

MU PHI EPSILON

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THE FINE ARTS

EDGAR A. GUEST

Give us more lovers of beauty,
More lovers of gardens, and we
Shall lessen our need for your cannon
And iron-clad ships of the sea.

Give us more lovers of music,
More lovers of pictures and books,
And we'll fill up the world with good neighbors
And dwindle the number of crooks.

For hatred and malice and scheming
And envy and cunning and greed
And all that makes crime a temptation
Are not in an art lover's creed.

Who gives his attention to beauty,
Who cherishes laughter and song,
And is thrilled by the glory of planets,
Not often another will wrong.

In gardens, in childhood, in painting,
In music are safety and peace,
So give us more lovers of beauty
That hatred and quarrels may cease.

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*These Articles are excerpts from the five Theses which were submitted in the 1943 N.A.A. Research Contest. We regret that lack of space made it impossible for us to print the Theses in their entirety.

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ENGLISH CATHEDRAL MUSIC

from the Reformation to Purcell

LOUISE CAROL TITCOMB, *Lambda*

INTRODUCTION

THE fact that progress in the various arts is closely connected with political and social conditions is generally accepted. There is, perhaps, no country where political and social as well as religious conditions have had such a great influence on Church Music as in England.

England has probably produced fewer really great composers of Church Music than any of the other musically important countries, although Byrd, Gibbons and Purcell, at least, rank high among their contemporaries. We do find, nevertheless, a vast amount of music which is decidedly creditable and which is a sincere and suitable expression of English religious feeling. The English church composer, as a rule, took his work seriously, even though he may often have been lacking in true inspiration.

It is the purpose of this treatise to trace the development of English Cathedral Music (Anthems and Services) from the English Reformation to the time of Purcell. The styles of the several periods and their leading composers will be discussed and an attempt will be made to link to political and other causes the various stages through which the art has passed. Biographical details will be kept at a minimum. While the Anglican Chant belongs very definitely to the Cathedral Music of England, it is negligible as an art-form and will not be considered. To discuss hymnody would take us more particularly into the music of the Reformed Church.

It is interesting to note that the two great blows dealt English Cathedral Music during the period under discussion were both the result of political upheavals. The first, the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII in 1536 after he had broken with Rome, was perhaps a blessing in disguise. Since the greater part of the choir books were destroyed, the starting of a new school using English texts instead of Latin was inevitable. The second blow occurred at the time of the Puritan Rebellion when churches were sacked and choir books burned once more. This caused the loss to posterity of a vast amount of the fine music of the sixteenth century. These events, together with the gradual growth of the art of music, naturally resulted in changes in the style of sacred composition.

Atherton Knowles¹ divides the period with which we shall deal into three schools: the *Early Simple Harmonic School*, with Tallis and Byrd its chief exponents; the *Early Contrapuntal School*, headed by Gibbons; and the *Late Contrapuntal School*, which he considers the Golden Age of English music, with Purcell and Blow as its foremost composers. We

¹Text Book of Anglican Service Music—Tallis to Wesley.

EDITOR'S NOTE—This article is a portion of the 1943 Prize Winning Thesis in the N.A.A. Mu Phi Epsilon Research Contest. Due to lack of space only the first half of the Thesis could be published and many deletions have had to be made in it but most of the salient sections have been retained. Any who are interested in reading the entire Thesis can communicate with its author who will be glad to tell them how to secure a complete copy.

shall follow these divisions, although the first and third schools can hardly be treated adequately in a single chapter. A final chapter has been added tracing the musical development very briefly through the succeeding centuries up to the present. Since the greater part of the artistic output of any period or country is ephemeral, several charts have been inserted which may throw some light on the popularity, past and present, of some of the more important composers.

THE EARLY POST-REFORMATION PERIOD

Before considering the music of this period we shall cast a glance at religious and political conditions which made it an important and somewhat critical epoch in English church music.

The Church in England was in existence long before Pope Gregory sent St. Augustine there as a missionary in 596. It is not necessary to discuss here the details of English church history between this date and the Reformation, but it is advisable to realize that, although the English Church was under the domination of Rome, it had always adhered to certain "uses" that were not practiced on the Continent. In fact, various cathedrals in England had different "uses," of which those of Hereford, Lincoln, Bangor, York and Salisbury (Sarum) may be mentioned, the last-named being most widespread. In general, however, the Roman forms were observed as they were elsewhere, and were conducted in Latin. We do find instances, some time before the Reformation, of the Scriptures and certain other portions of the service being rendered in the vernacular.

The rupture between Rome and England was not the result of a conflict over dogma, but was a political necessity to which Henry VIII resorted in order to accomplish and justify his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. In 1534, Henry secured the passage of the Act of Supremacy by which the English sovereign became the unlimited head of the Church. While the dissolution of the monasteries in 1536 brought to the royal coffers great wealth it lost to the world much of the church music that had existed in England before this time. This wholesale destruction, together with the compilation of the new English Prayer Books, occasioned the birth of a new, national school of English Church Music.

Even though all the services were translated into English, for the sake of convenience, the Latin titles of the musical numbers were retained. The Mass was altered but little as far as the musical portion was concerned. The so-called canonical hours (Matins, Lauds, Prime, Sext, Nones, Vespers and Compline) which were originally designed for certain times of day, had long been rendered by accumulation, i.e., several services used in immediate succession. With the *First Prayer Book of Edward VI* in 1549 the first three offices were condensed to form Matins or Morning Prayer and the last two, Evensong or Evening Prayer.

A full setting of the Mass would include the Kyrie Eleison, Gloria in Excelsis, Nicene Creed, Sanctus, and sometimes an Agnus Dei and Benedictus Qui Venit, although the last two parts were eliminated from the Prayer Book in 1552 and were not officially restored until 1892. The Morning Service usually includes the Te Deum and Jubilate or Benedictus, and the Evening Service the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, although alternatives for each are provided in the Prayer Book. Some of the earlier Services also contained a setting of the Venite. In many churches it is customary to use only the first part of Communion (Ante-Communion)

following Morning Prayer; consequently most of the settings of the Communion found in collections of Cathedral Music contain only the Kyrie (usually Responses to the Commandments instead of the Nine-fold Kyrie) and the Creed.

The first part of the English service to appear in print (May 27, 1544) in the vernacular was the Litany, translated by Archbishop Cramner.

The Litany was first sung in English at St. Paul's Cathedral on September 18, 1547—"the priests and clerks all kneeling." This was the first time any portion of the service was publicly performed in the vulgar tongue, and "from this day commences the history of English Church Music." The *First Prayer Book of Edward VI* was printed in 1549, and marked the first time the whole realm had had a uniform service. The *Second Prayer Book of Edward VI* appeared in 1552, but, owing to the accession in 1553 of Mary, a Roman Catholic, there was no time for it to come into general use. A third edition (1559), somewhat modified, was one of the earliest results of Elizabeth's reign. There was still another revision under James I in 1604, and additions and alterations were made in 1661-62, during the reign of Charles II. It is a notable fact that each successive revision tended to greater conformity with the *First Prayer Book* of 1549. Only slight changes have been made since 1662.

The Church held to the Catholic conception that the service was musical, everything properly being sung. Therefore in 1550 John Marbeck (1583-1585) published his *Booke of Common Praier Noted*, which was an adaptation of the plainsong of the earlier ritual to the *First Prayer Book of Edward VI*. Marbeck omitted the Litany because it had already been published. His work contains Matins—which consist of the Lord's Prayer, Preces and Gloria Patri (all monotone), the Venite, Te Deum, Benedictus, Nicene Creed, and Suffrages; also the two Collects following the Collect for the Day. For Evensong he gives the Lord's Prayer, Preces, and Gloria (all monotone), the Psalms (monotone with inflexions), the Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis (two settings each), and two Collects. Then follow the Benedicite and the Quicunque Vult. The Communion Service is quite complete and consists of the Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Creed, sixteen Offer-tories, and Preface and Proper Prefaces (in monotone), the Sanctus and Benedictus, the Prayer for the Church and Prayer of Consecration (both in monotone), the Lord's Prayer, Agnus Dei, sixteen Post-Communions and a Prayer.² Besides these regular Services a Burial Service is included, comprising three Versicles and Responses (*Man that is born of woman, etc.*), more Responses and Prayers; also Psalms, Kyrie and Lord's Prayer. In the *Communion when there is a Buriall* are found an Introit (*Like as the Hart*), a Kyrie in Mode III, Collects, and a Sanctus and Agnus Dei. The first edition was not harmonized and the four-line staff was used. In 1844 William Pickering of London printed a beautiful facsimile, with its rubricated staves, diamond-shaped notes, black-letter type and ample margins. Marbeck's has remained the standard plainsong service to this day, the Nicene Creed being the part probably most sung at present.

Among the first to compose harmonies for Marbeck were Richard Redhead, Robert Carter, and Charles Child Spencer. All these arrangements were published between 1840 and 1847. Unquestionably the best

were those of Spencer, who based his harmonizations on the ancient ecclesiastical modes. His harmonies to the Communion Service were published in September, 1847, as a musical supplement to the London *Parish Choir*, a useful periodical devoted to the reform of Church Music. Spencer likewise harmonized Marbeck's notation of the Burial Office. More recently, organ harmonies for the Communion Service have been composed by John Stainer, the Rev. J. Wilberforce Doran and Charles Villiers Stanford.

Marbeck's other works for the church include a Mass, *Per Arma Justitiae*—his most ambitious work—and the motets, *Domine Jesu Christe* (5 voices), *A Virgin and Mother* (3 voices), and *Ave Dei Patris Filia* (5 voices). These compositions are all printed in *Tudor Church Music*, Vol. X. The Mass is quite as interesting as many of the works of Tallis, but Marbeck's fame rests almost entirely upon his *Booke of Common Praier Noted*.

Marbeck has been held responsible for making plain song a dull, monotonous type of musical expression from the time when he simplified the original in his *Booke* until the middle of the nineteenth century. In an article on Marbeck, R. R. Terry points out that Marbeck did not expect his work to be sung as plain song *a la Solesmes*; he used four different types of notes, each of which he intended should have a distinct mensural value. While the Kyrie was taken from the Sarum *Missa pro Defunctis*, he claims that most of the work was original and not derived actually from the old plain song. The dullness, therefore, has probably been due largely to the misinterpretation by performers.

During the sixteenth century, which is generally considered the golden era of vocal counterpoint, all of the writing was conceived horizontally, rather than vertically or harmonically as is most of the music of the nineteenth century. In the typical motet style, which reached its height of perfection with Palestrina and Lassus on the Continent, and with Byrd and Gibbons in England, the voices seldom enter all at once, but each phrase is started by one voice and continued in fugal imitation by the other voices successively. Therefore before the voices which entered last have completed their phrase, some of the other voices have started on a new one. There are cadences, to be sure, but they are not foursquare as in the modern hymn tune. The melodies are very simple, largely scalewise with a judicious use of thirds, fourths and fifths to lend variety. Sevenths are practically never used, sixths very sparingly, and even the effective leap of an octave is not very common. Whenever large intervals are used, the melody turns and progresses in the opposite direction.

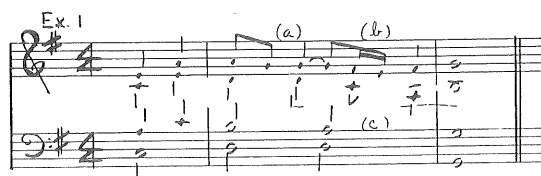
The rhythm in sixteenth century music is confusing to the average present-day musician, since it is treated in a manner quite unlike that to which we have become accustomed. The meter signatures exercise a greater influence over the harmonic structure of the composition (i.e., method of treating suspended discords, passing tones, etc.) than on the rhythmic. Bar lines are usually lacking, and if they are inserted it is more for the purpose of aiding the eye than to denote stress on the beat following the bar. More often than not the accent occurs at some other beat of the measure. Very frequently one voice will be singing a phrase according to the natural rhythm of its text, possibly in a meter of four, while the text of another voice singing simultaneously demands a meter of three. Thus the accents in the various parts coincide only by chance. In fact, sixteenth century counterpoint is as much a combination of rhythms as it is a

²Notice that Marbeck included the Benedictus and Agnus Dei which were omitted from the *Second Prayer Book of Edward VI*, but which the Lincoln Judgment of 1892 has made it lawful to use once more.

combination of melodies. A sufficient understanding of this problem is necessary for the correct interpretation of music of this period.

Harmonically, concords predominate, although passing tones, suspensions and a few other means of producing dissonance are used. We sometimes find unpleasant clashes which would offend the classicists, such as a simultaneous or successive use of both the major and the minor third of the chord. These, however, are usually only the result of the logical carrying out of an idea in the individual voices. Knud Jeppeson, in his book, *The Style of Palestrina and the Dissonance*, gives perhaps the best and fullest treatment of this phase of sixteenth century music which has been written. Suffice it to say here that there are certain characteristic idioms used not only by Palestrina, but by most of his contemporaries.

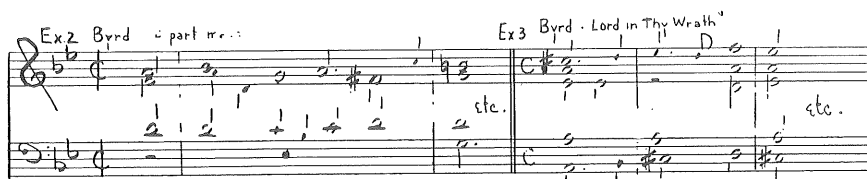
Outstanding among them are the portamento resolution of the suspension (a), other forms of ornamental resolution (b) and the use of the *nota cambiata*, often called changing tones (c).



The English were much more daring than most of their contemporaries, particularly in the following four points:

1. Greater freedom in the use of accented passing notes.
2. More varied methods of resolving discords. (Ex. 2 and 3)
3. More experimental formation of cadence. (Ex. 5)
4. A preference for the harsher forms of discord, especially for what are called "false relationships." (Ex. 4)

Many piquant and startling effects are produced thereby.



As the works of the several composers are commented upon examples will be given.

We shall discuss a little later the temporary change from this flowing style to a simpler kind of note-against-note counterpoint, employing

mostly one syllable to a note and reducing the amount of imitation so that the effect is more like solid blocks of chords, such as are found in the average hymn tune. The greater composers like Tallis, Whyte and Byrd, even though they felt obliged to conform to the demands of the church authorities in their English church music, gave much freer rein to their creative powers in their Latin church music, mention of which we cannot omit entirely.

As we get farther from the troublous times of the Reformation we find the more inspired composers, like Gibbons, and to some extent, Thomas Tomkins and others, returning more to the grand contrapuntal style of Palestrina. At the same time, however, the new, monodic type of music which was in vogue on the continent was beginning to penetrate even English church composition. Byrd was probably the first of the important composers for the English service to use solos (*verses*) in his works. This, of course, entailed the use of a free organ accompaniment which was supplied by the organist from a *basso continuo*.³ Sometimes just the bass was given; occasionally the bass and highest part were both written out. This type of composition will be discussed more fully in the account of Byrd's works. These solo parts were often handled rather awkwardly at first and it was not until after the Restoration that music in the new style reached any sort of real perfection.

Let us return to the years immediately following the English Reformation. The English at this time were not against all music in the Church, but they greatly disliked the over-complicated polyphonic music which was associated in their minds with other popish uses.

In an attempt to get away from this "curious music," as they called it, the Post-Reformation composers often reduced their creations as nearly as possible to note-against-note counterpoint. Knowles speaks of this as the "Early Simple Harmonic School." It is astonishing to realize how little understood these early composers were by historians and musicians prior to thirty or thirty-five years ago.

In Davey's opinion this whole matter of restrictions imposed by the church authorities is very important because it had a baneful effect upon Anglican music and consequently upon English art generally. Not even Palestrina or Bach could have written well under such limitations. English composers used remarkable skill, taking everything into consideration.

The greatest composers of the early Post-Reformation period are usually conceded to be Christopher Tye, Thomas Tallis, and Robert Whyte, and, a little later, William Byrd. Tye and Tallis wrote much before the Reformation. Both also wrote for the reformed liturgy, the former extensively, the latter sparingly. Consequently most of the anthems we now sing bearing the name of Tallis are adaptations from his Latin pieces, partic-

³The practice of accompanying from an organ bass was known at least as early as 1594. It is generally thought that Viadana was the first to use it (*in his Centi Concerti*, printed in 1602), but Peri, Caccini and Cavalieri all used thoroughbass with figures in 1600. Viadana's *Concerti* were written several years before they were published and it is possible that the others got their ideas from him. The earliest examples of a printed organ bass belong to a collection of 8-part motets by Giovanni Croce, Venice, 1594. The first printed music by an Englishman making use of this sort of accompaniment was a set of Latin motets by Richard Deering, printed in 1607. (Otto Kinkeldey, *Orgel und Klavier in der Musik des 16ten Jahrhunderts*, p. 196, and F. T. Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment from a Thoroughbass*, pp. 2, 33-34.)

larly his *Cantiones Sacrae*. This undoubtedly accounts for the freer style which characterizes them, as against the austere style of his Service in the Dorian Mode.

Tye's mass for four voices, founded on the song, *The Western Wynde*, and that for six voices, known as *Euge Bone*, together with Tallis' Magnificat, his mass, *Sine Nomine*, and his motets, *O Bone Jesu*, *O Sacrum Convivium*, and *Audivi Media Nocte*, all of which are extant, represent the finest methods of the Pre-Reformation School in England.

CHRISTOPHER TYE (d. 1572)⁴ was organist at Ely Cathedral from 1542 to 1562 and while there wrote a setting of the English Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis in G minor. A copy of this composition in the British Museum bears the date 1545. This was four years before the publication of Edward VI's *First Prayer Book*. If the date is correct it is evident that portions of the service were then sung in the vernacular.

The Magnificat is published in Rimbault's *Collection of Cathedral Services* (1843). It is vigorous counterpoint and most of the entrances are not in strict imitation. There are fugatos at "He remembering" and "ever shall be." The following are examples of some of his cadences, which are not unlike Palestrina's.



Excellent specimens of the earliest style of composition for the reformed service are Tye's anthems, *Give alms of thy goods* and *Praise the Lord, ye Children*, both of which are in the British Museum library and are printed in *The Polyphonic Period*, Part II, by H. E. Wooldridge. The first is, of course, an offertory—short and simple, music which we can well use in our services today. It begins with the entrance of all four voices in imitation, followed by a flowing melodic passage in thirds sung by bass and tenor; then a similar passage in sixths by the two higher voices. Tye repeats the last phrase for emphasis. We shall find that Farrant often did the same thing in his anthems, and this procedure was not nearly so common then as it is now. *Praise ye the Lord* is written in much more elaborate counterpoint, but it is nevertheless mostly syllabic. The cadences both in this and in the Magnificat make use of the ornamental resolution shown above.

