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articles

THE SYMPHONY AS DESCRIBED BY J. A. P. SCHULZ (1774): A COMMENTARY AND TRANSLATION

Bathia Churgin

In recent years we have come to recognize more and more the significance of Classic theoretical sources for our understanding of the Classic style. Definitions and discussions of the symphony found in 18th-century treatises and dictionaries were first traced by Robert Sondheimer in his old but valuable study *Die Theorie der Sinfonie im 18. Jahrhundert* (1925).[1] Perhaps the best known of these definitions appeared in J. G. Sulzer's dictionary of the arts entitled *Allgemeine Theorie der Schönen Künste* (2 vols., Berlin and Leipzig, 1771 and 1774). The symphony article in volume 2 was written by J. A. P. Schulz (1747-1800), probably in 1773 when he was twenty-six. Although the great Berlin theorist J. P. Kirnberger had been responsible for all the music articles in Sulzer's *Theorie* up to the one on "Modulation," Schulz furnished material for this and succeeding articles, becoming the sole author of all articles starting with the letter "S" to the end of the alphabet.[2]

Schulz himself was a pupil of Kirnberger in the period 1765–68.[3] In 1768–71 he was the musical accompanist of Princess Sapieha of Smolensk, and he travelled with her through Austria, France, and Italy, thereby gaining a much wider acquaintance with musical styles of the time. In 1773 Schulz returned to Berlin, where Kirnberger invited him to work on the articles for Sulzer. Schulz's later career saw him active as the musical director of the French theater in Berlin, 1776–78, and the court composer of Prince Heinrich of Prussia in Rheinsberg, 1780–87, where he led performances of French operas and operettas. Thus his remarks in the symphony article concerning overtures to French operatic works reflect a considerable knowledge of that repertoire. In 1787–94 Schulz was the *Kapellmeister* and director of the Royal Theater in Copenhagen. Though he composed operas, theater music, and choral, chamber, and keyboard works, Schulz has been remembered in music history particularly as a Lieder composer, his most famous works being the three collections of *Lieder im Volkston* (1782, 1784, and 1790). He was also the teacher of the Danish composer C. P. E. Weyse.

Sulzer's *Theorie* had remarkable success. It went through three issues from 1771 to 1777, new editions in 1778/79 and 1786/87, a second revised edition in 1792/94, and a third in 1796/97, which was reissued with further changes in 1798.[4] Several of Schulz's articles were influential, like his discussion of the

sonata.[5] With respect to the symphony article, all of paragraphs 2–3 and parts of paragraphs 4–6 were quoted in H. C. Koch's *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition* (vol. 3, 1793), and paragraph 3 and most of paragraph 4 in Koch's *Musikalisches Lexikon* (1802).[6] Thus as late as 1800 a sensitive theorist like Koch, who was well acquainted with the music of Haydn and Mozart, still considered valid a number of Schulz's most important statements, especially his discussion of the independent or chamber symphony.

Schulz follows the Baroque-influenced stylistic classification of the symphony into three types: chamber, theater, and church. This symphonic classification was introduced in Johann Mattheson's *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft* (1737) and *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739).[7] It was taken up immediately by J. A. Scheibe, who described each type of symphony in detail for the first time in essays dated November 24 and December 1, 8, and 15, 1739 (later published in his volume *Critischer Musicus* [1745]). These early references to the chamber or independent symphony are further indications of its emergence in the 1730s as a distinct genre.

Many of Schulz's remarks are original, and they illuminate several important aspects of the three symphonic types in Classic music up to c. 1773. In his first paragraph Schulz refers to the replacement of the overture (meaning here the French overture) by the "lighter form of the symphony." He suggests that the symphony originated in the partita (i.e., the orchestral suite); this is certainly one important—and neglected—source of the Classic symphony,[8] together with such sources as the concerto, Italian overture, and trio sonata.

Undoubtedly most significant are Schulz's remarks about the allegro movements of the chamber symphony. Though intensive research on the Classic symphony has uncovered a vast and varied repertoire, Classic symphonic writing is still measured by many musicologists and even Classic specialists according to the criterion of thematic development, as found in the works of Haydn and Beethoven. Despite his conservative training, however, Schulz never mentions thematic development. Instead, he emphasizes strong contrasts in texture, dynamics, and rhythm, with the introduction of "great and bold ideas" and unpredictable, startling modulations. "Extravagance" and "seeming disorder" in melody and harmony, as well as imaginative structure, are the basic ingredients of the symphonic allegro as he views it.

Schulz's description thus offers a healthy corrective to our still unbalanced approach to the Classic symphony, which usually centers on connections at the expense of disconnections. To be sure, it is not that connections are unimportant. Schulz carefully qualifies his remarks by referring to *apparent*—not real—disorder in melody and harmony. But his insistent concern with the varied sources of contrast and surprise in the symphonic allegro underlines the significance of these elements in the Classic style.

It might seem that Schulz's concept of the symphonic allegro was influenced by the highly charged dramatic style of the *Sturm und Drang* in the late 1760s and early 1770s. However, these characteristics are not limited to the "official" period of the *Sturm und Drang* but appear in symphonies by

many composers from c. 1750 on. The fact that Koch quotes just those parts of Schulz's description that emphasize the dramatic aspect shows that these traits were generally thought of as typical of the symphony in the late 18th century as well. The composer whom Schulz singles out as having written allegros "that are models of the genre" is the Belgian Pierre van Maldere (1729–68);[9] the allegros of such works as the symphonies in B-flat, Op. 4/3 (published in 1764), and in D, Op. 5/1 (published in 1765), illustrate all the traits mentioned by Schulz.

Especially striking in Schulz's definition is his enumeration of textural contrasts that include both homophonic and imitative settings, unison passages, and independent bass and middle voices. These comments underscore the great importance of textural diversification in Classic music, a still neglected trait of Classic style. They also suggest that the use of contrapuntal textures in the symphony was more common than we suppose and not an exclusive technique of the Viennese school. Though Schulz stresses contrast in general, he also points out the effectiveness of a crescendo that is introduced together with a "rising and increasingly expressive melody." This is surely one of the earliest references to an essential feature of Classic style: concinnity, or the coordination of musical elements in support of structural and expressive effects.[10]

Despite the introduction of the standard four-movement plan by Johann Stamitz in the late 1740s, Schulz deals solely with the three-movement symphony, which remained a popular alternative to the four-movement cycle to the end of the 18th century.[11]

Schulz's association of the symphony with the expression of "the grand, the festive, and the noble" apparently pertains only to allegro movements, since he acknowledges a substantial variety of mood in slow movements. Schulz reiterated his view of the "more fixed character" of the symphony in his article on the sonata, a form he identifies with a wide range of expression. While even today we may still hold to this concept of the symphonic allegro, there are many exceptions from the 18th century on. In terms of the Classic symphony itself, other allegro types include the singing, pastoral, and humorous or *buffo* allegro, the first appearing more often in the 1770s. Schulz, maintaining his ideal, actually criticizes the aria-like qualities in the overtures of C. H. Graun and Hasse.

The uniform approach to the allegro movements implies a non-differentiation of the first and last allegros. Schulz's characteristic cycle therefore contains a balancing finale just as carefully worked out and as powerful as the first movement. This type of finale, which existed from the earliest period of symphonic composition, appears in the symphonies of Maldere as well. Its roots go back to the three-movement Baroque concerto (like Vivaldi's Op. 3/8), and it furnished the model for the strong, even climactic finale so frequent in the Romantic symphony. Here again, more possibilities exist than Schulz implies. A stylistic contrast in the finale occurs in many Classic symphonies. In the early Classic symphony and overture, it was automati-

cally produced by the frequent use of the minuet conclusion. *Buffo* finales and other lighter types are also common from the beginning. Even Koch notes in his *Lexikon* that the last movement "mostly has a cheerful or humorous character."

Schulz's observations regarding the overtures to Italian and French operas and operettas are self-explanatory. They reflect his experience with these forms as both conductor and listener. A strong prejudice against Italian music expressed on this topic also colors his article on the sonata, a prejudice found in some other German writings of the Classic period.

No list of composers is attached to Schulz's article until the volume published in 1787, where 29 names appear in haphazard order. The proportion of significant composers, however, is much higher than in the list of 72 names published in 1794, while the 1797 edition adds such leading figures as Pleyel, Rosetti, Vanhal, and Wranitsky. The list emphasizes composers of chamber symphonies, a fact important in itself. However, the complete list cannot be considered representative. About half the names belong to minor and even obscure musicians, many of whom composed few symphonies (like Azaïs, Bailleur, Bonesi, Kaa, and Kammel). Two figures, Cambini and Devienne, are notable rather as composers of *symphonies concertantes*. On the other hand, the list omits several good early symphonists—undoubtedly forgotten by the late 18th century—figures like Agrell, Brioschi (Broschi in the list probably refers to Riccardo Broschi, the opera composer and brother of Farinelli), the Camerlohers, Chelleri, Guillemain, M. G. Monn, and Roman. More surprising is the absence of such popular Italian overture composers as Leo, Galuppi, Jommelli, Sacchini, and Sarti. Also missing are the French composers Martin, Le Duc, and Rigel; the Viennese d'Ordoñez; and the more isolated Kraus (Stockholm) and Brunetti (Madrid). No separate references occur for the Haydn brothers or the Stamitz father and sons such as those given for the Bachs, Bendas, and Grauns. Citations are most complete for the North German and Mannheim schools.

It is probable that Schulz himself compiled these lists, thus explaining the nearly complete absence of Italian and French overture composers, whose music he denigrates in the article. Schulz's authorship also explains the presence of so many German *Kleinmeister* and composers connected with the Berlin and Copenhagen musical scenes (like Hartmann, Höckh, Kospoth, Riedt, and Zarth).

Symphony[12]	Symphonie
A piece of instrumental music for many voices that is used in place of the now obsolete overture. The difficulty of performing an overture well and the still greater difficulty of composing a good overture have given rise to the lighter form of the symphony. [This] originally consisted of one or more fugal pieces	Ein vielstimmiges Instrumentalstük, das anstatt der abgekommenen Ouvertüren gebraucht wird. Die Schwierigkeit eine Ouvertüre gut vorzutragen, und die noch grössere Schwierigkeit, eine gute Ouvertüre zu machen, hat zu der leichteren Form der Symphonie, die Anfangs aus ein oder etlichen fugirten Stüken, die

alternating with dance pieces of various types, which was generally called [a] partita. To be sure, the overture was still used before large pieces of church music and operas, and one made use of partitas only in chamber music. But soon one also became tired of dance pieces [that were performed] without dancing, and finally settled for one or two fugal or nonfugal allegros that alternated with a slower andante or largo. This genre was called [the] symphony and was introduced in chamber music as well as before operas and in church music, where it is still in use today. The instruments that belong to the symphony are violins, violas, and bass instruments; each part is strongly reenforced. Horns, oboes, and flutes can be used in addition for filling out or strengthening.

One can compare the symphony to an instrumental chorus, just as one [can compare] the sonata to an instrumental cantata. In the latter, the melody of the main voice, which is played by only one instrument, can be of such a nature that it stands and even requires embellishment. On the other hand, in the symphony, where each part is more than singly performed, the melody must contain its greatest emphasis in the written notes themselves and cannot tolerate the slightest embellishment or coloration. Also, because the symphony is not a practice piece like the sonata but must be played immediately at sight, no difficulties should occur therein that could not be grasped at once by a large group and performed distinctly.

The symphony is excellently suited for the expression of the grand, the festive, and the noble. Its purpose is to prepare the listeners for an important musical work, or in a chamber concert to summon up all the splendor of instrumental music. If it is to satisfy this aim com-

mit Tanzstüken von verschiedener Art abwechselten, bestand, und insgemein *Partie* genennt wurde, Anlass gegeben. Die Ouvertüre erhielt sich zwar noch vor grossen Kirchenstüken und Opern; und man bediente sich der Partien blos in der Kammermusik: allein man wurde der Tanzstüke, die ohne Tanz waren, auch bald müde, und liess es endlich bey ein oder zwey fugirten oder unfugirten Allegros, die mit einem langsamern Andante oder Largo abwechselten, bewenden. Diese Gattung wurde Symphonie genennt, und sowol in der Kammermusik, als vor Opern und Kirchenmusiken eingeführet, wo sie noch itzt im Gebrauch ist. Die Instrumente, die zur Symphonie gehören, sind Violinen, Bratsche und Bassinstrumente; jede Stimme wird stark besetzt. Zum Ausfüllen oder zur Verstärkung können noch Hörner, Hoboen und Flöten dazu kommen.

Man kann die Symphonie mit einem Instrumentalchor vergleichen, so wie die Sonate mit einer Instrumentalcantate. Bey dieser kann die Melodie der Hauptstimme, die nur einfach besetzt ist, so beschaffen seyn, dass sie Verzierung verträgt, und oft sogar verlanget. In der Symphonie hingegen, wo jede Stimme mehr wie einfach besetzt wird, muss der Gesang den höchsten Nachdruk schon in den vorgeschriebenen Noten enthalten und in keiner Stimme die geringste Verzierung oder Coloratur vertragen können. Es dürfen auch, weil sie nicht wie die Sonate ein Uebungstük ist, sondern gleich vom Blatt getroffen werden muss, keine Schwierigkeiten darin vorkommen, die nicht von vielen gleich getroffen und deutlich vorgetragen werden können.

Die Symphonie ist zu dem Ausdruk des Grossen, des Feyerlichen und Erhabenen vorzüglich geschikt. Ihr Endzwek ist, den Zuhörer zu einer wichtigen Musik vorzubereiten, oder in ein Kammerconcert alle Pracht der Instrumentalmusik aufzubieten. Soll sie diesem Endzwek voll-

pletely and be a closely bound part of the opera or church music that it precedes, then besides being the expression of the grand and festive, it must have an additional quality that puts the listeners in the frame of mind required by the piece to come, and it must distinguish itself through the style of composition that makes it appropriate for the church or the theater.

The chamber symphony, which constitutes a whole in and for itself and has no following music in view, reaches its goal only through a full sounding, brilliant, and fiery style. The allegros of the best chamber symphonies contain great and bold ideas, free handling of composition, seeming disorder in the melody and harmony, strongly marked rhythms of different kinds, powerful bass melodies and unisons, concerting middle voices, free imitations, often a theme that is handled in the manner of a fugue, sudden transitions and digressions from one key to another, which are all the more startling the weaker the connection is [between them], [and] strong shadings of the forte and piano, and chiefly of the crescendo, which, if it is employed at the same time as a rising and increasingly expressive melody, can be of the greatest effect. Added to this comes the art of connecting all voices in and with one another so that their sounding at the same time allows only one single melody to be heard, which requires no accompaniment, but to which each voice contributes its part. Such an allegro is to the symphony what a Pindaric ode is to poetry. Like the ode, it lifts and stirs the soul of the listener and requires the same spirit, the same elevated powers of imagination, and the same aesthetics in order to be happy therein. The allegros in the symphonies of the Netherlander *Vanmaldere*, which can be viewed as a model of this genre of instrumental music, possess all of the above mentioned characteristics, and bear witness to the greatness of

kommen Genüge leisten, und ein mit der Oper oder Kirchenmusik, der sie vorhergeht, verbundener Theil seyn, so muss sie neben dem Ausdruk des Grossen und Feyerlichen noch einen Charakter haben, der den Zuhörer in die Gemüthsverfassung setzt, die das folgende Stük im Ganzen verlangt, und sich durch die Schreibart, die sich für die Kirche, oder das Theater schikt, unterscheiden.

Die Kammersymphonie, die ein für sich bestehendes Ganzes, das auf keiner folgende Musik abzielet, ausmacht, erreicht ihren Endzwek nur durch eine volltönige, glänzende und feurige Schreibart. Die Allegros der besten Kammersymphonien enthalten grosse und kühne Gedanken, freye Behandlung des Satzes, anscheinende Unordnung in der Melodie und Harmonie, stark marquirte Rhythmen von verschiedener Art, kräftige Bassmelodien und Unisoni, concertirende Mittelstimmen, freye Nachahmungen, oft ein Thema, das nach Fugenart behandelt wird, plötzliche Uebergänge und Ausschweifungen von einem Ton zum andern, die desto stärker frappiren, je schwächer oft die Verbindung ist, starke Schattirungen des Forte und Piano, und vornehmlich des Crescendo, das, wenn es zugleich bey einer aufsteigenden und an Ausdruk zunehmenden Melodie angebracht wird, von der grössten Würkung ist. Hiezu kömmt noch die Kunst, alle Stimmen in und mit einander so zu verbinden, dass ihre Zusammentönung nur eine einzige Melodie hören lässt, die keiner Begleitung fähig ist, sondern wozu jede Stimme nur das Ihrige beyträgt. Ein solches Allegro in der Symphonie ist, was eine pindarische Ode in der Poesie ist; es erhebt und erschüttert, wie diese, die Seele des Zuhörers, und erfodert [sic] denselben Geist, dieselbe erhabene Einbildungskraft, und dieselbe Kunstwissenschaft, um darin glüklich zu seyn. Die Allegros in den Symphonien des Niederländers *Vanmaldere*, die als Muster dieser Gattung

their composer, whose premature death has deprived art of many additional masterpieces of this kind.

der Instrumentalmusik angesehen werden können, haben alle vorhin erwähnte Eigenschaften, und zeugen von der Grösse ihres Verfassers, dessen frühzeitiger Tod der Kunst noch viele Meisterstüke dieser Art entrissen hat.

The andante or largo between the first and last allegro has indeed not nearly so fixed a character, but is often of pleasant, pathetic, or sad expression. Yet, it must have a style that is appropriate to the dignity of the symphony. [It] must not, as it seems to be becoming fashionable, consist of mere trifles that, if one really wishes to trifle, could be better applied in a sonata, or have a good place in symphonies before comic operettas.

Das Andante oder Largo zwischen dem ersten und letzten Allegro hat zwar keinen so nahe bestimmten Charakter, sondern ist oft von angenehmen, oder pathetischen, oder traurigen Ausdruk; doch muss es eine Schreibart haben, die der Würde der Symphonie gemäss ist, und nicht, wie es zur Mode zu werden scheinet, aus blossen Tändeleyen bestehen, die, wenn man doch tändeln will, eher in einer Sonate angebracht werden, oder in Symphonien vor comischen Operetten einen guten Platz haben können.

Opera symphonies assume more or less the character of the chamber symphony, as it suits itself to the character of the opera to be presented. Yet, it seems that they tolerate less extravagance and should not be so well worked out, because the listener is more attentive to that which is to follow than to the symphony itself. Since most of our large operas seem to have the same character and as their basis a mere dazzling of the eye and ear, the symphony already has its effect even if it just makes a nice sounding noise. The opera symphonies of the Italians, at any rate, never have a different characteristic. In the allegros the instruments make noise over a drum bass[13] and three chords, and dawdle in the andantinos without strength or expression. In addition, no listener in Italy pays attention to the symphony. [C. H.] Graun has a great deal more artistry and puts character into his opera symphonies; yet his tender soul lacked the fire necessary for it. Beautiful song, which never left him, as precious as it is, nevertheless makes a weak effect in every symphony. One believes one is hearing a fiery opera aria being performed by instruments. In this

Die Opernsymphonien nehmen mehr oder weniger von der Eigenschaft der Kammersymphonie an, nachdem es sich zu dem Charakter der vorzustellenden Oper schikt. Doch scheint es, dass sie weniger Ausschweifung vertragen, und auch nicht so sehr ausgearbeitet seyn dürfen, weil der Zuhörer mehr auf das, was folgen soll, als auf die Symphonie selbst, aufermerksam ist. Da die mehresten unserer grossen Opern denselben Charakter und eine blosse Ohren und Augenverblendung zum Grund zu haben scheinen, so thut die Symphonie schon ihre Würkung, wenn sie auch nur blos wolklingend lärmet. Wenigstens haben die Opernsymphonien der Italiäner niemals eine andre Eigenschaft. Die Instrumente lärmen in den Allegros über einen Trommelbass und drey Accorden, und tändeln in den Andantinos ohne Kraft und Ausdruk; auch achtet kein Zuhörer in Italien auf die Symphonie. Graun hat ungleich mehr Kunst und Charakter in seine Opernsymphonien gebracht; doch fehlte seiner zärtlichen Seele das hiezu nöthige Feuer. Der schöne Gesang, der ihn nie verliess, so schätzbar er auch ist, ist in jeder Symphonie doch

field, Graun would have been surpassed by his brother, the late concertmaster, who found the true spirit of the symphony in certain chamber symphonies. Hasse too has surpassed him in this regard, although his opera symphonies also have many aria-like qualities.

nur von matter Würkung. Man glaubt eine feurige Opernarie zu hören, die von Instrumenten vorgetragen wird. Graun würde in diesem Fach von seinem Bruder, dem verstorbenen Concertmeister, übertroffen worden seyn, der in einigen Kammersymphonien den wahren Geist der Symphonie getroffen hat. Auch hat Hasse ihn hierin übertroffen, obgleich dessen Opernsymphonien auch viel arienmässiges haben.

