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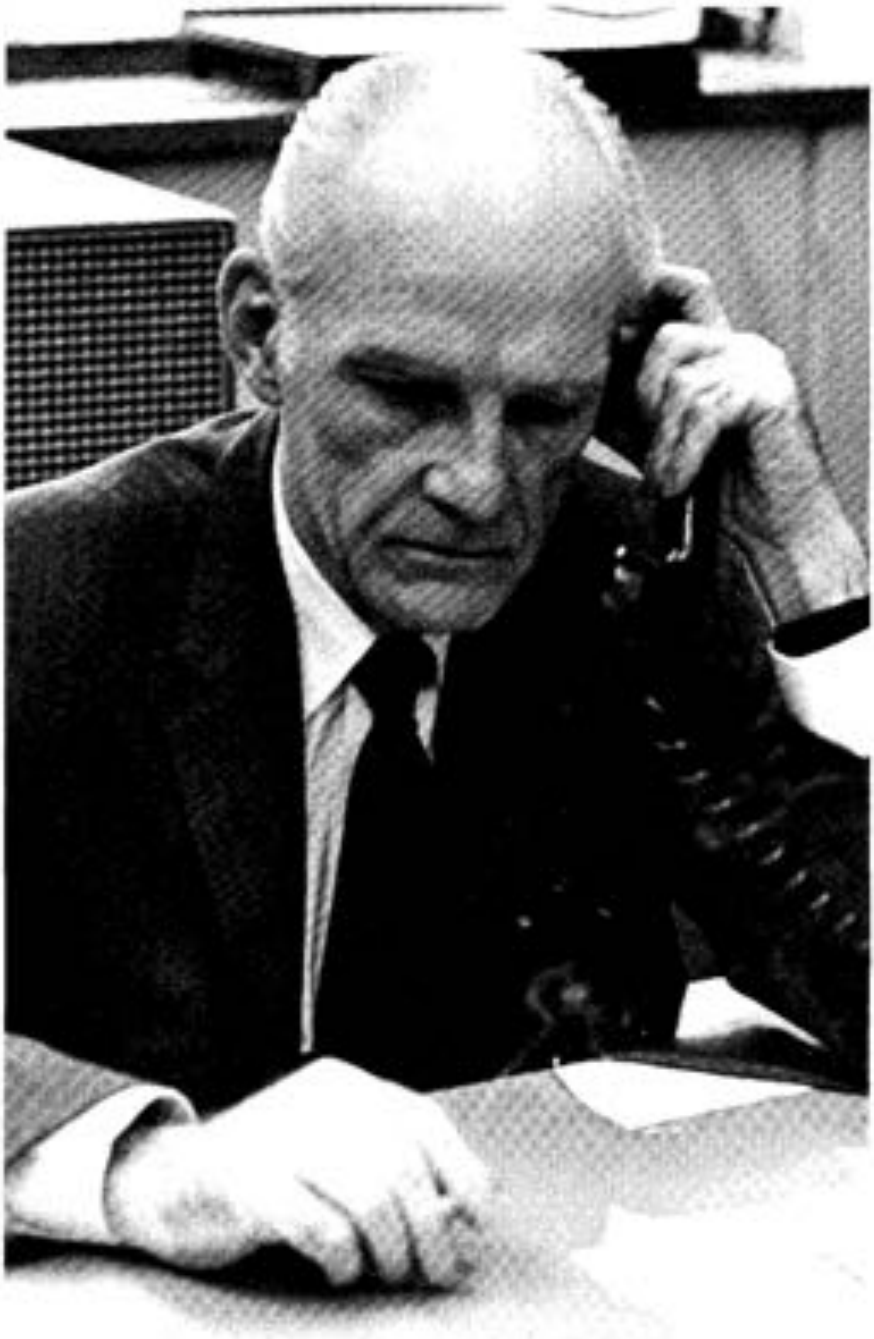


William B. Kimmel
1908–1982

PREFACE

William B. Kimmel was a great teacher—I think, the most gifted teacher I have ever known. Certainly, he was the most generous, giving away his ideas, theories, syllabuses, and lecture notes to each and every student and colleague who cared to take them from him. He also offered his friendship, deep concern, and unlimited time, for to him teaching was a full-time job of incomparable importance and limitless consequences. That is why some of us with whom he worked and to whom he left his teachings wanted to memorialize Bill by means of a Festschrift.

Bill Kimmel joined the faculty of Hunter College, now part of The City University of New York, in 1948, and he was one of the original faculty members of the Ph.D. Program in Music at The Graduate School and University Center of CUNY. He retired in 1979 and died in December 1982 at the age of 74. In 31 years at Hunter College, he developed and taught more than 45 music courses—history, literature, appreciation, theory, bibliography, analysis, and, particularly, aesthetics, a specialty of his at the graduate level. He instructed music majors, minors, auditors, graduate students, general college students; in huge lecture classes, tiny seminars, tutorials; early in the morning and late at night; but in every situation and for every student, he was *fully* prepared, attentive, and patient.

If William B. Kimmel did not become a famous music historian, it is because he was rarely willing to finalize his thoughts by publishing an article or a book. He was disturbed at the thought of going to print while ever-new ideas were in flux in his mind, bombarding one another in an accumulation of connections and discoveries. Bill was the first to admit that without the writings of scholars who were able to publish their views at a given point in time, the rest of us would be crippled and rendered nearly useless as thinkers and scholars. However, he felt that some are destined to produce great books and articles, while others achieve their greatness in the classroom, in the exchange of words and ideas with students. Not concerned with fame, Kimmel remained little known outside New York City.

But to his students, Professor Kimmel was more than famous—he was the best! When his obituary appeared in *The New York Times* on 15 December 1982, dozens of former students called, wrote, and came to my office at Hunter College to say that he was the greatest, the single most important mentor they had ever had. Only then did it dawn on me that my own views about him—as a colleague for nine years—were also the views of just about everyone who had worked with or studied under him.

Three things stand out in my mind about William Kimmel: his teaching ability, the care he took with his students, and his generosity in sharing his research findings with others. His was a lifelong search for meaning in music, for the relating of music to the other activities of human existence. He brought a scholarly knowledge of theology, aesthetics, philosophy, and cultural history into his lectures on music. A course on the Bach cantatas dealt profoundly with Lutheran theology and Baroque philosophy; Mozart operas

were viewed in the context of theories of eroticism and love in the Enlightenment and the era of Viennese Classicism. And so it went with each of his legendary courses at Hunter and CUNY—one learned about literature, drama, poetry, painting, religion, metaphysics, politics, science; one learned about everything related to a work of music or a style in music, and one's mind was aflame with ideas, just as Bill's was.

A virtuoso at using the music library, Bill could find the answer to any question pretty quickly. I always thought that he, who had built Hunter's music library practically from scratch, felt almost fatherly toward "his" books, journals, and reference works; he knew them all by name and could talk at length about the special features of each. He was also a master of the class hand-out, be it a syllabus, a set of homework questions (brilliant queries by which a subject would be learned well), text translations for vocal works, analytical diagrams of instrumental works, or a judiciously selected bibliography. His class members were also often treated to slide shows and views of maps, these visual tools helping to relate music to the world from which it emanated. Furthermore, his vast knowledge of all periods of music history enabled him always to find the perfect musical example to reflect whatever point he was trying to make in his lectures; he had a storehouse of recorded examples of every musical genre, form, procedure, and style which brought to life the music under study.

His second great attribute was his enormous care and concern for students. He would prepare endlessly for every class, into the wee hours of the night. A pile of thesis and dissertation chapters on his desk at school would usually mean many hours of private meetings with graduate students that day; sometimes one would find him with a student at 2:00 P.M. and discover them both still at work together at 6:30! He did research with his dissertation authors; he was eager to learn all he could about each topic so as to be able to help the student uncover more information.

Bill showed deep respect for all students, the brighter and the weaker ones alike. These people were all deserving of his full attention and efforts to make improvements. Bill was also concerned about where students might go after their years of study with him were ended; he slaved over letters of recommendation and searched for positions for his graduates. And he would never miss a commencement, either at Hunter College or at the Graduate Center, because he felt that his students would be happy to see him there.

The third main attribute of William Kimmel—and perhaps the most remarkable—was his intellectual generosity. He helped everyone around him to know about music and the teaching of music. I have never met another person who shared so much of his mind with me; Bill simply "gave away" decades' worth of research discoveries to me, his young colleague at Hunter, completely freely, with no strings attached. He sat with me for hours and showed me how to organize a course, prepare a hand-out, select a useful term-paper topic, even to get around in the library. He opened up all his files and told me to use whatever I wanted. And even during a coffee break, he talked about Bach or Mozart, Dowland or Dufay, and life and death—al-

ways with tremendous knowledge and always with a sweet enthusiasm, for it was so much fun for him to "know and tell."

Like many others approaching retirement, Bill was obsessed by thanatology, the study of death, during his last years as a teacher. In fact, the final course he gave was entitled "Appearances of Death in the Structures of Western Music." That course inspired one of the few articles which Bill did publish, "The Phrygian Inflection and the Appearance of Death in Music," which appeared in *College Music Symposium* 22/2 (Fall 1980), pp. 42–76. This essay well demonstrates Kimmel's interdisciplinary interests and organizational skills.

Just six months before the article appeared, the same journal issued an interview of William Kimmel by Dr. Adrienne Fried Block, one of the contributors to the present Festschrift. (See the Spring 1980 issue, pp. 105–19.) Here Kimmel talked about the meaning of music, its relationship to other spheres of knowledge, his own background and training, and finally the teaching of music. The interview offers a good picture of William Kimmel.

Among the contributors to this Festschrift, only Professors Barry S. Brook and Saul Novack, both of CUNY, and myself were not students in Bill Kimmel's classes. The three of us were his colleagues: Novack at Hunter, when Bill first came to New York from Michigan; Brook at the Graduate School, where Bill helped him establish the doctoral program; and myself at Hunter, where Bill groomed me to succeed him as coordinator of graduate studies in music. The other eight authors were students of William Kimmel, and they have all expressed a great indebtedness to him in their correspondence with me.

Some of the articles in this collection relate to the teachings of Professor Kimmel. The topics of Bach's sacred vocal music (Robert Cammarota) and Mozart's operas (Richard Stiefel) seem to dart forth from Kimmel seminar topics. Furthermore, the interdisciplinary, aesthetic, and historiographical pieces by Eugene Glickman, Saul Novack, and Elvidio Surian, respectively, are undoubtedly direct tributes by these authors to Kimmel's work. Barry Brook, moreover, states in his article that Kimmel "was particularly interested in authenticity questions and their relationship to aesthetics." Over the years Bill was, in fact, intrigued by almost every topic about music and fully supported the interests of his many students and alumni, whether those interests lay more within the traditional areas, such as 15th-century studies (Allan Atlas) and the Romantic era (Philip Friedheim and myself), or reflected more recent targets of scholarly study, like ragtime (Edward Berlin) and women in music (Adrienne Fried Block). To all these authors, with their myriad interests, Bill gave support, not to mention ideas. It is now our joint privilege to dedicate this Festschrift to him.

L. Michael Griffel
Chairman, Department of Music
Hunter College of CUNY
November 1984

On the Identity of Some Musicians At The Brescian Court of Pandolfo III Malatesta*

By Allan Atlas

Although the Brescian court of Pandolfo III Malatesta was relatively short-lived and generally plagued by political difficulties, and though Brescia at the beginning of the 15th century was as short on an artistic heritage of the first rank as the Malatesta were on the resources to foster such a tradition, the *signoria* over which Pandolfo III presided in that Lombard city from 1404 to 1421 enjoyed a surprisingly distinguished cultural life, especially in the field of music.[1]

Himself a man of letters who commanded Latin, French, and Provençal, Pandolfo took a first-hand interest in the literary life of his court, collecting a respectable library, supporting a small but important group of Brescian writers—among them Jacopo Malvezzi, Giovanni da Borgo San Donnino, and perhaps Bartolomeo Baiguera—and writing Latin verses of his own, accomplishments that earned for him the praise of the soldier-poet Ludovico Cantello (his secretary) and the well-known humanist Francesco Filelfo.[2] In the visual arts, Pandolfo's Brescia always enjoyed the talents of a number of local artists, especially Bartolino Testorino,[3] while the period 1414–1419 witnessed the presence at the court of Gentile da Fabriano, whom Pandolfo commissioned to execute a fresco in a chapel of the Broletto, the 13th-century palace in which Pandolfo lived and in which Sigismondo Pandolfo was born in June 1417.[4]

Despite these achievements, it was through his support of music that Pandolfo played perhaps his most significant role as a patron of the arts. Payments to instrumentalists date back to the earliest days of the court, while by 1409, the roster of musicians had expanded to include three singers. But it was in 1414, thus coinciding with the building up of the library[5] and the arrival of Gentile, that Pandolfo seems to have embarked upon a wholehearted campaign of recruiting ultramontane singers for the establishment of a chapel, which, together with the continued presence of an ensemble of *pifferi* and players of various string instruments, gave Pandolfo's Brescian court a musical life that must certainly have been as rich as any in early 15th-century Italy. And this was completely in keeping with the tastes of a patron who was himself a musician (see below) and the subject-dedicatee of the Latin ballata *Ore Pandulfum modulare dulci*, which celebrates his visit to the Holy Land in 1399.[6]

Fortunately, the musical life of Pandolfo's court can be reconstructed in some detail, thanks to the series of meticulously kept account books that Pandolfo brought back to Fano and that survive today as part of the so-called "Codici Malatestiani" at the Sezione dell'Archivio di Stato di Fano.[7] It is not my intention, however, to present a full picture of the musical life of Malatesta Brescia here.[8] Rather, I should like to concentrate on identifying—with varying degrees of speculation—a small number of Pandolfo's

musicians, those who take on some tangible sense of identity either through their activities as composers or by virtue of their documented presence at other courts, and who thus stand out above the now faceless names that formed the majority of the musical personnel, whether of Brescia or of most other musical establishments of the period. At the same time, I hope at least to hint at the important position that Pandolfo's Brescian court should be accorded on the musical map of the early Quattrocento.

Beltramus de Francia

Beltramus, a singer, is recorded for the first time on 4 November 1415. In a list of payments that appears beneath his name, the notice for that date reads: "Item numerati sibi die usque iiij novembris 1415 . . . L. xxij s. xvij."[9] As the documents that follow will make clear, the salary recorded for Beltramus on that date was for two months, and assuming that payment was made after services were rendered (but see below), we may place Beltramus at Brescia by September 1415 at the latest.

The next document, dated 17 March 1416, clarifies the singer's status and monthly salary; the notice is given here in full:

> MCCCCXVI: Beltramus de Francia cantator Magnifici domini nostri debet dare numerati sibi die xvij martij per Yoachinum de Florencia texaurarius domini nostri et scriptos sibi in credito in libro novo viridi dati et scripti in fo. V et fuit pro solucione unius mensis——L. xj s. iiij[10]

Thus Beltramus earned L. xi s. iiii per month, this apparently being the customary wage for the singers in Pandolfo's employ. The remaining documents about Beltramus all date from 1416 and record payments to him on 16 April, 20 June, and 3 July.[11] Since the payment of 20 June is a double one that covers both that month and the one before, the payment on 3 July was a beginning-of-the-month "advance" of sorts, a conclusion confirmed by the final entry for Beltramus in the master ledger (Vol. 58), where, under the heading June–July, four months worth of his salary are lumped together and entered as being "pro complimento sui salarj finiti die ultimo ipsius mensis Jullij MCCCCXVI . . . L. xliiij s. xvj."[12] Beltramus, then, was active at Brescia from no later than September 1415 to at least the end of July 1416.

Who was Beltramus de Francia? I suggest that he can probably be identified with the Avignonese composer–singer Beltramus Feragut. Quite aside from the shared not-so-common name and status as clerics, the presumed chronology–geography of Feragut's career meshes nicely with that of Pandolfo's singer. It is generally supposed that Feragut was active at Vicenza in 1409 on the ground that he composed the motet *Excelsa civitas Vincencia* for the entry into that city of the newly elected bishop, Pietro Emiliano.[13] After this, there has hitherto been no documentation for Feragut until he appears at Milan, where from 1 July 1425 through May 1430 he served as a tenor and the *maestro di cappella* at the cathedral of that city.[14] While there are somewhat uncomfortable chronological gaps that separate my suggested sojourn at Brescia in 1415–1416 from the presumed stay at Vicenza in 1409 and from

the well-documented Milanese period that began in 1425, the Brescian stopover fits right into and actually reinforces the established northern Italian pattern of Feragut's early years in Italy,[13] and I believe that the identification of Pandolfo's Beltramus de Francia with the composer Beltramus Feragut is a most likely one.[14]

Nicholaus de Burgundis Iodonensis

The opening work in the Aosta manuscript[15] is the motet *Argi vice Poliphemus—Cum Philemon rebus paucis*, generally thought to have been written for the election of the anti-pope John XXIII.[16] Although the motet lacks an attribution in the manuscript, de Van ascribed the work to the composer Nicola Zacharie on the basis of the following passage in the text of the motetus: "Hec Guilhermus dictans favit/Nicolao, quod cantavit . . . ," an ascription that has been widely accepted.[17] Recently, however, Gallo has challenged the attribution, and has assigned the work to Nicolaus of Liège,[18] a singer who is registered in the papal chapel of Gregory XII in a document of 1 May 1409—issued, perhaps significantly, at Rimini—in which he is recorded as "dominus Nicolaus, olim Simonis de Ieodio."[19]

The question of which attribution is correct—de Van's or Gallo's—is not at issue here; rather, we might ask whether or not Gregory's Nicholaus of Liège can be identified with a singer of the same name and from the same place who served at the Brescian court of Pandolfo III. To be sure, the evidence is thin: a shared name (and a not uncommon one at that) and place of origin (but one that was a veritable breeding ground for musicians). There is, however, one further piece of evidence, equally slight and circumstantial, that may perhaps tip the balance at least ever so slightly in favor of such an identification, and that is the connection between Gregory XII and the Malatesta. Indeed, in the turmoil that was papal politics in the early 15th century, Gregory had no stauncher supporters than the Malatesta, especially Pandolfo's brother Carlo, who in 1408 gave Gregory asylum at Rimini and would later represent that pope at the Councils of Pisa and Constance.[20] Furthermore, we have seen that Nicolaus the papal singer was himself at Rimini in 1409, and he could well have established contacts with the Malatesta family while he was there.

In any event, Pandolfo's Nicholaus de Burgundia Iodonensis (as the name appears in Cod. Mal., Vol. 58), who might be Gregory's singer and the composer of *Argi vice Poliphemus*—obviously, I hedge on both points—can be accounted for at Brescia from no later than 16 March 1415, when we have our first record of "Nicholo da liessa de Francia cantore . . . ,"[21] through the end of March 1416.[22] There are, at any rate, no further notices about him. If, on the other hand, we are willing to lump together as references to a single singer all the notices of the period that refer simply to a Nicholo or Nicholo de Francia—that is, without reference to Liégeoise origins—we may push Nicholaus's service at the court back to at least 29 March 1414, when he would have been one of the singers in the company of Pre Bertoldo, the musician to whom we turn next.[23]

Pre Bertoldo

Beginning on 10 January 1414, and continuing through 11 June of that year, there are monthly payments to "Pre Bertoldo et compagnj cantorj del Singnore [*sic*]."[26] Then, after a lapse of almost one year, there are further payments to him recorded on 2 March, 10 May, and 29 July of 1415.[27] In addition, on an unspecified day in March, Pandolfo's treasurer noted an expenditure "per braccie X de bruna per j vestito avuto padre Bertoldo . . . L. xxiij."[28] Though the designation "chapel master" is never used with Bertoldo's name, the consistent references to "Bertoldo et compagni cantori" leave little doubt that Bertoldo was the leader of the singers. And that the sums of money occasionally registered under his name must obviously cover the salaries of the entire group of singers,[29] that the payments for the individual singers are often logged beneath his name,[30] and that he was a priest, all vouch for Bertoldo's having fulfilled an ecclesiastical–administrative role.

The knowledge that Bertoldo was a priest and the administrator of Pandolfo's chapel eases our identification of him with another singer–priest who not only shared the same not-so-common name but would soon fulfill similar administrative duties in the papal chapel of Martin V: Bertoldus Dance (also Dosse, Dossi) of Beauvais. Bertoldus entered the papal chapel on 7 July 1419, moved up to the rank of chapel master by January 1421, and retained that post until he left the chapel at the beginning of 1429.[31] The identification of Pandolfo's Bertoldo with Martin's *magister capelle* seems most probable.

Leonardo de Alamania

Between February 1409[32] and 31 January 1410, there are no fewer than twenty notices about a German lutenist named Leonardo.[33] Most of these refer to payments made for his clothing, as, for example: "E dì xvj de marzo [1409] per braccie xj de verde, de braccie xj de turchino a maestro Lionardo sonadore da liuto . . . L. xlviij s. viij,"[34] while one entry records a reimbursement for the cost of strings for his instrument: 24 March 1409—"E numerati a Maestro Lionardo maestro da liuto per comperare chordi da luto . . . L. ij s. viij."[35] The account books are then silent for more than one year, until between 7 February and 7 June of 1411 they transmit seven more notices about him, the last of which reads: "Maestro Leonardo dal leuto de dare a dì vij de giugno [1411] per una sua rasone . . . L. lxxviij s. ij d. viij."[36] After this there is no documentation about Leonardo for almost eight years, something for which I have no ready explanation, especially since no other lutenist appears on the rolls until Salamone giudeo is cited for the first time as of 7 June 1418,[37] and it is hard to believe that the court was without a lutenist for those years.[38] Be that as it may, Leonardo's name appears without comment in an entry dated 15 February 1419,[39] and then makes its final appearance on 13 April of that year: "Leonardo de leuto qui fuit ad sancte Antonium . . . L. V,"[40] which probably indicates a sojourn to Padua.[41]

Who was Pandolfo's German lutenist? Though the identification is tenuous, I should like to suggest that he may be the Leonardo "*del chitarino*" who is entered in the *Bolletta de' salariati* at the Ferrarese court of Niccolò III

d'Este on 27 July 1424.[41] And since Leonardo was, as Lockwood puts it, a "singular figure [at Ferrara] until the 1430s,"[42] one must consider quite strongly the possibility that—assuming that my identification is correct—Pandolfo's lutenist went on to become the teacher of no less a musician than Pietrobono de Burzellis, the most highly praised lutenist of his time, who, as a native of Ferrara, born presumably in 1417, would have grown up in that city while Leonardo was active there.[43]

At this point I should like to digress and consider briefly a particular aspect of 15th-century lute playing for which another of Pandolfo's lutenists will be relevant. As is well known, the 15th century had a tradition of duo lute playing in which a virtuoso lutenist would improvise high-register embellishments on what was presumably a popular tune while his associate supported him with a tenor-line (or tenor-contratenor) foundation. This style, described by Tinctoris,[44] is perhaps most closely associated with Pietrobono and his *tenorista*, with, as Lockwood has noted, the earliest documentation for that duo going back to 1 February 1449, when one Zanetto was recorded as Pietrobono's partner.[45] In addition, Lockwood further points out that Pietrobono and his *tenorista* are usually to be found listed in close proximity to one another even in the account books.[46]

To the documentary evidence for this tradition of lute duos can now be added a number of notices from the Malatesta court at Fano in the early 1440s. When Pandolfo returned to Fano in 1421, he may have been accompanied by some of the musicians who had served him at Brescia, for during the 1430s and 1440s[47] Fano court records contain notices about the organist Marcho, the harpist Michelle, and the lutenist Salamone giudeo, all of whom are well documented during the Brescian years. And though Salamone is cited by himself in notices from 1434 and 1435, the 1440s see a change, and beginning in 1441, his name always appears together with that of another instrumentalist: for example, 21 February 1441: "A Salamone de liuto per uno zuparelo novo et uno paro de calce, uno paro de scarpe per Nicolo che sona el liuto . . . ;"[48] or 9 July 1442: "Grecho sonadori et per lui a Maestro Salamone dal liuto ducato uno et bolognini vintisci i quali sonno per uno zupponi et uno paro de calzi. . . ."[49] Indeed, for the 1440s, I could find no documents in which Salamone was cited alone or in which either the lutenist Nicolo or Grecho "*sonadori*" was recorded except together with Salamone, and there can be no doubt that first one and then the other served as Salamone's *tenorista*.

To return to Pandolfo's years at Brescia, there are two other lutenists—amateurs both—who merit comment. First, during the period May–June–July of 1414, and then again on 9 January 1415, there are notices about lute strings purchased for "Karolo"; the notice from 1414 reads: "Cuidam in Veneziis pro cordis leuti pro Karolo sibi portate per domini Ugolinis de Pilis—L. iiij s. xviij."[50] The Karolo in question can only be Pandolfo's older brother, Carlo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini and the most admired Malatesta of his generation.

Finally, Pandolfo III himself must have played harp and lute. The follow-

ing entry appears in the accounts for December 1414: "A Genori de Mantua die usque V octobris MCCCCXIIII pro cordis leuti comptis pro domino nostre . . . L. ij s. viiij,"[32] while some years later, on 20 July 1418, to cite but one other example, we find: "E dì detto numerati per lo detto [Giochino] in Vinexia per corde da lauta e d'arpa per lo Signore . . . L. xv."[33]

To sum up, the Brescian court of Pandolfo III Malatesta must be accorded a place among the important musical centers of the early Quattrocento. Likewise, Pandolfo III, himself musically inclined, must be recognized as a music patron of major significance. During the seventeen years in which Pandolfo ruled Brescia, more than forty musicians—singers and instrumentalists—are logged in the court's account books.[34] And if my speculations are correct, four of them in particular had reputations that already—or eventually—extended well beyond the rooms of the Broletto: the composer Beltramus Feragut; Nicolaus of Liège, singer in the chapel of Gregory XII and possibly the composer of the motet *Argi vice Polyphemus*; Bertoldus Dance, future chapel master to Martin V; and Leonardo de Alamania, lutenist at the court of Niccolò III d'Este and perhaps the teacher of Pietrobono.[35]

NOTES

*I should like to thank the American Philosophical Society and the City University of New York for grants that made it possible to work at the Archivio di Stato, Fano, during the summers of 1981 and 1983. Further, I am grateful to my good friend Elvidio Surian of the Conservatorio G. Rossini, Pesaro, for having called my attention to the materials on the Brescian court of Pandolfo III. Finally, I am particularly indebted to Dottoressa Giuseppina Boiani Tombari, head archivist at Fano, who was always ready to help.

[1] Briefly, Pandolfo III was born into the Rimini branch of the Malatesta on 2 January 1370. Upon the death of his father, Galeotto, in 1385, Pandolfo and his brothers—Carlo, Andrea (also called Malatesta), and Galeotto Belfiore—split the Malatesta dominions, with Pandolfo becoming Lord of Fano. In 1400, Pandolfo, having chosen the life of a *condottiere*, entered the service of Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Duke of Milan, and during the chaos that followed the death of the duke in September 1402—as his captains vied with one another for pieces of his territories—seized and occupied Brescia, an act that was in a sense legitimized when the duke's widow, Caterina, ceded the city to him in April 1404 as payment for past services rendered. (In 1408, he would augment his Lombard possessions with the acquisition of Bergamo.) Pandolfo ruled Brescia until March 1421, when he was driven from Lombardy by Filippo Maria Visconti, who restored—at least for a few years—Milanese rule over the city. Pandolfo then returned to Fano, where he became captain-general of the Church in 1422, and died there on 3 October 1427. He left three illegitimate sons as heirs: Malatesta Novella, Galeotto Roberto, and Sigismondo Pandolfo, the most famous of the Malatesta.

On Pandolfo III's Brescian *signoria*, see, among others, F. Odorici, *Storie bresciane dai Primi tempi sino all'età nostra*, VII (Brescia, 1857), pp. 241–324; Agostino Zanelli, "La signoria di Pandolfo Malatesta in Brescia secondo i registri dell'Archivio malatestiano di Fano (a proposito di una recente pubblicazione)," *Archivio storico lombardo*, ser. VI, vol. 58 (1931), pp. 126–41. The full-scale monograph by Mario Tabanelli, *Un condottiero romagnolo in Lombardia. Pandolfo III Malatesta: Signore di Brescia e di Bergamo* (Brescia, 1977), is, like the essays in *Storia di Brescia* (see below), based on secondary sources. For recent short surveys, see G. Zanetti, "Le signorie (1313–1426)," *Storia di Brescia*, I (Brescia, 1963), pp. 864–75; Gino Franceschini, *I Malatesta* (Varese, 1983), pp. 223–45; P.J. Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini and the Papal State* (Cambridge, 1974), pp. 103ff. For an important state-of-the-literature essay, see the excellent article by Giorgetta Bonfiglio-Dosio, "Studi malatestiani e prospettive di ricerca (a proposito della signoria bresciana di Pandolfo III Malatesta)," *Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia per il 1976* (1977), pp. 1–21.

[2] On Pandolfo's literary activities, see Charles Yriarte, *Un Condottiere au XV^e^ siècle. Rimini: Études sur les lettres et les arts à la cour des Malatesta* (Paris, 1882), pp. 64–68; Carlo Tonini, *La coltura letteraria e scientifica in Rimini* (Rimini, 1884), p. 78; E. Caccia, "Cultura e letteraria nei secoli XV e XVI," *Storia di Brescia*, II, pp. 479ff.; Zanetti, "Le signorie," pp. 874–75; Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini*, p.129; Bonfiglio-Dosio, "Pandolfo III Malatesta, bibliofilio," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* XX (1977), pp. 401–6.

[3] See Ulrich Thieme and Felix Becker, gen. eds., *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, XXXII (Leipzig, 1907), p. 562.

[4] Gentile's Brescian sojourn is documented in Aurelio Zonghi, *Gentile da Fabriano a Brescia* (Fabriano, 1908); Guido Lonati, "Gentile da Fabriano a Brescia," *Brescia*, VII (December, 1934), pp. 35–42; Ileana Chiappini di Sorio, "Documenti bresciani per Gentile da Fabriano," *Notizie di Palazzo Albani*, II (1973), pp. 17–26. The Broletto is briefly described in Giancarlo Piovanelli, *Brescia* (Brescia, 1983), pp. 19–20.

[5] Bonfiglio-Dosio, "Pandolfo III Malatesta, bibliofilio," pp. 403–4.

[6] The composition reaches us in Modena, Biblioteca Estense, MS α.M.5,24. For a transcription and discussion of the piece, see Ursula Günther, "Das Manuskript Modena, Biblioteca Estense, α.M.5,24 (*olim* lat. 568 = *Mod*)," *Musica disciplina* XXIV (1970), pp. 35–39; see also, Nino Pirrotta, "Il codice estense lat. 568 e la musica francese in Italia al principio del '400," *Atti della Reale Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Arti di Palermo*, ser. IV, vol. 5, pt. ii (1944–45), p. 44. The text, which also appears in Antonio Cappelli, *Poesie musicali dei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*. Scelta di curiosità letteraria, XCIV (Bologna, 1868), p. 52, and Franceschini, *I Malatesta*, p. 223, refers to its composer-poet as one Blasius; for conjectural identifications of this figure as Blasius d'Este, master of the boys at the Cathedral of Padua in 1421, or the "frate Biasgio" who is cited with the composer "Çacchara" in Simone Prudenzani's *Liber saporetti*, see Günther, "Das Manuskript Modena," p. 36, and Pirrotta, "Il codice di Lucca," *Musica disciplina* V (1951), p. 121, n. 17. For more on musicians named Blasius in early 15th-century Italy, see David Fallows, "Blasius," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Stanley Sadie, ed. (London, 1981), vol. II, p. 785. In addition, Fallows, *Dufay* (London, 1982), p. 30, suggests that the Dufay chanson *Mon chier amy* may have been addressed to Pandolfo's brother Carlo, as a commemoration of Pandolfo's death. There is, however, no evidence to prove the association, and the whole question of the precise relationship between Dufay and the Malatesta—Rimini and Pesaro branches—remains unresolved, as does that of Dufay's presence at any of the Malatesta courts.

[7] The volumes in that series which pertain to Pandolfo's Brescian court are Nos. 40–68. An invaluable inventory of the entire set of Codici Malatestiani appears in Zonghi, *Repertorio dell'antico Archivio communale di Fano*, I (Fano, 1886); henceforth, archive and account books are abbreviated SASF and Cod. Mal., respectively.

[8] I am currently working on such a study.

[9] SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 58, fol. 114^r^. Payments at the court were made in terms of (Milanese) lire–soldi–denari imperiali: 1 = 20 = 240. For comparison with other Italian currencies, we may note that a Milanese exchange quotation of 1 August 1420 gives a rate of 50 soldi for both the ducat and florin of gold. Thus, those coins were worth 2.5 lire. Between 1408 and 1421, the rate did not fluctuate by more than two or three soldi in either direction. See Dino Brivio, *Pandolfo Malatesta: signore di Lecco* (Lecco, 1982), p. 23, and the still-unpublished "Interim Listing of the Exchange Rates of Medieval Europe" by Peter Spufford and Wendy Wilkinson (Department of History, University of Keele), p. 123. I am grateful to Elizabeth Brown, my colleague at Brooklyn College and the Graduate School, CUNY, for having helped me gain access to the invaluable Spufford–Wilkinson study.

Volume 58 of the Codici Malatestiani is a "partitario mastro," as Zonghi, *Repertorio*, I, p. 109, calls it, that is, a master ledger that brings together notices from various registers and groups them by profession; thus for the musicians: "Partita Pifferorum," "Partita Cantatorum," "Partita pulsatorum diversorum," etc. Zonghi's *Repertorio* is not without errors. In connection with musicians, he misread the scribal abbreviation for the syllable "Bel-" in the name "Beltramus" as the letter "S" and therefore listed our singer as "Stramus" (I, p. 110), and he often misread "Francia" as "Faenza"—somewhat understandably, perhaps, since he knew nothing of early-

15th-century musicians, but did know that Pandolfo took with him to Brescia many functionaries from both the Marche and Romagna, including some from the city of Faenza—thus practically giving rise to a school of musicians from that city (I, p. 86, for example). Zonghi's errors are repeated in Tabanelli, *Un condottiero romagnolo*, p. 27, and Giuseppina Gregori, "Pandolfo III° Malatesta e la sua signoria di Fano," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Urbino, 1970), pp. 138–39.

[10] SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 58, fol. 114'; a payment for that day is recorded in vol. 50, fol. 92'. The treasurer's full name was Giacchino Malagonella. As one can see, the account books were color coded by their covers. The references to the colors can still aid in locating certain entries.

[11] SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 50, fol. 96', for all three dates.

[12] Ibid., vol. 58, fol. 114'.

[13] See F. Alberto Gallo, *Il medioevo*, vol. II. *Storia della musica*. Biblioteca di cultura musicale, I/ii (Turin, 1977), p. 86; Gallo and Giovanni Mantese, *Ricerche sulle origini della cappella musicale del Duomo di Vicenza* (Venice–Rome, 1964), pp. 208f.; Keith Mixter, "Feragut, Beltrame" in *The New Grove*, vol. VI, p. 468.

[14] See Claudio Sartori, "Marzio da Perugia e Bertrand Feragut, i due primi maestri di cappella del Duomo di Milano," *Acta musicologica* XXVIII (1956), pp. 24–26; Fabio Fano, *La cappella musicale del Duomo di Milano*. Istituzioni e monumenti dell'arte musicale italiana, N.S., I (Milan, 1956), vol. I, pp. 97–98. Feragut's salary of six florins per month at the Cathedral of Milan was only slightly higher than his earnings at Pandolfo's court.

[15] He would go on to serve at Ferrara and Florence before eventually returning to France. See Frank D'Accone, "The Singers of San Giovanni in Florence during the 15th Century," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XIV (1961), pp. 310–12; André Pirro, *Histoire de la musique de la fin du XIV^e^ siècle à la fin du XVI^e^* (Paris, 1944), p. 66, n. 1.

[16] Placing Feragut at Brescia in 1415–1416 has no bearing on the presumed provenance of the second section of Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria MS 2216, which is generally assigned to Brescia after 1440. Though Feragut is represented by a *Sanctus* on fol. 44' of that section, he is even better represented—by two works—in the non-Brescian, pre-1440 first section. There is simply too little, too late to see a Feragut connection between Brescia and the manuscript. On Bologna 2216, see Gallo, *Il codice musicale 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna*, 2 vols. (Bologna, 1970), and "Musiche veneziane nel ms. 2216 della Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna," *Quadrivium* VI (1964), p. 107ff.

[17] Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario Maggiore, MS A^1^ D 19.

[18] See Guillaume de Van, "A Recently Discovered Source of Early Fifteenth Century Polyphonic Music," *Musica disciplina* II (1948), pp. 12–14; Gallo, *Il medioevo*, pp. 80–81; Gilbert Reaney, "Zacar," in *The New Grove*, vol. XX, p. 610. But see Marian Cobin, "The Compilation of the Aosta Manuscript: A Working Hypothesis," *Papers Read at the Dufay Quincentenary Conference, Brooklyn College, December 6–7, 1974*, Allan Atlas, ed. (Brooklyn, 1976), p. 84, who suggests that the work could have been commissioned by the Emperor Sigismund for the opening of the Council of Constance.

[19] De Van, "A Recently Discovered Source," p. 12; Reaney, "Zacar," pp. 609–10; Cobin, "The Compilation of the Aosta Manuscript," p. 84. Reaney, however, does not include the motet in his edition of the composer's works, in *Early Fifteenth-Century Music*, vol. VI. Corpus mensurabilis musicae, no. 11 (American Institute of Musicology, 1977).

[20] Gallo, *Il medioevo*, pp. 80–81; this attribution is also noted in Giulio Cattin, "Church Patronage of Music in Fifteenth-Century Italy," *Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Patronage, Sources and Texts*, Iain Fenlon, ed. (Cambridge, 1981), p. 26, n. 14.

[21] Fr. X. Haberl, "Wilhelm du Fay," *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft* I (1885), p. 452, and, though without citation of day, month, or place, "Die römische 'schola cantorum' und die päpstlichen Kapellsänger bis zur Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Vierteljahrschrift für Musikwissenschaft* III (1887), p. 218.

[22] See Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini*, pp. 123–48.

[23] SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 49, fol. 90'.

[24] Ibid., vol. 50, fol. 92'.

[25] Ibid., vol. 47, fol. 62'. There was, however, another singer named Nicholaus at the court, one

Nicola Papin (Papino), who seems to be distinct from the "Nicholaus de Burgundia Iodonensis–Nicholo da Iiessa de Francia–Nicholo de Francia–Nicholo" complex. Nicola Papin is recorded for the first time on 11 June 1414—there is a separate entry for Nicholaus of Liège on the same day and for a different sum of money—and described as "ser Nichola Papino cantore nuovamente aconcio col signore et fu a dì primo de giugno . . ." (vol. 47, fol. 109ᵛ). Nicola Papin is last recorded on 6 July 1415 (vol. 49, fol. 90ᵛ).

[86] SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 47: 10 January (fol. 62ᵛ), 27 February (fol. 87ᵛ), 16 March (fol. 62ᵛ), ? April (fol. 2ᵛ), 15 May (fol. 109ᵛ), 11 June (fol. 109ᵛ).

[87] Ibid., vol. 49, fol. 90ᵛ (all three notices).

[88] Ibid.

[89] Ibid., vol. 47, fol. 2ᵛ: "1414—Pro Bertoldo et compagni cantori del Signore devono dare per una sua ragione . . . L. clxxxviij s. xiij." This could be a summary entry for six months of wages for Bertoldo and two other singers.

[90] Ibid., vol. 47, fol. 109ᵛ. The following appears in Bertoldo's column: "Item a dì xj de giugno 1414 numerati a Giovanni di Giovanni suo compagno per del suo salario in sino a quo de presente . . . L. xiij s. viij." Since the payment to Bertoldo himself is recorded just above this, the entry must record Giovanni's having been paid through Bertoldo.

[91] See Manfred Schuler, "Zur Geschichte der Kapelle Papst Martins V.," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XXV (1968), pp. 32, 41–42; Haberl, "Wilhelm du Fay," pp. 433–36, and "Die römische 'schola cantorum,' " pp. 219–20. There is some confusion about the year in which Bertoldus entered Martin's chapel. Haberl twice gives it as 1418, while Schuler gives the year first as 1418 (p. 32) and then, with the comment that Haberl had erred, as 1419 (p. 41). We might note that Bertoldus was not among the singers who were with Martin in Mantua on 4 January 1419 (Haberl, "Die römische 'schola cantorum,' " p. 220, n. 1).

[92] SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 45, fol. 92ᵛ. There is a blank at the space in which the precise date should have been entered.

[93] The fullest identification occurs in a notice for 31 July: "Leonardus de Alamania magistri leugutti" (SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 43, fol. 157ᵛ).

[94] SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 44, fol. 28ᵛ.

[95] Ibid., vol. 45, fol. 8ᵛ.

[96] Ibid., vol. 46, fol. 140ᵛ.

[97] Ibid., vol. 58, fol. 110ᵛ.

[98] I take up Leonardo's apparent disappearance in my forthcoming study on music at Pandolfo's court.

[99] SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 55, fol. 248ᵛ.

[100] Ibid., vol. 55, fol. 135ᵛ.

[101] Two years earlier, in Spring 1417, Pandolfo had sent one of his *piffari*, Leonardus Eberlenus—he cannot be identified with the lutenist (see my forthcoming study)—on an extensive journey to Venice, Padua, and Chioggia. On Pandolfo's relations with Venice, which had awarded him and his heirs Venetian nobility and a house on the Grand Canal, see Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini*, p. 134.

[102] See Lewis Lockwood, "Pietrobono and the Instrumental Tradition at Ferrara in the Fifteenth Century," *Rivista italiana di musicologia* X (1975), p. 119 and n. 13.

[103] Ibid.

[104] Ibid., pp. 116, 119. Leonardo seems to have settled at Ferrara and raised a family there. Relations between the Malatesta and the Este were especially close. Even Niccolò III's execution of his adulterous wife, Parisina Malatesta, Pandolfo's niece, did not destroy the good will between the families, and further marriages between them soon took place (see Jones, *The Malatesta of Rimini*, p. 168). On the musical front, Pandolfo's Bresician court had been visited by Ferrarese *piffari* on at least two occasions, 14 January 1415 and 7 December 1417 (SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 55, fols. 240ᵛ, 100ᵛ). In all, a move from the employ of the Malatesta to that of the Este could have been made with ease.

[105] In his *De inventione et usu musicae*; see Karl Weinmann, *Johannes Tinctoris (1445–1511) und sein unbekannter Traktat "De inventione et usu musicae,"* rev. ed. (Tutzing, 1961), p. 45; an English translation appears in Anthony Baines, "Fifteenth-Century Instruments in Tinctoris's *De Inventione et*

Un Musicus," *Galpin Society Journal* III (1950), p. 24. See also, Fallows, "15th-Century Tablatures for Plucked Instruments: A Summary, a Revision and a Suggestion," *The Lute Society Journal* XIX (1977), pp. 27–28; Lockwood, "Pietrobono," p. 121; Pirrotta, "Music and Cultural Tendencies in 15th-Century Italy," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* XIX (1966), pp. 157–58; Kurt Dorfmüller, *Studien zur Lautenmusik in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tutzing, 1967), p. 104.

[46] Lockwood, "Pietrobono," p. 121.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Fano was by then under the rule of Sigismondo Pandolfo, who, however, resided at Rimini and permitted Fano to become something of a backwater.

[49] SASF, Ufficio referendaria, vol. ACC III.6, fol. 154^v.

[50] Ibid., Ufficio depositaria, vol. ACC III.81, fol. 145^r.

[51] Ibid., Cod. Mal., vol. 55, fol. 15^r. In April 1427, the same Ugolino de' Pilo (of Fano), one of Pandolfo's most trusted advisors, would help Pandolfo procure an organ for the Cathedral of Fano; see Pietro Maria Amiani, *Memorie istoriche della città di Fano*, I (Fano, 1751), p. 355.

[52] SASF, Cod. Mal., vol. 55, fol. 61^v.

[53] Ibid., vol. 52, fol. 10^r.

[54] I do not include in this number visiting musicians from other cities and courts.

[55] To end on a negative note: neither of two Brescian composers—Matheus de Brixia and Melchior prepositus brixiensis—whose music reaches us in manuscripts of the early 15th century seems to have had any connections with Pandolfo's court. Matheus was active at the Cathedral of Vicenza from 1412 through at least 5 April 1419, while Melchior served at Padua from 1411 to 1425. Therefore, both musicians were away from Brescia at precisely the time that Pandolfo lavished his greatest attention on his chapel. Finally, the Trecento composer Ottolino de Brixia to whom the poet Franco Sacchetti attributes one madrigal and two ballate (all lost) would probably have been at least one generation too old to have had any connection with Pandolfo's court. On Matheus and Melchior, see Gallo and Mantese, *Ricerche sulle origini della cappella musicale del Duomo di Vicenza*, pp. 23–27, and Hans Schoop, "Prepositus Brixiensis," in *The New Grove*, vol. XV, p. 216; on Ottolino, see Kurt von Fischer, *Studien zur italienischen Musik des Trecento und frühen Quattrocento* (Bern, 1956), pp. 77–78.

Cole and Johnson Brothers' *The Evolution of "Ragtime"**

By Edward A. Berlin

Much of the middle-class black community of turn-of-the-century America viewed ragtime with embarrassment. For a group convinced that social acceptance would come with educational achievement and conformity to the cultural ideals defined by the dominant white society, ragtime—especially the ragtime song, with its colloquial dialect and demeaning stereotypes—represented a marked image of inferiority. The attitude expressed in the *Negro Music Journal* in 1902–03 could be cited as typical:

> It cannot be denied that the lower types of "rag-time"—and the bulk of it—has done much to lower the musical taste and standard of the whole musical public, irrespective of color. . . .[1]
>
> White men also perpetrate so-called music under the name of "rag-time," representing it to be characteristic of the Negro music. This is also a libelous insult. The typical Negro would blush to own acquaintance with the vicious trash that is put forth under Ethiopian titles. If the Negro Music Journal can only do a little missionary work among us, and help banish this "rag-time" epidemic, it will go down in history as one of the greatest musical benefactors of the age.[2]

This attitude is clearly reflected also in a story related by black composer Will Marion Cook (1869–1944). His family's middle-class values were expressed in their aspirations and their regard for education and for established cultural models. Cook studied at Oberlin Conservatory, at the National Conservatory of Music in New York (during the directorship of Dvořák), and, in 1887–89, in Berlin with the famed violinist Josef Joachim. He began his musical career as a concert violinist, but, in view of the obstacles posed by such a career, turned with considerable success to composing for the black musical stage.

Cook recounted his mother's reaction to this deviation in his career; upon hearing him rehearse a song for one of his shows, his mother

> . . . came into the parlor, tears streaming from her eyes, and said:
> "Oh, Will! Will! I've sent you all over the world to study and become a great musician, and you return such a nigger!" My mother was a graduate of Oberlin in the class of 1865 and thought that a Negro composer should write just like a white man. They all loved the Dunbar lyrics [i.e., the Negro dialect poems of the celebrated black poet Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872–1906)] but weren't ready for Negro songs.[3]

Despite the values espoused by his mother and other blacks of this persuasion, Cook did not regard ragtime and coon songs as necessarily degrading.[4] Rather, he viewed the popular forms and the black musical theater as suit-

able vehicles in which black artists could express and distinguish themselves.[3]

Closely associated with Cook as professional colleagues, black intellectuals, and advocates for the development of Negro musical theater was the song-writing team comprised of Bob Cole and the Johnson brothers. The Johnson brothers, particularly, paralleled Cook's background. John Rosamond Johnson (1873–1954), known as "Rosamond" or "J. Rosamond," studied at the New England Conservatory of Music and went on to an illustrious career as pianist, singer, composer, and conductor in vaudeville, musical theater, concert stage, and movies. In the 1920s he began to devote much of his energies to choral conducting, specializing in Negro spirituals, and many of his arrangements were published.

Rosamond's brother James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938), educated at Atlanta University and Columbia University, joined the group as a lyricist. He later became the most renowned of the three in an extraordinarily varied career as poet, translator (of Granados's *Goyescas*, for the Metropolitan Opera in 1915), novelist, newspaper editor, cultural historian, anthologist (of Negro music and poetry), lawyer, international diplomat, and race-relations leader. His poem "Lift Ev'ry Voice and Sing" was set to music by his brother as a choral song for school children, and it eventually became known as the "Negro National Hymn."

Although the third member, Bob Cole (1868–1911), also attended Atlanta University, he lacked the polish and degree of formal education of his colleagues.[4] He was, though, highly valued for his extensive theatrical experience and talents. James W. Johnson considered Cole:

> . . . the most versatile theatrical man the Negro has yet produced: a good singer and an excellent dancer, and able to play several musical instruments. He could write a dramatic or a musical play—dialogue, lyrics and music—stage the play and act a part.[5]

Prior to joining with the Johnson brothers, Cole collaborated with Billy Johnson (no relation) in writing, composing, staging, and producing *A Trip to Coontown* (1897), the first non-minstrel Negro musical success on Broadway. He continued performing after teaming up with the Johnson brothers, primarily as a singer in a piano-singer duo with Rosamond Johnson, and with parts in their two full musicals, *Shoo Fly Regiment* (1907) and *Red Moon* (1909).

By mid-1903, the Cole and Johnson Brothers team had realized its first successes. Their songs were being interpolated into so many white musical comedies[6] that they were referred to as "Those Ebony Offenbachs."[7] Most notable of these songs were "Nobody's Lookin' but de Owl and de Moon" (1901), a dialect song used in the pantomime *The Sleeping Beauty and the Beast* (1901); "The Maiden with the Dreamy Eyes" (1901), a non-ethnic song used in at least three separate shows—*The Little Duchess* (1901), a Ziegfeld production in which the song was performed by Ziegfeld's wife, Anna Held, *The Supper Club* (1901), and *The Hall of Fame* (1902); "Under the Bamboo Tree" (1902), a "jungle" song performed by Marie Cahill in *Sally in Our Alley*

(1902), and one of the outstanding song successes of the day;[10] and "Congo Love Song" (1903), sung by Cahill in *Nancy Brown* (1903).

Despite their successes, Cole and the Johnson brothers were not indifferent to the criticisms of ragtime and coon songs; to some extent, they even agreed with those criticisms. In particular, they were sensitive to the texts of the more disparaging coon songs, songs that

> . . . were concerned with jamborees of various sorts and the play of razors, with the gastronomical delights of chicken, pork chops and watermelon. . . . Such elements frequently are excellencies in folk-songs, but rarely so in conscious imitations.[11]

They also bristled at the word "coon," and when performing the immensely popular "All Coons Look Alike to Me" (Ernest Hogan, 1896), the Cole and Johnson duo routinely substituted "boys" for the offending "coons," thereby rendering the song a harmless novelty.[12] But the use of Negro dialect itself, if presented without the disparaging stereotypes, they viewed in a positive light, perceiving such dialect as a precious folk heritage to be preserved. James, in fact, lamented the loss of racial identity as ragtime songs gradually became assimilated and accepted into the mainstream of American culture.[13]

With their friends and colleagues, including Cook, Dunbar, art-song composer and singer Harry Burleigh, vaudeville and musical-theater performers Bert Williams, George Walker, and Ernest Hogan, they had many late-night discussions on how to raise the status of Negro music and musical theater,[14] and on how Negro songwriters could best succeed without sacrificing their cultural heritage. As James W. Johnson wrote:

> I now began to grope toward a realization of the importance of the American Negro's cultural background and his creative folk-art, and to speculate on the superstructure of conscious art that might be reared upon them. My first step in this direction was taken in a song ["Louisiana Lize" (1899)] that Bob Cole, my brother, and I wrote. . . . It was an attempt to bring a higher degree of artistry to Negro songs.[15]

It was in this dual climate of buoyancy over their successes and of intellectual soul-searching regarding the direction of Negro music—how it could at the same time preserve its cultural identity and be an artistic statement that could gain respect—that Cole and the Johnson brothers wrote *The Evolution of "Ragtime."*

"It would be interesting to trace historically the part that has been played in music by the Negro, beginning with the old slave and plantation songs and coming down through the age of minstrelsy to the present efforts being made in both classic and popular music."[16] So wrote James W. Johnson in 1905. But this speculation, shared by his collaborators, was already articulated in song two years earlier in *The Evolution of "Ragtime."* This work is a suite of six songs tracing black music from the African jungle through slavery, plantation, minstrelsy, to the then-current Negro ragtime ballad. Though both

Johnsons were to publish historically oriented works in later years," the suite makes no pretense at historical accuracy; it is simply a musical statement based on commonly held impressions of the time. Nor does it really concern itself with ragtime as the term is most often understood today, i.e., as a Joplin-type piano music; rather, it is ragtime as a synonym for Afro-American secular music.

