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articles

C.P.E. Bach's Instrumental "Recompositions": Revisions or Alternatives?

By Leta Miller

In 1760 Georg Ludwig Winter published C.P.E. Bach's *Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen,* designed, as the composer notes in his preface, to provide performers

> with a simple means of gaining the satisfaction of adding some alterations (*Veränderungen*) to the pieces they perform, without needing to invent such alterations themselves or rely on others to write something that they will learn only after a great deal of effort. . . .[1]

Bach provided extensively varied reprises for ten movements in the collection: the outer two fast movements of the first four sonatas, the opening movement of the fifth sonata, and each section of the single-movement, multisectional sixth sonata.[2] His alterations read less like ornamental surface decoration than like variations over a given harmonic/melodic structure (example 1).

Even after publishing these instructional *Veränderungen,* however, Bach was not content to let them be. (As we shall see, he was rarely content to let any of his works remain in their original form, published or not.) Some years later he returned to his sonatas with varied reprises to emend nine of the sixteen movements—three that already contained variations in the

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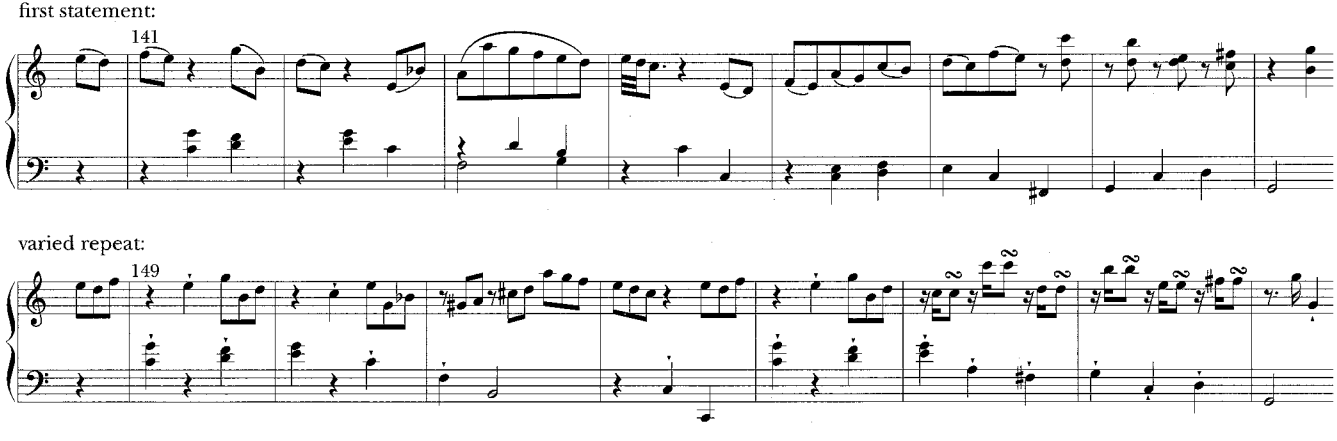
[1] C.P.E. Bach, *Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen* (Berlin: Winter, 1760), n.p. The sonatas appeared simultaneously in French and German editions. From the German prefatory material: "Ich habe ihnen bey der Leichtigkeit zugleich auf eine bequeme Art das Vergnügen verschaffen wollen, sich mit Veränderungen hören zu lassen, ohne daß sie nöthig haben, solche entweder selbst zu erfinden, oder sich von andern vorschreiben zu lassen, und sie mit vieler Mühe auswendig zu lernen." The French reads: "J'ai voulu leur procurer les moyens aisés de se procurer & aux autres la satisfaction d'accompagner de quelques changemens les Pièces qu'ils exécutent, sans qu'ils ayent besoin pour cela de les inventer eux-mêmes, ou de recourir à d'autres qui leur prescrivent des choses qu'ils n'apprendroient qu'avec une extrême peine."

[2] The last movement of the fifth sonata, a minuet, is not a strict two-reprise form with varied repeats. Bach does present varied renditions of the opening theme, however, which recurs after intermediary modulating interludes. The sixth sonata is a single movement in the form ‖: a :‖ b :‖ c :‖ d :‖ a :‖ b :‖ c :‖ d :‖ a :‖ b :‖.