Tye is probably best known for a work published by him in 1553 and entitled: *The Actes of the Apostles, translated into Englyshe Metre and dedicated to the Kynges Most Excellent Majestye by Christopher Tye, Doctor in Musicke, and one of the Gentylnen of Hys Grace's Most honourable Chapell, with notes to eche chapter, to synge, and also to play upon the lute, very necessary for students after theyr studye, to fyle theyr wyttes, and also for all Christians that cannot synge, to read the good and godlye storyes of the lyves of Christ and Hys Apostles.*⁵ These settings were

⁴For all known particulars about his life and works see the preface to Arkwright's edition of the *Euge Bone* mass, published by Parker at Oxford in 1893.

⁵Bumpus, op. cit., p. 30.

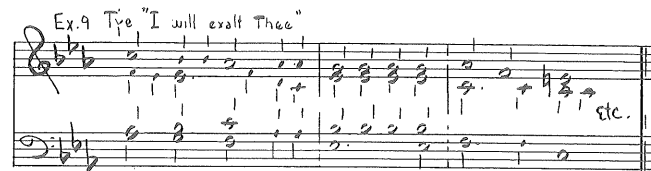
sung in the chapel of Edward VI but were evidently not very successful, as Tye stopped after the fourteenth chapter. Music was set to only the first two verses of each chapter. The text is very crude—pure doggerel.

Hawkins prints both text and music, which consists of two canons two in one, forming a canon four in one.

Unfortunately Tye's music has not been included in the *Tudor Church Music* series. Since the writer has seen but eight of Tye's forty-four anthems⁶ it seems advisable to present the opinion of someone who is in a position to write more authoritatively. Walker's^{*} judgment may be summed up thus:

Of the three outstanding composers of this period Tye shows the greatest affinity with the methods of the previous time. In his later works he necessarily had to adapt himself to the simpler style then in vogue and thereby lost some of the grandeur of his earlier period. He works on broad lines and does not dwell on details. Anthems like *I will exalt Thee* (printed in Boyce III) and *Praise the Lord, ye Children* show something quite new in English music.

In the former anthem Tye often writes a passage for the Cantoris⁷ which is but an echo of the Decani part,⁸ causing a certain amount of repetition. There are also some peculiar progressions, one of which follows:



Imitative and harmonic passages alternate rather freely.

ROBERT WHYTE (d. 1574) was a man of great renown in his time, but appears to have been subsequently forgotten and confused with later composers of the same name. He was successor to Tye at Ely Cathedral and later was Organist and Master of the Choristers at Westminster Abbey. As a composer, Whyte was rediscovered by Burney and has recently been resurrected once again by Canon Fellowes, who has assisted in the publishing of his Magnificat, two Lamentations, seventeen Latin motets and four English motets in Volume V of *Tudor Church Music*. Burney prints Whyte's *Lord, who shall dwell in Thy Tabernacle*, and is particularly interested in him because he is eminent among the sixteenth century English musicians for the attention he gave to formal structure.

With Whyte, as with all of his contemporaries, it is in the settings of Latin words that he shows the greatest genius, on the whole. Whyte makes more use of certain idioms which we associate with Palestrina than do most of the English composers, and Davey goes so far as to say that, had his works been published as Palestrina's, they would have been received without a question as genuine, although Whyte died twenty years before Palestrina and Lassus.

⁶Foster, in his *Anthems and Anthem Composers* lists this number. This includes the *Acts*, some settings of Latin words, and some different titles which are set to the same music.

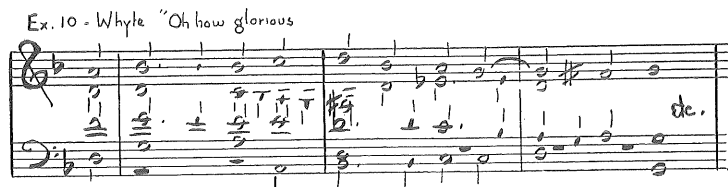
^{*}Walker, *History of Music in England*.

⁷The members of the choir seated on the left, or Cantor's side in a Cathedral.

⁸The members of the choir seated on the right, or Dean's side.

A characteristic of Whyte is his use of measures containing five whole notes. In *Exaudiat Te* we find the melodic interval of a diminished fourth in the soprano. To be sure, it occurs between phrases, but it is worthy of notice, because in this period, particularly on the Continent, such difficult intervals were outside the pale. In the later seventeenth century, however, this particular interval seems to have been a favorite in expressive, pathetic anthems.

As we have mentioned, Whyte wrote but few anthems with English texts and one of these, *O how glorious art Thou*, is attributed in the Peterborough manuscript to "Mr. Bird." The style of this anthem is particularly like that of Palestrina, with its frequent use of that composer's characteristic idioms, although the occurrence of the augmented triad is indeed surprising.



There are two versions of *Praise God in His Holiness*, one for four voices and one for eight. The eight-part version, in particular, contains much fine imitative work and is very flowing and singable. *The Lord bless us and keep us* and *Lord, who shall dwell* are both for five voices.

We sometimes see other English titles of anthems by Whyte, but they are merely different texts to some of his English or Latin motets.

THOMAS TALLIS (d. 1585) is considered by Walker to be more versatile than either Tye or Whyte. The date of his birth seems to be uncertain and is given anywhere from 1500 to 1520. Fellowes, who has probably made as detailed a study of Tudor music and composers as anyone, gives it *circa* 1505. Some authorities say he served four sovereigns while others state that he served only Queen Elizabeth. He was organist at Waltham Abbey until its dissolution in 1540 and soon afterwards became a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal and one of its organists.

"The name of Tallis has been the most widely and continually known among English sixteenth century composers, not excepting Morley, even though few musicians today know many of his works."⁹

The last part of this statement is becoming less and less true since a whole volume of *Tudor Church Music* (VI) has been devoted to the works of Tallis—chiefly, however, to his Latin works.

Tallis is often spoken of as the "Father of English Cathedral Music," probably because he was the earliest to supply the English Church with a complete service setting. The Roman Catholics, however, are loath to allow the Anglicans to claim him as such.

In Davey's opinion "Father of English Cathedral Music" is not Tallis' most honorable title, because his more intricate contrapuntal style, found in the Latin motets, is decidedly superior to his simple, choral-like style. Even in these motets, however, his style could rarely be called striking. His melodies are very simple, mostly scalewise with a few skips of thirds,

fourths or fifths, always treated according to the conventions of the period. Sixths are conspicuous by their absence and we are rather surprised to see the minor seventh used occasionally. There are very few leaps of an octave even between phrases. His cadences perhaps show greater variety than those of Palestrina (in comparison to their relative output) and are therefore not quite so easy to recognize. Often he uses a minor third in his dominant or tonic triad, following this a few chords later with the major third, usually in a different voice. Such a procedure was decidedly common in sixteenth and seventeenth century English music, particularly at the cadence.¹⁰ Barrett feels that the harmonies of Tallis show considerable daring for the period, and so they do, when compared to the polished perfection of Palestrina. Some of his works, moreover, display an attempt to impart particular musical expression suited to the character of the words, and arrangers are not always successful, therefore, in adapting English words to some of his Latin music. The majority of historians are rather dubious on this point, however.

It is almost impossible to pass over Tallis' Latin music without a few comments. "It was from his Latin music that Tallis imported his rhythmic delicacy into the treatment of the English language. With him that became a flowing thing which in other hands was so often pedestrian."¹¹ Among his works is a collection of compositions for the church service published in conjunction with his pupil, William Byrd, under the title *Cantiones quae ab argumento sacrae vocantur quinque et sex partium, Autoribus Thomas Tallisio et Gulielmo Birdo, Anglis, serenissimae reginae majestati a privato sacello generosis et organistis* (1575).¹² It contained sixteen motets by Tallis and eighteen by Byrd. Each voice part was printed separately. Most of the words were in Latin, but many have been translated, both by the composers and others. This was very convenient, as the laws alternately defended and prohibited Latin services. Of these motets Walker mentions particularly a Lamentation, the five-part *Absterge Domine* (originally quoted by Hawkins, Vol. II, p. 458), *Derelinquat impius* (quoted by Burney, Vol. III, p. 80) and *O Sacrum Convivium*, usually given with the English words *I call and cry*.

Wooldridge speaks of *O bone Jesu* and *Audivi media nocte*¹³ as the best of Tallis' pre-Reformation motets.

In jejuno et fletu is cited by several authorities as one of Tallis' best, and H. B. Collins comments that it is remarkable not only for its impressive harmonies but for its extraordinary range of modulation, exceeding anything which Palestrina ever tried. We find Tallis' other great contemporary, Lassus, modulating quite as freely, however.

Tudor Church Music, Volume VI, contains one five-part and one four-part mass, several fragments of masses and twenty-three motets, besides fifteen from the *Cantiones*. The last number in this volume is the great forty-part motet *Spem in alium non habui*, written for five choirs of eight voices each. It is amazing to note that there is almost no duplication of parts even in the forty bars, scattered throughout the piece, where all the voices

⁹It was not, however, the exclusive property of the English.

¹⁰*Tudor Church Music*, Vol. I, Preface, p. xxxiii.

¹¹This was the only music by Tallis published during his lifetime except four anthems in Day's Service Book (1563) and nine tunes contributed to Archbishop Parker's Whole Psalter translated into English meter (1560).

¹²Quoted in *The Polyphonic Period*, Pt. II, p. 338.

are singing at once. The voices practically all enter into imitation, choir by choir, although sometimes a new choir begins before all the voices of the previous choir have entered. The first four choirs make use of one theme and the other four of a different theme in their initial entrances. There has been some controversy as to whether this motet was composed purely as a technical feat or whether it was actually written to be sung.¹⁴ Tudway supports the former premise, but Hawkins states that it was probably sung on some public occasion. He also mentions that "in the reign of the first or second Charles some person put it to certain English words which are neither verse nor prose nor even common sense."

To turn now to the music written for the English service we shall first consider Tallis' simplest and perhaps best-known work, the service in the Dorian mode, which was composed about 1570. The complete Service was first printed (in parts) by John Barnard in 1641, next by Boyce in 1760, and has since passed through many editions. It consists of the Preces and Responses, the Venite, Te Deum, Benedictus, Litany, Kyrie, Creed, Sanctus, Gloria in Excelsis, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis. We have already observed that a number of these early composers made anthem settings of the Venite, a procedure which ceased entirely after the Restoration.

As we mentioned above, one of the requirements for musical settings of the reformed service was that they be in note-against-note counterpoint so that the words might be better understood. Therefore, while the shorter parts of the service are quite satisfying, the longer numbers become somewhat monotonous with their lack of imitation and rhythmic variety. It has been suggested that raising the pitch a tone helps greatly to relieve this dullness. In the Versicles and Responses Tallis made use of the traditional plainsong melodies and harmonized them in a masterful manner. The melody appears not only in the tenor, as was the custom in those days, but also occasionally in the other voices. The Preces are the same as Marbeck's. There has been considerable discussion as to whether Tallis originally harmonized the Responses and Litany in four or five parts. Apparently the question has never been settled, although the five-part arrangement is the one almost universally adopted.¹⁵ His Litany stopped with the Lord's Prayer and the suffrages in the latter part have been arranged and harmonized by various composers.¹⁶ Some of the most serious students of early church music have only words of praise for this Service.

Tallis wrote two other services besides that in the Dorian mode. Of the five-part Te Deum, three voice-parts alone survive, besides an organ score. It is freer in style than the Short Service, but not so elaborate as Byrd's Great Service. Of the other Service only the bass part is known. The bass books at St. John's College, Oxford, contain the Venite, Te Deum, Benedictus, Kyrie, Creed, Gloria, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis.

Foster lists forty English anthems by Tallis, but nearly all of these are adaptations from his Latin pieces. Some authorities, however, incorrectly suppose that all his English anthems were posthumously adapted. Hawkins says that Aldrich arranged *O Sacrum Convivium* with the words *I call*

and cry, whereas the text of this English version is found in sixteenth century manuscripts and is probably the work of Tallis himself. Burney goes so far as to say that Aldrich set English words to most of the 1575 set of *Cantiones*. A more common error in recent times is the supposition that Barnard first adapted many Latin motets of sixteenth century composers to English texts.¹⁷

Hear the voice and prayer and All people that on earth do dwell are both printed in Arnold's collection. The former makes much use of imitation, but it is, nevertheless, in the syllabic idiom. The latter is more florid than the average and gives the effect of being in the major tonality.

The writer has always felt a far greater degree of reserve and austerity in the music of Tallis than in that of most of his contemporaries. Evidence that Tallis is beginning to gain in favor is obtained from the 1927 edition of the Novello catalogue which lists seven anthems, as against five in earlier issues. The present styles in English church composition tend to emulate the austere, somewhat archaic music of men like Tallis.

Since this is a discussion of trends and styles rather than a complete historical treatise, most of the lesser composers will be dealt with rather summarily.

JOHN REDFORD. Details of his life are mostly missing. Grattan Flood says he was born about 1486 and died in 1540 or 1543.¹⁸ He was Almoner and Master of the Choristers at St. Paul's between 1530 and 1547. An anthem, *Rejoice in the Lord* is generally conceded to be the composition of Redford and is printed by Hawkins as such, although it appears anonymously in a volume of manuscript music made by Thomas Mulliner. This anthem commences with a bold figure of ascending fourths:



which is imitated by the alto, after which the tenor and bass execute a similar imitation. There are four sections in all and the piece is mostly imitative, although it is syllabic. The inverted tonic pedal-point found in the last five measures of the soprano part is effective and is rather unusual for such an early work. It is frequently sung at St. Paul's during Advent, and may be obtained in both Oxford and Novello editions.

RICHARD FARRANT (d. 1580) was one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal during the reigns of Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. He was also, probably, joint organist at St. George's, Windsor, with John Marbeck. As a composer of church music he was not prolific. The only pieces of his which have come down to us are a Service in D minor, a Service in G minor (sometimes printed in A minor and called "Service in Mode X"), and two short anthems, *Hide not thou thy face* and *Call to Remembrance*. The last three are published by Boyce and the D minor Service is printed in Ouseley's *Collection of Services* (1853). Since all of these are simple works, it would probably be impossible to class Farrant

¹⁴This motet was performed at Freemasons' Hall on Jan. 15, 1835, by the Madrigal Society and their friends. Other performances were given in 1836 and 1889, the latter being conducted by Dr. Mann. (Bumpus, p. 40.)

¹⁵For further information see Bumpus, op. cit., p. 43.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁷Tudor Church Music, Vol. VI, Preface, xviii. There are also listed here several 16th century manuscripts which include anthems with English words by Tallis.

¹⁸Probably the greatest amount of information about Redford may be found in Carl Pfatteicher's *John Redford*. This book deals largely with his organ works.

with men like Tallis and Byrd, but none the less, his works all show the touch of a master.

The Service in G minor is very simple and syllabic, similar to Tallis in D minor, or Byrd's Short Service. The writer finds the harmonies less monotonous than those of Tallis, and it lacks some of the harsh dissonances found in Byrd. There is sufficient use of suspensions mingled with the note-against-note counterpoint to give it life. Farrant employs an unusual cadence, using a major chord on the lowered second degree of the scale. Outstanding parts are the *Amens* to the Benedictus and the Magnificat, which are more florid. Walker speaks of this as one of the most gracefully dignified of all services, reminding us in general style of Tallis' Dorian service, but less austere and massive.

The Service in D minor is likewise mostly syllabic. The two anthems are obtainable in several modern editions, including Oxford and Novello, and were at one time sung annually on Maundy Thursday at Whitehall Chapel during the distribution of the Royal Bounty. *Hide not thou* possesses a plaintive sort of charm with its smooth, but somewhat archaic, harmonies. Of the four parts the alto has the most movement, except toward the end, where the bass has an effective scale passage. The last phrase of both of these anthems is repeated, a fact to which we shall refer later. *Call to remembrance* makes more use of imitation. The meter is an irregular alternation of duple and triple.

This is probably the logical place to discuss another much-sung anthem belonging to this period—*Lord, for thy tender mercies' sake*. It is usually published as a composition of Farrant, but is thought by Tudway, Hawkins, and others to be by John Hilton, who was organist at St. Margaret's, Westminster, from 1628 to 1657. In the new *Church Anthem Book* (Oxford, 1933) it is indexed under "School of Tye." The writer is hardly familiar enough with the compositions of Hilton, who wrote mostly secular music, to make any comparisons, but there is a decided similarity to certain works by both Tye and Farrant. Both, in their short, simple anthems, repeat the last phrase of a piece for emphasis, and it would not be unreasonable to think that either the composer of *Give alms of thy goods* or of *Hide not thou* might have written it. On the other hand, the major tonality is very definitely adhered to, which would place it more in Hilton's time.

JOHN SHEPHERDE and WILLIAM MUNDY, both of whom died before 1600, are represented in Barnard's *Selected Church Musick* (1641), the former by two and the latter by five compositions, including a Service. Shepherd's *Haste Thee, O Lord* is in Rimbault's *Collection of Ancient Music* (Novello, 1843). Walker laments the fact that Mundy's work has suffered such great neglect, for he deems him to rank next to the three great composers of this period. *O Lord, the Maker of all things* was assigned by Barnard and others to Mundy, but was declared by Aldrich and Boyce to be proved to be the composition of Henry VIII, and is so published in Boyce. More recently, Dr. Armes of Durham has discovered that neither the king nor Mundy wrote the anthem, but that it is the work of John Shepherd.¹⁹ The anthems *O Lord, the world's Saviour* and *Lord, I bow the knees* are strikingly beautiful works, more elaborate than those of Farrant, but not at all inferior in tenderness.²⁰

¹⁹Walker, op. cit., p. 48.

²⁰Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers*, p. 18.

Two anthems for three voices by JOHN MUNDY, son of William, have recently been published by the Oxford Press.

THOMAS CAUSTON, THOMAS FORD, NATHANIEL PATRICK, NICHOLAS STROGERS and others are mentioned by historians, but they apparently had no particular influence on either their contemporaries or successors.

WILLIAM BYRD AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

One of the greatest, if not the greatest English church music composers of all times was William Byrd. He is undoubtedly the one who is most frequently classed with Palestrina and Lassus and who best deserves that distinction. In fact, there are many reasons beside his masterly technique and powers of musical expression which demand for him a place of honor in his field.

WILLIAM BYRD was probably born in 1543, although as is so often the case with composers of this period, the existing biographical accounts are somewhat conflicting. From 1563 until his resignation in 1572 he was organist at Lincoln Cathedral, and in 1570 was appointed one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal. We know that he was a pupil of Tallis and that they were joint organists at the Chapel Royal around 1575. The two men were granted a license by letters patent which gave them the sole right for printing music and music paper in England.

