

INTRODUCTION  
TOWARDS A NEW HISTORY OF THE MUSICAL PAST

Karl Kügle

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Digital repositories like YouTube or Spotify today offer the opportunity to experience a bewildering variety of music at the click of a mouse. We can criss-cross the globe musically or travel deep into the past, listening to music that was created many centuries ago. Stylistic revivals or borrowings from earlier decades are common in today's popular music, and bands like The Beatles or The Rolling Stones, their 'sound', and their songs have become classics in their own right. Jazz musicians look back with pride over more than a hundred years of history. The programmes of opera houses and symphony halls rely heavily on pieces written in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries, as do solo and chamber musicians working within the 'classical' tradition. Ensembles and soloists performing 'early music' and Gregorian chant take us back even further chronologically, re-creating music of early-modern and medieval times. Music of the past, in short, is ubiquitous in our culture. Nor is the phenomenon limited to Western musical traditions: The repertoire of the Chinese *guguin*, for example, can be traced back several millennia, and it continues to attract followers and practitioners. The musical past, then, resounds in, and with, our collective cultural memory in myriad ways, and on a global scale. But what *is* music of the past, exactly? Since when have Europeans been interested in it, and why? And for what purposes was the musical past used in earlier centuries? How is it used now?

Strictly speaking, music of the past is *any* music that was ever made or recorded. But to claim a significant spot in individual or collective memories, to be meaningful both as a piece of history and as a cultural reference point, a musical item, be it a genre, a 'sound', an instrument, a piece, or a performance, must be embedded in a shared discourse. Subjective associations triggered by music may be radically different: think, for example, of your feelings and associations if I mention the Marseillaise, the final movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, or Machaut's *Roses liz* as you are reading this. Whether you associate anything at all, and, if so, what, will depend on your level of familiarity and your previous personal encounters with those pieces. Collective musical memories, on the other hand, are regulated and constructed by a shared body of (assumed) knowledge and behaviours: they are a social phenomenon.<sup>1</sup>

1 • The concept of a collective memory and the sub-concepts of a cultural and an institutional memory were developed by the French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877–1945) in the 1920s and 1930s: *La Mémoire collective* (Paris, 1950) (published posthumously). Collective memory studies have played an important role in the humanities ever since, in particular with regard to twentieth-century cultural history, where the memory of the Holocaust (*Erinnerungskultur*) and the impact of modern media on the formation of collective memory are salient topics. For an early application of the concept to societies of the distant past, see Jan Assmann, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (Munich, 1997). For an application to music history, where the concept has received comparatively little attention, see Lena Nieper and Julian Schmitz (eds.), *Musik als Medium der Erinnerung: Gedächtnis – Geschichte – Gegenwart* (Bielefeld, 2016). For an example from popular music studies, see Drago Momcilovic, *Resounding Pasts: Essays in Literature, Popular Music and Cultural Memory* (Newcastle

Furthermore, such memories—be they musical or otherwise, collective or individual—are by necessity contextual. The building-blocks and the construction of the ‘past’ in any particular time and place are therefore culturally determined and historically contingent. Memories, and the (hi)stories created from them, may be painful or pleasurable; they may evoke particular moments or situations, and be tied to a particular individual or to a group. They may be taken as the indubitable truth by some, and heavily disputed by others; and they may be thought of as grounded in facts by some and considered a fabrication by others, depending on how a culture construes its concepts of the factual vs. the imaginary. As individuals, the remembrance of things (and sounds) past provides a road map to our individuation. As members of social groups, our culturally conditioned, shared narratives, including our listening and performing choices, provide powerful markers of identity. As components of cultural and institutional memories, they connect us with both a horizontal (in the present) and a vertical network (in the past and in the future) of inherited narratives and practices. They offer us membership in performing or listening communities, tell us something about our (assumed) origins and becomings, and direct us to engage in the often highly specific behavioural patterns that are connected to collective rememberings of the past.

Understood here as a shared and conscious awareness of the existence of a musical past, was musical memory a part of any earlier discourses about the past? It seems a safe assumption that, on a subjective level, human musical memories are as old as humanity and as music itself. But given the fleeting nature of sounds, and the changing and creative nature of human memory, it seems reasonable—at first glance at least—to claim that the extent of musical memories, be they collective or personal, was severely limited by individuals’ lifetimes. This is widely assumed to be the case until the late eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, i.e., the early stages in England and in northern and central Germany of the formation of what we nowadays call the canon of ‘classical music’. It is also the default position generally upheld in music historiography today.<sup>2</sup>

The following passages excerpted from the most recent (2019) edition of J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca’s *A History of Western Music*, arguably the most widely

upon Tyne, 2009). The concept of collective memory has also been used in medieval and early-modern studies. See, for example, Gerd Althoff, *Inszenierte Herrschaft: Geschichtsschreibung und politisches Handeln im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 2003). For a recent example focused on literary sources, see José Ramón Díaz de Durana and Arsenio Dacosta, ‘The Role of the Past in Late Medieval *Hidalgo* Historical Writing and Memory’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 44 (2018), 595–608. For an example from art and architectural history, see Bianca Kühnel, ‘Monumental Representations of the Holy Land in the Holy Roman Empire’; for one from liturgical studies, see Jürgen Bärsch, ‘Jerusalem im Spiegel der abendländischen Liturgie des Mittelalters: Anamnetisches Zitat – szenische Darstellung – visuell-haptische Inkorporation’, both in Nikolas Jaspert and Stefan Tebruck (eds.), *Die Kreuzzugsbewegung im römisch-deutschen Reich (11.–13. Jahrhundert)* (Ostfildern, 2016), 319–45 and 347–59.