Example 1. *Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier mit veränderten Reprisen* (H. 140), VI: mm. 141–48 and the varied repeat in mm. 149–56



print (Sonatas no. 3/III, no. 4/III, and no. 5/I), all five slow movements, and the finale of Sonata no. 5. The emendations appear in autograph manuscripts and annotations to two copies of the Winter print. Bach's most prolific and dependable Hamburg copyist, Michel, also prepared a clean copy of all the changes (with a few additional ones as well).[3]

The very existence of Michel's careful copy suggests that Bach's changes were more significant than just performance alternatives. Indeed, the alterations appear to be revisions intended to replace the originals: the most extensive changes (in the finale of Sonata no. 3) emend not only the repeat of each section, but also the initial statement as well. Furthermore, all of the slow movements (none of which contains repeated sections) underwent extensive emendation.

The situation is considerably complicated, however, by two republications of the sonatas in 1785, three years before Bach's death. In both an unauthorized print by Rellstab and a composer-sanctioned one by Breitkopf, the sonatas again appear in their original printed form.

The convoluted history of various versions of the *Reprisen-Sonaten* has given rise to a variety of theories regarding both the dating and the func-

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[3] The two prints containing autograph emendations are a copy with French prefatory material in London (GB Lbm, K. 10.a.28) and a copy with German prefatory material in Paris (F Pn, A. cp. 682–4, R. 24.389). The former contains alterations to these sonata movements: no. 3/II and III; no. 4/II and III; no. 5/I, II, and III. The print with German prefatory material contains alterations to no. 5/III only. The chart in Howard Serwer, "C. P. E. Bach, J. C. F. Rellstab, and the Sonatas with Varied Reprises," in *C. P. E. Bach Studies*, ed. Stephen L. Clark (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 236 fails to note the variations to no. 5/III in the French print; they are, however, listed by Darrell Berg in "C. P. E. Bach's 'Variations' and 'Embellishments' for his Keyboard Sonatas," *Journal of Musicology* 2, no. 2 (Spring 1983): 151–73 and given in Eiji Hashimoto's edition of the work (n.p.: Zen-on Music Co., 1984). A minor addition should be added to Berg's chart in Table 1, p. 155: the oblong insert to B-Bc 5885 contains, in addition to the variants listed there, some for sonata no. 5/III.

The autograph manuscript D-ddr Bds, P1135 contains alterations to Sonatas no. 1/II and no. 2/II. The manuscript D-ddr LEm, M8 R12 (at least partially in Bach's hand) contains a complete copy of Sonata no. 3/III (see Serwer, *ibid.*). The Michel manuscript (B-Bc 5885), which contains all of the alterations, was part of the collection of J. J. H. Westphal. For more details, see Manfred Hermann Schmid, "'Das Geschäft mit dem Nachlaß von C. Ph. E. Bach': Neue Dokumente zur Westphal-Sammlung des Conservatoire Royal de Musique und der Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique in Brüssel," in *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach und die europäische Musikkultur des mittleren 18. Jahrhunderts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 493 and 494 (note 6). Two of these manuscripts also preserve alterations to sonatas in the collections that followed the *Reprisen-Sonaten*, namely the *Fortsetzung von Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier* (1761) and the *Zweyte Fortsetzung von Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier* (1763). See the editions of these collections by Hashimoto, and references in Berg, *ibid.* A later manuscript in Brussels (Bc 14,885) entitled "C.P.E. Bach. Sätze aus Concerten u. Sonaten von ihm selbst verändert," contains clean copies of all of the sonata movements (complete) in their altered form.

tion of Bach's alterations. Because of the 1785 publications, Etienne Darbellay dates the revisions within the last three years of Bach's life and considers the emended versions to be Bach's preferred rendition.[4] He assumes that Bach was in some sense dissatisfied with his original compositional solutions—that rather than providing alternatives, he was tinkering with the earlier composition in a more fundamental way. His edition therefore presents the later alterations as the primary text with the earlier printed renditions given in small notes above.

