

zwangsläufig herbeigeführt werden. Es spiegelt sich auch durchaus nicht jede gesellschaftliche Bewegung unmittelbar in der Musik wieder. Die Autonomie des Künstlerischen verlangt zu jeder Zeit höchste Vollkommenheit des Kunstwerks, und im Kunstwerk kann diese Vollkommenheit — im Gegensatz zur menschlichen Gesellschaft — erreicht werden. Das eigene Entwicklungsgesetz der Kunst und der künstlerischen Gattung fordert sein Recht. Der Künstler wird die Anregungen aufnehmen, wo er sie findet. Er muß sie nur stilisieren und seiner Kunst verbinden können. Dadurch aber kann Kleinstes größte Bedeutung erhalten. Ein Tanzlied, ein bestimmter Rhythmus, ein unbekanntes oder vernachlässigtes Instrument kann so plötzlich in den Mittelpunkt des Interesses gehoben werden — oder doch in irgendeiner Weise zu einer bestimmten Entwicklung beitragen. Warum sie es konnten, dafür wird es auch eine soziologische Erklärung geben — und von engagierter Seite her wird sie immer schnell zur Hand sein. Aber wichtig ist doch vor allem, daß erst der Künstler diesen bis dahin verborgenen Reichtum aufgedeckt und daß uns erst das überlieferte Kunstwerk die Lebensfülle vergangener Epochen über die Zeiten gerettet hat. Daraus ergibt sich: Überall dort, wo es um Deutung der Kunstwerke geht und Soziologisches im Spiele ist, überall dort hat die Musikwissenschaft Hilfswissenschaft der Soziologie zu sein und nicht umgekehrt. Es gilt, die Gesellschaft aus der Kunst zu interpretieren und nicht die Kunst aus der Gesellschaft. — Zu solchen Gedanken sollte das Beispiel der Wechselwirkung musikalischer Gattungen anregen.

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The Isorhythmic Motet and its Social Background

Not unlike the musicians of the Middle Ages, twentieth century musicologists tend to explore the technical aspects of music, and this may account for our neglect of the social side of medieval composition. To be sure, we are rarely told when and under what circumstances a motet was composed and performed, but a glance at Guillaume de Van's edition of the Dufay motets will show that we know far more than we often think.¹ The isorhythmic motet was often an occasional work in the late 14th and early 15th century, and Guillaume Dufay might as well write a motet for the celebration of a wedding² as for a saint,³ for the completion of a treaty between Bern and Fribourg⁴ as for the consecration of the cathedral at Florence.⁵ Similarly Guillaume de Machaut might write a motet for the election of Guillaume of Trie as archbishop of Reims as early as 1324,⁶ but we can hardly suppose his French motets were for special occasions. It seems to me that the majority of isorhythmic motets can be divided into four categories according to the type of text, namely sacred, amorous, political and, of lesser importance, the so-called musician-motet. The love-texts are mostly in French, the others in Latin.

Of the political motets, many can be placed in the sense that we know for whom they were written. Actual references to events are generally cryptic, but more important in some ways than the elucidation of the texts is the problem: when and where were these motets performed. Certainly they must have been performed before the people to whom they were addressed, but

¹ G. de Van, *Guglielmi Dufay: Opera Omnia I*² (1948).

² *Idem*, 1.

³ *Idem*, 11, etc. See further footnote 10.

⁴ *Idem*, 77.

⁵ *Idem*, 70.

⁶ F. Ludwig, *Guillaume de Machaut: Musikalische Werke III* (1929), motet 18; L. Schrade, *The Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century III* (1956), motet 18.

the fact that they were collected in manuscripts suggests that they were by no means composed for a unique occasion or even a unique court. Personally, I am inclined to think that many works with Latin texts were performed during the mass and office, probably in the situation suggested by the plainsong incipits. This may sound an obvious suggestion, but we perhaps often shy away from it because some motets do not have liturgical tenors, and in fact some have secular French tenors, even if these are in the minority. Were these works performed in church? Undoubtedly some works with French love-texts were performed in church, since there are direct references in them to the Virgin Mary, for instance in the Cyprus codex.⁷ On the other hand, there are cases in which it is hard to imagine church performance, although the tenor may be liturgical. Even so, the possibility of references to the Virgin Mary should not be discounted. Our problem here remains the same as in the 13th century motets in which sacred and secular love are discussed in one and the same language, and maybe in one and the same work. If these motets are purely for entertainment, we have to explain why they make use of a plainsong tenor, too.

If we consider the purpose of medieval polyphony in general, it becomes apparent that a separation by forms and species of composition may be somewhat artificial. The conductus of the Notre Dame school is often enough a *Benedicamus domino* substitute, since the text may conclude with these words. But the same may be true of motets, which in some cases clearly conclude the mass, like the motet-type "*Ite missa est*" movements of the Machaut and Tournai masses. However, it is clear that this is only one context in which motets were employed. An examination of the plainsong tenors of isorhythmic motets written between the time of Vitry and Dufay reveals that antiphons or responds form the basis of the majority of motets, insofar as the tenors can be identified. The inference is that motets were used more for the office than at mass, though they were also used at mass sometimes.