While lacking a profound historical basis, the suite is more than a mere grouping of popular songs. Being addressed to the theater-going public, it contains references to earlier styles and period pieces that its public could be expected to recognize. The historic intent of the songs is further clarified by the titles, lyrics, and introductory poems written by J.W. Johnson (Figure 1). Contributing a consciously artistic dimension for the entire suite is a degree of organic unity depicting a musical evolution that reaches fruition in the last song.

The six songs were published separately and copyrighted on 3 December 1903, and the suite as a whole was published with a copyright registration on 26 December 1903. The final song, referred to more frequently as "Lindy" than as "Sounds of the Times," was reprinted at least twice in 1904: in an awkwardly truncated version that was issued in sufficient numbers so that copies are still fairly common today, and as the first half of a two-song medley that appeared in *The Mark Stern Smart Set Dance Album*.[8] The indications are that "Lindy" had attained considerable popularity as a song independent of the suite, and even thirty years later it was recalled by one of the publishing giants of the day as being among the Cole and Johnson hits.[9]

In 1905, songs 3–6 were reprinted in *The Ladies' Home Journal* in monthly installments, from May to August. Song 1, "Voice of the Savage," was probably omitted from these reprints because, while programmatically effective, the voice part was too "primitive" for parlor performance by the general music public of the time. Song 2, "Echoes of the Day," appears suitable for home performance, but may have been omitted because it lacks the conventional verse-chorus structure. It is apparent that the magazine editors were careful not to offend and endeavored to remain within accepted conventions, for in reprinting the drinking song "Essence of the Jug," song 3, they assuaged female delicacy by replacing the original lyric "de old corn juice"—i.e., corn liquor—with a less spirited "de apple juice." Song 4, "Darkies Delights," had an additional lyric added to the verse and chorus, and song 5, "The Spirit of the Banjo," was reprinted without alteration. Song 6, "Lindy," was substantially shortened in reprint, the original atypical structure (more on this below) being replaced with a more conventional verse-chorus form, and the lyrics for the chorus were altered. In January 1906, "Lindy" was again reprinted in *The Ladies' Home Journal*, this time in a "two-step march" arrangement; to bring the music into conformity with the usual 3-theme structure of the march, a new 16-measure section (with ragtime rhythms) was appended as a conclusion.

Prefacing the *Journal* reprint of the four latter songs is a statement explaining their intent: "The four songs . . . are supposed to illustrate the growth of

Figure 1

The Evolution of "Ragtime." A Musical Suite

Introductory Poems by James Weldon Johnson

Song	*Lyrics**	*Music**
1. Voice of the Savage. (Zulu Dance)	B.C.	R.J.
Out from the dark, in tones untrained and rude, Marked by the tom-tom's noisy beat and roll, The savage cries aloud in accents crude, Striving to express the music in his soul.		
2. Echoes of the Day. (Daylight is Fading)	J.W.J.	R.J.
The day dies and the cooling shade of night Falls, as the humble slaves return from toil; Day brings its tasks, but when it takes its flight Rest comes, to bless these children of soil.		
3. Essence of the Jug. Lay away your Troubles	J.W.J.	B.C.
De cotton it has done been picked, de taters dey's been dug, Der's grub enough for ev'ry pickaninny; Come gadder 'round, and first we'll drink de essence of de jug And den we'll dance de "Essence of Virginny."		
4. Darkies Delights. Introducing: "Carve Dat Possum"	J.W.J.	B.C.
Life loses all its troubles, and we's happy in our souls, And all de world seems very bright and fine, When we smells de possum cookin' in de oven on de coals, And we sees de melon ripenin' on de Vine.		
5. The Spirit of the Banjo!	J.W.J. B.C.	R.J.
When de banjo is a ringing, Is der something in de strings Dat drives away yo' sorrow and yo' care? No; what's in yo' heart a singing, And dat put yo' feet on springs, Is de spirit of de banjo in de air.		
6. Sounds of the Times. Lindy	J.W.J.	B.C. R.J.
Farewell to the songs of bygone days; For now the air is laden With syncopated notes in praise Of some sweet dusky maiden.		

* B.C. = Bob Cole; R.J. = Rosamond Johnson; J.W.J. = James Weldon Johnson

the forms of negro music from the old days of minstrelsy to the present day."[18] No mention is made either of the original suite title or of ragtime. This omission is probably due to the low esteem in which ragtime was held at the time, making it unsuitable for publication in a ladies' magazine.[19] Though ragtime could, and did, show up in respectable magazines of the time, such appearances were rarely identified as ragtime; they usually carried some more acceptable label such as "Negro song," "darkey lullaby," "Negro cakewalk," or "African intermezzo."

The suite was first presented in public performance in *Mother Goose*, a lavishly-staged extravaganza with a cast of 500, presented on 2 December 1903 by the celebrated producers Klaw and Erlanger.[20] A review the next day reported:

> The third act also presented several pleasing novelties. The first is a singing and dancing specialty arrangement by Cole and Johnson and designed to represent the "Evolution of Ragtime." It served to introduce several picturesquely costumed groups, and ended with a dance led by a dozen or more girls garbed in silk gowns of brown and gold, in which the limits of extravagance seemed to have been reached.[21]

It was used in at least one other musical, *A Little of Everything*, a light summer production that opened 6 June 1904 at the Aeriel Gardens, atop the New Amsterdam Theatre:

> . . . one of the prettiest features of the evening, "The Evolution of Ragtime." A special set of scenery has been built for this, and it requires nearly the entire chorus to work it out. Of the principals, George Schultes, Peter Dailey and Miss Templeton appear in it and it closes the second act in a whirlwind fashion.[22]

In another clipping, a photograph of Fay Templeton and Peter Dailey dancing is captioned:

> Great Cake Walk Demonstrated.
> It is a big dancing feature which starts the development of ragtime in the wilds of Africa and reaches full grown glory when Fay Templeton and Peter Dailey appear and do fancy steps.[23]

For all its celebrity in 1903–04, *The Evolution of "Ragtime"* seems to have been almost forgotten. Copies of the entire suite have become exceedingly rare. James W. Johnson does not mention the music in either his autobiography or in *Black Manhattan*, and while Eugene Levy does mention the music in his biography of Johnson, he cites only the *Journal* reprints.[24] Not unexpectedly, contemporaneous commentary subordinates the music to the colorful staging. Yet there is substance to the music that deserves examination, for along with representing a "history" of black music, however fanciful that history may be, the work is a true collaborative effort by three major figures striving not only for commercial success but also for artistic validity within a black cultural context.

In his prefatory poem to the last song, James W. Johnson writes, "Farewell to the songs of by gone days." The songs that preceded are, in effect, preparation for this final stage in "the evolution of ragtime," building blocks to "the modern negro ballad in all its popular rhythm and haunting melody."[17] Just as "Sounds of the Times. Lindy" was the high point of the theatrical productions, presented with the most lavish costumes and the grand cakewalk finale, it was also the musical climax, with the normal song form extended to balance the greater length of a suite. But it is climactic on a more organic level as well, for the final song is built on motives introduced in the preceding songs and brings these motives to fullest fruition. The suite as a whole, therefore, truly expresses the concept of evolution. This being the case, it is helpful to examine the last song first, thereby identifying those elements that contribute to this musical evolution.

The form of the last song is not itself directly related to the evolutionary idea, but it reveals something of how the creators thought of building a suite from popular materials, and is therefore worth examining. It begins as a conventional song of the time: 8-measure introduction; 32-measure verse; 16-measure repeated chorus (Example 1). After reprises of verse and chorus, the formal extensions begin, first with a variant of the chorus, now in a new key and with a habanera-like accompaniment (Example 2). This accompaniment is retained for a 16-measure modulatory "development" of the chorus (Example 3), leading finally to a "recapitulation" of the original chorus, in the original key, and an 8-measure coda.

The extensions can be justified on theatrical grounds as they allow the gradual growth of a grand finale, and on musical grounds as they create proportions more fitting to a suite. Whereas the development section may be simplistic, as musical developments go, it points to the seriousness with which the suite was conceived. The use of a Hispanic rhythm is interesting since many writers of the time recognized similarities between Latin-American rhythms and ragtime; some considered this similarity indicative of a derivative relationship, while others argued that it was just coincidental.[18] Within the context of this work, however, it is important that Bob Cole was convinced that Hispanic music and ragtime would eventually merge.[19] Perhaps its introduction here, then, was their prediction for a future evolution of ragtime.

More directly concerned with the evolutionary aspect of the work are the melodic fragments and motives found throughout. These are all nicely brought together in the opening phrase of the last song's chorus (Example 4; cf. Ex. 1). In order, the motives are "x," an appoggiatura; "y," a quick neighbor-note motion; and "z," a diatonic ascending third. The phrase ends with a reiteration of "x," now as a feminine cadence. Of the four phrases in the chorus, the first three are clearly built on the same motives, and it could be argued that the fourth is also derived from them.

Whereas the verse section of a song is usually quite distinct from the chorus, in this song the verse melody is also constructed from the same motives (Example 5). There are differences, to be sure: the appoggiatura "x" motive

does not appear until the feminine cadence; the "y" motive is in eighths rather than sixteenths; the "z" motive is a skip of a third, not yet evolved into its filled-in form, as in the third phrase of the verse, in which it both ascends and descends in stepwise fashion (Example 6).

The roots of ragtime are presented in the first song, "Voice of the Savage. (Zulu Dance)." Despite the interest some musicians showed in the tribal music presented at the Dahomey Village exhibit at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair,[8] the prevailing view was that African expression was primitive, a view apparently accepted by James W. Johnson and other American blacks who had visited the fair.[9] As a result, the Cole and Johnson Brothers' depiction of African music is of a music restricted to three tones (root, fifth, seventh) and nonsense syllables. Yet, even as "The savage . . . [strives] to express his soul," to quote Johnson's introductory poem, he already reveals what will blossom forth in Afro-American music. Underlying the opening savage cry is the syncopated rhythm of mature ragtime (Example 7). The lower-neighbor motive ("y") is heard both in the syncopated figure and, later on, as a vocal inflection, and the appoggiatura motive ("x") appears in the accompaniment (Example 8). Foreshadowing more explicitly what is to come is a clear statement of the "Lindy" melody in the introduction (Example 9).

The primitive quality of this first song suggests the concept that ragtime is derived directly from African music. This concept, that ragtime was simply a transfer in geography, was a widely-held belief at the time. Scott Joplin, for one, was quoted as saying, "There has been ragtime music in America ever since the Negro race has been here."[10]

In "Echoes of the Day. (Daylight is Fading)," the black African is transplanted to the antebellum South. The juxtaposition of his plaintive melody with the opening of Stephen Foster's "Old Folks at Home" establishes a relationship between the two (cf. Example 10, mm. 3–5 and 11–12) that suggests several provocative interpretations: 1) the black man absorbs his master's musical vocabulary, represented by Foster's song; 2) the white man absorbs the black man's idiom, producing one of America's most beloved songs and influencing the subsequent course of American popular music; 3) it is the merging of both cultures that produces the most characteristic traits of American music. Underlying the black man's music are two of the suite's motives—the neighbor-note and the appoggiatura.

The word "essence" in the title of song number 3 has a double reference: with the "Essence of the Jug," it announces the drinking-song nature of the lyrics; concurrently, with the last line of the introductory poem ("And den we'll dance de 'Essence of Virginny' ") and with the tempo indication for the chorus ("Tempo of 'Virginia Essence' ") it celebrates minstrelsy's most characteristic dance.[11] The song's link to the main concept of the suite is the repeated appoggiatura motive in the accompaniment (Example 11).

"Darkies Delights," song number 4, is a tribute to minstrel star Sam Lucas (1840–1916), described some years later by James W. Johnson:

> Sam Lucas came to be the Grand Old Man of the Negro Stage. He . . . was well educated, cultured in his manners. . . . He was a versatile performer and was active on the stage from those early days of minstrelsy down to modern Negro musical comedy. As late as 1910 he played a leading part in Cole and Johnson's *Red Moon*. In 1915 he played the role of Uncle Tom in the first screen version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*."

The tribute comes in the use of Lucas's most famous song, "Carve Dat Possum." Lucas's song is presented not as in the original publication of 1875 but in an updated version exploiting the modal ambiguity of natural and flatted thirds, an idea that may have appealed to Cole at a time when the language of musical blues was gaining a hold.[6] The suite's motives do not play a significant part in the body of the song, but in the introduction the "Lindy" melody is prominently placed alongside Lucas's theme (Example 12).

Number 5, "The Spirit of the Banjo!," celebrates the instrument most closely associated with black secular music up to that time. The banjo effect is provided throughout by arpeggiated chords and triplets; integrated into these banjo effects are the set's main motives. The most prominent are the appoggiatura "x" motive and the lower-neighbor motive (Example 13).

It is apparent that the composers made a conscious effort to link the songs and to focus on "Lindy" as the final step in a musical evolution traced with a few select motives. That sophistication of motivic manipulation is inconsistent, sometimes being little more than a nominal gesture (suggesting, perhaps, that some of the songs were composed before the evolutionary concept came about) is of little importance; the milieu in which, and for which, the work was created demands no such subtleties. Of greater importance is how the suite responds to the needs of its time and place.

The Evolution of "Ragtime" was, first of all, a theater piece, and as such it was eminently successful. It spoke in terms its audience could recognize, enjoy, and remember. It was a response, also, to the perceived need of a few black intellectuals and artists to enhance an appreciation of black culture. The extent of its success in this regard is difficult to assess; if it brought to its contemporaries any greater recognition of the cultural continuity leading to ragtime, this revelation was not verbalized. The *Ladies' Home Journal* reprints, in presenting the last four songs as a history of black music, continued the effort to address the issue of cultural heritage. It is unfortunate that the magazine did not at that time publish readers' letters, for these might have documented some kind of reaction. James W. Johnson recounts that the editor showed him one letter which, while praising the Cole and Johnson Brothers' songs, did so on the assumption that the creators were white.[8] Though both Johnsons sought assiduously to reveal with their later writings the musical heritage of black America, their failure to mention *The Evolution of "Ragtime"* seems to indicate how the significance of this early effort had faded from their memories.

A third response, an attempt to develop an art music from black source materials, presents an apparent inconsistency; the same individuals who sought to promote the artistic validity of black secular music demonstrated a need to further justify this music by adding the trappings of art music—i.e., the label of a "suite" and the gesture of motivic integration. This ambivalence is reflected also in James W. Johnson's writings. In his article of 1905 on Negro successes in music,[7] he considers only his colleagues in musical theater and blacks involved in art music; he takes no notice of the black innovators of instrumental ragtime. A similar judgment of artistic worth is made in Johnson's novel *The Autobiography of an Ex-Colored Man*; the novel's protagonist—a ragtime-playing black man passing for white—resolves his identity crisis with the decision to adapt ragtime and other black secular music to art genres.[8]

Was ragtime considered too vulgar for acceptance as a complete artistic expression? Maybe so. Perhaps even by Scott Joplin, for despite his colossal success in creating piano rags that we admire today as much for their artistry as for their scintillation, Joplin devoted an inordinate amount of time and energy to writing opera. Nor was this need to complement one's vernacular accomplishments with art music restricted to black composers. Irving Berlin, for one, whose musical empire was founded on his Broadway successes of the ragtime era, spoke repeatedly of writing opera based on ragtime materials.[9]

This is an attitude that must be recognized if we are to understand the artistic aspirations of popular musicians of the early part of this century. Though Will Marion Cook could, in the 1940s, look back at his mother's attitude with amusement, there were many musicians working in the popular sphere who, consciously or unconsciously, shared her implied distinction between popular art and high art, assigning a lesser value to the former. According to this interpretation, popular art could not be justified entirely on its own terms; whatever their inherent worth, vernacular forms could attain fullest realization only through transformation into art music.

Viewed in this light, *The Evolution of "Ragtime"* becomes more than a novelty. Though there are few works of the time that parallel its tripartite effort of popular theater music, cultural anthropology, and artistic development of vernacular materials, it is not at odds with contemporaneous expressions. Rather, *The Evolution of "Ragtime"* is a clear response to cultural and artistic needs customarily expressed separately but here brought together in a unified work.

NOTES

* I should like to thank Dr. John Graziano for supplying me with a copy of this interesting work, and Ms. Reba Berlin for her meticulous research assistance.

[7] "Our Musical Condition," *Negro Music Journal* 1 (March 1903), p. 158.

[8] "What 'The Concert-Goer' Says of 'The Negro Music Journal,'" *Negro Music Journal* 1 (October 1902), p. 28.

[9] Will Marion Cook, "Clorindy, the Origin of the Cakewalk," *Theatre Arts* (September 1947), pp. 61–65; reprinted in Eileen Southern, ed., *Readings in Black American Music* (New York: W.W.

Norton, 1971), p. 218.

[4] It might be helpful at this juncture to clarify the generic terms "ragtime," "ragtime song," and "coon song." Whereas to much of today's public "ragtime" signifies a piano music, common usage from the 1890s through the 1930s included songs as a major part of this category. The type of song considered to be ragtime varied as the genre evolved, but during the years under consideration, the ragtime song was ethnically linked to American blacks, using Negro dialect lyrics and—frequently—syncopations that had become stereotypical of black American music. It was essentially identical to the "coon song" of the same period, this being a Negro dialect song of the minstrel stage, used primarily in mocking, uncomplimentary characterizations of blacks. I treat these issues in much greater detail in chapters 1–3 and 6 of my book *Ragtime: A Musical and Cultural History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980).

[5] James Weldon Johnson, *Along This Way* (New York: Viking, 1933), pp. 172–73.

[6] "Cook never hesitated to make belittling comments on Cole's limitations in musical and general education; he would even sneer at him on a fault in pronunciation." Ibid., p. 173.

[7] James Weldon Johnson, *Black Manhattan* (New York: Knopf, 1930; repr. ed., New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1968), p. 98.

[8] Song interpolations into musicals were a common practice of the time. The songs were frequently chosen by the star performers and often achieved more popularity than those written by the show's main composer.

[9] Eugene Levy, *James Weldon Johnson. Black Leader, Black Voice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973), p. 86.

[10] For a discussion of this song and its popularity, see Berlin, *Ragtime*, pp. 56–58.

[11] Johnson, *Along This Way*, pp. 132–33.

[12] Levy, p. 87.

[13] James Weldon Johnson, Preface to *The Second Book of Negro Spirituals*, ed. James Weldon Johnson, musical arr. by J. Rosamond Johnson (New York: Viking, 1926), pp. 16–17.

[14] Johnson, *Along This Way*, pp. 172–73.

[15] Ibid., p. 132.

[16] James W. Johnson, "The Negro of To-Day in Music," *Charities* 15 (7 October 1905), p. 58.

[17] Among them, James wrote *Black Manhattan* (1930), a history of blacks in New York City, with some emphasis on black musical theater, and edited the anthology *The Book of American Negro Poetry* (1922). Rosamond published the musical anthologies *Shout Songs* (1936) and *Rolling Along in Song* (1937) and made arrangements of traditional Negro songs for several other volumes. Together, the brothers published *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* (1925) and *The Second Book of Negro Spirituals* (1926), James writing the introductions and Rosamond taking charge of the musical arrangements.

[18] "I Want to be a Soldier. Introducing Lindy. March and Two-Step." Arr. by George Rosey (New York: Stern, 1904), pp. 16–19.

[19] Edward B. Marks, as told to Abbott J. Liebling, *They All Sang, From Tony Pastor to Rudy Vallee* (New York: Viking, 1934), p. 100.

[20] *Ladies' Home Journal*, May 1903, p. 29.

[21] For more on the public reception given to ragtime, see Berlin, *Ragtime*, chapter 3.

[22] "Notes on the Theatres," *New York Times*, 2 December 1903, p. 6.

[23] "New Spectacular Show," *New York Times*, 3 December 1903, p. 6.

[24] "Review," *Morning Telegraph*, 7 June 1904, unpaginated clipping. The Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, Lincoln Center, "NAFR + Robinson Locke Collection 453 Fay Templeton."

[25] Unidentified newspaper clipping. The Library and Museum of the Performing Arts, Lincoln Center, "NAFR + Robinson Locke Collection 453 Fay Templeton."

[26] Levy, p. 92.

[27] *Ladies' Home Journal*, August 1905, p. 19.

[28] For further discussion, see Berlin, *Ragtime*, pp. 115–18.

[29] Levy, p. 92.

[30] See Henry Edward Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs: A Study in Racial and National Music* (New York: Schirmer, 1914), pp. 60–68.

[31] Levy, p. 39.

[32] "Theatrical Comment," *New York Age*, 3 April 1913, p. 6.

[33] Known also as The Essence, or The Essence Dance, this is a dance that goes back at least to the 1850s and remained common in minstrel shows well into the 20th century. The style of the dance evolved during this time, but in the period of the Cole and Johnson collaborations, it was a slow step that eventually developed into the "soft shoe." See Marshall and Jean Stearns, *Jazz Dance. The Story of American Vernacular Dance* (New York: Macmillan, 1968), pp. 50–51; Lynne Fauley Emery, *Black Dance in the United States from 1619 to 1970* (Palo Alto, CA: National Press Books, 1972), pp. 193–96; Tom Fletcher, *100 Years of the Negro in Show Business* (New York: Burdge, 1954; repr. ed., New York: Da Capo, 1984), p. 61.

[34] Johnson, *Black Manhattan*, p. 90.

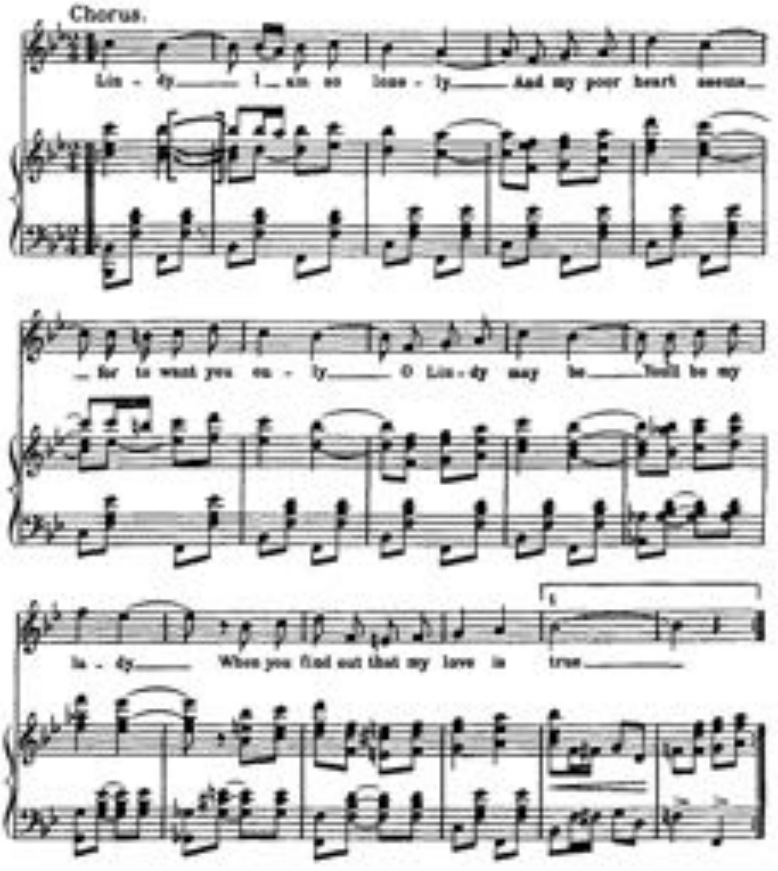
[35] For a discussion of blues before W. C. Handy's "Memphis Blues" (1912), see Berlin, *Ragtime*, pp. 154–58.

[36] Johnson, *Along This Way*, pp. 195–96. Johnson refers to their songs published in the *Journal* without, however, specifying the songs.

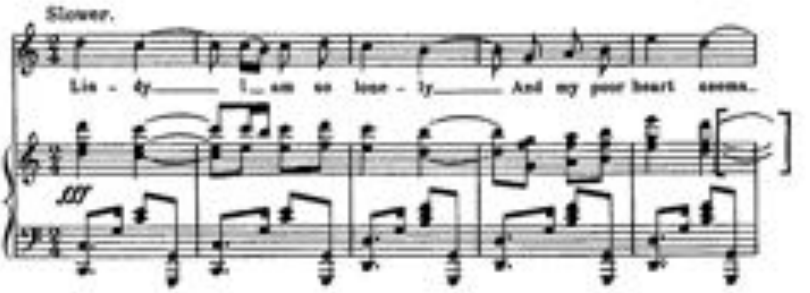
[37] Johnson, "The Negro of To-Day in Music," pp. 58–59.

[38] (Boston: Sherman, French, 1912). Reprinted in *Three Negro Classics* (New York: Avon, 1965), pp. 391–511.

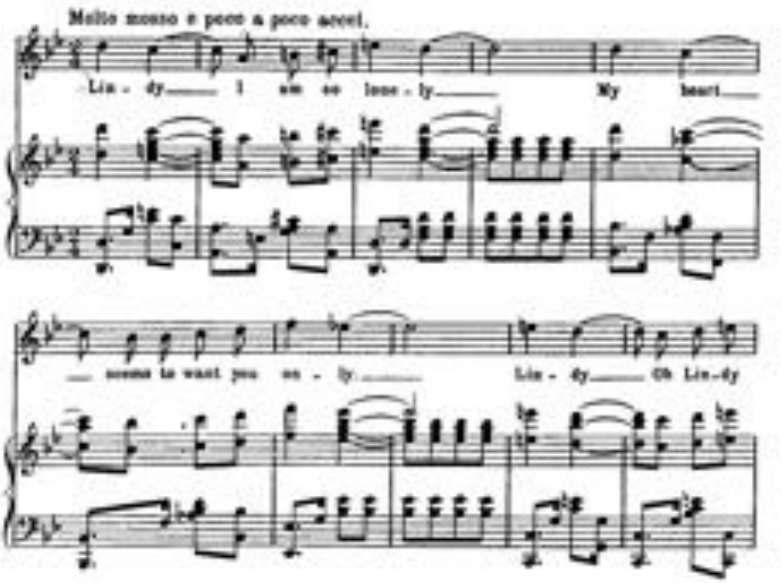
[39] See, for example, Frederick James Smith, "Irving Berlin and Modern Ragtime," *New York Dramatic Mirror*, 14 January 1914, p. 38; and Irving Berlin and Justus Dickinson, "Words and Music," *Green Book Magazine* (July 1915), p. 105. For further discussion of the arguments over whether ragtime should become a source for American art music, see Berlin, *Ragtime*, pp. 52–56.



Example 1. "Sounds of the Times. Lindy," chorus, mm. 1–16 (correction in mm. 1–2 indicated by brackets).

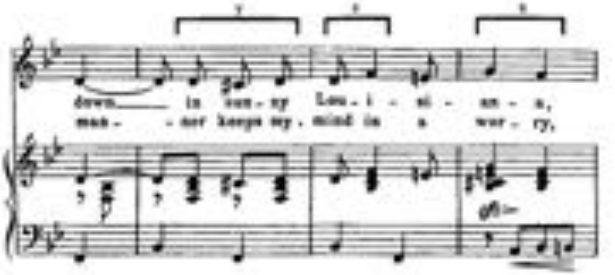


Example 2. "Sounds of the Times. Lindy," chorus, variant 1, mm. 1–5 (correction in mm. 5–6 indicated by brackets).

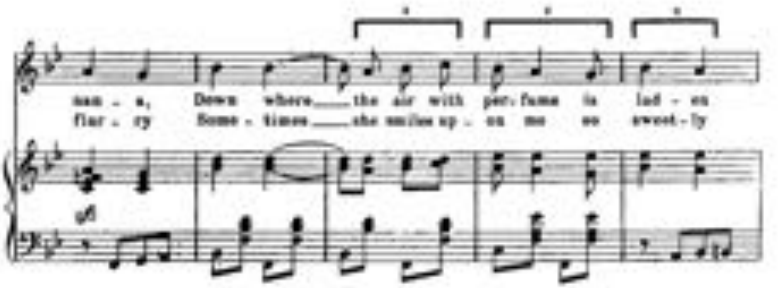


Example 3. "Sounds of the Times. Lindy," chorus, development, mm. 1–10.

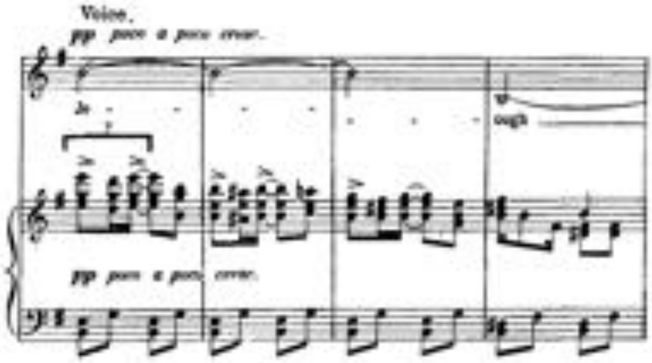
Example 4. "Sounds of the Times. Lindy," chorus, mm. 1–4.



Example 5. "Sounds of the Times. Lindy," verse, mm. 1–4.

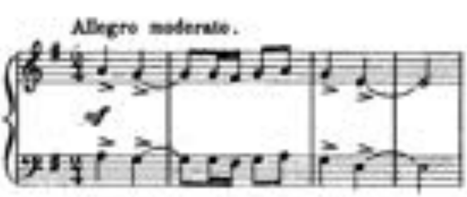


Example 6. "Sounds of the Times. Lindy," verse, mm. 8–12.

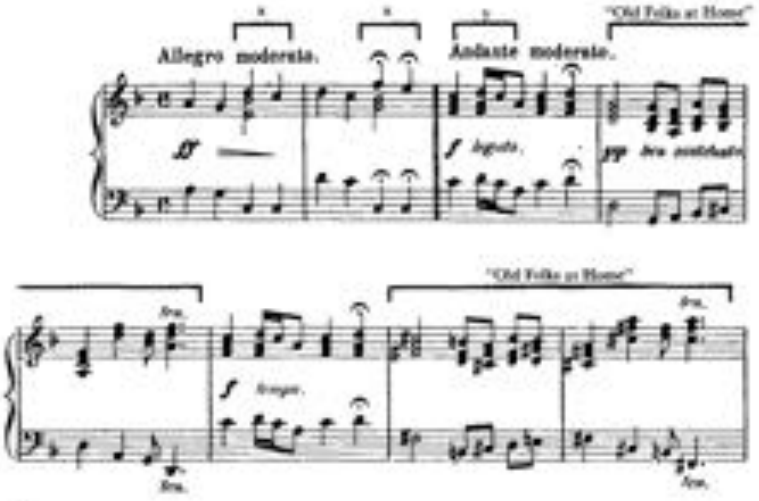


Example 7. "Voice of the Savage. (Zulu Dance)," mm. 17–20.

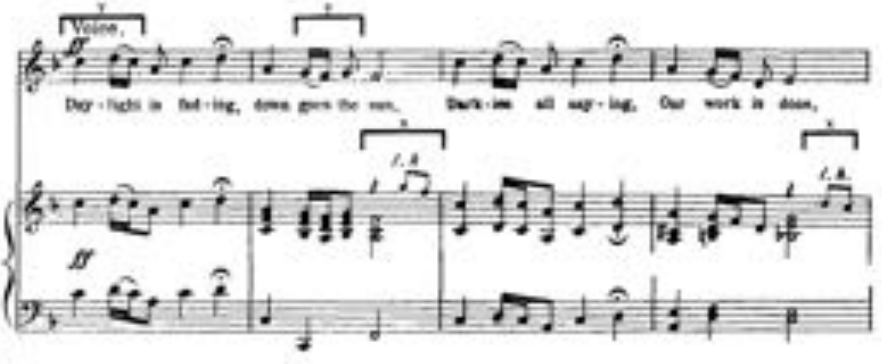
Example 8. "Voice of the Savage. (Zulu Dance)," mm. 47–50.



Example 9. "Voice of the Savage. (Zulu Dance)," mm. 1–4.

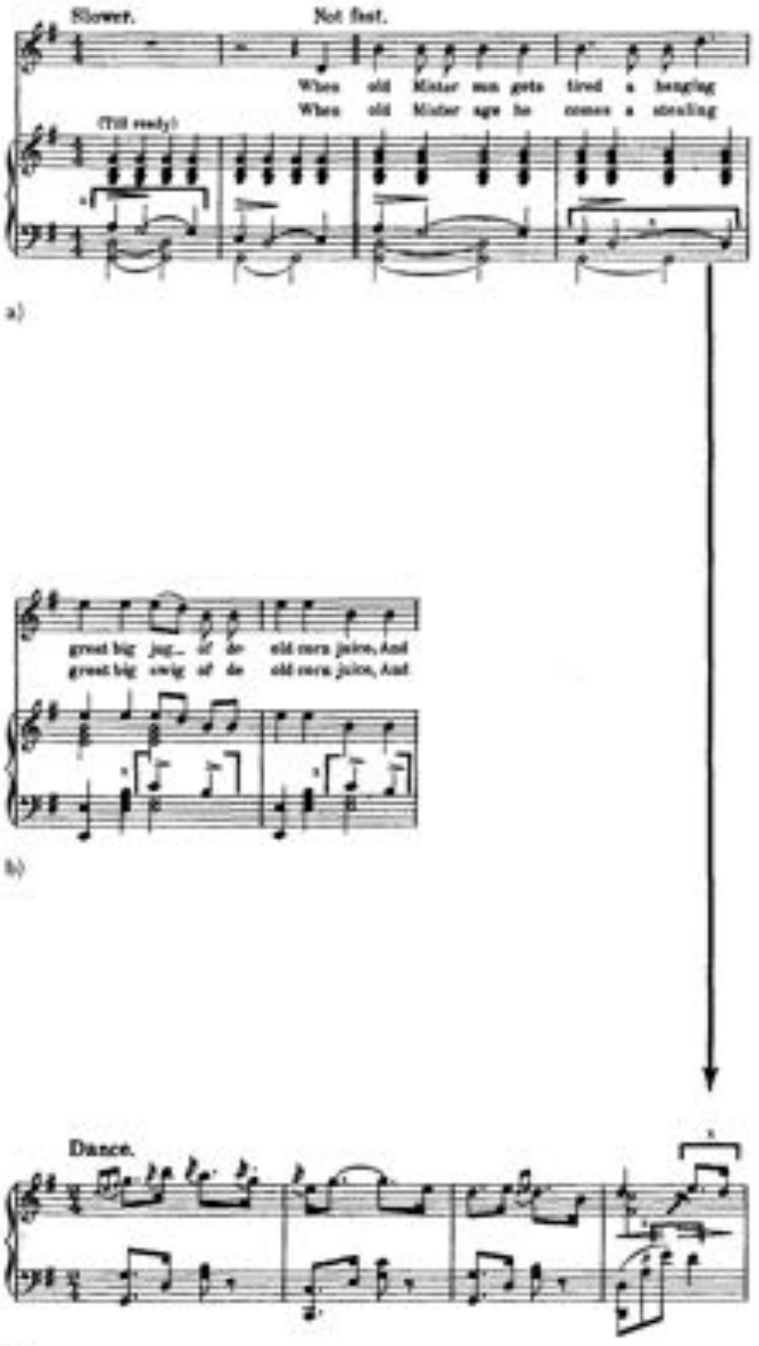


a)

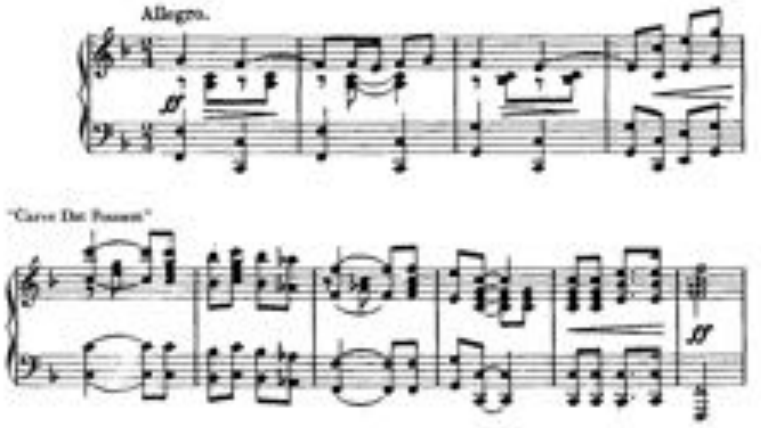


b)

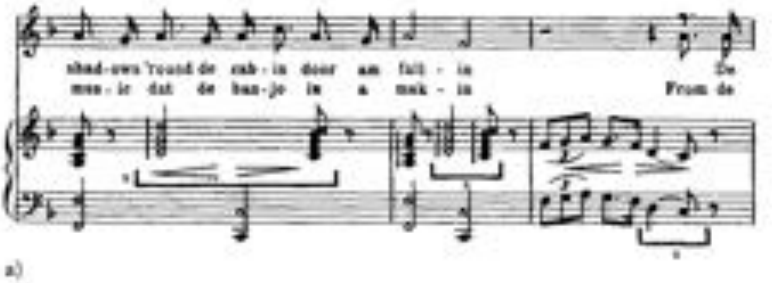
Example 10. "Echoes of the Day. (Daylight is Fading)": a) mm. 1–8; b) mm. 11–14.



Example 11. "Essence of the Jug. Lay away your Troubles": a) vamp-verse mm. 1–2; b) verse mm. 13–14; c) dance mm. 1–4.



Example 12. "Darkies Delights," introduction.



a)

b)

Example 13. "The Spirit of the Banjo!": a) verse mm. 2–6; b) chorus mm. 5–7.

Why Amy Beach Succeeded as a Composer: The Early Years

By Adrienne Fried Block

Amy Marcy Cheney Beach (1867–1944) was, by all contemporary standards and without consideration of gender, a successful composer. She was one of the first women in the United States to have her works played—and played often—by leading musicians. There are several reasons for her success, not least that Beach was a gifted musician. But there have been and are other equally gifted women who have had neither the support nor the recognition given Beach during her lifetime. Dena Epstein states that Beach led a charmed life[1] and it is indeed true that almost everything in her life seemed to work in her favor.

For a woman to succeed, it appears that she must have optimum conditions. Gaye Tuchman, in "Woman and the Creation of Culture," states that "some conditions that merely aid men who wish to become artists are absolute necessities for the success of women."[2] The conditions she mentions are birth into a family of artists or birth into a family of wealth and high social position, and a male sponsor. Such advantages offer to women the means, otherwise not available to them, for artistic development, for entry into the professional world, and for financial support during their formative years as artists. To Tuchman's three requirements can be added the advantage of being born at the right time and in the right place.

These advantages had a profound effect on Beach's early life and career, beginning at birth and, for the purposes of this paper, lasting through the Boston years to 1910. One of the reasons for Beach's acceptance was the strength of the women's movement in the latter part of the 19th century. Judith Tick notes the effect of "the emergence of the women's rights movement in redefining women's place. The movement affected women in music in two ways. First, it changed the consciousness of women who would otherwise have been content with the traditional definition of women's work [that is, music as a domestic art]. Second, it challenged belief in the cultural inferiority of women in music as it did in other spheres of intellectual and cultural life."[3] The time was ripe for someone like Beach to succeed, the ground having been prepared by the women's movement.

It also helped to live in Boston, then the main breeding ground for music in the cultivated—that is, German—tradition. It was especially advantageous to be a member of a circle that included Harvard faculty members, leading writers, artists, and musicians, as well as the patrons of music themselves. As we shall see, a number of these leaders of Boston society became Beach's sponsors when she was very young. Her entry into this circle came about first through her family. Clara Imogene Marcy Cheney, Beach's mother, discussed the family heritage on both the Marcy and the Cheney sides in a letter to her cousin Anna, dated 27 April 1898:

> . . . My father's ancestry on my side is the same as Charlotte Cushman (Marcy on her mother's side) . . . William Marcy of New York . . . was U.S. Senator in 1831, Governor of New York 1833–39, Secretary of War 1845–49, Secretary of State 1853–57. So many people have asked me if Amy was not of foreign parentage, I reply if being one of the tenth generation of Dearborns, the eighth generation of Marcys and the no-end-of-generations of Cheneys in New England does not make her an American I do not know what will.[4]

General Dearborn fought in the American Revolutionary War. Charlotte Cushman, this country's first great actress, began as an opera singer of promise, but early damage to her voice forced her to abandon opera for the theater.[5] Others in the family also were musical: Beach's grandfather played the clarinet, while her mother, according to a Boston columnist writing in 1893, "was a conscientious musician [who] before her marriage and during its first years was known all over the state [of New Hampshire], both as a singer and a pianist."[6] The family thus was one of high social position, and music was an important part of their lives.

An only child, Amy Marcy Cheney was born in Henniker, N.H., and received her first musical training from her mother. Clara Cheney apparently had the rare combination of insight into her daughter's gift, the musical ability and training to develop that gift—at least for the first few years—and the good judgment to refrain from exploiting the child. Here are Mrs. Cheney's own words about her daughter's early training and promise, from that same letter to Cousin Anna:

> . . . She commenced the study of piano with me at the age of six. I was compelled to do so as she played the piano at four years, memorizing everything that she heard correctly in four-part harmony as in the hymn tunes she heard in church, after one hearing and always in the same key in which they were written. Her gift for composition showed itself in babyhood—before she was two years old she would, when being rocked to sleep in my arms, improvise a perfectly correct alto to any soprano air I might sing. She played, while under my instruction, at a few concerts when seven years old, her repertoire including Beethoven sonatas, Op. 49, 1 and 2, Chopin, Waltz in E-flat, Op. 18, Handel, *Harmonious Blacksmith* . . . and many other works from the old masters. In response to *encores* she would play one of her own compositions with the most unconscious manner imaginable.[7]

Amy Cheney was also gifted intellectually: she taught herself to read at age three and recited long poems from memory at age seven. She attended a Boston private school, was deeply interested in mathematics and philosophy, and became fluent in both German and French while young. In a description of her study habits, Walter S. Jenkins, in later years a fellow artist-in-residence at the MacDowell Colony, explained how, in her teens, she studied French while doing technical exercises at the piano, after having decided that the exercises demanded little if any concentration.[8]

In 1871 the family moved from Henniker to Boston.[9] When Amy was eight, the family had her talents appraised by leading Boston musicians. Impressed by her gifts, the general opinion was that she would be immediately accepted by any of the best German conservatories. This was the highest possible compliment in that German-worshipping circle. Despite their recommendations, however, Amy Cheney and her family remained in Boston. But as a result of these evaluations, the child was introduced into professional circles as a prodigy, and in addition her training was prescribed and then monitored by the leading musicians of Boston. Her successive piano teachers after her mother, Ernst Perabo and Carl Baermann, were two of the best in town, and like her harmony teacher, Junius Welch Hill, they had studied in Germany.[10] She studied harmony for one year, but in composition she had no teacher. A partial description of her course of self-study in composition appears in the Boston Symphony Orchestra's program notes for the première of her "Gaelic" Symphony, Op. 32, on 31 October 1896:

> . . . For the last fourteen years she has made a systematic practice of studying analytically all the best works performed by the Boston Symphony Orchestra before, during, and after the performance. She was advised to this course by Wilhelm Gericke.[11]

This was quite a burden for a fifteen-year-old to shoulder alone. That she was able to carry out Gericke's regimen was remarkable indeed. In addition, "counterpoint, fugue, musical form, and instrumentation she pursued alone for several years, making translations of treatises by Berlioz and Gevaert."[12]

None of the other composers of the Boston School, among them John Knowles Paine, George Whitfield Chadwick, Arthur Whiting, Edward MacDowell, Clara Kathleen Rogers, Helen Hopekirk, Arthur Foote, Horatio Parker, and Margaret Ruthven Lang, were self-taught. All of them studied in Europe except Foote, whose training was at Harvard under Paine. Lang, who was born the same year as Beach, studied first with her father, Benjamin Johnson Lang, the conductor, pianist, organist, and teacher. She then went to Munich to study with Victor Gluth and, after returning to Boston, continued her composition studies with Chadwick and MacDowell.[13] Had Beach been the daughter of a professional rather than a fine amateur musician, it is likely that she too would have studied composition with a recognized teacher.

The difference between Amy Cheney's training as a pianist and as a composer may be explained in part by the fact that a tradition of women as virtuoso pianists already existed: for example there were Clara Schumann, Annette Essipoff, Julie Rivé-King, and Teresa Carreño. But as a composer, Beach was the one in the United States to break ground for other women. She was the first woman whose works became—if not permanently, then at least for much of her lifetime—part of the concert repertory of leading musicians. It may also have been assumed, as a composer recently suggested, that women write from their feelings, men from their intellects, and therefore only men require training.[14] Or her mentors may have thought that a woman had no need for training in composition because she would turn out only small-

scale (i.e., unimportant) works. That this last assumption was not true—something we now know—would not have diminished its potency as myth at that time.[11] Indeed, the myth apparently had more power than the early evidence of Beach's gifts in composition.

Of necessity, most of the contemporary interest in Amy Cheney during her youth focussed on her abilities as a pianist. On 15 November 1880, Longfellow wrote to "Miss Amy" thanking her for playing so beautifully at his home. Shortly thereafter he also wrote to her teacher, Ernst Perabo:

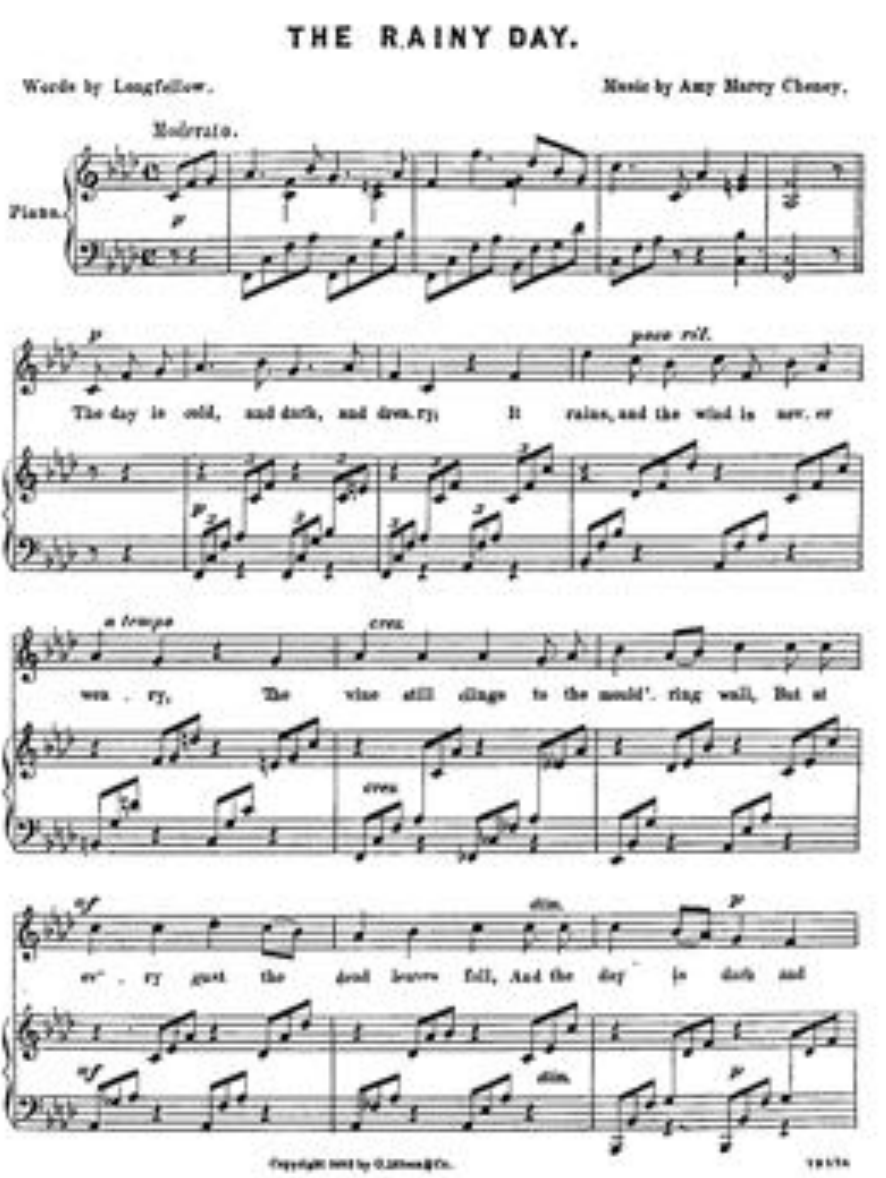
> Let me thank you for the great pleasure you gave us Saturday last. I was delighted with Miss Cheney's playing. She certainly has a wonderful gift and shows promise of great excellence. Indeed one knows not what heights she may reach in her profession. I sincerely hope that you may be able to carry out your plan to send her to Germany, if you think she can find better instruction there. All musical people should come to her aid.[12]

The visit bore additional fruit, as an article in the San Francisco *Chronicle* of 13 May 1900 states: "At 14, after a visit to the house of Longfellow as his guest, Amy Cheney set to music his poem, 'The Rainy Day.' "[13] (See Example 1.) The song became her first published work. Its quotation from Beethoven shows how diligently she followed Gericke's instructions about learning from the masters. It also demonstrates a lyric gift and a fine feeling for text declamation.

It was as a pianist, not as a composer, that at the age of fifteen Amy Cheney entered professional life, playing Ignaz Moscheles' Concerto in G minor with an orchestra conducted by Adolf Neuendorff at the old Boston Music Hall on 24 October 1883. In a variety program typical of the period, she shared billing with Timothie Adamowski, violinist and frequent soloist with the Boston Symphony, and a vocal quartet, among them the famous opera star Clara Louise Kellogg. There were no less than eleven reviews of that concert, all of them treating the pianist's debut as the main event. The Boston correspondent of the New York *Tribune*, in the shortest review of all, stated that "she played with all the intelligence of a master."[14] Other reviewers mentioned her superb touch, artistic finish, and mastery of the piano, and two included the word "genius." All agreed that this was an important debut. (See Illustration 1.)

William Mason, the foremost teacher of piano in this country, was a specialist in piano touch. He may have heard Amy Cheney play for the first time at the home of Carl Baermann, her third piano teacher. In a letter dated 3 October 1884, from Orange, New Jersey, Mason wrote to his personal physician, Henry Harris Aubrey Beach. His letter began with a description of a recent illness and then continued:

> . . . Mr. and Mrs. Carl Baermann came to the Shoals and spent several days there so that I became quite intimately acquainted with them and enjoyed their society extremely. I afterwards called on them at Cam-



Example 1. "The Rainy Day" © 1883, The Oliver Ditson Company.

BOSTON MUSIC HALL

PROGRAMME

MR. A. P. PECK'S

ANNIVERSARY CONCERT!

Wednesday Even'g, Oct. 24, 1883, at 7.45.

Artists:

MISS CLARA LOUISE KELLOGG,
Who has kindly volunteered her services for this occasion.

MISS HOPE GLENN, Contralto,

MISS AMY MARCY CHENEY, Pianist,
(Pupil of Carl Baermann,) will make her public debut at this Concert, and play the G minor Concerto of Mendelssohn with Orchestra, and Chopin's Rondo in E flat.

MR. JULES JURDAN, Tenor,
Has kindly volunteered his services.

MR. CLARENCE E. HAY, Bass,
Has kindly volunteered his services.

MR. TIMOTHEE ADAMOWSKI, Violinist.

MR. ADOLF NUENDORFF,
Who has volunteered and will conduct a
GRAND ORCHESTRA.

MR. HOWARD M. DOW, Accompanist,
Who has kindly volunteered his services.

TICKETS, $1 and $1.50, according to location.

Now on Sale at the Hall.

The Piano is from the Warerooms of Chickering & Sons.

Edward Stanbury, Printer, 99 Washington Street, Boston.

Illustration 1: Used with the kind permission of The MacDowell Colony, Inc., and Special Collections, the University of New Hampshire Library, Durham, NH. Scrapbook I, p. 1.

bridge and met at their home Miss Cheney whom I heard play and who certainly impressed me as being a young lady of remarkable talent and attainments. She has a strong, firm, and at the same time elastic touch which evinces strength of character and at the same time she plays *musikalisch* as the Germans express it. Excuse my troubling you with this long letter. I return the extract from the *Advertiser* relating to Miss Cheney which you kindly enclosed to me. My daughter writes with me thanking you for the piece of music by Miss Cheney, which I think evinces talent."

