

# Borrowing

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Many musical compositions incorporate material from one or more earlier works. The procedures and significance of borrowing vary between repertoires and over time. The history of borrowing in Western music has yet to be written, but its general outlines can be traced through the repertoires that have been studied.

## 1. Types of borrowing.

A new piece may use or refer to existing music in various ways. It may feature qualities identified with another tradition, as when a modern symphonic work incorporates sounds and gestures from jazz or Baroque music. A piece for one instrument may use figuration typical of another, such as fanfares in a piano sonata. Within a tradition, a piece may use common melodic formulae and formal conventions. Most broadly, all music draws on the repertoire of notes, scales, gestures and other elements available in that tradition, so that every piece borrows from earlier pieces in its own tradition. Thus in the widest sense the history of borrowing in music is the history of improvisation, composition and performance.

The study of borrowing in music focusses, not on this broadest level of interrelations, but on the use in a new composition of one or more elements from a specific piece. Musical borrowing has typically been studied as an issue related to a particular repertoire or genre, such as the Renaissance mass or the 20th-century avant garde, or to a particular composer, such as Handel or Mahler. Yet the use of existing music as a basis for new music is pervasive in all periods and traditions, parallel to and yet different from the practices of borrowing, reworking and allusion that contribute to the formation of traditions and the creation of meaning in literature, architecture, painting and sculpture.

In order to cultivate a view of the subject that is not bound by individual traditions, periods or genres, it is useful to establish a typology based on a simple series of distinctions. Table 1 (adapted from Burkholder, 1994) offers a multidimensional system of categories delineated by the most fundamental questions about any instance of musical borrowing in new compositions or improvisations. Some answers are listed here; others are possible.

**TABLE 1: Elements of a typology of musical borrowing**

1.	What is the relationship of the existing piece to the new piece that borrows from it?
	<i>type</i>
	of the same genre, medium, style and musical tradition
	of a different genre, medium, style or musical tradition
	<i>texture</i>

a single-line melody used in a new monophonic melody

a single-line melody used in a polyphonic work

a polyphonic work used in a new polyphonic work

*origin*

by the composer of the new piece

from the same circle of musicians

by a contemporary from another place or circle

from a distant place

from an earlier time

2. What element or elements of the existing piece are incorporated into or referred to by the new piece, in whole or part?

the full texture

a combination of parts that is less than the full texture

a melodic line, gesture or contour

a rhythmic figure

an aspect of harmony, such as a chord progression, striking sonority or pitch collection

the form or a formal device

texture

instrumental colour

other parameters

3. How does the borrowed material relate to the shape of the new piece?

provides the structure, virtually unaltered, but other features are changed enough to create a new entity

contrafactum (change of text)

transcription or arrangement (change of performing forces)

intabulation or arrangement (change of medium and figuration)

provides the structure and is varied or altered

melodic paraphrase

variation embellishment or ornamentation

forms the basis of the structure or of a melodic line, with new material added or interpolated

trope

refrain

serves as a structural line or complex to which other parts are joined contrapuntally

organum (of every kind)

medieval motet/cantus-firmus composition

paraphrase (hymn paraphrase, paraphrase mass)

setting

arrangement

used as a theme, including extension and development

for variations

for a dance movement

for sonata form, rondo, fugue or other form

for a march

in a fantasia

for a cumulative setting

for improvisation, as in jazz

provides material (motifs, structural ideas, contrapuntal combinations etc.) that is freely reworked

used as a motif

appears once, marking a significant event in the form

appears once, in passing

combined linearly with other borrowed (and some new) material

linear quodlibet (successive, homophonic)

medley

patchwork

combined contrapuntally with other borrowed (and some new) material

polyphonic quodlibet (simultaneous)

part of a collage involving borrowings from many works

#### 4. How is the borrowed material altered in the new piece?

complete and not altered

incomplete but otherwise not altered

minimally altered

embellished or ornamented

melodically paraphrased or restructured

substantially reworked

appears only in fragments

placed in a new context, changing its effect

used as a theme, perhaps not greatly altered when presented as a theme but elsewhere developed and fragmented as themes are changed to conform to a new function (e.g. as a cantus firmus in long notes, or a folktune reworked as a theme)

disguised

only alluded to, with a similar gesture, without itself being incorporated

#### 5. What is the function of the borrowed material within the new piece, in musical terms?

*initial*

served the composer as a starting initial point for composition (often literally, if the new piece begins like the model)

*structural*

- forms the basic structure of a single line
- is incorporated as an element in a principal melodic line
- is the structural basis for a polyphonic work
- serves as one contrapuntal line among several
- provides a model for the structure of the new piece

*thematic*

- serves as a theme or part of a theme
- serves as a leading melody or part of a leading melody
- serves as a motif

*other event*

- marks a major event, such as a culmination or high point
- is a passing gesture, neither thematic nor structural

6. What is the function or meaning of the borrowed material within the new piece in associative or extra-musical terms, if any?

*motivated by a text or programme*

- represents a performance of the borrowed piece or a piece of its type
- appears with its text, which has a particular extra-musical significance
- appearance (without text) evokes part or all of the text with which it is normally associated, conveying an extra-musical meaning
- symbolizes something or someone associated with it or with pieces of its general type

*descriptive*

- lends a certain character to a passage, through the associations it carries

*alludes to the source work or its composer*

- pays homage to its source (work or composer)
- comments on or suggests parallels to its source
- exemplifies or indicates competition between the composer of the new piece and the composer of the existing piece
- critiques or negates its source

*part of a collage*

- helps to create a stream-of-consciousness effect

*varies with the listener*

- has special significance for certain groups or individuals and different or no associations for others
- associations have changed over time

The table is framed in terms of relationships between one piece and another; it is the composer or improviser who creates these relationships and the listener who recognizes them. It is possible, even frequent, for composers to borrow material that listeners may not recognize and for listeners to hear

similarities composers did not intend. Much of the scholarship on borrowing directly engages these issues of recognition and intent, identifying hitherto unsuspected relationships and presenting evidence to support the claim that borrowing has occurred, beyond subjective impressions.

Any piece that makes use of borrowed material may fit into more than one category, for most categories are not musically exclusive. For example, a distinctive instrumental timbre and texture, a melodic contour and a formal plan may all be borrowed from the same source, as in the slow movement of Ives's First Symphony (c1898–1908), whose english horn theme over sustained string chords paraphrases that of Dvořák's *New World* Symphony and whose form adapts that of the Dvořák movement.

Such a system allows the classification of both common and exceptional types, highlights important distinctions and facilitates interpretation of the borrowing's significance and meaning:

(a) The process of composition, when using a piece of the same tradition, genre, medium, style and texture as a source for a new piece, as when Monteverdi modelled his madrigal *Non si levava ancor* on Marenzio's *Non vidi mai*, is distinct from the process of using a piece that differs in these ways from the new composition, as in a lute intabulation of a polyphonic chanson or a symphonic movement based on a folktune. The significance of borrowed material depends in part on who or what is borrowed from: that may be the composer himself, as in several Mahler symphonies; other composers of the same circle, as when Clara Schumann and Brahms both wrote variations on a theme by Robert Schumann; music of a distant place, as when Puccini borrowed Chinese melodies for *Turandot*; or music of an earlier time, as in numerous works of Peter Maxwell Davies.

(b) Listeners respond differently and attribute different meanings to music that borrows the full texture of another piece, as does Stravinsky's *Pulcinella*; a melodic line, such as the Russian folktunes in his *Petrushka*; a texture, as in the evocation of Debussy's *Nuages* at the opening of Part II of *The Rite of Spring*; or an instrumental colour, such as the english horn in the latter at the 'Ritual Action of the Ancestors', again echoing *Nuages*. Distinctions between widely recognized broad categories of borrowing, such as quotation, allusion and modelling, often depend upon what elements of the source are present in the new piece.

(c) The process of composition and the structure of the resulting piece are vastly different if a borrowed tune forms the basis of a new melodic line with interpolated music, as in troped chant; if it creates a structural line to which other parts are joined contrapuntally, as in Notre Dame organum; if it is treated as a theme, as are the Russian tunes in Beethoven's Razumovsky Quartets, the popular tunes used in mid-19th-century American marches, or the hymn tune in Vaughan Williams's *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis*; or if it appears once in passing, like the fragments of *La Marseillaise* in Debussy's *Feux d'artifice* and in the Beatles' *All you need is love*. The use of a standard genre or procedure of borrowing, such as contrafactum, cantus firmus, variations, quodlibet and others listed in Table 1, can clarify the composer's intent and compositional process and make the significance more apparent to the listener.

(d) The recognizability, character and effect of the borrowed material vary according to how it is adapted in the new piece, from the minimal alteration of a Bach chorale harmonization to the ornamentation of a chorale prelude, the free paraphrase of an aria based on a chorale or the use of a chorale as a cantus firmus against unrelated material.

(e) The relative importance of a borrowed element in musical terms is greater if it plays a structural role, such as a borrowed tune used as a cantus firmus or theme, than if it is a passing gesture, as are the folksongs briefly quoted in Bach's Goldberg Variations. In some genres, such as the 13th-century motet or the chorale partita, the borrowing is basic to the definition of the genre; in others, such as fugue, symphony or variations, a borrowed or paraphrased theme is possible but not required; in others, such as French *grand opéra*, overt borrowing is unexpected and constitutes a special effect, as in the appearance of 'Ein' feste Burg' in Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots*.

(f) Finally, the extra-musical associations aroused by borrowed material may vary greatly in kind, from suggesting a performance of the borrowed piece, as in Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg*, to lending a certain character to a passage, as in his use of folk tunes in the 'Pastoral' Symphony; critiquing or negating the music that is borrowed, as Kagel deconstructs various Beethoven works in *Ludwig van*; or creating the effect of a stream of consciousness through a collage of numerous quotations, as in the third movement of Berio's *Sinfonia*. Often several effects are achieved at once; the chorale in *Les Huguenots* simultaneously establishes a historical period, sets a religious context and delineates character. Extra-musical associations will vary with the listener. Americans may hear Beethoven's Variations on *God Save the King* (1802–3) as variations on *America*, which uses the same tune, and the borrowings in Berg's *Lyric Suite* (1925–6) and Violin Concerto (1935) had particular resonance for the composer as part of a private programme. Associations can change over time; Haydn's variations on his own song *Gott erhalte Franz den Kaiser* in his 'Emperor' Quartet op.76 no.3 would have been hard to hear during World War II without thinking of *Deutschland über alles*, the German anthem on the same melody, and the ideology of the Nazi government, lending the work potential meanings that Haydn could not have envisaged. The variety of associations listeners may have opens up music to new interpretations and can stimulate research to discover the meanings that may have been intended by the composer or perceived by the work's first audiences.

These questions also establish a basis for evaluating when borrowing has occurred:

(a) The case for borrowing is stronger when it can be proved that the composer knew or had access to the existing piece. This requires biographical evidence that will vary with the relationship of the new piece to the existing one, from establishing chronology within the composer's own works to showing contact with other musicians or knowledge of music the composer studied, performed or heard.

(b) What and how much is borrowed is an important factor in proving a relationship between two pieces. The more elements of an existing piece that are present in a new one, the more unusual or individual the elements that are shared, or the more extensive the similarity within a parameter, the more convincing will be a claim that borrowing has occurred. Non-musical factors such as textual quotations or similarities can provide further evidence.

(c) Evidence for borrowing will be evaluated differently, depending on what kind of relationship is being asserted. Some studies have demonstrated that what others have identified as a passing quotation is instead the most overt sign of a deeper structural relationship. The more the borrowing conforms to widely understood types and procedures, the more readily it is likely to be recognized and accepted. Indeed, in

some genres borrowing is so frequent that it is assumed until disproved; in a medieval motet, for example, the appearance of a melody in the tenor is normally taken as evidence of its prior independent existence as a monophonic tune even if no other source has been found.

(d) The extent and exactness of the similarities between the new and older pieces affect judgments of whether borrowing has occurred. On the one hand, a thorough reworking, disguised borrowing or subtle allusion is more difficult to hear and to prove than a direct parallel; on the other hand, a work that changes its source very little may be heard as a performance, transcription or arrangement of the original, rather than as a new piece based on borrowing. (Since this distinction is not stable through time, the ensuing history of borrowing will include transcription and arrangement and will note ambiguities between borrowing and performance.)

(e) Proof of borrowing is incomplete until a purpose can be demonstrated. If no function for the borrowed material can be established, its use remains a mystery and the resemblance may be coincidental. Reliance on the borrowed material as a theme, structural element or point of prominence makes its function clear. When sketches or drafts are available, they may demonstrate that the composer used the existing music as a starting-point and may clarify the intended role of the borrowed material if it is disguised.

(f) Interpreting the associative or extra-musical meaning of the borrowing can also clarify its function and support a claim that borrowing has occurred. This is especially important when the borrowed material lacks a clear, purely musical function or seems to be introduced arbitrarily; indeed, these are often signs that an extra-musical interpretation is intended.

The questions in Table 1 centre on the piece itself, as is appropriate to a typology, but the context in which the borrowing occurs should also be considered in studying individual cases and in tracing a history of borrowing in music. Among important aspects to consider are contemporary attitudes towards various uses of existing music in new pieces; the sense of ownership, if any, attributed to the original composer of a piece, as opposed to those who rework the same material in performance or new compositions; the artistic purposes served by borrowing in a given genre or era; elements of the culture or of musical practice that encourage certain kinds of borrowing or discourage others; and what the use of a piece as a source for another and the way it is used might reveal about the reception of the earlier piece and the way it was regarded. Such questions move beyond a typology towards a fuller evaluation of borrowing within the history of music.

## 2. Medieval monophony.

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The concept of borrowing elements from one piece to use in another depends on the idea of the piece itself. Accordingly, the traceable history of musical borrowing begins in the medieval repertoires of liturgical chant for the Byzantine, Roman and Ambrosian rites, the first surviving large bodies of music in which individual pieces were fixed in notation.

Commonalities among chants within and across these repertoires testify to ongoing processes of re-using and reworking melodic material that probably extend back to the earliest Christian observances and their Jewish predecessors. Similarities of contour in some chants of the same mode and function suggest that

they were elaborated from an existing reciting formula, sometimes linked with characteristic melismas; this can be seen for example in Gregorian tracts, which are typically based on one of two melodic formulae. Other chants of the same mode and type share melodic figures, suggesting processes of improvisation or composition by combining existing units of melody, called centonization; this is common in melismatic chants such as the gradual and alleluia in the Gregorian repertory. Some melismas were relocated from one chant to another. Existing melodies were also adapted for new texts (e.g. for antiphons and hymns), and the different chant repertories have individual variants of melodies for certain texts, indicating adaptation either one from another or both from a common source.

In all these cases, the existing piece being adapted is of the same type as the new piece (although it does not always share the same liturgical function), has the same monophonic texture, and derives from an earlier period in the same broad tradition; the melodic substance of the earlier piece is taken over in whole or large part, providing the structure for all or part of the new melody, but is altered to suit the new text and circumstances and perhaps local stylistic preferences; re-use of melodic material is the standard procedure for creating new works; and ownership is not attributed to those who created the earlier piece, who are in most cases unknown, but is assumed by those who use the music and by the church it serves.

Chants composed after notation had standardized the repertory provide the earliest examples of borrowing in which both the new piece and the source are fixed in notation and thus can be studied. Processes of adaptation, re-use and reworking similar to those in the older layers of the repertory are apparent in newly composed tracts, graduals, office antiphons and other genres of chant. For example, the chants of the new Feast of Corpus Christi, first celebrated in 1247 and liturgically codified over the next several decades, were adapted from chants of the same type with different texts, drawn from more than a dozen other feasts; some were greatly altered, others changed only minimally (Mathiesen, 1983).

Authorized chants in the Gregorian rite were often augmented in the 9th to 13th centuries through the addition of melismas (sometimes borrowed from other chants), the application of new words to existing melismas or the addition of new words and music before a chant or before each of its phrases. The third type was called a trope, a term often used for the other two types as well. The added text elaborates on or explains the original text, like a gloss on scripture. The addition had practical uses, in explaining the relation of the liturgical text to the feast day or clarifying a theological issue, but adding music or poetry also lent greater artistry to the celebration of a feast. Some tropes borrow from or rework music and text from other tropes, in a process akin to the adaptation of chant. Not surprisingly, the practice of troping seems to have originated or to have been widely practised only after the texts and music were as fixed as the scriptural canon itself, especially in the areas in which the Gregorian rite had been standardized under Charlemagne. The addition of text and music was perhaps less an act of creating a new work through borrowing than it was the performance of an existing work with accretions, like an embellished opera aria or a concerto with a new cadenza, and like these it may have been an avenue to exhibit creativity in performing music that was otherwise fixed.