- 2 • For the early history of canon formation and links to the forging of ‘national’ constructions of identities, see, for example, William Weber, ‘The Intellectual Origins of Musical Canon in Eighteenth-Century England’, *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47 (1994), 488–520; Celia Applegate, ‘How German is it? Nationalism and the Idea of Serious Music in the Early Nineteenth Century’, *19th Century Music*, 21 (1998), 274–96; Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter, ‘Germans as the “people of music”: Genealogy of an Identity’, in Celia Applegate and Pamela Potter (eds.), *Music and German National Identity* (Chicago, 2002), 1–35.

disseminated music history textbook worldwide today, illustrate my point.<sup>3</sup> In chapter 5, ‘Polyphony through the thirteenth century’, in the section ‘A polyphonic tradition’, we read:

For all the contributions made by singers, composers, and theorists of medieval polyphony, their music seldom outlived them by more than a generation or two. As new repertoires of written polyphony were created, older ones fell out of fashion, sometimes persisting for a time in local practice or in distant regions but eventually replaced by newer styles. *When music historians rediscovered and transcribed it in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, polyphony of the ninth to thirteenth centuries...*

Chapter 6, ‘New Developments in the Fourteenth Century’, section ‘Echoes of the New Art’, states: ‘Fourteenth-century styles fell out of use, and figures like Machaut became best known as poets, while their music came to be considered old-fashioned in comparison to the new fifteenth-century style. *When first rediscovered in the nineteenth century...*’. Chapter 8, ‘England and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century’, section ‘An Enduring Musical Language’, points out:

After his death, Du Fay was remembered as the leading composer of his era. Yet in the late fifteenth century, styles and tastes changed relatively quickly, and by the early sixteenth century, performances of the music of Du Fay or his contemporaries were rare. *Their music lay unperformed and untranscribed for centuries, until rising musicological interest during the late nineteenth century led to editions and performances in the twentieth.*

Richard Taruskin’s highly acclaimed *Oxford History of Western Music* similarly asserts: ‘Large concert halls, subscription series, concert touring, arts management—all of these had their start in the nineteenth century, as did daily newspaper criticism, academic music scholarship, and *musical historiography*.’<sup>4</sup> In this context, however, we should not fail to note Taruskin’s astute remarks about the distortions necessarily generated by the conditions of nineteenth-century historiography, articulated in the sections ‘What is an Anachronism?’ and ‘Philosophy of History’ in the first volume of his *History*. After listing parallels frequently drawn between Adam de la Halle and Oswald von Wolkenstein, Taruskin remarks:

Persistence, like Oswald’s, in old ways is often represented by historians as anachronism—in this case, as a pocket of ‘the Middle Ages’ surviving like a fossil into ‘the Renaissance’, or as resolute ‘conservatism’, resistance to change. What is anachronistic, however, is the modern linear view of history that produces such an evaluation, and the implicit isolation of artistic practices or styles from the historical conditions that enabled them.<sup>5</sup>

These words resonate closely with the intentions pursued by the authors assembled in this volume and by the *Sound Memories* project at large. The essays in this volume argue that a cultural

- 3 • J. Peter Burkholder, Donald Jay Grout, and Claude V. Palisca, *A History of Western Music* (International Student Edition), 10th edn. (New York, 2019), 105, 133, and 179. Emphases mine.
- 4 • Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, 2nd rev. edn., iii: *Music of the Nineteenth Century* (New York and Oxford, 2010), Preface, p. xxi; emphasis mine. The Preface is not included in the first edition, published in 2005. My emphasis here is on the concept of ‘music historiography’; for a discussion of an example of sixteenth-century music historiography, see Inga Mai Groote, ‘David Chytraeus und die (implizite) Geschichte der geistlichen Musik’, *Musiktheorie*, 32 (2017), 243–56. See also the contribution by Christine Roth in this volume (Ch. 10). Admittedly, the tools used by Chytraeus differ from those used in modern scholarship, but there is a clear concern in Chytraeus about the meaning of (music) history. Similar to nineteenth-century historiographers, his historical work serves a political agenda (for Chytraeus, justifying the Lutheran Reformation; for 19th-c. authors, creating a national identity).
- 5 • Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music*, i: *The Earliest Notations to the Sixteenth Century*, ch. 4: Music of Feudalism and *Fin’ Amors* (New York and Oxford, 2004), 142–45. The cited passage is found at p. 143.

memory expressed in and through the performance of music—as well as, in material form, through the production and use of books with music-related content—existed in Europe at least since Carolingian times, and acquired significantly new dimensions in the later Middle Ages. They do not claim that from the late eighteenth century onward Western constructions of the musical past did *not* take an important further turn in the use and awareness of the past. But it is important to recognize that that most recent turn, of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, did not spring from a vacuum; its antecedents can be traced back over the previous centuries. Recognizing them has the potential significantly to alter our perceptions of the pre-modern past, in music and also in other fields. It is to such a change of awareness that this essay collection hopes to contribute.

It is worth staying for a moment with another topos of established music historiography that this book seeks to challenge: the association of persistence with ‘distant regions’, as articulated in the following passage in Burkholder–Grout–Palisca already cited earlier: ‘As new repertoires of written polyphony were created, older ones fell out of fashion, *sometimes persisting for a time in local practice or in distant regions but eventually replaced by newer styles*.’<sup>6</sup> It does not seem unfair or far-fetched to claim that the ‘distant regions’ evoked in this sentence must be identified to a significant degree with regions of Europe that play a central role in this volume: the northern Low Countries, the German-speaking lands, Bohemia, and Poland. The quoted statement is factually correct; what needs highlighting, however, is the implicit bias in favour of ‘new repertoires of written polyphony’ set against ‘older ones [that] fell out of fashion’. In contrast, the present volume demonstrates that new and old often happily co-existed, both in ‘nearby’ and ‘distant’ lands; that ‘fashion’ had little to do with it; and that the definition of ‘distant regions’ is in itself highly subjective and therefore a fraught business. As the essays that follow illustrate, the dynastic, religious, and institutional links between the western and southern regions of Europe and the areas located on the right-hand side of the river Rhine and to the north and east of the Alps and the Danube were close. The lingering perception that much of Europe is somehow ‘distant’ has much to do with European politics of later times, notably since the late eighteenth century, not to mention the legacy of the Second World War and the resulting division of Europe along ideological and political lines. It has nothing to do with the European cultural landscape of the late-medieval and early-modern periods, and it is high time for musicologists to integrate this vital part of the European musical heritage into our master narrative.

### Cultural Memory in Music

Cultural memory in music can be regarded as distinct and thereby historically significant when considerable social, political, and/or religious resources are being invested in creating and maintaining that memory; when identity-related stakes are held or identities performed and negotiated through maintaining, adopting, preserving, or rejecting a certain musical repertory on the grounds that it is considered old or ‘of the past’; and when such repertory is con-

sidered, at least by some, as noteworthy—either as valuable and to be cherished, or as a sonic (or material, semantic, or visual) token of the abject, a symbol of corruption or of moral error.

