton 1071), for example, Samuel Bennet, an English gentleman, lists about sixty tunes as lessons on the virginals and treble violin. About forty of these tunes can be identified as

¹ *Country Dance Book*, II, 23.

² *Country Dance Book*, II, 24.

³ *Country Dance Book*, II, 24.

ballad tunes, some current from the last decades of the 16th century.

It is common to think of old ballad tunes, especially those of the broadside-ballad melodies of the 16th century, as dead and gone, to be recovered only in musty tomes and fading manuscripts. Yet such an opinion is not wholly justified. Most of the tunes have passed completely out of existence, to be sure, but many have survived. *Greensleeves*, for example, both as a morris-dance tune and as a song tune, passed into folk circulation and was still current in the first decades of the present century.⁴

Whether or not broadside-ballad tunes were current to any large extent in colonial America cannot be easily determined, for the colonial output of broadside verse was rather small. It is not unreasonable to believe that many of the tunes were known and were kept alive by English settlers during the 17th century. May I say in passing that the tunes of the 18th century, and especially of the early 19th century, are of two kinds: 1) native—the smaller element—and 2) imported English, Scotch, and Irish tunes of the music-hall variety. One must remember also that the ballad singer never gained the vogue in America that he had abroad, and that probably only a small portion of 17th-century American broadside verse was sung to tunes. Our best collections are of 19th-century ballads, such as the several thousand De Marsan broadsides in the Harris collection

⁴ The following notes give some idea of its currency:

In the 16th century and also in the early 17th, the tune is found in many lute manuscripts, e.g., *William Ballet's Lute Book* (Trinity College [Dublin] MS. D. 1.21, p. 104); Cambridge MSS. Dd. v. 20-21; Additional MS. 31392, fol. 29; *Het Luitboek van Thysius*, No. 70.

In the later 17th century it is found in *The Dancing Master*, 1686, and later editions, as *Greensleeves and Pudding Pies*, and in several other dance books and instruction books for the flute and violin.

In the 18th century it was used in *The Beggar's Opera*, 1728, Air LXVIII; *Penelope*, 1728 (III, 4, Song III); *The Jovial Crew*, 1731 (III, 1, Air XLII); and *The Merry Cobler*, 1735 (Scene X, Air XV).

In the 19th century, Thomas Moore selected the first part of the tune then known as *The Basket of Oysters* for his song *Oh! could we do with this world of ours*. (In *Moore's Irish Melodies*, ed. Sir John Stevenson and Sir Henry Bishop, 1859, pp. 22-23.) As a fiddle air and as a pipe tune it was popular. (See F. W. Kidson and Mary Neal, *English Folk-Song and Dance*, 1915, p. 29, and P. W. Joyce, *Old Irish Folk Music and Songs*, 1909, p. 72, No. 142.)

In the 20th century it frequently turns up in folk versions, for songs and morris dances. (See the *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, III, 1907, 122-125, and Cecil Sharp and Herbert C. MacIlwaine *Morris Dance Tunes*, Set IV, 1909?, pp. 10-13, and Set X, 1913?, pp. 18-19.)

A similar melody has been recently recorded in Pennsylvania by Mr. Samuel P. Bayard as a fiddle tune.

at Brown University and the Isaiah Thomas collection (1810-14) of 302 items at The American Antiquarian Society at Worcester. Furthermore, much of the verse in our 19th-century songsters is of broadside type and was written to popular tunes.

Evidence for the vogue of English broadside balladry in the America of the 17th century is difficult to obtain. Undoubtedly many "godly" ballads were current, as Mr. Scholes suggests, and it was not uncommon for "godly" ballads to be set to ungodly tunes. Perhaps it was some broadside verse learned by the Indians that caused John Winthrop in his *Journal* to remark that the "Indians sang themselves asleep with barbarous singing". Even down to the early decades of the 18th century, secular songs, probably of the broadside type, drew censure from the clergy. A passage in Cotton Mather's *Diary* for September 27, 1713 is excellent testimony; it is almost an echo of similar comments about a century earlier in England:

I am informed that the Minds and Manners of many People about the country are much corrupted by foolish Songs and Ballads, which the Hawkers and Pedlers carry into all parts of the country.

He recommends for a remedy "poetical composures full of Piety . . . scattered into all corners of the land". The other side of the picture is seen in the *New England Courant* for June 25, 1722, where Benjamin Franklin, writing as Do-Good, satirizes the fact that the American soil seldom produces anything but elegies.

But there is evidence that verses of the broadside-ballad type and their accompanying tunes were known in America. Throughout the latter part of the 17th century in England, lyrical broadside ballads and songs were often gathered in little collections called "garlands", "arbors", and "academies". That these books, little more than collections of broadside verse, were sold in New England, is known from booksellers' lists at the time, lists such as Dr. Carleton Sprague Smith is now investigating. One item is particularly interesting here.⁵ In 1682 Robert Boulter, a London bookseller, sent to a Boston bookseller, John Usher, as a venture "without order", 800 volumes under about 125 titles. Romances and plays abound, but there are twelve copies of the *Joviall Garland*, a volume which, if it followed the

⁵ See C. W. Ford, *The Boston Book Market, 1679-1700* (Boston, 1917), pp. 9ff.

usual pattern, contained for the most part broadside verse, written to broadside-ballad tunes. "12 *Crown Garland*", the next item, refers unquestionably to Richard Johnson's *Crown Garland of Golden Roses*, one of the most popular "anthologies" of 17th-century verses sung to ballad tunes. The earliest edition dates from 1612. The *Garland of Delight*, of which six copies were sent, contains 30 ballads in the edition of 1681. A few items below appears "6 royall arbours", referring to a collection of songs and poems of the broadside type brought together by Thomas Jordan in 1664. Further items in the 1683 invoice include the "7 *Accademy of Compliments*", a popular book of songs and ballads which was frequently reprinted in the 17th century. Since most of this verse was meant for singing, is it not likely that the tunes were known to the buyers? Such interest, furthermore, leads one to believe that colonial manuscript commonplace books contained many of the tunes of these ballads.

There is some small evidence from extant commonplace books that English broadside ballads were known and sung in America in the 17th century. The manuscript commonplace books of Seaborn Cotton and Elnathan Chauncy, now in the Harvard College Library, contain excerpts from three broadside ballads probably written down from memory. If they represent the Harvard student's taste in broadside ballads, we must judge him to have been a romantic fellow.

The ballads are: 1) *The Love-Sick Maid; or, Cordelia's Lamentation for the Absence of her Gerhard*, beginning "Begone, Thou fatal fiery fever"; 2) *The Last Lamentation of the Languishing Squire; or Love Overcomes all Things*"; 3) *The Two Faithful Lovers*.

The first ballad mentioned is extant in fourteen copies, sung "To a pleasant new tune", or in the Douce copy "To a new and pleasant playhouse tune". The tune became known as "Gerhard", and "Gerhard's Mistresse", and as such was the setting for seven ballads now extant, ranging in subject from a doggerel version of Hero and Leander by Humphrey Crouch to a ballad called *The Weeping Widow or The Sorrowful Ladies Letter to her beloved Children, mixt with Prayers and Tears; with a Sad Expression concerning the downfall of her Thrice Renowned Husband*, a broadside probably printed surreptitiously on the death of King Charles in 1649. The widow is, of course, Henrietta Maria. Just what except the metrical form tempted the ballad-writer to use the "Gerhard" tune will never be known. Perhaps Cordelia's grief for Gerhard is comparable to Henrietta Maria's for Charles.

The problems which a student of American broadside-ballad tunes must face are similar to those I have outlined for the English ballads, but with the added complication of sifting both native and imported airs, and of having less evidence, on the whole, to work from. It is to be hoped, however, that scholars will not look down upon this small but interesting part of popular music and literature.

Aspects of Melodic Kinship and Variation in British-American Folk-Tunes

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EVER SINCE the beginning of careful collection and study of folk-tunes in our British tradition, the collectors have observed that our melodies, like all airs transmitted orally, undergo changes which in varying degrees involve their tempo, rhythms, modes, and melodic lines. They split up into a number of variants and versions; and as an investigator increases his familiarity with the mass of recorded tunes, he finds the number of actually different airs smaller and the number of variant forms of those airs larger than at first appeared.

Three notable collectors and students of folk-melody in recent times—Father Richard Henebry in Ireland,¹ Gavin Greig in Scotland,² and Phillips Barry in the United States³—have expressed the opinion that we are dealing with a musical tradition in which the number of separate tunes is not large. All three were working with traditional material at first hand and comparing their gatherings with the material collected by others; and I, through experiences which are no doubt similar to theirs, have come to hold this belief in common with them.

But a student's troubles are not over when he learns to identify the most common tunes in the folk repertory, and learns to assign a large number of the tunes he encounters to their proper version-groups. Always he will find some material which he cannot classify, for he soon sees that the airs of folk-songs, like the texts, show some tendency to merge into each other. At the edges of each group of versions there are some tunes which shade off into melodies of an entirely different character. Sometimes they are apparently drawn into a resemblance with some members of another version-group, and sometimes they diverge enough to become quite individual airs.

¹ *A Handbook of Irish Music* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928), p. 140.

² *Last Leaves of Traditional Ballads and Ballad Airs*, ed. Alexander Keith, University of Aberdeen Studies No. 100 (University of Aberdeen, 1925), p. xliii.

³ *The Bulletin of the Folk-Song Society of the Northeast* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Powell Printing Co.), No. 12 (1937), p. 11.

Other tunes may show relation to a version-group in different and still more puzzling ways. They may be similar in a number of features to the airs in a group of cognates, but so dissimilar in other traits that one hesitates to class them as members of the group which they resemble. Possibly they are forms derived from the parent tune; but, on the other hand, they may well be derivatives in a different sense—that is, tunes composed in imitation or under the influence (conscious or unconscious) of the version-group with which they have so many traits in common.

These melodic overlappings and often confusing inter-resemblances seem to bear witness that the traditional tunes are exerting influence upon each other, just as the traditional words do. Further, it would appear that they are becoming differentiated by slow degrees—their variations and mergings gradually giving rise to new and different airs. We can, in some instances, follow up a tune through its variants to the point of disappearance (as Professor Gordon Hall Gerould⁴ says), and such a phenomenon seems generally to be interpreted as a sign that variation of our tunes is bound to lead to their eventual alteration into quite different melodies; that the whole mass of our folk-tunes are in a state of flux, constantly taking new forms and becoming something different from what they were.

Maybe that is what is happening; but if so, it is certain that the process is very slow, and it is almost equally certain that there are forces or tendencies active in tradition which are directly opposed to such a process. The theory of a "traditional flux" has been given an importance beyond its deserts when it is believed to produce a melodic welter in which (to quote the words of one investigator) we can see only "locally related groups, but no truly *national* tunes".⁵ The statement just quoted not only fails to touch the real problems presented by the recorded versions of folk tunes in Britain and America, but it does not even square with the easily observable facts afforded by those records. In spite of differentiation and merging

⁴ *The Ballad of Tradition* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1932), p. 77. It should be remembered, however, that the tune-versions we arrange for this purpose are parallel in tradition, and that their arrangement cannot, therefore, be considered a chronological sequence, or represent the exact stages by which the tune assumed its variant forms.

⁵ J. W. Hendren, *A Study of Ballad Rhythm with Special Reference to Ballad Music*, Princeton Studies in English, No. 14 (Princeton: The University Press, 1936), p. 58.

and the "attraction" of a tune from one group into another—all three discernible now and then in our tradition—the fact remains that both in the British Isles and in this country there exists a repertory of distinct melodies, limited in number, and set for the most part to texts in English. This repertory has been found current in every locality where a considerable amount of English folk-song survives.

These airs are clearly perceptible in numerous versions of varying lengths, some longer ("full" forms) and some shorter ("worn-down" forms).⁶ And, as Professor Gerould states, the versions fall into groups of more or less closely resembling variants.⁷ A statement by Hendren that "very few melodies are recorded in this country which have also been recorded in England or Scotland"⁸ is likewise mistaken. For not only do we find all the well-known tunes in the British folk-repertory current in this country, but we also see nearly all the versions and variants into which those airs have split turning up everywhere on both sides of the Atlantic. This repertory constitutes the life-blood of the folk-melodic organism in English-speaking tradition; and the airs included in it (about fifty-five in number) may possibly be the oldest of our folk tunes.⁹ At any rate, they are universally diffused, and in their various forms they account for by far the greater part of the musical settings of our traditional songs in English, as well as for the music to a fair number of songs in Gaelic, Welsh, and Manx.

They have been used for settings to songs in very unequal proportions; for *five* of them, in many guises, seem to accompany more folk-texts than all the rest put together. Of these five, two can be traced back to the 16th century, one to the 17th, and the remaining

⁶ The terms "full" and "worn-down" have no reference to the *original* form of a folk-tune, since that form nearly always remains unknown. The fuller forms of any distinguishable air may have been originally either longer or shorter than they are at present. But through the comparison of many versions gathered at different times and places it is often possible to state definitely that a short form is really a fragment—"worn-down" from a "full" form by the loss in transmission of actual musical strains or of their repetitional functions.

⁷ *The Ballad of Tradition*, p. 76.

⁸ *A Study of Ballad Rhythm*, p. 58.

⁹ Of course there is no necessary connection between the extreme popularity of these melodies and their age. Let me emphasize that I use the term "repertory" here to indicate not the entire number of tunes traditionally current among our singing folk, but that group of tunes which is most extensively used in connection with folk ballads and songs. Also it must be noted that the Scottish Highlands and the Hebrides possess a large melodic repertory not current elsewhere in the British Isles and not extensively known in America.

two to the 18th; and in the earliest recordings which I have so far discovered they remain anonymous, popular, and apparently traditional. Three of these most constantly used airs are known also in Scandinavian folk tradition, whatever this fact may signify.

It should be stated also that as a whole our British-American tune repertory is distinct from that to which the journalistic ballad-writers of the 16th and 17th centuries composed their rhymes.

After all the foregoing assertions, I suppose I could reasonably be required to state by what method these versions and cognate airs can be identified. So far, most tune-investigators have been content to assert that such and such tunes were related, or to give lists of related airs. They have fought shy of defining their methods—and not without reason, for while it often may be fairly easy to perceive tune-versions, it is indeed hard to tell just why many versions are labelled as they are. The late Phillips Barry, whose loss was a great blow to folk-music study in this country, believed that a close parallelism in the melodic line of the various forms is the sole sign of tune relation upon which dependence may be placed. I am not so sure that this is the case, though of course consistently parallel melodic lines are much more important than any similarity in modal or rhythmic features. But in many instances the lines of two airs which are unquestionably cognates actually turn in opposite directions at various corresponding points.

Another test is the observation of certain strongly-accented tones in the course of the air, their recurrence in their proper places throughout many versions, and their relative distances from each other in the modes or scales in which we find the versions. Time and again these "diagnostic tones" (as I have tentatively called them) turn up in their expected places and in their proper relations to one another and to the course of the melody. Yet sometimes they do not, while the identity of the tune is not to be doubted. Sometimes the various forms of a widespread folk-tune will show more than one set of these tones; and the strong tones of one version will be reduced to passing-tones or graces, or will fail to appear at all, in another version. Yet the two airs will still be undoubted cognates. Rhythmic similarity is sometimes helpful, sometimes misleading. The mode in which an air happens to be cast of course means nothing. It seems, as a matter of fact, that no one factor can provide a sure-fire way of detecting versions, but that all of them must be taken into account in considering each tune-item. No exact formula for

identifying a melody in all its variant forms seems attainable; and on the "borderline cases" of the version-groups there is bound to be difference of opinion. However, we have one other avenue of approach toward disentangling the versions of one tune from those of another. This is the most effective but the most onerous of all, since it requires long immersion in large masses of folk music.

In dealing with traditional poems we have long recognized that a ballad exists not in just one form, but in all its known forms. Whoever would really know a folk-song must not content himself with being acquainted with a single version. Even more is this true of the traditional melodies; for the distinguishing traits of a given tune often cannot well be recognized without a wide acquaintance with the folk music of the singing group of whose repertory it forms a part. And the tune cannot be satisfactorily known or studied until a large number of its variants have been identified for comparison. In this way only may we learn how a tune behaves in the mouths of the singers. And this comparison of variant forms of airs in our British-American tradition has led to the discovery of some curious facts about the development of the airs in oral transmission. In the first place, the more variants we compare the more firmly we become convinced of one fact: that in this particular tradition the problems of variation can never be solved by thinking in terms either of independently composed tunes in great numbers falling into similar conventional lines or of mere rearrangements and recombinations of stock musical phrases to form tunes which have simply "local resemblances". The versions resemble each other in ways too deep and too intricately detailed to be accounted for in either manner. They are, in fact, inseparable one from another, and the features of some continually explain those of the rest. In an effort to convey some idea of the interrelation of the Indo-European languages, Professor O. F. Emerson remarks that "no diagram can show the network of common bonds, which cross and recross in many ways".¹⁰ The statement well applies also to the state of affairs among folk-tune versions and their multiple affinities.

For the versions are bound together not alone by similarity of melodic line, and the usually decisive presence of the "diagnostic tones", but likewise by the continual use of closely-related melodic formulae of progression and cadence, which occur and recur in the

¹⁰ *A Brief History of the English Language* (New York: The Macmillan Co., ed. of 1933), p. 9, par. 19.

bodies of the tunes—now appearing side by side in a regular order of succession, now exchanging places. These alternating and recurrent features are sometimes variant strains which in diverse forms keep turning up in many versions; or they may be variants of a single melodic formula which is characteristic of the air at a certain place. Or, again, they may be closely related and similar melodic formulae which alternate with one another. Once more we find the same situation prevailing among tunes as among texts in oral tradition. All the details in all the versions could not possibly be combined in one "master version" of a ballad; and so it is with the airs. But the continual recurrence and the interweaving and interlacing of these melodic details make it impossible to think that the airs in the version-groups are not derivatives of some single, original melody. The melody has formed variants, and the variants, in turn, would seem to have travelled in all directions, and to have exerted continuous influences of a complex and subtle nature back and forth upon one another.

For another peculiarity of these groups of cognate tunes is this: we do not see many exclusively local melodic variations, nor can we discover that distinctive tune-versions have their special homes in any definite regions and diverge more and more widely as they are found farther apart. Instead, nearly all the forms of any widespread tune, with all their little interchanging variant traits, their modal translations, their alternating cadences, etc., turn up side by side in every district where English folk music has been collected in any considerable quantity. A purely local version of a widespread tune is not often found.

One example may be cited to illustrate better what I mean by the alternating melodic traits which bind the members of a group of tune-versions together inseparably. I have just mentioned alternating cadences. The most curious and interesting cadential variations of cognate airs come at the ends of lines in the middle of the tunes. These medial cadences display some features which are hard to account for, and still harder to describe. To attempt a brief summary of a typical situation, one of our best-known tunes ends its second strain variously on the 7th, 6th, 5th, 4th, 3d and 2d of the scale or mode in which the version happens to be cast. Another tune ends its second line on the 5th, 4th, 3d, 2d, and (rarely) 1st of the mode, whatever the mode of the variant may be. These diverse endings cause only slight alterations in the immediately foregoing notes of the air,

and they occur in free interchange, independently of mode, rhythmic pattern, or even version-group. Every variant in one of the version-groups seems as likely to end its second strain on one of these relative tones as on another. Traditional singers while performing sometimes shift from one of these medial-cadential formulae to another in their repetition of the same tune-variant.¹¹ The causes of this interchange are not very clear; but the phenomenon itself draws attention to another aspect of variation which may possibly throw a little light on the nature of such cadence-alternation, and which, in any case, should not be overlooked.

It has been asserted time and again (with good evidence to support the assertion) that no two traditional singers sing the same tune exactly alike, and that a good singer, as he goes through a ballad, will vary his tune more or less each time he repeats it. My personal experience inclines me to agree fully with this, and likewise with Béla Bartók's statement that a singer not only *can* vary his tune constantly, but that he also feels a strong inclination to do so.¹² This looks like "traditional flux" with a vengeance, and seems to indicate a constant variation which would obliterate all the original features of any tune in a short time. But when we can trace our most widely known and extensively used airs from the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, and when we see the persistence of the others over wide areas and through multiple changes, we must admit that the tunes in general (despite occasional widely divergent and aberrant forms) have been by no means modified out of existence. They vary continually, yet they persist over long stretches of time in easily recognizable forms.

¹¹ Of course the opening phrases of cognate tunes also show some variation. And these conditions definitely limit the usefulness (for our tradition) of attempts to classify or list melodies consistently according to the features of certain parts of them; either by the "Finnish-Hungarian" method, which arranges tunes according to line-cadences, or by a melodic index which arranges them according to their initial formulae or "contours". Both methods furnish a mechanically orderly means of listing melodies; both may be helpful to the study of melodic formulae. And by calling attention to resemblances between parts of tunes, both may suggest that the tunes showing such resemblances be examined in their entirety for more conclusive evidence of cognate relationship. But they do not and cannot make it possible to arrange our folk-tune versions in accordance with their actual degrees of kinship to one another, or even to set all the versions of any tune in adjacent index entries.

¹² *Hungarian Folk Music*, transl. M. D. Calvocoressi (London: Humphrey Milford, 1931), p. 2. The observation applies especially to the *good* singer, who has thoroughly absorbed, and is well versed in, the technique of his traditional art.

This suggests that the oral variation of melodies, though it is constant, cannot always be moving them toward differentiation. Cecil Sharp thought of the continual variants introduced into songs by some of his most gifted singers as "inspired invention".¹³ But my examination of those variants, as registered in Sharp's manuscript collection, convinces me that they testify to nothing else than a skilful and artistic interchange of traditional musical formulae which occur in other versions of the same airs, and in different airs, and the use of which forms an important element in the singer's inherited art of melodizing. The second-line cadence patterns of some of our best-known tunes today suggest that this continual variation may be nothing more than repetition of alternate melodic formulae associated with a tune—the recapitulation of a limited number of strains which have become attached to a tune and stay with it in the singers' minds throughout many of its forms; and that these repetitions, in their interchange, tend to preserve the outline of the melody and the sets of "strong" (*i.e.*, diagnostic) tones, even while at the same time they vary the melody to some extent.

Considering the constant variation to which melodies in tradition are subject, we have no reason to believe that a folk singer carries any tune in his mind in a perfectly clear-cut, unchanging, "correct" form, or ever learned a tune in such a form. Each one of our folk-tunes (for all we now know of their origin) may have been composed and sung in an unfixed, strain-interchanging form by its first composer. I believe that it would have been so created almost to a certainty if its composer had been working in an oral tradition—whether he were a peasant or not. In present-day circumstances it is nearly incredible that a singer in a region where folk-song was still in its full vigor would hear only one version of any of his tunes. The limited number of airs and their continual re-employment for different texts seem to make such a situation impossible. And it is hard to think also that an intelligent folk-singer who hears several forms of a tune sung about him would not be influenced by them—consciously or unconsciously—and come to remember and think of his melody not in one fixed form but in several forms which would, at least in some cases, echo the different renderings which he had heard.

¹³ *English Folk-Songs: Some Conclusions* (London: Novello & Co., 1907), p. 24.

African Influences in North American Indian Music

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WHETHER African musical elements are present in this country as a result of the importation of a Negro slave population, has long been the subject of heated controversy. That the question is still far from being clarified is due to various reasons. The music of Negro Africa, with its elaborate polyphonic, rhythmic, and instrumental developments, by no means represents one generalized style, but rather a composite of great stylistic diversity. This statement applies with particular force to the regions from which most of our slaves were taken: the coast of West Africa with its hinterland. Our knowledge of this music is spotty at best. The most important printed sources are not directly available; they are apt to be scattered and not in English. The extensive materials in the form of recordings, in various European archives and other collections, are little known. Nor has the available information been utilized fully in the discussions concerning African musical survivals, since much of the commentary has grown out of a popular and impressionistic rather than scholarly approach.

A survey of African music—based on records, publications, and some knowledge of the recordings in various European archives—suggests the conclusion that little or nothing has been found so far in the Negro folk music of the United States that is definitely African in origin, unless it be a matter of vague subtleties and some barely distinguishable flavor. The Negro Spirituals, which became the main subject of the controversy, appear to be, for the most part, re-worked versions of White prototypes—although they often show more originality than their models—rather than remainders of a dim African heritage. Yet, it should be granted that we do not know this side of the problem too well either—that is, our own Negro folk music. For one thing, we have hardly any serious musicological treatments in this field.¹ For another, our acquaintance is primarily with the religious songs; it is very slim when it comes to the secular

¹ Since these lines were written, George P. Jackson has added considerably to his painstaking investigation of Negro and White spiritual melodies and White secular folk melodies.

types. The work songs, perhaps because of their improvisatory technique, have been singled out occasionally for discussion. Their melodic material, it appears, derives often enough from the re-integrating of fragments from the Spirituals rather than from some wholly independent inspiration. Finally, our source materials are somewhat adulterated. The Spirituals have become familiar chiefly through concert versions, which already enjoyed considerable vogue in the first decade of this century. By that time the songs had been molded by the influence of our concert stage and our cultivated art singing. These factors had their effect on the famous Negro choirs, their conductors, and the editors of the published collections.

Processes of this kind often impinge on folk music when it becomes the object of artistic and cultural preoccupation; when it becomes "discovered". The tradition itself may be reshaped, as German folk music became reshaped through the interest and work of a long series of German composers. To what extent the Negro Spirituals changed while they were assimilated to a cultivated tradition, we do not know. A more primitive and perhaps less "White" musical strain has not shown itself in the simpler versions of less sophisticated performers that have become known lately; it may well become apparent after further search and examination.

In view of this inconclusive situation, it is refreshing to find that stylistic features and melodies undoubtedly of African origin have survived among Indians in the Southeastern states of this country, owing to contacts and even to a certain amount of intermixture between Indians and Negroes. These features have become incorporated into the local Indian musical idiom and have to some extent become integrated with it. Various stages of mutual adjustment and change may be observed in this material. Because of the fundamentally different nature of the musical elements—African and Indian—it provides for an unusually rewarding study of stylistic hybridization. Detailed results are in preparation for publication; the present report is restricted to indicating the presence of African elements.²

The music of all Negro Africa is dominated by the prevalence

² The Southeastern Indian (Cherokee) melodies utilized in this paper are from a larger collection recorded by Professor Frank G. Speck of the University of Pennsylvania, who placed the material at my disposal for study and kindly permitted the use of selected examples as well as this partial publication of results. All melodies are, for the sake of easier readability, given in a somewhat simplified notation.

of the solo-chorus technique, which very frequently takes one of two simple forms. In the first, the solo singer plays on what is often merely a brief and simple melodic motive, repeating it over with variations—sometimes slight, sometimes considerable; the chorus repeats each of the solo passages, retaining the variations. In the second, a more common form than the first, the chorus reiterates a fixed refrain. In North American Indian music the solo-chorus technique is on the whole rare. Indians most often sing either entirely solo or entirely in unison. In some tribes, or in some songs, a singer may start the song and may be joined by the group soon after. But this practice seldom results in modifications of the melody, and very rarely produces polyphonic formations such as, in Africa, so often show up at the meeting point of the solo and chorus. The only region where the solo-chorus technique is used quite extensively happens to be in the Southeast; to some extent it appears also to the North, along the Atlantic seaboard. That the technique is most prevalent exactly where contacts between Negroes and Indians have been the most intimate, is certainly noteworthy. It is of course hardly possible to say at present whether the use of this technique in our East was entirely old Indian practice, or whether it was introduced through contacts with Negroes, or even with White hymn singing of a responsorial type. It is safest to assume that both traditions—the autochthonous and the new—were familiar with this mode of singing, and that it maintained itself with the greater force just because of the double support. A similar assumption may be the best answer to the question concerning the African or White origin of the solo-chorus singing in the Spirituals.

A curious development establishes a fairly concrete parallel between African and Southeastern Indian solo-and-chorus singing. In primitive music there are examples from all over the world of the use of non-musical or half-musical elements—such as cries, yells, calls, spoken or *parlando* formulas, and the like—to introduce or finish off a song. In Africa the solo-chorus technique is occasionally applied also to this material. In Southeastern Indian songs the same thing happens, only with greater elaboration, since here these introductory (or terminal) formulas are much more detailed than is normally the case, and more musical in intonation and rhythm. Below is given the complete introductory section of a Cherokee example, with part of the song itself following:

Cherokee (Carolinas) Friendship Dance Song²
 Speck Record 31A-1

The musical score is written in 4/4 time and consists of seven staves of music. The first staff begins with a tempo marking "d. approx. 96" and includes first and second endings. The second staff continues the melody with first and second endings. The third staff features a triplet and first and second endings. The fourth staff includes a triplet and a first ending. The fifth staff is marked "Jazz" and includes a first ending. The sixth and seventh staves show a rhythmic pattern with "c" markings above the notes, indicating a constant choral refrain.

There is a more important and telling feature, however, which identifies many Southeastern Indian songs as African or part African in style: mode of melodic elaboration. In this respect there is a fundamental difference between indigenous North American Indian and African music. In Indian music, once a melody has been completed, melodic development is, on the whole, closed. The melody is repeated a number of times, either with no change at all or with minor alterations. The structure consists of a fairly well-knit assemblage of motives, not too different from the type of grouping of motives or phrases characteristic of European folk-song, except that the melody is developed primarily downward. This may be illustrated

² The notes of the solo passages are indicated by ascending stems; those of the choral passages, by descending stems. The choral refrain is printed only once (see measure 2 in the $\frac{2}{4}$ section), since it remains constant. The repetitions are indicated by blank measures with "c" over them.

by a few Indian melodies, selected at random from different regions. They could be matched with respect to the general structural features just mentioned by thousands of other melodies, published, or recorded in the Archives of Primitive Music in the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University.

Kwakiutl (Vancouver Isl., Brit. Columbia) Gambling Song
Archives Record 3 B-2

The musical score for the Kwakiutl Gambling Song consists of four staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and a time signature of 12/8. The melody is written with eighth and sixteenth notes, some with accents. A tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 92$ is present. Below the first staff, the drum accompaniment is indicated as *Beating: [rhythmic pattern] etc.*. The subsequent three staves continue the melody, with the fourth staff ending with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Pawnee (Nebraska) War Dance, Victory Song
Archives Record 2c

The musical score for the Pawnee War Dance, Victory Song consists of five staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and a time signature of 3/2. The melody is written with eighth and sixteenth notes, some with accents. A tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 108$ is present. Below the first staff, the drum accompaniment is indicated as *Drum: [rhythmic pattern] etc.*. The subsequent four staves continue the melody, with the fifth staff ending with a double bar line and repeat dots.

Iroquois (New York State to Great Lakes) Women's Song³
 Archives, M. Huot Record 2c

Pima (S. Arizona) Song of the Creator, in the Origin Myth
 Herzog Record II 1b

When there is a sizable change upon repetition of the melody in Indian music, it is apt to produce a structural pattern. In a frequent type, found especially in the songs of tribes in the Middle West, the melody is first sung through with meaningless syllables, which have merely an ornamental function. The second time it is sung to a text consisting of meaningful words, and the melody is changed somewhat in order to accommodate the words. Yet, these changes are

³ After the repeat the melody begins again, at the second measure, and has the repeat as before. The *glissando* calls end the last rendition.

fixed; they recur in identical order when the song is recorded from the same singer on another occasion, or when the song is recorded from another singer. Another change is related but more rare; it may occur when a song is repeated to a text that changes from stanza to stanza, again in order to accommodate the textual differences. In a third type, which is especially frequent in the music of the so-called Yuman tribes around the southern borders of Arizona and California, the force making for change is definitely musical. In this style, repetition of the melody is from time to time interspersed with higher phrases, which are apt to be built of the primary material of the song through free sequence, partial transposition, extension, or interpolation. Such a change is, again, fixed, and if a song has two developments of this type, they recur in the same order. In the following example, the third phrase is clearly such a special development of the first; the first phrase may perhaps be regarded as an extension of the second:

Diegueño (S. California) Dance Song⁴
Herzog Record 7b

The musical notation is written on four staves in G major (one sharp). The first staff starts with a tempo marking of $\text{♩} = 122$. The second staff concludes with a *Fine* marking and a fermata. The third and fourth staves present variations of the melodic material, with the fourth staff also ending with a *Fine* marking and a fermata.

African practice is quite different. While in North American Indian music the melody is normally a closed statement, in African music it is very often merely a point of departure. The chorus section may remain fixed and constant throughout the song; choral responses

⁴ The first two phrases are repeated and followed by the third. The whole thing is repeated a number of times, ending up at *Fine*.

are at times even transferred from one song to another. But the solo may vary its own part in rather free fashion as it resumes activity again and again. Occasionally instead of a characteristic solo phrase there may be a loose assemblage of diverse motives, held together at least by the recurrent chorus part. A few examples may illustrate these features:

Bakongo (French and Belgian Congo) Dance Song for the fetish
Lamba

Berlin Archives Record Laman 91

The musical score consists of ten staves of music in 2/4 time, with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notation includes various rhythmic values, slurs, and dynamic markings. The first staff is marked with a tempo of $\text{♩} = 120$ and includes the instruction "Iron bell" with a drum notation below it. The score features several instances of glissando, indicated by wavy lines and the word "gliss.". A section of the score is labeled "other variants of the solo part". The piece concludes with the word "etc.".

$\text{♩} = 120$
 Iron bell
 etc.
 gliss.
 gliss.
 gliss.
 other variants of the solo part
 gliss.
 etc.
 gliss.

Mangbetu (Belgian Congo) Dance Song⁵
 Belgian Congo Records, General Records Co. 1, 6th Song

The musical score for the Mangbetu (Belgian Congo) Dance Song is presented in three systems of piano accompaniment. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The first system is marked with a tempo of ♩=96 and includes sections labeled 'Solo' and 'Chorus gva'. The second system also features 'Chorus gva' and 'Solo' sections. The third system concludes with 'Chorus gva' and 'etc.'. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings.

Chewa (British East Africa) Song from a Story⁶
 Andrade Record II Ac

The musical score for the Chewa (British East Africa) Song from a Story is presented in two systems of piano accompaniment. Each system consists of a treble clef staff and a bass clef staff. The first system is marked with a tempo of ♩=112. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings.

⁵ In this interesting polyphonic piece the main part of the chorus remains fixed. Of the two secondary voices, the upper one, imitating the solo, is not too clear on the record; the second is variable, it too has a few doubtful tones. These are placed in parentheses.

⁶ The tone *f* is consistently taken lower in this song; about halfway between *f* and *e*.

Seven staves of musical notation for a solo part. The notation includes various melodic lines with ornaments (indicated by '2' and '3' above notes) and fingerings. The music is written in a single system with a key signature of one flat and a common time signature 'C'. The staves are connected by a brace on the left side.

.Quite comparable is the treatment of the solo part in the following Cherokee Indian melodies:

Friendship Dance Song
Speck Record 6B

Three staves of musical notation for the Friendship Dance Song. The notation includes a tempo marking of 184, a key signature of one flat, and a common time signature 'C'. The music features various melodic lines with ornaments and fingerings. The first staff has a tempo marking of 184. The second staff has a tempo marking of 184. The third staff has a tempo marking of 4 times and a repeat sign. The staves are connected by a brace on the left side.

α^2 β α^2 β 3 times
 d^1 d^2
etc.

Friendship Dance Song
Speck Record 29a-3

s d^{156} f p s c s
 c s c s
 c $3+2$ s
 c s c s
 c s c s c s c
 s c s c s c s c
 s c s c s c s c s c *etc.*

Friendship Dance Song⁷

Speck Record 30A-1

This characteristically African melodic elasticity is usually associated with improvisation. We should bear in mind, however, that improvisation is a somewhat loose term that may mean a number of things. I well remember the comments of a professional native singer in West Africa on this point. She specialized in those songs with which the paid singer and mourner praises the dead, taking her entrance cue from the wailing of the women at a wake. In these songs all female relatives and clan sisters of the dead must be enumerated, and something complimentary must be said about each. I asked the singer how she could be certain of thinking of all the names and details. She answered that while she was on her way to the house of the dead person she would “sort of think things over” in her mind, while she was walking to the place. Confidentially, she added that if an important man appeared rather sickly, she would think things over even before he was expected to die, just to be sure. It may be added that while the singer’s words are dubbed “singers’ lies”—the local expression for what we call “poetic license”—she is not required to strain her imagination to the point of finding the perfectly fitting thing to say for everyone. If she extols a rather buxom clan sister with the stock simile, “she is slender as the highest palm-tree,” no one will take it amiss. Nevertheless, the result of her little private

⁷ The chorus part, too, varies somewhat in this song. On the other hand, another typical African feature appears: overlapping of the two voices, which in this case results in a telescoping of rhythm.

rehearsals was not a fixed form. She could not repeat the exact musical and textual content of any of her songs after they had been recorded on the phonograph. But undoubtedly the rehearsals and the contents of her other songs gave her ready raw material upon which to draw for the new song; the melodic and poetic *patterns* remained the same, although *details* might shift.

The variable nature of the initial or solo motives is, I believe, a definite indication of African influence in Cherokee Indian songs, more conclusive than the solo-chorus technique, and the force of the latter as evidence is strengthened by the presence of the former. Fortunately, some of the Cherokee songs were recorded from the same singers in duplicate, on different occasions, and, as in African songs, the exact order and nature of the changes that occurred through the successive repetitions of the melody were not the same when the piece was recorded again. Other features that point to the African background of this material do not need to be discussed here, nor does the generalized impression of relationship that one acquires when listening to the songs. As for the Indian side of the question, the thematic material of the melodies and their general cast are often Indian rather than African, and the complex African drumming has given way to the comparatively simple Indian method of instrumental accompaniment, which usually consists of an unbroken series of evenly spaced beats.

For the anthropologist, it is not too surprising that African stylistic features have survived in our Southeast. In other sections of the country, by the time the Negro populations grew to sizable proportions the Indian tribal groups had either melted away or become comparatively isolated from contact, on their reservations. In the Southeast, however, there has been a certain amount of mutual influence, even intermarriage, between Negroes and Indians; we know even of Indian slaveholders in the past. Traces of these contacts can be found also in the folklore of the region. We have here the only definite indications of the type of music the Negro slave groups had when they arrived on the shores of this country. Data of this type will contribute to the data the anthropologist is accumulating in his desire to locate those regions and tribes on the African continent from which the slaves were drawn. Our Southeast is of course not the only spot in this hemisphere where African music survives. In South America—especially Brazil—and in the West Indies, perhaps even on our Sea Islands, it is alive through the agency of the Negroes

themselves. That the African element is so elusive in the Negro folk music of the mainland of North America may well be due to the circumstance that the Negroes were exposed to infinitely stronger cultural influences and pressures here than elsewhere in the New World, and had less opportunity to maintain at least fragments of their original mode of life. African music may have become extinguished in this country among the descendants of those who brought it here. If so, it is doubly interesting that we owe our clearest glimpses of its character and history on our soil to survivals in Indian music, which was first hospitable enough to receive a foreign idiom and then conservative enough to preserve it.

Special Session
WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13TH
6:00 P.M.
at the Beethoven Association Club-Rooms

Mozart's Handwriting and the Creative Process

Alfred Einstein

SMITH COLLEGE

THERE EXISTS a letter from Mozart to an unnamed person in which he expresses himself in considerable detail about the way in which he composes: he carries the work in his head, he says, until it is fully matured in his imagination, so that the matter of writing it down becomes nothing but a mechanical process. The letter is a forgery, presumably by Friedrich Rochlitz, the editor of the *Allgemeine musicalische Zeitung* in Leipzig, in which it first appeared. Yet it seems to have been suggested by an astonishing remark made by Mozart himself. On the 20th of April, 1782, Mozart sends his sister Marianne, who is in Salzburg, a Prelude and a three-voiced Fugue (K. 394) with the observation: . . . "it is awkwardly written.—The Prelude comes first, and then the Fugue follows.—But the reason is that I had already composed the Fugue, and I copied it out while I was working out the Prelude in my head." The copy referred to does not survive, but the first written version of this Fugue does, and from it we see that Mozart was really capable of giving free rein to his creative imagination, and "working out in his head" one piece

of music, while copying out a different and complicated work. The truth is that many of Mozart's manuscripts are as if they had sprung fully armed from the head of Zeus: the elegance of the handwriting is matched only by its clarity and sureness. The mere aspect of such a page of Mozart's affords a truly aesthetic enjoyment. Composing seems to have given Mozart no trouble. And accordingly it seems difficult to solve the riddle of his creative process—to peer into his workshop, as the saying goes.