The French, in their symphonies preceding operettas, try to alternate frivolous passages with lofty thoughts. But all their loftiness degenerates into bombast. In order to convince oneself of this, one need only see one of the best French symphonies in score or listen to it. Since operettas generally have more that is characteristic than large operas, it is unnecessary that each work always begin with a symphony. Many operettas can have a character for which the grandeur of the symphony is not at all appropriate. Here would be the opportunity to invent new forms that would be suitable for each work, to which one can give the general title "Introduction," so that they would not be confused with the symphony, whose goal should really be only the splendor and grandeur of instrumental music.

Die Franzosen suchen in ihren Symphonien vor den Operetten Tändeleyen mit erhabenen Gedanken abzuwechseln. Aber alle ihre Erhabenheit artet in Schwulst aus; man darf, um sich hievon zu überzeugen, nur die erste die beste französische Symphonie in Partitur sehen, oder anhören. Da die Operetten überhaupt mehr Charakteristisches, als die grossen Opern haben, so ist es nicht ausgemacht, dass es jedesmal eine Symphonie seyn müsse, womit das Stük anfängt. Manche Operette kann einen Charakter haben, wozu sich das Grösse der Symphonie gar nicht schikt. Hier wäre Gelegenheit, neue Formen zu erfinden, die jedem Stük angemessen wären, und denen man den allgemeinen Namen *Introduction* geben könnte, damit sie nicht mit der Symphonie, die eigentlich immer nur die Pracht und das Grosse der Instrumentalmusik zum Endzwek haben sollte, verwechselt würden.

The church symphony distinguishes itself from the rest above all through its serious style of composition. It consists often of only a single movement. It does not tolerate, as does the chamber symphony, extravagance or disorder in the melodic and harmonic progressions, but proceeds in a steady manner, faster or slower, according to the nature of the expression of the church piece, and strictly observes the rule[s] of composition. Instead of the magnificent, it often has a quiet nobility as its goal, and best suited for it is a pathetic, well worked-out fugue.

Die Kirchensymphonie unterscheidet sich von den übrigen vornehmlich durch die ernste Schreibart. Sie besteht oft nur aus einem einzigen Stük. Sie verträgt nicht, wie die Kammersymphonie, Ausschweifungen oder Unordnung in den melodischen und harmonischen Fortschreitungen, sondern geht in gesetzten und nach Beschaffenheit des Ausdruks des Kirchenstüks geschwinderen oder langsamern Schritten fort, und beobachtet genau die Regel [sic] des Satzes. Sie hat statt des Prächtigen oft eine stille Erhabenheit zum Endzwek, und verträgt am besten eine pathetische und wol ausgearbeitete Fuge.

Among others symphonies have been composed by:[14] *Joh. Adam, *C. F. Abel, Azais [Azaïs], *C. P. E. Bach, *J. C. Bach, *George and Franz Benda, Ant. Bailleur, Frz. Beck, L. Boccherini, J. J. C. Bode, Bonesi, Broschi, Ant. Bulant [Bullant], Gius. Cambini, Chrstn. Cannaluch [Cannabich], Gaud. Comi, *Czarth [Zarth], Desormery [Désormery], Devienne, Dittersdorf, E. Eichner, Mich. Esser, *Ant. Filz, *Förster, Flor. L. Gassmann, J. J. G. Gayer, G. Gebel, Frc. Jos. Gossec, J. Th. Greiner, *C. H. Graun, *J. G. Graun, Joh. Hartmann, *Hasse, *Haydn, C. F. Hennig, *Hoegk [Höckh], *Leop. Hofmann, Frz. Ant. Hofmeister, Horn, *Ign. Holzbauer, J. W. Hertel, *Janitsch, Frz. Ign. Kaa, A. Kammel, J. F. Klöfler [Klöffler], v. Kospoth, G. A. Kreussner [Kreusser], Frz. Kraft, Kürzinger, *F. P. Kunzen, Lampugnant [Lampugnani], Leehmans, C. G. Lidarti, Lorenziti, Andr. Luchesi, L. Maier, *G. B. Martini [Sammartini?], A. W. F. Misliweczek [Josef Myslivecek], Miraglio, *Mozart, *Neruda, **Pleyel, G. Pugnani, *Raab, *Richter, *Riedt, Rose, **Rosetti, *Stamitz, *Schwindel, M. J. Treschi [C. G. Toeschi], **Vanhall, *Vanmalder [Vanmaldere], *Wagenseil, **Wranitzky, and many others more [u. v. a. m.].

Symphonien haben, unter mehrern, gesetzt: *Joh. Adam, . . .

NOTES

[1] See also Eugene K. Wolf and Jan LaRue, "A Bibliographical Index to Robert Sondheimer's *Die Theorie der Sinfonie*," *Acta Musicologica* 37 (1965):79–86. Excerpts from Schulz's definition, with brief comments, appear in Sondheimer's study on pp. 39–41.

[2] Heinz Gottwaldt and Gerhard Hahne, "J. A. P. Schulz," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 11:249.

[3] The information about Schulz given in this paragraph comes from the *MGG* article cited above, 245–53.

[4] For details of these editions see François Lesure, ed., *Écrits imprimés concernant la musique*, RISM B VI (Munich: Henle, 1971), 2:812–13. Copies of Schulz's article were examined from all the issues and editions. I wish to extend my thanks to the following libraries for sending me xerox copies of the articles: Staatliche Bibliothek, Bamberg; Universitätsbibliothek, Basel; Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek, Bern; Music Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek, Köln; Music Library, Yale University; Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna; Zentralbibliothek, Zürich. The "Neue vermehrte zweyte Auflage" (1792/94) has been published in a facsimile edition (Hildesheim: Olms, 1967), 4 vols. and Index.

[5] See the translation of this article and remarks by William S. Newman in *The Sonata in the Classic Era*, 2d ed. (New York: Norton, 1972), pp. 23–25.

[6] Koch's *Versuch*, 3:301–4. Koch introduced his quotation in the *Lexikon* by saying that Sulzer (i.e., Schulz) had described the symphony "in an appropriate manner" ("auf eine treffende Art").

[7] Mattheson's remarks appear in *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft*, p. 125, and in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, p. 234.

[8] The influence of the orchestral suite can be seen in some early symphonies that contain a mixture of abstract and dance movements. One example is a four-movement symphony by Fortunato Chelleri (1690–1757), published as No. 6 in *Six symphonies nouvelles* (Paris: Boivin and Leclerc, c. 1742–51). The cyclical plan, fast-slow-fast (giga style)-minuet, resembles the early G-major symphony by G. B. Sammartini, J-C 39 (probably composed in the 1730s). Though the minuet in Sammartini's symphony is borrowed from a trio sonata, the Chelleri symphony suggests that the order of movements may be original and not a later arrangement, as this writer has proposed elsewhere. Another, striking example is an early symphony ascribed to J. J. Agrell (1701–65), located in Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket, copied no later than 1748. This is a true suite-symphony in six movements: fast-slow-minuet-fast-slow (resembling a loure)-fast (like a gigue). The work has been edited by Lennart Hedwall (Stockholm, 1961). The date is indicated by the appearance on the Ms parts of the name J. G. Sander [Johan Gotthard Zander], a member of the Royal Chapel in Stockholm who died in 1748.

[9] The only extensive study of Maldere's life and works is by Suzanne Clercx: *Pierre van Maldere, virtuose et maître des concerts de Charles de Lorraine (1729–1768)* (Brussels: Palais des académies, 1948).

[10] See Jan LaRue, *Guidelines for Style Analysis* (New York: Norton, 1970), pp. 16, 142–44.

[11] Even Koch mentions the four-movement cycle as an afterthought in his *Versuch*, 3:314–15, a reference he actually omits in his *Lexikon*. For the emergence of the four-movement symphony in the works of Stamitz, see Eugene K. Wolf, "The Symphonies of Johann Stamitz: Authenticity, Chronology, and Style" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1972), 1:182–85, 235–46.

[12] This translation was originally made several years ago by my student assistant at Vassar College, Dorothy Setian. It has since been corrected by this writer and Dr. Kurt Ermann of the Language Department, Bar-Ilan University (Israel). I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Ermann for his valuable assistance. The German text used comes from the 1794 edition of Sulzer's dictionary, which is slightly more consistent and modern in spelling and punctuation than the 1774 text. It also contains the final paragraph with the list of composers.

[13] This term denotes a repeated-note bass.

[14] The list of composers follows the spelling of the 1794 edition, with corrections, if necessary, given in square brackets. One asterisk is placed next to names listed in 1787 and two asterisks next to names added in 1797.

ROBERT SCHUMANN'S SONATA IN F-SHARP MINOR: A STUDY OF CREATIVE PROCESS AND ROMANTIC INSPIRATION

Gregory W. Harwood

Studies dealing with the creative processes of 19th-century composers after Beethoven have not been pursued to any great extent until recent years. The studies that have appeared have shed considerable light on the way many 19th-century composers created their musical works and have challenged the traditional view that many Romantic composers wrote their compositions in a flash of inspiration with little or no subsequent revision. These studies have also supported the notion that compositional process in the 19th century was often affected by extra-musical considerations.[1]

The Sonata in F-sharp Minor is one of three published piano sonatas written by Robert Schumann during the years 1833–38. This work was probably begun sometime during 1833 and first appeared in print in 1836.[2] The genesis of the Sonata is considerably more complicated than might appear at first glance and provides an example of the way Schumann assembled a large-scale composition from previously existing material.[3]

Most of the material found in the first movement of the Sonata was not originally intended as a sonata movement, but rather formed the basis of an independent composition. This composition, which still survives in sketch form, was entitled "Fandango" and was abandoned by Schumann late in 1832.[4] Sketches for the "Fandango" are located in the collection of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna.[5] It does not appear that any full-scale manuscript of the Sonata exists. Sketches for the third movement are found in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, and sketches for the fourth movement are located in the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, and the Robert-Schumann-Haus in Zwickau.

There is apparently only one extant copy of the original edition of 1836, published in Leipzig by Kistner; this is now located in the British Library. This edition is of considerable interest since the title page gives the authors of the work as Florestan and Eusebius and contains a fantastic design that has strong Romantic imagery.[6] Copies of a "Nouvelle Edition" published by Kistner in 1840 are located in the library of the Royal College of Music in London and at the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig. A comparison between the original 1836 edition and the version edited by Clara Schumann, found in the current *Gesamtausgabe*, reveals no significant alterations or discrepancies.[7]

Schumann's "Fandango" had its origins in 1832, during the period in which the composer was working on the piano composition *Papillons*. Like

the *Papillons,* the "Fandango" was inspired by the last chapters of Jean Paul's novel, *Flegeljahre,* which are filled with images of a masked ball, the moonlight, butterflies, and various sorts of dances. Schumann wrote in his diary that he was profoundly affected by all of these images and that they provided the inspiration, as he was sitting at his piano one day, for the idea of the "Fandango."[8] Intense feelings such as these would frequently come over Schumann during this period of his life, often resulting in the idea for a musical composition.[9]

The "Fandango" was evidently never completed by Schumann. He had intended to send it to the publisher Hofmeister, but instead substituted the Allegro di bravura, which became Op. 8.[10] The "Fandango" sketches were reworked and expanded for use as the first movement of the F-sharp Minor Sonata in 1835. A comparison between the "Fandango" sketches and the completed Sonata movement reveals that Schumann's creative process in the Sonata movement involved primarily a reorganization of materials rather than a complete rewriting of the sketches. A slow introduction was added, related thematically to the second movement, which was entitled "Aria," a transcription of an early song entitled "An Anna." The song was transposed from F major to A major, and a falling-fifth motive, which Schumann used extensively in the first movement of the Sonata, was added in several places (see Examples 1–3).[11]

Schumann's association with Clara Wieck during the period of composition of the Sonata provided the source for many extra-musical references in the work.[12] Schumann was working on the Sonata at a time when he was separated from Clara, a separation that he felt very deeply. He wrote to her that the Sonata was "One entire heart's cry for you, in which your theme appears in all possible forms."[13] The composition is very much Clara's Sonata, because virtually all thematic material may be associated with her in some way.

EXAMPLE 1: Sonata, 1st movement, measures 31–40

marcato
ff

EXAMPLE 2: Sonata, 2d movement, measures 1–19

ARIA.

senza passione, ma espressivo

Hechte

pp semplice

Hechte

EXAMPLE 3: "An Anna," measures 1–15

Andante.

Nicht im Tha - le der süssen Hei - math beim Ge - mur - mel der Sil - ber - quel - le bleich ge - tra - gen aus dem Schlachtfeld, denk' ich dein, denk' ich dein, du sü - sses Le - ben, denk' ich dein, du sü - sses Le - ben, denk' ich dein!

dolce

ritard. poco

The figure of a falling fifth, which is a prominent motive of the Sonata, is related to Clara in several ways. In his diary, Schumann recalled the way this figure first came to him:

> In the evening I dashed off six Bach fugues with Clara, four hands *a vista prima*. Then I gave the Dutch maid a gentle, lovely kiss and arrived at home towards 9:00, seated myself at the piano, and it seemed as if only flowers and gods came out of my fingers, so flowed forth the idea. That was the idea C F, G C.[14]

This motive was first used by Schumann as the bass line to a melody by Clara in his Impromptus on a Theme by Clara Wieck, written in 1833.

EXAMPLE 4: Impromptus on a Theme by Clara Wieck, measures 1–24

Schumann later discovered that the motive of a fifth, beginning on an E-natural, had a parallel in the German language: *Ehe* or "marriage." He wrote to Clara, "Our long wait has also had some good; several things will be avoided that occur in other marriages. I notice just now that 'Ehe' is a very musical word and at once a fifth."[15] Thus the motive of an open fifth is a triple reference to Clara: the session of sight-reading Bach fugues with her provided the initial inspiration for the motive, the motive is used with Clara's theme in the Impromptus, and Schumann considered the motive to be the musical equivalent of the word "marriage."

The falling-fifth motive is first used in the introduction to the first movement, where it is associated with a quotation from the song "An Anna" (see Example 1). Schumann uses it as a motto theme (consisting of the falling-fifth motive repeated three times with an upper neighbor at the end) in both thematic groups throughout the movement, particularly at structurally important places.

EXAMPLE 5: Sonata, 1st movement, measures 53–82

Allegro vivace.

Another prominent motive of the Sonata, a descending scale passage that fills out the interval of a perfect fourth or a perfect fifth,[16] is adopted from a composition by Clara: the seventh of her *Caprices en forme de valse,* Op. 2. Schumann subsequently used this motive in several of his other compositions as a reference to Clara.[17] The clearest example occurs in the third movement of the Sonata in F Minor for piano, which is entitled "Andantino de Clara Wieck."

EXAMPLE 6: Sonata in F Minor, slow movement, measures 1–11

QUASI VARIAZIONI.
Andantino de Clara Wieck.

In this instance, the descending scale, which fills out the interval of a perfect fifth, is used in the soprano voice as the melody. Another use of this pattern occurs in the section of *Carnaval* that depicts Clara: "Chiarina."

EXAMPLE 7: "Chiarina," measures 1–12

Here the descending pattern, marked with accents, fills the interval of a perfect fourth and is used in both the normal and an inverted form.

The falling scale motive is an integral part of the thematic material of the "Fandango." It is also a prominent feature of the transitional section that links the first and second key areas.

EXAMPLE 8: Sonata, 1st movement, measures 111–14

The notes of the figure are marked with accents, as in the example from *Carnaval,* so that they become a prominent part of the texture. This figure is also used throughout the second key area of the Sonata in both its normal and inverted forms.

These extra-musical references found in the motives of the Sonata have a parallel in the iconographic symbolism found in the title page of the original edition. According to this title page, the author of the work is not Schumann, but two members of the *Davidsbund*: Florestan and Eusebius. This may be seen as a direct challenge to the musical Philistines. (See Plate 1.)

EXAMPLE 9: Sonata, 1st movement, measures 141–77a

The title page was designed by the German painter and illustrator Bonaventura Genelli,[18] whom Liszt later intended to commission to design the lantern slides that would have accompanied his *Dante* Symphony.[19] This illustration contains a wealth of interesting figures from various cultures and periods.

The griffin is a hybrid beast, a combination of a lion and an eagle. Hybrid beasts, such as the griffin, were often used to represent something that was out of place, violating or not conforming to existing classes. The representation of the union of two different elements might also indicate a reconciliation of opposites. The use of such an animal in a 19th-century work of art certainly suggests the fantastic or supernatural. The symbol of two griffins has traditionally been associated with the ideas of enlightenment and wisdom.[20] In iconographic studies, the griffin itself is typically associated with such things as courage, enlightenment, vigilance, strength, swiftness, valor, and wisdom.[21] It is used in some contexts as a guardian to the road that leads to salvation or to treasure.[22] The griffin was also seen as a transporter of deity.[23] It is often associated with things that combine contrasting qualities. Thus in

PLATE 1

K 10 c 12

Op. XI.

Eigenthum des Verlegers.
Eingetragen in das Vereins-Archiv.

Pr. 1 Thlr. 10 Gr.

Leipzig, bei Fr. Kistner.

early Christian art the griffin was used as a representation for Christ, the eagle representing his divine nature and the lion his human nature.[24] It was used in early Christian art not only to represent Christ, but also the Antichrist.[25] The opposite qualities suggested by the beast may perhaps refer to the theory of the *Doppelgänger*, or double soul, that is found in Jean Paul's writings, and that Schumann subsequently adopted into his philosophy; Florestan and Eusebius were manifestations of the two ideas. The idea of the *Doppelgänger* might also be seen in the two heads at the top of the figure.

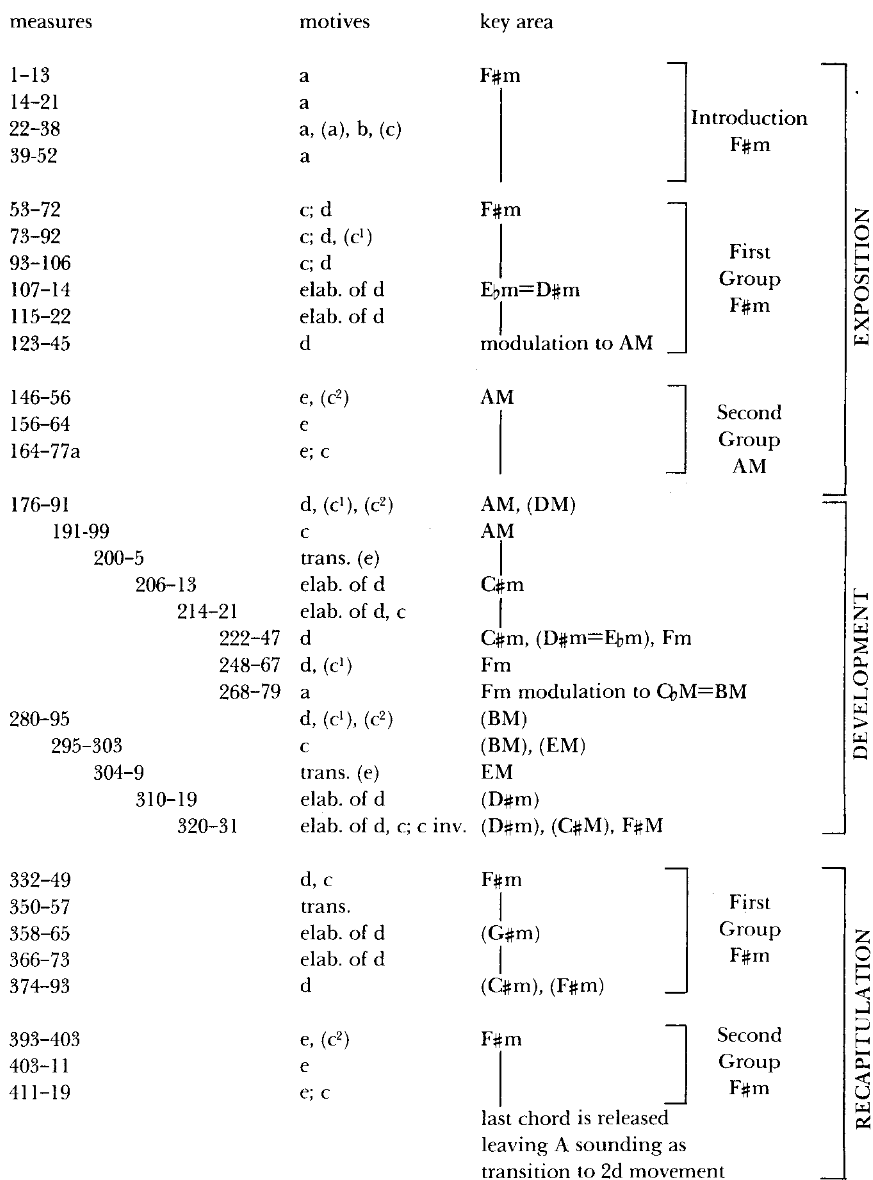
The goose heads are symbols of such things as imagination, love, spiritual purity, wakefulness, and warning.[26] The goose is also frequently associated with speech and eloquence.[27] The figure in the center may be considered a spirit, who carries ideas from one place to another. She would be associated with divine wisdom, with the wings in particular representing such things as authority, knowledge, loftiness, mind, soul, and spirituality. All of these symbolic associations relate the work even more closely to both Clara and the *Davidsbund*. The idea of battle against the Philistines is also suggested by the words to the song "An Anna," which speak of being carried "pallid from the field of battle."[28]

The formal aspect of the Sonata represents yet another challenge to the musical Philistines. Schumann wrote in 1830:

> Whoever always works in the same forms and conditions will become at last a mannerist or Philistine. There is nothing more harmful for an artist than continued repose in a convenient form; as one grows older the creative process itself diminishes and then it is too late. Many a first rate talent only then recognizes that but half his problem was solved.[29]

The formal ideas Schumann used in the Sonata show an interest in a new and more idiosyncratic approach to form that is also seen in later compositions—for example, the large-scale oratorios, such as *Das Paradies und die Peri* and *Die Rose Pilgerfahrt*. Several stylistic features of the first movement, such as the widespread use of sequence, the use of dance forms and rhythms, the generally improvisatory character of the music, and the use of a driving, motor-like rhythm that dominates the entire movement, may be seen as a return to many of the aesthetic principles of the Baroque. The use of sequence is particularly noteworthy. Sequences are used throughout the work on a small scale, particularly in the first thematic group (see Example 5). The tonal polarity is thereby weakened, so that much of the first theme group has an ambiguous feeling with respect to tonality. The entire development is also constructed as a sequence on the structural level, with the first part repeated a whole step higher.