At this juncture it is useful to bring the concepts of individual and collective/cultural/institutional memories into a dialogue with tradition. In the introduction to a seminal essay collection published together with Eric Ranger in 1983,<sup>7</sup> Eric Hobsbawm defined tradition as ‘a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past’.<sup>8</sup> Hobsbawm differentiated tradition, which he considered to be invariant, against the more flexible practices of ‘custom’ and ‘routine’. The latter are subject to gradual change (custom) or need to accommodate necessities imposed by practical requirements (routine), whereas tradition is distinguished by its obduracy, and the primacy of ideological concerns. Hobsbawm also stressed the importance of ‘the use of ancient materials to construct invented traditions of a novel type for quite novel purposes’ (p. 6) during the period covered in *The Invention of Tradition*, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This echoes closely the position of music historians quoted above but may need adjusting for earlier periods; I shall return to this point in due course.

For present purposes, let us (re-)define tradition slightly more loosely than Hobsbawm: as a network of shared memories and the cultural practices associated with them. Applied to music, repeated hearing or performing of a certain piece, or group of pieces, within a set social context turns an individual memory into a collective habit. Such habits accumulate to form a musical repertory, and repertories associate themselves with cultural practices, forming a *habitus* as defined by Pierre Bourdieu.<sup>9</sup>

Crucially, through the mechanism of remembering the past in the present, the past, musical or otherwise, itself provides the indispensable ingredient for a tradition to be constituted; the past when remembered therefore shapes collective memory, but it is also shaped *by* it, giving it a certain malleability. We should therefore not consider the past-as-remembered to be immutable, but allow room for the discontinuities, ruptures, and re-creations that define any living tradition within a (performing/listening) community. Put differently: in the context of the period covered by the essays that follow (c.1200–1600), Hobsbawm’s characterization of tradition as marked by invariance does not hold up in full, at least as far as the phenomena investigated in this book are concerned. In late-medieval and early-modern Europe, many of the traditions that can still be captured today by historians through their material, visual, and written traces are almost invariably connected to liturgies. Liturgies inherently are a rather tenacious form of cultural memory—they are highly significant carriers of tradition. Nevertheless, they were subject to multiple and complex changes throughout the Middle Ages. They are therefore more flexible than traditions as seen by Hobsbawm. But they remain far less variable than customs or routines as defined by the same author.<sup>10</sup>

7 • Eric J. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 2014) (first published 1983). Hobsbawm reflects on how to define tradition in the Introduction, ‘Inventing Traditions’, 1–14.

8 • Ibid. 1.

9 • *Esquisse d’une théorie de la pratique, précédé de trois études d’ethnologie kabyle* (Geneva, 1972). Engl. transl.: *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge, 1977).

10 • Independently of that observation, the distinction drawn by Hobsbawm between the three terms may be

Christian liturgical actions are implicitly and explicitly a form of cultural memory: each celebration of the Catholic Mass, for example, re-enacts and, by the sounding of the respective words, reminds all participants of Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. This is done with the (double!) exhortation 'this do in remembrance of me [Christ]' spoken by the celebrant.<sup>11</sup> Celebrations of the canonical Hours rely heavily on the Psalter from the Old Testament, while the Gospels are replete with references to Old Testament prophecies, casting the Jewish scripture as a historically earlier form of divine revelation that became fulfilled for Christians in the past during Christ's time on earth, and in the present is to be recollected time and again until the end of time in Christ's Second Coming. It is therefore evident that a deep awareness of history is built into the Christian faith. That awareness was to a highly significant—and often overlooked—degree mediated through the musical practices associated with the liturgy.

Traditions are inevitably linked to temporal cycles, and so are liturgies. Historically, they often overlapped, and modern-day traditions are often secularized forms of liturgies. When we mark Christmas, for example, we sing songs that (subjectively) feel like they have been sung since time immemorial with little or no changes. Fewer than ever among us, however, remember that in celebrating Christmas we are actually celebrating Christ's birth. Singing or hearing the Christmas song repertory is embedded in a complex set of further social rituals that go along with them: eating certain foods, consuming certain types of drink, travelling home, decorating a Christmas tree—all synergizing to generate a highly charged identificatory experience that does not easily suffer change. It is this very ritualistic, unchangeable, sometimes even nonsensical or counterproductive quality that gives traditions (and liturgies) their cultural power and significance; they connect us, in our imaginations, with generations in a past well beyond our living memory and, implicitly, with those who will be born in the future. Stylistic or textual archaisms that otherwise would not be acceptable or understandable (with regard to musical tastes but also, for example, in dress code, or type and quantity of foods consumed) converge at such highly charged moments to function as markers of a performed link between the present and the past, (re-)created through re-enacting a familiar set of cultural performances.

To illustrate: *Stille Nacht* (the original version of *Silent Night*) dates from Christmas 1818 and achieved global circulation by the early 1900s. *Jingle Bells*, on the other hand, was originally composed as a minstrel song (*sic!*) by James Lord Pierpont in the late 1850s (the first attested performance took place in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1857) but became popularized in North America and beyond from the early 1900s as a 'Christmas' song owing to its glorification of sleigh rides during wintertime; the 1941 recording of Bing Crosby and the Andrews Sisters (Decca 23281) gave it another big push towards global recognizability. Unlike *Stille Nacht*, *Jingle Bells* contains no reference to the Nativity at all, highlighting the semiotic shift

excessively sharp. However, the ideological (legitimizing) function of tradition is also an important element in the various liturgies covered, albeit not the only one.

11 • Drawn from 1 Cor. 11: 24–5 (emphasis mine): 'gratias agens fregit et dixit hoc est corpus meum pro vobis *hoc facite in meam commemorationem*. Similiter et calicem postquam cenavit dicens hic calix novum testamentum est in meo sanguine *hoc facite quotienscumque bibetis in meam commemorationem*.' The words are spoken by the priest during the Canon of the Mass at the moment of transubstantiation, recalling (and re-performing) Christ's words of blessing at the Last Supper.



undergone by Christmas in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries away from the Christian tradition.<sup>12</sup>

The alterity of the past remembered in the present is defining for the efficacy of such a cultural ritual: The musical style of, for example, *Silent Night* hardly is a commonplace choice today. Yet it is precisely its archaic, almost fossilized quality that marks the song out as one of the most powerful signifiers of 'Christmas' worldwide. It is difficult indeed to imagine that any song newly written today would exert the same hold over vast populations (including many non-Christians) around the globe as a cultural symbol of 'Christmas'. Newcomers like, for example, *Jingle Bells* needed first to acquire a certain patina of their own before being admitted to the corpus of 'globally known Christmas songs'. In the essays that follow, similar or related phenomena in cultural communities of the late-medieval and early-modern period in Europe (1200–1600) are explored, and their cultural functions discussed.