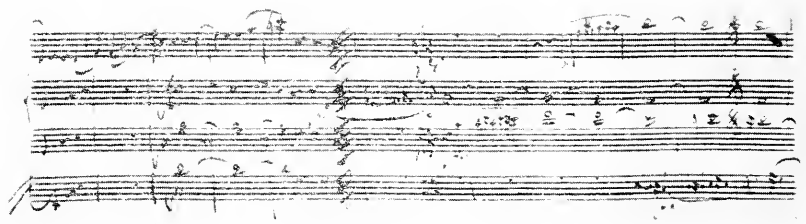
What a difference with Beethoven! Beethoven is the classic example of the genius who achieves only through bitter inner struggle. A Beethoven manuscript presents a very characteristic aspect, but it certainly cannot be said to offer any aesthetic enjoyment in itself. It teems with deletions and corrections. Beethoven usually made numerous corrections after the work was "finished", and he even made changes in the proofs. (That is why with works which were published under his supervision the autograph is never the final authority.) And the completion of one of his works was preceded by a lengthy process, to which the famous sketch-books bear witness. Beethoven's sketches are often much longer, taken together, than the autograph of the completed work. Nottebohm long ago pointed out that the preparatory work for the C# Minor Quartet, Op. 131, takes up three times as much room as the finished copy. The sketch-books are invaluable documents, such as do not exist in similar quantity in the case of any other musician, of the composer's struggle to give perfect form to his ideas—psychological documents which are as instructive as they are dangerous. For there have been those who have sought to make from them the deduction that Beethoven was attempting to give form to some extra-musical "idea", and would not rest until he had given this idea its complete musical expression—while the truth is that he would not rest until the motives, the themes, and the architecture of a movement or a work had been brought to their highest *musical* perfection. When Beethoven after the first performance of the Eighth Symphony lengthened the Coda of the first movement by 34 measures, he did so on purely musical grounds. When he wrote three *Leonore* Overtures, it was certainly not with the purpose of making the expression of some "idea" clearer and clearer; else he would never have followed the second, which is perfectly realized so far as expression goes, with a third, which surpasses the second mainly in its perfection of form.

With Mozart, it is true, the situation seems quite different. Mozart

All. vivace (And.) N. 18. *Quartetto*

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation for a quartet. It consists of ten staves of music. The notation is dense and includes many annotations, such as 'And.', 'Viv.', 'Cresc.', and 'Dim.'. There are also several large, dark scribbles or corrections over parts of the music, particularly in the first and second staves. The handwriting is in ink on aged paper. At the top left, there is a date stamp: '1872 Decem 20'. At the top right, there is a signature: 'V. di B. K. 387'.

The First Page of K. 387, showing (in the first system) changes made by Mozart in the inner voices



Above: Eighteen measures of the Development Section of the Finale of K. 387, as rewritten by Mozart. The two lower systems show the same passage in its original form

is at times in the same position as Beethoven with *Fidelio*—as, for example, when he works over his *Nozze di Figaro* for a second Vienna performance, or his *Don Giovanni*, first produced in Prague, for Vienna. In both cases he destroys or spoils his work. He is utterly indifferent to the dramatic and musical perfection of these operas in their original versions—replacing, for example, Susanna's G major aria in *Figaro*, "Venite, inginocchiatevi", with a quite colorless arietta; or interpolating in the second act of *Don Giovanni* that farcical scene between Zerlina and Leporello which almost nobody knows, since it is rightly always omitted. It is very significant that no conductor has yet made the attempt to revive the *Leonore* of 1805 (of which Beethoven himself, after all, published the vocal score) and that everyone sticks to the last version. With Mozart the situation is just the opposite. His first versions are usually the best, and every alteration is for the worse, even if Mozart himself made it.

But it would be wrong to believe that Mozart wrote his works off as simply and easily as others write letters, as has been said of him. Such a remark can apply only to the process of putting the works down on paper. Mozart himself knew better. In the dedication of his six String Quartets to Haydn, Op. 10, he speaks of them as "*il frutto di una lunga, e laboriosa fatica*" (the fruit of a long and laborious effort)—and he speaks the truth. The effort was long in two senses: in the first place, Mozart in his youth had continuously studied, or, as he expressed it, *speculiert* (speculated); in the second place, the composition of these particular Quartets had cost him great pains. I happen to have at hand photographs of these six Quartets and of the later four, which Mozart also refers to as "painstaking work" ("*eine mühsame Arbeit*"). You need only look at the first page and the first measures of the G major Quartet (K. 387), to see that Mozart had originally written the inner voices of the first theme quite differently, and without doubt arrived at the final solution only after long reflection. Even more instructive is the finale of this same quartet, which is written in a mixture of the "learned" and the "galant" styles. The development begins with a modulation, based on a motive, which leads by an enharmonic change from D major to F minor. This passage was written by Mozart in three different versions, of which unfortunately I can show you only two, and presents in the first edition, of which the proofs were corrected by Mozart himself, a still somewhat different appearance. I am sure that there were many such sketches, and that Mozart, after using them,

threw them into the wastebasket, since he had not the remotest interest in preserving such scraps for posterity. Occasionally one of these pages reappears, like the sketch for the finale of the Piano Quartet, K 493, that recently turned up in the British Museum. In this instance Mozart, quite like Beethoven, sketches the entire melodic line as far as the imitative development in the forty-fifth measure; at that point, clearly, he begins the actual writing down of the whole movement, and carries it through to the end. That Mozart should have simply written down without preparation a movement like the Finale of the "Jupiter" Symphony is unthinkable; he surely sketched out all the combinations of the themes on separate pages, which have merely not survived.

I am convinced that Mozart had reason to repent when he went ahead without such preparations. There are several significant fragments which support that conviction. The beginning of a Quintet for Clarinet and Strings (K. Appendix 91), gets as far as the first three measures of the development section, only to break off at that point. A fragment of a String Quartet (K. Appendix 72), of which the form is very unusual, likewise comes to a halt in the development section, and Mozart then prefers to begin an entirely new work in the same key (K. 464) rather than to try to overcome the hesitation that has made him stop at that point. Exactly the same situation occurs in a string trio in G major: Mozart gets no further than the ninth measure of the development. But this time he begins a new trio not in the same key but in an entirely different one—E flat major—and, as it were, on a quite different and a higher level—the Trio K. 563, which is among his greatest masterpieces.

Mention of the Piano Quartet, K. 493, leads us to the consideration of another characteristic of Mozart's creative process. For there exists an entirely different opening for the *Finale*, of which Mozart wrote out only eleven measures.

About a hundred such openings of movements survive. These fragments have hitherto been quite misunderstood, for they have been taken for compositions which Mozart for lack of time or desire, or for some other reason, never finished. The first person to hold this opinion was Constanze Mozart, the composer's widow, who thus furnished another indication that she understood little or nothing of her husband's work. As is well known, she sold the entire manuscript remains to the publisher Johann Anton André, of Offenbach, at the beginning of the year 1800. She kept for herself only

The image displays a page of handwritten musical notation, identified as a sketch for the Finale (Allegretto) of K. 493. The score is organized into six systems of musical notation. The first system begins with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The notation includes various rhythmic values such as eighth and sixteenth notes, as well as rests. The second system continues the piece, showing a change in the rhythmic pattern. The third system features a different rhythmic structure, possibly indicating a new section or a variation. The fourth system shows a continuation of the rhythmic pattern. The fifth system includes a double bar line, suggesting the end of a phrase or section. The sixth system concludes the piece with a final cadence. The handwriting is clear and legible, with some corrections and markings visible throughout the score.

Sketch for the Finale (Allegretto) of K. 493. On the lower systems are studies for canons (K. 508a)

Andante.

Handwritten musical score for a piece titled "Andante." The score consists of five systems of staves. The first system has four staves with various musical notations, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "Cresc. f." and "Cresc. sf.". The second system has four staves with similar notation. The third system has four staves. The fourth system has four staves. The fifth system has four staves. The notation is dense and includes many slurs and ties. There are some markings that look like "Cresc. f.", "Cresc. sf.", and "Cresc. p."

these openings and fragments, which did not interest André. Constanze then offered them repeatedly to Breitkopf & Härtel. She was of the opinion that they represented a group of priceless inspirations which some other composer—such as August Eberhard Müller or Johann Nepomuk Hummel—need only embody in complete works in order to make salable merchandise of them. Now, it is true that there are some works which Mozart did not complete because he lost interest in them: for example, the Sonata for violin and piano, K. 403, of which twenty measures of the *Finale* are by Mozart and a hundred and twenty-four by Abbé Stadler; or K. 402, written somewhat later, of which the fugue was completed by Stadler. A Concerto for Violin and Piano (K. Appendix 56) and a *Sinfonia Concertante* for violin, viola, and violoncello with orchestra (K. Appendix 74), which promised to be two of Mozart's grandest works, were never completed simply because the external circumstances which had called for their performance changed while Mozart was writing them down. And this is not to mention the great Mass in C minor, or several operas, such as *Zaide*, *Lo sposo deluso*, *L'oca del Cairo*, which Mozart, on grounds partly external and partly artistic, never finished.

But the situation is quite different where the openings and fragments which were in Constanze's possession are concerned. Many of these are of considerable length, and run for several hundred measures, only to break off suddenly, for no apparent reason. Many, on the other hand, are quite short. But every one of them, or almost every one, can be related to some complete movement written immediately afterwards. Mozart begins a work, and as soon as he has written the theme down this theme itself no longer appeals to him. He abandons it, and replaces it with a new one. And the new one is invariably more original, fresher, drawn from a deeper and purer spring of the imagination. Or the first theme does not give him space enough to gather the momentum he needs for the leap he has planned. So he goes back to take a longer run. Clearly the first theme determines for him the nature of everything else in the movement, and the relations of all its parts. That is remarkable—and yet every writer knows that a good beginning is the hardest part of the job, and that everything else seems to follow almost automatically from a really good start. (Provided, of course, that one has something to say in the first place!) The fact that a particular preparatory "run" and a final "leap" belong together is established in a few cases by Mozart himself.

For example, in his Piano Trio in E major, K. 542, he writes first sixty-five measures of a *finale*, and then, without crossing them out, substitutes a completely different movement.

Particularly rich in these discarded beginnings are the great last ten string quartets. The beginning of the *finale* of K. 458, in B flat major, is an example of Mozart's wise judgment in these matters. His first beginning employs the same theme used in the final version, but it introduces a striking imitation in the fifth measure. Mozart at once realizes that this robs him of an effect which he must save for the development; so he begins over again, and this time carries the movement through to the end. We here have an insight such as is very rarely afforded us into the clarity of perception which Mozart brought to bear upon his creative work.

A few examples survive to show us how Mozart by changing one or two notes could increase the expressiveness of a passage. One such instance is very well known: the beginning of Donna Anna's aria: "Or sai chi l'onore" in *Don Giovanni*. Others are very amusing, such as the Rondo theme in the *finale* of the D-major String Quintet, K. 593, which originally read (in all the corresponding passages):



Without otherwise changing a note, Mozart simply wrote into the score the new and infinitely more attractive melodic line for the up-beat:



There are of course also cases in which Mozart did exactly what Constanze had in mind, that is, brought an earlier conception to completion. That is what happened with the first two movements of the String Quartet in D major, K. 575—the first of the so-called Prussian Quartets. This is, however, a quite isolated instance. Mozart must have begun this quartet in a moment of extreme spiritual and material distress, and for it he reached back to some sketches which in my opinion must have been made almost twenty years earlier. You will observe that the first eight measures of the *Andante* are in a much earlier handwriting than the rest. The same is true of the entire first movement, which is the more interesting because Mozart

sketched it right up into the development section about the year 1772, and did not complete it until 1789.

This brings us to another problem of Mozart's creative activity, so far as we can study it in his manuscripts. Let us take one of his opera scores—say, *Don Giovanni*—and try to discover how such a work came into being. Mozart's procedure in writing any individual number is to write first the vocal line, the bass, and the first violin, from beginning to end. Then he goes back and fills in the inner string parts and the winds. It is only when the wind instruments have solo passages that they are provided for in the original sketch. In the big ensembles and in both *finales*, the paper is not big enough for his purpose: he never or very seldom used more than twelve-staff paper. So in these cases he makes a separate score for all the winds, agreeing exactly with the main score. (Sometimes the score was not before his eyes, but only in his memory, as in the case of a violin concerto by Viotti, to which he added trumpet and timpani parts.) I believe the musical unity of an opera such as *Don Giovanni* to be a most wonderful thing. Mozart did not write the separate numbers in their proper order, but apparently helter-skelter. He needed to know the circumstances of the performance, he had to have an acquaintance with the singers for whom he was writing the roles. Thus, for example, he could compose the characteristic aria for Masetto ("Ho capito") only in Prague. Last of all came the recitatives. An opera score of Mozart's is literally a series of separate pieces bound together, and yet it forms a perfect unity.

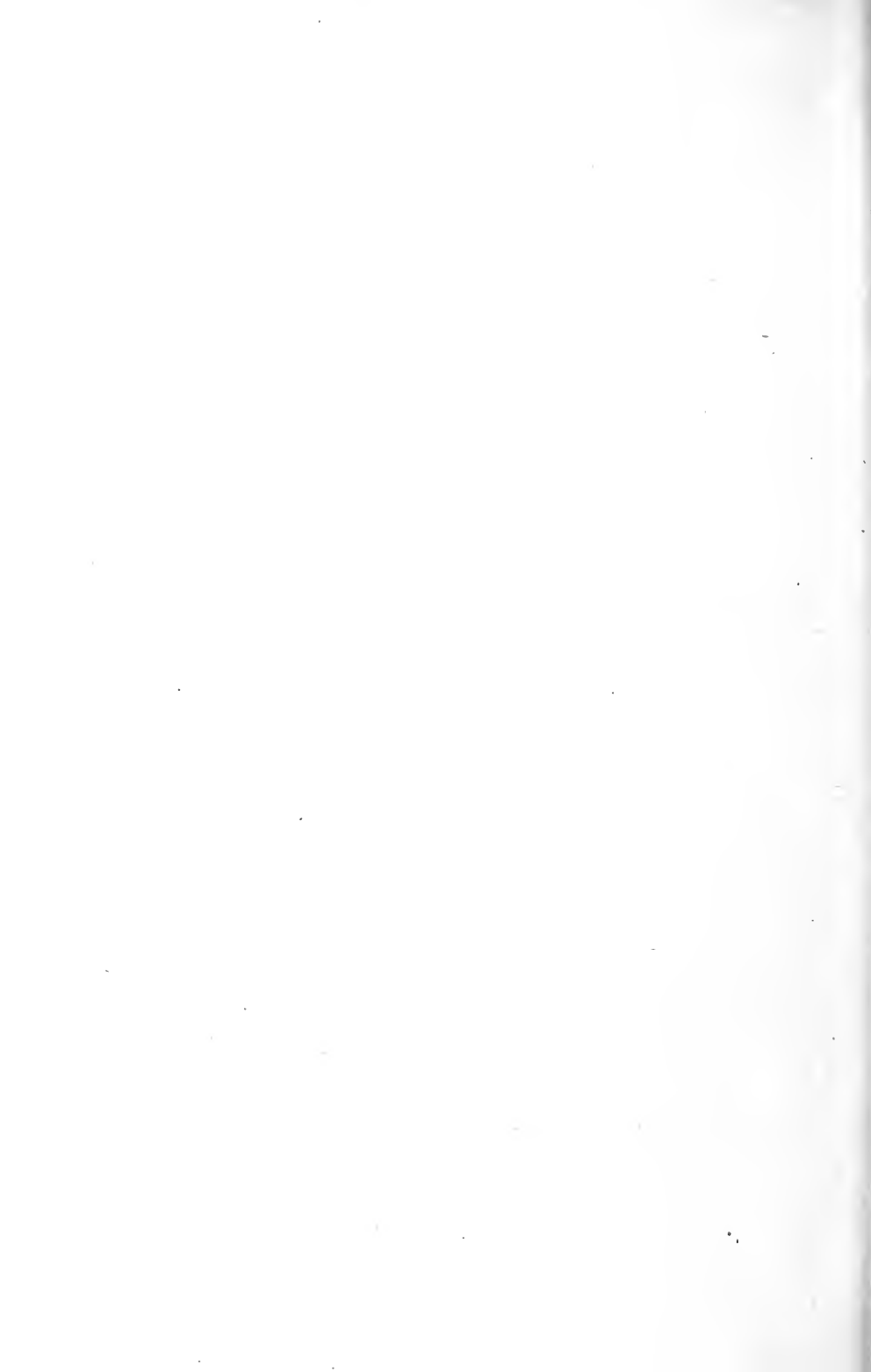
Another example of the power of Mozart's imagination, in that aspect which we call memory, is the score of one of the so-called "Coronation" Concertos, K. 537, composed in 1788. The manuscript is complete only in the orchestral portion. The piano part is more or less complete only in the first movement, and in the second and third it is only outlined, revealing simply the relations of the piano and the orchestra. Either Mozart had no time to write it in completely, or else he did not wish to make it possible for anyone else to play it. He, of course, had it in his head. The question arises, then, who completed the piano part for the published editions, since the Concerto did not appear during Mozart's lifetime, the first edition having been published by André only in 1794. I am afraid we must suspect André himself, and I confess that the piano-writing, now too thin and now too thick, has always seemed to me open to suspicion; it really ought to be revised in the spirit of Mozart's other piano works.

Closer acquaintance with Mozart's handwriting and his method of work would have brought a much prompter solution of one much-disputed problem—that of the authenticity of the Requiem. Mozart did not write out a single one of the movements completely; even those which are indisputably his work were only sketched by him in the same manner as the *Incarnatus* of the C Minor Mass, and were completed by his pupil, Süßmayr. Süßmayr's work was unfortunately very clumsy. No sensitive conductor will, for example, leave the trombone parts as Süßmayr wrote them. Legend has it that Süßmayr heard the parts which he completed played on the piano by Mozart himself, and then noted them down from memory; but Süßmayr explicitly says, in a communication to Breitkopf & Härtel, that Mozart had played and sung through with him several times only the pieces already written down. Legend has it further that Süßmayr was able to make use of some sketches of Mozart's. But now we know what Mozart's sketches are like. There are no real sketches by Mozart, in the sense in which the legend would use the term—that is, notations of motives, outlines of the architecture of a movement, and so on. In my opinion only a few opening measures of the *Benedictus* in Mozart's writing were at hand; and the conclusion of the *Dies Irae*, the *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, and *Agnus Dei* are wholly Süßmayr's work.

My statement that Mozart's works, or at least many of them, were the fruit of long and painstaking effort seems to be contradicted by the almost incredibly large number of his compositions: almost 20 masses, as many operas, 30 string quartets, 50 symphonies, more than 50 concertos—to mention only the larger works. It is true that the preparation of most of these works rests more on the thorough musical education which Mozart underwent than upon long studies in preparation for each single work. His creative imagination must have worked with almost unbelievable rapidity, and not rapidity alone—facility was an advantage possessed by most of his contemporaries as well—but also with incredible accuracy. Mozart was still (and one hardly knows whether to say fortunately or unfortunately) a purely "occasional" composer. Even Beethoven was to a great extent still an "occasional" composer, and it is necessary to think in this connection not only of the big cantatas for Joseph II and Leopold II, but of the *Missa Solemnis* as well. But the greater number of Beethoven's works originated from the free will of their composer, and, varied as the list of Beethoven's works may seem as one

glances through the opus numbers, his creative activity had a certain unvarying unity and direction. It is no accident that his symphonies and sonatas represent all the periods of his life; and although the last quartets were written "to order", Beethoven would not have written them if they had not been what he wanted to write. They seem to us to form a logical conclusion to his creative activity.

The list of Mozart's works shows no such logic, but on the contrary seems quite arbitrary in its sequence. Take one of his last years, for example, for which we may discuss this question with full knowledge—1788. The works of this year begin with an *Allegro* and an *Andante* for piano, two movements with which Mozart rounded off an earlier Rondo into a Sonata—because he needed money. Then follow some dances for the Vienna Carnival, a piano concerto, a soprano aria, a "German War-Song", an Adagio for piano, an aria for interpolation in an opera, a piano trio, the E-flat Symphony, a little piano sonata, a fugue for string quartet, a sonata for piano and violin, another piano trio, the Symphonies in G minor and C major, a patriotic song, some canons, a string trio, a third piano trio, more dances, and the arrangement of an oratorio by Handel! Contemplation of such a harvest gives rise to two feelings. One is of sadness that such a genius was constrained to such a destruction of his forces. Mozart, who in 1787 had created *Don Giovanni*, did not receive an opera commission for two years after that, and we would gladly give all his Handel arrangements and orchestral dances for another opera from his greatest period. But our second feeling is one of admiration for a creative spirit which could cope with such a depletion of its energies, and which could find the strength to put forth works like the E-major Trio, the String Trio, and the three great symphonies, in which Mozart's preparation—both mechanical and spiritual—for writing his music down seems to reach a peak of highest intensity and achievement.



Session on
ANCIENT, MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MUSIC
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14TH
at the Harkness Auditorium, Columbia University
Library Building
Gustave Reese presiding

Some Motet-Types of the 16th Century

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THIS PAPER aims to take a systematic and comprehensive but necessarily superficial look at the motet of the 16th century with a view to defining the general character and extent of the relationship between liturgical situation and musical style. To do this, we must begin with the motet texts, and, defining a liturgical text as one which the Church has sanctioned by prescribing its use in a particular connection, we must determine the extent to which these texts fall under our definition; in addition to this we shall want to know which varieties of liturgical text were actually used in the motet, what, from the standpoint of the motet, the relative importance of these varieties was, and whether or not these text-varieties correspond in any way to musical varieties. That such a correspondence exists for the liturgical chant itself is generally conceded. We know that the musical style of a particular chant turns less on text-content than on liturgical

situation, that in different situations a given text is set in different ways, that in the same situation different texts are set in the same way. Is this true also of the polyphonic setting? If it is, we have that sorely needed tool—a means of classifying this enormous body of material.

On first consideration it would seem that such a correspondence must exist, that the century which saw the publication of the *Officia* and *Lectiones* of Lassus, the *Offertoria* of Palestrina, and the *Gradualia* of William Byrd cannot have been so unmindful of liturgical considerations as to reduce the variety of traditional forms to a common denominator. But on further consideration it is evident that a sort of levelling process did take place, that distinctions sharply drawn at the beginning of the century were at the end less marked, and that the general trend was toward the absorption of what had been specific varieties into a single "collective" or "neutral" type. In what follows I shall try to enumerate and to define a few of these varieties and to suggest, with the aid of examples drawn from Palestrina, that the levelling process, though real, was not complete, and that even with Palestrina there persists a sufficient correspondence between liturgical situation and musical style to justify a classification on this basis.

* * *

The distinctive motet-form for the Mass—at the same time one of the oldest motet-forms of all—is the Sequence. Throughout the 15th century this was the one large liturgical form in general use. And even after other forms arose and sequence poetry itself was losing favor, the peculiar adaptability of the form, which lends itself to a variety of treatments, prevented it from passing wholly out of use. Its chief characteristic is the parallelism inherent in its paired structure, a parallelism which invites a polyphonic treatment of alternate verses (as in the Sequences of the *Choralis Constantinus*), a setting as variation-chain (as in the Sequences of Josquin or Willaert), or an antiphonal harmonization (as in the typical Sequence of Palestrina). Not less important is its tendency to paraphrase the plainsong model, a tendency so marked that until well into the 16th century it is an absolute rule, evaded only in those Sequences which, like Josquin's *Stabat Mater*, are built upon an unyielding tenor not related to the principal text. These two conditions suffice to distinguish the Sequence-Motet from other types involving metrical texts and to stamp it with a character of its own, so pronounced

that the type would be readily recognizable even were the text not present. Admittedly, the Sequence does not have for Palestrina and his time the importance that it had for the composers of Josquin's generation. Disregarding the cycle of Offertories, the settings of texts from the Song of Solomon, and certain posthumously published works, most of them questioned or spurious, I count in all for Palestrina 224 motets; only 12 of these are Sequences, and of these 12, only one—the *Lauda Sion Salvatorem* of 1563—is built along classical lines. Yet on the whole these 12 motets have a physiognomy of their own which sets them apart from the rest of Palestrina's work. Even where no paraphrase is present (and it is present in only six) the characteristic parallel structure is as a rule maintained through alternations and combinations of two choirs. Of the 12 works, only two—the two settings of *Gaude Barbara beata*—could possibly be assigned to the "collective" or "neutral" motet-type. One sees, too, that Palestrina connects certain definite procedures with the form—that, generally speaking, it is for him a large form, calling for a large and divided body of voices (normally the eight-part chorus) and for homophonic rather than polyphonic treatment; that he relies for his effect less on complex combination than on beauty of line and accent; and finally that, following the tradition, he tends, more in this motet-type than in any other, to elaborate rather than to invent.

Beyond these 12 Sequences, the Offertories, and a half-dozen miscellaneous pieces, Palestrina sets as motets no liturgical texts intended specifically for the Mass. Insofar as it is liturgical at all, the great bulk of his motet-production falls, almost equally divided, into two main classes—Antiphon and Respond. Like the Sequence one of the oldest motet-types, the Antiphon owes its intensive development to the 16th century. In its 15th-century form it was limited in practice to a relatively small circle of texts—to the familiar Concluding Antiphons of Compline, together with a certain number of similar pieces of more or less general application; as indicated, the Antiphon-motet for the specific festival is a distinctly later development. For this reason, perhaps, but also because of indifferences in the liturgical situation, Palestrina makes a sharp distinction between the old established texts on the one hand and the texts for specific festivals on the other. In setting such texts as *Alma Redemptoris Mater*, for example, he carries paraphrase of the plainsong model even further than in the Sequence, going so far as to begin in some cases with the official

intonation; when he sets the *Ave Regina coelorum* and *Salve Regina* the sequence-like structure of his originals induces a sequence-like structure in his motet and leads in half a dozen instances to the use of two choirs. As to the Antiphon motets for specific festivals—these being normally settings of Magnificat and Benedictus Antiphons, exceptionally settings of Antiphons for the Psalms—no positive characteristics can be enumerated. They are perhaps best summed up as representing the hypothetical “collective” or “neutral” type toward which the others tend—in any case, as small forms, preferably for a relatively small body of voices.

For the Office, then, the Antiphon is, so to speak, the typical small motet-form. The typical large form, occupying a position analogous to that occupied in the Mass by the Sequence, is the Respond. Its characteristic feature, when fully developed, is its division into two sections, exactly reproducing the form of the plainsong Respond from which it takes its text. The first section (or *Prima pars*) sets the text of the Respond proper; the second section (or *Secunda pars*) sets the text of the Verse and concludes with a repetition of the concluding line or lines of the Respond; the whole, then, exhibits the form AB (*Prima pars*): CB (*Secunda pars*). The plainsong Respond from which this motet-type derives is a musical reply to the reading of a Lesson or Chapter, an elaborate and extended composition affording considerable opportunity for soloistic display. In keeping with this, the motet-setting of the Respond text is usually an elaborate, extended, and brilliant composition. Palestrina, while he occasionally begins an Antiphon with full harmonies, the several voices reciting the text in unison, does not use this technique in Responds for four and five voices, which invariably open with imitations. What is more, he provides a sufficient number of examples to permit the generalization that, for him at least, this motet-type calls in its full development for a relatively large body of voices. Among the Palestrina motets for four voices the Antiphon is the commonest type, among those for five it occurs less frequently, among those for six to eight still less frequently; the fully developed Respond occurs infrequently among the motets for four voices, more frequently among those for five, still more frequently among those for six to eight. Or, to put it differently, the Palestrina Responds for four voices are for the most part undeveloped, consisting then in settings of the Respond alone, without the Verse and Repetitio; as more voices are added, these undeveloped settings become less and less

usual. If we may read in this a tendency to reproduce in the motet not only the specific form but also the general characteristics of the plainsong model, we may discover further evidence of this tendency in those admittedly exceptional examples in which there is a pronounced contrast between the settings of Respond and Verse, the Verse being set off from the genuinely polyphonic Respond by beginning with full harmonies and straightforward syllabic declamation. Particularly clear examples are the half-dozen Responds of Palestrina in which there is no formal division between Respond and Verse, the fully expanded text being set as a single movement:

For five voices:

- Orietur stella* (1584, 7)
- Aegipte noli flere* (1584, 8)
- Surge Petre* (1584, 11)

For eight voices:

- Disciplinam et sapientiam* (1876^a, 29)
- Expurgate vetus fermentum* (1876^a, 32)
- Dies sanctificatus* (1876^b, 29)

These works actually represent a distinctive type, widely cultivated during the second half of the century (notably by de Monte). The distinction turns less on the absence of formal division than on the reduced scale of the whole; in particular, the setting of the Verse is as concise as the context will permit, opening in each case with full harmonies and, in addition to this, set off from the Respond proper by the use of triple time or of anticipatory accent. Still another means of contrasting Respond and Verse may be seen in the Ingegneri Responds for Holy Week (once attributed to Palestrina); in this series, the Verses are set systematically for a reduced number of voices, as are the Introit Verses in the *Gradualia* of William Byrd. Similar to these, but further distinguished by plainsong repetitions, relieving the polyphony, is Palestrina's posthumously published funeral-motet *Libera me Domine*, the Respond proper for four voices, the successive Verses for three, three, and four. This last example is incidentally the one exception among the motets of Palestrina to the general rule that the Respond-motet does not paraphrase its plainsong model. With the Sequences such paraphrases are, as we have seen, normally present; the same is true of the concluding

Antiphons, and one will find a few instances among the Antiphons belonging to other classes, for example:

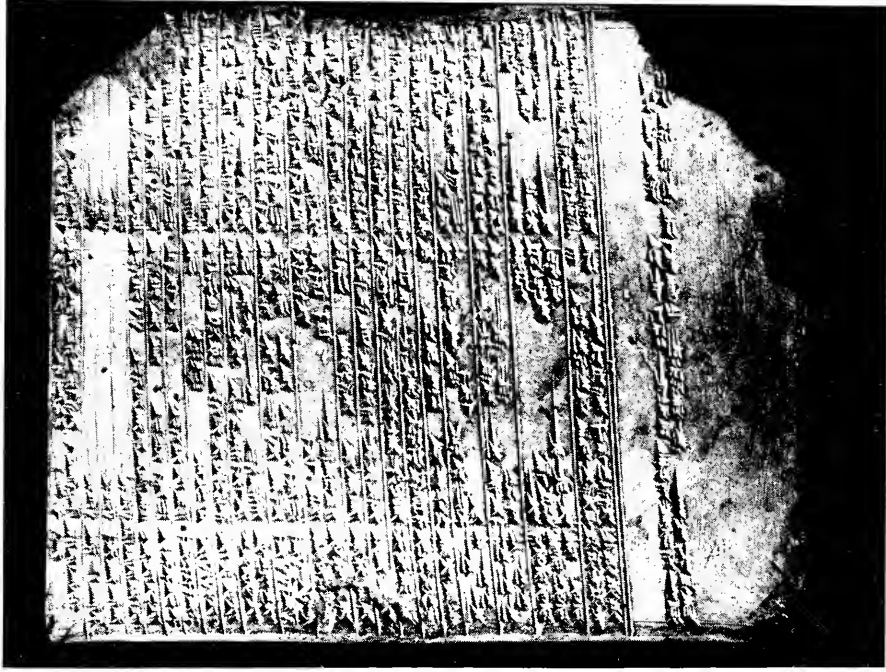
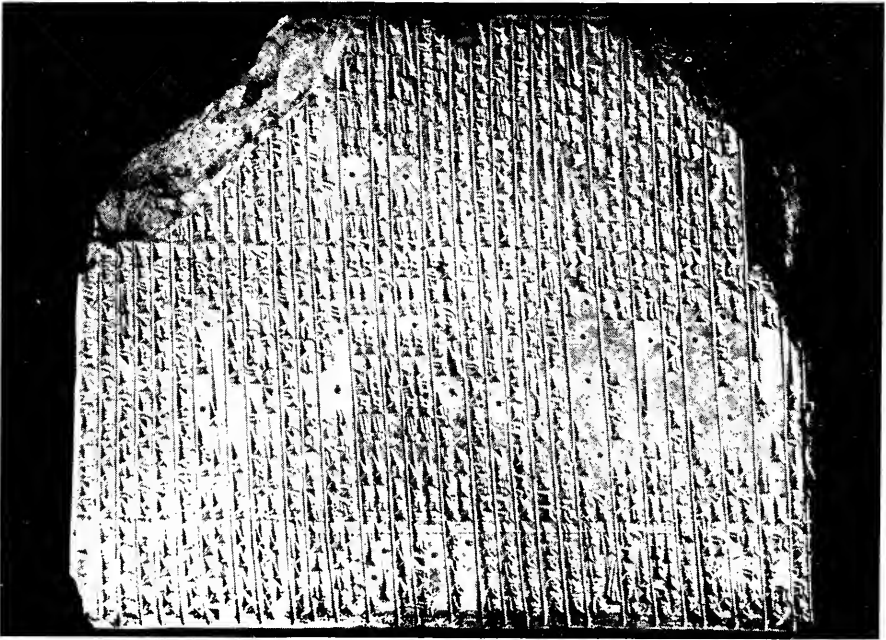
Gaudet in coelis (1563, 32)
Veni sponsa Christi (1563, 35)
O sacrum convivium (1572, 5)

And the *Libera me Domine*, it will be noted, is exceptional in every respect—exceptional in its liturgical significance, exceptional in the structure of its plainsong model, exceptional in the structure of the polyphonic setting itself, exceptional in the close dependence of the one upon the other.

Motet-settings of the Psalms and Canticles (other than the Magnificat) call for still another mode of treatment. Here, as with the Sequence, the eight-part chorus is the norm, and the necessity for dealing with a relatively lengthy text without exceeding the usual bounds leads to the employment of a homophonic or at best quasi-polyphonic texture and to an emphasis on sonority and rhythmic declamation. At the same time the parallel structure of the Sequence is lacking and the melodic interest less sustained. Other text-varieties used by Palestrina—Gospel, Lesson, Chapter, Prayer—do not occur in sufficient number to permit discussion in general terms. If specific procedures are to be defined for these, it will be done by establishing a chronological series, not by examining the work of any one composer.

* * *

To deal effectively with any large body of evidence the historian must begin by putting it in order. In many instances, as in this one, several means of ordering will present themselves. Which one he begins with may in the end make very little difference; before he has finished he will probably have to use them all. In stating the case for this means I do not question the value, indeed great value, of others. But I am persuaded that the use of this means, a means in keeping with the spirit and intention of the works themselves, is the logical first step and, in any event, an essential one.



Obverse and Reverse of Tablet of about 800 B.C., from Assur on the Tigris, with notation

Now in the Berlin State Museum. From F. W. Galpin, "The Music of the Sumerians, Babylonians and Assyrians". By Courtesy of The Macmillan Company, agent for the Cambridge University Press

The Mystery of the Babylonian Notation

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I

NEARLY THREE THOUSAND years ago, about 800 B.C., a priest in the Assyrian town Assur on the Tigris wrote a strange document which today is preserved in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Berlin State Museum under the number VAT 9307 while the British Museum keeps a fragmentary duplicate under K 4175-Sm57. The priest took a small clay plaque six inches high and five inches wide, and divided in into three columns. In the middle column he scratched, in tiny cuneiform symbols, a mystic legend in the Sumerian language, which actually might have been much older than the plaque: "When Heaven and Earth had been made, the gods wondered what to do next and decided to slay two among themselves and to create man out of their blood that he might till the soil and serve the gods." In the right column the priest wrote an Akkadian, i.e. Semitic translation, and at the end he put the solemn formula: "Secret. The initiated may show it to the initiated."

The London fragment was published by Carl Bezold in "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology", X (1888), p. 418, the Berlin text by Erich Ebeling in the first number of his *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts* (1915) and, in the following year, in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 70, pp. 532 ff., in transcription and German translation.

Untranslatable, however, was the content of the left column. Each of its lines, which follow those of the Sumerian text line by line, presents from two to six syllables in cuneiform writing.

me me kur kur

a a a a

ku ku lu lu

maš maš maš

&c. &c.

These sixty or seventy symbols are enigmatic; they do not make any sense and cannot be interpreted as parts of either a Sumerian or

an Akkadian text. So it came about that in a critical review of Ebeling's first publication, in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, XVIII (1915), p. 333, Bruno Meissner suggested that the characters in the left column might be musical symbols, and Ebeling agreed with him in his second publication.

II

However, no attempt towards a solution of the problem had been made when, in 1923, Assyriologists encouraged me to venture deciphering the symbols from a musical standpoint. Some months later I proposed a *possible* solution, which was logical in itself and in accordance with the knowledge I had of ancient West Asiatic music. Presuming a notation for harp, I interpreted the open syllables, such as *me*, as notes in a pentatonic system, and the closed syllables, such as *kur*, as ligatures of two syllables (i.e. notes).

This interpretation was presented to the Prussian Academy of Sciences by the late Carl Stumpf and published in its *Sitzungsberichte der Philologisch-historischen Klasse*, XVIII (1924), and, more in detail, as *Ein babylonischer Hymnus*, in the *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, VII (1925), p. 1-22.

My attempt, however, was a mere experiment, not an authoritative solution. At the end I put a big question mark: "We cannot be certain that the script is a musical notation."

Eight years later, the *Archiv für Orientforschung* published, in its *Beiband I* (Berlin, 1933, pp. 170-178), a paper on *Die angebliche babylonische Notenschrift*, in which Benno Landsberger haughtily decided that the syllables in question probably were *uralte Spruchformeln*, i.e. magic formulas, often connected with alphabets, and that they had nothing whatever to do with music; musicologists should keep their distance and leave Assyriology to "the initiated"; taking the syllables for musical signs would mean a "rationalization" of things sacred.

Landsberger did not stress the fact that the musical suggestion had originally come from "the initiated"; he did not know that all over the world magic texts and in India even alphabets are chanted, and that notation was invented just for keeping magic texts from deterioration and consequently from inefficacy; and he forgot to mention that I myself had undertaken the deciphering of the syllables as a tentative laboratory test and had expressly declared that I was not certain of their musical character.

III

Assyriological suggestion, musicological test, Assyriological rejection—it seemed that things had been brought to a close and that music history was no longer concerned with the Babylonian syllables, when four years later the problem unexpectedly returned to life. In his book on “The Music of the Sumerians, Babylonians and Assyrians”, Cambridge, 1937, Dr. Francis W. Galpin presented a second musical interpretation, based on my first suggestion that the script might be a notation for the large angular harp of Babylonia, but this interpretation was entirely different from mine. The following is a short abstract of his train of thought in his own words.

A syllabic sign could be applied to an alphabetical series by the principle of acrophony. It would appear that a priest of some Mesopotamian temple who was conversant with Semitic, perhaps his mother-tongue, applied the sounds of the cuneiform syllabic signs to the ordered arrangement of this Semitic alphabet. So he evolved a notation which denoted the note of each string of the large upright harp. Twenty-one letters represent the twenty-one recognized sounds used in Sumerian as expressed by the phonetic values of the signs *a*, *e*, *i*, *u*, *b*, &c. The scribe had to omit *h*, which did not exist in Sumerian. He had also to employ *aleph*, *waw*, *yod* and *ayin*, to represent the Sumerian vowel sounds. Thus the musician was provided with a definite series of letter-signs adapted to the compass of his instrument. Taking these twenty-one acrophonic signs for the twenty-one strings of the harp, they are as follows: *a*, *b*, *g*, *d*, *h*, etc.