Unusual formal devices are present in the first movement. The use of unexpected key relationships may be seen in the transition section to the second key group of the exposition; this transition, in E-flat minor, has a submediant relationship to the first key area of F-sharp minor and a tritone relationship to the second key area of A major.[30] Material from the introduc-



measures	motives	key area	group	section
1–13	a	F♯m	Introduction F♯m	EXPOSITION
14–21	a			
22–38	a, (a), b, (c)			
39-52	a			
53–72	c; d	F♯m	First Group F♯m	
73–92	c; d, (c¹)			
93–106	c; d			
107–14	elab. of d	E♭m=D♯m		
115–22	elab. of d			
123–45	d	modulation to AM		
146–56	e, (c²)	AM	Second Group AM	
156–64	e			
164–77a	e; c			
176–91	d, (c¹), (c²)	AM, (DM)		DEVELOPMENT
191-99	c	AM		
200–5	trans. (e)			
206–13	elab. of d	C♯m		
214–21	elab. of d, c			
222–47	d	C♯m, (D♯m=E♭m), Fm		
248–67	d, (c¹)	Fm		
268–79	a	Fm modulation to C♭M=BM		
280–95	d, (c¹), (c²)	(BM)		
295–303	c	(BM), (EM)		
304–9	trans. (e)	EM		
310–19	elab. of d	(D♯m)		
320–31	elab. of d, c; c inv.	(D♯m), (C♯M), F♯M		
332–49	d, c	F♯m	First Group F♯m	RECAPITULATION
350–57	trans.			
358–65	elab. of d	(G♯m)		
366–73	elab. of d			
374–93	d	(C♯m), (F♯m)		
393–403	e, (c²)	F♯m	Second Group F♯m	
403–11	e			
411–19	e; c	last chord is released leaving A sounding as transition to 2d movement		

FIGURE 1: Schumann Sonata in F-Sharp Minor, First Movement

tion surprisingly reappears in the middle of the development section—and in the very unexpected key of F minor.

EXAMPLE 10: Sonata, 1st movement, measures 266–80

At the end of the first movement a low A played by the right hand is held so that it is the last note to be heard; this acts as a transition to the second movement, which is in A major.

EXAMPLE 11: Sonata, 1st movement, measures 410–19

The use of a rudimentary transition between movements, the close relationship between the principal themes, and the other unusual formal features of the first movement all foreshadow techniques Schumann later used in his D-Minor Symphony, the first version of which was written in 1841, only six years after the Sonata was completed.[31]

Schumann was quite conscious that he was breaking many of the 18th-century traditions and conventions in his stylistic treatment and formal organization of the Sonata. He wrote in a letter to the composer Hermann Hirschbach in 1838:

> You know nothing about my larger compositions, sonatas (which appeared under Florestan and Eusebius' name). I believe (if you do not

already see it in my shorter pieces) you would see how numerous and new are the forms contained in them. I do not think about form any more while composing; I just do it.[32]

The F-sharp Minor Sonata of Schumann is a very different type of sonata from that found fifty years earlier. Much of this change is a result of Schumann's creative process, inspiration, and extra-musical association. Schumann's sonatas have frequently been maligned by critics, but Schumann himself felt that he was blazing new paths into a new era:

> There is a class of sonatas which are most difficult to discuss; they are those correctly written, honest, well-meant sonatas which the Haydn-Mozart school produced by the hundred, and of which even today specimens are brought to light here and there. If they are criticized, the common sense of the one who produced them would have to be criticized. They have natural cohesion, well-proportioned structure. . . . But certainly to attract attention today, indeed even to please, takes more than simply being honest. . . . In short, the sonata style of 1790 is not that of 1840; the demands as to form and content have risen everywhere.[33]

NOTES

[1] One example of increasing interest in this area is the journal *19th Century Music*, which began publication in 1977. Many of the articles in this periodical involve text critical studies of 19th-century compositions. Several examples from the first volume (1977–78) are: Robert Bailey, "The Structure of the *Ring* and Its Evolution," pp. 48–61; Linda Correll Roesner, "Schumann's Revisions in the First Movement of the Piano Sonata in G Minor, Op. 22," pp. 97–109; and Rufus Hallmark, "Sketches for *Dichterliebe*," pp. 110–36.

[2] William S. Newman, *The Sonata since Beethoven* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969), p. 262. The Sonata was evidently completed in 1835, as is shown by a letter from Clara dated 1 September 1835. The letter may be found in Berthold Litzmann, *Clara Schumann: ein Künstlerleben nach Tagebüchern und Briefen*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: n.p., 1925; reprint ed., Hildesheim: Olms, 1971), 1:87–88. Clara refers to the work in this letter as the "Davidsbündlerschen Florestanschen Sonate."

[3] Other examples of this type of procedure are cited by Edward A. Lippman in his biographical study of Schumann found in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 12 (1963):271–93.

[4] The relationship of the Sonata to earlier works has been pointed out by Paula Rehberg and Walter Rehberg, *Robert Schumann: sein Leben und sein Werk*, 2d ed. (Zurich: Artemis, 1969), pp. 439–40; Hermann Abert, *Robert Schumann*, 2d ed. (Berlin: "Harmonie" Verlagsgesellschaft für Literatur und Kunst, 1910), pp. 62–63; and Joan Chissell, *Schumann Piano Music*, B. B. C. Music Guides (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972), pp. 26–28.

[5] The "Fandango" Ms. is reprinted in Robert Schumann, *Sonata, Op. 11, in F-sharp Minor*, ed. Harold Bauer (New York: Schirmer, 1945), pp. 3–6.

[6] See Figure 1 and Walter Dahms, *Schumann* (Berlin: Schuster & Loeffler, 1916), p. 82.

[7] The 1840 edition bears the title: "Grande Sonate pour le Pianoforte, composée et dedicée à Mademoiselle Clara Wieck, Pianiste de S. M. l'Empereur d'Austriche par Robert Schumann. Nouvelle Edition," and was apparently printed from the same plates as the first edition. The first page adds Robert Schumann's name in parentheses under that of Florestan and Eusebius. Other than the later correction of a few printing errors in these early editions (principally missing accidentals, phrase lines, and articulation marks), the texts of these two early editions and the current *Gesamtausgabe* are the same.

[8] "Ohnehin was mir den ganzen Tag die Idee zum zweiten Heft der Papillons im Kopfe

umgegangen—nun fand ich etwas von "organischen Kunstwerk"—von Missverstehen u. tausenddeutigen Räthsel. Aber so ist der Deutsche—ich habe ihm etwas an Jean Paul u. an den einzelnen Scenen zu rathen gegeben—er verlangt aber im Augenblick, schwarz auf weiss zu hören, wo Vult flucht, was er flucht—wo Jacobine stekt. Irr'ich nicht, so ist Rellstab's Andeutung auf Jacobine gut. Sollte etwa zu viel Schwärmerei drinnen seyn?

"Aber der Schluss machte mich sehr zufrieden u. eine freundlich Gesinnung spricht aus jedem Worte. Am Clavier kam der Fandangogedanke über mich—da war ich ungemein glüklich. Wie ich aufhörte, sah ich noch zum Fenster heraus u. am schönen Frülinghimmel hinauf—leise Luftwogen fühl' ich da' auch eine Nachtigall hört' ich so innig—Und wie ich so recht an die Papillons dachte, schwärmte ein schöner, grosser Machtschmetterling an's Fenster heran. Er bleib aber fern vom Licht u. versengte sich die Flügel nicht.

"Die war eine schöne Deutung für mich: aber der Fandango ging mir gar zu sehr im Kopfe herum. Das ist aber auch eine himmlische Idee mit Göttergestalten u. noch plastischer, als der Maskenball.

" 'Ich war auf dem Maskenball, wo die Papillons flatterten' schreibt Rellstab." Robert Schumann, *Tagebücher*, vol. 1, ed. Georg Eismann (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1971), p. 401.

Schumann had evidently been reading a review of his *Papillons* by Rellstab that had appeared on 25 May 1832, five days before this journal entry. This caused him to think back on *Flegeljahre*, which in turn stimulated thoughts of this new dance, the Fandango.

[9] Another example may be seen in a letter written by Schumann in 1839: "Von einer Ahnung schrieb ich Dir; ich hatte sie in den Tagen vom 24. bis zum 27 März bei meiner neuen Composition; es kommt darin eine Stelle vor, auf die ich immer zurückkam; die ist als seufzte Jemand recht aus schwerem Herzen: 'ach Gott'.—Ich sah bei der Composition immer Leichenzüge, Särge, unglückliche, verzweifelte Menschen, und als ich fertig war und lange nach einem Title suchte, kam ich immer auf an: 'Leichenphantasie'—Ist das nicht merkwürdig—Beim Componiren war ich auch oft so angegriffen, dass mir die Thränen herankamen und wusste doch nicht warum und hatte keinen Grund dazu—da kam Theresen's Brief und nun stand es klar vor mir." Litzmann, 1:310.

[10] The letter may be found in F[riedrich] Gustav Jansen, *Die Davidsbündler* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1883), p. 154. It reads in part, "Ich schliesse diesen Zeilen ein Allegro di Bravura bey. Nehmen Sie es vielleicht statt des Fandango an, da ich von ihm schon vor geraumer Zeit einen Bogen verloren und bis jetzt den Faden nicht wieder aufgefunden habe?—Wird er noch fertig, so steht es dann natürlich bei Ihnen, ob Sie ihn später drucken wollen oder nicht."

[11] Roesner (p. 97) points out that the second movement of the G-Minor Sonata, Op. 22, is based on an early song, "Im Herbste," composed as was "An Anna" in 1828. In the case of the G-Minor Sonata, the original song is modified and expanded considerably, while the slow movement of Op. 11 is a more straightforward transcription of "An Anna."

[12] Many of the early compositions of Schumann contain extra-musical references to Clara. Other examples are the *Davidsbündlertänze*, Op. 6, which contain a "motto" of Clara Wieck; and the Impromptus, Op. 5 and the second movement of the F-Minor Piano Sonata, Op. 14, which are based on themes by Clara. During the 1830s Clara gave many private performances of Robert's early works, including the F-sharp Minor Sonata (see Litzmann, 1:103–4 and Dahms, p. 82). In addition, Clara's composition "Le ballet des revenants" from her *Soirées musicales*, Op. 5, is based on the same thematic material as the first movement of Schumann's F-sharp Minor Sonata. For a discussion of this work, see Rehberg, p. 663 and Chissell, pp. 26–27. It is difficult to determine which composition influenced the other, as they were both composed during the same time period.

[13] Litzmann, 1:109; Dahms, pp. 88, 293.

[14] "Abends riss ich mit Clara sechs Bacchische [*sic*] Fugen ab, vierhändig a vista prima. Der höllandischen Maid gab ich einen leisen, schönen Kuss u. ich nach Haus kam gegen neun Uhr, setzt' ich mich an's Klavier u. mir war's als kämen lauter Blumen u. Götter aus den Fingern hervor, so strömte der Gedanke auch fort. Dar war der Gedanke C F. G C." *Tagebücher*, p. 400.

[15] "Manches Gute hat unser langes Wartenmüssen auch; es wird so manches abgethan sein,

was bei Andren in die Ehe fällt. Eben sehe ich, dass Ehe ein sehr musikalisches Wort ist und zugleich eine Quinte." Clara Schumann, ed., *Jugendbriefe von Robert Schumann*, 4th ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1910), p. 281. Schumann uses the open fifth motive with the notes E H E (E B♮ E) at mm. 144–47 (see Example 9).

[16] This motive has a close relationship to the falling-fifth motive—the interval is merely filled out in the case of the scale.

[17] Chissell points out some of Schumann's uses of this motive as a reference to Clara, pp. 13, 18, 22, 28–29.

[18] Dahms, p. 82.

[19] Humphrey Searle, "The Orchestral Works," in *Franz Liszt: The Man and His Music*, ed. Alan Walker (New York: Taplinger, 1970), p. 310.

[20] Gertrude Jobes, *Dictionary of Mythology, Folklore, and Symbols*, 2 vols. (New York: Scarecrow, 1972), 1:691; Ad de Vries, *Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1974), p. 229.

[21] Jobes, 1:690–91; Heinz Mode, *Fabulous Beasts and Demons* (London: Phaidon, 1973), pp. 127–29.

[22] de Vries, p. 229; Howard Daniel, *Devils, Monsters, and Nightmares: An Introduction to the Grotesque and Fantastic in Art* (London: Abelard-Schuman, 1964), pp. 47–48.

[23] Jobes, 1:690.

[24] Ibid., 1:691.

[25] George Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 7.

[26] Jobes, 1:676.

[27] de Vries, p. 221.

[28] "Nicht im Thale der süssen Heimath
Beim Gemurmel der Silberquelle
Bleich getragen aus dem Schlachtfeld
Denk' ich dein, du süsses Leben, denk' ich dein."

[29] Quoted from Thomas Brown, *The Aesthetics of Robert Schumann* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1968; reprint ed., Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975), p. 153. "Wer sich immer in denselben Formen und Verhältnissen bewegt, wird zuletzt Manierist oder Philister; es ist dem Künstler nichts schädlicher als langes Ausruhen in bequemer Form; in älteren Jahren nimmt die Schaffenskraft ohnehin ab, und dann ist's zu spät, und manches treffliche Talent gewahrt dann erst, dass es seine Aufgabe nur zur Hälfte gelöst." Martin Kreisig, *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker von Robert Schumann*, 5th ed., 2 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1914), 1:389–90.

[30] In the sketches for the "Fandango," this section is in C-sharp minor. In the final version of the Sonata, this section is moved to the recapitulation and leads to the second theme group, which is stated in the tonic key of F-sharp minor (see Figure 1).

[31] Dahms, pp. 133–34.

[32] Quoted from Brown, p. 153. The original source is F. Gustav Jansen, *Robert Schumanns Briefe* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1904), p. 137.

[33] Quoted from Brown, p. 73. "Es gibt eine Klasse von Sonaten, über die sich am schwierigsten reden lässt; es sind jene richtiggesetzten, ehrlichen, wohlgemeinten, wie sie die Mozart-Haydnsche Schule zu hunderten hervorrief, von denen noch jetzt hier und da Exemplare zum Vorschein kommen. Tadelte man sie, man müsste den gesunden Menschenverstand tadeln, der sie gemacht; sie haben natürlichen Zusammenhang, wohlanständige Haltung. . . . Aber freilich, heutigen Tages aufzufallen, ja nur zu gefallen, dazu gehöhrt mehr als bloss ehrlich sein . . . kurz, der Sonatenstil von 1790 ist nicht der von 1840; die Ansprüche an Form und Inhalt sind überall gestiegen." Kreisig, *Gesammelte Schriften*, 2:11.

THE MEYER MANUSCRIPT: AN 18TH-CENTURY AMERICAN TUNEBOOK

David W. Music

In 1966 the Music Library of Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, Ft. Worth, Texas, purchased a collection of early American tunebooks from the estate of the late Henry E. Meyer of Georgetown, Texas. This extensive collection contains many rare and interesting items, including early editions of tunebooks by Asahel Benham, William Little and William Smith, Freeman Lewis, John Wyeth, Allen D. Carden, Lowell Mason, J. H. Hickok, William Walker, and B. F. White and E. J. King, to name only a few.[1]

In addition to these valuable prints, the Meyer collection includes an 18th-century American tunebook in manuscript. This oblong tunebook, catalogued under the call number TN4/M294/T, is bound in a soft cloth cover and measures 16.5 by 10.5 centimeters. There are thirty-seven folios, each with entries on both *recto* and *verso*. The contents are as follows:

Theoretical introduction	[i]
Alphabetical table of tunes	[ii–iii]
Theoretical introduction (continued)	[iv–v]
Music	1–68
Two hymn texts (written upside down)	[vi]

The manuscript was copied in ink by the same hand throughout. Most of the pages contain six hand-drawn staves, though some few contain seven or eight. An unusual pagination places page one on a *verso*, page two on a *recto*, and so on, probably to conserve paper.

Unfortunately the manuscript contains neither a date nor an owner's signature, and it is not known where or from whom Henry Meyer acquired it. Although the possibility of determining its exact provenance and date is scant, the theoretical introduction, the musical notation, and especially the repertory of the manuscript all point directly to a New England origin and a date in the second half of the 18th century.

The theoretical introduction to the tunebook is short (three pages) and contains instructions and examples of "common" and "tripla" time signatures, as well as key signatures, note and rest names, musical characters, scales and solmization syllables, and "Rules for tuning the Voice." Such instructions are common to many American tunebooks of the 18th century. In fact, a similar set of rules was in print as early as Thomas Walter's *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained* (Boston: J. Franklin for S. Gerrish, 1721); the similarity of content suggests that the introduction to the Meyer manuscript may have been copied from a later edition of this very book (perhaps the 1764

edition) or, more likely, from Daniel Bayley's *A New and Complete Introduction* (Boston: Daniel Bayley, 1764).

The music is written in a remarkably neat hand. The notes are diamond shaped with the stems, when present, protruding from either the top center or bottom center of the note. Diamond-shaped notes appear in several of the American tunebooks that were published during the 18th century, including the Walter and Bayley books previously mentioned. Although some manuscripts of 18th-century music in America display the rounded note heads and stem placement that is characteristic of modern music notation, at least one, a holograph of William Billings's tune "Brookfield" dating from 1767–70,[2] is copied in the same type of diamond-shaped notation found in the Meyer manuscript. "Brookfield" also appears in the Meyer manuscript (see Plate 1). The note heads of the Billings holograph are more rounded than those in the manuscript tunebook—perhaps they were notated hurriedly—but their diamond shape is unmistakable. The differences in the two notations ensure that they were not written by the same hand, but the diamond-shaped notation in the Billings holograph and Walter and Bayley books at least implies that this type of calligraphy was in use in America during the period immediately preceding the Revolutionary War.

The date of the manuscript can be further narrowed by a consideration of the repertory preserved in its pages. The book contains psalm tunes, hymn tunes, and fuging tunes, most of English origin, though several were composed in the New World. All these tunes appeared in at least one American publication during the 18th century, and most were published several times before 1800. None of the tune settings appear to have been original with the manuscript either, for, with a slight exception to be noted later, they too are found in the published repertory of 18th-century American psalmody.

A glance at the Appendix given below shows that all the tunes and settings in the manuscript had been published in America by 1774 except for Oliver Brownson's "The 24th Psalm Tune or Norwich," which was first printed in Andrew Law's *Select Harmony* (New-Haven: Thomas and Samuel Green, 1779).[3] Some of Brownson's tunes are known to have circulated in manuscript before the publication of his own *Select Harmony* (New-Haven: Thomas and Samuel Green, 1783);[4] perhaps they were also in circulation before the publication of Law's book in 1779. Thus the manuscript tunebook might date from between 1774 and 1779, with "The 24th Psalm Tune or Norwich" being an early copy of the as yet unprinted Brownson tune.

Another possibility is that the bulk of the book was copied before 1779 and that Brownson's piece was added following its first printing in Law's book. This seems to be supported by the notation of "The 24th Psalm Tune or Norwich," which is rather more crowded on the page than most of the tunes in the manuscript. However, Brownson's piece occurs less than one-third of the way through the book and is at the top of a page that also contains a tune printed much earlier ("Falmouth"), diminishing the likelihood of its insertion at a later time.

PLATE 1: "Brookfield"

Crawford and McKay have pointed out that American music manuscripts seem to have circulated most widely during the years of the Revolutionary War when "shortages of paper and copper and unstable currency brought music publishing almost to a standstill." When the war finally ended in 1783 the number of American music publications increased dramatically.[5] Another point in favor of dating the manuscript during or slightly before the early part of the Revolution is the absence of such popular tunes as Lewis Edson's "Lenox," "Bridgewater," and "Greenfield," all of which were first printed in 1782.

Thus it can be said with some assurance that the Meyer manuscript was copied in New England sometime between 1779 and 1783 or, less likely, between 1774 and 1779. The manuscript seems to date from precisely that point in the Revolutionary War when materials for printing music would have become scarce in America.