Strangely enough, isorhythmic settings of mass movements in the early 15th century are usually based on a tenor drawn from an antiphon or sequence rather than from the mass Ordinary, though the Gloria and Credo Aosta 169–170 are obviously an exception here. The composer of the Gloria, Leonel Power, is presumably also the author of the second work. The use of sequences for the tenors of isorhythmic motets is not common, but has a certain logic, since the sequence like the motet is a form of trope. Two motets by Damett and Sturgeon from the Old Hall ms⁸ are interesting, not only because they are really a single work using two halves of the same cantus firmus, the Sanctus trope *Mariae filius*, but also because they are placed among the Sanctus compositions in the ms, which suggests they were intended as a Sanctus substitute at some important celebration of mass at the English court. Here again it would seem that we maybe mark off mass settings from motets too rigorously. In practice a motet might well take the place of a section of the mass Ordinary. In this connection, the hybrid mass-motet movement with the liturgical *Et in terra* text in the Triplum and the trope text *Clemens deus artifex* in the Motetus is noteworthy.⁹

The use of mass chants is rare compared with that of antiphons for Lauds and Vespers and Responds for Matins in the role of cantus firmus. Very often motet tenors and even upper voices have texts related to the offices of saints. Dufay, for instance, has motets in honour of St. Andrew, St. Sebastian, St. James the Apostle, St. Nicholas, St. John the Evangelist and St. Theodore.¹⁰

The four antiphons of the Blessed Virgin Mary are sometimes used in the tenors of iso-

⁷ See R. H. Hoppin, *The Cypriot-French Repertory of the Manuscript Torino*, Biblioteca Nazionale, J. II. 9 in Mus. Disc. XI (1957), 96 ff.

⁸ Dom Anselm Hughes, *The Old Manuscript III* (1938), 40 and 51.

⁹ Codex Ivrea, f. 27v–28.

¹⁰ G. de Van, *Guglielmi Dufay: Opera Omnia* I², 11, 17, 28, 36, 41.

rhythmic motets, and, since they are used as a conclusion to Compline, it may be that these chants were provided for Compline motets, rather as a motet ending with the words "deo gratias" could be used to conclude the mass or Vespers or Lauds. Moreover, the use of *neumae* of festal responds as independent melodies for the *Benedicamus* of the day may suggest a place for certain works which name the *neumae* of specific tones, e.g. Vitry's "Douce playsence—Garison."¹¹

These conclusions show how deeply the medieval motet is rooted in the religious ceremonies of the time. Whatever its texts, it usually remains a paraliturgical work, and the type of motet written sheerly for entertainment must have been rare.

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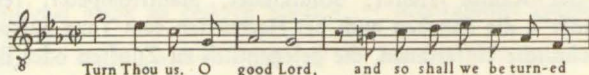
Social Backgrounds of the Restoration Anthem

The Restoration anthem, becoming a more secular and more popular—that is to say, a more operatic—form of musical entertainment during the reigns of the Stuart monarchs, served several functions beyond those intended by the Anglican Church. For music lovers like North, Evelyn and Pepys the Sunday anthem at Whitehall or Westminster Abbey was the most pleasurable part of going to church, if not, indeed, the main attraction, as we know from entries in their journals such as the following from Pepys' Diary for Sunday, October 7th, 1660:

"To White Hall on foot, calling at my father's to change my long black cloak for a short one (long black cloaks being now quite out) . . . [there] I heard Dr. Spurstow preach before the King a poor dry sermon; but a very good anthem of Captain Cooke's afterward."¹

The anthem was also useful in another way, as can be seen in several instances occurring in the reigns of King Charles II and King James II, when it was used as a topical or occasional piece. Not infrequently Psalms (or other Biblical passages used as anthem texts) could be fitted to current political developments, or could be used to strengthen, or to publicise the Court position throughout London and the land. For instance, the annual observance commemorating the martyrdom of Charles I was not due alone to Charles II's filial piety, nor altogether to genuine penitence on the part of the court and populace. At least part of Charles II's reason for conjuring up his martyred father's ghost each year was to provide a continual reminder of the horrors of '41, and a politic warning of the dangers inherent in unchecked Whig power.

Purcell, who brought the Restoration anthem to its highest perfection, also set the Third Collect for "The Martyrdom of King Charles I of Blessed Memory," as so many Restoration composers had done. But his setting is so unusually poignant in its expression of the pathos inherent in the text that it stands far above the works of his predecessors, as the following incipit shows:



¹¹ Schrade, *The Polyphonic Music* . . . I, 72.

¹ *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, ed. Henry Wheatley, London: George Bell and Sons, 1904; vol. 1., p. 237. See also entries for August 12th, 1660; September 2nd, 1660, etc., and numerous similar references by John Evelyn and Roger North.