Fellowes suggests that Byrd rather than Tallis should be called a "Father in Musicke" because he did more than Tallis to establish what may be called the tradition of English Cathedral Music. It is true that Byrd is usually considered an innovator, especially when he is compared with his famous contemporary, Palestrina, and there seems to be adequate ground for this assumption. Palestrina was usually content to use and bring to the height of perfection the contrapuntal devices already known, whereas Byrd was much more venturesome and virile, if not always so polished.

Byrd was probably the first English composer to use the solo voice in his anthems, thereby establishing the form known as the "verse anthem." This, of course, necessitated an independent organ accompaniment, at least in the places where the solos occurred, and we find various organ books, the most famous of which is now at Tenbury.

In order to appreciate the music of Byrd and his contemporaries we must take into consideration the fact that they were continually changing the meter in the various parts to conform to the rhythm of the words. Modern intelligent editors like Doctor Fellowes and Sir Richard Terry have sought to bring out these details in their editions. Could the Rev. William Mason have seen such editions he would probably not have censured the Tudor composers for their "inattention to prosody, accent and quantity in the setting of English words."

We have already commented upon Byrd's tendency to use bold harmonic progressions. One of these was the simultaneous use in a chord of both the major and minor third. That Byrd himself realized the harshness produced by this false relation is evident, for in the *Epistle to the Reader* at the beginning of *Psalms, Sonnets and Songs* (1588) he wrote:

"In the expressing of these songs, either by voyces or instruments, if there happen to be any jarre or dissonance, blame not the Printer, who (I doe assure thee) . . . doth here deliver to thee a perfect and true coppie."

Accented passing tones are used in such a way as to produce dominant sevenths and fundamental diminished triads. There is infinite variety in his cadences.

Byrd was an ardent Romanist and wrote much for the Roman Church after it was suppressed in England, or rather, during its revival under Queen Mary. In this class are his three great Masses, one for three, one for four, and one for five voices (undated), his *Cantiones Sacrae*, which have been mentioned in the previous chapter, two other books of sacred pieces (1589 and 1591), and two sets of *Gradualia*, these being short motets for the variable parts of the mass, and published in 1605 and 1607.²¹

Like all music printed at this time these were issued in separate vocal part books. In all, Byrd wrote about 230 Latin motets and kindred choral works, some 50 of which are still in manuscript. The Masses, the *Gradualia* and many of the other motets are published in Volumes VII and IX of the *Tudor Church Music* series.

Even though Byrd favored the Roman Church and perhaps wrote his most inspired music for its services, he was no bigot, and "he must have been a man of deep religious feeling, because all the music which he wrote for the church services, whether Latin or English, is characterized by an extraordinary sincerity and nobility of style such as could only have been inspired by a clear conviction as to the purpose for which music was designed. No thought of religious controversy could have been present in the mind of Byrd when composing his three magnificent Masses on the one hand, or the superb 'Great Service' in which he set the English Canticles and Nicene Creed, on the other."²²

Strangely enough, most of Byrd's music was forgotten in English churches until about thirty-five years ago, although we know now that he wrote more for the English Church than was generally suspected. Knowledge of it has usually been limited to his Short Service, his *Bow thine ear*, an adaptation to English words of the Latin motet *Ne irascaris, Sing Joyfully*, and the famous canon, *Non nobis Domine*.²³ The chief reason for this neglect is that very little English Church Music found its way into print in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Some forty anthems²⁴ or sacred pieces were included in Byrd's three printed volumes of vocal music. (Psalms, Sonnets and Songs, 2 vols.; and Songs of Sundry Natures.) Others are found in William Leighton's *Teares or Lamentations of a Sorrowfull Soule*, published in 1614, and in John Day's *Certaine Notes*, 1560 and 1565.

For the most part the composers circulated their manuscripts among the various cathedrals, where they were copied. With the publication of Barnard's famous *First Book of Selected Church Musick* in 1641²⁵ many choirs

²¹Fellowes, in *Tudor Church Music*, Preface to Vol. VII, p. xiii, states that a second edition of both these volumes appeared in 1610 and that that is the edition reprinted in the Tudor series. No copies of the 1605 edition are extant.

²²Fellowes, *Wm. Byrd*, p. 21. By permission of Carl Fischer, Inc., American Agents.

²³There is some doubt as to the authorship of this canon.

²⁴Byrd called his free compositions for the English Church "anthems" rather than motets. (*Tudor Ch. Music*, Preface to Vol. II.)

²⁵No complete copy of the ten volumes exists in any one library at the present day. The nearest perfect ones are at the Royal College of Music in London and at Christ Church, Oxford.

began to confine their efforts almost entirely to the compositions contained therein and consequently much of the other material was either lost or forgotten.

In his biography of Byrd, Frank Howes gives a sane and somewhat detailed analysis of much of Byrd's music. Only a few of his many works will be discussed here.

Byrd seems to have been one of the earliest English composers who wrote Passion Music for chorus, *Turbarum Voces in Passione Domini Nostri secundum Joannem* consists of fourteen short, interjectory choruses. As the title indicates, the narrative sections are not set to music, nor are the words of Jesus; evidently the priest read the scriptural story. A homophonic style is used to represent the discipline of the priestly party, whereas contrapuntal writing with many imitations is used to portray the excitement of the mob.

The florid Alleluias are a great feature of the *Gradualia*, for in them, as in his English *Amens*, Byrd felt unfettered, and made of them a sort of epilogue embodying the feeling of the preceding words.

Byrd wrote five Services for the English Church, the second and third being Evening Services only. Fragments only of a *Te Deum* and *Benedictus* (Fifth Service) are known. A few of the anthems are adaptations of his Latin motets, but the verse anthems and many of the others (77 in all) are originals.

The Short Service in D minor is often compared more or less favorably to Tallis' setting. The Great Service is a work of immense proportions. Even here the rule of setting one note to a syllable is largely followed, although not all the voices have the same word at the same time. Much repetition of the individual phrases allows the composer more freedom in working out his musical ideas. Fellowes considers it "not only perhaps the finest polyphonic Service of the English Church, but a work which has never been surpassed in the whole history of English Cathedral Music."²⁶ He suggests that it is worthy of being performed at Choral Festivals, just as Bach's B minor Mass and other large works are performed. The chief objection to such a rendering is that, since its parts belong to three different Services, Morning, Evening and Communion, it lacks the coherence of the Bach Mass and is therefore more effective when interspersed with lessons and prayers. It is largely in one key and might easily become monotonous.

The Service is written for two choirs of five voices each but there is comparatively little work for full chorus. Much of it is antiphonal. There are several attempts at word painting. This Service was probably never sung from Byrd's day until 1924. The parts were found by Canon Fellowes at Durham. On May 31, 1924, it was sung by the Newcastle Bach Choir under the direction of W. G. Whittaker. The Evening Service had been sung on May 22, 1923, at St. Michael's College, Tenbury, however.

The Second Service is probably the earliest verse (solo) service of which we know. Both the *Magnificat* and the *Nunc Dimittis* open with a short prelude (the same for both). During the solo portions the organ part is a true accompaniment and often goes above the voice with good effect. This Service was printed by Barnard. The alternation of duple and triple meter is quite pronounced. Whereas modern composers, from

²⁶*Tudor Church Music*, Vol. II, Pref. p. xvi. (By permission of Carl Fischer, Inc., New York, American Agents.)

the Victorian period on, generally use the same music for the Gloria of each canticle in a Service, the old writers always supplied a totally different setting.

The music of *Sing Joyfully* (6 voices) fits the sentiment of the words admirably. The flow of the counterpoint is freer than is found in so many of the English settings and there are no harsh clashes, an occurrence which is surprising in Byrd's music. Possibly Boyce has tampered with the harmonies, as he has been known to do!

O Lord turn Thy wrath and Bow Thine ear, while actually separate anthems, are the two parts of the Latin motet, *Ne irascaris*, from the 1589 *Cantiones Sacrae*. A melodious, simple setting, useful for modern choirs, is *O Lord rebuke me not*. It is a verse anthem in which the choir echoes what the soloist has just sung. A similar procedure is followed in *Hear my prayer, O Lord*.

A good example of the way in which the text influences a composer is found in *How long shall mine enemies triumph over me?* The first three verses of the text (from Psalm XIII, 2, 3, 4, 5) express a humble frame of mind; the voices move in a limited range, suggestive of the words, but at the last verse there is expressed a feeling of renewed confidence. Not only is there more movement of the parts, but both the soprano and tenor take the highest note they have yet had on the first syllable of the word "joyful."

Two of Byrd's contemporaries should be mentioned at this time for their contributions to music in general. ELWAY BEVIN (1570-1650) was a pupil of Tallis and was organist at Bristol Cathedral from 1589 to 1637. The only composition by which he is now known is a Morning, Ante-Communion and Evening Service for four and five voices, in the Dorian mode, published originally by Barnard and subsequently by Boyce. It is still in regular use at Bristol. Bevin was also one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal, but in 1637 he lost both appointments, it is said, upon the charge of Romanism. His other claims to distinction are that he was the teacher of William Child and that he published in 1631 an important treatise, *A Briefe and Short Introduction to the Art of Musick*, in which directions were given "to compose all sorts of canons that are usual of 2 and 3 parts in one upon the plainsong." Before the appearance of this book the contrivance of canons was one of those mysteries which musicians kept to themselves or divulged only to favorite pupils.

ADRIAN BATTEN (c. 1590-1641) was born in Winchester and educated at the Cathedral there. He subsequently became vicar choral and organist at St. Paul's, and a lay vicar of Westminster Abbey (1614). He was a prolific composer, having left seven services and fifty-four anthems. His full service in the Dorian mode, consisting of the Te Deum, Benedictus, Jubilate, Creed, Sanctus, Gloria, Magnificat and Nunc Dimittis, was printed by John Goss and James Turlle in their collection, *Services and Anthems, Ancient and Modern*, (1846). "This service, with its solemn and excellent harmonies, characteristic of the period, is interesting as containing a setting of the Communion office in full, the first so set since the time of Tallis and Causton."* The probable reason for this full setting was that during Batten's organistship at St. Paul's, William Laud was Archbishop of London. Laud was apparently interested in music as well

*Bumpus, op. cit. p. 93-94.

as matters of ritual, and doubtless ordered the Communion service to be rendered chorally at the Cathedral.

Deliver us, O Lord, Hear my prayer, and *O Praise the Lord, all ye heathen* were printed in Boyce. These and three others are now obtainable in Novello's octavo edition. The first and third are short and are mostly harmonic except for the florid *Amens*. The former is not unlike Tallis. The last contains chord progressions which remind one more of Farrant. Its occasional irregular entrances of voices and imitations give it a little more life. *Hear my prayer*, for five voices, is much lauded by historians for its masterly construction. It is decidedly more elaborate than the other two. While it is largely syllabic there are many more points of imitation. In general, however, Batten lacked the inspiration of Byrd and Gibbons.

Both Barrett and Bumpus mention the fact that Batten's music appears to have been among the earliest to have been measured out by means of bar lines.

Better known than Bevin and Batten are THOMAS MORLEY (1557-1602 (?)), JOHN BULL (1562-1628) and THOMAS WEELKES (1576(?)-1623), although all three made comparatively small contribution to sacred music. Morley's beautiful Burial Service in G minor (Boyce, I) was used almost exclusively until Purcell and Croft made similar settings. Except for this Service and Bull's anthem, *O Lord, my God, I will exalt thee* (Boyce, III), little of the church music of these two composers has been printed since Barnard's collection, which contained two Services and an anthem by Morley and one anthem by Bull.

Of Weelkes' sacred music Fellowes remarked (in 1916): "Not a single note of it is sung in any Cathedral or Collegiate Church in this country at the present time." We know, however, that much of it has survived. Weelkes composed two Evening Services—one in A minor, for five voices, and the other in C major, for seven. Two of his anthems, *All people, clap your hands* and *David's Lamentation for Absalom*, appeared in the Musical Antiquarian Society's collection of *Anthems by Composers of the Madrigalian Era* (1845), scored by Rimbault from a set of manuscript part books formerly in the possession of John Evelyn. This valuable set of books consisted of six small oblong volumes and contained anthems, motets, madrigals, part-songs, and fancies for instruments, etc., by English and foreign masters. The writing began in the reign of Edward VI and ended in that of Charles I. Weelkes' solid six-part anthem, *Hosanna to the Son of David*, is now published by the Oxford Press, as are four of his other anthems.

THE LAST OF THE EARLY POLYPHONIC SCHOOL

With ORLANDO GIBBONS we come to the last of the outstanding masters in early English polyphony. Gibbons was probably born at Cambridge in 1583, and became a chorister in King's College under his brother Edward. At the age of twenty-one he became organist of the Chapel Royal, and two years later was appointed organist of Westminster Abbey.

By the time he began to compose, Protestantism was definitely established and the rulers of the Church were not so concerned over details which they formerly considered Popish. There were two reasons for a change to a more flowing contrapuntal style. The restrictions placed

upon the earlier composers as to syllabic settings of texts were somewhat relaxed and the polyphonic music of the Continent had reached its culmination with Palestrina and Lassus. Before Gibbons' death in 1625 (he was stricken with apoplexy when he went with the Chapel Royal to Canterbury on the occasion of King Charles I greeting his Queen Henrietta) the new monodic style and the urge for greater expressiveness had made themselves felt even in England, which was nearly always some years behind the Continent. We see in him, therefore, a connecting link between the old and new styles. He was hardly an innovator as were Tallis and Tye.

Barrett likens the music of Gibbons' predecessors to the massive grandeur of the Norman architecture, while the writers nearer Gibbons' date furnished a sort of transition to the style which he introduced and which may be compared to the graceful beauty of Early English buildings. "The solidity of the Norman was preserved, but the square and formal lines were curved and rounded, new foliage and ornamentation introduced, which, though in some sort still conventional, led the way to the appreciation of decoration in imitated natural forms."^{*} Barrett even goes as far as to say that among the musicians of his era Gibbons stands out as clearly as Shakespeare among the Elizabethan dramatists.

There are slight differences of opinion as to his greatness, but all of the historians are willing to rank Gibbons as one of the greatest English Church composers. He is the first to have written no music for the Roman Church, and is virtually the father of pure Anglican music. His unusual versatility is shown in his anthems. In most respects his purely polyphonic compositions are superior to the newer style "verse anthems."

Another noteworthy feature of Gibbons' work is that he is the first of the great English composers of sacred music to use the major mode. Davey finds, however, that "Confusion of tonality was not quite absent." One of his chief faults is that he has a tendency to crowd groups of words into musical phrases too small to hold them comfortably. In such instances the effect is apt to be disturbing and not always vocal.

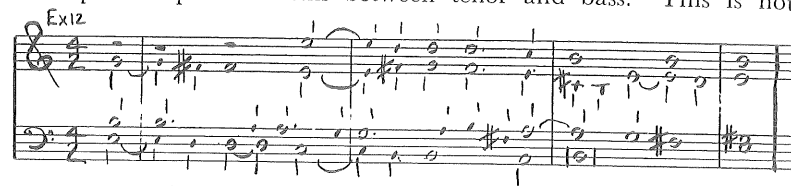
All of Gibbons' church music was published posthumously. His celebrated Service in F, together with several other works, was first printed by Barnard. Boyce reprinted many of the same and added the eight-part *O clap your hands* and its sequel, *God is gone up*. In 1873 Ouseley edited *A Collection of Sacred Compositions of Orlando Gibbons*, and the fourth volume of the Tudor Church Music Series is devoted to the works of Gibbons.

Let us examine a few of his works in more detail. The famous Service in F, already mentioned, is a so-called "Short Service" (i.e., very little repetition of the text) and is more suited to practical use than the Second Service in D minor. The Te Deum starts immediately with "We Praise Thee" in harmony. (In some of the older settings the Priest sang the first phrase). This is the first service of this period which the author has seen which seems really to be in the major mode. The harmonies and sequences foreshadow somewhat those of the Bach-Handel period and there is an easy flow to the rhythm.

Hosanna to the Son of David is perhaps one of his finest and best known anthems. One feels the enthusiasm of the crowd on the first Palm Sunday as one group after another echoes the joyful ascriptions. It is most

^{*}W. A. Barrett—English Church Composers, p. 59.

spontaneous in effect and is totally different in conception from the Weelkes anthem of the same title, which is constructed more in solid chords. *O Clap your hands* (8 voices) with its sequel, *God is gone up*, and *Lift up your heads* (6 voices) are fine examples of his more pretentious polyphonic work, while *Deliver us*, *O Lord, increase my faith*, and *Almighty and Everlasting God* show him in a more expressive mood. *Lift up your heads* is full of joy. In *O Lord, increase my faith*, Gibbons uses a succession of three suspended parallel fifths between tenor and bass. This is not an



uncommon practice with English composers of the period, however.

Walker cites *O Lord in Thy wrath rebuke me* not as approaching very nearly the austere tenderness of Byrd, while *Glorious and Powerful God* suggests Purcell, who came fifty years later. The latter consists of solo, duet, and chorus and is imposing in some respects, although there are some trite passages.

This is the Record of John (Advent) is one of the more effective of the verse-anthems. It is for five voices, is well set, and has definite cadences, with less overlapping of phrases than in the older-style works. *O Thou the Central Orb*, published by E. C. Schirmer, is an adaptation of *O All true and faithful hearts*. There are three verses, each followed by the same chorus, and the work concludes with a fine polyphonic Amen. The tonality is decidedly major and the chorus part is homophonic. In the original version the first verse is a solo, the second a duo, and the third starts as a duo and then it becomes a sextet, employing imitative passages. The modern edition uses a solo alto for each of the three verses.

Gibbons is more largely represented in modern editions (Novello, Oxford, E. C. Schirmer, etc.) than most of the Tudor composers. (See table at end of chapter.)

One other composer, who was a contemporary of Gibbons but who outlived him by more than twenty years, is worthy of special consideration—THOMAS TOMKINS, a pupil of Byrd. He was born in 1580 of a musical family and married the widow of Nathaniel Patrick. From 1596 until his death he was choirmaster at Worcester Cathedral, and he was also appointed a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal before 1620.

In 1668, twelve years after his death, a collection of his compositions was published by his son Patrick. This work, *Musica Deo Sacra et Ecclesiae Anglicanae, or Music dedicated to the honor and service of God and to the use of Cathedrals and other Churches of England, especially of the Chapel Royal of King Charles I*, was printed in five folio part-books, four (tenor, contra-tenor, medius and bassus) for voices and a "Pars Organica" of 333 pages. This work is now very rare.²⁷ It consists of a few psalm tunes and the words and music of five services and one hundred and five anthems.

²⁷The only copy known to exist in this country is at the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery at San Marino, California, and the author is indebted to Mr. C. H. Edmonds for part of this information. Descriptions of the collection also found in Bumpus, p. 86 and *Tudor Church Music*, Preface to Vol. VIII.

An entire volume (VIII) of the Tudor Church Music series is devoted to the works of Tomkins, but aside from that it is difficult to see many of his sacred compositions. This volume contains some Psalms, Preces, and five Services. Four anthems have recently been published by the Oxford Press, as well as parts of the Second and Third Services.