### Change, Wanted and Unwanted: the Dynamics of a Cultural Memory in Music

Even in situations where a group places a premium on transmitting a musical corpus unchanged (a task typically delegated to highly trained specialists), i.e., when customs have solidified into traditions, subjective claims to their alleged immutability do not necessarily match reality.<sup>13</sup> This must also have been evident to Carolingian liturgists when they discovered that the melodies of the Christian liturgy had evolved into divergent regional idioms. Based on the assumption that the way of performing chant in Rome had not undergone any changes and therefore, in its ninth-century instantiation, continued to reflect the authoritative performance of the liturgy as developed by the early Church, papal singers were brought to Francia to teach their Francian counterparts the proper way of performing the liturgy. This was based on the understanding on the part of the Franks that the Roman ways of singing chants was older and therefore preferable to those practised in their local, Gallican traditions. There is clear evidence of change, implemented by using the imagined past to justify a drastic readjustment of a musical tradition in the present.<sup>14</sup>

12 • For further details, see Thomas Hochradner and Michael Neureiter (eds.), *Stille Nacht: Das Buch zum Lied* (Salzburg, 2018); Thomas Hochradner and Gerhard Walterskirchen (eds.), *Stille Nacht: Die Autographen von Joseph Mohr und Franz Xaver Gruber, mit Dokumenten zur Geschichte des Liedes* (Munich, 2008); Joel Brown, 'Jingle Bells History Takes Surprising Turn', *BU Today*, 8 Dec. 2016, <https://www.bu.edu/articles/2016/jingle-bells-history> (accessed 31 Aug. 2019); Kyna Hamill, "The story I must tell": *Jingle Bells* in the Minstrel Repertoire', *Theatre Survey*, 58 (2017), 375–403.

13 • For a discussion of this phenomenon see, for example, José Antonio Bowen, 'The History of Remembered Innovation: Tradition and its Role in the Relationship between Musical Works and their Performances', *Journal of Musicology*, 11 (1993), 139–73.

14 • For a recent account of this process, see Susan Rankin, *Writing Sounds in Carolingian Europe: The Invention of Musical Notation* (Cambridge, 2018). Since both singing and remembering are deeply somatic processes, a change in liturgy goes much further than a simple change of melodies—it affects the bodies of the singers in ways that may have been experienced as deeply invasive. For a detailed study of such processes in the context of fifteenth-century church reform, see Manon Louviot, 'Controlling Space, Disciplining Voice: The Congregation of Windesheim and Fifteenth-Century Monastic Reform in Northern Germany and the Low Countries' (Ph.D. diss., Utrecht University, 2019).

Notational experiments in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Paris and beyond enabled another dimension of storing collective musical memory in Europe through the newly available possibility of encoding complex polyphonic practices in writing. The notational systems of the 1200s and beyond could accommodate information about both pitch and durational relationships, now measured in proportional ratios; they therefore enabled not only the planning of complicated multi-level simultaneities along a temporal grid, but also their (re-)collection in written form, eventually leading to the creation of anthologies. Such curated selections differ massively from chant books as they are not conditioned primarily by the exigencies of the liturgy but instead may be organized according to intra-musical or text-related (literary) criteria. As such they become representatives of a given group's, institution's, or patron's musical tastes, intentions, and sensibilities at the time and place when a particular item was copied. They also provide a revolutionary new medium for storing a cultural memory of sounds condensed into the form of a material object, the notated parchment or paper. This is a significant qualitative leap.

Being able to select implies the availability of a repertory, the presence of which in turn requires a suitable length of time during which that repertory was created. Polyphonic anthologies are therefore an inherently retrospective genre. In addition, they provide us with snapshots of their own 'biographies', reflecting the changing cultural horizons of the individuals, social groups, or institutions that owned or worked with them.

The chronological data that can be gleaned from allusions to historical events worked into the texts of the pieces recorded in such collections, or from later additions, marginalia, and traces of use in the sources concerned, when available, help us determine how far back in time from the (presumptive) moment of compilation and how much farther (in terms of reception history) the cultural horizon extended for a given repertory. In the texts of codex *F* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1), for example, a deluxe manuscript copied in mid-thirteenth-century Paris, events of two, even three, generations earlier are recalled, attesting to their continued relevance to the present in the minds of those who commissioned and put together that extraordinary source.<sup>15</sup> By the early fourteenth century, the chronological and stylistic awareness among educated clerical and aristocratic circles in Paris was such that pieces from several generations ago could be deployed in the interpolated manuscript version of the *Roman de Fauvel* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 146, copied in Paris c.1317–20) to serve as audio-visual cues. The cues conveyed highly charged satirical meanings: the stylistically recent pieces marked the corrupt present-day world of Fauvel, while the music of the past evoked the times of saintly King Louis IX (r. 1226–70, canonized 1297) as a foil for a lost, virtuous past.<sup>16</sup> Traces of a conscious reception and adaptation of thirteenth-century

15 • On the dating of *F* (1240s), see, most recently, Barbara Haggh and Michel Huglo, 'Magnus liber – *Maius munus*: Origine et destiné du manuscrit F', *Revue de musicologie*, 90 (2004), 193–230. The earliest event referenced in *F* is the assassination of Thomas Becket on 29 Dec. 1170; see the contribution 'Making Music into History' by Susan Rankin in this volume (Ch. 1). See also Friedrich Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili*, 2. erweiterte Auflage, ed. Luther Dittmer, Band I: *Catalogue raisonné der Quellen*, Abteilung I: *Handschriften in Quadratnotation* (New York and Hildesheim, 1964), 57–58, citing Léopold Delisle, 'Discours prononcé à l'assemblée générale de la Société de l'histoire de France le 26 mai 1885, par M. Léopold Delisle, président', *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, 22 (1885), 103–4.

16 • This important observation was first made by Lawrence M. Earp in his review of Margaret Bent and Andrew



genres and musical conventions have been identified in the works of Guillaume de Machaut and the music of the Ivrea codex, both repertories dating primarily to the early and mid-fourteenth century.<sup>17</sup> In the early fifteenth century, music by Machaut (d. 1377) dating from the mid-fourteenth century gets cited repeatedly, and in some cases, awareness of music like Machaut's, first recorded in fourteenth-century sources, extended into the sixteenth century.<sup>18</sup> Awareness of the musical past from several generations ago had become an established tool of creative expression.

