Financial Incentives for Music Scholarship: The Case of Armen Carapetyan and the American Institute of Musicology

BENJAMIN ORY

From the 1970s the field of musicology began to celebrate a well-known but controversial figure: Armen Carapetyan (1908–92). The International Musicological Society (IMS) and the American Musicological Society (AMS) bestowed honorary memberships on him in 1971 and 1979, respectively; in 1983 the journal *Musica Disciplina* devoted a special issue to a Festschrift for his seventy-fifth birthday.[1] Considering the deeply conflicted relationships Carapetyan had cultivated over the course of his career and his mixed reputation in the United States, the fact of these celebrations was remarkable.

And yet Carapetyan unquestionably merited recognition. Writing privately to him in 1981, Edward Lowinsky extolled his achievements as founder and director of the American Institute of Musicology (AIM):

Earlier versions of this article were presented at the 50th Annual Meeting of the Medieval and Renaissance Music Conference (Uppsala, Sweden, July 2022), at the 88th Annual Meeting of the American Musicological Society (New Orleans, LA, November 2022), and in colloquia at Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich and the International Musicological Society's History of the IMS Study Group. I am grateful to Allan Atlas, Bonnie Blackburn, David Fallows, Stephen Hinton, and Jesse Rodin for reading various drafts. All translations are my own.

1. See International Musicological Society, "Communiqué No. 30" (September 1971); "AMS Administration," accessed July 17, 2025, https://www.amsmusicology.org/past_recipients; and *Musica Disciplina* 37 (1983).

The Journal of Musicology, Vol. 42, Issue 4, pp. 452–481, ISSN 0277-9269, electronic ISSN 1533-8347. DOI: https://doi.org/10.1525/JM.2025.42.4.452

> Were you to set aside one single hour a day for writing the story of AIM, the result would undoubtedly be the most interesting book on one of the truly monumental undertakings of 20th-century musicology, complete with precious letters and other documents that should not be lost.[2]

AIM, which Carapetyan and his wife Harriette operated for well over three decades, was the leading publisher of editions of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music during the second half of the twentieth century. With the aim of making vast quantities of early music available in modern notation for the first time, Carapetyan not only maintained extensive correspondence with experts in the United States and Europe, but also collaborated on scholarly decisions that shaped the field. For Lowinsky, at the time a towering figure in the discipline, no one was better positioned than Carapetyan to recount the history of postwar early-music scholarship.

Notwithstanding Lowinsky's suggestion of a book, a history of AIM was not forthcoming. For one thing, Carapetyan had lost many important documents when eight years of correspondence had been ruined by rats.[3] For another, his itinerant lifestyle had led him to periodically cull his papers: when he sold his house in Spain in 1968, he offloaded 800 pounds as wastepaper.[4] He never kept a diary and in his late seventies found that his memory was patchy. Moreover, until late in life Carapetyan was unable to extricate himself from his work on AIM publications.[5] At his death he left behind no collected papers, in either public or private hands.

New research makes it possible to explore not only the history of AIM, but also the outsized importance Carapetyan and his publishing house held for the development of early-music studies in general. In the decades since his death, a couple of scholars have examined the legacy of AIM. Jeanna Kniazeva has highlighted an important relationship between Carapetyan and the Russian-Swiss scholar Jacques Handschin.[6] Paul Ranzini, who took over AIM in 2002, has offered fresh context for

2. Edward E. Lowinsky to Armen Carapetyan, November 23, 1981, University of Chicago Special Collections, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 7, folder 5.

3. See Armen Carapetyan to Edward E. Lowinsky, December 20, 1981, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 7, folder 5.

4. See Armen Carapetyan to Donald J. Grout, April 18, 1969, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Donald Jay Grout Papers, 1929–2002, box 52, folder 35.

5. Carapetyan expected to gradually withdraw from publishing duties after around 1978, but he continued to visit Neuhausen, Germany, to oversee the publication of volumes by Hänssler Verlag at least through 1982.

6. Jeanna Kniazeva, "'A New Prosperity in Our Field Cannot Be Expected Unless the Scholars of Various Countries Pull Together': Jacques Handschin and the American Institute of Musicology," *Acta Musicologica* 92 (2020): 72–92.

the sometimes dramatic disagreements between the publisher and other scholars that transpired around the time of the 1949 IMS meeting in Basel.[7] Useful though these studies are, the full impact of Carapetyan and AIM has not yet been acknowledged, above all the question of how Carapetyan was able to change the course of musicological research by offering scholars significant monetary incentives to produce editions of repertoire he deemed worthy of publication.

This article presents new information about Carapetyan and the history of AIM. Research in more than twenty-five archives, alongside examination of the institute's promotional materials, reveals the importance not only of AIM's published volumes, but also of the stories that lie behind them. The article is based on a corpus of more than nine hundred letters to and from Carapetyan across six decades of his career, along with AIM-related correspondence between other early-music scholars, data that I have compiled in the form of an online catalog.[8] A key finding is that Carapetyan, who was independently wealthy, offered prospective editors unprecedented royalties from his personal funds that incentivized them to participate in AIM, using cheap European academic labor to produce editions that were sold in the United States. He directly impacted postwar historiographical priorities by centering above all music from mid- to late fifteenth-century Italy. Thanks to his substantial investment in AIM, he was able to shape scholarly discourse by encouraging European scholars to continue their research on early music in a postwar environment that had started prioritizing other repertoires. Together these findings make it possible to appreciate how economic factors can impinge on the history and reception of scholarship—in this case, how one man's financial resources and aesthetic proclivities shaped and continue to shape the stories we tell about Renaissance music.

Founding an Institute of Renaissance and Baroque Music

After graduating in 1927 from the American College in Tehran, Carapetyan, an ethnic Armenian, emigrated from Iran to the United States.[9] Over

7. Paul L. Ranzini, "Editorial: The Present and a Little AIM History," *Musica Disciplina* 61 (2018): 7–15.

8. Benjamin Ory, "Catalogue of Correspondence for Armen Carapetyan (1908–92)," https://benjaminory.com/Carapetyan/. The cataloged correspondence extends from 1934 to Carapetyan's death in 1992 and is held at more than thirty institutions in Europe and the United States, including university and state archives, libraries, and private collections. My catalog records the sender, recipient, and date of each letter, the substance of the correspondence, Carapetyan's address at the time, and the current holding institution.

9. See Paula Morgan, "Carapetyan, Armen," *Grove Music Online*, accessed July 17, 2025, https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.04899. On the emigration of Carapetyan's family, see Debbie Simpkin King, "Caro Carapetyan: His Choral Beliefs and Practices" (MA thesis, North Texas State University, 1981), 10–11.

the next decade, he would also spend substantial amounts of time in Europe, including a year and a half in Paris in 1927–28 and another year there at the Sorbonne during the 1930s, and then a winter in Venice in 1938–39.[10] In the 1930s he also enrolled at Harvard University, first as a student at the Divinity School in 1933–34 and later in music.[11] In 1945 he was awarded a PhD by Harvard for a dissertation on *Musica nova*, a 1559 print of motets and madrigals by Adrian Willaert.[12] Carapetyan's extensive travels in Europe may indicate that he came from a privileged background; regardless, he would soon become independently wealthy—according to his children, through a land investment in Arizona.[13] As early as February 1945 Alfred Einstein remarked that "financing his plan does not seem to worry him, and all things considered, he is very well-to-do."[14]

Even before completing his doctorate, from November 1944 Carapetyan began to organize an Institute of Renaissance and Baroque Music that he headquartered across the street from Harvard Yard.[15] Its objectives were ambitious: to issue a quarterly journal, to print editions of important musical works, and to publish recordings of early music. To accomplish these goals, Carapetyan sought to involve senior figures in musicology in the United States who would sit on an advisory board.[16] He had close relations with the conductor of the Harvard Glee Club, Archibald T. Davison, as well as with two early-music specialists who had been instrumental in his dissertation, Hugo Leichtentritt and Einstein.[17] With their help, by April 1945 Carapetyan had enlisted an impressive group of scholars, many of whom he did not

10. See Armen Carapetyan to Edward E. Lowinsky, August 19, 1981, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 7, folder 5.

11. Carapetyan did not graduate from the Harvard Divinity School. He later "regretfully thought of time, years, wasted on reading philosophy at Harvard then giving philosophy up for philosophical reasons." Armen Carapetyan to Bonnie J. Blackburn, November 18, 1991, private possession of Bonnie J. Blackburn.

12. Armen Carapetyan, "The *Musica Nova* of Adriano Willaert: With a Reference to the Humanistic Society of 16th-Century Venice" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1945).

13. Ranzini, "Editorial," 12n12.

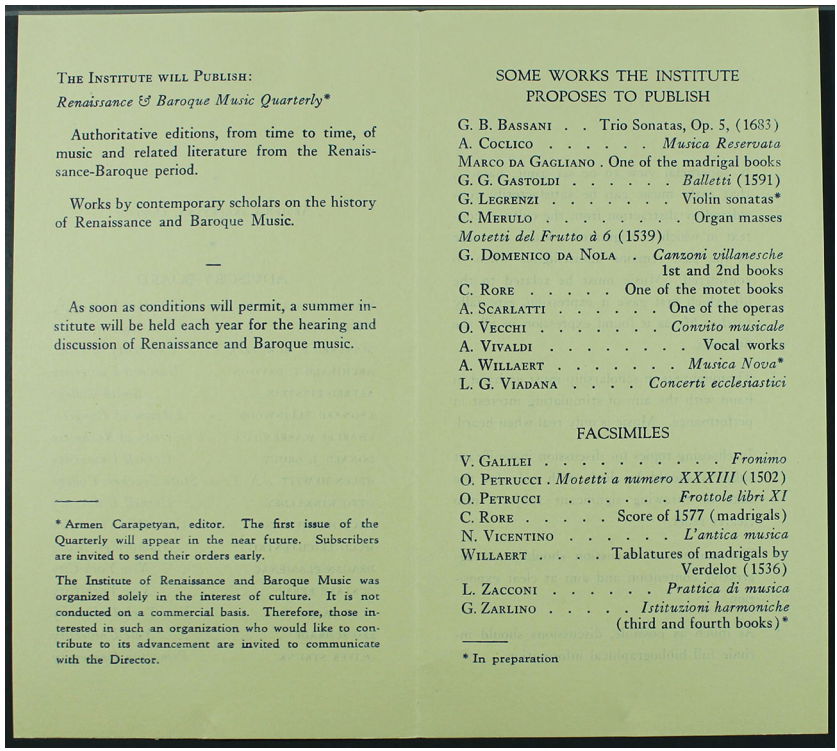
14. Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky, February 23, 1945, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 10, folder 19: "Die Finanzierung seines Plans scheint ihm keine Sorgen zu machen, und nach allem zu schliessen, ist er sehr well-to-do."

15. The institute was initially located at 1430 Massachusetts Avenue.

16. See Armen Carapetyan to Otto Kinkeldey, November 11, 1944, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Otto Kinkeldey Papers, 1902–1966, series 2, box 2, folder 5.

17. Leichtentritt had provided Carapetyan with the suggestion that he select *Musica nova* as his dissertation topic; Einstein generously put at Carapetyan's disposal his madrigal transcriptions, and Carapetyan's conclusions reflected their discussions. Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky (in German), July 1, 1947, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 10, folder 19.

FIGURE 1. Prospectus for the Institute of Renaissance and Baroque Music, April 1945. Armen Carapetyan to Otto Kinkeldey, March 1, 1945, Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Otto Kinkeldey Papers, 1902–1966, series 2, box 2, folder 5. Reproduced with permission from Cornell University Library, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections.