Darrell Berg, however, sees the later emendations as performance alternatives. Based on the use of the terms "Veränderungen" and "Auszierungen" in the Michel copy and in Bach's *Nachlassverzeichnis*,[5] she concludes that

> it seems appropriate to . . . adopt C.P.E. Bach's terminology 'variations' and 'embellishments' for the changes he made in the sonatas . . . for the evidence indicates that Bach intended them to serve as alternatives rather than replacements. . . . Perhaps some were substituted for familiar passages to 'reflect honorably' on the performer after the printed varied reprises had grown familiar. Others were used, perhaps, to embellish repetitions in sonatas for which no written out varied reprise existed. Surely, in any case, they were to be applied at the pleasure of the performer and not to be regarded as mandatory alterations.[6]

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[4] See Etienne Darbellay, ed. *Sechs Sonaten mit veränderten Reprisen* by C. P. E. Bach (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1976). Unfortunately Darbellay seems to have been unaware of the manuscript sources, thus missing the alterations to the slow movements of Sonatas no. 1 and no. 2. These alterations are contained in Hashimoto's edition, which presents the original printed version as primary and the alterations as *ossia* above the staff or as appendices at the end of the volume.

[5] The Michel copy is entitled "Veränderungen und Auszierungen über einige Sonaten für Scholaren." The notation in the *Nachlassverzeichnis* reads: "[I]n einem Exemplar des 1sten Theils der Reprisen-Sonaten sind hin und wieder Veränderungen eigenhändig eingeschrieben." Rachel W. Wade, ed., *The Catalog of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Estate: A Facsimile of the Edition by Schniebes, Hamburg 1790* (New York and London: Garland, 1981), 53. Hereafter cited as *NV*.

[6] Berg, "C. P. E. Bach's 'Variations' and 'Embellishments'" 171. Berg (pp. 168–69) distinguishes among three different appellations for revisions: (1) *erneuert*: versions with "changes in the structure of movements or substitution of entire movements" intended as replacements; (2) *variirt*: "versions . . . clearly intended to serve as alternatives"; and (3) *Veränderungen* and *Auszierungen*: "variations over an unchanging structural framework . . . not incorporated into the sonatas for which they are intended, but . . . collected separately or entered as additions to printed texts." Berg takes issue with Darbellay's dating of the alterations; if they were intended as alternatives rather than replacements, she argues, the republication of the sonatas in their original form has no bearing on their dating.

Considering the alterations exclusively as alternatives presents problems. Although some of them conceivably could be "substituted for familiar passages . . . after the printed varied reprises had grown familiar," or "embellish repetitions for which no written out varied reprise existed," most of them apply to unrepeated passages: the throughcomposed slow movements or the first statements of thematic material in the fast movements. On the other hand, the existence of the publication obviously blocked any attempt by Bach to permanently replace his earlier versions. Unlike his unpublished compositions, it was not so easy to suppress originals he deemed less than ideal.

Still a third explanation for the emendations has been proposed by Howard Serwer, who suggests that Bach revised the sonatas in order to frustrate Rellstab's unauthorized republication by rendering the original versions obsolete. According to this theory, Bach ultimately abandoned this idea and approved of Breitkopf's publication for economic reasons: he apparently still had some three hundred copies of the original printing in hand; endorsing a revised edition would have rendered these copies useless.[7] If the alterations to the *Reprisen-Sonaten* were made for the express purpose of frustrating Rellstab's publication rather than from some inherent dissatisfaction with the original, the issue of Bach's own preferences becomes even more pressing. Did he consider these late emendations improvements or, as Berg suggests, merely equally viable alternatives?

The question of "composer intention" in the face of multiple versions of a particular work is hardly unique to the *Reprisen-Sonaten.* In fact, this is not the only case in which Bach altered published compositions. The *Nachlassverzeichnis* (hereafter *NV*) of 1790 (which repeatedly has been shown to reflect his own records)[8] notes several compositions that were "gedruckt, aber nachhero verändert."[9] A case in point are three sonatinas for cembalo

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[7] Serwer, "C.P.E. Bach, J.C. F. Rellstab, and the Sonatas with Varied Reprises," 233–43.

[8] That the catalog is based on records kept by Bach himself is clear from remarks contained therein and from correlations between the catalog's numbering system and that on many of Bach's manuscripts. For further information, see Rachel W. Wade, ed., *The Catalog of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach's Estate: A Facsimile of the Edition by Schniebes, Hamburg, 1790* (New York and London: Garland, 1981); and Darrell Berg, "Towards a Catalogue of the Keyboard Sonatas of C.P.E. Bach," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, no. 2 (summer 1979): 276–303.