Tomkins' full anthems are by far his best. His touch is sure, but he is never quite inspired. The tentative experiments of Gibbons reach fuller maturity in Tomkins, but in neither case do they make much appeal to modern taste. The verse anthems in *Musica Deo Sacra* tend to obscure the composer's worth and to impair his fame. He was indeed an unequal composer.

The only other composers of the period which we shall mention are ALBERTUS BRYAN (1621-1669), organist at St. Paul's in 1638 and of Westminster Abbey in 1666; JOHN AMNER (d. 1641), organist at Ely from 1610 to 1641; MARTIN PIERSON (1593-1650), Almoner and Master of the Choristers at St. Paul's; and NATHANIEL GYLES (1558-1633-4), Organist and Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal from 1597.

Bryan's Service in G major was printed in Arnold's *Cathedral Music* and subsequently in Novello's *Cathedral Choir Book* (1848). It reminds one somewhat of Tallis. Much of Amner's music still exists at Ely, three Services and fifteen anthems having been catalogued by the Rev. Precentor Dickson in 1861. In 1615 Amner published *Sacred Hymns of 3, 4, 5 and 6 parts for voices and viols*.

None of Martin Pierson's church music has been published, although two volumes of his secular music were printed and he contributed to Leighton's *Tears or Lamentacions of a Sorrowful Soule* (1614). Twelve of his anthems are listed by Foster, of which two appeared in Clifford's *Divine Services and Anthems* (1664). Gyles was also represented in Clifford by two of his seventeen anthems. His Service in C major was printed by Barnard (1641).

TABLE I

Showing the number of Anthems published in various collections and periods.

	CHAPEL ROYAL		TUDOR PERIOD		NOVELLO		OXFORD	
	1635 (Word book)	BARNARD 1641	CLIFFORD 1664 (Word book)	BOYCE & ARNOLD 1760-1790	1874	1890	1927	1935
TALLIS	6	5	4	3	5	5	7	12
TYE	0	6	4	2	4	6	13	5
WHYTE	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	2
FARRANT	0	2	0	2	2*	2	2	2
BYRD	20	11	14	5	3	3	9	25
BATTEN	2	7	36	3	3	3	6	3
WEELKES	3	1	9	0	0	0	0	5
MORLEY	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	2
TOMKINS	25	0	25	0	0	0	2	4
GIBBONS	22	6	8	5	7†	10†	16†	11

*Most editors attribute *Lord for thy tender Mercies' sake* to Farrant. This would increase the number in both Novello and Oxford to 3.

†Plus a collection by Ouseley which contains most of these and some Services, Preces, etc.

TECHNIQUES IN THE MASSES of Jean de Ockeghem

RAMONA BLAIR, *Phi Nu*

THE publication in recent years of manuscripts from the period of the Netherland composers has opened a field for investigation. There were many problems to be solved in the transcription of the manuscripts from the white mensural notation into modern notation and in the identification of composers. Because many compositions in these manuscripts are anonymous, it has been necessary to collate several sources in order to identify the composers. Minor difficulties include misspelling and incorrect labeling in the manuscripts.

A gap has been left in the knowledge concerning the development of the mass as a cyclical composition. The first two settings of the mass in this manner were the fourteenth century Anonymous *Mass of Tournai* and the Mass by Guillaume de Machaut. Guillaume Dufay was the first composer, however, to establish a unified form of composition by his use of the *cantus firmus* technique. His successor, Jean de Ockeghem, is acknowledged to have made some contributions to the transition between Dufay's *cantus firmus* technique and the appearance of the through-imitated mass and of masses employing the parody technique. Due to the inavailability of exact knowledge concerning his composition of masses during this transitional period, his importance to the development of the technique in the mass structure has been somewhat exaggerated.

This study was undertaken, therefore, in the hope of clarifying the development of the mass in musical setting and of compiling data which will show Ockeghem's position in relation to that of his predecessors and followers.

The most significant work on Jean de Ockeghem is the completely documented treatise by Michel Brenet,¹ which from the time of its appearance has been the source for articles in all the standard musical encyclopedias. Evidence is presented here for all the important dates in Ockeghem's biography which may be definitely established or logically concluded. Since there had been up to the time of this paper little documentary evidence, the conjectures of Brenet's predecessors in research upon the subject are refuted or confirmed by her evidence.

In the biography which Brenet has outlined no definite date for Ockeghem's birth may be established. The first knowledge of him is that he gave up his place as chorister at Antwerp in 1444 and from 1446-1448 was in the service of the Duke Charles of Bourbon at Moulins. About 1452, Ockeghem entered the service of the King of France. From these dates it may be surmised that he was born around 1430. Variants of the spelling of his name occur in all documents relating to him, i.e., Ockenheim, Okergan, Okekem, Hoquegan. In 1454 he was mentioned as "Johannes Hoquegan, premier chappellain." Again in 1461, the year of Charles VII's death, he is mentioned as head of the chapel. He was honored by Louis XI with the appointment of treasurer of the church of

¹M. Brenet, "Jean de Ockeghem," *Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France*, Vol. XX:p. 24, 1911.

Saint Martin's at Tours, at which place he resided intermittently for the rest of his life. In 1469, Brenet's documents indicate a journey to Spain, and in 1484 he accompanied the ambassadors of Charles VIII to Flanders, visiting Bruges, as is shown by the register there. That Ockeghem was dead in 1496 has been established by Brenet since his post as treasurer of Saint Martin's was filled at that time. Thus, the date of his death is given as c. 1495. This fact is substantiated by conclusions drawn from several statements in Guillaume Cretin's *Déploration sur le trépas de Jean de Ockeghem*. This work is analyzed in detail by Brenet.

There is little to be found in the literature beyond a mere listing of the masses which may be ascribed to Ockeghem and their location in libraries and publications. The lists in Brenet, Eitner,² and the one furnished by Walter Rubsamen as a result of his research³ agree upon certain masses, most of which have been published.

There are two masses cited by Brenet which have not been located. The mass *La belle se siet* was mentioned by Tinctoris but has not been found.⁴ A mass with the title *Village* existed in the fifteenth century at the church Saint Donat at Bruges but seems lost today, according to Brenet. The Mass *Quarti toni* which is listed by Brenet and Eitner has been shown to be the same as the *Missa MiMi*, according to Rubsamen's examination. The Mass *Pour quelque peine* ascribed by Brenet and Eitner to Ockeghem and found in the Brussels Library Ms. 5557 is also mentioned by Ambros in a list of the masses of Ockeghem. However, this mass has now been proved to be by another composer. The Mass *Guadeamus* listed by Eitner is probably not by Ockeghem but by Josquin according to the statement in Ambros.

Seven of the eleven masses examined were found to employ as one voice, usually the tenor, a *cantus firmus* from plain song or *chanson*, this voice being repeated several times during the course of the mass. These seven masses vary rather widely in the use of the *cantus firmus* and in the general style of composition. The difference lies not only in the manner of use of the *cantus firmus* but also in the amount and complexity of use of imitation, in the use of contrasting homophonic sections and of voice combinations. The *cantus firmus* style may be divided into two categories, (a) masses employing the simple *cantus firmus* technique; (b) those which embody transitional elements toward another technique. The transitional style retains the *cantus firmus* to a greater or lesser degree but also gives evidence of characteristics of a later period, i.e., those of the parody mass and of the through-imitation technique. While retaining a free use of the *cantus firmus*, these transitional type masses present evidence of the devices known as through-imitation and the parody technique. The Mass *Au travail suis* discards the *cantus firmus* after the first movement of the mass and retains only the initial motive which is imitated in various ways. Of this group, *Au travail suis* most closely approximates the freely composed mass with the use of a unifying motive.

Four of the eleven masses, i.e., *Cuiusvis toni*, *MiMi*, *Quinti toni*, *Sine nomine*, were found to have been based on a recurring motive in the first

²R. Eitner, *Quellen-Lexicon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1900-1904).

³W. Rubsamen, Unpublished list of the masses of Ockeghem.

⁴M. Brenet, op. cit., p. 24, citing Tinctoris, *Liber de arte contrapuncti*, II, 32. In Coussemaker, *Scriptorum*, IV, 145.

two or three measures of each movement and composed in free counterpoint. There is, however, a consistent difference between this type and the *cantus firmus* type since there is a more extensive use of homophonic sections in the free masses, particularly in the *Gloria*, *Credo*, *Sanctus* sections. Perhaps this usage was found necessary in order to balance the increased fluency and complexity of the counterpoint without the restriction of the *cantus firmus*.

Ockeghem's position in relation to the development of the musical setting of the mass is not entirely clear. It is true that he represents an advance over the technique of Dufay both in use of imitation and in the growing freedom of the *cantus firmus*. In comparison with his contemporary, Obrecht, Ockeghem employs much less accurate and extensive imitation. In some of his masses, Ockeghem stands close to the technique of Josquin Despres and Pierre de la Rue whose works are also characterized by inexact and inconsistent use of imitation. The importance of Ockeghem as a transitional figure in the development which was taking place during the period of his lifetime lies in his greatness as a composer and not so much in his specific contributions to the technique of composition in this form.

Ockeghem's disregard for conscious technique is principally noticeable in regard to his use of imitation. Systematic experimentation with this device may be found in only two of his masses, i.e., *Sine nomine* and *Ecce ancilla Domini*. A great difference among the various masses also exists in the extent and accuracy of the imitations and canons. In the mass *MiMi* there are three or four incidental imitations between voices, but the themes are so insignificant that these imitations seem to be almost accidental. However, in this same mass there is an example of a very rare use of a five-entrance imitation of a motive.

There are, however, certain consistent tendencies in Ockeghem's use of imitations. They are very often inexact, in the form of free entrances which disguise the appearance of canons, and canons which are dropped for short interludes and then resumed at different intervals or with the order of the voices reversed. Imitations are frequently not marked by rhythmic pause, and a certain lack of correlation of the text to the music is shown by the fact that the imitation may occur in the middle of the occurrence of a long-sustained word as well as at textually significant positions. The imitations which occur in three or more voices do not always make use of the same text. This disregard for the text is also evident where there is no use of imitation. In *Fors seulement* a different type of inexact imitation is employed. It is characterized by modification and coloration of the imitated motive.

The majority of the canons and imitations are found in the *Gloria*, *Credo*, and in the sections of the *Sanctus* which are set for a small number of voices, i.e., *Pleni sunt*, *Benedictus*, and *Qui venit*. There are occasional examples of the use in the *Kyrie* and *Agnus Dei*, principally in the two masses which employ an approximation of through-imitated beginnings and in the mass *Sine nomine*. These imitations are not often in the form of *stretti*. It is rather rare to find an entrance of a third voice which overlaps the first and second; however, there are examples in the mass *Sine nomine*. The use of imitation is entirely straightforward, and there are no examples of inversion or of other such devices. It is possible to find examples of imitation in all rhythmic intervals and in all melodic

intervals; however, the most common intervals are those of the octave and fifth, respectively.

That Ockeghem was not cognizant of imitation as an endpoint is indicated by the fact that there are a great many examples of passages which could have been made into accurate imitations. This is especially true of the successive entrances of three or more voices which fail to resemble one another by a slight margin in becoming imitative. The two-voiced canons often possess melodies of good quality while the characteristic of imitations for larger numbers of voices is the use of commonplace motives, a fact which indicates a less fluent technique in the working out of such problems or else a disregard for perfection of usage.

Peter Wagner⁵ refutes the statement by Riemann that Ockeghem's contribution to the development of the mass lay in his usage of imitation. The more extensive survey of the masses which has been made for this paper certainly indicates that Wagner's statement is true. The imitations are used in a rather unorganized and structurally unimportant manner, and their composition is neither fluent nor well planned.

The importance of these masses lies more in their worth as works of art than in the solution of any technical problems. The freedom from the bonds of the *cantus firmus* seems only the result of striving for a perfection of expression. The *cantus firmus* is used in *L'homme armé* and the *Requiem* in a rather simple manner. In *De plus en plus* and *Ecce ancilla Domini* it is masked by figuration to a certain extent and broken up and spread out over extensive sections, particularly in *De plus en plus*. The utmost ingenuity is employed, especially in *L'homme armé*, in searching out new and fresh counterpoints to be placed against the simple, repetitive *cantus firmus*. The use of the *cantus firmus* is subordinated to other considerations in the Masses *Ma maistresse*, *Fors seulement*, and *Au travail suis* especially since the concept of a freely composed mass is combined with the use of the *cantus firmus* for one movement. The use of the imitative motive at the opening of the movements is related to the recurring motive which unifies all of Ockeghem's freely composed masses.

The statement by Bessler that the freely composed masses may be Ockeghem's most representative works in this form is quite valid⁶. Freed from the bonds of the *cantus firmus*, Ockeghem could give full play to his wonderful fluency of melodic and rhythmic structure. Except in the Mass *Sine nomine* there is the feeling that Ockeghem has been released from technical requirements. The few passages of imitation which occur in *Cuiusvis toni* and *MiMi* seem composed with definite recognition of the requisites of the text. The homophonic sections in these masses are intentionally contrasting, making many sections of great beauty.

It is evident that the use of voice combinations is quite different when a comparison is made of these masses. The thick four-voice writing in the Mass *MiMi* stands in marked contrast to the extensive sections of two-part work in the Mass *Au travail suis*. However, in general, the *Kyrie* section of each of the masses is much fuller, and there is more contrast of two- and three-voice combinations with larger numbers in the *Gloria*, *Credo*, and *Sanctus*. It is quite characteristic of the *cantus firmus* type

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 63)

⁵Wagner, *Geschichte der Messe*, p. 105. Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1913.

⁶H. Bessler, Foreword to publication of *Missa MiMi* in *Das Chorwerk*, Vol. 4, p. 3, 1930.

THE PRINCIPLES Of Keyboard Technique In *Il Transilvano* by Girolamo Diruta

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INTRODUCTION

Girolamo Diruta's *Il Transilvano*, one of the most important works in the history of keyboard technique, is the first instruction book in which an actual style of playing is given and a distinction made between the technical treatment of the organ and harpsichord. It not only contains invaluable knowledge of the Italian harpsichord and organ technique of the sixteenth century, but it includes, along with keyboard pieces by eminent composers, the first examples of études for the clavier.

Diruta wrote the book for a beginner, and it teaches how to read music, to play, to understand harmony, transcribe vocal music for the organ, and to combine most effectively the stops of the organ. He gives, also, instruction in the proper use of the music for the church service and some rules for singing.

Il Transilvano, dedicated to the Prince of Transylvania, is written in dialogue, a customary form used for early instruction books. It takes its name from one of the interlocutors, a citizen of Transylvania, who has been sent to Venice by his prince to find out all he can about music and to collect compositions by the most famous composers of that day.

The entire book is devoted to the conversation between Diruta and his pupil, Transilvano, who, incidentally, proves to be a very good student. With the completion of the book, he has become an accomplished musician, so he hurries away to Transylvania to give to the prince and to his organist, Romanini, all the knowledge which he has gained.

Il Transilvano is the only known book written by Diruta. It is divided into two parts which were printed at different times. Although it is possible that the first printing of Part I was in 1593, the oldest preserved edition is dated 1597. One copy of this edition is in the British Museum in London; the other is in the Liceo musicale in Bologna.

The editions used by the writer are Part I, 1625, which is owned by the Sibley Music Library, and Part II, 1622, obtained on film from the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C.

THE LIFE OF GIROLAMO DIRUTA

Little is known concerning Diruta's life. According to Krebs, a document by Colleoni states that he was admitted into the monastery in Corregio on June 19, 1574, but it does not state whether he entered as a boy to receive his education or as a brother of the order. Krebs estimates that his birth date was between 1554-1564. The fact that Diruta calls himself Perugino indicates that he was born in Perugia, and the name Girolamo comes from a family which originally settled in Diruta, a castle near Perugia.

At the end of *Il Transilvano*, Part I, Diruta tells his pupil that dis-

satisfaction with his early instruction caused him to travel to various cities in search of a good teacher. He mentions the most notable of his instructors, Zarlino, Porta and Merulo in the second chapter of his *Il Transilvano*, Part II.

Of all his teachers, Claudio Merulo had the greatest influence upon Diruta as an organist. Diruta tells his pupil that he first resolved to study with Merulo when he heard him play in Venice. He says,

. . . seeing my errors, I resolved to improve myself, and, seeking in search of other cities, I finally came to this most serene city of Venice and heard in the famous Cathedral of St. Mark a duel between two organs answering one another with such artifice and gracefulness that I was amazed. Desirous to meet those two great champions, I stopped at the entrance where I saw Claudio Merulo and Andrea Gabrieli, both organists at St. Marks. I resolved to follow them, particularly Signor Claudio. It is with his knowledge and with study that I lost my bad habits. . . . This was the principal reason which induced me to write this work.

In *Il Transilvano* Diruta speaks modestly of his own accomplishments and gives all credit for his ability to Merulo, "the most excellent Signor Claudio, my master and teacher . . . whose breast is a nest of courtesy." Merulo, in turn, confers upon Diruta the highest words of praise, as he says in his letter at the beginning of *Il Transilvano*, "It is to my glory that he is my pupil, because in this dissertation he has brought honor to both of us."

Diruta's ability was admired, moreover, by other contemporary writers such as G. Franchini, in his *Bibliographia*, who says that he is Merulo's most famous pupil, C. Antegnati, who praises *Il Transilvano* in *L'Arte Organica*, and Bononcini, in *Musica practica*, where Diruta is named among the famous musicians who had adopted the system of twelve modes.

According to Krebs, Diruta was organist at the cathedral in Chioggia sometime between the years 1593 and 1609. By 1609 he had gone to the Cathedral of Agobbio, since the edition of *Il Transilvano*, Part II, for that year contains the statement of this fact. The date and place of his death are unknown. Rossi-Scotti says he died while chapel master at Chioggia, but he gives no reason for this assertion.

KEYBOARD INSTRUCTION BEFORE *IL TRANSILVANO*

Before beginning the discussion of the principles of keyboard technique in *Il Transilvano* it will be necessary to give a brief review of the keyboard instruction books which appeared before the publication of this book. The comparison of Diruta's instruction book with the earlier ones will show how far he had progressed in respect to a well-ordered instruction in keyboard technique.

In the sixteenth century the knowledge of music was essential to a cultured man. Singing was the favorite study and instrumental playing came next. Of all the instruments the lute was one of the most important because of its possibilities for nuance; but as gradual improvements were made in the construction of keyed instruments, the lute, which was difficult to tune and to care for, fell more and more into disuse, and keyed instruments, particularly the clavichord and harpsichord, were much in the favor of amateur players.