The manuscript contains 114 tunes. By far the largest number of these (102) are in three parts. There are also three single-line canons, four four-part pieces, and five tunes in two parts.

Seven fuging tunes appear in the manuscript, including Joseph Stephenson's classic "Psalm 34," as well as American compositions such as Brownson's "The 24th Psalm Tune or Norwich" and Bull's "122 Psalm." It is interesting to note that not a single fuging tune by William Billings was included, though the tunebook does contain his "Sapphick Ode" and several other pieces.

Some of the fuging tunes are three-part reductions of pieces that were originally in four parts,[6] usually accomplished simply by omitting the superius of the original setting. At times, however, this omission of the top part causes the fuging tune to lose the rhythmic drive inherent in its original four-part setting. An example is Stephenson's "Psalm 3d," in which the third fuging section begins well enough with entries by bass and tenor, but then the bass drops out, leaving the tenor to sustain a single note until the medius makes its fuging entry accompanied by the bass (see Example 1). This abrupt halt of the rhythmic flow does not occur in the four-part version, since the superius fills the void with a fuging entry that begins one measure after the tenor statement of the theme.[7]

The three canons in the manuscript are all titled "A Canon of 4 in one." "Awake my soul, awake my eyes" was squeezed into the bottom of a page and might have been added as an afterthought. The other two were given more ample space on the opposite page. The canon "To God the Father" does not seem to have been published in New England before 1800, though other pieces using this doxological text appeared there in various publications. However, "To God the Father" is simply a metrical alteration of the canon "Blest is the Man" from the original tripla time, second mood, to common time, second mood. Significantly, both canons appear on the same page of the manuscript, but "To God the Father" appears *above* "Blest is the Man," suggesting that the former was copied first. This transcription into common

EXAMPLE 1

etc.

Be thou

etc.

Be thou my shield and friend

etc.

Be thou my shield and friend Be thou

time seems to represent the only original contribution in the manuscript (see Example 2).

It is difficult to identify the exact American sources from which the compiler took a particular tune or setting, since the same settings were often used

EXAMPLE 2

"To God the Father"

To God the Fa - ther God the Son

"Blest is the Man"

Blest is the man who fears the Lord

etc.

And God the Spi - rit three in one.

etc.

And walks in all his pi - ous ways.

in many different books. However, the Appendix shows that the compiler of the Meyer manuscript almost surely had access to Walter's *Grounds and Rules of Musick* (Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1764), Bayley's *New and Complete Introduction* (Boston: Daniel Bayley, 1764 and/or 1768), Tans'ur and Williams' *American Harmony* (Newbury-Port: Daniel Bayley, 1769 and/or 1773), and Stickney's *Gentleman and Ladies Musical Companion* (Newbury-Port: Daniel Bayley, 1774), as well as other books. The most influential collection seems to have been Bayley's *New and Complete Introduction*, as 46 of the 114 tunes and settings in the manuscript appeared in either the 1764 or 1768 editions of Bayley's book.

Because of its apparent reliance on previously published materials, the Meyer manuscript cannot be said to be as significant as, for example, the Waterhouse manuscript, which transmits pieces copied before their first publication.[8] Nevertheless, the Meyer manuscript does perhaps tell us something about the manner of performing psalm- and fuging-tunes in 18th-century America when singers were scarce (i.e., singing a four-part piece in three parts). In addition to the apparently original reworking of the canon "Blest is the Man," the manuscript also provides a link between the music books published in America before the Revolution and those that appeared following its cessation. The period of the Revolutionary War saw only some half-dozen music books come from American presses. Thus the repertory of American music was to a certain extent preserved and transmitted to post-Revolutionary America through such means as the Meyer manuscript.

APPENDIX: TABLE OF TUNES[9]

Tune	Page in Ms	American Publications of Tune Settings Resembling Ms
All-Saints	3	Flagg 1764
Amsterdam	45	Flagg 1764
Awake my soul (canon)	53	Williams 1769
Bangor	2	Bayley 1764
Barby	33	Bayley 1764
Bethesda	16	Williams 1769
Blenheim	34	Bayley 1764
Blest is the man (canon)	54	Tans'ur 1767
Bray	24	Tans'ur 1767
Bromsgrove	6	Walter 1760; Bayley 1764
Brookfield	3	Billings 1770
Brunswick (2 parts)	44	Bay Psalm Book 1737
Buckingham	5	Williams 1769
Buckland	14	Johnston 1755; Bayley 1764
Burlington	38	Walter 1760; Bayley 1764
Burnham	23	Flagg 1764
Cambridge	35	Tufts 1726; Bayley 1764
Canterbury	9	Walter 1764
Cheshunt	29	Bayley 1764

Tune	Page in Ms	American Publications of Tune Settings Resembling Ms
Chester Tune	65	Billings 1770
A Christmas Hymn	46	Gilman 1771
Colchester-New	2	Walter 1760; Bayley 1764
Dalston	19	Tans'ur 1767
Dunchurch	36	Tans'ur 1767
Egham	49	Bayley 1764
Ely	26	Bayley 1764
Epsom	11	Bayley 1764
Evening Hymn	28	Bayley 1764
Exeter	8	Bayley 1764
Exeter	56	Stickney 1774
Falmouth	22	Tans'ur 1767
Fareham	47	Bayley 1764
Farnham	50	Williams 1769
Fetterlane	18	Bayley 1770
A Funeral Thought	17	Bayley 1764
Guilford	7	Tans'ur 1767
Hallelujah to Burnham[10]	65	Flagg 1764
Harlington	51	Flagg 1764
Hartford	27	Bayley 1767
Hixham	6	Bayley 1764
An Hymn for Christmas Day	30	Bayley 1764
An Hymn for Morning or Evening	30	Bayley 1764
Isle of Wight	43	Tufts 1728
Islington	24	Bayley 1768
Kiderminster	1	Bayley 1767
Kingsbridge (2 parts)	68	Bayley 1768
Landaff	32	Bayley 1767
Lanesborough	63	Stickney 1774
Little Marlborough	8	Bayley 1764
Littleton	55	Flagg 1764
London	37	Walter 1721
London New	10	Walter 1721; Bayley 1764
Lutterworth (2 parts)	53	Bayley 1770
Manchester	49	Walter 1721
Mansfield	52	Bayley 1767
Marlborough	27	Bayley 1767
Martyrs	35	Walter 1721
Mear	12	Turner 1752
Morning Hymn	28	Bayley 1764
Morning Hymn	41	Lyon 1761
Morton Tune by Arnold (2 parts)	67	Flagg 1764

Tune	Page in Ms	American Publications of Tune Settings Resembling Ms
New-Eagle Street	20	Williams 1773
New-York	11	Johnston 1755; Bayley 1764
Newbury	23	Flagg 1764
Newbury-Port	40	Bayley 1764
Norwich 148 Psalm by Dr. Green	52	Williams 1769
Orange	38	Lyon 1761; Bayley 1764
Plymouth	26	Walter 1764
Pool	57	Stickney 1774
Portsmouth	39	Bayley 1770
Putney	4	Stickney 1774
Quercy	13	Turner 1752; Bayley 1764
Rickmansworth	4	Flagg 1764
Ripon	20	Lyon 1761
Rochester	18	Bayley 1764
St. Anns	36	Bayley 1764
St. Asaphs	33	Tans'ur 1767
St. Davids	48	Bayley 1764
St. Hellens	29	Bayley 1764
St. Humphrys	12	Turner 1752
St. James's	47	Bayley 1770
St. Lukes (4 parts)	31	Bayley 1764
St. Martins (4 parts)	5	Walter 1760; Bayley 1764
St. Martins New	50	Bayley 1770
St. Michaels	25	Walter 1764
St. Patricks	42	Bayley 1770
Sapphick Ode	61	Billings 1770
Savoy	60	Williams 1769
Southwell	37	Walter 1721; Bayley 1764
Standish	10	Walter 1760; Bayley 1764
Stanes	54	Bayley 1767
Strowdwater	48	Bayley 1764
Sunday	42	Bayley 1770
Sutton	7	Williams 1769
To God the Father (canon)[11]	54	Tans'ur 1767
Trinity	41	Flagg 1764
Trumpet	39	Bayley 1764
Virginia (2 parts)	68	Bayley 1768
Wantage	1	Flagg 1764
Warwick	13	Johnston 1755; Bayley 1764
Wells	17	Bayley 1764
Westminister	44	Walter 1721
Weston-favel	15	Bayley 1764
Windsor	40	Walter 1721

Tune	Page in Ms	American Publications of Tune Settings Resembling Ms
Worksop	53	Walter 1764
Worminster	14	Bayley 1767
York	9	Walter 1721; Bayley 1764
Psalm 3d by J. Stephenson	59	Bayley 1773
The 24th Psalm Tune or Norwich (4 parts)	22	Law 1779
Psalm 34 by Stephenson	21	Flagg 1766
67th Psalm	34	Bayley 1764
100th Psalm	43	Walter 1721
Anthem to 100th Psalm	25	Tufts 1728
122 Psalm (4 parts)	66	Stickney 1774
148 Psalm	51	Walter 1721; Bayley 1764

Key to American Publications:

Bay Psalm Book 1737	*The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs.* Boston: S. Kneeland & T. Green, 1737.
Bayley 1764	Daniel Bayley. *A New and Complete Introduction.* Boston: Daniel Bayley, 1764.
Bayley 1767	Daniel Bayley. *The Psalm-Singer's Assistant.* Boston: Daniel Bayley, 1767.
Bayley 1768	Daniel Bayley. *A New and Complete Introduction.* Boston: Daniel Bayley, 1768.
Bayley 1770	Daniel Bayley. *The Essex Harmony.* Newbury-Port: Daniel Bayley, 1770.
Bayley 1773	Daniel Bayley. *The New Universal Harmony.* Newbury-Port: Daniel Bayley, 1773.
Billings 1770	William Billings. *The New-England Psalm-Singer.* Boston: Edes and Gill, 1770.
Flagg 1764	Josiah Flagg. *A Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes.* Boston: Paul Revere and Josiah Flagg, 1764.
Flagg 1766	Josiah Flagg. *Sixteen Anthems.* Boston: Josiah Flagg, 1766.
Gilman 1771	John Gilman. *A New Introduction to Psalmody.* Exeter: John Wd. Gilman, 1771.
Johnston 1755	Thomas Johnston. [*Tunes.*] Boston: Thomas Johnston, 1755.
Law 1779	Andrew Law. *Select Harmony.* New-Haven: Thomas and Samuel Green, 1779.
Lyon 1761	James Lyon. *Urania.* Philadelphia: William Bradford, 1761.
Stickney 1774	John Stickney. *The Gentleman and Ladies Musical Companion.* Newbury-Port: Daniel Bayley, 1774.
Tans'ur 1767	William Tans'ur. *The Royal Melody Complete.* Boston: W. M'Alpine for Daniel Bayley, 1767.
Tufts 1726	John Tufts. *An Introduction to the Singing of Psalm Tunes.* Boston: Samuel Gerrish, 1726.
Tufts 1728	1728 edition of above.

Turner 1752	James Turner. [*Tunes.*] Boston: James Turner, 1752.
Walter 1721	Thomas Walter. *The Grounds and Rules of Musick Explained.* Boston: J. Franklin for S. Gerrish, 1721.
Walter 1760	1760 edition of above.
Walter 1764	1764 edition of above.
Williams 1769	Aaron Williams. *The American Harmony.* Newbury-Port: Daniel Bayley, 1769.
Williams 1773	1773 edition of above.

NOTES

[1] Meyer was mainly interested in acquiring shape-note tunebooks from the 19th century; the bulk of his collection reflects that preoccupation. The Meyer collection has been inventoried and described in Ken Stanton, "Henry E. Meyer and American Folk-Hymnody" (M.C.M. thesis, Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1975).

[2] For facsimiles see Hans Nathan, *William Billings: Data and Documents,* Bibliographies in American Music, no. 2 (Detroit: Information Coordinators for The College Music Society, 1976), p. 21 and David P. McKay and Richard Crawford, *William Billings of Boston* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), Figure 3.

[3] Richard Crawford, *Andrew Law: American Psalmodist* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1968), p. [366].

[4] Richard Crawford and David P. McKay, "Music in Manuscript: A Massachusetts Tune-book of 1782," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 84 (April 1974):49

[5] Ibid., pp. 48-49.

[6] The same is true of many of the psalm and hymn tunes in the manuscript.

[7] Cf. Daniel Bayley, *The New Universal Harmony* (Newbury-Port: Daniel Bayley, 1773), p. 87.

[8] Crawford and McKay, "Music in Manuscript," p. 44.

[9] Tune names and composer identifications are given as they appear in the manuscript, except for the three canons, which are listed here under their text incipits. All tunes are in three parts except where otherwise noted. The list of American publications generally includes only the first printing known of a setting similar to the one in the manuscript. Later reprintings of the same or a closely similar setting in Bayley's *New and Complete Introduction* (1764) are also noted. In many cases the tune appeared earlier as a single-line melody or in a setting different from that of the Meyer manuscript.

[10] The compiler of the manuscript inadvertently omitted the "Hallelujah" when copying the tune "Burnham," a mistake he rectified by copying the "Hallelujah" later in the book and cross-referencing it. Thus the list of tunes contains 115 entries, but only 114 tunes.

[11] A metrically altered version of the canon "Blest is the Man."

ABBÉ VOGLER'S THEORY OF REDUCTION

Floyd K. Grave

"I hear that Vogler at Mannheim has brought out a book, which the Government of the Palatinate has prescribed for the use *of all clavier teachers in the country, both for singing and composition*. I must see this book and I have already ordered it." Thus Leopold Mozart declared in a letter to his son (11 June 1778), during the course of Wolfgang's sojourn in Paris.[1] The reference to the Mozarts' antagonist from Mannheim, Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler (1749–1814), concerns the latter's *Kuhrpfälzische Tonschule* of 1778,[2] a two-volume compilation that included a reprinting of an earlier treatise, *Tonwissenschaft und Tonsezkunst* (1776),[3] and a variety of pedagogical essays. In describing his eagerness to see the book and lecturing Wolfgang on the usefulness of such a work for teaching purposes, Leopold seems to have forgotten that his son had already passed judgment on *Tonwissenschaft und Tonsezkunst* in one of his letters from Mannheim: on 13 November 1777 Wolfgang reported borrowing a copy of the treatise from Cannabich, reading it, and deeming it "more useful for teaching arithmetic than for teaching composition."[4]

Mozart's disdainful epithet would not have astonished Vogler, who had come to find such insouciance in theoretical matters a woefully prevalent ailment among fellow musicians. Vogler believed that musical understanding must be based on scientific foundations, and he complained that the methods by which amateurs and professionals of his day were taught left them innocent of the rational knowledge essential to a proper musical education. Worst of all were the traditions of thoroughbass and Fuxian counterpoint. In the study of thoroughbass, the pupil was burdened by an utterly confusing array of empirical rules and exceptions, and the rigors of Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* were neither rational nor relevant to the exigencies of modern, practical composition. The treatises of Rameau and his successors constituted an improvement, for they banished the confusion of the thoroughbass methods by advancing the concept of the fundamental bass. Their reasoning was faulty, however, and their treatises failed to achieve the vital connection between theory and practice that must be a theorist's central aim.[5] A rare, intuitive genius such as Mozart could proceed on his own (Vogler held his younger rival's music in highest regard),[6] but the common practitioner, the amateur, and the normally gifted pupil of composition were destined to wander astray if their only guide was the blind empiricism of haphazard rules based on traditions of dubious authority.

Adopting the role of reformer, Vogler proclaimed the need to start afresh, to establish a true science of harmony upon which a system for the teaching of music could be based. Beginning with basic principles, he designated the

natural resonance in a sounding string as his point of departure. He observed that a three-fold unity emerges from this string, a perfect triad that corresponds to the mathematical proportions 1:1/3:1/5. From the start Vogler saw this phenomenon as the wellspring of musical elaboration. Here, he sensed, lies the source from which all musical diversity must arise, and the essential unity to which all diversity may ultimately be traced. Inspired by the teachings of his mentor, the Paduan *maestro di cappella* Antonio Vallotti, he proposed a Cartesian chain of deductions that would lead step by step from this simplest of natural materials to the greatest complexity of artistic inspiration.[7] By pursuing this rationalist course, he believed that he could master the secrets of musical organization and distill them in a single, universally comprehensible system.

Fueled by his conviction in the truth and necessity of his vision, Vogler's striving to realize his goal became a lifelong endeavor, an ongoing crusade for the cause of enlightenment that spanned more than three decades of the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Along the way he left a written record of his efforts that includes formal expositions of his theories, essays on musical science and aesthetics, and various experiments in analysis. The chief aim of these writings was to forge a link between theory and practice by showing how the phenomenon of musical coherence might be explained in accordance with the precepts of his rational system.

The effort was to yield remarkable results. Vogler discovered that the creation of musical diversity, stemming from the natural triad, could be comprehended in terms of a hierarchy of harmonic organization, and that in accordance with the structure of his system, a given composition could be reduced to its structural essence and ultimately to the triad itself. Apparent in rudimentary form in Vogler's earliest writings, this notion grew to become an element of primary importance in his teachings. An inquiry into Vogler's theory of reduction thus proves essential to an understanding of his system and the nature of his contribution as a theorist.

The published writings in which Vogler expounded his principles include two full expositions of his system: the eighty-six-page treatise that Mozart encountered (*Tonwissenschaft und Tonsezkunst*) and the more definitive *Handbuch zur Harmonielehre* (Prague, 1802). The earlier volume, addressed to the heterogeneous readership of the abbé's music school at Mannheim, served as a basis for the essays and analyses in his three-volume serial, *Betrachtungen der Mannheimer Tonschule* (1778–81).[8] It proposes a dichotomy between theoretical basis and practical application. *Tonwissenschaft*, the science of music, concerns the derivation of tonal resources, including the triad, the scale, and the consonant and dissonant intervals. *Tonsezkunst*, the art of composition, explains how these materials are organized and put to use; it includes the preparation and resolution of dissonance, the function of cadences, chord succession, rules for part writing, the concept of tonality, and modulation. In the later *Handbuch*, published as the supplement to a series of university lectures at Prague, Vogler offered not only a more detailed

explanation of his precepts, but a tighter logic in his presentation as well. Here the less rigorous dichotomy yields to a single, continuous chain of deductions that spans the gamut of compositional resources.

In both treatises Vogler begins by probing the primal materials of harmonic organization (the "Urstoff") through acoustical observations and corresponding mathematical operations performed on a sounding string.[9] The instrument he employs is not the traditional monochord, but an eight-string device that he calls the *Tonmaass*. Each of its strings is tuned to the same pitch, great F, and fixed bridges, placed on the rectangular body of the instrument beneath each string, mark their division into 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 parts, respectively. The relationships thus made available give all the proportions and acoustical materials he needs for his system.[10] On the less suitable monochord, he observes, one reckons arithmetically: the octave is determined as 1:2, the fifth as 2:3, the fourth as 3:4, and the major third as 4:5. By contrast, the multiple strings of the *Tonmaass* enable us to proceed harmonically (1, 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, etc.) with the full string length constantly present as a point of reference. It is precisely this natural, harmonic order, he declares, that the *Tonmaass* makes simultaneously perceptible to the hand, the eye, and the ear.[11] Though Vogler ultimately draws upon the resources of his entire eight-string spectrum, the derivation of the proportions 1, 1/3, and 1/5, yielding the triad, suffices for the initial steps in his chain of reasoning.

With his natural triad in hand, Vogler immediately proceeds to use its constituent elements in constructing the major and minor scales. Following a procedure comparable to Rameau's (and also Vallotti's), he conceives the major scale as a conflation of three triads whose roots lie a fifth apart: the original triad on F, an identical triad built on its fifth, C, and a third triad built on G, the fifth of C. When brought within the range of the octave, the tones of these chords produce a diatonic major scale on C. Identifying the minor triad as a chord based on the major with reversed thirds, he employs the analogous procedure with minor triads on D, A, and E, to obtain a diatonic minor scale on A.[12]

Vogler recognizes that he is now one step removed (two steps in the case of the minor) from his point of origin. His major scale, after all, is based not on the fundamental point of reference, great F on the *Tonmaass*, but on its fifth, C. He can nevertheless point to a natural model for this scale: the series arising from the eighth through the sixteenth partials and readily demonstrated on the strings of the *Tonmaass*. Though this natural scale is unusable for harmonic purposes (the fourth degree is too high, the natural seventh too low), it stands as proof that a scalar ordering of tones can be traced to natural origins.[13] This buttress for his artificially constructed scales is a matter of no mean importance to Vogler, for the diatonic scales will play a crucial role in the design of his system. As we shall see below, they provide both a basis for harmonic elaboration and a vehicle by which diversity will be traceable to its source in the *Urstoff* of the original triad.

Having established these scales, Vogler determines that by analogy with

the three chords already called upon to form each scale (and now occupying first, fourth, and fifth scale degrees), other chords may be built on the remaining four degrees. These additional triads, occupying the second, third, sixth, and seventh steps, are accepted as fundamental, and each is understood as a sovereign representative of its key. To designate the different tonal functions that those chords represent, Vogler lights upon a method that eventually becomes standard: he assigns Roman numerals to each triad according to the scale degree upon which it is built.[14] Proceeding now to specify the relationships among these chords, he finds a natural model in the concept of the cadence.