The phenomenon is not confined to music: the reception of the *Roman de la Rose*, for example, extended from the thirteenth into the sixteenth century. Similarly, the fourteenth-century *Roman de Perceforest* still was read and translated in the sixteenth century.<sup>19</sup> *Perceforest* is also noteworthy in the present context for its construction of an extensive genealogy of the British extending back to ancient Troy and Alexander the Great.<sup>20</sup> A similar obsession with genealogy, in this case tracing their lineage back to Charlemagne, can be observed in real life in the rearrangements of the royal tombs at St-Denis near Paris under the late Capetians, starting with Louis IX.<sup>21</sup> The examples could easily be multiplied across Europe from the thirteenth century onwards. Genealogies are by definition an exercise in self-legitimization

- 17 • Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS français 146* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), in *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 9 (2000), 185–202 at 202.
- 17 • Jacques Boogaart, 'Encompassing Past and Present: Quotations and their Function in Machaut's Motets', *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 1–86; Anne Walters Robertson, chapter 'Machaut's David Hocket and the Coronation of Charles V (1364)', in her *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge, 2002), 224–56; Jennifer Saltzstein, 'Adam de la Halle's Fourteenth-Century Musical and Poetic Legacies', in Jennifer Saltzstein (ed.), *Musical Culture in the World of Adam de la Halle* (Leiden, 2019), 352–63. See also Karl Kügle, *Manuscript Ivrea, Biblioteca capitolare 115: Introductory Study and Facsimile* (Lucca, 2019).
- 18 • Anne Stone, 'Machaut Sighted in Modena', in Yolanda Plumley, Giuliano di Bacco, and Stefano Jossa (eds.), *Citation, Intertextuality and Memory in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, i: *Text, Music and Image from Machaut to Ariosto* (Exeter, 2011), 170–89. Also Yolanda Plumley, 'Citation and Allusion in the Late "Ars nova": The Case of "Esperance" and the "En attendant" Songs', *Early Music History*, 18 (1999), 287–363. The texts of two Ivrea songs, *Quiconques veult* and *Rose sans per*, for example, still appear in the printed anthology *Le Jardin de Plaisance et fleur de rethorique*, published in Paris in 1501. See also Margaret Hasselman, 'A Ring of Roses', in Judith A. Peraino (ed.), *Medieval Music in Practice: Studies in Honor of Richard Crocker* (Middleton, Wis., 2013), 153–75.
- 19 • For a convenient list of surviving manuscripts of the *Rose*, see Catherine Bel and Herman Braet (eds.), *De la rose: Texte, image, fortune* (Leuven, 2006), 541–44. See also the nine essays discussing various aspects of *Rose* reception through the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries up to Jean Molinet in the section 'Posterité', 273–434. For *Perceforest*, see Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas, 'Perceforest, entre 1327 et 1344, remanié au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle (sans doute vers 1450)', in Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas (ed.), *La Fascination pour Alexandre le Grand dans les littératures européennes (X<sup>e</sup>–XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle): Réinventions d'un mythe* (Turnhout, 2014), 173–9. See also Jon Whitman (ed.), *Romance and History: Imagining Time from the Medieval to the Early Modern Period* (Cambridge, 2015).
- 20 • See the relevant chapters in Sylvia Huot, *Postcolonial Fictions in the Roman de Perceforest: Cultural Identities and Hybridities* (Woodbridge, 2007).
- 21 • See, for example, Elizabeth A. R. Brown, 'La Généalogie capétienne dans l'historiographie du Moyen Âge: Philippe le Bel, le reniement du *reditus* et la création d'une ascendance carolingienne pour Hugues Capet', in Dominique Iogna-Prat and Jean-Charles Picard (eds.), *Religion et culture autour de l'an Mil: Royaume capétien et Lotbaringie. Actes du Colloque Hugues Capet 987–1987: La France de l'an Mil, Auxerre, 26 et 27 juin 1987 / Metz, 11 et 12 septembre 1987* (Paris, 1990), 199–214. For a study concerning the importance of genealogy to the first Valois king, Philip VI of France, see Maureen Rose Quigley, 'Political Benefit and the Role of Art at the Court of Philip VI of Valois (1328–1350)' (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003).

by means of the past; their political and social importance to justify rulership in late-medieval Europe cannot be overestimated and reflects an ongoing concern with the past. The parallels in developing elaborate new constructions of cultural memory in such diverse fields as music, literature, and crypt architecture deserve more extensive scrutiny than it can be given here.

If the reception of French-style repertory led to the adoption of French-inspired genres and composition techniques across Europe, the response was more nuanced than is usually reported. Reform-oriented movements inside the Church such as the Modern Devotion emanating from the prince-bishopric and diocese of Utrecht frowned on, then consciously rejected the polytextual, complex polyphonic settings typically highlighted in music history textbooks. Requiring highly trained and expensive specialists for their performance, the reformers saw such settings not as artefacts of particular prestige, hence most suitable for the glorification of the Creator, but as musical symbols of a problematic self-indulgence and a taste for worldly luxuries that in their view infested vast parts of the clergy and the laity. Adherents of the *devotio moderna* instead favoured simple polyphonic practices that focused on the intelligibility of the text through simultaneous declamation, and a plain musical structure that would make the repertory accessible through performance to all, not just highly-trained specialists, as a tool to foster personal devotion.<sup>22</sup> Reacting against what the adherents of the Modern Devotion considered the ungodly practices of their time, the deliberately restrained physiognomy of their music drew on, or reverted to, long-established, relatively basic models of counterpoint. On closer reading, however, such settings are very much a product of their own time, for example when using notation that mixes mensural and non-mensural elements and therefore could not have been concocted significantly earlier.<sup>23</sup> The stylistic choice for simplicity, expressed through what appears as a 'retrospective' musical surface, was motivated not by ignorance or provincialism but by the conscious wish to move away from certain aesthetic choices deemed noxious to salvation, and instead to (re)turn to spiritual ideals as embodied in the past in the teachings and practices of earlier great medieval reformers like Bruno of Cologne or Bernard of Clairvaux, the founders of the Carthusian and the Cistercian orders respectively, and in the teachings of the Church Fathers as understood by fifteenth-century reformers. Ignoring such streams of conscious sonic austerity, or misreading them as uninformed or 'peripheral', unduly restrains a full appreciation of the panorama of musical tastes and practices in late-medieval Europe.