Even though the study of music was taken very seriously, the instruction must have been superficial. Pietro della Valle, in his treatise, *Dello Musica dell' eta' nostra*, writes that his musical study as a boy included

singing, composition and clavier instruction along with lessons in playing the theorbo, the violin, and the viol da gamba. Such a comprehensive study as this could hardly be a thorough one, since the pupils learned mostly through oral instruction. Learning from books was limited principally to solmization, mutation, tones, note-values, and counterpoint. The need for a practical system of teaching had already been suggested by H. Finck, O. Luscinius, and Vincenzo Galilei.

Probably there were instruction books that have been lost, but to our knowledge there are scarcely more than six manuscripts or books before *Il Transilvano* which give any rules for keyboard technique.

The oldest preserved manuscript that explains theoretically the methods of playing is the *Fundamentbuch* of Hans Buchner von Constanz. A manuscript copy of the tablature dated 1551 is in the Library of the University of Basle.

Buchner, a pupil of Hofhaimer, gives for the first time the basic rules for fingering, along with explanations of the keyboard, note-values, the mordent, notations and other fundamentals of instrumental playing. Here organ playing and composition are treated independently for the first time.

The fingering is numbered from the forefinger with the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4. The thumb is given the number 5. The same numbers with a line drawn through them are used for the left hand (1, 2, 3, 4, 5).

There is a Polish tablature by Johannes de Lublin assembled from 1537-1548 which corresponds basically with Buchner's, but it gives no particular consideration to keyboard technique.

Juan Bermudo's *Declaracion de instrumentos musicales*, Ossuna, 1555, is a very interesting book written for the beginner. Bermudo emphasizes the necessity for good hand position and the use of correct fingering for running passages and ornaments. He says,

Take special care not to learn from a "barbaric" player or you will suffer distress all your life. It is worth more to pay twice as much money to a good player who will teach you the right time than a small amount to one who knows nothing about placing the hands on the organ. When you have good hand position and understand this book you can transcribe beginning compositions on the Monochord [clavichord].¹

Bermudo also advises the beginner to have two hours of instruction each month. The first hour should be devoted to the master's explanations, the second hour to the performance of music by the student. After six months he feels that the pupil should be a capable player. When he can improvise free *Fantasias* on the organ he will be a mature musician. Bermudo remarks further that he has not seen a very fine player who has not spent at least twenty years in unbroken study.

The *Arte de Tañer Fantasia*, Valladolid, 1565, written by Tomas de Santa Maria, is more advanced than Bermudo's work. He advises sixteen years of study and compares a good player, who is graceful and masterful, to a bad player who is clumsy and aimless. He recommends himself as a good teacher and makes many interesting requirements for good playing.

Elias Nicolaus Ammerbach's *Orgel oder Instrument Tabulatur*, Leipzig, 1571, presents a new organ tablature in which all voices are notated in letters. The introduction to the book describes the keyboard, the tablature

¹Otto Kinkeldey, *Orgel und Klavier in der Musik des 16 Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910), 12. (Italics inserted.)



signs, the tone system, the execution of mordents, and the tuning of keyed instruments. Ammerbach says that whoever learns to play the organ can then play the positive, regal, virginal, clavichord, harpsichord, and similar instruments.

Ammerbach explains his fingering with fifteen examples of fingered passages. He says, "Since . . . all grasp of the fingering cannot be made clear through rules, I will show the same instead through examples, from which one will be able to judge easily in this other manner."²

In his series of pieces Ammerbach observes a certain system of order in difficulty and says in the introduction,

Because the beginners are not soon accustomed to using their fingers to such a degree that they can play runs and coloratura and at the same time read the notes, the set rules for the application of fingering become familiar through practice. I have set a few well-known German tenors, in a simple way, from the notes into tablature, by which beginners can practice at first and be able to make use of the rules. After this there follow in another part some pleasant little German dances, merry galliards and passamezzi which are usually desired by young people and more willingly learned than motets. Finally I have added in the third part some generally joyful motets and ornamented them with coloratura and runs, in which a young man insofar as he has acquired the habit of practice can train himself and can use the style and coloratura in other pieces.³

The numbering for the fingers begins with 0 for the thumb, then 1, 2, 3, 4 from the forefinger.

Antonio de Cabezón's son, Hernando, collected his father's works and, with some of his own and of Antonio's brother Juan, he published in Madrid, 1578, the collection *Obras de musica para tecla arpa y vihuela* (Musical works for keyboard instruments and plucked instruments). The introduction to this work gives some technical rules for notation, time and fingering.

It states that "Whoever desires to be a skillful performer should take instruction a single day with a good player, but for further study he needs only to follow this book."

The order of the pieces is systematic. They progress from simple two-voiced composition for beginners to those with six voices, and they include arrangements of liturgical themes, vocal compositions, variations, and four-voiced *tientos*. The latter are longer preludes resembling the *ricercar* in form.

This work of Cabezón completes the survey of keyboard instruction before the publication of *Il Transilvano*.

THE PRINCIPLES OF KEYBOARD TECHNIQUE IN *IL TRANSILVANO* BY GIROLAMO DIRUTA

On the title page of both Part I and Part II of *Il Transilvano* the book is described as a new work, very helpful and necessary to professors of the organ. In reference to Part I Diruta states that it is a book ". . . in which one learns quickly and easily to play upon keyboard instruments, to manage the hands in making diminutions, and to understand tablature, proving the truth and necessity of its rules with Toccatas by various excellent organists at the end of the book." Part II contains ". . . the true method and rules for placing each voice in tablature, with all kinds of diminutions.

²Quoted by Krebs, *Diruta's Transilvano*, VFMW, VIII 358.

³Loc. cit.

At the end of the book there is the rule which shows with brevity and facility the method of learning how to sing."

These statements made in *Il Transilvano* promise a comprehensive method for the organist, a promise which Diruta ably fulfills. He begins with such elementary study as the names of the notes in the musical scale (which he calls the musical alphabet), the formation of the scale according to the hexachord system, the names of the clefs, and the names of the note-values. Then he gives rules for keyboard technique and for playing diminutions. In Part II he teaches Transilvano to arrange vocal music for the organ and gives him rules of counterpoint, so that he can compose for the organ. Diruta explains the system of twelve modes, their transposition, and how to use them most effectively. Then he illustrates his lessons with a series of *Ricercari* in all twelve modes, composed by the most eminent men of his time.

The last section of Part II instructs the organist in the method of accompanying the church service and in transposing or modulating between the responses. The examples of music are preludes on church hymns. Diruta also gives advice concerning the proper use of the organ stops and the best stop-combinations for certain pieces. At the conclusion of the book Diruta states his rules for singing.

The purpose of this thesis is to present the principles of keyboard technique as set forth by Diruta. The material is limited to Part I which contains Diruta's entire discussion dealing with the technical side of organ playing.

After the title pages and the letter of Claudio Merulo the text begins with a soliloquy by a citizen of Transylvania, who, throughout the entire work, is called only by the name of Transilvano (Transylvanian). He feels that he is very fortunate to be in the famous city of Venice on the day of the Feast of the Ascension, when he can hear beautiful music in the churches. He is looking for the Chevalier Michele whom he meets, by chance, walking with Father Diruta. Transilvano makes known the purpose of his visit; the Prince of Transylvania has sent him to find a collection of music by famous composers. But he is not satisfied only with the music. He wants to learn Father Diruta's rules for playing "that supreme instrument," the organ. Diruta is most willing to teach him, and they begin the lessons at once.

Diruta's first rules for playing are concerned with the position of the organist. In order to play well an organist must have the poise which results from the correct approach to the instrument. Diruta's rules, in a free translation, are as follows:⁴

1. Sit at the center of the keyboard.
2. Sit erect, and do not make unnecessary motions.
3. Let the arm guide the hand. The arm and hand should be on an even plane, level with the keyboard, so that the hand does not hang down from the keys.
4. Place the fingers evenly on the keys and somewhat curved. Keep the hand relaxed, and let the fingers rest lightly on the keys. To illustrate this rule he says that, "When you wish to slap a man in

⁴It is an amazing fact that all these rules correspond exactly, in their application, to the rules of modern organ technique. Diruta's rules, especially those concerning the touch and the relaxation of the arm and hand, are the fundamental points in organ playing today.

anger, you tense the hand and wrist, but when you wish to caress, you keep the hand relaxed and light as though you were caressing a child."

5. Let the fingers press, not strike the key. This produces a good legato and keeps the note-values even. When the key is struck and the finger lifted off the key, part of the sound is lost. (Diruta's musical example shows the difference between precise note-values and those carelessly played.)



Now Transilvano says that he recalls having heard this broken effect before but supposed that something was wrong with the organ. Then Diruta explains that this striking of the keys is the fundamental difference between playing the organ and playing quilled instruments such as the harpsichord. Diruta, with this statement, becomes the first writer to make a distinction between the manner of playing these two instruments. He speaks of a player of quilled instruments as a "dance player" and the organist as a player of "music."

Diruta's reference to players of quilled instruments such as the harpsichord as "dance players" is a broad statement. He tells Transilvano that the Council of Trent forbade the playing of dances or "dishonorable *Canzoni*" on the organ because "it is not desirable to mix profane with sacred things." It would seem then, that he gives the title of "music" to sacred music alone. But he does not limit his organ pieces to sacred compositions, for he includes *Toccatas*, *Ricercari*, and *Canzoni* in his pieces for study. We may conclude that his terms, "dance music" and "music," may be compared to the modern terms, "light music" and "serious music." To him the organ was the proper instrument for the more serious forms of composition, and the harpsichord was more suitable for music of a lighter type. He says further that the dance player cannot help striking the keys of the organ when he plays it, and of course this is the wrong style of organ playing. On the other hand, an organist is not a good harpsichord player because the method of playing differs. The quilled action of the harpsichord requires that the keys be struck; moreover, the sound of the harpsichord is not sustained as it is on the organ, so the player must repeat notes and ornament the melody in order to make the sound more continuous. Except for striking the key and using much more embellishment in the music, Diruta advises the harpsichordist to observe his rules as carefully as if he were an organist. He also recommends for study the works of Claudio Merulo, his teacher.

Diruta then proceeds to the instruction in fingering, which he says is an important study for both harpsichordists and organists. To make his fingering rules easier to follow he classifies the fingers as "good" or "bad" fingers to be played on "good" or "bad" notes. Diruta's "good" fingers play the accented or "good" notes and the "bad" fingers play the unaccented or "bad" ones. He numbers the fingers from 1 to 5 starting with the thumb. The first finger plays a "bad" note, the second finger a "good" one, the third "bad," the fourth "good," and the fifth "bad." The third

Scales

The scales and intervals are marked with modern fingering.



Hans von Constantz	R.	2 3 2 3 - - - - -	4 3 2 3
	L.	4 3 2 3 - - - - -	2 3 2 3
Juan Bermudo	R.	1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4 -	4 3 2 1 4 3 2 1
	L.	4 3 2 1 4 3 2 1 -	1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4
Tomas de Santa Maria ⁸	R.	3 4 3 4 3 4 3 4 -	4 3 2 3 2 3 2 3
	or	2 3 4 3 4 3 4 3 -	3 2 3 2 3 2 3 2
	L.	4 3 2 1 4 3 2 1 -	1 2 3 4 1 2 3 4
	or	2 1 2 1 2 1 2 1 -	3 4 3 4 3 4 3 4
Nicolaus Ammerbach	R.	2 3 2 3 2 3 2 3 4	3 2 3 2 3 2 3 2
	L.	4 3 2 1 4 3 2 1 2	3 2 3 2 3 2 3 4
Antonio Cabezon	R.	3 4 3 4 3 4 3 4 -	4 3 2 3 2 3 2 1
	L.	4 3 2 1 4 3 2 1 -	1 2 3 4 3 4 3 4
Girolamo Diruta	R.	2 3 4 3 4 3 4 3 4	3 2 3 2 3 2 3 2
	L.	4 3 2 3 2 3 2 3 2	3 2 3 2 3 2 3 4

Intervals	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth	Seventh	Octave	Ninth	Tenth
Hans von Constanz	4 2	-	5 2	5 2	-	5 1	-	-
Juan Bermudo	3 4 1 2	-	-	4 5 1 2	-	5 1	-	-
Tomas de Santa Maria	2 3 4 1 1 2	-	5 4 3 2 1 1	5 4 3 2 1 1	-	5 1	-	-
Nicolaus Ammerbach	4 2	5 2	5 2	5 2	5 1	5 1	5 1	5 1
Antonio Cabezon	2 3 5 4 1 3		4 3 1 1	4 3 1 1	-	-	-	-
Girolamo Diruta	Fingers most convenient		4 5 1 2	Fingers most convenient	-	5 1	-	-

⁸Kinkeldey, *Orgel und Klavier* . . . , pp. 35-39. For further scale fingerings c. f. Chapter III.

Diruta explains that the *Gropo* and the *Tremolo* are two forms of ornamentation used in the process of *diminution*. In Part II, Book I, of *Il Transilvano* (1622) he mentions three other ornamental figures, the *Minuti*, the *Accenti*, and the *Clamationi*. The *Minuti* break up a melody into continuous diatonic passages, whereas the remaining forms of diminution embellish the melody by shorter note groups.

Example of the *Minuta* in the tenor voice.



The *Accenti* in Diruta's example correspond to the modern changing note.



The *Clamationi* fill in the interval of a third with a dotted eighth and sixteenth.



The *Groppi* divide long notes into scale passages and figurations resembling the modern turn. The many examples given are written in ascending and descending passages and in passages with accidentals. One form of the *Gropo* is as follows:



These are to be played with the third and fourth fingers of the right hand and the second and third fingers of the left. The first and second fingers can be used if it is more convenient to do so.

The *Tremolo* which Diruta describes is like the modern shake or longer trill. The following example shows one tremolo with the right hand.



He says, "Play them in a sprightly manner and with agility. These are his rules for making good *tremoli*."

1. The *tremolo* is played with the upper auxiliary note. 2. The *tremolo* takes half the value of the principal note. 3. *Tremoli* are introduced at the beginning of a *Ricercare*, *Canzone*, or any other piece of music, when

the subject is given out by a single voice. They are to be used for the adornment of any melody when the part is written in note values which are not too short for embellishment. 4. The rules for good and bad notes do not apply to *tremoli*. They are to be played with successive fingers, no matter which finger falls upon the *tremolo*. a. The exception to this rule occurs with syncopated notes or with two notes of the same value on the same line or space. They cannot be played with successive fingers, but with the fingers which are most convenient.

At this point Transilvano works out, orally, the fingering for the *tremoli* in the last two examples, and Diruta pronounces them to be correct. The example given here has been realized by the writer from the rules given by Diruta.

Tremoletti on eighth notes.

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The top staff is in treble clef and the bottom staff is in bass clef. Both staves contain a sequence of eighth notes descending by step. Below the notes, fingerings are indicated by numbers 1 through 5. The top staff has fingerings: 2, 3, 2, 3, 2, 3, 4, 3, 2, 3, 2, 3, 4, 3, 2, 3, 4, 3, 4. The bottom staff has fingerings: 2, 1, 2, 1, 2, 3, 4, 2, 1, 2, 1, 2, 3, 2, 3, 2, 3, 2.

Diruta explains that these two examples of *tremoletti* and the *tremoli* on notes which descend by step are more difficult than the other examples. The *tremoli* on notes descending by step are frequently used by Claudio Merulo. This *tremolo* changes the note values somewhat.

Diruta does not hold to his rules in his examples. He emphasizes the point that *tremoli* are to be played with the upper note, yet in spite of this, in the example of *tremoli* on half-notes, the last part of the example on quarter-notes and in the *tremoletti* on eighth-notes, there are *tremoli* which use the lower auxiliary note. This inconsistency is an example of the confusion concerning the treatment of trills and shakes which has persisted until the present day.

Transilvano, however, seems to have no difficulty with these problems, so Diruta gives him a set of pieces to practice. These are compositions by himself and by other composers whom he considers to be also "men of merit." Diruta tells Transilvano that first he must practice his exercises and then the pieces will offer no difficulties. Transilvano says,

... tell me whether someone who has bad habits in his hand can correct them by the use of these rules.

Diruta replies,

... a well-proportioned man whose tongue is impeded is in such a condition that he cannot express his opinion. The tongue of the organ, as you know, are the hands; if these do not operate correctly many defects will appear. The same may be said of a beginner who plays things which were studied and learned badly. If he wishes to play according to the regulations it will be necessary for him to abandon everything he has learned and to take up the basic principles according to this rule, just as one who has never studied may, by observing my rules, improve in a very short time.

Transilvano says,

So then it appears that this rule will benefit everyone, beginners and even those who praise themselves very highly.

And Diruta humbly replies,

Let everything be in the praise of the Lord.

CONCLUSION

This concludes all of the statements regarding the technique given by Diruta in *Il Transilvano*. A glance at the chart (pg. 36) giving a survey of fingering in the instruction books of the sixteenth century will show that there is no actual improvement in Diruta's fingering. Diruta repeatedly warns his pupil against awkwardness at the keyboard, but his fingering, to a modern player, is awkwardness itself.

The significance of Diruta's book lies in the carefulness and the thoroughness of his teaching. His remarks concerning the position of the player, the relaxation of the arm and hand, and the proper attack on the key are fundamental points of organ instruction today. The distinction that he makes between organ touch and the touch used on other keyboard instruments is a definite advancement over the older methods, which seemed to classify all keyboard instruments together in regard to the technique of playing. Diruta's book gives, for the first time, an actual school of playing which considers both the technical and the esthetic treatment of the organ and harpsichord, separating them according to the suitability of the organ for serious music and the harpsichord for music of a lighter type.

The importance of *Il Transilvano* was not appreciated, apparently, by later historians who mentioned the book. Hawkins gives the general content of the book,⁹ and Forkel¹⁰ expresses the same opinion as Burney, who says,

It contains instructions for playing the organ and other keyed instruments, with preludes by most of the celebrated organists of Italy at the time; but in these no keys are used but those of the church, and all the passages consist of running up and down the scale with both hands alternately, without other intention than to exercise the fingers in the most obvious and vulgar divisions then in use.¹¹

But this very fact mentioned by Burney, that the pieces were written for the intention of exercising the fingers, is one of the significant points concerning Diruta's method of teaching. He includes, as illustrations of his rules, entire pieces for the practice of special technical problems bringing about for the first time the appearance of actual clavier etudes. The pieces of music appearing in other method books such as the *Obras de musica* of Cabezon, where the pieces are graded in order of difficulty, are practice pieces, to be sure, but they are miscellaneous compositions, which do not call for the working out of a particular technical problem. Diruta carries out his principles by including, along with compositions by his contemporaries, three *Toccatas* written by himself for the practice of "steps" and "good" and "bad" leaps, and a "Toccatà on the Eleventh

⁹Sir John Hawkins, *A General History of the Science and Practice of Music* (London: Novello, 1853), II, 590.

¹⁰J. N. Forkel, *Allgemeine Litteratur der Musik* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1792), 332.

