

current musicology

number 19/ 1975

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PUBLISHED
UNDER THE AEGIS OF

The Music Department
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
New York

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seminar report

BACH'S "ART OF FUGUE": AN EXAMINATION OF THE SOURCES

Introduction

George Stauffer

For two hundred and twenty-five years Bach's *Art of Fugue* has remained an object of both admiration and anxiety. For musicians its music represents the apex of baroque contrapuntal skill, the culmination of centuries of polyphonic development in Western music. For editors and musicologists, however, its original contents present a problem, an unfinished puzzle for which the missing parts may never be found. The purpose of Professor Christoph Wolff's advanced research seminar, held at Columbia University in the spring of 1973, was to investigate fully the music and sources of the *Art of Fugue* and to provide, if possible, a few answers to the enigmatic questions posed by the autograph and first edition. The class examined the work from three different viewpoints — general (historical context), specific (sources), and very specific (individual contrapuncti) — with emphasis on the controversial nature and problems of the sources. This report, written by members of the seminar, relates some of the more important discussions and findings of the semester.

The primary sources of the *Art of Fugue* and the problems that they present for modern investigators can be outlined briefly. The extant material consists of the autograph and the original edition. The autograph, *Mus. ms. Bach P 200* (Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin), whose contents are listed below with the contrapunctus numbers used by Schmieder in his *Bach-Werke-Verzeichnis*, is comprised of a binding of 20 leaves (40 sides) and three *Beilagen*. Each of these four parts represents a distinctly different type of manuscript. The main body of *P 200* (discussed in a separate section of this article) is, for the most part, a fair copy. The three appendices, on the other hand, stem from various stages of the compositional and engraving process and seem to have been grouped together with the 20-leaf binding after Bach's death. The music in all four parts of *P 200* is written in the hand of J. S. Bach. The title *Die Kunst der Fuge* and several comments found throughout the manuscript, however, appear to have been added for editorial purposes by

CHART I

The Autograph

Contents	BWV 1080	Pages
Title Page	-	1
Simple Fugue	1	2-3
Simple Fugue, theme inverted	3	4-5
Simple Fugue	2	6-7
Counter Fugue	5	8-9
Double Fugue	9	10-13
Double Fugue	10a	14-16
Counter Fugue	6	16-19
Counter Fugue	7	20-22
Octave Canon, single voice	15	23
Octave Canon, resolved	15	23-25
Triple Fugue	8	25-28
Triple Fugue	11	28-32
Augmentation Canon, early version	[14]	32-33
Augmentation Canon, single voice	[14]	33
Mirror Fugue à 4, recta and inversa	12,1&2	33-35
Mirror Fugue à 3, recta and inversa	13,1&2	36-38
Augmentation Canon, variant	[14]	38-39
<u>Beilage 1</u>		
Augmentation Canon	14	1-3
<u>Beilage 2</u>		
Mirror Fugue a 3, recta and inversa, arranged for two keyboards	18,1&2	1-4
<u>Beilage 3</u>		
Quadruple Fugue (incomplete)	19	1-5

Note:

The title page of the main part of P 200 reads:
Die | Kunst der Fuga | di Sig. Joh. Seb. Bach, in
the handwriting of J.C. Altnikol.

The blue cover of Beilagen 1-3 reads: Die [crossed
out] Kunst | der Fuge | Von J.S.B., written by J.C.
F. Bach.

The identification of the scribes proves the au-
thenticity of the title, which has been questioned
by several authors.

Contents	BWV 1080	Pages
Title Page	-	-
Notice / Preface	-	-
Contrapunctus 1	1	1-2
Contrapunctus 2	2	3-5
Contrapunctus 3	3	6-8
Contrapunctus 4	4	8-12
Contrapunctus 5	5	13-15
Contrapunctus 6. a 4 in Stylo Francese	6	16-18
Contrapunctus 7. a 4 per Augment et Diminut:	7	19-21
Contrapunctus 8. a 3	8	21-25
Contrapunctus 9. a 4 alla Duodecima	9	26-28
Contrapunctus 10. a. 4. alla Decima	10	29-31
Contrapunctus. 11. a 4	11	32-36
Contrapunctus inversus 12 á 4	12,2	37-38
Contrapunctus inversus a 4	12,1	39-40
Contrapunctus a 3	13,2	41-42
Contrapunctus inversus a 3	13,1	43-44
Contrap: a 4	10a	45-47
Canon per Augmentationem in Contrario Motu	14	48-50
Canon alla Ottava	15	51-52
Canon alla Decima Contrapunto alla Terza	16	53-54
Canon alla Duodecima in Contrapunto alla Quinta	17	55-56
Fuga a 2. Clav:	18,1	57-58
Alio modo Fuga a 2. Clav.	18,2	59-60
Fuga a 3 Soggetti	19	61-65
Choral.	---	---
Weñ wir in hoechsten Noethen	BWV	
Canto Fermo in Canto	668	66-67

Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Johann Christoph Altnickol (J. S. Bach's son-in-law), and Johann Friedrich Agricola (one of J. S. Bach's students). (See Chart 1.)

Shortly after Bach's death the original edition of the *Art of Fugue* appeared in a first printing, possibly in the early part of 1751. A notice on the back of the title page of this publication explains that Bach died before he could complete the final fugue of the work and the editors, probably the above-mentioned members of the Bach family, added the chorale prelude "Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein" to compensate for the missing material. The matter of incompleteness was not quite

so easily resolved, however, for it seems most likely — judging from the state of *P 200* and the inconsistencies that appear in the first edition — that Bach supervised only part of the engraving process and died without settling such important details as: 1) which pieces were to be included in the printed edition and 2) the final order, meter, and note values of these pieces.

A second printing of the original edition, appearing in 1752, did not clear up the problems of the initial publication. This edition utilized the same musical plates as the first printing and added only a new title page and a lengthy preface by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg. Apparently neither of the editions was a financial success and in 1756 C.P.E. Bach offered the plates for sale. The musical contents of the original edition of the *Art of Fugue* are listed below, with the titles found in the print and the numbers assigned to them by Schmieder. (See Chart 2.)

There are three important differences between the contents of the autograph and the initial edition of the *Art of Fugue*. First, five pieces which occur in the print — a simple fugue (BWV 1080:4), a double fugue (10), two canons (16 and 17), and the chorale prelude (BWV 668) — do not appear in *P 200*. Second, the order of the individual pieces is different in the two sources and in neither case does the overall structure seem to be complete, judging from Bach's other late compendiums such as the *Goldberg Variations* (ca. 1742) or the *Canonic Variations on Vom Himmel hoch* (ca. 1747). Third, a comparison of the nineteen pieces which occur both in the autograph and the first edition shows that in fourteen cases either the value of the notes or the meter found in the autograph has been changed in the print. These alterations are not always consistent, however, and there is no proof that all of them were approved by Bach himself.

From these facts it is clear that the *Art of Fugue* was at least partly in a state of transition when Bach died. Nevertheless it is this very feature that makes scholarly study of the work as intriguing as it is problematical. Of the many aspects of the *Art of Fugue* that were examined during the course of the advanced research seminar at Columbia University, six specific topics—the interest in the composition since 1750, the autograph, the simple fugues, the engraving process, the canons, and the unfinished fugue—have been selected for discussion.

Dissemination and Dispute

Peter Dedel

Of the numerous mysteries which became, on 28 July 1750, a part of the legacy of J. S. Bach, none has posed more fascination for scholars

than the several problems associated with the creation and dissemination of the *Art of Fugue*. During the better part of the more than two centuries since the composer's death, Bach's intentions in producing this final monument to the art of counterpoint have been subjected to a broad spectrum of learned inquiries and a consequent variety of conflicting interpretations.

Scholarly attention to the *Art of Fugue* has traditionally focused upon a rather confined group of problems with far-reaching implications, all of which ultimately deal with the determination of a legitimate performance. The principles in question range from the broadly philosophical matter of the relative predominance of Bach's artistic motives as against pedagogical ones, to the comparatively circumscribed issue of performance medium. Intermediate in breadth are the subjects of those inquiries dealing with musical context, including investigations into the extent of Bach's conception of the work as a unified artistic entity, the dependent problem of correct ordering for the individual fugues, and the uncertainty regarding the "unfinished" fugue's claim to pedigreed constituency within the whole.

Roy Harris and M. D. Herter Norton, whose joint article in the 1935 *Musical Quarterly* is perhaps the most comprehensive twentieth-century discussion of the work's history, have observed that the *Art of Fugue* "waited for one hundred and twenty-seven years in silent accusation of those generations of musicians who let it lie as a mere theoretical treatise."¹ More recently, Hans Theodor David claimed that "Wolfgang Graeser rediscovered the *Art of Fugue* in about 1927."² A careful study of the *Art of Fugue's* long history of dissemination reveals that the legendary impact with which Graeser's orchestration of the work struck the music world has more basis in myth than in substantive fact. Despite the lament of Philipp Spitta, in his biography of Bach, for "the obscure state in which it has hitherto lain,"³ there is little question but that the *Art of Fugue* had enjoyed, long before Graeser's subsequent intervention, a musical and intellectual following of considerable dimensions. In 1799, just prior to the appearance of the first editions after the "original prints," August F. C. Kollmann published an extensive discussion of Bach's fugal technique in which he drew heavily upon the *Art of Fugue* for examples and referred to the work as "celebrated."⁴

The extent to which scholars have overstated the case regarding the *Art of Fugue's* alleged 19th-century dormancy is illustrated not only by the extensive list of editions published before Graeser's (see Appendix), but by documented evidence of the vital role played by the work in the lives of Bach's musical heirs. Manuscript copies of the work have been found in the personal libraries of Mozart,⁵ Beethoven,⁶ and Brahms,⁷ and Schumann deemed it worth his while to devote the better part of seven months to the task of personally copying the entire score.⁸

If the point of Graeser's alleged "rediscovery" was simply that, prior to the highly-touted "first performance" of Graeser's orchestrated version in 1927, the *Art of Fugue* had been viewed as, in Albert Schweitzer's words, a "purely theoretical" work,¹⁰ the documented history of its dissemination stands in contradiction. Even the editions of those scholars (Hauptmann, Rust, Riemann) who insisted upon viewing the *Art of Fugue* as a didactic treatise betray indications of ultimate concern for performance. The 1838 Peters edition of Czerny-Hauptmann, a piano arrangement with "tempo indications," is clearly intended for performance. The problem of correct ordering of the individual fugues, having played little role in the early editions of Nägeli and Czerny, became a considerable issue in the later editions of Rust and Riemann. It must surely have been consistent with the aims of these pre-Graeser scholars that the task of ordering individual pieces within a cycle is pertinent largely to the extent that it contributes to the accuracy or artistic integrity of the work in performance.

Graeser further ignored the simple fact that, while "editions" may proceed from motivations of sheer scholarship, "arrangements" are published with subsequent performance plainly in mind. The Leipzig edition of G. A. Thomas, which appeared as installments between 1866 and 1879, went so far as to boast of offering "precise performance specifications" for the organist.

The enduring uncertainty regarding the "unfinished" fugue's legitimacy as a constituent is perhaps the most intriguing element of past and continuing research on the *Art of Fugue*. The negative inferences of such scholars as Spitta, who declared that the fragment "has nothing whatever to do with this work,"¹¹ are founded upon the irreproachable observation that the principal subject of the *Art of Fugue* fails to appear in any form. Serious claims to legitimacy for the "unfinished" fugue have proceeded largely from the discovery by Gustav Nottebohm in 1881 that the three subjects exposed in the extant fragment are susceptible to treatment in a variety of simultaneous combinations with the principal subject.¹² David, operating from Nottebohm's premise and Riemann's expansion upon its possibilities, dismissed the issue of the "unfinished" fugue's pedigree with the succinct conclusion that "of course" it belongs, and undertook to write his own completion by proceeding directly from Bach's combination of three subjects to a hypothesized combination of four.

Looming beyond the specific concerns of fugal order and pedigree is the larger and more fundamental uncertainty regarding the importance of cyclic considerations to Bach's own conception of the *Art of Fugue*. Spitta, perhaps the most eloquent early exponent of the cyclic view, insisted that the complete work "be regarded as a self-contained entity,"¹⁵ and lauded this opus in which "the idea of creating a great work of art

in many parts, but as a perfectly organic whole . . . (is) fully worked out.”¹⁶ Until conclusive new evidence is brought to the fore, however, this and the lesser questions relating to Bach’s substantive and architectural intentions for the *Art of Fugue* will remain, to a great extent, shrouded in mystery.

APPENDIX

Published Editions and Arrangements of the *Art of Fugue*

	1801	Paris, Vogt.
	1802	Paris, Nägeli. H. G. Nägeli, ed. (score and piano reduction)
	1802	second issue: Paris, Naigneli/Naderman
after	1825	Paris, Richault. (score) ¹⁷
before	1828	Zürich, Hug. (score and piano reduction)
	1838	Leipzig, Peters. C. Czerny, ed. (for piano solo, with #18, 1 & 2 for two pianos; with Maelzel tempo indications; critical commentary by Moritz Hauptmann added in 1841)
ca.	1850	Erfurt & Leipzig, Körner. G. W. Körner, ed. (Contrapunctus #5 only, arranged for organ)
	1866	Leipzig, Rieter-Biedermann. G. A. Thomas, ed. (arranged for organ, with precise performance specifications) Book 1.
	1867	Thomas. Books 2 and 3.
	1871	Thomas. Books 4, 5, and 6.
	1878	BGA 25/1. W. Rust, ed. ¹⁸
	1879	Thomas. Complete. publisher’s nos. 1-15.
	1883	London. W. T. Best, ed. (Contrapunctus #9 only, arranged for organ)
	1894	Leipzig, Leuckart. “Fuge über 3 Themen,” arranged for organ, four hands.
	1899	London, Augener. H. Riemann, ed. (“Phrasierungsausgabe”)
	1910	Leipzig, M. Hesse. M. Ritter, ed. (for piano, with analysis)
	1912	Mainz, Schott. Riemann, ed. (piano reduction of “Phrasierungsausgabe”)
	1926	Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel. W. Graeser, ed. (<i>Bach Gesamt-Ausgabe</i> , supplement, with critical commentary)
	1929	Leipzig, Peters. H. T. David, ed. (with critical commentary)
	1937	Wolfenbüttel, Kallmeyer. E. Schwebsch, ed. (arranged for two pianos, after Graeser’s new ordering)
	1938	Leipzig, Steingräber. H. Husmann, ed.
	1938	Leipzig, Breitkopf & Härtel. B. G. Seidlhofer, ed. (arranged for piano, four hands)
	1942	Berlin, Ries & Erler. R. Klemm and C. Weymar, eds. (arranged for string quartet)
	1950	Celle, Moeck. Two fugues arranged for recorder or string quartet.
	1952	Leipzig, Peters. A. Lunow, ed.
	1953	Wilhelmshaven & Berlin, Heinrichshofen. W. Schneider, ed.
	1953	Wolfenbüttel, Möseler. E. Schwebsch, ed.

- 1953 Heidelberg, W. Müller. H. Schurich, ed.
 1956 Kassel & Basel, Bärenreiter. H. Diener, ed.
 1957 New York, Peters. P. Catelinet, ed. (Contrapunctus #1)
 1959 Zürich, Ars-viva Verlag. R. Vuataz, ed.
 (instrumental realization)
 1963 Wiesbaden, Breitkopf & Härtel. H. Lohmann, ed.
 (arranged for organ)
 1967 Frankfurt, Peters. H. Walcha, ed. (arranged for organ)

NOTES

¹ Roy Harris and M. D. Herter Norton, "The Art of Fugue," *The Musical Quarterly* 21 (1935) p. 166.

² Hans Theodor David, "The Art of Fugue," *BACH* 1 (1970) no. 3, p. 18.

³ Philipp Spitta, *J. S. Bach*, trans. Clara Bell and J. A. Fuller-Maitland (German ed., Leipzig: 1873-80; London: Novello, 1899; repr., New York: Dover, 1951) vol. 3, p. 202.

⁴ August F. C. Kollmann, *An Essay on Practical Musical Composition . . .* (London 1799) cited in *Bach-Dokumente* 3, ed. H.-J. Schulze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972) p. 573. Volume 3 also contains many other 18th-century references to the *Art of Fugue*.

⁵ Alfred Einstein, "Mozart's Four String Trio Preludes to Fugues of Bach," *The Musical Times* 77 (1936) p. 210.

⁶ Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *The Life of Beethoven*, ed. E. Forbes (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967) vol. 2, pp. 1068, 1070.

⁷ Siegmund Helms, "Johannes Brahms und Johann Sebastian Bach," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 57 (1971) p. 51.

⁸ Wolfgang Boetticher, *Robert Schumann* (Berlin: B. Hahnenfeld, 1941) p. 225.

⁹ Karl Gerstberger, "Die Uraufführung von J. S. Bachs 'Kunst der Fuge'," *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1927) pp. 634-638.

¹⁰ Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, trans. Ernest Newman (German ed., Leipzig: 1908; London: Breitkopf and Hartel, 1911; reissued by A. & C. Black, 1923; repr., 1935) vol. 1, p. 427.

¹¹ Spitta 3, p. 197.

¹² Gustav Nottebohm, in Max Goldstein's *Musik-Welt* 20 (5 March 1881) pp. 232-236.

¹³ David, p. 17.

¹⁴ Schweitzer 1, p. 424.

¹⁵ Spitta 3, p. 202.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹⁷ This proposed dating of the first three 19th-century editions has been established by Walter Kolneder in his report "Hat Nägeli als erster die 'Kunst der Fuge' nachgedruckt?," *Die Musikforschung* 27 (1974) 208-212.

¹⁸ The printer's (Breitkopf) cover bears the date 1875; however, Rust's introduction is dated January 1878.

The Autograph: An Early Version of the "Art of Fugue"

Douglas Seaton

The appearance of the autograph manuscript of Bach's *Art of Fugue* raises several questions: What sort of manuscript is this? What was its

purpose? What can it tell us about the history of this problematic work? In trying to find a hypothetical answer to these questions, we will discuss only the main body of the work, found on pages 1 to 39 of the manuscript. The three *Beilagen* need not come into the picture here, for although they raise interesting points which are dealt with in other sections of this report, they do not form an integral part of the manuscript.