As proven by operations performed on the *Tonmaass*, the fifth is the first, most perfect, and hence most decisive interval to arise after the octave (it was this interval that enabled Vogler to form a scale from his three primary chords [I, IV, and V]). He concludes that the most decisive chord progressions in a key are those in which the root moves up or down a fifth, and that most important of all is the progression from V to I. The falling fifth is embodied in the tonic chord itself, and the progression therefore represents a point of connection between natural, simultaneously sounding harmony and harmonic succession.[15] Owing to its elemental nature and acoustical perfection, this V–I progression gives the impression of finality. It is therefore *schlussfallmässig*, or cadential. Vogler decides that in addition to the fifth relationship, the acoustical perfection of the penultimate chord gives the progression its cadential quality (in other words, the V chord is endowed with a major third). It is for this reason that the third of the V chord must be raised in minor if a satisfying cadence is to be achieved.[16]

Reasoning from the traits of his perfect V–I cadence, Vogler identifies no fewer than nine additional types (see Example 1 below, taken from the *Handbuch*). These include the half cadence I–V and the plagal cadence IV–I (available only in major, for in minor, neither of its members possesses the major, *schlussfallmässig* third that the theorist demands of a properly decisive cadence). Additional cadence types expand the available spectrum of resources by moving beyond the realm of primary triads. Vogler reasons that the progression VII–I in major is cadential, for not only does it feature the cadential third of the V chord (the seventh scale degree), but the chord in its entirety is contained within a V chord with added seventh. This cadence is available in minor as well, since the seventh scale degree has already been raised to accommodate the cadential V–I progression. From here he takes the remarkable step of adding to the ranks of cadences three types with a raised fourth scale degree. The first of these (#IV–V in major) he obtains by analogy with the VII–I cadence. In effect, he sees it as a natural model for a secondary dominant, and he justifies its appearance by recalling the natural scale, in which the interval between fourth and fifth degrees approximates that between the cadential seventh degree and tonic. When transferred to the minor, this #IV–V cadence produces a new chord quality, that of the diminished third (e.g., D#-F-A in A minor), which becomes an augmented sixth by

EXAMPLE 1

V - I   I - V   IV - I   VII - I   raised IV - V

V - I   I - V   VII# - I   IV# - V   II - V

inversion. Finally, by analogy with the relationship between VII and V with an added seventh (e.g., B-D-F, contained within the chord G-B-D-F), the II chord in minor with raised fourth degree and an added seventh (i.e., the French sixth) may be added to the repertory of cadential harmonies (the chord B-D#-F-A embodies the cadential D#-F-A). A final possibility, the cadential II with added seventh in major (D-F#-A-C) is excluded by Vogler as too decisive for a secondary dominant within the tonic key; instead, it suggests an actual modulation to the key of the fifth.[17]

Up to this point Vogler has derived a virtually complete repertory of chord types and has shown how they function in the context of cadential progressions. (One legitimate type not included among the cadences is the augmented triad, which appears on III in minor with raised seventh scale degree.) Since the cadences, rooted in nature, provide models for all other chord successions, the theorist has thus supplied himself with a basis for the organization of chords within a key.[18] With the exception of one chord with an added seventh (his cadential II in minor), this entire array of chords and cadences employs only triads.[19] Indeed, "there is no harmony but that of the triad," Vogler asserts, for to reach beyond triadic harmony (stemming from his chord of nature) is to enter the realm of dissonances by which the nominally consonant harmony of the triad is diversified and embellished.[20]

To acquire the materials necessary for this next link in his chain of deductions, Vogler now returns to the *Tonmaass*. The first six partials yielded the tones of a perfect triad. The addition of the seventh partial produces a sound that entertains the ear with a mildly restless quality. Neither consonant nor sharply dissonant, this is the *Unterhaltungssiebente*,

whose size approximates the interval G–F in the diatonic major scale.[21] The initial step from consonance to dissonance has now been taken, and the resulting interval is understood as equivalent to the seventh built on the fifth scale degree, i.e., the dominant seventh. To the triad on each degree of the scale, he now permits the addition of a seventh, and with this full complement of sevenths at his disposal he deduces rules for their treatment. He first reasons that the acoustical instability of the seventh demands resolution, preferably downward by step.[22] The smaller, cadential sevenths (i.e., those most closely related in size and function to the dominant seventh and its natural progenitor) may arise freely without preparation. This privilege applies to the V^7, the VII^7 in major, and the diminished seventh of the VII^7 in minor.[23] The larger, non-cadential sevenths (either major or minor) are more remote from the original, natural seventh, and Vogler therefore decides that they require both preparation (as consonances or lesser dissonances) and downward resolution.[24]

Vogler has now accounted for the sevenths that adorn any triad in a key. He has yet to explain those dissonances that occur by the suspension of one or more triadic chord tones. In Example 2a below, the notes C and E function as suspensions that resolve to the chord tones B and D, respectively. To derive these dissonances, Vogler draws upon the reasoning of his teacher, Vallotti.[25] First of all, he observes that the two dissonances in Example 2a are indistinguishable from consonant chord tones of a second-inversion triad. By the same token, a third dissonance (the tone A in Example 2b, for instance) may prove indistinguishable from the root of a triad with an added seventh in the bass. This confusion is only apparent, Vogler declares. The suspension dissonances can and must be distinguished from chord tones, and their origin can be readily demonstrated on the *Tonmaass*. For just as the seventh partial supplies the first element added beyond the triad, one may now draw upon three additional partials, the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth, to account for the origin of these other dissonances.[26] The C and E in Example 2a are not actually the fourth and sixth suggested by the bass figures. Strictly speaking, they are true dissonances, the eleventh and thirteenth; their origin lies not within the triad, as inverted fifth and third, but in the more remote divisions of our sounding string.

EXAMPLE 2

a. | 6 4 | 5 3 || b. | 6 4 2

This distinction must rest upon the context; just like the larger, noncadential sevenths, each of these further dissonances must be suitably prepared and resolved downward by step. In Example 3, taken from Vogler's *Zwei und dreisig Präludien* of 1806 (to be discussed below), the sonority on the downbeat of measure 73 would appear out of context to be a root-position triad. As Vogler observes, "only the preparation and resolution indicate that [this] B flat cannot be the chord root." Instead, it must be interpreted as a dissonant thirteenth, which resolves to the fifth of the D-minor triad.[27]

EXAMPLE 3: Prelude No. 8, measures 72–73

[Allegro moderato]

[Dm:] I VII♯ I VII♯

The other dissonances to be accounted for are various melodic embellishments that are not part of the harmony, and whose nonessential function is readily apparent from context. Classifying them as *Vorschlag*, *Nachschlag*, and *Zwischenklang* (i.e., appoggiatura, escape tone, and passing tone), he observes that they are relatively short in duration, rhythmically weak, and distinctly melodic in function. Though nonessential, they lend diversity and flexibility to the harmonic outline, as Vogler demonstrates in the examples that accompany the *Handbuch*. Distinguishing between the framework ("Gerippe," also "Skelet") and the embellishment, he shows not only how the harmony may be adorned (see Example 4a), but how the embellishing tones themselves may be adorned with embellishments (see Example 4b).[28]

EXAMPLE 4

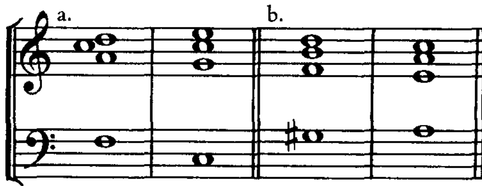
a. 7 5 3 1 b. 7 5 3 1

Vogler can now claim that one can "resolve all vertical combinations to a simple and single triad, and can rest assured that for any harmony that occurs, no matter how complicated it appears, a root with third and fifth may be discovered, and that this third and fifth form a root-position chord." This "system of reduction" ("Redukzions-System") enables Vogler to distinguish rationally between fundamental harmony and dissonance in any given musical fabric.[29] Confident in the soundness of his reasoning, he proclaims the superiority of this system over the devices of other fundamental-bass theorists, notably Rameau and Kirnberger.[30]

The weakness of Rameau's theory he finds exemplified in the French master's anomalous *sixte ajoutée*. According to this notion, the chord F-A-C-D may claim F rather than D as its root in the irregular cadence seen in Example 5a.[31] The interval between C and D is manifestly dissonant, yet the note C (lying a fifth above Rameau's designated root) must be understood as a consonance, and the freely struck D must likewise be interpreted as consonant. How, Vogler asks, can we make sense of such a chord, whose characteristic dissonance has nothing to do with the very foundation of the harmony?

Exposing what he regards as a comparable flaw in Kirnberger's system, Vogler observes that the Berlin theorist would analyze the first chord in Example 5b as a dominant ninth (E-G#-B-D-F) whose root is missing.[32] Here

EXAMPLE 5



Kirnberger contradicts himself, Vogler claims, for if the F were truly a ninth, then it would have to be prepared as a consonance, in accord with Kirnberger's own rules. Since Kirnberger allows it to be freely sounded as a seventh, it must be a seventh, and G#, not the imaginary E, must be the real root of the chord.

Vogler concludes that Rameau and Kirnberger have gone astray by embracing the perfect triad as their theoretical point of reference.[33] Enamored of the *accord parfait*, they justify an acoustically embarrassing sonority as a perfect triad in disguise, thoroughly disregarding the role its constituent tones play in the musical fabric. By adhering to faulty precepts, in other words, they sacrifice a basic musical consideration—the context of the voice leading—as a factor in the interpretation of a chord.

His own system, Vogler declares, has saved him from such pitfalls, for his chain of reasoning has enabled him to leave acoustical foundations behind

after his initial derivation of the perfect triad. From there he has progressed to the scale as a point of reference for reckoning chord function and dissonance. Rameau and Kirnberger must look for a perfect triad as a rational basis for a vertical sonority; Vogler's system permits him to build chords freely on any degree of the scale (including the acoustically groundless raised fourth and seventh degrees) and to adorn each of these triads with any of the four available dissonances (i.e., seventh, ninth, eleventh, or thirteenth).[34]

With his *Redukzions-System*, which specifies the relationship between dissonance and consonant, functional harmony within a key, Vogler has drawn a direct line from the elaborated surface of a musical texture to a tonal center, represented by a scale and the triads that may be built upon any of its degrees.[35] Having explained the relationships that obtain within a key, he proceeds to the final step in constructing his system: a theory of modulation, whereby tonal organization extends from a single key to all keys.

The essential elements of a modulation, Vogler reasons, may be reduced to three: a point of origin, a destination, and the vehicle by which the two are logically connected.[36] He focuses on the crucial role of this middle element, which must function as a pivot. To explain its function, Vogler reminds us that the meaning of harmonies and their constituent tones is dependent on context. By way of introduction to the issue in the *Handbuch*, Vogler shows that (Rameau and his *note sensible* notwithstanding) there is not one "leading tone" but nine. Consider the melodic progression G sharp to A, he proposes, and witness how its character changes with a change in harmonization. In the illustration he offers (see Example 6), it appears as the third of the V chord in A major and minor (measures 2–3), as a member of the altered II^7 in D minor (measure 4), as the raised fifth of an altered III and an altered III^7 in A minor (measures 5–6), as the root of the VII chord in A major and minor (measures 7–8), and as the root of the raised IV in D major and minor (measures 9–10). In each instance, the G sharp may be construed as a "leading tone," yet each time it occurs its grammatical meaning and expressive effect are different.[37]

This phenomenon of multiple meaning, *Mehrdeutigkeit*, applies to chords as well as individual tones. Any given triad is understood to function within a key, but this function depends on the context.[38] Consequently, every triad is a potential pivot between two keys. A C-major chord, for example, may appear as III in A minor, but then function as a pivot to become VI of E minor. The spectrum of possibilities is broadened by virtue of various enharmonic spellings that inflected cadential chords make available. The cadential diminished seventh, for example, may have four different spellings, signifying VII^7 in any one of four different keys; the augmented triad has three different spellings; and the French sixth admits two. The German sixth allows an additional possibility, whereby the diminished third is respelled as a major second (e.g., F#-A♭-C-E♭ respelled as G♭-A♭-C-E♭); hence the augmented sixth of one key may become the dominant chord with added seventh

EXAMPLE 6

1 2 3 4 5

V I V I II V III VI

6 7 8 9 10

V III/V VI VII I VII I IV♯ V IV♯ V

of another.[39] As Vogler shows with an abundance of sample modulations in the *Betrachtungen* and the *Handbuch,* the possibilities of *Mehrdeutigkeit* enable one to modulate from a given tonal center to any other (a total of forty-four possibilities) by means of a single pivot.[40] Since the concept of *Mehrdeutigkeit* rests on the theory of chord function, and enharmonic spellings originate in the three scale degrees that may legitimately be altered (the raised seventh in minor, the raised fourth in minor, and the raised fourth in major), Vogler can now show that the basic materials of his system give rise to a virtually limitless realm of harmonic possibilities.

Vogler is now ready to apply this system to the analysis of exemplary compositions. Early examples of such analyses may be witnessed in the fascicles of the *Betrachtungen* (1778–81), where critiques of model vocal and instrumental works discuss structural hierarchy, harmonic organization on different levels of structure, and harmonic embellishment. Typically, these analyses account for large-scale tonal schemes on one hand and the harmonic

content of individual phrases on the other. As a rule, the relationship between the larger design and the detail remains unexamined.

Interspersed with the analyses, however, are various essays, lectures, and theoretical inquiries that aim for a more integrated view of harmonic organization.[41] In the course of these studies, Vogler ponders the interaction of unity and diversity in the unfolding of an elaborate composition. According to the notion of aesthetics and tonal order that he proposes, diversity means building new relationships upon a foundation. Unity means preserving the sense of hierarchical order by which the diversity must be harnessed. Within a phrase, for example, the unified structural formula of the cadence (I–V or V–I) may be embellished with intervening harmonies. A cadential progression such as F–C in F major or A–E in A minor may be modified to embrace an interpolated root, for example F–D–C or A–F–E. In either instance, "an embellishing harmony is inserted at the very place where the decisive cadential chord should have stood," and the essential unity of the cadential fifth progression is retained.[42]

The complementary relationship of unity and diversity obtains on higher levels as well:

> Between C and C, with which I wish to begin and end [a composition], an intermediate element must be introduced in order for something to be expressed; as long as we hear only C, nothing has been said. This intermediate harmony must indeed be the most closely related, either F or G.[43]

The unified scheme may be adorned by an intervening modulation, just as a cadential progression may be elaborated by an intervening harmony.

> [One composer,] for instance, begins his piece in C [and] then goes to G, according to the strictest rules of tonal succession. But this is so dull, so commonplace. Then comes another, who also heeds the rules but knows how to insert such unexpected digressions, slipping away quite unnoticed into D minor before establishing G.[44]

Here, Vogler's modulation to the key of the second scale degree embellishes the structurally predominant move from tonic to fifth.

By thus pursuing the implications of his theories, Vogler finds that his system assigns special importance to the cadential, key-defining interval of the fifth, and that this interval plays a key role in governing the equilibrium between unity and diversity. Retaining its identity as a relationship between keys, chords, or tones, it imposes itself as the fundamental organizing force, projected on different hierarchical levels, that resides in the sounding string and its resonating third partial.[45] This insight suggests that the complexity of elaboration—including melodic embellishment, dissonance, chord succession, and modulation—may be reducible to the simplest of harmonic structures, represented by the I–V–I cadential progression.

During the two decades that followed the *Betrachtungen*, circumstances

prevented Vogler from further developing his idea of reduction in published writings. But in the early years of the 19th century, we find him seizing opportunities to examine the issue afresh, and in the process his grasp of the concept matures. Elaborating a theme introduced in the *Betrachtungen*, he now expounds a notion of musical rhetoric, proposing an analogy between the structure of a composition and that of an oration.[46] In music, as in rhetoric, the coherent, hierarchical order of the whole is of primary importance, and the eloquence and impact of the design depend upon the dynamic interplay of unity and diversity. This line of thought leads him back to his idea of reduction, for if he can show how the elaborate rhetoric of a composition can be traced to a fundamental unity, then he will have the means to explain the elaborations that flow from the *Urstoff* of the sounding string and its partials. He struggles to render this possibility in concrete terms through a major endeavor in critical analysis.

The stimulus for this new venture was an unauthorized reprinting of his early *112 petits préludes pour l'orgue ou fortepiano*, first published in 1776. Surprised by the reappearance of these youthful (and, he now thinks, imperfect) miniatures, he felt obliged to thwart anticipated criticism by taking a selection from the set, subjecting them to expansion and thorough revision, and publishing them on his own. The result was a group of *Zwei und dreisig Präludien*,[47] arranged systematically by key in a manner that calls to mind the preludes and fugues of Bach.[48]

True to his ideal of connecting theory and practice, Vogler intended these pieces both for practical use and for instruction in musical science and aesthetics. To begin he suggests that they may be taken as models of counterpoint and harmonic practice,[49] and that they can be appreciated as hypothetical reductions of larger compositional spans. Their small proportions (lengths of individual preludes range from twenty-five to eighty-eight measures) enable the form to be "easily grasped and perceived; the pupil of composition can [thus] all the more easily abstract rules of procedure for his future compositional technique."[50] Each of the preludes may thus speak for itself as an example of clarity in design and aesthetic purpose, but to specify his intentions and elucidate the musical resources employed, Vogler has decided to adorn the publication with a substantial commentary on each piece. For two of the preludes (Nos. 8 and 10), the commentaries offer complete analyses of the chord roots, but, as Vogler suggests, such chord-by-chord accounts scarcely penetrate the territory of musical rhetoric that he has set out to explore.[51] These critiques are primarily intended as spontaneous sketches, some focusing on minutiae, others on larger design, but all charged with the task of capturing a dynamic process of elaboration, often through metaphors for the drama of musical relationships. References to *Spannung* abound, as developing thematic particles engage in combat;[52] harmonic progressions race ineluctably to a close,[53] and elsewhere they indulge in mischievous evasion or violent surprise,[54] or betray a homesick yearning for tonic.[55]

As part of his effort to portray musical rhetoric, Vogler persistently alludes to relationships between the elaborated design and the structure on which it is based. The fragmentary insights he offers in leading us "to fathom the remote elaborations, and to trace them to the simplest harmony"[56] provide the material from which his ideas on harmonic reduction can be extracted and examined; taken together they form a coherent picture of Vogler's strivings to develop his theory of reduction.

Beginning with Vogler's application of the *Redukzions-System* in relating dissonances to their consonant foundations, one immediately finds an effort to progress from the mere labeling of chords to a broader view of harmonic syntax. In the commentary on Prelude 15, for example, he admonishes the reader to beware the pitfalls of chord-by-chord analysis in deciphering the logic of a progression. "As soon as someone has a chord before him, he forgets about the context and does not examine whether it had a consonant or . . . dissonant function."[57] The instance in question involves the harmony of measure 32 (see Example 7), which one might be led to interpret as I^{6}_{4}–V. But

EXAMPLE 7: Prelude No. 15, measures 31–33

this, Vogler protests, would result in a senseless juxtaposition of chord roots between the presumed I^{6}_{4} and the preceding chord at the end of measure 31. What logic could there be to the appearance of a tonic F-major chord following the raised VII of C minor?[58] Arguing for an interpretation that takes context and voice leading into account, he concludes that the F and A of measure 32 should be regarded as suspended dissonances (i.e., the eleventh and thirteenth), even though the preparation and resolution are neither altogether literal nor direct. According to the improved analysis, the diminished chord at the end of measure 31 is interpreted as a #IV, which logically progresses to the V. On the downbeat of measure 32, F and A are held over as the fifth and (implied) seventh of the preceding chord.

We find a related lesson on the importance of context in Vogler's critique of Prelude No. 8. Here, as in the previous instance, he calls attention to an embellishment that might be analyzed as an independent chord if isolated from its surroundings. The sonority in question occurs in measure 4, beat 2 (see Example 8), where the note E appears in the tenor above A in the bass.

EXAMPLE 8: Prelude No. 8, measures 3–4

Though one might be tempted to analyze this open fifth as a V chord with missing third, a larger view of the passage compels one to understand the entire measure as prolonged tonic harmony: since the suspended G demands resolution to F (beat 3), the intervening E can only be understood as an appoggiatura that delays the resolution. The A in the bass thus functions not as a root but as the fifth of the prevailing tonic chord.[59]

Other instances in which Vogler reduces surface elaboration to a harmonic foundation involve purely melodic embellishment. In the measure quoted in Example 9, from Prelude No. 7, Vogler acknowledges that it might be

EXAMPLE 9: Prelude No. 7, measure 15

"difficult to pick out the chord roots because of the many melismatic figures," but that nevertheless, "none other than E and A can be ascertained."[60] Here, the tones appearing on the eighth-note beats belong to the framework of a cadential progression (II–V in D minor). This fact (reinforced by a slow prevailing rate of chord change) obliges us to interpret the notes between the beats as mere appoggiaturas.