¹¹Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (London: printed for the author, 1789), III, 537.

and Twelfth Tones" that gives an excellent illustration of his *diminutions*.

It was many years after Diruta that any systematic method of organ instruction was evolved. Organ playing was taught largely by the oral explanations of a teacher and the performance of music which the teacher may have composed for instruction purposes. The instruction books which came immediately after *Il Transilvano* still concerned themselves more with rules of composition or improvisation, giving only a few fingering indications for short passages. Michael Praetorius, in the second volume of the *Syntagma Musicum*, the *Organographia* (1619), says,

As then, however, many of them let themselves think something unusual and therefore wish to despise some organists because of the fact that they do not use this or that particular fingering, which, however, in my opinion, is not even worth bothering about, for one plays passages with the first, middle, or last fingers, either up or down. Indeed, if one could also help play with the nose and was able to make and bring out everything fine and pure, true and agreeable to the ear, there would not be much use in worrying about how and in what manner such things were brought about.

The *Wegweiser*,¹² which first appeared in Augsburg in 1689, was written by an anonymous writer, and by 1753 it had twelve editions. The popularity of the *Wegweiser* in Central and Southern Germany at the beginning of the seventeenth century makes it highly probable that J. S. Bach used the book in his first lessons at the organ. It is the next book of importance for keyboard instruction, following over one hundred years after the publication of *Il Transilvano*. The book contains basic instruction regarding music, fingering, position of the player, clefs, ornaments, and figured bass. There is also instruction concerning church music and advice to the organist about the music of the mass.

There are fifty-five pages of music including exercises in each of the eight church modes and "light and easy" exercises for the pleasure of the student. The latter are real pieces written in forms such as the *Toccata*, *Toccatina*, *Variatio*, *Fuga*, and *Tastata*. They are all rather short, but very well-written and enjoyable pieces which are used today for beginners.¹³

It was not until the time of Nicholas Jacques Lemmens (1823-1881) that the principles of organ playing were coördinated and combined with a systematic study of pedal technique. His book contains exercises for the perfection of a legato style on the organ, short practice pieces with fingering marked in them, a section concerned with pedal technique, followed by simple pieces with pedal, and a collection of longer organ pieces at the end of the book, containing indications of stops to be used, but having no fingering or pedalling marked.¹⁴

Guilmant has traced the French school from Bach, through Krebs, Kirnberger, Kittel (Bach's last pupil), Berner, Rinck, Hesse, to Lemmens.

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 63)

FOR A MUSICAL AMERICA

JUNE WEYBRIGHT, *Theta*

It has been said that music is less of an escape from reality than it is an ennobling of reality. In great music the world is not forgotten, rather the courage to face it is received. Probably it is the discovery of this fact by increasing numbers of American people that is responsible for the adoption of music into everyday living in a manner that we, who work so close to the subject, are not yet fully aware.

In a recent edition of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, a considerable portion of the book was devoted to a music supplement. To quote Douglas Moore, whose editorial headed this music section: "In the last war the appearance of a music supplement to the *Saturday Review* would have been an absurdity. Music in those days, apart from the entertainment field, absorbed the interest of relatively few Americans in a handful of cities. So little did it matter, that Wagner disappeared from the Metropolitan overnight with scarcely a protest. All this was before the radio and the phonograph had so multiplied our resources that music was available everywhere. The American public, always impressed with gadgets, began to develop a taste for good music which filtered into the programs. Today there are two hundred symphony orchestras in the country as a result of this new interest."

It can be said, without resorting to exaggeration, that America has progressed farther along the road to musical culture in the past twenty-five years than in all of her history prior to that time. Our people listen to music on the radio, on the phonograph, and in the concert hall. They read books about music, of which there are a number of best sellers. And many are experiencing some type of musical performance. In fact, the number of music students in public and private elementary schools, in colleges and universities, and in private music studios is appalling. We are producing artist students, who, in their teens, have reached a degree of achievement which once was expected only from an adult. We are producing in teenage groups, a cappella singing that once upon a time was attempted only by professional groups. And one has only to listen to a serious performance by an elementary school orchestra to know what is being done in that field.

It is toward the great bulk of students who have no professional plum in mind but who are none the less serious about learning music well enough to use it as an enrichment for everyday living, that music educators have a tremendous responsibility. American mechanical gadgets certainly fostered the great wave of interest in music today but it is the job of the teaching profession to nurture and develop it to the limit of its possibilities and it is among those who study music as an avocation, that the most lasting results will be achieved.

The nonprofessional or amateur student knows just as well what he wants from his music study as does the artist student. He is just as interested, keen witted and sincere in his approach to the subject. He knows

(Reprinted by permission from the Music Teachers National Association Volume of Proceedings for 1942.)

¹²*Wegweiser die Orgel recht zu schlagen* (Augsburg: J. Koppmayer, 1692), 2nd ed.

¹³Harold Gleason, *Method of Organ Playing* (Published by the Eastman School of Music, Rochester, N. Y., 1940), 2nd ed. The pieces from the *Wegweiser* are manual and pedal pieces.

¹⁴N. J. Lemmens, *Ecole D'Orgue* (Paris: Durand & Fils, cop. 1920).

that he wants music for an emotional outlet, for a personal contact with the art that listening to radio and record, alone, cannot give him. His fingers itch for first-hand experience with some instrument. He knows that he wants to read fluently, that he wants adequate technic for the performance of middle-grade music. And he wants enough harmonic material for creative experimentation.

Students of any subject want to see where they are headed. And American students, being constituted of practical stuff as we Americans are, make no exception to this rule. A practical approach, therefore, on the part of the music educator, is called for but this does not mean streamlining to the point of sacrificing accuracy and perfection. It does mean, however, a "stock taking" of the desired goal at the start of the training, and continued stock taking at regular intervals to determine the progress toward that goal and to integrate any change of goal that might have entered in.

Once upon a time, not far past, the mortality rate among first year students was tremendous. It is perhaps lessened now but it could all be stopped if the teaching profession would give whole-hearted co-operation to the individual aims of the student and not attempt to change them if they do not happen to coincide with their own. The teacher may know the student is wrong. He may cringe at the pupil's ideas, at the sort of music he wants to play. But he must not let his student know it. A teacher can approach his subject in the way the pupil may think he wants to learn but soon be coordinating his own more successful methods in such a manner that the student will not remember that all he wanted was a minimum musical equipment to enable him to play familiar tunes. In other words, if, in the current popular expression, the teacher is a "smoothie," the pupil will have his aims and ideas changed for him in very painless fashion.

But how many students are there who, in honest confessional, admit that they love music keenly but do not enjoy music lessons? How many say that music is a far greater pleasure since music lessons have stopped? This state of affairs calls for an honest stock taking on the part of the educator. Does he put each student through the usual formal routine of training without enough sincere consideration of the young person's feelings in the matter? Has he, probably from a certain fear of professional beheading, followed a usual order of technic, scales, etc., when that order was not what was called for in the particular case? Has he, because he feels that he is expected to criticize and correct, exercised both rights to the complete discouragement of the student?

These frank questions the music educator can well afford to ask himself and better afford to answer. When he has given each of them honest thought, he will have gone a long way toward promoting active enjoyment while learning and toward making music a pleasurable education. He need not worry that he might seem to the casual observer to be using lax procedures if he deviates from the accepted routine of training. When the amateur student comes through with satisfying results, any method of procedure is justified. And the almost certain chance of professional criticism is of small importance compared to the accomplishment of the desired end.

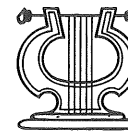
To adopt such a psychology toward the music student, the educator can not afford to do less work, have less pedagogical preparation, or be less

watchful of his pupil. Rather, he will have to be much more alert. In any profession, one cannot omit or shorten or change intelligently, without first having had a great deal of experience and training in all possible branches of his subject. Without such training he cannot know what are the necessary fundamental facts and what are those that could be shortened or replaced by others.

For instance, every educator knows that there is no substitute for reading music. Rote is not a substitute. It serves an entirely different purpose. Reading methods have been improved and simplified but there is no way around the fact that the first requisite of musical enjoyment is that the page of music be as legible as the page of a book. Also, there is no substitute for a certain amount of technic. Get it in any effective way, through pieces chosen for the purpose, or better, through real understanding of muscular control and its uses. Phrasing and interpretation cannot afford to be omitted. This, in great part, can be gotten by contact with and in imitation of the teacher. The last indispensable item, and one which the student himself seldom wants omitted, is a certain amount of harmonic equipment with which he can feel free to play with his own ideas and become a creator in his own right. This again cannot be given in too orthodox a fashion. It can be greatly condensed and classified in its presentation but must be handled by someone who has had thorough acquaintance with the subject from an orthodox point of view and who has given it analytical thought.

What, then, are the requisites for a successful teacher today? First, he must be good. He must know infinitely more than the teacher of a generation ago needed to know in order to be able to pull the proper card from his bag of tricks at the proper moment and for the proper student. Second, it is not enough that he know music. He must know human nature as well. Third, he should keep in close touch with developments in academic education. Fourth, he must be willing to forego show recitals, if advisable, which in the past have provided the only means by which a teacher could display his wares. And last, he must put himself in sympathetic understanding with every young person with whom he deals. He will find that it will pay dividends far beyond any other investment he has ever made.

In the words of Mrs. Crosby Adams, "Give your pupils the large view." And, teachers, we cannot give it without first getting it ourselves. Teaching any subject is not just a day by day job, it is a glorious profession. Music educators, today, are spiritual doctors. We were never needed so much and we will continue to be so. Let us fulfill our calling to the best of our minds and abilities so that our young, eager musical America will not ask and find us wanting.



JOHANN MICHAEL HAYDN

1737 - 1806

His Life and Works

CAROLYN BIRNEY, *Mu Omicron*

WHEN we hear the name Haydn, we immediately think of the famous Joseph, the father of modern instrumental music, the master of the symphony and string quartet, and the singer of wonderful oratorio; but there is another, his younger brother, Johann Michael Haydn, whom we should not overlook or forget. History cannot afford to disregard an artist whom Joseph Haydn considered his equal, and Mozart, for many years, his master. Sometimes the great names of music and art are evolved from the efforts of smaller artists who paved the way for them.

Johann Michael Haydn was born September 14, 1737, at Rohrau, a small Austrian village on the river Leitha, near the Hungarian border. He was the sixth of the twelve children which Maria Koller bore her husband, Matthias Haydn, a Master wheelwright, who had come to Rohrau from the town of Hainburg, a distance of about four leagues, married the daughter of the village Marktrichter and cook in Count Harrach's household; and built himself a little house at the end of the market place.¹ Maria and Matthias Haydn were poor, honest, industrious people who reared their children in a strict and religious way, instilling into them a love for work, method, cleanliness, and above all, religion. Both were fond of music, and both sang; the father had a fair tenor voice, and accompanied himself on the harp, although he could not read a note of music. Joseph and Michael both showed an aptitude for music at an early age, and were grounded in rudimentary music by the village schoolmaster. Since their parents were poor, and the family so large, the children had to become self-supporting at an early age, so Joseph and Michael counted themselves very fortunate to secure positions as choir boys in St. Stephen's Church in Vienna. Michael went there when he was about eight years of age, following Joseph who had gone several years previously. Michael lived in the Kappellhaus for over ten years (1745-1755). His formal instruction in composition was almost entirely lacking, though he is supposed to have received a limited amount of instruction from Reutter, the director of the choir, but he picked up most of his knowledge of musical theory and composition himself, by studying the "Gradus ad Parnassum"² of J. J. Fux, which he copied in its entirety; by studying many of the scores of Bach and Handel, and the works of Hasse and Graun, whose composi-

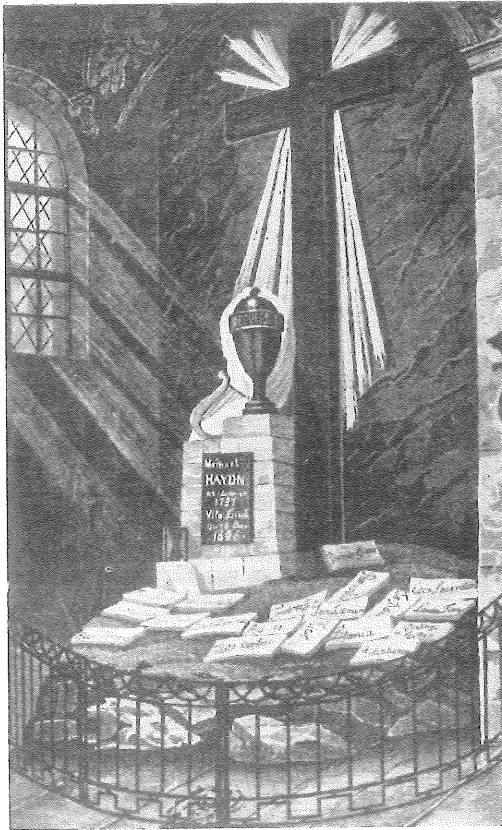
¹This house still stands in its original form, although it has been twice rebuilt. Beethoven once said of this house, "In this rude hut was born a great man." (Schmid, p.2.)

²A work consisting of two parts: the first, on the theory of composition; the second, on its practice. It is written in Latin, and is in the form of a dialogue between master and pupil; it has had numerous editions and has been translated into four languages. It sets forth rules of contrapuntal composition which dominated the educational system for nearly two centuries.



MICHAEL HADYN

(A Lithograph by Eybl; Original in National Library, Vienna)



TOMB of MICHAEL HAYDN
(St. Peter's Church in Salzburg)³

day afternoon his body was taken to the cemetery of St. Peter's Church; the Requiem was completed by adding portions from his earlier one in C Minor. It was played at his funeral. His body lies in a side chapel of St. Peter's Church. A well-designed monument³ was erected in 1821, and over it is an urn containing his skull. His widow received from the Empress, six hundred Fl. for the score of the Requiem, thirty Ducats from Prince Esterhazy for the opera "Andromeda and Perseus," and an annuity of thirty-six Ducats for all of his manuscripts.

Michael Haydn was well liked by nearly everyone because of his dry humor. He always enjoyed a joke, even if it were on himself. His associates never knew him to be a kill-joy. He was quite methodical and painstaking, which can be seen from his manuscripts. These are as readable as printed music; he always dated his compositions, and was careful to keep a copy of each filed among his valuable possessions. There is also in

³In 1825 Franz Schubert visited this monument; later he expressed his appreciation of Haydn in a letter to a friend "The grand and noble Haydn! I felt his quiet, clear spirit and although I do not possess such a spirit, no one honors him here on earth more than I" (*Kobald*).

existence, a book in which he recorded his observations of the weather in various types of curious designs. These observations were made three times a day for over a period of twenty years.

He was a man of medium stature, and, according to pictures of him, had regular and friendly facial features. There are many oil paintings, engravings, lithographs, and drawings of him. In character, Michael was upright, good natured and modest; a little rough in manners, and in later life, given to drinking. His letters show him to be a warmhearted friend, and that he was devout may be inferred from his habit of initialing all of his manuscripts with O.a.M.D.Gl. (*Omnia ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*).

Michael Haydn is known today primarily as a Church composer. He was the creator of an overabundance of Church music, and his sacred works number over three hundred and sixty and consist of Masses (twenty-four Latin and four German), two Rêquiems, one hundred fourteen Graduals, sixty-seven Offertories, responses, vespers, and litanies, which are a part of the regular repertory of the Austrian Catholic Churches, especially those in Vienna.

During the forty years that he was in Salzburg, he continued to write at requisition whatever was wanted for his two Churches, or his Episcopal chapel; he was crushed and browbeaten by a tyrannous patron, and, as the natural result, his compositions were often unworthy of his undoubted genius. Still there are some considerable exceptions. "The Missa Hispanica" which, in 1786, he exchanged for his diploma at the Stockholm Academy, is said to be noble and impressive; his Mass in D Minor, his "Lauda Sion" which seems to have been one of his show pieces, and his "Tenebrae" in E Flat are still highly esteemed, and the forty-two Graduals printed in Diabelli's "Ecclesiasticon" take level rank with the work of his brother, to whom many of his compositions have been falsely assigned.⁴ Among his best works are the "Missa Rorate Prima," the "Missa Rorate Secunda," the "In Conceptione Beatae Mariae Virgine" and best of all the "Benedictus" from the second Christmas office. The "Messa Sancti Francisci Seraphici" in D Minor of 1803, "The Jubiläum Mess" in C Major written for the 1200 years' existence of the church state in Salzburg and dedicated to St. Rupertus, the founder of Salzburg.

Though the bulk of Michael Haydn's works were written for the church, he left his mark on instrumental music. His best works of this kind are three symphonies published in 1785 which contain some interesting experiments in Rondo form, and the fine string quintet in C, which was long regarded as the work of his brother.⁵ In his instrumental music he followed the traditional style used by Haydn and Mozart; he was influenced some by his Vienna contemporaries, but he lacked the personal note which is so necessary for originality, and Salzburg was not the proper setting for developing it. He had to be modest and conservative, and had to write as the Salzburgers wanted and could not expand and show what he could really do. He was hemmed in by small-town tradition, and so he did not

⁴Some of his appeared under Joseph's name, as Michael was altogether opposed to the publication of his works, and even refused offers made by *Breitkopf and Härtel*, so that most of his works remain in manuscript. As M. Haydn frequently provided copies of his works for the Esterhazy court, we cannot make sure among some of the manuscripts in the Esterhazy Archives at Budapest whether they are Joseph's or Michael's compositions.

⁵It is actually printed in some editions of Joseph Haydn as op. 88.

develop as he would have in Vienna, or any other large city; but nevertheless he reached a very respectable level. His "Nocturne" in C Major (1773) was falsely published under Joseph's name, and could still be played today and passed for Joseph's work.

Michael Haydn is not considered as having been a pioneer in music, neither was he the culmination of any period, but he did definitely help the development of a new style of music. He accepted the minuet in some of his symphonies, and made regular use of the sonata-allegro form. This form can even be found in his slow movements and in the "finales" to some of his symphonies, but he more frequently used some form of the rondo in these last (two) mentioned. A common practice was to crown the last movement of his symphonies with an artistic fugato in sonata form. Haydn's other cyclic orchestral works and chamber music works, more or less, follow the same forms found in the symphonies. As was the custom of the time, the number of movements in his instrumental music ranges from two to eight. His manner of treatment is primarily homophonic, not only in the transitions and closing groups, but also in the treatment of the themes themselves. He seldom distributes the theme to all the voices, although he does use imitation between two string parts, etc., and also uses sequences in all the parts. The intervals of the triad play a great part in the themes of his first movements. This is especially true when brass instruments are used, since they were still capable of only their natural tones at that time. The ends of his phrases are well marked by strong harmonic chord progressions. His use of harmony is generally simple (tonic, dominant, and subdominant). He does modulate some in the development of thematic material, but it must be admitted that his instrumental works, especially, are poor with relation to interesting harmonic devices. He is conservative in both his measure signatures and also in his use of flats and sharps in the signatures (never going above four flats or sharps). The key system among the movements is also simple (dominant, subdominant, or parallel). His orchestrations usually call for little more than two oboes, two horns and the strings. Occasionally he calls for two bassoons, two flutes, and two trumpets. The timpani and trombone are seldom used, the clarinet never, and once in a while the "Oboe da caccia" or the English horn is substituted for the oboe in slow movement.