[9] Among the published works that were later revised are three sonatinas (discussed below), the Trio Sonata H. 590, and a number of keyboard works. One of the most interesting of these last is the Sonata H. 150, which was revised twice (see remarks in the concluding section of this essay). For the Trio Sonata H. 590, Bach altered the first violin part after publication; the changes are preserved in B-Bc 25, 906. (The note accompanying this item in E. Eugene Helm, *Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989] is incorrect.) It is possible that Bach also intended to alter the second

concertante, flutes, and strings, published by Winter in 1764–66. The revisions, which survive in fair copies, show substantial changes from the prints: horns are added to the ensemble, timbral contrasts are enhanced by the elimination of much of the doubling between the keyboard and the violins and/or flutes, and six of the nine movements are provided with varied reprises featuring idiomatic and sometimes virtuosic keyboard figuration (example 2). In this case, however, we know Bach's own evaluation of the two versions. Even though the *NV* here uses the term "verändert" rather than "erneuert" (which is used elsewhere to indicate revisions), there is no doubt that Bach considered the later versions improvements over the published ones. In a letter to Johann Jakob Heinrich Westphal on 5 March 1787 he noted, "I've made my three published sonatinas much better and more brilliant."[10]

It is true that the revisions to the sonatinas are more fundamental than those in the *Reprisen-Sonaten:* while the alterations in the *Reprisen-Sonaten* enhance the dynamic propulsion by roulades or ornaments, those in the sonatinas alter the instrumentation and add varied reprises. Nevertheless, Bach's expressed preference for the later version of his sonatinas supports the evidence suggesting he would have preferred the altered versions of his sonatas as well. In fact, the two possibilities—alteration as revision or alteration as alternative—need not be mutually exclusive, for Bach could at once have preferred his emended versions without categorically rejecting his original solutions.[11]

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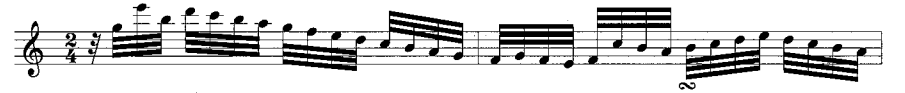
violin part of this sonata, as some of the changes in violin 1 raise that line so high that it would sound more than an octave above violin 2. Manuscript 25,906 also contains minor revisions to the bass part.

[10] "Die 3 gedr. Sonatinen habe ich sehr verbeßert u. brillanter gemacht." The letter is transcribed in Rudolph Angermüller, "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bachiana: Briefe, die bei Ernst Suchalla nicht veröffentlicht wurden," in *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (1985/86): 129–30.

