Edward Lowinsky and the Divisive Politics of the *New Josquin Edition*

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Jaap van Benthem in memoriam

Fifty years ago, the field of musicology did a better job than it does today of valuing published editions. The sheer quantity of music available only in manuscript and printed sources fueled at the time a sense of urgency and excitement about complete-works editions, especially with respect to major composers. Even so, it was exceptional when in one case a new edition was launched while the old one was still in progress: in 1967, two years before the *Werken van Josquin des Prés* (1922–69) was finished, scholars initiated conversations about a new project to edit the complete works of Josquin des Prez.[1]

Several factors precipitated such a quick turnaround. Between the end of World War II and the 1960s, international efforts to catalog manuscripts and printed editions had brought to light many unknown fifteenth- and

This article benefited greatly from interviews conducted in 2020–23 with Jaap van Benthem, Bonnie Blackburn, Willem Elders, David Fallows, Ellen Harris, Brian Jeffery, Herbert Kellman, Lewis Lockwood, Herbert Myers, Joshua Rifkin, and Elisabeth and Martin Staehelin. Herbert Kellman generously shared a series of documents in his private possession relating to the *New Josquin Edition*. This research has been supported by a Robert L. Platzman Memorial Fellowship from The University of Chicago. Some similar themes were explored in my 2021 presentation for the Troja-Symposium, "Auf dem Weg zu einer neuen Josquin-Ausgabe? Edward Lowinsky und die Josquin-Festival-Konferenz 1971," *Troja Jahrbuch für Renaissancemusik* 19 (2021): 103–23. I owe special thanks to Allan Atlas, Bonnie Blackburn, David Fallows, Brian Jeffery, Joshua Rifkin, Jesse Rodin, Richard Sherr, and Emily Zazulia for their comments on earlier drafts. I had hoped to share this article with Jaap, too; sadly, it must now appear as a tribute to his memory. Unless otherwise noted, all correspondence in the footnotes is in English.

1. Josquin des Prez, *Werken van Josquin des Prés*. The composer's name underwent some variation from volume to volume, sometimes appearing as "des Prez"; see Fallows, *Josquin*, 464n8. The second Josquin edition was announced in Josquin des Prez, *Werken van Josquin des Prés, Supplement*, iii–v. But several years earlier on May 6, 1967, minutes from a meeting of the general assembly of the Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis indicate that Eduard Reeser laid out plans for a new Josquin edition, provided that sufficient funds could be secured. See folder 0399, box 31, AKVNM.

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sixteenth-century sources.[2] New editorial standards were thought to have eclipsed those adopted in the 1920s.[3] New documentary evidence appeared to have emerged: in 1956, Claudio Sartori discovered archival documents that overturned, albeit impermanently, the existing contours of Josquin's biography.[4] The German scholar Helmuth Osthoff published a two-volume monograph on Josquin in 1962 and 1965 that offered important revisions to the composer's chronology.[5] And Utrecht University professor Albert Smijers, for whom the *Werken* was a lifelong project, died in 1957; by the late 1960s, his edition was being completed by Myroslaw Antonowycz and Willem Elders. All of these factors helped justify a fresh edition. In many respects, the *New Josquin Edition* of 1987–2017 (henceforth NJE) rose to meet the challenge it faced, developing new standards for the presentation of the music, providing high-quality transcriptions of the composer's works, and offering unprecedentedly detailed critical-commentary volumes.[6] Although it has never been formally reviewed, and though many volumes have significant shortcomings, the NJE has set the standard for early-music edition making.[7]

But this mostly positive narrative represents only part of the story. In fact, between the first plans for the NJE in 1967 and the appearance of the first volume in 1988, the genesis of the edition was hardly straightforward. Assembling a more complete history of the NJE and its origins leads unavoidably to a discussion of Edward Lowinsky, possibly the most controversial scholar of Renaissance music in the twentieth century (figure 1). Lowinsky's planning of the 1971 International Josquin Festival-Conference at The Juilliard School in New York City turns out to be especially important to the development of the NJE.

Lowinsky endeavored to segue his opulent conference into the creation of a new, international edition of Josquin's music under his control.

2. Twenty-four works published in the *New Josquin Edition* did not appear in the *Werken*. The microfilm archive at the University of Illinois at Urbana was established in 1968 and marked a milestone in the compilation of sources of Renaissance music between 1400 and 1550. Elders, *Josquin des Prez*, 57.

3. Stemmatics, which was first incorporated into musicology in the late 1960s, became an important consideration for the first Josquin Committee. See Urchueguía, "Musicology," 576, 580; and Elders, "Second Josquin Meeting," 61.

4. See Sartori, "Josquin des Prés," which placed Josquin in Milan in 1459. It was believed that Josquin entered the papal chapel in 1486 until Pamela Starr disambiguated Johannes de Pratis from Josquin des Prez in her "Josquin, Rome, and a Case of Mistaken Identity." Sartori's discovery arguably singlehandedly motivated a revised edition of Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*. See Fallows, "Josquin at 500." For the eventual overturning of Sartori's findings, see Fallows, "Josquin and Milan"; and Matthews and Merkley, "Iudochus de Picardia."

5. Osthoff, *Josquin Desprez*.

6. Josquin des Prez, *New Edition of the Collected Works*. Although copyrighted in 1987, the first volume appeared in 1988; the critical commentary for the first volume was published in 1991.

7. On the edition's shortcomings, see, for example, Rifkin, "Problems of Authorship"; and Rodin, "Josquin Canon at 500." On the edition as model, see, for instance, Senfl, *Motets for Four Voices*, 153.

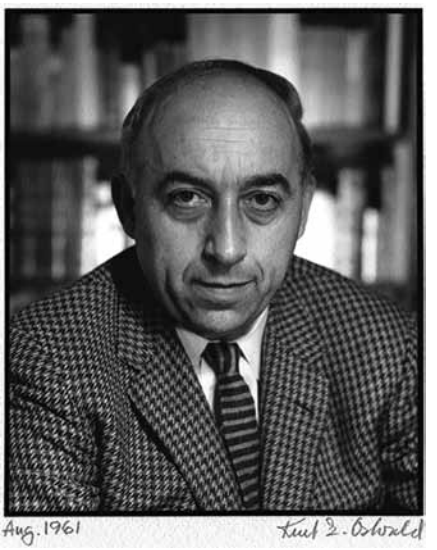


Figure 1 Photo of Edward Lowinsky, August 1961. The University of Chicago Photographic Archive, apf1-03988, Hanna Holborn Gray Special Collections Research Center, The University of Chicago Library.

Up to a point, he was successful: the conference led directly to the establishment of the first Josquin Committee (active 1973–78), which aimed to provide a foundation for the upcoming edition. But though he initially served on this committee, Lowinsky could not mold the NJE in his image. As the research for this article has made plain, he soon became embroiled in dramatic conflicts in the 1970s and early 1980s that strained the institutional relationship between the Dutch Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis (VNM or, since 1994, the Koninklijke Vereniging, or KVNM) and the American Musicological Society (AMS).

Many years later, this story remains central to the history of our discipline. Lowinsky helped establish Renaissance scholarship, and above all Josquin studies, as central in American musicology. In doing so, he gave pride of place to what might be described as a healthy, exciting positivism. But in the ensuing decades, Lowinsky's methodological orientation, coupled with the intensity of his scholarly positions, offered an easy target for an ideological backlash. Had it not been for Lowinsky, his festival-conference, and the NJE, the shifts beginning in the 1980s toward criticism, the New Musicology, and a discipline increasingly centered on twenty-first-century topics might have been less contentious. Now, some fifty years after the first meeting of the Josquin Committee in Utrecht, a reexamination of the ideological and interpersonal dynamics at play at that time can bring to the fore the successes, limitations, and enduring legacy of arguably the most important edition of early music in use today, while illuminating Lowinsky's influence on the discipline of musicology.

Notwithstanding a shared a focus on Josquin, Lowinsky, and the 1971 festival-conference, this study differs markedly from an article published some twenty years ago by Paula Higgins, "The Apotheosis of Josquin des Prez and Other Mythologies of Musical Genius."[8] Higgins interprets the conference as the "apotheosis" of Josquin and the *fons et origo* of an obsession from the 1960s to the early 2000s with authenticity—that is, with the veracity of the attributions to Josquin we find in the surviving musical sources. Higgins rightly calls out problematic scholarly rhetoric on these topics, and observes how the conference's unprecedented scale sought to cast Josquin as a musical genius and thus a musicological hero. Still, in the published conference proceedings, genius rhetoric is limited mainly to the writings of Lowinsky and three other authors out of a total of thirty-three contributors.[9] As for authenticity: even if one wants to speak of an "obsession" with this subject (and it is not clear, considering the scale of the problem, that such a judgment is appropriate), that development came later. In Josquin studies, attribution did not emerge as a topic of central concern until the late 1980s, at which point the conference was long over and the NJE already well underway.[10]

Research in a dozen archives, including study of the extensive Edward E. Lowinsky Papers at The University of Chicago, alongside interviews with scholars who were present at the conference and at later negotiations connected to the new edition, makes it possible to paint a more nuanced picture that takes into account not only the published conference-proceedings volume, but also many of the stories behind it. Even if the festival-conference had relatively little to do with attributive research, the event did indeed mark an apotheosis—not only of Josquin, but also of Lowinsky's status in the field. Pulling these strands apart makes it possible to understand the event and its aftermath in light of several interlocking factors: Lowinsky's longstanding scholarly preoccupations, his interactions with colleagues surrounding the festival-conference and the proceedings volume, the work of the Josquin Committee, and complex transatlantic institutional politics.

From Utrecht to New York and Back

Lowinsky's unparalleled importance for Josquin scholarship in the United States can be traced back to the years he spent in the Netherlands during the 1930s. Between 1933 and 1940, roughly a dozen scholars who in part

8. Higgins, "Apotheosis of Josquin."

9. Only Ludwig Finscher, Don Harrán, Edward Lowinsky, and Jitka Snížková make reference to Josquin as a genius. The term does not appear in connection with Josquin in any of the roundtable discussions.

10. See Elders, *Proceedings*.

specialized in early music emigrated from Europe to the United States.[11] Nearly all were Jewish. Lowinsky was the most prolific of the group, his career one of the longest. These scholars began—and most completed—their doctorates at German or Austrian universities. But Lowinsky's emigration to the Netherlands in 1933 was unusual. Following a warning from Heinrich Besseler, Lowinsky's doctoral advisor, that the Nazis would soon restrict the ability of Jewish students to be granted doctoral degrees, Albert Smijers helped Lowinsky publish his dissertation, a required step toward receiving his doctorate.[12] In 1936, Lowinsky received his degree in absentia from the University of Heidelberg.

Although Josquin had long been considered important, during the early twentieth century he received limited attention in Germany and the United States. Friedrich Blume's publication of Josquin's *Missa Pange lingua* in the first volume of *Das Chorwerk* was exceptional.[13] The network of scholars connected to Adolf Sandberger and Theodor Kroyer in Munich, for instance, preferred later sixteenth-century topics, including (for local patriotic reasons) Orlando di Lasso and his Bavarian orbit, as well as the mid-sixteenth-century composers who were seen as Lasso's immediate predecessors and influences. There and elsewhere in Germany, religious and political incentives led to greater focus on the "Germans" Heinrich Isaac and Ludwig Senfl, as well as Protestant contemporaries of Martin Luther such as Caspar Othmayr and Sixt Dietrich, along with Lasso.[14] In the United States, meanwhile, few scholars focused on Josquin, not even the émigrés who arrived in the 1930s.

Lowinsky's proximity to Utrecht between 1934 and 1939 exposed him to the epicenter of Josquin research via Smijers's edition project.[15] The relationship between the two scholars was strong: on at least one

11. For an overview of the situation of the émigré musicologists and their careers, see Josephson, "German Musical Exile"; and more recently, Stanley and Lautenschläger, "American Musicology." These scholars included Willi Apel, Manfred Bukofzer, Hans David, Alfred Einstein, Ernst Ferand, Otto Gombosi, Erich Hertzmann, Gerhard Herz, Hugo Leichtentritt, Dragan Plamenac, Leo Schrade, and Lowinsky. Apel, Bukofzer, Einstein, Gombosi, Hertzmann, Leichtentritt, Lowinsky, and Plamenac are identified as Jewish in Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 85, 97. David, Ferand, and Herz are included in a list of Jewish musicologists in Holde, *Jews in Music*, 226. Schrade was Catholic. His wife came from a Jewish family, which resulted in his dismissal from the University of Bonn. See Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, 105; and Marx, "'. . . ein jüngerer Gelehrter von Rang,'" 262.