In the Hof and Staats bibl. in Munich, there is a thematic catalogue with a summary of Michael Haydn's compositions; it lists fifty short organ pieces for beginners, thirty symphonies, one sextet, three quintets, three string quartets, twelve minuets for full orchestra, serenades, marches, several partitas, and one violin concerto.

Although Michael Haydn's teaching methods are supposed to have been old-fashioned, and somewhat dry and pedantic, some of his pupils seem to have received a foundation which helped them become great figures in the world of music. Among those who became famous were: Wolfgang Mozart, Karl Maria von Weber, Neukomm, Joseph Woelfl, and Anton Reicha.

Although Karl Maria von Weber studied with him less than a year, Haydn greatly influenced his writing and helped him become the creator of the German Romantic Opera. While studying with Michael, young Weber wrote three easy trios for violin, viola, and piano; twelve variations for the piano; three piano sonatas; and six variations on the song "Lieber

Augustin," so we can see from this that Haydn's method cannot have been very dry, and certainly that it was practical.

The connection between Mozart and Michael Haydn is of great interest; it is a well-known fact that Leopold Mozart detested Michael, and that they did not get along well together; first, of course, they were rival musicians and music teachers in a small town, then, too, Michael was an employee of the court, and, finally, Michael drank, and the austere and strict elder Mozart could not forgive that, nor his manners, which were inclined to be boisterous. The fact that Michael married the daughter of the organist Lipp⁶ who was Leopold's mortal enemy, further influenced his feeling of animosity towards Michael. Leopold repeatedly gave vent to his dislike and disapproval of Haydn and his wife; he called Michael a drunkard and his wife a frivolous creature. Leopold would not acknowledge that Michael had talent, perhaps genius, because he had none himself, and was aware of it, and he would not acknowledge that there was genius in Salzburg, except his son, Wolfgang.

That is why the young Mozart did not go often to Michael for lessons; but there were hundreds of occasions for him to hear his music; at the cathedral, at the court, and even at the home of amateurs. Michael produced prolifically, and his masses, quartettes, and symphonies were very successful and popular in Salzburg.⁷ Wolfgang heard them, and procured copies in secret. He studied them, and in spite of his father, put himself under Michael's tutelage. He recognized Michael's genius and found a kindred spirit in him. Michael Haydn influenced the works of Mozart in many respects, especially in his church works. Mozart learned a lot from Haydn's symphonies and a comparison of Michael's symphony in C Major of 1780, with Mozart's Jupiter symphony of 1788, readily shows that he influenced his instrumental writing also. The remarkable analogy between the "Gloria" theme from the hautboy Mass (Missa S. Hieronymi) of Michael Haydn, and the overture to Mozart's "Titus" cannot be overlooked. The "Tres Sunt," one of the best liked works of M. Haydn, in primitive sonata form, is a free prototype of the grand closing movement of Mozart's "Jupiter" symphony.

Although Leopold Mozart did not approve of Michael, he was forced to admit his merits. In a letter written to his son, dated September 24, 1778, he wrote, "Haydn, for all that, is a man whose good work in music is not to be denied . . ." Leopold learned to appreciate Michael Haydn more in later years, and in 1783, there seem to have been friendly relations and mutual esteem of one artist for the other, for Wolfgang is known to have paid daily visits to the home of Michael, when the latter was too ill to carry out the commission given by the Archbishop Colloredo, for some duets for violin and viola; he asked Wolfgang to help him carry out the order, as the Archbishop refused to pay for them, unless finished by a speci-

(CONTINUED ON PAGE 63)

⁶In a letter (1777) to Wolfgang, who was then in Mannheim, Leopold writes, "Who do you suppose is organist at the Holy Dreifalligkeit Church? Herr Haydn! Some organist! Everybody is laughing; after every litany he gulps down a quart of wine, and sends old man Lipp (his father-in-law) to do all the other jobs. He, too, is a son of Bacchus."

⁷In Salzburg, and the surrounding country, "Haydn" was understood to mean "Michael," whereas in Vienna, it would mean "Josef."

THE REQUIEM BY MOZART

Summary of the Controversy Regarding the Authorship

MARY RUTH MYERS, *Mu Upsilon*

INTRODUCTORY—THE REQUIEM ITSELF

The Requiem by Mozart, Koechel Verzeichnis No. 626, has the following parts:

No. 1 Requiem and Kyrie Eleison	No. 7 Lacrimosa
No. 2 Dies Irae	No. 8 Domine Jesu
No. 3 Tuba Mirum	No. 9 Hostias
No. 4 Rex Tremendae	No. 10 Sanctus
No. 5 Recordare	No. 11 Benedictus
No. 6 Confutatis	No. 12 Agnus Dei, Lux Aeterna, and Cum Sanctus.

Movements two to seven inclusive are the ancient sequence Dies Irae, divided into sections. The Gradual and the Tract of the Requiem are missing. For the Communion the music of the Introit and the Kyrie is used, beginning with the music to the words Te Decet.

In this Requiem the connection with plain song is at an end. In none of the movements is the plain song melody used, and there is nowhere the chanting by solo voices which precedes the movements of so many earlier Requiems.

The Requiem is written for four solo voices (soprano, alto, tenor, and bass), four-part chorus, and an accompaniment of basset-horns, bassoons, trumpets, three trombones, a pair of tympani, and strings—first and second violins, violas, celli and double basses, with the part for the celli and basses a figured bass part to be played also on the organ.

HISTORY OF THE WRITING AND THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE AUTHORSHIP

Mystery surrounds the entire story of Mozart's Requiem, and conflicting statements abound for nearly every phase of its history. The commission itself was mysterious. In the first biography of Mozart, a series of articles running weekly in the *Allegemeine Musical Zeitung* for 1798, Friedrich Rochlitz, a neighbor and friend of Mozart's wrote that a tall, thin man dressed in grey came to Mozart in July, 1791, and asked for what price he would compose a Requiem and when it would be finished. Mozart replied that it would take about four weeks and that the price was a hundred ducats. The unknown messenger laid the money on the table and left.

A different price was given, however, by Benjamin Schacks, a student and friend of Mozart's who was living with the family at the time of the writing of the Requiem. He wrote that the price was fifty, not a hundred, ducats, and that only half of it was paid in advance.

Mozart had a second meeting with the messenger. In August, 1791, Mozart had to write an opera (*Titus*) for the coronation of Leopold II,

and go to Prague for the coronation. In the most authoritative biography of Mozart, Abert's revision of Otto Jahn's biography, it is stated that when Mozart was in his carriage starting to Prague, the stranger appeared again and asked Constance Mozart how the Requiem would fare, if work on it were interrupted by this journey. Mozart replied that it was absolutely necessary for him to go, and that, if there had been sufficient time, he would have informed the patron of his going. Mozart promised that he would resume work on the Requiem immediately upon his return.

Again there is a contradictory report, for Rochlitz wrote that after Mozart returned from Prague, at the end of the four weeks' time given for the writing, the messenger returned. Mozart said that he had been unable to keep his word. The Unknown said he knew it, and granted Mozart another four weeks, and gave him another hundred ducats.

Most of the Requiem was written during Mozart's fatal illness. The widow of Mozart wrote in a letter to the Abt Maximilian Stadler, sometime later, that Mozart's pupil Süssmayer often was present in the later days, played parts of the Requiem on the piano for Mozart, and talked over the composition and instrumentation of the score. According to the above-mentioned Schack, on the afternoon of Mozart's death, Mozart had the score of the Requiem brought to his bed, and went over the voice parts. Mozart himself sang the alto part; Shack sang the soprano, Mozart's brother-in-law Hofer the tenor, and Gerl the bass.

Mozart died December 5, 1791. In the problem of what happened to the Requiem at his death lies the controversy which raged for more than a century. We shall give as briefly as possible the various theories and accounts in their chronological order, and at the end give the conclusions reached in the light of the evidence.

The first performance of the Requiem was held in Jahn's Hall in Vienna in 1792, from a score which the widow of Mozart had.

Constance Mozart's first statement was that Mozart had written the entire Requiem. In the account which she gave to Rochlitz to be used in his biography of Mozart, the impression is given that Mozart finished the Requiem, for the author says that at the end of the four weeks given by the messenger, the work was finished, but the composer was dead.

The date at which the Requiem was sent to the Unknown is also the subject of surmise. The majority of opinions are that it was done in December, 1791. Leyser wrote in 1856 that it was sent to the messenger three days after Mozart's death.

In 1799, Constance Mozart decided to have the Requiem published. Accordingly she wrote to Breitkopf and Haertel in Leipsig, and stated, in a letter dated October 10, 1799, that since the "noble anonymous" had not made known his identity in the past seven years, she took it as his permission for her to have the work published, and that if the Unknown did not protest in the Vienna, Hamburg, or Frankfurt newspapers within the next three months she would have it published.

Haertel wrote to Constance in 1799, and asked for her copy of the Requiem, in order to have an accurate edition, and asked whether Mozart had composed more than one Requiem. She replied in a letter dated March 27, 1799, that she knew of only one Requiem, that Süssmayer had helped to finish it, after Mozart's death, according to directions that Mozart

had given, and that he had brought back the Kyrie-Fugue at the end by Mozart's orders.

Breitkopf and Haertel then wrote to Süßmayer himself, desiring his own explanation of the part he had played in the writing of the Requiem. Süßmayer's reply, dated February 8, 1800, which Breitkopf and Haertel published in the preface of their 1800 edition of the work, was the basis of the controversy over the authorship, for Süßmayer said that he, and not Mozart, had written a large portion of the work. In brief the letter was as follows: Süßmayer had so much respect for Mozart, that he disliked to have the Requiem, which was mostly his own composition, thought of as being Mozart's. Mozart had died without finishing the Requiem. Constance Mozart, after asking several other well-known musicians, had asked him to finish the Requiem, because she knew that he had discussed it with Mozart himself. Mozart had written the voice parts and the figured bass of the *Kyrie*, *Dies Irae*, and *Domine*, with the motives here and there marked for the orchestration. From the words *Judicandus homo reus*, Süßmayer finished the *Dies Irae*. The *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, and *Agnus Dei* were composed entirely (*ganz neu*) by Süßmayer. Süßmayer brought back the *Kyrie* with the words *cum sanctus*.

Meanwhile the identity of the unknown patron was privately disclosed. It was a Count Walsegg who lived in Stuppach. He was a lover of music, a good flutist and a fair cellist, and was in the habit of copying, and producing as his own, works written by other composers for him. His wife had died February 14, 1791, and he wished to have a Requiem for her. So he sent his secretary Leutgeb to Mozart with the commission for the Requiem. After the count had received the full score of the Requiem, he copied it and took it to his friend and physician, Obermayer, who was also a lover of music, and tried it over. Leyser lists the first performance as being held at Obermayer's house, December 22, 1791. As the work of Count Walsegg it was produced in the Church of the Neukloster at Neustadt, December 14, 1793, with Obermayer's daughter Therese singing the soprano part.¹

Upon hearing of the proposed publication of the Requiem, in 1799, Count Walsegg sent his score to his lawyer Dr. Sortschau in Vienna, demanding explanations and compensations from Constance. Abt Stadler and Councilor von Nissen acted as Constance's representatives and negotiated with Dr. Sortschau. Stadler gave the account of the finishing of the Requiem and of the parts written by Mozart and Süßmayer. Sortschau took down a complete account of the proceedings. Nissen finally induced the count to accept as payment transcripts of unpublished compositions by Mozart, and to allow Mozart's widow to revise the score for publication by comparing the count's score with her own.

The Requiem was first published in 1800 by Breitkopf and Haertel.

The first article, to our knowledge, written about the authorship of the Requiem, following its publication, was a review of the work which was written in the *A. M. Z.* for October 1, 1801. The reviewer quoted Süßmayer's letter to Haertel, and gave as his view, that Mozart probably gave the finishing of the Requiem to Süßmayer, but that it is very unlikely, in the light of Süßmayer's other work, that Süßmayer composed

¹Koehler, Ludwig von. *Verzeichnis der Werke W. A. Mozarts*. Dritte Auflage, bearbeitet von Alfred Einstein. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Haertel, 1937, p. 811.

as much as he said he had. The reviewer pointed out a mistake in the publication, saying that in the *Tuba Mirum* the trombone solo was given to the bassoon.²

Little was said or written about the Requiem for the next twenty years. In 1823 there appeared an article by Rochlitz, who had changed his viewpoint from his 1798 writing. In this later article he admitted that it was known that Mozart had not written the entire Requiem, that the *Sanctus* and *Pleni sunt Coeli* were left only in sketches by Mozart, and that Süßmayer had filled them in.

In 1825 the match was set to the fire of the controversy by a man named Gottfried Weber. Weber was a fairly competent, but not great, composer and critic, who had studied with Karl Maria von Weber and the Abbe Vogler. In the *Cacilia*, a musical newspaper published in Mainz and edited by Schott, Weber wrote an article in which he put forth the theory that Mozart had left sketches for the last movements, and that Süßmayer had filled them in. The peculiar part of Weber's theory was that, by applying what he called aesthetic criticism to the work, he attributed to Süßmayer the *Kyrie*, *Tuba Mirum*, *Confutatis*, and *Quam Olim*, which Süßmayer and everyone else had definitely said were written by Mozart, and gave Mozart credit for the last passages which Süßmayer had claimed as original. Weber called the Requiem a very inferior work, unworthy of Mozart, and attacked its weaknesses in many places.

From this article dates the "mud-slinging" of the controversy. For A. B. Marx, music critic of the *Berlin Musical Zeitung*, felt that the Weber article should be answered, and accordingly wrote a series of articles in the *B. M. Z.* for 1825 and 1826. He, and many others following him, attacked not only Weber's theories but also Weber himself. Marx said that Weber was only a dilettante and should not attempt to pass judgment on an artist as great as Mozart. Marx could not imagine Weber's not having read Süßmayer's article in which he set forth what parts were written by Mozart. A mistake which was an indication of Weber's inadequacy was his mentioning a flute passage in the *Confutatis*; every one knows that flutes are nowhere indicated in the score. Marx' personal view in regard to the authorship was that he did not doubt Süßmayer's word, but he did doubt his musicianship, and could not see how, considering other things that he had written, Süßmayer could be the composer of a work as great as the Requiem. Marx said that the proof of the authorship must be a study of the spirit (*Geist*) and style of Mozart which pervade the work.

Abbe Maximilian Stadler, who had been present at the negotiations with Count Walsegg in 1799 and who knew the case thoroughly from the beginning, wrote a Defense of the Requiem which was published in 1826. In it he attempted to clear up the case. Stadler said that the words *da capo*, indicating a *da capo* to the *Quam Olim* of the *Hostias*, were the last words that Mozart wrote. Süßmayer filled in the instrumentation where it was lacking and copied what Mozart wrote. Süßmayer composed the *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, and *Agnus Dei*. Süßmayer sent the score to the Unknown, after having made two copies, one of which was sent to Breitkopf and Haertel, and the other was kept by the widow. Stadler

²Allgemeine Musical Zeitung (A.M.Z.) IV p. 23-31.

said he knew of the existence of the original score of the *Lacrimosa* and the *Domine*, and also that he knew the name of the Unknown, but was not permitted to disclose it. Stadler further stated that the Unknown had been aware that the whole Requiem was not by Mozart.

Meanwhile another publication of the Requiem appeared, in 1827. Negotiations for it had been going on for over twenty years. In 1800 Anton Andre was considering making a piano score of the Requiem and wrote to Constance Mozart to obtain the correct copy. Constance replied, November 26, 1800, that the original copy had gone back to the Unknown, and that she had only her own copy and the Breitkopf edition. Mozart's handwriting, she wrote, of the *Introit* and *Kyrie* were in the copy which the Unknown had. Constance sent Andre the corrected copy of the Requiem and the manuscript of folios 33-45 of Mozart's original. She stated that the parts circled with a pencil were not by Mozart. January 26, 1811, Constance sent Andre folios 11-32 of the original manuscript.

Andre, however, had for several reasons delayed the publication of his score. When the Weber article appeared in 1825 and the controversy began, Andre hesitated to express an opinion. But in 1826 both Constance, who had in the meantime married von Nissen, and von Nissen himself wrote letters to Andre suggesting that he publish the orchestral score, since he had the most authoritative copies. Andre sent his son Carl to Vienna to compare the manuscript Stadler had with his own.

A letter which Andre received from a certain J. Zawrzel in Amsterdam, in 1826, threw some light on the identity of the Unknown. Zawrzel had been a musician in the service of a Count Walzeck. He stated that the cellist in the service of Count Walzeck had told him, Zawrzel, that the Count had shown him the score of a Requiem which the Count had written for the Countess, who had died a short time before. The score called for basset-horns. When the cellist remarked that there were no basset-horns in Neustadt, the Count replied that when the Requiem was finished basset-horns would be ordered from Vienna. Zawrzel thought that the Requiem that the Count showed the cellist was the one which Mozart had composed. The performance of it was in the fall of 1791.

Andre published the score in 1827, and indicated with the capital letters M and S the parts written by Mozart and by Süssmayer. In this publication there is an interesting link in a disputed passage. As was stated before, a critic writing in the *A. M. Z.* for 1801 said that in the Breitkopf edition, in the *Tuba Mirum* a passage intended for the trombone was given to the bassoon. Constance Mozart, writing to Haertel June 2, 1802, mentions this, saying that the critic was right, that the passage was meant for the trombone. She, however, is slightly confused, for she says that in the publication it was given to the flute, when she should have said bassoon. Andre mentions this passage, and, after having his son Carl compare his own edition with Stadler's, he is of the opinion that the Breitkopf edition is correct, and marks it for the bassoon, indicating with a sign in the score the disputed place. In the original score, as it is shown by Schnerich's facsimile, Mozart indicated the passage for the trombone, and it is thus published in modern scores.

Some interesting things came forth in the next few years. The lawyer Kreuchten in Pest wrote a letter to Weber, revealing the identity of Count Walsegg as the "Unknown," the commission of the Requiem, and the performance at the house of Obermayer. However, he said that the private

performance took place in the autumn of 1791, which hardly seems probable, in view of the fact that the Requiem was certainly not finished until December, 1791.