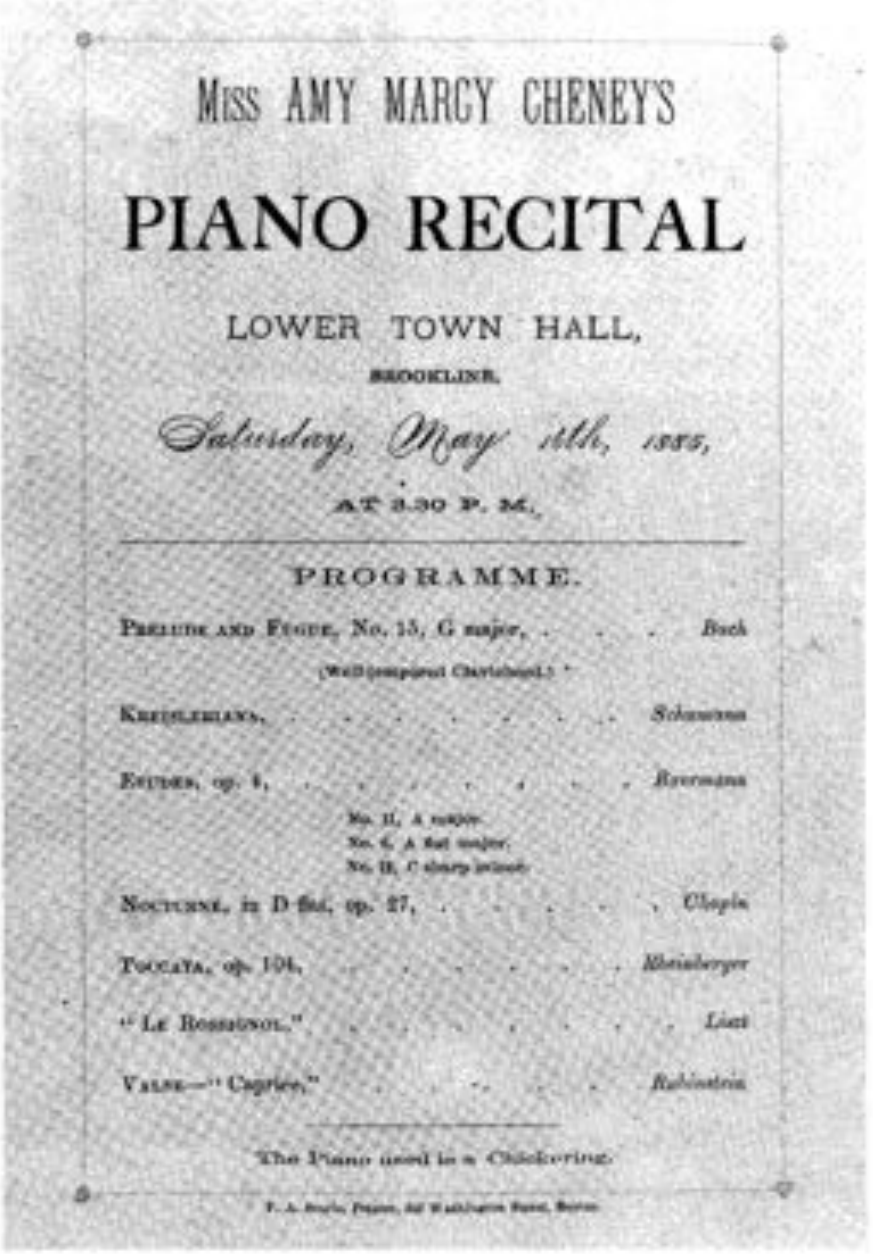
The letter suggests that Dr. Beach, although he may not yet have met Amy Cheney, was already much taken with her as a pianist and composer. It also suggests the excitement that her talents generated in the tight little world to which all three belonged.

Following her debut, Amy Cheney gave a series of concerts, in each of which she was assisted by one or more artists. The first of these took place on 9 January 1884 in Chickering Hall, Boston. Assisting artists were the singer Lillian Bailey Henschel, wife of the conductor of the Boston Symphony, and the composer Charles Martin Loeffler, who was first violinist with the symphony at that time. On 28 March 1885, at Amy Cheney's debut with the Boston Symphony under Gericke, she played the Chopin Concerto in F minor, Opus 21. By this time she was a familiar figure on the concert stage, and reviewers were uniformly enthusiastic, some noting that in the short time since her debut she had developed into a mature artist. A month later she played for the first time with the Theodore Thomas Orchestra and on 16 May 1885 in Brookline she gave her first solo recital. (See Illustration II.)

In the summer of 1885, Amy Cheney went to see Dr. Beach about an injured finger. Henry Beach, a widower 25 years her senior, was surgeon and lecturer on anatomy at Harvard Medical School. He also was a fine amateur singer and pianist, as well as a poet and painter, and had considered a career in music when a youth. Physician and friend to many Boston musicians in addition to Baermann, he occupied an important place in Boston society: "Dr. Beach's manifold activities in medical circles and societies have also brought him into active contact with the leaders in all walks of life whose friendship and confidence he has enjoyed to the utmost," according to a columnist.[10] Henry and Amy were married 2 December 1885.

This marriage affected Mrs. Beach's life in several ways. It is likely that the marriage brought an end to plans for her to study in Europe. Nor did Beach study composition locally after her marriage. She commented upon this some years later, stating that although she sometimes wanted to study, her husband was against it for fear that such study would change her style.[11] On the other hand, the focus of her activities changed from performance—and she was well on her way to becoming a leading concert pianist—to composition. Her performances were now limited to one or two a year, the fees for which she turned over to charitable causes.

She gave her first charity concert on 31 March 1886 in Association Hall,



MISS AMY MARCY CHENEY'S

PIANO RECITAL

LOWER TOWN HALL,

BROOKLINE.

Saturday, May 11th, 1895,

AT 3.30 P. M.

PROGRAMME.

PRELUDE AND FUGUE, No. 15, G major, ... *Bach*

(Well-tempered Clavichord.)

KREISLERIANA, ... *Schumann*

ETUDES, op. 4, ... *Rheinberger*

No. 11, A major.
No. 6, A flat major.
No. 18, C sharp minor.

NOCTURNE, in D flat, op. 27, ... *Chopin*

TOCCATA, op. 104, ... *Rheinberger*

"LE ROSSIGNOL," . . . . . *Liszt*

VALSE—"Caprice," . . . . . *Rubinstein*

The Piano used is a Chickering.

Illustration II: Used with the kind permission of The MacDowell Colony, Inc., and Special Collections, the University of New Hampshire Library, Durham, NH. Scrapbook I, p. 31.

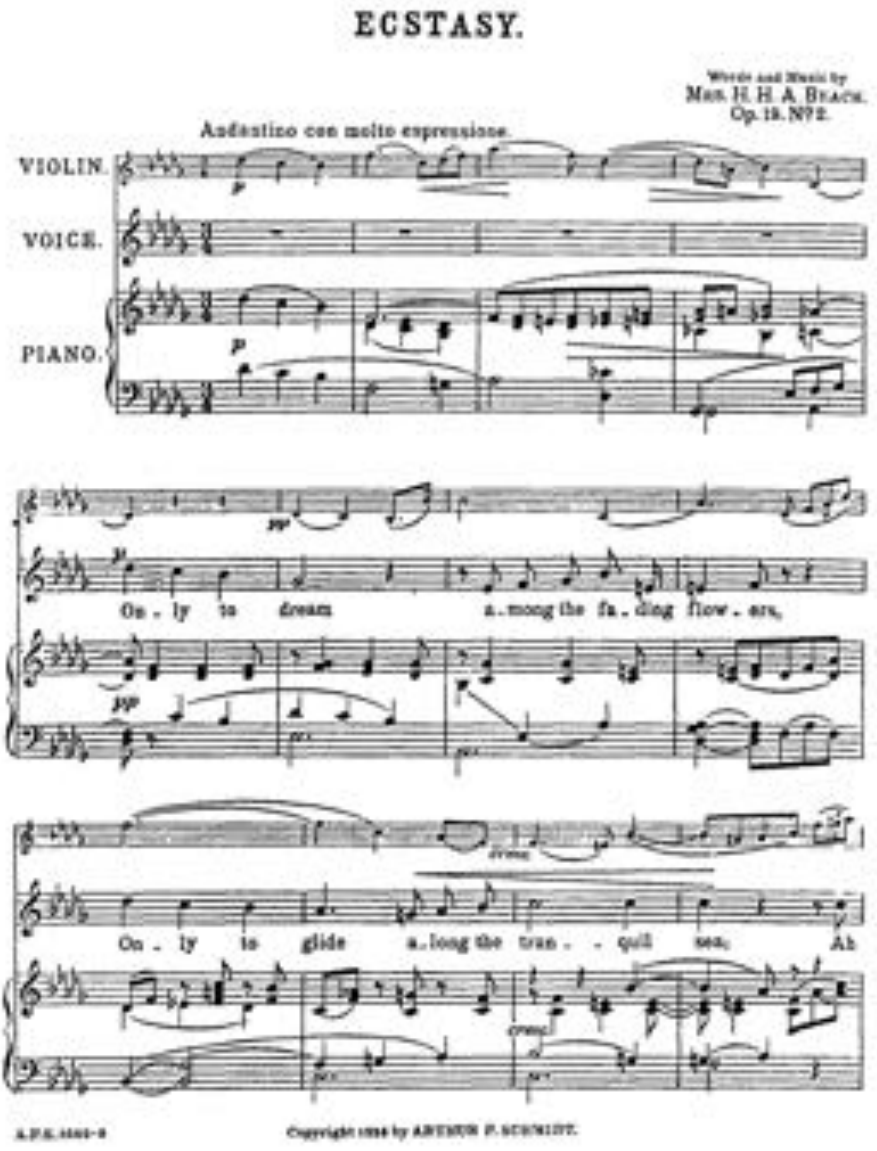
Boston, to benefit the Convalescent Home of the Children's Hospital. A review in the Boston *Evening Transcript* stated:

> . . . Music lovers may well congratulate themselves that, so long as deserving charities exist in Boston, there will be occasional chances of hearing Mrs. Beach play. It would have been hard indeed had so charming an artist withdrawn herself wholly out of reach of the public ear and that, too, at the very outset of her career. Her playing yesterday was delightful; her technique seems to have gained in smoothness and clearness. . . .[12]

The reviewer went on to complain about "a certain immaturity" that resulted in "a tendency to sentimentalize," a fault he associated with women. But he believed that she would go on to be "the one *woman* picked out of ten thousand" who would become a thorough musician. "If she does," he concluded, "this world is ready to be at her feet."

The year of Henry and Amy Beach's marriage was also the year that Arthur P. Schmidt began publication of her works. Her Opus 1 no. 1, the song "With Violets," appeared under her maiden name, but all subsequent works were signed "Mrs. H. H. A. Beach." Between 1885 and 1887 she published a total of seven songs, her Opera 1 and 2.[13] In 1888, after receiving an invitation to play the Beethoven C-minor concerto with the Boston Symphony, she prepared her own cadenza, later published by Schmidt as her Opus 3. This was the first time that she performed one of her own works at a formal concert. This then became a pattern, and as her *oeuvre* increased, so also did the number of her own works she performed. On 21 March 1889, at a Boston charity concert to benefit the Marine Biological Laboratories, Beach played her Opus 4, *Valse Caprice*, while it was still in manuscript. Among the several reviews, one declared that "Mrs. Beach's published works have predisposed us to listen with interest to anything new from her pen. The *Valse Caprice* . . . is a charming and dainty bit of writing, especially noteworthy for the fine effect of climax with which it is rounded off."[14] Six days later Beach gave a second concert for the same cause, with an entirely different program. This time she played a number of works by contemporaries as well as her own *Ballade*, Opus 6. Reviewers were similarly laudatory and, despite the charitable nature of the affair, treated this as a musical, not a social, event, just like her other concerts. At a joint performance with singer Lilian Carllsmith given 29 November 1892, Beach introduced two piano solos from her Opus 15, while Carllsmith sang two Beach songs with the composer at the piano, one of them "Ecstasy," Opus 19 no. 6. Several reviewers declared "Ecstasy" a hit, which indeed it became: the song had over 1000 performances.[15] (See Example 2.)

But Boston was still waiting to take her full measure as a composer, and to do this required a work of major proportions. In 1886 she began work on the Mass in E-flat, Opus 5, completing it in 1889. The piano-vocal score appeared under Schmidt's imprint in 1890. Upon receipt of a review copy of the score, a critic for the *Beacon* wrote a lengthy column on 27 June 1891 assess-



Example 2. "Ecstasy," Op. 19, no. 2 © 1895, Arthur P. Schmidt Company.

ing the work as best he could: ". . . it is not easy to judge of such a score from a mere reading at the pianoforte, even with a few voices to read some pages here and there."[26] The column does, however, describe the work in detail, in a style usually found in program notes, and finds many beautiful things in the Mass, which Beach scored for solo quartet, mixed chorus, organ, and full orchestra.

Schmidt also sent a copy of the score to Carl Zerrahn, the conductor of the Handel and Haydn Society of Boston. In reply Zerrahn wrote Schmidt, in an undated German letter:

> Best thanks for your kind note. Mrs. Beach's Mass has much that is pretty and interesting and I shall communicate my opinion about it in the next few days to the President of the H. and H. Society and I have no doubt that we shall produce it during the Winter.
>
> It gives me great pleasure to discover such talent for composition in Mrs. Beach, especially since I have known her since her childhood. At that time (1878) I travelled to San Francisco with her and her mother. The full score is not important for me to see at present, but I would like to have a look at it when I return to Boston the beginning of September.[27]

The Mass was the featured work of the performance given on 7 February 1892 by the Handel and Haydn Society with Zerrahn conducting. It was followed by the performance of the Beethoven *Choral Fantasia* with Beach as the piano soloist. (See Illustration III.) There were at least 16 reviews of the concert, among them one by Philip Hale and one by Nathaniel Haskell Dole. Both wrote at length and found more to praise than to criticize. In Hale's opinion "the comparative simplicity of the 'Kyrie' and the 'Sanctus,' the unaffected solemnity of the 'Et in spiritum sanctum,' the peaceful close of the work—these are more effective than certain passages where the composer apparently strained every nerve."[28] Dole wrote that "the originality of the work and the masterly handling of forms are first to be noted. Possibly a little lack of spontaneous growth from number to number and consequent slowness made the first part less interesting than the latter. But it is evidently a work that would improve on successive hearings."[29]

Julia Ward Howe, writing in the *Woman's Journal*, made sure that the lesson of Beach's accomplishment in composing the Mass was not lost on other women. The performance, she wrote, "made evident that capacity of a woman's brain to plan and execute a work combining great seriousness with unquestioned beauty."[30] Howe also wrote to Dr. Beach on 8 February 1892 that she thought the Mass "a work a genius conceived and executed with real mastery," especially considering the composer's youth.[31] Although individual sections of the Mass were performed subsequently, a second complete presentation of the work did not occur until 90 years later—on 30 May 1982 at New York University.[32] The work is remarkable for its handling of the orchestra and for the magnificent vocal solos, and it has a rich and often brilliant sound. Its neglect after such a première is difficult to understand.

SEVENTY-SEVENTH SEASON

SIX HUNDRED AND EIGHTY FIRST CONCERT

SUNDAY EVENING,

FEBRUARY 7, 1892

The Beach Mass

FOLLOWED BY THE

Choral Fantasia of Beethoven

MRS. JENNIE PATRICK WALKER, SOPRANO

MRS. CARL ALVES, ALTO

MR. ITALO CAMPANINI, TENOR

MR. EMIL FISCHER, BASS

MRS. H. H. A. BEACH, PIANIST

MR. CARL ZERRAHN, CONDUCTOR

MR. B. J. LANG, ORGANIST

Miss PRISCILLA WHITE, soprano, and Col. I. F. KINGSBURY, tenor, members of the chorus, will complete the sextet in the Choral Fantasia.

Players from the Boston Symphony Orchestra

MR. FRANZ KNEISEL, Principal

Illustration III: Used with the kind permission of The MacDowell Colony, Inc., and Special Collections, the University of New Hampshire Library, Durham, NH. Scrapbook I, p. 67.

Following the performance of the Mass, and probably as a result of its success, Beach received her first two commissions. Mrs. Carl Alves, the contralto soloist for the Mass, wrote Beach a week later asking for a grand dramatic aria.[11] Beach complied with her usual speed, and on 2 December of that year Walter Damrosch conducted her setting of Schiller's "Eilende Wolken Segler der Lüfte," Opus 18, a recitative and aria for voice and orchestra describing Mary Stuart's feelings on her release from prison. The performance by the Symphony Society of New York marked the first time that that orchestra had played a work by a woman. The New York *Sun*'s critic wrote that the aria was "worthy of any but the very greatest composers."[12] De Koven of *Harper's Weekly* found the work disappointing, but he looked forward to future works because of the promise evident in the aria.[13]

The second commission came from the Board of Lady Managers in charge of the construction of and the programs to be given in the Woman's Building at the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Three women contributed music for the dedication ceremonies given on 1 May 1893 in the Music Hall of the Woman's Building. Ingeborg von Bronsart of Weimar sent her *Grand March* for orchestra, Frances Ellicott of England contributed a *Dramatic Overture*, also for orchestra, and Beach composed on order in six weeks what came to be known as the *Festival "Jubilate,"* Opus 17, for chorus and orchestra. A chorus of 300 sang the Beach work, and all three compositions were conducted by Theodore Thomas. In anticipation of the concert, de Koven called Beach "the shining light among American women composers."[14]

In reporting these events, Boston papers frequently stressed their pride that one of their own had made such a stir in the music world. Indeed, Boston—that is, the part of Boston that was in the cultured tradition—properly took credit for Beach. Its musical life provided fertile ground for the cultivation of her talents, and its social world reinforced that nurturance. In the last decades of the 19th and in the early 20th centuries, the social world of Boston and Cambridge revolved around the Boston Symphony in the same way that New York society revolved around the Metropolitan Opera. The novelist Margaret Deland recalled the time when she, Beach, and the wife of William James were invited to join a women's club. Most members, Deland noted, were in the habit of "sitting at the feet" of Mrs. Henry Lee Higginson, wife of the founder and financial backer of the Boston Symphony.[15] Here was still another example of the interlocking of the two worlds of high society and music. Beach had several avenues of entry into both worlds.

In the next few years leading Boston musical organizations gave premières of her works. The "Gaelic" Symphony, Opus 32, which received a first performance on 30 October 1896 with Emil Paur conducting the Boston Symphony, commanded the attention of critics and audiences alike. Philip Hale exclaimed about "how much there is to admire in the symphony"[16] and talked about her mastery of orchestration and possession of "a musical imagination that I have not recognized in previous works by her." Despite his minor complaints about the excessive length of the slow movement and

its lack of spontaneity, Hale strongly endorsed the work. On 4 January 1897 during a concert by the Kneisel Quartet, Beach and Franz Kneisel gave the première performance of Beach's Sonata for Violin and Piano, Op. 34, and on 6 April 1900, Gericke conducted the Boston Symphony Orchestra in the first performance of Beach's Piano Concerto, Op. 45, with Beach again at the piano. Reviews of both premières were mixed, but less positive than those for the Symphony on its debut. More favorable reviews of both works came later, and were for the Beaches a vindication of their belief that the original reviews were unjustly negative.[59]

Quite naturally, the largest number of performances of Beach's works took place in Boston. Boston was the hub, the starting place for its conductors and performers who travelled, taking their repertories with them. At the same time the city was a mecca for American and European musicians. As a result, Beach's works were heard not only in Boston but also in New York, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Kansas City, Pittsburgh, Washington, D.C., Chicago, and San Francisco, as well as in Paris, London, Rome, Berlin, and Stockholm. Teresa Carreño, to whom Beach dedicated the Piano Concerto, gave the German première of the Violin Sonata on 28 October 1899 at the Saal Bechstein in Berlin, with Carl Halir playing the violin part. Unlike the critics in Boston, Berlin's were enthusiastic; Carreño wrote afterwards that the work had "a decided success . . . to the credit of the public."[60]

The women's and music clubs, often one and the same, were additional sources of support for Beach as a composer and performer. By the late 1890s, when the National Federation of Music Clubs was formed, the clubs had begun to set up concert networks and at the same time fostered study of works by American as well as European composers. Needless to say, Beach was a star of the Federation, a heroine to many women members—who organized all-Beach concerts, placed her works on required lists for competitions, and in some cases named their clubs after her.[61] By the turn of the century she was considered the Dean of American Women Composers, and the Federation celebrated her achievements. This support was important and became more so in the years after Dr. Beach's death, when she resumed full-time concert-giving.

The Boston publisher Arthur P. Schmidt played a crucial role in the development of American music.[62] About 1880, Schmidt began publishing art music by American composers with the aim of cultivating an American School of composition. His was the first publishing firm to make such a commitment. Assurance of publication is no small factor in the success of a composer and Schmidt offered this assurance to Chadwick, Foote, Clara Kathleen Rogers, MacDowell, Lang, and Beach, for all of whom he was either the exclusive or principal publisher.

Arthur Schmidt must have watched Amy Beach's early development with the same interest as did others in the Boston musical world, including his friend and personal physician, Henry Beach. From 1885 to 1914, Schmidt was Amy Beach's exclusive publisher; almost everything she wrote Schmidt published within a short time of its completion.[63] From 1922, the year after

Schmidt died, until after Mrs. Beach's passing, his company continued to publish her works. Beach and Schmidt worked very closely together to promote the sale and performance of her music, orchestrating publicity, circulation of music, press notices, and performance reviews to give maximum currency to her works.

Beach's role in the promotion of her music, in addition to its performance at her recitals, was a large one. She kept up a correspondence with musicians all over the world, among them leading performers. As a result, many singers featured her songs; these included Louise Homer, Marcella Craft, Lillian Nordica, Marcella Sembrich, and Emma Eames, who may well have known Beach from Eames's Boston years (1882–1886).[45] Upon receipt of a copy of Beach's setting of Robert Browning's "The Year's at the Spring," Eames wrote to Beach that she was delighted that Beach had "made me a song at last."[46] The song (which was dedicated to the Browning Society of Boston, not to Eames), became a concert staple for many singers, including Eames, who wrote that as many times as she sang the song, it always moved her audiences.

But this popularity was not limited to Beach's songs. Several of her major works—the Symphony, the Piano Concerto, the Violin Sonata, and the Piano Quintet—had numerous performances, especially through the 1910's and early '20s. Some of her piano works became standard repertory items for pianists, notably the technically demanding "Fireflies," Opus 15, no. 4, and the two works of Opus 92, both based on bird song, "The Hermit Thrush at Eve" and "The Hermit Thrush at Morn."[48] Possibly the works with the most staying power have been her sacred vocal and choral works, many of which never left the repertories of church choirs around the country.[49]

Personal characteristics were also elements in Beach's success. She seemed to have enormous stores of energy. She must have written several letters every day to have produced the volume of correspondence that came in reply to her letters. The kind of energy and time this required never seemed a problem for her. She did everything quickly, yet was meticulous about details, as her letters to Schmidt amply demonstrate. She was also a person of warmth and generosity. Supportive of young musicians, she gave many of them their starts at the Wednesday afternoon musicales she presented at her home at 28 Commonwealth Avenue.[50] When MacDowell was dying, Beach included several of his works in her annual recital programs in 1907 and 1908.[51] But a composer hardly needed to be *in extremis* for Beach to play his or her works, as her programming of piano pieces by her Boston colleagues and others shows.

The "golden days," as Foote called them in a letter to Beach,[52] ended abruptly for her with the deaths of the two people closest to her. Henry Beach died on 28 June 1910. This was followed by the final illness and death of her mother on 18 February 1911. After closing her home on Commonwealth Avenue, Beach left for Europe in September of 1911, first to rest, and then to build a reputation there as a composer and pianist that would pave the way for a concert career in the States. Her plan succeeded, and her life changed in

still another way: instead of putting her main energies into composition, she now devoted her time to performing, with composition confined to the summer. But at the piano she remained the best advocate of her own works. Nothing that followed, however, could quite compare to the heady times Beach had lived through during her Boston years.

Hers was a career of great luster and she became a model for many women. As the first American woman to have a successful career as a composer of art music, Beach proved that gender was not the first test a composer must pass before her work was considered as an artistic entity. One can only guess what Beach's career would have been like had she been a man. To a certain degree, being a female was a help for Beach: people often are fascinated by the freakiness of child prodigies, and as a female child prodigy she was even more unusual. As she grew older, she became for some people the notable exception which proved the rule that women could not compose on a grand scale. For no one forgot for a moment that Beach was a woman.

Almost without exception, critics stressed Beach's gender. The issue of whether women could compose large-scale works was very much alive at the turn of the century, with statements pro and con frequently appearing in the press. Many critics made it clear that "as a woman" Beach was outstanding. By this statement they avoided the burden of evaluating Beach's works against those of other composers, whether male or female, of symphonies and concertos. By skirting those comparisons, they also denied Beach's works the legitimacy that they deserved. Perhaps some thought such a comparison was inappropriate. John Knowles Paine wrote in a letter to Beach congratulating her on her symphony that "art knows no sex."[7] However, Philip Hale, in a lengthy column devoted to the "Gaelic" Symphony, led off with a recital of the many European women who had written symphonic or other large-scale works.[8] Did he believe that the only proper way to consider a work by a woman was to compare it to works by other women? George Chadwick resolved the contradiction by telling Beach in a letter that her symphony was so superior that now she could consider herself "one of the boys."[9] Of course, comments by women such as Julia Ward Howe celebrated Beach's achievements in order to encourage other women to "go and do likewise." This type of criticism appeared well into the 20th century. Indeed, it took the better part of a century after the comments of Paine, Hale, and Chadwick for critics to listen to music with gender-deaf ears. It has also taken a second Feminist movement and a rebirth of interest in the 19th century for Beach's music to be brought back into the concert repertory after it had been all but forgotten.

NOTES

[7] "Amy Marcy Cheney Beach," *Notable American Women*, vol. I (1607–1950), ed. Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Paul S. Boyer (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1971).

[8] In *Another Voice: Feminist Perspectives on Social Life and Social Science*, ed. Marcia Millman and Rosabeth Moss Kanter (New York: Anchor Books, 1975), p. 136.

[9] "Women as Professional Musicians in America, 1870–1900," *Yearbook for Inter American Research*, vol. IX (1973), p. 106.

[4] Amy Beach Correspondence Collection, Special Collections, University of New Hampshire Library, Durham, NH (hereafter AMB-UNH). The letter begins, "Your letter of 26th received. . . ."

[5] On Cushman, see William Thompson Price, *A Life of Charlotte Cushman* (New York: Brentano's, 1894), pp. 10–14, and *Charlotte Cushman: Her Letters and Memories of Her Life*, ed. Emma Stebbins (Boston: Houghton and Osgood, 1879), pp. 19–22.

[6] Mildred Aldrich, "Mrs. Amy Marcy Cheney Beach," Boston *Daily Press* (27 April [1893]), in AMB-UNH Scrapbook I (1885–1908), pp. 83–84.

[7] See above, note 4. On Clara Cheney's attitudes toward her child's precocity, see "How Mrs. Beach Did Her First Composing," *Musical America*, vol. XX, no. 14 (8 Aug. 1914), p. 22.

[8] Recounted in a letter by Jenkins dated 28 July 1984 addressed to this author.

[9] Christine Ammer, *Unsung: A History of Women in American Music* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), p. 76.

[10] German-born Johann Ernst Perabo (1845–1920) studied at the Leipzig Conservatory. He taught Beach from 1876 to 1882. Carl Baermann (1839–1913) had been a pupil of Liszt and taught at the Munich Conservatory before coming to this country in 1881, according to "Carl Baermann," *Musical Courier*, vol. XVI, no. 10 (7 Mar. 1888), p. 179. Hill (1840–1916) was a composer and teacher who had studied first in Boston and later in Leipzig.

[11] Boston Symphony Orchestra *Program*, 30–31 October 1896, in AMB-UNH Scrapbook II (1890–1910), p. 21.

[12] See above, note 6, p. 84.

[13] See this author's "Margaret Ruthven Lang," in the forthcoming *New Grove Dictionary of Music in the United States*, ed. H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie.

[14] Personal communication from composer Gloria Coates.

[15] A few writers on music knew at that time of the existence of large-scale works by women. See, for example, Philip Hale's review of Beach's symphony, "With Musicians: Women in the List of Symphony Makers," Boston *Journal* (4 Nov. 1896), in AMB-UNH Scrapbook II, p. 22.

[16] The letter from Longfellow to "Miss Amy" is in AMB-UNH Autograph Album No. 2. The letter from Longfellow to Perabo, the complete text of which is reprinted here, written in Cambridge and dated 26 November 1880, is in AMB-UNH Correspondence Collection.

[17] The clipping is in AMB-UNH Scrapbook I, p. 132.

[18] Reviews are in AMB-UNH Scrapbook I, pp. 2–5.

[19] AMB-UNH Beach Correspondence.

[20] Gertrude F. Cowen, "Mrs. H. H. A. Beach, the Celebrated Composer," *Musical Courier*, vol. LX, no. 23 (8 June 1910), p. 14. For a biography of Dr. Beach, see the article about him in the *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*, vol. XV (1967), p. 164.

[21] Benjamin A. Brooks, "The 'How' of Creative Composition: A Conference with Mrs. H. H. A. Beach," *Etude*, vol. LXI, no. 3 (March 1943), pp. 151, 208.

[22] "Theater and Concerts: Mrs. Beach's Recital," Boston *Evening Transcript* (1 April 1886), in AMB-UNH Scrapbook I, p. 40.

[23] A complete catalogue of her works will appear in this author's article on Beach in the forthcoming *New Grove Dictionary of Music in the United States*. Most of her published works are listed in Adrienne Fried Block and Carol Neuls-Bates, eds., *Women in American Music: A Bibliography of Music and Literature* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1979).

[24] "Mrs. Beach's Recital," Boston *Times* (n.d.), in AMB-UNH Scrapbook I, p. 54.

[25] Walter S. Jenkins, "Amy M. Beach, American Composer," *The Elixir of Chi Omega*, vol. LXIV, no. 1 (Feb. 1962), p. 48.

[26] "Mrs. Beach's Mass," Boston *Beacon* (27 June 1891), in AMB-UNH Scrapbook I, p. 67.

[27] AMB-UNH Beach Correspondence. The letter is apparently a copy written on four sheets of Dr. Beach's prescription blanks. A translation of the letter in the same hand—probably Mrs. Beach's—is also written on Dr. Beach's prescription blanks. Therefore, the translation is probably by Mrs. Beach.

[28] Boston *Journal* (8 Feb. 1892), AMB-UNH Scrapbook I, p. 69.

[29] Boston *Musical Herald* (n.d.), AMB-UNH Scrapbook I, p. 74.

[30] AMB-UNH Scrapbook I, p. 71.

[84] Letter from AMB-UNH Autograph Album, p. 33, begins: "Will you convey to your wife my sincere thanks. . . ."

[85] The concert, which was part of NYU's 150th Anniversary celebration, took place in the Church of the Ascension. Victor Fell Yellin of NYU conducted the four soloists, the Choir of the Church of the Ascension, and the Washington Square Chamber Orchestra.

[86] Letter of 15 Feb. 1892 written in New York, in AMB-UNH Correspondence Collection.

[87] "The Rehearsal and Concert of the Symphony Society," *New York Sun* (4 Dec. 1892), AMB-UNH Scrapbook II, p. 10.

[88] Untitled review dated 17 Dec. 1892. Clipping in AMB-UNH Scrapbook II, p. 11.

[89] *Harper's Weekly* (29 April 1893), in AMB-UNH Scrapbook II, p. 11.

[90] Deland's letter was written in Kennebunkport, [Maine], ? Aug. [1910]. She refers to Dr. Beach's death in the letter. AMB-UNH Correspondence Collection.

[91] Boston *Journal* (1 Nov. 1896), AMB-UNH Scrapbook II, pp. 22–23.

[92] For a discussion of the reviews, see this author's "Arthur P. Schmidt, Publisher and Champion of American Women Composers," to appear in the annual *The Musical Woman*, vol. II, ed. Judith Lang Zaimont (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, to be published in 1985).

[93] The letter from Carreño, written in Berlin, is dated 17 Dec. 1899. In AMB-UNH Correspondence Collection.

[94] "Mrs. H. H. A. Beach with the Boston Symphony Orchestra," *Musical Courier*, vol. LXXIII, no. 10 (7 Sept. 1916), p. 19: "At last the American public, particularly the women's music clubs are waking up to the fact that one of the world's greatest living women composers is an American." The clipping is at the New York Public Library in the Beach File. However, the AMB-UNH Scrapbooks show that much earlier than 1916 women's clubs found Beach an inspiring model as composer and pianist.

Among the all-Beach programs was one at the College Club, Boston, 11 June 1894, with Beach playing and assisted by three singers. Other all-Beach programs were given at the Schubert Club of Beloit, Wisconsin, on 11 May 1898, and at the Euterpian Club of Chillicothe, Ohio (reported in the *Scioto Gazette*, 1 May 1901). A Beach Choral Society was active in East Stroudsberg, PA, in 1899, and an Amy Cheney Beach Club has been active for many years in Wolfeboro, NH (correspondence at the New York Public Library from its then-president, Ella Lord Gilbert, to Barton Cantrell goes from 1961 to 1967). An article in the *Musical Courier* (15 Nov. 1914) reported that 900 women gathered at the MacDowell Club to welcome Beach back to the United States and that "invitations are coming in from women's clubs all over the United States requesting Mrs. Beach's appearance." The clipping is in the NYPL Beach File.

[95] Schmidt's role in publishing and promoting Beach's music is described in "Arthur P. Schmidt," see note 39.

[96] By 1910, Schmidt had published Beach's works up to her Op. 71. G. Schirmer was Beach's exclusive publisher,from 1914 to ca. 1920. From 1922 on, Beach's publishers were Schmidt (her principal publisher), Theodore Presser, Oliver Ditson, John Church, H. W. Gray, and Composers Press.

[97] Eames describes her Boston years in her autobiography, *Some Memories and Reflections* (New York: D. Appleton, 1927), pp. 24–42.

[98] The letter, from Cleveland and dated 27 April (n.y.), is in AMB-UNH Correspondence Collection.

[99] For example, the pianist Maurice Dumesnil played the "Hermit Thrush at Eve" in 100 concerts during the 1922–1923 season, as reported in advance by Beach in a letter to the Arthur P. Schmidt Company dated 10 Oct. 1922 (now in the Library of Congress).

[100] For example, the Beach-Schmidt correspondence in the Library of Congress records dozens of performances of her *Canticle of the Sun*, Op. 123 (1928), for solo quartet, mixed chorus, orchestra (or organ).

[101] Agnes Lockhart Hughes, "Mrs. H. H. A. Beach," *Summons* (Oct. 1911), reports that at Beach's musicales every Wednesday, "promising music students would perform and many of them she helped launch." (NYPL Beach Clipping File.)

[102] Beach's recital at Steinert Hall, Boston, on 6 Feb. 1907 included two pieces from MacDowell's *Lux Orientalis*, Op. 37, and two from his *Woodland Sketches*, Op. 51. At her recital the

following year at Steinert Hall on 12 Feb. 1908, Beach played "With Sweet Lavender" from *New England Idyl*, "By a Meadow Brook" from *Woodland Sketches*, and "The Eagle."

[9] The letter from Foote is on stationery with his address at 158 Ridge Avenue, Newton Centre, MA, where he lived from 1925 until his death in 1937. It is dated 27 Nov. (n.y.) and begins, "I thank you from my heart for your letter." AMB-UNH Correspondence Collection.

[10] The letter, dated Cambridge, 8 Dec. 1901, begins, "I did not half express my delight in hearing your beautiful cantata. . . ." AMB-UNH Correspondence Collection.

[11] See above, note 15.

[12] The letter, dated Boston, 2 Nov. 1896, begins, "I want you to know how much Mr. Parker and I enjoyed your symphony on [Saturday] evening." AMB-UNH Beach Autograph Album, p. 68.

Haydn's String Trios: A Misunderstood Genre*

By Barry S. Brook

The string trio, as a musical genre of the Classical period, has been poorly dealt with in our time. Dictionaries have either ignored it altogether or given it very short shrift. The *New Grove* is an exception in that its entry is not too short—providing ample space for numerous errors. Publishers have printed relatively few compositions for this combination, and those few have usually been works for beginners rather than serious works for professional performers. Scholars, with very few exceptions, have occupied themselves with other genres. Musicians and music lovers—even the most sophisticated—are often baffled by the term "string trio." The following dialogue occurred in a recent conversation with a concert-pianist friend when I mentioned that I was working on the string trio:

"Do you mean the piano trio?" he asked me.

"No."

"Oh, you are referring to the baryton trio."

"No, no."

"Then you must be talking about the Baroque trio-sonata for two violins and continuo."

"No, not at all."

The string trio is a genre that came into existence during the Classical period comprising two or three movements for two violins and cello—occasionally for one violin, one viola, and cello, or even two violins and viola.[1] Like the Classical string quartet, it has no continuo. The terminological confusion may be due in part to the fact that when the genre came into being in the mid-18th century, it was not called "string trio." In Vienna, for example, it was called—by Haydn among others—"divertimento a tre" or "sonate a tre" or "terzetto." The string quartet, born in the same period, was similarly referred to, for example, as "divertimento a quattro." The term "divertimento," used for many other instrumental groupings as well, from keyboard solo to full orchestra, was the key word, since it was more important for the composer to describe the new musical style of the time than to designate specific genres. In the Breitkopf *Thematic Catalogue* of 1762 (Part II), published in Leipzig, one finds 243 works designated as "Sonate a due Violini et Basso" (plus six called "divertimento" and seven called "partita"). In the first supplement, however, dated 1766, all similar works (of which there are 78) are listed as "trio a 2 Violini et Basso"; the same is true for all 15 succeeding supplements (until 1787).

The simple and convenient term "string trio" was not used until the end of the 19th century, when it supplanted the very inadequate term "violin trio," which had been employed to distinguish the "string" from the "piano" or "flute trio." And while the term "string quartet," which also came into existence rather late, soon entered all European languages, the term "string

trio" did not.

In our century, with no professional string trio performing groups in existence, the literature for string trio is virtually unknown, with one major exception, Mozart's Divertimento in E-flat major, K. 563, for violin, viola, and cello. Yet, the string trio as a genre was extremely popular in the 18th century. It can be estimated that in the second half of the century, more than 200 composers throughout Europe wrote well over 2000 string trios.[3] The Breitkopf *Thematic Catalogue* alone (1762–1787) includes a grand total of 925 string trios, as against 651 string quartets. The pattern of changing fashion can be seen from the following chart:

Breitkopf *Thematic Catalogue* 1762–1787

		String trios	String quartets
1762	Part II	256	0
1765	Part V	0	8 (by Haydn)
1766	Suppl. I	78 (6 by Haydn)	0
1767	Suppl. II	77 (6 by Haydn)	23 (1 by Haydn)
1768	Suppl. III	51	17 (1 by Haydn)
1769	Suppl. IV	60	24
1770	Suppl. V	30	24
1771	Suppl. VI	26	25 (6 by Haydn)
1772	Suppl. VII	30	38
1773	Suppl. VIII	85	79
1774	Suppl. IX	60 (6 by Haydn)	48
1775	Suppl. X	18	27
1776–1777	Suppl. XI	12	47
1778	Suppl. XII	30	56
1779–1780	Suppl. XIII	38	16
1781	Suppl. XIV	33	51
1782–1784	Suppl. XV	35	105
1785–1787	Suppl. XVI	6	63
		925 (18 by Haydn)	651 (16 by Haydn)

A number of the works included in Part II (1762) are older trio sonatas in Baroque style, but even with them eliminated, the string trio total would still far exceed that for the string quartet.

Furthermore, as the Breitkopf *Catalogue* indicates, up through 1770 string trios outnumbered string quartets by more than five to one. Vienna, London, and Paris, with their great concentration of performers and performance opportunities, were leading centers of string trio activity. Among the most important composers of the genre were Placidus von Camerloher, Georg Christoph Wagenseil, Leopold Hofmann, François Martin, Carl Dittersdorf, Luigi Boccherini, the Stamitzes, Simon Leduc l'aîné, Pierre Vachon, Jean-Baptiste Bréval, Johann Baptist Vanhal, Christian Cannabich, Franz Aspel-

mayer, Anton Kammel, Giuseppe Maria Cambini, Francesco Pasquale Ricci, Julien Navoigille, Mozart, and the brothers Haydn.

I cannot resist saying a word about François Martin, a gifted Parisian cellist and symphony composer, who lived only 30 years (1727–57). As early as 1746, he published his "Six Trios ou Conversatione à trois pour deux violons ou flûtes et un violoncelle," Opus 3, which are Classical in concept, in advance of their time, giving all three voices equal importance and having no figured bass.[3]

As for Mozart, in addition to his famous Divertimento in E-flat, he wrote another composition for three string instruments whose title illustrates the genre's terminological difficulties previously mentioned. This work is K. 271f (266), consisting of only an Adagio and a Minuet, for two violins and bass, written in Salzburg in 1777. The title on the autograph reads "Sonata," which has been crossed out; then comes the word "Divertimento" in another hand, also crossed out; and finally, in still another hand "Trio für 2 Violinen und Bass."

Turning to Joseph Haydn, one can safely say that of all the genres to which he applied his genius, the string trio has been, in this century, the least studied and the least published. Even in the invaluable monograph by Hubert Unverricht, *Geschichte des Streichtrios*,[4] the string trios of Joseph Haydn are treated briefly (unlike the baryton trios, which are given ample space). Haydn's string trios were apparently well received early on, as one can assume from numerous copies dated in the 1760s and 1770s and from the following account in Giuseppe Carpani's *Le Haydine* (Milan, 1812):

> A year later [1753?] Haydn brought out six trios which from their singularity of style and seductiveness of manner made them a success everywhere, and the subject of discussion in the profession. Before these trios, German composers wrote chamber music in the strict, contrapuntal or fugue style, and neither the attractively written music by Sammartini nor that of the other Italians would move them from their antique style. This parched harmonic desert was soon watered by the beautiful ideas of Haydn, his verve, his grace, the licenses he allowed himself. There were discovered, in these works, errors of counterpoint, heretical modulations, and too-abrupt transitions. It appeared that the young father of instrumental music would be swamped under the weight of critical opinion. . . .[5]

As for modern practical editions, only eight, or fewer than half, of Haydn's 18 authentic trios have been published. (There are scholarly ones in press.) To confuse things nicely, there have been 14 doubtful string trios published in this century under Haydn's name, meaning we possess more doubtful than genuine ones. It would almost seem as if Pohl's statement of over a century ago were a self-fulfilling prophecy. Referring to an edition by Hummel (Opus 11) for two violins and bass of a baryton trio, Pohl wrote:

> We must refrain from closer examination of the Trios referred to on page 230 and in various other series; they would lead us into a wearying

labyrinth; to follow this path, considering the negligible significance of these small works, would be hardly worth the effort.[6]

According to the *Entwurf Katalog* (pp. 13–14), a draft thematic catalogue assembled by Joseph Haydn and his copyist Joseph Elssler in 1765 with some later entries, there are 21 string trios (Hoboken Gruppe V) by the Esterházy composer.[7] Three of these authentic trios are now lost (Hoboken V: 5, 9, 14); their disappearance must have occurred very early, since they do not figure in any other contemporary catalogues of Haydn's chamber music (e.g., Breitkopf, monastery inventories, and so on). The remaining 18 extant trios survive in a total of approximately 300 sources, both in manuscript and in printed editions. Unfortunately, there is not a single surviving autograph.

Of the 63 additional trios whose authenticity as works by Haydn must be questioned, 11 are lost. This ratio of 63 doubtful to 21 authentic, or, eliminating the lost works, 52 doubtful to 18 authentic, i.e., roughly three to one, is higher than for most other genres in Haydn's oeuvre. Of these 52 surviving doubtful trios, 22 have been identified as the work of other composers, reducing the number remaining in the doubtful category to 30. There is no absolute external evidence that any of these doubtful trios are by Haydn. Two (D3 and G1) have been identified as "Fürnberg copies," which puts them close to Haydn. Three others (D1, C3, G4), Landon reports, are "in a series with holograph corrections by Haydn," which, if I understand his statement correctly, is useful evidence but is not quite positive enough.

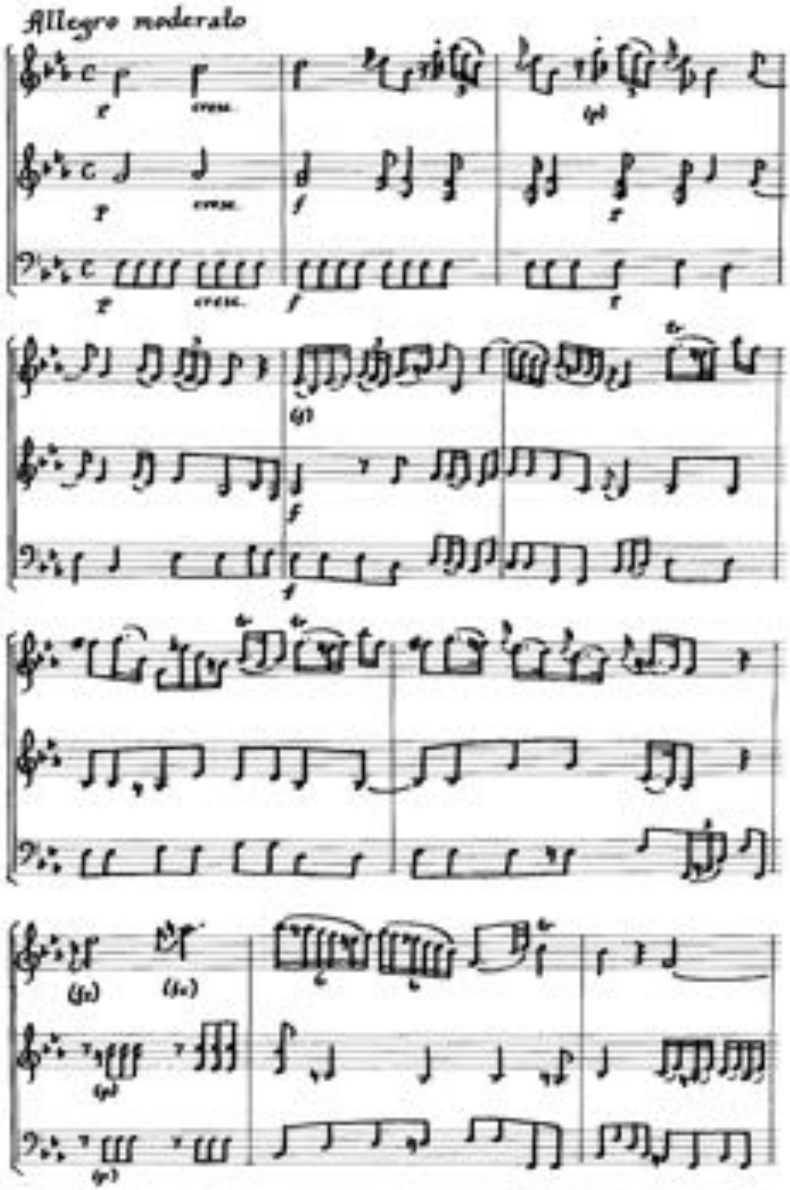
Thus with the exception of the two—or possibly five—works just mentioned, the fact remains that virtually none of the sources have any documentary claim to authenticity, other than the copyist's or publisher's use of Haydn's name on the title page. Given the piratical practices of the time, this is no assurance at all. Since paper and watermark studies which my students and I conducted also proved inconclusive, we found it essential to resort to style or internal analysis.

Now I must digress: early in 1973, in preparation for the Haydnfest in Washington, scheduled for October 1975,[8] I and two colleagues at the City University of New York, Edward O. D. Downes and Howard Brofsky, planned a unique doctoral seminar for the spring of 1975. It was designed to cover as many aspects of Haydn research as possible, including the study of various genres, the live exploration of performance practice problems, and the editing of Haydn's music. The class met every Monday from 4 to 11 P.M. on the following schedule: 4–7, regular seminar with lectures and reports; 7–8:30, dinner for three faculty, 15 students, and usually two to four guests; 8:30–11 P.M., a special lecture or concert with invited scholars and musicians. We performed a good deal of music, including the marionette opera *Philemon und Baucis* and scenes from *La Vera Costanza*. On 31 March 1975, we had a giant Haydn birthday party for 200 people with Tafelmusik and a magnificent Viennese dinner. Parts of the festivities were shown on television, including interviews with Jens Peter Larsen and the late Emanuel Winternitz, an authentic Viennese on our faculty.[9]

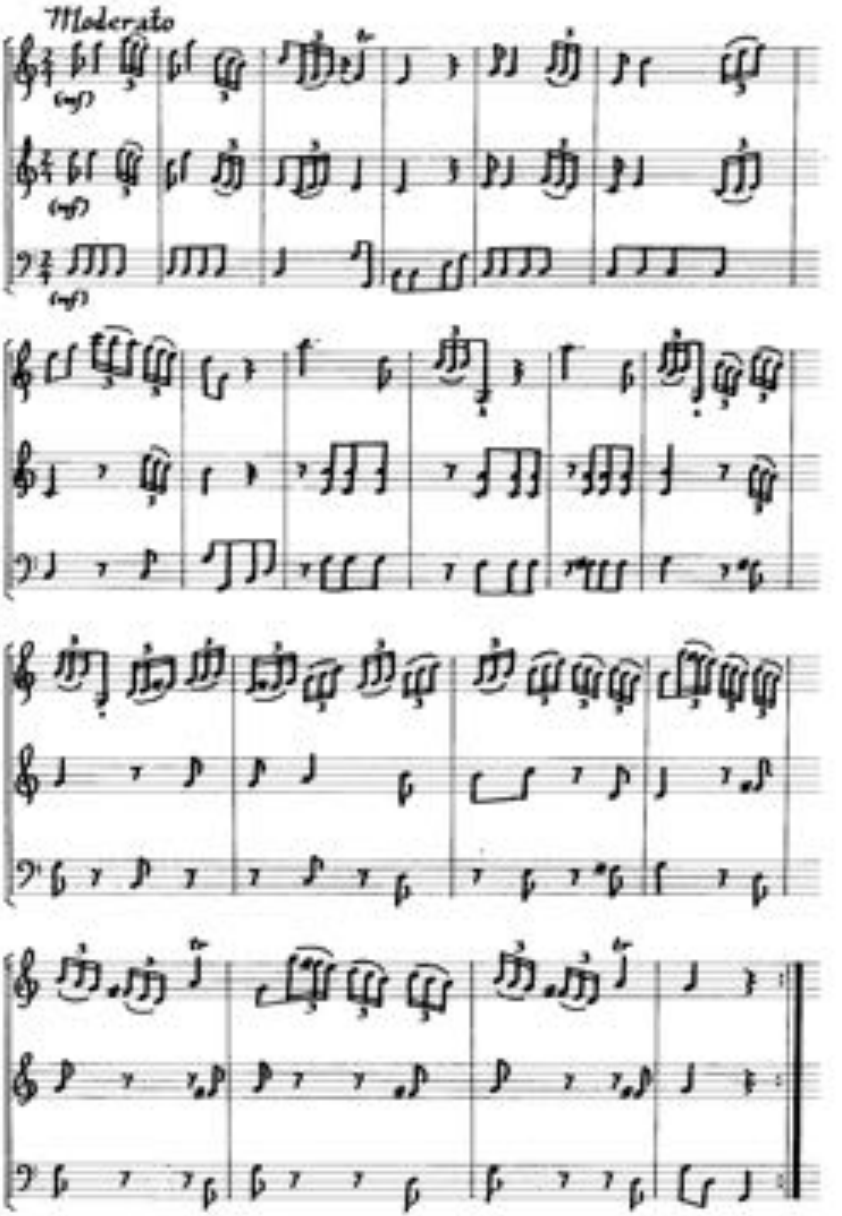
When I originally dreamed up this unusual seminar, I asked Dr. Georg Feder if the students could edit, collectively, a volume of the Haydn *Gesamtausgabe*, one that would give each of them an opportunity to work on a complete piece or movement. After just a little bit of thought, a gleam came into his eye, and he suggested, "Why not the string trios? They are difficult, they are not too long, and there are 18 of them, not counting the doubtful works."