THE INSTITUTE WILL PUBLISH:

*Renaissance & Baroque Music Quarterly**

Authoritative editions, from time to time, of music and related literature from the Renaissance-Baroque period.

Works by contemporary scholars on the history of Renaissance and Baroque Music.

—

As soon as conditions will permit, a summer institute will be held each year for the hearing and discussion of Renaissance and Baroque music.

* Armen Carapetyan, editor. The first issue of the Quarterly will appear in the near future. Subscribers are invited to send their orders early.

The Institute of Renaissance and Baroque Music was organized solely in the interest of culture. It is not conducted on a commercial basis. Therefore, those interested in such an organization who would like to contribute to its advancement are invited to communicate with the Director.

SOME WORKS THE INSTITUTE PROPOSES TO PUBLISH

G. B. BASSANI . . Trio Sonatas, Op. 5, (1683)
A. COCLICO . . . . . *Musica Reservata*
MARCO DA GAGLIANO . One of the madrigal books
G. G. GASTOLDI . . . . . *Balletti* (1591)
G. LEGRENZI . . . . . Violin sonatas*
C. MERULO . . . . . Organ masses
Motetti del Frutto à 6 (1539)
G. DOMENICO DA NOLA . *Canzoni villanesche* 1st and 2nd books
C. RORE . . . . . One of the motet books
A. SCARLATTI . . . . . One of the operas
O. VECCHI . . . . . *Convito musicale*
A. VIVALDI . . . . . Vocal works
A. WILLAERT . . . . . *Musica Nova**
L. G. VIADANA . . . . *Concerti ecclesiastici*

FACSIMILES

V. GALILEI . . . . . *Fronimo*
O. PETRUCCI . *Motetti a numero XXXIII* (1502)
O. PETRUCCI . . . . . *Frottole libri XI*
C. RORE . . . . . Score of 1577 (madrigals)
N. VICENTINO . . . . . *L'antica musica*
WILLAERT . . . . Tablatures of madrigals by Verdelot (1536)
L. ZACCONI . . . . . *Prattica di musica*
G. ZARLINO . . . . . *Istituzioni harmoniche* (third and fourth books)*

* In preparation

personally know; he also issued a first prospectus for the institute (see fig. 1).[18]

Of Carapetyan's objectives, the easiest to accomplish—and the first attempted—was the establishment of a journal for Renaissance and

18. In addition to Davison, Einstein, and Leichtentritt, the list included Warren Allen, Willi Apel, Manfred Bukofzer, Leonard Ellinwood, Charles Warren Fox, Donald Grout, Helen Hewitt, Otto Kinkeldey, Paul Henry Lang, Dragan Plamenac, Gustave Reese, Curt Sachs, Leo Schrade, and Oliver Strunk. Carapetyan first met Lang and Bukofzer at the 1949 IMS meeting; he had previously met Kinkeldey only for a couple of minutes; and he did not know either Strunk or Hewitt well.

Baroque music scholarship, made possible by the Harvard University Printing Office.[19] Carapetyan could rely on his advisory board for contributions: the first three issues featured articles by himself, Willi Apel, Davison, Einstein, Otto Kinkeldey, and Leo Schrade, who offered a skeptical review of Lowinsky's 1946 musicological best-seller *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet*.[20] Schrade, in particular, viewed the institute as an opportunity to imprint his influence on the nascent American discipline, and sought to be the editor of the new journal, for which he envisioned a "propogandist purpose." Carapetyan later described Schrade as having "forced and foisted [this collaboration] upon me."[21] Around this time Schrade and Carapetyan began to solicit European scholars for contributions, including Handschin, Charles van den Borren, and Knud Jeppesen.[22]

In October 1946 Armen and Harriette Carapetyan moved to Italy.[23] Over the next three decades he edited the institute's publications and worked with the often difficult printers while she served as accountant. The couple returned to the United States infrequently, often doing so only to administer their US-based office and warehouse in Dallas, Texas.[24] Having a European headquarters for an early-music institute was logical: Carapetyan would be closer there to the sources, to the

19. See Armen Carapetyan to Otto Kinkeldey, July 24, 1946, Otto Kinkeldey Papers, 1902–1966, series 2, box 2, folder 5.

20. The following were all published in the *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1 (1946): Willi Apel, "A Remark about the Basse Danse," 139–43, and "The Collection of Photographic Reproductions at the Isham Memorial Library, Harvard University," 68–73, 144–48, 235–38; Armen Carapetyan, "The Concept of *imitazione della natura* in the Sixteenth Century," 47–67, and "The *Musica Nova* of Adriano Willaert," 200–221; Archibald T. Davison, "A New Music Periodical: Its Future Influence," 5–9; Alfred Einstein, "The Greghesca and the Giustiniana of the Sixteenth Century," 19–32; Otto Kinkeldey, "Music Scholarship and the University," 10–18; Leo Schrade, "A Secret Chromatic Art," 159–67. On Schrade's review of *Secret Chromatic Art*, see Bonnie Gordon, "The Secret of the *Secret Chromatic Art*," *Journal of Musicology* 28, no. 3 (2011): 325–67, at 348.

21. Armen Carapetyan to Otto Kinkeldey, August 2, 1945, Otto Kinkeldey Papers, 1902–1966, series 2, box 2, folder 5; Armen Carapetyan to Edward E. Lowinsky, April 20, 1964, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 2, box 56, folder 6. Schrade asked that Carapetyan secure an American-born associate editor (suggestions included Donald Grout and Leonard Ellinwood) so that the editorial staff of a journal describing itself as American would have a central participant whose national credentials were unimpeachable. Armen Carapetyan to Otto Kinkeldey, June 16, 1945, Otto Kinkeldey Papers, 1902–1966, series 2, box 2, folder 5.

22. See Kniazeva, "'A New Prosperity,'" 74–76, and Armen Carapetyan to Knud Jeppesen, June 8, 1946, Royal Danish Library, Knud Jeppesen Papers (Utilg. 635).

23. See Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky (in German), October 1, 1946, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 10, folder 19.

24. Between 1954 and 1957 the Carapetyans lived in Tuscon, as the US government had threatened Armen with revocation of his naturalized citizenship. On the possible revocation of citizenship, see Ranzini, "Editorial," 14–15. In 1981 the Carapetyans again left Europe for Arizona (this time, Tubac), only to return to Spain just four years later. At the time of Armen's death in 1992 the Carapetyans were "planning to move on to Arizona."

specialist engravers familiar with setting Renaissance polyphony, and to European experts with experience of directing collected works editions. At this time Einstein remarked to Lowinsky that he was "curious what kind of experiences [Carapetyan] will have, especially in Bologna. But he is familiar with Italy and will probably have been prepared."[25]

By late 1947 Carapetyan had set up his office for the organization, now called the American Institute of Musicology, at the American Academy in Rome.[26] While Rome provided a stable address until the end of the 1970s, it was not where Carapetyan operated the institute on a day-to-day basis. Within a year he had left Rome permanently, living first in Florence and later in Spain.[27] Rome nonetheless offered diplomatic connections: Carapetyan noted that the descriptor "American" was "chosen with the blessing of the Cultural Attaché of [the US] Embassy" there.[28]

Within a couple of years, the institute's focus had also shifted. In addition to the objectives listed above, Carapetyan began to undertake a number of initiatives that interested scholars, including a series of summer courses (1947 in Rome; 1948 in Florence; planned for 1950, but indefinitely postponed) and the creation of an early-music institute in Florence.[29] The focal point of AIM, however, increasingly became collected works editions of Renaissance music and translated editions of music theory treatises. The viability of these publications relied on individuals, distinguished universities, and state libraries subscribing to a number of series. It was a limited market, and Carapetyan aimed to dominate it.

His strategy was attractive: he could capitalize on the widespread belief in both the United States and Europe that early-music scholarship was promoted above all through the making of scholarly editions.[30]

Harriette Carapetyan to Bonnie J. Blackburn, December 23, 1992, private possession of Bonnie J. Blackburn.

25. Einstein to Lowinsky, October 1, 1946: "Ich bin gespannt was für Erfahrungen er machen wird, besonders in Bologna. Aber er ist 'practico d'Italia' und wird sich wohl vorgesehen haben."

26. See American Academy in Rome, *Report 1943–1951* (New York: Spiral Press, 1951), 26.

27. Carapetyan had moved to Florence by May 1948. See Armen Carapetyan to Erich H. Mueller von Asow, May 4, 1948, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, Internationales Musiker-Brief-Archiv (IMBA), F50.IMBA.447 MUS MAG. By September 1948 Carapetyan's Rome address had changed to a post office box, C.P. 515, San Silvestro. Carapetyan lived in Spain from 1950 to 1951 and from 1962 to 1969.

28. Armen Carapetyan to Otto Gombosi, August 16, 1949, Harvard University, Otto Gombosi Papers (Ms. Coll. 136), box 10.

29. Cf. Kniazeva, "'A New Prosperity,'" 79, which dates the two summer sessions as 1947 and 1949. On the early-music institute, see Armen Carapetyan to Donald J. Grout, May 15, 1968, Donald Jay Grout Papers, 1929–2002, box 52, folder 35.

30. On the primacy of early-music collected works editions, see Pamela M. Potter, "German Musicology and Early Music Performance, 1918–1933," in *Music and Performance*

Although in the postwar era musicology was increasingly becoming established at universities in the United States, the AMS as a national organization was unprepared to publish large numbers of editions—it had no experience of doing so.[31] Before World War II collected works editions had been the purview of European scholars, whose governments supported expensive *Denkmäler* series that presented the works of individual composers. In the years after World War I the German and Austrian governments provided the most substantial resources for these publications, but during World War II paper became expensive, musicologists were drafted, and the emphasis increasingly shifted to wartime propaganda.

Carapetyan's most direct competition would have come from *Publikationen älterer Musik*, a German series that ran from 1926 whose focus was unusual in transcending national boundaries. Led by Theodor Kroyer and published by Breitkopf & Härtel in Leipzig, *Publikationen* had mostly issued volumes of sacred and secular music by Italian and Franco-Flemish composers. Both nationalism and interpersonal politics led to the series being dissolved in 1941, and in the postwar era there was little likelihood that it would resume.[32] Those interested in another series, the *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* long envisioned by Johannes Wolf as a venue for the publication of music theory treatises, held a preparatory meeting in Berlin in 1936 as part of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Musikforschung, but this too was stymied by National Socialist politics.[33] Carapetyan thus saw an opportunity to take the lead in early-music publishing, sensing little competition from either European or American institutions. He founded the series *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae* (CMM) to publish collected works editions for individual composers, and adopted Wolf's name, *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica* (CSM), for editions of music theory treatises, which would be directed by the Dutch scholar Joseph Smits van Waesberghe. Other series, focusing on keyboard music

during the Weimar Republic, ed. Bryan Gilliam (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 94–106.

31. On the establishment of musicology in the United States, see David Josephson, "The German Musical Exile and the Course of American Musicology," *Current Musicology* 79–80 (2005): 9–53.

32. On the decline of *Publikationen älterer Musik*, see Christian Thomas Leitmeir, "Ein 'Mann ohne Eigenschaften'?—Theodor Kroyer als Ordinarius für Musikwissenschaft in Köln (1932–1938)," in *Musikwissenschaft im Rheinland um 1930*, ed. Klaus Pietschmann and Robert von Zahn, with Wolfram Ferber and Norbert Jers (Kassel: Merseburger, 2012), 93–136, at 102–4. In 1956 Walter Gerstenberg approached Breitkopf & Härtel, now based in Wiesbaden, to ask whether they might be interested in resuming the series, a proposal they did not pursue. See the correspondence in Universitätsarchiv Tübingen 371/1.