As ancient melodies generally descend at their close, we may well consider *a* as representing the longest string. But what sound? Here we turn to the flute scale explained in the first section of this chapter. It appears on the twenty-one stringed Mesopotamian harp in three diatonic series, each with a tritone fourth. The scale, compass and notation are therefore as follows . . . In the full score of the hymn we have ventured to restore the voice-part . . .

This reasoning is a fanciful train of assumptions and imputations. The foundation is laid by several of these, based upon an “it would appear” or a “perhaps”. But, after the first tentative phrases, the deeds of the hypothetical priest with a Semitic mother-tongue are narrated as facts without any further restriction. “He evolved a notation”, “he had to omit” certain signs, “he had to employ” others, and “thus he was provided”, etc. Finally we learn that the Mesopotamian scale was based on a tritone fourth. Why? Because Canon Galpin found four notes forming a tritone on a modern facsimile of an ancient flute—from China.

IV

Galpin's interpretation has attracted some attention even beyond the esoteric circles of initiated persons, simply because it was unprecedented in English-speaking countries. To confine myself to one example: a year or so ago a singer wrote me a letter, announcing that he intended to frequent the schools all over the country from coast to coast and perform *The World's Oldest Music* before the youth of the nation. Thus there may be danger in my keeping silence; I do not like to oppose the venerable Canon Galpin, but it must be emphasized that, even if the Babylonian symbols are a musical notation, his interpretation is entirely arbitrary.

As the musicological problem itself is not touched upon in any history of notation, it seems advisable to point out the fundamental mistake that both Dr. Galpin and my former Ego committed in approaching the Babylonian syllables, no matter whether they were musical symbols or not. The false supposition from which we started was that the syllables meant notes, i.e. definite steps of the scale. The trouble, then, was how to deal with some sixty syllables, which at the least would cover the unacceptable range of more than five chromatic octaves. The solution of this problem is given by two musical scripts now in actual use, which have almost entirely eluded the attention of music historians.

The first one is a peculiar system of notation used and kept as an arcanum by Ethiopian priests. Villoteau, the musicologist in the French expedition that explored Egypt during the Napoleonic conquest (1798-1801), met Abyssinian priests in Cairo and, seizing the rare and unexpected opportunity, extracted from them as much musical information as possible. The most important fact he learned was that church singers used a secret notation ("Secret. The initiated may show it to the initiated") consisting of syllables written above the sacred texts. The syllables were either single, like *he, le, ma, re, se*, or double, such as *lama, lana, raba, rara*, or even contracted: *hal, las, man*. The Ethiopian priests explained forty-seven of these symbols to Villoteau.

Some decades later, the French orientalist Hermann Zotenberg found no less than one hundred and sixty-eight of these symbols in a liturgical book at the National Library in Paris. A complete list of them is published in his *Catalogue des Manuscrits Ethiopiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1877, p. 76.

V

Unfortunately the meaning of Zotenberg's one hundred and sixty-eight symbols is unknown; our knowledge does not go beyond the forty-seven definitions that Villoteau was able to give. And even this fragmentary information is not fully reliable; communication and understanding between the French musicologist and the Abyssinian priests was rather difficult, linguistically as well as musically, and Villoteau may have been mistaken in some details. Still, the essential quality of the Ethiopian notation was doubtless made clear: it indicates intervals, ascending or descending, plus intercalated notes; it even includes grace notes. *There are no signs for single notes.* The syllable *se*, to give a few examples, prescribes a descending half-tone; *ka*, an ascending tone; *wā*, an ascending tone with a trill on the second note; *wa*, a minor third with an intermediate tone; *we*, a leap to the fourth, or an ascent to it by indeterminate degrees having no relation to a formal scale structure; *zēza*, a jump to the fifth, or an ascent by the same sort of indeterminate degrees; *re*, a final cadence.

VI

The Abyssinian notation shares its essential features with a certain musical script of South India.

India, "the country in which nothing gets lost", has preserved the psalmodic melodies of those verses from the Vedas which from time immemorial the priests have sung at sacrifices. It has been possible to preserve this collection, called the *Sāma Veda*, because oral tradition has been supported by certain symbols recording the melodies of the past, which may not be altered lest their magic force be impaired. To this end, North India uses figures, and the South, syllables taken from the ordinary alphabet, such as *ka*, *ki*, *ko*, *ku*, *kai*, *kau*, and many other consonant-vowel combinations. Only a few of them indicate single notes: *ta* means the fourth note of the descending scale; *na* demands a ligature of the first and the second note and the prolongation of one of them; *cho* indicates the second, third, and fourth notes in succession; *ke* stands for a group of not less than seven notes. Two hundred and ninety-seven such indicatory syllables are known.

Once more a syllabic script, taken from the current alphabet, accompanies religious texts; once more it stands for sacred inviolable melodies; once more it designates stereotyped groups of notes. The

only difference lies in the position given to the symbols in the manuscripts: here they are set right within the text, after the first syllable of a *parvan* (or, let us say, measure) and also, but rarely, in the middle. Both positions are illustrated in the beginning of the first *saman*, which follows, "ta", "cho", and "ṇa" being musical symbols:

o ta gna i
a cho ya hi ṇa vi ito i

To this form, discovered by A. C. Burnell and discussed in his edition of the fourth book of the Sāmaveda (*The Arsheyabrāhmaṇa*, Bangalore, 1876, Introduction), Richard Simon was able to add another in his *Notationen der vedischen Liederbücher*, published in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XXVII (1913), p. 346. There, each *parvan* of the text is followed by the melody, e.g. [text:] *barhā-iṣā auhovā* [music:] *ta khā śi ri*.

Burnell calls the foundation of the *saman* melodies "unquestionably very old". Some of the Vedic texts are supposed to go back to about 1500 B.C., if not to a still earlier period; they doubtless were sung from the very beginning, not recited; and, in spite of variants unavoidable in four thousand years and an immense area, the main trend of the melodies will scarcely have changed. Again, Burnell avers: "The S. Indian letter-notation is the oldest", i.e., older than the figures used for the same purpose in North India. To his philological reasons a general fact may be added. Many archaic features, lost in North India, which again and again was exposed to conquest and immigration on a large scale, are carefully preserved by the Dravida, the dark aboriginal population of India, pushed back by the invaders and today inhabiting the South. The old civilization that they carried southward must not be conceived of as isolated. In his book "The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture" (London, 1924), Gilbert Slater writes: "In so far as this Dravidian civilization was derived from outside sources, its origin is to be traced to Egypt and Mesopotamia, linked up with India by sea commerce." Certain musical facts confirm the Western influence: the strange South Indian stick-zither, the *kinnari*, for example, shares its name with King David's so-called "harp", the *kinnor*, and the frame drum *tambattam*, so important in Dravidian life, was known in ancient Babylonia under the Akkadian name *timbutu*.

VII

To sum up: scripts consisting of a great number of detached syllables have been used in two oriental countries, Ethiopia and South India. In both they belong to musical notations or, more accurately, to vocal notations that are used in connection with religious texts and that indicate, as a rule, stereotyped groups of notes. They provide evidence of that particular ornamental style that we roughly call "oriental", and that persisted to the period of the German Meistersinger. This style did not originate in language; its trend was not derived from speech melody, nor was it syllabic in the sense that each syllable of the text was given one note. In a strong emotional effusion, melody flowed along almost independently of the text, and the syllables of the poem were sung on ornamental melismas rather than on single notes. Emotion that once had drawn the curves of these melismas cooled down, and certain melodic turns, recurring again and again, that had resulted from spontaneous creation, froze into stereotyped patterns of stationary, ascending, descending, or undulating groups. Out of these patterns, in ever changing combinations, melodic lines were composed, much as mosaics are set together out of single cubes. Eventually, when these mosaics ran the risk of sinking into oblivion, written symbols had to back tradition.

Babylonia would not have badly suited this type of music; indeed, we cannot think of any other style in which her temple singers might have chanted the sacred texts. She formed the northern end of the Semitic area of which Abyssinia was the southern end; and the South Indian civilization was under the strong influence of Sumer and Babylonia.

Still, we leave it to the Assyriologists to decide whether or not their secret syllables indicate melodies, as do the similar syllables of Ethiopia and South India. Musicology is scarcely interested any more in their answer: even if they decide in favor of music, syllabic notations that symbolize certain conventional combinations of notes cannot be deciphered. The Babylonian syllables will remain as secret as the ancient priests could have wished.

New Light on Ancient Greek Music

Otto Gombosi

DELEGATE FROM HUNGARY

WITHIN THE LAST FIFTEEN YEARS, the impressive system pieced together out of our fragmentary knowledge of ancient Greek music has shown signs of tottering. We should therefore reconsider the subject, and, from a completely different point of view, re-examine the basic conceptions of mode, key, and pitch; the problems of the stringing, tuning, and technique of the most important instruments, the *lyra* and *kitbara*; and, last but not least, the problem of the spirit of Greek music, its *ethos*.

The grounds for a fundamentally new conception are, chiefly, the much changed conditions of musical research. For a long time scholars had to rely solely on classical philology when they entered the border regions of music, for musicology could help them only with technical terms from modern musical theory and, less often, from medieval theory. However, the latest developments in musicology and discoveries in musical ethnology have made possible a more just appreciation of the phenomena and problems of ancient Greek music. Now, for the first time, it is possible, in speaking of the music of Antiquity, to use concepts that are based neither on the ideas, views, and opinions of the Middle Ages, nor on those of quite modern times.

Up to the present, only a few attempts have been made to bring about such a change of conception and appreciation. The first was Monro's *Modes of Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford, 1894), which unfortunately was not very well received. Thirty years later, Sachs published his research on Greek notation¹, and this was followed by Deubner's article on the four-stringed lyre.² The immediate result was that in certain spheres of knowledge some of the old deep-rooted illusions were dispelled, though no far-reaching consequences ensued. Indeed, the reputation of the old, well-constructed, imposing system was so great that scholars were inclined to regard the new ideas as

¹ Curt Sachs, *Die griechische Instrumentalnotenschrift*, in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, VI (1924), 289-301, and *Die griechische Gesangsnotenschrift*, *ibid.*, VII (1925), 1-5.

² Ludwig Deubner, *Die viersaitige Leier*, in *Athenische Mitteilungen*, LIV (1929), 194-200.

mere corrections of it and to attempt to reconcile them with the accepted view rather than to revise the whole system in the light of the newly discovered facts.

It is, of course, impossible to discuss even the outlines of such a revision in a short lecture.³ The questions are very complicated and mostly theoretical. Let us see rather the practical side of the problems: the manner of stringing, tuning, and playing the instruments of the lyre family.

"Lyre" is the name given to any stringed instrument having the one end of the strings fixed to a cross-bar placed between two uprights, which stand in the plane of the belly. Two general types are found in classical Antiquity: the *lyra*—with its derivative, the *barbiton*—and the *kithara*.

The sound-body of the *lyra* consists of a tortoise shell covered with stretched leather. In it are fixed the two uprights, made originally of horn, but later usually of wood. The uprights are joined above by the cross-bar. The strings are fastened to the leather belly by means of a horizontal bolt, the string-holder (*chordotonon*). The strings are stretched over a bridge (the *donax*) to the cross-bar, on which the tuning apparatus is installed.

The body of the *kithara* consists of a wooden chest, with the lower part either straight or rounded. The uprights are wooden; the cross-bar, originally fixed, became independent of the uprights and had a revolvable disk at each end. It has been suggested that these disks were used to turn the cross-bar, and thus tighten or loosen all the strings simultaneously. The possibility of turning the cross-bar of the Greek *kithara* has been regarded as the most important advance over the earlier Oriental forms.

But the very idea of tightening and loosening all the strings simultaneously is pure nonsense. Anyone who plays a stringed instrument knows well how unpleasant either the tuning of a new string or a *scordatura* always is, as the string does not keep the right pitch. If the Greeks had really loosened the strings after playing, if they had continually changed the tension of the strings, they must have had the greatest difficulty with the tuning and yet have increased the life of the strings very slightly, if at all.

It is quite certain that the revolvable disks served to compress the two uprights, not to turn the cross-bar. From the illustration op-

³ For further references, see my book *Tonarten und Stimmungen der antiken Musik*, Copenhagen, 1939.

posite p. 180 one can appreciate the complicated construction of these uprights. These tiny branches are not mere ornaments, but a highly ingenious system of spirals, which produce the force to balance the pressure of the disks on the uprights. The whole arrangement causes a tension and serves to increase the transfer of vibrations to the sound-chest.

I pass over the different ways of fastening the strings to the cross-bar and of tuning them. These questions are complicated enough to supply a very suitable subject for an archaeological dissertation.

While the *lyra* seems to have been unknown in the early Orient and was certainly imported into Hellas by the Greeks, the *kithara* can be traced back in Western Asia to a prehistoric period of several thousand years. The excavations of the joint expedition at Ur have revealed some specimens dating from about 3000 B.C. They represent a very large type, from about three to four feet in height. The body and the uprights are coated with thin sheets of gold and silver and are ornamented with lapis lazuli. The sound-chest is generally in the form of a bull, the head projecting outward and being decorated with gold and lapis lazuli. Sometimes there is the figure of a bull or a stag standing on one end of the sound-chest, while the strings are grouped together at the other end.

Even about 3000 B.C. this large type had from eight to eleven strings. Such a well-developed instrument evidently belongs not to the beginning of an evolutionary process but to the end of it. In fact, a much smaller type with no ornament and only from four to six strings very soon appeared in Syria. This type is certainly not a throw-back to the Sumerian instrument, but a direct descendant of a pre-Sumerian type.

In Egypt, where the lyre appeared first about 1500 B.C. and was always looked upon as a foreign instrument, the large type was developed into a local variety with many strings. The Cretan *kithara* of the same epoch was also an isolated variety. It had seven strings and its body was like a U-shaped tube.

The seven-stringed form was unknown in Greece during the 9th and 8th centuries. As far as we can judge today, there is no immediate connection between the Creto-Mycenian instrument and the archaic Greek. The Greek *kithara* seems to have been adapted from the small Syrian type.

These results of the research of the last decade⁴ are extremely

⁴ M. Guillemin and J. Duchesne, *Sur l'origine asiatique de la cithare grecque*, in *L'Antiquité classique*, IV (1935), 117-124, with 7 plates.

important. For one of the most deeply rooted illusions about the music of Antiquity is that the Greek lyre had at least seven strings from the earliest times on. Scholars like Wilamowitz or Abert thought that every mention of an instrument with fewer strings was either the result of naïve speculation in later times or simply a forgery. They did not perceive that the term *chorde* had two different meanings in Greek: the usual "string" and the rather abstract "degree". Even authors of late Antiquity were confused by this double meaning. This gave rise to speculations, which cannot hold water nowadays, about the tuning and stringing of the ancient lyre. The identification of the seven strings with the seven diatonic degrees means that every degree of the diatonic system, *i.e.* the tone produced by every white key of our piano, must have its own special string. Starting from the justified assumption that the compass of the lyre must always have been at least an octave, the conclusion reached was that the seven strings formed a defective octave between e' and e , omitting c' :

$e' d' b a g f e$

So, it was supposed, there had been a very early development to eight strings, which would give the possibility of a whole octave including the degree c' . This innovation was even ascribed to Pythagoras.

It was taken for granted that later in its history the lyre had successively eleven, then fifteen, and even eighteen strings. Cautious scholars, indeed, noticed that not more than twelve strings were known to Antiquity, but did not trouble to explain the contradiction.

The assumption of seven strings for the most primitive form is not at all astonishing. Anything can be assumed. But it is strange that every proof to the contrary has been looked upon as a forgery, and every contradictory archaeological document has been disregarded. The accommodating simplicity of seven or eight strings corresponding to seven or eight degrees of the diatonic scale vanquished all scientific precautions and criticism.

This was the general opinion about Greek music until Curt Sachs showed the double meaning of the term *chorde* and discovered the structure of Greek notation. He found out that the notation was invented for an instrument with only five different strings in an octave—*i.e.*, with the repetition of the lowest degree in the higher octave, only six strings in all, while the other intermediate degrees

had to be produced artificially by means of stopping. In a word, the Greek lyres were tuned pentatonically, not heptatonically.

Indeed if the lyre does not need seven or eight strings for a whole octave, but only six, the possibility of instruments with fewer than seven strings is theoretically proved. In fact, Deubner showed that the Greek lyre did not have seven strings until the first third of the 7th century; before that it generally had only four strings. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of the lyres of the classic period had seven strings, so that the form with eight strings had never played the imposing role it would have played if it alone had contained the complete octave.

We choose as a starting-point not the instrument but the notation and its pentatonic structure. According to Sachs, the letters set in the usual position designate open strings, while the stopping is denoted by inverted and reversed letters. For example, the letter K designates the open string b; its inversions χ and \aleph designate the stopped string b, the pitch being raised a quarter-tone or a semitone, according to certain rules. The different keys combine the stopped and unstopped playing of the strings in different ways. But, even in the key with the largest number of letters in the usual position, there are only five such letters in an octave, while the two remaining degrees of the diatonic key must be stopped. As there are signs for every degree of the basic key in the complete system, it is clear that two strings must have been changed according to the key desired. Indeed, with two exceptions, only two kinds of tuning exist for the whole system of fifteen keys. I shall call the first the low-tuning, consisting of the strings

e' d' b a g e

The second I shall call the high-tuning, consisting of the strings

f' d'c' a g f

Now the keys of Aristoxenus, the greatest theorist of Antiquity, are classified in such a way that the same name generally occurs twice, first with the epithet "lower", then with the epithet "higher". There are a lower Phrygian and a higher Phrygian, a lower Lydian and a higher Lydian key, etc. The material constituting the notation-signs of these keys shows that the keys called "lower" stand in the low-tuning, while those called "higher" stand in the high-tuning.

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The assumption of pentatonic tuning may reasonably be objected to on the ground that it requires only six strings for a complete octave and not seven, so that the type with seven strings would seem to have had a different tuning. Indeed, we find that of the two keys I have mentioned above as exceptions, the Lydian and the Mixolydian (or Hyperdorian), the one requires the strings e' , c' , and e , and the other the strings f' , c' , b , and f . The fact that these two keys were in use during the classic period of Greek music is a proof that the seventh string in question was interpolated; so the strings c' and b existed side by side for alternative use. For playing in the high-tuning, the string c' was used and the string b omitted. But for playing in the low-tuning, the string c' was omitted and the string b was used. Thus the Lydian key incorporated the string c' instead of b in the low-tuning, while in the Mixolydian key both the c' -string and the b -string were employed. This strange practice of employing two otherwise alternative strings in the same key came into use very late. Lamprokles of Athens introduced it for the Mixolydian key about 475.

It may be asked why two tunings were needed. Did it make so great a difference whether the two outer strings were tuned a semitone higher or lower that it was worth while to arrange such a very complicated system for this reason alone? What is the real significance of the high-tuning, which evidently came into use later than the other?

To answer these questions of essential importance, we must refer to the internal structure of the system of Greek music. As is well known, this system consists of a series of tetrachords, four-tone groups, alternately joined together and placed side by side:

$$\begin{array}{c} a' - e' \\ e' - b / a - e \\ e - B / A \end{array}$$

The exact position of the intermediate tones depends on the genus in use. Take for example the tetrachord $e'-b$: the external tones are fixed, they are *bestotes*, "stable". But the internal tones are *kinoumenoi*, "movable". In the diatonic genus the internal tones are d' and c' , in the chromatic d' -flat and c' , in the enharmonic d' double-flat and c' minus a quarter-tone, or—to put it more simply— c' and c' minus a quarter-tone. In the diatonic genus we have the descending progression

$$\text{tone} + \text{tone} + \text{semitone}$$

in the chromatic

minor third + semitone + semitone

in the enharmonic

major third + quarter-tone + quarter-tone.

It is a fact, however, that the diatonics and chromatics can be played in the low-tuning, while the enharmonics cannot, except in the lower Dorian key (which is the Hypolydian). The reason is that in enharmonics the third tone of the tetrachord, and not the lowest, would require an open string—in other words, this tone, which represents an internal quarter-tone, would itself require an open string. Now, it is impossible to tighten an open string a quarter-tone lower. For example, in the lower Lydian key

$g\# \quad e' \quad e'^- \quad d'\# \quad / \quad c'\# \quad a \quad a^- \quad g\#$

the tones e'^- and a^- (and not the tones $d'\#$ and $g\#$) would correspond to the notation-signs of open strings.

Now it is evident why certain enharmonic keys are not included in the list of keys given by Alypius. It is usually thought that this omission was due to an incomplete archetype of the manuscripts. But the missing keys are exactly the same as those of the enharmonic genus which cannot be played at all. The omission, accordingly, is perhaps not accidental.

The same enharmonic keys can be played very easily in the high-tuning, because the lowest tone of each tetrachord, *i.e.*, the fixed external tone, requires an open string with a fixed pitch:

Dorian:	f'	$d'\flat$	$d'\flat^-$	c'	$/$	b	$g\flat$	$g\flat^-$	f
Phrygian:	g'	$e'\flat$	$e'\flat^-$	d'	$/$	c'	$a\flat$	$a\flat^-$	g
Lydian:	a'	f'	f'^-	e'	$/$	d'	$b\flat$	$b\flat^-$	a

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High-tuning, enharmonics, and the seven-stringed lyre are mutually interdependent. They all appeared at the same period. The earliest pieces of archaeological evidence showing seven-stringed lyres belong to the first third of the 7th century. It is just at this time that Terpander mentioned the introduction of seven strings as a recent innovation. To be sure, the fragment attributed to Terpander is generally regarded as a forgery. But now that the theoretical possibility and the actual existence of instruments with fewer than seven strings have been proved, I see no reason for doubting the

authenticity of the famous fragment, and I look upon it as the genuine work of Terpander.

About 670 B.C. the most developed form of the Greek lyre had seven strings tuned pentatonically. The two outer strings were tuned in e'-e or in f'-f respectively, and the two tones c' and b had two strings at their disposal and were used alternatively. The possibility of using two different tunings facilitated the modulation, and made it possible to play all the genera and in a long series of different keys. The lyre became an instrument of very considerable capacity.

Let us look at the ancestors of this imposing instrument. I am convinced, from literary and archaeological tradition, that in early times there were instruments with only three strings. Setting aside controversial evidence, I shall refer only to the names of the strings, *Nete*, *Mese*, and *Hypate*, adopted at this stage. *Nete* is the outermost and highest string, tuned in e' or d'; *Mese* the middle string, tuned in a; *Hypate* the innermost and lowest one, tuned in e.

As the history of musical instruments proves, every member of the lyre-family has always been tuned in fifths and fourths. So even the instruments with four strings, as well as those with three represented in the 9th century B.C., must have been tuned thus:

d' b a e
or
e' b a e

In this tuning of the strings even the tetrachordic structure of ancient music is shown, for the open strings give the external tones of the tetrachords in the lower Dorian key, which is called the Normal System.

The five-stringed lyre appeared not much later than these simplest forms. A tradition, evidently very old, calls b the *Trite*—the third string. In later times, this term was applied to c'. If b is the third string, the five-stringed lyre must have been tuned thus:

e' d' b a e
* *
 *

These primitive forms prevailed until the time of Terpander. They represent the very archaic, even prehistoric, types of the lyre in classical Antiquity. They did not at once become extinct when

the type with seven strings appeared, but still survived in the shadow of the greater and richer type. They are to be found on vases and wall-paintings until the times of the Roman Empire, but only as mythical attributes, or as instruments for children. But about 450 B.C. the five-stringed lyre was still used by virtuosi. Phrynis, the most celebrated lyre-player of his time, was admired for having been able to play twelve keys on five strings.

The leap from five strings to seven about 670 B.C. was a musical necessity. Its significance lay in the introduction of the string *g* which gradually became indispensable. The tone *g*-sharp, required for the lower Lydian key, could not be stopped on the *e*-string, because the instrument became more and more rigid. The name of the new string, *Lichanos* ("forefinger"), has been explained by Sachs as coming from the fact that the new string gave exactly the tone produced by stopping *g* on the *e*-string in earlier times. But it seems to me more likely that this string was plucked with the forefinger of the left hand and took its name from this fact.

The increase from five strings to seven allowed the pitch of the outer strings to be changed from *e'*-*e* to *f'*-*f*, thus enabling the higher Dorian and Phrygian keys also to be used. This was apparently an innovation made by Terpander, for there is a late tradition praising him for having introduced the "Dorian *Nete*". But what is the Dorian *Nete*? By no means the *Nete e'*, because it must have been present from earlier times on. The expression "Dorian *Nete*" can only mean *f'*, the *Nete* of the higher Dorian. This implies the tightening of the string from *e'* to *f'*.

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Perhaps my theory about the seven-stringed lyre, the change of tuning, alternative strings, etc., may be regarded as a mere castle in the air, as an ephemeral product of my speculative fantasy. But the surprising evolution in the 6th and 5th centuries proves that it is not so. Here, again, the complete parallelism of historical and archaeological documents shows that the low-tuned keys, neglected for a time until they reached complete oblivion as being incapable of producing enharmonics, were gradually being rediscovered after about 580-560. It was then that the long struggle about enharmonics began. It was at its height in the time of Plato, but in the time of Aristoxenus it finally came to an end, and enharmonics fell into disfavor. Even

when the low-tuned keys reappeared, the six-stringed instruments came into use in still increasing numbers. From that time until enharmonics were finally set aside, two types of lyre are always to be found simultaneously: on the one hand, instruments with the strings *c'* and *b* as alternatives; on the other, instruments with only one string for *c'* and *b*, *i.e.*, with a string requiring change of pitch. The latter instruments had a much smaller circle of modulation and depended on the change of pitch of the *c'*-*b*-string for playing enharmonics. We accordingly find contrasting instruments with

7 strings	and	6 strings
9 “	“	8 “
12 “	“	11 “

These many-stringed types can be easily dealt with. After sporadic specimens of the eight-stringed instrument, which appeared about 530 and certainly introduced a lower *d*-string as an addition to the seven-stringed type, a rapid evolution began in the time of Phrynis, about 450, aimed at an increase of the tonal compass. First a lower tetrachord was introduced, requiring eight- or nine-stringed instruments. Then a tetrachord in high position was introduced, and finally the string *A*, named *Proslambanomenos*, the “added” tone. At this stage we have the twelve-stringed instrument and its by-product, the eleven-stringed. The men who created the most highly developed forms of lyre-tuning were Melanippides and Timotheus, about 400. Though Timotheus praised himself for having introduced eleven strings, he did not exclude the twelfth string; we have seen that, of the twelve strings, only eleven were always in use at once in the same key, while the twelfth merely represented an alternative string, out of use for the moment. The short-lived twelve-stringed kithara disappeared when enharmonics were finally set aside—a development for which Timotheus seems not altogether without responsibility. From that time on, the eleven-stringed type, an instrument having the compass of two complete octaves, remained the sole instrument of the virtuosi. The nine-stringed instrument, however, remained the favorite type in Early Christian times, and the seven-stringed instrument was still admired as a remarkable survival of early times. It was an instrument still used in Roman pagan rites in the first century of the Christian era. The ways of tuning these instruments appear in the following table:

EX. I

7 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9

11 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

12 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

Now let us turn our attention to the manner in which the lyre was played. The descriptions that are preserved are neither very numerous nor very detailed. They show the left hand plucking the strings, while the right sweeps over them with the plectrum, a small, flat, pointed piece of ivory, wood, metal, or other suitable material. Occasionally we hear of playing without a plectrum. In this case the right hand, as well as the left, plucked with the fingers. These descriptions demand very careful attention, to find out whether they really refer to lyres, or to harps, which, of course, at this time were plucked simply with the fingers.

The action of the fingers was not limited to plucking the strings, but included also muting them. While the expressions *krouein* and *krekein* refer to the action of the right hand with the plectrum, the expressions *psallein* and *plessein* were used also for the plucking with the left hand and the sweeping of the strings with the plectrum.

The question is why a plectrum was needed at all. To answer this question, Camille Saint-Saëns made use of a very interesting observation, one made, of course, even by earlier workers in the field of musical ethnology. They had observed the manner of playing the North-African lyre, for example in Abyssinia. There the right hand sweeps continuously to and fro over the whole accord of five or ten strings, the plectrum scrapes, while the action of the left hand is limited to muting those strings which should not sound for the

moment. To this technique, too, Saint-Saëns ascribed some role in the treatment of the Greek lyre. To this theory, it would be easy to raise objections that cannot be treated separately here. I shall merely point out that these African instruments have no connection with Greek lyres, but seem to be descended from the earlier West-Asiatic lyre. In spite of this difference in origin, however, we cannot altogether reject the theory, even though it seems to contradict the ancient descriptions of *lyra*-playing. I offer in evidence the very expansive gesture of the right hand of *lyra*-players in so many vase-paintings. I am convinced that this emphatic gesture could not be made by plucking a single string; nothing less than the playing of a very full "*arpeggio*" could demand such a discharge of energy.

This treatment of the whole accord is called in lute-technique *Durchstreichen*, "stroking through". Like this, the Greek expression for instrumental interludes, the duration and form of which is quite unknown, is *epikrousis*, literally translated "stroking through".

Thus the technique of lyre-playing in ancient Greece seems to have been many-sided. Usually the left hand had to pluck the strings, but sometimes to mute them as well. The right also had to pluck single strings (with or without the plectrum), but sometimes to scrape energetically through the whole accord with the plectrum.

I must confess that I am not at all satisfied with this many-sidedness. It would be strange indeed, if the right hand should play only a rather inferior role in comparison to the much more important task of the left hand. This would absolutely contradict our knowledge of playing musical instruments and seems to be highly improbable.

It is now perhaps clear in what way the solution of the problem is to be sought, for we have spoken in detail about open strings and stopping. But we have not said how the stopping was achieved in practice. The correct answer rounds out our hitherto incomplete conception of the technique of *lyra*-playing.

The idea of stopping was suggested first by Curtis and then by Sachs. The latter sketched a kind of fingering and showed that one of the two altered forms of each notation-sign referred to the middle-finger, the other to the forefinger. He implied that the left hand pressed on the string that was to be shortened, beneath the cross-bar. Thus he thought of a *capotasto*, well known in harp-playing. In fact, real stopping, such as is employed on our stringed instruments,

did not come into consideration, because the lyre possessed no finger-board. Strings as thin as those of the lyre instruments can be stopped only by being pressed against a stable and hard object; for want of a finger-board, only the cross-bar could serve this purpose.

In spite of its sagacity, Sachs's theory does not quite hit the mark. We must consider the way the lyre was held. There is a supporting tape on the outer upright directly above the chest. The player put his arm through the loop of the tape so that this loop surrounded his wrist. Then he pressed the forearm against his body, thus firmly pressing the instrument against his body by means of the supporting tape. At this stage, the left hand is fixed approximately in the middle of the sounding part of the strings. The hand can be moved sideways by moving the wrist and stretching the fingers, and so reaching all the strings. But it cannot be moved upwards and downwards, because it would let the instrument fall. For this reason any influence of the left hand on the pitch is quite impossible.

Nothing is left, therefore, but to assign this role to the right hand. Since there is no finger-board, shortening of the strings by stopping can be ruled out and the only procedure coming into consideration is an action whereby the tension of the strings is increased.

The solution of this problem is as plausible as it is dumbfounding. Please look carefully at the picture opposite. What is the man doing with the plectrum? He certainly is not plucking, for the plectrum is placed below the sounding part of the strings, and its point reaches too deeply behind the fourth string (which alone comes into consideration as being plucked). The way the plectrum is held does not correspond at all to the plucking, which requires that it should be held in a more inward direction. But what is the plectrum doing at this part of the lyre at all? Its only task can be to tighten the string. By pressing on the non-sounding part of the string, *i.e.*, between bolt and bridge, it increases the tension of the sounding part. The man is pressing on the fifth string and at the same time he is plucking it with the forefinger of the left hand; he is producing the tone *b-flat* on the string *a*.

This technique is well known in the Orient today. The Japanese *koto*, for example, is treated in the same manner. While the one hand plucks, the other tightens the pitch by pressing the string between the bridge and the fastening apparatus.

The pressure on the strings was in earlier times produced by the



Kithara Player

From an Amphora of the Brygos Painter (ca. 470 B.C.) in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts

fingers. The employment of two altered signs for each sign in normal position certainly refers to the fingering. It demands different degrees of pressure either with two fingers or with only one, according to the smaller or greater raising of the pitch desired. This manner of playing with the fingers was still in use in later times.

But also in altering the tension of the strings with a plectrum, these different signs referring to the middle finger or to the forefinger had significance. To treat this question thoroughly would lead us too far afield, for I should have to explain the whole structure of Greek notation. In any case, the first of the altered signs requires greater pressure, or, if more strings should be tightened each after the other, the pressure on the higher strings. This greater pressure was produced by the forefinger, in consequence of the position of the instrument. The second letter demands a smaller pressure, or, if more strings should be tightened, the pressure on the lowest of them. This smaller pressure was produced by the middle finger. The use of three letters of a group denotes a Pyknon, a close grouping of small intervals in the chromatic or enharmonic genus, *i.e.* two semi-tones or two quarter-tones produced on the string which when played as an open string gives the lowest tone of a tetrachord. These small intervals were produced by greater and smaller pressure—that is, by pressure either with both the middle finger and the forefinger, or only with the middle finger, respectively. Here, the plectrum serves solely as a means of pressure; the hard material can, of course, more effectively tighten the strings than the finger.

Under these circumstances the pressure is extremely variable in force; the interior tones of the tetrachords are rather variable in pitch, having no open string at their disposal but being produced artificially by pressure on a string sounding the lowest tone of the tetrachord in question. So we do not wonder that ancient theorists like Aristoxenus discussed diverse *chroai*, or colors of pitch. The great variability in the pressure permits fine gradations of color in intonation, and a distinctive modelling of the melody. Both systematic speculation of ancient theorists and the remnants of ancient music preserved to us show that the Greeks made a virtue of necessity, obtaining thereby very well calculated effects in the modelling of the melody, and a richness of quite irrational intervals, which can hardly be perceived by our ears.

EX. 2

Ἄ - εἰ - δε μου - σα μοι φί - λη μὴ - πησῆ δὲ - μὴ κατὰ - ἄ - χου
 αὐ - ρῆ δὲ σῶ - γ' ἀπ' ἀλ - σέ - ων ἔ - μος φέρ - νας δὲ - νεί - το
 Κακ - ἡ - ὄ - πελ - α σο - φῶ μου - σῶν προ - κα - ῥα - γέ - τι
 τερ - πνῶν καὶ σο - φῆ μου - στο - δό - τα, λα - τοῦς γέ - νε,
 Δῆ - ἡ - ε Παλ - ἄν εὐ - με - νεῖς πάφ - ε - στε μοι

Through this example you can realize that this technique of altering the tension of the strings did not cause any difficulty. I have furnished with fingering an example of ancient Greek music, which was probably sung to the accompaniment of the kithara. You can see how often open strings were used and how conveniently the tones demanding pressure could be produced.

* * *

I have tried to explain some new aspects of the practice of ancient music. They are not more than complements to the imposing construction of the Greek theory of music. Though I know very well how narrow is the path we must follow to penetrate into the secrets of the practice of ancient Greek music, and though I am convinced that the importance of that music in history will always be primarily for its theory, I think that the few features that can be reconstructed from the practice should not be underrated. The great problem arises from the situation of Greek music between Orient and Occident; the question of its connection with the Near and Far East can be solved only on the basis of these more practical considerations.

Along this path, where philology more and more loses importance, while archaeology and musical ethnology become more and more important, we have tried to venture a step further. We have approached the solution of the questions by a small advance only; but, as often happens, one step may have sufficed to open widths and depths of perspective and to give us an idea of the true distance separating us from our goal.

Music of the Illustrious Confraternity of our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch from 1330 to 1600

Albert Smijers

DELEGATE FROM THE NETHERLANDS

WHEN I RECEIVED your kind and highly appreciated invitation to come and give a lecture before the Musicological Congress held by your Society, it naturally struck me that you would expect me to treat of some subject related to the history of music in the Netherlands. That is how I came to choose as my subject the local musical history and development of a famous town in my country—one of its provincial capitals—, 's-Hertogenbosch (French name: Bois-le-duc). It is a very ancient place with splendid artistic traditions; its chief glory is the magnificent cathedral of St. John, one of the finest buildings in Holland.¹ It is especially in connection with this Cathedral that 's-Hertogenbosch had a musical history and tradition before the 17th century, which, in the Netherlands, is unequalled. In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, architecture, painting, and music combined in a most remarkable manner for the greater solemnization of the Divine Service performed in the Cathedral. The great significance of 's-Hertogenbosch as a music center, especially as a center of Church music, was particularly due to the admirable endeavors of a famous organization called the "Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady", founded in 1318 in the Church of St. John.²

You will not expect me to give you even a summary of the entire musical history of 's-Hertogenbosch in days gone by. I wish to place before you only some data that will give you an idea of the quite

¹ For literature concerning the church of St. John at 's-Hertogenbosch, see J. C. A. Hezemans, *De St. Janskerk te 's-Hertogenbosch en hare geschiedenis*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1866; C. T. K. Smits, *De Kathedraal van 's-Hertogenbosch*; Jan Mosmans, *De St. Janskerk te 's-Hertogenbosch*, 's-Hertogenbosch, 1931.

² For literature concerning the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch, see J. C. A. Hezemans, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap in Den Bosch*, Onse Wachter, 1826; W. F. H. Oldevelt, *Rekeningen van de Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap 1330-1375*. (*Uitgave van het Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noord Brabant*, 1925); A. Smijers, *De Illustre Lieve Vrouwe Broederschap te 's-Hertogenbosch. Deel I: Rekeningen van 1330 tot 1500*, Amsterdam, 1932. (*Overdruck uit het "Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis"*, Deel XI en vv.) The publication of these accounts will be continued.

remarkable musical treasures that are found in the place. I shall simply gather some fragments of the rich material found in the excellently kept archives of the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady, and ask your special attention for some very valuable manuscripts of polyphonic music.

* *
* *

In 1318, Adolf van der Marck, Bishop of Liège, who exercised episcopal authority also in 's-Hertogenbosch,³ approved the foundation of a confraternity to consist of clerics and scholars. The members of this confraternity, which was afterwards called the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady, came together on fixed days in one of the side aisles of St. John's Cathedral, to honor the Blessed Mother of God, to sing, and to perform the Divine Service. The Confraternity remained an ecclesiastical institution until 1642. In that year there was added to the statutes a new article which stipulated that, in the future, membership was to be equally divided between Catholics and Protestants. Thus the Catholic and ecclesiastical character was lost, and with it, I am afraid, the musical significance, as this was very closely connected with the clerical character of the organization.

Music and singing were practised with real devotion by the Confraternity, and we need not be surprised that in its accounts (which have been preserved almost in their entirety) we find most interesting items referring to singers and organists, to the procuring of choir-books, to the solemn processions held every year. We find, in fact, details of the entire musical life of 's-Hertogenbosch. Among the singers we discover Gerard Barbet and Rutger of Geldrop, who passed a few years in 's-Hertogenbosch and were afterwards members of the chapel of Philip the Fair;⁴ Nicasius de Clibano, whose Credo for 4 voices was included by Petrucci in the *Fragmenta Missarum*, published in Venice (1505); his son Jerome de Clibano, who worked also in Bruges and Antwerp and who went to Spain with Philip the Fair towards the end of his life; Mathieu Pipelare, whose compositions were sung at Cambrai, Rome, and Vienna, and were printed by Petrucci and others; and Nicholas Craen, whose motets

³ In 1559 a new division of dioceses was made in the Netherlands, and at this time 's-Hertogenbosch received its own bishop.