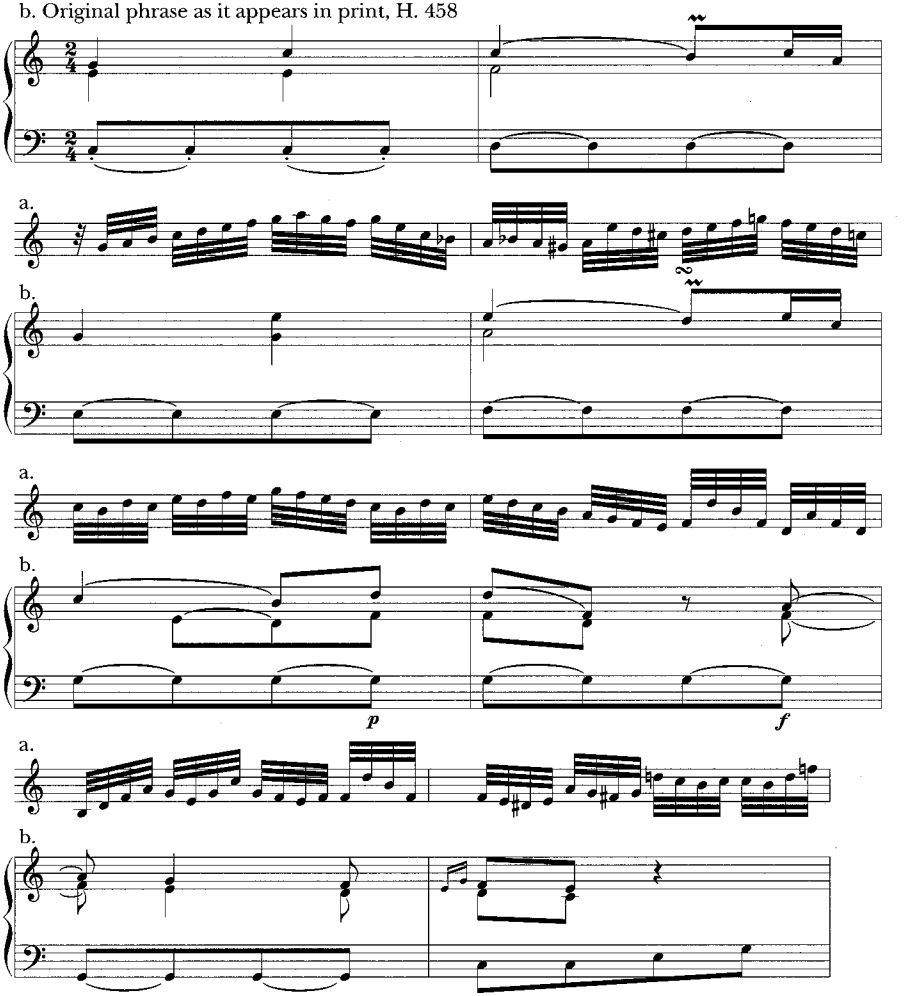
[11] The *NV*'s differing treatment of the sonatinas and the *Reprisen-Sonaten* actually supports such an interpretation. The listing of the sonatinas disguises, as much as possible, the fact of their publication. Like the unpublished works in the catalog, each of the three sonatinas is given without publication information and with an incipit (although a summary statement at the end of the section does note that three of them were published but later revised). For the *Reprisen-Sonaten,* incipits are lacking (as with other published material) and reference is made to publication. (In addition to the publications by Winter [1760], Rellstab [1786] and Breitkopf [1785/6], the sonatas were also printed by John Walsh [1763] and William Randall [1770]). The later alterations are indeed acknowledged, but not along with the listing of the sonatas, as in other cases in which published works were subsequently revised (e.g., H. 150, H. 590). Rather, they are noted much later in the catalog under the heading "Kleinere Stücke."

Example 2. Sonatina, H. 458 and revised version, H. 460 (transcribed from the Winter print of 1764 [H. 458] and B-Bc 6352 [H. 460])

a. Varied repeat of the first phrase as it appears in the revision, H. 460 (left hand is identical to print)*



b. Original phrase as it appears in print, H. 458



* In H. 460, the keyboard plays the figured bass line alone the first time, while the instrumental ensemble plays the simple version as given in H. 458. On the repeat the ensemble plays the unadorned version pianissimo.

Whether or not works were published, it was hardly unusual for Bach to revise them. In fact, he seems to have been driven by a compulsion to continually modify his earlier works. In the 1740s in particular he systematically dusted off and updated his old keyboard sonatas, concerti, trio sonatas, and obbligato sonatas, all of which bear double dates in the *NV:* the year of original composition and that in which they were *erneuert.* Many of these works were subjected to still further revision during his Hamburg years, as a comparison of Hamburg and Berlin manuscripts shows.

We might well question the reasons for such an elaborate process of revision. Why not merely destroy unwanted juvenilia and start anew? Indeed, given that Bach himself admitted to burning a ream of his compositions,[12] one wonders how many early works he totally discarded, how many appear in no form at all in the *NV.* Those that he did revise must have held some inherent value for him, some potential for excellence. For unpublished works the task of suppressing the unwanted early version was, of course, quite simple, as long as not too many copies had been made and distributed: one merely destroyed the originals, a task at which Bach was (unfortunately) singularly successful.

Occasionally, of course, we can identify what appears to be an earlier version of a work that escaped Bach's conflagrations. Such may well be the case with the sonatina H. 449, for which Helm lists a variant source "without horn parts, varied, and condensed through elimination of the written-out varied repeats."[13] In view of the known revisions of the three published sonatinas, is it not possible that this variant manuscript, although lacking the authority of an autograph, represents the original version instead of a later condensation?