The most obvious assumption would be that *P 200* was intended to be a revision copy, one stage of the *Art of Fugue* in a succession of versions leading to the original print as the completed form. One factor which precludes this is that such copies were not normally retained when a work was further revised, and manuscript copies of works which were later printed were preserved only on rare and special occasions. This makes the very existence of *P 200* remarkable and leads us to a deeper investigation of the manuscript.

The handwriting of *P 200* tells us that the manuscript was copied during the last eight years or so of Bach's life.¹ It is difficult to place it in any narrower time span by calligraphic evidence alone, but the writing is clear and steady, suggesting that the composer had not come to the very end of his life. Even the third and last *Beilage* to the autograph, the fragmentary closing fugue, still shows a steady hand. Thus the romantic idea that this work was written by the composer more or less on his deathbed does not seem to be borne out by calligraphic evidence. *P 200* may, in fact, have been copied considerably earlier than is normally assumed.

In addition, an inspection of the paper of *P 200* leads to a similar conclusion. The twenty leaves of *P 200* are arranged in five pairs of bifolios folded together. All except the inner bifolio of the last pair (pages 35, 36, 37, 38) bear the same watermark (crowned double eagle with scepter), one which is found in various manuscripts dating from the 1730s and up to about 1742. The watermark of the paper of the other bifolio (and also of *Beilage 2*, the arrangement of one mirror fugue for two keyboards) is one which appears in Bach manuscripts dating from the early 1740s (arms of Eger).² (See Diagram 1.)

The type of score must next be considered. Clearly this is not a composition score. For some of the fugues it seems to be a fair copy; there are hardly any corrections in the first pieces. For later fugues the manuscript must have served as a revision copy, since there are sections which are quite heavily corrected. The whole manuscript is in a clean calligraphic hand and is easily read, though the writing becomes a bit more squeezed in the later sections. We can confirm that one use of *P 200* was as a source for the printer's copy; this is shown by the presence of the copyist's casting-off marks³ and notes such as the crosses on page 18, the note "Corrig[i]rt"⁴ on the following page, the x on page 29, and the composer's notes regarding some of the alterations in rhythm and ad-

DIAGRAM 1. Fascicle structure of *P 200*

FASCICLE	I	II	III	IV	V
	page				
	1	9	17	25	33
	2	10	18	26	34
	3	11	19	27	35
	4	12	20	28	36
	5	13	21	29	37
	6	14	22	30	38
	7	15	23	31	39
	8	16	24	32	blank

ditions to the music. It must be kept in mind, though, that this function tells us only one way in which *P 200* was used, and does not prove that it was intended for such a purpose. The original intention was not, apparently, that *P 200* should serve as a revision or rough copy, but as a fair copy.

One further fact which appears to be important is that on page 38, following the second (three-voice) mirror fugue, there is a completely revised version of the augmentation canon (BWV 1080:14) which had already been entered into *P 200*. Although there are several other pieces in the original print which do not appear in *P 200*, Bach began to use the empty pages of the final fascicle for revisions. It is probably safe to conclude from this that at one point Bach felt that the work was complete with the second mirror fugue, and that when he made this fair copy of these pieces he was not yet planning any others. Presumably it was only because he felt that the last part of the book was otherwise to be wasted that he could go ahead to revise an earlier piece there.

Given these facts we may hypothesize that *P 200*, when it was made, was conceived as the final fair copy of a completed work. We can (again hypothetically) arrive at a chronology as follows: (1) Sometime in the 1740s, but very probably earlier in the decade than has traditionally been assumed, Bach composed the fugues found in *P 200*. (2) He then copied these pieces into the manuscript we call *P 200*. It would resemble the manuscript of the "Well-Tempered Clavier"; its function would be to serve as a source for Bach's students, who could copy from

it to play or study. (3) Perhaps over a period of some years Bach made several corrections and revisions in *P 200*, with the result that the later pages tend to look like revision copy, and with the addition of the revised canon at the end. (4) Late in the 1740s the decision was made to print the work, and probably not all of the corrections just mentioned precede that decision; certainly the decision to print the *Art of Fugue* led to at least some of the revisions and additions, and the new pieces (one simple fugue, two completely new canons, and the unfinished fugue) affected the order of the pieces as well. At this point *P 200*, which had originally been intended as a complete final copy, was naturally used as a preliminary manuscript for those pieces which it contained. Although such a manuscript would normally have been discarded, *P 200*, since it was in a way a separate work, was retained. This hypothesis solves the problems presented by the existence and condition of *P 200*.

Until now the hypothesis has been based on diplomatic evidence. We can test the theory on philological grounds as well, for if *P 200* did at one time represent a completed work we should be able to demonstrate that it forms a musically logical whole. Of course, all the pieces are bound together by a common theme, but they also show a clear progression from simple to complex in the successive ornamentations and the various treatments of this theme. Thus the simple theme is introduced in the first three fugues, two *recta* framing one *inversa*; in the fourth it is ornamented by the addition of passing notes in dotted rhythm and presented in *stretto* against its inversion; in the fifth and sixth it is contrasted to other themes and (in the sixth fugue) appears by diminution; in the next two the ornamented version is combined with both its augmentation and inversion; in the later pieces the rhythms are changed and various new ornamentations used, until in the last piece, the three-voice mirror fugue, the theme is so changed that it is hardly recognized.

In addition to this progression, we can observe that there is a logical grouping of the pieces in *P 200*. The simple fugues and mirror fugues form the first and final groups; the central piece is the complex counterfugue using augmented and diminished versions of the theme. The second group is composed of two double fugues framed by two counterfugues (*stretto* fugues), and the next to the last group of two triple fugues framed by two canons. The units are clearly distinguished and symmetrically arranged into a carefully worked-out pattern. (See Diagram 2.)

DIAGRAM 2. The musical structure of the *Art of Fugue* in *P 200*.

- I. Simple fugue (*recta*)
- II. Simple fugue (*inversa*)
- III. Simple fugue (*recta*)

- IV. Counterfugue
- V. Double fugue (invertible counterpoint at the twelfth)
- VI. Double fugue (invertible counterpoint at the tenth)
- VII. Counterfugue

- VIII. Counterfugue (with augmentation and diminution — centerpiece)

- IX. Canon
- X. Triple fugue
- XI. Triple fugue
- XII. Canon (“al roversio [sic] e per augmentationem, perpetuus”)

- XIII. Mirror fugue
- XIV. Mirror fugue

The *Art of Fugue* is not the only piece in which Bach decided to create a new piece from previously existing material. We know that the Mass in B minor is constructed of movements which had existed separately for some time.⁵ The printed and manuscript versions of the *Canonic Variations* show that Bach revised the order of movements between the two versions of the work.⁶ Finally, examples of the addition of sections to previously “completed” works are found in some of the cantatas.⁷ Thus, if our hypothesis is correct, it is not a unique occurrence among Bach’s works.

Although *P 200* obviously does not represent Bach’s final decisions on either the text or the order of the pieces of the *Art of Fugue*, it is clearly a fully thought-out structure, able to stand on its own, not merely an intermediate stage in the working process of the printed version of this work.

NOTES

¹ On the dating of the *Art of Fugue* by calligraphic means see Georg von Dadelsen, *Beiträge zur Chronologie der Werke Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Trossingen: Hohner, 1958) p. 115, and Hans-Joachim Schulze, “Beiträge zur Bach-Quellenforschung,” *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress: Leipzig 1966* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970) pp. 272-273. Information on watermarks and fascicle structure in *P 200* was supplied by Christoph Wolff.

² A list of manuscripts with watermark information is given in Dadelsen, *Beiträge*, pp. 123-136, and Alfred Dürr, “Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J. S. Bachs,” *Bach-Jahrbuch* 44 (1957) pp. 123-144.

³ These casting-off marks are marks entered by the copyist into the original manuscript for the purpose of planning the spacing of his copy. We are indebted to Richard Koprowski for identifying these marks.

⁴ There is a crossed-out “R” preceding the word “Corrig[i]rt” which David includes

in his edition of the *Art of Fugue*. This was most likely merely the beginning of a word such as "Revidirt" which was rejected as not describing the process which had taken place. Graeser felt, in his edition, that this referred to a correction of the rhythmic notation of the preceding piece.

⁵ See Johann Sebastian Bach, *Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke II/1 Messe in h-moll*. Kritischer Bericht von Friedrich Smend (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1956) pp. 191–202.

⁶ The two versions are both given in Johann Sebastian Bach, *Neue Ausgabe Sämtlicher Werke IV/2 Die Orgelchoräle aus der Leipziger Originalhandschrift*, ed. by Hans Klotz (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958) pp. 98–112 and 197–211.

⁷ See Robert Lewis Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), vol. 1. See in particular the discussion on p. 64 of the two versions of the cantata BWV 36 which closely resemble the relationship of the autograph and original print of the *Art of Fugue*.

The Simple Fugues

Anne Bagnall

The simple fugues offer a convenient testing ground for the hypothesis that *P 200* does not represent an experimental form of the *Art of Fugue* but is rather a self-contained work. A comparison of the simple fugues in *P 200* and the print reveals two main changes in the latter: the extension of the three fugues from *P 200* and the addition of the fourth fugue (BWV 1080:4).

In the original version of Contrapunctus 1, the ending (m. 74) is an abrupt change from the texture which has prevailed throughout the fugue. The cadence is not only set off by the rests surrounding the second inversion tonic chord, but also by the change in declamation from the eighth-note motion which has prevailed throughout the fugue to a predominantly quarter-note movement. The added music in the print functions to reintegrate the ending into the fugal texture by restating the theme in the tenor over a tonic pedal point in the bass and returning to the rhythmic declamation in eighth notes. The other major change in this new concluding passage is a harmonic one. The original cadence has a very strong dominant-tonic feeling, created by the final progression: $i_4^6 - V$ of $V - i_4^6 - V^7 - I$. In the revised version, this progression is followed by a long pedal point with an emphasis on the subdominant. This subdominant effect is created largely by the only statement of the theme outlining the subdominant triad. Due to this harmonic change and to the rhythmic declamation which ends at a different point in each voice, the ending in the print is much less abrupt and decisive than in *P 200*; at the same time it is contrapuntally much stronger because of the re-statement of the theme and the greater rhythmic independence of the voices.

In Contrapunctus 2 the new ending performs the obvious function of

changing the final cadence from the dominant to the tonic; however, this basic tonal change is not the only important aspect of the additional seven bars. In the original version of this fugue the final thematic statement is a syncopated version in the tenor (mm. 69-73) which, despite its proximity to the end, is not a strong concluding statement. The use of a half cadence at the end is very unusual in a fugue and necessitates some further piece.

In the print the rhythmic declamation has been somewhat changed, although not as drastically as in the first fugue. In *P 200* the half-note declamation in the inner voices and the pedal point in the bass contrast with the dotted-eighth figure which is the most noticeable rhythmic feature of this fugue. The lower voices seem to be accompanying the soprano rather than participating in a contrapuntal exchange. The revised version in the print changes all three of these basic features of the first ending. The statement of the theme in the soprano in its original form re-establishes the tonic tonality at the same time that it offers a more noticeable and stronger final statement of the theme. Underneath the soprano the other voices continue the dotted-eighth pattern in alternation. At the final cadence the tonic pedal point is in the soprano with the other voices creating a subdominant coloring. The rhythmic movement ends first in the bass and then in the two inner voices. As in the first fugue, the new ending creates a feeling of spaciousness in the final cadence at the same time that it exhibits a much stricter fugal technique.

In considering the changes for this fugue it is necessary to mention briefly the change in the order of the fugues in the two sources. In *P 200* this fugue follows Contrapunctus 3 and is followed by the first counterfugue. The change of the final cadence implies that originally Bach intended this fugue to be immediately followed by the first counterfugue whereas in the revised edition it could exist independently of the other fugues.

The changes in the ending of Contrapunctus 3 are the least extensive of the three simple fugues. Only three measures have been added and these contain nothing of thematic interest. However, an examination of the ending in *P 200* shows that this fugue already conforms to two of the features which have been added to the other fugues: there is a statement of the theme shortly before the end in a normal rhythmic and melodic form and there are subdominant implications in the final cadence. The new ending, then, serves to strengthen the subdominant feeling and to make the rhythmic declamation similar to the two previous fugues. In this case the changes extend the gradual slowing of rhythmic motion and again make the inner voices the last to reach the final cadence.

A comparison of these changes with the ending of Contrapunctus 4 demonstrates the unity which exists among these four fugues. There is a final statement of the theme in the alto which extends to the final

cadence, a tonic pedal point in the bass above which there is an emphasis on the subdominant, and a slowing of the rhythmic declamation in the outer voices before the inner voices. One final point of similarity is that in all the fugues the final cadence is perfect in the revised version whereas only one was in the original.

The presence of Contrapunctus 4 and the change in order of Contrapuncti 1-3 are further evidence of Bach's changing view of the work. Rather than treating the theme twice in its *recta* form and once in an *inversa* form. Bach now treats each form twice. Furthermore he changes the order from 1-3-2 (*recta-inversa-recta*) to 1-2-3-4 (*recta-recta-inversa-inversa*). The addition of the fourth fugue is necessary in order to demonstrate the treatment of an inverted theme more fully and in a slightly more complex fashion. (E.g., mm. 11-115 where the theme is stated in syncopation against itself. This is the first statement of the theme in two voices at the same time.) Bach has replaced the sense of a balanced group of three fugues with a sense of organic growth from simple to more complex.

Just as philological and diplomatic criteria lead to the conclusion that *P 200* existed originally as an independent work and not as a rough draft for the print, this analysis of the revisions of the simple fugues corroborates the hypothesis that Bach revised his conception of the work. This conceptual change seems to involve at least two major aspects: the change from a symmetrical to a progressive view of the work and, concurrently, an increased emphasis on the entire work as a true "Kunst der Fuge"—a showpiece of fugal technique.

Bach "Fingerprints" in the Engraving of the Original Edition

Richard Koprowski

Any attempt to ascertain the degree of J. S. Bach's involvement in the preparation of the first edition of *Art of Fugue* is a significant undertaking; it should form the basis of all investigations into the completeness of the work, the order of the contrapuncti, and even the authenticity of material not found in the autograph. The only primary evidence lies in Johann Nicolaus Forkel's report, in the first biography of Bach (1802), that the print of *Art of Fugue* "did not appear till after the author's death . . . but was, for the most part, engraved by one of his son's during his lifetime."¹

Unfortunately there is no engraver or publisher named in the print itself, which is unusual for Bach's published output of sixteen works. Further, the general engraving style does not resemble any of the earlier works, though there is a strong similarity to the print of a work by one of Bach's sons: Wilhelm Friedemann Bach's Sonata in E \flat major, first



published in 1748.² (Compare Plates 1 and 2.) While this also does not credit an engraver, the original title page states that the work is available from the publishers: the composer in Halle, his father in Leipzig, and his brother (C.P.E. Bach) in Berlin,³ which strongly implies that it was privately prepared.

The resemblance of both printed works is a product of the method of engraving which was employed. Instead of being directly engraved onto copper plates, which would have meant drawing everything backward—no mean feat for a non-professional—the notation was transferred to the printing surface by a special process used to create etchings from pictures.

First, the metal plate to be engraved was covered with varnish. A piece of paper, prepared so that one side had a colored coating (usually red) which could be transferred to another surface by pressure (much like modern carbon paper), was placed over the plate with the transfer surface down. Then a second piece of paper, the *Abklatschvorlage*, upon which the drawing (here the music notation) had been copied just as it was to appear in the printed version, was soaked in kerosene to make it transparent. This was placed face-down on top of the transfer paper. The material could then be traced with a hard point, producing an exact reverse of the design on the treated metal plate. This reversal was necessary so that the print would be a correct left-to-right copy of the original, a reverse of the reverse.

PLATE 2: *Die Kunst der Fuge*, p. 50

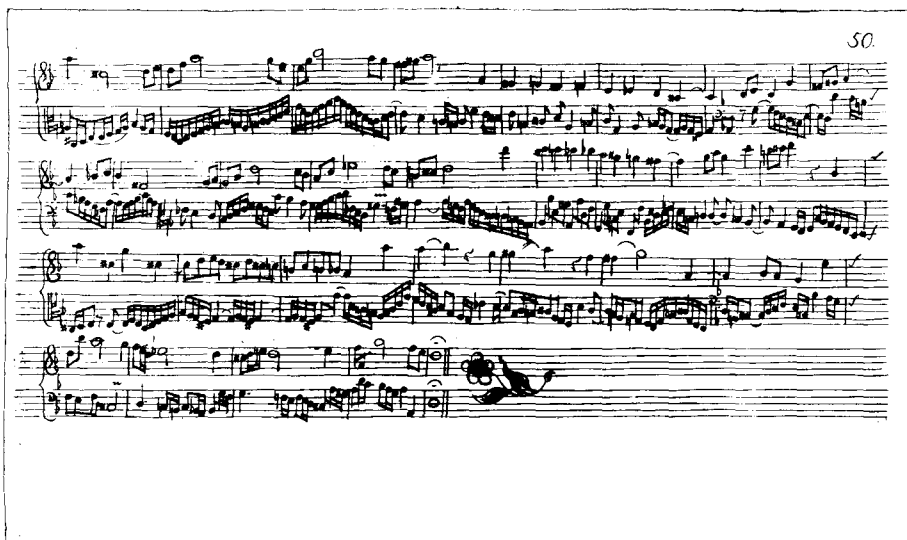


PLATE 3: *Beilage 1*, p. 3



After carefully removing the two layers of paper, an etcher's needle would be used to scratch away the varnish along the transferred lines. Then the plate was bathed in nitric acid to etch into the copper the lines where the varnish had been removed. Once the plate was etched and then cleansed of varnish, it could be used for intaglio printing.⁴

What direct evidence exists that this method was used for the publication of *Art of Fugue*? In the first critical edition of the work, prepared by Wilhelm Rust for the *Bach-Gesellschaft*,⁵ it was already noted that the first *Beilage* of the autograph consists of three oil-soaked sheets, written on one side only. These obviously have been used as described above; the result of their transfer to the print can be seen in pages 48-50 of the first edition. (See Plates 2 and 3.) Clearly these pages preserve, to a large extent, the handwriting characteristics of the manuscript sheets.⁶ Herein lies the importance of this engraving process for the musicologist because, by comparing pages 48-50 with the rest of the original print, it is possible to determine other pages for which Bach also prepared the *Abklatschvorlagen*.