12. Lowinsky, "Das Antwerpener Motettenbuch," which Lowinsky dated as complete July 31, 1933. See Lowinsky, "Heinrich Besseler," 501; and Gordon, "Secret of the *Secret Chromatic Art*," 350–51.

13. Josquin des Prez, *Missa Pange lingua*.

14. Although praised by Luther, Josquin was not Luther's contemporary, nor was he active in German lands. Isaac was Franco-Flemish; Senfl was Swiss.

15. Lowinsky and his family lived in The Hague, where he gave piano lessons. Lowinsky was a member of the VNM by May 1937. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Bernhard van den Sigtenhorst Meyer (in Dutch), dated May 18, 1937, folder 0292, box 20, AKVNM.

occasion—but probably more often—Smijers edited Lowinsky's work prior to publication.[16] For all of this, it was not clear during the early years of Lowinsky's career that Josquin would emerge as a central focus.[17] Lowinsky's dissertation, after all, treated a 1555 book of motets by Lasso. An early letter of recommendation by Besseler to an unknown recipient indicates that Lowinsky was mainly a specialist in Netherlandish and Italian music from between 1530 and 1550.[18]

Starting in the early 1940s, Lowinsky began to devote concentrated attention to Josquin. In 1943, Lowinsky discussed the three-voice *Fortuna d'un gran tempo*, in which non-notated accidentals are needed to maintain intervallic consistency between imitative entries.[19] Lowinsky's first major publication in the United States was the 1946 musicological bestseller *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet*.[20] Lowinsky argued that, in a number of works by mid-sixteenth-century composers, implicit but unwritten accidentals needed to keep motives intervallically consistent created radical harmonic progressions that were hidden to those who did not understand the proper use of such alterations—and that composers in on the secret fostered double meanings critical of the Catholic Church and the Inquisition.[21] Josquin played a small but important role in this argument. The book highlights the (spurious) motet *Absalon, fili mi* as the spiritual predecessor to Clemens non Papa's motet *Fremuit spiritu Jesu*: Lowinsky argues that, to convey King David's weeping, Josquin uses unprecedented modulations.[22] Although *Secret Chromatic Art* was not published until 1946, Lowinsky had completed a draft in German by the time he arrived in the United States in 1941 and had argued with Smijers and Eduard Reeser about the application of editorial accidentals since at least 1936, including with respect to *Fremuit spiritu Jesu*.[23] Lowinsky's newfound focus on Josquin in *Secret Chromatic Art* probably reflected these discussions.

16. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Albert Smijers (in German), dated April 17, 1936, folder 0290, box 19, AKVNM.

17. Lewis Lockwood, one of Lowinsky's early undergraduate students, has observed that it was not at all obvious that Josquin would become his main area of focus. Lewis Lockwood, personal communication, February 9, 2021.

18. Letter of recommendation from Heinrich Besseler for Edward E. Lowinsky (in German), dated December 9, 1937, folder 9, box 100, series 6, EEL.

19. Lowinsky, "Goddess Fortuna in Music."

20. Lowinsky's book was an unusual bestseller: he later told Willem Elders that he was interviewed by a historian in the United States (identified by Bonnie Blackburn as Martin Duberman) who had misunderstood the title to be *Secret Romantic Art in a Netherlands Motel*. Willem Elders, personal communication, November 4, 2021.

21. Gordon, "Secret of the *Secret Chromatic Art*."

22. Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art*, 24–25. *Absalon, fili mi* is attributed to Josquin only in late German sources. See Rifkin, "Problems of Authorship"; Benthem, "Lazarus versus Absalon"; and a host of subsequent articles too numerous to cite.

23. Letters from Edward E. Lowinsky to Eduard H. Reeser (in Dutch), dated December 15, 1936, and July 17, 1937, folder Edward Lowinsky, box 5386, Archief Eduard Reeser, Nederlands Muziek Instituut.

The application of editorial accidentals to works by Josquin became the first of three through lines in Lowinsky's writings on the composer. As organizer of the 1971 festival-conference, Lowinsky ensured that there was a roundtable on Josquin and *musica ficta*. He would speak on this topic again at the first meeting of the first Josquin Committee. *Musica ficta* fit into Lowinsky's larger view of the period: that the Renaissance was set apart from the medieval period by its revolutionary aspects, including incipient tonality and chromaticism, and that these developments prepared the ground for modernity.[24] In Lowinsky's interpretation, Josquin was also remarkable because he initiated a transformation from the successive composition of individual voices in a polyphonic work to a simultaneous conception of all the voices, a subject Lowinsky connected to the motet *Ave Maria . . . virgo serena* as early as 1948 and which was further developed in the writings of his student and later wife Bonnie Blackburn.[25] For Lowinsky, this transformation was closely linked to his conviction that Josquin and Isaac were "inventors" of the score.[26] The third trend related to Josquin the person. Lowinsky was interested in biography generally—and at the time Josquin's was remarkably unclear. As Higgins has noted, Lowinsky saw Josquin as exceptional, a genius so far beyond his contemporaries that he operated as his own context.[27] All of this demonstrates Lowinsky's longstanding interest in Josquin, which in the middle decades of the twentieth century vastly outstripped that of other American scholars. In this light, the festival-conference emerges as not only a deeply historically contingent event, but also the culmination of decades of Lowinsky's Renaissance scholarship.[28]

Meanwhile, Lowinsky maintained unusually close relationships with his European counterparts, including with German scholars. He was eternally grateful to Besseler for singlehandedly enabling him to receive his doctorate through Smijers. After the war, he sent Besseler care packages; in 1967, he arranged for Besseler to receive an honorary doctorate from The University of Chicago. Lowinsky defended Besseler against charges that the *Judenstempel*, a National Socialist stamp denoting a Jewish author, was applied under Besseler's direction to books in the Heidelberg musicology library by drawing the line only at the "antisemitic treatment of Jewish-German

24. Vendrix, "Introduction," xvii–xviii.

25. See Lowinsky, "On the Use of Scores"; Blackburn, "On Compositional Process"; and Bokulich, "Remaking a Motet." *Ave Maria . . . virgo serena* is further discussed in Blackburn, "For Whom Do the Singers Sing?" 603–5. Blackburn and Lowinsky married in September 1971, shortly after the Josquin conference.

26. Lowinsky, "Early Scores in Manuscript," 153. This article more clearly states this point than Lowinsky does in "On the Use of Scores."

27. See Lowinsky, "Musical Genius"; and "Musical Genius–II."

28. Cf. Higgins, "Apotheosis of Josquin," esp. 449, 451n33, 455, which more emphasizes the historical contexts of the mid- to late 1960s than Lowinsky's own longstanding research program.

composers."[29] Indeed, Lowinsky gave the benefit of the doubt to German scholars more than most scholars in the United States would have done: in 1948, when Charles Seeger informed him that Friedrich Blume was "more than a mere collaborationist" and had been appointed to two high posts under the Third Reich, one by the propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels, Lowinsky responded that he had heard that Blume's *Das Rasseproblem in der Musik* had "neatly outwitted Nazi censorship and took a very independent and courageous stand."[30] Lowinsky was one of the few scholars in the United States who would have been willing in the postwar period to plan an international conference that centered German scholars.

Lowinsky maintained close connections to his Dutch colleagues, who were equally important for planning a conference on Josquin. He continued to correspond not only with Smijers after the war, but also with Reeser, who had since become a professor in Utrecht. These contacts played a role in Reeser asking Lowinsky in 1955 to consider succeeding Smijers as a professor there.[31] But a job offer did not materialize until February 1957, when Lowinsky, then considering offers to be a full professor at both the University of California, Berkeley and New York University, asked Reeser for a formal invitation. Following Smijers's death in May of that year, Lowinsky received the offer, writing to Reeser that

> when Professor Smijers twenty years ago published my dissertation, it did not occur to me in my boldest dreams that I might be asked one day to succeed him. I was greatly moved to hear that he signed a paper to this effect one day before his death.[32]

Of particular concern for Lowinsky was the fate of Smijers's Josquin edition.

In the end, Lowinsky did not accept the position. Some of his reasons for declining the invitation were practical, such as moving from a United States retirement account to a European pension.[33] Also important, in the recollection of Willem Elders, was a refusal on the part of the board of the Utrecht University to make Lowinsky director of the Institute of Musicology.[34]

29. Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Besseler*, 383.

30. Letter from Charles Seeger to Edward E. Lowinsky, dated January 14, 1948, folder 22, box 89, series 5, EEL; letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Charles Seeger, February 2, 1948, folder 22, box 89, series 5, EEL. See Blume, *Das Rasseproblem in der Musik*.

31. See letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Eduard H. Reeser, dated September 21, 1955, folder 4, box 43, series 1, EEL.

32. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Eduard H. Reeser, dated June 2, 1957, folder 4, box 43, series 1, EEL.

33. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Heinrich Besseler (in German), dated June 7, 1958, folder 15, box 3, series 1, EEL.

34. Letter from Willem Elders to Herbert Kellman and Jeremy Noble, dated April 15, 1982, HK.

The offer to be Smijers's successor in one of the most prominent musicological positions in Europe was significant, as was the extraordinary nature of Smijers's deathbed academic will. Lowinsky saw himself as Smijers's rightful heir—and he would later come to believe that, following Smijers's death, "the Vereniging made a terrible mistake in conferring the work on so important an edition [the Josquin *Werken*] to its own members instead of seeking international advice and cooperation."[35] All of this can help contextualize Lowinsky's disagreements with the two men who ultimately succeeded Smijers: Myroslaw Antonowycz and Willem Elders, Antonowycz's assistant from 1965.[36] Lowinsky's position as the first choice to succeed Smijers would make him uniquely suited to challenge the VNM over the NJE in the years to come.

The 1971 Festival-Conference

The 1971 Josquin Festival-Conference at The Juilliard School in New York City was the moment when Josquin scholarship went international (figure 2). The event also provided the foundation for more than a decade of conflict between Lowinsky and the VNM. Over the course of five days, thirty-one participating scholars from eight countries presented new research on the composer. Four ensembles performed sold-out concerts to over a thousand audience members. Roundtable discussions elicited heated debates on central issues in early-music scholarship.

Now, fifty years later, we tend to see the festival-conference as a landmark in Renaissance musicology, owing in large part to Paula Higgins's wide-ranging 2004 article. Higgins argues that

> the late twentieth-century apotheosis of Josquin . . . arose from a confluence of highly contingent musical and historical circumstances involving the impending completion of the opera omnia in the 1960s, the publication of Osthoff's *Josquin* monograph of 1962–65, Lowinsky's "Genius" article of 1964, the Kerman-Lowinsky debates of 1965, and above all, the International Josquin Festival-Conference of 1971.[37]

Intensive study of the Lowinsky papers at The University of Chicago, which contain a remarkably complete record of the correspondence surrounding

35. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Ludwig Finscher, dated November 4, 1969, folder 16, box 83, series 5, EEL.

36. Elders, too, came to believe that Lowinsky saw himself as Smijers's heir. See a letter from Elders to Herbert Kellman and Jeremy Noble, dated April 15, 1982, HK. Two projects undertaken by Smijers during the 1950s delayed the completion of the *Werken*: a collected-works edition devoted to Jacob Obrecht and two fascicles of a new or revised Josquin collected-works edition, which Fallows has characterized as "odd." Fallows, *Josquin*, 462.