Context plays a comparably important role in Example 10, from Prelude No. 14, where an apparent four-part chord is interpreted not as an independent sonority but as a composite embellishment. Here the appoggiatura of measure 2 (see Example 10a) recurs above moving inner voices in measure 17 (see Example 10b). The resultant harmony is that of a diminished seventh chord. But how can it be analyzed? In Vogler's system, the only function normally given such a chord is VII^7 in minor; since no spelling of the sonority

EXAMPLE 10: Prelude No. 14, measures 1–2, 17

yields a plausible VII^7 in this context, the moving parts on beat 2 can only be melodic embellishments.[61]

Once the *Redukzions-System* has been applied and the essential chord progression determined, analysis by reduction may proceed with the extraction of a higher-level unity from the elaborate surface harmony. Initial steps in this direction may be witnessed in Vogler's explanations of how a distant goal may relate to a unified tonal scheme. In expounding on Prelude No. 3, for instance, he describes the modulatory path that leads from F minor (a key closely related to the tonic C minor) to the remote goal of G flat (see Example 11). Attempting to capture both the rhetorical process and the underlying logic of the plan, he observes:

EXAMPLE 11: Prelude No. 3, measures 16–18

> From measures 17 to 31, the modulation steadily advances [and] allows no retrogressive movement; tension is maintained constantly, every event is new. The chord of D-flat major in measure 17 indeed appears intent on announcing itself as the subordinate sixth of the preceding F minor, but takes the liberty at once of reigning as tonic. It turns in measure 18 to G flat [functioning] as the cadential fifth.[62]

Thus the remote excursion is traced to its source in the unity defined by the tonic key and its close relatives.[63]

Vogler also shows how a remote relationship may be analyzed as a digression—a passage that elaborates the structure and may play an important part in the rhetoric of the whole, but that nevertheless stands apart from the framework and can be distinguished as an interpolated element. He calls attention to such an instance in his thorough analysis of Prelude No. 8 in D minor (see Example 12). After a tonal excursion to the remote goal of E flat

EXAMPLE 12: Prelude No. 8, measures 67–70

67 68 69

[*f*] *p*

[Dm:] I V VI V I VII

[E♭:] V I

(measures 42–64), the reestablishment of tonic occupies a span of 24 measures (measures 65–88). Within this final section, the two-measure passage between 67 (beat 3) and 69 (beat 2) functions as a mere parenthesis. Digressing momentarily from the prevailing tonic key, it delays the approach to the dramatic epilogue ("epiphonema") that begins at measure 72. Actually, as Vogler points out, such a delay proves undesirable, and the rhetoric is improved if the digression is excised. He has retained it for its instructive value only, as a cautionary example to clarify the contrast between a rhetorically appropriate digression and one that interferes with the coherent progress of the harmony.[64]

A suitably effective digression, by contrast, occurs in Prelude No. 22 in G (see Example 13). As in the preceding instance, a return to the tonic key has been achieved after a tonal excursion (here reaching into the parallel minor). Yet now Vogler senses that various factors, including the desirability of a gradual transition from the minor mode to the major, call for the type of interpolation that proved detrimental in the D-minor prelude. He observes:

> Measure 28 could probably have followed measure 23, yet this recurrence seemed too early and too unsettling; too early because without this digression or diversion, the epiphonema [i.e., the following six-measure epilogue] . . . would certainly (if you will allow me this bizarre illustration) have stuffed the mouth but not satisfied the stomach; too unsettling because a free interpolation between the strict imitations [of the subject in the preceding and following passages] and a mediation between major and minor would, though not expected, be welcomed by the hearer.[65]

EXAMPLE 13: Prelude No. 22, measures 23–28

[Allegro]

A tonal digression, then, may be understood as a parenthesis whose harmonic content lies outside the essential structure of the piece. But how is such a digression negotiated? What logic of harmonic succession allows such a diversion to unfold? Vogler's analysis of the passage cited in Prelude No. 8 suggests its interpretation as a temporary modulation.[66] Since he labels the digressing chords as V–I in E flat, the theory of *Mehrdeutigkeit* points to the B-flat chord on the downbeat of measure 68 as a pivot between the two keys (VI in D minor becomes V in E flat). Vogler's analysis of the harmony in measure 69, however, suggests no such mediation between the temporarily established E flat and the return to the tonic D minor. Is a more satisfactory solution available?

As Vogler explores the resources of his system in these commentaries, his observations suggest that digressions of this type may actually fall within the province of the prevailing tonic. For example, in the course of his commentary on Prelude No. 15, he observes that the study of harmonic succession ("Tonfolge") is generally in a primitive state, and though he has not had the chance to formulate an exhaustive theory on the subject, he wishes to offer a contribution toward that end by showing how harmonic "antipodes" (i.e., chords whose roots lie a tritone apart) may be connected in a single, coherent progression. In the two supplementary examples he cites, the juxtaposition involves a secondary dominant within an extended cadential formula. As shown in Example 14, which quotes from the second of the two examples, a progression through the key of B-flat minor may lead directly from a G-flat

EXAMPLE 14

[B♭m:] I VI V [of V] V VII

major chord (functioning as VI) to a C-major chord with added seventh. This latter chord is explained, he tells us, as the fifth of F major, the dominant of the prevailing key. The antipodes, major chords on G flat and C, are thus brought into the orbit of a single key.[67]

As one can see, the concept of the secondary dominant is firmly embedded in Vogler's system, where it appears in the form of the #IV–V cadence in major. Clearly confirmed as an analytical resource in the discussion cited above, the secondary dominant proves to be an essential ingredient in Vogler's analyses of the preludes: it provides him with a model for explaining the presence of embellishing harmonies in foreign territory. The phenomenon of the Neapolitan sixth, for example, is foreign to Vogler's vocabulary of possible chords in a key, for the only altered chords normally available are those with raised fourth or seventh scale degrees. Yet the Neapolitan relationship is common in Vogler's own compositional style, and it plays an outstanding role in the preludes. Confronting the Neapolitan in a footnote, he acknowledges that the chord (which he does not designate with a name) is a stranger to the key in which it occurs. Nevertheless, "a certain *haut goût* has accustomed our ears" to its occurrence as part of a cadential formula such as the following.[68]

	5♮	
6♭	3#	3♮
D	E	A
IV of F	V	I

In a manner typical of his logic, Vogler gives the Neapolitan the status of a legitimate harmony within the prevailing key, but derives it as a chord function borrowed from a related key. Such an interpretation helps explain our two-measure digression in Prelude No. 8, where the momentary move to E flat may now be understood as a prolongation of the Neapolitan, which is adorned with its own dominant.

But how can such a seemingly arbitrary borrowing be justified? What is the basis of the *haut goût* by which a particular foreign harmony, such as the Neapolitan sixth, becomes a legitimate convention and not merely a case of grammatical leniency? The question touches a sensitive nerve in Vogler's theory, for he knows that his system is deficient in rules for harmonic succession. There are basic prohibitions that can be explained, but what about the spectrum of possibilities lying between the cadential models and prohibited progressions? As Vogler struggles with this issue in the *Präludien*, we find that in one instance he approaches a solution of primary importance.

His decisive encounter with this problem occurs in the commentary to Prelude No. 5, where he ponders the move to a half cadence in the tonic key (D major) at the end of the initial section of his piece (see Example 15). Concern-

EXAMPLE 15: Prelude No. 5, measures 20–21

[Allegro]

[D:] I ♯IV V I V
[Bm:] ♯VII I

ing the logic of this passage (in which the progression within the tonic key is embellished by a passing reference to B minor and enriched by a chord of the raised fourth), Vogler writes:

> If you give in to the old prejudice and regard the missing E as the chord root in the fourth quarter of measure 20, then this melodic harmony of measures 20–21 cannot stand (I call this harmonization melodic because of the rounded quality of the outer voices, namely discant and bass, and because of the flowing movement of the inner voices), because the d, as seventh of E, is not allowed to resolve upward.[69]

The focus of Vogler's comment is the apparent lenience of the voice leading between the last beat of measure 20 and the first beat of measure 21. Difficulty arises, he suggests, only if one subscribes to a fundamental-bass theory (such as Kirnberger's) by which the sonority G sharp–B–D would be regarded as a seventh chord on E with missing root. One would then have to interpret the D as a dissonant seventh that should be given a downward resolution.[70] The

point is not merely that his system renders such an interpretation unnecessary, but that the passage as a whole may be justified by the intrinsic coherence of the individual lines. Here the purely linear logic of the voice leading steps into the foreground and receives the sanction of a label, "melodic harmony" ("melodische Harmonie"). As Vogler implies, this principle may be invoked to justify not only the inflected sharp IV–V progression in the midst of the phrase, but also the embracing of B minor and its dominant within the smooth, uninterrupted flow of the cadential passage. No modulation is perceived (except in the very narrowest sense), as the voices follow their clearly defined, stepwise paths to the cadence.

By analogy, a digression to the realm of the Neapolitan may be explained as an instance of "melodic harmony." In the passage from Prelude No. 8, for instance, the move to E flat and the return to tonic are achieved purely by linear means, as part of a single, continuous gesture. The principle of "melodic harmony" thus enables one to subsume such embellishing successions within a larger structural plan.[71]

In summary, Vogler has achieved the reduction of surface embellishments to logical chord successions, and digressions and excursions have been specified as elaborations of a coherent tonal framework. By drawing upon the resources of his hierarchical, rational system, he has explained various elaborations as secondary dominants, borrowed functions from related keys, and tonicized scale degrees. Finally, from the stepwise voice leading of his cadences (VII–I and #IV–V, for example), he has conceived the notion of a "melodic harmony," whereby the linear coherence of individual voices may govern the path of the harmony between one structural goal and another.

Equipped with these tools for harmonic reduction, he now proceeds further in his efforts "to fathom the remote elaborations, and to trace them to the simplest harmony." The ultimate goal of Vogler's schemes of reduction in the *Betrachtungen* is to trace all elaboration back to the relationship of fifths embodied in the I–V–I cadence. Among the analyses of the thirty-two preludes, Vogler does not attempt to take this final step; nevertheless, we do find several instances in which the structure of an extended span within a piece is traced to the interval of tonic and fifth, or to a cadential progression in the tonic key.

He observes that in the design of Prelude No. 4, "the first part . . . has three periods; the first, from measure one to five, rests on the tonic, C minor; the third, from measure 9 to 13, rests on the fifth, G minor; between the two stands the period in E flat."[72] Using wording that recalls the abstractions of the *Betrachtungen*, Vogler calls attention to the fifth relationship between first and third periods. He suggests that they represent a structural framework, and that this outline is adorned with an intermediate, structurally less important statement on the key of the third scale degree.

Elsewhere Vogler proposes a far bolder reduction, one that invokes the model of a cadential progression to explain the coherence of an extended

span of music. The prelude in question is No. 8, the D-minor piece that incorporates the two-measure digression to the Neapolitan in its final section. In the overall design, the parenthetical digression of measures 67–69 takes place shortly after the end of a broader tonal excursion that reached the key of E flat and dwelt there for no fewer than eight measures (57–64). This prolonged emphasis on E flat (the most remote goal attained in the piece) forms a crucial juncture in the design. It provides an effective backdrop for the return to tonic and the start of the epilogue that follows: "one makes a departure in order to return with all the more emphasis," as Vogler remarks of a related instance in Prelude No. 31.[73]

The eight-measure excursion to E flat is important from another perspective as well, for it appears at a climax of rhetorical intensity in the design of the whole. According to Vogler's survey of this plan, measures 1–29 constitute an initial section in which the modulation from tonic to dominant is accomplished. In the second section (measures 30–42) intensity rises as the harmony moves from dominant to relative major. In describing this second segment, Vogler explains that the increased urgency of the rhetoric is underscored by accelerated phrasing ("Rhythmen"), from four-measure phrases to two-measure units. The third section (measures 42–57) reaches the apex of the tension as the harmony passes from relative major to the remote goal of E flat; now the rhythm of the phrasing accelerates even further, from two-measure units to one-measure fragments.[74]

Prepared in this manner, the excursion to E flat stands out as a prominent event. But how can this excursion be accounted for as part of the mandatory tonal coherence of the whole? Familiar now with Vogler's reasoning, one can readily anticipate his answer. He asserts that the logic of the whole presents no difficulties, since "all the keys that occur are related to the tonic D [minor], and in their key signatures are no further removed than by a single accidental (for only through combination and juxtaposition do keys on either end of the spectrum [of closely related keys] appear more remote from one another)." As for the move to E flat, Vogler continues: "since even a key removed by two accidentals, E-flat major, to which we are already accustomed in the following progression,

	6	5♮	3♮
6♭	4	3♯	
G	A		D

exercises rights of sovereignty merely by prolongation ["Verweilen"] and clings to the tonic so intimately, so neighborly, we need only to survey the given analysis to be convinced" of the overall logic.[75]

What is Vogler implying? First of all, by stating that the piece includes no modulation to a key further removed than one accidental from tonic, he indicates that the eight-measure span on E flat need not be called a modulation at all. Instead, the excursion is merely a Neapolitan relationship, pro-

longed to the point where it temporarily functions as a tonic in its own right. In the cadential formula that he invokes as a model, the chord of E flat (as witnessed above) is justified as a borrowed element from a related key: IV of a hypothetical submediant. The borrowing itself is a manifestation of "melodic harmony," by which "the rounded quality" and "the flowing movement" of the voices justifies the path toward a designated goal. The designated goal of the cadential formula is the naturally ordained V–I cadence; the goal of this prelude is the epilogue, where the tonic key returns and the oration "hastens ineluctably to its . . . conclusion."[76] The source of coherence that Vogler identifies, then, is the cadential formula, and the means by which the prolonged E flat "clings to the tonic so intimately, so neighborly," is none other than Vogler's "melodic harmony," the linear coherence of the voice leading.

Vogler followed the *Präludien* with two further projects whose inspiration appears to flow from the same source. The first of these was the controversial publication that offered twelve reharmonizations of Bach's chorales.[77] Demonstrating the possibilities of "melodic harmony," these revisions supplanted Bach's original conceptions with highly inflected, chromatic settings that typically involve a series of dominants between the start of a phrase and its tonal goal. The second, more ambitious project was his *System für den Fugenbau* of 1811.[78] In this sketch toward a comprehensive method of fugue, Vogler outlined a model for a unified, rhetorical elaboration on which a fugue in its entirety could be based. He suggested that the essential unity of a fugue resides in the material and plan of the subject and answer stated at the outset; this subject-answer relationship can then be reduced to a pair of cadences, plagal and authentic, which in turn can be traced to the very simplest relationships inherent in the sounding string.[79]

Vogler explored such ramifications of his theory to deliver his contemporaries further from the doldrums of custom and prejudice into the realm of light and reason. It is clear that the success of his efforts fell short of his aspirations, yet the actual nature and extent of his impact remains obscure. He seems to have made his strongest impressions among a small band of disciples that included Carl Maria von Weber and Giacomo Meyerbeer. Both of these illustrious pupils expressed boundless admiration for their master and generously acknowledged the value of his teachings. Weber, for instance, publicly extolled Vogler as a theorist whose unique perceptions had enabled him to sound the depths of musical science.[80]

Dissemination of his ideas in larger circles was made possible through his music schools at Mannheim and Stockholm, his peripatetic lecturing on musical theory, aesthetics, and criticism, and the published didactic writings that appeared sporadically in the course of his career. Prominent pupils, adherents to his principles, and scholars who espoused his writings helped insure some measure of continuance in the legacy of his teachings.[81] Friedrich Weber, a pupil, became the first director of the conservatory at Prague (1810); Gottfried Weber, apparently an acquaintance of Vogler and a close

friend to Carl Maria, adopted the abbé's system of Roman-numeral analysis and incorporated it in his own teachings; and Anton Reicha, who almost certainly was familiar with Vogler's writings, echoed the principle of *Mehrdeutigkeit* in his own theories of chromatic harmony and modulation.[82]

Yet in spite of such evident success in the promulgation of his ideas, that aspect of his mission closest to his heart—the effort to mend the cleavage between theory and practice—seems to have met with hostility and misunderstanding from a majority of his contemporaries. He was dubbed a charlatan, castigated and denounced for criticizing hallowed masters (most notably J. S. Bach), and summarily dismissed as an eccentric. The judgment of C. F. D. Schubart is especially telling. Schubart bestowed high praise on Vogler as a composer and performer, admiring the fertility of his invention. But in Vogler's adherence to a theoretical system he saw only an artificial constraint that hampered the free flight of his genius.[83]

Vogler protested such judgments to the end, insisting that his system was an aid to spontaneity rather than a hindrance, that it applied equally to the strictest sacred style and the freest improvisatory fantasy.[84] Perceiving his own theories as unadorned, self-evident truths, founded securely on rational principles, Vogler embarked optimistically on his career as a reformer, envisaging the imminent triumph of the enlightened system he strove to advance. Encountering resistance, he eventually came to see himself as a prophet whose misfortune it was to have been born ahead of his time. He wrote in the preface to the *Handbuch* of 1802:

> A new system that quashes all prejudices, uncovers and eliminates all corrupt practices, sets technical skills aright, etc., cannot become universal before an interval of 100 years; for 25 years people have understood none of it, [thus] they have disputed it all the more, if only not to be deprived of their old nonsense, [or] to be driven from their old homeland of lethargy; 25 years later they are, I admit, beginning to understand a little, but they resist giving preference to the new over the old, they do not want to give the inventor, unfortunately still alive, the credit for having invented something better; after 50 years, when two generations of obstinate people will have passed away, comparisons are first made, the new truth gains supporters, the opposing theorists grow tired, [and] thus another 25 years elapse; and finally in the last quarter of the century, genuine, clear-thinking scholars will arise [and] no longer argue heatedly but reflect coolly, and thus, with slow strides, we finally approach the jubilee of the existence of the new system; and lo and behold: the author, whose remains have long since decayed in the ground, gains the upper hand, and his system the strength of a pillar. Then those of the new century will be greatly surprised that anyone could ever have disputed something so true, so simple.[85]

In some respects, Vogler's prophecy proved remarkably accurate. His method of Roman-numeral analysis, for instance, became universally ac-

cepted as simple and true. In a different sense, the fate of his theory of reduction would likewise confirm his prediction, for the implications of this idea would not be definitively realized until the 20th century, notably with the formulations of Heinrich Schenker and his followers.[86] To some extent, then, he would be vindicated, and if his system was misunderstood by contemporaries, that could not be helped. He sensed that it was his destiny to pursue the truth he perceived in spite of all opposition, "to disclose what I know, what could have been accomplished, should have been accomplished, but has never before been accomplished."[87] The result forms a substantial contribution in the history of music theory and pedagogy, for he shows that a theory of harmonic reduction was by no means inaccessible to his time, and that such a goal could be pursued along the path of 18th-century rationalist thinking.[88] In these respects Vogler's teachings lend promising insight into sources of coherence in the musical language of his day.

NOTES

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[1] Emily Anderson, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Mozart and His Family*, 2 vols., 2d ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 2:548.

[2] The publication included the following parts: "Tonkunst," "Clavierschule," "Stimmbildungskunst," "Singschule," "Begleitungskunst" (vol. 1); and "Tonwissenschaft," "Tonsezkunst," "Nuzbarkeit des Tonmases," "Gebrauch der Harmonie," "Tonlehre" (vol. 2). A volume of music examples was printed separately as *Gründe der kuhrpfälzischen Tonschule in Beyspielen* (Mannheim, 1778).

[3] Facs. repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1970.

[4] *Letters of Mozart*, 1:369–70.

[5] See Vogler, *Choral-System* (Copenhagen, 1800), pp. 1-2, 7-9.

[6] See Vogler, *Verbesserung der Forkel'schen Veränderungen über das Englische Volkslied "God Save the King"* (Frankfurt am Main, 1793), pp. 9–10. Comparing Pleyel to Mozart, Vogler writes as follows: "Doch konnte er [Pleyel] keine solche Phraseologie aufstellen, wie der grosse Klavierspieler Mozart.

"Dieser Kraftmann, unerschöpflich in Wendungen, universel in Karakteren, pathetisch im *Adagio*, erschütternd im *Allegro*, der so viele Themen mit Veränderungen, fast darf ich sagen, verschwenderisch dotirt, zeigt in all diesen Geistesprodukten, wie man Einheit des aus- und fortzuführenden Stofs mit der Mannichfaltigkeit in Phrasen verbinden könne." p. 9.

[7] See *Choral-System*, pp. 6–7; see also *Handbuch zur Harmonielehre*, p. vii.

[8] *Betrachtung der Mannheimer Tonschule*, 3 vols., vol. 1; text, *Gegenstände der Betrachtungen* (Mannheim, 1778-81; facs. ed., Hildesheim: Olms, 1974).

[9] "Sie [the extended introduction to the *Handbuch*] liefert . . . eine mathematische Untersuchung, um auf dem Tonmaasse, wo die feinsten und abstraktesten Verhältnisse gehört, gesehen und gegriffen werden können, den Urstof der Harmonabilität zu ergründen." *Handbuch*, pp. xxiii–xxiv.

[10] *Tonwissenschaft und Tonsezkunst*, pp. 1–2; *Handbuch*, pp. 13–16. For an extended discussion of Vogler's *Tonmaass*, see Karl Emil von Schafhäutl, *Abt Georg Joseph Vogler: Sein Leben, Charakter und musikalisches System* (Augsburg, 1888), pp. 201–10. See also Helmut Kreitz, "Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler als Musiktheoretiker" (Diss., Universität des Saarlandes, 1957), p. 77, where Marpurg's description of a comparable multistring measuring instrument is dis-

cussed. Matthew Shirlaw's assertion that Vogler extends the division of his string to the thirty-second term is apparently without basis *(The Theory of Harmony* [London: Novello, 1917], pp. 329, 333).