The account in Notker's preface to his *Liber hymnorum* (884) of the development of the sequence characterizes this form as a kind of trope, applying new text to the jubilus melismas of alleluias. But the actual relationship of Notker's and other early sequences to existing alleluias shows not a simple application of text but a reworking of the borrowed melody, often followed by or interpolating new



material or involving internal repetition; ex.1 compares the first two verses of Notker's *Christus hunc diem* with its source, *Alleluia, Dominus in Sina*. Many sequence and hymn melodies were re-used or adapted for new texts in a process of contrafactum or for German translations of the original Latin.

Ex.1 *Alleluia Dominus in Sina* and Notker's *Christus hunc diem*

Al - le - lu - ia.

1. Chri - stus hunc di - em jo - cun - dum cun - tis con - ce - dat es - se chri - sti - a - nis, a - ma - to - ri - bus su - is.

2. Do - mi - nus in Si - na in san - cto,

Chri - ste Je - su, fi - li de - i, me - di - a - tor na - tu - rae no - strae ac di - vi - nae:

(2. cont.) Tet - ras de - us vi - si - ta - sti æ - tet - nus, æ - the - ra no - vus ho - mo trans - vo - lans.

ex.1

Contrafacta also appear in the secular monophonic repertory. In some cases a new song borrows the melody and part of the text of an existing one, in an act of tribute or perhaps competition; for example, the melody and first line of Gautier de Coinci's *Amours dont sui espriz* are taken from Blondel de Nesle's song of the same title. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras is said to have improvised his *Kalenda maya* to a melody he had heard played by jongleurs. Some German Minnelieder are contrafacta or adaptations of troubadour or trouvère songs, and secular melodies were often given sacred Latin texts. Other songs rework existing melodies more freely. Some French songs from the mid-12th to mid-14th centuries incorporate a refrain, an aphoristic text set to a short melody that appears in more than one song and may also appear alone or in a motet. In these secular repertories, it is unclear whether a melody was considered to belong with a certain text or to the poet-composer as its author; if so, the borrowing or adaptation of a melody may indicate that it was regarded as especially worthy of re-use and imitation. Alternatively, melodies may have been regarded as common property, available for reworking to suit new texts. Indeed, there may not yet have been a concept of authorship for music, as there was for poetry; manuscript attributions apparently refer to the poet rather than the composer, to judge from the many trouvère poems that survive with two or more different melodies yet with attributions to the same trouvère.

### 3. Polyphony to 1300.

The major forms of polyphony to 1300 – organum, discant and motet – were all based on existing melodies, usually chant. Thus the early history of polyphony is largely a history of musical borrowing. The polyphonic versus and conductus are the main exceptions, as they were not based on chant, but early polyphonic examples may have been adapted from monophonic versions, and some conductus borrowed from existing polyphony.

It has been suggested that liturgical polyphony was an extension of the idea of troping: an embellishment of the prescribed chant, adding music not before or between phrases of the chant but simultaneous with it. If true, this shows a conceptual commonality between two uses of existing music that might seem to have nothing in common in procedure or style.

If troping may be considered a performance of an existing work with accretions rather than the creation of a new work through borrowing, early polyphony was arguably also a manner of performance rather than a kind of borrowing. Singing a chant with a drone or in strict parallel octaves, 5ths or 4ths does not result in a new piece but rather in a different way of presenting an existing one. This is still true of the mixed parallel and oblique organum described in *Musica enchiriadis* (c850–900), whose rules generate the added voice or *vox organalis* almost automatically below the chant melody or *vox principalis*. In each of these styles, the polyphony enhances the presentation of the existing chant; the added voice lends greater resonance and thus weight and solemnity, and the use of a drone or oblique motion closing on a unison heightens the sense of melodic direction and cadential closure and thus clarifies the phrase structure.

11th-century organum suggests a tradition that could be conceived as either a method of improvised performance or a style of composition. The style of mixed parallel and oblique organum described in Guido of Arezzo's *Micrologus* (1025–6) opened more options to singers than that of *Musica enchiriadis*, requiring more choices to be made before performance if it was to be sung by a group. Practical sources such as the Winchester Troper (first half of 11th century) included pieces in this style that were fixed in notation, the first polyphony to appear outside treatises, apparently crossing the line from a manner of performance to a compositional method based on borrowing. The new style of free organum that emerged in the later 11th century, described in *Ad organum faciendum* (c1100), may still have been regarded as a style of performance, as a soloist could improvise a suitable organal voice (now above the chant and moving mostly in contrary motion with perfect consonances between the voices) by following the rules laid out in the treatise. But practical sources as early as the Chartres fragments (*F-CHRM* 4, 109 and 130, late 11th century) include written works in this style which may be viewed as pieces based on borrowed chant; so too may the examples recorded in the treatises, such as the setting of the troped Kyrie '*Cunctipotens genitor*' from *Ad organum faciendum* (ex.2). The placement of the added voice above rather than below the chant makes the new melody more prominent, but it still adds resonance and clarifies the phrasing, now marked by more frequent cadences on unisons or octaves. It appears that this kind of polyphony was intended for soloists; for example, only the solo portions of *Alleluia*, *Justus ut palma* (the opening of the respond and all but the final word of the verse) are set in polyphony in *Ad organum faciendum*. From this point until well into the Renaissance, polyphony seems to have been reserved for soloists, although this is not clear in all instances. When the original chant was performed in alternation between soloists and choir (as in responsorial chants) or between half-choirs (as in Kyries and Kyrie tropes), the polyphonic setting alternates between polyphony and choral monophony, so that the form of the source tune continues to shape the new piece.

**Ex.2** *Cunctipotens genitor fons Ad organum faciendum*

ex.2

The subsequent development of polyphony based on chant moves decisively to a composed rather than improvised tradition, representing the creation of new pieces through borrowing rather than ways of performing existing music. Aquitanian polyphony, as shown in manuscripts from the early 12th century at the monastery of St Martial in Limoges, features the first known examples of florid counterpoint, in which several notes in the upper voice are sung against a single note in the lower voice. The Codex Calixtinus (c1170) from Santiago de Compostela includes a setting of *Cunctipotens genitor* in this style, excerpted in ex. 3 (see Sources, MS, §IV, 3). A comparison between this and ex.2 shows a similar preference for perfect consonances, contrary motion and cadences at the unison or octave, but the greater freedom and faster motion of the upper voice now make it the focus of interest, instead of the slower-moving lower voice that carries the chant. The result is music in which more is new than old, and it is likely to be heard as a new piece based on borrowed material rather than as a performance of the chant with accompaniment. Here the new piece has the same liturgical function as the old, incorporates it whole and adopts its structure, while augmenting the durations of the original melody and cadencing more frequently. This reflects a context in which the chant was liturgically required but a polyphonic setting could be substituted, at least for those portions performed by soloists, and might be preferred over the naked chant because of its greater sonority and decorative beauty.

**Ex.3** *Cunctipotens genitor* from Codex Calixtinus

ex.3

These same characteristics hold true for the *Magnus liber* created by Leoninus about 1163–82 and later revised by Perotinus and others of the Parisian Notre Dame school, which sets the solo portions of graduals, alleluias and responsories for the major feasts of the liturgical year in two-part counterpoint. This represents perhaps the first attempt to create a coherent repertory based on musical borrowing, embellishing the specially important services with the most elaborate polyphony yet heard. Here segments of florid organum alternate with sections of discant called *clausulae*, in which the lower voice borrowed from chant moves almost as rapidly as the upper voice or *duplum*. Later portions of the repertory clearly use the rhythmic modes, and the discant sections of Leoninus's settings use at least the 1st mode; the notation is ambiguous in the sections in organal style. In both organum and discant sections, cadences occur much more frequently than in the original chant, and the structure is more dependent on cadences between the voices and on the alternation of organum and discant style than on the original phrasing of the chant. In some of the discant sections, the chant is set in a repeating rhythmic pattern, and a segment of the melody may be repeated with new material in the *duplum* (see *Magnus liber*, ex.2), foreshadowing the isorhythmic procedures of the 14th century. This is the earliest application of abstract structural compositional principles to borrowed material, the first time in polyphony that the borrowed melody is reshaped to create a new form rather than determining the form of the music.

Within this repertory, we also see the earliest apparent tradition of refashioning polyphonic works, as later composers freely reworked Leoninus's music or substituted new sections of discant or organum for passages based on the same segment of chant. These include three- and four-voice settings by Perotinus and perhaps others. In some cases a third voice or *triplum* is added above an existing two-voice discant *clausula*, a form of reworking through addition that continued up to the 15th century. Some manuscripts

contain several alternative settings of the same passage, so that the performance of a liturgical item in any year might draw on a different concatenation of sections in organum and discant, so long as the entire chant is present in the lower voice. This suggests a view of the *Magnus liber* as common property, a fund of possibilities to be used at the discretion of the singers and reworked at will.

These ideas of reworking existing polyphony and drawing on a common fund of polyphonic music continue in the early motet. The first motets were created (probably in the early 13th century) by fitting a poetic text to the duplum of a discant clausula, combining the traditions of polyphony and the textual trope. This represents at least two layers of borrowing, as the clausula borrows a segment of chant for its lower voice (and may borrow its rhythmic patterning from an earlier clausula on the same melody), and the motet borrows the entire musical fabric of the clausula, sometimes adjusting the notes to fit the text. Early motet texts often related to the theme of the chant or feast from which the tenor was taken and reflected the syllables of the original text through assonance, in the tradition of textual tropes, which shows the influence of the borrowed material on text as well as music. A motet may be reworked in turn, adding a third voice with the same or another text or replacing the first text with a new one; this occurred frequently as motets travelled to England, Germany, Italy and Spain over the course of the 13th century. In comparing related motets, it is not always clear which is the source and which the reworking, prompting some scholars to prefer the term 'intertextuality' to 'borrowing' for this repertory.

Once the motet was established as a genre, new ones were composed that were not derived from clausulae, typically featuring two voices, each with its own text, above a tenor taken from chant. Later texts might be secular or sacred and in French as well as Latin, and were less often related in subject or sound to the text of the tenor. Melodies for later motet tenors were borrowed from a range of chant, not solely the responsorial melismas of the discant clausulae; some even used French vernacular tunes in their original rhythm. Thus the motet grew away from its original context and became an independent genre based on a borrowed melody.

Borrowing was so intrinsic to the motet that it also occurred in the upper voices, which in some cases borrowed from refrains or chansons, sometimes requiring adjustments to the tenor. The refrain cento combined several refrains in a tenor or other part, while the *motet enté* was a subgenre in which a borrowed refrain (both text and melody) served as a point of departure for textual and musical expansion. Borrowing and reworking also ran in the other direction, as parts of some motets were reworked as chansons.

During the later 13th century the tradition of reworking existing motets as if they were common property gave way to the composition of new motets with individual features, spurred on by the more exact notation of Franco. Both the interest in novel tenors, such as the street cry 'Fresh strawberries!' in the anonymous *On parole/A Paris/Frèse nouvele*, and the heightened rhythmic complexity in the upper voices of motets in the style of Petrus de Cruce, suggest a concern for creating pieces based on borrowed material but marked by individuality.

Throughout the development of medieval polyphony, borrowing from chant was clearly a given, and the later borrowing of secular tunes for motet tenors or refrains was a variant on the long-established practice of using chant melodies. The medieval concept of music encouraged borrowing, in accord with related practices of glossing scripture and other texts, decorating manuscripts and revisiting common themes in art and architecture. Even in reworking polyphonic music to create a motet from a clausula or a new motet

from an existing one, when the composer of the original may have been alive and known to the reworker, there was apparently no sense of ownership or deference to the music's original form to impede this process. The constant stream of new music based on old music testifies to a simultaneous regard for tradition and renewal.

## 4. 14th century.

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In 14th-century Ars Nova motets, the chant is laid out in isorhythm, which codifies in the concepts of talea and color the repeating rhythmic patterns and melodic segments of earlier clausula and motet tenors. In the isorhythmic motet, the systematic use of borrowed material to create an abstract musical structure reaches its first peak. Vitry's taleas are often rhythmically complex and each motet is highly individual in structure and proportion.

Machaut and other composers used specific Vitry motets as models, emulating aspects of their structures while apparently seeking solutions that were equally individual. Machaut's *Aucune gent/Qui plus aime/Fiat voluntas tua* borrows the talea, color and structural elements of Vitry's *Douce playsence/Garison/Neuma* (Leech-Wilkinson, 1982–3). Often the later work expands upon a concept or plan used in the earlier one. This is an early instance of a tradition that endures to the present, of using a specific work as a model for a new one while simultaneously doing something new and different. Moreover, it shows that composers were beginning to borrow aspects of music other than melodies, in this case features of the isorhythmic design. Such borrowing between motets continued, along with the isorhythmic motet itself, until about 1440 (Allsen, 1992). The recognition of an individuality worth emulating in a particular piece by a particular composer suggests a radical change in the sense of ownership, at least in this repertory, from the common fund of musical material characteristic of Notre Dame organum and early motets to an attribution of certain musical ideas as belonging to an individual composer or work. This is confirmed by the increasing tendency of scribes and theorists in the 14th and 15th centuries to attribute works to particular composers in music manuscripts and treatises, in contrast to the longstanding general practice of anonymous transmission. The study of borrowing is marked from this point onward by the contrast, not always easy to map, between use of material that is collectively owned and available and emulation of ideas that are identified with a particular composer or work. What is particularly interesting here is that it is often the structure, not the melodies, that is seen as individual and worthy of emulation. In addition, some motets borrowed or quoted texts from earlier motets, and this may have been as significant as the musical borrowings in shaping the work.

The 14th century also saw the rise of polyphonic settings of texts from the Mass Ordinary, including the complete Ordinary cycle in Machaut's *Messe de Notre Dame*. Here the Kyrie, Sanctus, Agnus Dei and *Ite missa est* are set in isorhythmic style with liturgically appropriate chants in the tenor (the Kyrie, excerpted in ex.4, uses the same chant melody as in exx.2 and 3); the Gloria and Credo are each in conductus style without borrowed material, closing with an isorhythmic Amen. Of the many other settings of Ordinary texts, some share musical material, suggesting in some cases an attempt at musical unification between movements of a mass now separated in the manuscripts, and in other cases borrowing through a

combination of contrafactum and reworking. One of Ciconia's Gloria–Credo pairs is based on his motet *Regina gloriosa*, and Antonio Zacara da Teramo borrowed material from his secular songs in several mass movements, anticipating the cantus–firmus/imitation mass of the later 15th century.

Ex.4 Kyrie from Machaut's *Messe de Notre Dame*

ex.4

Several 14th- and 15th-century treatises describe a distinctive English tradition of improvised discant applied to chant in note-against-note fashion. While this seems to have begun as a manner of performance rather than of composition with borrowed material (as discussed above in relation to early polyphony), it led in the 14th and early 15th centuries to discant compositions in three parts with the chant in the middle voice.

Outside the motet, secular polyphonic music of the 13th and 14th centuries was most often composed without borrowed material, but borrowing does occur. Contrafacta appear in the polyphonic as well as monophonic repertory; for example, many of Oswald von Wolkenstein's polyphonic lieder are contrafacta. In addition, some late 14th-century French chansons quote text and music from others, perhaps continuing a tradition stretching back to the troubadours of poems and songs that quote and respond to earlier ones; for example, *Phiton, Phiton* by Magister Franciscus quotes from Machaut's ballade *Phyton, le merveilleux serpent*, and Ciconia's *Sus une fontayne* quotes the beginnings of three ballades by Philippus de Caserta (Günther, 1972).

The 14th century also saw the earliest surviving instrumental works based on musical borrowing. These are intabulations of vocal music for keyboard, arrangements that normally include most or all voices of the model, sometimes redistributing notes or omitting an inner voice the better to fit the hands, and add melodic decorations, especially in the upper voice, apparently reflecting improvisatory practice.

Intabulations may have arisen from a practice of transcribing vocal works, normally written in separate parts in choirbook format, into tablature, so that keyboard players could perform more than one part at a time; such transcriptions might be better considered a performing realization of the existing work rather than a new work based on borrowing. The earliest intabulations, three motets from the mid-14th-century Robertsbridge Manuscript (*GB-Lbl Add.28550*), already transcend these limits with the ornamentation of the upper voices and should be considered separate pieces based on reworking borrowed material (see *Arrangement*, ex.1). Examples from later in the century, such as those in the Faenza Codex (*I-FZc 117*) on French and Italian secular songs, are highly embellished, showing the skill of the composer and providing a challenge to the performer.