37. Higgins, "Apotheosis of Josquin," 455.

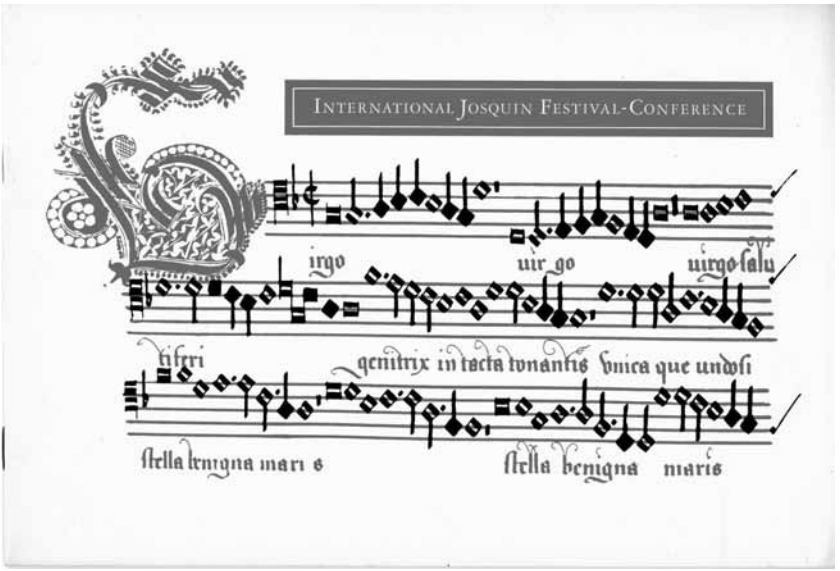


Figure 2 Cover of the program for the 1971 International Josquin Festival-Conference, featuring the motet *Virgo salutiferi*. Image drawn from the Medici Codex, fol. 112v. Program gifted to the author by Jaap van Benthem. Used by permission of Bonnie J. Blackburn.

the conference and have been publicly available since the early 1990s, makes it possible to enrich and in some ways complicate Higgins's account.[38] In particular, Higgins is able to devote only limited space to the conference itself, putting the weight of the argument on how the event fit into the wider context of late twentieth-century Renaissance music scholarship.[39]

Deeper analysis of the festival-conference and its planning is justified by the extraordinary nature of the event. Lowinsky, then at the apex of his power, was a prodigious fundraiser: he had a budget that ballooned at one point to $104,000, roughly equivalent to $750,000 today.[40] I am not aware of a similar budget accorded to any other conference in the history of our discipline. Lowinsky in fact raised more money than he spent. For example, the American Council of Learned Societies granted $5,000 for bringing European scholars to the festival-conference, but Lowinsky only

38. The bulk of the Lowinsky papers were received by The University of Chicago in 1990 and were opened for research shortly thereafter. But the collection was not fully organized or described in an online finding aid until 2010. Kathleen Feeney, Head of Archives Processing and Digital Access at The University of Chicago Library, personal communication, February 14, 2022.

39. Only approximately eight of the article's sixty-eight pages focus specifically on the festival-conference. Higgins, "Apotheosis of Josquin," 449–52, 456–57, 465–66.

40. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Mrs. Robert S. Tangeman, dated March 30, 1971, folder 10, box 89, series 5, EEL. Lowinsky noted that he had by that point raised $63,635, equivalent to approximately $475,000 today.

spent about $2,300 and returned the remainder.[41] The fundraising for the conference was also important for the AMS: as he began to seek support from public institutions, private foundations, and individuals, Lowinsky worked with the organization's president at the time, William Newman, to restore the AMS's tax-exempt status, which had lapsed since the 1950s.[42] The society today benefits from this restoration.

Surviving documents indicate that some of the factors Higgins cites to explain the rise of Josquin scholarship should be given more weight than others. On the one hand, she emphasizes the debates between Lowinsky and Joseph Kerman (the article is dedicated to Kerman), noting that Lowinsky was incensed by Kerman's elevation of criticism above study of original sources and Kerman's comment at the 1964 AMS annual meeting that "I pass over the trivia that occupy good minds while . . . spurious works lurk scandalously in the Josquin canon."[43] But Kerman was never one of Lowinsky's chief antagonists as were Leo Schrade or, later, Joshua Rifkin.[44] In fact, the extensive Lowinsky papers reveal relatively few contentious letters in the 1960s between the two scholars.[45] Both taught at the University of California, Berkeley in the late 1950s. During that time, Lowinsky wrote a generous letter of recommendation on Kerman's behalf

41. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Frederick Burkhardt, dated January 7, 1972, folder 11, box 81, series 5, EEL.

42. See the correspondence between Lowinsky and Newman in folder 1, box 87, series 5, EEL.

43. Kerman, "Profile for American Musicology," 66. Higgins argues that, "if not exactly hidden behind the curtains, a *genius loci* may well have been inhabiting the Josquin proceedings: possibly, I suggest, in the form of the young Joseph Kerman." Higgins, "Apotheosis of Josquin," 453.

44. On the disagreement with Schrade, see Gordon, "Secret of the *Secret Chromatic Art*," 348. Lowinsky first directed his ire at Rifkin when the then-graduate student was chosen by the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* to review Lowinsky, *Medici Codex of 1518*. Hearing that the review would criticize the edition's conclusions, Lowinsky complained to both the editor-in-chief of the journal, Martin Picker, and editorial board member Lewis Lockwood that Rifkin was unqualified to write the review. In 1969, he invited Rifkin to a party at the house of the New York Pro Musica's director, John White, at which he cornered Rifkin and tried to get the younger scholar to renounce the review. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Joshua Rifkin, dated November 20, 1975, folder 8, box 44, series 1, EEL; Joshua Rifkin, personal communication, April 28, 2021. In part owing to the immense pressure, Rifkin never completed the review, although a number of his articles (for example, Rifkin, "Scribal Concordances") critiqued Lowinsky's interpretations. Similarly, Richard Sherr, David Crawford, and Leeman Perkins—like Rifkin—challenged Lowinsky's conclusions in *Medici Codex of 1518* and thus faced his wrath. All of these scholars shared a willingness to confront one of Lowinsky's two grand theories in his scholarship, either the use of editorial accidentals in the Renaissance or the origins of the Medici Codex. Kerman never challenged one of these theories, and so Lowinsky's objections were less central to his own research plan.

45. The Joseph Kerman Papers, which are held at the Jean Gray Hargrove Music Library at the University of California, Berkeley, do not appear to reveal substantial missing correspondence between the two men either.

for a Guggenheim Fellowship (Kerman was successful in his application).[46] In 1975, Lowinsky even tried to recruit Kerman, albeit unsuccessfully, to The University of Chicago.[47] By contrast, there is little archival documentation to suggest that Kerman's comments were a foremost concern for Lowinsky as the latter planned the conference or as a new wave of Josquin scholarship emerged in the 1970s. Elevating the Lowinsky–Kerman debates risks foregrounding an ideological position that Kerman was beginning to develop in the 1950s but that he fully elucidated only in the 1980s.[48]

On the other hand, Higgins correctly emphasizes the impact of Helmuth Osthoff's monograph and the completion of the *Werken*. Citing both publications, Lowinsky proposed the 1971 conference to the AMS in late 1968 and began planning it in earnest in January 1969. Building on these German and Dutch accomplishments, Lowinsky was keen to demonstrate the international value of such an event: "I believe that the United States and Germany are leading today in Josquin research and that possibly we have more scholars working on Josquin and closely related composers than Germany."[49] The international nature of the conference was never in doubt, but it became all the more central when, in July 1969, Lowinsky began to involve the German scholar Ludwig Finscher on the event's planning committee. By September, Lowinsky had invited a number of European scholars: Higini Anglès, Antonowycz, Besseler, Nanie Bridgman, Geneviève Thibault de Chambure, Carl Dahlhaus, Knud Jeppesen, Martin Just, René Bernard Lenaerts, François Lesure, Osthoff, and Walter Wiora. In fact, many more European scholars had been invited at this point than scholars based in the United States (Finscher joined a planning committee that also included the American scholars Gustave Reese, Lawrence Bernstein, and Howard Mayer Brown).[50] Lowinsky wrote to Reese that he had contacted the Europeans first to give them sufficient time to plan for international travel—but no matter the reason, the chronology of Lowinsky's invitations shaped the conference's emphasis.[51]

Forgiving past actions by German scholars, Lowinsky exhibited willful ignorance in pursuit of (in his eyes) high-quality scholarship. Since Osthoff could not be present, Friedrich Blume—whose Third Reich activities Lowinsky had already excused—was invited to serve as the elder statesman of German musicology. Retired and many years removed from his

46. Letter of recommendation, dated December 18, 1957, folder 18, box 26, series 1, EEL.

47. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Joseph Kerman, dated August 2, 1975, folder 18, box 26, series 1, EEL.

48. See, most notably, Kerman, *Contemplating Music*.

49. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to William Newman, dated January 4, 1969, folder 1, box 87, series 5, EEL.

50. Bernstein ultimately withdrew in February 1970; Reese provided on-the-ground support in New York.

51. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Gustave Reese, dated November 4, 1969, folder 432, series 5, JPB 92–71, New York Public Library.

Josquin scholarship of the 1920s, Blume was asked not to give an academic speech on "the present state of Josquin research," but a commemorative address celebrating Josquin, which he titled "Josquin des Prez: The Man and the Music."[52] Lowinsky also invited Clytus Gottwald, whose ensemble the Schola Cantorum Lowinsky found particularly interesting, since the Schola Cantorum—mainly known at the time for their performances of modern music—was the only group that would "take so clear an anti-historical stance," and by doing so, could spark discussion among the festival-conference's participants.[53]

Politics nonetheless hung in the air. In a 1964 letter to Carl Dahlhaus, Gottwald accused Walter Wiora of still being a Nazi; in 1970, at the Gesellschaft für Musikforschung conference in Bonn, Gottwald publicly challenged the political past of Besseler, who had died the year before.[54] Gottwald was rebuffed immediately by Finscher and by some of Besseler's own students, who issued an official statement denouncing one particularly critical attack by Gottwald. As Gottwald himself recounts, he and Dahlhaus met Finscher on the flight to the Josquin festival-conference in New York; thanks to deft mediation by Dahlhaus, Gottwald and Finscher acted as if nothing had happened the previous year.[55] Such a détente presumably extended to Wiora, too. Lowinsky appears to have found out about the conflict only after the conference, in July 1972, at which point he wrote to Gottwald to defend Besseler.[56] At all events, he was not entirely unfamiliar with the Nazi pasts of Blume and Osthoff, both of whom he praised lavishly during the conference.

More than simply celebrating musicology's past, the presence of the Europeans took on additional significance in September 1969, when, in a letter to Finscher, Lowinsky revealed one of the festival-conference's central planks:

> Unfortunately, nobody has offered a paper on editorial problems, and with the Vereniging planning a <u>new</u> Josquin edition (as Antonowycz tells me), a critique of the edition and proposals for the new edition would be one of the most important undertakings of the Josquin Conference. In fact, it is perhaps the one problem that calls for a Symposium.[57]

52. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Friedrich Blume, dated October 20, 1970, folder 20, box 81, series 5, EEL; Blume, "Josquin des Prez."

53. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Clytus Gottwald, dated December 9, 1969, folder 7, box 84, series 5, EEL.

54. See Beck, *Neue Musik im kirchlichen Raum*, 92; Dahlhaus et al., *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress*, 663–72; and Riethmüller, "Lives in Musicology," 19–20.

55. Gottwald, *Rückblick auf den Fortschritt*, 33.

56. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Clytus Gottwald (in German), dated July 4, 1972, folder L, Korrespondenz 1970–73 [Ordner IIa + IIb], Sammlung Clytus Gottwald, Paul Sacher Stiftung.

57. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Ludwig Finscher, dated September 25, 1969, folder 16, box 83, series 5, EEL.

The importance of the new edition began to influence Lowinsky's list of participating scholars. In the previously mentioned group of initial invitees, most were senior figures in the field, and many were unlikely to attend (Besseler, Osthoff, Jeppesen, and Anglès were all in poor health).[58] Instead, the invitee list wound up featuring a number of scholars from the Low Countries. In addition to Lenaerts and Antonowycz, the participants included Elders and arguably the least-experienced scholar presenting at the conference, Jaap van Benthem. Van Benthem had not been suggested by the VNM and recalled being surprised upon receiving the invitation.[59] But Lowinsky had heard that he would be involved in the upcoming edition:

> Van Benthem has made a very profound study of sources of Josquin's secular music and has a number of new things to contribute. Entirely on my own initiative, I have invited him to the Congress (he was not suggested by Reeser, Antonowycz, or Elders) when his first article appeared and when I, through correspondence, found out that he was going to have something to do with the second edition of Josquin's secular works. I thought it was important for a future editor of Josquin's works to be in New York at the Josquin Conference.[60]

At the conference itself, both publicly and privately, Lowinsky used the opportunity to advance his aim for an international edition rather than one led solely by the VNM. Amid days of papers and performances, the conference's centerpiece was a roundtable discussion on editorial problems that Lowinsky had proposed to Finscher and in which Lowinsky criticized the *Werken*'s application of editorial accidentals. It is no accident that this was the moment of strongest disagreement, and although it took place in the middle of the conference, it serves as the concluding section in the published *Proceedings*. For Lowinsky, this was the legacy he hoped the conference would have.