A careful examination brings to light six distinct notational styles. (See Chart 1: Note that on some pages some of the features do not appear, so the attribution of a style is questionable, and on others a symbol may differ from the norm for that style; these are listed under "Variants".) The extensive effort which Bach put into the publication can be demonstrated by the fact that over 40% of the pages are in the style (B)⁷ of pages 48-50.⁸

Of the remaining styles, several levels of work on the print of *Art of Fugue* can be perceived. First and most obvious is the fact that material in style F must have been prepared after Bach's death. For it is the style of: 1) the *Choral*; 2) the unfinished fugue (BWV 1080:19); 3) the two-key board (and therefore, performing) versions (18, 1 and 2) of the 3-voice mirror fugue; and 4) Contrapunctus 14 (10a), which is supplanted by a version with a new introduction (see BWV 1080:10, mm. 1-22 and transition, mm. 23-26). Of this material, 1) does not really belong to the work but was a "compensation" for the incompleteness of the work;⁹ 2) would have been printed in a finished version had Bach lived; and 3) and 4) would almost certainly not have been included by Bach as they duplicate other material in the first edition.

Not so easily determined is whether the pages in style C, D, and E were laid out before or after the composer's death. Evidence strongly points in the direction of cooperation between Bach and those responsible for styles C and E. E replaces C after the first page of Contrapunctus 9 and is the style of Contrapunctus 10, with its new introduction. The "tacking-on" of these new measures to material already in *P 200* quite probably required the direction of Bach himself.

CHART 1

Notational Styles in the Original Edition of Die Kunst der Fuge

BWV 1080	Page	Style	Variants system, part, meas.
1	1	A	P:3,B,first $\frac{1}{2}$
	2	A	
2	3	B	P:2,B,6. $\frac{1}{2}$
	4	B	
3	5	B	P:2,B,6. $\frac{1}{2}$
	6	B	
4	7	B	P:3,A,2. $\frac{1}{2}$
	8	B	
5	9	B	P:2,B,6. $\frac{1}{2}$
	10	B	
6	11	B	P:3,A,2. $\frac{1}{2}$
	12	B	
7	13	C	P:2,B,6. $\frac{1}{2}$
	14	C	
8	15	C	P:3,A,2. $\frac{1}{2}$
	16	D	
9	17	D	P:2,B,6. $\frac{1}{2}$
	18	D	
10	19	D	P:3,A,2. $\frac{1}{2}$
	20	D	
11	21	D	P:2,B,6. $\frac{1}{2}$
	22	D	
12	23	D'	P:3,A,2. $\frac{1}{2}$
	24	D'	
13	25	D'	P:2,B,6. $\frac{1}{2}$
	26	C	
14	27	E	P:3,A,2. $\frac{1}{2}$
	28	E	
15	29	E	P:2,B,6. $\frac{1}{2}$
	30	E	
16	31	E'	P:3,A,2. $\frac{1}{2}$
	32	B	
17	33	B	P:2,S,3
	34	B	
18	35	B	P:1,T,2;1,A,9;2,T,11;3,A,7
	36	B	
19	37	D	P:2,S,3
	38	D	
20	39	B	P:1,T,2;1,A,9;2,T,11;3,A,7
	40	B	
21	41	D	P:2,S,3
	42	D	
22	43	B	P:1,T,2;1,A,9;2,T,11;3,A,7
	44	B	
23	45	F	P:2,S,3
	46	F	
24	47	F	P:1,T,2;1,A,9;2,T,11;3,A,7
	48	B	
25	49	B	P:2,S,3
	50	B	
26	51	B?	P:1,T,2;1,A,9;2,T,11;3,A,7
	52	B	
27	53	B	P:2,S,3
	54	B	
28	55	B	P:1,T,2;1,A,9;2,T,11;3,A,7
	56	B?	
29	57	F	P:2,S,3
	58	F?	
30	59	F	P:1,T,2;1,A,9;2,T,11;3,A,7
	60	F?	
31	61	F	P:2,S,3
	62	F	
32	63	F	P:1,T,2;1,A,9;2,T,11;3,A,7
	64	F	
33	65	F	P:2,S,3
	66	F	
34	67	F	P:1,T,2;1,A,9;2,T,11;3,A,7
	68	F	

A	B	C	D	E	E'	F
q	q	p	q	p	E'	q

*varies, see p. 13f

The pages in style D can be directly attributed to Bach's next-youngest son, Johann Christoph Friedrich, on the basis of their similarity to his musical script on pages 19-25 of *Mus. ms. Bach P 65* (the ms. score of Cantata 195, copied about 1747/48).¹⁰ This son must have worked with his father on the engraving of at least some of the pages, as he was able to record a change in title for the augmentation canon made by J. S. Bach (see Note 8). For the younger Bach to have known this, the alteration had to have been made before the end of 1749, as at about that time he left Leipzig to enter the Bückeburg *Hofkapelle*.¹¹ The note on the canon, as its wording makes clear, was added after Bach's death, perhaps at the time of the funeral or when J.C.F. Bach witnessed the inventory of his father's estate.¹²

The most likely hypothesis that accounts for the differences in notational styles found in the print is that J. S. Bach, together with a few other copyists, prepared a large part of *Art of Fugue* for publication, until his failing health no longer allowed him to work. After his death, J. C. F. Bach, who had assisted his father, brought together all the manuscript sources that had been used for the engraving. Another engraver, examining the manuscripts, copied out (in style F) material believed missing (BWV 1080:10a) and the "unfinished" fugue (19), adding also a performing version of the 3-voice mirror fugue (18) and the chorale.

The first edition of *Art of Fugue* holds many yet to be discovered secrets; investigations so far have not clarified any one aspect of this very problematic work. Certain clues suggest that in preparing the plates Bach had in mind a definite order for the individual pieces. For example, on one of the pages for which Bach himself copied the *Abklatschvorlage* (p. 49), the last system was intentionally left only half-filled to facilitate a page-turn. But in its final position in the print this is a verso page and the empty space has no function. Missing directs at some actual page turns (as on pages 24 and 26) also provide evidence implying a displacement: these pages were originally intended to face the page now printed on their backs.

What becomes clear from the data outlined here is that the print of *Art of Fugue* was for the most part prepared for publication during Bach's lifetime and under his supervision. Would this be logical for a work not yet completed? The fact that J. S. Bach was so heavily involved in the publication process intriguingly suggests that he had finished the work and had an overall order in mind, two features not apparent in *Art of Fugue* as it is known today.

NOTES

¹ *The Bach Reader*, ed. Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel (revised ed., New York: W. W. Norton, 1966) p. 339.

² *RISM Series A/I*, vol. 1 (1971) p. 188, gives the incorrect date of 1739. Martin Falk cleared up the publishing history of this work in his monograph *Wilhelm Friedemann Bach. Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Leipzig: Radelli & Hill, 1913) pp. 68–69.

³ *Bach-Dokumente 2*, ed. W. Neumann and H.-J. Schulze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1969) #567, pp. 446–447.

⁴ The procedure is outlined in the article on “Etching” in the *Encyclopedia of World Art 4* (London: McGraw-Hill, 1961) p. 754. Very precise details can be found in a manual which definitively shows that the method was known and practiced in Leipzig during Bach’s lifetime: the seventh *Abhandlung*, entitled “Der Kupferstecher, Kupferdrucker, und Formschneider” (pp. 195–240), of Johann Samuel Halle’s *Werkstätte der heutigen Künste*, I.Bd. (Brandenburg und Leipzig 1761).

⁵ BGA 25/1 (1878) p. 115.

⁶ The most obvious differences occur where the stemming of a half-note had to be corrected from the hurried ♯ in the manuscript, or at whole- and half-rests, which had to be specially engraved because otherwise their square solid shape tended to cause blotting in the press.

⁷ Style A probably also derives from *Abklatschvorlagen* prepared by Bach, as it differs from B only in the form of the whole-rests, a feature more probably the responsibility of an engraver rather than a music copier (see Note 6).

⁸ The pages of *Beilage 1* also provide evidence that Bach not only did the copying but checked the engraved plates as well; Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach put a note on the first page stating that his father approved the cutting of a title onto the plate, only to cross it out on the “Probe Platte.” See *Bach-Dokumente 3*, ed. H.-J. Schulze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972) #631b, p. 3.

⁹ This is the reason given in the Notice to the first edition (*Bach Reader*, p. 198).

¹⁰ Paul Kast, *Die Bach-Handschriften der Berliner Staatsbibliothek*, Tübinger Bach Studien, Heft 2/3 (Trossingen: Hohner-Verlag, 1958) p. 6. A further connection between J. C. F. Bach, the *Art of Fugue*, and *P 65* can be seen in the use of printed music paper in *P 65*, a perhaps unique occurrence in the autograph scores of Bach. Owing to the layout of the printed staves it has been hypothesized that this paper was printed for use in the preparation of the *Abklatschvorlage* of the 4-voice pieces in the *Art of Fugue*. See Frederick Hudson, NBA I/33, Kritischer Bericht, p. 122 and Robert Lewis Marshall, *The Compositional Process of J. S. Bach* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972) vol. 1, p. 43.

¹¹ *Bach-Dokumente 1*, ed. W. Neumann and H.-J. Schulze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963) #54, pp. 123–124.

¹² *Bach Reader*, p. 197.

Bach’s Revisions in the Augmentation Canon

Thomas Baker

Of all the changes which Bach made in modifying the “early” version of the *Art of Fugue*, the most profound occurred in the canons; no other group of pieces in the *Art of Fugue* was so thoroughly reformed in this process. In *P 200* we find, as part of the structure of the “early” version two- and one-voice “perpetual” representations of the canon at the octave and of an early version of the augmentation canon.¹ In the print, two entirely new canons have appeared. They complete the design of con-

trapuntal ingenuity and catholicity — in spite of the fact that they cannot be reduced to one-voice format and only the canon of the twelfth is perpetual — for they demonstrate canonic material which functions at more than one interval of imitation. In addition, the old augmentation canon has been replaced by a new and completely different, non-perpetual version, whose first representation (which I shall call A) is entered on the last pages of *P 200*, and whose final representation is found, again in Bach's hand, on the engraver's sheet in *Beilage 1* (hereafter called AA). What light can these sources shed on the questions of Bach's rejection of the first version and the development of the second?

Because of the spacing of the notes and the general neatness, we may assume that the representation of the early version constitutes a fair copy, though there are three corrections whose altered readings are the ones in place at the appropriate consequent passages (albeit with one slight change). New ideas continually present themselves, and the process of making the fair copy is by no means merely a process of copying. There is, however, one additional and striking correction, evidently an after-thought, which sheds some light on the question of why this early version was discarded. In m.3 and 4, the second and third beats of both measures have an alternate reading in thirty-second notes. It is clear that the thirty-seconds were added later, for though the sixteenths and thirty-seconds share noteheads where possible, it is the sixteenths which are evenly spaced and written in the same size as the rest of the notes in the score, and the thirty-seconds which are written much smaller and squeezed in as necessary. This correction could easily appear in the bass because it stands at the beginning of the "*dux*," but it does not. If we enter the correction as it would appear, that is, if we invert and augment it, and insert it where it would fit, we obtain the following result: (see Example 1).

EXAMPLE 1

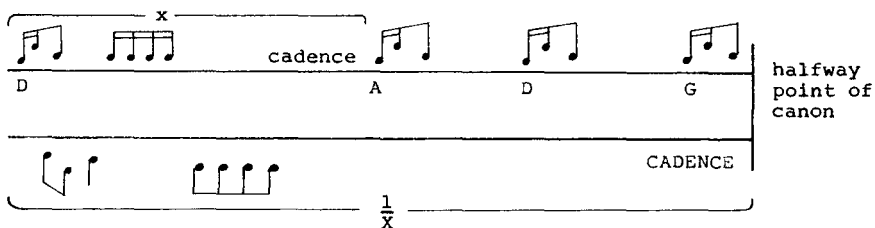
The image shows two systems of musical notation, each consisting of a treble and a bass staff. The first system shows a melodic line in the treble staff and a bass line in the bass staff. The second system shows a similar structure but with a more complex rhythmic pattern in the bass line, including a section with thirty-second notes. There are exclamation marks (!) above certain notes in both systems, indicating specific points of interest or corrections. The notation is in a single key signature with a common time signature.

I have put exclamation marks at the resulting instance of parallel octaves and at one rather prominent fifth, which will not work in the inversion at the octave that constitutes the second half of the piece. The correction was not inserted elsewhere because it was rejected, perhaps not only because it was contrapuntally inadequate, but because the notes themselves are rather repetitious and expend more rhythmic energy than is actually necessary to accomplish the melodic motion — the sixteenths are more direct and efficient.

What then could have been the reason for attempting the correction in the first place? It is probable that Bach, upon some reflection, had become displeased with the formal characteristics of the early version of this canon. As it then stood, the upper voice consisted of two phrases of equal length, as shown in Diagram 1.

The first phrase employs the principal motive only at the beginning, its declamation is almost exclusively in eighths and sixteenths, and it closes with a cadential figure; in short, it must have seemed rather too obviously created for the purpose of becoming a bass line. The second phrase, in contrast, has a quite disproportionate share of musically interesting features: three references to the initial motive at three different pitch levels, declamation largely in thirty-second notes, and even a chromatic

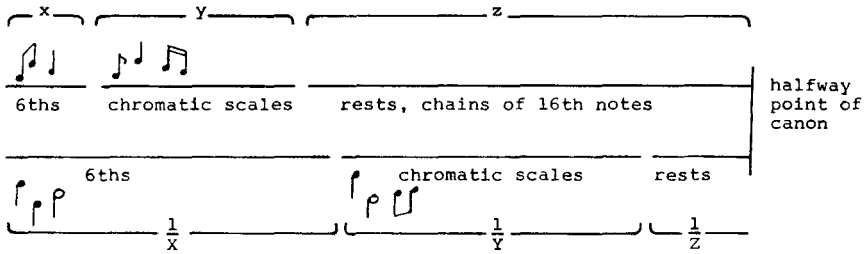
DIAGRAM 1



passage, hardly unusual for the *Art of Fugue* as a whole, but not typical for this early version. There are even a few phrases employing rests, most strikingly in m. 12. These features of the second phrase, of course, never appear in the bass, which simply moves along in eighths and quarters, and the division of the upper line into "bass-to-be" followed by a free soprano which contains most of the motivic interest is actually emphasized by the breaking of the line in two at the halfway point with a cadence, rest, and first restatement of the motive. In this light the correction in m.3 and 4 can be seen as a first attempt to remedy the situation, at least by preparing the way for some rapid movement in the bass.

It is the final version of the piece which constitutes the real solution to these problems, as seen in Diagram 2.

DIAGRAM 2



The first half of the soprano has been broken into three phrases. The first begins with the old incipit and continues in a manner emphasizing leaps, principally the sixth, rather than the old stepwise motion. The second begins again with the motive, but in a rhythmic deformation which, as if to follow and develop the bulk of the first phrase, emphasizes the sixth; it continues with a chromatic scale motion. The third phrase begins with a series of leaps, and continues in a thrice-stated little motive articulated by means of rests. Moreover, it will be noticed that each of the first two phrases contains a repetition of its chief characteristic element. The sixths of the first phrase are repeated a fourth higher, and the incipit and chromatic scale of the second phrase are repeated a fifth higher (transposed in part to the lower eleventh), for the reason that these two parts of the second phrase occur over the statements in the bass of the characteristic element of the first phrase, augmented and inverted. There is, in short, a much better organized and more articulate plan in the upper part of the "newer" canon, and because all of the above occurs before the midway point, all of it recurs in the bass, giving the bass a more striking character than it had had in the early version, as well as functioning as a constant reminder of the strictness of the derivation. That midway point is also interesting in itself, for in the later version it occurs on the downbeat of m. 25, as a tied note in a short sequential passage, again apparently correcting a fault in the older version.

The newer version did not immediately come into being in its final form. To begin with the most obvious feature, source A retains the smaller time values of the early version, but Bach doubled these values and halved the measure lengths in preparing the engraver's copy (source AA), possibly so that the two voices would not appear to be in diminution and regular values in comparison to the other pieces in the collection — it is, after all, a canon in augmentation. Moreover, one can see "layers" of correction between the two sources A and AA, of which a single example will suffice. Source A (in *P 200* itself) contains a variant for mm. 21 and 22, which can be found both in Rust's edition and in

David's.² Bach corrected this earliest reading, apparently as an afterthought, because the corresponding passages contain the original reading. The final version, source AA, carries the force of the correction through to its logical conclusion, which involves, as if in consequence, an alteration in the previous measure (whose earliest reading in source A David apparently did not catch) and a complete recomposition of the soprano in mm. 47 and 48.³

It is indeed fortunate that there are so many sources for the augmentation canon, for they show Bach in the process of creating, improving, rejecting, recreating, and improving yet again one of the pieces of his collection.

NOTES

¹ This early version may be consulted in the following editions:

Johann Sebastian Bach's Werke, BGA 25/1, ed. W. Rust (1878) pp. 111–113;

Die Kunst der Fuge, ed. H. T. David (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1928) pp. 95–100;

Johann Sebastian Bachs Werke 47 (Supplementband), ed. W. Graeser (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926) pp. 124–126.

² BGA 25/1, p. 114: "Canon al roversio . . . , Lesarten," first musical example; in the edition by H. T. David, see p. 96, footnote 9.

³ BGA 25/1, p. 114: "Canon al roversio . . . , Lesarten," fourth musical example; David, p. 97, footnote 19.

The Last Fugue: Unfinished?