Such may also be the case with a previously unrecognized variant source for the earliest of Bach's trios, the sonata for violin and obbligato keyboard, H. 502. One surviving manuscript of this sonata (D-brd B St. 262) preserves a version radically divergent from other sources that bear Bach's imprimatur. Among the latter is a Vienna manuscript with a title page in Bach's hand, which is virtually identical (even to the details of page layout) to a Brussels copy in the hand of Michel.[14] The Brussels copy, part of

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[12] Bach's letter to J. J. Eschenburg of Braunschweig dated 21 January 1786, in which he refers to having recently burned a ream of old compositions, has been often cited. See, for example, Berg, "C. P. E. Bach's 'Variations' and 'Embellishments'" 168 n. 19.

[13] According to Helm, *Thematic Catalogue,* D-ddr LEm, PM 5216.

[14] A-Wgm XI 36264 and B-Bc 6354. Substantially the same version is also preserved in D-brd B St. 562. The Brussels manuscript is listed as "missing" in Helm, *Thematic Catalogue.* However, manuscript B-Bc 6354 contains copies in Michel's hand of all fifteen sonatas for flute or violin with obbligato keyboard: H. 502–509, 511–15, and 535–36. Helm lists six of these sonatas (H. 502, 503, 512, 513, 535, and 536) as "missing" from this manuscript; one sonata (H. 508) is

a complete set of Bach's trio and obbligato sonatas, comes from the extensive collection of Westphal, who corresponded with Bach during the 1780s and obtained from him (and, after his death, from his widow or daughter) a comprehensive library of his music.[15] Thus the Westphal collection tends to reflect the state of Bach's compositions in the last few years of his life.

According to the *NV*, H. 502 was composed in 1731 and revised ("erneuert") in 1746. The divergent manuscript St. 262 is a rather elegant copy dated 1758—twelve years after the apparent revision date (see figure 1). Nevertheless it is unlikely to represent a second revision. If it did, surely the Brussels copy, dating from the 1780s, would reflect this reading rather than that of the Vienna manuscript, and the *NV* would be unlikely to list the revision date as 1746. Rather, 1758 appears to represent the copying date of a manuscript that may actually preserve the earliest surviving version of H. 502.

If so, how can we explain the manuscript's genesis? The copy was evidently prepared for Wilhelmine Friederike Albertine (1736–63) of Schaumburg-Lippe (see figure 1), the unmarried sister of Philipp Ernst (1723–87, ruler of the region from 1777–87), and second cousin of Count Wilhelm (1724–77), who ruled the area in the year in which the manuscript was copied.[16] In 1750 Emanuel's half-brother, Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach, was appointed chamber musician in Wilhelm's court in Bückeburg. Shortly before this appointment, Wilhelm had visited Potsdam, where he met Emanuel, who was extremely influential in securing the position for his brother.[17] In fact, Emanuel dedicated to Wilhelm two published trio sonatas, composed in 1748–49.[18] Might Wilhelm have acquired a manuscript of H. 502 during his visit to Potsdam, or might J. C. F. Bach have had the manuscript in his possession when he moved to

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listed as being at the Bibliothèque Royale; for three sonatas (H. 506, 507, and 514) no Brussels copy is listed. In spite of this information, all the sonatas are contained in Manuscript 6354. (These works are discussed in my article "C.P.E. Bach's Sonatas for Solo Flute," *Journal of Musicology* 11, no. 2 [Spring 1993]: 203–49. In footnote 43 I noted, following Helm, that H. 508 was not at the conservatory library; in fact, however, it is included in their collection.)