⁴ Cf. G. Van Doorslaer, *La Chapelle musicale de Philippe le Beau (Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, 1934)*.

were printed or quoted by Petrucci, Formschneyder, and Glareanus.

The accounts—which are very detailed for the 16th century—make it clear that a high standard was set up and that, far from every applicant's being considered a fit candidate, the requirements were quite strict. This was particularly true with regard to the choice of choirmasters and organists.

Excellent relations existed between the Confraternity and the more famous choirs elsewhere, especially those in the Southern Netherlands. When special celebrations took place, such as the annual procession, many singers visited 's-Hertogenbosch to help in the singing of Vespers and the Mass. After the services, they were treated with famous Brabantian hospitality. We find mention of the singers of the duke of Brabant and Gelderland; others came from Antwerp, Brussels, Bruges, Cambrai, and even from Italy. In 1489 Jacob Barbireau, the choirmaster of the church of Our Lady at Antwerp, paid a visit; in 1545 Benedict Appenzeller, choirmaster of the regent Mary of Hungary, came to sing during the Mass; and, in October 1550, Jacob Clemens non Papa stayed at 's-Hertogenbosch and composed a Mass and a motet for the Confraternity.

Distinguished composers were enrolled as members of the Confraternity: among others, Pierre de la Rue (or Petrus de Vico, as he is called in the accounts), and Crispin van der Stappen, canon of Cambrai; the latter bequeathed a legacy to the Confraternity upon his death in 1532. It fell to the lot of Henry Bredemers, the organist of Philip the Fair, to be admitted to the "sworn brethren", the *fratres jurati*.

From this very incomplete enumeration, it is evident that the Confraternity attached great importance to the singing at the solemn, religious ceremonies, and we need not wonder that in the accounts frequent mention is made of the copying of music books—both Gregorian and polyphonic.

Every Tuesday, Vespers were sung and every Wednesday the Mass; besides, the singers had to sing on all feasts of Our Lady and also on some other church feasts, such as those of St. John (the patron saint of the cathedral), Mary Magdalene, St. Anne, etc. On ordinary week-days usually only Gregorian chant was sung; on solemn feast days polyphonic music was also rendered.

Secular music, performed outside the church, is only rarely mentioned. Thus we find in the accounts of 1509: "When the meal begins, the choirmaster and the singers shall thrice sing the *Ave Maria*

before they say the *Benedicite*; before every course they shall sing a motet or some easy and pleasant songs; after the meal they shall thrice say the *Ave Maria*, and, as the payment for the meal is made, they will sing a parting song." ("Als men die maeltijt beginnen sal, zullen den sangmeester ende sangers singen driewerf Ave Maria, voer ende Benedicite bestaet te seggen, ende tot allen gerichtten een motet ofte een gemechlick liicken, nijet onaerdigh: nae de eten oech driewerf Ave Maria, ende te wijle dat men tgelach buerem sal, een orloflijcken singen.") In 1545 the organist, Master Jan van Brugge, and the choir-master, Jan van Wintelroy, received a present because they had played so well on the "harpsichord and the fiddle", and in 1556 the singers and the organist were rewarded because, on the occasion of a dinner—at which, among others, the Prince of Orange was present—, "they had performed their duties well, in singing, playing and otherwise making merry." In 1562, the Confraternity obtained possession of five violins, which were bought in England and were used for many years at its dinner parties.

As for polyphonic music, mention is made of it in the oldest accounts. In 1336, Master Walter received a commission to copy some motets; in 1354, Theodoricus Gheghel copied motets for the Confraternity; in 1355, Robert Scaec received a considerable sum for the copying of 15 motets. By 1358 the number of motets the Confraternity possessed was so great that there is mention in the accounts of a book of motets; in 1360, further motets were added, the book was bound, and the scribe Egidius received a reward for his illuminations. In the following years, parchment was frequently bought for the motet book and new motets were acquired; in 1388 the book was rebound and provided with clasps.

About 1400 a new book of motets was adopted. This received constant additions and probably remained in use until about 1432, when it was replaced by another book of polyphonic music. In that year, John of Burgundy—who shortly before had been appointed a singer—copied "every kind of motet and odd song." At the same time a book of music was provided for the organist. In 1434 and 1435, Brother Gielis, the preacher, undertook to copy a great number of compositions into the new descant book. Shortly afterwards, in 1437 and 1438, five quaternions were added to the big, new music book by one of the singers of the Confraternity, Arnoldus Coelman.

A significant renewal of the polyphonic repertoire took place about 1445. Jan Kyc, who was appointed a singer in 1443 and had

been attached to the church of Our Lady at Antwerp, received a commission in 1445 "to write and notate 10 sexterns double paper with descant"; in 1447 the same singer copied five quaternions of descant and in 1449 yet another four quaternions. By then the book had become so large that it was thought necessary to provide it with a list of its contents. From the fact that paper was used for this book, while the former music books were written on parchment, we may surmise that the new notation (introduced about 1450) was used. Jan Kyc undoubtedly copied an important part of the repertoire for the Confraternity at 's-Hertogenbosch, a repertoire he got to know during his stay at Antwerp.

The number of singers increased considerably. The Confraternity, during the first century, had only two singers and an organist; this sufficed for the performance of descant and motets by soloists, as was the custom at the time. In 1435, three singers are mentioned; thirty years later, we already find eight singers in service. After 1500, the number of singers varies from 6 to 10, with 6 to 8 additional choristers and one organist; besides this we find in the 16th-century accounts mention of the co-operation of different instruments.

Until the end of the 15th century the singing of polyphony was restricted to descant and motets. There is seldom any mention of polyphonic music for Masses. In 1456, two Masses in descant were copied for the Confraternity, and, in 1472, Nicasius de Clibano ordered a polyphonic Mass at Antwerp. In 1496, the polyphonic repertoire was thoroughly revived and enlarged by Masses; Petrus Alamire of Mechlin, who copied magnificent books of music also for the Burgundian Court and for the Imperial Court at Vienna, "received a commission from the Confraternity to write 17 sexterns of new music for Masses, and 18 sexterns of motets on the *Magnificat* and many more." At the same time, one of the singers of the Confraternity, Ariaen Smeeds, wrote out a Requiem Mass, which Master Pauwels of Roede had composed. In 1530, the Confraternity bought a book from the organist, Jan of Duynkerken; it contained many motets and two Requiem Masses. Although the Confraternity possessed three polyphonic Requiem Masses, they seem to have had very little success at 's-Hertogenbosch; Gregorian chant was preferred for Masses for the Dead. In 1531, for the first time, we find it mentioned that "the singers sang a Requiem Mass in polyphonic music, in order to see how the members of the Confraternity liked this manner of singing, . . . but they did not like it, they praised the old way, for

that is a becoming way for the dead, and . . . they put a stop to it."

Polyphonic music for the Ordinary of the Mass was introduced at 's-Hertogenbosch rather late. In the 15th century, motets were specially inserted in the music books; in the 16th century, however, the taste changed. Only rarely were motets copied for the Confraternity; the members preferred to procure polyphonic Masses. In 1530, Petrus Alamire who had already worked for the Confraternity in 1496, received an important commission to copy 16 Masses in two books. In 1542, Philip de Spina copied 10 Masses (he was attached to the Confraternity as "*intonator*") and in 1549 the organization bought from its organist, Jan Bosschart of Bruges, a choir-book with 10 Masses for 5 voices, "which were very good and excellent." Thus the polyphonic repertoire grew constantly in the course of the 16th century. In 1563, the choirmaster Jan of Wintelroy bought a collection of Magnificats, printed at Louvain, and in 1605 and 1614 Canon Balthasar Bontius of 's-Hertogenbosch, who belonged to the *fratres jurati* and was also dean of the Confraternity, presented two magnificent books printed by Plantijn. One contained 8 masses by Gregorius de la Hèle; the other was the *Liber I Missarum* of Philip de Monte.

When we consider what is left of the numerous music books, copied for the Illustrious Confraternity, we must admit with regret that much is lost. I do not think that the fault lies with the iconoclasts of 1566 (when St. John's Cathedral was extensively damaged), for the music books of the 16th century for the greater part remained untouched. The disappearance of so much polyphonic music of the 14th and 15th centuries must have had some other cause. It does not seem improbable to me that the blame is to be laid primarily at the door of the singers themselves, disinterested in books of polyphonic music as soon as they were out of date and no longer actually used. Such an absence of interest would explain why these manuscripts began to disappear, first from the repertoire, then from the choir, and finally altogether. The new books of music—and also the old ones, so far as they were still used—were very carefully kept, and it is not impossible that the special precaution mentioned in the accounts for 1525 is connected with the disappearance of music books that had fallen into disuse. In that year three books—"which were lying in our choir"—were fitted with chains, so that they could not be taken away. At about the same time, one of the singers, Henry of Mechlin, was charged with the care of the choir-books; all the

year round he was to bring the books into the choir "during Vespers, Mass, and Matins, and again he must put them into the cupboard and take care of them, and he must not lend them to anybody."

What still remained in the archives of the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady was catalogued by Jhr. P. J. Ridder van der Does de Bije in 1874; 125 copies of this catalogue were printed for private circulation only. It contains a very superficial description of the manuscripts of polyphonic music, so that it has not seemed superfluous to catalogue this very important collection afresh. The new catalogue will be published shortly,⁵ and it will be sufficient at present to summarize it briefly.

The Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady possesses, aside from a number of Gregorian manuscripts, 6 choir-books containing polyphonic music, *viz.* the codices 72 A, B, and C, 73, 74, and 75; also the 2 Plantijn prints containing Masses of G. de la Hèle and Philip de Monte, presented at the beginning of the 17th century by Canon Balthasar Bontius. Codex 73 is the oldest of the manuscripts. It was probably copied in 1496 by Petrus Alamire of Mechlin, and contains mainly polyphonic music for Vespers: antiphons, hymns, and Magnificats. All the compositions in this choir-book are anonymous, with the exception of a *Te Deum* for 4 voices, composed by a singer of the Confraternity, Sebastianus de Porta, whose name we meet with in the accounts for 1502-1505.

The other 5 manuscripts preserve 43 Masses and 9 motets. Among the composers represented are Champion, Jean Courtoys, Thomas Crecquillon, Ant. de Fevin, Gheerkens, Lupus Hellinck, Pierre Manchicourt, Pierre Moulu, Jean Mouton, Richafort, Pierre de la Rue, Hieronymus Vinders, and Adriaen Willaert. Jean Mouton, especially, is often mentioned in this collection; Codex 72 C is almost entirely devoted to him. Fully one third of the Masses and nearly all the motets are anonymous; but I have succeeded in tracking down the composers of a number of works, including compositions by Champion, Gascogne, Lupus Hellinck, Jean Mouton, Andreas de Silva, Verdelot, and perhaps Divitis and Hesdin. The result of our investigations concerning the anonymous compositions will appear in the catalogue.

In addition to the 6 manuscripts mentioned above, a seventh is

⁵ The catalogue has been published by Dr. Smijers in the "*Tijdschrift der Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschiedenis*", Deel XVI (1940), 9 ff.—Editor.

preserved, which contains mainly Gregorian chant, but includes also 12 polyphonic compositions. Among them are 2 compositions for 4 voices on the Christmas carol, *Nu sijt willecome*. The firm of Frederick Muller sold this manuscript at Amsterdam in 1935, and it is now in my possession. The main body was written by the *fratres* at 's-Hertogenbosch in 1531; in later additions the year 1564 is mentioned; on the original binding we find stamped: "D. F. = Domus Fratrum". Prosper Verheijden, who wrote an article on bookbinding in 's-Hertogenbosch, which appeared in the periodical, "Het Boek", Vol. 21 (1932), probably did not know of this precious manuscript. The Brothers of the "Common Life" (*Gemeene Leven*) had established themselves at 's-Hertogenbosch in 1425. They were busily engaged in copying, illuminating, and binding books.⁶ They copied numerous plainchant books for the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady, as is known from the accounts; as early as five years after they had established themselves at 's-Hertogenbosch they copied the music for the "Feste Visitationis beate Marie Virginis", and the following year they received an order to rebind three books containing the "Festum visitationis". Among the Gregorian manuscripts of the Illustrious Confraternity there are most probably some that were copied by the *fratres*. As the Gregorian chant changed but little, and in general received additions only in the form of new sequences and music for new feasts, these books did not need to be replaced frequently, as was the case with the repertoire of polyphonic music, which became out of date much more readily.

I have tried to give you only a brief description of the very large repertoire, especially of polyphonic Masses, that the Illustrious Confraternity of Our Lady at 's-Hertogenbosch possessed. In this rich collection there are, as far as I have been able to ascertain, some unique treasures, among them a Mass by Willaert, which I have so far found nowhere else. It will be worth the trouble to rescue these compositions from oblivion. Two Masses from the codices have been published by the Vereeniging voor Nederlandsche Muziekgeschie-

⁶ G. H. M. Delprat, *Verhandelingen over de Broederschap van G. Groote en over den invloed der Fraterhuizen op den wetenschappelijken en godsdienstigen toestand, voornamelijk van de Nederlanden na de XIV^e eeuw. Uitgegeven door het Provinciaal Utrechtsch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, Joh. Altheer, 1830; *Analecta Gijsberti Coeverincx, pars II, bewerkt door fr. G. van den Elsen Ord. Praem. en fr. V. Hoevenaars, Ord. Praem. Uitgave van het Provinciaal Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Noord-Brabant* [1907].

denis—the *Missa super Benedicta*, which appears in its catalogue under the name of Adriaen Willaert, but which is perhaps to be ascribed to Hesdin, and the *Missa ad modulum Benedicta es* by Philip de Monte. Other Masses and motets have been reduced to score, and I very much hope that it will be possible to publish them in the near future.

Notes sur les *Barzelette* et les *Canzoni a ballo* du Quattrocento Italien, d'après des Documents Inédits

Fernando Liuzzi

DELEGATE FROM ITALY

L'HISTOIRE MUSICALE du Quattrocento italien présente, comme on le sait bien, des lacunes considérables, qui rendent très difficile l'établissement d'une synthèse tant soit peu satisfaisante de l'évolution de l'art musical pendant ce siècle en Italie. Les documents qui nous ont été conservés sont en effet assez rares, et ceux-là mêmes sont encore loin d'avoir été étudiés avec le soin et l'effort de pénétration critique que l'on devrait souhaiter dans un domaine de pareille importance. Quelques théories esquissées tout récemment par rapport à une des formes musicales du siècle—la *villotta*—n'ont fait, par leur formulation hâtive et par des généralisations imprudentes, qu'accroître la confusion et engendrer des malentendus. C'est pourquoi, dans le désir d'apporter un peu de lumière dans un domaine assez obscur, je sou mets à l'attention de mes collègues quelques notes qui m'ont été suggérées par l'examen de manuscrits inédits de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris.

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Le premier de ces manuscrits porte le numéro 4917 nouvelles acquisitions, fonds français. Werner Korte l'a cité, mais non étudié, dans ses *Studien zur Geschichte der Musik in Italien im ersten Viertel des XVten Jahrhunderts*, 1933. Il s'agit d'un petit recueil que l'on peut situer, d'après l'écriture, vers le premier quart du siècle; peut-être fut-il copié en Italie, d'après quelques modèles transalpins. En effet, une série de chansons françaises et provençales occupe les deux premiers tiers du manuscrit. Ce n'est qu'à partir du verso du dix-huitième feuillet qu'on trouve une série ininterrompue de compositions italiennes anonymes. Ces compositions, appartenant à la rédaction originale du manuscrit, sont au nombre de sept. Un huitième et dernier morceau également italien, en deux parties nettement distinctes, a été ajouté par une autre main et sans doute tiré d'une source différente, ainsi que l'attestent les différences de la notation.

Toutes ces compositions italiennes, y compris la dernière, sont des *ballate* à deux voix, dont l'origine pourrait bien remonter au début du siècle, parfois même à la fin du Trecento. Les textes, dont l'inspiration est pour la plupart amoureuse avec tendance élégiaque, et parfois

moralisante, montrent, du côté linguistique, des particularités de l'Italie du Nord (Romagne, Lombardie, Vénétie). Ceci est valable également pour la musique, dont le style relativement simple et clair, exempt de raffinements techniques et assez borné dans l'invention, ne manque pas d'analogies avec le style de plusieurs morceaux du manuscrit Vaticano-Rossiano 215, que j'ai eu l'occasion d'examiner dans un mémoire précédent.

La provenance de l'Italie du Nord des compositions du ms. 4917 est confirmée par le fait que deux morceaux se retrouvent avec musique dans le ms. 2216 de la Bibl. Univ. de Bologne; le texte seul d'un troisième morceau se trouve dans un manuscrit de Trévise (Venise).

Ne pouvant aujourd'hui, faute de temps, m'attarder à une analyse détaillée de ce recueil, je me borne à en résumer, dans un aperçu général, les marques les plus saillantes.

Je commence par une observation négative—c'est-à-dire en notant, parmi ce groupe de chansons, l'absence totale de *madrigali* et de *caccie*. Cela confirme, d'une part, que le madrigal, en tant que forme lyrique et surtout dans le domaine amoureux, avait perdu sa popularité dès la fin du Trecento, pour être mis ensuite au service de manifestations littéraires d'un ordre plus intellectuel, symbolique ou même politique. D'autre part, cela confirme aussi que la *caccia* elle-même, en tant que composition poético-musicale, était démodée à cette époque, étant devenue, avant la fin du Trecento, un modèle technique de contrepoint, qui avait fait son entrée même dans la musique d'Église. Seule la *ballata*, parmi les anciennes formes de la lyrique profane italienne, ne perd pas sa popularité pendant le 15^e siècle, et ne s'arrête pas dans son évolution.

La deuxième observation se rapporte à un fait assez bien connu: à savoir que maints passages de la musique des *ballate* en question, surtout les passages reliant le premier et le second "ped" de la strophe (strophe), ou bien ceux entre la fin de la strophe et la répétition de la "reprise" (refrain), sont sujets à être interprétés comme des interludes instrumentaux.

La troisième observation est sans doute la plus importante: on trouve dans notre manuscrit fréquemment, souvent même avec assistance, des répétitions de mots ou de fragments des vers. Ces répétitions, du point de vue de l'expression lyrique, sont évidemment inutiles et n'ajoutent rien à la beauté du texte; mais elles sont au con-

traire très utiles pour soutenir et scander de longs passages vocalisés, c'est-à-dire pour placer les respirations et donner du "phrasé" aux mélismes. On peut aisément rapprocher ce procédé de celui que l'on voit appliqué dans les compositions de l'*Ars nova*, aux endroits où les syllabes du texte se trouvent être espacées au delà de toute conjonction possible, pour des raisons de surabondance mélismatique. La répétition de voyelles et d'hémistiches, qui dans ces pièces est expressément indiquée, pourrait donc fournir la solution la plus naturelle à la question si longuement discutée du mode d'interprétation des épanchements mélodiques du Trecento. Ne fût-ce que pour nous avoir mis sur la voie d'une telle solution, notre petit manuscrit aurait déjà pleinement justifié l'intérêt que nous lui portons. En tous cas, le Quattrocento italien fera preuve du goût le plus décidé pour l'établissement de contacts serrés entre le texte et la musique.

* * *

Je passe à un autre manuscrit, appartenant également aux fonds français de la Bibliothèque Nationale, où il porte le no. 15,123 nouvelles acquisitions. Il provient de la collection de Pixérécourt. Bien que cité par Johannes Wolf dans le premier tome de son *Handbuch der Notationskunde*, lui non plus n'a été jusqu'ici, si mes informations sont exactes, l'objet d'un examen critique par rapport du moins à la partie dont j'ai l'intention de m'occuper ici.

Le manuscrit, qui paraît avoir été rédigé vers le dernier quart du 15^e siècle, contient premièrement, sur des textes latins, français, ou flamands, une quantité de compositions dont les auteurs portent des noms bien connus parmi les écoles de Bourgogne et de Flandre. Ce sont Caron, Busnoys, Ycart, Dufay, Ockeghem, Morton, Loyset Compère—auxquels vient s'ajouter l'espagnol Cornago. Laissant entièrement de côté cette partie franco-flamande du recueil, je ne m'occuperai que de la partie italienne qui le parsème: c'est celle-ci qui va nous réserver les plus agréables surprises. Elle est malheureusement anonyme; ce qui n'arrive que trop souvent dans la musique italienne de cette époque. Une seule chanson avec texte italien porte le nom de Philippe Caron comme compositeur: je la laisse également de côté. Si, pour quelques-uns de ces morceaux, l'on pouvait hasarder l'hypothèse que la musique était celle d'un maître étranger, pour la plupart cette supposition doit être écartée. La mélodie, l'harmonie, l'accentuation expressive, la sûreté et la précision des rapports entre paroles et musique prouvent avec toute évidence une origine italienne. A ces observations portant sur le style j'ajouterai une remarque ob-

jective: un certain nombre de ces compositions avait déjà été travesti ou parodié en *laudi spirituali*, forme où on les retrouve dans les premières éditions de semblables cantiques parues en 1480 et 1485. Nous ne croyons pas que pour ces essais assez reculés du genre "parodie", destinés à être répandu rapidement au sein du peuple, on ait pensé à faire appel à des sources musicales étrangères, qui très probablement n'étaient pas familières au peuple italien.

Ceci posé, voyons maintenant, d'un coup d'œil rapide, quelles sont les données musicales les plus saillantes du manuscrit, par rapport au Quattrocento italien.

Avant tout, notre manuscrit contient des témoignages de haute culture artistique. Ceci est le cas, pour donner un exemple, dans le morceau qui met en musique un des plus célèbres sonnets de Pétrarque: *Pace non trovo e non ho da far guerra*, l'un des plus admirés par les hommes de lettres du siècle, déjà traduit en latin par l'humaniste Coluccio Salutati: "*Nec pacem invenio, nec adest ad bella facultas*". Le tissu musical, à trois voix, est d'un goût exquis; la mélodie du *superius* se déroule avec la plus noble et touchante expression au-dessus des autres voix, qui la secondent heureusement en fournissant les éléments d'un contrepoint admirable. Ce morceau nous offre une anticipation extrêmement intéressante—et dont je ne connais pas d'autre exemple pendant le Quattrocento—de la forme du sonnet mis entièrement en musique divisée en deux parties bien distinctes, passant de la mesure parfaite à la mesure imparfaite: une des parties réservée aux quatrains, l'autre aux tercets. C'est en somme, avec anticipation d'un siècle environ—car notre composition pourrait se placer vers la moitié du 15^e—la forme que l'on rencontrera si souvent dans le madrigal du 16^e siècle.

Une autre anticipation remarquable—moins, cette fois, du point de vue de la forme que de celui de l'esprit et de la technique—se révèle dans un *Chant de Bataille* noté aux folios 8-9 du manuscrit. Le texte, débordant de fougue, excite au combat en faveur de l'Église les fantassins et les cavaliers au service du Duc de Montefeltro, ce qui semble situer ce morceau un peu avant 1450. On se rappellera que la fameuse *Bataille* de Clément Jannequin date d'environ 1528. Voici notre texte:

Alla battaglia, alla battaglia!
 Su cavalli, su fanti,
 Su, mettetevi in punto!
 —Arme, arme!—ciascun si grida forte.

—Chiesa, Chiesa!—Chi risponde: Duca,
 Duca! Duca! Isforzo seguitando,
 —Feltro, Feltro, Feltro! ognun gridando.

La musique, à trois voix, n'est pas moins véhémence; elle éclate, elle claironne telle une fanfare, dans une série d'entrées imitatives de plus en plus serrées, qui se terminent par un passage homophonique de caractère triomphal. Quant à l'esprit et à la verve qui animent cette *Bataille* musicale, ce morceau peut être définitivement comparé aux magnifiques Batailles représentées à la même époque dans les superbes tableaux du peintre Paolo di Dono, dit Paolo Uccello.

Un simple coup d'œil statistique nous fait compter, en dehors des deux compositions citées, huit autres morceaux à 3 voix, auxquels s'ajoutent sept morceaux à 4 voix et un morceau instrumental à 3 voix qui a pour titre *La Martinella*. Ce titre est le nom populaire d'une ancienne cloche de la tour du Palazzo Vecchio à Florence, qui sonnait en des occasions solennelles. Il s'agit donc d'un morceau imitant le jeu des cloches, ou d'une danse composée dans ce dessein. La plupart des dix-huit compositions italiennes que nous venons de classer, à peu d'exceptions près, sont des *ballate*, des *canzoni a ballo* ou des *barzelle*: elles nous montrent, dans la jeunesse de l'humanisme, ces variétés de la *ballata* du Quattrocento qui ont précédé l'épanouissement musical de la *Frottola* proprement dite.

Le timbre ancien, la saveur relativement archaïque de la *ballata*, on les retrouve dans la musique composée sur un texte célèbre de Leonardo Giustiniani: *O rosa bella, o dolce anima mia*, bien que cette musique soit remarquablement différente de celle qui fut composée sur le même texte par le flamand Jean Ciconia lorsqu'il vint se fixer à Padoue.

Peu à peu, dans les autres morceaux, nous voyons la composition musicale suivre son évolution vers la carrure, accentuer sa prédilection pour l'homophonie, réserver les ressources du contrepoint et de l'imitation—d'ailleurs magistralement déployées à l'occasion—pour des "illustrations" particulières du texte. La mélodie de son côté se dessine toujours plus nette, plus saillante, chérit la précision et la synthèse, renonçant sans effort à l'ostentation mélismatique du siècle précédent qui se prolongeait encore dans l'art de l'Italie du Nord pendant la première partie du Quattrocento.

Ce retour à la simplicité, cet amour de la mélodie nette, de l'harmonie bien formée, du dessin intelligible et poli, sont, je le crois

fermement, les produits heureux de la culture humanistique et du goût lumineux de la beauté que le Quattrocento voyait fleurir en Toscane. En effet la plupart et les meilleurs des morceaux dont je parle doivent être toscans, même florentins, ou avoir gagné leur popularité à Florence. Le style littéraire des textes nous en convainc. Les poètes qui ont parodié ces compositions en *laudi spirituali* et qui avaient tout droit de croire en leur popularité, étaient Francesco d'Albizo et Feo Belcari, deux Florentins cent pour cent, du temps et de la coterie de Cosimo de' Medici le Vieux. Qui plus est, nous trouvons dans une *canzone a ballo* "*alla caccia*", ainsi que dans une *barzelletta* en octosyllabes:

Or udite el buona orare

Che queste monache fanno,

des particularités de conception, des traits d'humour, des folâtreries, et même des qualités de versification qui nous font penser avec insistance à deux poètes de la plus brillante époque florentine.

Ce sont, pour la *caccia*, Lorenzo de' Medici; pour la *barzelletta* ou facétie sur les potins des nonnes au couvent, Angiolo Poliziano.

Or udite el buono orare

Che queste monache fanno:

Dodici mesi dell'anno

Non fanno altro che gracchiare.

Si rizza su la badessa

E chiama suor Orsina:

—Che romor fate in cucina?

—Egli è suor Caterina

Che ne porta un pignatello

Che non è suo, quello . . .

—Nella malora lo lasci stare!

Suor Checca va di sotto,

Dà beccare alle galline

E colà così dicea:

Curri, curri, le mie piccine . . .

Suor Maria ch'era quine

Vide un su'ovo rotto,

Si ch'ella gridò di botto:

—Nella malora, lasciate stare!

Ecoutez donc les belles prières que font ces petites nonnes: pendant douze mois de l'année, elles ne font que crier comme des corbeaux.

Voilà que surgit la mère abbesse, appelant sœur Ursine. "Qu'est-ce donc que ce bruit que vous faites dans la cuisine?"

"Ma mère, c'est sœur Catherine qui vient d'emporter un petit pot qui ne lui appartient pas . . ." "Ce damné pot, qu'elle le laisse donc tranquille!"

Sœur François descend dans la cour et donne à béqueter à ses poules, les appelant tout le temps: "Venez donc, courez donc, mes petites . . ."

Sœur Marie, qui était à côté, voit qu'un de ses œufs est cassé; aussitôt elle pousse de grands cris: "Malheur! Malheur! ne touchez pas à mes œufs!"

Au point de vue musical, les deux compositions sont construites à peu près de la même façon: dans la *ripresa* nous trouvons une exposition en contrepoint imité, dans la strophe, par contre, la musique prend une tournure homophone, voire, des allures de danse. Ces deux morceaux, le premier suggérant dans ses entrées pittoresques les sons entremêlés des cors de chasse, l'autre poussant son contrepoint canonique jusqu'à en faire une caricature très piquante du style d'église, sont d'un effet ravissant.

En ce qui concerne une question longuement discutée, nous sommes heureux de pouvoir fournir une réponse positive. Il s'agit de la question de l'existence d'une polyphonie vocale d'origine italienne entre l'*Ars nova* et la *frottola*—problème déjà soulevé au 16^e siècle par Ercole Bottrigari dans la deuxième Journée de son *Trimerone*, et auquel on a tenté de donner récemment des solutions bien insuffisantes. Grâce aux documents que je viens de citer, et au fait qu'une partie des sources provient du milieu le plus cultivé, le plus raffiné, le plus élégant de l'Italie de la Renaissance, l'existence d'une pareille polyphonie ne fait plus aucun doute.

Il ne reste maintenant qu'à approfondir les recherches sur la provenance encore douteuse de quelques-uns parmi ces documents et de les publier au complet. Cela fait, comme nous nous proposons de le faire au plus tôt,* nous pourrions espérer avoir fourni à l'histoire de la musique italienne au 15^e siècle des matériaux modestes en tant que quantité, mais significatifs et d'une certaine importance; des matériaux où se reflètent tour à tour la sensibilité, la tendresse, l'élan, la verve galante et spirituelle de cette époque heureuse.

*Fernando Liuzzi died barely a year after reading this paper, on October 6, 1940.

The French Renaissance of the 12th Century in Music

Leonard Ellinwood

EAST LANSING, MICHIGAN

"THE RENAISSANCE OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY", as described by the late Charles Homer Haskins in his distinguished book of that title,¹ took on many aspects, which I should like to summarize by way of introduction. This period, sometimes referred to as "the Mediaeval Renaissance", saw the high point in the development of the Romanesque and the rise of the Gothic art. It began with the strong cathedral schools at such centers as Paris, Chartres, and Canterbury, and ended with the establishment of the universities of Salerno, Bologna, Paris, Montpellier, and Oxford. In these schools and universities, the study of the seven liberal arts was greatly furthered by an increased classical equipment furnished by Arabic translations from recently conquered Northern Spain and Greek translations from Southern Italy, which became a Norman state during the last quarter of the 11th century. The restored classics, in turn, inspired fresh Latin writings, so that a full twenty-five percent of the texts published in Migne's *Patrologia latina* belong to this period. In a lighter vein we find the beginnings of the liturgical dramas and the goliardic songs. Now occurs the full bloom of vernacular poetry, of the great feudal epics of France and the best of the Provençal lyrics. This movement, while not peculiar to any one country, was most important in Northern France, complemented by England.

The cathedral schools rose with the decline of the strong Cluniac and Benedictine orders. They grew with the great increase of secular interest, since the monasteries had no accommodations for the large numbers of lay students. The youth of Europe seemed infected with a scholastic fever. They came together from all over the Continent, organized into "nations" under their respective faculties of arts, law, theology, and medicine, wrote ballads about their daily existence or their love affairs, and letters home for money, which sound strangely modern. While the actual numbers of such students cannot be accurately determined, we do know that they assembled on a scale proportionate to the enrollment in our state and municipal universities of today. The most important of these cathedral schools were

¹ Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1928.

in Northern France, and of these the schools in Paris were the chief ones to grow beyond the fame of a particular teacher. At the beginning of the 12th century, there were three such schools at Paris: Mont Sainte Geneviève, Saint Victor, and the cathedral of Notre Dame, all controlled by the chancellor of the cathedral. Here came the great Scholastics, Guillaume de Champeaux, Pierre Abelard, Pietro il Lombardo, and John of Salisbury. Wooldridge² gives an interesting quotation from the latter's *Polycraticus*, I, 6, condemning the florid nature of contemporary music as performed in the churches. The Notre Dame school proper had been important since the beginning of the 11th century, nor was it dimmed by the consecration of its present building in 1182, round which the University of Paris grew at the end of the century.

The role of music, as one of the seven liberal arts in these schools, was not a considerable one. Discussions were confined largely to such topics as "the music of the spheres" and "how the angels sing". Of all the writers on the music of Antiquity and of all the theorists before 1100 whose works are familiar today, only Aristotle, Boethius, and possibly Cassiodorus were known to the 12th-century *magister artium*. Little remains today of any 12th-century library. According to the standards of the succeeding centuries, such libraries must have been comparatively limited, although we know that books were an item of trade in Bologna and Paris towards the end of the century. None of the great musical writers of the previous century, Oddo, Hermannus, Guido, wrote near Paris, so that it is unlikely that their works had reached that city. Evidence of a certain amount of association of musical theory with the arts is, however, found in the names given to authors such as Aribo Scholasticus and Aristoteles Quidam, and such titles of treatises as *Tractatus de Musica*, *Compendium Musicae*, *Scientiae Artis Musicae*, *Summa Musicae*, *Speculum Musicae*, et al. During the 12th century, the only actual reference I have been able to find to a Parisian music master is in the *Codex Calixtinus*, where mention is made of one Magister Albertus Parisiensis, the author of the *conductus*, *Congaudeant Catholici*.³ A century later Coussemaker's Anonymus IV⁴ writes retrospectively of Magister Robertus de Sabilone. We know that there was a *schola cantorum* at Notre Dame for the choristers; whether the references of later writers

² *Oxford History of Music*, 2nd ed., I, 290.

³ P. Wagner, *Die Gesänge der Jakobusliturgie zu Santiago de Compostela*.

⁴ *Scriptores*, I, 342.

to Leonin and Perotin as *magistri* is more than homage, I cannot tell. In the following century, we do know that Johannes de Garlandia established a school of music at Paris, and was later *magister in musica* at Toulouse and Paris.

In the literary and artistic 12th century, the role of music was more considerable. Ruth Crosby, in her studies on "Oral Delivery in the Middle Ages"⁵, has shown that the practices of Antiquity with respect to oral delivery persisted as late as the 15th century. Thus we have every reason to believe that works such as the *De Contemptu Mundi* of Bernard of Cluny were intoned as regularly as were such poems as Gautier's *chanson de geste* in *Le Jeu de Robin et Marion*. (Incidentally, a considerable portion of the first book of the *De Contemptu Mundi* has been set to more modern music in the oratorio *Hora Novissima* by Horatio Parker.) The lighter lyrics of troubadour and goliard must have been most familiar on the streets of Paris, witness the reputation of Abelard as poet, composer, and singer.

The musical rebirth of the 12th century came in the development of polyphonic music. Indeed, it might well be called the true Renaissance for music, since to this day no other racial culture has made such a decisive change in its musical art as did the European at this time, nor has there since been an equally radical change in our own art in spite of the enthusiasms of young composers. Many scholars have tried to push back the beginnings of polyphonic art prior to this century, but the only evidence relative to an earlier art consists of a few brief references to an improvised art of singing in parts with more or less parallel motion. Staff notation, until c.1100, had not developed to the point where polyphonic composition was possible. We do have a collection of two-part works in neumes, the Winchester Troper,⁶ from the late 11th century, as well as mss. from St. Martial in Limoges⁷ with neumes on a single line, but the Notre Dame polyphony of the 12th century represents the first comprehensive unfolding of the reborn musical art. This, as Anonymus IV tells us, was compiled in a *Magnus Liber Organi* by Leonin, revised and expanded by Perotin, and put into mensural notation by Robertus de Sabilone.⁸

Derived from this "great book" are four principal mss., Wolfen-

⁵ *Speculum*, XI, 88; XIII, 413.

⁶ Cambridge, *Corpus Christi* 473.

⁷ Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. 1139, et al.

⁸ Coussemaker, *Scriptores*, I, 342.

büttel *Helmstedt* 628 (usually designated as *W1*) and 1099 (*W2*), Florence *Laurenziana* 29.1 (*F*), and Madrid 167 (*Ma*). During the following century, these mss., which must have been copied in Paris, were scattered in St. Andrew's, Provence, Florence, and Toledo, attesting to the widespread influence of their contents. The bulk of *F* and *W1* is written in a similar if not identical hand; the others are clearer, better defined rhythmically, and consequently later in point of time. When the various fascicles of each are compared, together with those of the still later Montpellier ms. *H 196* (*Mo*), their arrangement, consisting in each case of *organa* followed in order by *clausulae*, *conducti*, and *motets*, all in various stages of development, clearly shows that these mss. were compiled in the following order: *W1*, *F*, *Ma*, *W2*, *Mo*. In the first there are no completed motets; in the next three the motet gains in significance, while in the last only the most distinguished examples of the early forms are preserved and the main ms. is devoted to various stages of the motet development. The four mss. containing the polyphony of the 12th and early 13th century have been discussed at length by Dreves⁹ and Ludwig.¹⁰ Other helpful studies have been made of *Ma* by Aubry¹¹ and Husmann.¹² The following discussion is based primarily on the two mss. in Wolfenbüttel's Herzog August Bibliothek, to whose distinguished librarian, Dr. Hermann Herbst, I am deeply indebted for many kindnesses. *W1* is available in facsimile through the edition by J. H. Baxter entitled *An Old St. Andrew's Music Book*. *W2* and *Ma* are available through photostat and microfilm in the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, thanks to the generosity of the Rotograph Fund of the Modern Language Association.

For several years I have been engaged in an attempt at a definitive study of the musical type of this period known as *conductus*, a study as yet far from completion.¹³ This has, however, led me into several observations concerning the development of polyphonic art in the course of the 12th century. These observations have, to a large degree, been previously noted by Pierre Aubry, Friedrich Ludwig, and Jacques Handschin. I shall try nevertheless to make a small contri-

⁹ *Analecta Hymnica*, XX.

¹⁰ *Repertorium Organorum* . . .

¹¹ *Sammelbände der internationalen Musikgesellschaft*, VIII.

¹² *Archiv für Musikforschung*, II.

¹³ Since Dr. Ellinwood delivered this paper at the Congress, an article of his on the *Conductus* has been published in *The Musical Quarterly*, XXVII (1941).—Ed.

bution at least by way of clarification and organization. First let me define a few terms to avoid confusion:

Diaphony is the art of improvised singing, largely in parallel octaves, fifths, and fourths, as described in several texts prior to 1100.

Descant I will limit to improvised singing after that time.

Conductus is the musical setting of a Latin poem, in one or more parts. Note that this definition is a bit more restricted than the customary definition.

Organum will be limited to a liturgical tenor accompanied by one or more florid parts. Where these parts appear without the tenor and with a text consisting of only one word, I consider the result a *clausula* or melisma rather than a *conductus*. In the *clausulae* and *conducti* the principal melody in the lowest part will be called the *cantus*.

A motet also has a liturgical tenor with one or more florid parts above. In contradistinction to the *organum*, these parts may have not only Latin but vernacular texts. After the 12th century the motet also used secular tenors.

In all forms, the upper parts are called *duplum*, *triplum*, and *quadruplum*, in ascending order.

Ludwig¹⁴ has shown how the Easter motet *Gaudeat devotio* developed from an organum, *Pascha nostrum*. I should like to go further and show you the history of music for over a century in the evolution of another composition from the *Magnus Liber*. Well before the 10th century, the corpus of Gregorian song had been completed, and had come to be regarded much as more recent centuries have looked upon the King James version of the Holy Scriptures. One of the few points where new music and texts might be interpolated into the service was at the Alleluia between the Epistle and the Gospel in the Mass. Here developed the Sequences of the 10th and 11th centuries. Peter Wagner, in his *Einführung in die Gregorianischen Melodien*,¹⁵ has shown that this practice was common as early as the time of Cassiodorus. At that point in the Mass for Holy Saturday comes the versicle *Confitemini Domino quoniam bonus: quoniam in saeculorum misericordia eius*. In *W2*, 71' there is a setting of this versicle as a two-part *organum*, plainsong tenor with *duplum*, as it was performed at Notre Dame early in the 12th century.¹⁶

¹⁴ *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, V, 450.

