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Oratorios by Command of the Emperor: The Music of Camilla de Rossi

By Barbara Garvey Jackson

During the reign of Joseph I of Austria, the Roman composer Camilla de Rossi composed oratorios “at the command of the Emperor” for annual performances in the Imperial Chapel in Vienna. Though little is known of Camilla de Rossi’s life or that of other women who wrote oratorios for the Vienna courts of Leopold I (reigned 1657–1705), Joseph I (1705–11), and Charles VI (1711–40), her four surviving oratorios (composed between 1707 and 1710) and a secular cantata (date of composition unknown) are worthy of scholarly study and deserve to be performed today.¹ She was not an isolated figure as a woman composer of sizeable output or of large-scale works. During the seventeenth century, musical works by several North Italian nuns were published. These women appear to have found in the convent an environment that fostered (or at least did not impede) their compositional efforts. The most famous composer-nun was Isabella Leonarda of Novara, who published over two hundred works. Although she was never in Vienna, a poem presented to the Emperor Leopold I in celebration of his victory over the Turks at Buda (1686) compares Leonarda’s fame to that of the Emperor: “Leopold in war, and Leonarda in peace are wondrous.” The composer’s op. 12 (1686) was dedicated to Leopold.²

In the course of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a succession of French women who worked as opera singers had a measure of success as composers as well. These women presumably found *entrée* as composers for the stage on account of their successful professional associations as singers. But those of whom more than one opera is known, like Henrietta Beaumessnil, who had six operas performed in Paris between 1781 and 1792, clearly continued to get their works performed because of their success as composers.³ Performances of such a large, expensive genre as opera required not only musical skill but a network of support within a complex enterprise. In Italy and Austria the large genre that women actively composed was not opera, as indeed it was in France, but oratorio.

Camilla de Rossi was one among several women in Northern Italy and Austria who composed oratorios and other dramatic works. Seven such com-

posers are known to have flourished during the period 1670–1725. All of these women have either or both Viennese and Bolognese associations. They do not appear on court pay lists, and the means of their access to the performance forces for such large-scale works is unknown. Likewise, other aspects of their training and activities as musicians remain obscure (see appendix 1). Schering noted four women whose works were performed in Vienna (von Raschenau, Grazianini, de Rossi, and Grimani) in his history of the oratorio, and believed that they were in religious life.⁴ Only for von Raschenau is there evidence of her religious vocation; because of institutional records, more is known of her life than of the others. All her music, however, is lost.⁵

Maria Margherita Grimani's works were performed in Vienna during the reign of Charles VI.⁶ The Grimani name was also associated with Venice. Pietro Grimani was the Venetian ambassador to Vienna in 1713, during which year two works by Maria Margherita were performed there: the oratorio *La visitazione di Santa Elisabetta* and the opera *Pallade e Marte*, which was an occasional work in honor of the emperor.⁷ A note on the title page of the manuscript full score indicates that Maria Grimani composed the opera while in Bologna. Rudolph Klein cautions, however, that no connection between Maria Margherita and the Venetian Grimani has been established with certainty.⁸

All the women who composed for the Vienna court cast their oratorios in a formal scheme typified by those composed by Alessandro Scarlatti after 1700. They are characteristically comprised of two parts, the first of which is normally introduced by a single- or multi-movement *sinfonia*, and the second frequently so. Arias are normally *da capo* and alternate with passages of *secco* recitative. There are occasional duets and frequently a final ensemble of soloists. Many of the arias are *continuo* arias with instrumental *ritornelli*. Choruses are not used.

The only materials for Camilla de Rossi's biography that survive are the extant scores and surviving printed libretti (see appendix 2) and calendar notations concerning performances of her works.⁹ Her patronym always appears on the title pages of her scores accompanied by the appellation "Romana," which suggests her Roman origin. Her first oratorio for Vienna, *Santa Beatrice d'Este*, is a setting of a libretto by Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili, which had been used in 1689 by Giovanni Lulier for a Roman performance celebrating a visit by Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este. Arcangelo Corelli added an overture and *sinfonia* to this Lulier setting for a performance at the d'Este court at Modena in the fall of the same year. A printed libretto for Lulier's setting survives from its staging at Modena in 1701.¹⁰

It has not previously been observed that de Rossi's libretto for *Santa Beatrice d'Este* is the same as that used by Lulier.¹¹ Rossi's setting even calls for the same instrumentation as Lulier's, which she may indeed have heard in

Rome. The Vienna court did not have as many string players as are known to have participated in Lulier's unusually grand performance, which involved more than eighty players.¹²

There are some small changes in the libretto as set by de Rossi. The most important occurs near the end of the work. Pamphili's text, as set by Lulier, concludes with the appearance of the Angel (Angelo), who sings first a recitative ("Beatrice, i tuoi voti . . ."), then a da capo aria ("Spesso il Cielo . . ."), and finally a closing maxim ("Chiude la via de' Giusti . . ."). S. Beatrice responds with a solo setting of "Il mio dolore dolor non hà; se spina è al core, rosa sarà." De Rossi omits this closing text, and instead sets the first line of the Angel's closing maxim as a recitative for S. Beatrice and S. Giuliana (soprano and alto, respectively). An intricate contrapuntal ensemble of the soloists delivers the last line, which the original version of the libretto had assigned only to the Angel: "Ma per chi le coltiva apronsi in rose." The de Rossi setting thus ends with a triumphal affirmation of the reward that Beatrice and Giuliana promise is won by following "the path of the just."¹³

This libretto would have been of special interest to the d'Este, as it concerns the legendary thirteenth-century martyrdom of a member of the family, whose tomb was reputedly a source of miraculous warnings of immanent peril.¹⁴ Joseph I commissioned the new setting of Pamphili's libretto from Camilla de Rossi in 1707, possibly in celebration of a state visit by the Duke of Modena, who was a d'Este. Her version was again performed at Perugia in 1712.¹⁵

Santa Beatrice is probably the earliest extant work by de Rossi, but is marked by such sure compositional craft and intensity of expression that one might surmise that she was by this time a mature composer. Several directions for further inquiry are apparent. De Rossi may have been resident in Vienna, and thus some of her works (now lost) may have circulated there for some time before she received the commission from Joseph I for this work. Alternatively, she may have been in Italy, and known to either the d'Este family, or the Roman or Bolognese branches of the Pamphili. Since she knew Pamphili's libretto and came from Rome, it may that a member of Cardinal Pamphili's circle was her teacher. No documentation of her early life, however, has been found, and these issues remain unresolved.

The second known work by de Rossi, *Il sacrificio di Abramo* (1708) uses a libretto by the Venetian Francesco Maria Dario.¹⁶ A precursor of de Rossi's oratorio was that by M. A. Ziani for Good Friday, 1707, which sets a different text on the same subject.

The evidence of the scoring of *Il sacrificio* suggests that de Rossi had by this time resided in Vienna. Remarkable passages for the archlute may have been written for the composer and lutenist Francesco Conti, who was on the court payroll as a theorist at this time. The scoring of one aria includes parts for

two chalumeaux, whose first orchestral use was heard in Vienna as recently as 1707 in works by Bononcini and Ariosti.¹⁷ Joseph I himself included the chalumeau in his scoring of an aria that he composed in 1709 for Ziani's opera *Chylonida*; indeed, he may have had a special fondness for it.¹⁸ De Rossi uses the chalumeaux in parallel thirds and sixths to express the pastoral affect of the most peaceful aria in the oratorio, Abramo's dream, just before he is commanded to sacrifice Isaaco (example 1). To make such an effective use of the new instrument, she must have been well acquainted with its sonority and have had players available to her.

A third work, *Il figliuol prodigo*, was composed in 1709 "at the command of the Emperor," as stated on the title page of the printed libretto. The title page of the manuscript indicates that on this occasion de Rossi herself was the librettist. This contradicts the claim put forth by Weilen and Eitner that the librettist was Ciallis and Stieger's assertion that it was Rinaldo Gialli.¹⁹ The libretto of Antonio Biffi's *Il figliuol prodigo* (Venice, 1697; revived 1704) is ascribed to a Don Rinaldo Ciallis, but the relationship between Biffi's and de Rossi's texts remains to be investigated.

The libretto of *Il figliuol prodigo* differs from the texts of de Rossi's other oratorios in two important ways. First, the succession of recitatives and brief duets that constitutes the most dramatic scene in the whole work—the confrontation between the prodigal and his parents—is uncharacteristic. Second, this work is distinct from the others because of the text's thematic emphasis upon the love and forgiveness extended to the disobedient son, rather than the concept of ideal obedience to divine will, which figures so prominently in *S. Beatrice* and *Abramo*. Should it be established that the libretto was written by de Rossi, the decision to treat the theme of reconciliation in *Il figliuol prodigo* may have had a particular personal significance.

The orchestral parts for *Il figliuol* are only partially preserved, and bear the inscription "autore incerto." The ascription of the work to de Rossi is made on the parts in another hand. The printed libretto for the 1709 performance, however, firmly establishes that de Rossi composed the music, even though the manuscript score names her only as the librettist. Perhaps the

Example 1. The use of chalumeaux in "Abramo nell'addormentarsi" (mm. 1–5) from *Il sacrificio di Abramo*.

Affettuoso

orchestral parts, which offer no evidence in support of either attribution, descend from a later revival. Both the printed libretto and the court calendar of performances identify her as the composer, so there seems no possibility that there was any doubt on this point at the time.

Sant'Alessio (1710) is the last known of the oratorios de Rossi composed for Vienna. The subject had been popular in Rome after Landi's famous opera of 1631. For example, it was also treated by de Rossi's contemporary Giuseppe Valentini, who set a text on the subject by the poet Angelo Donato Rossi.

The title page of a cantata found in Dresden, *Dori, e Fileno*, contains an ascription of the work to de Rossi. I find that its script closely resembles that of the composer's Vienna scores; it appears that all are either holographs or in the hand of a single copyist. A second copy was preserved in Dresden until World War II, when it was destroyed. No performance of the work is recorded. The libretto treats a secular theme of youthful love. There is not sufficient stylistic or other evidence to establish its relationship to the chronology of de Rossi's oratorios for Vienna.

Following upon the examination of these works, some comments on the style and technique of de Rossi's music may be delivered. All her works are scored for a group of soloists accompanied by an orchestra. There are no choruses. The scores of three of the Viennese oratorios include lists of their interpreters (see appendix 3). Many of these were members of the court musical establishment. Castrati or male altos performed many of the female roles; others were assigned to female voices. Only one part was written for a solo bass voice—that of a villainous character in *Santa Beatrice*. Other male roles were assigned to castrati or tenors.

De Rossi's works exhibit a sure command of instrumental writing. The technical demands of her string parts suggest that she herself was trained as a string player. Her scores make frequent use of the alternation of soloist, groups of soli, and tutti. Dynamics—*piano* and *forte*—are carefully marked. In addition, her scores include specific bowings and some ornaments. A peculiar feature of her scores is the use of staff notation for some lute parts and tablature for others, even within the same work. Her copyist may have lacked fluency with tablature; one aria in *Abramo* thus notated is so confused that the lute part is fully a measure off at one point, suggesting that the copyist had lost his place in the text. Continuo figures are scarce. The relative independence of cello parts, a style trait one notes in Lulier's work, is a characteristic of de Rossi's writing that she may have learned from him or from his music. Her viola parts also assume an independence and activity that is not typical of works of the period.

Her employment of other instruments seems to be guided by an effort to respond to dramatic exigency and characterization with appropriate orches-

tral timbres, e.g., the use of chalumeaux for Abramo's dream from *Il sacrificio*, the association of the archlute with the innocence of Isaaco, S. Beatrice, and S. Alessio. Trumpets are used for the "tyrant and lover" Ezzelino in *Santa Beatrice* and the splendid, worldly pomp of the secular wedding feast which S. Alessio refuses.

De Rossi conveys the drama of her libretti by means of chromaticism and striking key relations. Fine examples of the efficacy of her treatment include a chromatic duet between S. Beatrice and S. Giuliana in *Santa Beatrice* and the aria sung by Sara in *Il sacrificio* after Abramo and Isaaco have departed to fulfill the Angel's dread command (examples 2 and 3).

A closer examination of passages from *Il sacrificio* illustrates the care de Rossi took in her treatment of the drama. In part 1 of the oratorio, the Angel commands Abramo to sacrifice Isaaco in a dotted rhythm which vividly conveys the inexorability of the fearsome pronouncement (see example 4). In part 2 of the work, Abramo tells Isaaco of the destiny that they must fulfill, and resolves to obey the Angel's command. He tells Isaaco that he, too, must be obedient, accepting his fate with "gaudio, e non dolor." The middle section of this aria pronounces the virtue of obedience: "Let the miracle of your constancy and the prodigy of my strength be found in the triumph which is

Example 2. "Quanto, quanto mi consola un oggetto lontananza" (mm. 18–23) from *S. Beatrice d'Este*.

[Andante]

S. Beatrice

E se

S. Giuliana

E se so-la è si bel-la la spe-ran-za che sa-rà poi la mer-ce-
de?

so-la è si bel-la la spe-ran-za

E se so-la è si bel-la la spe-ran-za che sa-

Example 3. The B section (mm. 40–52) of “Strali, fulmini, tempeste, procelle” from *Il sacrificio di Abramo*. (The A section ends in A major.)



Sara

Sia-mo im-mu-ni dal gra-ve pe-ri-glio, per pie-ta-de, lo

da capo

Spò-so col Fi-glio poi-ché in es-si de-lit-to non v'è, nò, nò, de-lit-to non v'è.

your death” (“Nel trionfo di tua morte sia miracol tua costanza, sia prodigio il mio vigor”). The composer expresses a bitter tension between the semantic surface of the text and Abramo’s paternal agony; she breaks individual words with rests, poignantly evoking Abramo’s private sobbing (example 5).

In de Rossi’s oratorio *Sant’Alessio*, the most moving effects are reserved for the Spouse; she must endure rejection by Alessio, who repudiates worldly marriage in the pursuit of his divinely ordained mission. Part I ends with an aria for the Spouse in which she calls upon heaven to deliver a strident mercy: “[adagio] Heaven, merciful heaven, [presto] an arrow, a flash of lightning, a spear, I will await from Thee” (“Cielo pietoso Cielo, un dardo, un lampo, un telo attenderò da te”). In the middle section, in the relative minor, the Spouse admits her frailty in the face of this divine test of her faith.

One might expect that Alessio’s contemplative raptures, accompanied by

Example 4. “Per un colpo che il figlio t’uccide” (mm. 29–35) from *Il sacrificio di Abramo*.



[Andante] Angelo

Sta-gna il pian-to de Fi-glio sul san-gue il tuo co-re si ge-li à quel

fo-co, di gran Pa-de l’O-lo-cau-sto più gran-de sa-rà.

Example 5. “Morirai, figlio adorato” (mm. 53–57) from *Il sacrificio di Abramo*.



[Affettuoso] Abramo

Nel tri-on-fo di tua mor-te sia mi-ra-col tua cos-tan-za.

the luminous sound of a lute, would be a fitting last aria before the closing ensemble, but this aria is followed by the Spouse's tearful response. De Rossi employs plaintive chromaticism, sigh motives in the strings, and an echo effected by the alternation of *piano* and *forte*. Her final acceptance of fate is half-hearted; the final ensemble, sung by the Spouse and the saint's parents, seeks consolation for their suffering. In general, the libretti that de Rossi set include strongly emotional, human characters, and it is to the pathos of their condition that her most remarkable music responds.

Though Schering, in 1911, noted the expressive qualities of the oratorios composed by de Rossi and her contemporaries, no one has adequately considered the diversity and richness of this repertory. The power and eloquence of de Rossi's music suggests that a closer study and reappraisal of her works and those of other women composers of her circle is now due.

NOTES

This article is based on a paper delivered at the fiftieth national meeting of the American Musicological Society (Philadelphia, 1984). My editions of three works of Camilla de Rossi have been published by ClarNan Editions: Camilla de Rossi, *Dorio e Filen* (Fayetteville, Arkansas, 1984); *Il sacrificio di Abramo* (1984); *S. Beatrice d'Este* (1985). More recently, *Arias from Oratorios by Women Composers of the Eighteenth Century* (1987) includes arias by Grazianini, Grimani, and de Rossi.

Symbols for the library sources of works correspond to those used in *Répertoire internationale des sources musicales*, Ser. A: *A-Wn*, Vienna, Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung; *D-Dlb*, Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek; *I-Bc*, Bologna, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale; *US-BE*, University of California, Berkeley, Music Library; *US-DM*, Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina; *US-Wc*, Washington, DC, Library of Congress, Music Division.

¹ Manuscript scores and incomplete sets of orchestral parts for two of the oratorios, as well as printed libretti of three, are in *A-Wn*. A printed libretto for a Perugia performance of one of these three is in *I-Bc*, and a manuscript of the cantata is in *D-Dlb*, where, until World War II, two copies were preserved.

² Stewart Allen Carter, "The Music of Isabella Leonarda (1620–1704)" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1981), 22–23. The poem cited is by Amadeo Sminiati, and was originally published in Lazaro Agostino Cotta, *Museo Novarese* (Milan, 1710), 270. Carter includes a comprehensive list of Leonarda's works.

³ *International Encyclopedia of Women Composers*, ed. Aaron Cohen, 2nd ed. (New York: Books & Music, 1987), s.v. "Beaumesnil, Henrietta Adelaide Villard de."

⁴ Arnold Schering, *Geschichte des Oratoriums* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911), 111.

⁵ For information about von Raschenau and the convent St. Jakob auf der Hülben see the *Visitationsprotokolle* of the Diocesan Archives in Vienna. According to this document, on 1 April 1710, the fifty-nine-year-old von Raschenau was the *Chormeisterin* and had lived in the convent thirty-eight years. Dr. Rudolf Heilinger of the catalogue department of the Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek (letter to the author, 21 April 1981) and Dr. Peter Csendes, archivist of the Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv (letter to the author, 7 May 1981) provided this material to me. They also cite Eva-Maria Hantschel, *Das Augustiner-Chorfrauenkloster St. Jakob auf der Hülben im Wien, 1301–1783* (phil. Diss., Vienna, 1969) and Felix Czeike, *Das grosse Gröner Wien-Lexikon* (Vienna: Molden, 1974), 554.

⁶ *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London: Macmillan, 1980), s.v. "Grimani, Maria Margherita," by Rudolph Klein.

⁷ The title of the latter work is lacking in the manuscript, which is inscribed "Bologna, le 5. Aprile, 1713." It was first heard in Vienna on the emperor's name day, 4 November 1713. Both manuscripts are in *A-Wn*. The opening Sinfonia of *Pallade e Marte* has been recorded by the New England Women's Symphony, conducted by Jean Lamon (*Women's Orchestral Works*, Galaxia Enterprises, 1980). The notes accompanying the record do not identify a source for the work. According to those notes, "Maria Grimani was an 18th century Venetian nun. . . . Her *Sinfonie* [sic] dated 1713, probably served as an introduction to a longer work such as a cantata or other vocal piece, which has unfortunately been lost." I have been unable to trace the source of this information, but the "longer work" mentioned is certainly *Pallade e Marte*, of which a microfilm copy is in the Isham Memorial Library at Harvard University.

⁸ *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, s.v. "Grimani, Maria Margherita" and *New Grove*, s.v. "Grimani, Maria Margherita." Both articles are by Rudolph Klein.