Christoph Wolff

There seems to be but one answer to the question why the last piece of the *Art of Fugue* is unfinished: Bach's illness and subsequent death prevented him from completing his last major work and from supervising the final stages of the printing procedure. The matter does not appear as quite so simple, however, if we direct special attention to the very spot in the autograph manuscript of the *Art of Fugue* where Bach actually stopped writing. For page 5 of *Beilage 3* of *P 200* (Plate 1) holds a hitherto unnoticed key position in regard to the above question.

It has been taken for granted that Bach put aside his pen at m.239 because he became unable to continue composing, and C.P.E. Bach's *nota bene*¹ is usually cited as supporting evidence even though he was not in Leipzig during his father's last months. But the appearance of page 5 shows very clearly that Bach obviously had never planned to fill the sheet from top to bottom, in other words that he stopped writing deliberately at m. 239. The irregular and faulty ruling of the loyer staff lines on page 5 did not permit the use of this part of the page for a dense fugal setting. Bach would never have started on such an untidy piece of paper had he

planned to fill a larger portion of it than he did. Pages 1-4 of *Beilage 3* (Plate 2 = p. 1) demonstrate that Bach aimed at a neat layout and clean musical text for this fugue.² Surely he used the last page only because he needed a sheet of music paper for just a few bars; since he never wasted paper, such a piece could serve his purpose.

PLATE 1: *Beilage 3*, p. 5



PLATE 2: *Beilage 3*, p. 1



All five pages of *Beilage 3* are recto sides of single folios with blank verso sides, the type of paper that was used for the engraver's copy (*Abklatschvorlage*). But the last page differs from the preceding ones insofar as the first four are ruled with 10 staves *a 2* (like the paper for the printer's copy of the canons, *Beilage 1*) whereas page 5 bears 12 staves (like the paper for the contrapuncti).³ The fact that the paper must have been left over from a supply of ruled paper for the engraver's copy permits a significant chronological conclusion: *Beilage 3* was written at a time when the preparation for the printing was already in progress, even more precisely, while or after the printer's copies of the canons were made.⁴

That *Beilage 3* represents the composition manuscript of the fragmentary last fugue is shown by some characteristic corrections and the overall graphic appearance. It comprises three complete sections (mm. 1-115: exposition of theme I; 115-193: exposition of theme II and combination with theme I; 193-233: exposition of theme III, "B-A-C-H") and the transition to a fourth and probably final section which begins immediately with the combination of themes I-III (mm. 233-239). There can be no doubt that the piece was to be a quadruple fugue — a movement of extraordinary length — and as such the culmination of the entire *Art of Fugue*. Theme IV would have been the principal unifying subject found throughout the work, producing stretto combinations such as that in Example 1.

EXAMPLE 1

The image displays two systems of musical notation. The first system consists of four staves, labeled from top to bottom as IV, II, III, and I. The top staff (IV) contains a melodic line with several notes and a sharp sign. The second staff (II) continues the melodic line. The third staff (III) is mostly empty, with a few notes. The bottom staff (I) contains a few notes. The second system consists of two staves. The top staff continues the melodic line from the first system, and the bottom staff contains a few notes. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

For the composing of a polythematic fugue it is absolutely necessary to first try out the combinatorial possibilities of the various subjects. As a matter of fact, the subjects themselves have to be designed according

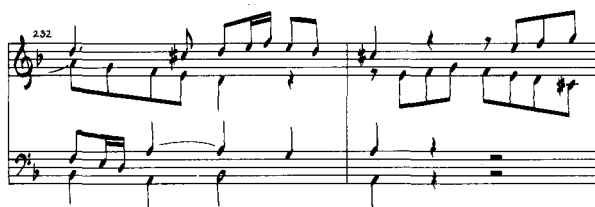
to the rules of quadruple counterpoint. Therefore Bach had no choice but to start with the combinations of the four themes before writing the opening sections of the fugue. Consequently it is unthinkable that Bach composed the surviving fragment (*Beilage 3*) before he had worked out, or at least sketched, the combinatorial section of the quadruple fugue in a manuscript (hereafter designated fragment x) that originally belonged together with *Beilage 3*, but is now lost. There are indeed two bits of evidence for the one-time existence of such a fragment x: (a) the appearance of page 5 of *Beilage 3*, and (b) the report, in Bach's obituary,⁶ of a projected closing for the *Art of Fugue*.

Concerning (a), it has been demonstrated above that Bach could never have planned to use page 5 for a major text portion of the concluding section of the fugue: he stopped at m. 239, the point of the retransition from the dominant to the tonic key, because the continuation of the piece was already written down elsewhere, namely in fragment x. Bach's revision of Contrapunctus 14 (BWV 1080:10a) of the *Art of Fugue* offers an interesting parallel. To it he added the extra exposition of the second theme which now forms the beginning of Contrapunctus 10 (BWV 1080: 10, mm.1-22; the remainder is identical to 10a, except for the transitional bars 23-26). The autograph of these 22 bars has not survived, but it must have been a "fragment"—similar to *Beilage 3*—which had to be pieced together, by a copyist, with the original version of the double fugue in the autograph (*P 200*, pp. 14-16) to produce the printer's copy. The joint between the old and the new parts (m. 21f.) is very similar to the corresponding spot in the quadruple fugue (m. 232f.; see Example 2).

EXAMPLE 2: BWV 1080:10, mm. 21-22



BWV 1080:19, mm. 232-233



With respect to (b) it should be noted that the obituary by C. P. E. Bach and J. F. Agricola mentions a draft (*Entwurf*), according to which the last fugue "was to contain four themes and to have been afterward inverted note for note in all four voices" (for the context, see below).

This means that C. P. E. Bach, whose later ownership of the printing plates of the *Art of Fugue* implies a participation in the editing of the work after his father's death, must have known of or even seen fragment x, the complete draft of the combination of the themes and their inversions; the phrase "note for note" clearly refers to an elaborate musical text. But what happened to it?

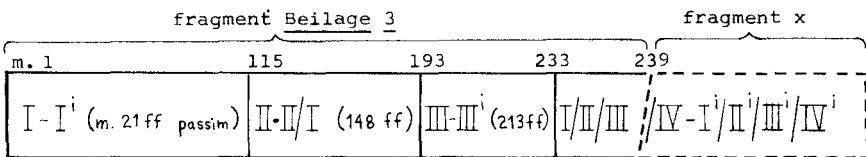
We know that those responsible for the editing of the *Art of Fugue* were startlingly unfamiliar with the composer's plans and intentions. Fundamental errors such as the senseless inclusion of Contrapunctus 14, the earlier version of Contrapunctus 10, prove their incompetence and carelessness. Therefore their failure to recognize the connection between the fragmentary *Beilage 3* and fragment x is not surprising. They considered the two fragments as representing two different pieces, which explains the mention of two concluding fugues in the obituary:

His last illness prevented him, according to his draft, from bringing the next-to-the-last fugue to completion and working out the last one, which was to contain four themes and to have been afterward inverted note for note in all four voices.⁷

Hence the "unfinished" *Beilage 3* (taken for the next-to-last piece) was published as a triple fugue and the only movement of the whole work without the principal theme, the essential unifying element of the *Art of Fugue*. The Italian title given to it, *Fuga a 3 Soggetti*, departs from Bach's concept of naming the fugues plainly "contrapunctus," without reference to the number of subjects. Furthermore, mm. 233ff. were cut off in order to avoid too abrupt an ending. The fragment x (taken for the draft of a concluding fugue), with its combination of four subjects and their inversions but obviously without a beginning, was not at all considered for publication. The editors knew what to do with a piece without an end, but they did not know how to handle a piece without a beginning, and there may well have been further deficiencies in the fugal setting.

Diagram 1 illustrates the suggested relationship of the two fragments and outlines the presumable overall structure of the quadruple fugue (I = theme I, etc.; Iⁱ = theme I inverted, etc.; I/II = theme I and II combined, etc.).

DIAGRAM 1



Due to most unfortunate and unknown circumstances the last part of the quadruple fugue, fragment x, became lost together with other important autograph material, possibly including complete movements such

as Contrapunctus 4 and the canons *alla decima* and *alla duodecima*, as well as fragments like the concluding bars of Contrapuncti 1, 2, and 3, and the opening of Contrapunctus 10, and finally, the entire printer's copy (except that of the augmentation canon).⁸

Returning to the question posed at the beginning, our answer to a large extent can only be hypothetical. But it seems that the surviving source material offers no better solution to the problem than the following: *Beilage 3* (mm.1-239 of the last fugue) was originally to be supplemented by another manuscript with the remainder of the piece, comprising the combination of the four subjects which had to be composed first. The last fugue was not left unfinished as it appears today and, in fact, the *Art of Fugue* was a nearly completed work when Bach died.

NOTES

¹“N. B. While working on this fugue, in which the name BACH appears in the countersubject, the author died.” *The Bach Reader*, ed. H. T. David and Arthur Mendel (revised ed., New York: W. W. Norton, 1966), note to the facsimile facing p. 256. This note may have been written some years after 1750; see *Bach-Dokumente 3*, ed. H.-J. Schulze (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1972) p. 3.

²It had to be easily legible for the copyist, who eventually had to transcribe it into open score for the printer's copy.

³The lack of the proper spacing between the staves (systems either a 4 or a 3) was another reason for discarding the leaf as scrap paper. Bach had to skip the third staff in order to keep the systems clearly apart, while the layout of pages 1-4 was ideal for a keyboard score.

⁴Of the engraver's copy only the three sheets of the augmentation canon have survived (*Beilage 1*). Their layout is identical with that of pages 1-4 of *Beilage 3*.

⁵Gustave Nottebohm was the first to discover that the three themes of the last fugue could be combined with the principal theme (*Musik-Welt* 20, 1881, p. 234). For a complete list of combinatorial possibilities see H. T. David's edition of the *Art of Fugue* (Leipzig: C. F. Peters, 1928) pp. 142-143. Most of the suggested combinations, however, fail to take into account the fact that the setting has to be playable for two hands on the keyboard.

⁶Written by C. P. E. Bach and J. F. Agricola a few months after Bach's death (see *Bach-Dokumente 3*, p. 7) and published in 1754 by L. Mizler (*Bach-Dokumente 3*, pp. 80-93).

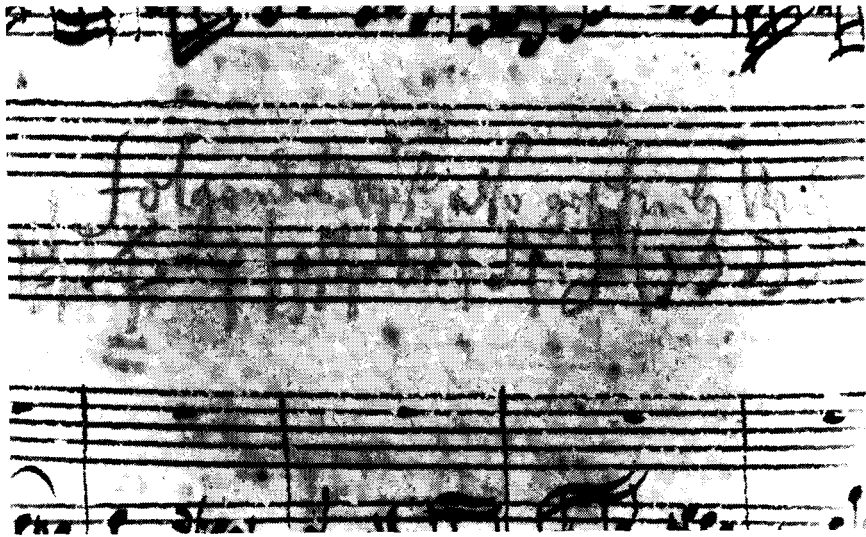
⁷*Bach-Dokumente 3*, p. 86 (translation mine): “Seine letzte Kranckheit, hat ihn verhindert, seinem Entwurfe nach, die vorletzte Fuge völlig zu Ende zu bringen, und die letzte, welche 4 Themata enthalten, und nachgehends in allen 4 Stimmen Note für Note umgekehret werden sollte, auszuarbeiten.”

⁸The only trace of the lost material seems to be “a small . . . slip of paper, on which C. P. E. Bach has noted in his own hand: Herr Hartmann holds the real [perhaps the printer's copy, plus other autograph material?]” (“Noch ein kleines angeheftetes Zettelchen . . . , auf welchem C.Ph.E. Bach mit eigener Hand bemerkt hat: Herr Hartmann hat das eigentliche”). This note, originally attached to the blue title wrapper now enclosing the *Beilagen*, has not been preserved, but is referred to by S. W. Dehn, former librarian of the Royal Library at Berlin (*Caecilia* 24 [1845] p. 22; see also BGA 25/1 [1875] p. xix: Rust reports that he was unable to find the slip of paper). In trying to fix the identity of “Herr Hartmann,” Wilhelm Rust does not mention Friedrich Traugott Hartmann (1749-1833), publisher in Elbing (East

Prussia) and at one time assistant to F. W. Marpurg, when the latter was director of the Royal Lottery-Office in Berlin (*Bach-Dokumente* 3, p. 703). If he were indeed the "Herr Hartmann" in question, as his close association with Marpurg suggests, he may also have been the later owner of the copper plates of *Die Kunst der Fuge*, offered for sale by C. P. E. Bach to interested publishers (*Bach-Dokumente* 3, pp. 113-114).

APPENDIX

During a close reexamination of *P 200* in Berlin during the summer of 1973, infra-red photography produced a clear picture of a faded, now barely visible, pencil entry, obviously in the hand of J. S. Bach, on page 25, just above the beginning of Contrapunctus 8. The note, which is reproduced here for the first time (courtesy of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek), reads: "Folgendes muss also geschrieben werden" ("the following must be written thus"):



The pencil note represents an instruction to the scribe of the printer's copy to double the note values of the first triple fugue, as shown in the original edition. We now have sufficient evidence that Bach himself was responsible for the notational changes found in the print: besides this instruction, there is a similar one in ink for the first double fugue (on the fourth system of page 10 of *P 200*), and the augmentation canon with doubled note values was written out in its entirety by J. S. Bach (see the section by Thomas Baker, above). Thus, one of the most significant departures from the autograph found in the original edition, once regarded as a falsification by H. T. David and others (see David's introduction to his edition, p. ix), can be authenticated as intended by Bach.

articles

HOW PICARD WAS THE "PICARDY THIRD"?

Robert A. Hall, Jr.

The origin of the term *Picardy third* (Fr. *tierce de Picardie*), for the use of a major chord at the end of a composition in a minor key, has remained unexplained to date. In the words of the *Harvard Dictionary of Music*,¹ "no plausible explanation has been found." The first documentation of the term seems to be in J.-J. Rousseau's *Dictionnaire de Musique* (1767),² where he says:

Picardy third. This is what musicians jokingly call the major third used in place of the minor third at the end of a piece in the minor mode. . . . It is called *Tierce de Picardie* because the employment of this way of closing was in practice longest in church music, and therefore in Picardy, where there is music in a great number of cathedrals and other churches.

This explanation seems to have convinced nobody. An alternate form, *tierce picarde*, is sometimes used,³ but I have found no documentation of either form of the term in earlier theoretical writings, such as those of Mersenne⁴ or Nivers.⁵

Rousseau's explanation (which may or may not have originated with him) is evidently an *ad hoc* invention called forth by the presence of the regional name *Picardie* in the locution. In such instances, the linguistic historian immediately suspects that some kind of folkloristic reinterpretation of an earlier term or expression may have taken place. In this case, the explanation may prove to be surprisingly simple. In Old French, the adjective *picart* (fem. *picarde*) meant "sharp, pointed"; as a noun, a *picart* was "a sharp pike; a spit". These terms are documented as early as the twelfth century⁶ in the *Faits des Romains*, a history written in Paris or the Parisian region.⁷ Later documentation ranges from 1406 to 1516 for the adjective, and from 1418 to 1572 for the noun.⁸ All the attestations are from the North French region: Boulogne-sur-Mer (Picardy); Tournai (Hainault); and *H. Mézières* (Champagne). *Picart* "sharp" was clearly a dialectal term, as it is not registered in Huguet's dictionary of sixteenth-century literary French;⁹ but it was by no means limited to Picardy. It was North French in general.

As applied to music, the term *picart* (and its feminine *picarde*) would have been simply a popular synonym for *aigu* "sharp", which is well

attested in French dictionaries with the musical meaning of “raised, high, sharp” (referring to pitch).¹⁰ A *tierce picarde* would have been a “sharpened third,” and as such the natural term for North French speakers to use in referring to the raised third in a final major chord, when this practice came in ca. 1500. Being a popular term, it never attained circulation among learned theoreticians, who used *diésé* instead; and the adjective *picart* in the meaning “sharp” seems not to be documented later than the sixteenth century.¹¹ By Mersenne’s and Nivers’ time, *picart* in its non-musical sense was probably wholly obsolete. As a musical term, therefore, *tierce picarde* would have meant nothing to those post-sixteenth-century musicians who learned it (by word of mouth) and used it. It would have been natural for them to interpret the adjective as a purely geographical term, and to substitute *de Picardie* for *picarde*. It clearly struck Rousseau as a somewhat incomprehensible, and hence humorous, colloquialism (note his statement that musicians used it “jokingly”), which could be made intelligible only by an *ex post facto* explanation such as the one he gave. The “Picardy third” was not particularly Picard in the geographical sense; it was simply *picarde* “sharp” in that it involved a sharpened third.

It is well known that colloquialisms can survive in oral use for decades and centuries without being written down. It is my hypothesis that this was the case with *tierce picarde*. However, such expressions are also occasionally found documented in out-of-the-way writings. It would therefore be very desirable for those who read at all extensively in the work of French Renaissance musical theorists (especially in the less well-known writers) to be on the watch for possible early documentations of *tierce picarde*, which would furnish direct confirmation of the suggestion I have made here.

NOTES

¹ Willi Apel, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 677.

² I translate from the first Paris edition (Veuve Duchesne, Libraire, 1768; facs. ed., Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1969) pp. 514–515:

Tierce de Picardie. Les musiciens appellent ainsi, par plaisanterie, la *tierce* majeure donnée, au lieu de la mineure, à la finale d’un morceau composé en Mode mineure. . . . *Tierce de Picardie*; parce que l’usage de cette finale est resté plus longtemps dans la musique d’Eglise, & par conséquent en Picardie, où il y a musique dans un grand nombre de Cathédrales, & d’autres églises.