¹⁵ III, 397.

¹⁶ Cf. examples appended to this paper.

At its next stage of development, the text *Deo confitemini qui sua clementia* was added to the *duplum* part, forming an early motet (*W*₂, 146). In this process, the first phrase and conclusion of the original *organum* were discarded, the motet being limited to the music to which the original tenor word *Domino* was set. The notation in score of the organum is also abandoned, the tenor being written at the conclusion of the *duplum*. In the third stage, a *triplum* part is added in score above the *duplum*, the tenor and texts remaining the same as in stage two (*W*₂, 126, and *F*, 383).

At this point a digression takes place which may be called step four, since in *W*₁, 98, and *Ma*, 120, the *duplum* and *triplum* appear in score without any tenor, as the *conductus*, *Deo confitemini*. In the final stage (five) of the 12th century, the sacred text is abandoned in favor of a secular, satirical song, *Mout est fous qui fa me croit* (*W*₂, 136).

The melodic lines of tenor, *duplum*, and *triplum* remain the same through all of these stages. The rhythm is possibly changed, however, with the addition of the text in stage two. Notice the "linking", or use of similar or identical words, between the opening line of the Latin poem, *Deo confitemini*, and the tenor, [*Confitemini*] *Domino*, a common association in these early motets; indeed, it is from this relationship that the word motet is derived, the *motetus* being a commentary or elaboration on the meaning of the *mot* of the tenor. (This is undoubtedly another manifestation of the same urge which led to troping several centuries earlier.) This tenor, *Domino*, is used with several other *dupla* in these mss., none of which are otherwise related. The original *organum*, *Confitemini Domino*, has provided two other common motet tenors, *Quoniam* and *In Seculum*. Except for the changes from a Latin to a vernacular text, I have found no instance where a *duplum* or *triplum* has other than one text fitted to it.

Ludwig¹⁷ has shown further how the music of the three-part *organum*, *Latus* (*W*₁, 88; *F*, 24; *W*₂, 23), became the three-part motet, *Radix venie* (*F*, 385), and the two-part motet, *Ave Maria fons leticie* (*W*₂, 156), and then in the following century combined the two *dupla* with their respective texts into a double-motet (*Mo*, 101'). This takes the above evolutionary process a step still further. Gérold¹⁸ shows how the double and triple motets gradually became more

¹⁷ *Op. cit.* 13.

¹⁸ *Histoire de la musique . . .* Chap. XIV.

secular until finally the tenor lost its separate style in the motet of the High Renaissance. In passing, I might comment that we should not look on this series of arrangements as a phenomenon peculiar to the Middle Ages—witness Mr. Stokowski's arrangements of Bach organ works for symphonic orchestra and the popular arrangements of the classics by Mr. Benny Goodman, to say nothing of that other parallel in modern descanting, known as "swing".

Not for one moment would I suggest that the course I have traced holds good for all music during this century. Many *organa* developed *per se*. The majority of *conducti* and motets were undoubtedly directly composed in two, three, and four parts, as they have been preserved for us. Out of 260 polyphonic *conducti* of the 12th and 13th centuries, I have so far been able to identify only nine that either were adapted from motets as was *Deo confitemini* or were possibly adapted into motets. Certain irregular progressions, such as excessive thirds at consonant points, found in this *conductus* (stage four, above), suggest that it may never have been actually intended for performance as a *conductus*, but that the copyist may have carelessly omitted the motet tenor in the mss.

Much more common was the simple addition of a third part to a two-part *organum*, *conductus*, or motet. Out of 75 three-part *conducti*, 12 appear in two parts and again in three parts in these mss.

Some few at least of the polyphonic *conducti* are elaborated from monodies. Such a one is *Gratuletur populus* as given in *Ma*, 125,¹⁹ in one part, and again in *W1*, 106', with a *duplum* above the original *cantus*. Again, the *cantus* of the *conductus*, *Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris*, appears to be derived from the *duplum* of a double-motet (*Mo*, 89'). Some of the *conducti* are strophic in *W1*, with additional stanzas in the margin or immediately beneath the music, while others are composed throughout.

It may be possible to identify the authors of some of the texts in the light of recent studies in medieval and romance literature, but there are many aspects of this music that are still obscure. Little has been accomplished so far with respect to finding the sources of the tenor melodies of the *organa*. Owing to the less than octavo size of these mss., performance of the music in all these types must have been by a very limited group of musicians, probably soloists, on all parts save the familiar tenors. Polyphonic art was still so young that the vocal range is limited to the relatively narrow range of the Grego-

¹⁹ Cf. *Analecta Hymnica*, XX.

rian music, all three parts criss-crossing within that range instead of maintaining distinctive treble, tenor, or bass ranges, as fairly soon became the case. The harmonic progressions were summarized in the Franconian law of the following century and in the discussions of the cadential *copula*.

In conclusion: few of the more elaborate, melismatic *organa* and their successors, the early motets, are found apart from these mss. The final fascicle of *W1* and several smaller bits of early polyphony, known to derive from Spain and England, are consistently less florid and rhythmic. In other words, these *organa*, particularly the *clausulae* and the motets, constitute a distinctly French art. The source of the great mass of the French repertory, the very derivation of the term "motet" support this belief, as does the fact that almost all of the vernacular motets are in the French language. Many writers draw attention to a subtle similarity in the musical styles of Debussy and his colleagues with that of the Couperins and the other early French clavecinists, after one discounts the limitations of harmonic background for the earlier period. May I suggest that this music, emanating from Notre Dame, with the other achievements of the Renaissance of the 12th century, also bears those same subtle characteristics that we have come to associate with the French national style. Listen for them this afternoon, as you enjoy the *organa* and motets which have been prepared for us.²⁰

²⁰ The reference is to a concert of medieval music, performed by M. Yves Tinayre and the choir of the Pius X School of Liturgical Music, in the Late Gothic Hall of the Cloisters, of which the program appears on pp. 295-296.—Ed.

Restoration of original plainsong, based on W1, 27'. Cf. version in neumes found in Codex Einsiedeln 121, p. 203 (Paléographie musicale, IV)

Con-fi-te - mi-ni Do - mi - no

STEP I: Organum, from W2, 71'
quo

Con - Ji - te - mi - ni

Do - mi -

STEP II: Motet, from W2, 146

De - o con - fi - te - mi - ni, Qui su - a cle - men - ti - a

Domino

STEP III: Three-part motet, from W2, 126

De - o con - fi - te - mi - ni, Qui su - a cle - men - ti - a

Domino

STEP IV: Conductus, from W1, 98

De - o con - fi - te - mi - ni,

qui su - a cle - men - ti - a

STEP V: Secular motet, from W2, 136'

Mout est fous qui fa me croit, Et qui l'aime et qui la sert.

THE COMPLETE MOTET

Triplum A

Duplum A

Tenor

De - o con - fi - te - mi - ni, qui su - a cle -
Mout est fous qui fa me croit, Et qui l'aime et

men-ti-a qui la sert. Car-nem su-o nu-mi-ni Sa-chex bien quel que i-soit,

Jun-xit in Ma-ri-a, Ut A-bra-he se-mi-ne Qui plus i-met plus i-pert. A-poine ai-me ce que doit,

Pro-mis-sa fer-ret au-xi-li-a. Se confor-mans Ce puet ten vo-er tout en a-pert. An-cois an-ging-

ho-mi-ni, sio sub-ic-tum cri-mi-ni se-duc-tum hos- ne de-coit Ce que de-li sem-pris voit. sil ser-vice tor-

tis ma-li - ci - a re-de - mit mor - te pi - a.
ment a - de - pert, Qui pis a cil qui plus de - sert.

The image shows a musical score for three staves. The top staff is a vocal line with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The middle staff is a piano accompaniment line with a treble clef. The bottom staff is a piano accompaniment line with a bass clef. The lyrics are written below the middle staff. The music consists of four measures. The first measure has a vocal line with a half note and a piano accompaniment with a half note. The second measure has a vocal line with a half note and a piano accompaniment with a half note. The third measure has a vocal line with a half note and a piano accompaniment with a half note. The fourth measure has a vocal line with a half note and a piano accompaniment with a half note. The lyrics are: 'tis ma-li - ci - a re-de - mit mor - te pi - a. ment a - de - pert, Qui pis a cil qui plus de - sert.'

Concert of Unpublished Music

by Georg Friedrich Händel

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14TH

8:30 P.M.

in the Auditorium of the Juilliard Graduate School
under the direction of

J. M. Coopersmith

Program Notes*

J. M. Coopersmith

NEW YORK

I. Diana Cacciatrice (Cantata con Stromenti)

1. LA MARCH

2. RECITATIVO:

*Alla caccia, alla caccia,
O mie Ninfe seguaci,
Pria che il sol còi suoi raggi
Il giorno indori,
L'armi ogn'una prepari,
E il con valore al proprio brando affidi,
Già son pronti i destrieri,*

*Because these remarks concern unpublished music, and the information contained in them far transcends the scope of the usual program notes, they are included here.—Ed.

*Andiam su liete alla vicina selva,
De' i segnali alla preda ad ogni belva.*

3. ARIA:

*Foriera la tromba,
La meta c'addita,
Col suono c'invita
A un sì lieto dì. (Fine)
E all'or che rimbomba,
Con voce scolpita,
Un' Eco l'imita,
Dicendo così. (Da Capo)*

3a. DUETTO:

*Alla caccia, alla caccia,
Mie fide compagne,
E solo un momento
Ogn'uno dal core,
Del nume d'amore,
Si privi e disfaccia,
Alla caccia, alla caccia. (Ritornello al Numero 3)*

The autograph of this *Cantata con stromenti*, composed, probably at Rome, about 1707-1709, was assembled from two sources:

1. Vienna: Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde
2. Berlin: Preussische Staatsbibliothek

The opening *March*, the *Recitativo* "Alla caccia," and a fragment of the *Aria* "Foriera la tromba," were found in Vienna; the conclusion of "Foriera la tromba," in Berlin (Mus. Ms. Autogr. G. F. Händel, p. 1). Following this *Aria* appears a sketch for a final chorus, treated antiphonally with Soprano and Tromba, on the text "Alla caccia, mie fide compagne" (p. 2), which Händel discarded, replacing it with a *Duetto* (pp. 3-4) on the same text.

The autograph of this work belonged originally to the Abbate Fortunato Santini (1778-1862). The Vienna fragment Santini presented to Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773-1850); the Berlin fragment, to Aloys Fuchs (1799-1853). ". . . of such is the kingdom of heaven"—(but not for the musicologist).

II. Ottone: "Benchè mi sia crudele" (Aria)

*Benchè mi sia crudele,
Benchè infedel mi sia,
Infida, l'alma mia,*

Handwritten musical score for a rejected autograph page of Handel's Cantata con Stromenti, "Diana Cocciatrice". The page features six staves of music with various annotations and corrections. The first staff has the word "ritard" written above it. The second staff has "Vn e Violini" written above it. The third staff has "Corno" written above it. The fourth staff has "Violoncello" written above it. The fifth staff has "Basso" written above it. The sixth staff has "Organo" written above it. The lyrics are written below the staves: "alla caccia me fi de compagne", "alla caccia compagne", "lo un momento organo del core", and "momento del core". There are several large diagonal lines drawn across the page, indicating that this is a rejected autograph.

Rejected Autograph Page of Händel's *Cantata con Stromenti*,
"Diana Cocciatrice"

Aria dell'Opera d'Ottone

Benchè me sia tu -

- de il benchè infè - del mi fia, infida Palma oria

An Aria from the Opera "Ottone", Showing Händel's Addition of Ornamentation to a Transcript by John Christopher Smith, Jr.

No, non sarà così. (Fine)
Senta le mie querele,
Il nume dio d'amore,
Poi renda a questo core,
Il ben che lo tradì. (Da Capo)

This unpublished version for Contralto exists in a transcript (in the author's collection) by John Christopher Smith, Jr., Händel's amanuensis. The ornamentation was later added by Händel, possibly for the revival of the opera on November 13, 1733, and probably for an inexperienced vocalist. As a specimen of 18th-century practice in ornamentation unique among Händel's works, this manuscript is of paramount importance. By the addition of ornamentation, Händel has transformed the vocal part from an angular, rather primitive piece of composition (compare with the version for Soprano in the edition of the *Händel-Gesellschaft*—hereafter quoted as: *HG*—Vol. 66, pp. 104–105) into a flowing pattern of beautiful vocal writing.

III. Sonata per Hautbois Solo e Basso Continuo

- i. *Andante*
- ii. *Grave*
- iii. *Allegro*

Composed probably before 1724, this "Sonata pour l'Hautbois Solo" exists in autograph (Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum—30 H 11, pp. 65–68). Formally, it is similar to those Sonatas which appear in *HG*, Vol. 27, pp. 1–54.

IV. Sarei troppo felice (Cantata a Voce Sola e Basso Continuo)

I. RECITATIVO:

Sarei troppo felice,
S'io potessi dar legge al mio pensiero.
Che val bellezza e senno,
Amor, fede, costanza
Arte o consiglio,
Nel mio grave periglio?
Se poi forte abbastanza,
Sopra i pensieri miei,
Non ho possanza?
Quando mengivo altera
Ch'ogni mio sguardo incatenasse un core,
Fileno il traditore,

*Con più dura catena
 Il core ed il pensier
 Mi stringe e frena.
 E pur l'amo, spergiuro,
 Benchè infido l'adoro a mio dispetto.
 Gran contrasto ho nel petto,
 E fra l'ira e l'amor pace non spero.
 Sarei troppo felice,
 S'io potessi dar legge al mio pensiero.*

2. ARIA:

*Se al pensier dar mai potrò,
 Come al piè, legge e misura,
 Il mio cor pace godrà. (Fine)
 Dall' infido lungi andrò,
 Ma la pena allor più dura
 Temo, o Dio! ch'ancor sarò. (Da Capo)*

3. RECITATIVO:

*Clori, schernita Clori,
 Mi rammento l'offesa
 E l'offensor;
 Non so scacciar dal core
 Che pur troppo è dolore;
 Amai riamata,
 Ma non gradita
 Il sospirar d'amore
 È vergogna e dolor
 Molto più fiero.
 Sarei troppo felice,
 S'io potessi dar legge al mio pensiero.*

4. ARIA:

*Giusto ciel, se non ho sorte
 Di tornar in libertà. (Fine)
 Il pensier mi dà la morte,
 Se tal forza il duol non ha. (Da Capo)*

5. RECITATIVO:

*Ah! che un cieco ho per guida
 E un dio Tisanno
 Ha del mio cor l'impero;
 Sarei troppo felice,
 S'io potessi dar legge al mio pensiero.*

This cantata appears in very incomplete form in *HG*, Vol. 51, pp. 72-75. The completion derives from a transcript by John Christo-

pher Smith, Jr., in the British Museum (Egerton 2942, ff. 101v-103v) and it is corroborated by numerous other contemporary sources; especially:

1. British Museum (Add. Ms. 29484, f. 80v)
2. *Ibid.* (Add. Ms. 14182, ff. 4-8)
3. *Ibid.* (Add. Ms. 14212, ff. 27-34v)
4. London: Royal College of Music (Ms. 256, Vol. 1, No. 8, ff. 52-60)
5. *Ibid.* (Ms. 257, No. 24, ff. 84-87v)
6. *Ibid.* (Ms. 685, ff. 112-115v)
7. Münster i. W.: Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität (Santini 1899, ff. 56-67v)
8. Berlin: Preussische Staatsbibliothek (Mus. Ms. 30226, No. 7, ff. 125-130).

At Rome, Händel undoubtedly met both Alessandro and Domenico Scarlatti at the palace of Cardinal Ottoboni, one of the meeting places of the *Arcadians*—a group of the foremost artists of the time. It is established that Alessandro Scarlatti composed a version of the cantata, *Sarei troppo felice*, and that he completed it on April 30, 1702 (E. J. Dent, *Alessandro Scarlatti*, p. 76). Whether or not the Händel version was written in Rome during the spring of 1708, or in Naples during the summer of the same year, is problematical. It is quite possible that Händel may have travelled to Naples from Rome in the company of both Scarlattis in May or June of 1708. In any event, Alessandro must have been in Naples during the late summer of 1708, for Cardinal Vincenzo Grimani—who, incidentally, wrote the libretto for Händel's opera, *Agrippina*—ordered, on December 1, 1708, that Alessandro should be reinstated in the post of deputy-organist in the royal chapel.

It is perfectly reasonable to assume that Händel, eager to assimilate as much as possible of the Italian style of composition, should have wished to examine the works of the elder Scarlatti. Whether he examined Scarlatti's *Sarei* cannot be ascertained. Only this can be said: both versions employ the cyclical device of repeating the first two lines of the text—Scarlatti using the *arioso*-form and Händel the traditional *recitativo secco*. The last time these lines appear, Scarlatti uses the device of sequence, a deceptive cadence, and, in the last five notes, the *recitativo secco*, thus serving to integrate the whole work and, at the same time, provide it with a proper conclusion.

Händel also alters the harmonic structure at the same place, but from the point of view of musical rhetoric his treatment is infinitely

more dramatic. The change—from the persistent use of a descending, major, diatonic figure with the text, *S'io potessi dar legge*, to the final appearance of the same figure in a normal, minor mode—is very striking.

There is this further difference in the two versions: Händel's is shorter and employs a different text in the *arie*. The only explanation that can be offered is that the poet (probably an *Arcadian*), flattered by the attention his work elicited among his musical colleagues, wrote new versions as composers required them, retaining the cyclical device which so attracted both Scarlatti and Händel.

There is this to be said for both versions: For Händel, musical lyricism is the all-important element; for Scarlatti, musical form.

V. Sonata a Tre—Violino, Violoncello Concertato e Basso Continuo

- i. *Largo andante*
- ii. *Allegro*
- iii. *Largo*
- iv. "Allemanda" *Andante*
- v. *Allegro*

Composed in Germany, probably in 1705, this *Sonata* is one of the two examples of Händel's early instrumental chamber-music—the other is the *Sonata* (C major) in *HG*, Vol. 48, pp. 112-117—which demonstrates the importance of the Viola da Gamba and the Violoncello in German composition at the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th centuries. A great school of Gamba *virtuosi* flourished at Hamburg, *circa* 1705; and Joachim Tielke (1641-1719) was creating some of the most beautiful Gambas ever made.

Formally, this Händel *Sonata* is modelled after similar works by Johann Pachelbel (1653-1706), Johann Philip Krieger (1649-1725), Dietrich Buxtehude (1637-1707), and Philipp Heinrich Erlebach (1657-1714). Händel had not yet come under the influence of such Italian masters as Corelli; thus, these early instrumental works lack that melodic grace and simple formal clarity which characterize the Italian works of the same period.

This *Sonata* is the fifth in a set of five which appear in four autograph part-books (Copenhagen: Det Kongelige Bibliotek—Ms. C. I. 25). The contents follow:

1. *HG*, Vol. 27, pp. 122-127.
2. *HG*, Vol. 27, pp. 115-121.

3. *HG*, Vol. 27, pp. 128-135.
4. *HG*, Vol. 27, pp. 92-98.
- *5. *Sonata a 3* (G minor).

The part-books are for the following instruments:

1. Violino
2. Violoncello (or better, Gamba)
3. Basso Continuo
4. *Ditto*

VI. Händel, non può mia Musa
(Cantata a Voce Sola e Basso Continuo)

1. RECITATIVO:

*Händel, non può mia Musa
Cantare in un istante
Versi che degni sian della tua lira,
Ma sento che in me spira
Sì soave armonia che a' tuoi concerti
Son costretto, cantare, in questi accenti.*

2. ARIA:

*Puote Orfeo, con dolce suono
Arrestar d'augelli il volo
E fermar di belva il piè. (Fine)
Si muovero a un sì bel suono
Tronchi e sassi ancor dal suolo
Ma già mai cantar li fè. (Da Capo)*

3. RECITATIVO:

*Dunque maggior d'Orfeo, tu sforzi al canto
La mia Musa all'ora che il plettro appeso avea
A un tronco annoso, e immobile giacea.*

4. ARIA:

*Ogn'un canti e all'armonia
Di novello Orfeo si dia
Alla destra il moto al canto
Voce tal che mai s'udì. (Fine)
E in sì grata melodia
Tutta gioia l'alma sia
Ingannando il tempo in tanto
Passi lieto e l'ore e il dì. (Da Capo)*

The autograph of this cantata is in the Santini collection at the Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität in Münster i. W. (Santini 1898, ff. 1-3v). Several contemporary manuscript copies exist; notably:

1. British Museum (Egerton 2942, ff. 113v-114v): a Smith, Sr. transcript.
2. Cambridge: Fitzwilliam Museum (32 G 20 No. 18)
3. Münster i. W.: Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität (Santini 1910, ff. 189-192)

Often mentioned by many biographers of Händel, but believed lost by most of them, this cantata was composed probably at Rome, between April and May of 1708. The text was written by Cardinal Benedetto Pamphilli, who also supplied Händel with the libretto of the secular oratorio, *Il Trionfo del Tempo e del Disinganno*.

Mainwaring, who wrote the first extended biography of Händel (published in 1760) refers to this work as follows:

While Handel was at Rome he was much and often at the palaces of the two Cardinals, Colonna and Pamphilli. The latter had some talent for Poetry, and wrote the drama of *Il Trionfo del Tempo*, besides several other pieces, which Handel set at his desire, some in the compass of a single evening, and others extempore. One of these was in honour of Handel himself. He was compared to Orpheus, and exalted above the rank of mortals. Whether his Eminence chose this subject as most likely to inspire him with fine conceptions, or with a view to discover how far so great an artist was proof against the assaults of vanity, it is not material to determine. Handel's modesty was not however so excessive as to hinder him from complying with the desire of his illustrious friend.

The phrase, *Cantare in un istante*, in the opening *recitativo*, indicates that this cantata was an impromptu composition, for both Händel and Pamphilli. That it was written during one of the evenings of the Arcadians is also quite probable, since Pamphilli was a member of that group (the pastoral name assigned to him was "Fenizio"). That such improvisations were quite common at these meetings may be seen in the following description of a similar evening (quoted in E. J. Dent's translation from Crescimbeni's *Arcadia*, Lib. vii, Prosa v, in Dent's *Alessandro Scarlatti*, p. 90):

. . . Scarlatti was at the harpsichord, but managed at the time to observe that Zappi [Gian Battista Felice Zappi—"Tirsi"] was in process of thinking out a new poem. He begged Zappi to produce it; Zappi agreed to do so on condition that Scarlatti set it to music at once. Scarlatti assented, and "no sooner had *Tirsi* finished his recital than *Terpandro* [Scarlatti], with a truly stupendous promptness, began to transcribe the verses recited, with the music thereto; and when these had been sung, the souls of those present

received of them so great delight, that they not only obliged the singer to repeat the song again and again, but also urged both poet and musician to display their skill afresh." After some pressing, Zappi and Scarlatti repeated their impromptu performance, and "meanwhile every one was astonished to see how two such excellent Masters, the one of poetry and the other of music, did contend; and their contention was so close that scarce had the one finished repeating the last line of the new air than the other ended the last stave of his music."

VII. Sonata a Due Flauti Traversieri e Basso Continuo

- i. *Adagio*
- ii. *Allegro*
- iii. *Siciliano*
- iv. *Allegro*

The first of a set of three unpublished Sonatas for two flutes and *basso continuo*, this *Sonata* (in G minor) exists in a transcript by John Christopher Smith, Sr. (London: Royal College of Music—Ms. 260, ff. 36v-40v). The whole transcript has the title: "7 Sonate a 3." The contents:

1. *HG*, Vol. 27, pp. 122-127.
2. *HG*, Vol. 27, pp. 115-121.
3. *HG*, Vol. 27, pp. 92-98.
4. *HG*, Vol. 27, pp. 128-135.
- *5. *Sonata* (G minor) ff. 36v-40v.
6. *Sonata* (D major) ff. 41-44.
7. *Sonata* (E minor) ff. 44v-51.

Composed probably before 1733, these unpublished Sonatas are similar to the group in *HG*, Vol. 27, pp. 91-154.

VIII. È troppo bella (Aria)

*È troppo bella,
Troppo amorosa
La Pastorella,
Che t'invaghì
Mio cor, si, si,
Torna ad amare. (Fine)
Di quelle vaghe
Pupille nere,
Le dolci piaghe
Fuggir chi può?
Tu non puoi, no,
Son troppo care. (Da Capo)*

The autograph of this *aria*, from an unidentified work (probably a *Cantata a voce sola e basso continuo*), belonged in recent years to William Cummings (Sale of 17-24 May, 1917, No. 132); later it was purchased by William Clark from Maggs Bros. (Catalogue 362, No. 2674—Christmas, 1917—with an illustration of the first page of the autograph, Plate V). Clark presented it to Walter Henry Rothwell, formerly (1920) conductor of the Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra, along with some other important autographs. In 1938, the autograph was purchased from Rothwell's daughter by the autograph dealer Paul Gottschalk, who sold it in the same year to Stefan Zweig.

IX. Ero e Leandro (Cantata con Stromenti)

1. RECITATIVO:

*Qual ti riveggio
Oh Dio, ah! vista che m'uccide
Così, così vieni a bearmi, idolo mio,
E pur questi occhi miei,
Leandro, ah! lasso.
Leandro, il mio conforto,
Ecco su queste vene esangue è morto.*

2. ARIA:

*Empio mare, onde crudeli,
Giusto è ben ch'io mi quereli
Della vostra crudeltà. (Fine)
Sei pur morto, o Caro, ed io
Veggio ancor, Leandro mio,
Viva in te la fedeltà. (Da Capo)*

3. RECITATIVO:

*Amor che ascose
Re suoi vaghi lumi
Da così dolce loco,
Porgeva esca al mio fuoco;
Ove fuggisti allor che tempo e morte
Tessero insidie
Al caro idolo mio?
Ah! tempo! Ah! morte!
Ah! crudo amore,
Oh Dio.*

4. ARIA:

*Se la morte non vorrà
Meco usar la crudeltà*

*Che già teco pratico,
 Pria del tempo, idolo amato,
 A te verrò. (Fine)*
*Che se morte a me s'asconde
 Di trovarla in mezzo all'onde,
 La tua fe' già m'insegnò. (Da Capo)*

5. RECITATIVO:

*Questi dalla mia fronte
 A forza svelti biondi crini
 Che lacci furo al cuor di Leandro
 E gl'ornamenti rinforzoni il tempo
 Ora gravosi impacci di mia beltà;
 Prenditi o mar,
 Tu chiudi nel profondo dell'acque
 Questi tesori miei,
 Un dì la salma attendi di colei
 Che più di questi al bel Leandro piacque.*

6. ARIA:

*Si muora, come son viva ancora,
 Si muora, in tanto e rio martir. (Fine)*
*Alma non troverai
 Cagion più bella mai,
 Più propria per morir. (Da Capo)*

7. RECITATIVO:

*Ecco gelide labbra
 Pegni della mia fè
 Gl'ultimi baci
 Dolce nido d'amor
 Pupille amate
 Quanto mi duol,
 Che chiusi rimirar non possiate
 L'ultimo sforzo
 D'un fedele amore.
 Sì odiosa e fiera in mar precipitossi
 Ove trovo la giovinetta ardita
 Morte, ad altri noiosa,
 A lei gradita.*

The autograph of this magnificent work, probably composed in Rome about 1708, was assembled from two sources:

1. The collection of Frau Maria Floersheim-Koch (now in Basel, Switzerland) pp. 1-33.
2. The Musikbibliothek Peters (Leipzig) pp. 34-41.

The complete autograph was owned in August 1837 by Aloys Fuchs, the Viennese collector; he evidently divided the autograph into two unequal parts for sale purposes: the larger fragment¹ passed successively into the collections of Siegfried Ochs and Louis Koch; the smaller fragment² was sold at auction on May 21, 1894 (*Versteigerung der Firma Albert Cohn, Berlin, No. 195*), when it came into the Peters collection (see *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters*, Vol. 1, p. 13). Fuchs wrote on an elaborately baroque title-page:

Diese Cantate (welche die Ballade "Hero und Leander" zum Gegenstand hat) componirte Händel während seines Aufenthaltes in Rom 1707 und die vorliegende Original-Partitur von Händel eigenhändig geschrieben, blieb in Rom zurück, bis 1834, wo es mir gelang, dieses Stück an mich zu bringen.

In this *Cantata* one clearly sees Händel's struggle to break away from traditional musical forms, and, conversely, his attempt to experiment with dramatico-musical declamation within the prescribed formal limits dictated by tradition. Undoubtedly, this feeling for experimentation owes much to the influence of Alessandro Scarlatti. Thus, the middle portion of the *aria* "Si muora" is a truly dramatic and, curiously enough, almost modern musical delineation of the text; while the beginning of the *aria* is merely conceived in good, substantial 18th-century idiom and could be easily accommodated to almost any text.

The thematic material of the *aria*, "Se la morte", appears frequently in Händel's later works:

- (1) The music slightly altered to accommodate a new text, "Non hò cor che per amarti", in *Agrippina* (*HG*, Vol. 57, p. 53); (2) in the duetto, "Tanti strali" (*HG*, Vol. 32ⁱⁱ, pp. 94-101); (3) in the final *Allegro* of the organ concerto, Op. 4, No. 3 (*HG*, Vol. 28, pp. 41-42); (4) in the *Gavotte* of the organ concerto, Op. 7, No. 5 (*HG*, Vol. 28, pp. 132-134); (5) in the *Presto* of the traversa sonata, Op. 1, No. 1a (*HG*, Vol. 27, p. 5); (6) in the *Presto* of the flauto sonata, Op. 1, No. 2 (*HG*, Vol. 27, p. 11).

X. Alessandro Severo: "Gli dirai" (Duetto)

*Gli dirai, dirò che amore,
Come il cor mi lega il piè. (Fine)*

¹ A photostat exists in the van Hoboken Photogramm-Archiv of the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna; there are microfilms in the Koch Collection at the Library of Congress and in the author's collection.

² A photostat exists in the author's collection.

*Gli dirai, dirò che sprezza,
Il tuo core ogni grandezza,
Se di lui dono non è. (Da Capo)*

* * *

Composed before February 25, 1738, this *Duetto* exists in a unique transcript by John Christopher Smith, Jr. (in the writer's collection) appearing in the first of three manuscript volumes of the complete vocal duets of Händel. *Alessandro Severo*, for the most part a *pasticcio* opera, contains some new material especially written for it; of this new material, only the *Overture* is published (*HG*, Vol. 48, pp. 104-107). The complete conducting score, a Smith, Jr. transcript, is a part of the Schoelcher collection in the Stadtbibliothek at Hamburg.

Session on
MUSIC AND SCIENCE
FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 15TH
AT 9:30 A. M.
at Columbia Broadcasting Theater No. 1
Dayton C. Miller presiding

The Psychology of Tone-Quality

Otto Ortmann

PEABODY CONSERVATORY, BALTIMORE

PROBABLY NO ASPECT or characteristic of tone interests the musician as much as that of quality. And, perhaps, no other aspect is as vague and as elusive, particularly when we attempt to hold it for later inspection and analysis. Quality, to the average musician, is that attribute in a tone other than its pitch, duration, or intensity. To the physicist, quality is the relationship between fundamental and partials.

According to the physical definition, all qualitative differences are the result of variations in the relation of fundamental and partials. But the term quality, in whatever language we find it, seems to borrow its nature from concepts not easily expressed in purely auditory terms. We find as synonyms: color, *Klangfarbe*, *timbro*, *timbre*. Now, the usual classification of tonal attributes, at least from the standpoint of the musician, has been: pitch, loudness, duration, and

quality. Quality thus is usually conceived as a fourth primary attribute, the nature of which is not to be found in any one of the other three attributes. But even the physical definition of relationship between fundamental and partials (which does consider the other attributes) is inadequate.

All sensations are reactions to external stimuli through some appropriately constituted end-organs. In hearing, these organs are the fine hair-cells of the inner ear; in vision, the rods and cones of the retina; in kinesthesia, the touch bulbs beneath the skin.

For any sensation to occur, three things, and only three, are necessary: a number of end-organs must be stimulated, they must be affected either to varying degrees or in varying arrangements, and they must be innervated for a sufficient period of time. In order for any sensation to result at all, the three conditions must jointly be present. If we eliminate any one of the three we destroy the entire sensation. But none of these conditions accounts in itself for the attribute of quality. Yet quality does not depend on a fourth condition; it is a resultant of the attributes produced by the three mentioned.

We may define quality as the total sensorial reaction to the simultaneous or immediately successive presence and merging of frequency, intensity, and duration. It is the psychological resultant of the degrees to which these physical attributes are present.

Accordingly, a change in any one of the three necessarily means a change in quality. Conversely stated, no two tones of different pitch, intensity, or duration can have the same quality, whether or not the fundamental-partial relationship remains the same. A low pure tone for all practical psychological purposes has a quality different from that of a high, pure tone. And since in such tones partials normally do not exist, this difference cannot be explained in terms of partials.

First of all, in a rigorous analysis of the term tone-quality we must eliminate those terms borrowed from other sense departments and applied, through association, to the tone itself. A pianist strikes the key with a rigid wrist, and says that the tone, therefore, is *hard*; a singer strains his throat and his tone, therefore, is *tight*. Although such descriptive terms have a psychological foundation, they do not form a part of this first stage of tone analysis. Instead we are here concerned with the effects of intensity, frequency, and duration upon tone-quality: first, through the changes in fundamental-partial rela-

tionship; and second, through duration changes, independent of this relationship.

Modern oscillographic technique permits high fidelity visual recording of wave-forms. These show that, in all musical instruments, with every change in intensity or in frequency there occur changes in the relationship between fundamental and partials. In many instances these changes vary widely, even for any one instrument. The familiar phrase "tone-quality of an instrument" is but a convenient generalization. It should be "tone-qualities"; for, when thus analyzed, the qualities of any musical instrument show a rich assortment varying with both intensity and pitch. Some idea is gained of the extent of these quality variations when we remember that under certain conditions the tones of one instrument are very difficult to distinguish from those of another: low flute tones from low trumpet tones, for example; soft bassoon from soft horn tones.

These differences, it is true, are basically the result of changes in the fundamental-partial relationships. Because this is true, physicists and acousticians in recent years have sought to construct by electronic means a tone-series in which the fundamental-partial relationship is a constant. On the basis of the physical definition of quality, any such series should produce tones all of one quality. But actually this is not true, because changes in pitch alone result in changes in quality for the ear itself, to say nothing of the change in end-organ reaction encountered as we approach the limits of any sensorial series. The physical frequency-intensity relation does not parallel the pitch-loudness relation. And, in audition, an additional variation is introduced by the particular sensitivity of the ear to a pitch region corresponding to the meatus resonance of the ear itself. Tone-quality, therefore, cannot be entirely expressed in terms of fundamental and partial relationship.

A still more interesting phenomenon is heard in the effects of variations upon tone-quality. When these are sufficiently rapid and embrace relatively small pitch and intensity variations, the tone heard is no longer a series of qualities, following the changes mentioned, but fuses into a single, new quality. This fusion is not inherent in the stimulus, but is psychological in nature. Perhaps the most conspicuous example is the vibrato, which, when the variants are in proper relation, actually makes the so-called "soul" of the tone and is often the primary determinant of its total quality.

The dependence of tone-quality upon duration is strikingly

shown when we take out sections of sustained tones and listen to each section separately. This can be appropriately done by making and breaking the circuit during the recording of a tone, leaving only the desired sections for later play-back. Piano tone lends itself particularly well to such analysis, since it receives its most pronounced characteristic from the noise-elements (and some tone) which are present only at tone-beginning. By damping the strings, we can separate even this sound-beginning into the noise-elements alone and these elements combined with tone. Conversely, by eliminating only the noisy beginning of the piano tone we can hear the continuant part of the tone which follows. On account of the brevity of the percussion characteristic of piano tone and the immediately following tonal residue, we cannot separate the two in our normal hearing of tones as they are produced in actual piano playing.

We can, however, do so when appropriate methods of recording are employed. The following analysis is based upon a series of records made in the Research Department of the Peabody Conservatory. These include single piano tones, scales and chords at various pitch levels, from which the initial percussive elements were eliminated; piano compositions in which only the noise-elements were retained; tones of other instruments, the duration of which was cut to one-tenth of a second, one-half a second, and one second approximately; and vocal tones stepped up electrically from a pianissimo to a fortissimo intensity. The last control permits a retention of the original fundamental-partial relationship. Finally, a series of vocal phrases with the vibrato speed slowed down to 43% and then 18% of the original was used to demonstrate the direct effect of this time element on the quality of the tone itself.

The most striking fact about the piano records is that no one, hearing them for the first time, recognizes the tone-quality as that of a piano. Professional musicians have given as judgments: double-bass, violoncello, violin, reed-organ, bassoon, and flute, depending partly upon the pitch region used and partly upon the character of the phrase played. Nor could other instruments be named when the duration of their tones was cut to one-tenth of a second. Instruments could be recognized, however, in some cases at a half-second's duration, and in more cases at a second's duration. For these durations, the relationship between fundamental and partials was kept constant for any one tone.

The dependence of differences in tone-quality upon the *rate* of change during the life of a tone likewise is a factor falling outside the physical field of overtone relationship. With a pure tone changing either in pitch or in intensity at various rates of speed, the total quality will depend, partly at least, upon the rate as well as the degree of the changes. When changes of pitch or intensity or both are introduced into a pure tone, previously heard without such variations, the tone loses its original quality.

Thus both the absolute length and the rate of change within a tone-duration are determinants of tone-quality. And, even in those instances where such changes are accompanied by changes in fundamental-partial relationship, the "quality" assigned to the sound is determined to a great extent by the *rate* of change itself, apart from the accompanying overtone changes. In fact, under normal conditions the changes are not perceived as changes but tend instead to build a single sustained quality.

The definition of tone-quality as the projection in consciousness of the simultaneous presence of the three primary attributes—frequency, intensity, and duration—enables us to account for the fusion of three independent physical variables into a psychological unity. It helps, further, to explain many of the descriptive terms which we borrow from other sense-departments. For we speak not only of loud and soft tones but also of dull and bright, sharp and round tones. Some terms, of course, can be explained only through extraneous association; others, however, have a more basic psychological similarity: namely, what may be called sensation pattern. For regardless of the particular sense-department, our end-organs must respond to variations in intensity, extensity, and duration of stimuli. When the relationships among these attributes are similar, the qualities of the sensations are such that an association becomes possible. Thus, for example, on the basis of little intensity: pale colors, soft touches, weak tones; or on the basis of gradual change in intensity: round visual objects, round kinesthetic objects, round tones.

Association of qualities is responsible also for a general classification on the basis of pleasantness and unpleasantness, but with this distribution we are not here concerned further than to say that as we approach the limits of any sensory series the pleasantness of a stimulus, other things being equal, tends to diminish.

By defining quality as the sensorial pattern resulting from a

psychological fusion of the three primary physical attributes, we remove, to a great extent at least, a confusion of terminology which, in view of the experimental results secured as well as of the actual experiences of the individual, has long since demanded a separation of the physical from the psychological.

Alfred Day and the Theory of Harmony

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THEORISTS have long sought for some principle or principles that would explain the nature of music from the viewpoint of harmony. Just why anyone should think that an art such as music should have even a moderately simple scientific explanation is hard to understand. As a matter of fact, it seems highly improbable that anything approaching a perfect explanation should ever be attained. And yet most of us doubtless feel that there are some fundamental laws of one kind or another governing the structure of music. The problem is to discover these laws and the foundations upon which they rest.