⁹ Alexander von Weilen, *Zur wiener Theatergeschichte: Die vom Jahre 1629 bis zum Jahre 1740 am wiener Hofe zur Aufführung gelangten Werke theatralischen Charakters und Oratorien* (Vienna: Hölders, 1901), nos. 575, 593, 604, and 614.

¹⁰ SANTA / BEATRICE / D'ESTE / ORATORIO / Posto in Musica / DAL SIG. GIO. LULIER. / Con l'Introduittione, e Sinfonia / DEL SIG. ARCANGELLO CORELLI. / IN Modena, M.DCC.I. / Per il Soliani Stamp. Duc. *Con Lic. de Sup.* Printed libretto in *US-Wc*.

¹¹ According to Franz Stieger, *Opernlexikon* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1977), 265, the librettist of *Santa Beatrice* is "unknown" and de Rossi's name is not mentioned in the studies of Cardinal Pamphili that I consulted.

¹² *New Grove*, s.v. "Corelli, Arcangelo," by Michael Talbot.

¹³ "Chiude la via de' Giusti / Di terreno dolor spine nascose, / Ma per chi le coltiva apronsi in rose." ("Choose the path of the just, of earthly sorrow and concealed thorns; but it is the path through which the cultivated fields open up in roses.") The final lines of Pamphili's libretto (as set by Lulier) were omitted by de Rossi: "Il mio dolore dolor non hà; se spina è al core, rose sarà." ("My sorrow will have no pain; if the thorn be at the heart, it will be a rose.") Although the libretto implies that Beatrice dies, her death is not represented; there is only a reference to miracles which occur near her tomb.

¹⁴ The earliest known performance of Lulier's setting of Cardinal Pamphili's libretto took place in 1689 in Rome while Cardinal Rinaldo d'Este was visiting the city. A revised version with additional music by Corelli was performed later in the year at Modena. See: Arcangelo Corelli, *Historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe der musikalischen Werke* (Cologne, 1976), 5:25. Rinaldo d'Este was at this time the papal legate to the court of James II of England, who was the husband of Maria Beatrice d'Este. The oratorio honors the family saints of the d'Este. For further discussion of the Lulier performance see Lina Montalto, *Un mecenate in Roma barocca: Il Cardinale Benedetto Pamphili (1653-1730)* (Florence, 1955), 212, 323, and 326.

¹⁵ In the libretti printed for the Vienna and Perugia performances, a footnote appears on the last page at the point when the Angel refers to miracles associated with the saint: "Miracolo operato da S. Beatrice riferito dal Pigna. Lib. 2. p. 138" ("Miracle worked by S. Beatrice referred to by Pigna. . ."). The reference is to Giovanni Battista Nicolucci Pigna, *Historia de principi de Este* (Ferrara, 1570), which contains an account of the wars of Ezzelino against the d'Este and his encounter with Beatrice d'Este and Giuliana da Mantova (of the Conti de Riva family). It is upon this encounter that the narrative of the libretto is based (*Historia*, 137-39). A copy of Pigna's book is in *US-DM*. For a recent study of the thirteenth century and St. Beatrice (which, however, does not mention this incident), see Petro Balan, *S. Beatrice I d'Este*, 4th ed., rev. by Angelo Limena (Rome: Estel, Bertolli, 1957). Pigna and Balan also make no mention of Beatrice's martyrdom or her departure from the convent, both of which are implicit in Pamphili's libretto. An incomplete set of orchestral parts for this work survives in *A-Wn*. Dated 1713, this set probably originated from a later performance than that which occasioned the commission.

¹⁶ The only other extant work by Dario is *La Madre Adorata, rime sacre in honore della Santissima Vergine* (Venice: Rossi, 1708). This is a long poem (for which no musical setting survives) of seven cantos comprising 293 verses, which is dedicated to the emperor Joseph I. In the preface the author refers to the two oratorio libretti that he wrote for the emperor: *David Penitente* and *Il sacrificio [sic] di Abramo*. The composer of the former is unknown and the latter was set by de Rossi, but neither composition is mentioned in the preface. A copy of *La Madre Adorata* is in *US-BE*.

¹⁷ Antonio Bononcini, *La Conquista della Spagna* (Vienna, 1707), fols. 50r–57v and Attilio Ariosti, *Marte Placato* (Vienna, 1707), fols. 8r–17r, 113r–119r, and 81v–89r. Manuscripts in *A-Wn*.

¹⁸ Joseph I (Hapsburg), "Tutto in pianto," in: *Musikalische Werke der Kaiser Ferdinand III, Leopold I, und Joseph I.*, ed. Guido Adler (Vienna 1892–93), 2:252–55. Ziani's *Chilonide* was written for the birthday of Empress Amalia Wilhelmine, 21 April 1709 and was repeated during Carnival, 1710.

¹⁹ Robert Eitner, *Biographisch-bibliographisches Quellen-Lexikon* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1903), s.v. "Rossi, Camilla de." See also: Stieger, *Opernlexikon*, 265.

Appendix I

Women Composers of Oratorios and Dramatic Works in Northern Italy and Austria, 1670–1725, and Their Known Works.

MARIA BARBIERI (MARIETTE BARBIERI). Singer active in Bologna and Modena. Works: *L'alloro trionfato*, prima parte (Bologna, 1672); *Il trionfo della fede* (Licenza, date unknown). Other composers contributed musical additions to these works, notably, G. B. Vitali, G. P. Colonna, and Francesco Praticchista.

ANGIOLA TERESA MORATORI (MURATORI) SCANNABECCHI, fl. 1662–1708. Composer and painter active in Bologna. She studied painting with Elisa Sirani, Emilio Taruffi, Lorenzo Pasinelli, and Giovanni Gioseffo del Sole. She was married first to the painter Scannabecchi and subsequently to Moneta. Her own paintings can be found in Bologna. Printed libretti survive for four oratorios by Moratori; the music for all, however, is lost. Works: *Il martirio di S. Colomba* (sung at the Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri on the Feast of All Saints, 1689), *Li ciochi di Sansone* (sung at the church of MM. PP. RR. dell'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri, 1694), *L'esterre* (sung at the church of MM. PP. RR. dell'Oratorio di S. Filippo Neri on the evening of Palm Sunday, 1695), and *Cristo morto* (sung at the Oratorio dell'arciconfraternita di S. Maria della Morte on the evening of Good Friday, 1696).

MARIA ANNA VON RASCHENAU (RASSCHENAU), ca. 1651–ca. 1710 or 1714. Composer active in Vienna. Nun and *Chormeisterin* at the convent St. Jakob auf der Hülben. Printed libretti survive for two oratorios and two secular

works, which were probably operas. The oratorios are *Gli infermi risanati dal Redentore* (Vienna, 1694) and *Le sacre visioni di S. Teresa* (libretto by the court physician Marco Antonio Signorini; dedicated to Leopold I; performed in Vienna on the Feast of St. James the Greater, 1703). The secular works are *I tributi del tempo all'augustissima Casa d'Austria* (Vienna, 1696) and *Il consiglio di Pallade, componimento per musica* (Vienna, 1697).

CATERINA BENEDETTA GRATIANINI (GRAZIANINI). Manuscript scores of two works survive: *S. Geminiano vescovo e protettore di Modena* ("sung before the Highnesses of Brunswick and Modena . . . and wondrously received," according to a note in the score; performed in Vienna, 1705 and 1715) and *Santa Teresa* (Vienna, date unknown).

MARIA MARGHERITA GRIMANI. Three works by her are extant: *Pallade e Marte* (for the name day of Charles VI; MS dated Bologna, 5 April 1713; performed in Vienna, 6 November 1713), *La visitazione de Santa Elisabetta* (Vienna, 1713, 1718), and *La decollazione di S. Giovanni Battista* (Vienna, 1715).

CATERINA BENEDETTA BIANCHI (CONTESSA). One work by her is known: *San Leopoldo* (patron saint of Austria; Lucca, 1724).

MARIANNE VON MARTINEZ. Viennese composer, pianist, and singer. Two oratorios by her are known: *Isacco, figura del Redentore* (libretto by Metastasio; Vienna, 1782) and *Sant'Elena al Calvario* (libretto by Metastasio, date unknown).

Appendix 2

The Manuscript Sources and Printed Libretti of Camilla de Rossi's Extant Works

A-Wn Mus. Hs. 17.312. Score. SANTA BEATRICE / D'ESTE. / ORATORIO / L'ANNO 1707. / Posto in Musica dalla Camilla / de Rossi Romana.

A-Wn Mus. Hs. 17.313. Parts:

Nr. 4 / *Santa Beatrice* / Violino Primo / di Rossi Romana.

Nr. 4 / *Santa Beatrice* / Violino Secondo. / di Rossi Romana.

Nr. 4 / *Santa Beatrice* / Viola. / di Rossi Romana.

Nr. 4 / *Santa Beatrice* / Violoncello. / di Rossi Romana. [interior of title page: 1707 / *Santa Beatrice* / Oratorio / Basso di viola. This part includes only arias, and no purely continuo parts. Other instruments called for in the score, i.e., archlute and two trumpets, are lacking in this set of partbooks.]

A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19.122. S. Beatrice / d'Este. / Oratorio / CANTATO NEL-

L'AUGUSTISSIMA CAPPELLA / DELLA / S. C. R. MAESTA / DI / Giuseppe I. / IMPERATOR / DE'ROMANI, / SEMPRE AUGUSTO. / L'ANNO M.DCCVII. / *Posto in Musica per Comando di S. M. Cesarea dalla Sig.^{ra} Camilla de Rossi Romana.* / VIENNA D'AUSTRIA, 'Appresso gli Heredi Cosmeroviani della Stamperia / di Sua.

I-Bc 4613. Printed libretto. S. BEATRICE D'ESTE / ORATORIO CANTATO / NELL'AUGUSTISSIMA CAPPELLA / DELLA S. C. R. MAESTA / GIUSEPPE I. / IMPERATOR DE'ROMANI, / SEMPRE AUGUSTO / L'ANNO M. D. CCVII. / E di nuovo cantato nell'Oratorio de' P. P. della Con- / gragazione di S. Filippi Neri di Perugia l'anno 1712. / *Posto in Musica per comando di S. M. Cesarea dalla Signora / Camilla de' Rossi Romana.* / In PERUGIA: Nella Stampa Vescovale in Via Pinella / Per Bastiano Amati, *Con Licenza de' Sup.* [Handwritten notation at bottom of page: "Rossi (De). Camilla."]

A-Wn Mus. Hs. 17.306. Score. Il Sacrificio di Abramo. / Oratorio / L'Anno 1708. / Poesia di Francesco Maria Dario / Cittadino Veneto. / *Posto in musica dalla Camilla de / Rossi Romana.*

A-Wn COD 406 745-BM. Printed libretto. IL SACRIFICIO / DI / ABRAMO. / ORATORIO / CANTATO NELL'AUGUST. CAPPELLA / DELLA / S. C. R. MAESTA / DI / GIUSEPPE I. / IMPERATOR / DE' ROMANI. / SEMPRE AUGUSTO. / L'ANNO M.DCCVIII. / *Poesia del Sig. Francesco Maria Dario, Veneto.* / *Posto in musica per comando di Sua Maestà Cesarea dalla / Sig. Camilla de Rossi, Romana.* / VIENNA D'AUSTRIA, / Appresso gli Heredi Cosmeroviani della Stamperia de S. M. C. [Also includes German text, *Das Brand-Opfer des Abraham.*]

A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19.122. Score. IL FIGLIUOL PRODIGO. / Oratorio. / L'anno 1709. / Poesia della Camilla de Rossi / Romana.

A-Wn. Printed libretto. IL FIGLIUOL / PRODIGO. / ORATORIO / CANTATO NELL'AUGUST. CAPPELLA / DELLA / S. C. R. MAESTA / DI / GIUSEPPE I. / IMPERATOR / DE'ROMANI, / SEMPRE AUGUSTO. / L'ANNO M.DCCIX. / *Posto in musica per comando di Sua Maestà Cesarea dalla Signora Camilla de Rossi Romana.* / VIENNA D'AUSTRIA. / Appresso gli heredi Cosmeroviani della Stamperia de S. M. C. [Also includes German text *Der Verlohrne Sohne.*]

A-Wn Mus. Hs. 19.123. Parts:

Nr. 8 / Il Figliuol Prodigo / Violino Primo / Aut: incerto / (Camilla de Rossi.) [on page 2: "Violino Primo Concer."]

Nr. 8 / Il Figliool [*sic*] Prodigo. / Violino Secondo. / Aut: incerto. / Rossi. [on page 2: Violino Secondo Concer.]

Nr. 8 / *Il Figliuol Prodigo.* / Viola. / Aut: incerto. / Rossi.

Nr. 8 / Il Figliuol Prodigo / Violincello / Aut: incerto. / (Rossi.) [Includes only the accompaniment to arias.]

A-Wn Mus. Hs. 17.307. Score. S. Alessio / Oratorio. / L'Anno 1710. / Posto in Musica dalla Camilla de / Rossi Romana.

D-Dlb Ms. Mus. 2382-L-1. Score. Cantata à 2. Canto, et Alto. / Frà Dori, e Fileno. / Compositione Musicale / Di / Camilla de Rossi. Romana. [According to Eitner (8:321), MSS 694 and 704 contained two cantatas for two voices and instruments. In fact, these "two cantatas" were two copies of a single work. One of these copies, apparently titled *Clori e Fileno*, was destroyed during World War II. The title found on the surviving score is a variant: *Dori, e Fileno*.]

Appendix 3

Performers of Women's Oratorios in Vienna (from Cast Lists)

LA CONTINI. Soprano. Grimani, *La visitazione*.

GAETANO [ORSINI] [GAETARIO]. Male alto. De Rossi, *Figliuol*; Grimani, *La visitazione*.

[PIERRO] CESARI. Male alto. Grimani, *La visitazione*.

BIGONI. Bass. Grimani, *La visitazione*.

[CARLO] COSTA. Tenor. De Rossi, *Sant'Alessio*.

[MARIA] LANDINI (LA LANDINA). Soprano; wife of the lutenist-composer Francesco Conti. De Rossi, *Sant'Alessio*.

[SALV.] MELLINI. Male alto. De Rossi, *Santa Beatrice*, *Sant'Alessio*.

LA VIENNA (VIENNA MELLINI). Soprano. Grazianini, *S. Geminiano*.

SILVIO. Tenor. De Rossi, *Santa Beatrice*, *Il figliuol*.

[DOMENICO] TOLLINI. Male soprano. De Rossi, *Il figliuol*, *Sant'Alessio*.

TIMER (TIMMER). Boy soprano; later listed as a tenor on a court payroll. De Rossi, *Il figliuol*.

VINCENZO. Male soprano(?). De Rossi, *Il figliuol*.

D. GIO. BATTÀ. Bass. De Rossi, *Santa Beatrice*.

LA SUTTERIN [KUNIGONDE]. Soprano. De Rossi, *Santa Beatrice*.

FRANCO HUEFFNAGL (HUEFFNAGEL). Tenor and gambist. De Rossi, *Santa Beatrice*.

CHECO DE GRANDIS (FRANCESCO DE GRANDIS). Grazianini, *S. Geminiano*.

LUIGINO (LUIGI ALBARELLI). Male alto. Grazianini, *S. Geminiano*.

D. ANTONIO BELUGANI (BULGARELLI?). Grazianini, *S. Geminiano*.

NOTE

Performers in Grazianini's *S. Geminiano* were probably from Modena.

Perceptions of Stylistic Change: A Study of the Reviews of New Music in the *Harmonicon* (1823–1833)

By Beth Shamgar

Among the strongest indications of a swing towards Romantic values in nineteenth-century music are the changing attitudes towards harmony reflected in musical literature from Schubert onward. Although early Romantic composers do not represent a stylistic monolith, a collection of shared harmonic assumptions sets them apart from their Classic predecessors. To varying degrees, their music discloses an increased attention to the coloristic potential of harmony; it contains more chromatic language and wide-ranging modulations, often based on third relationships; and it shows a gradual weakening of the centripetal force of the tonic.

For contemporary observers of early nineteenth-century music, harmony also took on primary significance vis-à-vis emerging Romantic style. A survey of reviews of new music in the British journal *Harmonicon* (1823–33) reveals that nineteenth-century commentators not only described the specific techniques of Romantic harmony, but also discussed more general harmonic issues that are less familiar to present-day students of music history.¹ Contributors to the *Harmonicon* considered harmony in relation to the broader aesthetic question of the correct hierarchy of musical elements. They were engaged in an on-going debate as to what constituted the supreme element in music—melody or harmony. According to its critics, nascent Romantic style assigned harmony undue freedom and importance, upsetting the Classic balance of elements. Contributors also contemplated the link between harmony and the eroding autonomy of the national schools of composition. While they acknowledged that the new harmony was primarily a German phenomenon, they perceived that the national schools were in a state of flux; Italy, in particular, seemed to be entering the German sphere of influence. Lastly, harmony assumed importance with regard to the critical apparatus these commentators were developing as a means of evaluating current musical change. The harmonic dimension figured so prominently in their discussions of how styles evolve that stylistic change often seemed synonymous with harmonic change.

The present study, following the lead of the *Harmonicon*'s contributors, also takes harmony as a gauge and explores the historical implications of these three interlocking topics in greater detail. While discussing many different types of articles in the *Harmonicon*, the paper will pay special attention to reviews of new music; for the harmonic ideals that animate these reviews

offer important insights into the nature of early Romantic style.

Let us first, however, place the *Harmonicon* among the periodical literature of the early nineteenth century and briefly examine its relationship with the rest of the musical world.² The *Harmonicon* was founded by a commercial printer, William Clowes, who in turn engaged William Ayrton as the editor of the journal from its outset. Ayrton brought to his post considerable administrative and journalistic skills, as well as a broadly based interest in British musical and theatrical life.³ He seems to have played a central role in shaping the *Harmonicon* into a leading English periodical.⁴ One reason for its widespread appeal, aside from the excellence of its articles and the extensive range of subjects covered in each issue, may have been the emphasis Ayrton gave to foreign music. In two senses the *Harmonicon* may be characterized as a journal of international scope: a high proportion of its articles were either solicited from Continental correspondents or reprinted in translation from Continental musical periodicals; in addition, considerable space was devoted in every issue to foreign musical news, biographies of non-English composers, and, of course, reviews of their music. Among the contributors to the *Harmonicon* were George Hogarth, Ignaz Moscheles, and Vincent Novello. Appearing in translation were essays by F. J. M. Fayolle, François-Joseph Fétis, Peter Lichtenthal, and Carl Maria von Weber.⁵ Numbering among the biographical articles, again only a sampling indication, were studies of Cherubini, Clementi, Hummel, Méhul, Meyerbeer, Moscheles, Rossini, Spohr, Spontini, and Weber. Thus, either directly or indirectly, the voices of many central figures in early nineteenth-century musical life in both England and abroad were heard in the columns of the *Harmonicon*.

While a sensitivity to new stylistic developments may be found throughout the journal, an awareness of musical change is especially apparent in the numerous articles that assessed works in terms of the composers' grasp of the proper hierarchy between harmony and melody. The ideal balance between the two elements was often conceived not as a true balance at all, but rather as a thinly veiled preference for melody. Melody was regarded as a means of controlling Romantic harmony by allowing for innovative harmonic effects only within a tight melodic framework. Hence the following positive review of Hummel's Grand Sonata for Pianoforte and Violoncello, op. 104:

The design is elegant and original; there is a definable and melodious subject running through every part of it; the modulations, unexpected and scientific as they are, seem natural, and as if accomplished without any labor or research; the harmony is the handmaid of the air, and the various passages which dilate the subject, and throw it into different forms, never lose their analogy and connection, while they abound in novel and happy combinations.