³ E.g., *Larousse de la Musique* 2, ed. Norbert Dufourcq (Paris: Larousse, 1957) p. 417; and in Percy A. Scholes, *The Oxford Companion to Music*, 10th ed. by John O. Ward (London: Oxford University Press, 1970) p. 1024. Scholes’ suggestion that “most probably the name has something to do with the high development of contrapuntal choral music in the north of France and Flanders during the fifteenth century” is, like Rousseau’s, an *ex post facto* explanation based on the interpretation of *picarde* or *de Picardie* as a geographical term.

⁴ Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle, contenant la théorie et la pratique de la*

musique (Paris, 1636; facs. ed., Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1963).

⁵ Guillaume-Gabriel Nivers, *Traité de la composition de musique* (Paris, 1667; translation by Albert Cohen, Brooklyn, N.Y.: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1960). Although he does not use the term, Nivers has an example of a Picardy third at the end of the short motet in his Figure 18.

⁶ See Walther von Wartburg, *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* 8 (Basel: R. G. Zbinden, 1958) p. 453a.

⁷ Paul Meyer, "Les premières compilations françaises d'histoire ancienne," *Romania* 14 (1885) pp. 1-81, especially pp. 10-11, 23.

⁸ Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (Paris: Vieweg, 1889; repr., Vaduz, Liechtenstein: Scientific Periodicals Establishment, 1961) p. 141b.

⁹ Edmond Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1925-1967).

¹⁰ E.g. *Encyclopédie de la musique* 1, ed. François Michel (Paris: Fasquelle, 1958) p. 251: "*AIGU*. Se dit des sons à fréquence élevée: s'oppose à grave"; see also Emile Littré, *Dictionnaire de la langue française* 1, édition intégrale (first ed., Paris: 1873; Paris: Gallimard et Hachette, 1964) p. 254-255, or any other French dictionary.

¹¹ I have consulted a number of dictionaries of modern North French dialects without finding it listed.

PADRE MARTINI'S COLLECTION OF LETTERS: AN OVERVIEW¹

Anne Schnoebelen

One of the many treasures of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale in Bologna is the collection of some six thousand letters written to one of the dominating musical personalities of the 18th century, Padre Giambattista Martini. His correspondents were musicians from all parts of Italy, and from Europe's most important courts and musical centers. The collection spans the years from 1730 to 1784, the year of Martini's death, and comprises letters from some 970 correspondents, along with more than six hundred drafts of Martini's answers. Recently this author has been engaged in making an annotated index of the collection. In the course of reading each letter, any contents of musical interest have been summarized and the names of musical works, musicians, and other important persons extracted for indexing.²

The collection is certainly not unknown to scholars. The first to note its importance was Guglielmo della Valle in 1785, who selected twenty-five letters for inclusion in his *Memorie storiche del Padre Maestro Giambattista Martini*.³ In 1888 Federico Parisini, the incumbent librarian, published 136 of the letters in his *Carteggio inedito del Padre G. B. Martini*.⁴ Leonida Busi's biography of Martini, of which only one of the projected two volumes was completed, makes extensive use of the letters.⁵ Selected letters have appeared in several collections of musicians' correspondence, and biographers of various composers have published and translated others, such as the letters from Johann Christian Bach, Quantz, and Rameau, to name but a few.

Until now, no serious attempt has been made to index the entire collection. Gaetano Gaspari, librarian from 1856 to 1881, listed on the back page of each volume of letters the ones he thought most interesting and important, usually with a brief note regarding their contents. In a recent study on Martini, Vittore Zaccaria made a listing, volume by volume, of the authors of these letters.⁶ However, it is doubtful that he examined all the letters because there are many inaccuracies in the list. It is likely that he worked from a list made by Napoleone Fanti, librarian at that time.

The collection has been preserved in what were originally thirty-five volumes, probably collected and bound by Martini's hand-picked successor, Padre Stanislao Mattei. The last four volumes contain other documents in addition to letters. No particular order is evident in the original compilation of the volumes. Letters from a given person are not always in the same volume and are not necessarily in chronological

order. Each letter was assigned a number within the volume, evidently at the time of binding. Drafts of Martini's responses, where they exist, were usually written on a blank page of the letter to which they responded. The volumes were originally labeled with Roman numerals. However, some time between this numeration and a later one made by Gaspari when he arranged the library into its present order, two volumes were removed—perhaps sold or traded. These are volumes XXIII and XXIX in the older numbering. The numeration provided by Gaspari is made according to the cabinets in which the books were placed: three volumes at the end of the *H* section, the remainder in the *I* section. This numeration is successive, indicating that the two volumes were missing before Gaspari's ordering was made. One might expect to find letters from Leopold Mozart or his son, given the famous relationship with Martini, but no such letters exist in the collection today.⁷ Also conspicuously missing are letters from Gluck. His connections with Bologna were close, and since the library owns a score of *Alceste* inscribed to Martini in Gluck's hand, one might expect to find some correspondence.⁸ In fact, a letter from Gluck to Martini was published in J. G. Prod'homme's collection of musicians' correspondence;⁹ perhaps this letter and others like it were once part of the two missing volumes.

Other things have occurred to disturb the original order of the collection. Someone, perhaps Padre Mattei or one of his successors, extracted some letters from their original volumes and placed them in a separate volume with a cardboard binding similar to the others. It was assigned by Gaspari to the *L* cabinet, quite apart from the other volumes. A later librarian made yet another selection of letters from the best-known correspondents and placed them in a box of "autograph letters" intended for exhibit to visitors. With the permission and cooperation of the present librarian, Sergio Paganelli, some of these letters have been restored to their original places in the collection.¹⁰ Letters have also been found, bound or loose, in other books acquired or copied during Martini's lifetime. They usually refer in some way to the book in question, and were probably placed there by Martini himself.¹¹

There is strong evidence that Gaspari traded or sold many of the letters to Egidio Succi, member of the *Accademia Filarmonica* and collector of letters from musicians. In 1888 his daughter, Emilia Succi, published a catalogue of his collection,¹² one year before the letters were sold at auction in Berlin¹³ and evidently dispersed. When a gap appears in the numeration within a volume, indicating a missing letter, such a letter can often be found described in the Succi catalogue. Even within the sometimes informal sequence of Martini's collection, many letters in the catalogue can readily fill the gaps. Occasionally, Gaspari made note of a trade to Succi for some other letter or merely noted "given to Dr. Succi," but in the majority of cases he did not indicate the whereabouts of

missing letters. Fortunately, Succi's catalogue contains a brief summary of content for each letter so that one may ascertain the sense of the missing correspondence in many cases.

The general characteristics of the collection may be outlined as follows: requests for letters of recommendation; requests for Martini's own compositions, usually from fellow Franciscans or former pupils; requests to settle musical disputes of various kinds, ranging from the theoretical to questions of musical protocol; letters regarding Martini's constant quest for historical information, especially for his *Storia della musica*; letters introducing the bearer who wishes to meet Martini; letters regarding the acquisition of books and music—buying, copying, or receiving them as gifts from the author; letters from nobility and ecclesiastics, usually thanking Martini for a copy of one of his books; polemical letters regarding the several controversies in which Martini was personally involved; letters from former pupils describing the musical scene at the various courts where they were employed; letters regarding the acquisition of portraits for Martini's famous collection; finally, letters of purely personal or religious matters. Occasionally letters are included which are addressed to other persons, but these exceptions usually contain a message or request evidently transmitted to Martini by the addressee.

His better-known correspondents include: Agricola, J. C. Bach, Burney, Feo, Gasparini, Gerbert, Grétry, Jommelli, LaBorde, Leo, Marpurg, Metastasio, Pepusch, Quantz, Rameau, Rutini, and Tartini. In addition there are many other lesser-known and unknown correspondents whose comments, questions, and reports contribute to this fascinating collection.¹⁴

The largest group of letters consists of the correspondence between Martini and Girolamo Chiti, *maestro di cappella* at St. John Lateran in Rome. Some 440 items, including many drafts of Martini's answers, span the years from 1745 to 1759, the year of Chiti's death.¹⁵ Besides being an enthusiastic correspondent, Chiti was one of Martini's best suppliers of music and books. Much of the famous Martini library is due to Chiti's tenacious pursuit of materials from the past and present. When one of his Roman colleagues died, Chiti was on the spot to examine his music collection and indicate its value to Martini. When a Roman bookseller acquired a new stock of music, Chiti was there to examine it and report its contents. Many of the letters include long lists of books and music, provided so that Martini could check them against his holdings and indicate which ones he wanted to buy.

Chiti himself was a collector whose personal library included, by his own reckoning, "from seventy to eighty books on music theory, the labor of more than forty years of diligent research."¹⁶ He was most generous to Martini, giving him any duplicate copies he possessed, and exchanging items from his collection to fill the gaps in Martini's library. Chiti

eventually left his books to the Biblioteca Corsiniana at the Lateran, expressing frequent concern that otherwise they would end up as wrapping paper in a salami shop (a fruitful source in his own quest for old books).¹⁷

The name of Palestrina runs like a red thread through this correspondence. Vincent Duckles has pointed out that the revival of Palestrina did not begin with Baini in the 19th century, but with Martini and Chiti and Giuseppe Pitoni in the 18th century.¹⁸ Many of the letters concern the copying into score of Palestrina's music for Martini's library. Fittingly, he cites Palestrina as the final authority in several disputes he arbitrated among members of the Roman academy of musicians.

Martini's correspondence with librarians takes up another large segment of the collection. For instance, in 1762 he writes to Antonio del Valleppo, librarian at the Escorial, asking for a list of all music manuscripts and prints contained in that library. He reveals his intention "to give notice to the public of all printed and manuscript works and where they are found."¹⁹ This list was to appear at the end of his *Storia della musica*—an ambitious project of Eitner-like proportions, unfortunately never completed. On the lighter side, a letter from the librarian at the Biblioteca Laurenziana reports the completion of the copying of a manuscript for Martini, and requests that Martini send two copies of his published work when it appears—one for the library and one for the librarian.

Martini maintained a network of friends, brethren, and former pupils constantly on the lookout for items to augment his collection of books and music. The earliest letter of the correspondence (10 October 1730)²⁰ concerns music sent by Fra Giovanni Sbaraglia in Ferrara, who continued to supply Martini with music by the sackful for several years. In 1738 a fellow Franciscan in Venice reports that a friend of his, the *maestro di cappella* in Spalatro,²¹ would like to have two copies of Martini's published *Litanies*, for which he will exchange "four books of Masses by French authors printed in the quattrocento; the authors are Alessandro Agricola, de Orto, Enrico Izac, Brumel, Obret, et cetera. They are beautifully printed and very well preserved."²² He was a bit premature with his date, but what he is describing are probably the Petrucci prints from 1503 to 1506 which made their way to Martini's shelves. They are presently in five volumes, all bound alike with successive pagination evidently added at the time of binding, beginning with Agricola's Masses, as described in the letter.²³

One of the most bizarre stories to emerge from the collection regards a copy of the *Odhecaton*. A friend writing from the shores of Lake Garda in 1753 reports that he has heard of a copy of "a book called *Odhecaton*," seen in the hands of a hunter who was using it to load the shot into his gun. He promises to try to obtain it for Martini, but a few months later

reports that the hunter had already torn it up for his own purposes. He comments that it would have been nice to have even the fragments but implies that he was too late.²⁴

It may be that Martini's generosity with his own materials was not so great as his acquisitive talents. Martin Gerbert writes to Martini about the terrible fire in 1768 which destroyed his monastery and his library, including the manuscript of his book *De cantu et musica sacra*. The first volume was already in print and a few copies were salvaged, but all of Gerbert's notes for the proposed second volume were destroyed. He asks Martini's help in replacing his materials, especially by providing copies of manuscript treatises. Four years later he is still reminding Martini of the fire and still asking his help.²⁵ An exchange of materials went on until Martini's death, evidently aided by some prodding on Gerbert's part.

Another constant preoccupation revealed in the correspondence is Martini's portrait collection, which eventually included a Gainsborough portrait of Johann Christian Bach, and one of Charles Burney painted by Joshua Reynolds.²⁶ Persons requested to contribute their portraits to the collection inevitably proclaimed their unworthiness to have their images hanging in the company of such eminent musicians. Persons delegated to obtain the portraits of other musicians sometimes reported that the prospective honorees were too tight-fisted to pay for having the portrait painted. On the other hand, Padre Giuseppe Paolucci, Martini's pupil and the author of a treatise on counterpoint,²⁷ writes that it is impossible to have his portrait done because in Assisi there are no painters to be had. He suggests that, since he is relatively little known by sight, Martini should just have a portrait painted of a fat friar and put Paolucci's name under it.²⁸

Comments on contemporary musical taste are frequent, if somewhat biased in favor of the so-called true ecclesiastical style. A certain amount of tongue-clucking is done over the present decadent state of music in both church and theatre, some of it obviously done to obtain Martini's favor, or perhaps to encourage him in his crusade to purify church music. Among his most candid correspondents are the singers, usually former pupils, who report the successes and failures of opera composers and performers, and in doing so, give many insights into 18th-century performance practice. In a letter from Rome early in 1753, the singer Giuseppe Tibaldi reports that Jommelli's current opera failed because a certain singer was too old and too full of trills, mordents, acciaccature, and appoggiature of half a measure's length, which does not please the Romans, nor, he believes, anyone else.²⁹ A letter from Antonio Raaff, the tenor who was later to be Mozart's first Idomeneo, quotes the words of Antonio Bernacchi, the great Bolognese singing teacher. The singer "must place the voice well, draw it out of the throat, and must cultivate a good portamento, in which consists the essence of beautiful singing. Once

having acquired that, every ornament comes out well; without it, everything is wasted and amounts to nothing."³⁰

Martini was frequently called upon to arbitrate controversies, or at least to lend the considerable weight of his opinion to one side or the other. He always did this with the utmost diplomacy, sometimes with such skill that the result was no opinion at all. Asked to make a judgment about Tartini's treatise on "the true science of harmony," generally acknowledged by his contemporaries to be incomprehensible, Martini refused to criticize it even to his friend Chiti in secret. He says the work is singular and surpasses the common knowledge of musicians, and one must wait to hear the judgment of learned men, especially foreigners, in order to formulate a just idea of it.³¹

The most significant of these controversies was the Gluck-Piccinni battle that raged in Paris in 1777. Martini was asked to intervene, and to obtain a statement of support for Italian music from the Accademia Filarmonica. As was his wont, he took a firm stand in the middle of the road. His correspondence with the Marchese Caracciolo, Neapolitan ambassador to Paris and staunch defender of all things Italian, and the Abbé François Arnaud, equally staunch partisan of Gluck, was partially chronicled in 1914 by Francesco Vatielli.³² Martini characteristically refused to take sides, but the correspondence reveals that he may well have had good reason. Etienne-Joseph Floquet, a musician from Aix-en-Provence who had studied counterpoint with Martini, counsels him not to take sides in the quarrel, but to say that both parties have merit; otherwise they will print things against Martini. He confides that Gluck's party is very strong and has made Piccinni so afraid that he has resorted to visiting the homes of influential Parisians, performing his music in order to promote his cause.³³ By the time this warning arrived, Martini had already drafted several versions of his statement, which praised both Gluck and Piccinni for different qualities in their music. He said later that he never indulged in fierce or satirical criticism, and always preferred to praise rather than to criticize.³⁴

Martini, who was in ill health much of his life, kept up his epistolary efforts until the very end. On July 31, 1784, he arbitrated his final quarrel involving two young musicians who had been refused admission to the Roman academy. Once again, he called upon the authority of Palestrina in this last draft preserved in the collection.³⁵ His death occurred three days later at the age of seventy-eight.

These are but a few of the many facets of this collection, certainly one of the most important of its kind. One cannot help but admire the man who inspired and probably answered all or most of these letters, especially in the light of his many other activities. It is the author's hope that the index, upon its publication, will facilitate the use of these letters to increase our knowledge of the musical world of Padre Martini.

NOTES

¹ A version of this paper was read at the Midwest Chapter meeting of the American Musicological Society at Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, on 15 February 1974.

² When completed, the index will list each letter in alphabetical order by author, and in chronological order within each author's group of letters. Identification will be made by collocation number, preserving the numeration established by the librarian Gaetano Gaspari (see the main text), and the letter will be further identified by an incipit. Where Martini's answers are extant, their entries will be placed immediately following the letter to which they respond. A separate listing of the entire collection in chronological order will also be made. In the process of indexing, the letters have been removed from their original bound volumes and placed into individual envelopes for storage in modern file cabinets. The advantages of this for preservation and photocopying are obvious.

³ Naples: stamperia Simoniana, 1785.

⁴ Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1888.

⁵ Leonida Busi, *Il Padre G. B. Martini* (Bologna: N. Zanichelli, 1891).

⁶ Vittore Zaccaria, O.F.M., *Padre Giambattista Martini Compositore Musicologo e Maestro* (Padova: Grafiche Il messaggero di S. Antonio [1970?]).

⁷ However, the Vienna Nationalbibliothek holds letters from both Leopold and Wolfgang Mozart to Martini. See, for example, Wilhelm Bauer and Otto E. Deutsch, *Mozart, Briefe und Aufzeichnungen I* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1962), nos. 226 and 323.

⁸ For example, Gluck's opera, *Il Trionfo di Clelia*, was chosen to open the new Teatro Comunale in 1763; also, Martini negotiated, though unsuccessfully, to have Gluck come to Bologna to conduct a performance of *Alceste* in 1778. (Letter from G. B. Mancini, 9 March 1778, Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale, H.86.43. Since all letters referred to are from this library, only the call number will be given hereafter.)

⁹ J. G. Prod'homme, *Écrit de Musiciens* (Paris: Mercure de France, 1912). Cited in Francesco Vatielli, "Riflessi della lotta Gluckista in Italia," *Rivista musicale italiana* 21 (1914) p. 644, fn. 1.