In Bohemia, French-inspired music was probably first cultivated in the orbit of the University of Prague around 1400, coinciding with the theological activities of Jan Hus and his mentor, Jerome of Prague. Music in a Bohemified French style later became one of the musical signatures of the Utraquist communities that were officially sanctioned by the Council of Basel in 1433 and thrived throughout Bohemia until well beyond the arrival of Lutheran

22 • For a detailed study of the theological backgrounds of this phenomenon as expressed through the regulations of the Congregation of Windesheim, the monastic branch of the Modern Devotion, see Louvriot, 'Controlling Space'. For the presence of sophisticated art objects and music culture in Utrecht and Holland around 1400, see Eliane A. Fankhauser, 'Recycling Reversed: Studies in the History of Polyphony in the Northern Low Countries around 1400' (Ph.D. diss., Utrecht University, 2018).

23 • See, for example, the repertory in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, germ. oct. 190. For a recent edition and introductory study, see *Het liederenhandschrift Berlijn 190: Hs. Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz germ. oct. 190*, ed. Thom Mertens and Dieuwke van der Poel (Hilversum, 2013).

teachings in the early sixteenth century, providing another example where aesthetic choices related to cultural memory have been misread in recent music historiography as evidence of provincialism.<sup>24</sup>

Lutheran communities of the sixteenth century similarly took great care in blending traditional musical and liturgical elements plucked from established Catholic liturgical practice alongside the repertory of chorales put forward by Luther and his circle in Wittenberg. A careful blend of old and new was not only possible but desirable, as long as the texts could be adjusted in accordance with the requirements of the reformers' theology. Lutheran theology understood itself not as an innovation, let alone a rupture, but as a return, through reform, to a pure version of the Christian faith as it was originally intended to be practised by Scripture. Cleansed from the residue of centuries of abuse and idolatry of the Roman Church, old and familiar melodies with suitably adapted texts could perfectly well become an integral part of reformed liturgies. In these cases, the past was consciously invoked to indicate disapproval of contemporary practices that were seen as abusive or misguided, on one hand, and, on the other, to legitimize reform seen as a restitution of the practices of Christ and the Apostles.<sup>25</sup>

The Lutheran chorale provides an excellent example of music newly introduced as part of the Reformation in the sixteenth century in turn becoming part of a tradition and a signifier of Lutheran identity in the centuries that followed. With only slight modifications from the versions sanctioned by Luther himself, the chorales continue to be sung in the Lutheran services today. Their important role in the oeuvre of J. S. Bach in the first half of the eighteenth century is well known. In line with the historical evolution of the Lutheran faith alongside Lutheran princes' political successes, some chorales like *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gott* became powerful musical symbols of Lutheranism early on, and retained that character as invocations of group and later (proto-)national identity for centuries, up to the present day.<sup>26</sup>

## Ghosts of the Musical Past, Revived

Throughout late-medieval and early-modern times, music of the past survived as long as its purpose continued. It died when there was no further possibility or need for maintaining the tradition that sustained it. The nineteenth century dramatically changed that: by taking music

- 24 • For a survey of this repertory including a problematization of its historiography, see the contribution by Lenka Hlávková in this volume (Ch. 8).
- 25 • On this complex, see Christine Roth, 'Traditionsbindungen in der lutherischen Musikkultur des 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhunderts: Studien zu Repertoire und Kontexten in Norddeutschland' (Ph.D. diss., University of Zurich, 2019); Antonio Chemotti, *The Hymnbook of Valentin Triller (Wrocław 1555): Musical Past and Regionalism in Early Modern Silesia* (Warsaw, 2020) (available on Open Access via <https://epub.uni-regensburg.de/>).
- 26 • See Christine Roth, 'Das Lied *Ein feste Burg* im Schaffen des Michael Praetorius: Von der Aktualisierung musikalischer Traditionen', in Klaus Fitschen et al. (eds.), *Kulturelle Wirkungen der Reformation/Cultural Impact of the Reformation. Kongressdokumentation Lutherstadt Wittenberg August 2017* (Leipzig, 2018), i. 345–53; Michael Fischer, *Religion, Nation, Krieg: Der Lutherchoral Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott zwischen Befreiungskriegen und Erstem Weltkrieg* (Münster, 2014); Michael Fischer, 'Vom Reformationslied zum national-protestantischen Symbol: Der Choral *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott* in musikalischen Bearbeitungen des 19. Jahrhunderts', in Beat A. Föllmi, Nils Grosch, and Mathieu Schneider (eds.), *Music and the Construction of National Identities in the 19th Century* (Baden-Baden, 2010), 225–40.

out of its functional frame, it shifted music's ontology and turned it from a purposeful action for which the notated material provided the blueprint into an autonomous object that exists first and foremost in the score, from which it can be actualized into sound through performance. The sudden availability of vast amounts of unexplored historical documents, often from secularized ecclesiastical institutions across Europe, and a new drive to rewrite history from an 'objective' perspective grounded in Lachmannian philology provided the theoretical, methodological, and practical toolkit for scholars to start exploring the written detritus of music from the past—music that no longer had been heard for generations because the tradition associated with it had ended. Charting and reviving the musical repertoires of the past also became vital for the construction of new collective identities in Europe, no longer based on pre-modern criteria but on the idea of a nation or ethnicity whose spirit was to be sought, first and foremost, in music and poetry—the more ancient, the purer and less adulterated.<sup>27</sup> We owe to this our extensive acquaintance, through research and performance, with the musical past from distant times, starting with the revivals of Bach and Handel in northern and central Germany in the mid-nineteenth century. The same scholarly impetus also gave us 'musicology', and a musical geography of Europe and the world that presented itself as neutral but was far from it, as it was driven by complex aesthetic and political agendas. Some of these directly impacted the repertoires under investigation in this volume (as mentioned earlier). The process of (re)constructing our past continues to this day, of course, and includes the present collection of essays.