(1826:166)⁶

Many readers, like myself, may be struck by the language of the debate over harmony versus melody, which often calls to mind the rhetoric of Baroque discussions regarding text and music at a much earlier stylistic crossroads. Thus, as in the above quotation, “harmony is the handmaid of the air”; or elsewhere “harmony is but an accessory in music” (1826:203); and “harmony should ever be considered as the assistant” (1825:95).⁷

The debate regarding the correct hierarchy between harmony and melody was closely bound up with perceptions of the expressive potential of each element. In early issues of the *Harmonicon*, certain emotions were viewed as beyond the reach of harmony and especially melody. In the following quotation, the arena is opera, and the subject, the depiction of jealousy:

Jealousy is a passion that can find no corresponding notes in the widely-extended circle of harmony, but amongst its harshest discords; and with melody it is at open war.

(1823:82)

The author went on to add that fear and envy were also outside the ordinary resources of music. Of course, the number of early Romantic operas that successfully portrayed these emotions was sizeable, and it is not surprising that we gradually encounter a change of attitude. Eventually, many contributors came to believe that the subject matter of these operas necessitated a rethinking of Classic assumptions about the relationship between the two elements. Now, the connection between proper balance and expressive potential becomes much more explicit. In an article entitled “The Present State of Musical Taste” (1829:189ff.), J. A. Delaire⁸ suggested that a sliding scale of emotional intensity should determine the relative strengths of harmony and melody—a spring landscape requires that melody rule; more heated situations involving, for example, heroic action, demand greater harmonic vigor. Other articles in later issues of the *Harmonicon* mirror the expanding harmonic horizons of the new operatic repertoire in different ways. Classic modulatory schemes were now often criticized as uninteresting and banal,⁹ while the harmonic daring of “advanced” operas was on the whole well received.¹⁰

As part of the discussion of the proper balance of elements, contributors also reconsidered the relative structural importance of harmony and melody. Here, too, a number of critics drew a distinction between Classic norms and current practice. They granted the structural significance of clear, Classic harmonic maps in organizing a composition. They warned, however, against all modulations that did not reinforce the structural lines of a work but, on the contrary, softened or stretched them. They often described modulations such as these as “extraneous” and “damaging.”¹¹ For example, Weber was criticized for “a love of ultra-modulation and harmony” in his opera *Oberon*.

As an instance of such irrelevant activity, a contributor cited a modulation away from the tonic, which in his opinion did not depict a real change in mood. According to this critic, “the composer had no *design* beyond that of exhibiting an ingenious piece of modulation,” an unacceptable artistic goal in his eyes (1829:77).¹² The same article also mentioned extraneous modulations in Rossini’s operas, which the author linked to the unending spiral of exaggeration in modern music.

The consequence of employing this powerful language so often, without necessity, is, that when it is really called for, the composer must either be content with what he had used on common occasions, or he must endeavour to heighten it still further. . . .

(1829:75)

Other articles in the *Harmonicon* downplayed the architectural importance of even structurally significant modulations. In an essay published posthumously, Grétry described two divergent methods for plotting the harmonic course of a work—according to harmonic considerations alone, or according to melodic implications. His preferred plan of action derived from his belief that the truly great composer was a master melodist. He therefore advised young aspirants to choose their harmonic direction on the basis of melodic sentiment; that is, first comes text, then melody, and only then harmony (1825:93ff.).¹³ Examples of a harmonically centered approach to form are rare, although an opposite ordering of priorities was clearly implied in an article by Sir William Jones, who counseled that one must first select a key, modulate as the sentiment changes, and last of all compose the melody (1827:158).¹⁴

The new harmonic idiom that challenged the Classic balance of elements was perceived as a primarily German phenomenon. In a sampling of reviews from 1824 to 1826, German composers were variously described as accepting of harmonic combinations elsewhere regarded as dissonant (1824:7), preferring difficult and surprising harmony (1824:94), aspiring towards powerful and novel harmonic effects (1824:185),¹⁵ and achieving an especially solid and energetic harmonic style (1826:133).¹⁶ German harmonic preferences, according to reviewers, went hand in hand with heavy orchestration, thick texture, difficult passagework, and crowded rhythms (1824:164; 1830:167). Together, these effects lent the music a dense and even (to its detractors) clotted sound. Not for the first time in music history, these German traits were traced back to climate and language.

Thus the nations of the north, who live in the midst of frost, under a gloomy and silent sky, are less expansive and more thoughtful than those

of a milder climate: they eagerly seek for strong emotions, and their concentrated passions require a vigorous harmony to excite them. They have beside few fine voices, and their languages are hard; hence, then, their preference of the effects of harmony.

(1830:144)

Although the Italian school, by contrast, was associated with a melodically oriented approach to music, this held true only up to a certain point. On the one hand, early Romantics conceived of Italian style in terms of “the softer graces of song” (1826:133).¹⁷ More specifically—“delicate, smooth . . . tenderness is their chief feature . . . the melodies . . . are flowing, the modulations few, and these are effected without the intervention of vigorous discords” (1827:92). At the same time, however, they assigned both Rossini and Meyerbeer the role of bringing about a rapprochement between Italian and German traditions, thereby blurring the distinctions between the two schools.

Rossini’s relationship to German style was first mentioned in two opera reviews from 1824; one of his own *Semiramide*, and the other, of Weber’s *Freischütz*. The former review cited the increased strength and importance of the orchestra in Rossini’s music heretofore attributed only to the Germans (1824:162). The latter spoke of Rossini’s harmony and saw in him the vehicle for bringing German harmonic style to Italy (1824:169). Rossini, however, was ultimately convicted by at least one critic in the *Harmonicon* of an exaggerated emulation of German style, especially in his later operas where he “soon carried [German harmony] beyond even his models” (1829:73).¹⁸

Though he similarly mingled traits of both national schools, Meyerbeer was viewed in more enthusiastic terms. In 1825, his *Il crociato in Egitto* was described by a correspondent in glowing language—“of all living composers, Meyerbeer is the one who most happily combines the easy, flowing, and expressive melodies of Italy, with the severer beauties, the grander accompaniments, of the German school . . .” (1825:96). Elsewhere in the same issue, however, a description of the current state of music in Paris alluded to the merging of the two schools in sarcastic language, and identified “the god of harmony” as a binational—an “Italico-Germanico” deity (1825:97–98). Not surprisingly, the author of these latter remarks was a Frenchman, representing the third important national school.

French style as described in the *Harmonicon* stood at some distance from the Italian and German schools. French opera was presented as preserving its traditional interests—that is, as text oriented and concerned with the detail of declamation.¹⁹ Romantic traits were remarked only in the rich, highly colored orchestral effects and in the rapid modulations of the French recitative (1829:132).²⁰

All of the stylistic changes described thus far gave rise to lengthy, quasi-philosophical discussions as to how music develops and evolves. As indicated earlier, harmonic topics figured prominently in these longer essays, often providing their main focus. The first such article appeared in 1826 and was entitled "On Changes in Music During the Last Thirty Years."²¹ It opened with a consideration of the sources of modern music and noted that although music has always "experienced frequent innovations . . . towards the close of the last century, a variety of concurring circumstances prepared a more decisive, and above all, a more sudden revolution, than had ever before been experienced in this art" (1826:6). The author touched on a number of aspects of the new style, but in the sweeping indictment of early nineteenth-century compositional standards with which he concluded his article, he blamed the flawed style primarily on those issues discussed earlier in this paper—harmonic rather than melodic supremacy and the rapprochement between the national schools.

The music now composed at Naples, at Berlin, at Paris, has nearly the same coloring, since at present it is the method that constitutes the art, and that method is everywhere the same. Never was modulation more studied than at present, and never was so little effected in regard to song. Pieces planned and conducted according to a unity of idea, are no longer in fashion; twenty little motivos, all differing from each other, are formed into a party-colored whole, which is the very enemy to all grace, elegance, and consistency. The effects of the orchestra [are] . . . becoming exhausted. . . .

(1826:6)

In 1827, a more extended discussion, centering solely on harmonic issues, began. It took the form of a long correspondence on the subject of parallel fifths. Although the topic itself may appear dated and somewhat trivial, the participants in this dispute used the issue of parallel fifths as a springboard to more far-reaching stylistic questions. Thus, the letter to the editor that opened this discussion began by outlining "how the legitimate resources of harmony" may be enlarged, warning of the need to distinguish between "new combinations or progressions as are found to be good, and such as are crude or injudicious" (1827:21–22).²² It is interesting, for example, that the letter-writer did feel that parallel fifths were acceptable in the resolution of German sixths, one of the pillars of Romantic harmony. As the correspondence proceeded, the discussants stressed the ever-growing exceptions to harmonic rules, which, depending upon the stylistic persuasion of the writer, represented a positive expansion of harmonic horizons or an anarchic lawlessness.

For while the [harmonic] rules compiled and perfected by the Kirnbergers, the Marpurgs, the Sulzers, and others of the last age, remain the same in number, the exceptions have so much increased by the use of remarkable dissonances and no less remarkable solutions of them, that they exceed in amount and bulk the original text.

(1828:52)

Probably the most significant article dealing with harmony and stylistic change was a two-part study, "On the Instability of Musical Fame," appearing in 1829 (54ff. and 73ff.).²³ This article explored concepts of harmony in the styles of four composers—Cimarosa, Mozart, Rossini, and Weber. Holding that music is always in a state of change, though not necessarily for the better, the author praised the sparing use of dissonance, modulation, and chromatic harmony in the operas of the two earlier composers. He cited the principles of successful oratory (and elsewhere, painting), writing:

An orator, or writer, whose style is calm and simple on ordinary occasions, has a large stock of stronger language at his command; but if he is in the habit of garnishing his ordinary discourse with exclamations and superlatives, he will find, when he wishes to be impassioned or impressive, that, in point of appropriate language, he has left himself nothing in reserve.

(1829:55–56)

Mozart's operas represented a fuller and richer harmonic style than those of Cimarosa, and for the author of this article constituted a "point of perfection" in music history; Rossini and Weber, however, who took the same harmonic style a step further, transgressed the limits of good taste. Despite many beauties in their works, "they are so lavish of their transitions, dissonance, and chromatic intervals that their style has acquired a general character of unmeaning emphasis" (1829:56).

Almost inevitably, many contributors to the *Harmonicon* extended their definitions of the new style to include explorations of stylistic origins. While some opponents of the nascent Romanticism resorted to generalization and even name-calling (locating the genesis of Romanticism in a distortion of Classic gestures), other contributors were dissatisfied with such facile explanations. Despite their fundamentally critical stance, they made more serious attempts to determine the sources of the new style.

The general spirit of the times, the "inordinate desire of stimulus, of increased excitement" (1829:189),²⁴ was most frequently invoked as the ultimate source of the new musical values. At least one writer drew a direct line between the sudden changes in style and recent political upheavals.

The epoch in which we live, fruitful in excitement, has subjected us to the two extremes, the two rigid taskmasters, death or pleasure. Overwhelmed by the horrors of war, and rendered familiar with every species of misery, men have betaken themselves to the more coarse and exciting pleasures of art, as a means of relief against the pressures of evil. The theatre has been changed into a rareeshow, in which . . . the restless mind seeks relief and excitement in splendid scenery, in broad humour, in melodies calculated to tickle the ear, or harmonies of the most stormy kind. . . . Accustomed in daily life to the strong and stimulating, nothing but pieces of that character was relished by the frequenters of the theatre. . . . They have butchered clearness and simplicity, as heretofore they butchered the freedom of the people; they have trampled on the laws of harmony, as they once did on the laws of nations; they have broken down the protecting barriers of the pure and the beautiful, and with savage joy.

(1829:107)²⁵

There were also, however, many critics who sought specifically musical origins for the Romantic sound. The sources they cited were both numerous and varied. One such critic traced what he believed to be the major revolution in music back to the increasing employment of wind instruments in Mozart's operas and Haydn's symphonies. Together these sources established an ideal of enlarged orchestral sound, making "music of the simple and purely melodious kind appear cold and meagre" (1826:6).²⁶ A need was thereby engendered in subsequent compositions for "more force and fullness" (1826:6) in both the orchestra and in accompaniments.

A number of contributors saw a lack of melodic originality as the true impetus behind the changing harmony. As early as 1825, this thesis had been stated and restated in the *Harmonicon's* columns. Theoretically an element open to endless permutations and combinations, modern melody was described as "exhausted" and "in a dormant state" (1825:205). Another manifestation of the same melodic condition was seen in the absence of clearly defined melodic ideas. Thus, in a list of characteristic faults in the modern school of piano music, the reviewer complained *inter alia* of "a confused subject, if any at all" (1829:80). Weber summarized this melodic predicament more humorously:

Our melodies are maladies at best,
 Poor sickly things in tinsel finery drest . . .
 Push'd forward in the world to make a noise.

(1829:107)

Whereas Weber associated bad melodic writing with noisy orchestration, other writers maintained that harmonic color was also being intensified in order to conceal this melodic vacuum.

. . . in order to disguise their paucity of [melodic] invention, they [modern composers] take refuge in violent and glaring resources . . . which consist in modulations that confuse the unlearned in music; with noisy effects of parts, whereby the unity and consistency of the whole is destroyed; in accumulated instrumental effects, and the deafening noise that naturally results; in figures of the most difficult, and from their very difficulty, of the most astonishing kind; in a word, by carrying the external means of the art to extremes.

(1825:153)²⁷

Two harmonically oriented theories about the stylistic sources of Romanticism were also proposed by *Harmonicon* critics. The first traced the origins of Romantic harmony back to the Classic fantasy. This interrelationship was suggested in the review of Czerny's op. 64, where the reviewer raised the possibility that the "flighty, licentious style of the fantasia may apologize" for the overall harmonic atmosphere and for such departures from rule as progressive tonality (1826:118). Indeed, the harmonic values implicit in the Classic fantasy closely correspond to early-Romantic harmonic effects, as the following modern definition of fantasy style reveals:

The *fantasia* style is recognized by one or more of the following features—elaborate figuration, shifting harmonies, chromatic conjunct bass lines, sudden contrasts, full textures or disembodied melodic figures—in short, a sense of improvisation and loose structural links between figures and phrases.²⁸

The second theory traced the origins of the new style back to Mozart's harmony, which was defined by one of his detractors in the following terms: "his modulations [are] not unfrequently *bizarre*, his abrupt changes of key often harsh . . ." (1830:149).

Contributors to the *Harmonicon*, however, stressed the different stylistic contexts within which these musical events occurred. In their eyes, Romantic harmonic gestures took place in a setting that lacked "the grand qualities of consistency, unity, and harmony of design, without which genius bewilders itself, and produces only monsters" (1824:231–32).²⁹ Elsewhere, the change of stylistic backdrop was characterized as an absence of concinnity. Romantic works displayed "a want of relation in all . . . parts, and an incongruity in the composition, taken altogether . . ." (1826:241).³⁰

In conclusion, the reviewers of new music in the *Harmonicon* sensed a breaking up of Classic style: the nature and therefore the balance of musical elements was changing; the character of the national schools was consequently being altered; and an overall atmosphere of stylistic unrest prevailed. A confrontation between harmony and melody stood at the nerve center of the modern music. According to opponents of the new style, whose voices often seemed to be the loudest, melody was being threatened precisely at a time when it was sorely needed as structural glue. Harmony, meanwhile, was taking on centrifugal and therefore often confusing roles. Although new developments in orchestration, texture, and rhythm were also an integral part of the process of stylistic change, the preceding discussion has attempted to show how harmony, in particular, registered the gradual coalescence of the new Romantic aesthetic.

NOTES

¹ The reader is referred to my forthcoming article entitled "Romantic Harmony through the Eyes of Contemporary Observers" (*Journal of Musicology*), which forms a complementary study to the present paper and explores the *Harmonicon* for theoretical discussions of chordal vocabulary, progressions, modulatory procedures, and key symbolism.

² I would like to thank Dr. Leanne Langley for her gracious help in providing historical information about the *Harmonicon* at a time when her valuable dissertation, "The English Musical Journal in the Early Nineteenth Century," 2 vols. (Ph.D. diss., University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1983), was not yet available in Israel.

³ *Ibid.*, 2:509–10.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:513. The *Harmonicon* was brought out by three successive publishers: a schoolbook distributor and pianoforte manufacturer, William Pinnock; a bookseller, Samuel Leigh; and finally, Longman and Company. According to Langley, at its peak the *Harmonicon* may have reached a monthly sale of nearly 2,000. Langley rates the *Harmonicon* among English music periodicals as "the most well-known and influential . . . of its day" (2:508), an evaluation echoed by contemporary commentators (see 1:397–98).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 2:512.

⁶ References to the *Harmonicon* are cited in the text by year of publication and page number. Since all reviews of music and most articles in the *Harmonicon* were unsigned, it is not always clear who the author was. Langley identifies the editor, William Ayrton, as largely responsible for the section entitled "Review of Music" that appeared in every issue of the journal. Indeed, a marked consistency in vocabulary and turn of phrase suggest a single author for these reviews. Ayrton was, however, obviously not solely responsible for the discussions of recent compositions in the many other articles from the *Harmonicon* quoted in this study. Where possible, authors of these articles have been identified in the notes that follow. See also Langley's discussion of this issue in 1:344ff. and 1:368f.

⁷ From an essay entitled "On Musical Education," with the by-line "From the French of M. Grétry," and reflecting somewhat earlier attitudes.

⁸ According to Fétis, *Biographie universelle des musiciens*, 2nd ed. (1864), 2:454, Jacques-Auguste Delaire was born in 1796. He became a lawyer, but also studied with Reicha. Delaire composed, among other works, a *stabat mater*, a symphony, a mass, as well as chamber compositions. He was also the author of articles for the *Revue musicale* and of pamphlets on a variety of subjects. The remarks quoted here first appeared in the *Revue musicale*.

⁹ To cite just two examples, see the *Harmonicon*, 1830:159 and 1831:59ff. (especially p. 61). The latter excerpt is from an article originally appearing in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*.

¹⁰ For a case in point, see the review of Weber's piano arrangement of *Oberon* (1826:141ff.), where Weber's harmony is commended to the student as original, beautiful, and worthy of study.

¹¹ The word "extraneous" recurs frequently in discussions of harmonic style throughout the *Harmonicon*. It connotes first and foremost, structurally unnecessary modulations, but also characterizes modulations in vocal music that are not strictly justified by the text (1829:75), as well as any sudden modulations to remote keys (1825:138). Extraneous modulations, though architecturally faulty, may nonetheless be very beautiful in the opinion of the reviewer (see 1824:135).

¹² Both this and the following excerpt appear in an essay called "On the Instability of Musical Fame," signed with the letters *G. H.* According to Langley, the essay was probably written by George Hogarth, who often submitted pieces to the *Harmonicon* from 1826 on.

¹³ From the Grétry essay quoted above (see especially pp. 94–95).

¹⁴ According to *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (9:705), Sir William Jones (1764–94) was an English lawyer, orientalist, and Sanskrit scholar, who retained a strong interest in music and musical research throughout his lifetime. (His remarks obviously antedate the *Harmonicon*.) Mid-nineteenth-century theoretical treatises reflect the changing roles of harmony and melody in defining form. In contrast to Classic sources, where so many structural models were described primarily in harmonic terms, these texts give melody the decisive role in determining formal coherence. For just one example, compare the descriptions of sonata form in Koch's *Versuch einer Anleitung zur Composition*, vol. 2 (1787): 223 and vol. 3 (1793): 301ff. and 341ff., with Czerny's *The School of Practical Composition*, trans. John Bishop, vol. 1 (1848): 33. Romantic melody ultimately took on still greater long-range organizing activity (witness, for example, the structural implications of the theme in cyclic instrumental works and the unifying effect of the leitmotiv in later Romantic opera). Romantic harmony, meanwhile, continued to act as a centrifugal force, with progressive tonality and extended areas of shifting harmonies gradually replacing the stable harmonic plateaus and strongly directional modulations that had shaped Classic music.