¹⁰ The author wishes to acknowledge the generous aid of Signor Paganelli, without which this project would not have been possible.

¹¹ See, for example, a letter bound into Martini's partial copy of the Faenza Codex, referring to the ms. (Letter from G. B. Archetti to Ferdinando Salvi, 12 Oct. 1753, S. Paolo, Ferrara. Cod. 34.A.32, p. 59.)

¹² *Catalogo . . . degli Autografi e Documenti di Celebri o Distinti Musicisti posseduti da Emilia Succi Accademica Filarmonica di Bologna* (Bologna: Società tipografica, 1888).

¹³ *Catalogue de la Collection d'autographes de Musiciens formée par feu Mr Egidio Francesco Succi (de Bologna) qui sera vendue aux enchères le Lundi, 6 Mai 1889 et jour suivants* (Berlin: Leo Liepmannssohn).

¹⁴ Perhaps one of the most interesting results of this project was the locating of Quantz's autobiographical sketch, which Martini had requested of him, and which had been placed in that volume of extracted letters (L.117.145). Edward Reilly, due to lack of a proper index, listed it as missing in his recent book on *Quantz and his Versuch* (New York: American Musicological Society, 1971) p. 82.

¹⁵ The importance of this correspondence has recently been noted by Vincent Duckles, who with the aid of this "index in progress" gave a paper on "The Revival of Early Music in 18th-century Italy" at a colloquium on *Fétis et la redécouverte de la musique ancienne*, Mons, Belgium, June 28, 1972. A modified version was read at the joint meeting of the Northern and Southern California Chapters of AMS, Stanford University, 7 April 1974.

¹⁶ Letter from Chiti to Martini, 9 April 1745, I.6.137. “. . . da 70 in 80 pezzi di Libri Teorici Musicali ma questa è una fatica raccolta da me in sopra 40 anni di diligente ricerca.”

¹⁷ Letter from Chiti to Martini, 31 January 1750, I.12.105. “. . . non voglio vadino al Pizzicarolo, o altro di dove l’ho comprato.”

¹⁸ See note 15.

¹⁹ Letter of Martini to A. del Valleppe [1762], I.22.28a. “. . . io possa dar notizia al pubblico . . . di tutte le opere si ms. e stampate, e dove si ritrovano.”

²⁰ Letter of Giovanni Sbaraglia to Martini, 10 October 1730, I.7.103.

²¹ Probably Spalato, the Italian for the city of Split in Yugoslavia, then part of the Venetian Republic.

²² Letter from D. M. Cavallini to Martini, 8 March 1738, I.3.10. “. . . quattro Libri di Messe di Autori francesi stampati del 400 li Autori sono Alessandro Agricola, de Orto, Enrico Izac, Brumel, Obret, etc. Sono di una bellissima stampa, e molto ben conservati.”

²³ Following are, in the order of their pagination and with their call numbers, the volumes to which this letter may well refer:

- 1) Misse Alexandri Agricola (1504) Q.60
- 2) Missae de Orto (1505) Q.62
- 3) Misse Henrici Izac (1506) Q.68
- 4) Without title; contains 5 Masses by Brumel (1503) Q.57
- 5) Misse Obreht (1503) Q.55

Note that the pagination reflects the order in which the composers are mentioned in the letter. Between volumes 2 and 3 is a gap in the pagination, indicating a missing fascicle. I am indebted to Sergio Paganelli for this reconstruction.

²⁴ Letters from G. M. Patuzzi to Martini, 10 November 1753 and 12 Feb. 1754, I.18.38-39.

²⁵ Letters from M. Gerbert to Martini, 10 Sept. 1768 and 1 Aug. 1772, H.86.123 and H.86.127.

²⁶ Both these portraits are presently hanging in the newly-refurbished reading room of the Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale.

²⁷ *Arte pratica di contrappunto* . . . 3 vols. (Venice, 1765-1772).

²⁸ Letter from G. Paolucci to Martini, 26 Feb. 1774, I.5.139.

²⁹ Letter from G. Tibaldi to Martini, 10 Jan. 1753, I.19.174.

³⁰ Letter from A. Raaff to Martini, 9 Feb. 1768, I.4.99. “. . . di mettere bene la voce, di tirarla fuori dalla gola, d’applicarsi al portamento, che in quello consistere essenzialmente il bel cantare, perche una volta acquistato quello, ogni ornamento riuscire bene, e senza quello, tutto era sciupato e non concludeva a nulla.”

³¹ Letter of Martini to G. Chiti, 22 Feb. 1755, I.6.85a.

³² Vatielli, “Riflessi . . .,” *Rivista musicale italiana* 21 (1914) pp. 639-671.

³³ Letters from E.-J. Floquet to Martini, 20 May 1777 and 20 December 1777, I.8.103-104.

³⁴ Letter of Martini to unknown addressee (probably the Marchese Caracciolo), without date, H.78.13.

³⁵ Letter of Martini to L. A. Sabbatini, 31 July 1784, I.29.11a.

Langsam (Zwei) (2. u. 3. Staffe Klavier)

The image shows a handwritten musical score for two staves of a piano. The notation is dense and includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings. The score is organized into several systems, with some measures containing multiple notes and rests. The handwriting is in black ink on aged paper.

ms. 2. April 2. Original. Kopie von ...
 am 2. 10. 1871. ...

A HOLOGRAPH OF JOHANNES BRAHMS'S FUGUE IN A-FLAT MINOR FOR ORGAN¹

Susan Testa

A scarcity of Brahms's original manuscripts severely limits the study of his compositional process. The discovery of a holograph of his A \flat minor fugue provides a fortunate opportunity to study a work in different stages of development.² Significant differences exist between the holograph and the first edition of the fugue, which appeared in July 1864, as a supplement to Volume 29 of the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*.

The fugue is written in black ink on both sides of a single sheet, approximately 26.7 \times 34.3 cm., with twenty-four staves on each side (see the facsimile). It is enclosed in a folder of heavier paper, which bears the title "Fuge f[ür] d[ie] Orgel. As moll." in Brahms's hand, and his name penciled in Gothic script by someone else. There are numerous written indications on the first page of the manuscript: the words "Langsam (trübe)" above the first measure; to the right, directions concerning registration, "2^{tes} M[annual] sanfte Stimmen"; and a note at the bottom of the page directing the organist to play the pedal notes only in the lowest octave.³ There is an obvious erasure after this, but it is impossible to reconstruct what was originally written. Brahms's signature and a dedication to Clara Schumann, "Ganz eigentlich für meine Clara" are at the bottom of the second side of the page. Since the dedication is in the same ink as the signature and the other markings, it is likely they were all written at the same time. Pencil markings on the manuscript will be discussed later.

Brahms probably began work on the fugue at some time in 1855 or early in 1856. In a letter of 3 February 1855, he tells Clara he can write canons of all kinds, and is wondering what success he will have with fugues.⁴ In March of 1856, Brahms and the violinist Joseph Joachim began to exchange exercises in order to improve their contrapuntal technique. Brahms sent the fugue in A \flat minor to Joachim on 5 June, along with another fugue in A minor. The accompanying letter indicates that both had been finished for some time:

I would gladly have sent you the two fugues before, but I had no address for you. How do you like them? Write me at length about them: as much, either bad or good, as you find to say.⁵


A lively exchange of comments and suggestions follows in the Brahms-Joachim correspondence. Joachim's letter of June 1856 contains his impressions of the two fugues, and his suggestions for improvement:

I won't even speak of such things as the artful counterpoint; all

A handwritten musical score for piano, consisting of approximately 12 staves. The notation includes various rhythmic values, accidentals, and dynamic markings such as *pp*, *p*, *f*, *mf*, *ff*, *rit.*, and *crca.*. The score is written in a cursive, handwritten style. The final measure of the piece is marked with a double bar line and a fermata, followed by a signature that appears to be "W. Liszt".

Finis organellus per unum. Gloria

counterpoint, important as it is, is a secondary matter here. You will find, nonetheless, a few pencil marks near the end of the piece (the best indication that my love for the piece is not blind!) You yourself must change the first long spot marked with pencil, and better than appears here; in its original form, my ear is not satisfied with the g and g \flat in the middle voice, in their relation to the voice above and the voice below; also, it makes no harmonic sense to me, even if one understands the a \flat in the bass as organ point. At \oplus , I have, as a ped-

ant, changed the note  from a dotted half note to a half note

and a quarter rest, because of the bass. At \oplus , something more flawless than the fifths might perhaps please you.⁶

The first passage Joachim specifies in his letter appears to correspond with m. 39 (page 2, system IV, measure 2) of the holograph, but there is no trace of the other pencil marks, thus ruling out the possibility that this is Joachim's copy.

Brahms refers to another copy of a fugue when, on 24 May 1856, he writes to Clara, on tour in England:

I am sending the alteration of my fugue, chiefly because of the pretty paper (from Joachim). But it is horrible to have to write so small.⁷

Organ manuscripts in Brahms's hand are usually written on paper with relatively wide ruling; for example, the *Originalhandschrift* of the eleven Chorale Preludes in the possession of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, includes only eight-, ten-, and fourteen-staff paper. Joachim had sent Brahms special music paper with narrow lines in a letter of 4 May, so that Brahms could mail compositions more easily.⁸ The surviving holograph of the A \flat minor fugue is written on paper with twenty-four staves to a side, with extremely narrow lines. It was dedicated to Clara, and found among her effects. All of the evidence indicates that the holograph dates from this time.

But how can the folder, which bears the title of the fugue in Brahms's handwriting, be explained? It could not have been mailed with the fugue in 1856, since, unlike the manuscript, it has not been folded to fit into a small envelope. Perhaps this problem is connected with Clara's letter to Brahms of 19 July 1864, from Baden-Baden:

Won't you give the A \flat minor fugue, which you intended for me, to Friedchen, who will probably be visiting us for a few days?⁹

Perhaps Clara had returned the fugue to Brahms in 1856, after he played it for her when she returned from England,¹⁰ and was asking Brahms in the above letter to give it back. Brahms surprised Clara in Baden-Baden on 31 July 1864. He may have given her the 1856 copy of the fugue, in the folder, on that occasion.

What evidence is there, in Clara's manuscript, of alterations resulting

from Joachim's criticisms? By the time Brahms played the fugue for her after the tour, he had carefully considered Joachim's suggestions. In his reply to Joachim, dated June 1856, he writes:

I am quite pleased that you liked the fugues so much; on the whole, when you find fault you are quite right, and all will be changed when you see it again. . .¹¹

The pencil corrections in m. 39 (see above) must certainly have been a result of Joachim's dissatisfaction with "g and g \flat in the middle voice, in their relation to the voice above and the voice below." Example 1 shows this measure both before and after the proposed correction.

EXAMPLE 1a: Holograph, m. 39

EXAMPLE 1b: Holograph, m. 39 with corrections

The corrected version has been obtained by following the pencil indications, and, when necessary, altering the values of certain notes. The third and fourth quarters of the middle voice, d \flat and c \sharp , are condensed to eighth-notes (the beam was added in pencil). As a result, the accompanying e \flat in the top voice must become a quarter note. The fifth and sixth quarters in the top two voices are shifted back, so that the half note a \flat then occurs on the sixth quarter beat. If the a \flat is to occur at this point, as indicated, we must assume that a dotted half note is intended. (The half note c \flat falls on the seventh quarter beat, as before.) With these

corrections, the $g\sharp$ in the middle voice coincides with $b\flat$, $d\flat$ and $a\flat$ in the pedal, rather than with $c\sharp$, $e\flat$, and $a\flat$, the pitches before correction. Brahms may have made the pencil marks in this measure on the manuscript when he played the fugue for Clara.

Joachim's second suggestion, the change from a dotted half to a half note and a quarter rest, may apply to measure forty-three in the manuscript (2, V, 2; see Example 7 below). The $b\flat$ on the third beat of that measure is changed to a half note and a quarter rest in the corresponding bar of the printed edition (m. 54). It is the only note which has been altered in this way. The change may have been prompted by Joachim's awareness of the parallel twelfths $e\flat-b\flat' : g\sharp-d\sharp''$ at this point, since he remarks that he has made it "as a pedant". In the printed edition, Brahms avoids the twelfths altogether by eliminating the $e\flat$ from the middle voice and specifying $d\flat$ in the upper register. It seems just as likely, however, that the remark "as a pedant" could refer to the doubling of the second degree of the $A\flat$ minor scale on the last beat of m. 43 in the holograph before the tonic chord in the next measure. In the print, the doubling is eliminated by making the $b\flat$ a dotted half which is followed by a quarter rest. This explanation is even more likely, since Joachim suggests this change "because of the bass" ($b\flat$).

It is possible that Joachim's last correction was never made by Brahms. In the reply to Joachim mentioned above, Brahms agreed to most of the changes, but was uncertain about the third one.

I had considered the fifths at the end of the $A\flat$ minor fugue, but I found them at times acceptable. I will see.¹²

The fifths in question could be those mentioned with reference to the second correction. Joachim might also mean the fifths $d\flat' - a\flat' : e\flat' - b\flat'$ in m. 42 of the holograph (2, V, 1). The ink around the $a\flat$ has smudged; the note has not been crossed out. These fifths are retained in the 1864 print. Yet another possibility, probably less likely, is that Joachim meant the diminished twelfth $f\sharp - c\flat''$, followed by the perfect twelfth $g\flat - d\flat''$ in m. 45 (2, VI, 1). Although there is no rule prohibiting consecutive fifths of different types, the passage may have sounded unacceptable because the twelfths are structurally prominent.

A number of other pencil marks, in addition to those in m. 39 discussed above, can be found on the manuscript. A tie is added between the whole note $f\sharp$ in m. 15 and the $f\sharp$ in the following measure. In m. 25 (1, VII, 2), lightly penciled brackets enclose an entrance of the subject, a countersubject in eighth notes, and a chromatic line in half notes. These ideas are bracketed, when they recur, in mm. 27, 29, 31, 33, 35, and 43-44. A single X is penciled in on the upper left hand corner of the second side of the manuscript, adjacent to m. 30 (2, I, 1). Flat signs in front of the two c's on the last beat of m. 32 are also in pencil.

Brahms may have made these marks on the manuscript when Clara returned from England. There is no apparent explanation for the X. Perhaps it was intended as a reminder to include the two $c\flat$'s in m. 32. These $c\flat$'s are incorporated into the print. The brackets in m. 25ff. could have been written by Brahms, Clara, or a later descendant of the Schumann family, for purposes of analysis.

Brahms made a great many alterations in the fugue at some time between his initial work in 1856, and its publication in 1864. As early as 1856, he was dissatisfied with the subject because of its uncertain tonality. In a postscript to the letter of June 5, in which he sent the fugue to Joachim, he asks:

What do you think of the beginning of the $A\flat$ minor fugue? I am having second thoughts. $A\flat$ minor will be established by the prelude. I consider the answer to be at the fifth.¹³

Joachim does not consider the question in the surviving correspondence.

Brahms clearly intends the answer to be at the fifth, $e\flat$. In the holograph, the tonal implication of the $e\flat$ at the end of the subject is vague, because of the $f\sharp$ which precedes it (Ex. 2).

EXAMPLE 2: Holograph, mm. 1-2



In the printed edition, $f\sharp$ is changed to $f\flat$, thereby establishing the following $e\flat$ as the dominant, in keeping with Brahms's intention. The last four notes of the subject now form the first half of a descending melodic minor scale.

The opening measures of the print show an increase in rhythmic activity as a result of an eighth-note figure introduced in the counter-subject (Ex. 3).

EXAMPLE 3a: Holograph, mm. 3-4



EXAMPLE 3b: Printed ed., mm. 3-4



The new figure becomes particularly prominent in a new passage, beginning at m. 9 of the print. All told, there has been an addition of five measures at this point, so that m. 11 of the holograph corresponds to m. 16 of the print.

Why did Brahms insert these additional measures? A comparison of mm. 7-16 in the print with mm. 7-11 in the holograph (I, II, 3-4 and I, III, 1-3) is revealing (Ex. 4).

EXAMPLE 4a: Holograph, mm. 7-11

Handwritten musical score for Example 4a, mm. 7-11. The score is written on three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in bass clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The key signature has three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The music features a complex melodic line in the treble staff with many slurs and ties, and a more rhythmic bass line. A triplet of eighth notes is marked in the first measure of the top staff. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

EXAMPLE 4b: Printed ed., mm. 7-16

Printed musical score for Example 4b, mm. 7-16. The score is written on three staves. The top staff is in treble clef, the middle in bass clef, and the bottom in bass clef. The key signature has three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat). The time signature is 3/4. The music features a complex melodic line in the treble staff with many slurs and ties, and a more rhythmic bass line. A triplet of eighth notes is marked in the first measure of the top staff. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings.

First system of musical notation, featuring a treble clef staff with a complex melodic line and two bass clef staves providing harmonic support. The key signature has two flats, and the time signature is 3/4.

Second system of musical notation, continuing the piece with similar melodic and harmonic development in the treble and bass staves.

Third system of musical notation, showing further melodic and harmonic progression.

Fourth system of musical notation, concluding the page. It includes the instruction *Man. II dolce* in the middle of the treble staff.

Measures 8-10 of the holograph conclude the exposition with an e_b pedal, and a statement of the subject accompanied by interlocking chromatic lines. In the print, a new figure consisting of wide leaps has been written in the middle voice (mm. 7-8), and an additional statement of the countersubject has been added to the lowest voice. Both of these phrases lead to an unequivocal cadence in the tonic key (A_b ; m. 9). The following measures move towards e_b through a series of secondary dominants. The holograph version is essentially resumed in m. 16.

There can be no doubt that the major purpose of the elaboration of the fugue at this point was to establish the tonic key more solidly, and, at the same time, to increase the effect of the dominant pedal of e_b by arriving at it by a more indirect route. (Brahms's desire to establish the opening tonality more strongly is also reflected in m. 5 of the print, where an a_b is added to the end of the countersubject.) The eighth note figure introduced in m. 4 may have been intended as the germ from which the new section could be constructed. It has the important additional effect of making the opening measures of the fugue more fluid.