33. See Leo Schrade, review of *Guidonis Aretini Micrologus*, ed. Jos. Smits van Waesberghe, Corpus Scriptorum de Musica 4 (American Institute of Musicology, 1955), *Musical Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (1957): 112–16, at 112–13, and unpublished documents held at Staatsbibliothek Berlin, N.Mus.Nachl. J. Wolf (Nachlass Johannes Wolf), box 7, folder 2.

or manuscript sources, or presenting individual musicological studies, soon followed. In leading these series, AIM took center stage in the development and publication of early-music scholarship.

International Conflict and Institutional Power

In Rome Carapetyan made new scholarly connections that would come to inflect the history of the institute. Existing collaborators in the United States, irked by Carapetyan's new partners, distanced themselves from AIM. This in turn led Carapetyan to develop closer ties with European scholars. He later recalled,

> I met [Laurence] Feininger late in 1946, on the very first day of my arrival in Rome when I presented myself at the Vatican library for [a] permit to work there. . . . It was a fateful, almost fatal meeting; for out of it came also meeting [Guillaume] de Van, which led to untold troubles, very costly in every sense. . . . Feininger had [in] those days a good deal to do with de Van.[34]

Guillaume de Van, born William Carrolle Devan, was an American-born medievalist who had directed important recordings of early music during the 1930s with Les Paraphonistes de St-Jean des Matines. He was also the son-in-law of the prominent French musicologist Yvonne Rokseth. During the occupation of France, while serving as director of the Music Division of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, de Van collaborated with the Sonderstab Musik, which under Reichsleiter Alfred Rosenberg confiscated valuable musical sources and objects from largely Jewish victims.[35] In 1946 de Van's complicity was not yet common knowledge among musicologists. Carapetyan planned to capitalize on the collegial relationship between Feininger and de Van by publishing a discourse between them on transcription.[36] This never appeared, but de Van nonetheless assumed a substantial role in AIM. His early participation helped foster connections with scholars and lent the institute scholarly credibility.[37]

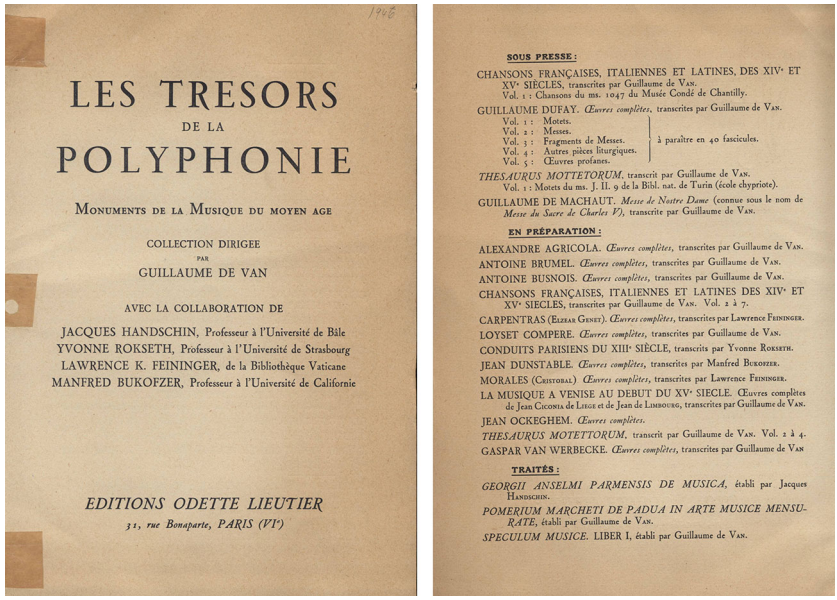
34. Armen Carapetyan to Edward E. Lowinsky, November 17, 1977, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 7, folder 5.

35. On de Van's activities during World War II, see Sara Iglesias, *Musicologie et Occupation: Science, musique et politique dans la France des "années noires"* (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des Sciences de l'homme, 2014), chap. 9.

36. See Armen Carapetyan to Edward E. Lowinsky, February 4, 1948, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 7, folder 5.

37. One such scholar would be Rokseth. In 1946 she contributed two articles, both in *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* 1 (1946): "Musical Scholarship in France during the War," 81–84, and "Un Magnificat de Marc-Antoine Charpentier (†1704)," 192–99. On Rokseth, see Catherine Parsoneault, "'Aimer la musique ancienne': Yvonne Rihouët

FIGURE 2. Two pages from the prospectus for *Les trésors de la polyphonie*. University of California, Berkeley, Manfred Bukofzer Papers, box 8. Reproduced with permission from the University of California, Berkeley.



LES TRESORS
DE LA
POLYPHONIE

MONUMENTS DE LA MUSIQUE DU MOYEN AGE

COLLECTION DIRIGEE
PAR
GUILLAUME DE VAN

AVEC LA COLLABORATION DE

JACQUES HANDSCHIN, Professeur à l'Université de Bâle
YVONNE ROKSETH, Professeur à l'Université de Strasbourg
LAWRENCE K. FEININGER, de la Bibliothèque Vaticane
MANFRED BUKOFZER, Professeur à l'Université de Californie

EDITIONS ODETTE LIEUTIER
31, rue Bonaparte, PARIS (VI^e)

SOUS PRESSE :

CHANSONS FRANÇAISES, ITALIENNES ET LATINES, DES XIV^e ET XV^e SIÈCLES, transcrites par Guillaume de Van.
Vol. 1 : Chansons du ms. 1047 du Musée Condé de Chantilly.

GUILLAUME DUFAY. *Œuvres complètes*, transcrites par Guillaume de Van.
Vol. 1 : Motets. } à paraître en 40 fascicules.
Vol. 2 : Messes.
Vol. 3 : Fragments de Messes.
Vol. 4 : Autres pièces liturgiques.
Vol. 5 : Œuvres profanes.

THESAURUS MOTTETORUM, transcrit par Guillaume de Van.
Vol. 1 : Motets du ms. J. II. 9 de la Bibl. nat. de Turin (école chypriote).

GUILLAUME DE MACHAUT. *Messe de Nostre Dame* (connue sous le nom de *Messe du Sacre de Charles V*), transcrite par Guillaume de Van.

EN PRÉPARATION :

ALEXANDRE AGRICOLA. *Œuvres complètes*, transcrites par Guillaume de Van.
ANTOINE BRUMEL. *Œuvres complètes*, transcrites par Guillaume de Van.
ANTOINE BUSNOIS. *Œuvres complètes*, transcrites par Guillaume de Van.
CHANSONS FRANÇAISES, ITALIENNES ET LATINES DES XIV^e ET XV^e SIECLES, transcrites par Guillaume de Van. Vol. 2 à 7.
CARPENTRAS (Elzear Genet). *Œuvres complètes*, transcrites par Lawrence Feininger.
LOYSET COMPERE. *Œuvres complètes*, transcrites par Guillaume de Van.
CONDUITS PARISIENS DU XIII^e SIÈCLE, transcrits par Yvonne Rokseth.
JEAN DUNSTABLE. *Œuvres complètes*, transcrites par Manfred Bukofzer.
MORALES (Cristobal) *Œuvres complètes*, transcrites par Lawrence Feininger.
LA MUSIQUE A VENISE AU DEBUT DU XV^e SIECLE. Œuvres complètes de Jean Ciconia de Liège et de Jean de Limbourg, transcrites par Guillaume de Van.
JEAN OCKEGHEM. *Œuvres complètes.*
THESAURUS MOTETTORUM, transcrit par Guillaume de Van. Vol. 2 à 4.
GASPAR VAN WERBECKE. *Œuvres complètes*, transcrites par Guillaume de Van

TRAITÉS :

GEORGII ANSELMI PARMENSIS DE MUSICA, établi par Jacques Handschin.
POMERIUM MARCHETI DE PADUA IN ARTE MUSICE MENSURATE, établi par Guillaume de Van.
SPECULUM MUSICE. LIBER I, établi par Guillaume de Van.

De Van and Carapetyan had similar aims. In 1946 de Van had issued his own prospectus in France for an ambitious series that would publish collected works editions of late medieval and Renaissance music and editions of music theory treatises, titled *Les trésors de la polyphonie* (see fig. 2). Among the editors were Rokseth, Handschin, Feininger, and Manfred Bukofzer, whose involvement may have been facilitated by Handschin. *Les trésors* did not survive long enough to issue publications, but in mission and scope it resembled AIM: the prospectus mentions Guillaume de Machaut's *Messe de Nostre Dame* and prospective collected works editions of music by composers including Guillaume Du Fay, Antoine Brumel, Loyset Compère, Alexander Agricola, Carpentras, and Gaspar van Weerbeke,

Rokseth (1890–1948)," in *Women Medievalists and the Academy*, ed. Jane Chance (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 339–51. As Helen Hewitt noted, Rokseth viewed participation in the 1948 summer session as an opportunity "to be near her grandchild, win his love, etc., so that when and if anything happens to de Van she can take over the child [Gilles de Van] and bring him up as he should be brought up." Helen Hewitt to Edward E. Lowinsky, May 19, 1948, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 20, folder 7.

all of which today form part of CMM.[38] AIM must have offered de Van a convenient vehicle for his scholarly plans.

The collaboration also benefitted Carapetyan. De Van had secured from the Italian Ministry of Education a blanket permit to photograph anything in any Italian library, a right that was then not granted to any other musicologist—to Walter Rubsamen's dismay.[39] De Van also had an expensive camera that he had borrowed from Louise Hanson-Dyer, the founder and director of the Monaco-based Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre.[40] De Van was thus able to amass an extraordinary collection of photographs comprising some 500 titles and 50,000 images from fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sources.[41] These images provided the foundation for AIM's microfilm collection, which Carapetyan shared with scholars working on his editions, and which today forms the basis of the microfilm collection of Harvard's Center for Italian Renaissance Studies in Florence, Villa I Tatti.[42] Before the widespread availability of microfilms, De Van's image collection greatly benefitted scholars who had signed up to edit repertoires that interested Carapetyan.

Carapetyan's attention understandably shifted toward scholars in Europe. He assembled a European advisory board, which by April 1948 included Handschin, Rokseth, Jeppesen, Egon Wellesz, and Van den Borren; Albert Smijers was also invited.[43] With greater distance from the United States, conflict with Carapetyan arose for three main reasons, which will be considered here in turn.

First, musicologists in the United States disapproved of some of Carapetyan's scholarly collaborators on political and personal grounds. In a show of cultural diplomacy, Carapetyan reengaged with scholars in the Netherlands, France, and Germany, many of whom were former participants in the cultural apparatus of the Third Reich as well as being eminent scholars of early music. In the early postwar period few outside of Germany knew much of this history. For instance, it is unlikely that Carapetyan was aware that Hermann Zenck was a former member of the

38. Respectively, CMM 2, 1, 5, 15, 22, 58, and 106.

39. See Walter H. Rubsamen, "Music Research in Italian Libraries: An Anecdotal Account of Obstacles and Discoveries," *Notes*, 2nd ser., 6, no. 2 (1949): 220–33, at 231.

40. See Louise Hanson-Dyer to Armen Carapetyan, August 12, 1949, University of Melbourne, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, box 2016.0034, unit 1.

41. See Pamphlet for the American Institute of Musicology in Rome, 1947, Internationales Musiker-Brief-Archiv, F50.IMBA.447.

42. See Pamphlet for the American Institute of Musicology in Rome, 1947, and Kathryn Bosi, "The Morrill Music Library," *Villa I Tatti* 13 (1993): 11.

43. See Armen Carapetyan to Otto Gombosi, April 8, 1948, Otto Gombosi Papers, box 10. Gombosi, too, was invited to join the American advisory board at this time. Wellesz joined shortly thereafter. Armen Carapetyan to Egon Wellesz, April 16, 1948, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, F.13.Wellesz.1755.