The uses of chant in the 14th century extend earlier practices of embellishment, and *contrafacta* and intabulations of vocal polyphony continue in new forms the longstanding tradition of reshaping existing music for a new use. But the growing recognition of the individual in 14th-century culture is reflected in the emergence of works that explicitly engage in dialogue with earlier works, in both the motet and *chanson* repertoires. In attempting to outdo Vitry in an aspect of isorhythmic structure, Machaut acknowledged the individuality and craft of his predecessor and attempted to proclaim his own.

## 5. Renaissance Mass cycles.

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Isorhythmic motets, settings of texts from the Mass Ordinary and Proper, and works in English discant style continued to be composed up to the mid-15th century. But new genres based on borrowed music and new methods of reworking emerged in sacred and secular contexts, in both vocal and instrumental music, during the next two centuries.

Works of the early 15th century based on liturgical chant often place it in the *superius* rather than the tenor and present it in paraphrase, altered and embellished without obscuring the contour and phrasing of the original. Essentially, these are settings of the paraphrased chant with simple accompaniment. As in earlier polyphonic elaborations of liturgical chant, the new work serves the same liturgical function and takes its form from the chant, but adds resonance, solemnity and artistry; the placement of the chant in the upper part preserves its prominence, while the lower parts reinforce the cadences through directed contrapuntal motion. In Du Fay's setting of *Kyrie 'Cunctipotens genitor'* (ex.5, on the same chant as in exx.2–4), the *superius* is paraphrased from the chant and accompanied in the style of *fauxbourdon*, in which the tenor mostly parallels it a 6th below and a middle voice follows the *superius* a 4th below. Paraphrase was a new manner of treating chant. Previously chant had been the foundation, from *organum* to the isorhythmic motet, but here it is the melody, reshaped to fit the new melodic style, including Du Fay's typical rhythmic variety and cadential figuration. Reworking existing melodies through paraphrase became characteristic of the Renaissance and has continued as a prominent method of borrowing ever since, from the elaborations of *Christ lag in Todesbanden* in Bach's Cantata no.4 (see ex.11 below) to the recasting of folk and popular



melodies as themes in the music of 19th- and 20th-century composers. In virtually every case, there is a stylistic gulf between the source, usually monophonic and often quite old, and the new work, embodied in the artistry with which the source is reworked into a melody suitable for the current style.

**Ex.5** Du Fay: Kyrie 'Cunctipotens genitor'

The image shows a musical score for Du Fay's Kyrie 'Cunctipotens genitor'. It consists of three staves. The top staff is labeled 'Ky - ti' and has lyrics 'Ky - ti - - e'. The middle staff is labeled 'FAUXBOURDON' and has lyrics 'Ky - ti - - e'. The bottom staff is labeled 'TENOR' and has lyrics 'Ky - ti - - e'. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and ornaments (marked with 'x'). There are also fingerings indicated by numbers like '5' and '10'.

ex.5

Musical borrowing reached a peak of interest and complexity in the polyphonic Mass Ordinary cycles of the 15th and 16th centuries. Although only the first two movements were performed without intervening chant or other music, these cycles were conceived as units, and composers sought methods to link the movements to one another. Polyphonic settings of liturgically appropriate chant, as in Machaut's Mass and Du Fay's early *Missa Sancti Jacobi*, were related only by similarities in number of voices, texture, sonority and style. Composers interested in linking movements more closely turned to musical similarities between movements, involving borrowing between movements and very often borrowing from an existing piece. One early solution was to begin each movement with similar music, referred to as a head-motif or motto.

Further unification, and perhaps new levels of meaning, resulted when each movement was based on the same borrowed music, as is true of the majority of 15th- and 16th-century masses. Essentially, two kinds of sources were used, monophonic and polyphonic, with two main forms of elaboration, based on cantus firmus practice or, beginning some time around 1500, the new style of pervasive imitation. Four main types of mass resulted, which have been termed the cantus-firmus mass (or tenor mass); the cantus-firmus/imitation mass; the paraphrase mass; and the imitation mass (or parody mass). Masses were normally titled by the source from which they borrowed.

The cantus-firmus mass uses the same monophonic melody, usually drawn from chant, as a cantus firmus in all movements, usually in the tenor and most often in longer note values than the other voices. The genre seems to have been inaugurated by English composers in the 1430s or 40s with works such as Dunstaple's Mass on the antiphon *Rex seculorum* and Power's Mass *Alma Redemptoris mater* and continued in numerous examples by Du Fay, Ockeghem and later composers. The choice of cantus firmus may have been motivated by the associations it carried, relating to its text, its place in the liturgy or the feast for which the mass was to be performed (as in the early English examples), but these reasons are now often obscure. The way the cantus firmus is treated varies widely and seems to have been a locus for composers to demonstrate their ingenuity. Sometimes this involves a proportional scheme or other procedures reminiscent of the isorhythmic motet; in other cases the cantus firmus is treated more freely, or the treatment may vary between movements. Certain melodies were used by many composers, such as *Caput* (from an antiphon in the English Sarum rite), and later masses on the same melody are sometimes modelled directly on one or more predecessors, suggesting a tradition of emulation and competition between composers; for example, the Ockeghem *Missa 'Caput'* is modelled on that attributed to Du Fay, and the Obrecht on both of them. Here two kinds of borrowing operate simultaneously, drawing the melody from a monophonic chant and rhythms, layout and other structural features from one or more polyphonic predecessors.

A large number of masses draw their cantus firmus from a voice, usually the tenor, of a polyphonic work, usually a secular song but sometimes an instrumental work or motet. The original rhythm of the cantus firmus is usually preserved, sometimes with proportional augmentation. While these have long been considered cantus-firmus masses, it has recently been shown that virtually all of them borrow to some extent from all voices of the polyphonic model, giving them some features of the imitation mass (Steib, 1992). Various terms have been proposed for this type, but none has yet been widely accepted; the term cantus-firmus/imitation mass will be used here. The first of this type appears to be Du Fay's *Missa 'Se la face ay pale'* (c1450), based on his own chanson, which uses the tenor of the chanson in the tenor of the mass and draws from all voices of the model near the end of the Gloria, Credo and Sanctus (ex.6). Here the inclusion of all voices highlights the growing recognizability of the source tenor, which in the Gloria is first presented in triple augmentation of its original durations, then in double, and finally at the same speed as in the chanson. Most composers who use polyphonic models borrow from all voices, but the extent of borrowing from voices other than the tenor varies from relatively little in the masses of Du Fay to a large amount in those of Johannes Martini. Along with variety in the extent of borrowing, there is a range of techniques, from direct borrowing of an entire polyphonic complex to realigning the counterpoint, rewriting some of the voices, compressing or extending phrases through paraphrase, enlarging points of imitation and writing new points of imitation on motifs that were not imitative in the source. Here too a tradition of competitive mass settings emerged, including multiple masses on Du Fay's *Le serviteur* and Hayne van Ghizeghem's *Allez regretz* and *De tous biens plaine*.

## Ex.6 (a) Du Fay: *Se la face ay palé* conclusion

CANTUS  
[a-]voit Sans el - le ne puis.

TENOR  
Que nul bien a - voit Sans el - le ne puis.

CONTRATENOR

25

30

## Ex.6 (b) Du Fay: Gloria from *Missa 'Se la face ay palé'* conclusion

190

C

CT

T

195

C

CT

T

men.

men.

men.

men.

C = from Cantus  
T = from Tenor  
CT = from Contratenor  
— = direct borrowing  
- - - = insertion or deletion

ex.6

The paraphrase mass extends borrowing to some or all voices of the mass, yet draws only on a monophonic model, usually a chant. This type is anticipated in Martini's *Missa domenicalis* and *Missa ferialis* (c1470–80s), in which chants from the Ordinary cycles for Sundays and weekdays respectively are paraphrased in the tenor and often anticipated in one or more voices, resulting in a point of imitation. In a mature paraphrase mass such as Josquin's *Missa 'Pange lingua'* (c1520, ex.7) and *Missa 'Ave maris stella'*, all movements are based on the same chant, all voices are virtually equal in importance, and all paraphrase the chant to varying degrees in a series of points of imitation based on the successive phrases of the chant.

Ex.7 (a) *Pange lingua gloriosi* (hymn)

Pan - ge lin - gua glo - ti - o - si Cor - po - ris my - ste - ti - um

Ex.7 (b) Josquin: *Agnus Dei* from *Missa 'Pange lingua'*

SUPERIUS  
ALTUS  
TENOR  
BASSUS

A - gnus De - i, a - gnus De - i, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di, qui tol - lis pec - ca - ta mun - di

x = note from chant

() = repetition of phrase from chant

ex.6

The imitation mass, so named from the use of the phrase 'missa ad imitationem' in the titles of 16th-century published masses of this type (Lockwood, D1966), borrows from all voices of a polyphonic model and is distinguished from the cantus-firmus/imitation mass in that no single voice is taken over complete as a cantus firmus. In an imitation mass, composers may borrow the entire contrapuntal fabric of a phrase or some part of it, such as the primary motif or a series of chords. Changes may include writing new points of imitation on borrowed motifs, emphasizing motifs that were not prominent in the original or de-emphasizing motifs that were, changing melodic details, changing the alignment of the parts, changing the order in which motifs appear, repeating ideas and omitting ideas. The opening and closing phrases of the model frequently open and close each movement of the mass, as suggested by the descriptions of the imitation mass in Pietro Pontio's *Ragionamento di musica* (1588) and Pietro Cerone's *Il melopeo y maestro* (1613). Mouton's *Missa 'Quem dicunt homines'* (c1515), on a motet by Richafort, is typical in beginning each movement with a new reworking of the motet's opening point of imitation, achieving considerable variety while clearly linking movements to each other and to the source (ex.8). The imitation mass became the leading type in the 16th century and continued into the 17th, gradually being displaced by types not based on borrowed material.

## Ex.8(a) Richafort: *Quem dicunt homines*

Musical score for Ex.8(a) Richafort: *Quem dicunt homines*. The score is for four voices: SUPERIUS, ALTUS, TENOR, and BASSUS. It shows two systems of music. The first system starts at measure 5 and ends at measure 10. The second system starts at measure 10 and ends at measure 15. The lyrics are: "Quem di - cunt ho - mi - nes es - se fi - li - um ho - mi - nis? Re -".

## Ex.8(b) Mouton: Kyrie from *Missa 'Quem dicunt homines'*

Musical score for Ex.8(b) Mouton: Kyrie from *Missa 'Quem dicunt homines'*. The score is for four voices: DISCANTUS, ALTUS, TENOR, and BASSUS. It shows two systems of music. The first system starts at measure 5 and ends at measure 10. The second system starts at measure 10 and ends at measure 15. The lyrics are: "Ky - ti e - lei son, -".

## Ex.8(c) Mouton: Gloria from *Missa 'Quem dicunt homines'*

Musical score for Ex.8(c) Mouton: Gloria from *Missa 'Quem dicunt homines'*. The score is for four voices: DISCANTUS, ALTUS, TENOR, and BASSUS. It shows two systems of music. The first system starts at measure 5 and ends at measure 10. The second system starts at measure 10 and ends at measure 15. The lyrics are: "Et in ter - ra pax ho - mi - ni - bus bo - nae vo - lun - ta - tis. Lau - da - mus te. Be - ne - di - ci - mus te."

ex.8

The purposes and meanings of the borrowings in all four types of mass are subjects for debate. It seems clear from the comments of Pontio and other theorists that musical unity was a goal, and using the same source for each movement guarantees it. Some works based on chant were apparently associated with the feast day on which the chant was performed, but this is not certain in all cases; in the same way, some masses based on motets may have been intended for performance in the same service as the motet. Reworking existing music was central to the centuries-old tradition of liturgical polyphony, and the introduction of new sources and new methods of elaboration was part of that tradition. Masses based on polyphonic works or written in apparent competition with earlier masses on the same source suggest a concept in music akin to that of imitation in rhetoric. There is evidence for this concept in the 16th century, since Aaron, Zarlino and other theorists use the rhetorical term *imitatio* for the reworking of a polyphonic model, and masses on polyphonic models are often titled with the formula 'Missa ad imitationem' followed by the title of the model. Whether it can be applied to the 15th century is in dispute (Brown, 1982; Perkins, 1984; Burkholder, 1985; Wegman, 1989; Meconi, JM, 1994), and the large number of masses in both centuries based on the composer's own composition suggests purposes other than the emulation of a revered model that is at the heart of rhetorical imitation. The words of secular songs or motets may have carried significance. Josquin's *Missa 'Di Dadi'* is based on Morton's chanson *N'aray je jamais mieulx que j'ay*, but presents only the first line of the chanson, asking a question ('Will I never have better than I have?') that has spiritual as well as secular meanings, until the whole cantus firmus appears at the 'Osanna' during the elevation of the host, symbolizing the answer in salvation through Christ (Long, 1989). In addition, it has been suggested that some masses quote or allude to chansons other than that used in the tenor, evoking their texts in order to enrich the meaning of the mass text (Reynolds, 1992). Such a reference to music in order to bring its text to the mind of the listener was apparently new in the 15th century, and later became a significant aspect of programmatic borrowing.

## 6. Other Renaissance sacred music.

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Other liturgical vocal music of the Renaissance used borrowed material in ways similar to masses. Motets were often based on existing chants with the same texts and used a variety of approaches. A comparison of settings of *Alma Redemptoris mater* shows the frequent and varied use of paraphrase, including Du Fay's paraphrase of the chant in the superius, Ockeghem's use of the chant as a paraphrased cantus firmus and Palestrina's use of paraphrase in all voices in points of imitation. Some motets drew a cantus firmus from a chant other than that from which its text was borrowed, as in the motets of Johannes Regis, or from a secular song, linking the two texts; Josquin's *Stabat mater* uses as a cantus firmus the tenor of the widely known chanson *Comme femme desconfortée*, whose words (though probably not sung in the motet) provide a poignant commentary to the Latin text through their depiction of a woman disconsolate at the death of a beloved. Some, 16th-century motets reworked a polyphonic model in the manner of an imitation mass movement (Macey, 1993). Others relied on an existing motet as a structural model, with little or no melodic borrowing (Fromson, 1992). But many motets used no borrowed material, and this became standard by the late 16th century.



Hymns and *Magnificat* settings, long performed antiphonally, were from about the 1430s onwards often set in alternating plainchant and polyphony. Du Fay's complete cycle of hymns for the important feasts of the liturgical year established the pattern of alternating plainchant in the odd-numbered verses with a three-voice setting used for all of the even-numbered verses of a hymn. Later composers varied this pattern, using four voices, setting the odd-numbered verses, alternating two polyphonic settings, or providing a new polyphonic setting for each even- or odd-numbered verse. The last was standard for *Magnificat* settings and became so for hymns by the 1490s. One of the challenges of the form was providing a different setting for each verse, particularly for the formulaic canticle tones of the *Magnificat*.

Du Fay's and other early 15th-century settings paraphrased the chant in the superius. Hymns from the late 15th century to the 16th use the chant as a cantus firmus, at first in long, even notes accompanied by active counterpoint in the other voices, later often paraphrasing the hymn in one or more of the other voices, generally before its appearance as a cantus firmus. In 16th-century settings, the pervasive imitation of motifs from the hymn and the closeness in style of the cantus firmus to the other voices makes the texture similar to that of the paraphrase mass or motet. 16th-century composers wrote *Magnificat* settings using the same approaches to borrowing and reworking as for hymns, but they also adapted methods familiar from the mass. These include settings with pervasive imitation, often paraphrasing the *initio* and *terminatio* of the canticle tone in points of imitation, as in the *Magnificat* settings of Palestrina, and parody or imitation *Magnificat* settings based on secular works or motets, including almost 40 by Lassus. Imitation *Magnificat* settings are among the few settings from the Renaissance not to be based on the plainchant canticle tones. There are also a few based on other cantus firmi, similar in style to cantus-firmus mass movements.

Parallel to polyphonic vocal settings of hymns and the *Magnificat* are settings for organ of hymns, canticles, psalm tones and antiphons, performed in alternation with plainchant. Descriptions of such *alternatim* performances date back to the 14th century, but the earliest extant examples of organ settings are a hymn and *Magnificat* in the Faenza Codex from the early 15th century (I-FZc 117). This is also the earliest source of organ versets for the mass, which treat items of the mass in the same manner, for example by alternating phrases of the Kyrie between organ and voices. Organ versets were often improvised, but many were written down, and several organ masses or other collections of liturgical organ settings were published in the 16th century. Until the mid-17th century, organ hymns, *Magnificat* settings and versets were almost invariably cantus-firmus settings of the appropriate segment of chant. From the mid-16th century, some composers introduced elements from parallel vocal genres, such as anticipating the cantus firmus with points of imitation derived from it.