Brahms wrote a second completely new passage in the middle section of the fugue. The material in mm. 25-26 (I, VII, 2-3) generates an additional six bars in the printed edition beginning with m. 32. Example 5 compares the material in the holograph and the print at this point.

EXAMPLE 5a: Holograph, mm. 25-27

EXAMPLE 5b: Printed ed., mm. 30–32

The new measures again indicate Brahms's concern with the tonal structure of the fugue: first, $C\flat$ minor, and later (m. 36) the relative major of $A\flat$ minor, $C\flat$ major, are established. The enharmonic equivalents are used for simplicity's sake. In effect, a new exposition has been composed. The subject entrance in m. 30 is clearly the beginning of an exposition in the print, since the composer specifies that it is to be played on the first manual. In the holograph, directions to play on the first manual are given at m. 27 (1, VIII, 1), which corresponds to m. 38 in the print. The material in m. 25ff, which generates the additional six measures, is the material bracketed in pencil mentioned above. Perhaps the brackets show Brahms's intention of working out the ideas within them more fully.

The first passage Joachim singled out for correction in his letter, m. 39 of the holograph, undergoes even further revision in the 1864 print. Brahms transfers the statement of the subject in eighth notes to the top part, probably so that it will be more clearly heard (Ex. 6). The top two lines in the holograph are taken down an octave. The $b\flat$ on the fourth quarter of the measure is extended to a half note, instead of moving to $a\flat$ as it does in the holograph. This eliminates the rather awkward repetition of $a\flat$ in the holograph.

EXAMPLE 6: Printed ed., m. 50

A musical score for piano, measures 42-43. The score is written on three staves: a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) and a separate bass clef staff below. The music features a complex rhythmic pattern with many sixteenth and thirty-second notes. There are dynamic markings such as *pp* and *ppp*. The key signature has two flats.

Measures 42-43 (2, V, 1-2) of the holograph are more completely worked out in the print (m. 53-54).

EXAMPLE 7a: Holograph, mm. 41-43

A musical score for piano, measures 41-43, labeled as a holograph. It consists of three staves. The top staff is marked 'Man. II' and contains chords with dynamic markings *pp* and *ppp*. The middle staff contains a melodic line with dynamic markings *pp* and *ppp*, and is marked 'Man. I' at the end. The bottom staff is marked '16 foot' and contains a bass line. The key signature has two flats.

EXAMPLE 7b: Printed ed., mm. 52-54

A musical score for piano, measures 52-54, labeled as the printed edition. It consists of three staves. The top staff is marked 'Man. II' and contains chords with dynamic markings *pp* and *ppp*. The middle staff contains a melodic line with dynamic markings *pp* and *ppp*, and is marked 'Man. I' at the end. The bottom staff contains a bass line. The key signature has two flats.

Brahms specifies $b\flat b$ instead of $b\flat$ in m. 53 of the print, so that the subject now corresponds more exactly to the original. The harmonic rhythm in this measure is quickened: the $D\flat$ chord on the second beat of m. 42 in the holograph is here shifted to the third beat, and is preceded by an $E\flat^7$ chord. The changes in harmony in this measure may have been made

to accommodate the $b\flat b$. On the second beat of the next measure, Brahms changes the chord $d\sharp, f\sharp, a\flat$ in the holograph to the V_7 of $E\flat$ major in the print thereby strengthening the progression to $E\flat$. The $a\flat$ in the top staff on the second beat is shortened to a quarter note, probably to avoid doubling it any longer than necessary, since it is the seventh of the chord.

Brahms major concerns in his revision of the $A\flat$ minor fugue were to broaden and strengthen the tonal structure, to increase the rhythmic activity, and to work out the contrapuntal ideas more completely. It is unfortunate that a more complete knowledge of the fugue from the time of its original composition to the time of publication is not possible. The discovery of the holograph has at least made possible an examination of some of the problems Brahms encountered in the course of composition, and of his solutions to those problems.

NOTES

¹ I wish to express my gratitude to the following people who helped me with the preparation of this article: Mr. Walter Schumann, who allowed me to examine the manuscript, provided me with a photograph of it, and gave permission to have it reproduced with this article; Professor Edward A. Lippman, for whose seminar the paper was written, for his valuable advice; Professor Christoph Wolff, for his time, valuable suggestions, and for help in reading the German script on the manuscript; Professor Walter Hilse, who has made an excellent recording of the holograph version; and Professors Hilse and Ernest Sanders, for checking my translations of the Joachim-Brahms correspondence.

² The manuscript was among the effects of Clara Schumann, and was passed along to her youngest daughter, Eugenie. Eugenie gave it to her nephew, Felix, when he visited her in Switzerland in 1937. Upon the death of Felix, the manuscript passed to his wife, Etelka Liddle Schumann, who gave it to her son Walter.

³ N. B.: Spiele die Pedal-Noten nur in der tieferen Octave. Das 2^{te} M[annual] sehr sanft, das Andere gut.

⁴ Berthold Litzmann, ed., *Clara Schumann, Johannes Brahms: Briefe aus den Jahren 1853-1896* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1927) vol. 1, p. 73.

⁵ Andreas Moser, ed., *Johannes Brahms im Briefwechsel mit Joseph Joachim* (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1912) vol. 1, p. 143 (my translation).

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 147 (my translation). Just prior to this passage Joachim says of the Fugue in $A\flat$ minor:

I can only express my opinion of it by silently steeping myself in its music; just now I want to play through it again, as I have done so often. From the beginning to the end it is wonderfully deep; I know few pieces which have made such an impression of unity, beauty, and blissful peace on me as this fugue has. The term "trübe" is really not suitable — dear friend — since the mood of sadness and oppression is so greatly dissolved in consolation and hope that it uplifts at the same time. Especially this sinking and swelling, like breathing, gives the piece a lofty spirit which is foreign to despondency; here there is life — despondency is inactivity and stagnation. Do you know the place in Dante's Inferno where the monotonous sighs of the damned reach the surface from the depths of the morass? There is nothing of that in the fugue; it is a pure, genuine work of art, through and through!

⁷ Litzmann, *Briefe* 1, p. 188 (my translation). Brahms does not specify which fugue

he means here. On 7 May, his own birthday, he sent Clara his fugue in A minor. (That manuscript, at present in the Library of Congress, is dated: "Meiner lieben Clara zum 7 Mai." See E. Mandyczewski, ed., *Johannes Brahms Sämtliche Werke* [Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1927] vol. 16, Revisionsbericht.) On the manuscript, he wrote Clara that he was working on another fugue: "... ich habe noch eine im Sack, die besser ist. Gefällt sie Ihnen, desto besser ...". This probably refers to the A \flat minor fugue, although it is impossible to be certain.

In a letter of 16 May, Brahms writes: "Meine Fuge will ich noch nicht wieder beilegen, ich übe sie jetzt grade, es geht mit der Orgel merkwürdig besser! Bis Sie wiederkommen, aber auch nicht eher, werde ich's für Sie weit genug gebracht haben." (Litzmann 1, p. 183. Litzmann, in a footnote, states that Brahms is here referring to the "Fuge in As moll, mit der sie Brahms zu seinem Geburtstag überrascht hatte". This footnote clearly confuses the two fugues.) It seems likely that the A minor fugue is meant, since Brahms states that he is not going to enclose his fugue again. Still it is possible that he had sent or shown Clara his A \flat minor fugue at some previous date.

To which fugue, and what alteration, is Brahms referring in the 24 May letter? If it is the A minor fugue, we must posit an undiscovered version of it. If he refers to the A \flat minor fugue, the word alteration (Anderung) could mean that he had changed it somewhat in the course of composition. The problem is further complicated by a reference in Litzmann's biography of Clara; Litzmann states that Brahms sent the "wunderbar schöne, innige Fuge in As moll" on June 7 (Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: Ein Künstlerleben* [Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1906] vol. 2, p. 412). Litzmann appears to be quoting from Clara's diary. No letter of June 7 from Brahms to Clara has survived. Is it possible that Brahms sent the fugue with the letter of May 24, but Clara did not receive it until June 7? An examination of Clara's diary would undoubtedly clear up the whole problem.

⁸ Moser 1, p. 139-140.

⁹ Litzmann, *Briefe* 1, p. 460 (my translation).

¹⁰ Litzmann *Künstlerleben*, vol. 2, p. 413.

¹¹ Moser 1, p. 149 (my translation).

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 150 (my translation). Brahms evidently had some second thoughts about the fifths and discussed them with the editor of *AMZ*, Selmar Bagge. See Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms* (Vienna: Wiener Verlag, 1904) vol. 1, pp. 273-276.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 144 (my translation). Brahms wrote a prelude in A \flat minor to precede the fugue, but he never had it published.

TEXT AND MUSIC IN SCHOENBERG'S "PIERROT LUNAIRE"

Alan Lessem

By 1908 Arnold Schoenberg had brought his music to the critical point at which he believed it no longer possible to maintain tonal cohesion in the face of negating forces deriving from the tonal system itself. Until the advent of the first twelve-tone works, his inclination to compose extensively with the help of verbal texts must surely be linked to the crisis of form brought about by his virtual (though not complete) renunciation of tonality. In his use of texts, Schoenberg's most pressing concern was with what he liked to describe as "truth of expression," since, with the weakening of once viable musical forms, the responsibility now rested with word and metaphor to determine the more significant aspects of musical substance.

Three major works of the "free atonal" period, *Erwartung*, *Die Glückliche Hand*, and *Pierrot Lunaire*, are melodramas. The genre, launched by Jean-Jacques Rousseau,¹ caught on in Germany during the crisis of 18th-century *Sturm und Drang*.² Comprising a freely contrived alternation of prose declamation and affectively descriptive music, it represented a welcome departure from the stylized conventions of opera and offered the enthusiastic amateurs of "sensitivity" a new emotional and dramatic naturalism. Particularly apt in portraying elements of the fantastic, supernatural, magical, or macabre, the melodrama quickly proved its effectiveness and its influence persisted into the following century. Caught up in an emerging Expressionism which has its historical antecedents in *Sturm und Drang*, Schoenberg found himself attracted to a genre which had already proved itself to be expressively "truthful," able to represent emotional nuances faithfully and to render explicit the mysterious nether-regions of the imagination.

The melodrama's most obvious shortcoming lay in the esthetic incongruity of its hybrid amalgamation of spoken declamation and music, whether alternating or simultaneous. Schoenberg's solution in his monodrama *Erwartung* is similar to that earlier adopted by Zumsteeg, Loewe, and Schubert in their ballads: operatic recitative and *arioso* joined with "melodramatic" accompaniment.³ In the two inner scenes of *Die Glückliche Hand*, on the other hand, the actor's monologues are brief, limited to occasional exclamatory outbursts; thus, in a manner true to the original concept of melodrama, most of the action is presented through music, mime, and stage effects. With *Pierrot Lunaire* Schoenberg tackled the problem afresh and, while preserving the melodramatic manner, attempted a closer integration of words and music.

In the oft-quoted preface to that score,⁴ Schoenberg gave instructions for the execution of the speaking-voice. The reciter must avoid, on the one hand, conventional singing and, on the other, ordinary every-day speech. What is required is a manner of delivery that is distinct enough from speech that it becomes an integral part of the musical form: “. . . the difference should be clear between conventional speech and a manner of speech that has its part in a musical form.”⁵ The participation prescribed here is, in fact, already pointedly suggested in the score itself, since the kinds of inflections given to the reciter are often mirrored by musical shapes in the instrumental ensemble. Further, the reciter may even, from time to time, share in the exposition of musical themes (occasionally using sung tones for emphasis) and in structural repetitions and variations.

Examples of a close correspondence between “spoken” and musical shapes can be found in the first setting (see Example 1. Note: all music examples are used by permission of Belmont Music Publishers, Los Angeles, California 90049).

The image displays a musical score for Example 1, consisting of three parts: Flute (Fl.), Violin (Vm.), and Recitation (Rec.).

- Flute (Fl.):** The top staff shows a melodic line with dynamic markings *ff* and *fff*. It includes a triplet of eighth notes and a fermata over a final note.
- Violin (Vm.):** The middle staff shows a melodic line with dynamic markings *f* and *pp*. It includes a triplet of eighth notes.
- Recitation (Rec.):** The bottom staff shows a recited line with lyrics: "und ei - ne Spring-".

On the right side of the image, there is a separate musical notation for the violin part, labeled "Vm." and "Rec.". It shows a melodic line with dynamic markings *p* and *pp*, and a tempo marking *mm. 15-16*. Below this notation, the lyrics "Stil - len Ho - ri - zont" are written, with "m. 10 (gesungen)" and "(gesprochen)" indicating the nature of the recitation.

EXAMPLE 1: Schoenberg, op. 21, no. 1 i) mm. 7-8, flute, violin, recitation ii) m. 10, recitation, mm. 15-16, violin.

In no. 3 the voice not only follows close on the heels of the clarinet, but subsequently, in a brief moment of song and at original pitch, takes up part of the piano's principal theme at mm. 2-3. In no. 11, piano and recitation are again linked, but now both take their cue from the text, specifically from the four- and six-syllable "Abendmahle" and "Blendeglanz des Goldes"; using the rhythmic patterns that also underlie the piano's opening ostinato, the voice provides a rich variety of changing nuances with each recurrence of the refrain (see Example 2).


This technique of inflectional and rhythmic variation on a given pattern, supplied either by the text or by an instrumental motive, is intrinsic to the speaking-voice; it allows the voice a wide scope in realizing changes of tone (affirmative, indifferent, hesitant, doubtful, humorous), and is especially effective when applied (as above) to repetitions of lines

EXAMPLE 2: Schoenberg, op.21, no.11 i) m. 1, piano ii) mm. 1-3, mm. 14-17, mm. 26-28, recitation.

in the poem, while at the same time ensuring a close co-ordination between it and the instrumental ensemble. In no. 16, the frolicking rhythm of the cello (), together with the melody's rising minor third, is the model which the voice takes as a point of departure for further variations. The opening "In den blanken Kopf Cassanders" is recited indifferently, strictly following the jingle of the verse's meter, but the second line, "dessen Schrein die Luft durchzetert," modifies the scheme with a querulous rise on "durchzetert." With the repeat of the refrain, both rhythm and inflection are again varied to communicate a different tone, at first sententious, and then ironically flat (see Example 3).

EXAMPLE 3: Schoenberg, op.21, no. 16 i) mm. 1-3, recitation ii) mm. 13-15, recitation.

The speaking-voice is thus both orator and member of a "musical" ensemble. In no. 2 it is asked to "almost sing" at mm. 18-20, matching its tone with the clarinet, and in no. 4 it is required to accompany the instruments as a "Nebenstimme." In nos. 2, 5, and 8 the voice takes on an independent role in the realization of musical form, for it repeats, with the return of the refrain, the "itches" it gave out in the opening refrain, while the instruments follow with their own structural repetitions at different points. In no. 8 the voice models itself very closely on the passacaglia theme, and actually sings that theme's germinal three notes at m. 10. In no. 17 it joins the instruments as an equal in the presentation of a double canon. The extent of the interplay between the voice and the ensemble is amply demonstrated in the coda to no. 13 (mm. 22-36), in which the clarinet takes up the voice's "itches" and plays them as melody.

It was Schoenberg's intention that the wealth of rhetorical nuance written into the recitation should as little contradict the concept of "music" as do the freely construed pitches and generalized (one might almost say, "speaking") shapes in the instrumental ensemble. The prevalence of approximate pitch content (that is, content not reducible to fixed or stable pitch elements) in the instrumental substance of this work should not be seen merely as the outcome of an attenuated tonality, but rather as intrinsic to the creation of, or perhaps a return to, a language of primal gesture. An example of Schoenberg's technique may be found in the treatment of the characteristic phrase which is consistently associated with the figure of Pierrot throughout the work, and has as its identifying feature a pattern of sixteenths () plunging downwards with one or two sharp upward twists. Perhaps a not-too-distant relation of Strauss's jester in *Till Eulenspiegel*, it appears in many guises, some of which are shown in Example 4.

In no. 1, the "Pierrot" motive dominates throughout as an obsessive ostinato figure; in no. 2 it is quoted only towards the end as a piquant reminiscence; in no. 3 it identifies, in languishing augmentation, the "silent dandy of Bergamo" (Pierrot); in no. 7 it is woven into the flute's melancholy soliloquy; in no. 9 it is Pierrot's howling laugh; in no. 13, as Pierrot roams about restlessly, staring at the moon, it turns itself upside-down and scurries about in confused polyphonic distraction; in no. 14 it becomes an *Erwartung*-like "Expressionist" flurry; finally, in no. 21, it drifts away somewhat aimlessly in search of "alter Duft." It may be noted that the above quoted variants choose their pitches very freely, the only stable referential factor being their overall contour and rhythmic profile.

This device, then, of using generalized musical shapes which can be pulled about in various ways to fit a particular poetic or dramatic context is one that plays an important part in Schoenberg's approach to the



EXAMPLE 4: Schoenberg, op. 21 i) no. 1, m. 1, piano ii) no. 2, m. 38, violin iii) no. 3, mm. 9-10, clarinet iv) no. 7, m. 6, flute v) no. 9, m. 3, clarinet vi) no. 13, m. 11, viola vii) no. 14, m. 5, piano viii) no. 21, mm. 12-13, piano.

melodrama. The constituent parts of these shapes are three-note motivic cells which are freely manipulated and also carry some measure of gestural weight. These cells can be classified as follows:

- a: rising or falling half-steps
- b: rising or falling half-plus-whole or whole-plus-half steps
- c: interlocking major-minor thirds

Historically, the most immediate source for these cells is the highly inflected melodic and harmonic idiom that evolved, in particular, from Wagner's *Tristan*. The link is an interesting one, since Pierrot is still, like his Wagnerian counterpart, in the thrall of emotions that forever turn upon themselves. There is, specifically, a paradoxical relationship between Pierrot, the nocturnal clown, and Tristan's eminently romantic invocation to night in the second scene of Act Two of the opera. During the invocation Isolde joins him with these words:

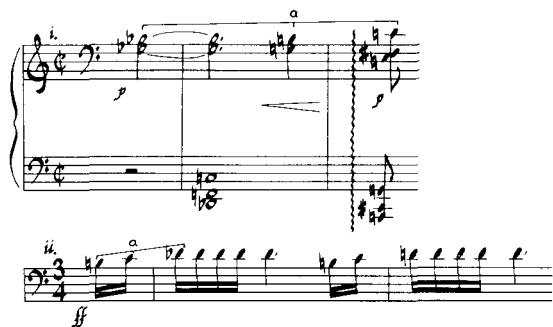
Das als Verräther dich mir wies,
dem Licht des Tages wollt' ich entflieh'n,
dorthin in die Nacht dich mit mir zieh'n,
wo der Täuschung Ende mein Herz mir verhieß,
wo des Trug's gehantter Wahn zerrinne . . .