In my innocence I said "Yes" with alacrity, for although I had edited a large number of compositions for publication, my experience had been almost entirely with works having only one, two, or three sources, the principal source always being obvious. Little could I imagine what a jungle, or as Pohl put it, what a "wearying labyrinth," I was leading the seminar into. This jungle contained 300 sources for the 18 authentic trios alone, of which none were autographs and few were even close to being reliable; dating signposts were virtually non-existent and clues for building defensible stemma were difficult to find. It was indeed a labyrinth that several other scholars whom Feder had previously approached had wisely refused to enter. After a vast amount of labor, the seminar's first volume, comprising the 18 authentic string trios, was completed. It is being prepared at the Joseph Haydn Institute in Cologne for publication in 1985. Each trio bears a student editor's name; the volume's two general editors are myself and Bruce C. MacIntyre (now Dr. MacIntyre), the student who was most responsible for bringing the work to fruition.

At the Kasseler Musiktage 1980 meeting (see note 1), I involved the large audience of scholars, performers, and music lovers in the problem the seminar was facing in the preparation of a second volume of the complete works edition, in which the "doubtful" trios which we deemed to be genuine would be published. Four unidentified fast movements from four different trios were performed live; they were selected from all extant string trios bearing Haydn's name, including the 18 indisputably authentic, the 22 definitely attributed to other composers, and the 30 doubtful trios whose authenticity needed to be evaluated. Space will permit us here to present in score only the exposition of each of these four movements. The reader is invited to participate in the game by examining the four scores that follow and making his or her own determination as to which may be authentic.



Trio A



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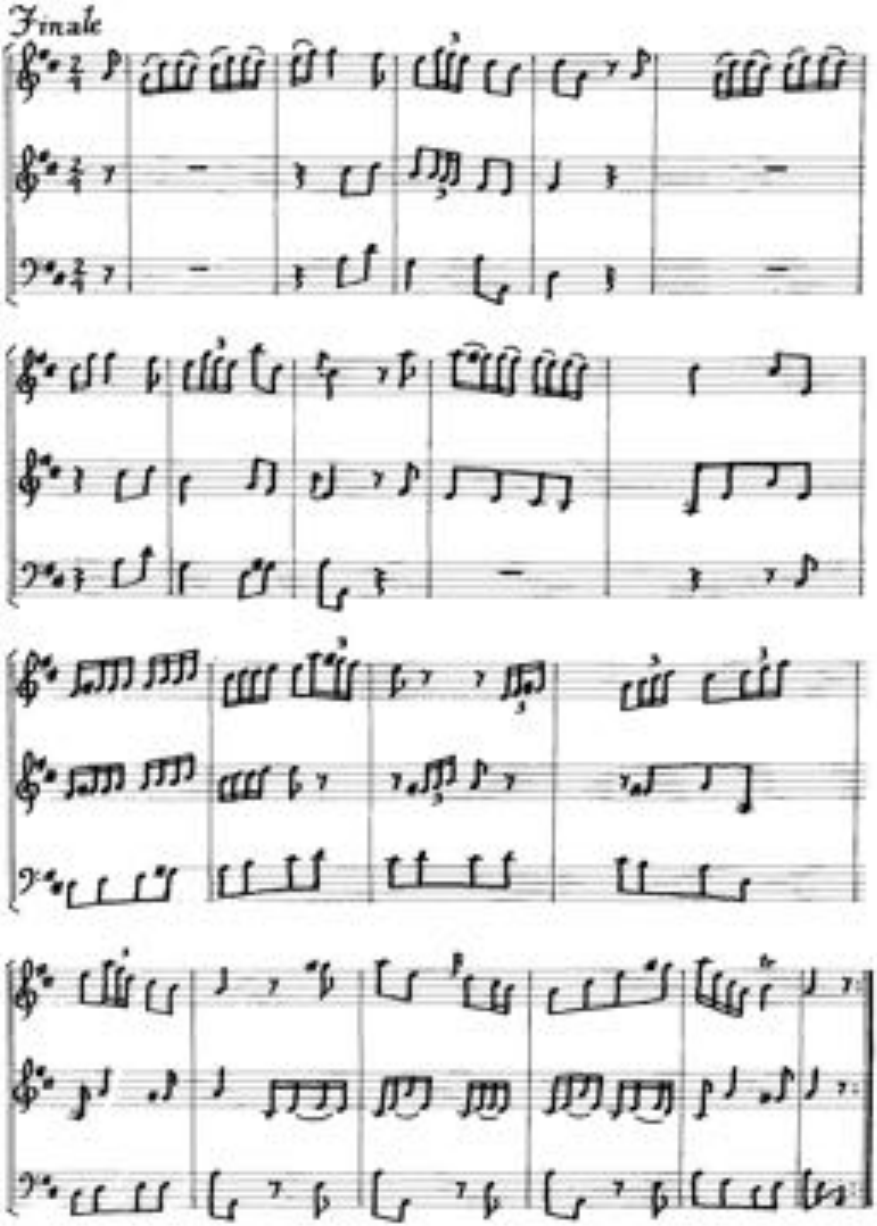
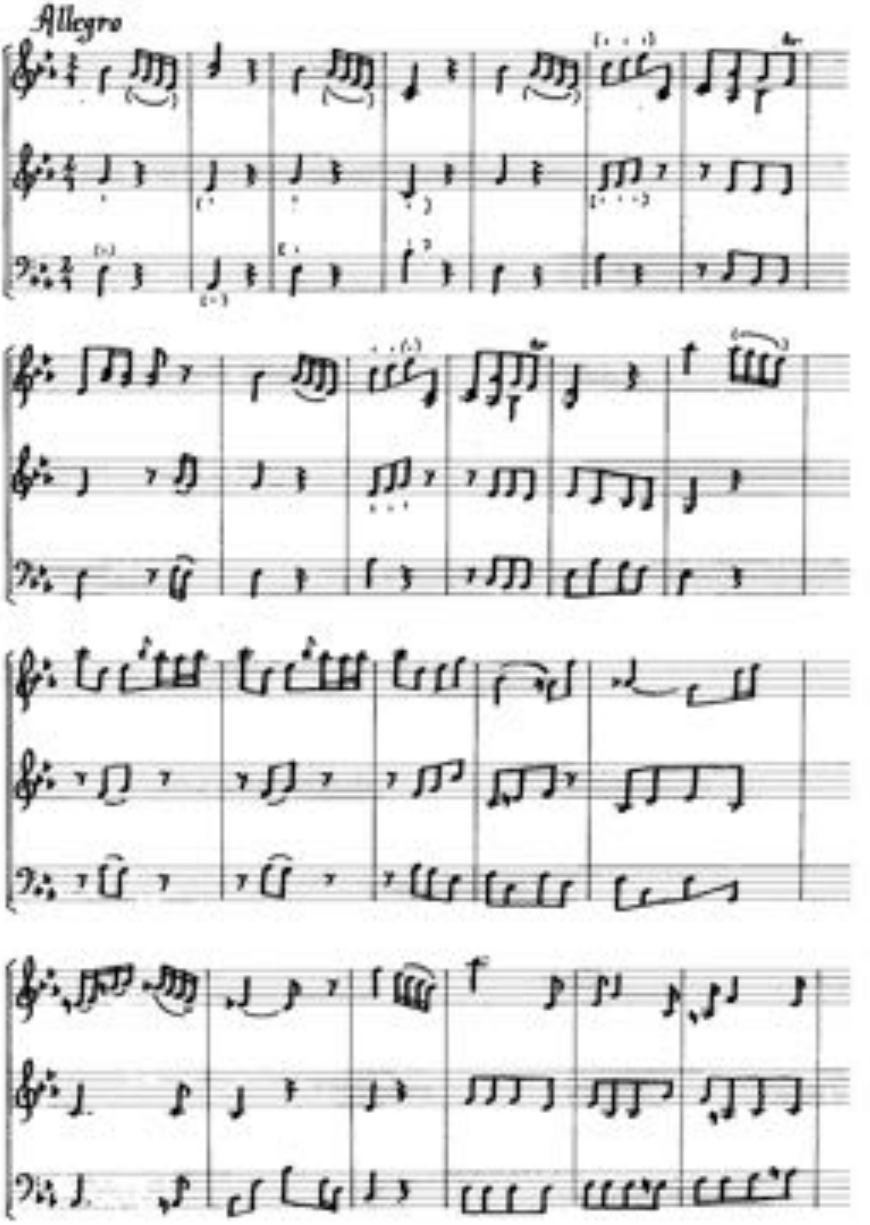
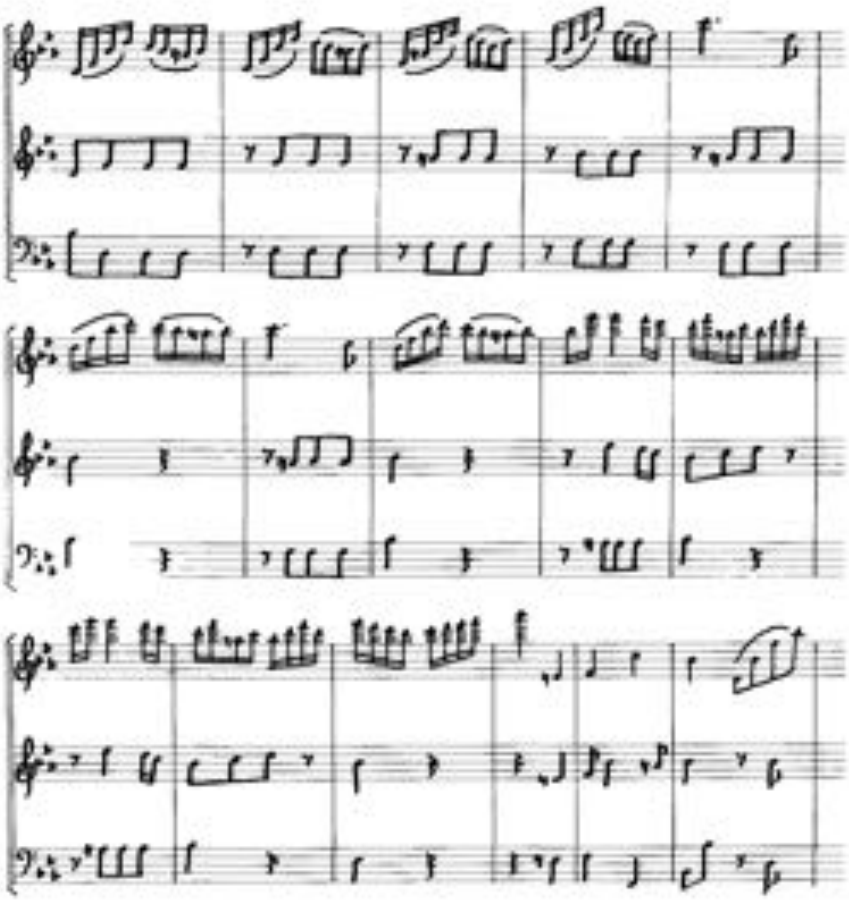


Trio C



Trio D



The audience voted overwhelmingly in favor of Trio A as an authentic work by Haydn. Trio A, however, is the only one of the four definitely *not* by him; it was written by Leopold Hofmann, for whose music Haydn is known to have had little respect. Trios B and C belonged to the doubtful category. (They have since been authenticated by the seminar's analytical investigations.) Trio D, which is definitely by Haydn (Hob. V: 4), received the second fewest positive votes. Documentation for these works may be summarized as follows:

Trio A: Divertimento in E-flat (Allegro moderato)—"del Sigr. [Leopold] Hoffmann" (Breitkopf Catalogue, Supp. I, 1766, No. "IV" of six, Brook, p. 230) = Hob. V: Es9. Also attributed to Hofmann in the Ringmacher catalogue and in Mss. in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek and Brussels Cons. Royal. Attributed to Haydn in Berlin, Mus. ms. 10.043/2.

Trio B: Divertimento in C (Moderato)—Attributed to Haydn in the "Quartbuch," Sigmaringen Catalogue (1766), 3 Mss. in Berlin (one from the Artaria collection), 1 Ms. each in Prague (Pachta Archives) and Washington, DC = Hob. V: C4 (Landon's new No. 29).

Trio C: Divertimento in D (Finale)—Attributed to Haydn in the Breitkopf Catalogue (Supp. II, 1767, No. 1 of "II. Trii con Variazioni," Brook, p. 274), two Mss. in Berlin (one from the Artaria collection), 1 Ms. each from Budapest (Fürnberg copy, with corrections in Haydn's hand, according to Landon), Kremsmünster, Prague (Pachta Archives), and Washington, DC = Hob. V: D3 (Landon's new No. 20).

Trio D: Divertimento in E-flat (Allegro)—Authentic Haydn (Entwurf Catalogue, p. 13) = Hob. V: 4.

N.B. All the "mystery selections" are first movements except Trio C, which is a final movement.

The results obtained from this little identification game—admittedly oversimplified here—demonstrate that the problems inherent in the authentication of doubtful musical works are not readily solved by ear and intuition alone. The history of authenticity determinations is both amusing and enlightening. Even after Jens Peter Larsen, in 1939, raised serious doubts about the authenticity of "Haydn's" Opus 3 quartets because there were no authentic sources, it still took three more decades—until Alan Tyson's discovery of Hoffstetter's scratched-out name[6]—for most music lovers to accept the quartets (at least the first two) as spurious. Many people today have still not heard the news—or simply refuse to believe it. One also thinks of Anton Kraft's Cello Concerto in D, Beethoven's Jena Symphony, and Pergolesi's Trio Sonatas, now finally ascribed to Haydn, Witt, and Gallo, respectively.

(Not to speak of Sandberger's 78 "additional" Haydn symphonies!)

Among the many still unresolved authenticity questions, I feel compelled to mention the 19th-century manuscript of a Symphonie Concertante for oboe, clarinet, bassoon, solo horn, and orchestra which usually is performed under Mozart's name and presumed to be a reworking by Mozart of the lost Symphonie Concertante for flute, oboe, bassoon, and horn that he wrote for the Concert Spirituel in 1778. There is not a shred of external evidence that the 19th-century source found by Otto Jahn has any connection to Mozart. The sixth edition of Köchel puts it in the Anhang as C14.04 (formerly 297b); the lost original described by Mozart in his letters is listed as 297B. The *New Mozart Ausgabe* has recently published the disputed source with an extensive introduction by Wolfgang Plath. Many musicians will swear that "only Mozart could have written this work." Others will declare just as vehemently that "Mozart could never have written so awkward a piece." I have had my own theory, which was presented for me in my absence by Kurt von Fischer at a Mozarteum Tagung in 1971. It is an example of the kind of solution that an authenticity study must sometimes consider. The theory, now widely accepted, is that the solo parts do indeed stem from Mozart but that the awkward and completely disproportionate orchestral accompaniment was arranged by someone else.[1]

How to prove or disprove this theory presents the same problem that one faces with the doubtful trios of Haydn. When external evidence is lacking or inadequate to determine authenticity, one must resort to what has been loosely called "style analysis." We have all seen phrases such as "internal evidence" or "style analysis" used to justify statements about authenticity and dating. All too often one is left in the dark as to the details of the evidence or the method of the analysis. The sensitive musician and scholar who has lived with the works of a specific period all his life will frequently be able to determine by intuition alone whether a piece is by one or another major composer. However, this is not always the case, as we have seen; even experienced scholars and performers can sometimes be misled, especially when youthful works are involved. Less experienced listeners will accept labels unquestioningly. It is for this reason that we need to develop rigorously scientific methods of internal analysis, methods that will supplement our fallible intuition and our inadequate documentation with objective analytical measurement and quantification. I am not suggesting that the use of the computer is required for this purpose—too much time and effort have been wasted on automated analytical projects that have proven fruitless. We have to understand better what we are looking for in our analyses in order to help clarify what makes Haydn *Haydn*, and not Hofmann or Hoffstetter.

It must be stated again that internal analysis should be applied only after all external evidence has been gathered and evaluated. The seminar's efforts to determine which of the 30 doubtful trios, if any, are really by Haydn have led us to explore several analytical approaches. All approaches involve the comparative, objective study of the internal characteristics of two groups of trios: the 18 authentic Haydn trios and a representative group of 30 trios by

other composers of the same period.

Characteristics found to be present or absent in these two groups are used as criteria against which the third group, the 30 doubtful trios, are being measured. Aspects of this approach have already been successfully employed by Marvin Paymer in evaluating the more than 250 doubtful works attributed to Giovanni Battista Pergolesi.[9] Our progress thus far has been most encouraging and has resulted in a number of conclusions—some of them provisional—based on the seminar's work on both volumes. First and foremost: Pohl, writing at a time when most of Haydn's major works were still unavailable, was quite correct when he said that studying the string trios "would lead us into a wearying labyrinth." We believe, however, that we have succeeded in finding a way out. He was incorrect when he said that the trios "would be hardly worth the effort." We have found, after editing them all and performing most of them, that Haydn's authentic trios—largely unknown until now—represent a varied, delightful, and significant addition to the chamber music repertoire. They embody, as both H. C. Robbins Landon and Georg Feder have suggested, aspects of both the learned and *galant* styles. One finds in them, for example, challenging technical difficulties (especially for the first violin), effective contrapuntal writing, a few surprising development sections that are often longer and more interesting than those in the early quartets, remote keys, and unusual expressive devices (e.g., harmonics).

Secondly: the Classical string trio is an 18th-century genre that is important in its own right; musically and sociologically, it must not be regarded (as did Pohl and many after him) as merely a preparatory exercise for the writing of string quartets; in the three decades when the genre was at its peak (roughly 1750–1780), many more trios were written than quartets; the trio had its own function in the musical life of the time—a role that requires further investigation.

Third: the 18 authentic string trios are representative of Haydn's early style, but *how* early remains a subject of debate. There is no hard evidence for dating most of them. The earliest confirmable date is 1762 (the Göttweig copy of Trio 15; possibly also the Brussels copy of Trio 8, if the date reads 1762 instead of 1767). However, the existence of two trios (Hoboken V: G1 and D3) in copies by Fürnberg Copyist No. 1 suggests the late 1750s, a time when Haydn was composing music for the Fürnbergs.

Several Haydn biographers have followed Pohl's view that these trios date from the early 1750s. In the first volume of his *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, H. C. Robbins Landon dates the works from the early 1750s to, at most, the 1760s.[10] He considers them "among Haydn's very first efforts at composition."[11] Taking a different stance, Ludwig Finscher believes that Haydn's early string quartets (Op. 1 and Op. 2) could have been written in the 1750s and could have preceded the trios. In a significant footnote he writes:

> The supposition in MGG . . . —evidently based on Pohl—that the string trios or trio sonatas preceded the string quartets has no basis for

the time being and appears to come from schematic evolutionary thinking, i.e., that four-voice composition is taken up after three-voice composition. If Haydn was supposed to supply music to the four musicians at Count Fürnberg's, so must he then have written quartets, not trios. Besides, it is so much more plausible that Haydn had no great restraints against writing something for such an untraditional instrumentation as those four instruments at Count Fürnberg's, and it was Porpora [ca. 1755?], the man to whom Haydn owed "*the eight fundamentals of composition*" . . . , who introduced him to trio composition as the basis of chamber style and to instruction in strict and free counterpoint.[13]

In fact, the more one studies these works and compares them with Haydn's other chamber music of the 1750s and 1760s, the later and more advanced in style some of the trios appear to be. Perhaps at some later time, refined style analysis comparing the string trio with the string quartet and other early instrumental works may shed some light on the question. In the meantime, until positive evidence is found for placing these works in the early 1750s, we maintain that they were a product of the later 1750s and the 1760s, ca. 1755–1765.

Fourth: on the question of instrumentation, we believe that although the word "basso" is almost always indicated for the third instrument, the cello is the instrument intended. Not the double bass, not the harpsichord, and not *also* the harpsichord. Haydn himself, when he added the incipit of the 21st string trio to page 13 of the Entwurf Katalog, wrote in the words "per due violini e violoncello." This coincides with James Webster's research which convincingly confirms the use of the cello rather than the contrabass in Viennese chamber music of the period 1750–1780.[14]

Finally: on the authenticity of the 30 doubtful trios, there is still much work to be done. We anticipate that some 11 or 12 will turn out to be genuine, and we expect to be able to prove our hypothesis in a convincing fashion.[15]

In sum, the intensive seminar work on the string trios for the past several years has convinced everyone involved of the historical significance of the genre and the high musical value of its repertory. Our work has already engendered several professional performances, and we are convinced that the appearance of the scholarly edition will generate many more.

NOTES

*This is a revision and translation of an informal paper entitled "Haydns Streichtrios—eine verkannte Werkgruppe" read by the author at the Joseph Haydn-heute Kasseler Musiktage 1980 on 31 October 1983. It is dedicated to my late and much revered colleague, William Kimmel, who kindly read the paper in its original version, and who was particularly interested in authenticity questions and their relationship to aesthetics.

[1] Baryton trios, which, strictly speaking, may be considered string trios, are treated as a separate genre in *Joseph Haydn Works* (JHW) XIV; similarly, flute trios and arrangements of other genres as string trios are not considered here.

[2] This total does not include the many arrangements of works in other genres for string trio. The large number of string trio arrangements of Haydn's other works also lends further evidence

for this genre's popularity. Numerous baryton trios (see Hoboken XI), three piano sonatas (Hoboken XVI: 40–42 of 1784), and three keyboard trios (Hoboken XV: 6–8 of ca. 1784–85) exist in such arrangements for two violins and violoncello, albeit arrangements whose authenticity remains doubtful. (Some scholars feel the string trio settings may actually be Haydn's original versions of some of these works.) But the *ad libitum* practice, which at this time often encouraged instrumental substitutions anyway, makes a satisfactory answer to this question of original instrumentation very difficult. For example, were the Förster trios of 1784 (Hoboken IV: 6–11) originally for string trio or for violin, flute, and violoncello?

[3] See Barry S. Brook, *La Symphonie française dans la seconde moitié du XVIII^e siècle*, 3 vols. (Paris: l'Institut de musicologie de l'Université de Paris, 1962), vol. I, pp. 105–21. A modern edition of the Martin trios will be published in 1985.

[4] Tutzing: Schneider, 1969.

[5] Giuseppe Carpani, *Le Haydine* (Milan, 1812), pp. 79–87, as extracted and translated by H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, 5 vols. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1980), vol. I, pp. 70, 72.

> Un anno dopo uscì l'*Haydn* in campo con sei *trio*, che subito per la singularità dello stile ed il lecco che il condiva, corsero per le mani di tutti, e diedero motivo a fervorosi discorsi fra quelli della professione. Prima di questi *trio* gli scrittori Tedeschi componevano per lo più le musiche da camera a tutto rigore di contrappunto *fugato*, nè la musica piacevolmente scritta dal *Sammartini*, e da altri Italiani aveva potuto smoverli dal metodo dell'antica scuola. La belle idiete dell'*Haydn*, il suo brio, le sue venerì, le licenze che si prendeva, gli eccitarono contro tutti i Paconii dell'armonico deserto. Fuorno trovati o si credette trovare in quelle composizione errori di contrappunto, modulazioni eretical, e mosse troppo ardite. Poco mancò che il giovin padre della musica instrumentale non rimanesse schiacciato sotto il peso e la tempesta della critiche. . . .

In 1768 and 1769, Johann Adam Hiller makes two unflattering references to Haydn's trios (*Wöchentliche Nachrichten*, vol. III, p. 104, and *Hamburger Unterhaltungen*, vol. VII, p. 270), from the north German standpoint which considered Viennese homophonic chamber music as "die wahre schlechte Musik." Unverricht discusses this north–south difference in his *Geschichte des Streichtrios*, pp. 86, 156. Bruce C. MacIntyre will deal with this question in detail in a forthcoming article.

[6] C. F. Pohl, *Joseph Haydn*, 3 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1878), vol. I, p. 347.

> Von einem näheren Eingehen in die S.230 erwähnten Trios und in mehrere andere Serien müssen wir hier Umgang nehmen; sie würden uns in einen ermüdenden Irrgarten führen, dessen Wege zu verfolgen bei der geringeren Bedeutung dieser kleineren Arbeiten kaum der Mühe verlohnen würde.

[7] Jens Peter Larsen, *Three Haydn Catalogues* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1979), pp. 13–14 (EK).

[8] The scholarly portion of this large festival-conference has been published in: *Haydn Studies: Proceedings of the International Haydn Conference, Washington, D.C., 1975*, ed. Jens Peter Larsen, Howard Serwer, and James Webster (New York: W.W. Norton, 1981).

[9] For a description of the work of this seminar, see Bruce C. MacIntyre, "Report from C.U.N.Y.: An Unusual Haydn Seminar," *Current Musicology* 20 (1975), pp. 42–49.

[10] See Alan Tyson and H. C. Robbins Landon, "Who Composed Haydn's Opus 3?" *The Musical Times* 105 (1964), pp. 506–07.

[11] See also the forthcoming monograph on the authenticity of this work by Robert Levin, to be published by Pendragon Press in 1985.

[12] See Marvin Paymer, *The Instrumental Music Attributed to Giovanni Battista Pergolesi: A Study in Authenticity* (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 1977). See also Barry S. Brook, "Giovanni Battista Pergolesi; Research, Publication, Performance," in *Studi Pergolesiani I* (in press).

[13] Landon, vol. I, p. 219.

[14] Ibid., p. 223.

[15] Ludwig Finscher, *Studien zur Geschichte des Streichquartetts I* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1974), p. 137. Translation by Bruce C. MacIntyre.

[16] James Webster, "Violoncello and Double Bass in the Chamber Music of Haydn and His Viennese Contemporaries, 1750–1780," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 29 (1976), pp. 413–38.

[17] See Barry S. Brook, "Determining Authenticity through Internal Analysis: A Multifaceted Approach (with specific reference to the Haydn string trios)," in *Congress Report of the Haydn Conference in Vienna, September 1982* (Munich: Henle, 1985), in press; a full report on the methods used and the results obtained is included therein.

The Sources of the Christmas Interpolations in J. S. Bach's Magnificat in E-flat Major (BWV 243a)*

By Robert M. Cammarota

Apart from changes in tonality and instrumentation, the two versions of J. S. Bach's Magnificat differ from each other mainly in the presence of four Christmas interpolations in the earlier E-flat major setting (BWV 243a).[1] These include newly composed settings of the first strophe of Luther's lied "Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her" (1539); the last four verses of "Freut euch und jubiliert," a celebrated lied whose origin is unknown; "Gloria in excelsis Deo" (Luke 2:14); and the last four verses and Alleluia of "Virga Jesse floruit," attributed to Paul Eber (1570).[2]

The custom of troping the Magnificat at vespers on major feasts, particularly Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost, was cultivated in German-speaking lands of central and eastern Europe from the 14th through the 17th centuries; it continued to be observed in Leipzig during the first quarter of the 18th century. The procedure involved the interpolation of hymns and popular songs (lieder) appropriate to the feast into a polyphonic or, later, a concerted setting of the Magnificat. The texts of these interpolations were in Latin, German, or macaronic Latin–German.

Although the origin of troping the Magnificat is unknown, the practice has been traced back to the mid–14th century. The earliest examples of Magnificat tropes occur in the Seckauer Cantional of 1345.[3] These include "Magnificat *Pater ingenitus a quo sunt omnia*" and "Magnificat *Stella nova radiat*."[4] Both are designated for the Feast of the Nativity.[5]

The tropes to the Magnificat were known by different names during the 16th, 17th, and early 18th centuries. The term *Rotulae* occurs in 16th-century sources to indicate the interpolated hymns and lieder, while the term *Laudes* is found in 17th- and early 18th-century sources. Appearing concurrently with these designations, and sometimes in place of them, a third term, *Kindleinwiegen*, is found in sources from the 16th through the early 18th centuries.[6]

Although the precise origin of the term is not known, *Kindleinwiegen* customarily refers to the popular Christmas songs (*Weihnachtslieder*) and hymns long associated with the Christmas Eve liturgy: the office of compline, the procession with the Christ Child to the manger, the manger play, and the office of matins.[7]

The earliest source for *Kindleinwiegen* is, again, the Seckauer Cantional (1345), in which three Christmas lieder ("Magnum nomen domini," "Resonet in laudibus," and "Novae lucis hodie") trope the Nunc Dimittis during compline.[8] (The second lied, "Resonet in laudibus," is the Latin version of "Joseph, lieber Joseph mein," perhaps the most celebrated of all *Kindleinwiegen;* the German version is thought to antedate the Latin version [14th century]. This lied, a congregational song for the liturgical events of Christmas Eve, was sung to the pantomime of cradle rocking.)[9] The Seckauer Can-

tional documents that the earliest known evidence of *Kindleinwiegen* was rooted in a local Catholic custom stemming from Seckau in the Steiermark region of Austria; its popularity spread throughout the German-speaking lands of eastern and central Europe during the late 14th and 15th centuries.[10] As part of this custom, "lullabies" or "cradle songs" (hence the name *Kindleinwiegen*) were sung by the congregation while in procession with the Christ Child to the manger, while venerating Him there, and while reenacting the dramatic events of the Christmas story in the manger play.[11] Moreover, Friedrich Blume has pointed out that Luther's lied "Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her," a contrafactum based on the old village song "Ich komm aus fremden Landen her," was intended as a round dance for the Christmas manger play.[12] The close relationship of the *Kindleinwiegen* to the manger play suggests their origin in religious drama.

In keeping with the liturgical reforms first set forth in Luther's *Von Ordnung Gottesdiensts in der Gemeine* (1523), the Evangelical church discontinued the office of compline. The hymns and *Kindleinwiegen* that originally interpolated the Nunc Dimittis canticle and accompanied the manger drama were transferred to the afternoon vesper service and became attached to the Magnificat canticle. Exactly how this occurred is not known. In keeping with the spirit of the new liturgical reforms, 16th-century Protestant composers made no distinction between Latin hymns, popular Christmas songs (*Weihnachtslieder*), and *Kindleinwiegen* when interpolating the Magnificat. To aid in the understanding of the Latin texts and to encourage participation by the congregation, composers alternated the Latin hymn stanzas with the vernacular.[13] This practice of singing hymns was still being used in many German-speaking regions during the early 18th century. Christian Gerber, a contemporary of J. S. Bach, cites three examples of hymns performed in this manner: "Puer natus in Bethlehem" at Christmas, "Surrexit Christus hodie" at Easter, and "Spiritus sancti gratia" at Pentecost.[14]

By the end of the 16th century, composers interpolated the Magnificat in three different ways:[15] (1) by alternating the verses of the Magnificat with polyphonic settings of the interpolations (*Rotulae*): this occurred in Orlando Lasso's Magnificat à 5 on the 5th tone, for which there were two different sets of *Rotulae* available, one by Martin Agricola and Johann Hermann[16] and a second by Gregor Lange and Johann Walter;[17] (2) by troping the Magnificat text: this occurs in the fourth verse, "Denn er hat grosse Ding an mir getan / *Ein Kindelein so zart* / der da mächtig ist und des Name heilig ist," of the ninth work (a German Magnificat, "Meine Seele erhebt den Herrn"), printed in Wolfgang Figulus's *Vetera nova* (1575);[18] or (3) by using the quodlibet technique: (a) within a polyphonic setting of the Magnificat, one voice (e.g., tenor) sings the *Rotula* while the other voices sing the text of the Magnificat; (b) conversely, in a polyphonic setting, one voice (e.g., tenor) sings the Magnificat plainsong in long note values as a cantus firmus while the other voices sing the *Rotula;* or (c) by combining the three basic techniques cited above (*Rotulae*, trope, and quodlibet) within a setting of the Magnificat.[19] A contrast in musical styles resulted, no matter which technique a composer used.

In the 17th century composers chose most frequently to alternate verses, or groups of verses, of the Magnificat text with *Laudes*. The verses of the Magnificat could be sung by the congregation or by a smaller choir, perhaps situated in another part of the church, to create an antiphonal effect.[28] The congregation could participate directly in the singing of the *Laudes* or listen to the choir's singing of the text in the vernacular.

Examples of troped Magnificats from the 16th and 17th centuries indicate that composers drew their *Rotulae*, or *Laudes*, from a repertory of Christmas hymns and lieder that had grown quite large by the end of the 16th century. (Martin Geck cites one source, actually a set of seven partbooks [not a choirbook] formerly in Breslau [Stadtbibliothek: Ms. 31], in which four-fifths of the approximately one hundred pieces were Christmas songs.)[29] The diversity of *Laudes* occurring in these Magnificat settings suggests that there were no prescribed texts, nor were there a fixed number or a specific order of *Laudes* per setting; the division of the text of the canticle and the interpolation of the *Laudes* were left to the discretion of the composer or Kantor. However, toward the end of the 17th century, certain texts begin to recur with greater frequency. The *Laudes* printed in *Natalitia Sacra* (1682)—the texts of the music for Christmas, New Year's Day, and the Epiphany at St. Mariens in Lübeck—exemplify this trend.[30]

Six *Laudes*, interpolations to the Magnificat at vespers on the first Feastday of Christmas (Feria I), are printed in *Natalitia Sacra;* they include "Vom Himmel hoch," "Freut euch und jubiliert," "Gloria in excelsis Deo," "Virga Jesse floruit," "Joseph, lieber Joseph mein," and "Psallite unigenito Christo." It appears that these six *Laudes* occur together for the first time here, although the first five *Laudes* recur frequently, albeit individually, in 17th-century Magnificat settings. Four of them, excluding "Virga Jesse floruit," are found together as early as 1603 in Seth Calvisius's motet settings published in *Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum*.[31] The sixth *Laud*, "Psallite unigenito Christo," occurs less frequently in 17th-century sources, though it is found in a Magnificat with five different *Laudes* in Samuel Scheidt's *Geistliche Konzerte*, Part III (1635).[32]

Of the six *Laudes* present in *Natalitia Sacra* (1682), the first four recur in three manuscript sources that stem from Leipzig and date from the first quarter of the 18th century. They include (1) the so-called cantata "Vom Himmel hoch" attributed to Johann Kuhnau and preserved as "Cantate zum Weihnachtsfest" at the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig;[33] (2) the anonymous Magnificat à 4 in D major first mentioned by Spitta and relocated in March 1980 at the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin;[34] and (3) J. S. Bach's E-flat major Magnificat (P 38). These three examples are the only extant manuscript sources with *Laudes* that date from the 18th century.[35] (Printed editions of 18th-century Magnificats lie outside the scope of this study; nevertheless, I am not aware of any containing interpolations.) Although they bear witness to the tradition of troping the Magnificat in the 18th century, the small number of extant manuscript sources indicates that the practice was, in fact, declining.

The decline may be due, in part, to changes in the worship service in Leipzig that took place during the early part of the 18th century. Among a number of reforms decreed by the Leipzig town council on 13 February 1702 was the abolishment from the vesper service of the practice of interpolating the Magnificat with *Laudes* and *Kindleinwiegen*, specifically "Joseph, lieber Joseph mein."[28] However, the presence of the above-mentioned four *Laudes* in three sources from Leipzig indicates that the decree was sometimes ignored and that only "Joseph, lieber Joseph mein," of the *Kindleinwiegen*, was immediately affected.[29] Although the *Laudes* appear to have retained their traditional position within the vesper service through the first quarter of the century, they do not appear in Magnificat manuscripts composed or copied during the second quarter of the century, or thereafter. Late 17th- and early 18th-century inventories, in particular those of Johann Schelle and Johann Kuhnau—Bach's predecessors at the Thomasschule—list two manuscripts with *Laudes*.[30] They include a set of "*Laudes* for six voices and instruments to be sung between the verses of the Magnificat at Christmas"[31] and an anonymous "Magnificat con Vom Himmel hoch da komm."[32] Both sources stem from the 17th century; neither is preserved, however.

Excepting the three 18th-century manuscripts cited above, not a single Magnificat manuscript from the first half of the 18th century presently preserved in the libraries at Berlin, Dresden, and Leipzig includes any indication for the performance of *Laudes*. Nor have the RISM catalogues for collections of manuscripts in the Federal Republic of Germany[33] or in the German Democratic Republic[34] provided any clues to additional sources. J. S. Bach's Magnificat in E-flat major appears to be the last setting in a long liturgical tradition to have the *Laudes* notated within the manuscript itself.

Apart from the liturgical reforms by the Leipzig town council in 1702, there was a practical consideration: the use of *Laudes*, whether for Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, or any other major feast, limited the performance of the Magnificat to a particular occasion. This might explain why interpolated Magnificat settings from the 18th century are so rare; without the *Laudes* a Magnificat could be performed on any occasion. There were numerous feasts during the year demanding concerted performances of Latin Magnificats. These included the feasts of New Year's Day, Epiphany, Purification, Annunciation, Ascension, Trinity, St. John the Baptist, Visitation of the Virgin, St. Michael, and Reformation Day, as well as the first and second feastdays of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost—a minimum of sixteen occasions.[35] The vast, readily available repertory of occasional hymns and lieder offered the Kantor manifold possibilities to interpolate a Magnificat setting; the notation of particular *Laudes* within a manuscript suggests that a work was prepared for a specific performance. The three extant 18th-century manuscripts with *Laudes* are all works intended for Christmas.

"Cantate zum Weihnachtsfest"

The manuscript catalogued as "Cantate zum Weihnachtsfest" at the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig (Ms. Becker III.2.124) consists of four inde-

pendent choral settings on "Vom Himmel hoch," "Freut euch und jubiliert," "Gloria in excelsis Deo," and "Virga Jesse floruit." The work, preserved without attribution or title, has traditionally been ascribed to Johann Kuhnau and is often, though incorrectly, cited as Kuhnau's cantata "Vom Himmel hoch."[28] The four choral settings actually do not form a cantata: they lack the textual and musical means necessary to unify four distinct pieces. Furthermore, Albrecht Tunger has observed correctly that as a unit the work lacks the instructional element (*docere*) inherent in the Baroque cantata.[29] Preserved independently of a Magnificat setting, these four well-known Christmas lieder are *Laudes;* as such they were intended to be performed not as an autonomous work but rather as interpolations in a Magnificat setting.

The manuscript of these *Laudes* consists of seventeen parts copied by five different scribes (see Table 1); each part is written on one half-sheet of paper (upright format as in Bach's cantata manuscripts). Scribe 1 copied a complete set of parts in C major that includes the canto, alto, tenor, bass, violin 1 and 2, viola, trumpet 1 and 2, timpani, and continuo[b]. Scribe 2 copied the second set of violin parts and the violone, all three in C major. Scribe 3 copied the continuo[a] in B-flat major; scribe 4, the continuo[d] in B-flat; and scribe 5, whom I have been able to identify as Johann Andreas Kuhnau,[30] the continuo[c] in D major (see Figure 1).

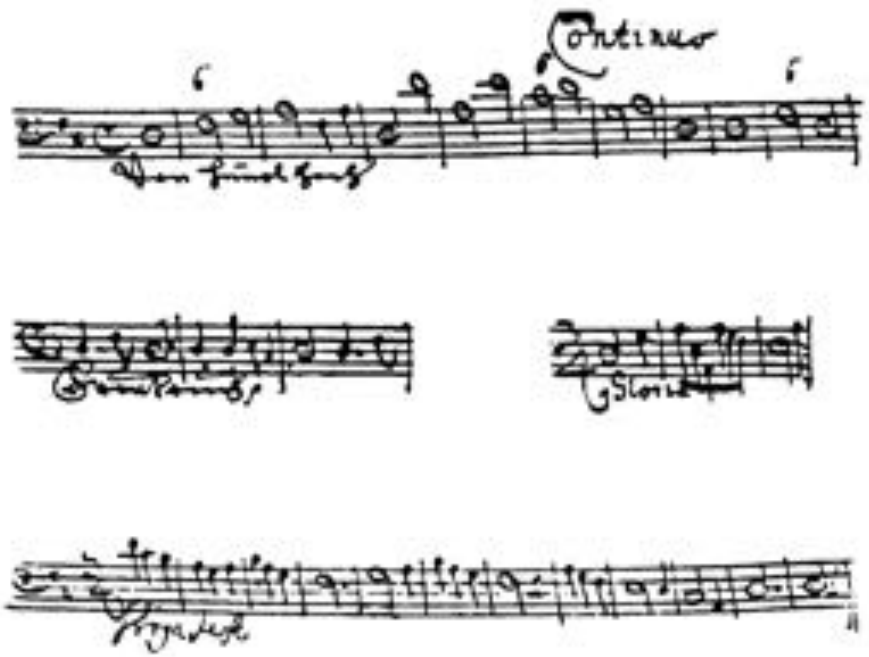


Figure 1

Incipits of the four *Laudes* in the continuo[c] in D major copied in the early hand of Johann Andreas Kuhnau. (Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig: Ms. Becker III.2.124)

The scoring of the first *Laud*, "Vom Himmel hoch," consists of two violins, viola, CATB, violone, and continuo; that of the remaining *Laudes* includes two trumpets and timpani in addition to the above instruments. Solo and tutti passages are differentiated in the vocal parts, and dynamics are indicated. The parts, nonetheless, contain numerous mistakes and corrections both in the text underlay and in the notation of the music, which suggests that they were copied by non-professional scribes. Because they stem from Leipzig and since J. A. Kuhnau's early hand can be identified in one of the continuo parts, it is fair to assume that these parts were copied by students at

Table I

The Performing Parts to "Cantate zum Weihnachtsfest"
(MBLpz: Ms. Becker III.2.124)

[Score: not preserved]

Parts:	Watermark	Scribe
1. Canto	X	1
2. Alto	X	1
3. Tenore	Y	1
4. Basso	Y	1
13. Violino 1	Y	1
15. Violino 2	X	1
16. Viola	X	1
5. Clarino 1	Y	1
6. Clarino 2	X	1
7. Tamburi	Y	1
10. Continuo[b] (C major)	X	1
12. Violino 1	Y	2
14. Violino 2	X	2
17. Violone	Y	2
11. Continuo[a] (B-flat major)	Y	3
9. Continuo[d] (B-flat major)	X	4
8. Continuo[c] (D major)	[?]*	J. A. Kuhnau

Parts:

Numbers, lightly written in the upper right-hand corner of the parts, identify each of the seventeen parts. The four continuo parts are distinguished by superscripts a–d.

Watermark:

X = Adler auf Stegen, belegt mit H (oder A?)
Y = Buchstaben: AW in Schild auf Stegen

(I am indebted to Ellen Roeser, director of the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, for providing me with a microfilm of this manuscript and with information regarding the watermarks [letter of 8 October 1981].)

*According to Ellen Roeser the watermark for the Continuo[c] (D major) is so faint that its definite identification without additional help is not possible, though it could be the same watermark as Y.

the Thomasschule.[39]

Hans-Joachim Schulze has noted in passing that sometime around 1720 Johann Kuhnau partially revised the set of parts with text cues [*Textmarken*] for performance in various keys.[40] A comparison of Kuhnau's writing in these parts with that, for example, in his autograph score of cantata "Nicht nur allein am frohen Morgen" (1718)[41] reveals that the directions "solo" and "tutti," the affect marking "affettuoso," the dynamic markings "piano" and "forte," as well as the textual corrections in the four vocal parts (particularly in the repetition of words and phrases), all stem from the hand of Johann Kuhnau. One of the more significant corrections occurs in the tenor part of "Freut euch und jubiliert"; the text "zu Bethlehem . . . gebohren wird" is corrected to read "zu Bethlehem . . . [ge]fund[en] wird," though only in its repetition (see Figure 2). A major correction occurs in the third *Laud*, "Gloria in excelsis Deo." Here scribe 1 writes "Gloria ejus," which Kuhnau corrects in all four voices to read "Gloria in excelsis Deo" (see Figure 3).

Figure 2

Johann Kuhnau's correction of the word "gebohren" to "[ge]fund[en]" in the tenor of "Freut euch und jubiliert," m. 12. (Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig: Ms. Becker III.2.124)

Figure 3

Johann Kuhnau's correction of "Gloria ejus" to "Gloria in excelsis Deo" in the canto of "Gloria in excelsis Deo," mm. 15–18. (Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig: Ms. Becker III.2.124)

As noted in Table I, all the parts, with the possible exception of the continuo in D major, have one of two watermarks: the eagle ["X"] or the letters

AW ["Y"]. This implies that two types of paper were used by the four main scribes, perhaps even by the fifth scribe, J. A. Kuhnau. There is evidence to suggest, however, that these single sheets were formerly double sheets which had been cut in half and that the sixteen original parts (excluding the continuo in D major) actually contain either the watermark or the countermark of the pair of watermarks: (1) Each of the sixteen original parts is written on both sides (recto and verso) of one half-sheet of paper (upright format). Eight of the parts contain watermark "X"; the remaining eight, watermark "Y." (2) Scribes 1 and 2 write on paper with watermark "X," as well as on paper with watermark "Y"; scribe 3 uses a sheet with watermark "Y," while scribe 4 uses one with "X." These four scribes, therefore, appear to be using two halves of the same full sheet of paper.[9] From the watermarks we can conclude that all of the parts, excluding the continuo in D major, were copied at the same time and were probably intended for the same performance. The presence of Johann Kuhnau's corrections confirms that this set of parts was copied before June 1722.

Two extra parts are included within this complete set: (a) two continuo parts (instead of one) transposed to B-flat major and (b) a continuo part transposed to D major. Although it was standard practice in Leipzig to transpose the continuo part a tone lower (*Chorton*) for the organ, it was not general practice to do so in duplicate. A comparison of both B-flat major parts copied by scribes 3 and 4 with the original C-major part copied by scribe 1 reveals a number of differences between the transposed parts. These differences can be described briefly as follows: Continuo^{d} in B-flat major contains many incorrect notes in *Laudes* one, two, and four, particularly in "Virga Jesse floruit," where the E flats should all be corrected to E naturals (mm. 50, 52, and 54). In the "Gloria" the marking of "tasto solo" (m. 26) and the fermata (m. 30, beat 3) are omitted. Thorough-bass figures are often omitted, as in "Virga Jesse floruit" (mm. 25 and 58). In general, the notation of this part is inaccurate and difficult to read. (Music writing that is difficult to read and inaccurate positioning of the note heads on the staff are also characteristics of the writing of scribe 1, particularly in the continuo in C major. Here the notes are placed ambiguously on the staff.) On the other hand, the continuo^{a} in B-flat major, copied by scribe 3, is flawlessly copied; not only does it compare perfectly with the continuo^{b} in C major copied by scribe 1, but it is even easier to read. Scribe 3 appears to have been the most experienced of the five copyists involved in this manuscript. The continuo^{d} copied by scribe 4 contained too many mistakes to be used in a performance without prior correction. However, it is not clear why scribe 3 copied a completely new part (continuo^{a}) instead of simply correcting the defective one (continuo^{d}). (Perhaps he considered it easier to copy an entirely new part than to correct an inaccurate and ambiguous copy.) Nor is it clear why the defective copy was preserved once a corrected part was available.

Judging from the complete set of parts in C major (*Cammerton*) and the organ part in B-flat major (*Chorton*)—as was customary in Leipzig—it appears that these *Laudes* were originally intended to be interpolated into a

Magnificat setting in C major. Johann Kuhnau's Magnificat à 5 in C major[44] is the obvious choice. However, there is no evidence at present to confirm that these four *Laudes* were indeed interpolated into Kuhnau's or any other C-major setting of the Magnificat. Neither the score from which these *Laudes* were copied nor the autograph score and original set of performing parts to Kuhnau's Magnificat are preserved. Nonetheless, the custom of performing the Magnificat at Christmas in Leipzig called for the interpolation of *Laudes*. These four *Laudes*, unattached to a specific Magnificat setting—perhaps as a reaction to the ban on interpolations into the Magnificat by the town council in 1702—could very well have been intended originally for Kuhnau's Magnificat. Johann Kuhnau's corrections confirm that he was preparing the set of *Laudes* for performance; his corrections suggest, moreover, that he might very well be the composer of these four *Laudes*. The set of *Laudes* could have been performed subsequently in Leipzig with any number of the Magnificat settings, including Christoph Graupner's Magnificat à 4 in C major when it was first performed in Leipzig during Christmas of 1722.[45] Although Graupner's autograph score lacks any indication for the performance of *Laudes*, the set of performing parts to the Kuhnau *Laudes* was copied before June 1722 (at the very latest) and was, theoretically, also available to Graupner. Only the decision as to where to interpolate these *Laudes* within his setting needed to be made.

The presence of a continuo part transposed to D major within a complete set of parts in C major indicates that the *Laudes* were also used to interpolate a Magnificat setting in that key. This was easily effected by having the trumpets and timpani read from the original set of parts, notated in C major, but sound a tone higher in D major, the new *Cammerton*. The strings retuned to the new pitch (D) but read from the original set of parts in C; the voices simply sang their parts a tone higher. The organ, which in Leipzig had its parts notated in *Chorton* but sounded in *Cammerton*, was performed from the continuo part in C major. Therefore, all the C-major parts could be reused in a performance of the work in D major; only a continuo part in the new *Cammerton* needed to be copied. It is ironic that a performance of these *Laudes* with a Magnificat setting in C major cannot be documented, though one in D major can. As noted in Table I, J. A. Kuhnau copied the continuo in D major; as I have explained elsewhere,[46] this was done to facilitate a performance of these *Laudes* with the anonymous Magnificat in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535).

Anonymous, Magnificat à 4 in D major

The second example of an 18th-century manuscript with *Laudes* is the anonymous Magnificat à 4 in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535). This work, first mentioned by Spitta as an anonymous Magnificat into which Bach inserted the same four Christmas hymns as in his own setting,[47] was relocated at the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in 1980.[48] Just as Spitta noted, only "Freut euch und jubiliert" occupies the same position in this manuscript as in Bach's setting, occurring between (4) "Quia fecit mihi magna"

and (5) "Et misericordia" (see Table II). The other *Laudes* are interpolated as follows: "Vom Himmel hoch" occurs between (3) "Quia respexit" and (4) "Quia fecit mihi magna"; "Gloria in excelsis Deo," between (8) "Esurientes" and (9) "Suscepit Israel"; and "Virga Jesse floruit," between (10) "Sicut locutus est" and (11) "Gloria."

The manuscript consists of fourteen parts derived from two different performances; the score is not extant. Three of the parts derive from the earlier performance. These include the first and second violin parts and the continuo part, written in the early hands of Anon. Ip, Anon. Ib, and J. A. Kuhnau, respectively.[48] All three parts, measuring 36 × 21.5 cm., have the same watermark, "IMK/half moon." The form of the watermark in the continuo compares exactly with that in the manuscript of Bach's Magnificat in E-flat major (P 38); this suggests a performance sometime before, but not later than, Christmas of 1723. The four interpolations occur in these three parts alone;[49] they are written in red ink in the early hand of J. A. Kuhnau, not in the hand of J. S. Bach as Spitta stated.

A comparison of J. A. Kuhnau's handwriting in the three earlier parts of this Magnificat with that in the D-major continuo of the "Cantate zum

Table II

Position of the Four Christmas *Laudes* in the Anonymous Magnificat in D Major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535) and in J. S. Bach's Magnificat in E-flat Major (DStB: Mus. ms. autogr. Bach P 38)

Mus. ms. anon. 1535	*Laudes*	P 38
1. Magnificat		1. Magnificat
2. Et exultavit		2. Et exultavit
3. Quia respexit		
	A. Vom Himmel hoch	
		3. Quia respexit
		4. Omnes generationes
4. Quia fecit		5. Quia fecit
	B. Freut euch und jubiliert	
5. Et misericordia		6. Et misericordia
6. Fecit potentiam		7. Fecit potentiam
7. Deposuit		
8. Esurientes		
	C. Gloria in excelsis Deo	
9. Suscepit Israel		8. Deposuit
10. Sicut locutus est		9. Esurientes
	D. Virga Jesse floruit	
11. Gloria		10. Suscepit Israel
12. Sicut erat		11. Sicut locutus est
		12. Gloria Patri

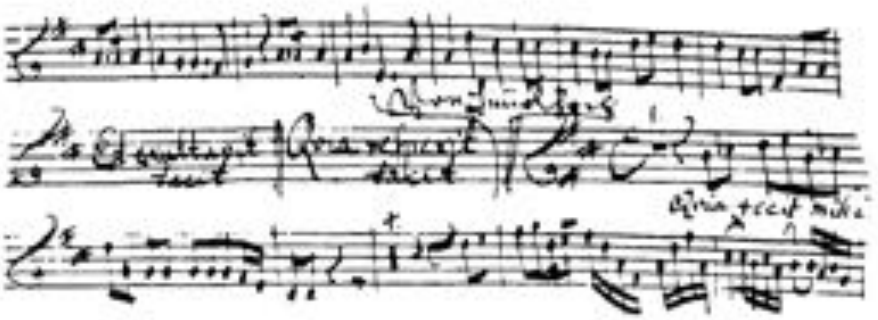


Figure 4

Johann Andreas Kuhnau's early writing of "Von Hiñel hoch" in the second violin part of the Anonymous Magnificat in D major. The part is written in the hand of Anon. Ib. (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek: Mus. ms. anon. 1535)

Weihnachtsfest" indicates that Kuhnau's early script is found in both sources. This is most noticeable in each part where Kuhnau writes "Von Hiñel hoch" (cf. Figures 1 and 4), instead of "Vom Hiñel hoch" (or "Vom Himmel hoch"). From the comparison of his writing in the two sources, we can infer that J. A. Kuhnau copied both parts at approximately the same time in order to make possible a performance of the *Laudes* with the anonymous Magnificat in D major. The presence of the early writing of Anon. Ib, Anon. Ip, and J. A. Kuhnau in the earlier set of parts to this Magnificat suggests that this work was intended for performance in Leipzig before Christmas of 1723, perhaps as early as Christmas of 1718. The "IMK/half moon" watermark supports this dating, though the details surrounding the performance of this work are not clear.