One of the greatest of all theorists, Jean Philippe Rameau, sought to base his theories on natural acoustical phenomena. Since his time there has been an almost unbroken line of theorists who have looked to the physical aspects of sound for the basis of their theories of harmony. But at the same time there have apparently always been other theorists who have opposed this view and have approached the subject in quite another manner. Such a one was Gottfried Weber, who did not attempt to explain chords or to give their derivation, but merely pointed out the chords used in music. Between these two extremes we find all kinds of books on harmony. Some of them try to explain, to tell the why of things, while others are content with the endeavor to describe what occurs in music and to classify the materials of harmony according to some more or less logical system.

In England, Alfred Day was probably the first theorist to attempt a theory of harmony on an acoustical basis. Although there has been constant and violent opposition to his theories, the influence of his work is still to be found in contemporary English text-books. In the present paper I propose to review very briefly the history of the Day controversy and to draw some conclusions which I believe are significant concerning the relation of the sciences of physical acoustics, physiology, psychology, and esthetics to the art of music and especially to the theory of harmony.

* * *

Alfred Day was born in London in 1810 and died in 1849 in the same city. Trained for the medical profession in London, Paris, and

Heidelberg, he practised in London as a homeopath. He was very much interested in music, however, and during the course of a number of years gradually evolved his theory of harmony. In 1838 Professor G. A. Macfarren, of the Royal Academy of Music, became interested in Day's theory and persuaded him to commit it to paper. When the treatise¹ was finally published in 1845, it was, as Macfarren tells us in the preface to the second edition, "received worse than coldly by the heads of the musical profession".

But Macfarren became the champion of the new theory, at one time even resigning his professorship because of opposition to his teaching of the Day theory.² He was soon reinstated, however, and in 1860 published his *The Rudiments of Harmony*, which was substantially a statement of Day's rules without the arguments for their support. Likewise his "Six Lectures on Harmony", delivered at the royal institution, were, as he says in the preface to the second edition, "framed with the avowed design of expanding Day's theory". Macfarren continued to defend Day's theory when it was attacked in the sessions of the Musical Association, and in 1886, the year before his death, edited the second edition of the treatise.

The first volume of the *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 1875, contains a paper "On the Fallacies of Dr. Day's Theory of Harmony, with a Brief Outline of the Elements of a New System" by Charles E. Stephens. Stephens does not criticize Day adversely for trying to base his system on acoustics, for he himself believes that the "materials and combinations of the Harmonist . . . are not arbitrary and conventional but are supplied by Nature herself."³ His chief criticism of Day's theory hinges on the belief that many of the overtones, such as the eleventh and thirteenth, as used by Day "have no harmonic existence whatever." Stephens offers a substitute theory which does not go beyond the major third in the harmonic series.

In 1884, Gerard F. Cobb read a paper "On Certain Principles of Musical Exposition Considered Educationally and with Special Reference to Current Systems of Musical Theory"⁴ in which he urged a broader basis for the science of harmony. He says:

Musical sounds may be considered under three aspects:—(1) Their

¹ Day, Alfred, *A Treatise on Harmony*. London: Harrison, 1845. Second Edition, edited with an appendix by G. A. Macfarren. London: Harrison, 1885.

² *Proceedings of the Musical Association*. London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1888, Vol. XIV, page 70.

³ Page 51.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 125-184.

cause and mode of transmission. (2) Their reception by our external sense, the ear. (3) Their effect, after that reception, on our internal sense or musical feeling.

After severe criticism of Day and his followers, he says:

The origin of music is neither physical nor physiological, but psychical, and it is only by methods of psychic analysis and observation that we can hope to explain it.

In closing, Cobb quotes Helmholtz to the effect that in the theory of music we have a problem which by its very nature belongs to the domain of esthetics.

In the *Proceedings* of 1888 appear the last two papers devoted to the Day theory. Prout contributes one of the papers and C. W. Pearce the other. Each paper suggests modifications of Day's theory. Prout's suggested changes need not concern us now, but Pearce's seem more radical. He proposes to set aside all reference to the natural harmonic series since, as he maintains, Day has two sides to his books:⁵

He is pre-eminently *psychical*, but he tries to be *physical* as well. Here he makes his great mistake. Physics and psychics are as far asunder now as ever they were in the days of Pythagoras and Aristoxenus . . . The one object of this paper is to show the untruth and worthlessness of Day's *physics*, and to prove that when his book is stripped of its pretended and false science his psychics still remain, not only uninjured by the separation, but immensely improved.

Pearce goes on to say that the great contribution of Day after all is "that method of chord-classification which he founded upon his observation of the practice of the greatest musical composers."⁶

* * *

Before examining the Day theory further let us consider for a moment the relation of science to music. Recently in a paper on "The Meaning of Music" I had occasion to attempt to formulate a comprehensive, scientific definition of music. The result was the following:⁷

Music is the interplay of the organism with its environment in the organization and manipulation of the sensory materials of sound in which the

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, page 174.

⁶ *Loc. cit.*, page 177.

⁷ Paper read at the first American Congress for Aesthetics, Scranton, Pa., April, 1939.

values involved have to do with the pleasurable aspect of the experience as such.

If this definition has any significance at all, the logical conclusion must be that music is conditioned by physical, physiological, psychological, and esthetic factors, as well as by all other factors which are or may be conceivably related to this activity.

Thus, so far as the theory of harmony is concerned, each auxiliary science makes its own peculiar contribution to our knowledge and understanding of the subject. Physics, physiology, psychology, esthetics, and related sciences should naturally culminate in a philosophy of music which interprets and explains relations. The theory of harmony has its systematic and historical aspects. Any scheme of systematization must proceed in terms of certain criteria which will be determined in part by the end in view. Thus, on the one hand, theory may try to explain just as a matter of understanding without any so-called practical ends in view. On the other hand, it may aim to organize its materials for didactic and practical purposes. To some extent these two aims may produce results in common and it seems reasonable to assume that so far as practicable this correspondence should be sought.

However, the situation is very complex and it seems very unlikely that the ideal can be attained. Practical harmony may be regarded as more of an art while the theory of harmony is more of a science. Art is basically a matter of doing; science has to do rather with understanding. The study of the scale, for example, involves radically different treatment in practical harmony from what it does in the theoretical study of harmony. The history of music shows that practical harmonies may be scientifically unsound and yet the artistic results may be good.

The study of the theory of harmony may well begin with the investigation of the works of the masters. It may consist primarily in an attempt to describe what happens in a given style period. For practical artistic purposes this may be almost all that is necessary. But scientific theory cannot, obviously, be content with description; it is concerned with the whys of the various procedures. And this is where the acoustic, physio-psychological, and esthetic sciences enter. An absolute answer to the various problems can probably never be attained but a relatively comprehensive and correct answer, based upon all the aspects of the situation, doubtless can.

If this brief analysis is approximately correct, it must strike us

as very strange indeed that so many writers, even in recent times, have taken such obviously inadequate views of the matter as they have. Let me cite just a few samples. John Redfield writes:⁸

In the last analysis, music is something happening in the air; and it is nothing else.

Llewelyn S. Lloyd, in his book *Music and Sound*, states:⁹

What matters to the musician is the sensation transmitted from his ear to his brain and nothing else. What happens outside the ear is of no importance to him except in the way it affects his sensations through the ear.

James L. Mursell claims:¹⁰

The art of music is a creation of the mind. All its characteristic and organizing principles depend upon the action of the mind. . . . Thus if we are to have any ultimate explanation of music, it is bound to be in terms of psychology.

And as a final example I quote Herbert Westerby, who, some years ago, wrote:¹¹

I only trust that . . . in this twentieth century we shall witness a period in which the acoustical explanations of Day and Riemann will be kept in their own sphere and the esthetic fabric of Harmony will be based upon and governed by esthetic considerations only.

Each of these statements may contain certain elements of truth in the context in which it was made, but insofar as the implication is that any one of the sciences involved alone has the key to the situation, this implication would seem to be erroneous. Only by the complete collaboration of all these sciences can we hope to approach the relatively comprehensive answer.

* * *

Let us now briefly examine Day's *Treatise on Harmony*, especially in the light of the foregoing discussion. In *Part I*, which is entitled "Diatonic Harmony, or Harmony in the Strict Style", I have been able to find little or no reference to acoustics. The whole treatment seems to be based upon psychological and logical or systematic

⁸ *Music, A Science and an Art*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928, page 1.

⁹ London: Oxford University Press, 1937, page xii.

¹⁰ *The Psychology of Music*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1937, page 13.

¹¹ "The Dual Theory in Harmony," *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 1902, Vol. XXIX, page 29.

assumptions. He mentions simply that the common chords of the tonic, dominant, and subdominant, "supply" the various notes in both major and minor scales.¹² His law for the treatment of prepared discords is, as he says, "deduced from the best writings".¹³ The first reference to acoustics is in *Part II* where he says that "chromatic" discords do not need preparation because "they may be said to be already prepared by nature."¹⁴ Incidentally he immediately refers to the fact that the dominant discords were so used comparatively early in the history of music. Although he mentions the harmonics in nature as the source of the higher dominant dissonances he hastens to add:¹⁵

It appears to me that the great thing to be avoided, in a treatise on *practical* as well as theoretical harmony is, making the mathematical part of music of undue importance. . . The great use of mathematics as applied to music . . . is, to determine whence any chord springs, and to settle any doubtful points of notation in harmony or passage.

And more than once he mentions the necessity of regarding the chords in their context.

Day turns to acoustics to find the three notes which are taken as the foundation of the chromatic scale when he chooses the dominant and its third harmonic in addition to the tonic as generators. But his reasons for choosing them are partly logical and psychological:¹⁶

1st. All notes which are used in the scale of any given key, should also be capable of being harmonized in the key.

2nd. No two notes of the same name, but of a different pitch, can be sounded together, unless one of them be a passing note.

Other reasons are added but this is enough to show his type of reasoning.

On the next page comes the remarkable paragraph that has probably caused most of the trouble. Here Day derives the majority of the common chords from the higher dominant dissonances, even accounting for the submediant triad as an incomplete dominant thirteenth chord.

Day's rules for the progression of parts in chromatic harmony

¹² *Op. cit.*, page 7.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, page 21.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, page 51.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, page 52.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, page 53.

are based not on acoustical but on psychological grounds. One of his chief criteria is that the progression should remain "in key". This is hardly a matter of acoustics. Even the arguments for his classification of the chord of the added sixth as a part of an incomplete dominant eleventh are as much psychological in character as they are acoustical. I am not, of course, raising the question of the validity of his arguments although some of his logic is certainly very doubtful.

The extreme limits of explanation are reached when Day deals with the augmented sixth chords. Day derives these chords from two roots, and by this means explains the flattened fifth of the chromatic supertonic seventh as the minor ninth of the dominant. Whatever the justification for this conclusion may be, it must be based upon psychological rather than acoustical grounds. It is interesting in passing to note that C. H. Kitson still refers to this derivation of the flattened fifth in his harmony text.¹⁷

* * *

There is no need to go into a detailed discussion of the fallacies of the Day theory of harmony. Most of these are extensively discussed in the *Proceedings of the Musical Association* and in Matthew Shirlaw's *The Theory of Harmony*.¹⁸ The point I wish to emphasize is that the opponents of Day who, because they found fault with his attempted application of acoustical principles to the theory of harmony, have gone to the other extreme and have claimed that the science of acoustics has nothing to do with music, have gone altogether too far. The most comprehensive theory of harmony will doubtless be one which takes into account the basic facts of all the auxiliary sciences. It will study the works of the masters, attempting to describe what happens with respect to the treatment of the various harmonic materials. It will seek to explain what it finds in terms of all the sciences involved, and will try to systematize and organize its findings according to the principles of scientific methodology. There will doubtless need to be two distinctly different types of theory book: one which applies the whole resources of scholarly methodology to the end of understanding what is going on in music, and the other which attempts to interpret and adapt the findings of musicology for use in teaching.

Day's theory breaks down at many points, and in countless places

¹⁷ *The Evolution of Harmony*. Second edition. London: Oxford University Press, 1924, page 318.

¹⁸ London: Novello, 1917, pages 411 ff.

one is very much irritated, partly because of the dogmatic way in which topics are presented. Nevertheless the systematization of harmonic materials, much of the discussion concerning the treatment of the dissonance, the idea of resolving almost all chords into the dominant as the natural resolution of higher dominant dissonances—these and many other features of the system challenge our attention and are worthy of the careful consideration of every theorist.

The Evolution of Javanese Tone-Systems

Manfred F. Bukofzer

NEW YORK

THE TWO BEST-KNOWN TONE-SYSTEMS of Javanese music are *Pelog* and *Salendro* (or *Slendro*), both based on pentatonic scales, the former using half-tones, the latter avoiding them. This difference produces a striking contrast between the two systems, which the Javanese feel much more strongly than we do. The half-steps or leading-tones of the *Pelog* scale, causing alternation of suspense and relaxation, make the *Pelog* melody more emotional than the *Salendro*. According to Javanese conception *Pelog* represents the female gender, *Salendro* the male. The two tone-systems have therefore much the same relation as our major and minor modes, to which the same contrast of gender is often ascribed.

The Javanese do not speak literally of two systems but of two tunings or modes. We, however, had better maintain the use of the word "system" because we must distinguish, in each of the things the term represents, three modes or *patets*. The word *patet* is derived from the Sanskrit word *pat* and is actually the same word as our "path". As we shall see later this term does not refer to the scale, but originally denotes the outline or path of the melody.

The three *Pelog* modes are called after three tones of the *Pelog* scale, namely, *patet bem* or *nem*, *patet pelog* or *limo*, and *patet barang*. The three *Salendro patets* are obviously related to the three Hindu voice-registers (*sthānas*) which we cannot discuss here. Suffice it to say that the term *patet* was applied originally to *Salendro* only. Transferred to *Pelog* it changed its meaning to what we call a mode.

The tone names of the *Pelog* scales are as follows:

<i>bem</i> or <i>penoengoel</i> ,	<i>goeloe</i> ,	<i>dodo</i> ,	<i>pelog</i> ,	<i>limo</i> ,	<i>nem</i> ,	<i>barang</i>
meaning: head	throat,	chest,	exchangeable,	five,	six,	matter (exchange- able)

We cannot, at this time, undertake the discussion of the very interesting nomenclature. I only want to emphasize that the first three names are translations of the old Hindu terms. *Limo* and *nem* simply

mean five and six, designating the fifth and sixth tones of the scale. *Pelog* and *barang* are *sorogan* which means "exchangeable tones". These *sorogan* occur only in the *pelog* or *barang* mode respectively, as substitutes for the tones *dodo* and *bem*.

We can transcribe the *Pelog* scale fairly accurately into our letter notation thus:

$$e \ f^+ \ g \ (a^+) \ b \ c' \ (d^-) \ e'$$

The main mode *Pelog patet nem* is the most frequently used. It consists of $f^+ \ g \ b \ c' \ e'$. In *Pelog patet limo* the tone a^+ (*pelog*) replaces the tone g (*dodo*), resulting in the scale $e \ f^+ \ a^+ \ b \ c' \ e'$. The third *patet*: *Pelog patet barang* makes no use of the tone e' (*bem*), replacing it with d^- (*barang*). Thus we have: $f^+ \ g \ b \ c' \ d^-$.

The three modes, then, are selections from the seven available tones of the *Pelog* system. This point should be kept in mind since it will prove to be important later on. What principle controls the selection, and why no other than just those three tones are *sorogan* (exchangeable), have been matters of controversy. Mr. Jaap Kunst¹ has pointed out that the tones in question (e , a , and d^-) can be arranged in the circle of fifths, and he interprets the relative position of the modes as tonic, subdominant, and dominant. This is obviously a European point of view; it is not even certain that early European monody, such as Gregorian chant and the troubadour songs, conforms with the dominant-tonic relation, and it is far more unlikely that this relation should occur in Javanese music. I cannot disentangle here the manifold problems raised by this question, but I want to stress the fact that the three tones are separated by fourths. We shall see that the fourth is the structural interval of the *Pelog* system. The three tones e , a , and d^- of the three respective modes are not, as one might assume in view of Kunst's claim, basic tones such as the tonic. Their function is not even that of a *finalis* in the ecclesiastical modes. I should prefer to speak of "characterizing" tones, because they do not have to occur very often, though they impart a peculiar character to the melodic design, which the native recognizes at once as typical of a particular *patet*. The European hearer cannot equal the native's speed in recognizing *patet* distinctions; he cannot determine the *patet* as readily as he can distinguish major from minor.

¹ Jaap Kunst, *De Toonkunst van Java*, The Hague, 1934. In the spelling of Javanese tone-names I have retained the Dutch transliteration (e.g., *goeloe* instead of *gulu*).

Between *Pelog* and *Salendro*, however, the line of demarcation is more distinctly drawn than between our major and minor.

From the strictly musical point of view *Pelog* inevitably calls for the use of minor seconds and major thirds (similar to the Japanese scale)—the actual size of the intervals deviating more or less from the European norm. A succession of minor seconds and major thirds is as typical a melodic feature as are broken triads in trumpet melodies. The emotional character of the *Pelog* melody contrasts with that produced by the *Salendro* intervals, which show much similarity to our pentatonic scale without half-tones (our "folk-song" scale). No minor seconds ever occur here. Although our ears seem to distinguish in *Salendro* a succession of major seconds and minor thirds, the actual size of the intervals is tempered today in the direction of equality of all steps. This temperament has not yet been accurately realized, but there is no question that it is intended. The ideal size of each of the five *Salendro* whole-tones is 240 cents.

The size of the *Pelog* intervals cannot be stated so easily. Contrary to our fixed tone-system, *Pelog* is what I should like to call a flexible tone-system—that is, the size of the intervals varies within a certain range, although the whole still remains a system. Since the general acceptance of von Hornbostel's theory of the blown fifth² (*Blasquintentheorie*) the *Pelog* scale has repeatedly been described as 156 156 366 156 366 c. According to this scheme, the scale is ostensibly determined by two fixed intervals. The theory of the blown fifth, evolved primarily to explain the derivation of the *Pelog* tuning, is no longer tenable, as I have shown elsewhere.³ Moreover, the theory has been a serious hindrance to the unbiased analysis of the scales. As long as the intervals were considered as more or less close approximations to the "ideal" ones, the real structure of the *Pelog* tuning could not be accurately described.

Pelog is basically a tetrachordal, not a pentachordal system. There is reason to believe that tone-systems based on the fourth are generally older than those based on the fifth. The fundamental tetrachord is divided into a descending major third ($e' - c'$) and minor second ($c' - b$). It should be kept in mind that either interval can be

²Erich M. von Hornbostel, "Musikalische Tonsysteme", in Geiger and Scheel's *Handbuch der Physik*, Vol. VIII, 430. (Berlin, 1927)

³Manfred F. Bukofzer, "Präzisionsmessungen an primitiven Musikinstrumenten", in *Zeitschrift für Physik*, 99 (1936), 643 and "Kann die 'Blasquintentheorie' zur Erklärung exotischer Tonsysteme beitragen?", in *Anthropos*, XXXII (1937), 402.

somewhat larger, so that the whole tetrachord may cover nearly a tritone. The main point is the succession of a large interval and a small one. As a matter of fact the size of the individual intervals is of secondary importance, provided that they are kept in the proper proportion to each other.

A valuable confirmation of this view is supplied by a type of Javanese orchestra, the *Gamelan Moenggang*. Its tuning is restricted to three tones only. We may take this as a third tone-system, besides *Salendro* and *Pelog*. The tuning of the *Gamelan Moenggang* is actually a sort of rudimentary *Pelog*, using the upper tetrachord of the *Pelog* scale. Since we always have only three tones in the *Moenggang* tuning, we had better speak here of a trichord. The *sorog* (exchangeable tone) appears only in the complete *Pelog* system.

Moenggang orchestras are extremely rare—only about 13 among more than 17,000 existing *Gamelan*. According to Javanese tradition, this kind of *Gamelan* is both the oldest and the most venerable. Many legends show the high esteem people have for it. The *Moenggang* music makes a rather poor impression on us from the standpoint of melodic variety. But we should not judge it from our esthetic point of view; the Javanese value it rather for the magic power they impute to it. The tuning here is usually $e'-c'-b$. The size of the tetrachord varies between a perfect fourth and a tritone. Here again the essential element in the tonal structure is the succession of a large interval and a small one. The *Moenggang* pitch is probably intended to coincide with that of the regular *Pelog* tetrachord, and the deviations are very likely due to the sanctity of the *Moenggang*, because of which one no longer dares to tune the instruments.

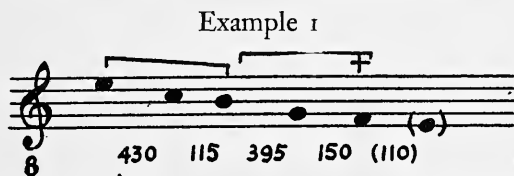
The *Pelog* system expanded the *Moenggang* trichord by adding another one of roughly the same structure. A point of great importance is that these two tetrachords are *conjunct*, the tone b forming the end of the upper and the beginning of the lower tetrachord:

$$\begin{array}{cccc} e' & c' & b & \\ & & b & g \ f^+ \end{array}$$

Here we have the basis of the *Pelog* system. Further evidence in favor of this conception of the scale-structure may be gathered from the fact that the tone *goeloe* (f^+) actually delimits the scale. The tone e , completing the octave, is lacking on a number of instruments, which indicates that it was inserted later. In view of the tetrachordal structure of the *Pelog* system, we can easily understand why the

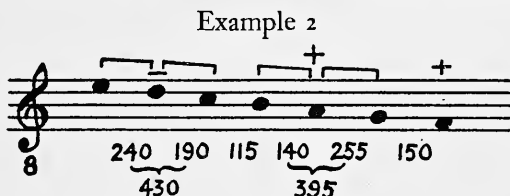
designation of the two tones *barang* (d'^{-}) and *pelog* (a^{+}) as exchangeable (*sorogan*) is justified. They fill the larger steps with intermediate tones, thus establishing the two further modes.

Let us turn now to the actual size of the intervals. On the basis of data derived from about one hundred measurements, I have assembled statistics on the *Pelog* intervals. This is the result:



As the table shows, the step $g - f^{+}$ is about half-way between a half-step and a whole-step.

A significant result of the statistics comes to light when we examine the pitch of the two exchangeable tones (d'^{-} and a^{+}), which divide the two thirds into unequal parts in a most peculiar manner. The interval $e' - c'$ (the higher third) is divided in such a way that the higher step ($e' - d'^{-}$) is larger than the lower ($d'^{-} - c'$). For the lower third ($b - g$) the opposite is true. The relation between the two parts of each split interval is constant. There is hardly any exception to this rule among the multitude of *Pelog* scales. Our statistics are confirmed by some especially carefully tuned *Gamelan*. The average values of a typical *Pelog* scale are as follows:



It should be emphasized again that this is not an "ideal" *Pelog* scale with fixed intervals. Such a thing does not exist. But we have here the mean values within the limits of deviation. It is not surprising that the intervals do not tally with those given by the theory of the blown fifth, which theory overlooked the tetrachordal structure of the scale. This structure, moreover, should have been recognized, since the *Pelog* melodies clearly display tetrachordal design.

The *Salendro* system is supposed to have nothing in common

with the *Pelog*. Yet there is a relationship, which must be explained in some detail. The origin claimed for the *Salendro* system by the theory of the blown fifth is much too complicated to be discussed here. The process of derivation is trifold—that is to say, it presupposes a theoretical circle, which has to be adjusted three times. The working hypothesis I wish to submit in its place is based on both historical and practical evidence.

The Javanese believe *Salendro* to be older than *Pelog*, though *Moenggang* is considered the oldest of all. A Javanese legend tells us that the god Shiva introduced the *Salendro* system to the Javanese, and that *Pelog* sprang up later, through the addition of two tones. There is, however, no doubt that *Pelog* is actually older, and this is partially confirmed by the Javanese myth admitting that *Moenggang* is the oldest tuning. Since *Moenggang* and *Pelog* are related, we have at least indirect evidence for the priority of the *Pelog* system over the *Salendro*. We cannot present the further details here, but shall take this priority for granted.

How can one show an interdependence between *Pelog* and *Salendro*? The intervals are entirely different, although all tone names used in the latter system are used in the former also. Those retained in *Salendro* are: *barang*, *goeloe*, *dodo*, *limo*, and *nem*. They are obviously derived from the *Pelog* scale; for, strangely enough, *nem* means six, as we have seen, although the complete *Salendro* scale contains only five tones. We see how mechanically the transfer of the *Pelog* names to the *Salendro* scale must have been made.

It seems that *Salendro* is derived by selecting five tones from the complete *Pelog* scale. To explain the rather simple process of selection, we shall give the *Pelog* and *Salendro* scales, one under the other, starting with *barang*, the first tone of the *Salendro* system:

<i>Pelog:</i>	<i>barang</i>	<i>bem</i>	<i>goeloe</i>	<i>dodo</i>	<i>pelog</i>	<i>limo</i>	<i>nem</i>	<i>barang</i>
	↓	↓		↓	↓		↓	↓
	240	110	150	255	140	115	190	240
<i>Salendro:</i>	<i>barang</i>	<i>goeloe</i>		<i>dodo</i>	<i>limo</i>		<i>nem</i>	<i>barang</i>
	240		260	255	255		190	240

The result of this selection is actually a *Salendro* scale without minor seconds and with roughly equal steps. As may easily be noted, three tones of the original *Pelog* scale are untouched, while two have changed their names. The above selection does not result from mere theoretical experiment without practical confirmation.

Fortunately, we know of an instrument of the *Gamelan* which, in spite of its fixed pitch, is used in both *Pelog* and *Salendro*. This is the bamboo recorder, the *Soeling*, with six finger holes. When the player changes from *Pelog* to *Salendro*, he keeps his fingers permanently on the second and fifth finger holes which, open, would give the tones *goeloe* and *limo*. In former times, these holes were plugged with wax. It is important to note that the same fingering that gives the tone *pelog* in the *Pelog* system is used in the *Salendro* system for the tone *limo*. To put it in another way: as a result of the change from *Pelog* to *Salendro*, the tone *pelog* is called *limo*. This is why *pelog* and *limo* correspond in the above table. The other instance of correspondence is between *bem* and *goeloe*. I have not been able to find any account of this change of name.

The fingering on the *Soeling* is a weighty argument in support of my hypothesis, in addition to which some other evidence should be discussed. The old legend about the origin of the tone-systems mentions two tones as later additions to the original scale. It may not be mere chance that these tones are *bem* and *pelog*, exactly those whose names are changed when one changes from *Pelog* to *Salendro*. We have here once more the common experience that myth contains a kernel of truth.

When we consider the size of the steps in the derived *Salendro* scale, we notice that one interval fits the scheme only fairly well, namely, *nem-barang* = 190 cents. This is, to be sure, the interval that was tempered first, through a slight lowering of the pitch of *nem*. This can be confirmed by practical comparison. If the *Pelog* system is really the mother of the *Salendro* scale, the relationship should still be recognizable today, in spite of the fact that the two systems have developed differently. Let us compare a few *Pelog* and *Salendro* scales in the forms they have today. Although these tunings⁴ belong to different orchestras and come from different parts of the island, the *Salendro* values coincide with the equivalent *Pelog* values not only in the size of the steps but even in pitch, so that the corresponding scales actually are practically the same.

XIII, 5 and I, 5.

294	314	340	398	425	460	514	588	(<i>Pelog</i>)
293		342	393		452	516	586	(<i>Salendro</i>)

⁴ The tunings in the following table are given in vibration numbers. The Roman numerals refer to the tables in Volume II of Kunst's *Toonkunst van Java*.

XIV, 10 and XVIII, 11.

269	290	312.5	373.5	395.5	420	466	538	(<i>Pelog</i>)
269		317	368		420	476	538	(<i>Salendro</i>)

XIV, 4 and I, 3 (higher octave).

262.5	283.5	312	368	391	414	458	524	(<i>Pelog</i>)
261.5		311	365		410	470	522	(<i>Salendro</i>)

Through this comparison we have taken two steps at once, for we have shown not only that a selection performed in the described manner yields a scale with *Salendro* intervals, but also that the pitches of the corresponding tones frequently coincide. We observe, moreover, that the step *nem-barang* is the least precise one, since this is the point where the levelling of the temperament first took place.

The fact that *Pelog* and *Salendro* have at least one tone whose pitch is the same in both systems is well known to the Javanese themselves. Most of the greater *Gamelan* consist of two sections, *Pelog* and *Salendro*, which, naturally, are never played simultaneously. The tuning tone ("concert pitch") of Javanese music is *nem* and in either section of the *Gamelan* the tone *nem* often has the same pitch. In this case the Javanese speak of *toemboek nem*, which means literally "coincidence of *nem*". The question of the *toemboek* has not yet been thoroughly investigated, but it does show that the pitch-relationship is known to the Javanese.

We have not yet discussed one point which some may consider the most important of all. It seems unlikely that the Javanese should have suddenly tried to create another scale, especially if their music was accredited with magical powers. The creation of a new scale must have been brought about by influence from without. We know that Java was overrun during the 8th century by Buddhist immigrants, who superimposed their Buddhist culture on the pre-Buddhist stratum. The temple of *Boroboedoer* is a beautiful example of the amalgamation. The Buddhist music, as is well known, is strictly pentatonic without half-tones. The Buddhists presumably did not carry along their instruments on their migration. The pentatonic scale without half-tones was the only one known to them, and they naturally tried to reproduce this scale on the *Pelog* instruments, which they found fully developed on Java. *Pelog* instruments do actually yield a pentatonic scale without half-steps, in which the tones are almost equidistant. The makeshift selection completely destroyed the original *Pelog* character of the scale, but the result was a special form of Javanese scale which then became known as *Salendro*.

The ascription of the *Salendro* system to the Buddhists is confirmed by the etymology of the word *Salendro*. The intruders were subjects of the dynasty of *Sailendra* ("Master of the Mount"). According to modern linguistic research, "*Sailendra*" is actually identical with the word *Salendro*. Thus the new scale was named after the people who first used it, just as in Greek music the modes were called after the different tribes to which they were ascribed—Phrygian, Lydian, etc. If *Salendro* was really derived from *Pelog* under Buddhist influence, we have discovered a perfect parallel to what happened in the other arts in Java. In them, the clash of the pre-Buddhist and the Buddhist cultures caused a cultural interpenetration resulting in the specific Javanese style. It would be amazing if a similar amalgamation had not taken place in music. Such an origin of the *Salendro* system—which, significantly enough, did not revert to the usual pentatonic scale, but preserved the equidistant intervals—explains the fact that *Salendro* is found almost exclusively on Java and Bali. Being a comparatively young tone-system, it has not spread from its place of origin except to Thailand.

* * *

In conclusion, the arguments put forward in this paper might be summarized thus:

- 1) The fourth has been shown to be the structural interval of the *Pelog* and *Moenggang* systems. Thus, the older stratum of Javanese music has something in common with ancient Greek, Japanese, and (to some extent) even American Indian music.
- 2) If we explain the *Salendro* system as derived from the *Pelog* scale, we must conclude that some of the tone names were transferred from the older system to the younger. This is confirmed by the fingering on the *Soeling*.
- 3) The size of the steps selected from *Pelog* fits a regular *Salendro* scale.
- 4) The tones in *Pelog* and *Salendro* often coincide even in pitch.
- 5) The coincidence is partly known to the Javanese under the term *toemboek*.
- 6) The etymology of the word *Salendro* enables us to determine the age and the chronology of the *Salendro* system.

In comparison with the theory of the blown fifth we may say that our working hypothesis presupposes no theoretical speculation.

The process of selection is simple and adequate to the culture under consideration. The three modes in *Pelog* are produced by similar selections from the complete scale. We compare no theoretical values with practical ones, but only existing scales with each other.

Perhaps all our conclusions are questionable; if so, we are still confronted with facts that must then be explained in another way. In the present state of comparative musicology, we must be satisfied to have drawn attention to some important facts, even if all efforts to explain them should fail.

Music Written for Radio

Davidson Taylor

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM

NEW YORK

WHEN I WAS ASKED to address this Congress, it occurred to me that I might be able to gather a certain amount of factual and critical evidence about music written specially for radio broadcasting, whether commissioned or otherwise. I undertook to gather such evidence from musicians in many nations. The results obtained convince me that the field for such an investigation is large enough to command the respect of any musicologist, and that, in order to do the question justice, I should have had a thoroughgoing musical education, prepared myself as a research man, and then spent at least six years on the topic.

In other words, I offer you in the data I have been able to assemble only a fraction of the facts discoverable about music written for radio. I hope that someone with more equipment and more time will be stimulated to approach the project with infinitely greater thoroughness.

I have conducted this inquiry along the following lines: What effect has radio had upon the composition of serious music? Has it stimulated composers to produce for radio as a medium? Has it paid them anything? Have they achieved in the medium any results which would otherwise have been unobtainable? Again, I can venture only rather fragmentary replies to these inquiries. But of course I have a bias. I think writing music for radio is enormously important, and I hope to convince you that this is so.

* * *

First, let me refer to earlier efforts to gather materials on this subject. They will give you some idea of its scope.

I am indebted to Mr. A. R. Burrows, Secretary-General of the Union Internationale de Radiodiffusion of Geneva, for data which indicate some rather extensive vistas.

As early as 1930, the Council of the Union instructed the office of the Secretary-General to collect each month "all available information as to music specially written for broadcasting and to communicate the information received periodically to members of

the Union". Mr. Burrows says, "For a number of months these lists were received (almost exclusively from Germany and Russia)."

In June, 1933, the UIR issued a bulletin¹ dealing with "European methods of giving to listeners an active interest in broadcasting". One section of the bulletin is headed "Radiogenic music", and it deserves quotation:

Despite the existence of contrary opinions there are still broadcasters who believe that the conditions under which broadcasting performances are given and received provide scope for a new (radiogenic) form of musical composition. It is felt, for example, that certain sound effects which have a definite place in compositions to be performed in the presence of the listener have no value in a performance radiated by wireless, and that, on the other hand, it is possible to conceive of new combinations of sound and tonal values achieved through new methods of orchestration, which will give to broadcast music a distinctive character. The most ambitious experiment in this field during 1932 was made by the Italian broadcasting organization which opened a competition for radiogenic music. One essential for competing works was that they should have been written specially for radio, and for not less than five instruments or more than twenty-five. Further, they should not exceed ten minutes in duration. The works were performed at the second festival of modern music at Venice in the autumn of 1932 and broadcast during their performance. 8890 listeners took part in the voting. The first prize of 2500 lire was won by the composer G. Cesare Sonzognò for a composition of a rural character, the second prize going to a suite of dances.

The Spanish broadcasting organization—Union Radio—made in 1932 an interesting departure in radio competitions by creating a competition not only for a symphony written specially for broadcasting but by opening it to composers *in all countries*. Later in the year the same organization opened a second competition (to Spanish and Spanish-American entrants) for the composition of a *zarzuela*—a mixture of music and dialogue peculiar to Spanish entertainment. In the Catalan district of Spain during 1932 a prize was offered by Radio Barcelona for a suite in several movements associated with the Festival of Saint Christina de Lloret de Mar, written for a quintet

In 1935, one of the members of the UIR asked for a detailed inquiry concerning the practice of ordering works composed specially for broadcasting purposes. The questionnaire² issued by the Union inquired about three types of works. The first were musical

¹ Series No. 3738-A

² Series No. 4873.

compositions destined uniquely for radio broadcasting. The second were adaptations of extant operatic works for broadcasting. The third were works which attempted a new radiophonic form, uniting music with another of the arts, such as literature or poetry. We shall concern ourselves merely with the specially written radio pieces.

The questionnaire was addressed to twenty-six countries. The countries which did not reply were Egypt, Esthonia, Finland, Holland and Portugal. The countries which replied that they had done nothing with music specially written for radio were Algeria, Austria, Danzig, Spain, France, Ireland, Italy, Morocco, Norway, Roumania and Jugoslavia. Replies came from nine countries which stated they had ordered radio music to be written. May I point out that the Italian broadcasting organization, the Ente Italiano Audizioni Radiofoniche, and probably other companies, had accepted and performed radio works before 1935, even though they had issued no commissions up to that year.

The UIR details the replies to the questionnaire in a bulletin³ which requires brief analysis.

Germany alone, of all nations questioned, stated that commissioned works had turned out to be unsatisfactory. The Reichs Rundfunk Gesellschaft added that it had also attempted works in the radio medium uniting other arts with music, but that "these essays have been without importance"—a sweeping statement.

Replies from other countries may be summarized as follows; it should be remembered that they all relate to activities of 1935 and earlier.

The Belgians had commissioned various orchestral scores for radio plays. The text was given to the composer, but the choice of instrumentation, vocal treatment, and other matters was left to his discretion. The results were satisfactory. They had also commissioned a set of *Contrapuntal Variations in the Radiophonic Style* by Brusselmans. The title stirs one to speculation.

Hungary had commissioned from T. Polgar melodramatic works on *Puszta* (text by Szalay), *Chopin* (text by Csanády), and *Vie au bois de ville* (text by Komor and Innocent). The Hungarian broadcasters did not prescribe the musical apparatus to be employed. They considered the results satisfactory, but voiced the belief that better works for radio were obtainable if the station offered some guidance

³ Series No. 5109.

to the composer than if he were allowed to work in complete liberty from radio advice on the peculiarities of the medium.

In 1934, as the result of a contest, the radio in Latvia performed a set of *Symphonic Variations on a Theme of J. Vitolis*, composed by J. Graubins; a suite for orchestra by J. Medins called *Impressions of Autumn*; and a *Symphonic Meditation* by L. Garuta. The prize works were required to be written for double orchestra, but there were no other regulations; the Latvian radio company felt that works written freely obtained better results than those which were supervised while being composed for radio.

Radiotjänst of Sweden had held a competition for orchestral works utilizing popular melodies for choirs and soloists. The Swedish broadcasters were fairly well satisfied with the results. They felt that their supervision of conditions for the compositions was productive of superior results for this sort of music.

The Swiss had commissioned from C. Hemmerling a work called *La Passion de Roncevaux*, performed at Lausanne, and in 1932 had performed two radio works by Arthur Honegger—a *Sinfonietta*, *Pastorale de Noël*, and an organ piece for Christmas time described as a "radio panorama".

The Czechoslovakians had commissioned a radio opera, about which I know only that the radio company prescribed the text and made certain restrictions on the form and size of the work.

Yugoslavia had commissioned no works, but had performed from Zagreb certain pieces written specially for radio on the composer's own initiative. The Yugoslavian broadcasters state tantalizingly, "These works interested the listeners a great deal", but I have not been able to obtain any list of titles.

From Great Britain and Poland, the other countries to whom this UIR questionnaire was addressed in 1935, I have direct information.

* * *

You will recall that the Reichs Rundfunk Gesellschaft stated in this UIR report of 1935 that the works for the microphone which they had presented were unsatisfactory. Mr. Herrmann Scherchen writes me that four works were written for the Rundfunk at his suggestion: *Hölderlin*, by Josef Matthias Hauer, for speaking voice, choir and orchestra; *Festliches Präludium*, by Karl Höffer; *Two Etudes* for Orchestra, by Wladimir Vogel; and the *Lustige Suite* of Ernst Toch. Mr. Scherchen thinks the works by

Höffer and Toch were more successful than the others. "Despite my advice," he writes, "the others have proven (due to their construction) not so well adapted for the microphone, particularly the work of Hauer."

Mr. Scherchen then says, "In 1928, the Berlin Rundfunk, following Lindbergh's flight across the Atlantic, commissioned Kurt Weill and Paul Hindemith to write a cantata—*The Lindbergh Flight*, for soprano, tenor, bass, and baritone soli with chorus and orchestra, text by Bert Brecht. This composition, in my opinion, is so far the best that has been written for radio purposes." Mr. Weill tells me that it was written for an experimental session on radio music, incidental to the Baden-Baden Festival of 1929. Brecht and Weill started the work as a musical report on the Lindbergh flight, and the language is often newspaper language. Hindemith thought the idea was interesting, and contributed about two-fifths of the original score. However, the published version of the music, brought out by Universal in 1930 with an English translation by George Antheil, is all by Weill. No doubt many of you have heard this piece. Stokowski and the Philadelphia Orchestra broadcast it over the NBC in April, 1931. In *The Lindbergh Flight*, inanimate, insensate, and inarticulate things sing. Only on the radio can they so sing in this unromantic age without the composer's seeming ridiculous.