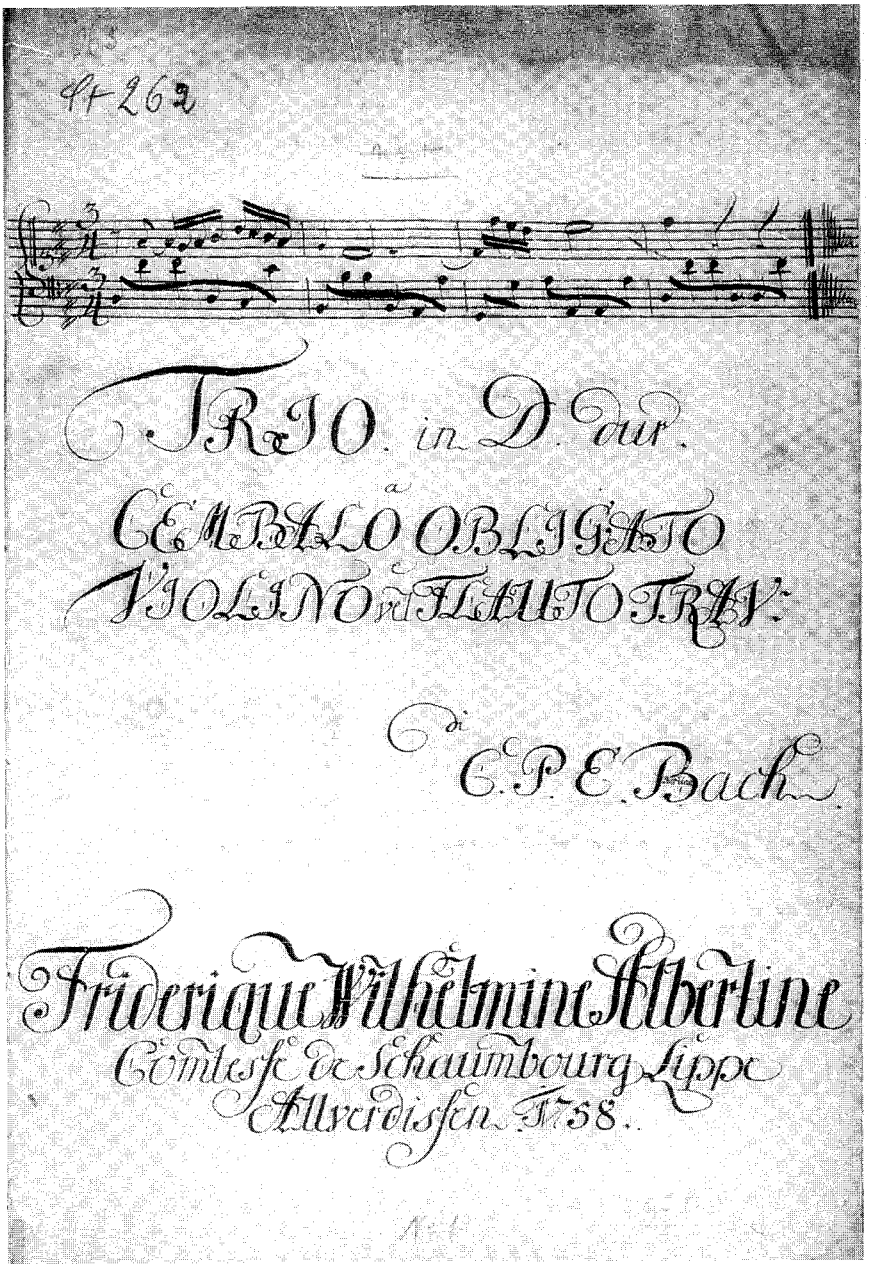
[15] Westphal's manuscript catalog of his collection of C. P. E. Bach works is currently in the Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier (Manuscript Fétis 5218). The collection itself was purchased by Fétis for the Conservatory library.

[16] For information on Friederike, Philipp Ernst, Wilhelm, and the rest of the Schaumburg-Lippe family, see Helge Bei der Wieden, *Schaumburg-Lippische Genealogie* (Bückeburg: Grimme, 1969). Wilhelm reigned from 1748 to 1777. The information on Friederike is found on pp. 34–35.

[17] See, for example, Hannsdieter Wohlfarth, *Johann Christoph Friedrich Bach* (Bern and Munich: Francke Verlag, 1971), 59.

[18] H. 578 and 579, published by Balthasar Schmid, Nuremberg, 1751.

Figure 1. Title page of D-brd St. 262, an alternative version of the sonata for violin and keyboard, H. 502. Reproduced with the permission of the Musikabteilung mit Mendelssohn-Archiv, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.