Even before June 1971, several Belgian and Dutch scholars knew this, too—and they feared that Lowinsky sought to assume leadership of the second Josquin edition.[61] Blackburn does not remember Lowinsky ever giving voice to such a wish, though she understands how the perception that Lowinsky aimed to usurp power caused the Dutch to be annoyed.[62] As for the extensive German delegation, Lowinsky must have known that any future appeal for an international Josquin edition would have to include German scholars, who were then closely connected to the International

58. Besseler had been unable to accept an honorary degree from Chicago two years earlier owing to poor health, and so must have been invited only as a courtesy. Anglès died later that year.

59. Jaap van Benthem, personal communication, May 26, 2022.

60. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Donald J. Grout, dated May 11, 1971, folder 12, box 16, series 1, EEL.

61. Jaap van Benthem, personal communication, May 26, 2022.

62. Bonnie J. Blackburn, personal communication, October 5, 2021.

Musicological Society (IMS) and had expertise in leading collected-works editions. Uniting the scholars from the German-speaking world and the United States could have the additional benefit of preventing the appearance that American scholars were dictating international musicology—and indeed, two of the three IMS representatives to the first Josquin Committee were ultimately active in 1970s Germany.[63]

At the same time, Lowinsky courted the Dutch delegation. During the conference, he invited select members of the delegation to lunch at his suite at the New York Hilton at Rockefeller Center. Donald Grout, the figurehead treasurer of the conference, was also present; according to Lowinsky, Grout had gained the confidence of the Dutch musicologists while planning the 1961 IMS conference in New York.[64] Of the Dutch members, Elders, Van Benthem, and Chris Maas, then the president of the VNM, were present. Although invited and in attendance at the conference, Reeser, no longer the president of the VNM and possibly sensing conflict, declined to attend.[65] Antonowycz, by contrast, was not invited, perhaps because he did not want to be (at the conference, Antonowycz apparently told Maas that he had no interest in participating in the new edition).[66] Lowinsky remembered the lunch as a cordial opportunity "to lay to rest their fears that 'the Americans' were determined to bring out a second edition by themselves."[67]

But as so often happened, others remembered these same interactions differently. Van Benthem recalled that Lowinsky essentially treated the lunch as an opportunity to critique—not especially politely and without advance warning—the *Werken*. Having passed away more than a decade before, Albert Smijers could not defend his editorial choices. Lowinsky's desire for an international approach stemmed from a fear that there was no active editor of Renaissance music in the Low Countries of the caliber of Smijers or Alfred Dürr, the principal editor of the Neue Bach-Ausgabe and a scholar whom Lowinsky greatly admired.[68] In any case, the impression

63. These were Ludwig Finscher and Martin Staehelin. Staehelin was Swiss and in 1971 completed his Habilitation in Zurich, but from 1976 was professor in Bonn and the head of the Beethoven-Haus Bonn. In 1982, a third German scholar, Martin Just, would join the second Josquin Committee. For details, see further below.

64. On Grout's role for the conference, see letter from Donald J. Grout to Armen Carapetyan, dated June 1, 1971, folder 35, box 52, Donald Jay Grout Papers, Cornell University. On his presence at the luncheon with the Dutch, see letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Chris J. Maas, dated June 19, 1979, folder 11, box 31, series 1, EEL.

65. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Eduard H. Reeser, dated May 16, 1972, folder 4, box 43, series 1, EEL.

66. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Arthur Mendel, dated March 18, 1974, folder 15, box 33, series 1, EEL.

67. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Donald J. Grout, dated June 10, 1979, folder 12, box 16, series 1, EEL.

68. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Donald J. Grout, dated May 11, 1971; letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Arthur Mendel, dated March 18, 1974.

the lunch left on the VNM representatives was that, according to Elders, "on that occasion Lowinsky applied, so to say, for the general editorship."[69] This meeting, along with Lowinsky's critique at the roundtable on editorial problems, provided a foundation for future tensions.

At the public venue, Lowinsky complained above all about the application of editorial accidentals, arguing that there were not enough, and that they were not applied consistently. The same complaints, reflecting Lowinsky's longstanding interest in the subject, can be found almost twenty years earlier in Lowinsky's review of the Nicolas Gombert collected-works edition. According to Lowinsky, the handling of *musica ficta* by the editor Joseph Schmidt-Görg reflected "indecision, timidity, and confusion," which stemmed from what he perceived as a lack of consistency (for example, Schmidt-Görg raised the seventh degree at cadences to the final, but not consistently at cadences to other pitches).[70] At the roundtable, Lowinsky made it clear that he believed the problem as it concerned Josquin had begun with Otto Ursprung's 1926 review of the *Werken*: in response to Ursprung's critique, Smijers had reduced the number of editorial accidentals.[71]

Lowinsky had one other major critique of at least the later portions of the *Werken*: a lack of editorial accuracy. At one point, he remarked to Arthur Mendel that Antonowycz was a "very poor proofreader."[72] As Lowinsky relayed to Finscher in 1969,

> The degree of accuracy under Antonowycz has diminished in a frightening manner. I am, frankly, disturbed at the prospect of the Nederlandse Vereniging voor Muziekgeschiedenis planning to bring out a second edition under him, probably as general editor. Your task of criticizing the post-Smijers edition and of making proposals for a second edition will not be enviable. But it may well turn out to be the focal point of the whole congress.[73]

Lowinsky's assessment was surely correct—in 1965, Martin Just had offered similar criticism, and Finscher later echoed Lowinsky's criticism—and this point happened to suit his agenda.[74] But accuracy played only a minor role in the public roundtable on editorial problems. Mendel's prepared statement mentioned that "teamwork could also contribute to the *accuracy* of the new edition, a quality which seems to become more difficult of attainment every year," but no participant offered more pointed criticism.[75]

69. Letter from Willem Elders to Herbert Kellman and Jeremy Noble, dated April 15, 1982.

70. Lowinsky, review of *Opera Omnia*, 635.

71. Ursprung, "Josquin des Prés."

72. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Arthur Mendel, dated March 18, 1974.

73. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Ludwig Finscher, dated November 4, 1969.

74. Just, review of *Motetten Bundel XXIII*. On Finscher's agreement with Lowinsky's view of the *Supplement*, see n109.

75. Quoted in Lowinsky, "Problems in Editing," 727 (emphasis original).

Finscher himself avoided making a formal statement, apparently owing to a lack of time. As Lowinsky relayed in a report distributed afterward to participating scholars and funding organizations, the roundtable achieved its goals when "the Dutch scholars . . . agreed to propose international collaboration in the preparation of the projected second edition to the Board of the Dutch Musicological Society upon their return to Holland."[76]

The Conference Proceedings

In addition to its extravagance and Lowinsky's pointed advocacy for a new Josquin collected-works edition, the conference was notable for its published proceedings, which appeared six years later in 1977.[77] This 787-page volume includes not only more developed versions of the papers presented, but also transcripts of the discussions at the roundtable symposiums and recordings of the four ensembles. There is much to be gained from close study of the book—and yet it is dangerous to view it as a faithful historical record of the conference.[78] Rather, in light of Lowinsky's heavy and often interventionist editing, the volume is better understood as reflecting his own aspirations for the event and for Josquin scholarship more generally.

As editor, Lowinsky frequently tussled with presenters over what they were putting into print.[79] He did not agree with Leeman Perkins's contribution on mode in Josquin's masses, and so allowed Perkins to withdraw his article from the publication.[80] In the case of written texts submitted in German, translations were made, but not with the goal of perfect fidelity. For example, Lowinsky advised Dahlhaus against "comparing [his paper] word for word with the German version," and asked Dahlhaus in many places to "reconsider" and "reformulate" points with which Lowinsky disagreed.[81] The Germans largely did not object: they evidently did not care too much about the linguistic nuances of articles published in English by an Anglo-American publisher (Dahlhaus, for instance, had long departed from the Josquin scholarship of his 1952 dissertation for the greener pastures

76. Lowinsky, "International Josquin Festival Conference," 9.

77. Although copyrighted in 1976, the *Proceedings* were not published until 1977. Fallows, review of *Josquin des Prez*.

78. Cf. Higgins, "Apotheosis of Josquin," 449–52; and an advertisement for the *Proceedings* stating that "discussions on editing Josquin's music have been slightly condensed." "Josquin," *Notes*, 756.

79. Bonnie J. Blackburn, personal communication, January 20, 2021; Willem Elders, personal communication, June 22, 2021.

80. Perkins's article ultimately appeared as "Mode and Structure in the Masses of Josquin." The extensive length of Perkins's article (fifty-one pages in the published version) was also problematic. For more, see folder 2, box 88, series 5, EEL.

81. Letters from Edward E. Lowinsky to Carl Dahlhaus, dated June 19, 1973, and August 3, 1973, sig. 54, 214, Universitätsarchiv Technische Universität Berlin.

of nineteenth-century music).[82] Moreover, many of these scholars were inexpert in academic English and may simply not have noticed Lowinsky's heavy editorial hand.

For all of this, a number of anglophone scholars did object. Following a long correspondence with Lowinsky, Lewis Lockwood issued an ultimatum:

> After recovering from the shock of perceiving the extent and character of the changes you had made . . . if you do not approve of either the paper or my attitude towards further changes in it, you may rest assured that I should be willing to see the paper, if necessary, withdrawn from the publication.[83]

Lockwood was hardly alone. Herbert Kellman, upset by Lowinsky's editorship, wrote to him that

> I authorize only this text, precisely as it now appears, to be published, and apart from corrections of typographical and punctuation errors, cannot permit any further editorial alterations.[84]

Arthur Mendel went even further, noting that Lowinsky had inserted footnotes into his text that expressed Lowinsky's own personal opinions, often contrasting with the opinions of the author of the text.[85] Damningly, Mendel charged that, in the workshop transcripts, Lowinsky had attempted to change a specific dating that had been proposed by Richard Sherr without consulting him—Lowinsky believed that Josquin's *Missa de Beata Virgine* was copied into the manuscript Cappella Giulia XII.2 ca. 1521 rather than after 1530.[86] Mendel was essentially accusing Lowinsky of academic dishonesty, an accusation against which Lowinsky defended himself—audaciously, it would seem—by attributing this change to an error by Blackburn, who had painstakingly retyped the whole manuscript of

82. Dahlhaus, "Studien zu den Messen Josquins des Pres." On Dahlhaus's dismissive attitude toward his dissertation, see letter 12 to Theodor Adorno, dated October 13, 1953, in Klein, *Carl Dahlhaus Briefe*, 21–22.

83. Letter from Lewis Lockwood to Edward E. Lowinsky, dated August 12, 1973, folder 16, box 85, series 5, EEL.

84. Letter from Herbert Kellman to Edward E. Lowinsky, dated January 7, 1975, folder 10, box 85, series 5, EEL.

85. "I find your footnotes (had I seen them before? I have no recollection of them) most interesting. But I am still concerned about their not being identified in situ as yours. . . . They frequently express your personal opinions, which are obviously valuable, but with which at times the authors of the material they annotate do not agree." Letter from Arthur Mendel to Edward E. Lowinsky, dated January 9, 1975, folder 4, box 86, series 5, EEL.

86. "[Richard] Sherr and [Joshua] Rifkin may be wrong about the date of the section of Cappella Giulia XII.2 that contains the M[issa].d[e].B[eata].V[irgine]. . . . The writer of material appearing in the proceedings [Sherr] must not be represented as saying what he did not say unless he himself wishes to revise it, as, in this case, Sherr does not." Letter from Arthur Mendel to Edward E. Lowinsky, dated January 9, 1975. See Lowinsky, "Performance and Interpretation of Josquin's Masses," 712.

1,200 pages to send to the printer.[87] Mendel presumably felt comfortable challenging Lowinsky so directly only because he held a senior academic post, something that cannot be said of all the contributors.