Kurt Weill says that the first commissioned radio piece he ever wrote was a score for a broadcast of Grabbe's play, *The King of Ghostland*, composed for the RRG in 1925 or 1926. He believes that he was paid about a thousand dollars for the score, and that he received considerably more for the Lindbergh piece.

Mr. Scherchen also refers to another exceptionally successful radio composition ordered by the German Rundfunk, the *Dance Suite* by Künnecke for jazz orchestra and regular radio orchestra. "This jolly and amusing work met with great approval from the radio audience," says Mr. Scherchen.

As early as 1931, the Berlin Hochschule für Musik, cooperating with the RRG, had a very lively "Radio Research Section". Members of the faculty included Hindemith and Max Butting, who was professor of composition and theory. It is too bad that the first country to take radio composition seriously seems to have abandoned it. I do not have any recent information from Germany as to the status of radio composition. Months ago I asked Dr. Paul Graener and Dr. Peter Raabe for help on the point, but neither has replied.

I am indebted to Mr. Frieder Weissmann not only for all I have found out about radiogenic music in Holland, but also for considerable other data. He tells me that between 1930 and 1933 he conducted among other works for the Berlin Reichssender one opera written specially for them. He says, "It was not quite successful, and there was no reason why it should have been written for radio—except that it was not produced anywhere else. In the Argentine, where I conducted for five years for radio, there were no special works written.

"In Holland, there was a competition in 1936 for the Radio AVRO. These are the works which were written and performed—and then disappeared completely: Hugo Godron: *Microfoonouverture*, Jan Pauwels: *Air de Ballet*, B.v.d. Sigtenhorst Meyèr: *Rondo voor Blaasinstrumenten*, Jan van Gilse: *Kleine Wals*, Emile Enthoven: *Zes Walsen voor Klein Orkest*, Op. 36, Henk Badings: *Hora, Roemeense Dans voor Orkest*, Jan Felderhof: *Tanwalla, Tango, Wals en Seguidilla*, Julius Hijman: *Weense Wals*, Bertus van Lier: *Satyrdans*, Daniel Ruyneman: *Divertissement*. These pieces were written for Radio AVRO in an attempt to get good amusement music.

"I am of the opinion, after having conducted for radio all over the world, that there is no use for these special compositions. But to tell what is good for the radio or somewhere else, we need experience. Theory is always wrong. The public likes things well given—whether *La Gazza Ladra* or Beethoven's *Third Symphony* or the *Rhapsody in Blue*. Certainly one should look for new works, and the radio may and must help younger composers—not to write for radio specially, but to write good music which is interesting to the public. (N.B.: What is 'good' and what is 'the public' are other questions.)

"The radio serves every taste and every age, and when it succeeds in stimulating the fantasy of the listener, then the radio, with its present and potential technique, can give everything.

"But there is a limit to all this—the limit of patience of the modern listener, who doesn't want to hear a forty-five minute symphony by an unknown composer, but who still wants to hear one of Beethoven's."

I do not entirely agree.

Dr. R. S. Thatcher, who assists Sir Adrian Boult in the Music Department of the British Broadcasting Corporation, writes that in the last few years the BBC has commissioned Elgar's *Third Symphony* (which remained unfinished); *Pilgrim's Progress* by Granville Ban-

tock, for the tercentenary of John Bunyan; two pieces by Gustav Holst for military band—*Morning of the Year*, and *Hammersmith; These Things Shall Be*, by John Ireland, for the George VI coronation programs; and, for the same royal festivities, a march, *Crown Imperial*, by William Walton. The BBC reported in 1935 to the UIR two additional pieces by Arthur Bliss—*Scotland Calling*, a *Fantasy* for Brass Instruments, and a *Fanfare for the Royal Jubilee*. I quote Dr. Thatcher's letter:

"The following two works owe their inception to a scheme for specially commissioned works for radio—a scheme which broke down before the works were completed: Walton's *Belshazzar's Feast* and Constant Lambert's Concerto for Piano and Chamber Orchestra.

"Both these works show strong evidence of radio conditions being present in the composers' minds, however; the former by its declamatory nature, and the latter in the spare texture of the orchestral part.

"In the dramatic field there is, of course, a mass of music being produced. But there is no reason to think that the composers are conditioned any more by the radio than by the inherent demands of the play itself. The plays themselves that are written specifically for broadcasting must be called 'radiogenic': only in so far as the plays themselves are radiogenic can the music written for them be placed in this category as well.

"Some general conclusions:

- (a) Broadcasting has been a far more potent factor in the altered *distribution* of music than in changing creative influences.
- (b) It has removed the former economic barriers to composers for writing large scale works.
- (c) Broadcasting inevitably demands a shorter type of program than the public concert warrants. This has encouraged composers to concentrate more on works in shorter forms in the orchestral, choral, and chamber-music spheres."

I would take issue with certain of Dr. Thatcher's conclusions, particularly the one about removal of economic barriers, which I think overstates the case even for England, but we shall reserve our last few minutes for a few theoretical observations.

Mme. Emilia Elsner of Polskie Radio, Warsaw, was kind enough to send me a most instructive letter, which I quote:

"I can inform you that for several years the Polish Radio has commissioned works from composers, principally of a folkloristic trend. These are the most important compositions of the last years:

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| Marian Rudnicki: | <i>On a Mountain Meadow</i> , for orchestra
<i>From Gdynia to New York</i> , for orchestra,
chorus and soli
<i>By the Vistula to the Sea</i> , a suite of Polish
folk-songs and dances
<i>Harvest Home</i> , idem
<i>A Cracow Wedding</i> , idem, for orchestra,
chorus, soli |
| Tadeusz Sygietyński: | <i>An Evening Among the Gorals</i> ("Tatra-
highlander")
<i>From Hut to Hut</i> , a suite of Polish folk-songs
and dance melodies
<i>Songs and Dances from Mazowsze</i>
<i>With Songs and Dances Through Poland</i>
<i>Spring in Mazowsze</i> |
| Roman Palester: | <i>A Trip to the Seaside</i> , folklore suite
<i>A Peasant Wedding</i>
<i>The Song of Cracow-Soil</i> |
| Maklakiewicz-Schiller: | <i>Christmas Carols</i> |
| Feliks Rybicki: | <i>In a Peasant Wedding</i>
<i>Songs of Mazowsze</i> , etc. |
| Michał Kondracki: | <i>Silesia in Songs</i> |
| Stanisław Popiel: | <i>Concertmazur</i> for orchestra
<i>Suite Kujawy</i> , folk-song suite
<i>Elegie of Kujawy</i> , idem
<i>From Krosno</i> , idem |

Mme. Elsner then offers the following information:

"As you can conclude from the above, the Polish Radio particularly supports compositions of a folkloristic style. These works are often broadcast to foreign countries. As they are specially intended for radio, they sound particularly pleasant. Only some of them, such as Rudnicki's *A Cracow Wedding*, are written also for ballets, which have been organized by radio as theater performances.

"Moreover, Polish Radio remains constantly in touch with prominent Polish composers, who, having the certainty that their works will get performed as soon as they are finished, find in this sort of

work a stimulating encouragement. In reality, Polish Radio performs these new compositions at once after they are handed in. This is almost an immediate way of influencing by radio the creative work of a composer."

It would seem from this letter that the Polish works written to be broadcast aim at popular acceptance through national emphasis, and are adapted to radio in that way, rather than in technical respects. We all hope that this activity is not at an end.

Among the Soviet musicians whom I addressed in the search for information on this topic was Prokofieff. The Société Anonyme des Grandes Editions Musicales replied on his behalf, "Several recent works of this composer were composed on order of the State Radio at Moscow, an agency to which the Soviet government grants special funds which permit it to commission composers.

"It was under these circumstances that the symphonic suites, *Lieutenant Kije*, *Egyptian Nights*, and the two *Romeo and Juliet* suites were commissioned from Prokofieff. The object has always been 'normal' symphonic music, without any instruction that it was necessary to compose works which would exploit the specific points of radio."

Music merely extracted in suite form or otherwise from other compositions for other media falls outside the purposes of this inquiry. However, I mention these suites because they indicate another field in which radio has influenced music: the adaptation of compositions intended to be performed elsewhere to a form particularly suitable for broadcasting.

I have not been any too lucky in finding out about French compositions which owe their origin to radio. We at the Columbia Broadcasting System have performed *Musique pour radio* by Filip Lazar, who seems to have thought that the radio audience required to be amused. Mr. Stan Golestan, now [1939] writing for *Le Figaro* in Paris, writes me, "To my knowledge, there exist at the moment very few instrumental compositions specially written for radio. C. Delvincourt has composed a *Radio Serenade*; Guy Ropartz a *Sérénade Champêtre*; and the First and Second Orchestral Suites of Giraud are really radiophonic." He then proceeds to observe that classical works which do not double the orchestral instruments and which "base their harmony on natural resonances" are thoroughly radiophonic, while music surcharged with counterpoint sounds confused in radio transmission. Again I do not wholly agree, but we

see before us another avenue which we cannot explore today. What extant music is best for broadcasting, and what worst?

* * *

It appears that the American broadcasting networks have been more active recently in sponsoring composition than the radio authorities of most other nations.

Most of the music written for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation has been background, mood, and scene music, Mr. John Adaskin tells me. In 1934, the Canadian Radio Commission (as it was then called) commissioned a series of musical comedies called *Premiere at Nine*, which ran about thirteen weeks. Donald Heins wrote the music and Don Henshaw the libretti. In 1938, John Kanna-win wrote the lyrics and Percy Faith the music for a piece called *Radio*, which is scored for "popular symphonic orchestra and tenor narrator". During the Royal visit of 1939, Percy Faith wrote on commission music incidental to the Empire Day broadcast of May 24, and Benjamin Britten composed his *Young Apollo* for the CBC, which introduced it this August. The work is dedicated to Alexander Chuhaldin, who conducted the premiere on his "Melodic Strings" program with the composer as piano soloist. It employs piano, string quartet, and string orchestra.

Mr. Adaskin says further, "Although in only a few cases were works specially commissioned, many original compositions have been written for radio in Canada. Among the Canadian composers in this field are Harold Eustace Key, Hector Gratton, Leo Roy, and La Liberté for Montreal; and Sir Ernest MacMillan, Donald Heins, Dr. Healey Willan, Reginald Stewart, Ernest Dainty, Roland Todd, Murray Adaskin, Louis Waizman, and John Weinzweig for Toronto."

The National Broadcasting Company, Mr. Ernest Laprade informs me, has commissioned one radio opera and seventeen original dramatic scores. The opera was *The Old Maid and the Thief*, by Gian-Carlo Menotti. NBC has not revealed what price was paid for the opera, but in view of the prizes the company has offered in musical competitions I daresay it was liberal. The work runs seventy-five minutes, and is an opera buffa for narrator, soloists, and orchestra. It would be impractical for performance on the stage. The composer wrote his own libretto.

The scores for dramatic purposes include two by Frank J. Black, eight by Tom Bennett, and seven by Wells Hively. The list follows:

- Frank J. Black: *Morgan Sails the Caribbean*
Thorns in Omar's Garden
- Tom Bennett: *Christmas Masquerade*
He Runs on Scylla
Towers of Hate
Where the Cross is Made
The Cottingham's Last Banshee
Paul Bunyan
Back to Methuselah
The Fountain
- Wells Hively: *The Courtship of Miles Standish*
The Holy Grail
The Man Who Wed the Wind and Water
The Outcasts of Poker Flat
Rip Van Winkle
Robin Hood
The Christmas Carol

In addition to these commissioned works, the National Broadcasting Company has performed a number of serious works for radio as the result of two competitions. The first was the NBC Orchestral Award in 1932. The first prize of \$5,000 went to Philip James for his *Station WGZBX*. Max Wald won the second prize (\$2,500) for a piece called *The Dancer Dead*, a rather Ravel-like composition. *Traffic*, by Carl Eppert, received \$1,250 as the third award; Florence Galajikian won \$750 as fourth prize for her *Symphonic Intermezzo*, and Nicolai Berezowsky (at that time a member of the Columbia Broadcasting System Symphony Orchestra) \$500 for the fifth prize work, a *Sinfonietta*. These five works survived elimination by an expert board; they were then played on the air, and a combination of audience vote and the judgment of a professional panel chose the order of the winners.

The second NBC competition was the Music Guild Award. This was a chamber music contest, held in 1936. Mitya Stillman, also formerly of the CBS Symphony, won the first prize, \$1,000, for his String Quartet No. 7; \$500 went to Alois Reiser for his String Quartet, Opus 18, and \$250 to Rudolf Forst for his String Quartet. Mr. Forst wrote Two Pieces for String Quartet and Guitar for the NBC Music Guild which were also performed. Five chamber works by runners-up received a later hearing on the Music Guild program.

For the opening of NBC's impressive studios in Radio City, Hans

Spialek composed a work called *The Tall City*. The same composer produced his *Manhattan Water Colors* and *Sinfonietta* for Mr. Frank Black's programs, which further elicited a work by Arthur Lange called *A Gosling in Gotham*.

Since I have given fairly complete reports on several of the radio companies, you may expect that I shall give a really full report on the Columbia Broadcasting System's activities in the field of music written to be broadcast. I cannot do it, because I think we have probably had more works written for us than any other network in the world. Our attitude on the subject of music for radio is so well known to the musicians who work with us that they take it for granted.

May I illustrate: in August, Alexander Semmler, a pianist on our staff who is a gifted composer, was substituting for a conductor for two weeks. One Monday morning he telephoned me casually and said, "I have written a couple of pieces for my broadcast at 5:15; you might listen in if you'd like to hear them." He had not even thought it necessary to ask anybody whether he could schedule the pieces; I was delighted that he did so. It would have been quite possible for him to play the pieces without my ever having heard that he had composed them for us. I am in favor of taking radio music for granted as an integral part of the artistic service broadcasting can render.

Carlos Chavez conducted our orchestra in the first concert he ever directed in the United States. This was on January 23, 1936. He finished his *Sinfonia India* specially for the occasion, and introduced it. But I shall have to omit further instances of composers' writing music for CBS broadcasts on their own initiative.

We are in the habit of commissioning original dramatic scores for our "sustaining" radio plays, and have inaugurated the practice also on many commercial features. Here are some of the dramatic scores written for "sustaining" programs:

- | | |
|----------------|---|
| Tom Bennett: | <i>The Fisherman and His Soul</i>
<i>Courtroom Obligato</i>
<i>The Young King</i> |
| Paul Sterrett: | <i>Alice in Wonderland</i>
<i>Tish</i> (extended series) |
| Charles Paul: | <i>The Ghost of Benjamin Sweet</i> (series) |

- Leith Stevens: *John Brown's Body*
Kit Carson
Men Against Death (series)
The Half-Pint Flask
- Bernard Herrmann: *The Broken Feather*
The Cosmos
Daniel Webster and the Sea Serpent
Dauber
Discovery
Dracula
A Drink of Water
Ecce Homo
Escape
The Fall of the City
Fifty Grand
Forgot in the Rains
Georgia Transport
The Gods of the Mountains
The Horla
Luck
Macbeth
Marconi
Meridian 7-1212
Downbeat on Murder
Never Come Monday
Outward Bound
Paul Revere
Red-headed Baker
Rhythm of the Jute Mill
Rime of the Ancient Mariner
Split Second
Supply and Demand
Sweepstake
The Telltale Heart
A Trip to Czardis
The Well of Saints
- (and many others)

You will note that the plays include many originals and many adaptations, but the music was all original. Mr. Herrmann conducts and composes for the Columbia Workshop, which is perhaps American radio's leading experimental program. Mr. Herrmann has also

composed melodramas, settings for spoken poems, for CBS on various occasions. These include settings for:

Annabel Lee
La belle dame sans merci
Inscription on the City of Brass
Cynara
A Shropshire Lad (cycle)

Also for the Columbia Workshop, Marc Blitzstein wrote his satirical music-drama, *I've Got the Tune*, a half-hour show.

In 1936, CBS issued the first Columbia Composers Commissions, to six American composers, who were asked to write pieces for radio in whatever form they chose. The works were to be for an orchestra of not more than a certain size (approximately that of a Beethoven symphony), and were to run between eight and forty minutes. We paid the composers \$500 each for "sustaining" broadcast rights on CBS. All other rights were theirs.

Aaron Copland chose to write a short piece, *Music for Radio*, sub-titled by listener suggestion *A Saga of the Prairie*. Roy Harris wrote a *Time Suite* with movements of progressive length, from one minute upwards, each movement dedicated to some major factor in American life—communication, education, etc. Howard Hanson wrote his Third Symphony. William Grant Still composed for narrator, chorus, and orchestra his Harlem panorama, *Lenox Avenue*, later converted into a ballet. Walter Piston wrote a *Concertino* for piano and chamber orchestra. Louis Gruenberg wrote a radio opera on W. H. Hudson's *Green Mansions*, in which birds and running waters spoke, and the mysterious voice of Rima, the heroine, was first heard in the tones of a musical saw—very beautiful it was, too.

Howard Barlow introduced these works with the Columbia Broadcasting Symphony during 1937. That year we commissioned six more works on a similar basis—except that we asked Vittorio Giannini and Robert A. Simon to write us a half-hour radio opera. They did, on the subject of *Beauty and the Beast*. Other Columbia Composers Commission works introduced during 1938 were *A Tall Story* by Jerome Moross, *Two Dances for Radio* by Quincy Porter, *Eight Symphonic Etudes* by Robert Russell Bennett, a very interesting but somewhat inarticulate work by R. Nathaniel Dett called *American Sampler*, and *Theme in Yellow* by Leo Sowerby, after a poem by Sandburg.

One result of these commissions was that other composers were encouraged to write works for Mr. Barlow and the CBS orchestra, and he performed many of them. But this is all we have time to say about CBS.

* * *

The chief advantages predicted for radio broadcasting as a special medium for composition have almost always been coloristic. Much stress has been laid on the possibility of arbitrary new balances which can be established electrically among various timbres at various volumes. It seems to me that radio has actually, however, had a negligible effect on orchestration so far. Eventually, I believe radio will affect orchestration somewhat more, and will tend both to enlarge and to clarify the composer's palette. Radio has had an appreciable effect on the form of compositions, particularly on dramatic works of an imaginative character, some of which achieve convincing impersonations and changes of scene which could be encompassed compactly in no other medium. It is possible that radio's time limitations and its inability to combine visual with aural attractions may tend to shorten serious pieces, or at any rate to reduce the length of sections in such pieces.

However, it seems to me that the chief advantage of writing music for radio is social. The availability and amiability of such an enormous audience should tend to increase the dignity of the composer's position, both in his own eyes, as a custodian of revelations, and in the eyes of the community which is willing to harken to him. It seems unlikely that more important composers will make their living exclusively from serious music in this electrical age than in any other modern age. It has never been true that musical patronage invariably elicits the composer's best effort on behalf of his patron. But it seems to me that a composer has more obligation to speak earnestly to a large community of listeners than he had to a prince and his court.

In my opinion, the advantages of composing music for radio broadcasting more than offset the disadvantages, but I should like to mention a few of the latter. When a work has been calculated for the broadcasting studio, many concert conductors are not interested in it. Furthermore, the radio orchestras often have insufficient rehearsals and few opportunities to repeat the work. It may not get a proper chance to be heard frequently either over the air or in the

concert hall. However, it should be more adaptable for phonograph records than a work written without the microphone in mind.

* * *

This is all very well for the past. But, you may say, have not the results been so inconclusive as to stifle current activity? Let me sketch rapidly what has happened in the last twelvemonth—or rather that small fraction of what has happened that has come to my attention:

The Palestine Broadcasting Corporation is performing Hebrew music written specially for broadcasting by Palestinian composers, and is also recording the pieces.

The Australian Broadcasting Commission has within the last year reported six works written for it, including three operettas, a suite of carols, a cycle of Jacobean songs, and an orchestration of children's songs.

There have been recently eleven new compositions for the Belgian National Broadcasting Service, some written for the Flemings and some for the Walloons, including musical settings for the plays *Oedipus*, *Esopus*, *Alice in Wonderland*, and *Le Tzigane*.

The UIR notes further six Bulgarian compositions for Radio Sofia, including a symphonic poem; two compositions for the Danzig broadcasting station (I wonder whether they were played); between twenty and thirty pieces (including one opera) written for All India Radio in New Delhi, in which attempts have been made to translate Indian music into an idiom which can be more readily understood by foreigners; a set of Irish traditional airs for the orchestra of the Irish State Broadcasting Service; a Roumanian pot-pourri of forty minutes' duration written for the Roumanian Broadcasting Service.

The Columbia Broadcasting System has just issued commissions to twenty American composers for short works based on American folk melodies.

The UIR planned to call in April a conference of experts on radio musical programs at Lausanne, at which time the paucity of information on this subject was to have been a matter for general discussion. Of course, this conference of "experts" may not occur. But since, actually, there are no authorities in the field of radiogenic music, may I invite you to become the first?

Musical Tone-Color (with Phonodeik Demonstrations)

Dayton C. Miller

CASE SCHOOL OF APPLIED SCIENCE

MUSIC is a fine art belonging to the realm of esthetics, and is not circumscribed by the laws of science. However, science may be used to describe and explain the materials of music. An understanding of the scientific structure of tone-quality, *timbre*, will certainly be helpful to the creative and interpretative artist, and also to the auditor of music.

Francis Bacon (1561-1626) said: "The nature of sounds hath in some sort been enquired, as far as concerneth music, but the nature of sound in general hath been superficially observed. It is one of the subtlest pieces of nature." In the 19th century, the subtleties of sound were investigated by many scientists, among them Ohm, Koenig, Helmholtz, and Rayleigh. Lord Rayleigh says: "Directly or indirectly all questions connected with this subject must come for decision to the ear, as the organ of hearing; and from it there can be no appeal. But . . . when once we have discerned the physical phenomena which constitute the foundation of sound, our explorations are in great measure transferred to another field lying within the domain of Mechanics."

The physical characteristics of sounds are loudness or intensity, pitch or frequency, and quality or tone-color. The loudness depends upon the energy being transmitted by the sound wave and is related to the amplitude of the wave motion. The frequency is measured by the number of vibrations per second. The tone-quality, or tone-color, sometimes called *timbre*, is a more complex property, represented by the "shape" of the wave; this characteristic of sound is perhaps the most interesting and it will be considered here in detail.

The law of tone-quality was first definitely stated, in 1843, by Georg S. Ohm; he showed that sounds in general are composites of several tones, and that all varieties of tone-color are due to particular combinations of a larger or smaller number of components of different frequencies and of various degrees of loudness. A single component tone as it exists in the air which transmits the sound to the ear is a series of single waves, strictly periodic as to shape, amplitude,

and frequency. Such waves are simple, like the swinging of a simple pendulum and are correctly represented by the mathematical "sine wave". Figure 1 is a photograph of the wave-form of the simple tone of a tuning-fork, showing these characteristics.

A musical sound having a definite tone-color is, by the principles of Fourier's theorem announced in 1822, known to consist only of components whose frequencies are strictly commensurate. The ratios of the frequencies are then proportional to the integral numbers 1, 2, 3 . . . etc. That component, the frequency of which corresponds to the first of this series, 1, is known as the *fundamental*, and the others are *overtones* or *harmonics*; the various tones are often referred to as *partial tones* or *partials*. It sometimes happens that a partial not the lowest in pitch is so predominant that it may be mistaken for the fundamental, as with bells; and sometimes the pitch is characterized by a subjective beat-tone fundamental when no physical tone of this pitch exists.

Practical music makes use of many sounds which have no definite tone color; such sounds may be classed as *noises*. They are produced by the attack of the bow on a stringed instrument, by the breath in wind instruments, by the impact of the key in the piano, by the plucking of the finger on the harp, and by the blow of the stick in percussion instruments. Like musical sounds, noises usually are composite sounds, but the components of the noises have incommensurable frequencies, resulting in non-periodic wave-forms. Some sounds may be classed as noise because the vibration is too complex in structure or of too short duration to be analyzed or understood by the ear.

Each separate component of a composite sound may be represented by a simple wave-form of appropriate amplitude and wavelength (frequency); the composite sound itself is represented by the combination of the simple waves of the components. Thus the various tone-colors as perceived by the ear are represented by the complex wave-form, or by the *shape* of the wave of the sound. Figure 2 is a photograph of the sound-wave from a striking-reed organ-pipe. A method of recording the wave-form, and of analyzing its shape into its simple components or partials, leads to an understanding of tone-color.

The analysis of complex sounds by the ear alone, even when musically trained, is often difficult and uncertain. Helmholtz devised the spherical resonator to assist the ear; Koenig devised the mano-

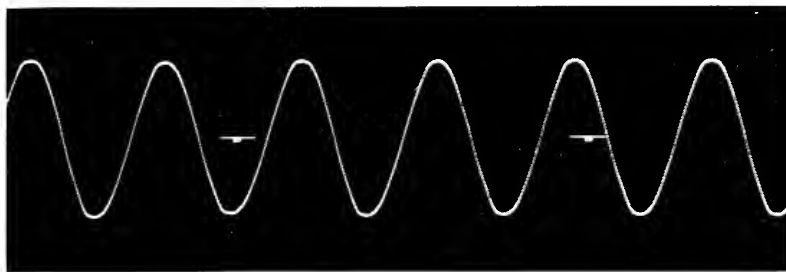


FIG. 1. Photograph of the sound of a tuning fork

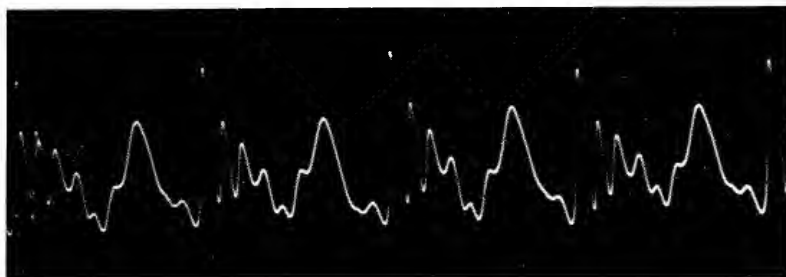


FIG. 2. Photograph of the sound of a reed organ-pipe

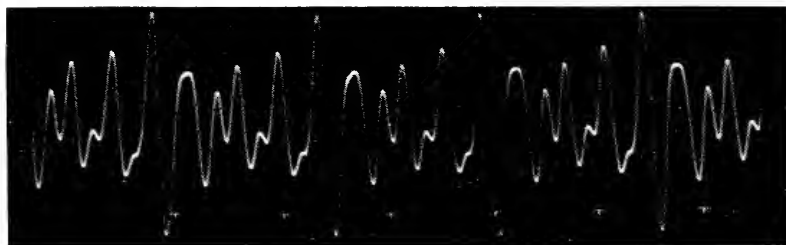


FIG. 3. Photograph of the sound of four tuning forks: $c'-e'-g'-c^2$ in pure intonation

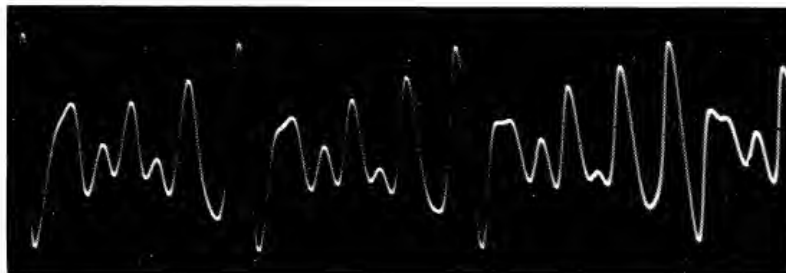


FIG. 4. Photograph of the sound of four tuning forks: $c'-c'-g'-c^2$ in equally-tempered tuning



metric capsule with which the vibrations are made visible by vibrating flames and may be photographed. The telephone of Bell develops electromagnetic variations corresponding to the sound, and by means of the oscillograph of Blondel and of Duddell the wave-form may be photographed. The Scott-Koenig Phonautograph (1857) records the wave-form directly on smoked paper. The phonograph of Edison (1877) and the gramophone of Berliner (1887) make minute records of the wave-form of sounds which can be enlarged.

None of these methods for recording sounds was sufficiently sensitive and free from distortion for a critical investigation of the tone-quality of musical instruments. In 1908 the author devised the "phonodeik", which makes a photographic record of the wave-form, on a large scale, under conditions which permit the elimination of the distortions due to resonance of the horn and diaphragm of the apparatus. The phonodeik is also suitable for public lectures; it will project the "living" sound-waves directly from the voice or an instrument on the screen, enlarging the wave to as much as 10 feet high and 40 feet long.

The photographic records obtained with the phonodeik contain complete information defining the characteristics of the sounds. The height or amplitude of the record corresponds to the intensity of the sound; the pitch of the sound is determined by the number of fundamental wave-lengths per unit of time; the quality or tone-color of the sound is represented by the shape of the wave. While inspection and simple measurement will often give some information concerning these curves, they are in general too complicated for interpretation in their original forms, and several methods have been developed for their analysis.

A method of analysis which is practically complete and entirely adequate, for *periodic curves* only, that is, for the records of musical sounds, is based upon a combination of Ohm's Law of tone-quality with the mathematical principle of Fourier's theorem. This method is commonly referred to as *harmonic analysis*. The mathematical harmonic analysis of a sound-wave is a precise definition of its tone-quality. The Fourier analysis of a curve may be carried out by numerical calculation which becomes very laborious for a curve of many components. Several mechanical harmonic analyzers have been devised which greatly facilitate the operations.¹

¹ The details of construction and operation of the phonodeik and of the process of analyzing the records are given, with numerous illustrations, in

The shapes of the sound-waves from various instruments and voices may be projected on the screen. A beautiful tone has a wave-form which is a line of beautiful curves; a rough tone has a jagged wave-form which is constantly changing its shape.

The photographic record, Fig. 3, represents the sound from four tuning forks giving the tones of the common chord $c'-e'-g'-c^2$, tuned in pure intonation, having 256, 320, 384, and 512 vibrations per second, respectively. The ratios of these frequencies are as 4:5:6:8; that is, the tones are harmonics of a fundamental of frequency 64. The wave-form is exactly periodic, repeating itself every 64th of a second. The record shown in Fig. 4 is from four forks tuned to the equally-tempered tones of the common chord, having 256, 322.6, 383.6, and 512 vibrations per second, respectively. The ratios of these frequencies are as 400:504:599:800. The combination of these incommensurable frequencies results in a non-periodic curve, with a progressive change in the wave-form. An interesting conclusion is that the chord $c'-e'-g'-c^2$, when tuned in pure intonation, produces a wave of beauty which remains unchanged or is static; the same chord made with tempered intervals produces a wave which is continually changing, as if the spark of life had been given to the "sleeping beauty". While the inanimate beauty may be greater in the abstract, the living beauty is dynamic and more attractive. We like both as representations of art; it is for the artist and not for the scientist to determine which is preferable.

The true characteristic tone of an instrument is the sustained and continuable sound produced after the sound has been started and has reached what may be called the steady state. This steady state is usually free from the noises of generation.

What is commonly described as the flute tone is characterized by simplicity, there being a fundamental with few overtones, the octave partial predominating. The result is a sweet or velvety tone, devoid of pungency.

In general, the tone of the violin is distinguished by the presence of a strong fundamental with prominence of the third, fourth, and fifth partials. While the violin generates a longer series of partials than the flute, yet it is not equal to the brass and reed instruments in this respect. The advantage of the violin over all other orchestral

books by the author: "Sound Waves: Their Shape and Speed" (1937) and "The Science of Musical Sounds" (1916), published by the Macmillan Company of New York.

instruments in expressiveness is due to the control which the performer has over the production of the overtones through the methods of bowing.

The clarinet and oboe produce sounds with weak fundamentals and relatively very loud higher partials which generate the reedy tone-quality. The oboe tone has twelve or more partials, the fourth and fifth predominating, with 30 per cent and 36 per cent, respectively, of the total loudness. The clarinet tone may have twenty or more partials, with the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth predominating.

The horn produces tones of widely differing compositions, from one as soft and smooth as a delicate flute tone to a "split" tone which is disrupted by strong higher partials. The low tones of the horn are rich in overtones, containing the largest number of partials of any musical sound. An analysis of a low tone shows the presence of the entire series of partials up to thirty or more.

Neither science nor art furnishes criteria to define the ideal musical tone. Musical instruments are used for artistic purposes and their selection is ultimately determined by the taste of the artist. When an instrument has been artistically approved, the physicist can describe its tonal characteristics and can select other instruments having similar or different qualities; he can detect deficiencies and defects and, perhaps, can suggest improvements in structure or manipulation. Following experimental studies, an ideal musical tone may be arbitrarily described as one having a strong fundamental, accounting for perhaps 50 per cent of the total intensity, accompanied by a complete series of thirty or more overtones of successively diminishing intensity. Of the instruments of the orchestra, the horn in certain of its lower tones approaches most nearly to this arbitrary ideal. But of course it is by no means desirable that all musical instruments should have the quality of tone just described. The orchestra as a whole may be considered as a single tonal instrument, and the greatest possible variety and divergence of tone-qualities of the separate instruments is necessary so that the composer may give full expression to his inspirations.



Hispanic Session

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH

9:30 A.M.

at the Beethoven Association Club-Rooms

Gilbert Chase presiding

[This session is not completely represented, owing to the non-delivery of two papers.]

“Americanismo Musical”

Francisco Curt Lange

DELEGATE FROM URUGUAY

It was only about six weeks ago that I arrived in the United States, coming from Mexico, to complete an extensive survey of the musical and sociological situation in each of the countries which form part of our American hemisphere. The route I followed was involved and unpredictable, but I have arrived finally in this city, and I am able at last to extend a personal greeting to so many people who have honored me for many years with their valuable friendship and to many other personalities whom I know only through their work in the field of scientific investigation. The fact that the United States forms the last lap of my lengthy pilgrimage through the Americas finds its justification not only in the enormous distance which separates it from the small and remote state of Uruguay, but also in the cultural situation that for historical and ethnological reasons divides our

continents into two fundamental groups: the countries of Latin America and the United States of North America.

My object was, so far as the Latin countries were concerned, to incorporate into a musical entity in my own mind the whole wealth of Latin-American music. I wished to perfect my knowledge of the creative and scientific future immediately possible in these lands, and to observe the infiltration of a conscious Americanism into their work, as well as to help to awaken and stimulate this spirit. As regards this country, my aims are somewhat different. I wish, in the first place, to become thoroughly acquainted with the musical situation that exists in the United States, and to come into close contact with representatives of musical education, research, organization, and creation. After this, I hope to awaken in all of you an understanding of our musical activities and of our musical psyche, an appreciation of the limitless possibilities offered by a continent in the process of formation. In this way I hope to achieve the interpretation of musical interests and sympathies, and thus to set in motion a powerful current of intellectual and spiritual intercourse. What exists today is good will among a few persons and total incomprehension or ignorance on the part of others.

The organizers of this Congress honored me not only by their invitation to attend it, but also by their request to speak on "Americanismo Musical" (Musical Americanism), a movement started by me some six years ago. I propose to justify, before the scientific opinion of the United States, not only the existence of this movement, its origins, present state, and ultimate end, but also the necessity of relating it to musical problems of this country. This has been my purpose since the first edition of the *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música* was published, in which I dedicated one section of each volume to musical life and ideas in the United States of North America.

The mutual interpenetration of our interests, the cooperation of capable executants and conductors, translations of pedagogical and scientific works, periodic and carefully prepared performance of the musical creations of both the past and the present, will serve more than anything else to stimulate and promote, to guide and control, the course of the movement I have launched. We all know that music, among the arts, holds the highest possibilities for ennobling the human soul and creating bonds of sympathy between fellow creatures. Above all political and economic differences stand our musical interests, and if these can be transmitted to the public, giving

birth to even a momentary feeling, a vibration in unison, of unity between peoples (separated by enormous distances), through the medium of our universal language, then we have powerfully and vitally contributed to the formation of a legitimately American culture in the fullest meaning of the term.

I

A very different human current from that which shaped the destiny of the United States has given to the Latin American continent an incalculable fund of spiritual resources. Our countries are populated by peoples of Mediterranean origin and it is not an exaggeration to claim that they brought with them the light and the sun, the gayety and the passion which, through a remarkable coincidence, found their completely appropriate habitats in the vast tropical and sub-tropical zones of the continent. There these peoples, quick-blooded, keenly imaginative, and with a plastic vision, achieved an immediate fusion with the environment that helped to mold the Latin American man.

The presence of powerful terrestrial and cosmic forces, unknown even today to science in their true and dominating power, the process of absorption of autochthonous elements, the social conditions of the early years of colonization—all these greatly modified the expression of the musical language brought to the New World by the first settlers. During the Colonial period several phenomena of great complexity may be observed:

First: The Roman-Catholic tradition, which inspired for many years a pure ecclesiastical music, bequeathing to the cathedrals and convents of Mexico treasures as yet unexplored; leading, in Brazil, to the creation of works of great beauty; producing during the time of the Missions a musical activity of the highest importance; and creating in Venezuela a genuine and as yet unrecognized school of sacred music.

Second: The cultivation of court music originating in Spain and Portugal, which made its way down from the aristocratic residences and took root in the hearts of the populace, undergoing a considerable modification in the process; and conversely, the spread of indigenous music toward the centers of population and the increasingly frequent incursions of popular music into the *salons*, which brought about a complex fusion of musical-social factors, and, together with the Wars of Independence, produced a constant musical interchange,

whose constituent elements can be distinguished or analyzed only with difficulty.

Third: The music of the intrepid colonizer who, slowly advancing toward the jungle, the mountains, and the plains, in continual struggle with the voracious forces of Nature, absorbs the elements of his earthly environment and at the same time carries on a cosmic dialogue in his solitude, begins to acquire autochthonous traits, and creates out of sheer inward necessity his own musical expression, mingled with the musical memories of his distant mother-land. It is through this man, who worked out his own destiny, that our folk music was born—that immense treasury of a thousand diverse expressions, the basis of Latin-American musical art, which for three centuries, thanks to the pristine forces it contains, has preserved its admirable quality and uncorrupted potency. It is only lately that a mistaken tendency toward diffusion through the phonograph and the radio has begun to deplete, by its commercial and non-artistic aspects and objectives, the immeasurable beauty of the Latin-American songs and dances.

Until the Wars of Independence, one cannot speak of musical compositions of real importance, with the exception, of course, of the admirable music of Colonial Venezuela, that of the Imperial period of Brazil, and that of a few centers in Mexico, Colombia, Ecuador and Perú. The birth of a truly creative musical current occurred only after the bloody and interminable struggles for liberation from the Spanish yoke and after the internal revolutions. The musical evolution of most of our countries began to shape itself after the middle of the last century. It is at this time or somewhat earlier that three official conservatories were founded: those of Rio de Janeiro, Mexico, and Chile. The invasion of our theaters by opera is a sort of prelude to the mass immigration of Italian and Spanish settlers, occasioned particularly by the definite abolition of slavery.

With the coming of the Italians, a powerful musical element—the melodic—penetrates into the soul of our southern peoples, especially in the cities, fusing with the already existing elements; while further north a purified Hispanism absorbs indigenous elements and creates, as in Mexico, a musical language freer of Italian admixtures. But in Mexico there is a certain French infiltration, while in Cuba there is a Negro influence.