NSDAP (the Nazi Party—officially the National Socialist German Workers' Party) and the SA (Sturmabteilung).[44] Zenck had led the Willaert edition as part of *Publikationen älterer Musik*, and in 1948 Carapetyan contacted him with an offer to resume the edition through AIM.[45] Joseph Schmidt-Görg, who had participated in the 1938 Reichsmusiktage session on music and race, had also published the first monograph on Nicolas Gombert, and in the late 1940s was asked by Carapetyan to lead the Gombert edition.[46] By this time Carapetyan had reincorporated his *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* as *Musica Disciplina*, an early issue of which featured an article by Hans Joachim Moser.[47] Even then it was known that Moser had held a significant position in Joseph Goebbels's propaganda ministry. But Carapetyan was unperturbed. As he publicly stated in his journal, he was happy to ignore scholars' political affiliations so long as he perceived the quality of their research to be high—a position that, as he later admitted, was naive.[48]

To be sure, most Third Reich political associations were only partially known in the immediate postwar years. Many émigré scholars in the United States, for instance, had left Germany relatively early in the 1930s and relied on hearsay in judging their former colleagues' actions. Einstein was incensed over Handschin's substantial participation in AIM, since reports from friends in Basel had led him to believe that Handschin had divorced his first wife and married a German Nazi.[49] Although these particular rumors turned out to be untrue, they precipitated Einstein's resignation from Carapetyan's American advisory board.[50]

44. On Zenck's political affiliations under the Third Reich, see Universitätsarchiv Freiburg B3/786, and Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 241.

45. One volume of Willaert's motets had previously been issued as Adrian Willaert, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 1, *Motetten zu 4 Stimmen, I. und II. Buch (1539 und 1545)*, ed. Hermann Zenck, Publikationen älterer Musik 9 (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1937).

46. Joseph Schmidt-Görg, *Nicolas Gombert, Kapellmeister Kaiser Karls V.: Leben und Werk* (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid, 1938). See also Gotthold Frotscher's summary of the music and race session in "Das Problem Musik und Rasse auf der musikwissenschaftlichen Tagung in Düsseldorf," *Musik in Jugend und Volk* 1 (1938): 426–27.

47. Hans Joachim Moser, "Lutheran Composers in the Hapsburg Empire 1525–1732: I," *Musica Disciplina* 3 (1949): 3–24.

48. Armen Carapetyan, "Editorial: In Reply to an Incorrect Statement," *Musica Disciplina* 3 (1949): 45–54, at 49: "AIM does *not* view politics and scholarship together . . . we are not here to espouse any political ideology." See also Ranzini, "Editorial," 10. On Carapetyan's later view of his ideological position, see Carapetyan to Lowinsky, November 17, 1977.

49. See Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky (in German), February 1, 1947, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 10, folder 19.

50. Jeanna Kniazeva, personal communication, November 29, 2022. See also Alfred Einstein to Edward E. Lowinsky (in German), February 4, 1947, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 10, folder 19.

While relatively few Americans judged German scholars this harshly, de Van's behavior was hard to excuse. In early 1947 Van den Borren began to circulate information about de Van's past and warned Lowinsky, who was on sabbatical in Italy at the time.[51] When Paul Henry Lang published critical remarks about AIM in the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* two years later, it was Carapetyan's defense of de Van's participation that incensed him most.[52] Arguably more than his political past, de Van's personal qualities motivated widespread animosity: he was addicted to morphine; his behavior was increasingly erratic—to the point that Carapetyan considered reassigning the Du Fay edition; he incurred significant debts that he never paid; and his dogmatic approach to austere living and his rejection of modern medicine may have led to the death of his wife.[53] He was also not collegial: when Bukofzer asked Carapetyan to exchange microfilms, he did not receive a response, probably because of de Van's unwillingness to share materials.[54] Such territoriality may have informed de Van's scholarly practice: Rubsamen believed that he sliced up microfilms in a way that prevented colleagues from borrowing the images.[55] Schrade, among others, resigned from AIM on account of de Van.[56]

A second reason for conflict was the approach taken by Carapetyan to the Du Fay collected works edition. In 1943 Heinrich Besseler had shared with de Van unpublished research for a Du Fay edition on which he had been working for more than a decade; when the war was over, de Van decided that he would publish an edition in *Les trésors* using Besseler's material but without his cooperation.[57] De Van even sought to

51. See Edward E. Lowinsky to Alfred Einstein (in German), February 24, 1947, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 10, folder 19.

52. Paul Henry Lang, "Communications," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 2, no. 3 (1949): 202–5.

53. On de Van's morphine addiction, see Jim Davidson, *Lyrebird Rising: Louise Hanson-Dyer of Oiseau-Lyre, 1884–1962* (Portland: Amadeus Press, 1994), 352. On de Van's erratic behavior, see Armen Carapetyan to Louise Hanson-Dyer, May 21, 1949, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, box 2016.0034, unit 1. On de Van's debts, see Armen Carapetyan to Louise Hanson-Dyer, September 15, 1949, Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, box 2016.0034, unit 1. On de Van's part in his wife's death, see Hewitt to Lowinsky, May 19, 1948.

54. See Manfred Bukofzer to Armen Carapetyan, April 20, 1948, University of California, Berkeley, Manfred Bukofzer Papers, box 1, folder: Microfilms.

55. See Walter Rubsamen to Manfred Bukofzer, December 26, 1947, Manfred Bukofzer Papers, box 1, folder: Walter Rubsamen Correspondence.

56. See Hewitt to Lowinsky, May 19, 1948.

57. On the relationship between de Van and Besseler, see Thomas Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Besseler: Musikwissenschaft und Wissenschaftspolitik in Deutschland 1924 bis 1949* (Munich: Strube, 2005), 289–96. See also Jörg Büchler and Thomas Schipperges, eds., *Heinrich Besseler und Jacques Handschin: Briefe 1925 bis 1954: Kommentierte Ausgabe* (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2023), 116–24.

manipulate the French control of Heidelberg to his scholarly advantage, as Besseler complained to Schrade:

> In September 1945 a French officer in uniform came to see me. He was to take to Paris for photocopying further material from my possessions that Mr. de Van lacked. A letter from Mr. de Van gave the explanation that the Paris Dufay edition was a minister-supported, French national undertaking and would begin in October 1945.[58]

By 1947 Carapetyan was projecting in his prospectus that he would publish this edition. Besseler appealed to Handschin but felt that his Swiss colleague was not adequately sympathetic to his plight, noting that in his *Musikgeschichte im Überblick* Handschin quoted "Baron de Van" twice.[59] Besseler complained widely, rallying his former students and colleagues to criticize Carapetyan. Oliver Strunk resigned from the US advisory board, citing his "keen embarrassment" about the edition.[60] Helen Hewitt, a former Besseler student, likewise distanced herself from the institute.[61] And Bukofzer, who had begun his doctoral studies under Besseler in Heidelberg, raised the subject when he and Lang met with Carapetyan at the 1949 IMS meeting in Basel.[62] As Besseler wielded more scholarly and interpersonal influence than de Van, Carapetyan's editor came to be the subject of considerable scorn.

The third reason for conflict was that American scholars were uncomfortable with Carapetyan's representation of their country. Correspondence between musicologists in the United States and Europe largely halted during the war. After 1945 some American scholars were contacted by their German counterparts, who sought financial and political support in an uncertain economic climate, but others did not resume significant collaboration with European scholars until after the

58. Heinrich Besseler to Leo Schrade, November 28, 1947, Manfred Bukofzer Papers, box 4, folder: Besseler: "Im September 1945 ein französischer Offizier in Uniform bei mir erschien. Er sollte für Herrn de Van weiteres Material, das diesem fehlte, aus meinem Besitz zur Photokopierung nach Paris holen. Ein Schrieben von Herrn de Van gab dazu die Erklärung, die Pariser Dufay-Ausgabe sei eine vom Minister unterstützte, also national-französische Unternehmung und werde noch im Oktober 1945 beginnen."

59. Heinrich Besseler to Manfred Bukofzer, June 24, 1950, Manfred Bukofzer Papers, box 4, folder: Besseler. See also Jacques Handschin, *Musikgeschichte im Überblick*, 2nd ed. (Lucerne: Räber, 1964), 209.

60. Oliver Strunk to Armen Carapetyan, May 16, 1949, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 49, folder 13.

61. See Hewitt to Lowinsky, May 19, 1948. Hewitt was nominally a student of Leichtentritt at Harvard University, but her doctoral study of Ottaviano Petrucci's *Odhecaton* was written during her studies with Besseler from 1936 to 1938. See Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Besseler*, 311–12.

62. See Carapetyan to Gombosi, August 16, 1949. Bukofzer began his doctoral studies under Besseler but emigrated to Basel where he completed them with Handschin.

1949 IMS meeting.[63] Moreover, few American scholars visited Europe before the 1949 conference (exceptions included Rubsamen and Lowinsky, who spent time in Italy in 1947 and 1947–48, respectively), and few Germans participated in international conferences before then.[64] These limited interactions placed Carapetyan in an unusually powerful position.

Following his move to Italy, Carapetyan relied mostly on European collaborators. Although Schrade taught at AIM's first summer session, during the second year only European scholars participated.[65] American musicologists felt out of the loop—and they did not trust Carapetyan, probably because he was not a natural-born US citizen and had limited professional experience in the United States. Kinkeldey, for one, was "sore" that the institute gave the impression of being an official US organization.[66] Bukofzer saw AIM as contributing to erroneous impressions about musicology in the United States: European scholars, he noted, thought that their American colleagues had virtually unlimited resources for research and publications, and were "rather incredulous" when he suggested otherwise.[67]

As American scholars resigned from the masthead, the institute's Eurocentrism became increasingly apparent. In April 1950 Carapetyan wrote to his advisory boards collectively, dissolving them and thanking the scholars for their service.[68] That same year he also terminated his AMS membership.[69] Now, without any oversight, Carapetyan sought out younger European editors to start new editions, to the point that the American Institute of Musicology soon became American in name only. A partial list of editions in preparation in 1950 names twenty-seven editors, of whom just one, Otto Gombosi, was active in the United States.[70] By his own admission some years later, Carapetyan's reputation in the

63. See, for example, the correspondence between Besseler and Lowinsky in Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 3, folders 14 and 15.

64. On the German reintegration into musicology, see Christian Bartle and Christoph Flamm, "Geglückte Reintegration? Konferenzen als Spiegel internationaler Zusammenarbeit der Gesellschaft für Musikforschung 1947–1950," *Die Musikforschung* 76, no. 3 (2023): 244–54.

65. See Kniazeva, "'A New Prosperity,'" 85.

66. Paul Henry Lang to Otto Gombosi, January 31, 1949, Otto Gombosi Papers, box 10.

67. Manfred F. Bukofzer, "The Fourth International Congress of Musicology," *Notes*, 2nd ser., 6, no. 4 (1949): 539–42, at 540.

68. Armen Carapetyan to Otto Kinkeldey, April 29, 1950, Otto Kinkeldey Papers, 1902–1966, series 2, box 2, folder 5; Armen Carapetyan to Knud Jeppesen, April 29, 1950, Knud Jeppesen Papers.

69. On Carapetyan's resignation, see Armen Carapetyan to Curt Sachs, March 30, 1950, New York Public Library, Gustave Reese Papers (JPB 92-71), series 5, folder 100.

70. Armen Carapetyan, "Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae" and "Corpus Scriptorum de Musica," *Musica Disciplina* 4 (1950): 215–18.

United States possibly never fully recovered.[71] His attractive financial incentives thus came to be offered mostly to European scholars.