J. S. Bach, Magnificat à 5 in E-flat major

The last example of an 18th-century manuscript with *Laudes* is J. S. Bach's Magnificat à 5 in E-flat major (DStB: Mus. ms. autogr. Bach P 38).[36] The four interpolations that occur in this work are the same texts as those that are present in the two preceding manuscripts; the music, however, is newly composed.

The choice, order, and number of interpolations present in this setting indicate Bach's awareness and observance of the custom of performing the Magnificat on festive occasions in Leipzig. Bach may have wanted to celebrate his first Christmas as Kantor in Leipzig with a festive Magnificat composition. Instead of borrowing a preexistent set of interpolations for his Magnificat, he composed an entirely new set.

As Alfred Dürr states, Bach notated his set of interpolations only after he completed the composition of the Magnificat.[37] A number of features confirm this observation: (1) The interpolations are not integrated into the manuscript; instead, they are grouped together at the end. Bach used the bottom margins of folios 12^r and 13^r–15^r and the entire sides of folios 15^v–16^v to notate his interpolations.[38] (2) Reference marks pertaining to the perfor-

mance of the interpolations were subsequently written into the manuscript. Dürr observes that "the reference on folio 7[r] was squeezed between the two movements clearly at a later date; moreover, Bach found no room between the two movements on folio 10[r], and so he wrote the indication laterally after the conclusion of 'Fecit potentiam.' Had he, however, put in the indication earlier, in all likelihood more space would have been found at the end of that movement. . . ."[13] The interpolations show no evidence that they were composed at a significantly later date than the score to the Magnificat, only that they were written down subsequently.

Bach scored "Vom Himmel hoch" for four unaccompanied voices (SSATB),[14] treating the hymn melody as a cantus firmus in the sopranos. He scored "Freut euch und jubiliert" for four voices (SSAT) and continuo; "Gloria in excelsis Deo," for five voices (SSATB) and orchestra (two violins, two oboes, viola, and continuo); "Virga Jesse floruit," for two voices (S^1B) and continuo. Only the beginning of "Virga Jesse floruit" has been preserved; the ending (folio 17) is missing. Accordingly, Dürr includes only the preserved half of this interpolation in his edition of the Magnificat for the NBA; the section breaks off in the middle of m. 30. Because Bach reused this music in 1725 in the duet "Ehre sei Gott in der Höhe" from his cantata "Unser Mund sei voll Lachens" (BWV 110), Dürr was able to reconstruct the missing fifteen bars of the *Laud* and complete an edition.[15] The reconstructed bars are not included in the NBA volume. The original set of parts for these *Laudes* is not extant.

Spitta notes that the choice and order of interpolations in Bach's Magnificat are the same as in the set of *Laudes* attributed to Johann Kuhnau (MBLpz: Ms. Becker III.2.124).[16] Elsewhere he observes that they are the same four, and in the same order, that are inserted in the anonymous Magnificat in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535); though with the exception of "Freut euch und jubiliert," they occur in different positions.[17] Spitta indicates two points of detail that convince him that Bach took his text directly from the Kuhnau setting: both settings use the corrupted Lutheran translation "bona voluntas" [from "bonae voluntes"] in the *Laud* beginning "Gloria in excelsis Deo" instead of "bonae voluntatis" as found in the Vulgate and in all settings of the "Gloria" in Bach's Latin masses; both use only the last four verses and Alleluia of the *Laud* "Virga Jesse floruit."[18]

In the 75 years between the publications of Spitta's study and Dürr's critical report accompanying his edition of Bach's Magnificat for the NBA, writers have traditionally upheld Spitta's conclusion that Bach based his interpolations on the set of *Laudes* attributed to Johann Kuhnau. Dürr was no exception. However, during the early 1950s when he was preparing his critical report, the aforementioned manuscript of the anonymous Magnificat in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535) could not be located. Spitta had not cited a call number for this manuscript;[19] moreover, the catalogue card for it was not among the cards of the anonymous manuscripts in the catalogues of the DStB. Dürr notes that his attempts to locate this manuscript in 1950 and again in 1953 proved unsuccessful.[20]

During the time the manuscript could not be located, two writers attempted to offer new evidence challenging Spitta's findings. Spitta's position was first disputed by Geck in "J. S. Bachs Weihnachts-Magnificat und sein Traditionszusammenhang,"[80] in which he discussed the historical tradition of the *Laudes* in the 16th and 17th centuries. Among the numerous examples cited, Geck mentioned a newly found source, *Natalitia Sacra*,[81] the printed texts of the Christmas, New Year, and Epiphany music in Lübeck for 1682–83, which contains a Magnificat interpolated with six *Laudes* (see Table III). The first four *Laudes* are the same four, and in the same order, that occur in the set of *Laudes* attributed to Johann Kuhnau and in Bach's Magnificat. Because the phrase "bona voluntas" is found in the third *Laud* ("Gloria in excelsis Deo") of *Natalitia Sacra*, as well as in the corresponding settings by Kuhnau and by Bach, Geck concluded that Bach did not depend directly on the Kuhnau setting for the source of his *Laudes*.[82] He contended that these particular *Laudes* did not occur arbitrarily, but represented a prescribed liturgical formula [*Formulae*] common to Lübeck and to Leipzig,[83] of which the Kuhnau setting is but one example.

The presence of these same four *Laudes* in a third source from the 18th century, the newly relocated anonymous Magnificat in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535), further strengthens Geck's argument concerning the liturgical tradition from which these particular *Laudes* may derive. However, in

Table III

Position of the Six *Laudes* in the Magnificat for Christmas Vespers (Feria I) in *Natalitia Sacra* (1682)*

1. Magnificat anima mea Dominum
2. Et exultavit Spiritus meus
   A. Vom Himmel hoch da kom ich her
3. Quia respexit humilitatem
4. Quia fecit mihi magna
   B. Freut Euch und jubiliert
5. Et misericordia ejus
6. Fecit potentiam in brachio suo
   C. Gloria in excelsis Deo
7. Deposuit potentes de sede
8. Esurientes implevit bonis
   D. Virga jessae floruit
9. Suscepit Israel puerum suum
10. Sicut locutus est ad patres nostros
    E. Joseph lieber Joseph mein
11. Gloria Patri & Filio & Spiritui sancto, . . . Amen
    F. Psallite unigenito Christo

*Martin Geck, *Die Vokalmusik Dietrich Buxtehudes und der frühe Pietismus*, Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft, 15 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), Anhang III, pp. 232–33.

limiting his argument to the textual comparison of these sources, specifically to the phrase "bona voluntas," Geck overlooks a number of features of the Kuhnau manuscript that clarify the relationship of the set of *Laudes* to Bach's Magnificat.

As discussed above, the Kuhnau set of *Laudes* was copied in Leipzig and contains a continuo part written in the early hand of Johann Andreas Kuhnau. Active (as early as 1718) as copyist for his uncle, Johann Kuhnau, as well as for Bach, J. A. Kuhnau witnessed the end of one Thomaskantor's career and the beginning of another.[45] The undisputed provenance of the manuscript, the use of the same four texts, the identification of Johann Kuhnau's textual corrections and dynamic markings in the vocal parts, and the identification of the hand of Bach's main copyist, J. A. Kuhnau, in the continuo in D major demonstrate a common, if not direct, connection between these *Laudes* and Bach's set. This connection is firmly established despite the missing score to the Kuhnau set of *Laudes* and the missing parts to Bach's set.

A direct connection can also be determined between the anonymous Magnificat in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535) and the Kuhnau set of *Laudes* (MBLpc: Ms. Becker III.2.124): the presence of J. A. Kuhnau's early handwriting in both manuscripts indicates with certainty that this anonymous Magnificat setting was interpolated with the Kuhnau set of *Laudes*. By demonstrating the connection between these two manuscripts, we can fully support Spitta's conclusion that Bach knew the Kuhnau set of *Laudes* and based his interpolations on it, even though Bach's writing does not occur in the parts to the anonymous Magnificat as Spitta claimed.

In his article entitled "Johann Sebastian Bachs Einlagesätze zum *Magnificat*,"[46] Tunger traces the texts of Bach's first three *Laudes* back to those of Seth Calvisius published in Erhard Bodenschatz's motet collection, *Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum* (1603).[47] He argues that Bach must have known Bodenschatz's edition of these settings because (1) the order of the first three interpolations in Bach's Magnificat follows the order of Calvisius's motets in *Florilegium* (1603), as well as that of the printed texts in *Natalitia Sacra* (1682) and the Kuhnau set of *Laudes*;(2) there is a similarity of melodic contour in Bach's setting of "Freut euch und jubiliert" and in Calvisius's setting; and (3) the phrase "bona voluntas" occurs in Bach's setting of the *Laud* "Gloria in excelsis Deo," as well as in the settings by Calvisius and by Kuhnau.[48]

It cannot be denied that the occurrence of these three *Laudes* in the same order in works composed 120 years apart suggests a century-old liturgical tradition—a "*Laudes*-formula"—that may have been observed in Leipzig,[49] as well as in other locales during the 17th and early 18th centuries. However, there is no documentary evidence at present to support Tunger's conclusion that Bach must have had access to a copy of *Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum* (1603).[50] On the contrary, the second edition of Bodenschatz's motet collection, *Florilegium Portense* (1618), which is cited by Johann Schelle in his catalogue of music in the library of the Thomasschule (1678) and confirmed by Johann Kuhnau in his inventory of the music in the library (1701), is the edition that was used by Kuhnau and, apparently, by Bach.[51] There is no

confusion over which edition was used at the Thomasschule during the tenures of Johann Schelle and his successor, Johann Kuhnau: Schelle identifies the second edition by its correct title *(Florilegium Portense)* and by its corresponding number of partbooks ("9 Stimmen").[7] It appears that by 1729 the copy had become so worn that it was necessary to purchase a new one for Bach's use.[8]

Neither Geck nor Tunger mentions that Bach would probably have used the score (missing), and not the set of parts, of these interpolations as the model for his own set. Moreover, having learned these Christmas lieder as a schoolboy, Bach could have texted them from memory; there was no need for him to copy corrupted texts from a carelessly prepared set of parts. All he needed to know was which hymns or lieder were customarily interpolated into the Magnificat at Christmas in Leipzig. This information, provided in the set of *Laudes* attributed to Kuhnau, was readily available to him in the library of the Thomasschule.

We have seen that the custom of interpolating the Magnificat with *Rotulae* or *Laudes* can be documented from the mid–14th century. As part of the liturgical reforms of the Evangelical church during the 16th century, *Rotulae*, along with *Kindleinwiegen*—which earlier interpolated the Nunc Dimittis at compline (Seckauer Cantional)—were transferred to the afternoon vesper service and became attached to the Magnificat. By the late 17th century, however, the custom was on the decline. J. S. Bach's Magnificat in E-flat major (P 38) is the last known setting, in a long historical tradition, to have the interpolations notated directly into the manuscript.

Four *Laudes* ("Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her," "Freut euch und jubiliert," "Gloria in excelsis Deo," and "Virga Jesse floruit") recur in three early 18th-century manuscripts from Leipzig. These include the set of *Laudes* attributed to Johann Kuhnau (MBLpz: Ms. Becker III.2.124), the newly relocated anonymous Magnificat in D major (DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535), and J. S. Bach's Magnificat in E-flat major (P 38). The recurrence of these same four *Laudes* in all three early 18th-century sources strongly suggests that they were particularly favored by composers from Leipzig, perhaps even part of a "prescribed liturgical formula" in common use when interpolating the Magnificat at Christmas. This custom, still observed in Leipzig during the first quarter of the 18th century, can be traced back to the cantorship of Seth Calvisius in the early 17th century.

The reemergence of the anonymous Magnificat in D major and the identification of J. A. Kuhnau as the copyist of the *Laudes* and the continuo part firmly establish the connection of this manuscript with Leipzig. We have seen, moreover, that this Magnificat was interpolated with the set of *Laudes* attributed to Johann Kuhnau. The occurrence of these same four *Laudes* in Bach's Magnificat in E-flat major testifies to Bach's awareness and observance of the Leipzig custom of interpolating the Magnificat at Christmas and strengthens the belief that he not only knew the set of *Laudes* attributed to Johann Kuhnau but also based his own set on them—as Spitta rightly observed over one hundred years ago.

NOTES

*This study is based on a chapter of my Ph.D. dissertation, "The Repertoire of Magnificats in Leipzig at the Time of J. S. Bach: A Study of the Manuscript Sources," New York University, in preparation. The research for this study was made possible through grants from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst [DAAD]. I should like to thank Dr. Wolfgang Goldhan, Eveline Bartlitz, and other members of the staff of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (Berlin), and Ellen Roeser, director of the Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig, for their kind assistance. Dr. Goldhan and Ellen Roeser provided me with microfilms of the manuscripts from their collections and gave me permission to reproduce excerpts in facsimile.

My interest in J. S. Bach's Magnificat stems from Professor William B. Kimmel's Bach seminar at Hunter College, CUNY. Prof. Kimmel read an earlier draft of this study. It is with profound thanks that I offer it in his memory.

[1] Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (hereafter DStB): Mus. ms. autogr. Bach P 38 (hereafter P 38).

[2] Alfred Dürr, *Kritischer Bericht* to *Magnificat*, Johann Sebastian Bach: Neue Ausgabe sämtlicher Werke (hereafter NBA), II/3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter; Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1955), p. 33.

[3] Graz, Universitätsbibliothek: Ms. 756. Folios 179'–229' comprise the Cantional. For a detailed description of its contents, see Wolfgang Irtenkauf, "Das Seckauer Cantionarium vom Jahre 1345 (Hs. Graz 756)," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 13 (1956), pp. 116–41, esp. p. 118; and *idem*, "Die Weihnachtskomplet im Jahre 1345 in Seckau," *Die Musikforschung* 9 (1956), pp. 257–62.

[4] The hymn texts are cited in Guido Maria Dreves, ed., *Cantiones et Motetti: Lieder und Motetten des Mittelalters, Erste Folge: Cantiones Natalitiae, Partheniae*, Analecta Hymnica medii aevi, vol. 20 (Leipzig, 1895; reprint ed., New York and London: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1961), p. 74 ("Pater ingenitus"), and pp. 132 and 254 ("Stella nova radiat").

[5] Folio 185': "EN DIE N(A)TI(VITATI)S D(OMI)NI . . . " Irtenkauf, "Das Seckauer Cantionarium vom Jahre 1345," p. 118.

[6] One document, the Leipzig town council's order of 13 February 1702, which abolished the *Laudes* and the *Kindleinswiegen* from the Magnificat, will be discussed below (see n. 28). A number of writers discuss the custom of *Kindleinswiegen* in connection with Bach's four Christmas interpolations in the E-flat major Magnificat: See Arnold Schering, *Musikgeschichte Leipzigs, II: von 1650 bis 1723* (Leipzig, 1926; reprint ed., Berlin: Merseburger; Leipzig: Zentralantiquariat, 1974), p. 19; and Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, trans. C. Bell and J. A. Fuller-Maitland, 3 vols. in 2 (London: Novello; New York: Dover, 1951), vol. 2, pp. 372–73.

[7] A. Döreer, "Weihnachts-(Kindelwiegen-) Spiel," *Stammlers Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 4 (1953), col. 875. (Cited after Irtenkauf, "Die Weihnachtskomplet im Jahre 1345 in Seckau," p. 257, n. 3.)

[8] Folio 187–187': See Irtenkauf, "Das Seckauer Cantionarium vom Jahre 1345," p. 119. The procedure for troping the Nunc Dimittis is discussed in Irtenkauf's "Die Weihnachtskomplet im Jahre 1345 in Seckau," pp. 257–62. Irtenkauf notes that the texts of "Magnum nomen domini" and "Resonet in laudibus" are actually better suited to the text of the Magnificat than that of the Nunc Dimittis (p. 258, n. 10).

[9] Friedrich Blume, rev. Ludwig Finscher, "The Period of the Reformation," trans. F. Ellsworth Peterson, in *Protestant Church Music: A History* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1974), p. 18.

[10] Wolfgang Irtenkauf, "Bachs 'Magnificat' und seine Verbindung zu Weihnachten," *Musik und Kirche* 26 (1956), pp. 258–59.

[11] Spitta implies that the custom developed out of the dramatic reenactment of the nativity story (*J. S. Bach*, vol. 2, pp. 372–73).

[12] Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, p. 30.

[13] One characteristic feature of the services in the early Evangelical church was the flexibility with which Latin and the vernacular were mixed. See Blume, *Protestant Church Music*, p. 63.

[14] "Es werden auch noch an viel Orten zu Weihnachten: Puer natus in Bethlehem, und zu Ostern: Surrexit Christus hodie &c. zu Pfingsten: Spiritus sancti gratia, und andere mehr gesungen: Dieweil aber die teutschen Versicul darzwischen gesungen werden, so kan doch die gantze Gemeine alsdenn mitsingen, und also verstehen, was die lateinischen Worte bedeutet

haben." Christian Gerber, "Von denen lateinischen Liedern, die noch bis und wieder gebraucht werden," Chapter 14 of *Historie der Kirchen-Ceremonien in Sachsen* (Dresden and Leipzig, 1732), p. 294. The Krauth Memorial Library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Philadelphia, kindly supplied me with a photocopy of this chapter.

[11] These techniques are discussed in Winfried Kirsch, "Die Verbindung von Magnificat und Weihnachtsliedern im 16. Jahrhundert," in *Festschrift Helmuth Osthoff zum 65. Geburtstage*, ed. L. Hoffmann-Erbrecht and H. Hucke (Tutzing: Schneider, 1961), pp. 61–74.

[12] Breslau, Stadtbibliothek: Ms. 8, no. 53. See Emil Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts in der Stadtbibliothek zu Breslau: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Musik im XVI. und XVII. Jahrhundert* (1890; reprint ed. Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1970), p. 30. (The works cited in this catalogue were destroyed during World War II.)

[13] Breslau, Stadtbibliothek: Ms. 12, no. 67. Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften . . . zu Breslau*, p. 38.

[14] *Recueil imprimé XVI^e-XVII^e siècles*, ed. François Lesure, *Répertoire international des sources musicales*, B/I/1 (Munich-Duisburg: Henle, 1960), 1575[9]. The text is cited after Kirsch, "Die Verbindung von Magnificat und Weihnachtsliedern im 16. Jahrhundert," p. 62. (Italics [mine] indicate the troped text in the discant.) See also Martin Geck, "J. S. Bachs Weihnachts-Magnificat und sein Traditionszusammenhang," *Musik und Kirche* 31 (1961), p. 259.

[15] Magnificat settings exemplifying these three quodlibet techniques may be found in Winfried Kirsch's edition, *Drei Weihnachtsmagnificat* [Christmas settings of the Magnificat by Johannes Hähnel (Galliculus) and anonymous composers], in Das Chorwerk, vol. 85 (Wolfenbüttel: Möseler, 1961).

[16] Spitta suggests that the interpolations in Bach's Magnificat were first sung antiphonally from the organ loft above the choir of the Thomaskirche (*J. S. Bach*, vol. 2, pp. 373–74). Dürr, however, does not support Spitta's hypothesis (*Kritischer Bericht*, NBA, II/ 3, p. 38).

[17] "J. S. Bachs Weihnachts-Magnificat," p. 263. The manuscript is listed in Bohn, *Die musikalischen Handschriften . . . zu Breslau*, pp. 85–88.

[18] *Natalitia Sacra, Oder Verzeichniß aller Texte / Welche in bevorstehenden Heilgen Festen / als Weinachten / Neuen Jahr und Heil. drey Königs allhie zu St. Marien sowohl Vor- als Nachmittag / theils vor und nach den Predigten / theils auch unter der Communion mit gemeiner Vocal-Hülffe sollen musiciret werden. Zu Gottes Ehre und Beförderung mehrer Andacht zum Druck übergeben. Lübeck / Gedruckt bey Moritz Schmalhertz / 1682*. The complete texts are reprinted in Martin Geck, *Die Vokalmusik Dietrich Buxtehudes und der frühe Pietismus*, Kieler Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft, 15 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1965), Anhang III, pp. 230–37.

[19] For a modern edition of these four *Laudes*, see Sethus Calvisius, *Geistliche Chormusik*, ed. Albrecht Tunger, Das Chorwerk alter Meister, Reihe IV, Nr. 13 (Stuttgart-Hohenheim: Hänssler, 1965).

[20] Samuel Scheidt, *Geistliche Konzerte, Teil III* [1635], ed. Adam Adrio, Werke, ed. Gottlieb Harms and Christhard Mahrenholz, vols. 10–11 (Hamburg: Ugrino, 1964), vol. 10, pp. 90–94.

[21] Musikbibliothek der Stadt Leipzig (hereafter MBLpz): Ms. Becker III.2.124. The manuscript consists of seventeen parts, fourteen of which are in C major: trumpet 1, 2; timpani; violin 1, 2 (each doubled); viola; canto; alto; tenor; bass; violone; and four continuo parts (in C, two in B-flat, and in D major). I have seen only a microfilm of this manuscript.

[22] D8tB: Mus. ms. anon. 1535. The manuscript, consisting of fourteen parts, is mentioned briefly by Spitta (*J. S. Bach*, vol. 3, p. 29). The rediscovery and description of this work was first announced in my paper, "Newly Rediscovered Anonymous Magnificats and Their Relationship to J. S. Bach," presented at the annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, Boston, November, 1981. A detailed description of this manuscript and the circumstances surrounding its rediscovery are discussed in my dissertation.

[23] This excludes 18th-century copies of the above *Laudes*, such as H. Michel's copy of J. S. Bach's first two interpolations, "Vom Himmel hoch" and "Freut euch und jubiliert" (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz [hereafter SPK]: Mus. ms. autogr. Bach P 37). This manuscript is discussed in Dürr, *Kritischer Bericht*, NBA, II/3, pp. 15–17. The motet, "Kündlich groß ist das gottselige Geheimnis" (BWV Anhang 161), attributed to Carl Heinrich Graun, also includes the first two of Bach's interpolations, "Vom Himmel hoch" and "Freut euch und jubi-

liert." The manuscript is missing. See Dürr, *Kritischer Bericht*, p.24.

[8] "So haben wir . . . vor nützlich angesehen, dass mehr gemelte lateinische Responsoria, Antiphonae, Psalmen, hymnen und collecten so wol die zur Weihnacht Zeit üblichen so genanten Laudes mit dem Joseph lieber Joseph mein, und Kindlein wiegen, forthin bey dem öffendlichen Gottesdienste alhier weiter nicht gebrauchet, sondern an deren stat andächtige in denen Kirchen dieser lande approbirte teutsche Gesänge Gebete und Texte durchgehends eingeführet und gebrauchet würden." Leipziger Ratsakten Tit. VII B 31, fols. 1–3, as cited in Geck, "J. S. Bachs Weihnachts-Magnificat," p. 264. For a partial English translation, see Spitta, *J. S. Bach*, vol. 2, p. 372, n. 364.

[9] The retention of the *Kindleinswiegen* "Virga Jesse floruit" in the 18th-century settings, including Bach's E-flat major Magnificat, is probably the result of the use of only the four last verses (plus Alleluia) of the text and not the lullaby passage in German, "Sause, liebes Kindlein, Eya, Eya, zu Bethlehem Juda." An anonymous setting of this *Kindleinswiegen* for CATB and continuo is printed in Vopelius's *Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch* (1682) on p. 771. See Jürgen Grimm, *Das Neu Leipziger Gesangbuch der Gottfried Vopelius (Leipzig 1682)*, Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 14 (Berlin: Merseburger, 1969), pp. 192–95, 379. The full text is printed in Spitta, *J. S. Bach*, vol. 2, p. 371. Spitta notes that this *Kindleinswiegen* must have been in ordinary use in Leipzig during Bach's lifetime, since it was included in Vopelius's *Gesangbuch* (ibid., p. 372).

[10] These collections are discussed in Arnold Schering's "Die alte Chorbibliothek der Thomasschule in Leipzig," *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 1 (1918–1919), pp. 275–88.

[11] "Die Laudes wie sie zur Weynachts Zeit zwischen denen Magnificat gesungen werden mit 6 Stimmen u[nd] Instrumenten," from Johann Schelle's "Catalogus Librorum Musicorum Scholae Thomanae" (1678), reprinted in Schering, "Die alte Chorbibliothek," p. 278.

[12] From Johann Schelle's *Nachlass* (1712), reprinted in Schering, "Die alte Chorbibliothek," p. 284. The work is designated for Christmas in the catalogue.

[13] The catalogue is located in the music division of the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

[14] The catalogue is located in the music division of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin.

[15] Spitta restricts the performance of Latin figural music, including concerted settings of the Magnificat, in Leipzig, to the three major feasts of the liturgical year, namely Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost (*J. S. Bach*, vol. 2, pp. 369, 374, and vol. 3, p. 26). Günther Stiller, however, cites early 18th-century documentary evidence that Latin figural music, including Latin settings of the Magnificat, was not restricted to the three main feasts of the church year in Leipzig, but was performed on Sundays and on the major feastdays. In addition to the three main feasts of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost—each of which was celebrated on three consecutive days, a tradition that lasted well into the 19th century—there were at least the ten other major feasts listed above. See Stiller, *Johann Sebastian Bach und das Leipziger gottesdienstliche Leben seiner Zeit* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970), pp. 63–83, and 93, especially pp. 65, 80–81. The documents pertaining to the order of worship, liturgical practice, and performance of music at the main churches in Leipzig are discussed in Stiller's study. The most important sources include "Leipziger Kirchen-Staat" (1710), "Leipziger Kirchen-Andachten" (1694), Christoph Ernst Sicul's "Neo annalium Lipsiensium Continuatio II" (1717), and Johann Christoph Rost's "Nachricht" (1716). These and other documents are discussed by Stiller on pp. 25–29; full citations may be found in his bibliography on pp. 249–51. Not one of the above documents is presently available for study either in facsimile or on microfilm.

That concerted settings of the Latin Magnificat were performed on numerous occasions during the liturgical year is further confirmed by Johann Philipp Krieger's catalogue of works of foreign composers performed at Weissenfels. Thirty-two Magnificats performed on 21 different occasions during the church year are cited. See the "Verzeichnis der von J. Ph. Krieger in Weissenfels aufgeführten Werke fremder Komponisten," in *Johann Philipp Krieger: 21 Ausgewählte Kirchenkompositionen*, ed. Max Seiffert, Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst, 53/54 (1916; rev. ed. reprinted Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel; Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1958), pp. liii–lx.

[16] The manuscript is omitted in the following listings of Kuhnau's works: Bernh[ard] Friedr[ich] Richter, "Verzeichnis von Kirchenmusiken Johann Kuhnau's aus den Jahren 1707–1721," *Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte* 34 (1902), pp. 176–81; Robert Eitner, "Kuhnau, Jo-

hann," *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon der Musiker und Musikgelehrten* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1900–1904), vol. V, pp. 471–73; "Verzeichnis der Kirchenkompositionen Joh. Kuhnaus," in *Sebastian Knüpfer, Johann Schelle, Johann Kuhnau: Ausgewählte Kirchenkantaten*, ed. Arnold Schering, Denkmäler Deutscher Tonkunst, 58/59 (1918; rev. ed. reprinted Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel; Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1957), pp. xlv–xlvii.

The manuscript is cited as a cantata of Kuhnau in the following studies: Spitta, *J. S. Bach*, vol. 2, pp. 369–70; Schering, "Über die Kirchenkantaten der vorbachischer Thomaskantoren," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 9 (1912), p. 95; Johannes Martin, *Die Kirchenkantaten Johann Kuhnaus* (Borna-Leipzig, 1928), p. 3; Friedrich Wilhelm Riedel, "Kuhnau, Johann," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1958), vol. 7, col. 1883; Evangeline Lois Rimbach, "The Church Cantatas of Johann Kuhnau" (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 1966), vol. 1, pp. 201–6; Werner Neumann, ed., *Sämtliche von Johann Sebastian Bach vertonte Texte* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1974), p. 253; George J. Buelow, "Kuhnau, Johann," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), vol. 10, p. 301; Rimbach, "The *Magnificat* of Johann Kuhnau," *Bach: The Quarterly Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 11 (1980), p. 29.

The manuscript is attributed to Kuhnau in the following studies: Friedhelm Krummacher, *Die Überlieferung der Choralbearbeitungen in der frühen evangelischen Kantate*, Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft, 10 (Berlin: Merseburger, 1965), p. 332; Ludwig Prautzsch, "Die Echo-Arie und andere symbolische und volkstümliche Züge in Bachs Weihnachtsoratorium," *Musik und Kirche* 38 (1968), p. 224, n. 7; Albrecht Tunger, "Johann Sebastian Bachs Einlagesätze zum *Magnificat*: Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zu ihrer Herkunft," in *Bachstunden: Festschrift für Helmut Walcha zum 70. Geburtstag überreicht von seinen Schülern*, ed. W. Dehnhard and G. Ritter (Frankfurt/Main: Evangelischer Presseverband, 1978), p. 26.

A modern edition of these *Lauds* may be found in Rimbach, "The Church Cantatas of Johann Kuhnau," vol. 2, pp. 896–943.

[47] "J. S. Bachs Einlagesätze zum *Magnificat*," p. 27. I should like to thank Dr. Klaus Hofmann, director of the Johann-Sebastian-Bach-Institut in Göttingen, for bringing this article to my attention.

[48] Dürr's Anon. A. See Alfred Dürr, *Zur Chronologie der Leipziger Vokalwerke J. S. Bachs*, 2d ed. (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976), pp. 21–26 and p. 163, n. 3 (hereafter *Chronologie*).

[49] Facsimiles of each of the five scribes' handwriting and a full copy of J. A. Kuhnau's continuo part are included in my dissertation.

[50] "Nachwort," Johann Sebastian Bach, *Magnificat für Soli, Chor und Orchester: Zweite Fassung in D Dur BWV 243*, ed. Hans-Joachim Schulze (Leipzig: Peters, 1979), p. 76. Kurt Michaelis (Peters/New York) kindly sent me copies of the "Nachwort" and "Revisionsberichte" (9 November 1982).

[51] MBLpu: Ms. Becker III.2.121. I should like to thank Hans Lenaerts, music librarian at the University of Chicago, for permission to see the film of this manuscript in Chicago.

[52] In a letter of 2 July 1982, Ellen Roeser informed me that it is indeed possible that the watermarks "*AW*" and "Adler" are actually a pair, that is, a watermark and its countermark: the paper is all the same size, the same color, and has identical chainlines. (The set of parts does not contain a double sheet with both these watermarks.)

[53] A score of Johann Kuhnau's Magnificat à 5 in C major, in the hand of Gottfried Heinrich Stölzel (1690–1749), is preserved in Berlin (DStB: Mus. ms. autogr. Kuhnau, J., 1); the set of performing parts is not extant. The handwriting is identified on the bottom of the first folio by Georg Pölchau, the previous owner of the manuscript, with the following remark: "Von der Hand des Capellmeisters Stölzel—Gotha." A comparison of the writing in this manuscript with that in the autographs of Stölzel (DStB: Mus. ms. autogr. Stölzel, G. H., 1–3) confirmed Pölchau's identification. For a modern edition of this work, see Johann Kuhnau, *Magnificat*, ed. Evangeline Rimbach, Recent Researches in the Music of the Baroque Era, 34 (Madison: A-R Editions, 1980).

[54] Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek: Mus. ms. 430/29. The manuscript consists of an autograph score dated December 1722; the set of performing parts is not extant. Friedrich Noack states that the work was composed for Leipzig and was probably performed during Christmas 1722. See "Johann Seb. Bachs und Christoph Graupners Komposi-

tionen zur Bewerbung um das Thomaskantorat in Leipzig 1722–23," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 10 (1913), p. 153.

Noack's position is supported by the fact that Graupner spent Christmas 1722 in Leipzig and had the parts to his audition cantatas, "Lobet den Herrn, alle Heiden" and "Aus der Tiefen rufen wir" (performed on 17 January 1723), copied by Johann Andreas Kuhnau and Christian Gottlob Meissner (Dürr's Anon. B), both students at the Thomasschule. Concerning the copyists of these parts, see Dürr, *Chronologie*, p. 163, nn. 3, 4; and Christoph Wolff, "Bachs Leipziger Kantoratsprobe und die Aufführungsgeschichte der Kantate 'Du wahrer Gott und Davids Sohn' BWV 23," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 64 (1978), pp. 85, 93 (Tabelle 2). Because the parts to Graupner's Magnificat are not extant, it is not possible to determine whether J. A. Kuhnau or C. G. Meissner helped in their copying. A discussion of Graupner's Magnificat and copies of the watermark/countermark ("TB on a plaque/Lion") are included in my dissertation.

[42] "Newly Rediscovered Anonymous Magnificats and Their Relationship to J. S. Bach," p. 12.

[43] Spitta, *J. S. Bach*, vol. 3, p. 29.

[44] In March 1980, a catalogue drawer containing cards to numerous anonymous works was found at the DStB. Among the cards was one for the anonymous Magnificat in D major (Mus. ms. anon. 1535). I am indebted to Eveline Bartlitz for presenting me with these cards when they were found.

[45] I have identified the scribes after Dürr's *Chronologie*. I should like to thank Paula Morgan, music librarian at Princeton University, for allowing me to study the photocopies of the Bach manuscripts in the collection of the music library.

[46] The remaining eleven parts, measuring 34.5 × 22 cm., were copied at a later date; they do not contain indications for *Lauds*. This suggests that the *Lauds* were performed only at the earlier performance and that the second set of parts was copied for performance at a time other than Christmas. An analogous situation occurs with Bach's E-flat major setting of the Magnificat and D major revision. See Dürr, *Kritischer Bericht*, NBA, II/3, p. 36.

The remaining eleven parts are copied in the hands of three scribes. The three clarino parts, timpani, oboe I ("Quia respexit" and "Suscepit"), violin I ("Deposuit potentes"), viola, and all four vocal parts are copied by J. A. Kuhnau in his late script. Oboes I and II (fol. 1[r]) are copied by Carl Gotthelf Gerlach in his late script. Folio 1[r] of the second oboe is copied by an unidentified scribe whose handwriting I have found in four other contemporaneous manuscripts from Leipzig: (1) Francesco Mancini, Magnificat (score: first 32 bars of "Quia fecit mihi magna"), DStB: Mus. ms. 30 185; (2) Gianettini [= Johann Adolph Scheibe], Magnificat (canto: fol. 1[r]; violin I and II; viola; violone: fol. 1[r]) SPK: Mus. ms. 7491; (3) Georg Philipp Telemann, Meine Seele (score), SPK: Mus. ms. 21 745; (4) Anonymous, Magnificat (organo: fol. 2[rv]), DStB: Mus. ms. anon. 1536.

Oboe II has the "BISTRIZ/MF" watermark; the remaining ten parts have the "WELENAV/S" watermark. Facsimile copies of each scribe's handwriting and samples of the watermarks, along with a detailed discussion of this manuscript, may be found in my dissertation.

[47] The *Lauds* are included in Alfred Dürr's edition of J. S. Bach's *Magnificat* for the NBA, II/3 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955) and are discussed in his *Kritischer Bericht*, NBA, II/3, pp. 33, 37–38.

[48] Dürr, *Kritischer Bericht*, NBA, II/3, pp. 37–38.

[49] Ibid., pp. 14–15.

[50] Ibid., p. 37, n. 29. (My translation.)

[51] Sopranos 1 and 2 are in unison.

[52] The reconstruction of this interpolation may be found in the following editions: Johann Sebastian Bach, *Virga Jesse floruit*, ed. Alfred Dürr, Hortus Musicus, 80 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1951); idem, *Magnificat Es-dur BWV 243a*, ed. A. Dürr, Miniature Score, 58 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1970).

[53] Spitta, *J. S. Bach*, vol. 2, pp. 369–70.

[54] Ibid., vol. 3, p. 29. Spitta mistook the writing of these *Lauds* to be that of J. S. Bach; in fact, the writing is that of his main copyist, J. A. Kuhnau.

[55] Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 369–72.

[56] Ibid., vol. 3, p. 29.

[57] Dürr, *Kritischer Bericht*, NBA, II/3, p. 24. As discussed above (see n. 47), the catalogue

drawer containing the card for this particular manuscript, as well as for numerous anonymous manuscripts, lay hidden in a closet at the DStB from 1952, the year the music division was renovated, until its rediscovery in March 1980. Since the music division was closed from the winter of 1943–44 until its official reopening in 1952, the manuscript actually was inaccessible for some 37 years.

[41] *Musik und Kirche* 31 (1961), pp. 257–66.

[42] Ibid., pp. 265–66. A few observations should be made here concerning the settings of the Magnificat included in this libretto. The instrumentation for each section of the Magnificat is indicated in the right-hand column of Geck's edition. See Geck, *Die Inhaltsmusik Dietrich Buxtehudes*, Anhang III, pp. 230–37. The setting for vespers on the first Feastday of Christmas (Feria I) is scored (pp. 232–33) for ten instruments (including four violas) and eight voices: four soloists, "Vocalis[imme]," (CATB) and four ripienists, "Capell[a]," (CATB). The *Laudes* are designated "tutti." A second setting of a Magnificat, though without *Laudes* ("absque laudibus"), is cited (p. 234) for vespers on the second Feastday of Christmas (Feria II). This Magnificat is scored for ten instruments with five soloists and five ripienists. No Magnificat is listed for vespers on the Feast of the New Year; instead, there occurs a full program of music texted in German. On the Feast of the Epiphany, a Magnificat for six instruments with eight soloists (CCAATTBB) and six ripienists (unidentified) is cited (p. 237); no *Laudes* are listed, indicating that the Magnificat was not interpolated. Although none of these Magnificats has been identified, the different instrumentation for each work indicates that three distinct concerted settings of the Magnificat were sung in Latin during the Christmas season.

[43] Geck, "J. S. Bachs Weihnachts-Magnificat," p. 265.

[44] Ibid., p. 266.

[45] J. A. Kuhnau's early handwriting occurs in parts to Johann Kuhnau's cantata "Nicht nur allein am frohen Morgen" (MBLpu: Ms. III.2.121) composed in 1718. See Hans-Joachim Schulze, "'Das Stück in Goldpapier': Ermittlungen zu einigen Bach-Abschriften des frühen 18. Jahrhunderts," *Bach-Jahrbuch* 64 (1978), p. 34.

[46] *Buxtehudes*, pp. 22–25, 33.

[47] Calvisius's four Christmas motets are printed at the end of Bodenschatz's collection of 89 motets that comprise *Florilegium selectissimarum cantionum* (1603). These *Laudes*, each scored à 6, include settings of "Vom Himmel hoch, da komm ich her," "Freut euch und jubiliert," "Gloria in excelsis Deo," and "Joseph, lieber Joseph mein." Because they lay outside the context of the collection, the *Laudes* were omitted from Bodenschatz's revised editions of *Florilegium Portense* (1618) and *Florilegii musici Portensis* (1621). See n. 72 below.

[48] Tunger, "Johann Sebastian Bachs Einlagesätze zum *Magnificat*," pp. 31–34.

[49] Ibid., pp. 33–34.

[50] Prautzsch suggests that the anonymous set of "*Laudes* for six voices and instruments to be sung between the verses of the Magnificat at Christmas" (see n. 31 above) that is cited in Johann Schelle's catalogue of music in the library of the Thomasschule (1678) could possibly have been settings by Calvisius. Although this seems unlikely (the anonymous set of *Laudes* is scored for six voices and six instruments, while Calvisius's settings are scored for six unaccompanied voices), Prautzsch has a point when he states that Bach could have become aware of Calvisius's settings from a manuscript source and not necessarily from the printed edition of *Florilegium* (1603). See "Die Echo-Arie und andere symbolische und volkstümliche Züge in Bachs Weihnachtsoratorium," pp. 224–25.

[51] Schering, "Die alte Chorbibliothek der Thomasschule in Leipzig," pp. 276–78, 280; idem "Das Motettensingen und das Florilegium portense," in *Johann Sebastian Bachs Leipziger Kirchenmusik: Studien und Wege zu ihrer Erkenntnis*, 2d ed. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1954), pp. 121–29.

[52] Bodenschatz's first edition of *Florilegium* (1603) was published in eight partbooks; both subsequent editions (1618 and 1621) were published in nine partbooks—the additional partbook containing the basso continuo. See RISM B/I/1 1603[1], 1618[1], and 1621[1]; and Schering, "Die alte Chorbibliothek der Thomasschule in Leipzig," pp. 278, 280.

Complete sets of *Florilegium Portense* (1618) and *Florilegii musici Portensis* (1621) are extant in the Special Collections of the Music Research Division at the New York Public Library under the call number: Mus. Res. *MRH.

[53] See *Bach-Dokumente*, vol. II, nos. 170, 271, 272, and 407.

Berlioz' *Roméo* Symphony and The Romantic Temperament

By Philip Friedheim

In 1821 the 18-year-old Hector Berlioz left his native town of LaCôte Saint-André and moved to Paris to study medicine. His subsequent distaste for his classes, horrified reaction to the dissecting room, joy in attending theatrical performances, and arguments with his family about his future profession all contributed fascinating chapters to the composer's memoirs.

Eighteen years later, in 1839, after the Shakespearean actress Harriet Smithson had become Mme. Berlioz, the 36-year-old composer completed his *Roméo et Juliette*, a "dramatic symphony" for large orchestra, three choruses and three vocal soloists. Many of the interpretive problems presented by this work stem from the fact that it is conceived for the concert hall rather than the operatic stage. The composition includes a bewildering variety of separate subsections which are in turn purely orchestral, then vocal in the manner of a cantata or an oratorio, and even theatrical in the manner of a grand opera. Some scenes in the drama are transformed step by step into orchestral program music, such as the first scene, with the street fight and the intervention of the prince. Others, such as the Capulets' party, become more generalized and avoid specific narrative details. Still others supply no more than a starting point for the elaboration of a single mood, such as the section marked *Roméo seul—Tristesse*. An alto aria near the beginning turns out to be a setting of a poem about the wonders of young love and, of all things, the genius of Shakespeare in capturing it so well in his art. Certain events crucial to the drama do not appear in the symphony at all (for example, the marriage of the lovers, the deaths of Mercutio and Tybalt, and Romeo's banishment), while others, much less important, are elaborated far beyond their original proportions in Shakespeare (for example, Mercutio's Queen Mab monologue, which Berlioz treats as an aria as well as an orchestral scherzo). The symphony occasionally presents musical portraits of scenes that do not exist in Shakespeare at all, for example, a funeral procession for Juliet. Shakespeare's ending, the subdued reconciliation of the warring families over the bodies of the lovers, is transformed into a triumphantly heroic chorus during which the two families swear eternal brotherhood. The final line of Berlioz' libretto, *"amis pour toujours,"* seems a far cry from Shakespeare's "A gloomy peace this morning with it brings. / The sun for sorrow will not show his head."

What is one to make of all this? Is Berlioz' *Roméo et Juliette* perhaps not an integrated composition at all, but simply a conglomerate of episodes moving off in all directions, and using Shakespeare as the merest excuse for a central focal point? What we confront here is a very special work, in which Berlioz seems to offer not so much a musical parallel to Shakespeare as a series of personal reactions to it; these assume different forms ranging from what later in the century would be called symphonic poem to opera. A goal of this

article will be to suggest the motivation behind the various changes made from the original drama.

In order to comprehend an operatic scene adapted from a play or novel, an audience need only understand the language being sung. To follow a purely orchestral parallel to a stage scene, on the other hand, the audience has to know the story in advance, observe the changes in the musical patterns, and relate these to some mental picture of the original narrative. Therefore, one must assume that Berlioz depended on his audience's prior knowledge of the drama as a point of departure for an understanding of his symphony; indeed he suggests as much in his introduction to the published score. Bearing this in mind, one can proceed through the work and attempt to interpret the departures he makes from the original as they occur.

In his memoirs, Berlioz stated that in first planning the symphony, he wrote down the words for all the vocal selections in prose and gave them to a friend, Emile Deschamps, to versify.[1] Passages to be transformed into purely orchestral music naturally needed no words. One sees, then, that much of the original structure must have been set in his mind from the beginning. It is also clear that, although the complete symphony can be broken down into a surprisingly large number of separate selections, it still manifests at certain points a traditional four-movement symphonic structure. Like Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, 16 years old at the time *Roméo et Juliette* was written, the first three movements are orchestral, while the fourth includes voices. The first movement of the "symphony" proper appears at the beginning of Part Two, and consists of the *"Grande Fête chez Capulet,"* preceded by its slow introduction, *"Roméo seul."* The second movement, normally the slow movement, here becomes the orchestral love scene. This is followed by the third movement, the "Queen Mab" scherzo. The finale then becomes the scene between Friar Lawrence and the chorus of rival families. But before and between these four main units, a series of introductions, transitions, and interludes expands into some half-dozen additional movements that considerably obscure the conventional symphonic structure.

Preceding the four movements of the symphony proper, Part One, which includes the entire first third of the composition, becomes an extended introduction or prologue. Built around a recitative for chorus, it outlines the story for the audience, and in so doing prefigures the principal thematic material to return later in the purely instrumental passages. For justification, the composer refers to the original sonnet for "chorus" that introduces Shakespeare's drama. Berlioz' chorus, however, goes into much more detail than Shakespeare's, including specific references to the festivities of the Capulets and the balcony scene. This is clearly done so that the main themes of the orchestral movements can be heard first in a context that will enable the audience to identify their programmatic intent later.

The principal structural problem encountered in the choral recitative stems from the fact that, while it purports to summarize the drama that follows, it contains at the same time three completely self-sufficient musical numbers that either precede or are sandwiched between the narrative pas-

sages. The symphony opens with a purely instrumental movement paralleling Act I, scene 1 of Shakespeare's drama; later we hear the alto singing her song on the joys of love; finally Mercutio delivers his tenor aria based directly on the "Queen Mab" speech. So despite the fact that Berlioz uses the choral summary of the story to "clue his audience in," as it were, to the orchestral music that follows, he begins with an orchestral selection offering no clues at all. This short movement, entitled *"Combats—Tumulte—Intervention du Prince,"* opens with the staggered entrances of the various instruments, a reflection of the increasing excitement on Shakespeare's stage as a private argument turns into a general riot. Then, in repeated brass chords and a trombone recitative, we hear the prince sternly admonish the crowd. Finally, the fragmented return of phrases from the opening fight music suggests the dispersion of the mob.

Berlioz thus actually reverses Shakespeare's original order, in which the prologue precedes the drama proper, by beginning with a musical parallel to scene 1 and then introducing the choral prologue. It would seem that this is done in order to establish the enmity between the families as the background against which the entire action will take place. He also begins with a strong musical and dramatic gesture rather than the weaker and more objective recitation of the plot summary. But in making this choice, he clearly presupposes the audience's prior knowledge of the drama, in which case one must question why the choral prologue is included at all.

When the outlining of the plot reaches the point at which the lovers meet in the garden for the famous balcony scene, it stops and the alto sings her aria about the wonders of young love. This song reflects a personal gesture on the part of the composer, as Berlioz allows his emotions to flow in response to the story. The motivation for this "bonus" for the audience is in many ways very Romantic, as it reflects the essence of the Romantic attitude: that what is important is depth of feeling, and that order and logic, even the logic of a plot outline, can be sacrificed to the intensity of emotion. The fact that the alto aria is irrelevant underscores all the more strongly the fact that it flows from the heart without regard for dramatic momentum.

Immediately following the aria, the chorus tells how Romeo meets his friends again, and Mercutio makes fun of him ("I see Queen Mab hath been with you"). This acts as a cue for the next interruption, the tenor aria based on Mercutio's monologue. A new set of questions arises: why take so much time out of a plot summary to accentuate an unimportant element in the story, and, even more curiously, why place the monologue *after* the balcony scene when in the drama it precedes even the Capulets' party?

The first question is particularly important in light of the purely orchestral "Queen Mab" scherzo to be heard later. Furthermore, the two separate numbers devoted to this mischievous lady during the course of the symphony are not even interrelated musically. To assume simply that the monologue attracted Berlioz because of its musical possibilities should not prevent one from asking why he was attracted by them. Gounod, in his opera on the same subject, also included a "Queen Mab" aria for Mercutio, but in its proper

place near the beginning of the work.

Berlioz' attraction to the "Queen Mab" speech is fully understandable only in terms of the Romantic view of *Romeo and Juliet* itself. It has been observed that every generation finds itself in Shakespeare, and certainly he was a preferred playwright in the 19th century, which saw in his tragedies the essence of Romantic passion.[2] And for composers, no other work of Shakespeare was more attractive than *Romeo and Juliet*. Over a dozen operas on the subject come from this period, even though today most of these are completely unknown.[3]

It would seem that one of the things that attracted the Romantic temperament to this play was the very thing often criticized by scholars today: the element of chance or accident. Shakespearean critics frequently observe that the tragedy does not evolve from the personalities of the characters themselves but rather from a series of unexpected accidents, any one of which, if avoided, could have changed the course of the drama and made for a happy ending. But this same element of the arbitrary, of an irrational fate or destiny, apparently contributed to the appeal of the work. Accidental circumstances play an important part in 19th-century novels and dramas, and, of course, operas (Verdi's *Il Trovatore* and *La Forza del Destino* both consist almost exclusively of successions of unlikely chance events).[4] This reflects a basic view of life as essentially unstructured, neither rationally understandable nor intellectually controllable. Man can either fight to resist it or surrender to the experience it offers. As a result, the element of the irrational, the emotional as opposed to the intellectual, can be seen most vividly in the image of the fairy sprite who flies around at night mischievously provoking people. I would suggest that the strangely disquieting mixture of impish playfulness and underlying unpleasantness that makes up Mercutio's original speech became for Berlioz a symbol of the driving force behind the entire drama. This force, later illustrated in the "Queen Mab" scherzo, provides a basis for the instant and intense love Romeo and Juliet feel for each other, as well as for the accidents that contribute to the ultimate tragedy. I will try to show below how the orchestral "Queen Mab" scherzo supports even more strongly the thesis that Mab is a symbol of the irrational element that, at least to the Romantic temperament, controls the action of the drama.

After the tenor aria, the choral plot summary has reached only the middle of the second act of Shakespeare's five-act drama. Berlioz then dismisses the rest of the tragedy in a few short lines, and his prologue ends, so that even this short summary ultimately presupposes the audience's foreknowledge of the story. Clearly, one must conclude that its main justification has been to present the orchestral themes from the symphony to follow, and to provide a frame for the three set numbers just heard. Now the symphony proper can begin.

The first movement consists of a slow introduction followed by a longer fast section; these are entitled, respectively, *"Roméo seul—Tristesse"* and *"Concert et Bal—Grande Fête chez Capulet."* Played without pause, the two sections are further integrated by the return of a theme from the introduction near

the end of the party scene.

"Romeo alone." Romeo never appears alone in the play, but Benvolio tells Lady Montague that he has observed her son wandering alone in the woods earlier that morning. Montague's response, "Many a morning hath he been there seen/With tears augmenting the fresh morning's dew," suggests a characteristically Romantic, even Byronic, conception of the hero. This initial image of Romeo isolated was made even more vivid to Romantic audiences through the manner in which they traditionally saw the play staged. For although Berlioz, by his own statement, had read Shakespeare in a French translation,[3] what he saw on the stage when Harriet Smithson performed the role of Juliet in English (a language he could not understand at that time) was a version "with Alterations, and an additional Scene" made by David Garrick, the great 18th-century actor–director.[4] In Garrick's version, Romeo is seen for the first time in "a wood near Verona," where he silently crosses the stage and exits. As a result, one can safely assume that when Berlioz first witnessed the drama, he saw Romeo alone, and that his character portrait of the socially withdrawn and isolated hero is a Romantic coloring of one element in the play that had already been somewhat magnified.