The Lutheran Reformation in the early 16th century led to the creation of a new repertory of sacred music based on the chorale. Chorales were initially sung by the congregation in unison and unaccompanied. Most were adapted from chant, from German devotional songs (many of which were themselves reworkings of chant) and from secular songs, or were composed using conventional melodic types and formulae. Techniques of adaptation ranged from simple contrafactum to ingenious reworkings, such as Luther's reshaping of the Gregorian hymn *Veni Redemptor gentium* as the chorale *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland* (ex. 9). Chorales in turn were arranged in polyphonic settings in varying styles. Early settings present the chorale in the tenor, either harmonized in chordal style or treated as a cantus firmus in long notes,

sometimes preceded by imitation in the other parts; later settings include harmonizations with the chorale in the top voice and a style of chorale motet in which each line of the chorale is treated in imitation by all voices. Organists probably improvised chorale settings for *alternatim* performance with the choir or congregation, but few survive from before the 1570s and 80s, when several collections were published of settings for organ in mostly chordal style, some perhaps intabulations of vocal settings. Tunes for singing metrical translations of the psalms in the Calvinist and other Reformed churches were also sometimes adapted from chant or from secular songs. Psalm tunes were in turn reworked for new translations of the psalms into Dutch, German, English and other languages and were used in polyphonic settings in cantus-firmus style, imitative counterpoint or simple harmonizations, by Bourgeois, Goudimel, Sweelinck and others. The French Noël repertory (Catholic but non-liturgical) included melodies adapted from popular songs, polyphonic chansons, and hymns, tropes and other chants.

Ex.9 (a) *Veni redemptor gentium*



Ex.9 (b) *Nun komm der Heiden Heiland*



x = note from chant

ex.9

## 7. Renaissance secular music.

The importance of liturgical chant and a long tradition of basing new works on existing music may partly explain the centrality of borrowing for sacred music in the Renaissance. Yet borrowing in various forms is almost as pervasive in secular repertoires, suggesting that it was part of the period's basic concept and practice of music.

Polyphonic German songs from about 1450 to about 1550 are often settings of monophonic *lieder*, treating the existing tune as a cantus firmus accompanied by two or three independent contrapuntal lines. Isaac's two settings of *Innsbruck, ich muss dich lassen* represent variants of this tradition, the first treating the tune as a cantus firmus in canon in the inner voices (a setting that Isaac re-used in the *Christe* of his *Missa carminum*, a borrowing of a borrowing) and the second placing the tune in the cantus over a largely homophonic harmonization. Both approaches also appear in polyphonic settings of French popular monophonic tunes, as in the *chansons rustiques* (Brown, D1959).

The chanson repertory of Josquin's time is replete with different polyphonic versions based on the same tune and text. Some of these are settings of monophonic tunes, often in cantus-firmus style. But many are reworkings of polyphonic chansons, and some chansons were adapted dozens of times. The variety of techniques used is exemplified by Hayne van Ghizeghem's *De tous biens plaine*, one of the most frequently adapted: one reworking adds a fourth voice *si placet*; three substitute a new contratenor; two retain two voices of the original and add two new voices; 28 borrow the superius, tenor or contratenor as a cantus firmus and add one to three new voices (in three cases with a new added text); two combine one voice from this chanson with one from another existing chanson and two new voices; and one reworks parts of all voices of the model (Meconi, *JRMA*, 1994). Reworkings appear to begin about 1450 with numerous alternative versions of *O rosa bella* and become increasingly common in the second half of the century. This coincides with or soon follows the practice of basing mass cycles on polyphonic secular works; the two are almost certainly related, with many of the same composers active in both traditions. Yet there are differences in the two practices, most notably that the secular reworkings tend to present the borrowed voice or voices without transposition or significant alteration, in the same voices and rhythmic values as in the original. Such a reworking may have served several purposes, such as bringing an older work up to date by adding a fourth voice or smoothing out the contratenor; providing a fresh version of a familiar favourite, akin to 'covers' of hit recordings in late 20th-century popular music; or demonstrating the skill of the composer in recasting a well-known model, a combination of 'emulation, competition, and homage' (Brown, 1982). Some reworkings seem to have been written by students, to judge from their lesser quality, their preservation anonymously in only one source and, in rare cases, evidence of correction and revision; it seems likely that imitation of a model chanson was a frequent mode of instruction in composition. The tendency to return repeatedly to the same models, such as *Fors seulement* and *Fortuna desperata*, suggests that composers were conscious of engaging in a tradition involving competition with each other and a search for new and individual ways of treating common material. In contradistinction to the 19th and 20th centuries, when inventing a distinctive melody or style came to be valued most highly, Renaissance musicians seem to have regarded the reworking of existing material as a test of compositional skill, demonstrating one's inventiveness not in what one starts with but in what one does with it.

Chanson reworking continued throughout the 16th century, partly in response to the demand for published music for amateurs. Attaingnant and others recast four-voice chansons for three or two parts or for voice and instruments and published them repeatedly, often without attribution (Heartz, 1971). The most popular songs, such as Didier Lupi Second's *Susanne un jour* (Levy, 1953), Sandrin's *Douce memoire* (Dobbins, 1969–70) and Sermisy's *Jouyssance vous donneray*, were reworked for fewer parts, for instruments, as contrafacta, in new chansons based on cantus firmus or paraphrase, as psalm tunes or dance melodies, and in other ways, normally without attribution to the original composer. Both the frequency of re-use and the frequent lack of attribution suggest a musical culture in which reworking was undertaken primarily for utilitarian reasons, to adapt music to a new function or performing ensemble, and in which ownership of music lay with the user as much as or more than with the originator.

Frottolas often quoted or alluded to text and music of other frottolas or earlier works. By contrast, Italian madrigals seldom drew from existing works and were in turn reworked less often than chansons or frottolas, primarily in arrangements for two or three voices or voice and instruments. Interest in correct declamation, expressive inflection and vivid illustration of the words inspired invention of new music

uniquely suited to the text and made emulation less satisfying, even when composers set the same poem. But at least some madrigal composers drew on earlier works as models for procedures or effects, usually without melodic borrowing; for example, some of Monteverdi's early madrigals are modelled on ones by Luzzaschi, Marenzio and Wert (Watkins and La May, 1986; Tomlinson, 1987). English madrigal composers used Italian works as models; for example, Morley borrowed directly, reworking several ballettos of Gastoldi and canzonets and madrigals of other composers, while Weelkes used works of Salamone Rossi as models for his first madrigal collection, borrowing points of imitation, melodic contours, rhythms and textures (Cohen, 1985).

The Renaissance also saw the development of genres based on quotation (rather than reworking or modelling), in which recognizing the quoted material is part of the game. The quodlibet, practised mostly in Germany from the 15th century to the mid-18th, combined quotations from several songs, usually with humorous intent. Successive or homophonic quodlibets, the most common type, present a patchwork of brief musical and textual fragments in one voice, including folksongs and street cries, accompanied by voices without quotation. Simultaneous or polyphonic quodlibets combine in counterpoint two or more such patchwork voices, two or more complete borrowed melodies, or a mixture of both types. Related forms in other nations include the *ensalada* (Spain), *fricassée* (France) and *incatenatura* or *misticanza* (Italy). The English medley tends to present a series of complete songs rather than fragments. The Latin American *ensaladilla* was a quodlibet villancico comprising a series of existing villancicos strung together with linking passages.

Much instrumental music of the Renaissance was based on borrowing. Intabulations of vocal music continued throughout the Renaissance and into the 17th century. Numerous keyboard intabulations appear in German manuscripts, notably the Buxheimer Orgelbuch (see Arrangement, ex.2). The rise of music printing and of amateur interest in performance in the early 16th century led to many published collections of intabulations for keyboard, lute, vihuela and other plucked string instruments, with varying degrees of embellishment (see Arrangement, ex.3). Such transcriptions testify both to the popularity of the vocal originals, ranging from motets to madrigals and villancicos, and to the readiness of musicians to rework existing music to suit new circumstances. The more elaborate reworkings display the compositional and performing virtuosity of the intabulator, and essentially constitute variations on the vocal model.

The canzona began as an instrumental arrangement of a polyphonic chanson, like the four in M.A. Cavazzoni's *Recerchari motetti canzoni* (1523). His son Girolamo Cavazzoni's canzona on Josquin's *Faulte d'argent* (published 1543) considerably reworks its model, eliminating the canon between contratenor and quinta pars, rewriting the opening point of imitation (whose original imitation at the unison would be ungraceful on the organ), adjusting the rhythm, compressing the opening phrases of five and seven bars respectively to four each, and making similar changes throughout to create a substantially new work on the same motivic ideas and formal and harmonic plan (ex.10). Later canzonas were composed using newly invented material in a similar style, and many ensemble canzonas were transcribed for keyboard or lute before the newly composed keyboard canzona was established around 1600. Thus the canzona, like the motet, began as a genre defined by its use of borrowed material and evolved by the early 17th century into an independent work, normally free of borrowing.

Ex.10 Josquin's *Faulte d'argent* and Cavazzoni's *Canzon sopra Falt d'argens*

5

SUPERIUS

CONTRATENOR

TENOR

QUINTA PARS

BASSUS

Faulte d'argent, C'est dou-leur non pa-teil

Faulte d'argent, C'est dou-leur non pa-teil le, Faulte d'argent

10

gent, C'est dou-leur non pa-teil le non pa-teil

Faulte d'argent, C'est dou-leur non pa-teil le,

le c'est dou-leur non pa-teil le

Faulte d'argent, C'est

gent, c'est dou-leur non pa-teil le, c'est

6 7 CT 8

CT

T

B

CT

T

B

S = from Superius  
 CT = from Contratenor  
 T = from Tenor  
 Q = from Quinta pars  
 B = from Bassus  
 — = borrowed notes, with some rhythmic changes  
 --- = notes inserted or deleted

ex.10

Another genre originally derived from vocal models was the instrumental setting of chant or other melody in cantus-firmus style, apparently not intended for liturgical use. Most striking is the English tradition of In Nomine compositions for consort or keyboard. The practice originated in instrumental performances and intabulations of the 'In nomine Domini' section of Taverner's Mass on the Sarum antiphon *Gloria tibi*

*Trinitas*, which uses the chant as a cantus firmus. Later English composers borrowed the cantus firmus for new instrumental works, which became known as 'In Nomine', and some also adapted motifs from Taverner's other voices. Akin to the *Caput* mass tradition, In Nomines involved direct borrowing of a monophonic tune coupled with emulation of previous polyphonic works based on that tune, resulting in a chain of competitive composition in which the way one worked with borrowed material while introducing something new was part of demonstrating one's skill as a composer.

Dance music was often improvised over a given cantus firmus. Numerous tunes for the basse danse were drawn from French chansons. Other dances were based on repeating basses or chordal schemes such as the passamezzo and folia, which served both as schemes for improvisation, like the 12-bar blues in the 20th century, and as material to be borrowed and reworked into compositions for lute, keyboard or instrumental consort.

The most significant use of borrowing in instrumental music was the new genre of variations. Borrowing and variation are clearly related; most types of borrowing in the Renaissance, from paraphrased hymns and instrumental intabulations to the imitation mass, resemble one or more free variations on the source, and embellishing a newly composed theme is similar to reworking an existing piece. But pieces conceived as sets of variations first appear in the 16th century, especially in Italy, Spain and England, in works for lute, vihuela or keyboard. Spanish and Italian variation sets were often based on repeating basses or harmonic frameworks commonly used for improvisation. Examples of these, including the passamezzo, folia, romanesca, Ruggiero and Spagna, appear in Mudarra's *Tres libros de musica en cifras para vihuela* (1546) and the *Tratado de glosas* (1553) by Diego Ortiz. Other works presented a cantus firmus in a succession of varied settings, as in the *diferencias* (variations) on *O gloriosa Domina* by Luys de Narváez (1538), or combine melodic variations with a repeating bass, as in the latter's variations on *Guárdame las vacas*. English composers wrote variations on short repeated ground-bass figures, sometimes borrowed, and cantus-firmus variations on hymns and other liturgical chant. In the closing decades of the 16th century and the early 17th century, English composers for virginal such as Bull and Byrd cultivated all current types of variations, including variations on traditional bass patterns, cantus-firmus variations, melodic variations on popular songs and fantasias on borrowed motifs such as the diatonic hexachord and other commonly used solmization figures. Writing variations on a borrowed theme remains one of the most prominent uses of musical borrowing down to the present day; indeed, it is so common that it is seldom thought of as a kind of borrowing.

This survey of borrowing in the Renaissance from the mass to secular instrumental music shows how widespread borrowing practices were, how often new music depended on reworking older material, how habitual borrowing was for composers, and how varied and often masterly were their methods of adaptation. Within repertoires that included music on newly invented subjects and music on borrowed ones, such as motet, chorale and canzona, there appear to have been few distinctions between works that borrowed and those that did not in how the musical material was used and the work was structured. Clearly the focus of composition was on skilful elaboration, not originality in invention. Luther's famous comment that Josquin was 'the master of the notes', which 'must do as he wills', confirms that mastery lay not in the material but in what the composer did with it. The frequent return to the same melodies and models for reworking, from *O rosa bella* to *Susanne un jour* and the romanesca, suggests that these formed part of a

core repertory for one or more generations, as familiar as the Beethoven symphonies to 19th-century concertgoers and as jazz standards to 20th-century fans, and that part of the pleasure of music was to hear the familiar in a new guise.

## 8. The Baroque era.

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Early 17th-century composers continued many of the borrowing practices of the previous century. Monteverdi's *Vespers* (1610) included cantus-firmus settings of psalms and two of the *Magnificat*, an instrumental sonata on the litany melody *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis* and an imitation mass on a Gombert motet. Frescobaldi wrote variations on the Ruggiero, *romanesca* and other popular tunes; capriccios on *La sol fa re mi*, the ascending and descending hexachord, and other frequently used subjects; keyboard settings of hymns and the *Magnificat*; and, in the organ masses of *Fiori musicali* (1635), settings of plainchant Kyrie sections to be performed *alternatim* with chant, including Kyrie 'Cunctipotens genitor'.

Yet several forms of borrowing declined in significance after 1600. Settings of Latin liturgical texts such as hymns and the *Magnificat* were less likely to incorporate the original chant, partly because the modern style differed radically from the old modal tunes and from earlier styles of elaborating them. By the 18th century, when the chant appeared as a cantus firmus, as in the 'Confiteor' of Bach's Mass in B minor (c1747–9), it was a rhetorical gesture, an evocation of an archaic style regarded as especially dignified and sacred. An intense focus on the proper declamation and expression of texts, both secular and sacred, promoted a search for individual solutions rather than extensions of tradition. Composers after about 1630 tended to avoid parody, paraphrase and cantus firmus procedures in their masses and Latin motets in favour of devising a unique musical treatment appropriate to the text and the circumstances of performance. Similarly, instrumental sonatas, canzonas, toccatas, ricercares and other forms relied primarily on new musical material.

Composers did not cease imitating each other, but they tended to borrow styles and conventions more often than melodies or polyphonic complexes. Monteverdi's *stile concitato*, invented for *Il combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* (1624), was imitated by Grandi and Schütz, and his *Lamento della ninfa* (published 1638) helped establish a tradition of laments over a descending tetrachord ostinato, including laments by Cavalli, Cesti, Purcell and Handel. Lully's overtures and concertos by Corelli and Vivaldi likewise set a pattern for later composers. Once such styles and conventions were established, however, any number of works might have served as models, making borrowing from any particular piece difficult to trace.

Still, borrowing in the Baroque era was frequent, in three main arenas: music on standard harmonic or bass patterns; genres based on borrowing, such as variations, chorale settings, organ mass and quodlibet; and reworking existing music, either one's own or another's, for a new purpose. The last of these began to raise issues of originality and plagiarism for critics in the 18th century and later (see §9, below).