International Economics and European Labor

The organizational structure of AIM enabled Carapetyan to assume an outsized role in setting historiographical priorities. Fairly quickly, he personally—and without input from others in the field—signed on scholar after scholar as editors; by 1976 AIM counted some forty-seven active editions.[72] He initially focused on two main areas: music of the mid- and late fifteenth century and mid-sixteenth-century Franco-Flemish composers, most notably Willaert, Gombert, and Clemens non Papa.[73] But he soon narrowed his interests to the fifteenth century, where the extant oeuvre of each composer was smaller and therefore more manageable in terms of publication.[74] In 1959 Carapetyan named his next priorities: "[Marbrianus] de Orto, [Johannes] Stochem, [Alexander] Agricola . . . , [Johannes] Martini."[75] All of these composers were active in Italy before 1520.

Personal taste was also a factor. After studying Willaert's secular music for his dissertation, Carapetyan shifted his own research to an earlier period. He began to prepare a collected works edition for Antoine Brumel (ca. 1460–ca. 1512/13), only for progress to be halted when materials were damaged during his move from Spain in the early 1950s.[76] By 1958 Carapetyan admitted to Lowinsky that he now preferred earlier music to Willaert's.[77] This seems to have led him to decline suggestions for editions of music by composers such as Jean Mouton and Claude Goudimel.[78]

71. See Armen Carapetyan to Edward E. Lowinsky, July 24, 1964, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 2, box 56, folder 6.

72. See Armen Carapetyan to Donald J. Grout, January 5, 1976, Donald Jay Grout Papers, 1929–2002, box 52, folder 35.

73. See Armen Carapetyan to Otto Gombosi, December 10, 1949, Otto Gombosi Papers, box 12, Correspondence 1947 to 1949.

74. Carapetyan later complained about having accepted expansive editions of sixteenth-century music. Armen Carapetyan to Donald J. Grout, October 28, 1968, Donald Jay Grout Papers, 1929–2002, box 52, folder 35.

75. Armen Carapetyan to Gustave Reese, October 19, 1959, Gustave Reese Papers, series 1, folders 192–194.

76. On the damage to Carapetyan's materials, see Armen Carapetyan to Clytus Gottwald, January 12, 1963, Basel, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Sammlung Clytus Gottwald, Korrespondenz –1970 [Ordner 1a + 1b]. Barton Hudson restarted the Brumel edition in 1969 and completed it in 1972 as CMM 5.

77. Armen Carapetyan to Edward E. Lowinsky, July 21, 1958, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 2, box 56, folder 6.

78. See Armen Carapetyan to Gustave Reese, August 15, 1954, Gustave Reese Papers, series 1, folder 192: "I have been hounded by at least two German musicologists about

No other publisher would accept a Mouton collected works edition and by the time Carapetyan got around to it in the late 1960s he was facing financial challenges. In part for this reason, the Mouton edition (CMM 43, 1967–) has not yet been completed, and it is not unreasonable to see a connection between the absence of a high-quality edition of Mouton's music in modern notation and the composer's sometimes unfavorable comparison to Josquin.[79] Meanwhile collected works editions for many prominent mid-sixteenth-century composers, including Philippe Verdelot (CMM 28, 1966–79) and Jacquet of Mantua (CMM 54, 1971–2013), were delayed until the 1960s or 1970s; indeed, the Verdelot and Jacquet editions were never completed.[80] Carapetyan's personal priorities thus amplified at least to some extent an arguably outsized emphasis on music from mid- to late fifteenth-century Italy.[81]

Whereas Renaissance musicology blossomed in the United States during the postwar era, early music no longer dominated European musicology as it had done before the war. Indeed, publishing collected works editions of early music increasingly ran counter to emerging disciplinary pressures. Among Carapetyan's early editors, Schmidt-Görg was incentivized to turn to the nineteenth century, and he ultimately secured the senior professorship in Bonn by foregrounding his research on Beethoven and through his directorship of the Beethoven-Haus in Bonn.[82] Besseler meanwhile turned from Du Fay to J. S. Bach, whose employment in Leipzig qualified him in the German Democratic

Mouton. . . . I am not necessarily eager to start work on Mouton." One offer probably came from Paul Kast, who bemoaned the lack of a collected works edition for Mouton in "Zu Biographie und Werk Jean Moutons," in *Bericht über den Internationalen Musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Wien: Mozartjahr 1956*, ed. Erich Schenk (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1958), 300–303. On the prospective Goudimel edition, see the correspondence with Eleanor Lawry in Gustave Reese Papers, series 1, folder 714.

79. See Paula Higgins, "The Apotheosis of Josquin des Prez and Other Mythologies of Musical Genius," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57, no. 3 (2004): 443–510, at 470.

80. Other editions delayed until the 1960s and 1970s include Costanzo Festa (CMM 25, 1962–79), Andreas de Silva (CMM 49, 1970–2012), Pierre de Manchicourt (CMM 55, 1971–99), Thomas Crecquillon (CMM 63, 1974–2011), and Johannes Richafort (CMM 81, 1979–2006).

81. See Joshua Rifkin, "Why (Not) Clemens?," paper presented at "Valorizing Clemens non Papa: International Conference," Boston University, November 6–7, 2015: "During the 'growth period' of Renaissance musicology in this country—roughly, 1960 to 1990—I think it safe to say that Italy dominated our scholarly horizons." My thanks to Professor Rifkin for sharing his text with me. Other factors that elevated interest in fifteenth-century Italy include a number of doctoral dissertations supervised by Gustave Reese.

82. See Anne-Marie Wurster and Jörg Rothkamm, "'Im Dienste der völkerverbindenden Kunst Beethovens': Joseph Schmidt-Görg als Ordinarius des Bonner Musikwissenschaftlichen Seminars und Direktor des Beethoven-Archivs," in *Musikwissenschaft und Vergangenheitspolitik: Forschung und Lehre im frühen Nachkriegsdeutschland*, ed. Jörg Rothkamm and Thomas Schipperges (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 2015), 225–62.

Republic (GDR) as a homegrown composer.[83] Walter Gerstenberg, who from 1951 led the Willaert edition, also championed the new Mozart and Schubert editions, undertakings that elevated his stature and enabled him to become *Rektor* of the University of Tübingen in the mid-1960s.[84]

European scholars nevertheless made good collaborators for AIM. They tended to be less concerned about past political affiliations than their American counterparts, and they tended to find few alternative publication venues. Apart from the Dutch Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis (which published the *Werken van Josquin des Prés* from 1922 to 1969) and the small number of sumptuous editions offered by Hanson-Dyer's Éditions de l'Oiseau-Lyre, AIM was more or less the only game in town. When Paul Müller, who in the late 1930s had finished a dissertation on Alexander Agricola, expressed reticence about leading an Agricola edition for CMM, the German scholar Hans Albrecht could simply advise him to accept Carapetyan's offer; after all, "he would have no assistance in Germany for its publication."[85] Even the Ludwig Senfl edition, which had received enormous financial resources as part of *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* under National Socialism, was struggling to secure support after 1945. This led Walter Gerstenberg to suggest to Carapetyan in 1948 that AIM publish the Senfl edition.[86] (Schrade ultimately persuaded Gerstenberg otherwise.)[87]

For his part, Carapetyan played a key role in the publication process: beyond acquiring and sharing microfilms, he made connections among scholars and encouraged them to share resources, he translated

83. See Thomas Schipperges, "Heinrich Besseler und seine Schule in Jena 1950 bis 1957," in *Musikwissenschaft und Vergangenheitspolitik*, 353–77.

84. See Christina Richter-Ibáñez, "'. . . für das Fach verloren'? Musikwissenschaft an der Universität Tübingen 1935 bis 1960," in *Musikwissenschaft und Vergangenheitspolitik*, 265–319.

85. Armen Carapetyan to Otto Gombosi, March 21, 1950, Otto Gombosi Papers, box 12; Paul Müller, "Alexander Agricola: Seine Missa 'In minen zin': Chansonale Grundlagen und Analyse" (PhD diss., Philipps-Universität zu Marburg, submitted 1939, accepted 1942, completed 1956).

86. No new volumes in the Ludwig Senfl edition appeared between 1945 and 1961, save the 1949 print of the third volume of lieder that had been in press in 1943 and was destroyed by bombing. A partnership with the Landesinstitut für Musikforschung in Kiel for the 1949 volume could provide only limited financial assistance and subsequently fell apart. See Minutes of the Board Meeting of the Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft, May 22, 1957, Universität Basel, Nachlass Schweizerische Musikforschende Gesellschaft, box 4, folder 8. The edition was never completed; the last volume was published in 1974. Fortunately, the *New Senfl Edition* at the University of Music and Performing Arts, Vienna, is forging ahead, publishing its volumes in the series *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*. On Gerstenberg's suggestion to Carapetyan, see Armen Carapetyan to Walter Gerstenberg, April 16, 1948, Private Nachlass Walter Gerstenberg, Korrespondenz bis 1.4.1954.

87. See Leo Schrade to Walter Gerstenberg, January 3, 1954, Private Nachlass Walter Gerstenberg, Korrespondenz bis 1.4.1954.

introductions, and he had manuscripts engraved and sent back and forth for the correction of first, second, and sometimes partial third proofs.[88] Taking responsibility for all of these stages of production incurred significant costs, and for any other publisher this would have driven up the price of the volume. And high prices for music editions would have strained a limited European market. To take one example, in 1949 AIM and the Newberry Library in Chicago collaborated to produce an edition of an important sixteenth-century source of lute music, the Capirola Lutebook.[89] Problems arose when finalizing the contract. Although the edition would be produced by Carapetyan in Italy, the Newberry sought to assume all sales and profits in the United States; AIM could do the same in Europe. Such an arrangement was unacceptable to Carapetyan, who remarked that the offer that AIM could sell 250 copies was pointless as the institute would be able to sell no more than 15 in all of Europe.[90] Fifteen years later, AIM's edition of Jean-Philippe Rameau's theoretical writings had one hundred subscribers in the United States but just eight in Europe.[91] The only significant market for these editions was the United States.

Carapetyan nonetheless succeeded in incentivizing European scholars to serve as editors. Many scholars in the United States, including Howard Mayer Brown, James Haar, Clement Miller, Claude Palisca, and Albert Seay, participated in CSM and in Carapetyan's series *Musicological Studies and Documents*. But fewer were prepared to assume the immense task of editing an entire collected works edition. It was surely in recognition of the high barrier to entry that Carapetyan offered an unprecedented 10 percent royalty to his authors—not 10 percent of the profits, as the contracts often indicated, but 10 percent of the gross revenue, even when editions were not profitable.[92] He often contrasted the royalty he offered with the 3 percent royalty offered before the war by *Publikationen älterer Musik*.[93] And he provided substantial advance payments,

88. See, for instance, correspondence between Armen Carapetyan and Joseph Schmidt-Görg, Private Nachlass Joseph Schmidt-Görg, folder 578.

89. A pupil of lutenist Vincenzo Capirola prepared the illuminated manuscript ca. 1517, now cataloged with the RISM signature US-Cn VM C.25. Gombosi's edition was eventually published as *Compositione di Meser Vincenzo Capirola: Lute-Book (circa 1517)* (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Société de musique d'autrefois, 1955).

90. Armen Carapetyan to Stanley Pargellis, February 1, 1951, Otto Gombosi Papers, box 10.

91. See Armen Carapetyan to Erwin R. Jacobi, January 10, 1966, Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Nachlass Erwin R. Jacobi (Mus NL 150), Aab 31:4 (2).

92. See Armen Carapetyan to Oliver Strunk, November 30, 1962, University of Pennsylvania Special Collections, American Musicological Society Records (Ms. Coll. 221), box 54, folder 1574.