The professional musician, Spanish or Italian, who established his conservatories in the New World became, even though uncon-

sciously and perhaps involuntarily, a pioneer and groundbreaker for succeeding musical generations. We can understand that his pupils received a training that was primarily operatic. But before the century was over, the increasing importance of the French school, under strong German influence, attracted the attention of the younger musicians and led them toward an ever-increasing universality. The symphonic style begins to exercise a considerable refining influence upon their musical sensibility; youthful virtuosi travel through Latin America—let us recall, for instance, the significance of Gottschalk's sojourn in our continent—and with their improvisations on national themes they prepare the beginning of the so-called Nationalist School. This tendency has already ceased to exist in some of our countries, for reasons of an economic and sociological nature; but in other places it is still in full flower.

The Nationalist movement constitutes perhaps the high point in the musical history of our continent. But it produced (here as elsewhere) not only excesses in the creative field but also distortions in esthetic and critical points of view, based to a large extent on a spirit of *outrance* shown by the critics. The latter in most cases lacked a real musical background, or, if they possessed one, let themselves be guided by the standards of a clique or coterie—the condition of the press lending itself to this type of imposition.

The Nationalist ideal had already found expression in works of great beauty in the domain of poetry, literature, and the plastic arts, but the doctrinaires of nationalism in music forgot many of the intrinsic problems of their art and entrusted the execution of their projects to unprepared hands. Musical nationalism was most successfully achieved by the master-musicians who, by their knowledge and their instinct, employed indigenous elements with great economy or treated them with a complete command of their material. The gravest errors, on the other hand, were committed in Peru, where, with a total lack of vision, an attempt was made to employ the pentatonic system of the Keshwa and Aymara populations in the artistic music of that country. As I have already said, there has been a frequent tendency in our countries for composers and men of letters to deal with problems of style and form that they lack the necessary equipment to handle.

A new generation has put an end to this improvised criticism and has replaced those "maestros" who, for physical and psychical reasons, never got any further than an appreciation of Wagner. The

new trend, favored by a growing musical organization and by the increased facilities for knowing the universal literature through scores and recordings, is abreast of the latest European procedures in composition and acts in accordance with them. Some of the new men proceed by intuition, while others develop their personalities by means of arduous studies.

I must acknowledge that these restless musicians, who often return to classical forms, and who harmonize in the manner of Bartók, Milhaud, and Stravinsky—or very often according to their own methods—, enjoy my particular good-will, because I follow a strictly contemporaneous trend. But this does not impede, in the matter of "Americanismo Musical", a recognition of other tendencies, since the movement cannot be unilateral, but must be comprehensive, balanced, and all-embracing. I do believe, however, that our Nationalist tendency, somewhat over-assertive and given to generalizations, can be no more than a phase. In countries that have not achieved the necessary economic, ethnic, and social equilibrium, or in metropolitan centers where musical organization and education are insufficient, Nationalism represents a premature manifestation and it can never be anything more than the musical expression of a passing moment in the spiritual life of a country in process of formation. For the rest, in the long and complicated process of Nationalist creative activity, both the cultivated and the genuinely primitive composers who possessed knowledge and talent achieved veritable master-works that will survive the passing of time and the changing of standards.

Every nationalist school of composition is based upon folklore, and in certain South American countries the tendency to exploit the songs and the dances of the people has developed, thanks to the radio and to pseudo-literature, into a mania for extracting and presenting these things before audiences that have mentalities and sensibilities very different from those responsible for the folk-material. In the midst of this wave of exploitation, I should like to hear the word "preservation" used more frequently, but this important term, unfortunately, seems to be unknown to the majority of musical and educational authorities in our countries. At present, the tendency to exhaust popular sources has not been checked. Official decisions, today more than ever, depend upon the demands of capitalism, and any reaction against the evil of the commercialization of popular art through the phonograph and the radio would always come too late. As things stand now, our legitimate popular singers are in

retreat before the advance of modern technique, or else allow themselves to be perverted by the latter. The purity of expression of popular music is deteriorating as a result of the commercial influences of the phonograph and the radio, and we do not know how far this tendency may take us. But we can affirm that quality is being extinguished and is being replaced by a false expression. Only a sound musical education among our peoples can enable us to achieve a new standard.

II

In launching the Inter-American musical movement, my aim was to create an esthetic link among all the Latin-American countries, all of which speak essentially the same language (Portuguese being closely allied to Spanish) and are guided by the same social and political evolution and destiny. But "Americanismo Musical" does not signify a unity of procedure in creation, in organization, or in education; that would be impossible in a continent offering such tremendous geographical, ethnical, and historical contrasts, such diverse musical conditions, and such varied currents of culture, all often depending upon unstable political situations.

Musical Americanism signifies, in the first place, the incorporation of all existing elements of value, the orderly examination of the past and present, the unconditional support of those entities that seek a modern and well-organized musical life, the publication of existing studies and compositions, the defense of all the vital interests of the musician. In the second place, we seek to make contact with all cultural and scientific organizations that bear a relation to musicology and to musical creation, with all educational institutions, with professors and teachers, and with the public itself. To increase the scope of musical activities, and to promote, whenever possible, the music of the Americas, is a fundamental duty essential to the esthetic future of each of our countries.

My visit to the United States confirms my impression that few of those who work in the field of music here realize the enormous activity that is unfolding in this field among the Latin-American countries. For example, beginning with Cuba and Mexico, and ending with Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile, the musical education of the people, from the elementary to the superior studies, is everywhere in the hands of the State and is therefore offered absolutely free. We cannot do otherwise than adhere to this system of wise generosity.

And we must add that Latin-American musicians, while they have suffered severely in a material way from mechanized music, have often shown a noteworthy idealism in the service of their art, and in general are not inclined to emphasize the mercenary aspect of musical activity.

This Inter-American movement is essentially constructive. One of its objects is to carry forward the scientific investigation of folk music before the radio puts an end to it. Another aim of the movement is to provide an objective tribune for the free exposition and exchange of ideas among men of worth. In order to achieve this, it was necessary to create an organ that would be the true voice of the movement and an institution that would sponsor the publication in a strictly ethical sense. Such an institution was practically created when I founded in Montevideo the Department of Musical Research of the Institute of Superior Studies, and the organ began to be published in 1935 under the title of "*Boletín Latino-Americano de Música*". Within four years this review published numerous studies that for the first time gave a comprehensive vision of the musical activities of the Latin American continent, bringing about the spiritual union of many minds in the pages of a single annual publication. And I believe that "Americanismo Musical" is the only such movement that exists in the entire field of American arts and letters.

At present, this movement of Musical Americanism has accomplished, or aims to accomplish, the following tasks:

1. Permanent publication of the *Boletín Latino-Americano de Música* as an organ of investigation.
2. Publication of an informative review dealing with the musical activities of Latin America (*Musica Viva*, now in circulation).
3. Publication of an annual bibliography of musical works.
4. Publication, in special volumes, of contemporary music, both instrumental and vocal (*Editorial Cooperativa Interamericana de Compositores*, now in circulation.)
5. Diffusion of this music in special performances (some 650 concerts have already been organized or prompted, in both South and North America and in Europe).
6. A complete survey of the history of music in the Latin-American continent and its publication in special volumes.
7. The publication of large works dealing with important musical subjects (Example: problems dealing with Indian music).

8. Completion of the bibliography of Latin-American music from the Conquest up to our own day.

9. Publication of the Latin-American Musical Dictionary, which will contain about 60,000 terms.

10. Creation of a library, a record collection, and a museum of native instruments.

11. Organization of a Superior Normal School of Latin-American Music, with courses in research and in interpretation, intended to train well-equipped teachers.

12. Creation of a legal department to defend the rights of musicians.

13. Organization of the First Inter-American Congress of Music at Montevideo (a project interrupted by the outbreak of the War).

14. Systematic cooperation between the United States and Latin-American countries, as well as among the various Latin-American countries themselves, in order to formulate worth-while musical programs and to raise musical standards.

At the Eighth International American Conference at Lima, a resolution was moved and accepted recommending the creation of the Inter-American Institute of Musicology at Montevideo. This institution had been outlined by me some time previously, and it represents the realization of my ideal. It is for me a special cause of gratification that this project was so warmly supported by the delegation from the United States of America, and in general by a great many friends from this great country who have long followed with interest the progress of "Americanismo Musical".

Upon my return to Uruguay I shall organize this Institute at Montevideo which will then be, as I have always thought that it should be, because of its favored geographical position, the center of a movement spreading throughout Latin America. It would perhaps be rash to attempt to cover in this Institute the musical activities and problems of the United States of America. For the moment, our own problems are too complex, and my American friends and colleagues are in a position to deal with their problems under conditions no doubt more favorable than those we can offer.

Therefore, this Institute at Montevideo might well bear the name of Latin-American Institute of Musicology, were it not for the fact that I deliberately aim to promote an interchange of works and ideas between the two continents of North and South America.

Several years ago I formed a firm friendship with Professor William Berrien, of the University of California, an authority on Latin America, during his stay in Montevideo. Having familiarized himself with the musical atmosphere of our continent, he undertook a praiseworthy campaign to make people in the United States realize that Latin-American music does not consist exclusively of pseudo-popular and excessively sentimental songs, but that its genuine popular and artistic music is the outgrowth of an extensive and intensive musicality.

I sincerely believe that we in South America have in general a fairly exact knowledge of the musical realities and possibilities of the United States, acquired through the *Musical Quarterly*, *Modern Music*, *New Music Edition*, and other publications, reviews, and recordings. On the other hand, I believe that the information on Latin-American music circulating in this country is often superficial or erroneous. I was asked by the officials of the Edwin A. Fleisher Music Collection at Philadelphia to estimate the number of orchestral scores, both published and unpublished, existing in Latin America, and I replied that undoubtedly the number was between four and five thousand, and that as regards operas the number was not less than five hundred. This statement may seem exaggerated to persons who do not know our musical life, but it is true. We can easily surmise the great number of vocal and smaller instrumental works that the countries of Latin America have to offer.

In going through the Report on Publication and Research in Musicology and Allied Fields in the United States, compiled for the Committee on Musicology of the American Council of Learned Societies, one notes instantly the different situations that prevail in our two continents. In the United States—as is demonstrated by your political and sociological literature—intellectual interest as a whole oscillates between European and Asiatic subjects, largely as a result of the geographical position of the country. South America is, in a way, more isolated, and this at least has the advantage of leading our musicians to concentrate on the study of their own past and present culture.

The Inter-American Institute of Musicology wishes to work for a future in which the full possibilities of Latin-American music will be realized. We also seek the ideal of a close collaboration between North and South America; the interchange of works and of artists, of teachers and of students; comparative studies of our Negro and

Indian music and yours; continual investigations and reports on musical organization, pedagogy, bibliography, composition, expansion of libraries, etc.

I do not doubt for a moment the possibility of realizing these projects. Let us not forget that at this moment Europe has arrived at a choice between its future and its tomb, and that it behooves us to prevent the loss of European culture for the well-being of this world, which is still in the process of formation, and for which, we hope, a happier destiny is in store. We must give proof of our genuine attachment to the cultural and political values that stand for equity and freedom, in the spirit of the fathers of Americanism: Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, Bolívar, Sarmiento, Bello y Martí.

In the name of the Inter-American Musical movement, to which hundreds of gifted and able men have adhered, I warmly greet the officers and the members of the American Musicological Society as well as all the delegates and visitors here present, particularly those who, as the result of brutal force or through sheer chance, find themselves among us, far from the battlefield of Europe.

From this, my first contact with the musical life of the United States, there will, I am confident, be born a close and enduring current of mutual sympathy and understanding, leading to the future acceptance of the term "Musical Americanism" as equally valid for North and South America, for the one indivisible America.

The Musical Folklore of Cuba

*Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes**

DELEGATE FROM CUBA

THE CUBAN DELEGATION to this Congress wishes to take advantage of the present moment to congratulate warmly the American Musicological Society that has promoted it, and the Society's very sympathetic and dynamic president, Dr. Carleton Sprague Smith, who has placed all his enthusiasm at the service of this noble initiative, demonstrating his competence and ability.

Having said this, I should like to refer to the musical folklore of Cuba, whose well-known richness is a source of pride to us Cuban musicians.

We have always asserted that our music, of undeniable rhythmical wealth, acknowledges three essential factors in its formation, three roots of origin that show their characteristic tendencies in our rhythms.

Going back to the pre-Colombian epoch and stopping for a moment to consider the customs that distinguished the Siboneyes from the Indians that peopled the American mainland, we find that the former, like all Indo-Antillians, cultivated rhythm particularly, confirming Hans von Bülow's statement that "in the beginning there was rhythm". In epithalamial feasts, presided over by the *cacique*, or in the ceremonies attached to special rites, in which a *behique* or priest officiated, the simple tones of the native *areitos* filled the air of those virgin lands. The *areitos* were sung in chorus by dancers and spectators who recognized the leadership of an aged Indian they called the *tequina*. He was the director of the dances, in which the natives formed a circle (as in the Spanish *sardana*), each placing his arms over the other's shoulders, or all holding hands while dancing.

Father Bartolomé de las Casas, who accompanied Columbus on his first trip to the Indies, and who defended the aborigines against the roughness of the conquerors, asserts in his writings that the music of the Siboneyes was more agreeable, and sounded better, than that of the Indians of Haiti.

The Antillian *areitos* represented, as the historian Bachiller y

*Died September 7, 1944.

Morales says, the feelings and traditions of the primitive inhabitants of our island.

The songs of the Indians employed different forms in accordance with the nature of the feasts they celebrated. The dance prevailed, and the various *areitos* were a necessary means for the people to express their state of mind, reaffirming thus the expressive power that music has had, since its origins, in all the countries of the world.

Our Indians felt a great predilection for the dance, being carried away by its rhythm, making exaggerated contortions, exerting themselves in a continuous stamping that followed the monotonous beat of the drums. The inexhaustible dancers drank *chicha*, made with alcohol from the corn, out of bottle-gourd jugs, in the midst of an unbridled din (*güasángara*) that transformed the melodic line of the *areitos* into a series of wild shouts and yells. In these peculiar feasts the beat of the *atabales* and *mayohuacán*, drums of hollow wood prevailed. Although these original instruments lacked drum-heads, historians assert that "their noise was heard from a league away". We find survivals of these drums not only in different varieties used by the Afro-Cubans, but also in the so-called *tumbaderas*, which the curious investigator may discover in out-of-the-way corners of our eastern territory.

The Siboneyes used as musical instruments *caramillos* or flutes made with canes and reeds of hollow wood. They also employed the *quamos*, made out of a marine shell, of which they lopped off an end, giving it the form of a horn, and at times they completed their rudimentary orchestras with the *maracas*, which the Indians of Puerto Rico also had; these were instruments made out of the bottle-gourd or calabash, which they filled with small stones and attached to a handle, so as to be able to move it at will and produce a characteristic noise.

The traditions of these original inhabitants of our country were transmitted to us by the remainder of their descendants that occupied the eastern part and a sector of the center of our island. As a curious fact in this connection we could point to the discovery, in 1913, of a pre-Columbian Cuban graveyard in Cape Guayabo Blanco, Ciénaga Oriental de Zapata, next to the river "El Pesquero". Before this, in the cliffs of Maisí, and the ridges of Sancti-Spíritus, there had been similar discoveries that enriched Cuban science. Two more are also known: one in the province of Matanzas, and another near Cienfuegos.

Our Indians did not leave written testimony of their music. We have only the facsimile of an *areito*, of dubious origin, published in the historical work entitled *Cuba Primitiva* by Bachiller y Morales.

Spanish music had a great influence on the formation of various folk-songs of so-called "Spanish America", the name given until the beginning of the 19th century to the Spanish colonies of America formed by the vice-kingdoms of Mexico, New Granada, Peru, and Buenos Aires, and the military governments of Guatemala, Chile, Caracas, Puerto Rico, and Cuba. And even in some of the countries of Europe, to which was extended the jurisdiction of the then greatest colonial power of the world, there can be observed the same unmistakable roots that are manifested clearly in the national music of the majority of the countries of America, the forms often keeping their generic names, notwithstanding the passing of time, as happens in our American folklore.

In this historical phase subsequent to the discovery of our island, the period of our colonizers, we find that the latter came, as a general rule, from the Andalusian and Castilian regions of the mother-country. The music of these regions, rich in interesting rhythms, which sprang partly from Arabian sources, and also abundant in melodic designs representing other Spanish provinces, weighed directly in the formation of our folk-songs. These subsequently felt the influence of certain music that was brought to Cuba by the French in the 18th century. In a document found in the year 1845, there are facts referring to 1562, at which time, it is stated, the dances in Havana were animated and extravagant, preserving some of the crudity of the natives. La Torre, referring to a later period, says that Negresses sang in the churches, and that among the instruments used was the *güiro*, made from the bottle-gourd. He adds that the dances in those days were the *zapateo* and the *contradanza*. The songs were a mixture of national airs and native reminiscences, and were accompanied by dances. Their words attained a freedom not very commendable. In the 18th century French and Italian opera influenced the songs of our capital, and the words improved.

Esteban Pichardo says that the *contradanza* was the dance preferred in Cuba. This kind of music originated in Normandy, passing later to England. Ferer, with a profusion of details, relates how it was danced "according to the usage of the French school". It is certain that it came from France via Haiti, for the lexicographer Bouillet

declares that, of all the dances existing in France in the 17th century, the *contradanza* is the only one that subsisted, the minuet having disappeared in the 18th century, and the gavotte with the Empire. This dance changed its form among us, being adapted to the requirements of the climate.

In the middle of the 18th century there existed in Havana dancing academies where, for a small fee, the minuet, *contradanza*, rigadon, and *figurato* were taught; and in 1832 an academy was opened at 66 Oficios Street, where they taught the national dances: *fandango*, *gatidanas*, *sevillanas*, *guarachas*, *zapateado*, *cachucha* and *alemanados*. Thus we see, in interesting juxtaposition, and enjoying simultaneous popularity, the Spanish and the Cuban airs that sprang from the influence of the above-mentioned original roots, constituting the first manifestations of our vernacular music. In the *contradanza*, then, the national elements prevailed. This dance was later supplanted by the so-called *danza cubana*, which was sometimes written in measures of $2/4$ and $6/8$.

In these dances we already find the mixture of the African rhythm with our own melodies.

After the *danza* appeared the *danzón*, in the year 1879, and in its rhythm we could also point out certain Negro influences that were less apparent in the themes of the *danza*, which on occasions availed itself of popular songs and fragments of Italian opera.

The *danzón*, the most dignified of all our dances, had to give way to the *són*, which appeared among us, in a form not corresponding to the *són* of the eastern part of Cuba, at the moment that North American dances became the fashion in our country.

The *guajira* is one of our purer rhythms. In its formation only racial elements have prevailed, and its music, like that of the *zapateo* and the *punto*, presents an unmistakable physiognomy.

Our *bolero* presents the name of a Spanish type, but its rhythm and morphology are purely Cuban.

The *guaracha*, now in disuse, is of a singing character. Groups of *guaracheros* were presented daily in our theatres with typical costumes, making an unforgettable appearance in this interesting type of vernacular music. There are very old compositions of this kind.

The African influence represents what we call today *dynamism*, in the rhythmic physiognomy of the rumba and the conga, dances that nowadays have risen as a logical consequence of the dominance

of Negro music, which in our country came into fashion after its sanction in Europe, by virtue of the ruling power of jazz in the period after the war of 1914-18.

In Cuba the *canción* (song) is one of the oldest types of music. First, there existed the patriotic song, and from 1830 on it suffered apparent modifications until our days, in which it has attained greater dignity.

We must not forget the *habanera*, one of the oldest and best-known rhythms. Manuel de Falla, the great Spanish composer, having in mind the testimony of Rivera and other musical chroniclers, asserts that the rhythmical pattern of this form is of Asiatic origin, and that it must have been known at the time of the discovery and the colonization of our country.

The *clave*, essentially rhythmic and melodic, was formerly cultivated among us, but it has not survived in our vernacular music.

Many have criticized the Italian influence in our songs, but let it not be forgotten that this influence weighed in the music of nearly all the countries of the world during the last century.

As to Negro music, there is an interesting fact we should not overlook. Our best Negro composers never wrote it, understanding that it was a retrogression in our musical development. Brindis de Sala, White, Lico Jiménez and other eminent colored artists cultivated our pure music without showing themselves partial to African music. It is at the present time that Negro music has reached its greatest height in our country, but it must be kept in mind that this phenomenon begins to lose its preponderant strength by the abuse that has been made of this kind of rhythmic music, and our purer forms will continue to assert themselves with vigor, as they represent our true nationality, free from foreign influences.

The eminent Spanish music critic and musicologist, Adolfo Salazar, in speaking of our music, has said that it presents two independent factors: the Creole, which has characteristic and unmistakable details of style, and which shows at times an influence we could call Spanish, but which originated in Cuba, forming a unique type of music, born from our surroundings; and the Afro-Cuban, which acts like a leavening, an element full of life and color that gives rise to rhythmic experiments full of novelty and exoticism, yet that has not been entirely absorbed, combining but not amalgamating with the Creole. These two tendencies that have been clearly observed in our musical folklore are worthy of careful study.

Some Problems Confronting Musicians in the Americas

Gonzalo Roig

DELEGATE FROM CUBA

THE CUBAN DELEGATION to this Congress, not knowing the exact manner in which it was going to be developed, originally prepared in the form of propositions the items that constitute the subject of this brief paper. Noting the method adopted for realizing the aims of this assembly, we have had to adjust ourselves to practices already established here in that sense, and we shall therefore expound our points of view briefly, so as not to tire our kind audience.

Allow us to observe first that, in view of present-day trends in the field of music in relation to the complex social-economic problems now absorbing the attention of nearly all countries and tending to atrophy the highest spiritual values, music, with rare exceptions, will very probably be reduced, as regards evaluation, to the following alternative: it is either a business or a profession.

We need not dwell extensively on the definition of the problem, as our commentary contains a specific proposition, which, taking as a basis the existing environment of a more or less common level, tends to promote—at least among the sister-nations of America—an artistic-cultural approximation that indirectly but surely leads to the improvement and stabilization of the most solid values of art and music in the American continents.

With the exception of the official artistic associations already known in various countries, and with the wonderful organization that similar centers reach in this great North American nation, at times with the sole aid and assistance of private institutions, it is probable that the question we propose is already a latent problem, more or less consciously felt in all the other nations that form our hemisphere.

And from that double question, resting on the basis of a policy subject to fluctuation, but always principally concerned with things that seem to be of greater importance than the labor of social culture, there arises at each step a disruption of events and a dispersal of artists, which we firmly believe should be eradicated as pernicious to our cultural patrimony.

And we are not suggesting an artistic policy on a small scale that would concern, in a particular way, only each country. We are

pleading for a better identification of the musicians of all nations.

Therefore, as projects of such vast extent must rest solidly on the most beneficial and soundest foundations of each country, and as their execution calls for the assistance, stimulation, and moral support of all the official organizations, we beg to submit that it would be highly beneficial to bring about the artistic, intellectual, and technical reintegration of all active musicians, and especially of those occupying positions of recognized official responsibility, proceeding to deparure the positions as far as possible, by requiring proofs of competency as a security and safeguard.

It is needless to add that we do not refer to those artistic personalities whose past and present activity is sufficient to justify the positions they legitimately honor.

At the same time, we must emphasize the need for a frequent interchange between the most representative musicians of the Americas, in all the practical and theoretical disciplines, by means of artistic tours or living cultural messages that will proclaim and expose, both *ex cathedra* and informally, the extent of their scientific and technical background.

Another very important point is that which refers to copyright protection for musical composers in Latin America—a problem which, owing to the peculiar legislation of each of our republics, has not yet been satisfactorily solved. The lack of a legal formula adopted by all leads to the authors' being deprived of their legitimate rights. This problem, of course, does not concern North Americans, who in this, as in everything else, are perfectly organized. We refer to Latin-American countries.

One of the arguments employed to undermine this legislation has always been to affirm that in some of our countries the musical production, in any of its aspects, does not reach great limits, and that such legislation would be a hindrance for the music of the continent, which circulates from one republic to the other, propagating the rich folklore of those countries. And to that is due, partly, the indifference with which this problem has been met, some republics preferring to have their hands free, without realizing the harm that this can produce when it gives rise to acts of piracy by unscrupulous publishers and dealers.

It is necessary, therefore, to study in due course this particular problem, so that a system with identical standards can be established in all our countries, doing away with a disparate legislation that at

times imposes impossible conditions upon the authors and defrauds them of their legitimate rights.

And, speaking of another subject that we think also worthy of study, it must be said that we do not yet possess a careful compilation, founded on scientific bases, of the rich folklore elements that have formed our typical music. The published works that have attempted that task, always praiseworthy at least in their intentions, notwithstanding the errors they may have committed, have been made carelessly and without a complete knowledge of the matter. The authors of such ambitious works ought to have remained long enough in each of our countries to tap the direct sources of information necessary for a fundamental preparation. Their productions would then have served as directive elements in many of our activities. It behooves us to achieve the collection of authentic popular music in the interest of American folklore.

Music must be considered at all times as an irreplaceable vehicle to strengthen relations among our countries. It is therefore imperative to make known the folklore of the republics of the New World in the official institutions of musical learning. From this purpose springs the real necessity of the work we referred to above, making available in a definitive, even if synthetic, form the characteristics and morphology of the folk-songs of each of the American countries.

We have spoken superficially of these interesting subjects with the hope that on future occasions they will be studied with the attention they deserve. We must work continually so that conventions, congresses, and meetings of artists will take place with the greatest frequency, because collaboration is the basis of the most important initiatives, and we feel sure that all of those associated in this Congress are ready to lend their firm support to any plan that will improve the present situation of composers and interpreters of the divine art of sound.

PROGRAMS OF CONCERTS
Given in Connection with the Congress

Concert of American Music
by the Roth Quartet

FERI ROTH, *Violin*
JENO ANTAL, *Violin*

SANDOR SALGO, *Viola*
JANOS SCHOLZ, *'Cello*

CARLETON SPRAGUE SMITH, *Flute*

1. String Quartet John K. Paine
Op. 5 1839-1906
Moderato
Andante
Molto presto
Andantino grazioso con variazioni
2. A Night Piece Arthur Foote
Flute and String Quartet 1853-1937
3. 4th String Quartet Quincy Porter
Allegro moderato 1897-
Lento
Allegro molto
4. Three Preludes and Fugues Roy Harris
for String Quartet 1898-
(Dedicated to the Roth Quartet)

THE BEETHOVEN ASSOCIATION
SEPTEMBER 11TH, 1939, AT 11 O'CLOCK

Evening of
Early American Folk- and Art-Music

Given by the
Old Harp Singers of Nashville, Tennessee
founded by George Pullen Jackson

<i>Trebles</i>	CORINNE ARMSTRONG	<i>Tenors</i>	ROSS DOWDEN
	GLENN CARROLL		CLAUDE WALLER
<i>Counters</i>	GLADYS JORDAN	<i>Basses</i>	E. J. GATWOOD
	LOUISE PHILLIPS		WAYNE BARKER

E. J. GATWOOD, *Musical Director* .

I.

In the Colonial Meeting House

Hail You!

Psalm CXV, Tune to Psalm CXIII

In a Colonial Sitting Room

The Same Psalm Tune CXIII

John Wesley Chorales

Madam I Have Come A-Courting, or, Quaker Courtship

II.

Singing School of Revolutionary Times

Schenectady Nehemiah Shumway

Evening Shade

Spring

Mount Pleasant James Leach

Easter Anthem, The Lord Is Risen Today . . . William Billings

III.

A Home Singing in 1839

Wondrous Love

Ye Children of Jesus, or, The Drone Song

Jasper

Boundless Mercy

Hosanna to Jesus

IV.

Folk-Songs—Modern Harmonic Vestments

- Old Ship of Zion setting by E. J. Gatwood
 The Trees Do Moan setting by Harvey B. Gaul
 Poor Wayfaring Stranger setting by Jackson and Gatwood

V.

Folk Fun

- On Springfield Mountain
 Frog Went A-Courting
 Sourwood Mountain
 Soldier Won't You Marry Me setting by John Powell

FRAUNCES TAVERN

SEPTEMBER 12TH, 1939, AT 8:30 O'CLOCK

Recital of American Piano Music by John Kirkpatrick

- I. Sonata (1928-30) Roger Sessions
 andante-allegro-
 -andante-poco meno mosso-
 -andante-molto vivace
- II. Woodland Sketches (1896) Edward MacDowell
 To a Wild Rose
 Will o' the Wisp
 From Uncle Remus
 Fireside Tales (1902)
 Of Salamanders
 Of Br'er Rabbit
- III. Souvenir de Porto Rico Louis Moreau Gottschalk
 (Marche des Gibaros) (1859)
 The Banjo (1851)

INTERMISSION

- IV. "Concord, Mass., 1840-60" Charles E. Ives
 Second Pianoforte Sonata (1911-15)
 I. Emerson
 II. Hawthorne
 III. The Alcotts
 IV. Thoreau

AUDITORIUM OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
 WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13TH, 1939, AT 8:30 O'CLOCK

Concert of Medieval Music
 by Yves Tinayre, Tenor
 and a group from the Choir of the Pius X School of
 Liturgical Music

ASSISTING ARTISTS

LOUIS FISHZOHN, *Violin* JEAN SCHNEIDER, *'Cello*
 SYDNEY BECK, *Viola* RAYMOND KENDALL, *Organist*

- I. Introit—Requiem aeternam Gregorian
 Kyrie: Alme Pater Gregorian
 Sanctus from Mass III Gregorian
 Responsory—Canite Ambrosian
 Communion—Passer invenit Gregorian
 Rorate caeli Gregorian
 Offertory—Jubilate Deo universa terra . . . Gregorian

A GROUP FROM THE CHOIR OF THE PIUS X SCHOOL
 OF LITURGICAL MUSIC

- II. Haec dies (organum) Léonin
 Deum time! (organum) Léonin
 Beata viscera (conductus) Pérotin
 Agniaus douz French, 13th-century
 Flos de virga nascitur (motet) . . . French, 13th-century

YVES TINAYRE, *with Assisting Artists*

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| III. A touz jour sans remanoir | } | Anonymous 13th-century
Trouvère Songs |
| J'ai désir de véoir | | |
| Bien doi joye demener | | |
| Helas, tan vi de male heure | | |
| Mes cuers est emprisonnés | | |
| Rose, lys, printemps | | Machaut |
| Ploures, dames! | | Machaut |

YVES TINAYRE, *with Assisting Artists*

- | | |
|---|----------|
| IV. Adieu, mon amoureuse joye | Binchois |
| Mille bonjours | Dufay |
| Vergine Bella | Dufay |

YVES TINAYRE, *with Assisting Artists*

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| V. Alleluia: Angelus Domini (organum) | French, 11th-century |
| O miranda—Salve mater—Kyrie (motet) | French, 13th-century |
| Puellare gremium (motet) | English, 14th-century |
| Qui cum Patre, from the Credo of the Missa Salve
diva Parens | Obrecht |
| Urbs beata Jerusalem | Kunsperger |
| Flos florum | Dufay |

A GROUP FROM THE CHOIR OF THE PIUS X SCHOOL
OF LITURGICAL MUSICTHE CLOISTERS IN FORT TRYON PARK
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14TH, AT 4:00 O'CLOCK

Concert of Unpublished Music

by Georg Friedrich Händel

(1685-1759)

under the direction of

J. M. Coopersmith

- I. Diana Cacciatrice (Cantata con Stromenti)
FLORENCE VICKLAND AND VIOLA SILVA
- II. Ottone: "Benchè mi sia crudele" (Aria)
VIOLA SILVA
- III. Sonata per Hautbois Solo e Basso Continuo
PHILIP KIRSCHNER
- IV. Sarei troppo felice (Cantata a Voce Sola e Basso Continuo)
FLORENCE VICKLAND
- V. Sonata a Tre—Violino, Violoncello Concertato e Basso Continuo
MAX HOLLANDER AND CARL STERN
- Intermission*
- VI. Händel, non può mia Musa
(Cantata a Voce Sola e Basso Continuo)
VIOLA SILVA
- VII. Sonata a Due Flauti Traversieri e Basso Continuo
CARMINE COPPOLA AND FREDERICK WILKINS
- VIII. È Troppo Bella (Aria)
VIOLA SILVA
- IX. Ero e Leandro (Cantata con Stromenti)
FLORENCE VICKLAND
- X. Alessandro Severo: "Gli dirai" (Duetto)
FLORENCE VICKLAND AND VIOLA SILVA

AUDITORIUM OF THE JUILLIARD GRADUATE SCHOOL

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 14TH, AT 8:30 O'CLOCK

(Program notes for this Concert will be found on pp. 213-225.)

Concert of Hispanic Music

Illustrating the Musical Culture of Colonial
and Contemporary Spanish America

Francisco Curt Lange, *presiding*

- I. Hymno de Vísperas Juan Navarro
Villancico a 5 Voces, Oigan un vexamen Antonio de Salazar
Villancico a 8 Voces, Como es principe jurado Manuel Zumaya
18th-Century Californian Mission Music:

Si quaeris miracula

Pues sois sancto sinigual

Kyrie and Gloria from the Missa de Los Angeles

The Madrigalists

HELEN SNOW	WENDELL ROBINSON	EARL BERG
MARGARET DODD	ELECTA HAVEL	PHILIP MILLER
	MARY BONAR	

ARTHUR LIEF, *Musical Advisor*

- II. Quintet in C major for String Quartet and Piano
Padre Antonio Soler

Allegretto

Minuetto

Andantino

Allegro

Allegretto en fuga

HILDEGARDE DONALDSON LOIS PORTER MALCOLM HOLMES

JOAQUÍN NIN-CULMELL AARON BODENHORN

- III. Negrinha, Caboclinha, Branquiha *from* "A Prole do Bêbé"
Villa-Lobos

Vamos Atraz da Serra Calunga, Condessa,

Passa, passa Gaviao, *from* "Cirandas" . . . Villa-Lobos

NOEMI BITTENCOURT

- IV. Quintet for String Quartet and Piano . . . Joaquín Nin-Culmell

Lento-Allegro

Andante

Vivace

MALCOLM HOLMES LOIS PORTER QUINCY PORTER

JOAQUÍN NIN-CULMELL AARON BODENHORN

AUDITORIUM OF THE

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 15TH, 1939, AT 8:30 O'CLOCK

Concert of 18th-Century American Chamber Music

Ralph Kirkpatrick, *Harpsichord*

Lois Porter, *Violin*

Janos Scholz, *Violoncello*

Quincy Porter, *Viola*

Hildegarde Donaldson, *Violin*

Malcolm Holmes, *Viola*

Aaron Bodenhorn, *Violoncello*

AUDITORIUM OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 16TH, 1939, AT 4:00 O'CLOCK

- I. Trio Sonata No. 1 in B flat
Gaetano Franceschini (18th century)

Largo

Allegro

Rondo Cantabile

HILDEGARDE DONALDSON

LOIS PORTER

AARON BODENHORN

RALPH KIRKPATRICK

- II. Sonata in A major for Violoncello and Figured Bass . . .
Raynor Taylor (1747-1825)

Adagio

Allegro moderato

Menuetto Andante

JANOS SCHOLZ

RALPH KIRKPATRICK

- III. The Battle of Trenton James Hewitt (1770-1827)

"A FAVORITE HISTORICAL MILITARY SONATA DEDICATED TO
 GENERAL WASHINGTON" 1797

Introduction—The Army in Motion—General Orders—Acclamation of the Americans—Drums Beat to Arms—Washington's March—The American Army crossing the Delaware—Ardor of the Americans at Landing—Trumpets sound the Charge—Attack—Cannons—Bomb—Defeat of the Hessians—Flight of the Hessians—The Hessians begging quarter—The Fight renew'd—General Confusion—The Hessians surrender themselves Prisoners of War—(Roslin Castle) Grief of the Americans for the Loss of their Comrades killed in the Engagement—(Yankee Doodle) Drums and Fifes—Quick-Step for the Band—Trumpets of Victory—General Rejoicing

RALPH KIRKPATRICK

IV. Quintet No. 1 in D major
Johann Friedrich Peter (1746-1813)

Allegro con brio

Andante amoroso

Allegro brillante

LOIS PORTER

HILDEGARDE DONALDSON

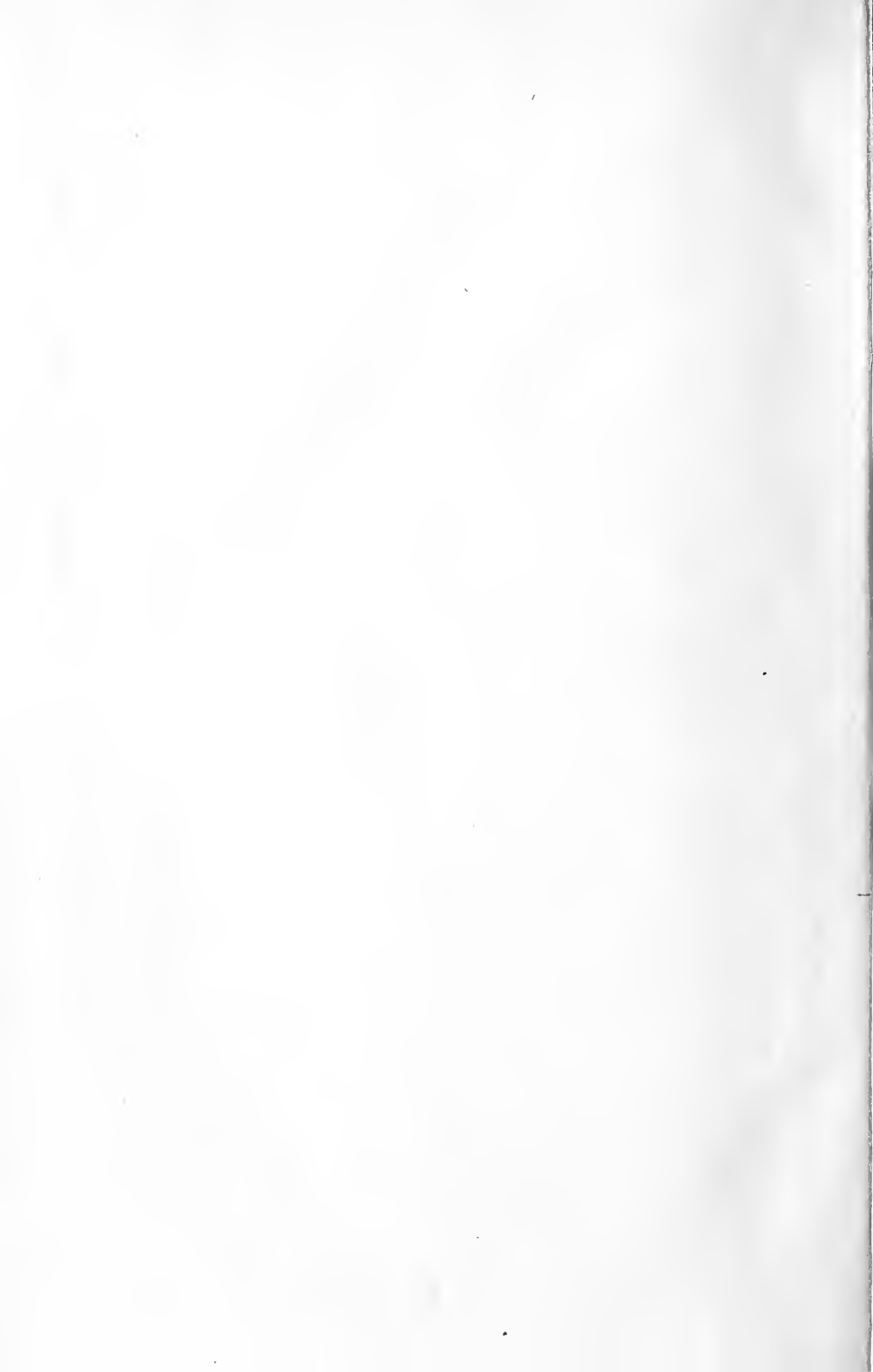
QUINCY PORTER

MALCOLM HOLMES

AARON BODENHORN

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