In the publication, the roundtable discussions and the short statements by individual speakers represent what these scholars would have liked to have said rather than their exact spoken words. This is neither problematic nor so distant from present-day practice inasmuch as conference proceedings rarely express the material exactly as it was presented. But the printed transcripts of the roundtable discussions and workshops offer the pretense of being unmediated (the *Proceedings* even indicate which participants commented "from the floor" and list who generously transcribed each discussion from tape), when in fact there were subsequent editorial interventions. To take just one example, during the workshop on Josquin's secular music, the transcript reads that Howard Mayer Brown had the ensembles perform *Fortuna d'un gran tempo* with three different approaches to *musica ficta*—once without editorial accidentals, one with accidentals as proposed by Lowinsky, and once as had been published in 1964 by the young Dutch scholar Jaap van Benthem. The exchange in the *Proceedings* has been drastically rewritten: Lowinsky carelessly played Van Benthem's reading at the piano, resulting in a number of wrong notes.[88] Van Benthem protested. Later that evening, Ludwig Finscher mediated a short meeting between Lowinsky and Van Benthem at which point an agreement was reached. The transcript reflects the idealized result of this informal agreement.

The First Josquin Committee

The most concrete, immediate result of the festival-conference came not from the *Proceedings*, which were published only six years later, but from Lowinsky's meeting with the Dutch contingent and the roundtable on editing the new edition. In August 1972, Lowinsky submitted a proposal to the VNM that a committee should be formed with representatives from the VNM, the AMS, and the IMS. These representatives would present papers and engage in discussions over a period of five or six years, at which point the policies that would govern a new edition would be set. Indeed, in Lowinsky's mind, "nothing would be so harmful as to begin a new edition prematurely."[89]

87. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Arthur Mendel, dated April 18, 1975, folder 4, box 86, series 5, EEL. In his review of the volume, Fallows noticed just four typographical errors in nearly 800 pages. Fallows, review of *Josquin des Prez*, 401.

88. Jaap van Benthem, personal communication, June 19, 2022. See Lowinsky, "Performance and Interpretation of Josquin's Secular Music," 691–94.

89. See "Proposal for the Creation of an International Committee on the Second Edition of the Works of Josquin des Prez," dated August 21, 1972, folder 11, box 82, series 5, EEL.

The Rockefeller Center Hilton meeting with the Dutch had another effect, too: galvanizing nationalist sentiments among scholars from the Low Countries. Following the conference, Lenaerts wrote a review in *Vlaams muziektijdschrift*, encouraging the Belgian and Dutch participants to ensure that Josquin remained in the hands of the Belgians and Dutchmen.[90] Lenaerts wrote separately to Lowinsky:

> Indeed I was not the only member of the Dutch and Belgian delegation to be impressed by statements made at the opening ceremony—not by the president of the Conference, it is true—with respect to the plans for a second edition. As things turned out later, the Netherlandish direction of the future edition seems to be firmly secured.[91]

In 1973, the VNM board accepted Lowinsky's proposal.[92] The committee as first formulated consisted of three members each from the AMS (Lowinsky, Arthur Mendel, and Charles Hamm) and the IMS (Ludwig Finscher, Martin Staehelin, and Brian Jeffery), but four members from the VNM (Chris Maas, René Bernard Lenaerts, Willem Elders, and Myroslaw Antonowycz). Antonowycz might have been inspired by Lenaerts's article and repulsed by Lowinsky's behavior at the conference. Or he may have been persuaded to participate, as Lowinsky suggested, in order to allow the Dutch to maintain a numerical advantage.[93] Although the committee members from the AMS had different editorial perspectives and made their disagreements no secret, they also aimed to speak with a unified voice. In practice, their joint objective was to slow down the Dutch in the selection of a general editor and the production of volumes.[94]

Tensions surrounded even the first meeting of the committee in 1973 in Utrecht. Although not reflected in the extensive notes published by Elders, several scholars recall that Lowinsky presented himself as the informal leader of the committee; Jaap van Benthem indicated that the other scholars made it clear they were all guests of the VNM.[95] Elders passed around a review of Lowinsky's own edition of the Medici Codex, which soured perceptions of Lowinsky's editorial perspectives and skill.[96] Maas proposed that Elders should be the general editor; at this point, Lowinsky was the lone voice of opposition. There was agreement, however, that

90. Lenaerts, "'International Josquin Festival Conference,'" 300.

91. Letter from René Bernard Lenaerts to Edward E. Lowinsky, dated May 28, 1972, folder 14, box 85, series 5, EEL.

92. Letter from VNM to the representatives of the first Josquin Committee, dated June 27, 1973, folder 10, box 82, series 5, EEL.

93. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Arthur Mendel, dated March 18, 1974.

94. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Arthur Mendel, dated August 10, 1973, folder 4, box 86, series 5, EEL.

95. Jaap van Benthem, personal communication, October 3, 2021.

96. Willem Elders, personal communication, June 22, 2021. The review was published in 1974. Elders, review of *Medici Codex of 1518*.

Elders could serve as the committee's coordinator, a primarily organizational role perceived as being of lesser importance.

News of Lowinsky's heavy editorial hand with the *Proceedings* was circulating to considerable disapproval. Meanwhile, the committee faced tensions of its own. The first committee meeting had not been recorded, whereas all subsequent meetings were. This meant that Elders's notes would serve as the basis for the extensive report published in the *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis*. Lowinsky's wife Blackburn, who was not an official representative and so was in attendance as a silent participant, also took detailed notes (figure 3). Lowinsky's edits to the committee report surprised Elders, who wrote to the senior scholar that, although he would adopt the corrections, "some of your additions represent what you wanted to say rather than what you really did say."[97]

In June 1974, just a couple of months prior to the second meeting of the committee in Utrecht, Lowinsky resigned. Officially, he attributed his resignation to a lack of time. He had been slated to present a paper on *musica ficta* for the second meeting in August, although in March 1974, he had switched his focus to the topics of accuracy and authenticity, which he claimed would be easier to prepare. But Lowinsky in fact resigned because Elders resisted his attempts to edit the committee proceedings, which would have enabled Lowinsky to advance his own agenda. Writing to Maas, Lowinsky noted how "astonished" he was that Elders would resist his editorial suggestions.[98] Amplifying tensions still further, Elders shared with Lowinsky his review of Lowinsky's edition of the Medici Codex. The relationship with Elders was permanently damaged.

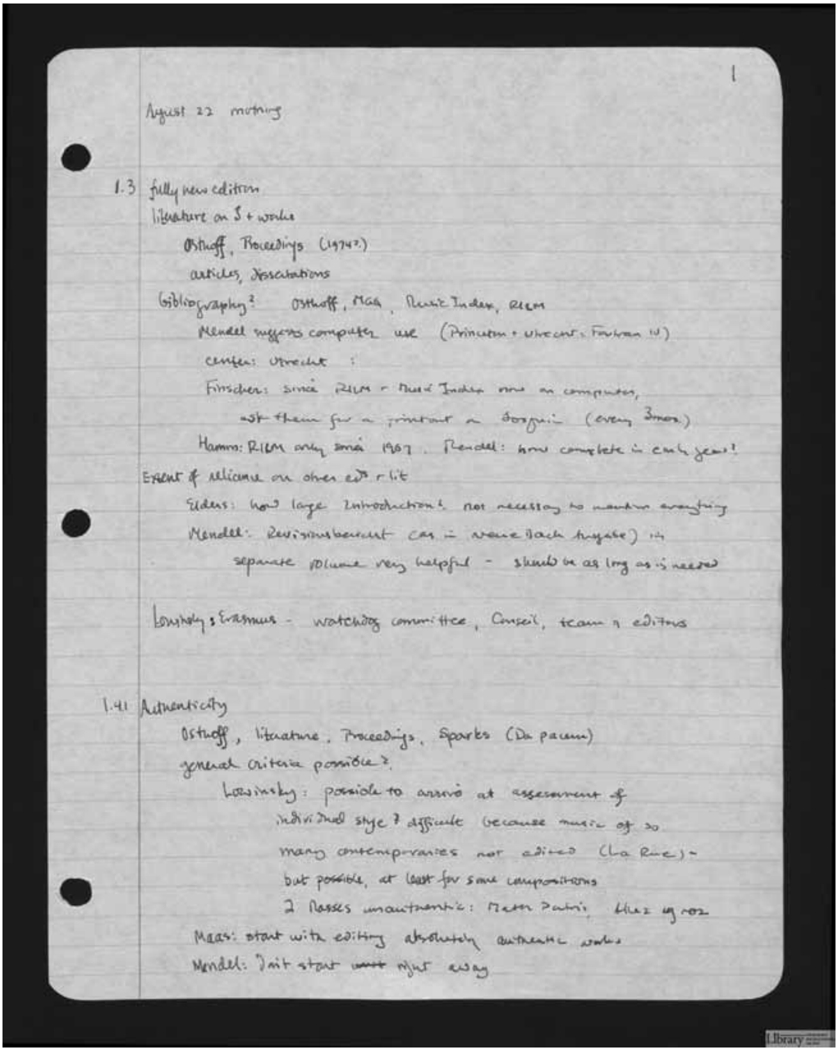
At the start of the second meeting of the Josquin Committee, Lowinsky was nominated and unanimously approved to be an honorary member, but he no longer participated in the meetings.[99] Still, he continued to correspond with the non-Dutch representatives, urging them to resist the appointment of Elders as general editor. The AMS, meanwhile, replaced Lowinsky with Howard Mayer Brown as their representative.[100] But a misunderstanding that originated with the implementation of Lowinsky's proposal continued to be perpetuated about the role of the committee. Those representing the AMS saw the committee's role as preparing to direct the edition; the committee would choose the general editor and then exercise control over the volumes. Meanwhile, the VNM's invitation to the non-Dutch scholars was hardly clear about the chain of command. "The

97. Letter from Willem Elders to Edward E. Lowinsky, dated March 8, 1974, folder 5, box 11, series 1, EEL.

98. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Chris J. Maas, dated June 21, 1974, folder 11, box 82, series 5, EEL.

99. Although certainly invited to attend the second meeting, Lowinsky did not, nor did he attend the third or fourth meetings in 1975 and 1977, respectively. See Elders, "Second Josquin Meeting"; "Third Josquin Meeting"; and "Fourth Josquin Meeting."

100. Jeremy Noble was selected as a representative for the AMS in 1979 following Mendel's death.


1

August 22 meeting

1.3 fully new edition
literature on J + works
Osthoff, Proceedings (1974?)
articles, dissertations
bibliography? Osthoff, MGG, Music Index, RILM
Mendel suggests computer use (Princeton + Utrecht: Fortran IV)
center: Utrecht ?
Finscher: since RILM + Music Index are on computer,
ask them for a printout on Josquin (every 3 mos.)
Hamm: RILM only since 1967. Mendel: how complete in each year!
Extent of reliance on other eds + lit
Elders: how large introduction? not necessary to mention everything
Mendel: Revisionsbericht (as in neue Bach Ausgabe) in
separate volume very helpful — should be as long as is needed

Lowinsky: Erasmus — watchdog committee, Conseil, team of editors

1.41 Authenticity
Osthoff, literature, Proceedings, Sparks (De passim)
general criteria possible?
Lowinsky: possible to arrive at assessment of
individual style? difficult because music of so
many contemporaries not edited (La Rue) —
but possible, at least for some compositions
2 Masses unauthentic: Mater Patris, Allez regretz
Maas: start with editing absolutely authentic works
Mendel: don't start ~~wait~~ right away

Figure 3 Notes taken by Bonnie Blackburn at the first Josquin Committee Meeting, dated August 22, 1973, folder 11, box 82, series 5, EEL. Image © The University of Chicago. Used by permission of Bonnie J. Blackburn.

VNM," it said, "considers it as one of its most important tasks to realize this new edition in the very near future. It proposes that this task be cared for by an international team of musicologists, that will mutually arrive at a satisfactory assignment of tasks."[101] The invitation notwithstanding,

101. Letter from Willem Elders to the Directorium of the American Musicological Society, dated January 8, 1973, folder 5, box 11, series 1, EEL.

the Dutch scholars never viewed the situation in this way. To them, the first Josquin Committee was to fulfill an advisory role; the VNM would retain decision-making power.