The party at the Capulets is quite wild musically—not to give the impression of an upper-class fancy-dress ball (which it does not do at all), but to contrast the frenetic social whirl of the crowd with the sensitivity of the hero. Once again, Berlioz seems to be reinterpreting the scene in a highly Romantic manner. This would account for the musical climax of the movement, the playing of Romeo's theme in counterpoint against the theme of the festivities of the Capulets. Berlioz never offers us a musical reflection of the most important moment in this scene, the meeting of the lovers. We hear no tender episode in the midst of this otherwise frantic music, but instead the return of the theme of Romeo's sadness. Apparently, we are supposed to envisage the sensitive poet surrounded by the whirling vortex of life and unable to respond to it. At this point, if such an interpretation is accepted, Berlioz has left Shakespeare behind and is virtually constructing his own play.

Further confirmation of this idea can be found in the scene Berlioz later devised for the opening of *La Damnation de Faust* (1846). Faust appears wandering alone in the countryside responding sympathetically to the awakening of nature in the spring, but his meditations are interrupted, first by the singing and dancing of peasants and then by the army marching off to war. Unable to find the solitude he longs for, Faust retreats to his dingy study. Once again, no parallel to this theme of the sensitive poet isolated from society can be found in Goethe's drama; indeed, in the specific passage on which Berlioz' scene is based, Goethe's Faust wanders happily *with a friend* through crowds and comments on how he identifies with all of humanity: "Hier ist des Volkes wahrer Himmel. / Zufrieden jauchzet gross und klein: / Hier bin ich Mensch, hier darf ich's sein." ("Here is the people's true paradise, where great and small rejoice together; here I am, and may be, human.") Berlioz' Faust, on the other hand, responds in a very different manner: "Oh! qu'il est doux vivre au fond des solitudes / Loin de la lutte

humaine et loin des multitudes." ("How sweet to live in the depths of solitude, far from human strife and far from crowds.")

Following the *Grande Fête chez Capulet*, the slow movement of the symphony forms a musical parallel to Shakespeare's balcony scene. It begins with a short introduction that, characteristically, turns into a separate section. We hear from the distance the offstage voices of the male chorus. Berlioz' title to this part of the score tells us that "the young Capulets, leaving the party, wander singing of their memories of the music of the ball." Although no specific basis for this scene exists in Shakespeare, the playwright has Romeo's friends calling for him. Once again, by juxtaposing the intimacy of the garden scene with the voices of the departing guests, Berlioz prompts us to feel the characteristic Romantic antithesis between the isolated hero, or the isolated lovers, and the more superficial society that surrounds them.

The love scene itself has been the subject of some disagreement among scholars: is it solely a symphonic rhapsody or does it indeed follow the action of the drama? To argue that it is pure music is, in any event, to judge a 19th-century composer by a 20th-century esthetic standard, insisting that music should ultimately be self-sufficient. As soon as one accepts the premise that the music reflects the action of the drama exactly as the orchestral introduction corresponds to Act I, scene 1, the sequence of events is easy to identify.

A calm introduction suggests the quiet garden in the moonlight; this is followed by some moments of tension as Romeo climbs the wall. One even hears a short passage possibly suggesting his fear of discovery by the Capulets. This passage would not seem particularly appropriate if this were simply symphonic music. Shakespeare's play contains no reference of Romeo's fear. His first line is addressed contemptuously to the offstage friends who have been taunting him: "He jests at scars that never felt a wound," but Berlioz might well have seen an actor mimic fear at this point. Interestingly, David Garrick once again provides the explanation, not with a change of Shakespeare's script, but with his own performance of the part of Romeo. A contemporary critic wrote of his entrance in the balcony scene that "he comes creeping in upon his toes, whispering his love, and looking about him just like a thief in the night.'" Indeed, there may well have been some tradition extending into the 19th century based on Garrick's interpretation.

Later in the scene, one hears Juliet appear on the balcony, the dialogue between the lovers, the voice of the nurse calling offstage, and their parting at the end. What one hears as the intrusive voice of the nurse also seems musically unmotivated if the score is assumed to be a general evocation of the feelings of love, and not a recreation of the specific events in the play.

At this point, one might ask why Berlioz opted to portray so many key incidents in the story without using voices, since he did use a chorus and soloists for other sections. Why turn the balcony scene into orchestral music when at the same time one chooses to personify Mercutio and, later, Friar Lawrence? In his introductory remarks on the work, Berlioz offers two reasons: he reminds us first that the composition is a symphony, and not an opera; he also comments that, considering how many love duets there al-

ready are, and by how many great composers, he wanted to try a different approach. There is a third, more plausible reason: that the initial impression the drama made on him was nonverbal, as he could not understand the language. This explanation is supported by the fact that the purely orchestral passages of the symphony most often parallel the Garrick version, the one Berlioz saw Miss Smithson perform. Then reading Shakespeare in a French translation, he drew material for the choral prologue and the final scene, using some of the text discarded by Garrick. The main scenes, however, were transformed into orchestral music, not because Berlioz was writing a symphony, but because it was not the *language* of Shakespeare that first moved him, as his memoirs unequivocally attest:

> I may add that at that time I did not know a word of English; I could only glimpse Shakespeare darkly through the mists of Letourneur's translation; the splendour of the poetry which gives a whole new glowing dimension to his glorious works was lost on me. . . . But the power of the acting, especially that of Juliet herself, the rapid flow of the scenes, the play of expression and voice and gesture, told me more and gave me a far richer awareness of the ideas and passions of the original than the words of my pale and garbled translation could do.[8]

Clearly, with such an attitude, why should he ever have wanted to put a French translation of the words of the balcony scene into the mouths of two singers?

Following the love music is the "Queen Mab" scherzo, one of the great virtuoso performing pieces for 19th-century orchestra. As suggested earlier, the image of Queen Mab as the spirit of the irrational seems to lie close to the center of this version of the drama. The basic problem posed by the orchestral scherzo is that it follows the love scene instead of preceding the party.[9]

I think the scherzo's position is explained by the portion of the dramatic action eliminated from the symphony at this point. For the scherzo is followed by Juliet's funeral procession. By means of this "Queen Mab" movement, therefore, Berlioz jumps from the balcony scene to the simulated death of Juliet, which is to say, from the middle of Act II to the beginning of Act V, thus eliminating no less than half the play at one blow. I would suggest that the orchestral scherzo substitutes for the entire central action of the drama: the secret marriage, the killing of Mercutio, Romeo's violent and instantly regretted killing of Tybalt, the banishment, the sudden arrangement for Juliet's marriage with Paris, the secret potion, and the incident of the friar's undelivered letter. Through the medium of the scherzo, all these incidents can now be seen as the work of the spirit of the irrational, one might say the absurd, since they all occur at random, some succeeding, others failing; spreading confusion and reflecting the work of a blind spirit of mischief.

Following the scherzo, the drama proper recommences, with an elaborate funeral procession for Juliet. The chorus sings *"Jetez des fleurs pour la vierge expirée et suivez au tombeau notre soeur adorée."* ("Scatter flowers for the dead virgin, and follow our beloved sister to the tomb.") Neither the words nor the

scene exists in Shakespeare, although certainly suggested by the plot. Once again, David Garrick's published script comes to our aid,[9] as it includes in an "additional scene" the spectacle of the procession and gives us the words he wrote for the choir. Here is a sample of his stanzas:

Rise, rise! / Heart-breaking sighs
The woe-fraught bosom swell;
for sighs alone, / and dismal moan,
Should echo Juliet's knell.

One critic's account of an 18th-century production describes "bells tolling, and a choir singing. Juliet . . . lies on a state bed . . . guarded by girls who strew flowers."[10] This last point is worth noting because, unlike Berlioz' choir, Garrick's sings nothing about scattering flowers at all, and Garrick's text in no way coincides with Berlioz'. The explanation for this disparity appears to stem from the fact that Berlioz saw this scene, which most probably included the pantomime of girls strewing flowers, without understanding the words. Once again, there is support for the thesis that the symphony is a recreation of Berlioz' own feelings about the drama, which are inextricably bound up with his initial experience of the work.[11]

Following the funeral procession, the orchestra takes over for the last purely instrumental "scene" from the play. The elaborate title for this section suggests the incidents to follow: *"Roméo au Tombeau des Capulets. Invocation—Réveil de Juliette. Joie délirante, désespoir; dernières angoisses et mort des deux amants."*[12] The analyst must deal once again not with Shakespeare's but with Garrick's considerably altered version of this climactic passage. For here Garrick has actually added more than 60 lines of his own to the script. Now, just as Romeo finishes swallowing the poison, but before it can take effect, Juliet wakes up, and the lovers are momentarily reunited. Romeo forgets for a moment that he has poisoned himself, and they begin to leave, arm in arm. Suddenly he falls. Garrick was famous for his elaborate renditions of agonizing death scenes, and presumably lengthened this part of the drama "in order to exhibit his famous skill at such things."[13] After a considerable time, Romeo finally dies, Juliet faints over his body, revives, and then stabs herself.

That Berlioz preferred Garrick's version to Shakespeare's, in which Romeo dies before Juliet wakens, is unequivocally attested to in his memoirs: "I know that Garrick's dénouement to *Romeo and Juliet*, which he substituted for the less striking end that Shakespeare wrote, was an inspired discovery, incomparable in its pathos."[14] These changes, of course, coupled with Garrick's own less-than-Shakespearean language, seem ludicrous today. However, for about 150 years this was the death scene most theater audiences knew, and it explains the exceptional violence of Berlioz' music. Following Romeo's galloping to the tomb, and his mournful monologue before it, from the moment Juliet wakens, the music becomes so frantic that it is genuinely perplexing to the listener who knows only the Shakespearean version of the scene. Let us assume that the reason Garrick's alteration impressed the composer so was

because Berlioz could not understand English.

Following the deaths of the lovers, the fourth and final movement of the symphony proper begins. This takes shape as a thoroughly operatic scene between Friar Lawrence, sung by a baritone soloist, and the two choruses of warring families. The lengthy movement is divided into a number of subsections, each of which flows into the next. We hear the crowds gather at the cemetery as the news of Romeo's return spreads. They discover the bodies: "Ciel! morts tous les deux, et leur sang fume encore. Quel mystère, ah quel mystère affreux." ("Heavens! both of them dead, and their blood still smoking! What a fearful mystery!") The friar reveals the true story, and demands that the families unite in peace, but they refuse, shouting at each other. He then prays, and as he does, a miracle occurs. The chorus sings, "Mais des larmes du Ciel toute notre âme change." ("By the tears of Heaven our soul is transformed.") The friar then begins his final aria, calling on everyone to swear eternal brotherhood on the cross, and the symphony closes loudly and triumphantly as the chorus repeats the oath.

Where does this ending come from, and why was it used? Shakespeare, to be sure, has the families gather at the tomb and includes an explanatory speech by the friar followed by a reconciliation, but the scene remains darkly tragic to the very last moments of the drama. In at least one 19th-century production, the friar's entire part in this scene is reduced to five short lines in which he assures everyone that he will clarify all obscurities, but the audience witnesses neither his clarification nor the reconciliation of the houses.[9] Hence, with the exception of Berlioz' triumphant ending, the composer followed the version of the play he read rather than the one he saw. This appears to account for the actual use of words in the scene. Since he knew this part of the drama from the written French translation of Shakespeare, his musical setting became operatic. In the introduction to the score Berlioz specifically stated, "This last scene of the reconciliation of the two families lies exclusively in the domain of opera and oratorio. Since the time of Shakespeare, it has never been performed on any stage, but it is too beautiful, and too musical, and crowns a work like this so well that it would have been impossible for the composer to think of treating it otherwise."[10]

But as it turns out, some of the events of this scene, as outlined above, follow neither Shakespeare nor Garrick. One can understand why the composer of a large choral symphony might want to end his work in a grand and heroic manner, and it may well be for purely musical reasons that Berlioz added the prayer and made the final chorus so triumphant. But why did he change the motivation for the reconciliation? Why did he permit the families first to refuse, then only to acquiesce through the miraculous consequences of the prayer? Did Berlioz let his own religious feelings, whatever they may have been, carry him away? Did he actually think a miraculous element would be more effective dramatically? Did he want to write an extra aria for the friar in the form of a prayer?

In effect, since nothing less than a miracle overcomes the hostilities of the families, the reconciliation becomes, like many other events in the tragedy,

unmotivated. In Berlioz' new version, the families, if left to themselves, never would have been reconciled, even after the deaths of their children. The ending of the symphony now results neither from necessity nor from the personalities of the characters. In the pseudo-religious miracle of this finale one detects another parallel to the figure of Queen Mab, that spirit of the irrational which, in this version of the drama, controls so much of the action.

In summary, Berlioz' *Roméo et Juliette* functions in many ways as a mirror reflecting attitudes characteristic of the entire Romantic period. The sustained emotionality of the subject matter, the continual willingness on the part of the composer to allow digressions to interfere with the basic dramatic structure, the emphasis on the bizarre or the supernatural, the unselfconscious manner in which elements from Berlioz' biography intervene—parallels to all these constantly recur in other musical and literary works of the period. Even the final chorus moves beyond Shakespeare to evoke the image of the brotherhood of Man manifest in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony (baritone solo, chorus and all), which exerted an unusually strong influence on a great deal of 19th-century music. Indeed, Beethoven's composition can be viewed in many ways as the godfather to Berlioz' very special musical child.

NOTES

[1] See Hector Berlioz, *Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. and ed. David Cairns (London: Gollancz, 1969), p. 250.

[2] More background on this subject, and relating directly to the material in this article, can be found in Jacques Gury, "Berlioz et Shakespeare jusqu'à *Roméo et Juliette*," in *Romantisme* 12 (1976), pp. 9–18.

[3] A list of many of these operas can be found in Frederick H. Martens, *A Thousand and One Nights of Opera* (New York: Appleton, 1926), pp. 199–200. In addition, a summary of the differences in the librettos appears in Winton Dean, "Shakespeare and Opera," *Shakespeare and Music*, ed. Phyllis Hartnoll (London: MacMillan, 1964), pp. 145–54.

[4] Further elaboration of this particular point can be found in Philip Friedheim, "Formal Patterns in Verdi's *Il Trovatore*," in *Studies in Romanticism* 9 (1973), pp. 406–25.

[5] Berlioz, *Memoirs*, p. 97.

[6] *Romeo and Juliet by Shakespear. [!] with Alterations, and an additional Scene*, ed. David Garrick (London: 1750, facs. rpt.: London: Cornmarket Press, 1969). For an important article on this subject, see John R. Elliott, Jr., "The Shakespeare Berlioz Saw," *Music and Letters* 57 (July 1976), pp. 292–308.

[7] Quoted in Kalman A. Burnim, *David Garrick, Director* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961), p. 134.

[8] Berlioz, *Memoirs*, p. 97.

[9] In a well-behaved symphony, which this certainly is not, the scherzo would normally follow the slow movement. But Beethoven had broken with this tradition in his ninth symphony, reversing the order of these movements, as indeed Berlioz himself did in the *Symphonie fantastique*, in which the waltz preceded the *Scène aux Champs*.

[10] A stimulating article by Roger Fiske, "Shakespeare in the Concert Hall," from the collection *Shakespeare and Music* (see note 3), appears to contain the first analysis of Berlioz' dramatic symphony which takes Garrick's version into account. According to Fiske, the funeral procession included original music by William Boyce, which Berlioz probably heard. See Fiske, pp. 186–96.

[11] Quoted in Burnim, *Garrick*, p. 136.

[12] Interestingly, Franco Zeffirelli included a funeral procession for Juliet in his motion picture version of *Romeo and Juliet* (1968), as did Prokofief in his ballet (1936).

[9] In a note appended to this part of the score, the composer comments, "The general public has no imagination whatsoever. Musical compositions that address themselves strictly to the imagination have no public at all. The following orchestral scene is a case in point, and I believe that it is necessary to eliminate it whenever this symphony is not performed before an elite audience, who is familiar with the fifth act of Shakespeare's tragedy including Garrick's dénouement, and whose poetic feeling is very refined. It suffices to say that it must be cut ninety nine times out of one hundred."

[10] Burnim, *Garrick*, p. 139.

[11] Berlioz, *Memoirs*, pp. 91–92.

[12] *Shakspeare's* [!] *Romeo and Juliet*, a Tragedy; adapted to the stage by David Garrick; revised by J. P. Kemble (London, 1811), p. 74.

[13] "Cette dernière scène de la réconciliation des deux familles est seule du domaine de l'opéra ou de l'oratorio. Elle n'a jamais été, depuis le temps de Shakespeare, représenté sur aucun théâtre; mais elle est trop belle, trop musicale, et elle couronne trop bien un ouvrage de la nature de celui-ci, pour que le compositeur pût songer à la traiter autrement."

Tonality and Gravity

By Eugene Glickman

A good way to understand a piece of music is to ask it questions. If you ask good ones, the music will be forthcoming with answers. These will suggest new questions, which can be asked and answered in turn. As this process unfolds, one delves deeper into a work and gains ever greater insights. In the following essay, I will use this approach in connection with tonality and gravity. My point of departure is the metaphor "center of gravity." Many of us involved in the study of music use it to describe the relationship of the tonic to the other scale degrees. But to the best of my knowledge, no one has explored the implications of the usage. Is there a connection between Newtonian gravity and tonality? If so, what is the nature of their relationship? Can we discover anything about music, and the social matrix in which it operates, through an investigation into such a relationship? This paper will explore these questions in an attempt to broaden our understanding of the relationship between music and our culture in general.

Musicians tend to accept the fact that major-minor tonality—as opposed to the prior modality and the subsequent atonality—came into its own in the latter part of the 17th century and lasted until the beginning of the 20th. We know, however, that many late Renaissance pieces include melodic and harmonic configurations that already hint at tonality, and we are familiar with much 20th century music which has a tonal center. Nevertheless, there is general agreement that major-minor tonality is both stylistically distinct and historically well-defined, that it came into being after a more or less lengthy gestation period and was ultimately overwhelmed by the centrifugal pulls of chromaticism.

This view, acceptable though it may be, leaves certain questions hanging. Were these changes inevitable? Why did they happen when they did, and not earlier or later? While these questions are difficult to address, let alone to answer, I believe that a discussion of them provides useful insights. However, to gain these insights we must allow ourselves to think in ways which may not be customary for musicians—we must see music as only one of many human endeavors interacting with all the others. Let us take as a starting point the metaphor of *Do* as the center of gravity and explore the worlds of music and mechanics.

Musicians are accustomed to speaking about music spatially, in terms of movement "up" and "down," although there is nothing intrinsic in the physics of music to justify this. The spatial metaphor is often coupled with the gravitational: music tends to "pull down." Yet, since *Do* is not located in only one place, but in octave duplications, the linking of the two metaphors appears to be oversimplified. While the general tendency of music is to gravitate downwards, the attractive force of *Do* is so powerful that it is able to override this tendency, especially in the case of *Ti*. *Ti*, the leading tone (so

designated precisely because it is unusual), is able to "pull up" to *Do*. Hence, it is fair to argue that the pull of *Do* is more powerful than the pull downward.

It would seem, then, that there is a difference between musical and Newtonian gravity, since the latter always pulls down, i.e., toward the center of the earth. But this discrepancy exists only if our perspective is earthbound. More broadly, the formula is that all bodies attract, in proportion to their size, without reference to "up" or "down." Thus, we are being pulled simultaneously toward the moon, the sun, Venus, and so on. It could be argued that these are not the equivalent of octave duplications of the same pitch. That is true, but one could also adopt another way of seeing the scale: not "starting" on *Do*, but with *Do* in the middle and the other pitches surrounding it. In this context, *Do* is truly in the center, its duplication is unnecessary and the other pitches pull to it.[1] (See Figures 1 and 2 below.)

Clearly, a case can be made that there is a connection between Newtonian gravity and its musical application. Before continuing, however, some more comments are in order about major-minor tonality. The major and minor scales are not mere collections of notes, nor are they just the syntheses of certain common patterns—arpeggios, scales, cadences, and the like. Rather, they are the embodiment of a dynamic set of interrelationships—melodic and harmonic—among pitches. These interrelationships include the polarity between tonic and dominant, the tension between diatonicism and chromaticism, the interplay between the tonic key and foreign keys, and so on. These various dialectics are expressions of the general dialectic between stability and instability, which is inherent in music, a temporal art form. Virtually every piece written in the 18th and 19th centuries affirms stability through its ultimate celebration of the tonic—the tonic pitch and its triad.

One of the hallmarks of Western music is the integration of its harmonic and melodic aspects into a single whole. In dealing with tonality we must dart back and forth between these two interrelated, yet distinct, musical parameters. Despite the fact that the tonic triad includes pitches other than *Do*, it is perceived as the harmonic center of gravity, just as *Do* is so perceived in the melodic realm. In their roles as members of the tonic triad, the third and the fifth steps of the scale acquire a restfulness not associated with them melodically, through their harmonic relationship with *Do*. *Sol* as a member of the dominant chord is an active pitch, but as a member of the tonic triad, it is restful. In order to unravel this apparent paradox, we must explore the essence of "tonicness" and "dominantness."

The greatest points of tension in the diatonic scale are those associated with the pitches on either side of the tonic—*Ti* and *Re*. When these two sound simultaneously in a musical context, they demand resolution in contrary motion, to *Do*. But, since our harmony is based upon triads, not dyads, *Ti* and *Re* need another pitch for completion. The two candidates are *Sol* (the pitch a third below *Ti*) and *Fa* (the pitch a third above *Re*). While the two triads *Sol-Ti-Re* and *Ti-Re-Fa* are often interchangeable, thus demonstrating that "dominantness" resides in the presence of *Ti* and *Re*, the choice of *Sol* as

the root of the dominant triad has to do with the root movement in fifths engendered by the chord progression V-I. This exceedingly familiar root progression came into its own as tonality was crystallized, and it helps to create *Sol*'s ambiguity—active as part of the dominant triad, restful as part of the tonic. (Utilizing the same approach, we can understand the subdominant function as residing in the two pitches on either side of *Sol*—*Fa* and *La*, or *Le* in minor. The triads which share these two pitches, IV and II—again often used interchangeably—are the subdominant triads.)

Both dominant and subdominant derive their essential qualities from including chord members which surround a particular scale degree—*Do* is surrounded by the dominant pitches *Ti* and *Re*, and *Sol* is surrounded by the subdominant pitches *Fa* and *La* (or *Le*). These surrounding pitches pull toward the pitch they surround, embodying dominant or subdominant tension (the pull) and resolution (the arrival). Tonic, on the other hand, embodies tensionlessness. Therefore, "tonicness" should be understood not as having pitches which surround another pitch, but as including within itself the two respective pitches which the dominant and subdominant pitches surround—*Do* and *Sol*.

In light of the above comments, all the diatonic scale degrees can be understood as playing distinct harmonic roles (see Figure 1):

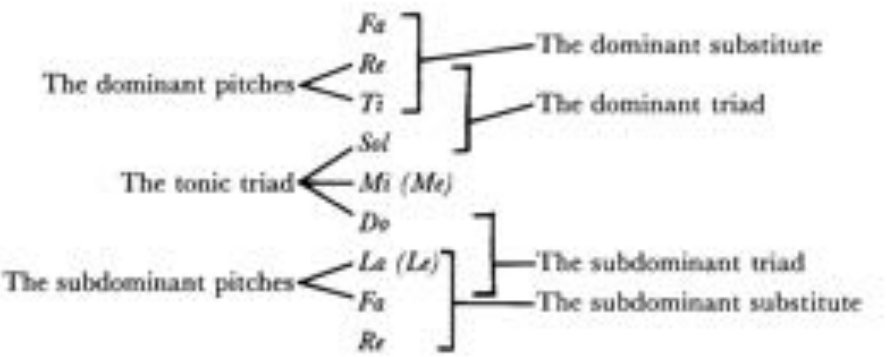


Figure 1

Their harmonic roles are related to their melodic ones (see Figure 2):

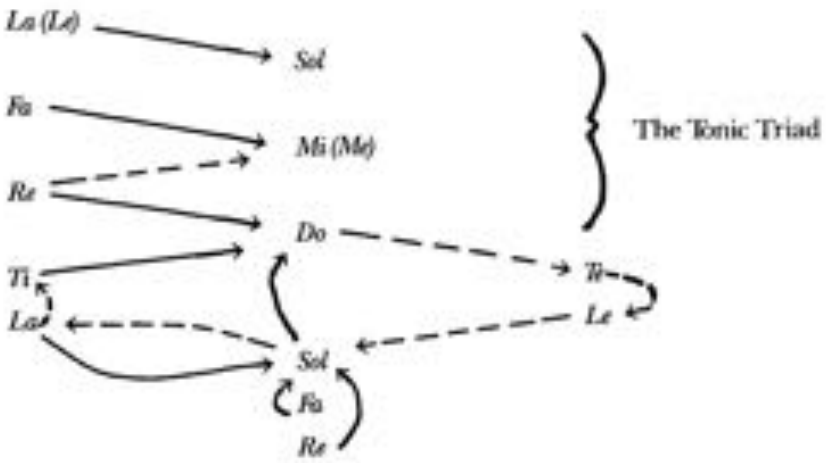


Figure 2

While none of the nontonic pitches pulls uniformly in one direction (such a situation would make music exceedingly dull), there are usual and fundamental tendencies, represented here by solid lines, and less typical ones, indicated by dotted lines. (*Sol*, *Fa*, and *Re* on the lower left should be understood as melodic tendencies in the bass.) We can, then, conclude that all diatonic pitches have a direct or indirect relationship with *Do*, melodically and harmonically. But the chromatic pitches also have a connection with *Do*, although a more indirect one. They pull directly to the diatonic pitches from which they are a minor second distant; and, since the latter have a relationship with *Do*, the chromatic pitches' link to *Do* is through these diatonic pitches. There is, then, a sort of hierarchy of gravitational pulls. Those pitches closest to *Do* are the most attracted to it; other pitches are both more distant and less directly attracted; and the least attracted directly are the chromatic pitches.

A similar sort of greater and lesser proximity is manifested in the concept of "closely related" and "distantly related" keys. In a prototypical sonata-allegro movement, the development section is framed by the dominant, a closely related key, while the body of the section traverses other, more distantly related, keys. On the other hand, a typical ritornello movement moves through several closely related keys, while eschewing more distantly related ones, before returning to the tonic.

From the above discussion, one sees that major-minor tonality is a tightly woven system of complex tensions, all centering around and resolving to the tonic. The nature of the interplay of these tensions is an important stylistic determinant. And the ways in which the tensions are worked through consti-

tute one of the avenues by which music gives us aesthetic pleasure.

Before turning to Newtonian gravity and its connection with tonality, let us examine briefly modality and atonality. Modal theory was inherited from the Greeks, through Ptolemy of Alexandria. His works were paraphrased by Boethius, who passed them on to the later Middle Ages. In the process, the original conception (and the modes themselves) were transmuted. The medieval modes began as four: Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, and Mixolydian. When the division between plagal and authentic modes was established, the number of modes doubled; and in the 16th century, with the addition of Ionian and Aeolian, in their authentic and plagal forms, the total number of modes grew to 12. During this epoch of changing modal theory, the relationship between theory and practice was often tenuous.[3] Therefore, one must proceed with caution.

While each of the modes has its own unique pattern of whole and half steps, they all share the same musical universe, the notes from *A* to *g′* (Ionian brings the high note up to *c″*), and what distinguishes them from each other primarily is the finalis. The attitude of the theorists was that a single piece remained throughout in a single mode; yet from Josquin onward, many composers made use of internal modal change. Another deviation between theory and practice could be found in the "secret" chromaticism, which went far beyond the accepted use of ficta to create cadential half steps. Together, these tendencies began to escape from the theoretical limits of the modal system and move in the direction of major-minor tonality. Finally, there is evidence that the use of Ionian and Aeolian predate their formal introduction into Glareanus' modal system.[4] Since Ionian and Aeolian are actually approximations of major and natural minor,[5] Glareanus' attempt to integrate them into the old approach was foredoomed, as the fact that his attempt was short-lived testifies.

We see, then, that after the 11th-century codification of the modal system, modality held sway for several hundred years. It was followed by a two-century period, starting c. 1500, during which modality became progressively weakened as major-minor tonality grew more pervasive. In spite of Glareanus' attempt to incorporate major and minor into the modal frame of reference, the whole enterprise was dropped and major-minor tonality supplanted modality.

A similar sort of transitional period, although telescoped, took place in the latter part of the 19th century and the early 20th, as chromaticism became increasingly pervasive. Finally, Schoenberg drew "the logical conclusion" and, making a virtue out of what seemed to him to be necessity, wrote music without a tonal center. As Corelli's music in the 1680s marks a watershed in the evolution of tonality, so has Schoenberg's Opus 11 (1908) come to be regarded as a turning point in the history of the breakup of major-minor tonality—the point at which composers began to recognize the need to rethink tonal relations.

In fundamental ways tonality and atonality are in opposition. Although this is inherent in their very names and is widely accepted, it is useful to spell

out some of the ways. Tonality operated within the confines of a recognizable set of internal dynamics, which applied in all pieces; in atonal music there was no such consistency. When serialism was invented, the generation of a unique row for each piece led to a situation in which the piece developed its own internal dynamics, applicable to that piece alone. The audience, which had been able to listen to tonal music not only in the present, but retrospectively and prospectively as well, had to give up its ability to predict. The musical universe of each piece had to be invented anew. In addition, while tonality was able to construct a musical architecture based upon modulation, atonality relied upon synthetic devices, such as the row, with its I, R, and RI forms. (Prior to the adoption of these, Schoenberg had found it impossible to create atonal pieces lasting more than a few minutes, unless they were settings of a text.) Finally, while tonality implies stability (a dynamic stability, but stability nonetheless), atonality implies instability. This instability manifests itself not when one studies the music with the eye but when one listens with the ear. This is due to the listener's inability to follow the row through its various permutations, while they are readily accessible to the eye; thus, the perceived lack of predictability. And if the norm is a negative one, namely the absence of tonality, the dialectic of tension and relaxation among pitches is missing. With its absence, music cannot achieve inevitability. And without this, stability cannot be attained.

These three constructs—modality, tonality, and atonality—embody three distinct attitudes toward tonal relations. They parallel to a great extent the three perspectives through which we in the Western world have understood cosmology. In physics these three approaches have been associated with their leading proponents: Ptolemy, Newton, and Einstein. Let us explore these briefly.

Claudius Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.), the same Ptolemy whose writings so influenced medieval musical theory, also developed a conception which dominated astronomy until the Renaissance. It was based on the apparently common-sense idea that the earth is the center of the universe and all other heavenly bodies circle around it.[3] Ptolemy's *Almagest* (c. 150 A.D.) was translated into Latin during the latter part of the 12th century and it dominated European thinking, although it came under increasing scrutiny, until Newton's *Principia* (1687) superseded it.

The first major challenge to the Ptolemaic system came from Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), who affirmed that each sort of matter has a distinct pull which brings it toward the center of its parent body. He also postulated that the earth went around the sun, rather than the other way. By and large, his ideas were ignored until Johann Kepler (1571–1630) espoused them in 1596, joined shortly thereafter by Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). But it was not until Isaac Newton (1642–1727) that the new orientation was codified in a way which withstood argument.

During the period between Copernicus and Newton there was increasing scrutiny of the heavens. This close observation, coupled with astronomers' greater ease in seeing the heavenly bodies through the use of more and more

sophisticated telescopes, enabled them to predict with great accuracy such phenomena as eclipses. Since their findings did not tally with the Ptolemaic schema, scientists were forced to come up with the notion of epicycles—modifications of the circular orbits, designed to explain, or explain away, the difference between Ptolemaic theory and observation. But all these attempts were inadequate. What was needed was a new synthesis which would deal adequately with the evidence. After Kepler and others developed the concept of the elliptical orbit, it became possible for this new synthesis to be devised.

The Newtonian conception held sway until the beginning of the 20th century. By then, as in the 16th century, observed evidence had begun to be perceived as inconsistent with the accepted model. One of the first disturbing findings came from an experiment conducted by Albert Michelson (1852–1931) and Edward Morley (1838–1923) in the 1880s. They split a light beam in such as way as to make the beamlets go at right angles to each other. Newton and his followers had postulated an invisible ether through which light moved. Its presence ought to have caused one of the beamlets to move more slowly than the other, resulting in a difference in the interference patterns each generated. This did not occur: they had travelled at the same speed. Other difficulties also arose, centering around the Newtonian ether. James Maxwell (1831–1879) developed a "field theory" to explain certain electromagnetic phenomena which did not square with Newton's laws. Such problems perplexed physicists until the twin discoveries of quantum mechanics and relativity by Max Planck (1858–1947) and Albert Einstein (1879–1955), respectively. The new formulation was codified in Einstein's Special Theory of Relativity (1905).

Consider the parallels between musical and physical thought. Ptolemy provided the groundwork for both the cosmological and musical systems. His work was translated into Latin in the 12th century; the codification of the modes took place in the 11th. Ptolemy's cosmology came under attack by Copernicus in the 16th century; during the same years his near-contemporary Josquin was writing in an idiom which at times hinted at major-minor tonality. Kepler lent credence to Copernicus' assertions around the turn of the 17th century; at the same time his contemporaries the English madrigalists were composing music which often seemed tonal rather than modal. As the Ptolemaic cosmological system was forced to adopt ad hoc approaches (epicycles), so the modal theorists were compelled to enlarge the number of modes from eight to 12. Newton's *Principia* was published in 1687; Corelli's Opus 1 appeared in 1681. Newtonian gravitation and major-minor tonality both dominated until the latter half of the 19th century, when each was weakened. Einstein's Special Theory was published in 1905; Schoenberg's first atonal pieces appeared in 1908.

These coincidences of date, while suggestive, are not conclusive. In order to establish a more meaningful connection between the successive systems of tonal relations and the successive cosmologies, we must explore further; we must seek for similarities in their philosophical underpinnings. Looking at major-minor tonality in this way, we can see that *Do* corresponds to the sun;

the other diatonic pitches are analogous to the planets which orbit the sun and are attracted to it directly; and the chromatic pitches stand in the same relationship to *Do* that the moons of the various planets do to the sun.

These similarities also obtain in the relationship between the Ptolemaic cosmology and the modal system, and between Einsteinian relativity and atonality. Ptolemy's universe is directly analogous to modal theory. Since accidentals, except for B-flat, are unrecognized theoretically, the latter deals with a limited amount of pitch material. This pitch material is also limited in range, both in terms of the ambitus of a single mode and in terms of the total number of pitches available in all modes. This "limited universe" is akin to the Ptolemaic conception.

We must admit the lack of correspondence between modal theory and practice. How are we to deal with the discrepancies between them? For one thing, the world-view of the time was based upon deductive rather than inductive reasoning. This scholastic mentality saw no need to square theory with practice; indeed, it often made no attempt to compare the two. The exhaustive medieval discussion of the monochord—an unused, nonmusical instrument—is but one example of the theorists' frequent lack of concern with musical practice. Furthermore, the difference between the vivacity of the practice and the constraints embodied in the theory can be accounted for in part by the composers' understandable preoccupation with real music, which takes the form of real sounds in a real world. There is reason to believe that folk music of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was often in major-minor tonality. But since the guardians of "high culture" did not prize this music—indeed, they often condemned it![6]—most of it has been lost. Among the few examples preserved (such as the *Cherry Tree Carol* and *Sumer is Icumen In*) we find many that are tonal rather than modal.[7] Composers making use of tonality were thus writing music stylistically related to that of the lower classes[8]—a profoundly subversive enterprise!

Let us turn now to the decline of tonality. The standard explanation for the phenomenon has to do with the increasing encroachments of chromaticism which eventually became powerful enough to cast tonality aside. This is similar to the situation in which classical physics found itself. As more and more inexplicable evidence came to light, it became increasingly necessary to seek to explain these phenomena in a wholly new way. The new way in music was atonality; the new way in physics was relativity. The indeterminacy principle, articulated by Werner Heisenberg (1901–1976) in 1927, asserts the essential inability to know the momentum and the position of a subatomic particle at the same time. It is based upon the realization that the observer's attempt to calculate either the momentum or the position acts upon the particle itself, thus preventing the second calculation from being made. This corresponds closely with the atonal composer's viewpoint that each pitch is an isolate and has no identity beyond itself, except as defined by the composer, in a tone row of his or her own creation which is unique for each piece. But the human mind strives for structure. The concerns in music and mechanics over the last 50 years can be seen as attempts to come

to terms with the abandonments of major-minor tonality and Newtonian mechanics through the search for new syntheses.

The histories of both cosmology and music, then, are characterized by alternations of periods of stability of orientation and periods of radical change of the fundamental concepts. Near the ends of the stable epochs the old approaches become inadequate, causing new ones to be sought. As we have seen, there is a running historical parallelism between music and mechanics. While this observation still falls short of formal proof that they spring from common causations, it should be regarded as more than merely suggestive. In order for us to accept the thesis as proven, there must be documentary evidence. Although there may be no such evidence, the thesis is convincing.[9] The parallel developments in these two areas of human thought apparently derive from a common causation that resides in our history. The rest of this paper shall explore this thesis.

Both music and mechanics are creations of the human mind. In the centuries-old debate about the origins of thought, one viewpoint asserts that ideas lead independent "lives of their own"; another attitude holds that our brains are material objects and that we receive our thoughts and mental sets from the outside world. These two perspectives ought to be seen as complementary. Throughout life we are bombarded by stimuli and our thought patterns emerge from our interaction with them. On the other hand, some of these stimuli come to us as the ideas of others. As I seek historical causation, my perspective is based upon this complementary view of the interaction of the material and intellectual realms.

The feudalism which dominated during the Middle Ages was predicated on a pyramid, with the nobility on top and the serfs at the bottom; in between were such groups as artisans and merchants. The medieval Church provided ideological support for this social arrangement; and it, too, had its hierarchy on earth (with its Pope, cardinals, bishops, priests, and laymen) and in heaven (with its God, angels, archangels, and saints). It is well known that the Church attacked Galileo for his support of Copernicus' heliocentric theory and forced his recantation. This is understandable: if the earth is a mere satellite of the sun and the sun is only one of many stars, the figure of Jesus can become diminished in significance. Why should the Son of God waste His time living and dying in such an insignificant place? And if the central figure of Christianity can be diminished in stature, what does this do to the status of His religion? Galileo's affirmation of heliocentrism cast doubt upon some of Catholicism's tenets. But those very tenets provided an ideological justification for feudalism. Therefore, his assertion was profoundly unsettling—both for the Church and for the social order. These threats to the status quo occurred at the same time that capitalism was arising. As R. H. Tawney (1880–1962) has said, Catholicism was a feudal religion and Protestantism a capitalist one.[10] One sees, then, that the Ptolemaic cosmology was appropriate for Catholicism and feudalism, and that a threat to it shook their underpinnings.

The religious music of the time was another support of the church, and therefore, of feudalism. Part of the essence of this music was its organization into the "Church modes." Their replacement by major-minor tonality was the musical equivalent of the substitution of the Newtonian for the Ptolemaic world-view and, in its sphere, equally threatening to the feudal social order.

On another level, the developments in astronomy during the Renaissance reflected the needs of the merchants. Mercantilism depended upon trade, which required exploration, in turn relying upon the skills of the mapmaker. Maps had to be accurate, or else the explorers and their crews faced death, and their employers, great material loss. No one could afford to rely upon presumption; verification and predictability were necessary. These scientific attitudes flew in the face of Church doctrine, which was based on the acceptance of received wisdom. It was for good reason that the Church perceived the scientific approach as a threatening one.

The previous music was based upon the old, Church-dominated mental set. Almost all of it involved the setting of Latin texts—Mass, motets, hymns. Latin, the eternal, unchangeable language, expressed the ideology of Catholicism, and its employment in music constituted a musical salute to Church orthodoxy. The new music—the music of tonality—tended to create an architecture which did not rely upon words. The concertos, an outgrowth of mercantile Venice and other Italian trading centers, are a reflection of the new secular orientation. Their use of ritornello form, with its succession of modulations, was symbolic of the overthrow of the Church modes and all for which they stood. When composers wrote music with a text, as in opera, the text was often in the vernacular, as the theologians of Protestantism advocated. And the plots of the operas were based upon the adventures of pagan gods, not the Passion of the Christian God.

Now we turn to the period in which the downfall of tonality took place. Despite the growing importance of composers from other parts of Europe, German-speaking composers continued to dominate the musical scene in the late 19th century. The center of German musical culture was Vienna—the home of the Viennese Classicists and several leading Romantic composers, from Schubert to Mahler. It was also the home of Schoenberg, his disciples Berg and Webern, and Krenek. During the half-century prior to World War I, Vienna was in its last moments of glory as the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But under its glittering surface, that empire was crumbling. As is often the case, the arts of the period reflected the crisis earlier than did the headlines. One of these reflections is the chromaticism of late Romantic music; Freud's work on hysteria and Kafka's writings, in nearby Prague, were others.

On a larger level, it was not only the Austro-Hungarian Empire that was tottering, but all of European society. These traumatic years witnessed, in addition to the mass slaughter of the War, the birth of the Soviet Union and threats of revolution elsewhere, including Hungary, Munich, and Italy, and the emergence of non-European nations such as Japan and the United States as major powers. Simultaneously and as a parallel manifestation, there was

turbulence in other aspects of European culture. Joycean prose-poetry, abstract art, and hypermodernism in chess are only three examples of the widely pervasive phenomenon. The crisis of European society was reflected in a multitude of artistic and cultural trends; the death of tonality was one of these.

The philosophical revolution engendered by relativity was another sign of the crisis. Both philosophers and laymen were bewildered by the failure of the Newtonian cosmology. It had appeared to be so beautiful, so logical. Relativity left one with no foundations and few, including the specialists, could understand it. But if relativity meant anything to the layman, it meant that no one approach suffices to explain the world. The ethnocentrism which dominated European thinking until that point could no longer be maintained. Interest in non-Western music foreshadowed the end of European political domination over Africa and Asia, just as the relativity of the physical perspective foreshadowed the validity of working-class perspective as opposed to the previously unquestioned bourgeois perspective. In view of relativity, all previously settled questions had to be rethought. And this reorientation, which is both exhilarating and frightening, continues to dominate our lives, in science, in politics, and in music.

I have attempted to demonstrate in this paper that the evolution of musical tonality was a process connected to another evolution—that of mechanics; that both of these processes were parts of ever-evolving changes in philosophical and social viewpoints, and that each was reflective of and contributory to the changes. While this is admittedly a grandiose theme for a short paper, I believe that one must begin somewhere, and that this essay is a start in a profitable direction. It also seems fitting that such a beginning be presented in a *Festschrift* dedicated to the memory of William Kimmel, since he had an extremely wide-ranging mind—one which sought (and found) connections among music, philosophy, psychology, and ethnomusicology.

NOTES

[1] Borrowing concepts from another sphere of human existence and applying them to music by analogy is not restricted to physics. Tone "color" and musical "texture" are two other examples. These extramusical metaphors are helpful in characterizing an aspect of musical reality.

[2] After citing contradictions between theory and practice in the Middle Ages, Donald Jay Grout concludes that "the correspondence of theory and practice is no more exact for medieval modal melodies than for any other type of actual music in any period." *A History of Western Music*, 3rd ed. (New York: W.W. Norton, 1980), p. 59.

[3] As Grout points out, for instance, the *Missa Caput* of Obrecht, who died in 1505, contains sections in the Ionian mode and one portion in the Aeolian, *Op. cit.*, p. 189.

[4] Minor, with its inherent instability of pitches (*La, Le*, as well as *Ti, Te*), cannot be rendered with the seven pitches in Aeolian mode.

[5] The verb "circle" is to be taken literally. Orbits were alleged to be circular, since a circle was supposed to be perfect. In the same way, the circles in Philippe de Vitry's metric modes indicate triple meter—the perfect meter, by association with the Trinity.

[6] Paul Henry Lang writes: "The oldest documents of popular instrumental music testify to the vogue of a major-minor conception of tonality among these simple musicians, a fact which is an

exception with the art music of the period. Medieval musical science was contemptuously opposed to these tonalities, against which it cited the doctrines of the ancients. It took many centuries before the learned scholars and theoreticians bowed to the natural instinct of musicians and codified, in the sixteenth century, widespread practices which were as old as their civilization." *Music in Western Civilization* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1941), p. 127.

[7] *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980) contains many discussions supporting this fact about folk music. See, for example, vol. VI, pp. 183–84, on English folk music; vol. VI, p. 765, on French; vol. VII, p. 283, on German; and vol. IX, p. 384, on Northern Italian.

[8] Gustave Reese describes the treatise of Johannes de Grocheo, who supports this point, in the following terms: "This treatise is unique in its time; it departs from tradition by emphasizing not the wisdom of ancient writers but rather the contemporary musical scene in Paris. It is unrivaled as a source of information on secular music before 1300." *Fourteen Classics of Music Literature* (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1957; reprint ed. New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), p. 23. Curt Sachs writes that "as early an authority as Johannes de Grocheo (c. 1300) had warned his readers against looking for church modes in secular music: *'Non enim per totum cognoscimus cantum vulgarem.'* " *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World, East and West* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1943), p. 296.

[9] People, after all, accept the universality of death, in spite of the continuing existence of those who have not (yet) died.

[10] In *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926; paperback ed. New York: Mentor, 1954), Tawney writes: "Intellectually, [medieval] religious opinion endorsed to the full the static view, which regarded the social order as a thing unalterable, to be accepted, not to be improved" (p. 55); on the other hand, "Calvinism stood, in short, not only for a new doctrine of theology and ecclesiastical government, but for a new scale of moral values and a new ideal of social conduct" (p. 98).

The Sonata Design In Chopin's Ballades

By L. Michael Griffel

In the 19th century, composers who continued to use the tonal system and the structural designs of their Classical and early Romantic predecessors were faced with the need to adapt these musical orientations to their own modes of expression and compositional purposes. Continual updating of as malleable a design as the sonata-allegro can be observed in a multitude of scores by the Romantics. Often this revision meant that certain of the logical and symmetrical connections of the parts of a sonata form that were customary in the late 18th century had to be sacrificed, so that Romanticists could express themselves individually, more subjectively and emotionally. Their fascination with fantasy, the exploration of the unusual, the unreal, and the unexpected, left its mark on all of the musical structures they had inherited from the immediate past—primarily the binary and ternary forms, theme and variations, rondo, and the sonata-allegro. Of these, the sonata form offered the greatest opportunities to utilize most of the compositional devices of the time and also to explore the myriad possible relationships among thematic ideas and key areas. Further, sonata design afforded the most convenient opportunity of working with a large number of contrasting musical ideas and moods.

In examining the music of the Romantic period, one discovers repeatedly that composers experimented with the sonata form by rearranging the various parts of the design that they could observe in works by Classical and early Romantic composers, and that they could also read about in treatises by such writers as Carl Czerny and Adolf Bernhard Marx.[1] The relationships of the parts of the sonata form to each other and to the whole constantly underwent change. Such experimentation added years to the life of the tonal system, as the reorderings and combinations of various melodic ideas, key areas, tempos, and moods, all of which were still tied to the dramatic succession of events that comprise sonata form, seemed limitless and eternally fascinating in the early decades of the 19th century.

The sonata-allegro can be found as a structural basis in a wide range of 19th-century compositions, for example, absolute pieces with the actual title "Sonata," such as Franz Liszt's B-minor Piano Sonata (1852–53); programmatic works, like the outer movements of Hector Berlioz's *Harold in Italy* (1834); and character pieces, such as Johannes Brahms's Rhapsody in G Minor, Op. 79 No. 2 (1879), and Frédéric Chopin's four ballades (1831–42). Certainly, none of these composers' sonata forms behave just like their immediate predecessors'; then again, Schubert's forms do not behave like Beethoven's, Beethoven's like Mozart's, nor Mozart's like C.P.E. Bach's. The sonata form results, after all, from an approach toward the treatment of thematic material which permits some balance between variety and unity, and this helps to explain why composers have refashioned it so often, even from one work to the next, depending on the expressive content of the themes contained therein.

No doubt Chopin (1810–1849), master musician that he was, understood the sonata design. His schooling and performances as a pianist, including recitals containing early- and middle-period Beethoven sonatas, support such an assertion. Moreover, Chopin's own piano sonatas have first movements in a full-fledged sonata-allegro design, as one finds it used by Haydn or Beethoven, replete with double bar and repeat signs at the close of the exposition. Chopin's ballades, on the other hand, do not announce so clearly that they too are examples of sonata form; yet a careful examination of them reveals that indeed they are. This finding is contrary to much of the Chopin literature, which indicates or implies that one or even all of these pieces lack the minimal requirements of sonata form. In the late 19th century, the ballades were perceived as formless or free in design. One life-and-works study of Chopin dating from 1892 asserts, in fact, that the ballades were able to "flourish in all their luxuriance" because they were not encumbered by "such fetters as those imposed by . . . the Sonata form."[1] Incorrect though this assessment may be, Chopin fares even worse in an 1888 study whose author contends that "in almost every work in the larger forms we find him floundering lamentably."[2]

This unfair picture of Chopin was turned around to some extent by the eminent musicologist Hugo Leichtentritt in 1922, in his *Analyse von Chopins Klavierwerke*.[3] In volume 2, Leichtentritt devotes a 41-page chapter to a detailed structural analysis of the four ballades. Their connections with sonata-allegro form are described clearly; however, he regards only the First and Third Ballades as sonata-form compositions. Leichtentritt's first steps seem to have generated little further advancement in the analysis of Chopin's larger structures, with the notable exception of Günther Wagner's excellent chapter on the ballades—mostly a stylistic and formal analysis of the First Ballade—in his 1976 book on piano ballades.[4] Leichtentritt, Günther Wagner, Alan Walker (in *The Chopin Companion*), and the present writer, it would seem, are among the minority who see Chopin as a master architect within the sonata format—a minority which rejects Alan Rawsthorne's admonition in *The Chopin Companion:* "But, of course, it would be foolish to regard these pieces [the ballades] from the point of view of sonata movements, in spite of certain resemblances."[5]

In Chopin's four ballades (Opp. 23, 38, 47, 52), composed over a time span of some eleven years (1831–35, 1836–39, 1840–41, and 1841–42, respectively), he overhauled the sonata form to accord with his Romantic nature. Each ballade *is* a single movement in the sonata-allegro design. They are not merely sonata-like or quasi-sonatas; they are, in terms of the 19th century, with its own set of criteria, actual sonata forms. Chopin adjusts the elements of the sonata form to suit his own purposes. This paper aims to examine how the composer sculpted his works using the flexible sonata design.[6] Furthermore, it attempts to demonstrate the ever-increasing agility with which Chopin juggled the pieces of the design in moving from the First to the Fourth Ballade.

Each of Chopin's ballades possesses those features which constitute sonata form. These include the following:

1. the presentation of a first theme in the tonic key and of a second theme in a contrasting key during the exposition;
2. the connection of these contrasting themes through a transitional mechanism involving modulation;
3. the presence of a developmental section in which such compositional operations as modulation, fragmentation, and recombination of thematic fragments occur;
4. a build-up of tension during the development section, with a climactic peak leading directly into the recapitulation;
5. a recapitulation of at least one of the main themes from the exposition section; and
6. a special closing section for the movement as a whole, which one can safely call a coda.

To this list may be added the existence of some type of introductory material in three of the four ballades (all except No. 3).

The ballades exhibit four different ways of opening a sonata movement. No. 3 in A-flat major, Op. 47, begins immediately with its first theme (mm. 1–52).[8] Yet the registration, rhythm, and harmony of the opening 8-measure phrase—featuring a dominant pedal, long pauses on final notes of subphrases, and *durchbrochene Arbeit*—communicate the same kind of pensive, non-propulsive, tentative mood that is present in the introductions of the other three ballades. Ballade No. 2 in F major, Op. 38, opens with a sevenfold repetition of the dominant note, C, in the tempo, dynamic level, and pastoral $\frac{6}{4}$ rhythm of the ensuing first theme. Surely this is no formal introduction but only a kind of intonation; yet its iambic rhythm and scheme of repetition are significant motivic elements of the piece. Also beginning in the main tempo of the work is the Fourth Ballade in F minor, Op. 52, but here one is faced with a full-fledged introductory section, seven (lingering) measures long, which plays an important structural role in the movement that follows. Such integration of introductory remarks in the main tempo into the organic unfolding of the sonata form is not uniquely Chopinesque; an earlier example that springs to mind is the opening 8-bar phrase of Franz Schubert's Unfinished Symphony (1822).