The Kapellmeister from Seyfried wrote to Weber, saying that he had studied piano with Mozart at the same time that Süssmayer was studying composition. The Kapellmeister corroborated other reports, that Süssmayer had helped with the writing of the opera *Titus*, which was written at the same time that Mozart was working on the Requiem. According to this letter, Süssmayer orchestrated most of *Titus* and composed some of the numbers, namely the Aria of Servilla, and the Aria of Annius and Publius. The Kapellmeister says that Süssmayer took on Mozart's identity completely, and mentions an opera *Der Wildfang*, which is much like Mozart.

The controversy continued in the years from 1826 to 1839, with more letters by Weber, and answers to them by Stadler, Marx, Rochlitz, and others. Weber's viewpoint, after he had gotten evidence from Stadler, Süssmayer, Mozart's widow, and from the Preucten and Zawrzel letters, was a curious hodge-podge and misconstruction of facts. His conclusions were not more flattering to Mozart than his first article had been, for he maintains that large parts of the Requiem attributed to Mozart were not by him, that Mozart had gotten his motives from Handel, that, because Mozart knew that the work was not to be produced or published as his own, he was not careful in writing it, and that the Requiem was merely a collection of exercises by a sick man.

This brutal condemnation of Mozart was attacked by artists as well as critics. Goethe wrote an article praising Mozart's greatness. Beethoven wrote a letter to Stadler, in which he thanked Stadler for the part he had taken in the controversy. This letter was published after Beethoven's death in Schlosser's biography of Beethoven. Weber became so incensed over it that he called it a squib, and wrote a long article in which he went so far as to criticize Beethoven's compositions. Marx printed part of Weber's in the *B. M. Z.* for April 11, 1828, and answered Weber's ranting, saying that Beethoven's letter was merely a letter from one friend to another, defending a great work, and that Weber's calumny was in extremely poor taste.

In 1829, G. L. P. Sievers published a book entitled *Mozart und Süssmayer* in which he set forth several theories. The first was that Mozart had sent the Count the finished score, without keeping a copy for himself, and that after Mozart's death Süssmayer put the score together from Mozart's sketches. The second theory was that Mozart had sent the count the single pieces as they were finished, and had died without finishing the final score, and that the final pieces were taken from another Requiem. Sievers was definitely of the opinion that Mozart had died December 5, 1792 instead of 1791. Sievers further told that Leutgeb's real name was Christian Henrich Spiess, and that he had already bought a Symphony, a Quintet, and a Horn Concerto from Mozart.

By 1829 an important event had occurred. Both the original score, which was Count Walsegg's property, and the two manuscripts described by Constance to Andre as being Mozart's original manuscripts of folios 11-32 and 33-45 had come to the Imperial Library in Vienna. The Walsegg score had come through several hands: At Count Walsegg's death in 1826 it went to his sister, the Countess Sternberg, who sold it to Leit-

ner. From him it went to Karl Haag, then to Katherine Adelpoller. Finally Count Moriz von Dietrichstein, Prefect of the Imperial Library in Vienna, bought it for the library for fifty ducats.

The Mozart manuscript of folios 11-32, the *Dies Irae* to the end of the *Confutatis*, came from the Abbe Stadler. He had drawn circles with a pencil around the parts which were not composed by Mozart, and had put a note at the top of folio 11r that all which was not circled with a pencil was by Mozart. Folios 33-45, the *Lacrimosa* and the *Domine* and *Hostias*, came from Joseph Eybler, who, on folio 33 of the score, dedicated it to the library.

The critics thought that from the use of these manuscripts they would be able to solve the question of the authorship of the Requiem. Accordingly Mosel, the Librarian of the Imperial Library, and a jury of other famous critics collected all the evidence they could. They compared the completed score with the fragments, and found that the writing was exactly the same to the slightest detail. They compared the score with other scores by Mozart and with ones by Süssmayer, and found that the Requiem score was much more like the Mozart manuscripts than the Süssmayer ones. They concluded that the fragmentary manuscript must have been an earlier draft which Mozart had made.

There were some points, however, opposing the authority of the Walsegg manuscript. First, the year 1792 at the beginning of the manuscript. The critics decided that Mozart had probably intended to finish the score in 1792, and had folioed it at the beginning. The Horn Rondo composed for Leutgeb shows a similar discrepancy, for it is marked Good Friday, April 6, 1792. This was obviously meant to be April 6, 1791, which was Good Friday.

Second, Mozart usually wrote naturals which were closed, narrower above than below. In the Walsegg manuscript the naturals are open squares, like Süssmayer's. But the jury found that in the above-mentioned Horn Rondo the naturals are open ones.

Third, the capital letters B, Q, P, and R, which were in the first two movements, have disappeared in the *Dies Irae*. Only the B remains and looks much like the R.

Other points at question were the crosses, pen scratches on the score. The jury found that these pen-marks were exactly like ones in other compositions of Mozart's, and thus could easily have been made idly while he was writing, rather than being marks to guide Süssmayer in the orchestration. The peculiar folio numbering, which begins in the Sanctus with page 1 again, instead of being consecutive, troubled the critics, but they decided that Mozart had written the Requiem in different periods, and had begun the numbering anew at the beginning of the part written in the later time. To Mozart's carelessness they attributed the fact that he had not put the accompaniment in the fragmentary score, but had begun a new one.

From the evidence received and studied carefully, the majority of the jury was of the opinion that the score which belonged to the Count was entirely composed by Mozart, and that Mozart was the sole author of the Requiem. Mosel consequently wrote an article entitled "Ueber die Original-Partitur des Requiem von W. A. Mozart," in which he stated the findings of the committee.³

The widow of Mozart broke her silence to write a letter dated February 10, 1839, in which she said that Süssmayer had finished the Requiem. She took the same view as Stadler in regard to the details of the writing. She also said that the *Introit* and the *Kyrie* of the Walsegg manuscript were in Mozart's handwriting, but that the rest was not.

Later other Süssmayer scores were found by the Baron von Lannony, among them an opera written in 1793, in which the handwriting was exactly like that of the Requiem. It therefore appeared that Süssmayer had changed his musical script at the time of the finishing of the Requiem to resemble Mozart's as closely as possible, and had continued after that time to write in that manner.

Other theories regarding the writing and the authorship were given in the last half of the nineteenth century, by men such as Ulibicheoff, Lyser, Pressel, and Engl. They are not of great consequence. By the end of the nineteenth century it was quite well established that in the original score the *Introit* and the *Kyrie* were in Mozart's hand, and that the rest was in Süssmayer's hand. That Süssmayer copied the *Dies Irae* as far as the beginning of the *Lacrimosa*, and also copied the *Domine* and *Hostias*, in both cases filling in the orchestration where it was lacking, was also definitely conceded. Regarding the last sentences, the *Sanctus*, *Benedictus*, and *Agnus Dei*, some important analyses were made.

Robert Handke made one of the most important of these theoretical analyses. He took what he called an aesthetic-theoretical viewpoint. After a careful study of the intervallic and harmonic construction of the themes of the *Benedictus* movement, after comparison with motives in earlier masses and other works, he came to the following conclusions: The first part of the *Benedictus*, measures 1-18, and the third part, measures 28-49, are by Mozart. The second part, measures 19-27, and the fourth part, measures 50 to the end, are by Süssmayer. He thought that the orchestration, which is heavier, uses more of the brass instruments than the first part of the Requiem does, is by Süssmayer. The *Sanctus* he believed to be entirely Mozartian, with Süssmayer only orchestrating it. In the *Lacrimosa* Handke's theory is that Mozart wrote the voice parts throughout and orchestrated the first part, leaving the orchestration of only the second part to Süssmayer.

Dr. Edward Sievers, a professor at Leipzig, thought, on the basis of his own criticism, that Süssmayer's work in the *Sanctus* began at measure 15. His theory of the *Benedictus* is similar to Handke's. In the *Lacrimosa*, he believed that Mozart wrote as far as the twelfth measure.

Several theories were held about the *Agnus Dei*. Otto Jahn thought that the motives were Mozart's and the development was Süssmayer's, while Edward Sievers and Abert found the whole movement characteristic of Mozart.

STUDY OF THE FACSIMILE OF THE SCORE

It is possible to study a facsimile of the manuscript and, by comparing it with the score published by Andre in 1827 and with the modern publication of the score, and balancing the result with the historical knowledge and the various theories, to reach a definite conclusion as to what we actually know of the authorship of the Requiem.

³A. M. Z. XLI, p. 317-323, contain a review of Mosel's article.

In the Imperial Library at Vienna the Requiem by Mozart is numbered A. N. 65 A 1 17561. Number 17561A is the manuscript which was sent to Count Walsegg. Number 17561B is the fragments which were sent by Stadler and Eybler to the Library. In 1913, Dr. Alfred Schnerich published a facsimile of MS A from folios 1-10, and of MS B from folios 65-99 of Mosel's numbering (11-45 of the original). Also several folios of the latter part of MS A are given for comparison with MS B.

Folios 1-9 are in Mozart's handwriting and are scored entirely by him. Since the best authorities, as far back as Constance Mozart's letter to Andre, have been consistent in stating that these folios are by Mozart, we can safely say that the *Introit* and the *Kyrie* are entirely by Mozart. Folio 10 was left vacant by Mozart.

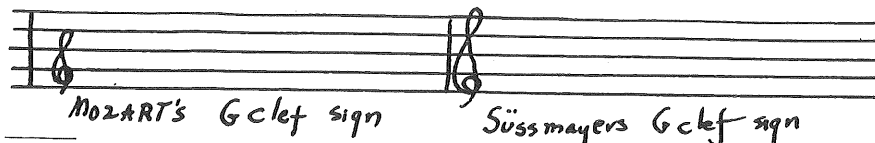
Unfortunately in Schnerich's edition we do not have a full facsimile of the entire score. Folios 11-64 which are in Süßmayer's handwriting have been omitted, with the exception of the first page of the *Dies Irae*, the second page of the *Lacrimosa*, and the first page of the *Sanctus*.

In Dr. Schnerich's Preface to his publication, he has printed an account of his own study of the score. On the basis of the water-marks of the paper, and of the kind of ink that was used (a study which is possible only from the manuscript copy), he divides Mozart's writing of the Requiem into two parts which were separated by the journey to Prague. The paper used in the first part bears the water-marks of three stars. Written in the first period were the voice parts, figured bass, and orchestral interludes of the *Introit*, and of the *Kyrie* to measure 29, which is stroked out (the only stroked-out measure in the entire manuscript), and of the Sequence including the *Rex Tremendae* (folio 76).

The second period, after the return from Prague, is noted by a different color of ink and by the use of paper with the water-mark of three little moons. To this period belong the orchestration of the *Introit*, the finishing and orchestration of the *Kyrie*, and the voice parts and figured bass of the *Recordare*, *Confutatis*, and the *Domine*. This had been written on sheets folioed continuously. Written on separate sheets were the voice parts and figured bass of the *Hostias* and of the *Lacrimosa* to the eighth measure, ending *Judicandus homo reus*.⁴

Schnerich observes that the *Kantata*, K. 623, bears the same change in water-marks on the paper. The first part, like the Requiem, was written on paper with a water-mark of three stars, the second part on paper with three moons.

Some interesting details about Mozart's and Süßmayer's manuscripts can be found by observing Dr. Schnerich's facsimile. First, the similarity between Mozart's and Süßmayer's handwriting, which has been commented upon by all writers. A few slight differences in details can be noticed by comparing Mozart's score with the fragments of Süßmayer's which are available in the facsimile. In making the G clef sign, Mozart goes only up to the fourth line; Süßmayer goes slightly above the fifth.



⁴Schnerich, Alfred. *Mozart's Requiem, Nachbildung der Originalhandschrift*. Wien: Gesellschaft für Graphische Industrie, 1913. Vorbericht, p. 19.

Mozart, instead of repeating clef signs and key signatures at the beginning of every page, simply draws a line connecting the top and the bottom of the page. Süßmayer does the same, but his line looks slightly different.

Mozart's bar lines are drawn, rather obviously, by hand. Most of the time there is no straight line connecting the score from top to bottom. Each part seems to have its own individual bar, which is then drawn down to connect it with the line below. The appearance of Mozart's manuscript on the page is quite neat, but the lines are on a slight slant. Süßmayer's lines are straighter on the page.

Süßmayer's writing of the words of the text is very similar to Mozart's. Some letters are formed differently, however, and the use of capitals is not always the same; for instance, Mozart wrote the word *Lacrymosa* with a capital L, Süßmayer, with a small 'l'.

The order of Mozart's instrumentation on the page is interesting. It is as follows, from top to bottom: first violins, second violins, basset-horns in F, bassoons, trumpets in D, tympani, four-voice parts written in their respective clefs—soprano, alto, tenor and bass—and a one-line figured bass part for 'cello, double bass and organ. When trombones are used in addition to this score they are written (as at the introduction to the *Introit*) on the tenor and bass lines of the voice parts. This is the scoring for the *Introit*, *Kyrie*, and *Dies Irae*. Other movements, in which the scoring is only partly indicated, will be given later.

In the first movement, which is completely by Mozart, there are indicated the tempo marks, some phrasing, and some dynamic marks. The *Introit* is separated from the *Kyrie* only by a double bar and by the change marked from *Andante* to *Allegro*. There are no new clef signs, key signatures, or time signatures.

As was mentioned earlier in this paper, an attempt was made by some one, supposedly Joseph Eybler, to fill in the orchestration of the whole *Dies Irae* sequence. This was not completed. Stadler has drawn lines with a pencil around the parts which Eybler wrote, and by observing these indications, which are quite reliable, we can tell what parts Mozart wrote.

In the movement numbered two and named *Dies Irae* Mozart indicated the instrumentation as being for the full orchestra which he used for the Requiem, with the exclusion of the trombones. Mozart wrote all the voice parts and the figured bass parts. The first violin part, with the exception of three sections of nine, eight and a half, and seven measures each, is by Mozart. Four measures of the second violin and viola parts are by Mozart.

The *Tuba Mirum* is scored by Mozart for first and second violins, viola, trombone solo, solo quartet of voices, and basso continuo. The voice parts and the figured bass are written entirely by Mozart. The trombone solo is written as far as measure eighteen. The last nineteen measures of the first violin part are written by Mozart, and ten measures at the end of the second violin part are written by him.

In the *Rex Tremendae* the score is indicated by Mozart for first and second violins, viola, chorus, and basso continuo. The voice parts and the figured bass part are complete; the first violin part is complete with the exception of two measures in the middle of the movement.

The *Recordare* is indicated by Mozart for violins, viola, basset-horns,

solo quartet of voices, and basso continuo. The voice parts and the figured bass part are entire, and the violin and viola parts are filled in about half of the time, mostly in the orchestral interludes.

The *Confutatis*, which Mozart indicated for violins, viola, basset-horns, trumpet, tympani, four-part chorus, and basso continuo, is complete in the voice parts and the figured bass, and in the first violin part most of the time.

In the *Lacrimosa* the two-measure introduction is written in the first and second violin parts. The voice parts and figured bass are written including measure eight. In the fragmentary manuscript B there has been a two-measure continuation of the voice parts, supposedly by Eybler. Mosel has circled these two measures with red ink. It is interesting to note that Mozart left about five measures on folio 33 and both sides of folio 34 for the completion of the *Lacrimosa*. Schnerich observes that it takes Süssmayer three complete sides to finish the *Lacrimosa*, which is thus longer than Mozart's planned length.

The *Domine* and *Hostias* are complete in voice parts and basso continuo, and have only a few measures here and there in the orchestral interludes, for violin and viola.

Thus, from studying the facsimile and checking the measures not by Mozart to notice their different realization by Süssmayer and by Eybler, we can arrive at a definite conclusion as to how much of the Requiem is from Mozart's pen. Briefly it is as follows: the *Introit* and *Kyrie* are completely orchestrated; the Sequence as far as the eighth measure of the *Lacrimosa*, and the *Domine* and *Hostias* are written complete in voice parts and figured bass, with only important orchestral parts indicated. That the rest of the orchestration is by Süssmayer is without question. How many of the ideas of the missing movements come from Süssmayer's brain, and how much of it is based on sketches by Mozart we do not know. The theoretical analyses by Handke, Abert, and others are valuable for study. All opinions for these last movements must be individual ones. We have only theories, and it is not likely that we shall ever have facts.



(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 26)

for the two upper voices to commence, joined later by the *cantus firmus* and lowest voice. This practice was retained to a certain extent in the masses composed freely, for example, *Cuiusvis toni* and *Sine nomine*.

There is no consistency in length for these masses. They vary widely as to their entire length and that of separate movements. The *Credo* and *Sanctus* tend to be longer, the *Sanctus* being lengthened by the division into four or five smaller sections.

There does not seem to be any relationship between the number of voices employed and the complexity or fluency of style. Both of the three-voice masses considered for this paper are freely composed and are characterized by experimentation with the use of imitation, especially in the use of imitations and canons for more than two voices. The majority of the masses are four-voiced, where there is, however, a wide range of techniques employed. The Mass *Fors seulement* is the only mass composed for five voices. A chronology which used the theory of the number of voices as a criterion would be difficult to reconcile with the structural characteristics of the masses.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 40)

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In view of the surprising lack of organization in the principles of keyboard technique for the organ until the most recent times, Diruta's *Il Transilvano* gains even more importance as an instruction book in which the author shows himself to be not only a man of thorough knowledge and excellent musical taste, but an instructor so far-seeing that his fundamental principles have held good to the present day.

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 51)

fied date. This Mozart did, and in a few days completed the duets, handing them over with Michael's name attached.

During the last years of his life, Michael Haydn turned to those convivial four-part mixed choruses, and men's choruses; which might be said to glorify his addiction to drink, for the texts spoke of nature, good fellowship, and a good glass of wine. However, these works are of historical significance, as they were the beginnings of our modern male quartets. His "Deutches Hochamt" is still sung in the schools of Austria, but his male quartets seem to have been forgotten.

Michael Haydn cannot of course be compared to his brother, Joseph but he was devoted to his art, and contributed definitely to the literature of church music; while he is overshadowed by the fame of his brother, some sources say that he lacked only conduct and application to equal him.

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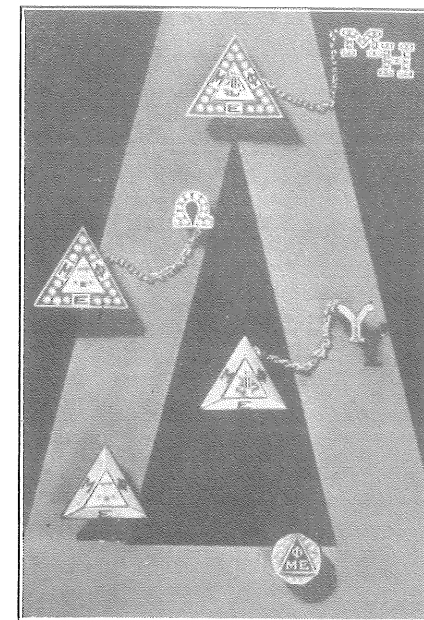
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