From what showed you to me as a traitor,
from the light of day I longed to flee,

away into the night to draw you with me,
 where my heart promised me *an end to all deception*,
 where the suspected madness of deceit would dissolve away . . .
 (italics added)

Wagner had captured the equivalent of romantic longings with a simple device consisting of a short succession of both rising and falling half-steps. The opening measures of the Prelude to Act One present it *in nuce*, and when Isolde sings of daylight delusion's end (the words quoted above) her falling E \sharp – E \flat – D \sharp is countered by the rising G \sharp – A – A \sharp in the orchestral bass.⁶ Similar melodic figures abound in *Pierrot*, appearing already in the (chronologically) first setting “Gebet an Pierrot” as a rising B \flat – B \natural – C in the piano (mm. 1-2) and a falling E \flat – D – C \sharp in the clarinet (m. 6), though now robbed of their tonal context. Nevertheless, the irony of the relationship remains pointed, even if unintentional. For *Pierrot* parodies Tristan by turning his inner world of night upside down; the clown's night of hallucinations ends only with the first welcome glimmer of dawn in “Heimfahrt” (no. 20) and the returning “liebe Welt” in “O alter Duft” (no. 21).

The primary impulse for determining the way in which the cells are used can always be traced to the text, since, in accordance with the principle of melodrama, the music must respond immediately to it. “Rise” and “fall” are interpreted gesturally and metaphorically; with regard to *a* and *b* above, rising shapes, being “active”, invoke, demand, desire, assert and discharge aggressiveness, as in “Gebet an Pierrot” and in “Gemeinheit,” in which *Pierrot* takes a horrible revenge on the philistine Cassander (see Example 5).



EXAMPLE 5: Schoenberg, op. 21 i) no. 9, mm. 1-2, piano ii) no. 16, mm. 1-2, 'cello.

Conversely, falling steps connote passivity, suffering, emotional or physical withdrawal. In the melancholy “Valse de Chopin” (no. 5), the falling *b* of the piano (mm. 3-4, 6-7) is linked with the clarinet's poignant

interlocking thirds (*c*) and both elements return in the gloomy “Der kranke Mond” (no. 7). The same falling *b* portrays the fallen Son in “Madonna” (no. 6, m. 17, flute) and also Pierrot’s excised heart in “Rote Messe” (no. 11, m. 21, cello and m. 26, bass clarinet). In “Heimweh” (no. 15) tragedy is lightly passed over, leaving only a sentimental sigh (see Example 6).



EXAMPLE 6: Schoenberg, op. 21, no. 15, mm. 2-4, violin.

A particularly interesting variant of *a* is given in “Raub” (no. 10), in which the cell’s three notes are locked, as it were, into a “crystalline” structure and immobilized in a three-layer ostinato. Thus Schoenberg evokes the vision of the glittering rubies (“Rote, fürstliche Rubine,/ Blutge Tropfen alten Ruhmes”) as well as the sense of Pierrot’s fearful adventure in the graveyard vaults (see Example 7).

EXAMPLE 7: Schoenberg, op. 21, no. 10, mm. 1-3.

Pierrot’s uncertain emotional world, confusing as it does action and reaction, desire and nostalgia, projection and introduction, is ingeniously represented in several of the pieces by joining both rising and falling shapes. In “Der Dandy” (no. 3) the piccolo and clarinet “narcissistically” reflect one another at mm. 1-2 (the clarinet plays the piccolo’s figure simultaneously with it but in approximate inversion), and the piano follows with an important theme which joins a variant of the rising *b* with the falling *a*. Similarly conceived is “Parodie” (no. 17), in which moon-

beams mimic the knitting needles of a lovesick old duenna; here the instrumental canons take up *a* and its mirror form (beginning mm. 1-2, viola and clarinet). In “Heimfahrt” and “O alter Duft” (nos. 20 and 21) the two shapes join to send Pierrot home at last, yearning for once-enjoyed pleasures (see Example 8).

The image shows a musical score for two instruments: Clarinet and Piano. The Clarinet part is on the top staff, marked 'i.' and 'Clarinet (actual pitch)'. It begins with a dynamic marking of *pp* and features a melodic line with a slur and an accent mark 'a'. The Piano part is on the bottom staff, marked 'ii.' and 'Piano'. It starts with a dynamic marking of *sf* and has a complex texture with multiple slurs and accents, including 'a' and 'b'. The piano part is divided into two systems by a double bar line.

EXAMPLE 8: Schoenberg, op. 21 i) no. 20, m. 26, clarinet and piano ii) no. 21, mm. 1-3, piano.

In the melodramatic “translation” of words into music the resources of texture, timbre, and form play their part as much as do those pertaining to melody. Several examples can be summarily described here. In “Columbine” (no. 2) Pierrot, enchanted by the moonlight’s pale blossoms reflected in Columbine’s hair, is overcome by the desire to break one off. Accordingly the piece’s texture and form are made to “break” too; from m. 21 the piano begins to hesitate and, shortly thereafter (mm. 29-32), lapses into silence, while at the same time the violin loses its sense of melodic direction and breaks away from the piano with cadenza-like flurries. When the piano returns at m. 33 it plays only an aimless three-chord ostinato (together with the added flute and clarinet); it is now “stripped” of its rhythmic relationship to the returning violin melody. An impressionistic image of “paleness” is realized in “Eine blasse Wäscherin” (no. 4) through a simple device by which the effects of the full-bodied contrapuntal textures of so much of Schoenberg’s earlier music are almost completely negated. Here the *espressivo* melodies in the flute, clarinet, and violin are quite as obscured as is their relationship to each other, this confusion being the result of a non-differentiation of range and a constant crossing and vertical co-incidence of the parts. The resultant texture is coloristic rather than contrapuntal. The quality of “paleness” can be further inferred from the indifferent mixing of tonal chords with non-tonal elements among which they must be construed as “bleiche Tücher” (“Eine blasse Wäscherin/Wäscht zur Nachtzeit bleiche Tücher”), faded echoes of an almost irrevocable past. Another, perhaps

less oblique, reference to the past is evident in “Madonna” (no. 6). The poet’s invocation to the Mother of Sorrows has been composed, appropriately, in the “Baroque” style, the recitation accompanied by a trio setting in which the two melody instruments (flute and bass clarinet) play in typically complementary rhythmic patterns and are supported by a running bass in the cello. The first measure of the piece makes reference to a symbolic E minor, the key of Bach’s *St. Matthew Passion* and of the “Crucifixus” from the *Mass in B Minor*. In view of the text’s description of the fallen Son (“In den abgekehrten Händen/Hältst du deines Sohnes Leiche,/Ihn zu zeigen aller Menschheit”) the coincidence of keys is perhaps not an accidental one.

An example of more recondite symbolism occurs in “Nacht” (no. 8). In the poem, huge black butterflies kill the radiance of the sun and sink down into the hearts of men. As the subtitle indicates, Schoenberg composed his setting as a passacaglia. Its theme grows out of a generative cell of interlocking thirds, E – G – E_b, and is worked in a series of canons. The canons are framed by a mysterious opening and closing passage (mm. 1-3 and mm. 24-26) which, in accordance with the text’s “a closed book of magic” (“Ein geschlossenes Zauberbuch/Ruht der Horizont, verschwiegen”) exposes the generative cell locked enigmatically in a “hermetic” formula (see Example 9).

EXAMPLE 9: Schoenberg, op. 21, no. 8, mm. 1-3.

As diagrammed above, the opening “magic” structure consists of a progressive accumulation of voices built up in rising minor thirds to produce a diminished seventh chord, but as each voice enters (beginning with the third voice) the voice next but one below it drops a half-step, thus producing a major third with the voice immediately above it while that voice produces a minor third with the entering voice. In this way multiple, crystal-like reflections are created from the single basic form.

In *Pierrot Lunaire* text and music are joined in a unity from which

nothing can be subtracted. This unity is cemented by the reciprocal reinforcement of melodramatic rhetoric and musically expressive qualities. The many instances of broadly descriptive illustration in the music take their place along with those which derive their meaning from an abstract and occasionally esoteric symbolism. In all, the approach is consistent and has to do with the discovery of meanings in musical processes that can be shown to be analogous to those that are perceived and expressed in the world of feeling and action.

NOTES

¹ His *Pygmalion* was first performed in Paris in 1762.

² The melodramas of Georg Benda (*Ariadne auf Naxos*, 1775, and *Medea*, 1778) became models for many subsequent imitations.

³ For a recent study of *Erwartung* in relation to its historical antecedents, see Karl H. Wörner, "Schönbergs 'Erwartung' und das Ariadne-Thema," *Die Musik in der Geistesgeschichte: Studien zur Situation der Jahre um 1910* (Bonn: H. Bouvier, 1970) pp. 91-118.

⁴ *Dreimal sieben Gedichte aus Albert Girauds Pierrot Lunaire* (Deutsch von Otto Erich Hartleben), für eine Sprechstimme, Klavier, Flöte (auch Piccolo), Klarinette (auch Bass-Klarinette), Geige (auch Bratsche) und Violoncell: (Melodramen), von Arnold Schoenberg, op. 21. Full score (Wien: Universal-Edition, 1914, renewed 1941).

⁵ *Ibid.*, preface: ". . . der Unterschied zwischen gewöhnlichem und einem Sprechen, dass in einer musikalischen Form mitwirkt, soll deutlich werden."

⁶ Act II, scene 2: p. 504 of the Eulenberg miniature score.

review

CAROLINE BROWN MILLER — “CHIAVETTE: A NEW APPROACH”

M.A. Thesis: University of California, Berkeley, 1960.

Roland Jackson

The *chiavette* question might be reduced simply to this: should 16th-century polyphonic pieces written in the high clefs, the so-called *chiavette* (VMABar or T), be performed as written, that is in a relatively high vocal register of about B \flat -a $\prime\prime$, or should they be transposed downwards so as to approximate the vocal register of the *chiavi naturali* (SATB), about F-e $\prime\prime$? Did two distinct pitch levels exist in the 16th century or only one? The question assumes particular significance for performing groups because a great many late 16th-century works call for the high clefs (including two-thirds of Palestrina's, to mention one rather exceptional composer in this regard). Moreover, the listener experiences a considerable difference between the lower, more full-bodied sound of the *chiave naturali* and the higher, more unsubstantial, though admittedly more brilliant sound of the *chiavette*.

The question of pitch in earlier music is problematical due to the lack of any very positive evidence. Apel concludes his article “*Chiavette*” with the observation that, “In a way the whole question is futile, since it depends entirely on the absolute pitch of the 16th century, about which nothing is known,”¹ and Mendel similarly ends his lengthy and valuable essay “Pitch in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries” with the statement, “It is impossible to establish ‘the’ pitch of any period before the second half of the 19th century.”² All the same Mendel goes on to say that “it is possible to establish roughly the pitch . . . for a particular body of vocal compositions by analyzing the ranges of these compositions,”³ an opinion shared by a number of scholars.

Caroline Miller's study is noteworthy as the first to approach the problem of the *chiavette* pitch entirely from the standpoint of vocal registers. She does not presume to treat the subject exhaustively, which would hardly be feasible in a M.A. thesis of 150 pages; but the evidence she advances for her basic idea, that the performance of Renaissance polyphony at the higher pitch level represents a departure from the original practice, deserves the attention of scholars and performers alike. Basically she attempts to establish that a “normal” or “natural” range exists for

each of the four voice parts, quite apart from the artificial extension of this range through vocal training. She believes this basic range to be roughly analogous with that of the 16th-century *chiavi naturali*, F-e". Her reasons for this are based upon the following information:

- (1) that extensions of the normal range were cultivated beginning only in the 17th century, as is evidenced, for example, by the gradual ascent of soprano roles in opera from a high note of e" to f" and g", and eventually to bb" later in the century;
- (2) that the quality that 16th-century theorists described as *voce di petto* (chest voice), therefore, must have corresponded generally with the range of the *chiavi naturali*;
- (3) that chest voice was definitely preferred in the 16th century as is indicated, for instance, by the following quotations: "*voce di petto* is the most proper and natural,"⁴ "for from feigned voices (*dalle voci finte*) can come no noble manner of singing";⁵ "the parts should sing comfortably and not go beyond a 10th or 11th at the most as they would be forced";⁶
- (4) that the range of present-day countertenors and untrained boy sopranos does not exceed the range of the *chiavi naturali*, that is with a high note around e".

She concludes that *chiavette* pieces most certainly require a transposition downward, probably by a fourth or a fifth as Praetorius and other 17th-century theorists stipulated.⁷

What indication do we have to the contrary, that the *chiavette* did imply a rendition at a higher pitch? The very few 16th-century works composed for the low *chiavette* (MTBarSub), which seem indeed to have been realized at a lower than normal pitch, have been used as a parallel case for the treatment of works in the high *chiavette*.⁸ Rather compelling evidence is also offered by Morley's *Plaine and Easie Introduction to practicall Musicke*, where we are told that pieces for the *chiavette* have "more life," while those for the *chiavi naturali* have "more gravetie and staidnesse" and when interchanged in their clefs such pieces are "wrested as it were out of their nature."⁹ Such an interchange is then compared to voices that sing "above the naturall reach" and to string instruments tuned low by a note or two—"much more being foure notes lower then the naturall pitch."¹⁰ It is this last phrase in particular that suggested to Mendel that Morley recognized the existence of *chiavette* transposition by a fourth but found the practice objectionable. The passage as a whole does seem to imply that certain compositions were initially conceived for a lower pitch level, others for a higher, the high *chiavette* affording a convenient means for differentiating between them, while avoiding leger lines (as had become customary in the Renaissance).

Hermelink, however, argues strongly against such an interpretation in an article that appeared somewhat later than Mendel's study, pointing particularly to Morley's earlier statement that "the high and low keyes" (i.e. the *chiavette* and the *chiavi naturali*) "come both to one pitch or rather compasse."¹¹ This would seem to indicate the contrary, that only one vocal register was intended for the two sets of clefs, and that the *chiavette* need to be transposed down to the level of the *chiavi naturali*.

This brings us to the most critical question: if the *chiavette* resulted in no essential change of pitch, why then were they ever used at all? Why did composers not simply compose all of their works at pitch, using the SATB clefs? The answer, as Miller and others suggest, perhaps lies in the nature of the church modes and how they were regarded in the late 16th century. Glareanus' *Dodecachordon* (1547) had stimulated a renewed consciousness of the modes and their definition by octave ranges. Is it not possible that such an interest could have inspired composers to present the authentic Lydian, Mixolydian, and Aeolian modes at their proper written pitches, that is on F, G, and A, while at the same time transposing these pitches downwards into a more comfortable and accessible range for the singers? The authentic Phrygian and Dorian could be realized at written pitch without transposition, as they often were. All of this leaves unexplained why the Dorian mode was so frequently written a fourth higher on G with one flat. Here Miller offers as a rather ingenious explanation the 16th-century practice of coordinating the finals of the plagal and authentic modes. Since the Hypodorian would take each of the voice parts below the normal range, it needed to be placed higher, on G; and the Dorian was likewise transposed, for the sake of consistency.

Miller's suggested total range, which would accommodate each of the modes and their transpositions, is E-e''.¹² In this she is at variance with a number of musicians and scholars. Fellowes, for one, placed the pitch level of 16th-century church music about a minor third higher, G-g'',¹³ although his evidence seems rather sparse and could be questioned moreover on the grounds that he took accepted modern choral practice as one of his criteria. Even so, he has probably exerted a considerable influence on later editors and performers. H. K. Andrews, following his lead, proposed F-f'' for compositions using the *chiavette* (i.e. down a fourth, but also up a minor third, from the written pitch) and G-g'' for those calling for the *chiavi naturali* (simply up a minor third).¹⁴ Such transpositions, resulting in key signatures of from three to five flats, seem objectionable in that they tend to obscure the chromatic inflections of the original composition.

Miller's theory is worthy of serious consideration by scholars and performers alike. Choral directors and singers who are attracted by the brilliance of higher registers in the performance of 16th-century polyphony

may be given cause to wonder. For should her observations be correct—and she has considerable evidence to support them—performers could be perpetuating an essentially erroneous ideal of Renaissance sound.

NOTES

¹ Willi Apel, *Harvard Dictionary of Music* (2nd ed., Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1969) p. 149.

² Arthur Mendel, "Pitch in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries," *The Musical Quarterly* 34 (1948) p. 591.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 591.

⁴ Lodovico Zacconi, *Prattica di Musica* (Venice, 1596), Bk. I, ch. 68; tr. Caroline Miller, p. 35.

⁵ Giulio Caccini, *Le Nuove Musiche* (Florence, 1602), Preface; tr. Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1950), p. 391-392.

⁶ Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le Istitutioni Harmoniche* (Venice, 1558), Pt. IV, ch. 31; Caroline Miller, p. 47.

⁷ Cf. Mendel, pp. 347-357 and Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1954) pp. 532-533.

⁸ Miller, pp. 91ff.

⁹ Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London 1597; London: Shakespeare Association Facsimile no. 14, 1937) p. 166.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹¹ Siegfried Hermelink, "Zur Chivettenfrage," *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress, Wien: Mozartjahr 1956* (Graz: Hermann Böhlaus Nachf., 1958) pp. 264-271.

¹² Miller, p. 118.

¹³ Edmund H. Fellowes, *The English Madrigal Composers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921) p. 71.

¹⁴ H. K. Andrews, "Transposition of Byrd's Vocal Polyphony," *Music and Letters* 43 (1962) p. 33.