The reproductive sound technologies invented in the late nineteenth and the twentieth centuries as tools to communicate quickly with remote territories (telegraph, radio) or to preserve sound indefinitely (recording), together with their visual relatives (sound film, television, video) and, most recently, the internet, further changed the ontology of music, at first imperceptibly, by detaching sound and music from their original contexts where they were by necessity imbricated in highly specific social performance contexts, with their accessibility often severely limited. The instant reproducibility of musical performances on a highly sophisticated level through audio-visual technologies almost entirely levelled the thresholds to music erected in the past by the requirements of skill and of a physical, embodied presence of both audiences and performers. We now have at our fingertips a global storehouse of music of unprecedented scale, but we also are caught in an ontological paradox: our collective musical memory—at least as far as the past before sound recording is concerned—is as much a product of our own invention, made up around musical or notated *objets trouvés*, as it is any reflection of past realities. This has been amply debated in the discussion about 'historically informed performance' practices, where it has been shown that present-day aesthetics and concerns deeply influence(d) tastes and choices.<sup>28</sup> It also applies to our narratives of (music) history and the past in general: whatever (hi)story we tell is bound to reflect today's agendas. In the end, therefore,

27 • See, for example, Applegate, 'How German is it?', for a more detailed examination of this process and its relation to nation-building.

28 • See, for example, Richard Taruskin, *Text and Act: Essays on Music and Performance* (New York and Oxford, 1995); Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge, 2002). See also the contribution by Antonio Chemotti (Ch. 12) and my introductory essay 'Dilemmas of Historicism' to Part IV: Perspectives in this volume.

our 'past' differs in method only from the fantastic genealogies of, for example, the late Cape-tians or the *Roman de Perceforest*, or the 'forged' documents of the transition between primarily oral judicial systems and more writing-based ones.<sup>29</sup> Any investment in the past, musical or otherwise, is perforce of our own time and of our own making—driven as much by a curiosity to make sense of strange and unfamiliar objects and signifiers that otherwise remain obscure as by the forces of academic funding and career mechanisms, the related sectors of the global economy, and by a semi-public heritage industry. The genesis of this volume as a product of a publicly funded research project is no exception. Neither musicologists nor performers, in the end, can escape ventriloquism; we—consciously or unconsciously—express the ideals and socio-political debates of our present through producing our scholarly narratives and making sounding simulacra of music of the past.

### Music Historiography Today, or, the Past in the Present

It is time, then, to return to this book's historiographical agenda. The ongoing revival of the musical past brought (and continues to bring) us substantially enhanced awareness of ever more repertory, but the historiographical dispositives underlying prevailing narratives of music history remain wedded to models inherited from the nineteenth century.<sup>30</sup>

A key ingredient of nineteenth-century historiography was the notion of progress. This is not the place to investigate the reasons for this phenomenon, but it is easy to see the damaging consequences for many of the repertories scrutinized in this book of arranging music along a linear axis where novelty and complexity are given pride of place. Repertories that consciously espouse or cherish their connections with the past inevitably fall short within such a historiographical matrix, since they cannot be placed approvingly into an evolutionary narrative of music history. They are therefore either relegated to the margins or expunged altogether from the master narrative. It is hoped that the studies assembled in the present volume will offer materials that can serve as building blocks for the construction of an emphatic counter-narrative.

The nation-building impetus that lay behind nineteenth-century constructions of music history also resulted in hidden ethnocentrisms that are extremely hard to dislodge: the corpus of 'classical' music, for example, is highly Germanocentric. Conversely, the established patterns of medieval and early-modern cultural history distinctly favour what is now France and Italy at the expense of Iberia, the British Isles, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, and the Germanic- and Slavic-speaking regions of Europe. While this admittedly may also be owed

29 • On this phenomenon, the classical study is Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307* (Oxford, 1993).

30 • For an interesting case study, see Kristy Swift, 'Getting the Story Crooked: Donald J. Groult, Claude V. Palisca, and J. Peter Burkholder's *A History of Western Music, 1960–2009*' (Ph.D. diss., University of Cincinnati, 2013). Swift discusses the genesis and changing content of this widely disseminated music history textbook, already cited earlier in this essay. While the musico-historical canon was opened up to other repertories in recent years, reflecting political developments in the USA (the main market for the textbook), there is as of yet no indication of abandoning the basic structure of the canon as inherited from late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century European musicologists. For an attempt to break out of this scheme, see, for example, Iain Fenlon and Richard Wistreich (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Sixteenth-Century Music* (Cambridge, 2019). For a critique of its problematic nature, see above and what follows.

to the presence and survival of sources, it does not suffice to explain the persistent neglect of repertoires and source types that remain consigned to the imagined 'periphery'. Concerning late-medieval and early-modern studies in music, the fault line of neglect follows with remarkable precision the courses of the rivers Rhine and Danube, and it is therefore to the musical past of the regions east of the Rhine and north of the Danube that much of the attention of the essays in this volume is dedicated in an effort to redress that imbalance.

Political history in the twentieth century did little to assuage or correct the distortions built into the music-historical narrative by our nineteenth-century ancestors. Following the catastrophe of the Second World War, the political division of Europe ensured that dialogue between 'Eastern' and 'Western' Europeans remained severely constrained, and that scholars from outside Europe also mostly confined their activities to the western side of the Iron Curtain. While much has been accomplished in the thirty years since the end of the Cold War in 1989 in terms of re-establishing contacts and connections, repertoires from Central Europe continue to attract comparatively little attention among scholars internationally. It is hoped that this volume will help to change this and to make the fascinating history of the regions east of the Rhine and north of the Danube visible to an English-speaking readership. Recovering the historical ties lost within our own continent of Europe will help a great deal to prepare the ground for new narratives of music history as we move deeper into the twenty-first century.

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The essays in this volume cover an unusually long stretch of time, from c.1200 to c.1600, and indeed, in the fourth section, to the present day. They also cover an atypically broad geographical range that reaches from France and the Low Countries across the German-speaking lands to Poland, Bohemia, and northern Italy. This reflects the nature of the *Sound Memories* project and its intention, through international scholarly collaboration, to close some of the fault lines mentioned above. Such fault lines also extend to divisions between scholars studying monophony versus polyphony and along obsolescing periodicizations like 'Medieval' and 'Renaissance'. By organizing our essays around topics in four sections and then presenting them in chronological order of subject matter, we hope to have provided some antidote to these entrenched habits of thinking.

Susan Rankin examines the early history of the musical past in Christian Europe in her opening statement. She then considers the specific circumstances in Paris around 1200 that brought about the genesis of a new cultural memory in music expressed through rhythmic notation and polyphony. Adam Mathias looks at the enigmatic genre of the *clausula*, carefully examining the compositional process of selected examples through codicological and musical close readings. Together, these three texts examine the earliest stages of 'making music into history' (Rankin).