Dances, vocal and instrumental settings, and variations continued to be composed on bass patterns and melodies inherited from the 16th century, and new ones entered the repertory. Strophic songs, duets and instrumental variations on the *romanesca* and *ruggiero* reached their peak in the first third of the 17th century. The *folia* melody and bass was current in Spain and Italy through the 1670s and a variant form

(‘Folies d’Espagne’) remained popular up to 1750, especially in France and England. The opening chorus of the final dance of the Florentine intermedi of 1589, by Cavalieri, became well known as the *Ballo del Gran Duca* or *Aria di Fiorenza* and was adapted in over 100 dances, intabulations and other compositions (Kirkendale, 1972). The chaconne began as a Mexican dance-song imported to Spain and Italy, where its repeated harmonies developed into ostinato bass patterns used across the Continent for variations; passacaglia basses had a similar evolution from harmonic formulae used as guitar ritornellos for Spanish songs. Variation sets on these chord progressions or bass patterns, such as Frescobaldi's *Partite sopra passacagli* (1627), were imitated by later composers in a tradition that culminated in the orchestral and choral chaconnes and passacaglias of Lully, Purcell and others. Variations on bass ostinatos and harmonic patterns were popular all over Europe. As the century continued, direct borrowing decreased as conventional patterns and figures emerged. These conventional basses and harmonic progressions are in some respects comparable to melodic formulae in early chant; in both cases, the music that survives in notation appears to have resulted in part from a tradition of improvising new realizations of a familiar formula. The overlap between using a convention and emulating a particular work is illustrated by Bach's Passacaglia in C minor for organ, which drew on broad generic traditions, borrowed the first half of its bass ostinato from an organ passacaglia by André Raison and emulated textures and procedures from Buxtehude's Passacaglia in D minor.

Many variations in the first half of the 17th century were composed on original material, including the new forms of strophic variations, variation canzona, variation sonata and variation ricercare, but borrowed material continued to be used. Northern composers from Sweelinck to Bach wrote variations on chorales, usually in a series of cantus firmus settings, and Sweelinck, Scheidt and later composers also wrote melodic variations for keyboard on secular songs, often treating the melody less as a line to be decorated than as a general framework.

While the use of Latin chants in new works decreased, compositions based on chorales proliferated in Lutheran Germany. These included four-part harmonizations with the chorale in the upper voice; chorale motets using cantus-firmus procedure or imitation of each phrase in all voices; the chorale concerto practised by Praetorius, Schein and Scheidt, which introduced chorale melodies into the new concerted Italian vocal genres; the chorale ricercare, an organ counterpart of the chorale motet in which each line of the chorale was treated in fugal imitation; the chorale fugue, in which only the first or first two lines were imitated fugally; chorale variations (or chorale partita) for organ; the chorale fantasia, a large organ work that freely developed a chorale, often presenting each line in more than one manner; and the chorale prelude, a setting of the chorale tune in embellished form with simple accompaniment or as a cantus firmus above or amid imitative or figurative counterpoint, played on the organ to introduce the tune before the congregation sang a chorale.

Most elaborate was the chorale cantata, which set one verse of the chorale text in each movement and borrowed its tune for some or all movements, using a variety of methods from cantus firmus to paraphrase and imitative polyphony and usually ending with a chordal setting of the chorale melody for chorus, sometimes decorated with obbligato instrumental parts. Bach's Cantata no. 4, on *Christ lag in Todesbanden* (?1708), is a late but well-known example, with a different approach in each movement (ex.11a, ex.11b and c). The first verse is in chorale motet style with the chorale as a cantus firmus in long notes in the soprano,



motifs paraphrased from it in other voices and the chorale's opening auxiliary-note figure echoing throughout the texture. The second verse features a paraphrase of the chorale in the soprano, anticipated and accompanied by several statements of the descending step that opens the chorale. After other types of settings in later movements, the final verse is a straightforward four-part harmonization. More numerous than pure chorale cantatas were cantatas that incorporated a chorale in one or more movements, interspersed with biblical verses or other poetry set as recitatives and arias. Chorale settings were also interpolated into other sacred works, as in Bach's Passions. Movements on other texts, especially for chorus, often incorporated a chorale as a cantus firmus in either voices or instruments; Bach's Kyrie in F BWV233a uses *Christe du Lamm Gottes* in this way. The ingenuity with which composers used and transformed chorales is impressive. All types of chorale reworking linked the music heard to tunes and texts familiar to the congregation, reinforcing the didactic message of the chorale while introducing artistry and variety.



Many organ masses were composed and published in Italy in the first half of the 17th century and in France in its last third. The Italians continued to use chant, usually in cantus-firmus style, but French composers such as Raison and François Couperin tended more often to paraphrase or even omit the chant. The popularity of singing noëls at Midnight Mass at Christmas led Charpentier to include several Noël melodies in his *Messe de minuit pour Noël* for voices and orchestra; organists composed numerous settings of noëls and, beginning in the 18th century, *messes en noëls*, in which each verset was based on a Noël melody.

Such works exploited the listener's pleasure in recognizing familiar tunes in a new context. The same was of course true of the quodlibet, medley and similar forms, which continued through the 17th and 18th centuries, and of stage works that incorporated borrowed music. Familiar songs, sometimes with altered or new texts, were sung in the plays of Shakespeare and in Jacobean city comedies in the early 17th century (Austern, 1985). The French *comédie en vaudevilles* and the English and North American ballad opera, both especially popular in the first half of the 18th century, were comic plays with numerous interpolated songs that set new words to familiar traditional or popular melodies.

## 9. Reworkings and issues of originality.

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The type of borrowing practised in the Baroque era that has seemed most foreign to later centuries was the re-use or reworking of entire pieces. 19th-century notions of originality regarded reworking one's own music as unoriginal and taking another's work without due credit as plagiarism. These ideas began to emerge during the 18th century, and their gradual acceptance led to a fundamental change in attitudes towards and practices of borrowing.

In the 17th and 18th centuries, music was designed for a particular circumstance, sometimes for a single occasion, and music that was not recast for a new use would often not be heard again. It is therefore no surprise that composers felt free to re-use or rework their own music to suit a new purpose, occasion or audience. Monteverdi rewrote the lament from his opera *L'Arianna* (1608) as a madrigal sequence for five voices to include in his sixth book of madrigals (1614) and later created a sacred contrafactum of it as *Pianto della Madonna*, published in *Selva morale e spirituale* (1641); similarly, he reworked his canzonetta *Chiome d'oro* as a motet, *Beatus vir*. Lully recast his *tragédie-ballet Psyché* (1671) as an opera (1678). Purcell re-used earlier music frequently in his incidental music for plays and often excerpted and adapted solo songs and duets from larger works. Vivaldi re-used arias in later operas, and his instrumental and vocal works often share ritornello material. Rameau arranged instrumental music from *Les Indes galantes* as a series of harpsichord pieces titled *Quatre grands concerts* (1735) and borrowed phrases and refrains from his harpsichord pieces in his operas. Bach recast many of his secular cantatas as sacred cantatas and reworked individual cantata movements in new cantatas, the *Christmas Oratorio* and the Mass in B minor; he also adapted several violin and other concertos as harpsichord concertos for his own concerts. Handel frequently re-used or reworked earlier compositions, most famously in *Messiah* (1742) and in many of his operas. Most of these adaptations made available for new performances or for publication music that otherwise would no longer have been performed, and the others made the music usable in new contexts, such as for religious services or home performance. Many also represent new and sometimes ingenious extensions for musical ideas the composer had already worked with, demonstrating both the hitherto

unrealized potential in the material and the skill of the composer. Often a similarity of wording, affect, subject or dramatic situation makes the earlier music appropriate for a new text and helps to explain why the composer was reminded of a particular piece and chose it for reworking.

Composers also frequently adapted music by others, and often for the same reasons. Monteverdi reworked Caccini's monodic setting of *Sfogava con le stelle* as a five-voice madrigal, perhaps as an answer to Caccini's criticism in the preface to *Le nuove musiche* of the new style of polyphonic madrigals championed by Monteverdi (Horsley, 1978). Aquilino Coppini wrote and published three books of sacred contrafacta of madrigals by Monteverdi and others (1607–9), making works in the new style available for worship and devotions. Lutenists, guitarists and keyboard performers transcribed or recomposed music for voices or other instruments for their own. In the New World, Spanish and French missionaries appropriated tunes of the indigenous peoples for Christian texts. Schütz reworked secular duets by Monteverdi and motets by Gabrieli and Grandi. Lully's operas were parodied at the Théâtre Italien, with comic texts set to his music.

By the late 17th century, any opera being revived with new singers in a different city was likely to be presented as a pasticcio to some degree, as singers routinely substituted arias they already knew or that better suited their voices; in the 18th century, impresarios often assembled pasticcios by adapting existing arias by diverse composers to an existing or a new libretto. Several Handel operas were pasticcios in whole or part; he reworked pieces by Stradella, Kerll, himself and others in his oratorio *Israel in Egypt* (1739); he drew extensively on Muffat and to a lesser extent on Telemann and Domenico Scarlatti in his instrumental works; and he frequently used motifs from existing works in new contrapuntal contexts. Bach transcribed concertos by Vivaldi, Johann Ernst of Saxe-Weimar, Telemann and others for organ or harpsichord, arranged sonatas and a fugue by Reincken for keyboard and pieces by Telemann and Couperin for organ, and wrote fugues on themes by Albinoni, Corelli and Legrenzi. His late motet *Tilge, Höchster, mein Sünden* (1741–6) was based on Pergolesi's *Stabat mater*. The motives for these reworkings included competition for Monteverdi, studying and absorbing another composer's style for Schütz and Bach, practicality and profit for Coppini and the opera impresarios, and the challenge of composing a new work on a given model, and almost all made the existing music usable in new circumstances.

The most interesting reworkings also improved on the source in some way, in accord with Mattheson's advice in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739): 'Borrowing is permissible; but one must return the object borrowed with interest, i.e., one must so construct and develop imitations that they are prettier and better than the pieces from which they are derived'. In some cases, the original composer was identified or would have been known to listeners. That composers did not always identify their sources is not surprising for an era in which music was valued for its usefulness as entertainment, as accompaniment to worship or as expressive vehicle for a text, rather than as an art practised for its own sake. More artisan than artist, a composer of this time was expected to provide appropriate music that was fresh but not necessarily original.

Composers in the Baroque sought recognition for their innovations and credit for their compositions, as did Gesualdo and François Couperin in publishing music that had circulated without their permission, but they seldom claimed ownership of musical material when it was reworked by others. Cavalieri strongly asserted his priority as first to use the *stilerappresentativo*, but there is no sign that he or anyone was as concerned that he was the composer of the music that became known as *Ballo del Gran Duca*, subject of so

many compositions in the early 17th century. Imitation of existing material was accepted and skilful reshaping lauded in music as in literature and the other arts, as had been true for centuries. The occasional complaints of plagiarism or misappropriation from the 16th century to the early 18th usually concerned the attribution of entire works, not the borrowing of musical material for reworking (Pohlmann, 1962).

But in English critical writings of the mid-18th century there began to emerge a new concern for originality as superior to imitation in literature (Buelow, 1987 and 1988). Edward Young wrote in *Conjectures on Original Composition* (1759):

An Imitator shares his crown, if he has one, with the chosen Object of his Imitation; an Original enjoys an undivided applause. An Original may be said to be of a vegetable nature; it rises spontaneously from the vital root of Genius; it grows, it is not made: Imitations are often a sort of Manufacture wrought up by those Mechanics, Art, and Labour, out of pre-existent materials not their own.

Within two generations, originality and genius were considered central to the creative process, and direct borrowing from a model – part of imitation in literature since Quintilian – risked accusations of plagiarism. Writers on music soon adopted the same attitudes, and by the early 19th century the invention of new melodies and new effects had replaced the skilful manipulation of given material as the sign of a great composer. Only in the training of young composers did overt imitation still meet approval. Romanticism has no more profound source than this change in emphasis from the continuity and collectivity of a tradition sustained through imitation of exemplary models to the individualism of an artistic culture that prized genius, inspiration and innovation.

As a sign of the change in values, by the early 19th century Handel stood accused of plagiarism (Horncastle, 1822) for practices that seem today like particularly excellent examples of what had been a long and distinguished tradition of creatively reshaping borrowed material, using a wide range of procedures (Harris, 1990; Winemiller, 1994 and 1997; Risinger, 1996). Handel has been a focus for studies of borrowing for two centuries, because of the historical irony that he was the most significant composer associated with England, where the critical emphasis on originality began, yet he reworked his own music and borrowed from others more often than his contemporaries. Indeed, the issue is so significant in Handel scholarship that there is a modern publication of his sources (Roberts, 1986–8).

## 10. Late 18th century.

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The late 18th century can be seen as a time of transition between old attitudes towards borrowing and new ones. Some forms of borrowing common in the Baroque era were still practised, some declined in popularity and some changed, while new types appeared. Operatic pasticcios were staged in Italy and London until the end of the century and (under the name 'quodlibet') in Vienna early in the 19th century. Ballad operas appeared in England and North America into the early 19th century, and a German adaptation of one helped to launch the German Singspiel. French comic operas were translated and adapted as far away as Sweden, and Mozart's early Singspiel *Bastien und Bastienne* (1768) was modelled on Rousseau's *Le devin du village*. Medley continued in England, where Richard Charke introduced the medley overture. Arrangements and transcriptions continued, including arrangements of operatic excerpts for

wind ensembles and transcriptions of ensemble music for keyboard. Arrangements of Haydn's instrumental themes for voice and keyboard with English words testify to the popular demand for his music in England. On the other hand, elaborate compositions on chorale tunes appeared less frequently, replaced by modest functional music designed to support congregational singing. Variations on ostinato basses and chorales virtually disappeared after 1750. Melodic variations became the predominant type throughout Europe, with the theme presented first, the harmony preserved in each variation (sometimes with a change to the parallel minor for some middle variations) and the melody elaborated with changing figuration yet always recognizable. Composers turned out hundreds of variation sets, often on borrowed themes, for sale to amateur performers on the piano, guitar, flute, violin and other instruments. Mozart's variations for piano on popular songs, opera arias and dances by other composers were among his most popular works. In his later sets the final variation was often an expanded fantasia on material from the theme.

In the realm of reworkings, composers occasionally reshaped their own music into new guises. Mozart recast music from his Mass in C minor K247/417b as the oratorio *Davidde penitente* K469 (1785) and converted several of his serenades into symphonies. He frequently re-used melodic cells from his own earlier works, often in other genres. Haydn adapted movements of symphonies nos.63 and 73 from the overtures to his comic operas *Il mondo della luna* and *La fedeltà premiata* and movements of three late symphonies from chamber works, and he recast his orchestral piece on the seven last words of Christ (? 1786) for string quartet (1787) and then as an oratorio (1796–7). Imitation of models was still practised, particularly as a means of instruction, but the extensive borrowing seen in Handel or Bach was rare among mature composers. The young Mozart's first four keyboard concertos, composed at the age of 11, were compiled from keyboard works by Raupach, Honauer and others, and five years later he reworked three J.C. Bach piano sonatas as piano concertos, a year before his first concerto on original themes (no.5, K175, 1773); a gradual development is evident from straightforward arrangement in the first group through freer reworking in the second to increasing independence from models in the last. Later he learnt styles through emulation, but with overt borrowing restricted to brief phrases of melody and aspects of procedure and form, as in the second movement of his quartet K168, modelled on a quartet movement by Ordonez (Brown, F1992). Even in his last months, Mozart modelled parts of his Requiem (1791) on Michael Haydn's C minor Requiem in instrumentation, style, texture, form and text setting, while avoiding more direct references.

New uses of borrowed material that continued into the 19th century appeared in music of Mozart and Haydn, especially late in their careers. At the bidding of publishers in London and Edinburgh, Haydn arranged hundreds of Scottish, Irish and Welsh folksongs for voice accompanied by violin and continuo or violin, cello and keyboard, helping to establish a tradition of folksong settings. He paraphrased folksongs as themes in symphonies and other instrumental works, perhaps to suggest a folkish atmosphere or create a national impression, as in the finale of his London Symphony no.104 (1795), whose theme echoes a London street song. During the supper scene in the Act 2 finale of Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (1787), an onstage band (wind octet with cello) plays excerpts from operas by Martín y Soler and Sarti as well as his own *Le nozze di Figaro*, just as might occur at an aristocratic dinner. This is an early instance of using quotation in an opera or programmatic work to represent a performance of a particular piece of music; Biber's *Battalia* (1673) is a rare precedent, with its quodlibet of eight different folksongs in five different keys, representing

the songs of the soldiers encamped before the battle. Mozart arranged Bach and Handel fugues for string trio or quartet (1782) and reorchestrated *Messiah* and three other vocal works by Handel (1788–90) to bring them closer to current taste for performances sponsored by Baron van Swieten, inaugurating a tradition of Bach arrangements and Handel reorchestrations that continued for a century and a half.

## 11. 19th century.

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Despite increasing emphasis on originality, some traditional forms of borrowing continued into the 19th century, some forms that had lapsed were revived and new ones appeared. The range of sources from which composers borrowed expanded with the growing interest in nationalism, exoticism and historicism. The revival of older music and the emergence of a permanent repertory of musical classics meant that new works were presented side by side with works of the past, and it was natural that composers would reflect on music of the past through borrowing in various forms, including reviving earlier styles of borrowing. Paradoxically, borrowing itself became a method for achieving individuality; by infusing folksongs or other national or exotic elements into their music, or by invoking music of past centuries through quotation or use of characteristic procedures within a modern style, composers were able to set their music apart from the contemporary mainstream and find a niche in the new marketplace for music.