A further misunderstanding arose about a series of financial contributions the AMS made to the VNM for the purposes of the Josquin edition. Between 1974 and 1978, the AMS contributed $5,000 to the project. In 1973, a letter written on behalf of the AMS board indicated:

> The Board [of the AMS] approved a gift of $1,000 to your Society, and also approved in principle the motion that a gift of approximately the same amount will be made each year. . . . This money is intended to be used for present and continuing expenses incurred in the planning of a new edition. . . . The Dutch Society has borne the full expenses of this venture to the present. Since it is an international project, it seems appropriate that we share in some way with financial support.[102]

Scholars from the AMS later viewed these payments as a part of a contractual obligation, but there was never a specific agreement about financial contributions. The AMS even changed their view about the extent of their support: the 1973 letter suggests an indefinite series of yearly installments, but later communications indicate that the 1978 payment would be the last one.[103] When put in perspective, the contributions from the AMS do not amount to very much. In 1982, $5,000 was a pittance compared to the approximately $1,000,000 that the VNM expected the edition to cost.[104] Arthur Mendel claimed that costs for the edition were borne by the Princeton Josquin project, which sought to encode Josquin's music into a computer-readable and thus analyzable format. This has little basis, too.[105]

The AMS did not share the same financial obligations as the VNM; lacking these pressures, the AMS representatives felt free to attempt to

102. Letter from Charles Hamm to Chris J. Maas, dated November 12, 1973, folder 0432, box 34, AKVNM.

103. Letter from Alvin H. Johnson to Chris J. Maas, dated February 27, 1978, folder 0475, box 38, AKVNM.

104. Minutes of the first meeting of the US delegation (Howard Smither, president of AMS, Howard Mayer Brown, Herbert Kellman) with Maarten Vente (president of VNM), taken by Rudolf Rasch, member of VNM, Utrecht, dated May 12, 1982, HK.

105. In 1979, Mendel claimed that $149,755 had been spent by the Princeton Josquin project in service of the committee's work for the edition. Mendel's project was supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, the National Science Foundation, and Princeton University. This undertaking long predated the efforts toward a new Josquin collected-works edition. It did not operate at the behest of the VNM. Letter from Arthur Mendel to Howard Mayer Brown, Ludwig Finscher, Charles Hamm, Brian Jeffery, and Martin Staehelin, dated January 5, 1979, folder 14, box 33, series 1, EEL. See Mendel, "Towards Objective Criteria," 298, in which Mendel notes that some of the earliest efforts aimed to assist Lockwood with his studies of *musica ficta*.

delay the Dutch.[106] But by 1977, the lack of a general editor was becoming a problem. In an internal report from the fourth meeting of the Josquin Committee, Staehelin stated strongly that the committee needed to appoint an editor-in-chief; Maas, as noted in the committee report, believed that the committee "would lose its credibility if nothing concrete came out of these meetings soon. [Maas] thought they needed a 'young Smijers,' a young capable musicologist who would enjoy the confidence of the Committee and of the VNM."[107] Over the years, a number of possible editors and editor combinations were suggested, including Staehelin, Elders–Staehelin, Thomas Hall–Staehelin–Elders, Brown–Staehelin, a quartet of Elders, Finscher, Brown, and Staehelin, or a "Brown–Staehelin–Lowinsky troika."[108] There was never strong agreement, and many of these senior scholars, certainly Staehelin and Finscher in their respective professorships, lacked sufficient time to oversee a thirty-volume publication.[109] Selecting a younger scholar for an expansive, multidecade project would have been practical, but junior scholars were quickly discounted not only from the editorship but also from the prospect of editing individual volumes, mostly owing to a perceived lack of experience and training.[110] And the representatives did not look extensively outside the committee in their search for a general editor (Thomas Hall was the sole musicologist outside

106. As Lowinsky recalled, "that Elders would not do was clear to me from the beginning. This is why at that [first] meeting I did everything possible to gain time and to prevent a seeming solution that would doom the hopes for a second edition of real quality." Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Martin Staehelin, dated August 27, 1979, folder 19, box 48, series 1, EEL.

107. Report of the Fourth Josquin Meeting Dartmouth, folder 2, box 83, series 5, EEL.

108. See, respectively, letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Martin Staehelin, dated May 29, 1979, folder 19, box 48, series 1, EEL; letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Arthur Mendel, dated March 18, 1974, folder 19, box 48, series 1, EEL; letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Howard Mayer Brown, dated July 22, 1974, folder 10, box 61, series 2, EEL; letter from Arthur Mendel to Edward E. Lowinsky, dated October 8, 1975, folder 15, box 33, series 1, EEL; and letter from Howard Mayer Brown to Martin Staehelin, dated October 5, 1981, folder 8, box 82, series 5, EEL.

109. Letter from Martin Staehelin to Edward E. Lowinsky (in German), dated August 10, 1979, folder 19, box 48, series 1, EEL; letter from Ludwig Finscher to Howard Mayer Brown, dated August 4, 1981, folder 8, box 82, series 5, EEL. Finscher meanwhile was not convinced that Elders would make a terrible editor: "the Antonowycz-Elders supplement to the old J[osquin] E[dition] is nothing less than a catastrophe, but time has passed since then, Elders has certainly learned at least from the discussions of our committee, and his edition of Gaspar [van Weerbeke]'s 'Princesse' mass looks not too bad." Letter from Ludwig Finscher to Edward E. Lowinsky, dated January 8, 1982, folder 13, box 12, series 1, EEL.

110. In the first meeting of the Josquin Committee, Lenaerts noted that Van Benthem lacked training. Lowinsky stated that, as a doctoral student, Hall could not be an editor; that David Crawford needed to first produce an edition before he could be assigned a volume; and that Edgar Sparks had not previously edited a volume. Notes taken by Bonnie J. Blackburn at the first meeting of the first Josquin Committee, dated August 22, 1973, folder 11, box 82, series 5, EEL. Eventually the NJE changed its tune: in 2006, Jesse Rodin was asked to edit a volume prior to receiving his doctorate in 2007. Jesse Rodin, personal communication, November 8, 2022.

the committee to be considered). At the meetings themselves, one of the younger musicologists was Elders.[111]

Even leaving the question of the general editor to the side, it must be acknowledged that agreement was rarely found among the members of the first Josquin Committee. In the meetings, scholars more familiar with articulating problems than arriving at practical solutions essentially talked past each other. It appears that when the time for a given topic had elapsed, they simply moved on. Moreover, although the meetings took for granted many assumptions about what a scholarly edition entailed, there seems to have been limited discussion about the principles of edition making, and about what kind of edition the committee was aiming to create (Brian Jeffery suggests that such conversations would have led to better results).[112] Protective of their own ideological positions, committee members evidently had little incentive to compromise. And since the committee was comprised of scholars from both Europe and North America, its meetings were scheduled around both academic calendars and could thus occur at most once per year. To give an example of the extent of the disagreement that regularly marked these meetings: Jeffery recalls one scholar suggesting that each committee member independently mark their proposed editorial accidentals for a "simple" piece by Josquin (*O bone et dulcis domine*) and then share the results; when all the versions were compared, no two were identical.[113]

Given the lack of progress toward published volumes, it is understandable that, while president of the VNM in 1979, Elders appointed himself editor-in-chief and, following a year of trying to find a solution to placate the non-Dutch members, officially dissolved the old committee in August 1980.[114] From there, Elders began to line up editors on his own.[115] Fuming about a result that in retrospect seems expected, AMS and IMS committee members began to organize. They furiously argued there might be grounds for action against the VNM, arguing that it was not legal for the VNM to release the committee when the committee had been established by the three societies together.[116] Brown threatened to report the VNM to

111. Elders (b. 1934) was not the youngest, however; Staehelin was born in 1937.

112. Brian Jeffery, personal communication, April 24, 2022.

113. Brian Jeffery, personal communication, September 17, 2021. Jaap van Benthem remembered this, too. The score markup with editorial accidentals took place during the committee's third meeting in August 1975.

114. Annegarn, "Mededelingen"; letter from Alfons Annegarn to the members of the Josquin Committee, dated September 2, 1980, folder 11, box 82, series 5, EEL. Elders stressed to me that the board as a whole was responsible for this decision. Willem Elders, personal communication, October 4, 2021.

115. Letter from Willem Elders to members of the Josquin Committee, dated June 27, 1979, folder 1, box 83, series 5, EEL.

116. Letter from Howard Mayer Brown to the Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, dated November 14, 1980, folder 11, box 82, series 5, EEL. Lowinsky wanted any proposed settlement with the Dutch to be made with the help of legal counsel. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Martin Staehelin, dated January 21, 1981, folder 19, box 48, series 1, EEL.

the Dutch ministry of cultural affairs.[117] Responding to complaints from the members of the AMS, the Dutch returned the AMS's $5,000 contribution.[118] Between 1979 and 1982, a slew of suggestions were made by members of the former Josquin Committee, including that the VNM bring back the original committee without Elders. To this, Maas responded that "not a single member of the board, and probably no member of the whole Dutch musicological society[,] will see this as a compromise or an agreement; it would be seen as a capitulation, at the sacrifice of Elders."[119]

With negotiations unsuccessful, the committee's non-Dutch members began to seek another option: to have the AMS compete with the VNM and bring out its own Josquin edition. With the benefit of more than forty years of hindsight, this suggestion sounds absurd, as the AMS was unprepared to dedicate the resources or time required to undertake such a significant project. Nonetheless, the AMS representatives began to think about potential presses with whom to partner.[120] Not all were interested. Staehelin and Finscher had misgivings about the intellectual value of the proposed competing edition.[121] But many scholars on both sides of the Atlantic were concerned with a proposed format for the NJE, created by Van Benthem and Elders, that included diamond-shaped "mensural" notes and a separate staff for editorial accidentals.[122]

In the Netherlands, meanwhile, Elders envisioned a three-person editorial board for the Dutch Josquin edition consisting of himself, Herbert Kellman, and Jeremy Noble—but Kellman and Noble were cautious about accepting Elders's offer. All of these developments culminated in a meeting in Boston at the 1981 AMS annual meeting, organized by Brown at Lowinsky's instigation.[123] An invitation to Kellman was designed to force

117. Letter from Howard Mayer Brown to the Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis, dated November 14, 1980.

118. Letter from Alfons Annegarn to the Directorate of the American Musicological Society, dated September 2, 1980, folder 11, box 82, series 5, EEL.

119. Letter from Chris J. Maas to Edward E. Lowinsky and Howard Mayer Brown, dated January 27, 1982, folder 11, box 31, series 1, EEL.

120. Brown suggested Bärenreiter, The University of Chicago Press, and A-R Editions. Letter from Howard Mayer Brown to Ludwig Finscher, Charles Hamm, Arthur Mendel, and Martin Staehelin, dated April 17, 1979, folder 11, box 62, series 2, EEL; letter from Howard Mayer Brown to Martin Staehelin, dated June 22, 1981, folder 8, box 82, series 5, EEL.

121. Letter from Ludwig Finscher to Howard Mayer Brown, dated August 4, 1981; letter from Howard Mayer Brown to Edward E. Lowinsky, dated July 23, 1981, folder 8, box 82, series 5, EEL.

122. See minutes of the first meeting of the US delegation with Maarten Vente, Utrecht, dated May 12, 1982.

123. Initially invited to the meeting were: Hamm, Jeffery, Noble, Staehelin, Kellman, Haar, and Lowinsky. Letter from Howard Mayer Brown to Edward E. Lowinsky, dated July 23, 1981. Martin Picker was subsequently invited. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Martin Picker, dated October 23, 1981, folder 2, box 41, series 1, EEL.

him to choose between Elders's proposed committee and the AMS's committee. Kellman attended.[124] As Paula Higgins has noted with regard to the 1971 festival-conference, Cold War terminology was in vogue: Lowinsky used the phrase "'defected' to the Dutch" to describe Kellman's and Noble's potential participation on the editorial board, as if that would betray their loyalty to their own academic society.[125] On the last day of the annual meeting, the AMS board recognized a new American Josquin committee chaired by Brown that included Finscher, Hamm, Jeffery, Lowinsky, Noble, and Staehelin.