Daniele V. Filippi and Emanuel Signer investigate similar processes of historicization on the Italian peninsula several centuries later, in the periods around 1500 (Filippi) and 1600 (Signer). At the end of the fifteenth century, Franchinus Gaffurius, chapel master of Milan cathedral, became the driving force behind the creation of a monumental set of choirbooks, the *Libroni*. These books, for the first time ever at Milan cathedral, codified a repertoire that



subsequently served as a musical signature of that venerable institution. Emanuel Signer examines print culture in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Venice and Rome from a similar angle. Prints at that time could no longer be considered a new medium; however, printed choirbooks—unlike other music prints—retained many visual aspects of manuscript choirbooks because of the cachet associated with the older medium. The repertorial choices made in these printed anthologies similarly show a mix of older and newer pieces, exemplifying the premium that was paid on finding the right balance between the musical present and the musical past in late sixteenth-century Europe.

The music history of Bohemia and its complex links to southern Germany, Austria, Silesia, Saxony, and Poland in late-medieval and early-modern times play a significant role in this volume. A study of music scripts in the diocese of Prague by David Eben and Susan Rankin shows how a new style of neumatic notation was introduced by Dean Vitus of Prague cathedral in the middle of the thirteenth century from southern Germany, probably with strong royal support. This script quickly became the standard way of writing chant in the diocese of Prague and, as such, a visual hallmark of belonging to that bishop's see. An older style of notation survived in the liturgical books of the Benedictine convent of St George, a royal foundation dating back to the tenth century that enjoyed many privileges but was—technically—subject to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Prague. In the middle of the fourteenth century, Arnestus of Pardubice, the first archbishop of Prague and a protégé of Emperor Charles IV, tried to bring the convent under his heel, igniting a severe conflict with the nuns, who feared the loss of their inherited autonomy. The nuns did not prevail, however, and thereafter adopted the official diocesan script in their chant books. This shows the great importance given to the musical past, here in the form of a specific notation, both as a symbol of continuity as well as of political power. Like the melodies themselves, the music scripts were a symbol of corporate identity and reflected the standing of the institutions concerned vis-à-vis the power structures that surrounded them.

Jan Ciglbauer explores the 'transnational' origins of Latin monastic songs found in Bavarian, Austrian, and Bohemian sources, demonstrating that melodies several centuries old (and originally dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries), and often originating elsewhere, were still valued highly enough to be retained in collections prepared during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. His essay also highlights the ability for (gradual) change within established traditions: items that first were considered an intrusion not seldom over time become an integral part of the tradition and then were invested with the same identity-shaping powers as its older components.

Paweł Gancarczyk examines the notion of tradition in his opening essay for the second section, and provides a study of the role played by genre as a determinant of the musical past east of the Rhine and north of the Danube. His focus is on the culture of the polytextual motet in that region during the fifteenth century. Primarily associated by traditional music historiography with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and with western Europe, the polytextual motet not only became a marker of historical continuity in central Europe during the fifteenth century but also acquired a physiognomy of its own. This essay challenges the conventional wisdom about the reasons for retaining 'outdated' genres and again invites a reassessment of music historiography more generally.

It is impossible to understand the musical physiognomy of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe without a close look at reform. Inga Mai Groote and Lenka Hlávková lay out principles and patterns of reform as they pertain to music, and situate them against theological concerns, which perforce were the overarching criteria to which musical choices needed to bend. The liturgical repertory of the Utraquist Church is re-examined by Hlávková as a counterfoil to older narratives that either dismissed it as uninteresting and provincial or, alternatively, celebrated it as a proto-nationalist achievement in the light of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Czech revival politics. Hlávková demonstrates how the memory of the time of Jan Hus as an influential teacher at Prague University around 1400 provided an anchor for Utraquist identity and cultural memory, including musical and notational aspects. This conservative attitude did not exclude awareness of newer music produced in regions to the west and south; both styles survive cheek-by-jowl in some sources, for example the codex Speciálník (Hradec Králové II A 7, copied c.1485–1500). The musical past and present here join to form an amalgam that symbolizes an identity that is not belated but, rather, *sui generis*, and deliberately so.

Within the Roman Catholic Church, the Modern Devotion along with its monastic stream, the Congregation of Windesheim, played an important role in fifteenth-century reform movements. Windesheim has not yet been researched systematically by musicologists. Again, theological concerns were foundational to the musical physiognomy of the Congregation. Uniformity in all aspects of monastic life was a key requirement, but how did practice and ideal relate to each other? Manon Louviot provides a case study analysing the tension between corporate Windesheim standards and the local situation of two houses closely associated with Windesheim in the diocese of Hildesheim that had been successfully reformed, Heiningen and Steterburg. Divergences in certain details—for example, the type of script used to notate chant—was acceptable as long as uniformity on the levels that really mattered was maintained, such as the shape of the melodies themselves.

Christine Roth's study of the Agenda published in 1578 by the Lutheran theologian David Chytraeus once more highlights the tension between persistence and innovation, now in the later sixteenth century and within the Lutheran as opposed to the Catholic tradition, examined elsewhere by Signer. Roth demonstrates that a premium was placed by Lutherans on retaining as solid a cultural link with the past as possible through sharing or adapting cultural and musical items connected to that past. Such links helped substantiate reformers' claims that their purpose was not to destroy the Catholic tradition but to reconstitute it to the state originally intended by Christ and the Apostles.

The situation today stands at the centre of the final section of our book. Karl Kügle reflects on the dilemmas created by post-Enlightenment historicism—something both musicologists and performers of early music are confronted with, but in quite different ways. The two final contributions, by Bartłomiej Gembicki and Antonio Chemotti, illustrate this through two case studies. Gembicki examines the history of the musicological discourse around the term *cori spezzati*, including the sedimentations that have resulted from it in musical performances and tourism in Venice today. Chemotti interviewed the leaders of two musical ensembles that are closely connected to the *Sound Memories* project: the Basel-based Ensemble La Morra and the Warsaw-based group Bastarda. Both recently engaged with music ascribed to the

fifteenth-century cleric Petrus Wilhelmi, but used fundamentally different approaches, leading to highly divergent sounds in performance. In the light of the inevitably fictitious qualities inherent in our reconstructing and reconstituting any musical past, this raises fundamental questions concerning the ways how we can and should engage with music of the past today and in the future.