French organ composers continued to write ‘messes en noëls’ and settings of Gregorian chant for *alternatim* performance until *alternatim* organ music was banned from services in 1903. Most chorale settings were simple and utilitarian, but new interest in Bach's organ music led several composers to use chorales in more complex works intended for organ recitals, not for use in church. Three of Mendelssohn's Six Sonatas for organ op.65 (1844–5) incorporate chorales, sometimes in novel ways, and the last is a chorale partita. Also notable are Brahms's chorale preludes (1896) and Reger's chorale fantasias (1898–1900). The Bach revival also brought new interest in the chorale cantata and chorale motet and in including chorale movements in German oratorios. Mendelssohn wrote five chorale cantatas (1827–32, not published in his lifetime), Brahms a chorale motet (c1860) and Reger four chorale cantatas (1903–5), and Mendelssohn interpolated chorales in his *St Paul* (1836), on the model of the Bach Passions. All of these look to Bach in reviving genres that had declined or disappeared after his death, in their use of chorales, and in the ways they treat the melody, from cantus firmus to paraphrase. Similarly, the interest in music before Bach and the effects of the Cecilian Movement led to a renewal of Gregorian chant as a source and of traditional ways of adapting it, especially among composers active in France, from Liszt to d'Indy. Others from Bruckner to Satie used melodic formulae and fragments from chant to suggest an ancient sacred style.

Variations continued, now more often on original than on borrowed themes and including the new types of character variations, virtuoso variations and fantasia variations. Some variation sets featured elaborate introductions that gradually revealed the theme to be used, as in Chopin's Variations on Mozart's ‘Là ci darem la mano’ for piano and orchestra (1827), which also interpolated a ritornello between the variations. The interest in music of the past as both subject and model is clear in Liszt's revival of Baroque ostinato variations in his prelude, variations and chorale for piano on Bach's *Weinen, Klagen, Sorgen, Zagen* (1859) and in *Rhapsodie espagnole* for piano (c1867) on the Folies d'Espagne, best known to the 19th century in

Corelli's variation set. Brahms also drew on the past for themes and procedures, ending his variations on a theme of Handel (1861) with a fugue and those on a theme attributed to Haydn (1873) with extended development over a bass ostinato.

The spread of musical literacy and inexpensive manufacture of instruments, especially pianos, led to a mass market for sheet music for amateurs to play at home. Transcriptions and arrangements flourished in this market; in the century before recordings, it was through transcriptions for two or four hands at the piano that many first heard or played for themselves the symphonies and opera excerpts of the day. Some transcriptions were faithful to the original and thus might be considered a new version rather than a new work; others involved some reworking or elaboration. Freer still was the new form of the operatic paraphrase for piano, as practised by Liszt and other virtuosos; his *Réminiscences de Don Juan* (1841) reorders the excerpts he draws from Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and adds interludes and further development to create a new dramatic outline that implies Don Giovanni's triumph rather than defeat (Riethmüller, 1984). The same range between strict transcription and free paraphrase can be found in operatic and other works arranged for wind bands and dance orchestras. Popular for both piano and band or orchestra was the potpourri, a series of melodies taken from one or more operas or other sources and strung together by linking passages.

Folksongs and other national melodies were frequently used by 19th-century composers, in accord with the Romantic interest in common folk, regional characteristics and the exotic, and with nationalist movements in culture and politics. Composers from Beethoven to Brahms, Tchaikovsky and d'Indy wrote settings for folksongs; those active at the end of the century concentrated on songs of their own nation, while Beethoven, like Haydn, specialized in British and Irish songs. Liszt wrote keyboard works on Hungarian, French, English, German, Czech, Polish, Russian and other national themes. In tribute to the lands in which he travelled and performed, Gottschalk wrote caprices and paraphrases for piano on melodies from Spain, the USA and Latin American nations, often incorporating several tunes in one piece. Many composers borrowed or paraphrased folk melodies as themes, from the Russian tunes Beethoven included in his Razumovsky quartets (1805–6) in honour of his Russian patron to the Russian and Ukrainian folksongs in Tchaikovsky's first two symphonies and the Amerindian motifs in MacDowell's Second ('Indian') Suite for orchestra (1891–5). Such use of folk melodies in themes lent a national or exotic flavour to the music, depending on whether one was borrowing music of one's own people or that of another. But this flavour could also be achieved through stylistic evocation, which is more common than direct borrowing; for example, Glinka's opera *A Life for the Tsar* (1834–6) incorporates only two existing melodies, and the Russian character owes more to his frequent use of melodic formulae drawn from Russian tunes.

The precise associations carried by certain tunes made them useful for programme music. Beethoven's *Wellingtons Sieg* (1813) and Tchaikovsky's *1812* overture (1880) are just two of many battle pieces to quote national hymns; in some cases, a tune represents a performance of it by the soldiers or their band, while in others it more abstractly represents one of the opposing armies. More numerous are works that use borrowed tunes to create a certain atmosphere rather than to relate a series of events. Brahms's *Academic Festival Overture* paraphrases four German student songs to evoke university life, in honour of the occasion for which it was composed, his receipt of an honorary degree at the University of Breslau in 1880.



Some quotations are intended to suggest their texts. Beethoven added quotations of ‘Notte e giorno faticar’ from *Don Giovanni* and a waltz titled *Keine Ruh bei Tag und Nacht* to variation 22 of the Diabelli Variations (1819–23) as a sly response after Diabelli pressed him to finish the work more quickly. Strauss quoted several of his own pieces in *Ein Heldenleben* (1897–8) to signify his protagonist's ‘works of peace’.

Two brief motifs, B–A–C–H and the opening of the Dies irae chant, became perhaps the most frequently quoted ideas in classical music, partly because of their strong associations. J.S. Bach used the subject B–A–C–H (B $\flat$ , A, C, B $\natural$ ) in the unfinished final fugue of *The Art of Fugue*; the 19th-century Bach revival brought fugues on the subject by Schumann, Liszt, Reger and others, and Beethoven, Mendelssohn and other composers used it in other genres. Ralph Waldo Emerson observed that ‘Next to the originator of a good sentence is the first quoter of it’; indeed, it is the first quoter that makes a statement into a quotation, which can then be quoted repeatedly. Thus Berlioz's use of the Dies irae, the sequence from the Mass for the Dead, in the last movement of his *Symphonie fantastique* (1830) as a signifier of death and the diabolical spawned hundreds of others, including Liszt's *Dante Symphony* and *Totentanz*, Musorgsky's *Songs and Dances of Death*, Saint-Saëns's *Danse macabre*, Tchaikovsky's *Francesca da Rimini* and later works by Rachmaninoff and many other 20th-century composers, which often shortened the chant to its first eight or four notes. Its meaning depended as much on earlier quotations as on its original associations.

As in centuries past, composers often re-used their own music to suit new circumstances or reveal hitherto unrealized potential. More than a third of Beethoven's compositions reworked his existing music in some way, such as the transcription of his own Piano Sonata in E op.14 no.1 as a string quartet in F; the use of a theme from the ballet *Die Geschöpfe des Prometheus* (1800–01) in a contredanse and as the theme of the *Eroica Variations* for piano (1802) and the variation finale of the ‘Eroica’ Symphony (1803); and the reshaping of a humorous canon into the theme of the finale of his last string quartet (Lutes, 1975). Rossini recast numbers from earlier operas to create new ones, adapting arias to suit the new words, plot situations and singers. Schubert, Brahms and Mahler borrowed from their own songs in their instrumental works. Berlioz and Bizet re-used passages from earlier works that had been set aside or left unfinished. Wagner's *Wesendonck Lieder* served as studies for *Tristan und Isolde* (1857–9). Bruckner used material from his masses in his later symphonies. Fauré returned in his late works to themes drawn from earlier songs (Nectoux, 1979). Composers’ re-use of their own music was surprisingly common for a century that so highly valued originality. In some cases, this continued earlier forms of re-use and reworking for a new audience or occasion, as when Rossini recast an aria from an earlier work for a new opera in a different city; in other cases, such as a song in an instrumental work, the composer may have expected listeners to recognize the reference and recall the original text or emotional content.

Recent scholarship on borrowing in the 19th century has often centred on influence between composers, sometimes emphasizing what one piece shares with its model, sometimes focussing on how the new piece transforms or transcends the model. Some studies have applied Harold Bloom's theory of ‘the anxiety of influence’, which describes artistic creation as an oedipal struggle to overcome the potentially overwhelming impact of an artistic forefather and achieve originality and asserts that a strong younger artist ‘misreads’ an older work in order to create space for his own art (Bloom, 1973; Korsyn, 1991; Yudkin,

1992; Bonds, 1992 and 1996). This may be too narrowly Freudian, even patriarchal (see the critique in Whitesell, 1994), but has the advantages of reflecting the 19th-century emphasis on originality and individuality and of seeing influence not only in similarity but also in the choice to depart from a model.

Composers emulated works in the same genre in order to learn from their predecessors, as an act of homage, or out of rivalry. Beethoven's dependence on Mozart's String Quartet in A K464 in composing his own Quartet in A op.18 no.5 (1799–1800) shows some of each, as he adopts procedures from the model but seeks to surpass it; his late String Quartet in A minor op.132 (1825) achieves a sublimation of the same model. Schubert's late piano sonatas borrowed from or were modelled on Beethoven, and his sonata forms in turn became a model for those of Brahms. Brahms's op.9 variations (1854) use the theme of Schumann's own op.9 and refer to other piano works of both Robert and Clara Schumann, in a gesture of homage towards his friends and advocates. Beethoven's Fifth Symphony was a model for Mahler's Second and Fifth Symphonies in both musical elements and narrative conception. Most scholarship has focussed on Austrian and German composers, but recent studies have demonstrated the influence of Meyerbeer on Verdi's operas of the 1840s, of Gade's C minor symphony and E minor piano sonata on those of Grieg in the same keys, and of Liszt's B minor Sonata on MacDowell's *Eroica Sonata*.

Composers have often adopted models from earlier generations in order to forge a connection with the past. Beethoven's *Missa solemnis* (1819–23) drew on Handel's *Messiah* and Mozart's Requiem, and Mendelssohn's oratorios were modelled on those of Handel and Haydn and on the Bach Passions. The finale of Brahms's Fourth Symphony (1884–5) is historicist on many levels, reviving the old form of chaconne variations, adapting a bass ostinato from the finale of Bach's Cantata no.150, and using as models for form, procedure and numerous details Bach's chaconne for solo violin (which Brahms had transcribed for piano left hand), the finale of Beethoven's 'Eroica' Symphony, Buxtehude's E minor Ciacona, and Beethoven's Piano Variations in C minor (Burkholder, 1984; Knapp, 1989). This overlapping of historical models from three centuries (and of different ways of borrowing from a model) anticipated the free mixing in the 20th century of elements drawn from the entire sweep of music history.

It has often been argued that references to existing music create meaning. References to songs or other vocal music can suggest their texts, which may give an implied programme to an apparently 'absolute' instrumental work or may add new levels of meaning to a texted one. Thus Brahms's echo of his song *Regenlied* in *Nachklang* (respectively nos.3 and 4 of his op.59, 1873) heightens the ironic reversal of image in the latter, as rain turns to tears, and his use of their shared opening phrase as the main theme of the finale of his Violin Sonata in G op.78 (1879) suggests his expressive intentions for the sonata (Parmer, 1995). Mahler's lengthy reference in the last of the *Lieder eines fahrenden Gesellen* (1883–5, rev. 1891–6) to a scene from Donizetti's opera *Don Sebastian*, in which a man witnesses his own funeral, conveys the feelings of Mahler's protagonist with stunning clarity for those who recognize the allusion (Ringer, 1988). Schumann's Second Symphony (1845–6) alludes to both instrumental and vocal music while tracing the same evolution from struggle to triumph as Beethoven's Fifth Symphony; perhaps the work was intended to convey Schumann's own struggle to come to terms with the Viennese Classical tradition, symbolized by the opening reference to Haydn's last symphony, and make it his own, as suggested by the gradual emergence of a melody from Beethoven's song cycle *An die ferne Geliebte* (one that Schumann had borrowed earlier in his Piano Fantasy op.17), so that the Beethoven theme seems to result from

Schumann's own compositional effort (Newcomb, 1984). Such interpretations have become more common in recent studies, as scholars seek to identify relationships between works and understand their significance.

Several mutually reinforcing trends dramatically changed musical culture in the 19th century, including a growing market for sheet music and public performances, a new level of connoisseurship, the notion of music as an art practised for its own sake, identification of the composer as an artist (no longer an artisan) with an individual voice, the rise of a permanent repertory of musical classics and the resulting split between art music and popular music. These changes brought with them greater interest in the composer as a personality and, at least in art music, a greater tendency than ever before to ascribe ownership of a musical work to its composer rather than to those who commissioned, performed or heard it. This was codified in more favourable copyright laws and in a new scrupulousness in playing the notes the composer wrote rather than allowing the performer leeway for embellishment and adaptation. In these circumstances, originality grew in importance. Borrowing was fully accepted for genres in which it was traditional, from variations to potpourris, and for conveying through music the flavour of a national or ethnic group, exotic culture or past era by borrowing music that was essentially foreign to the current musical idiom. These had in common the understanding that the composer was placing existing music in a new and very different context. But emulation of earlier works of the same genre, the lifeblood of musical tradition, became problematic, although still used in the training of composers. Too close a similarity to another composer's work in melody or style could bring criticism for unoriginality or plagiarism; only sly allusion, like a wink to the connoisseur, or addressing the same musical issues in a new and original way could allow the younger composer to reach a level equal with his predecessors.

## 12. 20th-century art music to 1950.

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Given the increasing emphasis on originality in art music, it is remarkable how frequently 20th-century composers incorporated existing music. As in the 19th century, borrowing was often used to give music a national or regional flavour or to evoke the past. Composers continued to use traditional types of borrowing, reworking their own music, drawing on models and writing variations on borrowed themes. A new element was the growing gulf in musical style and language between modern music, now often post-tonal, and the folk, popular or pre-modern art music most often used as a source. Whereas in the 19th century the borrowed material often sounded exotic or unusual in idiom in comparison to the work in which it was used, the complex and relatively unfamiliar idioms of many modernist and avant-garde composers reversed this, so that the borrowed tonal material, whether recognized or not, was perceived as the most familiar element. Composers, especially after World War II, exploited this to achieve effects from comfort and nostalgia to shock and alienation.

Interest in folk music increased in the early 20th century. Vaughan Williams, Kodály, Bartók, Canteloube, Charles and Ruth Crawford Seeger and many others made significant contributions to ethnomusicology by collecting, transcribing and providing accompaniments for folksongs from their nation or region, often aided by the new recording technologies, before the traditional societies that gave birth to the music withered under the impact of modern life. Folksongs were presented in elaborate orchestral settings, such as Canteloube's *Chants d'Auvergne* (1923–30) and Copland's *Old American Songs* (1950–52), as well as in

arrangements for chorus or for solo voice and piano, in settings for piano or instrumental ensemble and in instrumental suites, such as Grainger's *Lincolnshire Posy* (1940) for band. Vaughan Williams and others adapted folksongs as hymn tunes, continuing a tradition of sacred contrafacta that extended back to medieval times.

To some modern composers, 19th-century forms seemed inadequate for concert music on folk and other national tunes. Schoenberg criticized 'folkloristic' composers for using folktunes as symphonic themes, for they were complete in themselves and thus unsuited for development: 'there never remains in popular tunes an unsolved problem, the consequences of which will show up only later' (Schoenberg, 1975). Yet those committed to using national melodies found solutions to this concern through new approaches to form. Stravinsky's *Rite of Spring* (1911–13) and Bartók's *Improvisations on Hungarian Peasant Songs* op.20 (1920) used tunes so brief and motivically constructed that they seem to demand repetition, treated them in continuous variation, and derived harmonies, figuration and linking passages from their elements. Vaughan Williams's *Five Variants of Dives and Lazarus* for strings and harp (1939) was not a set of variations, but a free treatment of five different versions of a tune he and others had collected, linked with imitative and developmental passages based on melodic ideas extrapolated from the tune. This was concert music that was formally innovative in the Romantic tradition but also true to its source, a folktune with many authentic variants. Among the most effective solutions to the problem Schoenberg identified was cumulative form, used by Ives in his Third Symphony (c1908–11) and four violin sonatas (c1908–17), in which the borrowed theme (almost always a hymn tune) appeared in full only at the end of the movement and was preceded, not followed, by development of its motivic fragments and variants (Burkholder, 1996). This formal reordering made full use of 'developing variation' (in Schoenberg's term) while capitalizing on the sense of completion offered by the culminating statement of the entire borrowed tune. Other composers used similar strategies, such as the black American composer Nathaniel Dett in his choral fantasy *The Chariot Jubilee* (1921), based on the spiritual *Swing Low, Sweet Chariot*.