In the Ballade No. 1 in G minor, Op. 23, there is a 7-bar, formal, common-time, Largo introduction, separated from the first theme (in m. 8) by a double bar. This opening passage is questioningly rhetorical, with its arabesques rising, twisting, pausing, and falling, and with its dissonant last chord. As in Op. 52, Chopin's opening measures here are integrally related to the movement about to unfold.[9] The introduction's arabesques contain intervallic and harmonic relationships, as well as melodic shapes, that generate the themes of the First Ballade. The opening A-flat (flatted supertonic) arpeggiation suggests the composition's primary motive of the appoggiatura, a stepwise

descending two-note figure, as does the unresolved suspension with which the introduction ends (a hanging E-flat in m. 7, the 9 of an unfinished 9–8 suspension over the I_4^6 in m. 7). In this way Chopin presents the motives that govern the entire piece at the outset of the composition, just as early as, for example, Beethoven does in a work like the first movement of the Piano Sonata in D major, Op. 10 No. 3 (1797–98). Both Beethoven and Chopin, in their respective eras, employed the most fragmentable of melodic lines for the same musical structure, ripe for thematic development, namely, the sonata-allegro.

In the expositions proper, all four ballades unfurl a lengthy first theme in the tonic key, a transition to a secondary key area, and a highly contrasting theme in that new key. The G-minor Ballade's first theme opens pensively, with a slow melodic and harmonic rhythm. As it begins to move toward a climax, its rhythm becomes more active (mm. 24–25), chromaticism increases, and a first crescendo arises. In such ways Chopin builds climaxes. Yet, especially at this early stage of the work, he takes time to savor the lyricism of this theme and initiates an expansion of it by means of what Rey Longyear has termed "tonal parenthesis."[10] And so one finds the Romanticist perched between his own inclination toward tunefulness and color and the sonata form's demand for momentum. Yet these are not mutually exclusive. On the contrary, the dynamic properties of the sonata form work well to strip its song-like themes of their usual regularity, roundedness, and closure, though not of their beauty, thereby establishing and utilizing for dramatic effect the antithesis between a song's wanting "to be" and the sonata's wanting "to become." Ultimately, Romantic composers have the best of both worlds: the poetry and repose of a song and the momentum and conflict of sonata form.

In a sonata-form exposition of the Classic-Romantic tradition, a first theme can be said to be over when it reaches a cadence. A second theme can be said to begin after a new key has been established. Then, logically, what happens between these two events is considered the transition or bridge section. Bridges stress modulation, which indicates harmonic motion, and they tend to emphasize mobility, too, for they are designed to instigate change, and change is more noticeable when it occurs quickly. The harmonic modulation may occur early, or late, or, as in the bridges in most Classical recapitulations, not at all; yet all the while the bridge section, or bridge theme, can be enacting a change of mood, registration, texture, expressive content, and/or rhythmic relationships. It must, in any case, move the piece along; it cannot be static. Chopin's bridge sections in the ballades, just like his developments, work out some of the potential of his themes and propel the music forward. Where, for dramatic purposes, little or no bridge is desired, Chopin minimizes or eliminates it, as in the Second Ballade. In this attitude, Chopin is, again, the heir of earlier composers, like Schubert, who provides tiny bridges in the large first movements of both his Unfinished and Great (1825–26) Symphonies.

In the light of the above, the music following the cadence at m. 36 in Ballade No. 1 should not be regarded a continuation of the first theme. Rather, as it serves to develop that theme, it ought to be heard as the commencement of a long and sectional bridge, divided into three portions: mm. 36–43, 44–55, 55–67. The first part of the bridge presents an expressive crescendo, extended by the second portion, in which the appoggiatura figure is more jaggedly accentuated and the tempo quickens. The final section of the bridge, beginning squarely on the tonic G (note that Chopin has not yet begun his key change), achieves a calming effect on the music and finally a modulation in preparation for the next theme. The dominant of the relative major (soon to be denied by the submediant) is reached as all tones except F and C evaporate, the F and C lingering in the listener's ears during a 3-measure interval. In this termination of the bridge section, all sense of forward drive is crushed; as at the threshold of the first theme, the listener expects and awaits an important thematic event.

In the works of Chopin, as in much other Romantic music, first and second themes often consist of a series of thematic elements arranged in their own recognizable design, usually in one of the song forms (most commonly A B A) but possibly also as a theme and variations. For instance, in the opening movement of the Piano Quartet No. 3 in C minor, Op. 60 (1855–75), by Johannes Brahms, the second thematic section is a set of variations on a theme. Responsible for such thematic design, no doubt, is the Romantic inclination toward lyricism and cantabile melodies. By using variation technique or a song form, the composer is able to linger on a tuneful theme for a longer time before relinquishing it to the contrasting appeal of organic development.

The Third Ballade presents an example of the first theme in an A B A design, in which the long B-section behaves like an expositional bridge, to the point of achieving a modulation. However, the return of the A-section, nearly doubled in length, reverts to, confirms, and extends the original tonic. In his essay "Chopin and Musical Structure: An Analytical Approach," Alan Walker explains the thematic relationship of the A-section and B-section of the first theme.[1] The point added at present is that because Chopin employs the B-section of this theme in the manner of a bridge, it later suffices for him to connect the first and second themes with nothing more than a common-tone modulation. "Bridge behavior" has been moved from after to within the first theme of an exposition.

Like Op. 47, Op. 38 presents an opening theme in a song form. This time the design is A A B A, but the general interrelationships among the parts of the theme are quite similar to those found in Op. 47, even though the expressive level in Op. 38 is far more restrained, so that the approaching second theme (in A minor) will seem all the more startling. The formal transition to the second theme is achieved again in Ballade No. 2 by means of the prolongation of a common tone, whereas the tonal relationships and connections between the two key areas of the exposition (I and iii) are presented in detail

during the B-section of the first theme (mm. 17–26). Of special interest in Ballade No. 2 is the fact that the secondary key area is worked into the first theme rather than evolving after it (in a bridge), for the composition will ultimately become possessed by and terminate in this mediant key. It is believed from a comment made by Robert Schumann that Chopin changed his mind about the ultimate tonic of this ballade (from F major to A minor).[12]

The structure of the Fourth Ballade is complicated by the use of a theme-and-variations approach in the presentation of the opening melody, both in the exposition and in the reprise. As in the Second Ballade, the first theme of Op. 52 is in A A B A form, and again the B-section behaves like a bridge, this time the key change arriving quickly and easily on account of the harmonic construction of the A-theme. However, for the first time in the ballades, Chopin adds to this ternary format the element of avoiding a final cadence (at m. 71) and coupling that evasion with an exciting, climactic passage which achieves the various functions of an expositional bridge, including that of modulating to a new key. Thus, Chopin provides two bridge areas within the exposition of the Fourth Ballade: the B-section of the ternary form (mm. 37–57), whose final A-section is denied harmonic closure, and that final A-section, itself, whose expansion drives the music relentlessly toward its second theme (at m. 84).

The dynamic continuity at the disruption of the final A-section (in mm. 70–72) prevents the listener from hearing one structural event as ending and another as beginning. The notion that the first theme has concluded and a bridge has simultaneously begun at m. 71 or m. 72, or at any other specific point, would seem arbitrary. Rather, it appears more reasonable to regard the bridge section as starting at m. 58 with the varied return of the A-section, whence it pushes forward, uninterruptedly, until reaching the major subdominant key of B-flat major for the emergence of the second theme. Therefore, the return of the A-theme functions not only as the ending of the A A B A song form. Because it never reaches harmonic closure, it also serves as the commencement of the bridge. A phenomenon such as this might best be called "structural overlapping" and it is common in Romantic music. In the same way that one phrase may begin at the precise moment when another ends by means of harmonic elision, one structural unit may start just as ("elision") or even before ("overlapping") another ends. Musical events overlap quite naturally. A bridge can be beginning while or before a first theme finishes; a development may be at work even before an exposition is terminated.[13] When harmonic closure is denied to a theme, the listener may be at a loss to pinpoint the exact moment at which that theme changes gears and becomes transformed transitional or developmental music. In dealing with Romantic sonata form, one must enlarge one's notions of pivot and elision to include more than purely harmonic events: there are structural pivots and elisions, too. Harmonic and structural elisions alike, in the music of such composers as Chopin, Berlioz, and Liszt, paved the way toward the establishment of the unending flow of non-cadencing music that is now most

often associated with the name of Richard Wagner. Keeping in mind the Romantic penchant for the avoidance of cadence, one becomes sensitive to the wrong-headedness in trying to define each structural unit of a Romantic sonata in a mono-functional manner. The structural overlappings in the Fourth Ballade cover the seams of its sonata form quite thoroughly. The forces of the bridge section engulf the lyrical A-theme, and it is really those forces that prevent the theme from cadencing.

Turning to the second themes in the ballades, one discovers that all four are distinctly different melodies from the first themes, even if motivic connections are strong. The second themes are in the keys of the submediant, mediant, major submediant, and major subdominant, respectively. Chopin's motion from F major to A minor in Ballade No. 2 is the same as, say Schubert's move from C major to E minor in the first movement of the Great Symphony. And Chopin's modulation from A-flat major to F major in No. 3 represents the same move as, for instance, Beethoven's in the recapitulation of the first movement of the "Waldstein" Sonata (1803–04), where C major moves to A major. Again, in the treatment of the second theme, the Fourth Ballade breaks more with tradition than its predecessors by moving from F minor to B-flat major. Perhaps for this reason, this second theme is prefaced by four measures (mm. 80–84) that define and confirm the untraditional, unexpected second key area."

In the First and Fourth Ballades the second theme is a fairly short, expressive, and lyrical passage providing a serene response to the more plaintive first theme. In each an 8-bar theme is repeated with harmonic variation. Distinct from these short themes, the second theme of the Third Ballade (in the major submediant) has its own A B A form. The three portions of this second theme relate to one another very much as the three portions of this ballade's first theme did. That is, the B-section (at m. 65) is long, complex, sectional, climactic, and modulatory. It stresses F minor, the parallel minor of the second theme, in which it ends firmly. As in the first theme, Chopin negates the newly-reached key in order to return to his A-idea.

The most dramatic change from first to second theme occurs in the Second Ballade. The "Presto con fuoco" in the mediant A minor is a stormy, impassioned antithesis to the pastoral F-major theme that preceded." In this work, which omits a developmental bridge section, the second theme is the area that generates the first emotional climax before the music regains its composure and—in this instance—serenity.

When the tempest subsides, the original key of the first theme, F major, is restored. The listener most likely feels that the final A-section of an A B A composition has been reached, as in a nocturne. However, after six measures, the pastoral theme is cut off by rests and a fermata (m. 87). An ellipsis eliminates most of the theme, which resumes (in m. 88) with its closing portion. However, the awaited tonic cadence is thwarted, and Chopin begins a harmonically restless developmental treatment of the first theme. Intriguingly, a passage which at first appeared to be the final part of a large

ternary form (F major–A minor–F major) is overtaken by the development section of a sonata-allegro movement. What really occurs at m. 88 is the intrusion upon a reprise of a first theme by a development. In fact, this development separates the recapitulation of the first theme from that of the second theme (at m. 140).

What happens in the other ballades after the second theme concludes? In the First, there is a closing theme in the same key as the second theme, the submediant E-flat major, and it is patterned motivically after the first theme. When this idea concludes (m. 90), there is a 4-bar transition to the development section, during which the rhythmic and harmonic stability of the second and closing themes evaporates. The composer settles on the remotely related key of A minor for the start of the development.

In the Fourth Ballade the second theme in B-flat major is followed by what sounds like a closing theme in its relative minor (m. 100). However, when this new idea is repeated a whole-tone higher and then a motivically-related passage begins to tonicize various key areas, one understands that the work's development section has commenced. A would-be closing theme has served to bring in the development. This section reaches its climax in the Ballade's relative major key, A-flat (m. 125), with a transformation of the B-section of the first theme. This passage, dealing as it does with the reiteration of a note and a stepwise descent, brings to fruition the promise of the Fourth Ballade's seven measures of introduction. Astoundingly, that very introduction returns at the apparent conclusion of the development section (at m. 129) to mark the beginning of the recapitulation, albeit only a thematic reprise at this point. As the thematic events of the opening of the composition start to recur, a cadenza on the final chord of the recapitulated introduction brings the short but intense development section to a true conclusion.

The recapitulation of the first theme begins in the next measure (m. 135), but there is as yet no return of the tonic key, since the effects of development still seem to be present. This is indicated also by the canonic imitative nature of this new variation of the first theme. Dramatically, in the Fourth Ballade developmental forces push their way into both the exposition, where a closing theme is cut off, and into the recapitulation, where harmonic ambiguity and contrapuntal intricacy govern the return of the first theme. In this way, exposition, development, and recapitulation follow one another exceedingly smoothly; the formerly disparate sections of sonata form begin to coalesce in Op. 52.

Ballade No. 3 reinforces this notion of coalescence. When the second theme ends (at m. 115), the same common tone, C, that linked the first and second themes earlier reverses the tonal direction back to the tonic, A-flat, and at that point the development begins. However, the new theme one hears at this point serves also as a closing idea for the exposition. As in the Fourth Ballade, however, this apparent closing idea is so expanded that it must be redefined as the beginning of the development section.

The development of the Third Ballade is long and multi-sectional. It con-

tains a glittering passage in sixteenth notes (at m. 124), the fragmentation of themes, a restatement of the A-section of the second theme, now in the tonic A-flat (m. 144), and of its B-section, here in C-sharp minor, the enharmonic minor subdominant (m. 157). Becoming extremely intense, this minor-mode section leads to a climactic outburst (m. 173), and five measures later a sequential descent unravels the melodic and tonal integrity of this theme, which is thus squelched in midstream. A caesura follows (m. 183).

One's expectations are raised for a recapitulation at this point. The development has reached a tense climax calling for a strong response. And, in a sense, Chopin provides a feeling of recapitulation in the following moments. He telescopes melodic reprises of the first and second themes by alternating essential fragments of them, in reverse order (second theme at m. 183, first theme at m. 189). This sense of restatement and summation notwithstanding, the absence of the tonic key and, even more, the failure of any given key to take hold of and govern this modulatory music weakens the notion of recapitulation here. Only with the setting in motion of an 8-bar dominant pedal (in m. 205) does Chopin prepare for the tonal recapitulation, which arrives at m. 213. As in many an older sonata-form movement, the dominant preparation for the recapitulation creates the final great tension of the development section, tension which is at last relieved by the return of the opening theme in the tonic key. As in the F-minor Ballade, then, the recapitulation arrives in stages: first there is melodic reprise and soon thereafter comes the return of the tonic key applied to the first theme.

In the manner of Franz Liszt, Chopin transforms his first theme in the recapitulation. The hesitancy and mystery of the opening eight measures are gone, and in their place is a passionate, flowing, richly-textured summation of the theme. The inexorable intensity and confirmation of the tonic at this point (m. 213) give this recapitulation the aura of a coda, just as the last section of the development possessed the aura of a recapitulation. When the apotheosis of the first theme ends in m. 231, the thematic idea which had earlier closed the exposition and initiated the development now serves both to complete the recapitulation and to serve as a full-fledged coda.

The development section of the First Ballade moves from a mysterious and troubled version of the first theme in the minor supertonic (A minor) to a climactic transformation of the second theme, now in A major (m. 106). Such transformations of thematic character in Chopin (as witnessed also in the Third and Fourth Ballades) represent one of his greatest achievements. As in the Third Ballade, there is also, later in the development of the First, a glittering animated, *scherzando* section (at m. 138), in which Chopin further develops the motives that govern the piece, especially the melodic twist first heard in m. 3 of the introduction (notes 1–5 of m. 3 = notes 7–11 in the right-hand part of m. 138). Virtuosity prevails in this development section, as is common in developments of sonata-form movements for the piano. Sweeping arpeggiation and scales prepare for the return of the second theme in its original key (E-flat major). Thus the reprise begins.

Reverse recapitulation, that is, the restating of the second theme before the first, is not uncommon in the Romantic era, in general, nor in Chopin, in particular.[4] In Op. 23 the first theme in G minor is presented after the second; again, the first theme is troubled and mysterious, just as it was at the beginning of the development. In the reprise, this section is even marked "Meno mosso." Another instance of structural elision is at hand, for this recapitulation of the first theme may be regarded simultaneously as the first phase of the coda of this ballade. The main part of the coda, marked "Presto con fuoco," is a vehement assertion of the tonic G minor. Rhapsodic rhetorical gestures in the epilogue-like final 15 measures, referring back to the questioning arabesques of the introduction, bring Op. 23 to a conclusion.

In the reprise of the Fourth Ballade, the canonic variation is followed by a highly embellished variation, demonstrating Chopin's genius in melodic and rhythmic coloration. Unwilling to relinquish the momentum reached here (m. 162), Chopin bridges this ornamental variation directly to the second theme, now in the submediant key, D-flat major (m. 169). However, as in previous instances, Chopin denies this theme its final cadence in the reprise and draws it, instead, into a volcanic climax, taking the composition back to its tonic key of F minor for the relentlessly passionate coda that ends this work.

In the development section of the Second Ballade, the composer realizes the motivic potential of both themes from the exposition. The contrary motion of the hands, featured in the second theme, is brought back here in octave passages which accentuate diminished-seventh chords (at m. 107), also stressed earlier in the second theme. The climactic fortissimo chords of mm. 111–14 and mm. 136–39 are derived motivically from melodic fragments in mm. 4–5. Such music, which is furthermore in tonal flux, since at least six keys (D-flat, G-flat, E, C, and F major, and G minor) are strongly tonicized in the space of 45 measures, surely merits the designation "development" of a sonata-form movement.

As in the Ballades in G minor and A-flat major, the emotional peak of the development section of the F-major Ballade is met by the recapitulation—in this case, the continuation of an interrupted recapitulation. Also, as in Op. 52, the recapitulated theme's original tonic is achieved only after several measures. At m. 156 Chopin, avoiding harmonic closure for the second theme, begins his preparation for the coda with further development featuring a long dominant pedal, around which there circles a motive from mm. 3–4 of the first theme. As in Op. 47, there is a coalescence of first- and second-theme elements in this transition to the coda.

One finds, then, that in the Second Ballade the recapitulation of the first theme commences immediately after the conclusion of the exposition; that this reprise is interrupted by a development section; and that the recapitulation resumes with the second theme after the development. The first theme, having been somewhat stranded before the development, does, however, have the final say in this piece, for the fury of the coda ends eight measures before

the close of the work, at which point the first theme, prefaced by the reiterated tones of mm. 1–2, brings the Second Ballade to its final cadence.

In summation, Chopin updated the sonata-allegro form in the four ballades. Three of the works have some sort of introductory comments, and all four have expositions with at least two very important thematic ideas in contrasting keys. They all possess a development section which lacks none of the subtlety, technical skill, or expressive variety of a master musical architect. Furthermore, each ballade recapitulates one or both of the exposition's main themes as well as one or both of its main keys. They all end with a coda replete with virtuosity and excitement. Song-form themes prevail in these works, allowing for relaxed lyricism and much tonal and thematic contrast. Overlapping of structural units, brought on customarily by the denial of harmonic closure for a given theme, conceals the divisions of the form and propels it forward.

Comparing the four ballades, one finds, in moving from Op. 23 to Op. 52, that they become increasingly remote from the sonata designs of Chopin's predecessors. The First Ballade is the most straightforward, having first, bridge, second, and third themes in the exposition, followed by a development, a reverse recapitulation, and a coda. In No. 2, two themes are presented, and then a development section splits apart the reprise of the first theme from that of the second. In the Third Ballade we find the forces of the development pushing their way into both the exposition and the recapitulation areas, as the seams of the sonata form become more veiled than before. And Ballade No. 4 not only does all this but also camouflages its sonata design by superimposing a variation treatment on its main theme.

Lamentably, the subject of sonata design in the music of Chopin and other Romantic composers has not been treated adequately in the musicological literature. This essay merely begins to scratch the surface. It is hoped, however, that some questions about the ballades have been clarified and that a helpful approach to understanding such musical structures—on their own terms—has been suggested.

NOTES

[1] Czerny, *School of Practical Composition*, 3 vols. (London: Robert Cocks & Co., 1848–49); Marx, *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition, praktisch-theoretisch*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1837–47).

[2] Charles Willeby, *Frederic François Chopin: A Biography* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1892), p. 174.

[3] Friedrich Niecks, *Frederick Chopin as a Man and Musician*, 2 vols. (London: Novello, Ewer & Co., 1888); cited in Alan Walker, ed., *The Chopin Companion: Profiles of the Man and the Musician* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1973), p. 45.

[4] *Analyse von Chopins Klavierwerke*, 2 vols. (Berlin: Max Hesses Verlag, 1922).

[5] "Die Klavierballaden von Chopin," in *Die Klavierballade von die Mitte der 19. Jahrhunderts*, Berliner Musikwissenschaftliche Arbeiten, ed. Carl Dahlhaus and Rudolf Stephan, vol. IX (Munich-Salzburg: Musikverlag Emil Katzbichler, 1976), pp. 7–48. Like Leichtentritt, Wagner sees no sonata design in the Second Ballade; he also offers no structural analyses of the Second,

Third, or Fourth Ballades. The discussion of form and style in Op. 23, the First Ballade—structurally the most straightforward of the four—is most illuminating.

[6] "Ballades, Fantasy and Scherzos," in *The Chopin Companion*, p. 45.

[7] The flexibility of the form is implied even by the title of Charles Rosen's study *Sonata Forms* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1980), a good book discussing the versatility and variety of the sonata design. It does not deal with the form of Chopin's ballades.

[8] The reader will need to have at hand a score of the four ballades. The author employed and recommends the edition by Ewald Zimmermann (Munich: Henle, 1976).

[9] Though uncommon before Beethoven, such a connection between a slow introduction and the Allegro movement in sonata form was not unprecedented, as witnessed in the first movement of Haydn's "Drum Roll" Symphony, No. 103 (1795).

[10] Longyear, *Nineteenth-Century Romanticism in Music*, 2nd ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), p. 35. Longyear's example of a tonal parenthesis is Example 7–10 (not 7–9, as he states).

[11] Walker, *The Chopin Companion*, pp. 236–37.

[12] Schumann's statement is: "I have heard Chopin end his Ballade in F Major; today it finishes in A minor." Cited in Bernard Gavoty, *Frédéric Chopin*, trans. Martin Sokolinsky (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977), p. 390.

[13] See, for example, mm. 256–57 of the opening movement of Beethoven's String Quartet in F major, Op. 59, No. 1 (1805–06). Before the development section, carried melodically in the first violin part, can complete its descending scale and achieve a cadence, the recapitulation of the first theme, heard in the cello line, has commenced.

[14] These four measures are not unlike the six measures which usher in the second theme (in B-flat major) in the opening movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony (mm. 74–79).

[15] One is reminded here of Chopin's Nocturne in F major, Op. 15, No. 1 (1830–31), a simple A B A work, whose A- and B-sections present a similarly startling contrast.

[16] Liszt's *Les Préludes* (1848) exemplifies this Romantic tendency, as do the first movements of Chopin's own Piano Sonatas Nos. 2 and 3 (1839 and 1844).

Aspects of the Creative Process in Music

By Saul Novack

Music is a phenomenon involving both the ear and the mind. The simplest melody heard by a young child can be stored in his or her memory and reproduced almost at will. The adult has the capacity to recognize large, complex musical works and styles. Trained musicians identify technical details such as intervals, rhythmic patterns, or contrapuntal and harmonic characteristics. They can look at a musical score and, depending both on their musical background and the score's complexity, realize in their mind the nature of the sounds as though they were in the process of hearing the work. Beethoven is the noblest example of inner-ear creativity.

Lay people cannot use words to describe what they hear. Most likely, if they are able to articulate their impressions of a musical work, they will be talking about themselves. The difficulties are further increased because music is a time-art. It is hard, even for the trained ear, to grasp and integrate the unfolding events in a composition because of the time factor. Every moment has meaning not in itself but in its immediate context which, in turn, can be understood only by its relationship to the whole. Just as mathematicians must use symbols to convey their concepts and meanings, musicians must use notes, the symbols of pitches and their durational values, to discuss either their own ideas or their analytical comments on a musical work. Words are necessary, it is true, but their use primarily is to connect, clarify and embellish what already has been expressed in musical notation.

The ear–mind and mind–ear connections are complex. The creative process involves both in varying degrees. Only on the basis of the evidence of a composer's output can we begin to formulate any valid judgment about the roles of each or the order in which they functioned. There are numerous examples in the creative experience of the composer in which formulation of a musical concept in the mind took place before the ear became involved.

In the largest sense composers choose their procedure in advance. The form, or genre, is selected by them. The choice superimposes both general procedures and details, determining, for example, the nature of the composer's initial thematic material. The effect of the choice is obvious. The initial theme of a fugue is radically different from that of a first movement of a sonata or a concerto. Likewise, medium is important: Haydn's opening main themes in the first movements of his keyboard sonatas differ radically from the corresponding themes of his string quartets, and even further from the opening themes in his symphonies.

Historically, abstract form itself stemmed primarily from two sources which lay outside the realm of pure music—poetry and dance. The poetic forms of the trouvères provided musicians of the 13th century with specific types of textual and formal repetitions, and out of such concepts were born the first musical genres—rondeau, ballade, and virelai. The monophonic

versions of these as well as of other forms became the models for subsequent polyphonic realizations, the so-called "formes fixes." The Italian *trecento* composers found their own poetic forms for musical realization. Much earlier, text repetitions in Gregorian chant were translated into musical repetitions such as the three-fold *Kyrie eleison—Christe eleison—Kyrie eleison*, or the symmetrical Introit—psalm verse—Introit, or the hymns. In dance, the consequence of people's biped structure was the concept of paired accents, resulting in balanced groups of patterns and their reiterations. Again, the 13th-century dances reveal clarity of form, projected with regularity of time, and with grouped rhythmic patterns reflecting physical motion. The fixed metrical ordering of poetry and its frequent pairing through rhyme sometimes were combined with the repetitive shaping inherent in the dance—for example, the rondeau as a song-dance with a refrain, or the later 16th-century Italian balletto with its characteristic "fa-la-la" refrain, so aptly and successfully adopted by Thomas Morley and his Elizabethan colleagues.

The medieval isorhythmic motet is an achievement of a different but most extraordinary character. Here, in one voice, the tenor usually, a fragment of a chant melody, probably performed instrumentally, is stated in long extended tones while the upper voices move more rapidly. The tenor fragment is itself broken into units, each one stated in a repeating rhythmic pattern, and the individual tones are of such length that the ear would find it most difficult to identify the units and the patterns while the other parts are in motion. Further, when the entire melody is repeated, the rhythmic and melodic groupings do not necessarily coincide as in the preceding statement. Such manipulation of *talea* and *color* most likely was not intended for the listener. It was a speculative and abstract adventure of the mind.

The Renaissance view of ordered organization is best exemplified by the *cantus-firmus* Mass. Before any notation took place the composer knew which melody, secular or sacred, would serve as the constructive basis for the entire Ordinary. Most frequently, the individual sections, beginning with the *Kyrie*, contained at least one complete statement of the *prius factus* melody, generally in long extended tones, and often confined to one voice, the tenor. These melodies sometimes were projected through various types of canons and other spectacular artifices.

Perhaps the most overwhelming examples of mind-oriented art are to be found in the late compositions of Johann Sebastian Bach. Four astounding works represent what may be the pinnacle of musical thought commencing in the mind and realized in the ear. They are: (1) the Canonic Variations on the chorale-melody *Vom Himmel hoch;* (2) *Die Kunst der Fuge;* (3) the Aria with 30 Variations ("Goldberg"); and (4) *Musikalisches Opfer*. These works are too well known to require description. Particularly arresting in the *Goldberg Variations* is the order of canons in every third variation at successive intervals, commencing at the unison (Variation 3) and proceeding to the tenth (Variation 30), maintaining in each of these variations the canon of two of the voices while adhering faithfully to the variation principle. In *Musikalisches Opfer* the puzzle canons on the "royal theme" defy the imagination. Each one

is conceived with a different artifice such as mirror, inversion, contrary motion, perpetuum, and augmentation. It is impossible for the ear to recognize the unfolding of these canons unless the mind has been instructed through a study of the score. The complexity notwithstanding, the work is absorbed by the ear within the normal context of Bach's contrapuntal-harmonic style. The opening and closing ricercari for three and six voices, respectively, and the internal trio sonata, all based on the same "royal theme," intensify the monumental character of this work as a representation of the superimposition of a conceptual framework onto a musical composition.

The sources of ideas external to music itself are numerous and have had considerable influence on the course of creative conception. The composer may be dealing with hybrid genres that demand concurrent parallel considerations. Attention already has been invited to the fundamental and relatively simple effects of poetry and dance on musical order. More complex relationships occur through the artistic extensions and developments of each of these. The development of dance into the realm of ballet requires the consideration of the visual representation. On the one hand, the choreographer may take an existing musical work and use it as the template for formal or psychological representation, translating musical motivic gesture into physical gesture. This procedure does not concern us. On the other hand, and more germane to musical creativity, is the creation of a musical work suitable for representing ideas that are essentially expressed through physical gesture. Thus Stravinsky's *Le Sacre du printemps*, a landmark in 20th-century music, cannot be divorced from the initial purpose for which it was intended. By referring to this work as both "architectonic and anecdotal," Stravinsky characterized its dual nature. It has the capacity to exist both on its own internal, musical terms as a work of art independent of its source and as a representation of an aesthetic world external to the purely musical utterance. The bold concepts of dissonance projected in irregular rhythmic forms and patterns, combined with radically new contra-Romantic orchestral sonorities, would never have been created without the choreographic theme representing a primitivistic rite.

Opera is a more complex fusion of visual, dramatic and musical forces. The emphasis given to each of these components, as well as their relative balances and imbalances, have varied in music history. There was always, however, an external viewpoint assumed by composers before beginning to write the music. They either adhered to the stylistic norm of their time, or they modified it to suit their views, or they rebelled, eventually evolving a completely different style. The choice of a libretto, its subject matter, style and structure were essential prerequisites. Calzabigi and Gluck, Lorenzo da Ponte and Mozart, Boito and Verdi—all exemplify different relationships and articulation. Handel, the greatest master of Neapolitan opera style, knew that each aria would demand the representation of a different emotion, and he proceeded to set to music a libretto already designed to serve the doctrine of affections. The result was a series of affects—arias of love, hate,

revenge, unrequited love, suspicion, mourning, and so on. In the actual composition, however, the unfolding of the melody, the harmonic and contrapuntal realizations and their intimate relationships to tonal structure and form all had to follow musical dictates and principles. But the creator's mind was compelled to function simultaneously to meet the requirement of the "affect" both as a matter of style and of convention. The finale of Act I in Mozart's *Don Giovanni* is a magnificent musical realization of a dramatic idea. Mozart uses therein three instrumental groups, each one performing its own music for dance in an individual and different meter and rhythm. The three separate rhythmic–metric dances projected simultaneously correspond to three different character groups. Here again it is the internal musical structure that holds together the external conditions of the drama.

The delineation of the internal and external forces is again clearly seen in such a work as Verdi's *Otello*, in which the librettist, Boito, while remaining reasonably faithful to Shakespeare, altered the drama to make it representable through music. Thus, for example, the original Iago, man of intellect who carefully weighs human foibles, is transformed into the personification of evil. Iago's "Credo" in Act II of the opera expresses this characterization perfectly. The motivic transformations and the unified tonal structure, economically concise and enhanced by the brilliant use of the orchestral palette, create a marvelously successful musical means of characterization. Delineation of function is more difficult in the music of Wagner, whose concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* suggests an indivisible amalgam of the dramatic, visual, and musical forces. All the same, it would be a mistake to conclude that they serve equally, for the orchestra still remains central and dominant. Wagner's sense of continuity and integration through an expanded musical structure, still traditionally tonal, transcends the very secondary referential role of the *leitmotif*. While the cosmic view in the Ring Cycle is the organizing external frame for the musical drama, the ultimate artistic realization lies in the musical forces.

The examination of the mind–ear nature of musical thought processes is central to the understanding of music as intellectual history. Thus far consideration has been given to some of the different types of creative activities that originate in the mind, either from within or from without, before the composer commences the act of putting together tones through the symbol of the written note. It has not been difficult to give some representative examples.

Turning now to the other factor, the ear, to examine the process by which a continuum of musical sound expresses a unified whole, a *Gestalt*, we, of course, find that there are greater difficulties. The ear is one end of the mind–ear axis. Composers do their thinking by moving along this axis freely, and as they choose. The gamut of mind–ear, or ear–mind, is the totality of the internal world of music.[1] The musical thought process requires the understanding of the relationship of each tone not only to the tones that precede it, but to those that follow, as well as to those that exist at the same time. To a large extent, current procedure for such understanding is concerned with the identification of units, sometimes called melodies or themes, and their subdi-

visions, with attention given to the symmetrical or asymmetrical divisions and spatial relationships. Smaller identifiable and repeated fragments are called motives. The procedure is descriptive rather than analytical, serving mainly to identify the succession of melodic events.

Thus it is valid to say, for example, that the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony begins with a motive that serves as the springboard for most of the melodic events in the entire movement. On a more sophisticated level, it is not too difficult to trace entries of the main subject of a fugue, especially because of its unencumbered monophonic statement at the opening, and to point out in the course of the fugue the subject's partial, inverted, or augmented appearances, and even the use of stretto. A layman with a minimal music-reading ability can be led along such personally rewarding paths. These observations, necessary and fundamental as they may be as a first stage in perception and evaluation, lie within the realm of music appreciation rather than analysis. On a more technical level similar limitations are set in the procedure of so-called "harmonic analysis," whereby every chord is identified and labelled—even, if necessary, with roots which are not present—this grammatical view ignoring voice-leading, contrapuntal linear motion, direction, and the shape of the whole.

Music is a time-art. A musical composition has a beginning, a middle, and an end. The event as it unfolds has meaning at any given moment only through its relationship to what has happened before and will happen after. The continuous flow of time and through time must be integrated by the ear if the composition is to be an expression of oneness, if it is to form a unified totality. As a musical work unfolds in time, the largest blocks of time exhibit similarities and differences in their divisions. We refer to such large divisions as, for example, two-part or binary form, or three-part or ternary form. If such sections or divisions take place in relatively equal time units, they are balanced, or periodic. The equalization of reiterated sections at the beginning and the end of a composition creates different degrees of symmetry; unequal lengths of various ratios, asymmetry. Thus we borrow from the visual experience to describe the aural experience. The determination of such outer form alone offers a limited and skeletal view of the compositional process. Far more difficult and challenging is the perception of the inner structure, the understanding of the internal connections of the tones, one to another and all to the organic whole.

Before the beginnings of polyphony one already finds a very fundamental procedure for involving the ear in a definable unity of a succession of tones. One tone stands out as more important than any other in a succession intended to form some kind of unit. This is the essential notion of tonality. It can be a very simple system of relationships based on a few tones, or it can be extremely complex. The *scale* is the abstract ordering of the tones involved in such a concept, but it does not reveal the system or *schema* of the tonality. Almost constantly, the examples in the *Liber Usualis* reveal an orientation toward tonal centrality. A central tone in a chant melody asserts itself as *the* referential tone to which all the others are in some way subservient. The

tonal organization of many chants is not difficult to discern. In the recitation of the Psalms, the patterns are self-evident. In many other chants, divisions of the text are coordinated with discernible tonal motions that profile the relative importance of the tones. The last tone, or *finalis*, becomes the ultimate resolution of the motion and the tone which gives the chant its designation, or *tonus*, as it is significantly called. The implication of prolongations of melodic fifths and thirds, and sometimes of triads, is that there is oft-times a considerable sense of protean tonality. Such a notion is not far-fetched, as we have been led to believe. The fifth degree frequently assumes an importance by suggesting the framework for the melody, and the third degree is sufficiently stressed to add to the presence of a triad. In a number of examples repeated patterns outlining the triad, particularly in descending form, offer strong evidence.[2] It is not suggested that all chant melodies lend themselves to such reductions, but a sufficient number do, and therefore this concept cannot be dismissed.

The first excursions into polyphony after the initial and rather tentative thrusts in the 9th through the 12th centuries reflect the medieval art of ornamentation, the embellishment of the liturgical chant paralleled by the literary adornments resulting in the writing of sequences and tropes. Indeed, the first ventures were experimental, as the ear of the anonymous liturgical composer sought a new dimension in sound as a musical trope or ornamentation of the chant. Since two different voices were to sing different tones at any given moment, an aesthetic basis had to be found to justify the choices of those tones. At first the composer's ear was guided by the obvious selection of the unison and octave as a beginning and an ending, but within the chant the fifth and fourth played equal roles. In effect, this was carrying into practice the musical theories of the Greeks as known to the medieval theorists. An event of singular importance took place at the beginning of the 12th century, one destined to play a primary role in the history of Western music. The fifth became the primary interval following the unison and the octave, while the fourth assumed a subservient role. Although fourths still appeared frequently after this, their role was passing in nature.

In time the selectivity of tones became more critical. In the art of the two-voiced polyphony of the School of Compostela in northern Spain, the lower voice was ornamented by the upper voice, the lower voice, carrying the chant melody, providing the foundation for the interval structure. The ear, seizing upon a fundamental characteristic of nature, brought into practice the discovery of the Greeks that a fundamental tone generates overtones of higher frequency. In actual practice, then, the lower voice became the basis for determining intervallic criteria—in effect, consonance and dissonance. The lower voice also became the basis for the construction of the triad, and for the determination of tonality. The composer of Compostela went even further. In the ornamentation of the upper voice, the fifth became subordinate to the octave and the unison, and these three intervals became the framework for the chain of the small groups of ornamentation. Finally, the third emerged frequently as a significant tone in the framework of the fifth.[3]

Shortly afterwards, in the so-called School of Notre Dame, the two-voice relationship was given a new dimension. In very long sustained tones, the chant melody was still carried in the lower voice, but the time dimensions were considerably expanded, giving greater space to the polyphony. The clarity of the upper-voice motion was enhanced by durational organization. The various rhythmic modal patterns of longs and shorts began to emerge, shaping the upper voice above the sustained lower tone into rhythmic–melodic fragments of discernible shape and form, projecting the motion of the upper voice with an emphasis on the role of the octave and fifth as intervals playing a structural role. These intervals not only occurred at the significant beginning and ending of each tone in the lower voice, but they were also outlined in the motion of the upper voice during the prolongation of the lower tone. The shapes of these fragments became more important through repetition. Furthermore, these repetitions coincided with tonal motions. The intermediary role of the third in the filling in of the outlined fifth was asserted repeatedly. The triad as an organizing force for tonality had indeed arrived.[3]

In the later three-part motets of the Notre Dame School, the triad comes into being as a sonority. Both as a simultaneity and in linear outline the triadic concept is unequivocal, though the tonality is in a shape which is not as yet fully formed. There are many sections in the works of Leoninus and Perotinus that reveal clarity of motion in the unfolding of the triad in the uppermost voice. In the expansion of these practices in the three- and four-voice settings of Perotinus, the chant-melody fragments chosen for polyphonic elaboration occasionally are themselves centered on a single tone, resulting in a projection of one tonality for the entire *organum*.[3]

The path from this point on was a direct one. Composers devised various techniques of voice-leading and counterpoint that, in combination with thematic material, made the sense of a tonal center even stronger. The various types of cadences emphasized the arrivals at intermediate and final points, but the motion and direction of the voices throughout the composition contributed to the overall impression of tonal focus. During the course of the 13th and 14th centuries, poetry and dance began to exert a considerable influence on form: in dance through the repetition of step patterns; in poetry through the ordering of the text in various ways. The conditions of triadic tonality, however, became a vital part of the structure of such compositions, thus revealing the true meaning of form as a fusion of tonal structure and design (melodic) repetition.[4] It is not difficult to convince the ear that these examples were structured by an underlying tonality according to which the polyphonic lines moved.

The Renaissance ushers in compositions of widely diverse types. On the one hand, there appear direct and easily grasped compositions such as the French chansons, Italian frottolas, and madrigals, especially the English representatives at the end of the 16th century. On the other hand, there are the usually very complex and lengthy liturgical compositions—masses and motets. Simple or complex, they are all bound together by two important developments in the prolongation of tonality embracing a complete composi-

tion. First, is the discovery *by the ear* of the 5th relationship whereby the lowest voice in a polyphonic setting leaps the interval of a 5th—a leap dictated by a principle other than voice-leading. And so, for example, when the lowest voice moves from G to C, it articulates a motion from the first overtone to the fundamental tone from which it springs. The motion from the G chord to the C chord in the key of C results in an affirmation of the centrality of C through the *harmonic* process which we identify as the dominant–tonic relationship, the most fundamental principle of chord succession learned by the student of harmony. From the 15th century onward the literature reveals a constantly increased use of this relationship as well as other fifth-degree motions that add to the harmonic resources. Henceforth the harmonic function joins the contrapuntal function in the articulation of unfolding tonality.

The second important development is the gradual modification of the various modes so that by the end of the 16th century the major and minor become virtually the exclusive modes in use, remaining unchallenged to the end of the 19th century. In early polyphony, and even to some extent in Gregorian chant, stipulated chromatic changes of tones regularly occurred within the traditional church modes. In common performance practice throughout the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, such changes were made by the performer even when not indicated in the music. Through *musica ficta* and stipulation the modes, save one, were modified, ultimately taking on the characteristics of either the modern major or minor scale. Only the Phrygian mode did not yield to these changes, retaining its identity through special use and particularly affecting the minor mode through the employment of the so-called "Neapolitan" device and variations thereof.

The perception of the relationship of mode to tonality is critical and essential. No matter what a mode may be, it is capable of organization through the projection of a central tone, and in polyphony, through the linear, contrapuntal and harmonic prolongations of triads. Thus, for example, identification of the key of E signifies the tonality of E. E dorian, E phrygian, E major, E minor, and so on, are all the same tonality in different modes. The prevailing view that modality and tonality are different systems, and that tonality commences at the beginning of the 17th century, is incorrect and a distortion of music history. The major and minor were the surviving and enduring modes only because the ear discovered that these two had the capacity to project tonality in a more convincing and intensive fashion than the others. Even during the period of dominance of the major and minor modes, their use was by no means pure. Modifications, exchanges, and borrowings were characteristic. Within a single composition there were frequently not only mixtures but also exchanges such as C major to C minor, and vice-versa. These were not changes in key—only changes in mode.

In light of the above, the changes from the 16th century into the 17th century were predominantly changes in style—a revolution in aesthetics. The evolution of musical structure, however, was continuous and uninterrupted. The Baroque era reflected a new view of time-space. It was filled with identifiable thematic units, in fragments and in larger sections. The

divisions of longer compositions were large, and the sense of form became clear through repetition and contrast. Themes attained character and form through the recurrence of rhythmic figures. The role of tonality in these new concepts was intimate and primary. The identifiable themes had internal structures through their fusion with tonality. They had tonal shape and form. Furthermore, the role of tonality increasingly clarified the divisions of large spatial unities. For example, in two-part, or binary, dance pieces, tonality was likewise divided into two parts, frequently moving from the tonic to the dominant in part I, and from the dominant to the tonic in part II. There were other divisions of tonality which could be readily recognized. During the course of these basic motions which defined the fundamental harmonic relationships in the tonality of the piece, other tonalities were prolonged temporarily and in passing. Prolongations of this kind are usually identified as modulations. It cannot be emphasized strongly enough that such labels are descriptive rather than analytical, for all these temporary tonalities play a subservient role in the all-embracing single tonality of the composition as a whole. A great achievement in the Baroque era was the new way, or actually, many new ways, of stating and prolonging thematic unities within a greater expanse of space. These new dimensions were embraced by an unfolding tonality which drew the motion toward its inevitable, final resolution. These complete unities frequently formed a part of a large, composite instrumental and/or vocal work, such as suite, concerto grosso, or oratorio.

The delineation and clarity of tonality as a structural force reaches a high-point in the Classic era. The shaping of a theme, well-controlled by the ever-present background of the triad, is based on its pitch contour not only for its own intrinsic quality but also for its potential. Themes and sections are supported by harmonic progressions which provide a tonal framework. It is much more than thematic gesture and motivic vitality and continuity alone that give the music of this style its intrinsic quality of pervasive unity. Tonality plays a primary role, not only by providing a structural framework, as it had in the music of the past, but also by achieving its goals dynamically and dramatically. This is most obvious in the sonata-allegro movements of the sonata genres (including the symphony), the so-called *sonata-form*. In this setting our attention is drawn toward areas of great tonal motion. The term "development" is employed to characterize thematic fragmentation and reshaping as a basis for dramatic continuity. The thematic–motivic life of a composition is given further intensity through the internal tonal motion. In the sonata-allegro movement it is particularly emphasized in its largest dimensions in the section following the double bar which concludes the exposition. Most often the goal of the tonal motion is the dominant through which the recapitulation, in the tonic, is regained. The tonal path can be simple or complex; it can be direct or it can contain detours or circuitous routes. The possible paths are infinite. The tonic–dominant–tonic framework and other similar patterns characteristic of the binary forms of the Baroque have been expanded considerably in the Classic period and enhanced thematically and dramatically, but the basic tonic–dominant–tonic harmonic background

prevails. Within this harmonic framework the various paths of tonal motion, now expanded, add new space and dimensions to the unfolding of a single tonality. The one tonality of a work from which all the energy springs and to which it is compelled to return is still the all-embracing tonality, the *Gestalt*. All other areas of tonal prolongations which lend themselves to description as "modulations" are temporary and subservient, and they must be understood contextually. As applied to this music, the stylistic designation "Classic Era" is appropriate to the nature and function of its characteristic tonal structures. They are ordered and directed, maintaining a mutual interdependence with their thematic–motivic life; the whole revealing a perfect balance of structure and design resulting in a clarity of form, simple in its outer shape, complex in its inner nature.

One cannot generalize the trends in the 19th century after Beethoven. On the one hand, composers continued the path of constant expansion of both the tonal and thematic facets of form. These increasing dimensions of time made corresponding demands on triadic tonality's clarity of centrality, particularly as the tonal motions became further removed from the tonic–dominant–tonic framework. During this period new sonorities evolved, the succession of dissonance and consonance becoming more complex as a result of the increased use of chromatic voice-leading. On the other hand, composers became more conscious of the explicit effect of the nature of sound, and were therefore increasingly concerned with a new aesthetic, the sonority of the chord. It would be erroneous to assume, as has been done in the case of the "Tristan chord," that such practices represent the dissolution of the tonal process for, as is the case in Wagner's now symbolic opening to *Tristan and Isolde*, such chords and passages can be understood within the background of a basic and clear traditional harmonic framework.[1]

The close relationship of the basic tonal structure as background to a much more complex and expanded foreground can best be seen in the short forms and genres of the 19th century—the preludes, etudes, nocturnes, ballades, and various character pieces by Chopin, Schumann, Liszt, Brahms, and others, as well as in contemporaneous *Lieder*. Most often the ordering of these compositions is quite formal in large-scale repetitions and sections. Despite the frequent complex chromaticism, fundamental harmonic structures still serve in support of the form. The rapidly expanding tonal space is compressed into tight frameworks capable of being heard as unities because of the relatively briefer time dimensions as well as the usual clarity of the formal organizations.

It is not necessary to detail the conditions leading to the breakdown and gradual dissolution of triadic tonality that occurred at the end of the 19th century and early part of the 20th century. This was the end of the uninterrupted historical continuity of a system. It was replaced by other systems, although tonality still survives in altered forms.

The foregoing brief outline of the evolution and history of triadic tonality is the history of a system, one based on the natural phenomenon of overtones consolidated and expressed in the triad, compromising with nature's exact

frequencies for the purposes of art. The history of triadic tonality is revealed as a concept which was born in early polyphony, evolving by the beginning of the 16th century as a system governed by both contrapuntal and harmonic principles. Compositions are an unfolding of the triad in time. The process of unfolding constantly expands spatially and tonally until the triad as background to the composition no longer can be effectively perceived.

The study of triadic tonality's history is the study of the creative process. It was the ear that gradually selected and refined the criteria for the background of this process. As has been shown, the ear discovered the triad, and it was this triad, either major or minor, that was prolonged in time. In the beginning these time prolongations were fragments. They were gradually expanded. Design elements grew out of the triadic impulse and became part of the texture unfolding into larger units. The ear operated within this system. Thus the creative hearing process became a thought process. The world of the ear is the world of pure musical thought. From its beginnings until the end of the 19th century tonality became the springboard for the thought process, selecting tones which in their succession and combination fulfilled the creative drive for the organic whole. The history of triadic tonality is the history of a system of the ear.

Returning once more to the *ear–mind axis*, one realizes that these two factors of the creative process, the mind and the ear, operate with utmost variability. The creative process, may move along this axis in either direction from one polarity to the other, depending upon a variety of conditions. A few variations of the axis are suggested here:

Ideas of the mind operate within the system of the ear. To this group belong forms and genres stemming from extramusical sources such as word and dance, as well as special procedures, such as *cantus-firmus* settings, canon, fugue, and rondo.

Ideas of the mind and ideas of the ear simultaneously operate within the system of the ear. To this category belong the types of compositions in which external and internal elements exist at the same time, and the totality of the work is realized within a musically organic whole. This applies to settings of poems, but the interrelationship of text and music varies with composers and styles.The previous discussion of opera is germane to this category.

Ideas of the ear operate within the system of the mind. Schoenberg evolved the so-called twelve-tone procedure, or system, in stages. In the process of his stylistic development, he finally became aware of the fact that his ear had led him to a point at which he could express his ideas as bound by a systematic procedure. Serial procedure requires the ordering of the tones, the order, or tone row, becoming the basis for compositional procedure. The system lies in the mind. It can be traced throughout the composition. The existence of this systematic procedure does not ensure quality of composition, just as the use of acceptable harmonic and contrapuntal procedures in preceding centuries did not necessarily result in first-rate music.

Ideas of the ear become ideas of the mind, both unfolding within the system of the ear. This is a balanced relationship. The line of separation is at times so indis-

tinct that it is difficult to discern the direction of flow—from ear to mind, or from mind to ear. External evidence sometimes finds the clue. It is known that Mozart had the ability to conceive an entire organic whole before writing one note, and that once he had begun, he wrote at a feverish pace. The act of writing the work was virtually post-compositional. Every tone had its meaning, and a musical structure of profound quality and unity may have been created. In the case of Beethoven, however, the sketchbooks reveal how carefully he molded and reworked his musical ideas, and the final works demonstrate the distance between the initial ideas and their final realization.

Two additional variations are suggested: (1) *Ideas of the mind operate within the system of the mind;* and (2) *Ideas of the ear and/or the mind operate without system.* The reader may wish to explore the applicability of these categories to some facets of post-triadic music. Each of the foregoing categories can be broadened and given greater detail and refinement, and each offers fertile ground for analytical and aesthetic study.

We recognize that the study of music and the study of music history are complex. Systematic musicology outlines for us the various divisions and areas of specialization, each of which requires great concentration. The area which is not clearly defined is the study of music as a system, or systems. The study of music theory and music history provides the necessary preliminary for this study. On the contemporary music scene analysts, and frequently composers themselves, have attempted to develop detailed procedures to represent current systems of musical composition. Their consciousness (and in some cases self-consciousness), rising out of the formulation of new systems whose internal characteristics cannot be grasped readily by the ear, has led them along the path of analysis and exposition appropriate and significant to the works examined.

For an understanding of music as a creative process, we must come to grips with a comprehension of the system of the ear. In the case of the system of triadic tonality, analytical approaches cannot rely on aesthetic formulations or descriptive techniques. They must be able to present a *Gestalt* view of a composition rather than a dissection and dismemberment of its various parts. In understanding the system we will begin to understand the creative process. This process is intellectual history, and our study of it must begin with the music and must end with the music. Igor Stravinsky, when asked by a border official to identify his profession, replied, "I am an inventor." This is the essence of the creative spirit. The giants of composition from Perotin to Stravinsky were all great thinkers who pondered the nature of the world of musical sound, and created from that world timeless monuments of thought.

NOTES

[1] There are numerous facets of musicological studies that offer valuable and necessary contributions toward an all-embracing view of the world of music. The viewpoints presented in this essay are not intended to provide the sole criteria for the understanding of the nature of music.