At the Boston meeting, Lowinsky and others met with another Dutch scholar, Albert Dunning, who agreed to approach the VNM board on their behalf. This effort failed. In January 1982, Dunning wrote to Lowinsky:

> My personal impression is, that the forces behind the whole affair are too overwhelming to be stopped. I already could have told you in 1971, that Elders, à tort et à travers, wanted to become the General Editor and that everything had to yield for his desire. He is a strong and stubborn personality, working very hard and steadily towards his scope [*sic*]. He also nearly always finds his advocates for his sake, as van Benthem for instance, who, as a co-participant, now defends Elders' standpoint in the Board. . . . Nobody (neither Maas nor [VNM president Maarten Albert] Vente) really can stop Elders. This is, what I already felt, when I spoke to you in Boston. Reeser, the grand old man of Dutch musicology, is very much respected (also by Vente) and he is possibly the only one, who can alter anything at all.[126]

Reeser, always wary of involving himself in Lowinsky's politics, did not intervene.

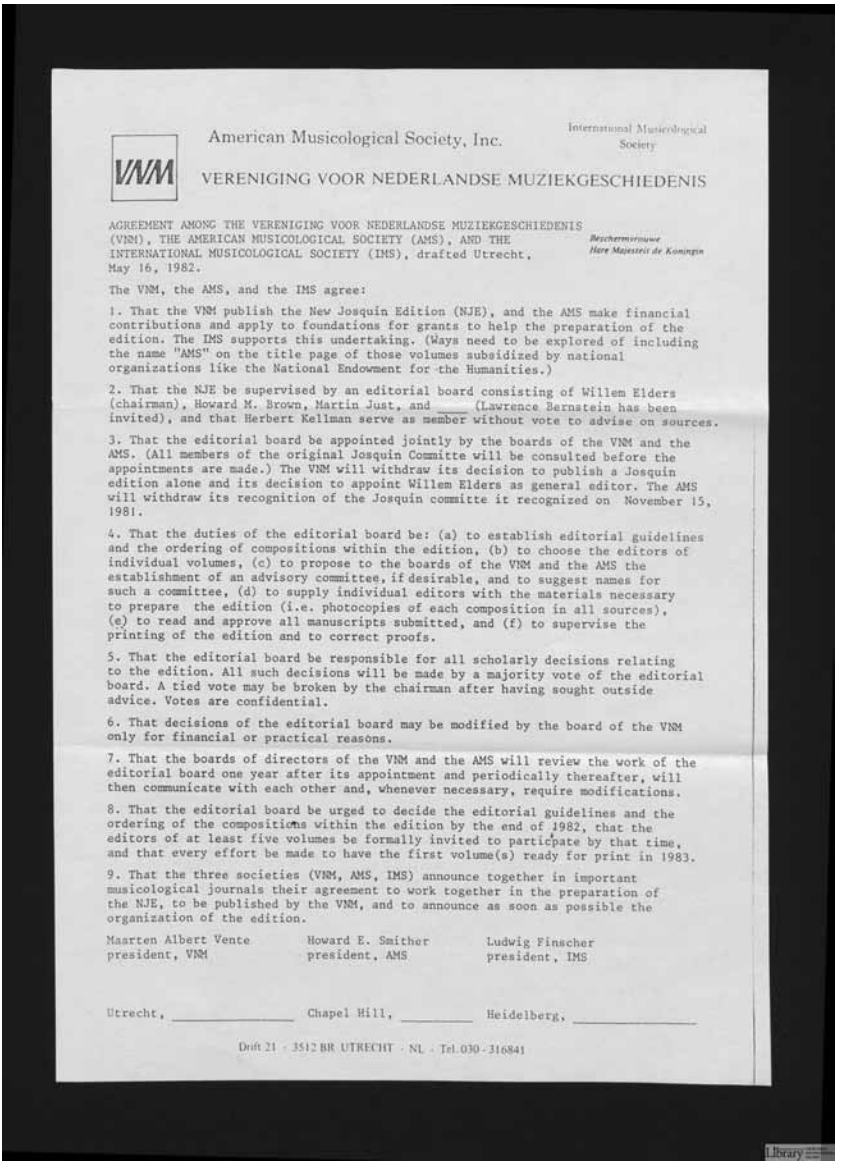
Only through the deft negotiation of AMS president Howard Smither, Vente, and a small group of scholars representing the AMS, VNM, and IMS—over a series of nine meetings—was an agreement reached in May 1982 about how a shared edition should be structured, what the format should be, and who would sit on the now smaller editorial board (figure 4).[127] Elders would serve as the chairman, joined on the board by Brown,

124. Letter from Howard Mayer Brown to Martin Staehelin, dated October 5, 1981, folder 8, box 82, series 5, EEL.

125. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Howard Mayer Brown, dated August 10, 1981, folder 8, box 82, series 5, EEL.

126. Dunning also dismissively referred to Van Benthem as Elders's "satrap." Letter from Albert Dunning to Edward E. Lowinsky, dated January 18, 1982, folder 11, box 82, series 5, EEL. There was an existing difficult relationship between Dunning and Elders. Eric Jas, personal communication, October 31, 2024.

127. Reeser was invited to attend but did not; Dunning was not invited. Agreement among the VNM, the AMS, and the IMS, drafted Utrecht, dated May 16, 1982, folder 11, box 31, series 1, EEL; letter from Chris J. Maas to Edward E. Lowinsky, dated May 26, 1982, folder 11, box 31, series 1, EEL.



American Musicological Society, Inc.

International Musicological Society

VNM

VERENIGING VOOR NEDERLANDSE MUZIEKGESCHIEDENIS

AGREEMENT AMONG THE VERENIGING VOOR NEDERLANDSE MUZIEKGESCHIEDENIS (VNM), THE AMERICAN MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY (AMS), AND THE INTERNATIONAL MUSICOLOGICAL SOCIETY (IMS), drafted Utrecht, May 16, 1982.

Beschermvrouwe
Hare Majesteit de Koningin

The VNM, the AMS, and the IMS agree:

1. That the VNM publish the New Josquin Edition (NJE), and the AMS make financial contributions and apply to foundations for grants to help the preparation of the edition. The IMS supports this undertaking. (Ways need to be explored of including the name "AMS" on the title page of those volumes subsidized by national organizations like the National Endowment for the Humanities.)

2. That the NJE be supervised by an editorial board consisting of Willem Elders (chairman), Howard M. Brown, Martin Just, and _____ (Lawrence Bernstein has been invited), and that Herbert Kellman serve as member without vote to advise on sources.

3. That the editorial board be appointed jointly by the boards of the VNM and the AMS. (All members of the original Josquin Committe will be consulted before the appointments are made.) The VNM will withdraw its decision to publish a Josquin edition alone and its decision to appoint Willem Elders as general editor. The AMS will withdraw its recognition of the Josquin committe it recognized on November 15, 1981.

4. That the duties of the editorial board be: (a) to establish editorial guidelines and the ordering of compositions within the edition, (b) to choose the editors of individual volumes, (c) to propose to the boards of the VNM and the AMS the establishment of an advisory committee, if desirable, and to suggest names for such a committee, (d) to supply individual editors with the materials necessary to prepare the edition (i.e. photocopies of each composition in all sources), (e) to read and approve all manuscripts submitted, and (f) to supervise the printing of the edition and to correct proofs.

5. That the editorial board be responsible for all scholarly decisions relating to the edition. All such decisions will be made by a majority vote of the editorial board. A tied vote may be broken by the chairman after having sought outside advice. Votes are confidential.

6. That decisions of the editorial board may be modified by the board of the VNM only for financial or practical reasons.

7. That the boards of directors of the VNM and the AMS will review the work of the editorial board one year after its appointment and periodically thereafter, will then communicate with each other and, whenever necessary, require modifications.

8. That the editorial board be urged to decide the editorial guidelines and the ordering of the compositions within the edition by the end of 1982, that the editors of at least five volumes be formally invited to participate by that time, and that every effort be made to have the first volume(s) ready for print in 1983.

9. That the three societies (VNM, AMS, IMS) announce together in important musicological journals their agreement to work together in the preparation of the NJE, to be published by the VNM, and to announce as soon as possible the organization of the edition.

Maarten Albert Vente
president, VNM

Howard E. Smither
president, AMS

Ludwig Finscher
president, IMS

Utrecht, _____ Chapel Hill, _____ Heidelberg, _____

Drift 21 - 3512 BR UTRECHT - NL - Tel. 030 - 316841

Figure 4 Agreement among the VNM, the AMS, and the IMS, drafted in Utrecht, dated May 16, 1982, folder 11, box 31, series 1, EEL. Image © The University of Chicago. Used by permission of Bonnie J. Blackburn.

Martin Just, and possibly Lawrence Bernstein, who was invited; Kellman was to serve as a member without voting privileges to advise on sources. The editorial board was charged with establishing editorial guidelines, choosing the editors of individual volumes, reading and approving manuscripts, and

supervising the printing and proofing process. Most importantly, it was clearly stated that "the editorial board [was to] be responsible for all scholarly decisions relating to the edition."[128] The VNM's ability to intercede was now limited to financial or practical reasons.

The negotiations brought their own drama, including face-to-face deliberations in Utrecht and a meeting held at the Chicago O'Hare International Airport as Vente was traveling back to the Netherlands from New Zealand. Lowinsky was not among those named to the new board and was the lone member of the AMS Josquin committee not pleased with the compromise.[129] At this point, Brown, too, had tired of Lowinsky's uncompromising position and now defended the agreement from Lowinsky's criticisms.[130] Forty years later, credit must be given to Elders for successfully stewarding the edition to completion.

The NJE's Legacy

There is no doubt that the NJE represents progress over the *Werken*. Albert Smijers had published Josquin's music more or less piecemeal as it was ready for publication, grouped by genre and by source but not always in an immediately discernible order; by contrast, the NJE is not only carefully organized by genre, but also by the types of texts set and the number of voices.[131] Elders and Van Benthem together determined that the music should appear in unreduced note values rather than in 2:1 reduction, as was agreed upon by the first Josquin Committee; the use of unreduced values has since become the standard for early-music editions.[132] Some implausibly attributed works were eliminated from the canon. And each volume included a detailed critical apparatus that is in many ways worthy of emulation. But many decisions were left to the individual editors, who understandably did not opt for the same standards or hold the same ideological positions. The result is that the reasoning in the critical apparatuses is uneven.

The larger, theoretical conversations Lowinsky had initially intended for the NJE were scrapped; in the early 1980s, the more urgent question was how, in the first volume, to build a template that other editors could

128. Agreement among the VNM, the AMS, and the IMS.

129. Memorandum from Howard Smither to AMS Board and Council Secretary, dated June 8, 1982, HK.

130. Letters from Howard Mayer Brown to Rudolf Rasch, dated May 18, 1982, and June 13, 1982, folder 0499, box 41, AKVNM.

131. On the organization of the *Werken*, see Fallows, *Josquin*, 461–67.

132. David Fallows, personal communication, September 28, 2022; Jaap van Benthem, personal communication, November 2, 2022; Elders, "Fourth Josquin Meeting," 35.

follow.[133] This meant that in-depth conversations about issues originally slated to be discussed by the committee were delayed until the first volumes were underway. And delayed the volumes were: writing circa 1998, David Fallows could report in his afterword to *The Josquin Companion* that, after the first volume appeared in 1988, only three further volumes had been published.[134] A study of authenticity was partially undertaken at the 1986 International Josquin Symposium in Utrecht, albeit with the contributions mainly limited to conflicting attributions between Josquin and other composers. Here, Joshua Rifkin challenged a series of underlying assumptions about authorship.[135] But although he boldly—and, in hindsight, correctly—challenged the status of one particularly well-known motet, *Absalon fili mi*, his proposals were not welcomed by all.[136] As he noted, it felt as though conversations of this kind were only beginning to happen after the NJE was underway.

With this in mind, it bears returning to Paula Higgins's conclusion about the 1971 festival-conference:

> While questions of authenticity had figured to some extent in Josquin scholarship well before 1971, largely in connection with the completion of the opera omnia then in progress (but also dating back to the work of [August Wilhelm] Ambros), the major intellectual legacy of Lowinsky's conference was to establish the hegemony of authenticity and chronology studies as the *sine qua non* of future progress in the field.[137]

Higgins's argumentation moves from Lowinsky's conference to problems that have arisen from the canonization of a core group of works on stylistic grounds, most prominently a tendency to exclude less aesthetically pleasing works on the basis that Josquin could not have written a "bad" piece of music. Higgins is certainly correct to note that the reasoning concerning matters of attribution has often been weak—and Jesse Rodin and Joshua Rifkin's recent establishment of criteria for identifying more

133. The first volume published, and thus the template followed by future authors, was *Secular Works for Three Voices*, edited by Van Benthem and Brown. See also n6.