Such use of folk and national melodies helped to convey a national, ethnic or exotic character, seen also in Falla's use of Andalusian folk music and Spanish Renaissance music, Gershwin's borrowings from blues by W.C. Handy, Jewish scales and motifs in works of Bloch, Schoenberg and Bernstein, Villa-Lobos's use of Brazilian popular music, American folksongs in works of Copland, Harris and Schuman, Busoni's and Beach's use of Amerindian melodies, Japanese music in Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* (1904) and Holst's *Japanese Suite* (1916), Mexican Indian materials in Chávez's *Sinfonía india* (1935–6) and Balinese melodies in McPhee's *Tabuh-Tabuhan* (1936) and Britten's *The Prince of the Pagodas* (1956). Methods of adaptation range widely, from direct quotation to more distant paraphrase.

The music of Ives illustrates the variety of borrowing procedures composers used in the first half of the century, including traditional techniques such as variation, arrangement, setting, paraphrase, cantus firmus, medley, quodlibet and programmatic quotation. The effect or meaning conveyed varies as much as the methods used, from depicting the performance of music and thus the situation in which it was heard (like the bugle playing *Taps* at a memorial service in *Decoration Day*, c1915–20) to meditations on the musical material itself, with many gradations in between. In addition to cumulative form, Ives's most striking invention was collage, in which a swirl of quotations and paraphrased tunes is added to the musical fabric. He used this effect in orchestral works such as *Washington's Birthday* (c1915–17) and *The*

*Fourth of July* (c1914–18) to convey a sense of remembering past events, here respectively a barn dance and a festive celebration. Each borrowed tune is related by type or motif to his main theme, and one tune will suggest another that resembles it in melody or rhythm or is of a similar genre or character, in an apt evocation of the way remembering an event, person or thing can bring others to mind involuntarily through association or resemblance. He achieved a similar stream-of-consciousness effect in several songs through ‘patchwork’, a technique he adapted from Tin Pan Alley songwriters (see §14 below), stitching together fragments from songs of the past to suggest memories of *The Things our Fathers Loved* (1917) and from Civil War and patriotic tunes in *He is There!* (1917) to suggest that the American entry into World War I continued the idealism of the crusade against slavery.

Awareness of the past resulted in numerous works that referred to or incorporated music of previous centuries. Composers continued to use the Dies irae and B–A–C–H motifs, which now evoked not only the original source but a long tradition of quotation. The B–A–C–H motif suited the ‘back to Bach’ movement between the world wars and the chromatic language of many modernists, and it was incorporated into 12-note series in works by Schoenberg, Webern, Piston and others as an act of homage and in assertion of a link to the great tradition. Other uses of the past also served to make a statement. English composers seeking to establish a distinctive national music used works from 16th- and 17th-century English composers as themes, as in Vaughan Williams's *Fantasia on a Theme by Thomas Tallis* (1910) for strings and Britten's *Young Person's Guide* (Variations and Fugue on a Theme of Purcell, 1946) for orchestra; Britten's *Nocturnal* (1963) for guitar adapted cumulative form in presenting a series of variations that only gradually reveal their theme, a Dowland air stated in full at the end. Pfitzner's opera *Palestrina* (1912–15) used the legend that Palestrina had saved polyphony at the Council of Trent by composing the *Missa Papae Marcelli* to argue by analogy that there was still merit in the older Romantic style; in the climactic scene, Palestrina is urged to write the mass in the old style by the spirits of past composers and inspired by angels singing melodies from it (some actual quotations, others intended to suggest it). Satie made a statement of a different sort in his satirical piano pieces, mocking some of the most popular works in the piano repertory by citing Chopin's Funeral March (identified in the music as ‘la célèbre mazurka de Schubert’) at a tearful point in the second of his *Embryons desséchés* (1913) and recasting Mozart's Turkish rondo as a slow (but ‘très turc’) ‘Tyrolienne turque’ in the first of his *Croquis et agaceries d'un gros bonhomme en bois* (1913).

Many composers prepared transcriptions of older works, such as Respighi's three suites of *Ancient Airs and Dances*, Elgar's, Henry Wood's and Stokowski's orchestrations of Bach organ works and Britten's Purcell realizations; some transcriptions, such as Ravel's orchestration of Musorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition* (1922), have become more familiar than the originals. When executed by composers identified with modern atonal styles, some such works transcend the genre of transcription and become ‘recompositions’ that impose a post-tonal musical structure on a tonal model. Webern's orchestration of the six-part *ricercare* from Bach's *Musical Offering* (1934–5; see Arrangement, ex.6) divides each line among several instruments to create an effect of pointillism or *Klangfarbenmelodie* and to highlight atonal set relationships, all typical of Webern's music. In *Monumentum pro Gesualdo* (1960), Stravinsky used instrumentation to fragment Gesualdo madrigals into a Stravinskian juxtaposition of opposing groups characterized by different timbres and tonal areas. Stravinsky's reworkings of 18th-century music in *Pulcinella* and Tchaikovsky's in *The Fairy's Kiss* and Schoenberg's recompositions of Handel in the *Concerto*

for String Quartet and Orchestra similarly reinterpret the older music by emphasizing in it what is most congruent with the modern composer's style and by adding motifs, gestures and procedures typical of his most characteristic music. This reversal has been interpreted variously as a 'misreading' in the terms of Harold Bloom's 'anxiety of influence' (Straus, 1990) and as a comment on the irretrievable distance of the past tradition (Auner, 1996). As scholars have developed the view that modern music is engaged in a dialogue with the past, such recompositions, once seen as oddities, have assumed fresh significance as the most overt expression of the ambivalence composers feel towards the past.

As in the 19th century, composers frequently relied on specific models. Often these were works of immediate predecessors, such as Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde* for Debussy's *Pelléas et Mélisande* (Abbate, 1981), Ravel's *Rhapsodie espagnole* for Stravinsky's *Firebird* or Debussy's *Syrinx* for Varèse's *Density 21.5* (Baron, 1982). But sometimes composers reached back further, as when Schoenberg modelled the first movement of his 12-note String Quartet no.3 (1927) on that of Schubert's String Quartet in A minor D804, Stravinsky drew on Verdi and on treatments of the Oedipus story by Mendelssohn and Purcell for his *Oedipus rex* (1927) and on Mozart for *The Rake's Progress* (1951), and Britten modelled aspects of his *War Requiem* (1961) on the requiem settings of Mozart and Verdi. These suggest a deliberate engagement with the past tradition, combining homage or competition with a recognition of the gulf between common-practice tonality and modern idioms. Some cases imply broader meanings; Bartók's use of the 'Heiliger Dankgesang' movement from Beethoven's String Quartet in A minor op.132 as a model for the middle movement of his Third Piano Concerto (1945) drew a parallel between their lives, for Beethoven wrote the quartet movement as an expression of thanks after recovering from an illness, and Bartók too felt that he was regaining his strength after years of ill-health.

Programmatic quotation was as frequent in the 20th century as in the 19th. Debussy quoted *God Save the King* to convey the Englishness of his subject in *Hommage à S. Pickwick, Esq. P.P.M.P.C.* and *La Marseillaise* to link fireworks to patriotism in *Feux d'artifices* (both in *Préludes* for piano, book 2, 1912–13). Quotations of folkish tunes, both imagined and real, in Berg's *Wozzeck* (1917–22) and *Lulu* (1929–35) comment ironically on the action on stage. Hindemith's overture to *Mathis der Maler* (1934–5), re-used as the first movement of the symphony he extracted from the opera, depicts a 'Concert of Angels' and states the chorale *Es sungen drei Engeln* three times in succession near the beginning and again near the end. Often, what seems to be a quotation has a more pervasive presence in the music. The Bach chorale *Es ist genug*, which appears near the end of Berg's Violin Concerto (1935) in fulfilment of its programme as a Requiem, is foreshadowed from the beginning, its opening notes embedded in the work's 12-note series. Richard Strauss's *Metamorphosen* (1945), a mournful meditation on the effects of war, culminates in the theme from the funeral march of Beethoven's 'Eroica' Symphony after having developed its motifs and gestures.

### **13. Art music after 1950.**

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After World War II, some composers were anxious to reject the past and insist on the new. Serial composers such as Babbitt and Boulez avoided the references to the past common in Berg and Schoenberg and created a wholly self-referential music through serialization of rhythm, dynamics and articulation as well as pitch. The early chance music of Cage likewise focussed on present experience and avoided the familiar. In this context, the re-emergence of overt quotation seemed radically new and daring, especially

when entire pieces began to be made out of borrowed music, much of it tonal. The belated diffusion of Ives's music provided one model, Stravinsky's recompositions another, as did Joyce's novels in literature, and collage, pop art and postmodern architecture in the visual arts. Composers rediscovered the pleasure of reworking existing material, but now the subject of their music was frequently their relationship to the past tradition.

Peter Maxwell Davies turned to chant and English Renaissance music early in his career, basing his wind sextet *Alma Redemptoris mater* (1957) on the chant and its setting by Dunstaple. Subsequent works drew on chant, English carols, the sacred music of Gesualdo, early motets and other sources, especially the *In Nomine* of Taverner, reworked in two fantasias (1962 and 1964) and in his opera on Taverner's life (1962–70). Characteristically, the borrowed material is distorted and subjected to modern techniques of manipulation, emphasizing the distance from the past. George Rochberg turned away from serialism after the death of his son in 1964 and in *Contra mortem et tempus* and *Music for the Magic Theater* (both 1965) juxtaposed passages quoted or derived from earlier composers with his own music, seeking to evoke 'the many-layered density of human existence'. His *Nach Bach* (1966) for harpsichord was a 'commentary' on Bach's Partita no.6 in E minor, interspersing fragments and transformations of the Bach with free atonal passage-work, and his *Ricordanza* (1972) for cello and piano is a hyper-Romantic work based on Beethoven's Cello Sonata op.102 no.1. B.A. Zimmermann's *Musique pour les soupers du roi Ubu* (1966) was a 'collage' of music from the Renaissance to the modern era. Lukas Foss described his *Baroque Variations* (1967) as 'not so much "variations" on three familiar pieces of baroque music as they are "dreams" about these pieces'; the three movements take respectively works by Handel, Domenico Scarlatti and Bach and distort them by making parts inaudible, fading in and out, echoing passages in different rhythms, changing note placement, adding and subtracting notes and using clusters, indeterminacy and other effects associated with the contemporary avant garde (ex.12). In the third movement of his *Sinfonia* (1968–9), Berio took the third movement of Mahler's Second Symphony (itself adapted from a Mahler song), subtracted some parts and passages, and overlaid it with quotations from over 100 works from the Baroque to the 1960s; each quotation is linked in some way to the Mahler or to texts spoken over the music, including excerpts from Samuel Beckett's *The Unnamable*, resulting in a vast, dream-like stream of interconnected ideas. In all of these, the appearance of the older music and the way it is treated is surprising and novel, but the quoted music itself is often familiar. This meant that listeners could follow the progress of a work more easily than they could in serial or avant-garde music, where themes (if they existed at all) were too unfamiliar to grasp, and as a result works with borrowed material have often had a wider appeal than a composer's other music. At the same time, the contrasts between the borrowed material and the often strange ways it was transformed or juxtaposed with quite different music could be fascinating and expressive, commenting by implication on the fragmented, pluralistic culture and music of the modern era, the gulf separating the present from the past or the modern sense of time, space and simultaneity.

Ex.12 Foss: *Baroque Variations* (1967), opening of 2nd movt

REC/OB

VNS I

VNS II

HPD (backstage)

REC/OB

ENG HN

2 FLS

3 DB

BASS DRUM

VNS I

VNS II

V A SOLO

V A SOLO

HPD

The harpsichordist should feel the original beat / while keeping with the conductor's / beat  $\frac{1}{2}$

\* In this movement sounds as written      \*\* Play natural harmonics throughout, sounds as written

ex.12

Carl Fischer, New York

Other works took an even more radical stance towards music of the past. Tape pieces from Cage's *Imaginary Landscape no.5* (1952) to Stockhausen's *Gesang der Jünglinge* (1955–6) and *Telemusik* (1966) subjected recorded music to tape and electronic manipulation, treating it in some cases as equivalent to other recorded sounds used for *musique concrète*. In *Cheap Imitation* (1969), Cage followed the melodic line



of Satie's *Socrate* and transposed segments of varying lengths into different keys using chance operations. (The work was written when the copyright owner refused permission to perform the Satie in conjunction with a dance already choreographed to fit its rhythm, so Cage changed the pitches to create music no-one could claim to own: hence the title). In *Hymns and Variations* (1979) for voices and *Some of The Harmony of Maine* (1978) for organ he took partsongs of Billings and Belcher and deleted portions, again using chance. These works challenge received ideas of authorship, ownership and the integrity of the musical work. So did Kagel's *Ludwig van* (1969), a jumble of individual lines extracted from Beethoven and superimposed, composed as a kind of anti-homage. Schnittke often borrowed existing music, as in the passages from Beethoven, Chopin, Strauss, Grieg, Tchaikovsky, Haydn, jazz, the *Dies irae* and his own earlier works in his *Symphony no.1* (1969–72). His cadenza (1983) for Beethoven's Violin Concerto, first movement, quotes five later violin concertos, those by Bartók (both), Berg, Shostakovich and Brahms; in the context of the familiar concerto, his modern style is jarring and the quotations doubly so, bringing into consciousness the peculiar contradiction between our identification of each work with its historical moment (and our insistence on its stylistic purity) and our concert repertory in which music from many eras appears side by side, as if time did not matter.

Many others have used borrowed material prominently, including Tippett, Henze, Crumb, Schnebel, Schafer, Schat, Rzewski, Louis Andriessen and Holloway. Methods and goals have varied widely, but most works have dramatized the distance between current aesthetics, idioms and procedures and those of the past. Borrowing has often provided a way to reintroduce tonality without renouncing newer procedures. In contrast to the cult of originality earlier in the century, the hermeticism of serialism and the ideology of musical progress, this turn to the familiar and to the past opened up possibilities and paved the way for a new pluralism extending from neo-romanticism to minimalism.

In the 1980s and 90s borrowing took on a gentler aspect. The rise of neo-romanticism lessened the gulf between current and earlier idioms and between concert and popular music, and composers often borrowed to represent a blending of idioms rather than disjunction. John Corigliano's *Symphony no.1* (1990) commemorates musician friends lost to AIDS by incorporating music they played. Philip Glass based his *Low Symphony* (1992) on themes drawn from the experimental pop music recording *Low* by David Bowie and Brian Eno, drawing their work into the world of the symphony. Christopher Rouse and Claude Baker are among the American composers who borrow in much of their work. Rouse's *Cello Concerto*, written for Yo-Yo Ma, makes a conspicuous citation from Monteverdi's *L'incoronazione di Poppea*, and his *Piano Concerto* (1999), written for Emanuel Ax, uses Schumann's as a point of departure. Baker's *The Mystic Trumpeter* (1999), written for the St Louis SO, interweaves material from Ives's *The Unanswered Question*, Messiaen's *Vingt regards sur l'enfant Jésus*, Rochberg's *Music for the Magic Theater* (itself based on borrowed material) and *Reis glorios* by the medieval troubadour Giraut de Bornelh to convey images from the Whitman poem that gives the work its title and programme. For the listener who recognizes none of the references, the character of the music suffices to suggest the programme. The smooth integration of borrowed and new music lends a sense of narrative unity quite the opposite of the disjunctions between context and quotation so often felt in music of the 1960s.

For some commentators in the 1960s and after, the extensive use of borrowing in 20th-century avant-garde works raised issues concerning the autonomy of the musical artwork. Seen in historical perspective, the concept of the autonomous musical artwork is so young that this seemed like a return to normality.

While many works juxtaposed fragments, as in a collage, stressing the disjunction with the past, others sought a synthesis, recognizing that modern listeners know many kinds of music and seeking to bring them together in a unified vision. Parallels with borrowing and allusion in other arts have been explored; music scholars have begun to apply to music the rich literature on intertextuality and allusion in literature and postmodernism in the arts.