[2] Several of the examples discussed in the succeeding footnotes have been selected from Davison and Apel's *Historical Anthology of Music (HAM)*, vol. I (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946), as a matter of convenience, i.e., ready accessibility. The Responsorium *Libera me*

(Example 14, p. 12) is an early example of responsorial singing, with its alternation of chorus and solo, and repetition of the same musical phrases (basically, the rondo principle). The characteristics of tonality are demonstrated not only in the predominance of the starting tone, *D*, and the emphasis given that tone in the various text phrases, but also in the clear establishment of *A*, a fifth above *D*, strengthened on two occasions by the use of a stipulated *B♭* as a neighbor tone, as well as in the important role of the tone *F*. The D minor triad is strongly suggested as a skeletal background to the unfolding melody.

[4] See Example 27b, *Canctipotens genitor*, *HAM*, p. 23. Most of the phrases outline the 5th and the octave, in each case resolving to the unison or octave. The importance of the 3rd in each of the prolongations is obvious. This example clearly demonstrates that the lower voice commands the intervallic relationships, acting as the factor for the outlining and prolongation of the 5th, octave, unison, and, in passing, the 3rd, for each of the tones.

[5] The two-voice *organum*, Example 28c, *HAM*, p. 24, illustrates the emphasis given to the triad above *D* for settings of syllables *Be-*, *ce-*, and *-mus*. The outlining of the D minor triad is clearly exposed in each of these units.

[6] For an excellent analytical study of Perotinus, see Felix Salzer, "Tonality in Early Medieval Polyphony: Towards a History of Tonality," *The Music Forum*, vol. 1 (New York, 1967), pp. 35–98, with particular attention to the discussion and graphic analysis of the organum *Alleluja Pasci*, commencing on p. 86.

[7] Two rewarding early examples in *HAM* are cited: the monophonic rondeau *En mai dame* (no. 19d), p. 17; and *English Dance* (no. 40c), p. 43. Early as they are (13th century), they already reveal inner form, i.e., spatial groupings reflecting, on the one hand, the text and, on the other, the paired effects of bodily motion. In the latter example, the dance equivalent of *sort* and *clos* is given tonal definition through the delay of the fall to the main tone, *F*, in the *clos* of each repeated unit.

[8] See William J. Mitchell, "The Tristan Prelude: Techniques and Structure," *The Music Forum*, vol. 1, pp. 162–203.

Mozart's Seductions

By Richard Stiefel

There are three duets of seduction in Mozart's operatic oeuvre: *Don Giovanni*, No. 7; *Così fan tutte*, No. 23; and *Così fan tutte*, No. 29. (See Appendices A, B, and C for the texts.) In the eyes of at least one of the characters involved in each of these duets, an intimate, passionate exchange takes place—one in which the characters progress from opposition to union. Mozart's settings of the duets contain music that is appropriate to each character and to the feelings he or she is expressing; in addition, they reveal techniques that bear specifically on the evolving relationships between the characters.

In order to discuss these techniques, one ought to define a common basis for the dramatic and musical aspects of the duets. Any relationship between two (or more) people or dramatic characters involves their being in a state of agreement or disagreement. The development of their relationship frequently involves movement between one and the other of these states, either in response to circumstances from without or as the result of the initiative of one and the yielding to that initiative of the other. Music is as much a question of relationships as are human affairs and their dramatic representation. All of music's aspects and techniques work toward the creation of relationships among simultaneous and successive sound events and among patterns of sound events. Any two musical events are either the same or different; every musical event either initiates a pattern or else repeats, continues, or alters a pattern already established.

In an instrumental work these musical relationships are ends in themselves—what the work is about. In an aria they may serve to underline the progression of ideas and feelings being expressed. In a duet (or larger ensemble), musical relationships are apportioned among the characters involved and thus may serve to underline the dramatic relationship between the characters. This is one of opera's greatest capabilities; the techniques by which it can be accomplished are among opera's greatest resources.

Duet texts may be organized in one of two ways: words for one character may alternate with words for the other, or words may be shared by both characters. Many duet texts consist wholly of one or the other of these arrangements, but most combine them.[1] A further distinction is useful for some duet texts—that between longer and shorter alternations of text between characters. A typical duet text consists of an alternation of four lines for each character, followed by a few shorter alternations of one line each, and concluding with four shared lines (the number of lines for each section is typical and, of course, variable). These alternations are usually similar in versification (and rhyme scheme), giving the composer the opportunity of setting them to the same music, or at least to parallel musical structures. More than a quarter of Mozart's duet texts are of this type, probably because of its serviceability.[2] It lends itself particularly well to duets of persuasion and seduction. One of the three seduction duets has this text form; the others,

variants of it.

Mozart's seduction duet texts progress through the following stages:

1. Male character: proposal;
2. Female character: refusal, hesitation, evasion;
3. Male: persuasion, encouragement, urging;
4. Female: weakening;
5. Female: surrender;
6. Both characters: union, celebration, release of tension.

Not all these stages are articulated in the texts of each of the three duets, but those that are not are nonetheless present by implication. In addition, one may find the characters commenting on what is occurring.

Each of the seduction duets begins with the woman already aware of the man's interest in her, and already interested in him. Zerlina and Dorabella do not put up much resistance. Guglielmo must work harder than Don Giovanni only because of the wager in which he is involved: by this time Dorabella is willing enough to succumb to Guglielmo's supposed desire, but then she is reluctant to offer the necessary visible proof. Fiordiligi, on the other hand, really struggles to resist Ferrando.

These differences account for the variations in the length and structure of the three duet texts. The text of the *Don Giovanni* duet is laid out simply: one long exchange, two short exchanges, and one shared passage. Zerlina's utterances follow and balance Don Giovanni's. The first part (lines 1–16) of *Così fan tutte* No. 23 has nearly the same structure; but the need for proof means that the process of proposal, refusal, and persuasion—in this case acted out more than sung—must be repeated. Hence the additional exchanges and shared passage. In both of these duets the men take the initiative and retain it. Throughout much of *Così fan tutte* No. 29, Fiordiligi has the initiative and Ferrando attempts to wrest it from her. Their exchanges are unequal and are varied in length. Their first shared passage (lines 17–19) is not part of the main proceedings but is, rather, a comment on the progress up to this point and a foretelling of what is to come. Several more exchanges are required before Fiordiligi yields and the two can celebrate their coming together.

For our purposes, the aforementioned six stages through which these duets progress can be grouped as follows:

1. Initial relationship: opposition (nos. 1 and 2 above);
2. Change of initial relationship (nos. 3, 4, and 5 above);
3. Final relationship: union (no. 6 above).

Table I shows this division of the texts. All three duet texts define the initial relationship in the first eight lines. In *Don Giovanni* No. 7 and *Così fan tutte* No. 23 these eight lines consist of two parallel quatrains—one for each character. *Così fan tutte* No. 29 begins with two quatrains also, but they are apportioned to the characters so that Fiordiligi is given the first and half of the second, which Ferrando interrupts and completes. The duet texts also devote a similar amount of space to the final agreement. It is in the central portion—that of persuasion and change—that the duets differ markedly.

Table II provides basic information about the music of the duets under

consideration. The relative lengths of these duets reflect something of their place in their respective operas. *Don Giovanni* No. 7, labelled "duettino," is one among several musical numbers that show us who Don Giovanni is and how he operates. The *Così fan tutte* duets, both labelled "duetto," are of central importance in their opera, as the plot hinges on them.[3]

Mozart's favorite key for duets and also for musical numbers concerned with love is A major.[4] What is most striking in Table II is Mozart's use of C major as the secondary key in *Così fan tutte* No. 29. It would appear from the table that Mozart has thus brought this duet into tonal alignment with No. 23, but actually he has done more: he has related both duets to the C major tonal axis of the opera as a whole.[5] He makes this relationship explicit by quoting directly (and ironically) *Così fan tutte* No. 3,[6] the C major trio in which Ferrando and Guglielmo plan optimistically how they will spend their winnings from the wager with Don Alfonso.

As to tempo and meter, *Così fan tutte* No. 29 is the most varied of the three duets—not surprisingly, considering the fierceness of Fiordiligi's resistance and the variety of approaches Ferrando adopts. Mozart's preference for *andante* as the tempo for seduction, and his use of some kind of triple meter in the course of all three duets, are also worth pointing out.

Of the three stages of the duets—opposition, change, union—the last has the greatest degree of uniformity. Lovers had been singing in parallel thirds and sixths long before Mozart began writing operas, and they do so here, too. They sing as one, with just enough separateness to provide harmony. Where the voices depart from this texture, it is only to return to and confirm it. Dorabella and Guglielmo never depart from this texture when they are singing the same words. Zerlina and Don Giovanni do so once (mm. 65–72): they take turns singing the word "andiam" to the same rhythm, with each having a chance to initiate and to conclude a cadential progression.

Twice while singing the final four lines of their duet Fiordiligi and Ferrando depart from their parallel singing. The first time it is for two brief imitative passages to the words "abbracciamci o caro bene" (mm. 111–15). The second time they stop singing in parallel sixths begins on the word "sospirar" and consists of a series of three overlapping echoings of Fiordiligi's phrases by Ferrando (mm. 121–25). This is then repeated, but with Ferrando taking the lead and ornamenting the second and third phrases (mm. 126–30). Like Zerlina and Don Giovanni in the previous example, Fiordiligi and Ferrando sing essentially the same thing, reversing the order of their singing.

We have seen that the final, agreement section of these duets corresponds to the singing of the same words to essentially the same music—mostly simultaneously, sometimes in close alternation. The first section—that of the initial opposition between the two characters—may be defined as the first verbal exchange and the music to which it is set. Mozart opens all three duets with a fully stated musical theme. Don Giovanni and Fiordiligi sing these opening themes in their respective duets. Beyond learning that these characters have taken the initiative by singing first, we must wait for what

Table I
Division of Seduction Duet Texts According to Relationship Between Characters

State of Relationship	Line numbers (Total number of lines in parentheses) *Don Giovanni* No. 7	*Così fan tutte* No. 23	*Così fan tutte* No. 29
Opposition	1– 8(8)	1– 8(8) 17–18(2)	1– 8 (8)
Change	9–12(4)	9–12(4) 19–27(9)	9–30(22)
Union	13–15(3)	13–16(4) 28–31(4)	31–34 (4)

Table II
Seduction Duets: General Musical Characteristics

Characteristic	*Don Giovanni* No. 7	*Così fan tutte* No. 23	*Così fan tutte* No. 29
No. of Measures	82	120	142
Key (Subord. Key)	A (E)	F (C)	A (C)
Tempo and Meter	Andante 2/4	Andante graz. 3/8	Adagio ¢
	Andante 6/8		Con più moto ¢
			Allegro ¢
			Larghetto 3/4
			Andante ¢

comes next before the initial relationship between the characters is established. Not so in *Così fan tutte* No. 23. Here, both characters contribute to setting out the opening theme, so that by its end their relationship has been established.

Table III sets forth information regarding the structure of the opening melody of *Così fan tutte* No. 23: Dorabella's reply to Guglielmo is a continuation of the melody he has begun. It consists, as does Guglielmo's opening, of four two-measure phrases, and it deals exclusively with the motivic material of Guglielmo's first phrase. The implication is that Dorabella is ripe for the picking, as indeed she is. Her words, however, are refusing Guglielmo's request.

Table III

Così fan tutte No. 23: Musical Structure of Opening Melody

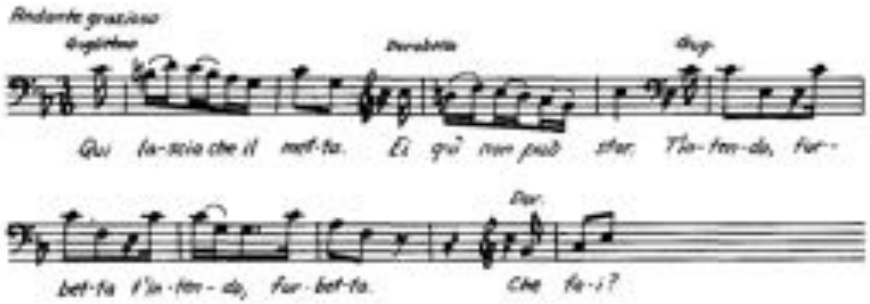
Meas. Nos.	1–2	2–4	4–6	6–8	8–10	10–12	12–14	14–16
Character	Guglielmo				Dorabella			
Phrase No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Length (meas.)	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Phrase Groups	4	+	4		8			
Motive	a	b	a	c	a^1	a^2	a^3	a^4
Harmony*	F:I–IV	V^7–I	I–IV	II^6_5–V	V–V	I–IV	IV–I^6	I^6_4–I
				(C:V^6_5–I)				

* First and last harmonies only are given for each phrase.

The fermatas that end two of his phrases and three of hers suggest an element of coyness—a feeling of leading the listener (the other character) on with deliberate ambiguity. This ambiguity is found also on the harmonic level. Guglielmo's first pair of phrases ends with a cadence on the tonic. His second pair of phrases moves away from the tonic and ends on the dominant, preceded by its dominant. There are two possibilities at this point: this cadence can be regarded as an imperfect cadence in a new key, the dominant, or as a half-cadence in the tonic key. Guglielmo, having initiated a move away from the tonic (m. 7), seems to suggest the former. Dorabella chooses the latter, i.e., not to follow him here. She remains in F, cancelling his B-natural with a B-flat almost immediately (m. 9), and using his opening idea in a sequence as a means of getting back to the tonic pitch (m. 14), which she emphasizes by a fermata and by arriving at it again at the lower octave (m. 16). Dorabella's opposition to Guglielmo's request is not great. That it is

established by this subtle interplay of tonal implications is confirmed by what follows: Guglielmo sings in C major, without so much as a modulation, and Dorabella now joins him in that key (mm. 16–24).

Mozart sets the second episode of opposition (at m. 49) that Dorabella and Guglielmo enact very concisely. The brief exchange consists of each character singing the same two-measure phrase; Dorabella echoes Guglielmo, with the only difference being in her last note. In another context one would take this close musical relationship to be one of agreement. But the sequel shows this difference of one note to be significant: Guglielmo insists on his rhythm, repeating it to various melodic intervals and in the process modulating back to F major. Dorabella finally does accept his rhythmic lead, although in her confusion she inverts the melodic direction. (See Example 1.)



Example 1

As mentioned earlier, Don Giovanni and Fiordiligi initiate the melodies of their respective duets; the characters' initial relationship, however, is not established until the sequel. In *Don Giovanni* No. 7 this consists of Zerlina singing her version of Don Giovanni's melody—essentially a repetition of it, but with telling differences in detail. By singing Don Giovanni's melody, Zerlina is declaring her willingness to take him up on his proposal. Some of her departures from his melody suggest her eagerness and excitement: her sixteenth-note upbeats (mm. 8, 12) and her sudden ascent and extension at what would have been her cadence (mm. 16–18). Others suggest her reluctance and indecision: her dotted rhythms (mm. 9, 13) and the appoggiatura B she inserts before the E ending her second phrase (m. 12); the temporary avoidance of her cadence just mentioned may also suggest reluctance. Her opposition to Don Giovanni hardly deserves the name, but such as it is, it resides in these latter departures from his melody.[7]

When Fiordiligi has finished her opening melody, she begins a new period, modulating to the dominant. After she has sung two phrases of this, Ferrando breaks in and completes the period for her. His melody is based on motives Fiordiligi has just sung, but he changes to the minor mode. These

Table IV

Così fan tutte No. 29: Musical Structure of Opening Melody**

Meas. Nos.	1–2	2–3	3–5	5–6	6–7	7–9	9–11
Character	Fiordiligi						
Phrase No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Length (meas.)	1	1	2	1	1	2	2
Phrase Groups		4	+		4	+	2
Motive (Rhythmic)	a	b	c	a^1	a^2	d	e
Harmony*	A:I	V^7	V–I	IV–I^6_4	IV–I^6	I^6–I^6	IV–I
Meas. Nos.	11–13		13–15	15–16	16–17	17–19	19–21
Character	Fiordiligi			Ferrando			
Phrase No.	8		9	10	11	12	13
Length (meas.)	2		2	1	1	2	2
Phrase Groups		4	+		4	+	2
Motive (Rhythmic)	f		g	f^1	f^2	g^1	g^2
Harmony*	A:I–vi^7						
	E:IV–ii^7		V^7–I	V^7–i	i^6–$ii^{\%6}$	$ii^{\%6}$–♭VI	$ii^{\%6}$–i

*First and last harmonies only are given for each phrase that contains more than a single harmony.

**Phrases in vertical alignment correspond structurally.

are the primary elements of their initial relationship, and they are illustrated in Table IV.

Having defined the portions of our three duets that present the initial relationship between their characters and the relationship at the end, we have, by implication, delimited their middle portions as well—those devoted to the changing of the characters' relationship from one of opposition to one of agreement. We are now in a position to expand Table I to include the musical settings. It is evident from Table V that the length of text for each section has little or no relation to the amount of music for that section. In *Don Giovanni* No. 7, as the number of lines for each section decreases, the number of measures increases. In this duet and in *Così fan tutte* No. 23, the union of the lovers is given the greatest prominence. Because of Fiordiligi's determined resistance, the middle portion of her duet is its longest.

Table V
Division of Seduction Duets According to Relationship Between Characters

State of	*Don Giovanni* No. 7		*Così fan tutte* No. 29	
Relationship	Lines*	Measures*	Lines	Measures
Opposition	1– 8(8)	1–18(18)	1– 8 (8)	1– 21(21)
Change	9–12(4)	19–49(31)	9–30(22)	21–101(81)
Agreement	13–15(3)	49–82(34)	31–34 (4)	101–142(42)

State of	*Così fan tutte* No. 23			
Relationship	Lines	Measures	Lines	Measures
Opposition	1– 8(8)	1–16(16)	17–18(2)	48– 52 (5)
Change	9–12(4)	16–28(13)	19–27(9)	52– 80(29)
Agreement	13–16(4)	28–48(21)	28–31(4)	80–120(41)

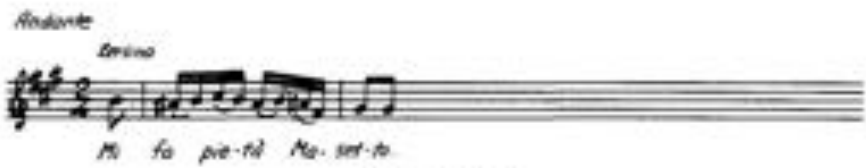
* Total number of lines and of measures in parentheses.

These middle sections contain myriad techniques that give the impression that the characters are coming together. Three of the most prominent will be discussed here. One is simply that of bringing the voices closer together in time—of altering the rhythm of their alternation so that they follow one another more rapidly and at times overlap. While the duet texts contain longer and shorter exchanges, Mozart is not dependent on the text in this regard. In *Don Giovanni* No. 7 Mozart takes it upon himself to bring back the text's beginning (m. 30 ff.) and this time sets it with alternating single lines. These lines soon begin to overlap, first slightly (mm. 37, 38), then more obviously (mm. 40–43).

A similar coming together of the voices, again resulting from Mozart's manipulation of the text, may be found in *Così fan tutte* No. 23. Guglielmo and Dorabella sing their exchange of lines 9–10 and 11–12 to identical four-measure phrases (mm. 16–24). They then sing identical two-measure phrases to lines 10 and 12, which are extended by word repetition: "Perchè batte, batte, batte quì?/Che mai balza, balza, balza lì?" (mm. 24–28). Finally, they sing these words simultaneously (mm. 28–30).

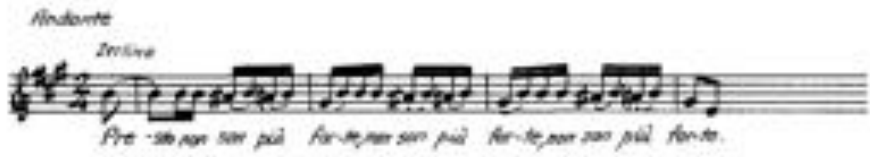
There are two examples of this technique in *Così fan tutte* No. 29: in Mozart's treatment of lines 23–24, Fiordiligi's "Ah, non son, non son più forte!" alternates and overlaps with Ferrando's "Cedi, cara" four times (mm. 65–73); and Fiordiligi's line 29 is intermingled with Ferrando's lines 27–28 (mm. 91–99).

Another technique that Mozart uses in the middle portions of the duets to show change in the relationship of the characters is to bring back thematic material heard previously in the duet, but with something in it or in its mode of presentation changed. The example given above of the return to the opening material in *Don Giovanni* No. 7 exemplifies this technique as well. Another example is Zerlina's winding, chromatic phrase:



Example 2a

which becomes more repetitive and indecisive:



Example 2b

then follows Don Giovanni into A major:

Example 2c

and finally becomes a resigned descent of a minor seventh.

Example 2d

The rhythmic motive characteristic of the opening theme of *Così fan tutte* No. 23 returns several times in the course of the duet. In its first return (m. 36), both characters sing it simultaneously in parallel thirteenths. Later, in what seems like a recapitulation of the theme, horn and first violins sound Dorabella's first version of the motive and are echoed by Guglielmo (mm. 68–72). Dorabella corrects what he has just sung, bringing him back to his own opening version, which he then concludes (mm. 73–78). In short, Guglielmo now sings what Dorabella had originally sung and vice versa. Finally, this theme is sung several more times simultaneously, with the ambiguous fermata leading to an unambiguous tonic cadence (mm. 90–98, 106–16).

The melody that Ferrando quoted from *Così fan tutte* No. 3 in a determined manner:

Example 3a

is heard later sung by Fiordiligi in a desperate, breathless D minor:

Example 3b

Then she sings it twice in A minor as a halting descent of a minor seventh:[8]

Example 3c

The last example to be discussed here of the ways in which Mozart indicates change in characters' relationships is unique to *Così fan tutte* No. 29, at least as far as these three seduction duets are concerned. Mozart's intermingling of Fiordiligi's line 29 with Ferrando's lines 27–28 (mm. 91–99) has already been mentioned as an example of his bringing voices closer together into rapid, overlapping alternation. This passage is also part of a larger-scaled technique. As his final words of persuasion, Ferrando begins a new, extended *larghetto* melody (m. 76). This melody comes to a tonic cadence after four four-measure phrases, then it continues for another eight measures in a self-sufficient manner; but to this continuation Fiordiligi joins short phrases of her own, which anticipate, echo, and work in sequence with Ferrando's. Her phrases are responsive, not assertive. Ferrando lets her provide his melody's final cadence, which she does as she surrenders, with the words "Fa di me quel che ti par" (mm. 100–101).

This melody, with Fiordiligi's acquiescent joining in, is the last of three steps in which she progressively loses the initiative in this duet. She began the duet with a melody that Ferrando abruptly appropriated after fifteen measures, took into the minor mode, and concluded (mm. 1–21). Her reaction, after an equally abrupt move to C major in recitative (mm. 21–23) and a change in tempo, was to strike out anew, with a new melody (mm. 24–26); but Ferrando took this from her, too, after only two measures. Ferrando's *larghetto* melody now completes the reversal of the original relationship: he has the initiative, and Fiordiligi, in joining in, submits to it.

Some of the ways in which we have seen characters take or keep the initiative are: singing first, interrupting, taking the lead in an imitation or echoing

passage, modulating—or better, abruptly entering a new key—changing mode or tempo, introducing a new melody, insisting on one's own version of a motive, moving into recitative, and singing for a (relatively) long period. It is by such musical means that characters persuade or resist being persuaded.

There are two other musical numbers in Mozart's operas that are concerned with seduction. *Don Giovanni* No. 15 is a seduction duet from Donna Elvira's point of view, and a pretended seduction duet as far as Don Giovanni and Leporello are concerned; their true purpose is something quite different (as is Guglielmo's and Ferrando's purpose in *Così fan tutte*). *Le nozze di Figaro* No. 16 seems to the Count to mark the imminent success of his efforts to seduce Susanna; but it is Susanna who is doing the seducing—enticing the Count into believing that she is at last surrendering to his advances.

This *Figaro* duet leads us to a more general type of duet—that of persuasion. *La finta giardiniera* No. 27 is more a duet of persuasion than of seduction, since the characters have been in love since before the opera's beginning. Sandrina desires that they separate, the Count that they give in to their love. More by inaction—failing to leave—than by action or words, he persuades Sandrina to yield. *Le nozze di Figaro* No. 1 is also a duet of persuasion. The two participants expect to be man and wife soon. All that is at issue is whether or not Figaro will cease his measuring and admire Susanna's hat. Far removed from considerations of love, not to mention seduction, is another duet of persuasion—*Die Entführung aus dem Serail* No. 14. Here Podrillo cajoles Osmin into trying forbidden wine.

All of these movements have in common with the three seduction duets discussed in detail above the facts that they begin with some degree of opposition between the characters and that one character takes the initiative and, by persuasion, encouragement, threat, or insistence, eventually brings the other character into agreement. In all of them Mozart uses motivic, thematic, harmonic, modal, contrapuntal, and rhythmic techniques that are like those found in his three duets of seduction.

The erotic impulse was a preoccupation of Mozart's era and figures in all of his operas. Seduction is one of its most direct manifestations. Nowhere is its operation more concentrated than in Mozart's duets of seduction. The techniques by which he translates human relationships into music and brings them to life are nowhere more vividly apparent.

NOTES

[1] Fifteen of Mozart's 44 opera duets consist wholly of alternation; four consist wholly of shared words (all of the latter are from late operas).

[2] In Mozart's earlier operas—particularly *opere serie*, where there are few, if any, ensembles—duets sometimes end acts, providing a point of climax. A duet in which each character is given a chance to sing alone, in which the acceleration of their exchanges provides increased vocal—if not always dramatic—excitement, and which is capped by simultaneous singing is particularly well suited to this climactic function.

[3] Mozart first used the term "duettino" in *Le nozze di Figaro*, all of the duets of which he so labelled. Each of his later Italian operas contains one duettino and more than one duetto. If length is Mozart's criterion, he does not apply it consistently until *Così fan tutte* (where he also

makes the distinction between terzettino and terzetto).

[4] There are twelve duets in A major. All of them have at least one soprano; half of them are for two sopranos. The key lends itself well to brilliant singing at the high end of the soprano's range. Some 25 of Mozart's 39 operatic numbers in A major have to do with love.

[5] As Janos Liebner has written of this opera, "the actual happenings, and, even more so, the psychological manifestations, of decisive significance in the drama, as well as the various motives of general moral, ideological and philosophical messages, are mostly in the basic tonality." *Mozart on the Stage* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1972), p. 203.

This relationship between A major and C major goes beyond *Così fan tutte*. *Don Giovanni* No. 15 abruptly juxtaposes these two keys (mm. 35–36, ff.). *Le nozze di Figaro* No. 16 may also be mentioned in this connection; this is essentially an A-major duet, but the portion of it in which C major is abruptly introduced (mm. 10–11, ff.) is in A minor. Both of these movements have to do with seduction.

[6] Compare mm. 25–30, *Così fan tutte* No. 29, with mm. 5–8, *Così fan tutte* No. 3.

[7] Zerlina is singing to herself here, not to Don Giovanni. Not until her "andiam" does she sing to him. Perhaps this is why she lets herself be so frank.

[8] Compare this with Zerlina's descending minor seventh melody to nearly the same words in mm. 42–46, *Don Giovanni* No. 7, shown above as Example 2d.

Appendix 1

Don Giovanni No. 7: Text

	Don Giovanni	Both	Zerlina
1	Là ci darem la mano,		
2	là mi dirai di sì;		
3	vedi, non è lontano,		
4	partiam, ben mio, da qui.		
5			Vorrei, e non vorrei,
6			mi trema un poco il cor;
7			felice, è ver, sarei,
8			ma può burlarmi ancor.
9	Vieni, mio bel diletto;		
10			Mi fa pietà Masetto;
11	io cangierò tua sorte.		
12			presto non son più forte.
13		Andiam, andiam, mio bene,	
14		a ristorar le pene	
15		d'un innocente amor.	

Appendix 2

Così fan tutte No. 23: Text

	Guglielmo	Both	Dorabella
1	Il core vi dono,		
2	bell' idolo mio;		
3	ma il vostro vo' anch' io		
4	via datelo a me.		
5			Mel date, lo prendo,
6			ma il mio non vi rendo,
7			invan me'l chiedete,
8			più meco ei non è.
9	Se teco non l'hai,		
10	perchè batte qui?		
11			Se a me tu lo dai,
12			che mai balza lì?
13		E'il mio coricino,	
14		che più non è meco,	
15		ei venne a star teco,	
16		ei batte così.	
17	Qui lascia che il metta.		
18			Ei qui non può star.
19	T'intendo, furbetta.		
20			Che fai?
	Non guardar.		
21			(Nel petto un Vesuvio
22			d'avere mi par.)
23	(Ferrando meschino!		
24	possibil non par.)		
25	L'occhietto a mi gira,		
26			Che brami?
	Remira,		
27	se meglio può andar.		
28		Oh cambio felice	
29		di cori e d'affetti!	
30		che nuovi diletti,	
31		che dolce penar!	

Appendix 3

Così fan tutte No. 29: Text

	Ferrando	Both	Fiordiligi
1			Fra gli amplessi in pochi istanti
2			giungerò del fido sposo,
3			sconosciuta a lui davanti
4			in quest' abito verrò.
5			Oh che gioja il suo bel core
6			proverà nel ravvisarmi!
7	Ed intanto di dolore,		
8	meschinello, io mi morrò!		
9			Cosa veggio? Son tradita!
10			Deh partite!
	Ah no, mia vita:		
11	con quel ferro di tua mano		
12	questo cor tu ferirai,		
13	e se forza, oh Dio, non hai,		
14	io la man ti reggerò.		
15			Taci, ahime! son abbastanza
16			tormentata ed infelice!
17		Ah, che omai la sua/mia costanza	
18		a quei sguardi, a quel che dice,	
19		incomincia a vacillar.	
20			Sorgi, sorgi!
	Invan lo credi.		
21			Per pietà! da me che chiedi?
22	Il tuo cor, o la mia morte.		
23			Ah, non son, non son più forte!
24	Cedi, cara.		
			Dei, consiglio!
25	Volgi a me pietoso il ciglio,		
26	in me sol trovar tu puoi		
27	sposo, amante, e più, se vuoi,		
28	idol mio, più non tardar.		
29			Giusto ciel! Crudel! hai vinto.
30			Fa di me quel che ti par.
31		Abbracciamci o caro bene,	
32		e un conforto a tante pene	
33		sia languir di dolce affetto,	
34		di diletto sospirar.	

Musical Historiography and Histories of Italian Opera

By Elvidio Surian
Translated by Ruth DeFord and Dona De Sanctis

For more than a century, much has been written about the history of opera, but explaining it solely as a history of stylistic and formal evolution, distinguishing here and there a so-called "masterpiece." Such research can only be based on aesthetic prejudices and pretends a critical objectivity that cannot exist if the musical object is divorced from every context actually operating in the history of society. In other cases, the history of opera has been understood as a narrative that is not distinct—to speak somewhat abstractly—from the scheme based on the biographies of composers. The recent, unprecedentedly comprehensive *Storia dell'opera*,[1] for example, does nothing but perpetuate the historiographic misunderstandings that have always conditioned the comprehension of a form of art so heterogeneous that it requires a radical updating. Long overdue, a new concept of opera's historiography should be based on the most advanced work now being done in other humanistic fields, under the influence of the social sciences, both those based on quantitative data and those based on sociology and anthropology.[2] The historiographic backwardness of musicological studies of opera can be attributed primarily to certain habits of thought that do not lend themselves easily to modernization. These attitudes determine the way in which culture is transmitted from one generation of historians to another.

The music historian's principal object of interest until now has been the form of biographical research born of extreme romantic subjectivism, of the philosophic and aesthetic cult of supreme individualism, and of a belief in subjective creative genius: all concepts that were an integral part of the philosophical ideology of the 19th century. This ideology, a direct outcome of the theoretical principles of the Berlin *Athenäum* (1798–1800), later found, in the literary writings and musical works of Richard Wagner, its most natural and devoted exponent.[3] The new criterion of artistic "originality" likewise developed in Germany, in parallel with the slow formation of a modern middle-class society, which adhered largely to the belief in historical progress (material and intellectual) inspired by the positivistic theories of Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer. It is this philosophical current that has created a bridge between the natural and humanistic sciences. And if art is analogous to science, then it shares with it the characteristic of "progress" and the ideas that "new" and "successive" mean "superior," that historical facts are connected by rigid laws of cause and effect, and that there exist universal and invariable "laws."

Such an interpretation of art was perfectly suited to the dogmatic vision that Wagner had of opera. In the final analysis, one can say that in order to legitimize and spread, through his own writings, the "correct" concept of *Musikdrama* (according to which the aria and the closed forms were anti-

dramatic, thematic invention and polyphonic development must reign supreme, the total submission of the public was necessary, and the closest relation between words and music could be had only if the composer himself were his own librettist), Wagner changed and misrepresented history in that he established two milestones inevitably predestined to determine the course of operatic history: Gluck, who had rebelled against the conventions and the "corrupt" Italian opera of his time, and Wagner himself.[6] This prejudicial assumption cast a shadow that conditioned and continues, consciously or not, to condition studies of opera, the majority of which reflect that vision of opera transmitted by Wagner.

Explaining the history of opera—and the history of music—on the basis of the unilateral Wagnerian view (which is concerned with identifying the "personal" characteristics of the composer in the context of the conventions of the time, and thus interprets the history of opera as a history of greater and lesser "stars," of personalities eager or reluctant to accept "new" developments) was certainly suitable to the German founders of musicology, dedicated as they were to discovering the "great" geniuses of their past. They contributed thereby to the development of cultural consciousness and national unification, which the educated classes and the middle and upper bourgeoisie of Germany needed at that time, and at the same time opened up new and profitable opportunities for the music-publishing industry.

The new system of lithographic reproduction, patented in the closing years of the 18th century by Aloys Senefelder, became an efficient instrument for disseminating musical products, used by music publishers throughout Europe after the beginning of the 19th century. The process offered numerous advantages, especially with regard to the speed and simplicity, and the low cost, of producing prints from the same matrix (made of a calcarean stone). These advantages had vast consequences for the diffusion of musical works and inaugurated the modern era of musical mass production.[3] It was Germany, more than any other country in Europe, that was in the vanguard of music publishing during the 19th century. Leipzig and Berlin were above all the seats of numerous and very active music-publishing houses.[4] These cities were also centers of intense musical activity and focal points in the general diffusion and renovation of German musical life, since many concert and choral societies were founded there, as well as some celebrated music schools that later became models for similar institutions in other countries.[5]

The enormous expansion of the music-publishing industry helped to support the proliferation of music periodicals, which were tied to the interests of the music business. Numerous literary journals and even newspapers also established regular columns devoted to music.[6] The critical writings of Robert Schumann, on whose methodological bases a large portion of modern musicology is founded, were, for example, closely allied to his policy of promoting artistic products in which he wanted to interest music publishers, thereby assuring also the spread of his own works. Schumann carried on his own advertising campaign, which heavily influenced the formation of German musical taste, especially through his numerous analytical essays (deal-

ing for the most part with piano music), which celebrate the ideal of the purity of art and the need to defend it from mediocre practitioners, i.e., Italian opera composers and Meyerbeer in particular.[9] In order to approach a work of art, Schumann decreed, it is first of all necessary to consider the form (the various parts, the periods, the musical phrases), then the compositional technique (harmony, melody, style), and lastly the specific ideas that the musician wished to represent, which allow his artistic personality to emerge.

The music business profited from the exaltation of German musical culture by placing the necessary critical-scientific tools on the market, thus initiating the process which led to the founding of an entire series of musicological studies. These began with the establishing of specific cultural societies whose ultimate aim was the publication, in critical guise, of the complete works of a past "master," from whom they took their name. For example, in 1850 a "Bach Society" was established in Leipzig, with Schumann as one of its founders and promoters. It was linked to the Breitkopf und Härtel publishing house, which printed a first volume of ten cantatas the following year; the series was completed in 1899 with the publication of the 47th volume. In 1856 a "Handel Society" was also established in Leipzig. Among its founders was the literary historian Gottfried G. Gervinus (1801–1871), a fact which confirms how much contemporary intellectuals also cared about commemorating the great achievements of German art of the past. Only a few years earlier, Gervinus had published a *Geschichte der poetischen Nationalliteratur der Deutschen* (1835–1842), which Wagner read while he was composing *Tannhäuser* and which awakened the composer's interest in the history of the *Meistersinger*. Gervinus (and not Chrysander) was also the first to compare Handel's dramatic genius with that of Shakespeare.[10] The firm of Breitkopf und Härtel was admitted to the Society's *Directorium* in 1859 and printed the first 18 volumes of Handel's complete works (1858–1864).[11]

Beginning in the second half of the 19th century, biographical research was encouraged and often directly subsidized by the music-publishing industry, whose interests were best served by bringing to light facts about the lives of unknown composers of the past, in order to fill the publishers' pockets with profits from the sale of editions of the composers' works. The first monumental monographs on the life and works of individual composers date from this period. They were executed with enthusiasm, diligence, and deep commitment. See, for example, the detailed biography of Mozart by Otto Jahn (1813–1869),[12] a work directed mainly at the German middle class (Mozart is depicted there as a master of refinement and perfect equilibrium, impervious to the sway of passion); the monumental study of Handel by Friedrich Chrysander (1826–1901),[13] an excellent example of a work of unilateral idolatry of an individual composer (for Chrysander, Handel represents the culmination of music history, after whom any progress is inconceivable); and the fundamental monograph on Bach by Philipp Spitta (1841–1894),[14] which became the model of historical-philological interpretation and analysis for studies of Bach.

After having been organized along professional lines and executed according to criteria of specialization, musicology quickly became a subject of formal study at universities. It will be useful to recall that an increasingly dominant fact of university life at that time was the strong attraction and the growing hegemony of German culture throughout Europe. The German university became a model to some extent even in Latin and Anglo-Saxon countries. Especially in historiography, linguistics, and philology, the Germans held a dominant position. It is significant that the leaders of German musicology, who offered the first university instruction on music research methods and historical interpretation, came from a background of classical humanistic[15] and philological training.[16]

As early as 1860–1880, courses devoted to individual composers (Bach, Gluck, Haydn, Weber, Wagner, and so on) were offered at universities in Strasbourg, Heidelberg, Munich, Prague, Berlin, and elsewhere. At Spitta's school in Berlin, where, from 1875, he taught the history of music at the university and at the Hochschule für Musik, which he headed from 1882 until his death, many important modern musicologists of the next generation were trained: Emil Vogel (1859–1908), Adolf Sandberger (1864–1943), Peter Wagner (1865–1931), Johannes Wolf (1869–1947), Hermann Abert (1871–1927), and many others. At the schools of Wolf and Sandberger, entire generations of German, American, and Italian musicologists received their education: Friedrich Blume (1893–1975); Otto Kinkeldey (1878–1966), who held the first chair in musicology at Cornell University; Oliver Strunk (1901–1980); Curt Sachs (1881–1959); Gaetano Cesari (1870–1934); and Guglielmo Barblan (1906–1978), to name only a few.

The musical environment of Leipzig in the second half of the 19th century produced two scholars who later became models of undisputed authority, both of whom were trained at the Leipzig Conservatory under the theoretician Oscar Paul, the organist Ernst F. E. Richter, and the orchestra director Carl Reinecke: Hermann Kretzschmar (1848–1924) and Hugo Riemann (1849–1919). To them we owe numerous didactic manuals (true catechisms of music) which defined the principles of musicological research, and which were generally accepted and transmitted practically unchanged from generation to generation. (Familiarity with these texts was considered a sign of true professional competence.) Riemann's dogmatism had established that the history of music should be perceived mainly on the basis of stylistic principles and explained through the gamut of musical forms.[17] From 1905 to 1922 the *Kleine Handbücher der Musikgeschichte nach Gattungen*, a collection of 14 monographs on musical genres (the motet, the oratorio, the cantata, the opera, and so on), were published in Leipzig by Breitkopf und Härtel, under the editorial direction of Kretzschmar. Kretzschmar himself wrote the monograph on opera,[18] which became the methodological foundation for all subsequent histories of opera. His contribution does nothing but transfer to the field of opera historiography the prejudicial Wagnerian concept of *Musikdrama*, which had become firmly rooted in musical aesthetics all over Europe, including Italy, by the end of the 19th century. One need only refer to some of

the historiographical misunderstandings of Kretzschmar to grasp the serious damage that such a position did to opera historiography. Taking as given that the dramatic ideal was one that represented the triumph of the so-called free forms and accompanied recitative (which gave "continuity" to the drama) over the closed forms, Kretzschmar hastens in cavalier fashion to condemn the Venetian and Neapolitan operas of the 17th and 18th centuries because they violated the laws of dramatic continuity.[17] Alessandro Scarlatti's merit is attributed to his having preferred short forms and mixtures of recitative and song (like Monteverdi), so that the marked individuality of the composer emerged clearly.[18] Other composers of the Neapolitan school, in contrast, were guilty, because of the excessive use they made of vocal coloratura, of having maintained a position of subordination to the singers and to the corrupt theatrical practices of the time.[19] (Porpora is compared in this sense to Meyerbeer.) Gluck alone, who rejected the "dry" recitative—the source of Italian opera's monotony—and avoided submission to the singers, was worthy of being compared to Wagner.[20]

The leading scholars of Italian musicology at the beginning of the present century also understood and explained developments in opera from the Wagnerian viewpoint championed by German scholarship, reflecting the great interest that the Italian intellectual middle class had in German culture at that time. Luigi Torchi (1858–1920), one of the founders and editors (from 1894 to 1904) of the *Rivista musicale italiana*, had been trained at the conservatory and university of Leipzig from 1879 to 1883. The objective of the periodical was to orient historical and critical studies of music to the methodological principles of German musicology. Torchi was an ardent and convinced Wagnerian[21] (in 1890 he published a monograph on Wagner) and zealously condemned contemporary Italian opera, especially that of Puccini.[22]

Fausto Torrefranca (1883–1955) also belonged to the circle of the *Rivista musicale italiana*. After abandoning engineering as a career, Torrefranca, who also had a background in classical studies, undertook frequent trips to study in Germany. In 1905 he became the first recognized university teacher of music history in Italy. Torrefranca's famous condemnation of Puccini, whom he found guilty of having understood music theater principally as "effect" without cause,[23] contributed notably to the formation of the negative opinions of Puccini's works held by an entire generation of Italian music critics.

Also in Torchi's sphere was Francesco Vatielli (1876–1946). He and Torchi were fellow students at Bologna's conservatory of music. During his long career as a scholar, Vatielli made only one contribution of any importance to the history of opera, and the fact that it was an essay on Gluck is indicative of the prevailing prejudices of the time.[24] But it must be noted that this lack of interest in opera studies is evident in the works of practically all of the fathers of Italian musicology (Gaetano Cesari, Oscar Chilesotti, Ferdinando Liuzzi, and others). Luigi Ronga (1901–1983), who became a university teacher of music history in 1930 and for a long time made his

presence felt heavily in Italian academic circles through his ponderous aesthetic tautologies, did graduate work in musicology at the University of Dresden and, significantly, began his career by publishing an anthology of Schumann's writings[27] and a study on Wagner.[28]

Even American musicology developed, for the most part, along the lines of its German counterpart, both because several of its most respected leaders were educated in Germany (Kinkeldey and Strunk studied under Wolf in Berlin) and because many German scholars, fleeing the anti-Semitic racial laws of Nazism, escaped to the United States (including Curt Sachs, Alfred Einstein, Manfred Bukofzer, Edward Lowinsky, Otto Gombosi, and others). American opera studies, in particular, bear the traces of German methodology. The basic concept of operatic history explained in terms of the evolution of musical styles, initiated by Kretzschmar in 1919, is maintained in the most complete and systematic study of the subject in English: *A Short History of Opera* by Donald J. Grout.[29] The author's mental orientation is clearly evident in the declaration he makes in the preface (in both the 1947 and 1965 editions): he asserts categorically that "the music itself . . . must always be the central object of study."[30] Another book on opera that has had a wide circulation in the United States (with several reprints) is *Opera as Drama*, written by Joseph Kerman,[31] who studied under Strunk and has been, in turn, the teacher (at Princeton and Berkeley) of many representatives of the younger generation of American musicologists. Kerman's book takes as its premise, without any apology, that "the point of view it develops is really the basic one celebrated by *Oper und Drama*."[32] One need only recall the detachment (and, indeed, the denigration) that Kerman maintained with regard to 18th-century Italian opera to perceive how he adheres to that prejudicial and dogmatic viewpoint. The period that begins with Monteverdi and ends with Gluck is defined as "the dark ages" of opera,[33] because there was a profound contradiction between the dramatic ideal (to be understood, obviously, as the one dictated by Wagner), and the corrupt practices of singers, impresarios, and the public. Baroque drama was realized only in Bach's cantatas,[34] because they were conceived in a musical environment (Leipzig) uncontaminated by the abuses of opera virtuosi.

In opera, tied as it was to the real life of the people, individual "fantasy" could have only a slight and marginal position. Opera cannot be explained dogmatically, according to the Wagnerian vision of *Musikdrama* (in the name of objectivity and ideological neutrality, which are always illusory, since the question of historical truth is still an unresolved epistemological problem) in terms of the evolution of styles and forms. The results of such positions must be recognized by scholars as leading to an inaccurate, incomplete conception of the history of opera.

It is easy to understand the damage that such attitudes that have dominated opera historiography so long have done to the development of an appreciation of 18th-century Italian musical theater. Even today the consequences continue to be felt: there is a dearth of adequate critical studies and modern editions of this repertory, although it was once performed all over Europe

(precisely by the singers Wagner so detested) and enjoyed great praise and success among contemporaries, both critics and the public. One cannot discuss the cultural problem of opera (which has been and still is far from an autonomous artistic manifestation) without taking into consideration its value as social communication.

Above all, it will be necessary to stop exalting the image of the strict specialist and to renounce the mental attitudes of the erudite scholar who hunts for origins and documents that serve to fill certain biographical lacunae in order to accumulate "contributions." One who knows everything (and only everything) about a certain composer or a certain operatic repertoire or movement, apart from demonstrating a serious cultural myopia, brings with him and passes on great disadvantages for carrying out the new tasks that the historiography of opera should set for itself. It would be much better to orient research toward a historical view of artistic products that sees them in relation to the social, political, economic, and intellectual events of their times.

NOTES

[1] *Storia dell'opera*, conceived by Guglielmo Barblan, edited by Alberto Basso (Turin: Utet, 1977), 3 volumes in 6 books. For an idea of how not to write a history of opera, see the negative evaluation by Lorenzo Bianconi (*Rivista italiana di musicologia* IX [1974], pp. 3–17) of the chapter on Italian opera by Rubens Tedeschi in *Storia d'Italia*, vol. V: *I documenti*, 2 vols. (Turin: Einaudi, 1973), pp. 1141–80.

Aware of this situation, the Società italiana di musicologia has deemed it advisable to promote the publication of a *Storia dell'opera italiana* to be edited by a team of 21 Italian and foreign scholars directed by Lorenzo Bianconi and Giorgio Pestelli. The four volumes will have a historical-systematic approach and will be published by Edizioni di Torino (Turin). The author of the present essay has been entrusted with the task of delineating, in one chapter, the "anthropological" portrait of the operatic composer from the 17th century to today.

[2] For an accurate and well-informed examination of recent historiographical production, see Geoffrey Barraclough, *History*, in the series Tendances principales de la recherche dans les sciences sociales et humaines. Seconde partie: Sciences anthropologiques et historiques, Esthétique et sciences de l'art, Science juridique, Philosophie (Paris, The Hague, 1977).

[3] For an excellent discussion (well-balanced, systematic, and documented) of the political ideologies, national cults, and cultural values and models prevalent in 19th-century Germany and later, see George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (New York: H. Fertig, 1975).

[4] See, especially, "Oper und Drama" (1851) in *Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen*, ed. Wolfgang Golther (Berlin, 1913), vol. II, pp. 222–25, 237 ff.

[5] An accurate and comprehensive analysis of this phenomenon constitutes a field of research that is still unexplored. Still to be examined, for example, are the retail prices of printed works and the effects that the new printing technique had on determining musical taste.

[6] In particular, Breitkopf und Härtel of Leipzig, who were, significantly, also owners of a piano factory, played a role of considerable importance in the active and certainly not disinterested promotion of the works of German composers.

[7] Carl Friedrich Zelter, who was one of the most zealous promoters of music in Berlin from the

beginning of the century, was deeply involved in teaching music and counted among his students Meyerbeer, Nicolai, and Mendelssohn, in whom he instilled an admiration for J. S. Bach.

[8] See the remarks on the bonds between music journalism and the publishing houses by Cecilia Hopkins Porter in "The *Rheinlieder* Critics: A Case of Musical Nationalism," *The Musical Quarterly* LXIII (1977), pp. 95–98.

[9] See his particularly hostile remarks (1837) about *Les Huguenots* by Meyerbeer (summarily dismissed as an "unoriginal" composer!) in *Gesammelte Schriften über Musik und Musiker*, 3rd ed. (Leipzig, 1883), vol. I, pp. 323–27.

[10] Gottfried G. Gervinus, *Händel und Shakespeare: Zur Ästhetik der Tonkunst* (Leipzig, 1868).

[11] With its 93 volumes (1858–1894), edited by Friedrich Chrysander (another six supplementary volumes were printed after the death of this scholar), the complete works of Handel surpass by sheer number of tomes the complete editions dedicated to any other composer.

[12] *W. A. Mozart* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1856–1859), 4 vols. No biography of a German musician had previously been written on the scale of Jahn's *W. A. Mozart*. The only attempts earlier in the century to provide a full and systematic biographical portrait of a composer were G. Baini's study on Palestrina, *Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi Palestrina* . . . (Rome: Dalla Società tipografica, 1828), 2 vols.; and Carl Georg von Winterfeld's work on Giovanni Gabrieli, *Johannes Gabrieli und sein Zeitalter* (Berlin: Schlesinger'sche Buch- und Musikhandlung, 1834), 3 vols. in 2.

[13] *G. F. Händel* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1858–1867), 3 vols. although vol. III was incomplete.

[14] *Johann Sebastian Bach* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1875–1880), 2 vols.

[15] Jahn studied classical philology at the universities of Kiel, Leipzig, and Berlin, taught classical literature at the University of Greifswald (beginning in 1842), became director of the local archeological museum and professor of classical philology at the University of Leipzig (from 1847), was later (from 1855) director of the museum of art and the philological seminary in Bonn, and was one of the leading classical scholars of his day. Chrysander was trained in classical philology at the University of Rostock. Spitta, the son of a Protestant minister (doesn't the archmoralist reveal himself in his contribution on Bach?), studied theology and classical philology at the University of Göttingen.

[16] The cultural phenomenon of interest in and study about classical antiquity had a fundamental importance in creating ideals of beauty and form which served to join together the myths, symbols, and sentiments of the masses. An idealized beauty was able to give substance to the desire on the part of the intellectual middle class to allow something exalted and exceptional into its well-ordered existence (heroes to be worshipped were sought). See G. Mosse, op. cit., Chapter II and *passim*.

[17] See Hugo Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1904–1913), 5 vols.

[18] Hermann Kretzschmar, *Geschichte der Oper* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1919), the sixth volume of the series.

[19] Ibid., p. 165.

[20] Ibid., p. 167.

[21] Ibid., p. 173.

[22] Ibid., pp. 195–97. See the parallel that is drawn on p. 197 between the fatal lovers in *Paride e Elena* and *Tristan und Isolde*.

[23] For a useful list (and discussion) of writings on Wagner which appeared in Italian newspapers and periodicals (1861–1970), see Agostino Ziino, "Rassegna della letteratura wagneriana in Italia (raccolta di materiali per servire alla storia della fortuna di Wagner in Italia)," in *Analecta Musicologica* XI (1972), pp. 14–135.

[24] According to Torchi, Puccini's main defect was to have disregarded Wagner's dogma of music drama. See the extensive and essentially negative opinion Torchi published on *Tosca* in the *Rivista musicale italiana* VII (1900), pp. 78–114.

[25] Fausto Torrefranca, *Puccini e l'opera internazionale* (Turin, 1912), pp. 61, 106, and *passim*.

[26] Francesco Vatielli, "Riflessi della lotta Gluckista in Italia," *Rivista musicale italiana* XXI (1914), pp. 639–74.

[11] *Scritti sulla musica e sui musicisti* (Milan, 1925).
[12] *Per la critica wagneriana* (Turin, 1928).
[13] New York: Columbia University Press, 1947 and 1965.
[14] Ibid., p. viii.
[15] New York: Vintage Books, 1956.
[16] Ibid., p. 3.
[17] Ibid., pp. 50–72.
[18] Ibid., p. 64ff.