93. See Carapetyan to Strunk, November 30, 1962, and Armen Carapetyan to Erwin R. Jacobi, December 20, 1962, Nachlass Erwin R. Jacobi, Aab 31:4 (2).

which some scholars received when they signed one of AIM's contracts. Although it was probably not his intention, this practice could have the effect of ensnaring would-be editors, since when scholars could not keep up with AIM's often ambitious publication schedule, Carapetyan would threaten to require them to pay back the advances.[94] In 1951 Smits van Waesberghe reminded delinquent editors for CSM of the need to repay AIM if they did not complete their volumes: "in case disagreements cannot be privately settled . . . contracts are governed by the law of [the] Commonwealth of Massachusetts."[95]

In all of this, disparities in economic realities on the two sides of the Atlantic played a significant role. Put simply, AIM used inexpensive European labor to produce editions for a wealthier market in the United States. Many editors were young scholars who had not yet secured full-time professorships and thus needed income. Examples include Bernhard Meier, who started both the Jacobus Barbireau (CMM 7, 1954) and Cipriano de Rore editions (CMM 14, 1956–77) while an assistant and lecturer in Tübingen; and Gilbert Reaney, who began editing a series of volumes of early fifteenth-century music (CMM 11, 1955–83) while a research fellow at the universities of Reading and Birmingham. Some had transcribed music for their doctorates, as in the cases of Ludwig Finscher, who wrote his 1954 dissertation on Loyset Compère, and Gerhard Croll, whose 1954 dissertation includes transcriptions of the motets of Gaspar van Weerbeke.[96] Both Finscher and Croll soon signed contracts with Carapetyan (CMM 15, 1958–72, and CMM 106, respectively).[97]

94. Article 8 of the contract notes that "if the author will fail to deliver Mss at the time agreed upon, and without a recognizable reason, AIM will have the right to entrust the work to another author. In such a case the author will duly owe AIM all advance payment made and all material given to him." Contract reproduced in Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Paul Kolb, introduction to *Gaspar van Weerbeke: New Perspectives on His Life and Music*, ed. Andrea Lindmayr-Brandl and Paul Kolb (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 21–31, at 28. If scholars died before completing an edition, Carapetyan could be belligerent: when Gombosi's widow proved unwilling to turn over his Hayne van Ghizeghem materials after his death in 1955 (which Carapetyan rather callously chalked up to "human elements playing a part") he went to Gombosi's former colleague at Harvard, John Ward, to see if he would help him enforce the contract. See Armen Carapetyan to John Ward, October 4, 1956, Harvard University, John M. Ward Papers, ca. 1942–1996 (2007MTW-1), folder C.

95. Joseph Smits van Waesberghe to contributors and collaborators for *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*, October 19, 1951, Private Nachlass Joseph Schmidt-Görg, folder 578.

96. Ludwig Finscher, "Die Messen und Motetten Loyset Compères" (PhD diss., Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, 1954); Gerhard Croll, "Das Motettenwerk Gaspars van Weerbeke" (PhD diss., Georg-August-Universität Göttingen, 1954).

97. Carapetyan later remarked that Finscher abandoned the Compère edition once he became assistant lecturer at Kiel University, and the critical notes for Finscher's edition were never published. Armen Carapetyan to Clytus Gottwald, August 11, 1967, Sammlung Clytus Gottwald, Korrespondenz –1970 [Ordner 1a + 1b]. Croll never published the Weerbeke edition; fortunately, it was taken over by younger scholars. See Lindmayr-Brandl and Kolb, introduction to *Gaspar van Weerbeke*, 29.

In the United States younger scholars were less likely to collaborate with AIM. Carapetyan lived mostly in Europe and rarely attended academic conferences (possibly just two after 1945: the 1949 IMS in Basel and the 1952 IMS in Utrecht).[98] He did not know younger scholars in the United States and was therefore understandably reluctant to hire them as editors, doing so only on the recommendation of their doctoral advisors, whom he had met during the 1940s.[99] By the same token, Carapetyan had developed a reputation in the United States for being a difficult and unscrupulous publisher. Moreover, in the United States collected works edition-making was not seen as representing a higher scholarly calling, as it was to at least some degree in Europe. While some scholars in the United States were editors for CMM (such as Leeman Perkins and Seay), prominent American musicologists more often prioritized source study over focusing on individual composers.[100] That Carapetyan largely operated in Europe must have amplified this tendency; indeed, more than seventy years after the founding of AIM the value of collected works editions in American academia remains contested. Editions are often discounted as important scholarly benchmarks, even though early-music scholars widely recognize their importance.

In Europe, by contrast, there were incentives for even established scholars to participate. Those who had been Nazi party members had been dismissed from their university posts and had to undergo denazification, and as noted above, Carapetyan remained willing to collaborate with them.[101] This was the case with Besseler, who had been a towering figure in medieval and Renaissance music studies at Heidelberg University prior to World War II. When de Van died in 1949, Carapetyan could reassign the editorship. And Besseler was in a difficult position, as it was now clear that he would not be able to reassume his Heidelberg professorship.[102] The only option immediately available to him was a position at the University of Jena in the GDR, which he viewed as less attractive; moreover, he anticipated winning a newly established professorship in Saarbrücken within a year.[103] He therefore requested from Carapetyan an honorarium for six months (October 1949 through March 1950) to

98. See Armen Carapetyan to Erwin R. Jacobi, August 27, 1968, Nachlass Erwin R. Jacobi, Aab 32:6.

99. See, for instance, Gustave Reese to Armen Carapetyan, December 20, 1955, Gustave Reese Papers, series 1, folders 192–194, and Carapetyan to Reese, October 19, 1959.

100. Renaissance scholars in the United States who prioritized source study include Howard Mayer Brown, Frank D'Accone, Charles Hamm, Daniel Heartz, Hewitt, Herbert Kellman, Lowinsky, Dragan Plamenac, and Colin Slim.

101. See Potter, *Most German of the Arts*, chap. 8.

102. See Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Besseler*, chap. 9.

103. See Heinrich Besseler to Armen Carapetyan, July 22, 1949, Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, NA Besseler 15.

cover all of the anticipated royalties for the Du Fay edition, in order to postpone his employment in Jena and enable him to secure a position in West Germany.[104] Carapetyan obliged (for a list of costs he covered for Besseler over several decades, see fig. 3), although he was aware, thanks to advice from Friedrich Blume and Albrecht, that he would be accepting "Besseler's protracting and procrastinating methods."[105] Such difficulties ultimately included Besseler's request that Carapetyan allow him to redo the first volume of motets (CMM 1/1), presumably to remove traces of de Van. Carapetyan did so during the 1960s at a cost of $7,500, only to sell just eight copies in the first year after publication.[106]

Besseler did not win the professorship at Saarland University. For financial reasons, the selection of a musicology chair had to be indefinitely postponed, and by the summer semester of 1950 Besseler was teaching in Jena.[107] But he took advances for almost two years from Carapetyan and therefore owed AIM an edition.[108] Besseler had initially claimed that the Du Fay edition would take him two years to complete, but job security in East Germany was accompanied by disciplinary pressures to focus on later repertoires.[109] It is often remarked today that the quality of Besseler's scholarship declined after the war.[110] The Du Fay edition in particular is riddled with errors, to the point that some view the four fascicles published by de Van to be superior in quality.[111] There is nevertheless good reason to account for the edition's quality in terms of incentives and labor: Besseler accepted the project for financial reasons, spent the advance, and lost interest, as he hinted in a letter to Lowinsky.[112] He had fewer incentives

104. See Büchler and Schipperges, *Heinrich Besseler und Jacques Handschin*, 243–45.

105. Armen Carapetyan to Otto Gombosi, November 19, 1949, Otto Gombosi Papers, box 12.

106. See Armen Carapetyan to Donald J. Grout, January 1, 1967, Donald Jay Grout Papers, 1929–2002, box 52, folder 35.

107. See Schipperges, *Die Akte Heinrich Besseler*, 297.

108. See Carapetyan to Grout, January 1, 1967.

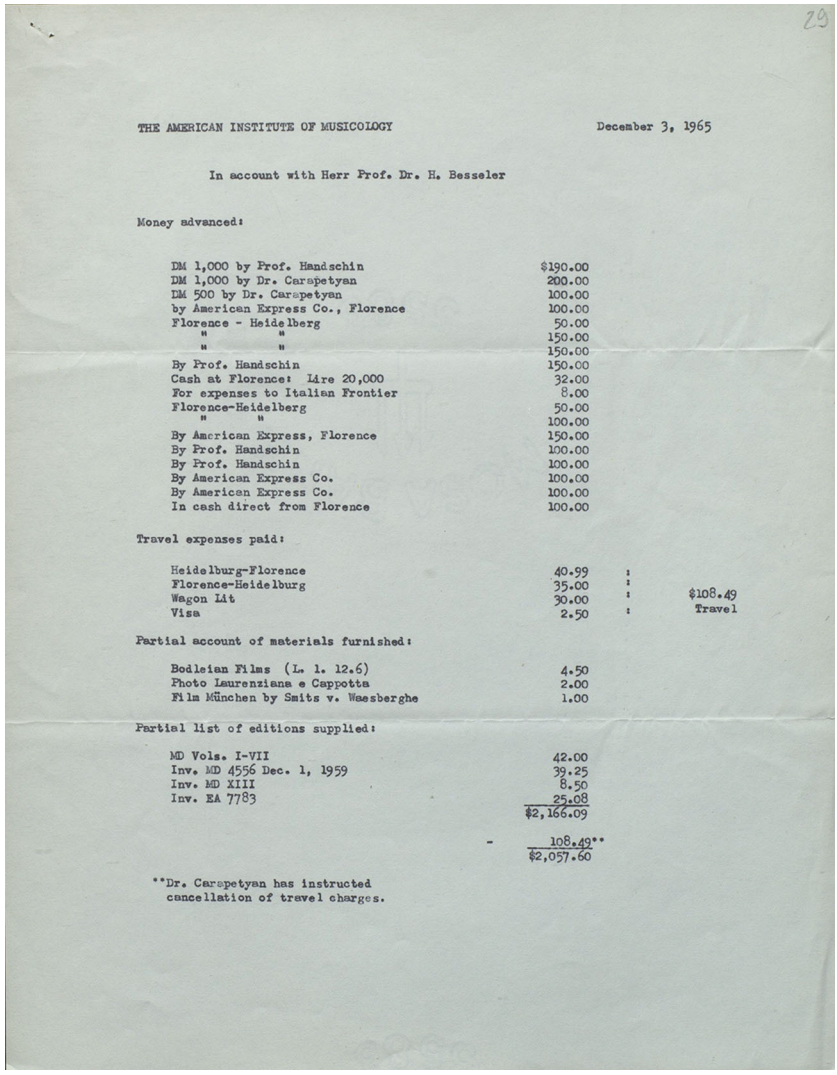
109. Carapetyan often complained that the Du Fay edition had been promised in two years: "When 16 years ago I signed a contract in Rome that was to see the opera omnia of Dufay out in two years I thought it an eternity. Today we are not yet done with the edition!" Armen Carapetyan to Erwin R. Jacobi, November 3, 1962, Nachlass Erwin R. Jacobi, Aab 31:4 (2).

110. "It is also widely agreed that the Besseler of the years after 1945 was no longer the equal of the magnificent scholar seen in his publications of 1925–35. In addition, everybody who has used Besseler's Dufay edition knows that some volumes have considerable errors." David Fallows, review of *Guillaume Du Fay: The Life and Works* by Alejandro Enrique Planchart, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 28, no. 1 (2019): 87–92, at 91.