134. Fallows, "Afterword," 569. By the time of publication, the number of published volumes had risen to seven.

135. Rifkin wrote that "the present symposium, too, has bypassed a critical stage" in his "Problems of Authorship," 45. Specific references to the issue of authorship can be found in works such as Antonowycz, "Zur Autorschaftsfrage der Motetten"; Sparks, *Music of Noel Bauldeweyn*; Sparks, "Problems of Authenticity"; Mendel, "Towards Objective Criteria"; and a brief remark in the general introduction reproduced in every volume of the NJE. However, Rifkin's essay was the first to precisely describe the stakes of the problem the NJE faced and suggest concrete steps toward addressing it. See Rodin, "We Would Rather Forget."

136. On *Absalon, fili mi*, see n22. Rifkin writes in his postscript that, following the delivery of his remarks, a "valued friend and colleague half-jocularly accused me of 'laying a guilt-trip' on the members of the symposium." Rifkin, "Problems of Authorship," 47.

137. Higgins, "Apotheosis of Josquin," 465.

and less plausible Josquin attributions first and foremost on the basis of the reliability of the sources is a welcome step in addressing these longstanding problems.[138]

But there is hardly a straightforward causal relationship between the 1971 conference and authenticity studies, other than the venue the event provided for a small group of scholars already interested in questions of authenticity to engage with the topic with regard to Josquin. And indeed, at practically any conference on an early composer, some attention would have been devoted to the problem. Lowinsky gave it as much attention as any scholar planning a critical edition would have done at the time, but no more, even if he was doubtless aware that Smijers had published more than a little music in the *Werken* that on critical reflection was probably not by Josquin.[139] When Lowinsky worked with Clytus Gottwald to select pieces for his Schola Cantorum to perform at the festival-conference, he sought to avoid including works of dubious authenticity as well as pieces that had already been recorded.[140] Willful ignorance about authorship was not an option. And Lowinsky was rightly reluctant to let Van Benthem use the conference as a platform to add Josquin attributions to anonymous chansons on stylistic grounds while the picture of Josquin's personal style remained unclear.[141]

Still, Lowinsky did not accord the problem of authenticity any kind of special status. In fact, he expressed caution about authenticity studies, writing to Gustave Reese in 1969 that "in fact quite a number of the Europeans have declared their interest in problems of authenticity (somewhat to my dismay because I feel that much more spadework needs to be done before this can be handled in a satisfactory manner)."[142] As noted earlier, Lowinsky's critiques of the *Werken* were centered not on authenticity, but on *musica ficta* and problems of accuracy. He presented on *musica ficta* at the first meeting of the Josquin Committee, and both of these topics were at various points assigned to him for the second meeting.

138. Rodin, "Josquin Canon at 500."

139. This had been made clear in 1965 by Osthoff, who for the first time compiled a catalogue raisonée as part of his Josquin book. It contained 285 compositions, of which 191 were considered authentic. See Jas, "What Other Josquin?" 129. Forty-five pieces in Smijers's edition were omitted from the NJE, for which see Elders, *Josquin des Prez*, 57. A similar number of works published by the NJE do not meet the criteria for admission to the canon put forward in Rodin, "Josquin Canon at 500."

140. "Understandably, you have tried to select pieces for six voices; the number of doubtful works among them is particularly high." Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Clytus Gottwald, dated September 5, 1970, folder L, Korrespondenz 1970–73 [Ordner IIa + IIb], Sammlung Clytus Gottwald, Paul Sacher Stiftung. Of the ten works that Gottwald proposed, four had been recently recorded, and five were of doubtful authenticity, leaving just *Illibata dei virgo* as a possible option.

141. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Jaap van Benthem, dated December 1, 1970, folder 7, box 3, series 1, EEL.

142. Letter from Edward E. Lowinsky to Gustave Reese, November 4, 1969.

Authenticity was not of central concern to the committee, either. At the first meeting of the Josquin Committee, no scholar was asked to present on this topic.[143] Edgar Sparks, the scholar considered at the time to be the most knowledgeable about the subject, was not included on the first Josquin Committee, not considered as a candidate for the position of general editor, and not preliminarily selected as an editor for an individual volume for the nascent edition.[144] Lowinsky had tentatively suggested Sparks at the first meeting of the committee in 1973, but Mendel demurred: Sparks was known to be a "slow worker."[145] Lowinsky did not protest. Interest in authenticity was not a major intellectual consequence of the 1971 festival-conference; it was far more important to Lowinsky that an international group of scholars—not just the Dutch—should lead the NJE.

Arguably, the first Josquin Committee would have been better off had the members spent more time discussing central issues in early-music scholarship, including authenticity, rather than engaging in divisive politicking over the edition's potential future leader. Here one cannot avoid Lowinsky. He was the one scholar—uniquely situated between the United States, Germany, and the Netherlands—with the political capital to organize a monumental conference and guide prominent scholars toward international cooperation on the NJE, and the one scholar willing to put in the immense time and effort required to do so. But he had fierce convictions, which led him at times to mistake intellectual disagreements for ad hominem attacks. His scholarly achievement was also contradictory: he was remarkably perceptive and musical, but his scholarship often arrived at conclusions that have not stood the test of time.[146]

The 1971 Josquin Festival-Conference as a whole met with similarly tempered success. Some contributions had strong methodological influences on future scholars, such as Jeremy Noble's investigation of benefices awarded to Josquin, or Lewis Lockwood's presentation of new documents key to understanding Josquin's tenure in Ferrara.[147] But the legacy of much of the scholarship in the *Proceedings* was limited by a faulty understanding of Josquin's biography and his works list.[148] And although the performances by the four ensembles were important and novel for their time, they were in short order surpassed by groups founded during the 1970s that specialized in early repertoires, such as the Hilliard Ensemble and the

143. Letter from VNM to the representatives of the first Josquin Committee, dated June 27, 1973; Elders, "Report of the First Josquin Meeting," 23–24, 32 (sections 1.4.1 and 1.5).

144. In 1979, Elders mentioned Sparks as a possible editor; in 1974, Sparks had written to Elders asking to edit "masses which are not from the very latest period of Josquin." Letter from Willem Elders to members of the Josquin Committee, dated June 27, 1979.

145. Notes taken by Bonnie J. Blackburn at the first meeting of the first Josquin Committee, dated August 22, 1973.

146. See, for example, Gordon, "Secret of the *Secret Chromatic Art*," 326.

147. Richard Sherr, personal communication, October 18, 2024.

148. See n4 and n139.

Tallis Scholars.[149] Soon enough, willfully ahistorical approaches like that of Gottwald's ensemble or the mixed consort sound of the New York Pro Musica—which disbanded in 1974—came to be spurned.[150] As authenticity in performance emerged as a central concern, practices like changing the octave registration of a contratenor line in the middle of a piece, as did the Prague Madrigal Singers when performing *Adieu mes amours* in one of the workshops, could no longer be justified through a perceived understanding of the piece's text or by personal preference.[151]

Even in the short term, the impact of the festival-conference was moderate at best. Notwithstanding the *Proceedings*, the pace of Josquin scholarship remained relatively steady from the late 1960s into the early 1980s, with a few notable articles appearing each year.[152] Only after that did the pace accelerate. Lowinsky, who was occupied by the *Proceedings* until after his retirement, published little more on Josquin. He long endeavored to write the first English-language monograph on Josquin in the mold of Helmuth Osthoff's biography but never found time for the project.[153]

Instead, Lowinsky's influence can be felt above all in the impact of the festival-conference and the *Proceedings* on a new generation of anglophone scholars. He can be credited with putting Josquin studies as a field on the map in the United States and United Kingdom. Graduate seminars taught in the wake of the conference, such as those led in the 1970s by Lockwood and Arthur Mendel at Princeton University, trained scholars who began to publish on Josquin in droves in the following decades.[154] By the time Josquin's biography was overturned by new archival findings in the years around 2000, some thirty scholars affiliated with Anglo-American universities were active in Josquin research.[155] This dominance is reflected in the makeup of the NJE: of twenty editors, fully eleven are or were active in the United States.[156] Lowinsky's influence made this possible.

149. In 1977, Fallows noted that the scholarship at the conference on performance was weaker than that on source study or music: "it is really quite startling how much less convincing are the discussions of performance practice and the workshops at which various groups described their approach to the music." Fallows, review of *Josquin des Prez*, 403.

150. Herbert Myers, personal communication, November 6, 2023.

151. Lowinsky, "Performance and Interpretation of Josquin's Secular Music," 673.

152. See the bibliography organized by year in Fallows, *Josquin*, 469–95.

153. Letter from Bonnie J. Blackburn to Armen Carapetyan, dated October 17, 1985, series of documents excerpted by Bonnie J. Blackburn, in private possession.

154. See, for example, Higgins, "Apotheosis of Josquin," 448–49.

155. Such a list would include Lawrence Bernstein, Blackburn, M. Jennifer Bloxam, Julie Cumming, Jeffrey Dean, Fallows, Fabrice Fitch, James Haar, Higgins, Barton Hudson, Kellman, Andrew Kirkman, Louise Litterick, Lockwood, Patrick Macey, Honey Meconi, Paul and Lora Merkley, John Milsom, Jessie Ann Owens, Perkins, Martin Picker, Alejandro Planchart, Rifkin, Rodin, Stephanie Schlagel, Sherr, Pamela Starr, Peter Urquhart, and Rob Wegman.

156. Scholars in the United States: Brown, Haar, Hudson, Lockwood, Macey, Thomas Noblitt, Perkins, Picker, Rodin, Sherr, and Urquhart. Scholars active in Europe: Blackburn

Today, more than a half-century after the festival-conference, early-music scholars no longer saturate the ranks of elected leadership of the AMS. Renaissance studies are not well represented at the AMS annual meeting, for which the submission portal for abstracts does not even include a "Renaissance" or "1400–1600" category. Although scholarship on Josquin and his contemporaries continues apace, enormous sums are no longer devoted to academic conferences on early music or collected-works editions of Renaissance composers. In fact, in the United States, the value of these editions is contested, at least inasmuch as published editions rarely count significantly toward scholarly milestones.

Up to a point, these developments can be tied to Lowinsky. His fierce advocacy for his chosen methodologies, topics, and conclusions could feel stifling to younger scholars, who often disagreed with him.[157] Some even conflated Lowinsky with the field of Renaissance musicology as a whole, reacting sharply against both. Marks of this backlash can be felt up to the present day. Although Lowinsky raised the profile of the Renaissance and of Josquin studies, in doing so he unwittingly placed the field of Renaissance musicology on a collision course with generations of future scholars. In this respect, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that Lowinsky's legacy continues to shape the discipline.

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(American by origin but active in the United Kingdom), Van Benthem, Marnix van Berchum, Ton Braas, Theodor Dumitrescu (American by origin but active in the Netherlands), Elders, Fallows, Eric Jas, and Just.

157. See, for example, Subotnik, *Developing Variations*, xv–xvi.

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Abstract

With its elegant presentation and unprecedentedly rich critical-commentary volumes, the *New Josquin Edition* of 1987–2017 set the standard for early-music edition making. But notwithstanding the heights for which the publication reached, its genesis was anything but straightforward. A tumultuous origin story beginning in the 1960s centers on the hugely influential Edward Lowinsky, then a towering figure in the field of musicology. Lowinsky set plans for a new edition in motion in the course of organizing the 1971 International Josquin Festival-Conference, an event that in Paula Higgins's words marked the composer's "apotheosis." Newly uncovered archival documents reveal how Lowinsky endeavored to segue his opulent conference into a new, international edition of Josquin's music under his control. Up to a point he was successful: the conference led directly to the establishment of the first Josquin Committee (active 1973–78), which aimed to provide a foundation for the edition. But he soon became embroiled in dramatic conflicts that strained the institutional relationship between the Dutch Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis and the American Musicological Society. A reexamination of ideological and interpersonal dynamics at play during these formative decades can bring to the fore the successes, limitations, and enduring legacy of arguably the most important edition of early music still in use today, while illuminating Lowinsky's lasting influence on the discipline of musicology.

Keywords: *New Josquin Edition*, Edward Lowinsky, Josquin des Prez, institutional politics, early music, historiography