[11] See the discussion of the *Tonmaass* in *Betrachtungen*, 2:93–104 [101–12]; page references in brackets correspond to the continuous, corrected pagination in the facsimile edition.

[12] *Tonwissenschaft*, pp. 7–10; *Handbuch*, pp. 38–39. The derivation of the minor scale described here follows that of the *Handbuch*; it represents a revision of that offered in *Tonwissenschaft*, where Vogler obtains the tones for a minor scale by adding major thirds (all comparable in size to the interval between F and A) below the first, second, and fifth degrees of his major scale.

[13] *Handbuch*, pp. 16–18, 39–40.

[14] "Römische [Ziffern] benütze ich, um die Hauptklänge auszuzeichnen; z. B. wenn ich im gegebenen Falle noch eine Linie beisetze, *C* für den Hauptklang erkläre, und anmerken will, der wievielste Stufenton *C* in der Leiter—ob z. B. *C* der erste und Hauptton, oder der vierte von *G* oder fünfte von *F* sei, u. s. w." *Handbuch*, p. 12. Vogler's use of Roman numerals may be found as early as 1776 (*Tonwissenschaft*, p. 82, where the symbol VII identifies the function of a diminished seventh chord built on the seventh degree of a scale). Shortly thereafter (*Betrachtungen*, 1:125–28), he uses the numerals I–VII to designate seventh chords on all degrees of the scale (see also 3:5–6). His use of the device thus precedes its application by Gottfried Weber, to whom the notion had formerly been attributed (see Arno Lemke, *Jacob Gottfried Weber: Leben und Werk* [Mainz: Schott, 1968], pp. 33, 207).

[15] "Die Tonfolge gibt Regeln an, wie man, nach einmal bewiesenen festen Grundsäzen für die *harmonia simultanea* (zugleich ertönende Harmonie) auch bei der *harmonia successiva* (nachfolgenden Harmonie) sich zu verhalten habe." *Handbuch*, p. 56.

[16] *Tonwissenschaft*, pp. 48–52; *Handbuch*, pp. 44–45.

[17] *Handbuch*, pp. 46–52.

[18] "Keine Versezung der Töne der Leiter, keine Reihung der sieben Haupttöne kann bündiger sein, als die schlussfallmässige, wenn nämlich der erste Ton nach dem fünften oder nach dem vierten Tone folgt, und wenn jeder Ton den fünften vom folgenden oder vom vorhergehenden einigermassen vorstellt." *Handbuch*, p. 53; see also p. 31: "In den drei, zur Schöpfung beider Leitern unentbehrlichen Dreiklängen sind die ursprünglichen Schlussfälle enthalten und die Regeln für die Tonfolge werden von der Schlussfallmässigkeit hergeleitet."

[19] Vogler has been obliged to leap ahead of himself in deriving his VII chord from V with an added seventh.

[20] "Es gibt nur eine Harmonie, und diese ist der Dreiklang. Der wesentliche vierte Ton ist schon ein Uibelklang." *Handbuch*, p. 73.

[21] *Tonwissenschaft*, pp. 13–16.

[22] Vogler will permit upward resolution for the seventh on V, and for the diminished seventh on VII in minor.

[23] *Handbuch*, pp. 22–28, 88–91. According to Vogler's theory, the added seventh is not part of the (triadic) harmony. The dominant seventh chord is thus Vogler's "triad of the fifth with added seventh." In line with this thinking, he does not adorn his Roman numerals with superscripts. The abbreviation VII^7 should thus be read "VII with added seventh."

[24] See *Tonwissenschaft*, pp. 16–20.

[25] See Francesco Antonio Vallotti, *Della scienza teorica, e pratica della moderna musica libro primo* (Padua, 1779), republished as *Trattato della moderna musica* (Padua, 1950), pp. 106–7.

[26] *Tonwissenschaft*, pp. 20–21; *Handbuch*, p. 84.

[27] "Desto frappanter sind für Ohr und Aug die im Bass und im Pedal gelegten Uebelklänge; z. B. beim 73sten und 74sten Takt die Dreizehnte, besonders, wenn man die von ihr als Grundstimme hergeleitete Bezifferung, die ganz harmonisch aussieht, betrachtet. Dieses *B* hat 3 und 5, allein die Vorbereitung und Auflösung zeigt an, dass *B* doch nicht Hauptklang sein könne." *Zwei und dreisig Präludien*, pp. 21–22.

[28] *Handbuch*, p. 97.

[29] *Handbuch*, p. 6. Cf. Kreitz, "Vogler als Musiktheoretiker," p. 23, where it is suggested,

erroneously, that Vogler's *Redukzions-System* purports to supplant the principle of chord inversion.

[30] See *Choral-System*, pp. 8–9.

[31] Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony* (Paris: Ballard, 1722); trans. Philip Gossett (New York: Dover, 1971), p. 74.

[32] Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* (Berlin and Königsberg, 1771–79; facs. repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1968), 1:66.

[33] For a discussion of Rameau's added sixth, see Shirlaw, *Theory of Harmony*, pp. 112–15; concerning Kirnberger's prohibition of the seventh chord on the leading tone, see David Beach, "The Harmonic Theories of Johann Philipp Kirnberger: Their Origins and Influences" (Ph.D. diss., Yale, 1974), pp. 38–41.

[34] ". . . folglich muss man bei der Redukzion, die alle verschiedene Gestalten in ihre Stamm-Akkorde auflöset, hiedurch Licht verbreitet, und Deutlichkeit erzielt, sich nicht auf die vollkommenste Harmonie (*l'accord parfait* nach Rameau) einschränken, sondern auf alle Harmonien, es mögen dabei verminderte oder übermässige Tonverbindungen (Intervalle) vorkommen, immer zurückleiten, um dem Schüler alles zu simplifiziren, und eine allgemeine scharfe Uebersicht von der Mannichfaltigkeit aller Gestalten, deren die Musik je aufnehmlich ist, zu verschaffen." *Choral-System*, p. 9.

[35] *Handbuch*, p. vii.

[36] *Betrachtungen*, 3:40; see also *Handbuch*, pp. 111–12.

[37] "Unter dem Kunstworte *la note sensible* hat Rameau jede pikante Stelle in der Tonfolge, wo eine Art Entscheidung gefühlt wird, verstanden, aber nur eine angegeben. Diese Stelle kann aus den Tönen *gis* und *a* bestehen, und neue Bestimmungen annehmen, die von der Lehre der Schlussfälle erschöpft werden; zum Beweise, dass die Metaphysik der Tonleitung sich in der Lehre der Schlussfälle und Mehrdeutigkeit (weil hier neun verschiedene Affekzionen der Seele durch eine einzige Stelle erzeugt werden) konzentrire." *Handbuch*, p. 57. By analyzing the second chord of measure 6 as V (in F) as well as III in A minor, Vogler justifies the appearance of the otherwise foreign B flat (see p. 58, fn.).

[38] See *Handbuch*, p. 58: ". . . allein man darf zwei, aus der Rede abgerissene einzelne Theilchen nicht isolirt betrachten, weil die Tonleitung auf den ganzen Gang der Rede einen immerwährenden Bezug und Einfluss behauptet."

[39] *Handbuch*, pp. 101–10.

[40] *Handbuch*, pp. 112–13; *Betrachtungen*, 3:41–48; music examples in *Gegenstände der Betrachtungen*, 3:5 [321]. Vogler arrives at his total by reasoning that from a given major key, one can modulate to any one of eleven major and eleven minor keys; this number is then doubled if the major tonic is replaced by the minor.

[41] See, for example, "Thätige Geschmaks-Bildung für die Beurtheiler der Tonstücken," *Betrachtungen*, 1:277–312 [271–306]; "Was Tonwissenschaft, Tonsezkunst und musikalische Aesthetik sei," 2:307–22 [333–48]; "Summe der Harmonik," 3:1–117.

[42] *Betrachtungen*, 3:26.

[43] *Betrachtungen*, 3:22.

[44] *Betrachtungen*, 2:245 [271].

[45] For a discussion of how Vogler develops this concept in his theories of fugal procedure, see the author's "Abbé Vogler and the Study of Fugue," *Music Theory Spectrum* 1 (1979): 43–66.

[46] See, for example, *Betrachtungen*, 1:286–87 [280–81].

[47] *Zwei und dreisig Präludien für die Orgel und für das Fortepiano. Nebst einer Zergliederung in ästhetischer, rhetorischer und harmonischer Rücksicht, mit praktischem Bezug auf das Handbuch der Tonlehre* (Munich, 1806).

[48] The order of keys for the preludes is as follows (two preludes for each key appear in succession): C, C minor, D, D minor, E flat, E, E minor, F, F minor, F-sharp minor, G, G minor, A, A minor, B flat, B minor. In matters of style and technique, the *Präludien* betray resemblances to the contemporaneous *Trente-six fugues d'après un nouveau système* of Anton Reicha

(Vienna, 1805; modern ed. by Václav Jan Sýkora, 3 vols. [Kassel, 1973]). A copy of the *Trente-six fugues* is listed in the *Verzeichniss* of Vogler's library published shortly after his death (Darmstadt, 1814).

[49] *Präludien*, p. 29.

[50] "Da der zu Bemerkungen geeignete reichhaltige Stoff sich auf so wenige Täkte beschränkt, so lässt sich die Form bequemer fassen und übersehen; der Tonschüler kann um so leichter für seine künftige Setzart Verhaltungs-Regeln abstrahiren." *Präludien*, p. 8.

[51] See *Präludien*, pp. 37–38.

[52] "Beim 21. und 22sten Takt wächst der Gang der Rede merklich, . . . weil der Vordersatz des Thema dreimal hintereinander sich zudrängt, ohne dem Nachsatz Platz zu machen, welcher hingegen sich dadurch zu rächen scheint . . . und . . . auch dreimal hintereinander ausschliessig das Feld behauptet." *Präludien*, p. 47.

[53] "Die Tonfolge . . . eilt unwiderstehlich zu ihrem nie aus den Augen gelassenen Gesichtspunkt, zu ihrem gefolgerten Schluss." *Präludien*, p. 27.

[54] "Dieses Tonstück ist voll von harmonischen Wendungen, die rhetorisch betrachtet, hämischen Winkelzügen gleichen." *Präludien*, p. 55; "die Tonfolge . . . schläfert den Hörer allmählig ein, um ihn dann desto gewaltthätiger aufzuwecken." p. 10.

[55] "(denn man sollte glauben, die Tonfolge hätte das Heimwehe)." *Präludien*, p. 52.

[56] "Weiter ins Detail einzudringen, halte ich für überflüssig und unnütz; denn, wer mein System kennt, wird ohne meine Erinnerung die fremden Gestalten erforschen, sie auf die einfachste Harmonie mit stäter Berücksichtigung der Tonfolge, Karakteristik, Lehre der Schlussfälle u. s. w. zurückleiten." *Präludien*, p. 55.

[57] "So wie man einmal eine Harmonie vor sich hat, vergisst man auf die Tonfolge, man untersucht nicht, ob sie als eine konsonirende, oder gar dissonirende Platz gehabt." *Präludien*, p. 41.

[58] *Präludien*. Vogler appears to be reasoning as follows: the chord B♮-D-F, with its sharpened root, must be either a #IV (in F), or a #VII (in C minor), these being the only two diminished-triad functions with raised roots. If the progression were *not* to be interpreted as #IV–V, then the only remaining choice would be #VII in C minor, a patently illogical harmony in this context.

[59] *Präludien*, p. 25.

[60] "Beim 14ten und 15ten Takt wagen wegen den vielen melissmatischen Figuren die Hauptklänge schwer herauszuklauben: es sind aber keine andern zu ergründen, als *E* und *A*." *Präludien*, p. 18.

[61] *Präludien*, p. 35.

[62] "Vom 17ten bis zum 31sten Takt schreitet die Modulazion immer vorwärts, erlaubt sich keine rückgängige Bewegung, die Spannung hält beständig an, jede Erscheinung ist neu. Der Ton *Des dur* im 17ten Takt scheint zwar als subalterner sechster Ton zum vorigen weichen *F* sich anmelden zu wollen, nimmt sich aber die Freiheit, sogleich selbst als Hauptton zu herrschen. Er lenkt beim 18ten Takt als schlussfallmässiger fünfte ins *Ges* ein." *Präludien*, pp. 9–10.

[63] According to Vogler's precepts, only the most closely related keys are acceptable as modulatory goals (i.e., those no further removed than one accidental from tonic). More remote excursions violate the tonal unity unless they can be justified as embellishments of the framework (see *Tonwissenschaft*, p. 71).

[64] *Präludien*, pp. 28–29.

[65] "An den 23sten Takt hätte sich der 28ste wohl anschliessen können, doch schien mir dieses Wiederkehren zu früh und zu ängstlich; zu früh, weil ohne dieser Digression oder Diversion das *Epiphonema*, eine Art von rhetorischem *Axioma*, von lyrischem Aphorisme ganz sicher (man erlaube mir dieses bizarre Bild) das Maul gestopft, aber den Magen nicht gesättigt hätte; zu ängstlich, weil das Ohr hier einen freien Mittelsatz zwischen den strengen Nachahmungen und eine Vermittlung zwischen *moll* und *dur*, wo nicht erwartet, doch gewiss gutheissen wird." *Präludien*, p. 47.

[66] *Präludien*, pp. 22–25.

[67] *Präludien*, pp. 37–40.

[68] "Das *b* ist dem weichen *A* auch fremd, allein ein gewisser *haut goût* hat das Ohr mit folgendem Satze [see text] vertraut gemacht." *Präludien*, p. 10, fn.

[69] "Wenn man sich vom alten Vorurtheil hinreissen lässt, um beim vierten Viertel des 20sten Takts das abwesende *E* für den Hauptklang anzunehmen, so kann diese melodische Harmonie des 20–21sten Takts nicht bestehen; (ich nenne diese Harmoniensätze melodisch, wegen der Abründung der äussern Gesänge, nämlich des Diskantes und des Basses, und wegen der fliessenden Bewegung der inneren Stimmen) weil das *d* als Siebente zum *E* nicht hinaufzu sich auflösen dürfte." *Präludien*, p. 14.

[70] See Beach, "Kirnberger," p. 24.

[71] See *Präludien*, p. 20, where Vogler describes the return from E flat to D minor as "eine betrügerische, täuschende, unvermerkt abweichende Tonfolge."

[72] "Der erste Theil dieses Stücks hat drei Perioden; die erste vom ersten bis zum fünften Takt gründet sich auf den Hauptton, das weiche *C*; der dritte vom 9ten bis zum 13ten auf den fünften, das weiche *G*; zwischen beiden steht die Periode aus dem harten *Es* in der Mitte." *Präludien*, p. 12.

[73] "Man entfernt sich, um mit desto grösserem Nachdruck zurückzukehren." *Präludien*, p. 55. In Prelude No. 8, we may infer that it was this very issue of rhetorical emphasis that led Vogler to condemn the digression of measures 67–69, where the key of E flat is revived after the reestablishment of tonic has begun. Backtracking to ground already covered, it proves redundant rather than eloquent.

[74] "Die Tonfolge, die die Perioden und Rhythmen kolorirt, belebt durch ihre rhetorische Anordnung den Gang der Rede. . . . Da vom ersten bis zum 30sten Takt die Perioden meist 4 Täkte hatten, so schränken sie sich da auf 2 Täkte ein, vom 42sten aber bis zum 58sten auf *einen* Takt." *Präludien*, pp. 27–28.

[75] "Da hier alle vorkommende Tonarten mit dem Haupttone *D* verwandt, und in ihrer Vorzeichnung nicht mehr als um eine einzige Stufe entfernt sind, (denn nur durch die Mischung und Zusammenstellung scheinen die äussern Gränztonarten einander fremd) da selbst die um zwei Stufen entfernte Tonart, das harte *Es*, die man in folgender Verbindung [see text] schon gewohnt ist, blos beim Verweilen Souverainitätsrechte ausübt, und sich so vertraut, so nachbarlich an den Hauptton anschmiegt, so darf man die ausgesetzte Tabelle nur durchgehen, um sich von der Konsequenz, die noch unter mehr Kathegorien vorkommen soll, zu überzeugen." *Präludien*, p. 27.

[76] See n. 53 above.

[77] *Zwölf Choräle von Sebastian Bach, umgearbeitet von Vogler, zergliedert von Carl Maria von Weber* (Leipzig, [1810]).

[78] *System für den Fugenbau als Einleitung zur harmonischen Gesang-Verbindungs-Lehre* (1811; posth. publ., Offenbach, c. 1817).

[79] *Fugenbau*, pp. 8–22.

[80] *Zwölf Choräle*, "Einleitung." See also Weber, "Ein Wort über Vogler" (Darmstadt, 1810), repr. in *Sämtliche Schriften von Carl Maria von Weber*, ed. Georg Kaiser (Berlin and Leipzig: Schuster and Loeffler, 1908), pp. 321–23.

[81] See the discussion of Vogler's pupils in Schafhäutl, *Vogler*, pp. 241–44.

[82] See Manfred Wagner, *Die Harmonielehren der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg: Bosse, 1974), pp. 71, 101, 107.

[83] "*Vogler.* Ein Epochenmacher in der Musik! unstreitig einer der ersten Orgel- und Flügelspieler in Europa. . . . Er phantasirt ganz vortrefflich—ja ich behaupte, dass er besser phantasirt als setzt. . . . Vogler besitzt unläugbar Feuer und Genie; und doch verräth er in seinen Sätzen so wohl, als in seiner Spielart Pedantismus. Diess Phänomen in der Geistergeschichte wäre mir unerklärlich, wenn man nicht dadurch Licht bekäme, dass Vogler sich selbst ein System machte—dem er sich sclavisch unterwirft. . . . Sicher hat sein System viel Tiefes, und selbst gedachtes; allein keine Kunst kann weniger das Sclavenjoch des Systems ertragen, als die Musik. . . . *Ein Vogel am Faden fliegt zwar auch, aber nur so weit der Faden reicht.*" Christian Friedrich

Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Vienna, 1806; facs. repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1969), pp. 133–34.

[84] See *Choral-System*, pp. 102–05.

[85] *Handbuch*, pp. x–xii.

[86] In light of the abbé's prophecy, it is a curious coincidence that Schenker's first major work (*Neue musikalische Theorien und Phantasien* [Vienna, 1906]) was to appear precisely 100 years after Vogler's *Präludien*.

[87] *Handbuch*, pp. ix–x.

[88] For a survey of various precedents for Schenker's concept of reduction, see Robert P. Morgan, "Schenker and the Theoretical Tradition," *College Music Symposium* 18 (1978): 72–96.

A NEW SOURCE FOR DOMENICO ZIPOLI'S SONATE D'INTAVOLATURA

Susan E. Erickson

The Tuscan composer Domenico Zipoli (1688–1726) is best known for his *Sonate d'Intavolatura per Organo e Cimbalo,* his only published work. It was printed in Rome in January of 1716, six months before Zipoli gave up his post as organist at the Jesuit church there and left for Seville to become a novice in the Jesuit order. In April of the following year Zipoli sailed from Cádiz on a missionary expedition with several other Jesuits for Córdoba, then part of the province of Paraguay. In Córdoba he studied theology and philosophy and worked as organist and musical director, teaching the Indians. He died at the age of thirty-seven, just after completing his studies and shortly before he was to have been ordained a priest.

The *Sonate d'Intavolatura* consists of two distinctly separate parts. The first, for organ, is made up of five groups of versi and canzone (each group consisting of four versi and a canzona, all in the same key), a toccata, a pastorale, and four other pieces intended for use in connection with the Mass: two for the Elevation, a Postcommunion, and an Offertory. A second shorter section, for harpsichord, contains four suites and two sets of variations.[1]

There are three known 18th-century sources for the *Sonate d'Intavolatura.* The Rome edition is regarded as the *Urtext* and has been used as the basis for all subsequent modern editions.[2] In general, this edition seems fairly accurate and consistent. Aside from the omission of some accidentals, the only significant irregularity is the omission of trills where they obviously belong in sequence. The edition published by Walsh in London in the 1720s is no more than a pirated reprinting of this Rome edition.[3] The differences between the Walsh and Rome editions are minor, consisting only of a number of omissions and errors in Walsh, although Walsh does suggest alternate readings for some ambiguous passages in the Rome version.[4]

Of particular interest is the third source, a manuscript from the Biblioteca Comunale Mozzi-Borgetti in Macerata, no. 184861.[5] None of Zipoli's biographers mention it, and it is not known how it came to be in Macerata. Paleographic evidence indicates that the manuscript is from the 18th century.[6] A watermark on the cover page of the music (but not on the music itself) provides only the most general information about its origin. The mark is a fleur-de-lis on a crowned shield, a type commonly found in paper made in Genoa in the early 18th century.[7]

The format is oblong, like that of the Rome edition. There is no title page, just a blank sheet at the beginning; the composer's name is not given. The music begins on the recto side of the next sheet, and this page is numbered 1, but the numbers actually refer to signatures and not to pages. The signatures

would seem to be quartos, since each group consists of four sheets, or eight pages. Thus the ninth page bears the number 2, the seventeenth page the number 3, and so on through page 57, which is numbered 8.