### 14. Popular music, jazz and film music.

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Musical borrowing in American and European popular music has only recently begun to be studied, but it is clear that borrowing plays a major role. In the 17th and 18th centuries, popular tunes and famous airs were frequently re-used for newly composed texts, in such genres as the vaudeville, broadside ballad and ballad opera. Numerous collections of 'parodies' in France made music composed for the stage or the aristocracy available to the middle class in new arrangements and with new texts. Contrafactum continued to be a frequent practice in 19th-century popular music, including such famous examples as the American national anthem *The Star-Spangled Banner* (1814), with new words by Francis Scott Key to John Stafford Smith's tune for the English drinking-song *To Anacreon in Heaven* (c1775). German street songs were often adaptations of melodies from popular marches, dances or songs from operettas or Singspiele, with new, usually sentimental or humorous words (see Gassenhauer). Melodies of 19th-century American popular songs and hymns are often related, as if a songwriter began with a fragment of a familiar tune and extended it. Thus the American Civil War songs *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* (1862, itself a contrafactum of William Steefe's *Glory, Hallelujah* of c1856 and *John Brown's Body* of c1859), *The Battle Cry of Freedom* (1862) and *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp* (1864) all have phrases with very similar melodic contour (ex.13) and were all published in the same key. The composer of the last two, George Frederick Root, probably intended an allusion to be heard, at least unconsciously. His earlier song heightens its patriotic appeal by recalling the most popular rallying song in the North. His later song, on the Union soldiers languishing in Southern prisons, poignantly echoes the songs that inspired so many to volunteer, and the chorus evokes images of marching (from *The Battle Hymn*) and the flag, the boys and freedom (from *The Battle Cry*), reminding the families at home of the noble cause their loved ones were serving.

Ex.13 Comparison of *The Battle Hymn of the Republic*, *The Battle Cry of Freedom* and *Tramp, Tramp, Tramp*

*The Battle Hymn of the Republic*

Glo - ty, glo - ty, hal - le - lu - jah! Glo - ty, glo - ty, hal - le - lu - jah!

*The Battle Cry of Freedom*

(cont.) Yes we'll tal - ly roun the flag, boys, we'll tal - ly once a - gain,  
Shout - ing the bat - tle cry of Free - dom,

*Tramp, Tramp, Tramp*

(cont.) In the pri - son cell I sit, Think - ing, Mo - ther deat, of you,  
And out bright and hap - py home so far a - way,

ex.13

The recasting of existing music into new arrangements for new media is a constant feature of popular music, a tradition in which musicians and audiences continued to regard music as belonging to the user rather than the composer far longer than in the art-music tradition. Thus Stephen Foster arranged popular songs and Italian opera excerpts for one to four instruments in his collection *The Social Orchestra* (1854), and J.P. Sousa included his own potpourri on Sullivan's *The Sorcerer* and his *Carmen March* based on melodies from Bizet's opera in his collection *Evening Pastime: a Selection of Favorite Duets* (1879). Arrangements were generally received as versions of the original work, although some were rather distant from it, but variation sets, paraphrases and other works based on familiar tunes are more clearly instances of borrowing. 19th-century brass bands and military bands often played arrangements of popular songs. In the USA a genre of march emerged at the middle of the century that incorporated a popular song in one strain or presented a medley of several tunes. In the 20th century, medleys arranged from folksongs, Christmas songs, musicals, film scores or other familiar sources were a staple of the band repertory. Music for the quadrille was often arranged from popular songs or stage works, as in the quadrilles by Johann Strauss the younger on operas by Balfe, Flotow, Verdi, Meyerbeer and Auber. Chabrier's *Souvenirs de Munich* for piano four hands (1885–6) is a pleasantly satirical quadrille on themes from *Tristan und Isolde* whose humour derives from the incongruous appearance of Wagner's serious themes in a most unserious form; Fauré took the Chabrier as a model for his similar quadrille *Souvenirs de Bayreuth* (?1888) on themes from the *Ring* cycle.

Songs for the British music hall and the continental cabaret sometimes quoted or parodied familiar music for satirical effect, as did American minstrel shows and operatic troupes. John Brougham's burlesque extravaganza *Pocahontas* (1855) borrowed a wide range of music, from Bellini and Verdi operas to Stephen Foster songs. In Vienna, J.N. Nestroy and his collaborators parodied operas by Rossini and Meyerbeer (music by Adolf Müller) and Wagner's *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* (music by Carl Binder). Arthur Sullivan

often used stylistic parody in his operettas, as in the Handelian music for the entrance of the judge in *Trial by Jury* (1875), and also used direct quotation; *The Mikado* (1885) borrows two Japanese songs to establish the locale, then quotes Bach's G minor organ fugue when the Mikado's song refers to Bach.

American Tin Pan Alley songwriters from the 1890s to the 1920s frequently quoted a familiar song just before the final cadence of the chorus, as in George M. Cohan's *The Story of the Wedding March* (1901), which quotes Mendelssohn's wedding march, or Irving Berlin's *Alexander's Ragtime Band* (1911), which quotes Foster's *Old Folks at Home*. The musical reference is normally alluded to in the text, which may borrow words from the quoted song or describe a performance of the quoted music. Cohan's *The Yankee Doodle Boy* (1904) quotes *Yankee Doodle* like this in the chorus, but the verse is a patchwork of patriotic tunes, including *Yankee Doodle*, *Dixie*, *The girl I left behind me* and *The Star-Spangled Banner*. Other songwriters wrote such patchworks and Ives adopted the format for several of his art songs. Quotation for humorous effect or in relation to a text continued in popular songs throughout the 20th century; the Beatles' *Glass Onion* (1968) referred to their earlier *Strawberry Fields Forever* and *The Fool on the Hill* in the text and quoted short motifs from each, and a 1992 country song recorded by Pam Tillis used the much-quoted 'Hootchy-Kootchy Dance' of Little Egypt to suggest an Egyptian milieu for the singer's comment that she is 'the Queen of Denial' (i.e. 'the Nile'). Frank Zappa used borrowed material in most of his music, ranging from *The Battle Hymn of the Republic* and the march from *Aida* to the *Twilight Zone* theme and fragments of Varèse and Webern, almost always as a comment on the text.

Re-use, reworking and extension of existing music are basic elements of West African musical practice and continued in black American music of the 19th and 20th centuries. The concept of borrowing, developed in the study of European written repertoires, is less appropriate to these traditions than the concept of sharing materials and traditions. This avoids implications of ownership, singularity and originality, and acknowledges that there is often no distinct entity from which to borrow. Recent scholarship has introduced the term 'signifying' for the characteristic approach of black American musicians; the materials of music are considered common property, and anyone who engages with those materials in an expressive way is 'signifying' on them. As slaves were converted to Christianity, they adapted work-songs to Christian texts and improvised new songs on similar material to create a new tradition of spirituals (Epstein, 1977). Blues and jazz involved improvisation and composition based on existing harmonies, melodies and bass patterns, and similar practices continued into popular music derived from black American traditions, including rhythm and blues and rock and roll.

Jazz improvisation is typically based on existing pieces but has been viewed as a performance of a piece rather than a new work based on borrowing. However, improvisers from Louis Armstrong onwards often quote familiar tunes in the middle of a solo as a joke, comment or meaningful allusion, and soloists from Charlie Parker onwards borrow passages from recorded solos by other artists as a homage or other gesture. In the early 1940s, bop artists wrote numerous 'contrafacts', new jazz melodies to the chord 'changes' (harmonic progressions) of popular tunes, such as Parker and Dizzy Gillespie's *Anthropology* (on the chord progression of Gershwin's *I got rhythm*, the most frequent source for contrafacts) and Parker's *Ornithology* (on Morgan Lewis's *How High the Moon*). This practice, like the use of the traditional 12-bar blues, allowed the artists to create melodies in the new jazz style yet continue to improvise on familiar harmonic patterns. This facilitated the learning of new repertory, challenged musicians' creativity and

provided a site for competition between artists using the same material. The parallels to the 16th- and 17th-century practice of improvising and composing new melodies and variations over familiar bass lines and harmonic patterns are obvious, with a new twist: a new tune and title meant that no royalties or performing fees were due on the songs from which the harmonic progressions were borrowed. This again asserted the traditional African concept of music as common property within a music industry that tended to devalue and underpay black American musicians.

New forms of borrowing emerged with the development of recording technology in the late 20th century. Pop musicians sometimes borrowed recorded material from their own songs or from other music, overlaying new and borrowed elements in the recording studio. An early example was Simon and Garfunkel's *Save the life of my child* on their *Bookends* album (1968), in which the opening of their first hit *The Sound of Silence* (1965) was dubbed in with electronically enhanced echo as part of an interlude. Black American musicians devised new genres based on the manipulation of recorded material, drawing both on technology and on black American traditions of re-using existing music. In the late 1970s, disco artists frequently used previously recorded bass and rhythm tracks as a backing for new songs. Rap emerged from a practice of improvising rhymed poetry over instrumental passages from existing slow disco or funk recordings; the first rap recording to reach the top 40 in the pop charts, *Rapper's Delight* (1979) by the Sugar Hill Gang, used excerpts from Chic's slow disco hit *Good Times* (1979). Scratching was a technique of rotating a record manually under a stylus to produce rhythmic, percussive sounds, first practised live by disc jockeys at parties, then used on recordings, beginning with *Adventures in the Wheels of Steel* (1981) by Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five. The invention of digital sampling made manipulation of recorded material easier, and rap recordings began to include many more 'samples', digitally recorded snippets of music, speech or sounds; Public Enemy's *Night of the Living Baseheads* (1988) includes numerous samples, each of which adds meaning and resonance to the song's anti-drug and anti-racist message. Clarification of copyright law in the early 1990s forced rappers to ask permission to use samples and to give credit, stimulating them to reduce the number of samples and to diversify their sources to include classical music, where permissions were often easier and less expensive to obtain. Samples have been used by many others besides rap musicians, notably in the *Plunderphonics* (1989) of John Oswald, which directly engages issues of ownership.

Throughout the 20th century, musicians in popular traditions have reworked or quoted classical music. Some Tin Pan Alley songs were expressly about classical music; Berlin's *That Mesmerizing Mendelssohn Tune* (1909) described the romantically intoxicating powers of Mendelssohn's 'Spring Song' (*Song without Words* op.62 no.6) and interleaved its opening figure with new material in ragtime style. Ragtime orchestras arranged classical works in ragtime style, as in performances by Will Marion Cook's Southern Syncopated Orchestra based on Mendelssohn's Wedding March and a Rachmaninoff prelude (1918–19). Opera was a presence in jazz; Fletcher Henderson's *Araby* (1924) was based on Valentine's aria 'Avant de quitter ces lieux' from Gounod's *Faust*, and Louis Armstrong inserted quotations from *Rigoletto*, *Pagliacci* and other operas into his improvised solos alongside popular tunes. The opening theme from Tchaikovsky's First Piano Concerto became a popular hit song as *Tonight we Love* (1941), and Robert Wright and George Forrest's musical *Kismet* (1954) was based on melodies by Borodin. Duke Ellington adapted Tchaikovsky and Grieg for jazz band in his *Nutcracker Suite* and *Peer Gynt Suite* (1960), and Stan Kenton did the same for Wagner. Emerson, Lake and Palmer reworked Musorgsky's *Pictures at an Exhibition*

and Copland's *Fanfare for the Common Man* as rock music in an attempt to raise rock to the level of art music. Barry Manilow framed his song *Could it be Magic* (1975) with the beginning and end of Chopin's C minor prelude. The disco version of the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, titled *A Fifth of Beethoven*, was a novelty number, but Malcolm McLaren's songs *Madam Butterfly*, *Death of Butterfly* and *Carmen* on his 1984 album *Fans* were intriguing retellings of the operas' stories in pop style, woven around the heroines' most famous arias. The motivations for borrowing from classical sources have ranged from recycling good melodies for a new audience to humour, irony or commentary, often exploiting the perceived distance between the 'high' culture of art music and the broad-based popular culture.

Film music has relied on existing music from the beginning. Early silent films were accompanied by music that was improvised or assembled by a pianist or organist, who matched emotionally appropriate music to the events on the screen. After 1905, publishers printed collections of music, keyed by situation, drawing mostly on classical instrumental works, and cue sheets were issued for particular films suggesting which pieces to use for each segment; the result was a pastiche. From the 1910s, orchestral scores were created for some larger films, again drawing on existing music; Joseph Carl Breil's score for *Birth of a Nation* (1915) included excerpts from symphonic works and Civil War songs appropriate to the dramatic action. When technological advances made sound films possible in the late 1920s, early sound films such as *The Jazz Singer* (1927) continued to incorporate existing music. As original scores were commissioned, composers changed from direct borrowing to the use of models or the adaptation of music with strong associations. Max Steiner's music for *King Kong* (1933) adopted Wagner's leitmotif system and echoed the Fasolt and Fafner motif from *Das Rheingold* in King Kong's leitmotif; Steiner's score in turn was subject to endless imitation. Composers adapted ethnic materials to set a scene, as in Steiner's use of Jewish melodies in *Symphony of Six Million* (1932) and Herbert Stothart's use of English folk melodies in *David Copperfield* (1935). Later film scores draw on all of these traditions. Some are pastiches of existing music, such as *2001* (1968), which uses classical works from Johann Strauss to Ligeti, and *American Graffiti* (1973), which uses American pop music of the 1950s to convey time, place and situation. Some are modelled on existing works; John Williams's score for *Star Wars* (1977) relies heavily on Holst's *The Planets*, and Takemitsu's battle scene for *Ran* (1985) is modelled directly on the first section of 'Der Abschied' from Mahler's *Das Lied von der Erde*, conveying profound sorrow through sound, style and musical reference. Film composers often reworked their scores into concert music, as in Prokofiev's cantata *Alexander Nevsky* (1938–9), Copland's suite from *The Red Pony* (1948) and Korngold's Violin Concerto (1945, using themes from his 1930s film scores). Cartoons often use or parody classical music for comic effect, as in Scott Bradley's *The Cat Concerto* (1947) on Liszt's Hungarian Rhapsody no.2 and Carl Stalling's skewering of Wagner in the Bugs Bunny classic *What's Opera, Doc?* (1957). Another realm for musical borrowing is underscoring advertisements, in which familiar music, from Vivaldi's 'Four Seasons' to the Beatles' *Revolution*, can be used to lend certain associations to a product.

## 15. Research on borrowing.

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This survey of borrowing in the Western musical tradition from the Middle Ages to the present shows that the use of existing pieces in new works is both more varied and more pervasive than has usually been acknowledged. At some times and in some repertoires borrowing is the rule, at other times the exception,

and at still other times a possibility that carries particular significance. Extent and methods vary, but every composer or improviser borrows and reworks existing music, and procedures of borrowing are as important a part of a composer's equipment as counterpoint, harmony, texture and form. Until the 20th century, it was normal for composers to be trained through the imitation of models and the manipulation of borrowed material; this is still true in popular genres.

Scholars have studied aspects of borrowing in music since the emergence of musicology as a field, and there is now a vast literature on the subject. Early research was hampered to some extent by the cult of originality that arose in the 19th century. Writers in the 19th and early 20th centuries often felt obliged to address the morality of borrowing or distinguish legitimate forms of borrowing from plagiarism, and this was still occasionally a theme in the later 20th century (No  , 1963 and 1985; Carroll, 1978; Rosen, 1980–81). Each era, genre or composer tended to be treated as some kind of special exception from a presumed norm of artistic autonomy; even in Renaissance studies, where borrowing became a subject of central importance, there developed largely separate traditions of scholarship on vocal and on instrumental music. This made similarities, differences and historical connections between borrowing practices of various eras and repertoires difficult to see or evaluate. New discoveries were generally couched in terms of older ones, so that the same instance might be described as parody, quotation, borrowing or plagiarism, depending on whether the writer was acquainted with the literature on the Renaissance mass, 20th-century music or Handel.

The popularity of quotation and collage in art music since the 1960s and the growing interest in the same period in scholarship of music of the 19th and 20th centuries have stimulated a flood of new research on borrowing in music since Beethoven and reconsiderations of borrowing in earlier eras. There have been many attempts to clarify terminology and make the distinctions necessary for categorizing and describing borrowing practices. With an increasing awareness of the extent of borrowing in every period, scholars are beginning to identify which practices overlap and which are unique to certain repertoires or composers. Approaches to influence, borrowing, allusion and intertextuality in the parallel fields of art history and literary criticism are bringing fresh insights to the study of borrowing in music and to the relationships between the arts. The expansion of research is making it possible for the first time to see all the uses of existing music, from *contrafactum*, *organum* and *cantus firmus* to collage, jazz *contrafacts* and digital sampling, as aspects of a single field that crosses historical periods and research specializations.

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