¹⁵ This reference appears in the "Foreign Musical Report," which consisted of short unsigned accounts of music on the Continent, culled from correspondence and foreign periodicals (see Langley, 1:360).

¹⁶ From a memoir of Simone Mäyer.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ Hogarth, "On the Instability of Musical Fame."

¹⁹ This geographic alignment—the drawing together of the Italian and German styles and the comparative isolation of the French—accords with the distinctions Brian Primmer draws in his masterly article, "Unity and Ensemble: Contrasting Ideals in Romantic Music," *19th Century Music* VI (1982):97–140.

²⁰ These remarks were made by Weber in *Tonkünstlers Leben*, which was published in translation in the *Harmonicon* starting in 1829. The first article on Weber appeared in the inaugural issue of the *Harmonicon* (1823:65f.). In 1824, an exhaustive review of *Der Freischütz* was printed (p. 169ff.). From this time, Weber's works frequently figured in the journal.

²¹ Although the authorship of this article is not wholly certain, Langley suggests F. J. M. Fayolle as the most likely possibility. The sources of the stylistic changes remarked by Fayolle and other commentators will be summarized in the final section of this paper.

²² From a letter signed *G. H.* These articles also include discussions of the origins and the function of augmented sixth chords, covering most of the options presented in modern harmony texts (as sub-dominant, dominant, and Phrygian).

²³ The author was apparently Hogarth (see note 12).

²⁴ Delaire, "The Present State of Musical Taste" (see note 8).

²⁵ Weber, *Tonkünstlers Leben* (see note 20). In the final sentence of this passage, one assumes that Weber is comparing modern composers with contemporary political leaders, and not blaming them for curtailing civil liberties.

²⁶ This and the following quotation are both from the article apparently by Fayolle (see note 21).

²⁷ Weak melody was criticized with particular frequency in reviews of new operas, evaluations of piano music, and in critiques of individual composers' styles. It was even used to explain the prevalence of so many works based on other composers' melodic ideas. "... for each genuine pianoforte piece now published, there are fifty arrangements, or transformations, from Italian, German, English, and French airs, etc., under the names of Fantasia, Divertimento, and so forth. What does this betray?—why what we have often hinted—that there is a sad lack of melody in the music written for the instrument during the last ten or fifteen years . . . " (1829:283–84).

²⁸ Leonard Ratner, *Classic Music: Expression, Form, and Style* (New York: Schirmer; London: Collier Macmillan, 1980), 24.

²⁹ Reprinted from a foreign source with editorial reservations, possibly because of its critical attitude towards Weber.

³⁰ Additional evidence for the perception of a major shift in style during the latter half of the eighteenth century may be found in the *Harmonicon* in an article by Finlay Dun (1829:212ff.) and in the recurring references to "modern" (as opposed to Classic) composers, the "modern" school of composition, and "present-day" practice, all appearing in articles from 1823 on.

On the Origin of the Twelve-Tone Method: Schoenberg's Sketches for the Unfinished *Symphony* (1914–1915)

By Fusako Hamao

In a well-known letter to Nicolas Slonimsky, Schoenberg mentioned that he had taken the first step toward the twelve-tone method in sketching a symphony for soli, mixed chorus, and orchestra. He wrote:

The first step happened about December 1914 or at the beginning of 1915 when I sketched a symphony, the last part of which became later the “Jakobsleiter,” but which never has been continued. The Scherzo of this symphony was based on a theme consisting of the twelve tones. But this was only one of the themes.¹

Despite the historical importance of this symphony in Schoenberg's path to the twelve-tone method, we have lacked until now a detailed examination of the music itself, perhaps because the only sources for studying this unfinished piece are several sketches and drafts, which require analytical interpretation.

Numbered among the few scholars who have discussed the source documents for this symphony is Josef Rufer, who points out the use of a twelve-tone row and its mirror forms (i.e., transposition, inversion, retrograde, and retrograde-inversion of the row).² Jan Maegaard also makes a brief comment on the sketches for the second movement, Scherzo, to which we shall return in a moment.³ Walter Bailey examines all the source documents for the symphony in his study, *Programmatic Elements in the Works of Schoenberg*.⁴ Bailey focuses on the literary aspects of the piece, such as the poems assigned to each movement; concerning the music itself, he identifies only the contents of the musical sketches for the draft of the second movement.

A comprehensive study of the symphony's serial aspects forms a missing link in our knowledge of the twelve-tone row at this early stage in the development of the twelve-tone method. This study, therefore, aims to clarify the serial techniques used in the Scherzo through examination of the sketches and drafts.

Table 1 lists the musical sketches and drafts for this large-scale symphony. These are preserved on several loose sheets and in the opening five pages of Sketchbook IV. Schoenberg's plan for the symphony appears on one of these loose sheets, Schoenberg Archive microfilm number U393. According to his plan, the Scherzo movement comprises two large parts. The first part returns

Table 1
 Sketches and Drafts for the Symphony
 in the Archive of the Arnold Schoenberg Institute

Archive Micro- film Numbers	Contents	Schoenberg's comments
Loose sheets:		
U377	Unidentified melodies	
U378 } U379 }	Compositional sketches for the Scherzo	
U380 } U381 }	Abstract tone-row sketches for the Scherzo	
U382		"Mittelteil zu Scherzo"
U383		"Einleitung zu Dehmel 'Freundenruf'"
U384 } U385 } U386 } U387 } U388 } U389 } U390 } U391 }	Compositional sketches for the Scherzo	"Freundenruf II"
U392	Sketches for the first or third movement?	"Zwiegesang uberm Abgrund, Seite 113"
U393	Formal design of the symphony	
U394	Compositional sketches for the third movement	"3. Satz Kinder Gavotte"
U395-98	Scherzo draft	"II satz" "27/5. 1914"
Sketchbook IV:		
sk326-30	New Scherzo draft and sketches	"4. Mai 1915"

in the second part with the vocal setting of three poems—"Freundenruf," "Götterhochzeit," and "Aeonische Stünde"—from Richard Dehmel's *Schöne wilde Welt*.

In a recent article, "The Format and Function of Schoenberg's Twelve-Tone Sketches," Martha Hyde discusses the general issues involved in studying Schoenberg's sketches for twelve-tone compositions.⁵ She classifies sketches according to four broad categories: row tables, row sketches, compositional sketches, and form tables. Her classification scheme is the first to distinguish row sketches from row tables: row tables list all transpositions or inversions of a twelve-tone row; row sketches are partial or incomplete row tables.

The musical sketches for the symphony do not contain row tables, but they do contain numerous row sketches. As Hyde points out, "such [row] sketches are often more important than those of any other category for understanding Schoenberg's twelve-tone method."⁶ The row sketches found in the symphony reveal that Schoenberg was concerned already, at this early stage in the development of the twelve-tone compositional method, with the manipulation and reordering of a row in abstract ways.

This paper focuses on the row sketches preserved on two loose sheets, U380 and U381. These sketches serve as a primary source for examining Schoenberg's theoretical concerns at the time of the symphony's composition. They show the following two serial features: an emphasis on the invariant segments formed by the basic twelve-tone row and its inversion, and the reordering of the row as a means of deriving secondary materials such as chords and motives.

Ordered Invariant Segments Formed by Row Forms

A twelve-tone row sketch from sheet U380 demonstrates a primitive use of invariant segments. Example 1 transcribes the sketch, while table 2 shows the order numbers and pitch-class numbers (pcs) of the first half of the sketch (which the second half repeats). In these and subsequent examples and tables, order numbers are differentiated by boldface type from pc numbers. On the upper two staves of example 1, the basic twelve-tone row (P2) is coupled with its inversion (I2) by several bar lines.

Closer examination shows that Schoenberg wrote a bracket below four notes of I2 at order numbers **6** to **9**. Why did Schoenberg distinguish these four notes from the other eight? Table 2 contains the answer to this question: four consecutive pcs of P2 under order numbers **6** to **9** (pcs 4-5-11-0) appear in reverse order in I2 at exactly the same place (pcs 0-11-5-4).

In the lower part of the sketch, Schoenberg unites three row forms: RP2, RI6, and RI2. (Incidentally, Schoenberg mistakenly wrote wrong pcs for the sixth and seventh notes of RI6; they should be pcs 3 and 4 instead of 2 and 3.)

Example 1. Transcription of sketch sheet U380, staves 1–6.

Table 2
Order Numbers and Pitch-Class Numbers
of the Twelve-Tone Rows in Example 1

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
P2	2	7	3	9	8	4	5	11	0	6	1	10
I2	2	9	1	7	8	<u>0</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	10	3	6
RP2	10	1	6	<u>0</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	8	9	3	7	2
RI6	10	7	2	8	9	2	3	0	11	5	1	6
RI2	6	3	10	4	5	11	0	8	7	1	9	2

Notes: Order numbers are in bold face; pitch-class numbers (pcs) are in normal face. The brackets joining pcs 0-11-5-4 are Schoenberg's.

He adds a bracket above four notes of RP2, as he did under I2, but now joining order numbers **4** to **7**. As shown in table 2, the retrograde of the four-note segment pcs 0-11-5-4 of RP2 occurs in RI2 under the same order positions.

In theoretical studies of twelve-tone music, when certain successive pitch classes of a row form appear in different row forms but irrespective of their

order positions, the collection comprising these pitch classes has been called an "invariant segment." In example 1, the notes of the invariant segment of I2 (staff 2) marked by Schoenberg are simply the retrograde of notes in P2 under the same order numbers, just as the notes of the marked segment of RP2 (staff 4) retrograde the notes of RI2 (staff 6) under the same order numbers. For this reason, the segments are referred to as "ordered."

David Lewin discusses primitive types of invariant segments, in which the order of pitch classes is preserved or retrograded, in his article "A Theory of Segmental Association in Twelve-Tone Music."⁷ He points out that such ordered invariant segments are typical of Webern's twelve-tone music, whereas invariant segments that reorder each element of the segment are more characteristic of Schoenberg's twelve-tone works. The row sketches discussed above suggest that not only Webern but Schoenberg as well used ordered invariant segments, at least in the early stages of developing the twelve-tone method. In these examples, we see the composer investigating simple invariance. In his later music he would use invariants with more complex reorderings.

Another important question arises: How did Schoenberg exploit this invariance in the composition of the Scherzo? In this regard, the two sketches transcribed as example 2a and example 3 reveal that Schoenberg derived new musical materials by using the invariant property.

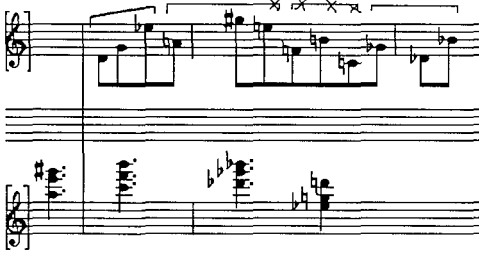
On the upper staff of example 2a, he wrote a melody based on the original twelve-tone row. Four cross marks were added above the notes of the invariant segment. From this he derived in turn the eight-tone row shown in example 3, which comprises eight notes of the original row, but excludes the four notes of the invariant segment. Taken together, these sketches reveal the following three compositional stages: (1) Schoenberg wrote the twelve-tone row and its mirror forms as shown in example 1; then, (2) he noticed that a four-note segment remained unchanged upon inversion of the twelve-tone row, and marked the four notes as shown in example 2a; and finally, (3) he omitted the four notes from the twelve-tone row and made a new eight-tone row from the remaining eight notes as shown in example 3.

This contradicts Maegaard's thesis that the eight-tone row was written before the twelve-tone row.⁸ Maegaard apparently overlooked Schoenberg's annotations of the invariant segments, whereas the present study regards them as evidence fundamental to the reconstruction of Schoenberg's compositional process.

To justify our view, let us presume momentarily, following Maegaard, that the eight-tone row preceded the twelve-tone row. If this were the case, the remaining four pcs would have been inserted between the fifth and sixth notes of the eight-tone row, as shown in table 4, at some later date. We know from the previous analysis that the four notes appear under the same order

Example 2. Sketch sheet U380, staves 4–6.

a. Transcription of staves 4–6.



b. Melodic contour of staff 4 as preserved vertically in the chords of staff 6.



Note: Numbers in the example refer to order numbers of the row in staff 4 of U380.

Table 3
Order Numbers as Arranged Horizontally in Staff 4
and Vertically in Staff 6 of Sketch Sheet U380

						×	×	×	×			
Staff 4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Staff 6	5	8	12				1					
	6	7	10				2					
	4	9	11				3					

Notes: Compare example 2. The brackets and cross marks above staff 4 are Schoenberg's.

Example 3. Transcription of sketch sheet U381, staff 1.



Table 4
Maegaard's Derivation of the Twelve-Tone Row

Original 8-tone row	2	7	3	9	8					1	10	6
Derived 12-tone row	2	7	3	9	8	4	5	11	0	6	1	10

numbers but in reverse order in the inversion of the basic twelve-tone row. It seems unlikely to us that Schoenberg would have omitted precisely that four-note segment which supplements the eight-tone row so as to create a retrograde relation in the inverted twelve-tone row.

Let us examine in detail the likelihood of a retrograde relation like this occurring between two inversionally related rows. Figure 1 summarizes the conditions necessary for four consecutive notes of P to appear in I in reverse order but with the same order numbers. Let x be the sum under modulo 12 of any pcs with the same order number in two inversionally related rows. In short, only if the sum of the inside pcs of a four-note segment is identical to that of the outside pcs will the segment appear in reverse order after inversion followed by transposition at only one value of x . Here the value of x must be identical to the sum of either the outer or the inner pcs of the four-note segment.

Figure 1. What conditions are required for the appearance of four consecutive notes of P in reverse order in I with the same order numbers?

DEFINITION: Let a , b , c , and d be any four pcs of a twelve-tone row. Let n be any order number, and x be the sum of any pcs with the same order number between two inversionally related rows.

order numbers	n	$n+1$	$n+2$	$n+3$
P	a	b	c	d
	+	+	+	+
I	d	c	b	a
	x	x	x	x

FORMULA 1A: $a+d \equiv x$, $b+c \equiv x$, $c+b \equiv x$, and $d+a \equiv x \pmod{12}$.

FORMULA 1B: So, $a+d \equiv b+c \equiv x \pmod{12}$.

To make this point clear, let us analyze the twelve-tone row used in the symphony. Table 5 shows that the twelve-tone row contains two four-note segments that potentially hold such a retrograde relation with their inversions. We note that in each of the segments—(pcs 4-5-11-0) and (pcs 5-11-0-6)—the sum of the outside pcs is identical to the sum of the inside pcs under modulo 12. In the case of the first segment (pcs 4-5-11-0), the pc succession appears in reverse order in its inversion followed by transposition at $x \equiv 4$ because $4 + 0 \equiv 5 + 11 \equiv 4 \pmod{12}$.

If Schoenberg had derived the twelve-tone row from the eight-tone row, as Maegaard claims, it seems unlikely to us that the four-note segment left over from the eight-tone row would be a tetrachord that yields such a complex retrograde relation. It seems more plausible that Schoenberg wrote the twelve-tone row and its inversion first, then divided the row into the four-note segment and the eight-tone row so as to create new musical materials.

Reordering of the Rows

As Schoenberg mentioned in his essay “Composition with Twelve Tones,” the derivation of new materials from basic rows was his major concern when he took the first step toward the twelve-tone method:

In the first works in which I employed this [twelve-tone] method, I was not yet convinced that the exclusive use of one set would not result in monotony. Would it allow the creation of a sufficient number of characteristically differentiated themes, phrases, motives, sentences, and other forms? At this time, I used complicated devices to assure variety.⁹

Although Schoenberg fails to explain the exact nature of these “complicated devices,” surely the use of invariant segments must represent one. The

Table 5
Formula 1b of Figure 1 Applied to the
Twelve-Tone Row Used in the Scherzo

P2	2	7	3	9	8	4	5	11	0	6	1	10
I2 (x = 4)						0	11	5	4			
I9 (x = 11)								6	0	11	5	

$0 + 4 \equiv 11 + 5 \equiv 4 \pmod{12}$
 $6 + 5 \equiv 0 + 11 \equiv 11 \pmod{12}$

Note: The numbers in table 5 refer to pitch-class numbers.

sketches for the symphony, however, reveal a second important serial technique—the reordering of rows. The last portion of this paper investigates the sketches that deal with Schoenberg's technique for reordering the row.

Let us return to example 2a. Above the twelve-tone melody, we find four brackets that partition the twelve notes into four trichordal segments. These four segments are arranged vertically as the chords in the lower part of example 2a.

If we examine table 3, however, we discover that the successive order numbers of three of the four chords are not “ordered” upwards or downwards, i.e., they are not ordered registrally. We can explain this nonconsecutive (vertical) arrangement of the order numbers with reference to example 2b. In the example, the original melodic contour of each segment is preserved in the corresponding chord.

The resultant rearrangement of order numbers creates three new horizontal formations containing the following nonconsecutive order numbers: **5-8-12-1**, **6-7-10-2**, and **4-9-11-3**. Employing these nonconsecutive order-number successions, Schoenberg creates a melodic element for the Scherzo. Example 4 is a transcription of the compositional sketch for the beginning of the Scherzo. A new motive, labelled A by the author, is introduced below the twelve-tone theme and is repeated twice. It is significant that motive A derives from one of the nonconsecutive order-number successions discussed above. Example 5 shows the relation between motive A and the nonconsecutive order-number succession **5-8-12-1** of example 2a. In motive A, each element of the succession is advanced one position to the left, and this yields the succession **8-12-1-5**.

Along with the verticalization of row segments, the sketches suggest yet

Example 4. Transcription of sketch sheet U380, staves 11–15.

The image shows a musical score for five staves. The top staff contains a twelve-tone melody. Below it are four staves of chords. A motive labeled 'A' is indicated by brackets and arrows pointing to specific notes in the second and fourth staves. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals.

Note: The letter A and the brackets are inserted by the author.

Example 5. The derivation of motive A of example 4 from example 2.

Harmonic scheme shown in example 2a, staff 6.



Order numbers of the harmonic scheme.

5	8	12	1
6	7	10	2
4	9	11	3

Motive A of example 4.



another source for Schoenberg's reordering technique: the imitation of a row. The sketch reproduced in examples 6 and 7 illustrates this technique.

On the upper two staves of example 6, Schoenberg wrote a canon composed from the eight-tone row. He placed the numbers 1 to 12 above the first twelve notes of the highest voice. At first glance, these twelve numbers seem to indicate order positions. If they do so, however, then numbers 9 to 12 would indicate exactly the same notes as numbers 1 to 4, since the eight-tone row is repeated in the highest voice.

Twelve order numbers usually correspond to twelve different pcs. Perhaps we need to consider another possibility: the numbers refer to the notes written on other staves. The fragment written in the lowest staff contains the four notes excluded from the eight-tone row, and these four notes are located below Schoenberg's numbers 9 to 12. Perhaps Schoenberg put numbers 1 to 8 for the first eight notes of the highest voice and 9 to 12 for the four notes of the lowest staff to simply confirm the completion of the total chromatic.