There are sixty-five pages of music; the music on each page of the manuscript corresponds exactly to the Rome edition, with the following exceptions. The harpsichord music is separated from the organ music by a blank page (page 39), which corresponds to the second title page (page 36) in the Rome edition. Three extra pages in the organ section contain music that does not appear in either the Rome or the Walsh edition. This music is inserted between the D-minor Canzona and the C-major Verso I. Although it shares no common page with either of these, it does share a common leaf with the Verso. (The added pieces occupy pages 9–11, the beginning of the second signature.) The manuscript seems to have been bound after the music was copied out and not before, as the fifth signature was misbound; the second and third leaves of the signature were reversed.

There are two likely explanations for the origin of this manuscript. The first is that it is a copy made from the original edition. Printed music was quite expensive in the 18th century, and usually not more than 500 copies were printed at one time.[8] Thus it was not uncommon for people to make their own copies from the printed editions. The second possibility is that the manuscript is either an autograph or a copy of the autograph. Since at the present time, to the author's knowledge, no autograph of Zipoli's has been authenticated, it would be difficult to ascertain whether the Macerata manuscript is Zipoli's own autograph or someone else's copy of it.[9] Although the manuscript bears a superficial resemblance to the Rome edition in format, there are at least three aspects that suggest that it is an autograph (or a copy of an autograph) rather than a copy from the edition: (1) the three extra pages of music, (2) the nature of the several omissions and differences from the Rome edition, and (3) a monogram at the end of the music that could be Domenico Zipoli's signature.

The extra music bears the title "Verso," but is not exactly like the surrounding pieces of that name. It consists of eleven short sections, each ranging in length from five to eighteen measures. (The beginnings of some of the sections are given in Example 1.) Only ten of these are numbered; the short section between 4 and 5 is unnumbered and seems to be an introduction to 5. Moreover, the music breaks down by key into two distinct parts, or groups of short sections. The first group, sections 1–4, centers around D minor. The following unnumbered section abruptly introduces the key of A minor by means of the dominant, and the remaining sections follow in this key. In view of the two key areas, it is curious that they are all numbered consecutively. (The handwriting of the numbers does seem to match the writing throughout the rest of the manuscript.)

Stylistically the pieces resemble the rest of Zipoli's organ music, though they are not in such large or finished proportions. Six of the eleven short sections are imitative, and the rest are either florid or chordal. When examined

EXAMPLE 1

Macerata ms.

Verso

2.

3.

4.

[4a]

10.

as two distinct groups, they resemble the other key-related groups of four versi. Section 1 consists of a florid right-hand part over a relatively static bass. In all the other sets of versi, the first verso is in a florid or at least non-imitative style, and the other three are all imitative. Sections 2 and 3 begin with imitation. Section 4 departs from the norm: it is chordal and in this respect is like the E-minor Verso I, if in smaller proportions.

If we consider the rest of the sections as another collection of versi, then the unnumbered section between 4 and 5 corresponds to the introductory Verso I of the other sets. Most of the following sections are imitative, but the final section 10 is in the same florid style that marks the end of the toccata or the first verso of most of the other sets. This longer group, then, is a departure from the norm, made up of seven sections instead of four.

If this is indeed Zipoli's autograph, these pieces may be sketches for two other sets of versi. In the longer group Zipoli wrote out more ideas, either planning to make a larger set or to choose the four most appropriate sections from among the set. Their unfinished form explains their exclusion from the printed edition. That these pieces are sketches and not finished products is evident not only in their undeveloped forms but also in the incompleteness of inner voices and in the roughness of voice leading at certain places. (These last characteristics appear to some degree throughout the rest of the manuscript, particularly in the harpsichord music.)

The layout of the remaining music is the same in both the Macerata manuscript and the Rome edition. The clefs and key signatures are the same, and the amount of space used on the page for the music is the same.

Several differences exist between the Rome and Macerata versions, however. By far the most frequent type of difference is the omission of accidentals in Macerata. The D-minor Preludio alone is missing forty-eight accidentals that Rome includes, and this instance is fairly typical. There are a few missing ties and trill signs, but these omissions do not occur to any significant degree; even the Walsh edition shows more omission of ties than does Macerata. In the organ music the pedal parts are frequently missing or are just briefly indicated by writing out one or two measures. (These are of course not independent pedal parts, but pedal notes added to the left-hand part.) In most of these cases the intention is clear. In at least one instance, the beginning of the pastorale, Macerata gives a pedal indication that is missing in Rome.

The many differences in beaming between Rome and Macerata may or may not be significant. In the places where Rome and Macerata differ, Macerata's beaming is generally shorter, but this is not always so. Sometimes Macerata's version does seem to indicate some musical intention. In measures 35 and 36 of the toccata, for example (see Example 2), the shorter beaming in

EXAMPLE 2

Toccata, m. 36, Macerata

Rome

the left hand seems to indicate a clearer articulation of the rhythmic motive.

Of more importance are the differences in rhythm. A curious instance of this occurs in the second half of the D-minor Preludio from the harpsichord music. Measures 47–52 appear in Rome as shown in Example 3. Although

EXAMPLE 3

D min. Preludio, R. mm. 47–52

Macerata has the same dotted rhythm in the right hand, the left-hand notes are written as undotted eighth notes.

Throughout the manuscript there are a number of differences in the notes themselves, a few of which are cited here. In the C-major Giga, Macerata gives a different note pattern at measure 4 on the first beat of the right hand (see Example 4). This is made more significant by a parallel passage in the second

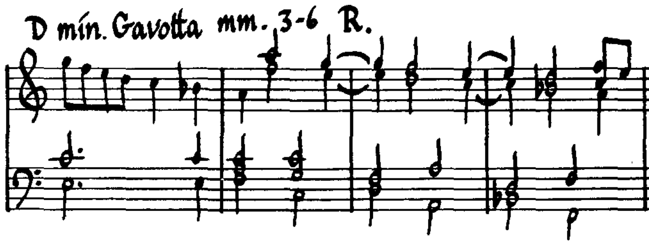
EXAMPLE 4

EXAMPLE 5

half of the piece at measure 23. The chords in Macerata are frequently more full than in Rome, particularly at ends of sections. On the other hand, sometimes Macerata leaves out notes from chords that Rome supplies.

In the harpsichord music we find the most instances of missing notes: sometimes a whole voice, most commonly a middle voice, is missing for several measures. In the G-minor Sarabanda the second phrase of the first half has only the outer voices; the inner voice, the one with rhythmic motion in the first two measures, is entirely absent. Measures 10–12 of the G-minor Giga resemble the Sarabanda in that only the outer voices are written down. The inner voice, which moves in suspension with the bass, is missing. In measure 17 of the G-minor Giga the inner notes are left out of the two chords in the left hand. Another example of this type of omission occurs in the C-major Partite, as shown in Example 5. The D-minor Gavotta is missing the middle voice of the two left-hand chords at measure 4. Example 6 shows the final version of measures 3–6 as they appear in Rome. The three measures 4–6 are in sequence, yet the left hand of measure 4 does not fit because the chords are more complete than in the following two measures. Yet Macerata has the two top *c*'s of the chords and not the inner notes. If we assume for the moment, for

EXAMPLE 6



the sake of argument, that this is the composer's manuscript, we can see that the first c′ had to be used instead of *a* to avoid hidden octaves. The second *c′* is part of the sequence. The D-minor Minuet is particularly sketchy, and the A-minor Partite has a number of omissions in seven of the thirteen sections.

The foregoing examples are the most important of the differences between the Macerata manuscript and the Rome edition. In summary, Macerata has many more omissions and stylistic errors than does Rome. Cadences are not filled in, rests are left out, chords are thinner (sometimes more full), accidentals are left out, and inner voices are left out, giving only the harmonic outline of a passage. The greatest number of sketched-out passages and incomplete chords are in the harpsichord music.

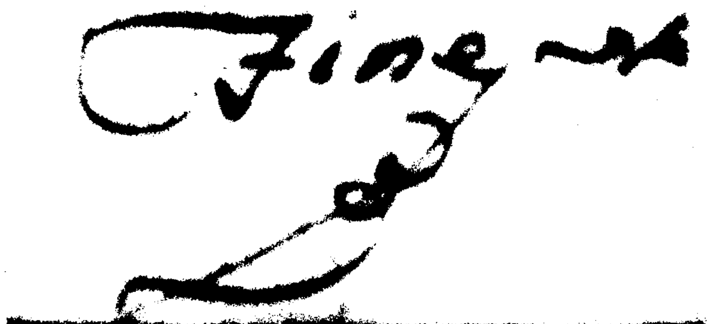
What then are the likely hypotheses as to the origin of this manuscript? While the layout suggests that the manuscript was copied from the edition, the many differences and types of discrepancies between the two implies a different origin. The unfinished state of the extra versi particularly indicates that Macerata is an earlier version than Rome. This is not to say that the manuscript would have been a direct source for the edition; its incomplete state clearly rules this out.

The manuscript gives the appearance of having been written in great haste, but with confidence. The mistakes are mainly omissions; there are none of the trivial errors that one finds for instance in the manuscript of the violin sonata, a fair copy.

One possibility is that Zipoli may have wanted to make a copy for himself, to have while his fair copy was with the printer. He might have used this to play from, and since he obviously knew the music, the sketchiness presented no problem. This hypothesis could well explain the layout as well as the alignment of the extra versi being less exact than that of the rest of the music.

Finally, there is the matter of the monogram at the end of the music. On page 66, under the last measure of the A-minor Partite, the word "Fine" is written (see Plate 1). Beneath the letter "e" there is an ornamental monogram made up of the initials "D Z." This could well be Domenico Zipoli's signature. This is one more indication that the Macerata manuscript of the *Sonate d'Intavolatura* may be Zipoli's own.

PLATE 1



NOTES

[1] For a description and analysis of the music, see the author's "The Keyboard Music of Domenico Zipoli (1688–1726)" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1975). The best modern edition is the one by Luigi Ferdinando Tagliavini (Heidelberg: Willy Müller, 1959).

[2] A microfilm of a copy from the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique in Brussels was used for this study; other libraries holding the edition are: Assisi, Bibl. Communale; Lucca, Seminario Ostigilia, Coll. Greggiati; Bologna, Cons.; Florence, Cons.; Rome, Cons.; London, Brit. Mus. (incompl.); Paris, Cons.; Stuttgart, Hochschule f. Musik. Besides the Tagliavini edition, the principal modern editions are Farrenc's *Le trésor des pianistes*, vol. 11 (Paris: Farrenc, 1869); *I classici della musica Italiana*, vol. 36 (quaderni 145–50); ed. Alceo Toni (Milan: Società Anonima Notari La Santa, 1919); and Luigi Torchi's *L'arte musicale in Italia*, vol. 3 (Milan: G. Ricordi & Co., 1902). Only the Toni and Tagliavini editions are complete.

[3] Each part had two printings; see William Charles Smith and Charles Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the Firm of John Walsh during the years 1721–1766* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1968), p. 348. The source used here for the first part is a microfilm of a copy from the British Museum; other libraries holding the edition are: Brussels, Cons.; Paris, Cons.; Washington, Libr. of Congr.; Cambridge, Fitzwill.; Cambridge, Kings Coll.; Tenbury, St. Mich. Coll.; New York, Publ. Libr. The source used here for the second part is a microfilm of a copy from the Yale University Music Library; other libraries holding the edition are: Paris, Cons.; London, Brit. Mus.

[4] See Erickson-Bloch, Appendix I, for a complete list.

[5] The author is indebted to Claudio Sartori of Milan for information about this manuscript and to Donald J. Grout of Cornell University for help in obtaining a microfilm copy.

[6] This information is from a letter to the author from Aldo Adversi, Director of the Biblioteca Comunale Mozzi-Borgetti, 16 February 1972.

[7] Although the fleur-de-lis is one of the oldest watermarks (it was the canting emblem of Florence and was first used by the Italians in the 13th century), it became more elaborate in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Although this particular watermark does not appear in any of the standard collections of watermarks, similar designs can be found in William Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and their Interconnection* (Amsterdam: M. Hertzberger, 1935), #552 and #557. Both are Genoese.

[8] Hans Lenneberg, "Dating Engraved Music: the Present State of the Art," *Library Quarterly* 41 (April 1971):130.

[9] Other 18th-century manuscripts of Zipoli's music are the Sonata for Violin and Bass (Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Mus. 2213/R/1), and the cantata *Dell' offese a vendicarmi* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek). Neither of these is in the same hand as the Macerata manuscript.

Of the recently discovered South American manuscripts, the Mass is known to be a copy from 1782 (see Robert Stevenson, *The Music of Peru: Aboriginal and Viceroyal Epochs* [Washington: Pan American Union, 1960], p. 179) and two works, *Letenia* and *Tantum Ergo*, have not yet been made available to the author; these are both described briefly in Samuel Claro, "La Música en las Misiones Jesuitas de Moxos," *Revista Musica Chilena* 23/108 (July-September 1969):7-31. Not all of these manuscripts are from the 18th century. The plate of a page from the *Tantum Ergo* in the Claro article, believed to be from the 18th century, does not resemble the Macerata manuscript.

THE CHALLENGE OF 21ST-CENTURY MUSICOLOGY

Bruce McKinney

Several years ago I prepared Luciano Berio's "Tempi Concertati" for public performance. This ambitious chamber-ensemble piece dates from the late 1950s, a time when Berio had begun to experiment with the kind of proportional notation that in such a short time has become common in *avant garde* scores. Most of my professional life has been spent working in locations that are physically and temperamentally removed from the major centers of musical life in this country; and I do not know Mr. Berio. Thus, in working with this score there was little that distinguished my situation from that of a Collegium director who presents a performance of, say, an opera by Cavalli. The resources at our disposal are similar: a published score; articles and books containing scholarly information about the composer, his style, and the performance practice of his historical period; and perhaps (but not in my case) a film or facsimile of the composer's autograph.

The information available to the Collegium director has been largely assembled by individuals committed to musicology, an endeavor scarcely more than 100 years old. In America musicology has moved at a breathtaking pace since Manfred Bukofzer first was moved to write an essay defending his discipline.[1] The richness and variety of mid-20th-century musical life in New York or Bloomington, Indiana would be unimaginable without the editions of complete works, biographies, commentaries, and translations of historical documents produced by musicologists in the past thirty years. It can no longer be alleged, as it was in some quarters when I was a college undergraduate, that musicology is a worthless detour into meaningless detail. Musicology has shown its value as a resource for music performance and listening enjoyment, as well as its contribution as a humanistic discipline.

Nevertheless, there are areas of legitimate musicological concern that are overlooked by most scholars, and there seems to be a certain historical bias in musicology that hinders the young scholar in the exploration of new areas of research. Those of us who spend much of our energy in solving the practical problems of musical performance need help, and the musicologist has the skills necessary to provide this assistance. In a very real sense, time is getting short, and a very great opportunity may be slipping away, perhaps to be lost forever.

My performance of "Tempi Concertati" was a deeply disturbing experience. The study of the score was difficult. Sections of the piece still seem almost unplayable. In spite of the performance directions given in the score by the composer, several markings remain a mystery to me; but none of these matters of detail was important enough to influence the nature of the perform-

ance to any great degree.[2] When the performance materials arrived from Berio's publisher at the beginning of the rehearsal period, however, a truly great problem presented itself. Major discrepancies existed between the published score and the rental parts (ozalid reproductions of someone's manuscript). These differences included matters of pitch, rhythm, and compositional concept, especially in the proportional notation sections of the piece, where the spatial placement of the notes on the page determines the rhythmic contour of the music. Taken as a whole, they did not imply mere notational errors in either the score or the manuscript parts, but rather suggested the existence of two contradictory versions of the same work. That these differences had existed for some time was suggested by evidence contained in the musical graffiti that were found in the parts. The percussion I part contained so many differences *vis à vis* the score that some percussionist had copied out a corrected version of the faulty passages and had pasted his corrections into the part. His remarks about the whole mess, written into the part in the same pen, are descriptive of the situation: "This part is fit for a pig. No measure is right. The publisher ought to be hit over the head for this."[3] The set of parts that I had rented from Theodore Presser's New York office had come from Germany or Austria. Had they been used for a performance under Berio's (or Friedrich Cerha's) direction?

It is not pertinent to catalogue here my unsuccessful efforts to obtain clarification of these matters from Mr. Berio or his publisher, an effort which was not without some unpleasantness. The point is that these problems are proper concerns for the musicologist. Similar difficulties exist in myriad 20th-century scores. One cannot rely on the composer to spend the time and effort required to be his own editor, for he lacks the objective distance from his music to do a successful job, and after one piece is finished all his energy is spent working on the next one. The publisher, unfortunately, using his economic logic of profit and loss, finds it particularly useless to publish a corrected version of an existing publication. It does not increase sales, for his copyright license to the composition is exclusive anyway. Only a music scholar is in the position to make the performance of recent music a more accurate and less risky affair for those who do not possess a direct line to the composers of this music. He must do for the music of our time what has been done for the music of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries—namely, provide us with accurate editions of performance materials and accessible published information concerning unwritten conventions of performance practice.

It may be argued that the problems existing in a work such as "Tempi Concertati" are not worthy of serious concern; that this kind of *avant garde* music is experimental, fated to die with time and the return of our 20th-century world to its senses. I do not agree. But even if this premise is adopted, it is important to recognize that equally great problems exist with much 19th-century music that *has* been accepted by the musical establishment. For example one can refer to the traditions of 19th-century orchestral performance practice, documented by notations made in the personal scores and

orchestral parts of the great conductors of the first half of the 20th century. This is a tradition that may be disappearing in this country as these men are replaced by a younger generation that has not been brought up in what was essentially a Germanic conducting tradition. One could trace the development of this 19th-century performance aesthetic from Wagner, Liszt, and Berlioz, through its transmission in Wagner's Bayreuth disciples (von Bülow, Richter, Mottl, Levi, and Seidel), to Felix Weingartner, Richard Strauss, and Gustav Mahler, among others, and thence to conductors such as Bruno Walter, Otto Klemperer, and Leopold Stokowski, who were active in America until recent times.[4] The issue here is not one of authenticity (or even morality) in tampering with the orchestration of the master composers of the Romantic period. It is merely that a Romantic, Germanic style of performance has been a dominant influence in orchestral life in this country. Even the work of Arturo Toscanini, reputed by many to be a faithful, untarnished mirror of a composer's intention, is loaded with accretions that represent the strongest Romantic tradition, as Howard Shanet has pointed out.[5] Indeed, our ears are so accustomed to a Romantic style of orchestral performance that we may have lost the meaning of the composer's *real* intention in many cases. Which of the following is closest to our memory of the Beethoven Ninth Symphony in performance. The first passage comes from the unretouched score, *selon le caractère d'un Récitatif, mais in Tempo*, as Beethoven put it.[6] The latter contains Gustav Mahler's performance directions for the passage, reproduced from Mahler's own copy of the Beethoven score.[7] The famous Toscanini recording of this symphony (RCA LM 6009) is closer to the spirit of Mahler's version than it is to Beethoven's austere original.

The influence of 19th-century tradition on the way we make music is much stronger than we realize, and large segments of the educated musical public are completely unaware of the interpretative gloss that has been added to the surface of music. Whether we approve of it or not, this style of performance demands documentation; recordings are an imperfect document to present to posterity, for they indicate neither the scope nor the precise nature of the performer's manipulation of the composer's score. We do not possess enough information to agree on what an authentic 18th-century style of performance practice was or should be, and unless some action is taken we will soon be having similar arguments about *calandi* in Brahms, accidentals in Schönberg, and metronome indications in Prokofiev and Shostakovitch, not to mention the interpretation of this famous Beethoven passage.

This is the challenge of 21st-century musicology. When 2001 arrives will the music historian be engaged in speculation concerning the performance practice of the 19th and 20th centuries, or will he have a time capsule of relevant information gleaned from the real primary sources—the composers, conductors, and instrumentalists who are still alive today?

EXAMPLE 1

*) ff ff ff ff f f dimin. dimin. p p

*) Selon le caractère d'un Récitatif, mais *in tempo*.

EXAMPLE 2

*) Selon le caractère d'un Récitatif; mais *in tempo.*

NOTES

[1] *The Place of Musicology* (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1957).

[2] In attempting to solve some of the mysteries connected with these notations, I looked for performance instructions in other Berio scores from this period. I was disheartened to find that some subsequent Berio scores (e.g., "Passagio," 1961–62) contain no performance directions at all. Can one assume that future performers of Berio's music will be familiar with an unrecorded score such as "Tempi Concertati"?

[3] "Sauerei diese Stimme. Kein Takt ist richtig. Gehört dem Verlag auf dem Schädel."

[4] See Elliot W. Galkin, "The Theory and Practice of Orchestral Conducting since 1752" (Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1960).

[5] *Philharmonic: A History of New York's Orchestra* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Co., 1975), pp. 260-62.

[6] (New York: Kalmus Miniature Scores, n. d.), pp. 160, 163.

[7] Reproduced from a xerox copy of the score owned by Gustav Mahler with his ink and pencil changes added to the text. The original is presently in the archive of Universal Editions in Vienna.