111. David Fallows, personal communication, February 2, 2024. See also Planchart, *Guillaume Du Fay*, 1:325.

112. Heinrich Besseler to Edward E. Lowinsky, July 11, 1958, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 3, folder 15: "The Dufay edition had been somewhat disrupted by external difficulties and my main interest in other things, which unexpectedly took up a lot of my time" ("Die Dufay-Ausgabe war etwas gestört worden, durch äußeren Schwierigkeiten

FIGURE 3. List of funds advanced by Carapetyan to Besseler for the Du Fay edition. Universitätsarchiv Leipzig, NA Besseler 15. Reproduced with permission from the Universitätsarchiv Leipzig.



89

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY — December 3, 1965

In account with Herr Prof. Dr. H. Besseler

Money advanced:

DM 1,000 by Prof. Handschin	$190.00		
DM 1,000 by Dr. Carapetyan	200.00		
DM 500 by Dr. Carapetyan	100.00		
by American Express Co., Florence	100.00		
Florence - Heidelberg	50.00		
" "	150.00		
" "	150.00		
By Prof. Handschin	150.00		
Cash at Florence: Lire 20,000	32.00		
For expenses to Italian Frontier	8.00		
Florence-Heidelberg	50.00		
" "	100.00		
By American Express, Florence	150.00		
By Prof. Handschin	100.00		
By Prof. Handschin	100.00		
By American Express Co.	100.00		
By American Express Co.	100.00		
In cash direct from Florence	100.00		

Travel expenses paid:

Heidelburg-Florence	40.99	:	
Florence-Heidelburg	35.00	:	
Wagon Lit	30.00	:	$108.49
Visa	2.50	:	Travel

Partial account of materials furnished:

Bodleian Films (L. 1. 12.6)	4.50
Photo Laurenziana e Cappotta	2.00
Film München by Smits v. Waesberghe	1.00

Partial list of editions supplied:

MD Vols. I-VII	42.00
Inv. MD 4556 Dec. 1, 1959	39.25
Inv. MD XIII	8.50
Inv. EA 7783	25.08
	$2,166.09
-	108.49**
	$2,057.60

**Dr. Carapetyan has instructed cancellation of travel charges.

und mein Hauptinteresse an anderen Dingen, das meine Zeit unerwartet stark in Anspruch nahm"). As Carapetyan recounted to David Fallows, at one point he invited Besseler for a visit to accelerate the completion of the Du Fay edition, but Besseler instead seized the opportunity to read new literature he found in Carapetyan's library that he was unable to access in Jena. Fallows, personal communication.

than he would have had before the war to double-check his proofs or labor over the significance of any newly discovered source. As Carapetyan later griped, what should have taken two years ended up taking twenty.[113]

Such delays are hardly uncommon among scholars. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, they would contribute to a decline in the institute's long-term viability. Carapetyan initially had the music engraved and printed in Europe, since printing in postwar Europe was cheaper.[114] He would have his editors estimate the number of volumes each edition would require, create a publication schedule, and then calculate AIM's subscription fee. This practice worked reasonably well during the 1950s, when the inflation rate in Italy (where much of the printing was done) remained low—in the range of 2.5 percent annually.[115] But during the mid-1960s, inflation jumped to as high as 7.45 percent.[116] Meanwhile wages began to rise, thereby increasing the cost of each new volume. Carapetyan noted that over a five-year span in the 1960s, the expenses he incurred when producing a single volume doubled.[117] In the early 1970s his costs tripled on top of this, to the point that in 1974 Donald Grout remarked to Carapetyan that it would now be cheaper to produce the editions in the United States.[118] Compounding this problem, Carapetyan sold subscriptions in the late 1940s for editions that two decades later had still not been completed; each of these now represented a tremendous loss, as he noted:

> Some of the earliest titles offered (by inexperience and good faith) at a fixed subscription price and paid for many years ago but until today not yet completed have been catastrophic as costs have been rising (and indeed are rising still, especially in Europe where we produce most of our works), so that by now the prices received years ago cover not even a fourth of actual costs, without wondering about future years that the

113. Armen Carapetyan to Donald J. Grout, January 18, 1967, Donald Jay Grout Papers, 1929–2002, box 52, folder 35.

114. In the 1940s Carapetyan worked with Giuntina S. A., V. Biagiotti, and E. Rinaldi in Florence; in the early 1950s with Giaccone & Morelli in Florence and Grafische Industrie Haarlem in the Netherlands; in the 1960s with C. L. Schultheiß in Tübingen and Grafische Industrie Haarlem; and in the 1970s with Blikman & Sartorius and Blikman, Laporte & Dosse in Amsterdam.

115. See Robert J. Barro and Vittorio Grilli, *European Macroeconomics* (London: Macmillan, 1994), 9 (fig. 1.7).

116. On the inflation rate in Italy during the 1960s, see "Italy Inflation Rate (1960–2024)," Macrotrends, accessed January 8, 2024, https://www.macrotrends.net/countries/ITA/italy/inflation-rate-cpi.

117. Armen Carapetyan to Oliver Strunk, January 29, 1965, American Musicological Society Records, box 1, folder 23.

118. See Armen Carapetyan to collective editors, November 1, 1973, Nachlass Erwin R. Jacobi, Aab 34:11, and Armen Carapetyan to Donald J. Grout, November 15, 1974, Donald Jay Grout Papers, 1929–2002, box 52, folder 35.

> editions in question will take, at the rate we have been going, to be completed.[119]

The following figures will give a sense of the challenge Carapetyan faced. In 1974 the production costs for 500 copies of one volume of a music theory treatise came to $16,000, excluding the paper, which he supplied to the printer himself.[120] At that time engraving alone for the most recent Rore volume (CMM 14/6) cost $8,520, instead of the $2,000–$3,000 it had in the 1950s and 1960s. Carapetyan estimated the total expenses for this volume at $15,000. Assuming that the average volume in 1974 cost Carapetyan $15,000 for 500 copies (a typical print run for AIM), each copy would need to be priced at $30 in 1974 dollars, or roughly $195 today, just to cover costs. But Carapetyan never sold all the copies; in fact, he never sold more than 350, and for a number of editions no more than 200.[121] If he sold only 200 copies, he would need to price the edition at $75 to cover his costs, roughly $490 today. Carapetyan never charged such a high price; he must have known that most libraries and scholars would not have been willing to pay it.

Carapetyan periodically admitted that not a single edition he had produced over a thirty-year period was profitable. In a letter circulated to his collective editors in 1965 he noted that "I have had to subsidize, personally, all of our publications all these years."[122] At that point AIM paused most royalties, although it was still possible for some to be granted to "younger and especially European collaborators."[123] Eight years later a further circulated letter indicated that costs forced the suspension of all royalties (see fig. 4). Some editors were furious: Erwin Jacobi and Dragan Plamenac both hired legal representation in an effort to compel Carapetyan to honor their contracts.[124] But most understood. While rumors about Carapetyan declaring bankruptcy were probably unfounded, they reflect the precarious nature of the enterprise, and the fact that Carapetyan had never run his business as a nonprofit.[125] It bears

119. Armen Carapetyan to collective editors, November 20, 1965, Sammlung Clytus Gottwald, Korrespondenz –1970 [Ordner 1a + 1b].

120. See Armen Carapetyan to Donald J. Grout, August 5, 1974, Donald Jay Grout Papers, 1929–2002, box 52, folder 35.

121. See Carapetyan to Lowinsky, July 24, 1964.

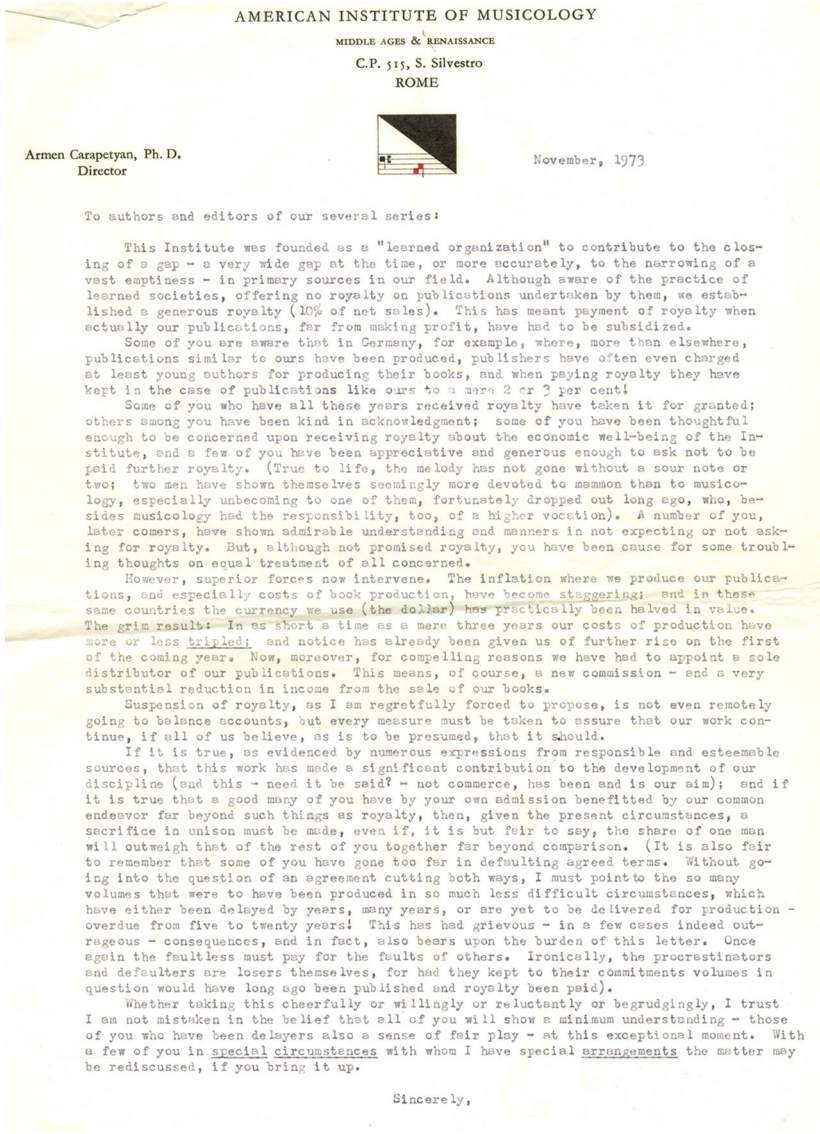
122. Carapetyan to collective editors, November 20, 1965.

123. Armen Carapetyan to Clytus Gottwald, September 12, 1967, Sammlung Clytus Gottwald, Korrespondenz –1970 [Ordner 1a + 1b]. Advances were paused in the early 1960s.

124. See Armen Carapetyan to Erwin R. Jacobi, October 21, 1974, Nachlass Erwin R. Jacobi, Aab 34:11, and Jo. C. Williamson to Armen Carapetyan, March 1, 1974, Yale University, Dragan Plamenac Papers (MSS 45), box 1, folder 1.

125. See Otto Kinkeldey to John Ward, June 10, 1954, John M. Ward Papers, ca. 1942–1996, folder K: "[Handschin] also said he had been frightened by a rumor that Carapetyan was going bankrupt, which disquieted him greatly. But now he feels that the bankruptcy will

FIGURE 4. Carapetyan's 1973 letter to collective editors suspending royalty. Letter gifted to the author by Margaret Bent.



AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY

MIDDLE AGES & RENAISSANCE

C.P. 515, S. Silvestro
ROME

Armen Carapetyan, Ph. D.
Director

November, 1973

To authors and editors of our several series:

This Institute was founded as a "learned organization" to contribute to the closing of a gap - a very wide gap at the time, or more accurately, to the narrowing of a vast emptiness - in primary sources in our field. Although aware of the practice of learned societies, offering no royalty on publications undertaken by them, we established a generous royalty (10% of net sales). This has meant payment of royalty when actually our publications, far from making profit, have had to be subsidized.