Working with this supposition, we can rewrite the canon in the first two staves of example 6 by using order numbers **1** to **8** (and ignoring Schoenberg's numbers 9 to 12). Table 6 shows the order-number notation of the canon. The four series of numbers arranged horizontally in the example correspond to the four voices of the canon (regardless of voice crossings.)

If we look at table 6 vertically rather than horizontally, we discover that

Example 6. Transcription of the sketch sheet U381, staves 1–7.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12

[G?]

a

Note: The circled letter a and the adjacent bracket are Schoenberg's.

Example 7. The chords of table 7, as derived from table 6. The eight-tone row of table 6 . . .

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

1 3 5 7

2 4 6 8

. . . yields the two chords of table 7.

Table 6
Order-Number Scheme of the Canon
in Example 6, Staves 1 and 2

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4	5	6
			1	2	3	4		5	6	7	8	1	2	3	4
			7	8	1	2		3	4	5	6	7	8	1	2

Note: The vertical line represents the bar line in the sketch.

Table 7
Order-Number Scheme of the
Chords on Staff 4 of Example 6

6	5	6	5	6	5	6	5
4	3	4	3	4	3	4	3
2	7	2	7	2	7	2	7
8	1	8	1	8	1	8	1

Note: The vertical line represents the bar line in the sketch.

two kinds of chord are formed by the canon: chords formed by odd order numbers **1, 3, 5, and 7**, which alternate with chords formed by even order numbers **2, 4, 6, and 8**. This alternation occurs, of course, because the eight-tone row is imitated canonically after every second note.

The vertical formations of the canon apparently inspired Schoenberg to rearrange the row so as to form chords comprised of alternately odd or even order-succession numbers. (We shall refer to this as "odd-even number partitioning.") On the fourth staff of example 6, Schoenberg wrote a harmonic progression consisting of two repeated chords. As table 7 shows, one of the chords is made from the odd order numbers of the eight-tone row, while the other is made from the even order numbers. Example 7 shows how Schoenberg preserved exactly the pitches of the eight-tone row in these two chords.

On the fifth staff of example 6, Schoenberg wrote a variation of this two-chord pattern and labelled it "a." In turn, the chords written on the fourth staff and those on the fifth staff differ only in terms of spacing; in the latter, three out of four voices proceed by the interval of a minor second. The melodic fragment written on the sixth staff is created through the arpeggiation of the two chords labelled "a." The vertical pitch contour of these chords is preserved when they are arpeggiated horizontally.

Example 8. Transcription of sketch sheet U381, staves 8–9.

The image shows two musical staves. The upper staff is a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). It contains an ascending scale of eight notes: D4, E4, F4, G4, A4, Bb4, C5, D5. Above the notes are numbers: 1, 1, 2, 2, 1, 2, 1, 2. The lower staff is a bass clef staff with the same key signature. It contains a zigzag-shaped melody: D4, F4, A4, G4, E4, C4, Bb3, A3. The notes in the lower staff are rearranged from the notes in the upper staff according to the numbers above them.

The sketches discussed above reveal a series of reorderings engendered by the vertical formations of the canon. The sketch shown in example 8 exhibits a more complicated application of the odd-even order-number partitioning. Example 8 consists of two parts: in the upper staff, the various notes of the eight-tone row are arranged (irrespective of original order numbers) within an octave span, as an ascending scale; in the lower staff these pitch classes are rearranged so as to form a zigzag-shaped melody. Above the upper staff Schoenberg added numbers 1 and 2 over various members of the ascending scale.

As shown in table 8, the added numbers *1* and *2* in italics correspond respectively to odd and even order numbers of the original eight-tone row: number *1* marks the notes with odd order numbers, while number *2* marks those with even order numbers. Schoenberg generated the new melody in the lower staff of example 8 by selecting alternately the notes indicated by *1* and *2*. The new melody corresponds in this regard to Schoenberg's numbers, *1-2-1-2-1-2-1-2*. The procedure of creating the new melody is reconstructed as follows: (1) Schoenberg rearranged the eight tones of the eight-tone row to form an ascending scale starting with d, the first note of the row; then, (2) he assigned numbers *1* and *2* above the ascending scale; and finally, (3) he created the melody written in the lower staff by alternating notes of the upper staff that are assigned the number *1* with those notes assigned the number *2*. Here the eight notes of the new melody written in the lower staff permute the pitches of the ascending scale in the upper staff. The assignment of the numbers *1* and *2* to these eight notes confirms Schoenberg's interest in odd-even order number partitioning, an interest that predates his formal codification of the twelve-tone method.

Let us observe how the results obtained by the analyses above may help to determine the chronology of the sketches. Rufer suggests that the twelve-tone row sketch shown in example 1 might "come from a later period."¹⁰ Referring to Rufer's remark, Bailey mentions that "there is no difference in manuscript paper or handwriting to support this."¹¹ Following our supposition that the twelve-tone row precedes the eight-tone row, we conclude that the twelve-tone row sketch must have been written at least before the Scherzo draft dated "27/5. 1914," because the latter contains the passages composed from the eight-tone row that are transcribed as examples 6 and 8. As we suggested

Table 8
Order Numbers and Schoenberg's Numbering in Example 8

U381, staff 8:								
Schoenberg's numbers	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>
Order numbers	1	3	8	2	5	4	7	6
U381, staff 9:								
Schoenberg's numbers	(<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>)
rearranged								
Order numbers of the new melody	1	8	3	2	7	6	5	4

above (thereby disagreeing with Maegaard), without the twelve-tone row sketch, the eight-tone row could not have existed.

We conclude that the idea of reorderings already existed in Schoenberg's mind during the period in which the symphony was sketched, before Schoenberg codified the twelve-tone method. The appearance of the reordering technique as well as the invariant segments in the symphony indicates that as early as 1914 the composer was deeply concerned not only with the row as a fundamental musical entity but also with basic ways of manipulating it to create new motivic and harmonic materials.

NOTES

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¹ Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music Since 1900*, 4th ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 1315.

² Josef Rufer, *The Works of Arnold Schoenberg: A Catalogue of His Compositions, Writings, and Paintings*, trans. Dika Newlin (London: Faber and Faber, 1962), 117.

³ Jan Maegaard, *Studien zur Entwicklung des dodekaphonen Satzes bei Arnold Schönberg*, 3 vols. (Copenhagen: Wilhelm Hansen, 1972), 2:524–25.

⁴ Walter B. Bailey, *Programmatic Elements in the Works of Schoenberg* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984), 79–128.

⁵ Martha M. Hyde, "The Format and Function of Schoenberg's Twelve-Tone Sketches," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 36 (1983):453–80.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 457.

⁷ David Lewin, "A Theory of Segmental Association in Twelve-Tone Music," *Perspectives on Contemporary Music Theory*, ed. Benjamin Boretz and Edward T. Cone (New York: Norton, 1972), 185–86.

⁸ Maegaard, 2:524.

⁹ Arnold Schoenberg, "Composition With Twelve Tones," in *Style and Idea*, ed. Leonard Stein (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), 224.

¹⁰ Rufer, 117.

¹¹ Bailey, 104.

Evolution and Structure in Flamenco Harmony

By Peter Manuel

The unprecedented vogue and revitalization of flamenco since the early 1960s have generated a considerable amount of scholarly literature on the subject, written primarily by Spaniards. These studies, while contributing greatly to our understanding of flamenco in its historical and social context, have tended to avoid less overtly humanistic subjects, including any analytical discussion of the structural aspects of flamenco as music per se. Hence, such a topic as the structure of flamenco harmony has received only passing mention in flamenco studies or oblique reference in guitar manuals.

While flamenco musicians themselves are generally uninterested in theorizing about their music, flamenco harmony is one of the most crucial expressive aspects of the genre and certainly merits some study in this regard. On a broader level, an inquiry into flamenco harmony may reveal some of the processes by which musical acculturation and instrumental idiosyncracies can generate a syncretic and highly distinctive harmonic system.

This article addresses certain aspects of the development and present form of flamenco harmony. In brief, it advances two hypotheses: first, that flamenco harmony is a syncretic product of Arab modal practice and European harmony, and second, that many of the most distinctive features of the harmonic system, and in particular the use of altered chords, have arisen in direct connection with idiosyncratic characteristics of the guitar. The first of these theses, although difficult to document, is hardly original, and indeed, is widely taken for granted among flamenco scholars. Before proceeding directly to these arguments, some introduction to flamenco harmony and style may be appropriate here.

Flamenco emerged in the early nineteenth century in Andalusia. Although several non-Gypsies (*payos*) have excelled as flamenco performers, the genre has traditionally been cultivated primarily by Gypsies—specifically, the sedentary, relatively assimilated Gypsies of the towns of Seville and Cádiz provinces. In spite of the prominence of guitar and dance in its international image, traditional flamenco is primarily a vocal music, with guitar accompaniment. In the twentieth century, flamenco guitar style has adhered on the whole to traditional structural patterns and forms, while at the same time becoming considerably more sophisticated and complex, and, indeed, emerging as a solo concert art music.

The flamenco repertoire consists of some two dozen major *cantes* (and perhaps another dozen obscure ones), which are distinguished by such parameters as harmony, rhythm, text, and vocal melody. Several of the *cantes* are derived from Andalusian (non-Gypsy) folk music; especially prominent in

this category are the members of the *fandango* family (*malagueñas*, *granadinas*, *cantes mineros*, etc.). Other *cantes*, although Andalusian in a general sense, originated from Gypsy subculture and lack non-Gypsy counterparts; these would include *siguiriyas*, *soleares*, *bulerías*, and *tonás*. A few of the *cantes* derive from imported sources, especially the Latin American *guajira*, *colombianas*, *rumba*, and *milonga*, and the *alegrías*, which evidently originated from the Aragonese *jota*. These latter are of less interest to us here since they tend to lack the distinctive harmonic features of the Andalusian-derived *cantes*.

Andalusian harmony combines elements of European common practice with distinctive features reflecting Arab influence. Western-style tonic-subdominant-dominant chord relations do occur in various contexts in several of the *cantes*. Secondary dominants are even more common. Most of the *cantes*, however, are based on a distinct scheme for which no single term exists. Some analysts have used the term “Phrygian tonality” for this scheme, denoting a chordal-harmonic system based primarily upon the resources of the Phrygian scale, rather than the major and minor scales of common-practice Western harmony. In the context of flamenco E-Phrygian tonality, however, the “tonic” chord would be not E minor, as would be directly compatible with the scale, but rather E major. Hence, as might be expected, in melodies, G# occasionally substitutes for G, affording the E-F-G#-A formation so typical of Arab musics, and especially the *Hijaz* (and *Hijaz Kar*) mode or *maqām*.¹ The chordal vocabulary used in the Phrygian context derives from the tonal resources of the E mode. The most basic and structural chord progression is Am-G-F-E, which is best described as iv-III-II-I rather than as a Western i-VII-VI-V, since in most cases the E is treated as a tonic and finalis.

In several of the *cantes*, features of both harmonic systems may be combined, whether in incidental or structural fashions. The juxtaposition of the two systems is perhaps clearest in the most common *fandango* pattern. Here the Phrygian-type tonality appears in the instrumental interludes (*falsetas*) preceding and following the sung *coplas*, which are themselves accompanied by standard I-IV-V harmonies. The pattern may be schematized as in figure 1, proceeding from left to right. This form is also used in *malagueñas*, *verdiales*, and, in different keys, in *granainas*, *rondeñas*, and *cantes mineros*, all of which are regarded as regional *fandango* variants.² The popularity of the form may derive in part from its effective blending of common-practice and Phry-

Figure 1. Harmonic pattern of the *fandango*.

	<i>falseta</i> (vamp)				<i>copla</i>				<i>falseta</i>							
Chords:	Am	G	F	E	C	F	C	G ⁷	C	F	E	Am	G	F	E	(etc.)
E Phrygian:	iv	III	II	I						II	I	iv	III	II	I	
C major:					I	IV	I	V	I	IV						

gian harmonic progressions. The transition from the former to the latter at the end of each *copla* constitutes the dramatic climax of each section and is further intensified by an extended melisma (which in live performance may elicit roars of approval from the audience). Secondary dominants are used freely (e.g., inserting a D^7 before the G in the *falseta*. Example 1, from a typical *sandango de Huelva*, illustrates most of these features.³

In several other *cantes* (*tangos*, *tientos*, *siguiriyas*, *bulerías*, *soleares*, etc.), Phrygian-type tonality (with secondary dominants) predominates throughout. Many of the chords in the Phrygian contexts are altered by the inclusion of nontriadic notes. Whether these alterations are regarded as structural or ornamental components of the harmonic system, they are certainly essential and integral elements of flamenco guitar style and should not be seen as dispensable decorations.

Most of the nontriadic tones can be analyzed as anticipations, suspensions, or ninths. It should be clarified, however, that even this rather basic level of analysis brings us beyond the realm of that employed by musicians themselves. Most flamenco musicians have little familiarity with Western music theory. In terms of such matters as chord nomenclature, flamenco theory is rudimentary, seldom extending beyond simple sol-fa designations, and as such it is certainly incommensurate with the complexity of the harmonies employed. Gypsy musicians, whose pedagogy is largely informal and intuitive (although quite efficient), are particularly unlikely to be able or willing to describe their music in analytical terms.

Flamenco Harmony and the Moorish Heritage

Arab and Berber ("Moorish") dynasties ruled most of southern Spain from 711 until the fall of Granada in 1492. While Europe was barely emerging from the Dark Ages, Moorish Spain hosted a brilliant and dynamic culture, synthesizing Arab, Christian, Berber, and Sephardic Jewish contributions. Within a few decades after 1492 most of the Muslim elite and many commoners emigrated to North Africa, leaving behind many thousands of Muslims (*moriscos*) who either converted to Christianity or sought refuge in isolated areas. Aside from the actual presence of the *moriscos*, the centuries of Moorish rule left a strong imprint on Andalusian folk music which continues to this day. Since the *reconquista* itself, this impact has both reinforced and been strengthened by Andalusian regional identity and hostility to Castilian rule.

Aspects of the Moorish influence on Andalusian and Spanish music in general have been summarized by Stevenson and, in a more tendentious manner, by Ribera.⁴ Arab musical texts circulated in Christian Spain, whose rulers patronized Moorish musicians, and Arab instruments such as the *'ud* and *bendir* were adopted by Christians (as the lute and *pandero*, respectively).

Example 1.

♩ = 175

E G7 C

Fren- te a fren- te d' me tu que no me que-

F

re- e(s) d' me lo fren- te a fren- te tu

G7

ro- de a(o) de mu- je- (res) y pre- su- men va- lien-

C F

te que po- ca co- si- ta

18 6

E

e(res)

Nevertheless, Spanish art music itself on the whole resisted Arab influence and continued along European stylistic lines.⁵

Andalusian folk music, on the other hand, appears to have incorporated a considerable amount of Moorish influence. Moorish music was widely enjoyed by all classes of Andalusians,⁶ and despite the absence of irrefutable documentation, it seems obvious that it was the Moorish heritage that makes Andalusian folk music so distinct from the more European styles of central and northern Spain. Although flamenco itself did not crystallize until the nineteenth century, certain features of flamenco—melismatic vocal style, additive meters, occasional neutral intervals, *Hijaz*-type modes, etc.—can clearly be seen as products of Moorish influence. Circular as this argument may be, there seems little reason to question it, especially given the inability to trace in great detail the evolution of Andalusian folk music.

We can infer that Phrygian-type harmonies were popular in Spain as early as the seventeenth century, for such chord progressions were common in contemporary Spanish and Spanish-American folk genres that were adopted in stylized form into art music. Foremost in this category were the *chaconne* and the *villancico*,⁷ wherein, for example, the familiar Am-G-F-E progression would occur in the more European context of an A-minor tonality. Such progressions are also common in the music of Spanish classical composers like Padre Antonio Soler (1729-83).

It is commonplace to perceive in Renaissance music a coexistence and synthesis of modal and tonal practices. In Spain, the modal practices consisted not only of those inherited from Byzantine and Hellenic systems but also the legacy of Arab music. The popularity of the E mode in Spanish folksong has been attributed primarily to Greco-Roman influence,⁸ but may well have been reinforced by Moorish music, and in particular by the popularity, past and present, of the *maqām Bayati*, whose basic scale differs from the Phrygian scale only in using a neutral second degree (i.e., F half-sharp) rather than a fully lowered one. As mentioned above, the introduction of the major third in the E-Phrygian scale affords the lower tetrachord E-F-G#-A. On the one hand, this can be seen as a means of reconciling the Phrygian scale with an E-major "tonic" chord and, in some contexts, as providing a temporary leading tone to an A-minor chord. On the other hand, the use of the augmented second in this context reflects the clear influence of the Arab mode *Hijaz*, whose scale is roughly E-F-G#-A-B-C-D. Both Phrygian and *Hijaz* scales have upper rather than lower leading tones to the tonic, and, accordingly, harmony in flamenco and much of Andalusian folk music generally employs the chord progression F-E rather than B⁷-E or E⁷-Am as the fundamental cadence. Further, in both *Hijaz* and *Bayati* modes, the fourth degree (i.e., A, if E is given as the primary tonic) functions as a secondary modal tonic, and this practice may have contributed to the dominance of the Am-G-F-E chordal structure in which the A-minor chord, although generally not a *finalis*, nevertheless has a special stability and importance.

In flamenco, the syncretic coexistence of modal and tonal practices is especially clear. Some archaic *cantes* (e.g., *martinete*, *toná*) are sung without guitar accompaniment, in a purely modal style; most Gypsy *cantes* were traditionally often sung *a palo seco*, that is, with only clapping for accompaniment. In *cantes* such as *siguiriyas*, the "primitive" harmonies of the guitar accompaniment (generally reiterating A major and its neighbor B^b) barely obscure the essentially modal character of the melodies. In all of the Andalusian (including Gypsy) *cantes*, the third scalar degree appears alternately in lowered (i.e., Phrygian) as well as raised (*Hijaz*) forms (e.g., G or G#, respectively, if E is taken as the modal tonic). The Moorish heritage of flamenco is particularly evident in the frequently neutral intonation of the third, which also reflects the inherent instability of this note in the confluence of Phrygian modality and E-major tonality.

We have mentioned above that in Phrygian contexts, flamenco's chordal vocabulary can be seen as deriving from the tonal material of the E mode. Thus, for example, in *bulerías*, *tangos*, *tientos*, and to some extent *siguiriyas*, which are generally played in A Phrygian/*Hijaz* mode, the most common chords are A, D-minor, C, B^b, G-minor, and F; E⁷, the European dominant to A, appears only in special contexts and has a markedly distinct, if not discordant flavor.

The use of this Phrygian- and *Hijaz*-influenced chordal vocabulary is not unique to flamenco, but is shared by other musical cultures of the Mediterranean area that synthesize Turko-Arab and European features; thus, such harmonies are commonplace in the contemporary urban popular musics of Greece, southern Yugoslavia, and Turkey.⁹ Flamenco harmony, however, is distinguished from these by its penchant for the Am-G-F-E formula, and its unique vocabulary of altered chords, which, as we shall now argue, derive primarily from idiosyncratic potentialities of the guitar.

Flamenco Harmony and the Guitar

The international renown and the unprecedented stylistic and technical advances of flamenco guitar music in recent decades have to some extent obscured the fact that flamenco is primarily and originally vocal music, with or without guitar accompaniment. In this sense, in an analysis of flamenco as a whole, the harmonic structure is secondary in importance to the vocal melody. Nevertheless, the complexity and refinement of flamenco harmony in itself render this aspect of the genre worthy of study; moreover, a study of the structure of flamenco harmony may reveal certain important aspects of the historical evolution of flamenco as a whole.

As we have suggested above, some general aspects of flamenco harmony—such as the most basic chordal vocabulary—can be attributed to the confluence of European harmonic practices with Moorish and medieval modal traditions. As the basic harmonic vocabulary is somewhat limited (having as its core the Am-G-F-E and C-F-G⁷ configurations), much of the distinctive flavor of flamenco harmony rests in the extensive use of altered chords that include nontriadic tones. Because flamenco guitar style has evolved primarily as accompaniment to singing, most of the nontriadic tones can be seen to derive from the resources of the vocal melodies (generally the Phrygian/*Hijaz* configuration, here E-F-G/G#-A-B-C-D).

Nevertheless, the precise manner in which these nontriadic tones are introduced cannot be traced to vocal origins; rather, the myriad coloristic voicings and variations in the chordal vocabulary are semi-independent developments. The particular form that these voicings assume suggests that their evolution and structure have been inextricably associated with the guitar, and that, in this sense, flamenco harmony cannot be considered independently of its relation to that instrument.

Most musical systems—and especially sophisticated urban musics like flamenco—have not evolved in such close connection with a particular instrument. Thus, for example, Western art music comprises distinct bodies of literature for particular instruments, but the underlying musical language—including the harmonic system—is an abstract entity not associated with any particular instrument. The structures of Indian, Arab, Chinese, and

Indonesian urban and art musics are similar in the sense that the underlying theoretical musical systems apply to all instrumental renditions; for instance, in North Indian music, aside from short compositions (*gats*) used to punctuate improvisations, properly speaking there is no "sitar music" per se, but only Hindustani music, which can be played on sitar.

Such is not the case with flamenco. By 1600 in Andalusia the guitar had become the standard instrument for accompanying dance and most kinds of popular song in general.¹⁰ Evidence suggests that a standard harmonic practice subsequently evolved which came to be adapted to flamenco as that music coalesced in the mid-nineteenth century. Guitar has always been the primary, and generally the sole nonpercussive instrument used for accompanying flamenco (occasional eccentric uses of flute and piano notwithstanding). The adaptation of Andalusian guitar-based harmonic systems to flamenco evidently occurred in the nineteenth century, for by the time of the earliest flamenco recordings (e.g., of Don Antonio Chacon, d. 1929), the harmonic system appears in a relatively full-grown form, which does not differ markedly from that of today. (Guitar style and technique, however, have developed dramatically in the twentieth century.)

The clearest evidence of the guitar's importance in the evolution of flamenco harmony lies in the use of altered chords containing nontriadic tones. These chords tend to occur in the Phrygian-based *cantes* or sections of *cantes* rather than in the Latin American or more purely European *cantes*; thus, for example, they are more common in the Gypsy-derived *bulerías* than in the Cuban-derived *guajira*, and more common in the *falsetas* of *fandango* variants than in the *copla*, which employs standard I–IV–V harmonies. A study of flamenco guitar voicings reveals that in the most typical altered chords, the nontriadic tones are generally played on open (unfretted) strings (using the standard tuning E–A–D–G–B–E).

This phenomenon is perhaps clearest in the *fandango* family of *cantes*. Within this family, the *fandango* proper, the *malagueñas*, *verdiales*, and *fandango de Huelva* are all generally performed in the keys of E Phrygian and C major, as illustrated in example 1. Use of nontriadic tones in this group is perhaps less marked than in other *fandango* variants. Most typical here is the inclusion of a B and, in some cases, an E within an F chord in *falsetas*, as shown in example 2. (Here, and henceforth in this article, the notes rendered on open strings are shown with diamonds rather than ovals.) The B in such a chord may typically appear in the context of an Am–G–F–E "vamp" (rather than in the *copla*), and thus can be regarded as either a suspension, an anticipation, or as a pedal tone suggesting the modal tonic E.¹¹ (Such altered F chords are also typical of the *soleares*, which is also based in E Phrygian.) It would be misleading to classify the chord out of context, in Western or jazz terms, as an F⁵.

Altered chords play a more important role in regional members of the

Example 2.

fandango family which are rendered in different keys. The *granainas* (*granadina*), associated with Granada, closely resembles the *fandango* proper in its typical melodic and formal structure. It is customarily played, however, in the key of B Phrygian with *coplas* in G major. The “tonic” B-major chord is often played (typically with florid arpeggios) with an added E and, in some cases, a G. Both are nontriadic tones from the B-Phrygian mode, and both are rendered on open strings, as shown in example 3. In the context of the *falseta*, an E—again played on the open first string—is often added to the D chord, as in the same example.

It is significant that the *granainas* is the only *fandango* variant, and indeed the only *cante*, that can conclude on the iv chord of the iv–III–II–I complex—here, the E-minor in the progression Em–D–C–B. In this sense it bears a greater affinity with Western common-practice harmony, where E-minor would be analyzed as the i chord in a i–VII–VI–V progression. Yet it is probable that the custom of concluding on E minor can be attributed to the resonance of a first-position E-minor chord on the guitar (with four open strings), which makes it especially suitable as a *finalis*. This particular practice, then, may also be attributed to idiosyncracies of the guitar.

In the nineteenth century an important category of *fandango* variants developed in the mining regions around Linares, Murcia, and Cartagena; these *cantes*, generically called *cantes mineros*, include the closely related *taranto*, *tarantas*, *murcianas*, and *cartageneras*. In flamenco style, they are generally played in

Example 3.

F# Phrygian, with *coplas* in D major. Here the “tonic” F#-major chord is, in Western terms, strikingly dissonant, since it incorporates three nontriadic tones from the Phrygian mode—G, B, and E—which, again, are played on the open strings of the guitar, as in example 4a.¹² In typical variant voicings of the F# chord, the nontriadic tones similarly tend to coincide with the open strings, as in example 4b.

The custom of playing distinct regional *fandango* variants in different keys may have developed as the purely fortuitous product of evolution. For example, the custom of playing in B Phrygian may have been established in Granada well before the emergence of flamenco in the nineteenth century. Yet the extent to which flamenco had become a pan-Andalusian urban style in this period, coupled with the relatively recent origin of the *cantes mineros*, strongly suggests that the tradition of playing regional *fandango* variants in different keys arose as a somewhat deliberate means of introducing harmonic variety into *cantes* that would be otherwise quite similar—perhaps even so similar as to be redundant. While we know lamentably few details of the evolution of flamenco harmony before the era of recording, this development presumably occurred in the nineteenth century—conceivably through the influence of a limited number of guitarists. The now-standard practice of playing the somewhat obscure instrumental *rondeñas* (not to be confused with a vocal *fandango* variant of the same name) in C# Phrygian has clearly been the product of the conscious innovation of one early twentieth-century guitarist (Ramon Montoya), rather than of the ingenuous, collective, anonymous creation to which much folk music is ascribed. Here, the guitar is retuned to D–A–D–F#–B–E, so that one can exploit the open strings in the C#-Phrygian scale (C#–D–E–F#–G#–A–B). It is likely that the practice of playing *cantes mineros* and *granainas* in F# and B, respectively, originated in a similar manner—that

Example 4a.

The diagram shows a guitar chord for F# with the following fret positions: 2 on the 1st string, 3 on the 2nd string, 4 on the 3rd string, 5 on the 4th string, 5 on the 5th string, and 2 on the 6th string. Below the diagram is a musical staff in treble clef with a key signature of two sharps (F# and C#). The melody starts with a whole note F# (open 1st string), followed by a series of eighth notes: G (open 2nd string), A (open 3rd string), B (open 4th string), C# (open 5th string), D (open 6th string), E (open 1st string), F# (open 2nd string), G (open 3rd string), A (open 4th string), B (open 5th string), and C# (open 6th string). The piece concludes with a whole note G (open 3rd string), followed by the text "(etc.)".

Example 4b.

The diagram shows a guitar chord for F# with the following fret positions: 2 on the 1st string, 3 on the 2nd string, 4 on the 3rd string, 5 on the 4th string, 5 on the 5th string, and an 'x' on the 6th string.

is, through the deliberate innovation of a particular prominent musician.

Harmonically speaking, the other major group of *cantes* comprises those Gypsy-derived song types that are generally performed in the A-Phrygian tonality—notably, *tangos*, *tientos*, *bulerías*, and *sigüiriyas*. Here, there is usually no modulation to a *fandango*-type I–IV–V pattern; rather, the *cantes* tend to oscillate in a more static fashion between A and B \flat , with the occasional progression Dm–C–B \flat –A (often with secondary dominants included, e.g., Dm–G 7 –C 7 –F–B \flat –A); correspondingly, vocal melodies are distinctly modal in flavor. The most consistently altered chord in this set of *cantes* is the B \flat , especially when it alternates with A major. Here, the nontriadic notes are usually E and often G; as usual, these are played on the corresponding open strings, as in the typical *tango* ostinato given in example 5.¹³

Example 5.

The musical notation for Example 5 is in 4/4 time and one flat key signature. It shows a sequence of chords: B \flat , A, B \flat , A, B \flat , A, B \flat , A. The first B \flat chord is marked with an 'x' above the staff, and the second A chord is marked with an 'x' below the staff. The notation includes a treble clef, a key signature of one flat, and a 4/4 time signature. The chords are played in a sequence: B \flat , A, B \flat , A, B \flat , A, B \flat , A. The first B \flat chord has an 'x' above it, and the second A chord has an 'x' below it. The notation is in treble clef with a key signature of one flat.

Conclusions

These examples encompass most of the altered chords within the basic, traditional flamenco harmonic repertoire. A few common altered chords exist whose nontriadic notes are fretted rather than played on open strings. (Most prominent is the inclusion of a B \flat on the third string in an A chord, within the A-Phrygian context.) In recent decades, guitarists like Paco de Lucía have enriched the harmonic repertoire with a wide variety of innovative chords. Moreover, as mentioned above, there are some *cantes* of non-Andalusian origin (*alegrías*, *garrotín*, *guajiras*, etc.) where such altered chords are uncharacteristic. Nevertheless, the structure and rendering of altered chords within the *cantes* of Andalusian (and Gypsy) origin is remarkably consistent. In the vast majority of cases, the altered chords occur within the context of Phrygian tonality, rather than in the more European common-practice contexts; further, the nontriadic notes are invariably drawn from the

appropriate Phrygian scale. As such, the use of such chords can be seen as a product of the confluence of Moorish and, to some extent, medieval modal systems with European harmonic practice.

As we have seen, the nontriadic notes in the altered chords are almost exclusively rendered on open strings of the guitar, while the fretted notes provide the triadic intervals. This practice suggests that the chordal vocabulary itself has arisen in inextricable connection with the guitar, rather than developing as an abstract harmonic repertoire along the lines of Western common practice. Given the importance of this chordal vocabulary to the style, the tendency of traditional flamenco guitarists to play predominantly in first position should be seen not as a limitation, but rather as a means of exploiting the potentialities of using the open strings in harmonies, as well as in a variety of other techniques (pulling off, hammering on, and the like—as in the trill-like patterns in example 4).

Many aspects of the evolution of flamenco and Andalusian folk music in general will remain unknown to us, given the difficulties of documenting these genres before the era of recording. Yet we may be able to learn much about folk music history from detailed examination of the present-day form of such music. Many of the conclusions reached through such a process may remain hypothetical to some degree. To the extent that they are successful, however, they illustrate how musicological techniques designed for analysis of elite musics may be enlisted in the service of a more holistic musicology, encompassing the reconstruction of music history *from below*. Such an approach to cultural history would necessarily focus on the lower classes who have always constituted the majority, and whose toils have financed aristocratic culture, past and present.

NOTES

Research for this article, conducted in Seville in summer 1987, was funded partially by the Columbia University Council for Research in Humanities. I am also especially grateful to my guitar teacher, Dennis Koster, for his insights and inspiration.

¹ Arab urban, classical, and to some extent, regional folk musics are based upon the usage of roughly a dozen *māqāmāt* (sing., *maqām*), or modes, of which *Hijaz*, *Hijaz Kar*, and *Bayati* are among the most important and common. The scales of these modes, to which reference is made in this article, are roughly as follows (taking E as the modal tonic or ground note):

<i>Hijaz</i> :	E	F	G#	A	B	C#	D	E	D	C	B	A	G#	F	E
<i>Hijaz Kar</i> :	E	F	G#	A	B	C	D#	E	D#	C	B	A	G#	F	E
<i>Bayati</i> :	E	F#	G	A	B	C	D	E	D	C	B	A	G	F	E

² The association of particular keys with individual *cantes* and *fandango* variants refers to positions on the guitar rather than acoustical distinctions. Thus, a fretted Am chord on the guitar will be referred to by musicians (and in this article) as such (i.e., *la menor*), even if a capo is used, rendering it a different chord in aural terms.

³ Sung by Maria Vargas on Everest 3366/5, disc 5: B, 4.

⁴ Robert Stevenson, *Spanish Music in the Age of Columbus* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1960), 23–24, and Julian Ribera (y Tarrago), *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain* (trans. Eleanor Hague and Marion Leffingwell: Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1929). The important Berber contribution to Andalusian music and dance—especially, for example, the use of *zapateado* (foot-stomping)—should not be overlooked.

⁵ The dubious nature of Ribera’s assertion of Arab influence in the thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa María* has been noted by several subsequent scholars. See, e.g., Antonio Martin Moreno, *Historia de la música andaluza* (Seville: Biblioteca de la Cultura Andaluza, 1985), 87–88.

⁶ See Ribera, 142–59.

⁷ See, e.g., Manfred Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era* (New York: Norton, 1947), 41–42. Hispanic elements in some of Domenico Scarlatti’s sonatas (e.g., Longo nos. 241 and 243) has also been commented upon, e.g., by Moreno, 276.

⁸ Josep Criville y Bargollo, *Historia de la música española, vol III: El folklore musical* (Madrid: Alianza Música, 1983), 311.

⁹ See the subchapters on these countries in Peter Manuel, *Popular Musics of the Non-Western World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) for examples and further discussion of this phenomenon. It is of interest that such harmonies are rare in Indian popular music, which employs primarily diatonic modes and, accordingly, more European chordal accompaniments.

¹⁰ See, e.g., Adolfo Salazar, *La música de España desde el siglo XVI a Manuel de Falla* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1953), 23–25, and Ricardo Molina, *Misterios del arte flamenco* (Seville: Biblioteca de la Cultura Andaluza, 1985), 173.

¹¹ The Andalusian manner of counting the meter of the *fandango de Huelva* also appears to derive from its chordal strumming (*rasgueo*) pattern as performed on the guitar. In Western terms, the pattern is clearly in triple meter; but flamenco musicians invariably count it in five beats, as shown in figure 2.

Figure 2. The Andalusian manner of counting in the *fandango* meter.

The figure shows a musical staff with a 6/4 time signature. The notes and rests are arranged as follows: a quarter note on the first beat, a quarter note on the second beat, a quarter note on the third beat, a quarter note on the fourth beat, a quarter note on the fifth beat, and a quarter rest on the sixth beat. This sequence is repeated three times. Above the notes are the chords E7, Am, G, F, and E7. Below the notes is the counting sequence: 1 2 | 3 4 5 - | 1 2 | 3 4 5 -.

¹² This tonality is not entirely unique to the *cantes mineros*, as it often appears in *sevillanas* (folk songs of Seville). In both contexts, an A# (the third of an F# chord) may replace the dissonant, open G.

¹³ In some cases—especially in *siguiriyas*—a bass G is added, such that the chords come to resemble a Gm or Gm⁷—again, with the nontriadic E on the open first string. The flamenco *tango* should not be confused with its Argentine namesake, with which it does not appear to be related in any significant way.

***Schubert: Critical and Analytical Studies.* Edited by
Walter Frisch.** Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press,
1986.

The collection of articles on one composer's work, even the work of a great master, occupies a slightly awkward position in musical literature. On the one hand, it is a study too specific in its preoccupations for many a lay or student reader seeking an overview of a large corpus of music; on the other hand, a scholar or highly informed enthusiast will think twice before buying an expensive collection format. Furthermore, any selection from a vibrant research field may prove flawed to individual tastes. It is thus a relief to be able to proclaim that the new volume of Schubert essays, erudite yet readable, meticulous in illustrative detail but not cluttered, dances with Viennese poise round the hazards that beset academic writing. In his excellent introduction, the editor is at pains to point out that what he calls the "discursive, chatty kind of commentary" has no place in his project, and yet, for all the resulting strength of the material, the reader is never in any doubt that it emanates from a love of the music: a proper sense of wonder at Schubert's genius (as opposed to programmatic gushings) shines through the writing. No high-flown repository of theoretical ramblings, this: as Walter Frisch says of the articles reprinted from American journals, "the authors concentrate primarily on individual pieces drawn from the repertory that many of us regularly hear, play, and teach." It is this practical approach, in which the desire to inform is wedded to the urge to communicate, that alone preserves critical-analytical writing from its Scylla and Charybdis—uninformative waffle at one extreme, and unintelligible waffle at the other.

Clearly the editor's prime stimulus toward the production of this collection is a practical one, namely to bring to English readership illuminating criticism that has hitherto been available only in German: here we have four articles in translation. Such an aim is worthy, but it accounts for only one-third of the papers here. Other guiding impulses, also worthy, are to represent the fresh interests of a new generation of American scholars and to present papers of distinction and kindred outlook that, written some time ago, have been dusted down especially for this book.

So it is that this collection, far from being a rag-bag of miscellaneous items, displays sound academic premises whose practical bias will stand it in

good stead among its potential readership working with this music from day to day in an academic or performing context.

Schubert's music is particularly suited to "performance insight," for something of the works' internal relationships eludes the eye while appealing to the immediate ear. The collection's first contributor, Carl Dahlhaus no less, discusses the elusive quality (for the analyst) of Schubert's structures with reference to the last Quartet, the G major, in its first movement. Here, as later on, the book does as much to present excellent expositions of familiar concepts in Schubert analysis as to spring new ideas. So when Dahlhaus describes the uniquely roundabout journeying that Schubert makes of a modulation to the dominant—"a remote F# major, from which D major, the traditional key, emerges in sharp relief: convention achieved by surprise"—he is calling on a familiar Schubertism to explain his thesis, one hinging on Schubert's ambivalent relation to High Classical harmony (which forms the basis of the book's last paper, by Lawrence Kramer). Dahlhaus's starting point is that Schubert's is a "lyric" rather than a "dramatic" (Beethovenian) sonata structure. While this in itself is a truism for Schubert watchers, his specific thesis—that the G-major Quartet's first movement may be heard as a cycle of variations on the opening unit—is profoundly helpful as a new viewpoint. Furthermore, for this listener at least it brings into the open for assessment a feeling about the piece only experienced subconsciously hitherto. For analysis that aspires to communicate, I can think of no better achievement. Dahlhaus's article well illustrates how this many-sided structure of Schubert is poised, in 1826, between melody and harmony as articulators of form; it is a pity he does not explore this aspect of his "Variation" thesis further, for this transitional situation of implied tension between thematic landmarks and tonal intricacies is arguably conducive soil for the "Variation" aspect—but the article is rich and invigorating.