Some of you are aware that in Germany, for example, where, more than elsewhere, publications similar to ours have been produced, publishers have often even charged at least young authors for producing their books, and when paying royalty they have kept in the case of publications like ours to a mere 2 or 3 per cent!

Some of you who have all these years received royalty have taken it for granted; others among you have been kind in acknowledgment; some of you have been thoughtful enough to be concerned upon receiving royalty about the economic well-being of the Institute, and a few of you have been appreciative and generous enough to ask not to be paid further royalty. (True to life, the melody has not gone without a sour note or two; two men have shown themselves seemingly more devoted to mammon than to musicology, especially unbecoming to one of them, fortunately dropped out long ago, who, besides musicology had the responsibility, too, of a higher vocation). A number of you, later comers, have shown admirable understanding and manners in not expecting or not asking for royalty. But, although not promised royalty, you have been cause for some troubling thoughts on equal treatment of all concerned.

However, superior forces now intervene. The inflation where we produce our publications, and especially costs of book production, have become staggering; and in these same countries the currency we use (the dollar) has practically been halved in value. The grim result: In as short a time as a mere three years our costs of production have more or less tripled; and notice has already been given us of further rise on the first of the coming year. Now, moreover, for compelling reasons we have had to appoint a sole distributor of our publications. This means, of course, a new commission - and a very substential reduction in income from the sale of our books.

Suspension of royalty, as I am regretfully forced to propose, is not even remotely going to balance accounts, but every measure must be taken to assure that our work continue, if all of us believe, as is to be presumed, that it should.

If it is true, as evidenced by numerous expressions from responsible and esteemable sources, that this work has made a significant contribution to the development of our discipline (and this - need it be said? - not commerce, has been and is our aim); and if it is true that a good many of you have by your own admission benefitted by our common endeavor far beyond such things as royalty, then, given the present circumstances, a sacrifice in unison must be made, even if, it is but fair to say, the share of one man will outweigh that of the rest of you together far beyond comparison. (It is also fair to remember that some of you have gone too far in defaulting agreed terms. Without going into the question of an agreement cutting both ways, I must point to the so many volumes that were to have been produced in so much less difficult circumstances, which have either been delayed by years, many years, or are yet to be delivered for production - overdue from five to twenty years! This has had grievous - in a few cases indeed outrageous - consequences, and in fact, also bears upon the burden of this letter. Once again the faultless must pay for the faults of others. Ironically, the procrastinators and defaulters are losers themselves, for had they kept to their commitments volumes in question would have long ago been published and royalty been paid).

Whether taking this cheerfully or willingly or reluctantly or begrudgingly, I trust I am not mistaken in the belief that all of you will show a minimum understanding - those of you who have been delayers also a sense of fair play - at this exceptional moment. With a few of you in special circumstances with whom I have special arrangements the matter may be rediscussed, if you bring it up.

Sincerely,

emphasizing in this regard that Armen and Harriette Carapetyan led AIM alone; they never engaged a capable musicologist who could serve as their successor.[126] Indeed, AIM's name was itself something of a misnomer: there was little institute to speak of, save the Carapetyans. Thus when costs spiraled out of control in the 1970s, when the US Internal Revenue Service (IRS) started auditing Carapetyan's tax accounting, and when, now in his sixties, Carapetyan sought to divest himself of his business, his options were limited and he lacked liquid assets.[127] Instead, he had a tax liability of between $400,000 and $1,000,000 in unsold editions sitting in a Dallas warehouse.[128]

With little future for AIM, Carapetyan considered selling the institute to the AMS. During the 1960s Strunk had convinced the AMS to collaborate with Carapetyan on the Jacques Arcadelt edition (CMM 31, 1965–70), and AMS president Claude Palisca now made exploratory offers to purchase AIM.[129] But even setting aside the impossibility of the AMS purchasing Carapetyan's assets at a fair market value or of financing future editions, Carapetyan believed that the AMS lacked the personnel to skillfully lead AIM, and so he declined their bid without entering into serious negotiations.[130] He was probably right that the AMS lacked the institutional knowledge to work with specialist engravers based in Europe or to effectively run the multitude of series he had started.

not come to pass." On AIM's lack of nonprofit status, see Claude V. Palisca to Armen Carapetyan, October 22, 1971, Donald Jay Grout Papers, 1929–2002, box 52, folder 35.

126. In 1977 Lowinsky remarked that none of the scholars slated to take over the series (Frank D'Accone, Charles Hamm, and Gilbert Reaney) "has the caliber of the man they are supposed to succeed." Edward E. Lowinsky to Armen Carapetyan, September 28, 1977, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 7, folder 5. All three had permanent posts as professors in the United States and were not in a position to assume the laborious tasks that Carapetyan had previously undertaken.

127. During the 1960s and 1970s there was a major shift in the international tax scheme, marked by the development of the so-called controlled foreign corporation under Subpart F in the tax code. The United States now taxed American companies on a worldwide basis. Previously, it had been possible to create a wholly owned subsidiary in Italy, paying Italian tax but deferring the payment of the United States tax indefinitely. Under Subpart F the wholly owned Italian company was treated as if it were in the United States. This possibly created problems for AIM, especially given the substantial unsold assets held in Dallas, although we cannot rule out the possibility that Carapetyan may not have paid his taxes appropriately. I am grateful to Blaine G. Saito for information about the history of the tax code (personal communication, May 10, 2022).

128. In 1963 Carapetyan had estimated the value of the unsold editions to be $250,000; with inflation, the value of these editions in 1974 would have been roughly $400,000. Armen Carapetyan to Oliver Strunk, December 31, 1963, American Musicological Society Records, box 54, folder 1575. On the $1,000,000 valuation, see Claude V. Palisca to Donald J. Grout, March 2, 1971, Donald Jay Grout Papers, 1929–2002, box 52, folder 35.

129. On the collaboration, see the correspondence in American Musicological Society Records, box 105, folder 3016.

130. Armen Carapetyan to Donald J. Grout, September 1970, Donald Jay Grout Papers, 1929–2002, box 52, folder 35.

The easiest solution was to merge with an existing publisher. In 1974 Carapetyan began using the Stuttgart-based Hänssler Verlag as AIM's exclusive distributor; in formulating the agreement, Carapetyan was able to capitalize on his strong relationship with Friedrich Hänssler junior (1927–2019). Under further pressure from the IRS with regard to the reclassification of inventory held in Dallas, Carapetyan sold AIM to Hänssler in 1976 for the nominal sum of $1.[131] But when Hänssler assumed control, it struggled to operate a business that had never been profitable. Over the next two decades publications of modern editions of Renaissance music slowed precipitously.[132] As a result, many editions not prioritized by Carapetyan made little progress. The pace of publications has substantially improved since Hänssler sold AIM in 2002 to Paul Ranzini, but it has never eclipsed the blistering speed at which Carapetyan ran his organization. Carapetyan later felt that Hänssler mismanaged AIM, but one must acknowledge that at the time of the acquisition the institute was not much of an economic proposition; for more than three decades it had served mainly as the passion project of a scholar for whom profit was not of central importance.

Conclusions and Counterfactuals

From World War II through the 1970s most major music scholars in the United States began their careers in the field of early music. Those studying at American universities cut their teeth on editions published by AIM; many schools sponsored a musical ensemble such as a Collegium Musicum that performed repertoire from AIM volumes. Music theory treatises were translated and discussed in graduate seminars. University libraries acquired microfilms of theory and music manuscripts, which students learned to transcribe as part of their doctoral coursework. A symbiotic relationship thus developed: AIM was central to a scholarly ecosystem that it needed in order to thrive. In Europe, by contrast, AIM editions were not as readily available. To an extent, this scarcity must have led European students to prioritize other areas of specialty. Without

131. See Armen Carapetyan to James Haar, March 22, 1976, American Musicological Society Records, box 105, folder 3017, and Carapetyan to Grout, January 5, 1976.

132. "Some odd things have happened since the Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae series changed from being the personal mission of the late and very much lamented Armen Carapetyan; there are plenty of stories about completed volumes having to wait ten years and more before seeing the light of day." David Fallows, "Josquin's Heritage?," review of Johannes Richafort, *Opera Omnia*, vols. 2 and 3, ed. Harry Elzinga, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 81/2–3 (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology / Hänssler Verlag, 1999), *Early Music* 27, no. 3 (1999): 489–90, at 489.

Carapetyan's self-funded enterprise, American students too may well have gravitated toward other topics.

Only in the 1980s did the postwar balance between the United States and Europe in terms of early-music scholarship begin to change. Shortly after Carapetyan retired from his publishing duties, interest in collected works editions in the United States declined, owing at least in part to Joseph Kerman's attacks on the value of edition-making.[133] Today Kerman's arguments are no longer hotly debated at the annual meetings of the AMS, but the field of early music has been diminished. For AIM this decline has represented a long-term financial loss.

Indeed, thirty years after Carapetyan's death, edition-making is a relatively unappreciated scholarly activity, especially in the United States, even though many scholars make editions and most scholars rely on them. No single figure has assumed a role analogous to Carapetyan's. We therefore find ourselves in a situation in which works by a host of composers who wrote some of the most popular music of the early to mid-sixteenth century—including Mouton, Willaert, Noel Bauldeweyn, Jacquet of Mantua, Verdelot, and Lupus Hellinck—remain unpublished and thus harder to study, to perform, and to know. Editions that have appeared have often been treated as side projects, which has sometimes resulted in less exacting standards. We like to think about quality of work and choice of area of study as a function of the scholar; we should also factor in the roles of economics and of concerns such as prestige and prospects for tenure. It bears thinking about how the field should undertake edition-making if it is fundamentally a money-losing endeavor.

Several years after the sale of AIM, Carapetyan imagined counterfactuals that might have preserved the institute. Above all, he described to Lowinsky "a meeting in Germany requested by a young man recently out of university, wishing to come to Italy as assistant. The 'sympathique' young man was Finscher."[134] Finscher, who went on to enjoy an illustrious scholarly career, would doubtless have proven a capable partner and a natural successor, but his participation alone would not have been enough. As Carapetyan operated it, AIM was a highly contingent enterprise both historically and economically. Only the confluence of factors unraveled here could enable one man's historiographical priorities to so significantly shape the course of Renaissance music scholarship from the postwar period right up to the present day.

133. See, for instance, Joseph Kerman, *Contemplating Music: Challenges to Musicology* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 42–44, 48.

134. Armen Carapetyan to Edward E. Lowinsky, October 28, 1983, Edward E. Lowinsky Papers, series 1, box 7, folder 5.

ABSTRACT

Few figures were as consequential for the study of early music in the twentieth century as Armen Carapetyan. In 1944 he founded the American Institute of Musicology, an organization that has since published a wealth of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century music. But the full impact of AIM has not yet been acknowledged—above all, how Carapetyan changed the course of musicological research by offering scholars significant financial incentives to produce editions of repertoire he deemed worthy of publication. This article is based on a corpus of more than nine hundred letters to and from Carapetyan, along with AIM-related correspondence between other early-music scholars. Carapetyan offered prospective editors unprecedented royalties from his personal funds that incentivized them to participate in AIM, using cheap European academic labor to produce editions that were sold in the United States. He directly impacted postwar historiographical priorities by centering music from mid- to late fifteenth-century Italy, thereby shaping scholarly discourse by encouraging European scholars to continue their research on early music in a postwar environment that had started prioritizing other repertoires. This research shows how economic factors can impinge on the history and reception of scholarship—in this case, how one man's financial resources and aesthetic proclivities shaped and continue to shape the stories we tell about Renaissance music.

Keywords: early music, historiography, Renaissance, music publishing, economics