Similar responses are evoked by the next article, "Schubert's Promissory Note," by Edward Cone. He unfolds a persuasive analysis of the A^b "Moment Musical" as part of a general look at the science of hermeneutics, though "science" seems to me an inappropriate word for a study so nebulous as the pursuit of meaning when applied to *music*—"the insupportable chasing the inexpressible," to parody Wilde. Cone himself remains noncommittal about attempts to "discover" extra-musical significance in instrumental music, and, although the central analysis is prompted by the question of meaning in music, one feels that Cone emerges from his penetrating investigation less enthusiastic than he was earlier: as he admits, "expressive content seems to depend on choices from a bewildering array of admissible interpretations." Here, here! To this reader, openly skeptical about the search for biographical significance and so on in music, Cone's "congeneric" analysis is infinitely more valuable than his "extrageneric" (i.e., extra-musical) one, which bravely

sustains the article's thrust with the suggestion that the inner turbulence of this great piece represents the suppression and ultimate triumph of Schubert's congenital syphilis. Maybe it does: we can never know one way or the other, which is why I find "science" an ill-advised term for what is at best informed speculation with no tenable methodology of its own. But what an analysis! Cone, being also an author of writings on aesthetics, cannot be blamed if he is more attracted than I to hermeneutics, and the musical foundations of his "extragenetic" speculations are thoroughly worked through. The "promissory note" of the title is a felicitously punning term for a musical upset whose repercussions are felt thereafter as the debt is repaid, so to speak: here Cone is relentless in plotting the turbulent vendetta demanded by the rogue E \flat of bars 11 and 12. Two conclusions about Dahlhaus apply here too: first, the thesis rests on an established concept, for what is the "promissory note" theory if not that of "composing-out" an inherent instability? And second, Cone is again illuminating a process perhaps only sensed subliminally before. To a nonbeliever in the hermeneutics business, it is perverse that this fine work should be followed by a conclusion about its wider significance that is by contrast hopelessly up in the air. Cone himself ends by asking, dangerously I feel, "Is it too fanciful to hear . . . this reaction musically embodied in the tonal structure . . . ?"

"Dance Music as High Art," by David Brodbeck, concludes with more speculation about the influence of syphilis on Schubert that is itself clearly contagious. Again this unanswerable "maybe" is the coda to a high-class stylistic examination, here of the twelve Ländler D. 790. What I like particularly about Brodbeck's search for sophisticated unification processes is that he does not push his luck: when the last piece is in E major, clearly outside the B-G \sharp areas of nos. 1-11, he makes no attempt to explain it away but frankly admits that it does not fit, pointing instead to many positive signs of intended coherence. Maybe the syphilis argument is good: these dances are certainly "high art."

The bulk of the remaining articles are concerned with Schubert's songs. This is the repertoire arguably most closely associated with the composer in music folklore: the old joke about the Martian who lands in Vienna and says to the familiar bespectacled figure who opens the door, "Take me to your Lieder" still holds good today. Yet one is struck afresh when reading these articles how *little* many of us know of this huge and glorious repertoire.

William Kinderman, in "Schubert's Tragic Perspective," returns to the relation between art and life, but here less contentiously inasmuch as his theme is Schubert's reflection in music of his favorite poets' bittersweet reality-dream conflict. Any emotional statements presumed here are, thus, well documented by the songs' texts. Kinderman then transfers this "poetic" contrast to the abstract in the form of the great F-minor Fantasia D. 940. Again

the premise, the influence of the dramatic-song technique on the later instrumental works, is familiar: Kinderman stops short, though, of discerning specific emotional—or medical—states in the *Fantasia*. The result is again (like Dahlhaus's *Quartet*) a lyric-dramatic view of a great work, here articulated for listeners who may have only glimpsed it before within a sonata-based view. Certainly the *Fantasia*'s opening "block" movement refuses stubbornly to be aligned to any but the widest of sonata principles, and a "lyric," non-Beethovenian type thus serves the work far better than one of developmental fragmentation. We may be especially grateful to Kinderman for promoting this dramatic technique that was mistaken for mere patchwork by earlier writers, for example Maurice Brown in *Essays on Schubert* and even Adorno, whom Kinderman himself quotes as referring to a "potpourri" of themes.

This subject is well set up for Kinderman by Joseph Kerman in the preceding article, "A Romantic Detail," for his ground is the transference from songs to instrumental works of a disruption that operates in song introductions. He is thus concerned with the same composing-out of disruption as Cone above: the latter's "Promissory Note" is, in effect, Kerman's "Romantic Detail." Kerman ranges widely over the songs, appearing to leave behind his starting point for a suitably Schubertian exploration of the diminished seventh in song introductions. Yet he, like the master, delivers us to a satisfying conclusion—that the embedded "poetic-dramatic" technique operates with new, Romantic intensity in its late, instrumental manifestation—and of course his discursive path from work to work then becomes clear.

In Arnold Feil's "Two Analyses," the writer is not making a comparison but merely exploring a subtlety of pulse he finds in two works. I have to admit I find his examinations—especially the second—less compelling than the others: I think this is due both to the rather laborious style of overexplanation and to the weight put on rhythmic pulse in isolation from other areas. Overall, harmonic rhythm is frankly ignored by Feil, with the result that the worthy revelations served up lack any real spice. Displacements of meter clearly merit a tasting, but this recipe takes some chewing.

"Lyric as Musical Structure," by Thrasybulos Georgiades, makes an assault on the musico-textual relationship within a song along the same lines as Feil's first analysis. If his paper, on "Wandrer's Nachtlied," is more rewarding than Feil's, this is not because of the songs in question, and certainly not because of density of argument—Georgiades is in fact heavier reading than Feil. Georgiades, however, embraces all elements of the music in harness with one another in an examination that, necessarily conducted over a tiny area, leaves us sated by its thoroughness in embracing several angles instead of isolating one. Georgiades, too, can be exhausting: he combines micro-examination ("this entire passage" refers, in a summing up, to one and a half bars) with high-flown pronouncements ("Goethe's . . . lyric is suspended

within the overall mood, is born of it"). But a valuable message emerges. There is a special unity that is not born of conventional depiction and affective piano figuration; rather, "the phrases originate simultaneously in voice part and accompaniment."

David Lewin pursues a like goal within "Auf dem Flusse." Analytically speaking, this is heavyweight stuff, presenting and using a methodology that here and there acknowledges Schenker and Reimann when Lewin feels they work for him. For anyone interested more in Schubert and less in analysis in the abstract, this article, for all its rigor, may fall victim to its own analytical assumptions. Discussing the poem's two puzzling questions, Lewin concludes that Schubert must be taking them literally because of a major-minor tension that suggests a resolution approaching. Yet he perceives this ambivalence of mode not at surface level but in terms of a "dominant parallel," thus bringing as illumination of the song's expressive focus a highly theoretical, implicit "major-minor" rather than the familiar surface tension which is both typically Schubertian and explicit in this song. From some standpoints this may beg too much. So, more fundamentally, may the assumption that major and minor are expressive of "good" and "bad"—"if indeed a secret E major lies under the E minor surface structure, then indeed the poet's heart does . . . preserve its capacity for warmth," writes Lewin with a simplicity that is suspect within so logical an exposition.

The role of this epic specialist study in the book is threefold—in its own merit, in its close relation to the concerns of Feil and Georgiades, and in its being followed by a related article on the same song by Anthony Newcomb. Newcomb begins by taking issue with some of what we have just read from Lewin as regards Schubert's reading of those two questions in Müller's poem. This affords us a fascinating overview of some academic table tennis, a speeding up of the laborious process of publication and counterpublication. Furthermore, Lewin manages to come back at Newcomb, whose essay he clearly admires, in an Afterword. Newcomb has on his side a far more direct, accessible manner of academic writing, though that in itself in no way affects the relative merits of the analyses. In musical and poetic terms, Newcomb explores and interprets at a more directly perceptible level, rather than a frankly theoretical one. Müller's questions are, he says, straightforwardly rhetorical and contrast recollected passion with current numbness. As to Lewin's view of the G#-minor episode, Newcomb's response sums up their different stances: "This is a possible interpretation . . . in the abstract; but that is not the way the key area is presented here."

The editor's own contribution deals with the place of Schubert's early songs in the German Folk Lied tradition. Frisch is, here as in his introduction, a natural raconteur, so that the history of Goethe's "Nähe des Geliebten," a potentially dry topic, makes good reading. In analytical and

musicological terms, too, his aim is sure. An exhaustive tour of the song's introduction made me wonder, not for the first time in this collection, whether all the Schubert passages under discussion can support the intensity of scrutiny to which they are subjected. This is less to carp at these papers than to marvel at their consistent rigor. If many of the papers are grand designs, none is more ambitious than the last, "The Schubert Lied," by Lawrence Kramer. He attempts a critical alignment of the Lieder in toto, and again familiar concepts appear in stimulating new guises. The Romantic Lied as recomposition of its poem, rather than mere setting, is an idea echoed by other contributors here, and the tension in Schubert between old (fifth-based) and new worlds of tonal relationships is safely productive ground. Thus armed, Kramer addresses himself to the harmony, its key relationships and instabilities, in relation to the Classical stasis it "extends and parodies, salutes and betrays," examining it in songs several of which have appeared in other papers. Kramer attends (like some others) exclusively to one area, here harmony—and sometimes text—where a more varied examination of a much smaller area might have other results; at the same time, he (and they) give us innumerable insights.

Seven and a half out of twelve articles are on the songs, giving the book a rather lopsided air—neither quite a symposium on the songs nor yet a wide-ranging survey from the master's mature output. The actual choice of material is coherent, if arguably overdefined, concentrating not only on analysis but on a rather narrow spectrum within that broad discipline. A case could be made for representing other analytical styles or, maybe, some bibliographical work on, say, the dating of later Schubert manuscripts. The book's strength lies in the quality of the scholarship within its chosen field, and on the quality of presentation of that scholarship, which is mostly readable and enthusiastic. Frisch and his team clearly write as much from musical experience as from academic study. Their collection is thus less a seminar deep-frozen in print than a Schubertiad in prose: it sends us straight to the music.

—*Piers Hellawell*

Roger Wallis and Krister Malm. *Big Sounds from Small Peoples: The Music Industry in Small Countries.* The Sociology of Music Series, 2. New York: Pendragon Press, 1984.

This book is the result of a three-year research project known as "The Music Industry in Small Countries" (MISC), a Swedish-based group effort which gathered information, largely via interview, from twelve countries in various parts of the world. Countries as geographically and culturally disparate as Jamaica, Chile, Sri Lanka, and Wales were grouped together as "small countries" because they share a similar problem—they don't have enough marketing base to support a local music industry capable of competing with imported "international" (which is to say, U.S. and British) product. Since recorded music has become increasingly important with each passing year, a weak local music industry can lead to the "marginalization" of local music traditions.

Although the music industry has been studied before, prior studies have not attempted to probe very deeply into the effects sound recording and radio have had on repertoire, daily music making, and the social relationships to which music is central, certainly not on an international level. Working with such a broad spectrum leads to the understanding that technological dilemmas are global, while providing a workable framework which we can use to arrange our perceptions of the chaos of modern mediated music—the proliferation of records, cassettes, CDs, and videos, which have so quickly covered the planet. This framework includes performer, producer, entrepreneur, and audience in all their devious interrelationships. Such a study, by its very nature, cannot be simple.

The authors examine how the music industry has affected the mode of performance, music style and structure, and the use and function of music in each of these countries. They look at local reactions to Western music, discuss what government policies have been applied to deal with music-industry problems, and show how new "national" musics have developed as a result. They show also how local businesses interrelate with the large transnational corporations and explore the problems of international copyright law. They diligently pursue the same line of questioning in each area, and although many problems turn out to be universal, the answers to them are certainly not. Herein lies the book's greatest strength: the authors are not just out to prove a problem exists, but are willing to explore various alternative solutions.

Readers may be surprised to find that even a modern industrial nation such as Sweden has had trouble competing with British and American im-

ports—records pressed by the transnational companies (Polygram, CBS, EMI, WEA, RCA) in millions of copies are cheap, whereas local, diversified product requires extensive capital investment. Dissatisfied with the meager home fare, the radical youth movement precipitated a revolution in the Swedish music industry in the 1970s (despite opposition from Swedish Radio bureaucrats), and today the Swedish language is accepted in rock and pop lyrics. Locally owned resources for production and distribution have also been established, but only after a struggle (p. 129).

This struggle to maintain and develop local musics is worldwide and has generally been difficult; government is often not the best ally. National cultural politics in many non-Western countries tends to support European art music or ersatz “national music traditions” (p. 217). Local music may be discouraged by Socialist bureaucrats (as in Sweden) or Fascist bureaucrats (as in Chile) if it seems to represent something threatening and difficult to control. Also, when tourism is a primary industry, local musicians must adapt to tourists’ “needs” (p. 292).

But the situation is not all bad. We are also shown how national “pop” music has been subsidized by some governments (p. 219), how foreign competition is screened, how music education and traditional styles do get supported. The example of Tanzania (p. 259), which has a healthy local music industry based just on radio and live performance, is most illuminating, for it leads to a discussion of how decentralization and the support of amateur music are absolute prerequisites for the survival of any meaningful popular-based traditional styles.

The relationship between broadcasting and record sales is also analyzed in detail, along with a critical evaluation of the current theory that “people are just getting what they want.” The authors prefer to believe that the public goes along with what it has gotten used to, and present this anecdote to prove the point. Otto Donner, the former head of light entertainment at Finnish Radio once

revolutionized the music entertainment output of his station by consciously introducing new sounds, such as Indian Ragas, into what had traditionally been a stream of standard light music evergreens. This led to an uproar. Listeners wrote and phoned in their complaints. The phonogram industry muttered. But Donner persevered—the new format stayed for two years. At the end of this period it was decided that Finnish Radio would return to the old, traditional light music format. How did the public at large react? There was an even bigger uproar. They had had time to get used to something and had grown to like it!
(p. 248)

The ideas presented do not lead us to conclude that music technology in itself is either good or bad, but that it is highly volatile and, like any technology, potentially dangerous. Nor is it argued that each successive technological development leads us further down the road to ruin. For example, we are shown how important the "cassette revolution" has been in circumventing the monopoly control of radio stations, record companies, and government agencies, enabling local music to be effectively and cheaply recorded and distributed (see p. 141 on Wales). It is interesting to note that Afro-American "rap" music was recorded and distributed on the streets of the Bronx and Harlem in just this way (by cassette) in the years before it was discovered and exploited by the record companies.¹

One general conclusion is that "a major problem for small countries is not primarily that their own particular types of music are ignored by the local media and establishment (even if this does happen), but that this adaptation can conflict with their social function" (p. 280). That is, local music is transformed into tourist entertainment, or technology creates a situation where a local music can be internationally successful but impossible to perform live—for example reggae, which is simply too expensive to duplicate in live performance. The passive listening habits associated with sound recordings are thus not solely a consequence of technology, but of this changed social context, whereby music making has been relegated solely to professionals and is no longer a feature of daily human interaction. (We can argue that neither the phonograph nor the amplified guitar killed the blues—in fact, they led to its national popularity. It was urbanization and cultural change which eventually devalued rural-oral culture.)

The final question we are left with is whether we are headed toward one transnational world music which will continually assimilate local influences, or whether we will have a give and take between regional and global modes. Will music be produced on one master dub which has an open track for vocals to be added in the language of each local market (something which is already happening)? Will people be able to tolerate such uniformity? The authors think not, and I tend to agree.

—Joseph Blum

NOTE

¹ David Toop, *The Rap Attack: African Jive to New York Hip Hop* (Boston: South End Press, 1984).

Winifred Maynard. *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

The numerous (and often first-rate) part-songs, lute-ayres, consort-songs, and madrigals that England produced in the late Renaissance deserve greater attention than they have generally received. Bruce Pattison's *Music and Poetry of the English Renaissance*, though still a valuable study, appeared originally in 1948—almost forty years ago.¹ Research over the past four decades has uncovered a great deal of information about music and poetry in the Renaissance, and those interested in the topic will surely welcome Winifred Maynard's *Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music*. Unfortunately, although her book presents a clear introduction to the subject and takes into account some recent scholarship, it does not delve much beneath the surface and leaves many treasures still buried.

The first chapter for the most part presents a survey of various collections of lyric poetry, beginning with *Tottel's Miscellany* (1557) and ending with *A Gorgious Gallery, of Gallant Inventions* (1578). In trying to account for the popularity of some collections of mediocre verse, Maynard suggests that a key to their success may be the aptness of the lyrics for singing. The theory finds some support in contemporary settings of the poems.

Maynard next deals with later song-books and miscellanies. She speculates that the weak translations used in Yonge's *Musica Transalpina* (1588) may have had an adverse effect on the quality of the English madrigal verse that followed. To illustrate her point, she adduces the opening two lines of Petrarch's "Zefiro torna" and compares them with two Elizabethan translations. Yet she goes too far when she states that an Englishman, when reading the lines "Zephirus brings the time that sweetly senteth, / With flowres and herbes, and winter's frost exileth," was not "in the presence of poetry" (pp. 44–45). To be sure, that translation, printed in *Musica Transalpina*, is not on a par with its model: few poems are. But, inspired by the original, it does have a flowing lyricism rare in English verse printed during the 1580s. Nevertheless, much English madrigal verse is indeed inferior to the verse set by the great lute-song composers, one of the most prolific of whom, Thomas Campion, wrote his own lyrics.

Campion and Sir Philip Sidney dominate the next chapter, though Byrd also comes into the discussion. Maynard quotes the relevant passages from Sidney's *Arcadia* on music and poetry and, like others before her, cautiously suggests that Sidney may have known about Baïf's *Académie de Poésie et de Musique* through Daniel Rogers, who knew both Sidney and Baïf.² Like Sidney and Baïf, Thomas Campion experimented with quantitative verse in the vernacular; Maynard examines both Campion's theories about verse and the

verse (rhymed and unrhymed) itself. Her assessment of Campion's skill at composing strophic songs is especially well handled:

To write lyrics in which phrase rhythms seem to ride freely, and yet virtually recur in succeeding stanzas, requires care and skill; and it makes possible strophic setting that responds to the poem's rhythms with ease and success; and as composer Campion achieved such setting.
(p. 110)

The move toward a more continental, declamatory style in song occupies most of the fourth chapter, which focuses on Dowland, Ferrabosco, and Jonson. At times, Maynard catalogues; she illustrates Dowland's wide musical range, for instance, by giving the reader a hasty tour through the composer's works (pp. 122–25). Though Maynard makes valid generalizations, those who are not already acquainted with Dowland's songs will probably find her broad comments on his style unenlightening; a few more examples drawn from Dowland's songs would have made her discussion more accessible to the uninitiated reader. Moving on to more dramatic songs, Maynard chooses a setting of Donne's "Expiration" to exemplify Ferrabosco's "declamatory manner" (p. 128). She is not the first to regard Ferrabosco's setting as declamatory; but compared with the impassioned Italianate setting of the same poem in Bodleian Library MS Mus. Sch. F. 575, fol. 8v (mentioned by Maynard on p. 129, n. 31), Ferrabosco's seems quite lyrical, almost like a mainstream Elizabethan lute-song. A comparison of the two settings could have been effectively used to illustrate the different degrees of declamation in early seventeenth-century English song.

The last chapter, "Ballads, Songs, and Masques in the Plays of Shakespeare," is in some ways the most satisfying. Here we get a good survey of music as used by the greatest of Elizabethan poets. Although Maynard occasionally rushes through some significant lyrics,³ she generally gives a helpful and lucid account of song in the Shakespearean canon. Approaching the lyrics from various angles, Maynard discusses, among other things, the breaches of tragic decorum occasioned when the heroines of *Othello* and *Hamlet* sing "popular and even, in Ophelia's case, bawdy, songs" (p. 170); the possibility that competition from the Children of Paul's (trained singers, after all) may have prompted Shakespeare to include more songs in his middle plays; the influence of indoor performance on song in *Twelfth Night*; and the function of song in *The Tempest*. Many of the points made here have been made elsewhere,⁴ but having them all together in a neat chapter is convenient.

Elizabethan Lyric Poetry and Its Music presents a clear account of the two arts as practiced in England at the close of the Renaissance. Those wishing to

learn about the music and poetry of Shakespeare's day would do well to begin here. Yet the book is not wholly satisfying. As performers continually remind us, a large amount of great music was written for lyric poems in Elizabethan and Jacobean England—music by John Ward, Orlando Gibbons, John Danyel, and many others. If Maynard had given such composers the attention they deserve, she might well have discovered new ways of understanding the relationship between texts and tones in the English Renaissance; as it turns out, she has generally covered familiar territory.

—Erik S. Ryding

NOTES

¹ A second edition of Pattison's book, containing slight revisions, came out in 1970.

² Regrettably, Maynard does not cite James Phillips' important essay, "Daniel Rogers: A Neo-Latin Link between the Pléiade and Sidney's 'Areopagus,'" *Neo-Latin Poetry of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1965), 5–28.

³ Iago's song "King Stephen was and a worthy peer" (*Othello*, 2.3.83–90), which touches on both social rank and pride, surely has more significance to the play than Maynard suggests (p. 155).

⁴ See, in particular, Peter Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967) and F. W. Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963); Maynard refers to both books.

John Neubauer. *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.

Were the first skirmishes of nonrepresentational art fought over purely instrumental absolute music and word-oriented music? John Neubauer thinks so, and his provocative new book offers a cogent historical exegesis upon European thought on the matter.

Neubauer attacks music's emancipation from language from a perspective of historical aesthetic thinking that encompasses Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle on the one hand, and Descartes, Rameau, and Kant on the other, but the focus of Neubauer's study is trained upon the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Though the author touches on musicological matters, his emphasis remains upon those works written about the music of the time, rather than upon the music itself, a limitation of scope that the author freely admits.

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The book divides into three main sections. Chapters one through four deal with the philological problems and definitions of *affect* and *mimesis*. Chapters five through nine concentrate upon the aesthetic tradition from Descartes through Rousseau, and the last five chapters deal with allied areas, such as musical expression, music's sister arts, Kantian formalism, and an epilogue on Romanticism.

Neubauer casts his examination as a contest between verbal paradigms of musical meaning embodied in musical rhetoric, the theory of affects, and musical mimesis, and the Pythagorean tradition that embraces all mathematical models of musical thought. However clearly delineated on paper this distinction appears, unraveling these skeins can be a problem. As the author points out, though Descartes's philosophy is firmly rooted in the mathematical tradition, his *Traité des passions de l'âme* of 1649 became the guiding beacon of later affect, or word-oriented, theories. Following these clues of rhetorical and mathematical tradition through the *Traité des passions* is an adroit exercise on Neubauer's part, and one that is quite helpful in its clarification. One wonders, however, whether Descartes is ultimately well served by this eidetic mitosis.

The dichotomy evinced by Descartes was not, however, exclusive to him. Early in the book Neubauer demonstrates the philosophical roots of latter-day aesthetic thought, and we find that Pythagorean notions are at the source, for it was Pythagorean thinking that first ascribed cosmological significance to the ratios of intervals. So we learn that both mathematical and spiritual ideas are embodied in the term *Pythagoreanism*, a concept that will have interesting implications for understanding nineteenth-century Romanticism, where the mathematics have been forgotten, but the idea of the cosmological relevance of great music becomes a driving force not only of the music but also of its accompanying philosophical thought.

The rhetorical tradition in music Neubauer attributes in principle to the ancient Greeks, but it is specifically related to the late sixteenth-century humanists who wished to gain the expressive power of music that they read about in Plato, Aristotle, and others. Centering their attention upon human styles of speech, members of the Camerata, especially Vincenzo Galilei, sought to imitate in music the intonations of impassioned speech. Thus were born (over the course of the ensuing century) countless rhetorical devices for composing, such as the upward-leaping *exclamatio*, the tonally uncertain *dubitatio*, and the familiar expression of grief by descending minor seconds, the *passus duriusculus*. To these figures of vivid description Neubauer ascribes the generic term *hypotyposis*. These hypotyposes are clearly separated from the rhetoric of sonata or fugal form (*inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria*, and *actio*), some of whose terms still survive in music theory today. These hypotyposes are directly relatable to the rediscovery of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* in

1416, which was later championed by Burmeister in the early seventeenth century.

Neubauer traces the theory of affects back to Plato and Aristotle. The author clearly demonstrates Plato's antipathy toward the passions that the music of his time was able to arouse in audiences, and Neubauer rightly centers his discussion of the theory of affects upon Aristotle. Whereas Plato wanted to subdue certain passions because they threatened the state, Aristotle welcomed the passions so as to produce the desired catharsis in the theatrical audience. Differing from his teacher, Aristotle thought that music could be purely instrumental as well. Aristotle's pupil Aristoxenos disagreed with his mentor over word-oriented music and, more important, laid the philosophical foundations for empirical acoustics and perception of the senses. Aristoxenos' antimetaphysical bent made him the enduring champion of the *musici* and a hero to certain early eighteenth-century European theorists.

With barely a wink, Neubauer whisks us from fourth-century B.C. Greece to Cartesian philosophy, as it were from Orpheus to Timotheus. Neubauer encapsulates well the spirit of the seventeenth century (at least of France) with an enlightening paragraph on the *merveilleux* in *Armide*, whose arias feature 180-degree emotional (affective) reversals made possible by magic.

The author continues his historical overview with the eighteenth-century theorists Mattheson, Scheibe, Marpurg, Krause, and Sulzer. Mattheson led the attack on Pythagoreanism, dubbing himself the "Younger Aristoxenos." Neubauer offers a compendium of devices that early eighteenth-century composers used to arouse and exemplify certain affects. Melodic figuration, key selection, or tempo, for instance, can carry affective meaning. This affective orientation was especially telling in instrumental dance music. Each dance had its own affective convention (the Passepied comes fairly close to light-heartedness while the English Gigue has heated transitory zeal and anger [Mattheson]). Atavistic terms of the theory of affects still echo today in the continuing use of such terms as *allegro*, *vivace*, and *adagio*.

Neubauer's third area of philological discussion is the subject of imitation, or mimesis, which is divided into five broad categories: 1) purely musical imitation, 2) imitations of the ancients and other models, 3) imitations of verbal intonation, 4) imitation of affects, 5) imitations of sounds, movements, and physical objects. Purely musical imitation is the stuff of nonrepresentational art, though Neubauer does quote at length such early critics as Scheibe and Sulzer. Imitations of the ancients and imitation of verbal intonation belong, at the outset, to Mei and Galilei. Imitation of sound, movements, and physical objects is relegated rightly to the arena of musical parlor games.

It is the fourth category, imitation of affects, that proves to be of the greatest historic interest. This "internalization of imitation" led to a concept of

composition that eventually found full voice in the music of Beethoven and thus affected the musical composition of the nineteenth century. Neubauer draws from J. J. Engel's *Über die musikalische Malerei* of 1780 nine different means of portraying emotional reactions: mode, key, melody, movement, rhythm, harmony, pitch, instrument, and intensity. Neubauer gives great weight to this internalization, and he sums up by saying that "the internalization of imitation allowed the renewal of seventeenth-century affect theories and their extension well into the nineteenth century."

Having defined the basic terms of his study—mimesis, affect, and rhetoric—Neubauer turns to specific philosophers. In perhaps the liveliest portion of the entire book, the author examines Rameau and his battle with the Philosophers, namely Rousseau, d'Alembert, and Diderot. Neubauer's careful definition of terms enhances the sprightliness of the contending arguments. Of particular interest is the work of Rousseau, who viewed both language and music as in decline. Rousseau envisioned a primeval time when speech was composed of intonation, rhythm, and melody, aspects that he found wanting in his own language. Many of the Romantics of the nineteenth century likewise viewed music as a purer form of expression than language could ever be. Where Rousseau greatly differed from Rameau and others was on his insistence that music must be simple, melodic, and vocal.

Neubauer's latter chapters deal with the perennially vexing matters of formalism and expression. The author surveys eighteenth-century opinion and gives us distillations of the various authors' views. As a reference to the views of the authors (e.g., Hawkins, Mizler, Schiller, Körner, Wackenroder, Tieck, Hoffmann), again Neubauer is quite helpful, as is his chapter on Kant.

The wide scope of Neubauer's discussion militates against a tidy book. And since the debates themselves, whether of Plato and Aristotle or of Rameau and Rousseau, seldom came to a mutually agreeable conclusion, Neubauer can hardly be blamed for their untidiness. Where Neubauer is culpable, however, is in his reliance upon such "soft" sources as the *Harvard Dictionary of Music* for information concerning Greek music, as well as Dieter's passé edition of Thayer's *Beethoven*. One would think that the latest insights of Thomas J. Mathiesen into ancient Greek music would have been invaluable.¹ Mathiesen's constructs of the relationship of all parts of Greek speech and musical elements go a long way in explaining exactly how the music of ancient Greece wrought its magic upon its listeners. Euterpe was, after all, the muse of both lyric poetry and music. Neubauer's greatest disservice is done to the concept of *harmonia*, which can best be understood through Mathiesen's writings. Without a firm understanding of *harmonia* and *ethos* (definitions assumed by the ancients and expertly clarified by Mathiesen), the modern reader might easily be trapped into assumptions about ancient Greek music that are unwarranted.

Equally unsettling is Neubauer's nearly complete avoidance of eighteenth-century Italian music. For a book that purports to explain the ascendancy of purely instrumental music, the exclusion of the history of that music and its debt to Italian composers and theorists, such as Tartini and Galeazzi, is a glaring omission. What little of the *querelle des bouffons* that is mentioned is told from an almost completely pro-French (anti-Italian) perspective. Apparently even the contributions of Gluck and Calzabigi, in both theory and practice, do not measure up in Neubauer's estimation to the writings of the French and Germans.

Most disappointing, though, is the unfulfilled promise of the book's title. Instead of offering a departure from mimesis, the book shows the influence of mimetic thought well into the nineteenth century. (Consider Schopenhauer's willful mimesis.) The reader, then, is left to assume facts not in evidence, that the tendencies enumerated by Neubauer toward nonrepresentational art did indeed find flower in the latter nineteenth century.

In the larger context *The Emancipation of Music from Language* provides a useful compendium of aesthetic thought, whatever it lacks in eutaxy. It also features an excellent bibliography of both primary and secondary sources. But because the book emphasizes philosophical writings about music and generally ignores empirical features of the music itself, one fears that Neubauer's work will have a greater vogue among philosophers than among musicologists. If there is one clear inference that can be drawn from this book, it is that the gulf between musicologist and aesthetician has widened considerably during the past two hundred years. Perhaps the knowledge of this fact will help to rebuild the bridges between specializations.

—Bruce E. Clausen

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¹ Thomas J. Mathiesen, "Harmonia and Ethos in Ancient Greek Music," *Journal of Musicology* 5 (1981): 263–79.

A. Peter Brown. *Performing Haydn's The Creation: Reconstructing the Earliest Renditions*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.

Establishing a definitive text for many works by Haydn and his contemporaries is often difficult. First, autographs are frequently lost, causing editors to rely on secondary sources. Second, the composer himself sometimes did not decide on the final version of a piece, leaving several equally convincing

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alternatives. In *Performing Haydn's The Creation*, A. Peter Brown argues that the version of *The Creation* performed invariably today is not the definitive text. To support his hypothesis, Brown compares the modern version, edited by Mandyczewski and based on the first published edition, with early authentic manuscript sources, which were used for early performances. He supplements this comparison with contemporary accounts of early performances of *The Creation* and similar works.

Brown divides his main discussion into five parts: (1) sources, (2) forces, scoring, and dynamics, (3) embellishment and ornamentation, (4) bowing and articulation, and (5) tempo. Four copyist scores and four sets of parts predate the first published edition. Of these, three of each group are indisputably authentic:

Scores

The Tonkünstler Score now in the Wiener Stadtbibliothek.

The Estate Score in the Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz in West Berlin.

The Engraver's Score in the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde in Vienna, on which the first edition was based.

Parts

The Tonkünstler Parts in the archives of the Tonkünstler-Societät in Vienna.

The Estate Parts in the Nation Széchényi Library in Budapest.

The Elssler Parts, also in the Gesellschaft des Musikfreunde.

Johann Elssler, Haydn's personal copyist, produced nos. 3 and 6; Elssler and others copied nos. 1, 2, and 4; and no. 5 is by some of the same hands as no. 4. Although Robbins Landon had hypothesized that the Estate Score and Estate Parts were related sources,¹ Brown believes that the only convincing connection of score and parts is between the Tonkünstler Score and the Tonkünstler Parts. Unfortunately, Brown does not establish the chronological relationship among the early sources, which would have been helpful in understanding his subsequent discussion. He does conclude that the Estate Score could be considered Haydn's *Handexemplar* (author's copy), because it has the only English text, the Angels' names, carefully made revisions, and the most complete set of bass figures. I cannot completely agree with this conclusion, however. Not only might Haydn's *Handexemplar* be lost (the autograph is lost), but the Tonkünstler Score appears to be more important. Brown says that Haydn conducted from the Tonkünstler Score, and he conjectures that the Estate Score might have been used by the continuo player in bigger performances, which could explain the better completeness of the bass figures.

It appears that the earliest performances of *The Creation* involved about 180 players. Haydn later conducted performances with much smaller forces, but it seems that Haydn's contemporaries preferred the large-scale renditions. Unlike modern performances, early performances used only three soloists, with Raphael-Adam and Gabriel-Eve being sung by one soloist each.

The principal differences between the early performing versions and the first published score are in the orchestration. In the early sources, there are eight additional passages scored with the bass trombone or contrabassoon that are not present in the Engraver's Score or first published edition. (Still, modern conductors should be cautious in adding these parts to their performances, since the sound of the bass trombone has changed since Haydn's day.) Brown believes that the adjustments in the bass parts were for the larger forces Haydn employed in many Viennese performances. Another major difference between the early sources and the first edition is the passage leading up to the strike of light after "Representation of Chaos." In the early versions, the trumpet, horns, and timpani play with mutes, which produces an even greater contrast when they are removed for the *ff* strike of light. (This is definitely a place where modern conductors should experiment with Brown's suggestion.) Several other passages in the early sources likewise show stronger contrasts than in the first published edition, including the passage on the rising sun. Other orchestral changes evince improvements in the scoring, probably based on Haydn's experiences in conducting the piece. An example of this is no. 27 ("Aus Rosenwolken bricht") beginning at m. 2, which exists in three versions. Originally it was scored for flute trio, but later the continuo was added, and even later the violins playing pizzicato (possibly replacing the keyboard). Brown believes that Haydn rescored this passage because of problems with keeping the ensemble together.

Having examined contemporary accounts, Brown concludes that Haydn wished for few added embellishments in *The Creation*. The Tonkünstler and Estate Parts include only modest additions, with the most extensive ones being in the soprano, then less in the tenor, and the least in the bass. Brown prints some of the embellishments from the early parts, so that modern singers might consider them. While Brown seems to have exhausted all the possibilities for a discussion of embellishments and ornamentation in *The Creation* based on the early parts and contemporary accounts of early performances of the work, one wishes that he had gone deeper into contemporary performance practices to see if the meager primary evidence of embellishment practice for *The Creation* was confirmed.

Brown finds inconsistencies in the bowing and articulation in the various sources. Concerning bowings, he believes that "if one were to prepare a score that attempted to represent what seemingly took place, it would perhaps require a separate staff for each desk of strings and winds" (p. 62). Despite

the inconsistencies of bowing and articulation, Brown derives a few general rules:

(1) The initial articulation for a repeated passage generally establishes the bowing/articulation for the entire group of repetitions. . . . (2) The grouping by rhythmic/melodic shapes plays a role in the interpretation of slurs and staccatos. . . . (3) The notation of rhythmic braces with regard to values of eighth, sixteenth, and thirty-second notes affects the articulatory rendition. (4) . . . [T]he consideration of a downbow at a phrase or a larger structural downbeat will often help clarify the interpretation of both preceding and following passages. (5) The repetition of the same pitch in values of a quarter note or larger when occurring over a bar line is often meant to be tied. (6) In general, one should not be disturbed by different families of instruments having different articulations. . . .

(pp. 63, 67)

Only a few differences in tempo exist in *The Creation's* sources. The only present-day performance tempo that Brown says needs reconsideration is that of the "Representation of Chaos." In most early sources, the tempo and meter are Largo ϕ , but modern performances generally employ an extremely slow tempo, with the beat approaching the eighth-note. Modern performances make it the slowest of Haydn's *alla breve* largos. Brown would prefer the primary rhythmic unit to be the half or moving quarter. One hopes that conductors will try Brown's faster tempos.

Brown concludes the main part of his book by saying that it is impossible to establish an "Urtext" for *The Creation*, although it is probably embedded in the Tonkünstler and Estate materials. Although the Engraver's Score and first edition (and thus the modern score) represent an end version, they do not provide a definitive text for the way that Haydn performed the oratorio. Brown believes that the primary reason for the first edition was financial return; it was a souvenir of already legendary music. It was meant first for the public and connoisseur and only second for the performer. This explains why it was published in score rather than parts, why it lacks bass figures for all the main numbers, and why solo and tutti markings are so haphazardly entered.

Brown also conjectures that Haydn withheld certain effects from the first edition so that they could be reserved for his own performances. He cites advertisements by Johann Peter Salomon about Salomon's first performances of *The Creation* in London in support of his argument. Brown suggests that there may have been a letter from Haydn to Salomon detailing Haydn's performance practices. On the other hand, I cannot agree that Haydn with-

held certain effects from the published score for his own use. By 1800, Haydn knew he was writing for posterity; for instance, the Breitkopf & Härtel complete edition had been begun in the previous year. Moreover, I view Salomon's letter as hyperbole brought about by a competing performance of *The Creation*. Rather, I believe that the differences between the early performing versions and the first editions were due to two factors: (1) the early performing sources were for specific performances with specific performing forces while the first edition was meant for all purposes, and (2) the first edition includes improvements that Haydn made to problems he encountered in performance. I agree with Brown that the first edition was not intended mainly for performers, so that it lacks items Haydn might have included in a performing edition. I also agree that the first edition is an end copy, not the Urtext. Nevertheless, with the autograph missing, the first edition should be the main source for modern performances and editions (within the limitation that it is a presentation edition, not a performing edition), because it is Haydn's final word on the subject. This does not mean that the alternatives from the early performing sources cannot be employed in modern performances, as long as changes in performance practices are considered.

Brown's book concludes with several valuable appendices. Appendix 2 lists the major variants among the early sources, first edition, and modern score; Appendix 3 presents the solo and tutti indications from the Tonkünstler Parts; and Appendix 5 prints the added bass trombone and contrabassoon parts.

Brown's book on *The Creation* contains much valuable material on performing the oratorio, its sources, and its early performances; but it seems that the book does not go deeply enough into certain problems and leaves too many unanswered questions. One might especially wish for a better attempt at showing the relationship among the various sources and a greater delving into the context of *The Creation*, to supplement the sometimes meager evidence from the primary sources of the work. Still, Brown's book provides important new insights into one of Haydn's most important compositions.

—Scott Fruehwald

NOTE

¹ H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* 4 (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press, 1977), 39–92.