Bückeburg? However the manuscript reached Bückeburg, it is clear that for some reason a presentation copy was prepared for Friederike in 1758. It would have been a logical year to honor her, in fact, for in June Count Johann Ludwig von Rechteren-Almelo asked for her hand.[19]

St. 262 varies little from the other manuscripts in the first three movements, although it lacks the wealth of French ornaments present in the Brussels copy. The finale, however, is vastly altered: St. 262 contains a "minuet 3" not present in the other sources, as well as substantial variants in minuets 1 and 2 (example 3). When he revised the sonata, Bach apparently abandoned the rather uninspired third minuet.[20] In the first minuet he replaced the jarring interjection of sixteenth-note motion with a more unified rhythmic figuration (see m. 5ff. and parallel places in the second half) and relieved the relentless parallelism between violin and keyboard by introducing a more varied texture (e.g., minuet 1, beginning of the second half). He also reversed the parts, giving the keyboard the upper line, a practice consistent with several of his other obbligato sonatas from the late 1740s (e.g., H. 506 and 507).

If St. 262 reflects the original (or at least an earlier) version of H. 502, it also indicates that Bach at first conceived of the sonata with the option of flute as well as violin (see the title page in figure 1).[21] Indeed, the key is one of the best for the baroque flute and the range stays above d' (the

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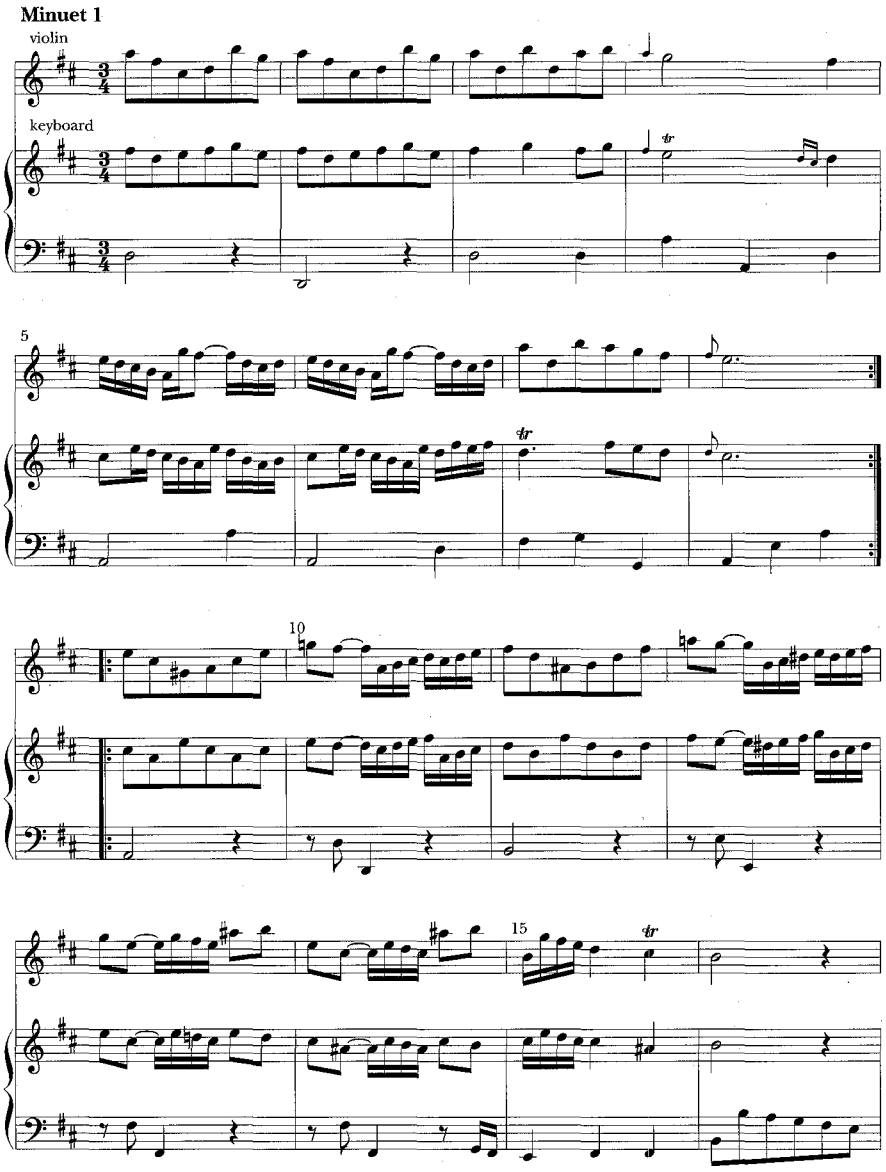
[19] Four months later she turned him down. He subsequently married her sister Juliane. Friederike died unmarried and childless.

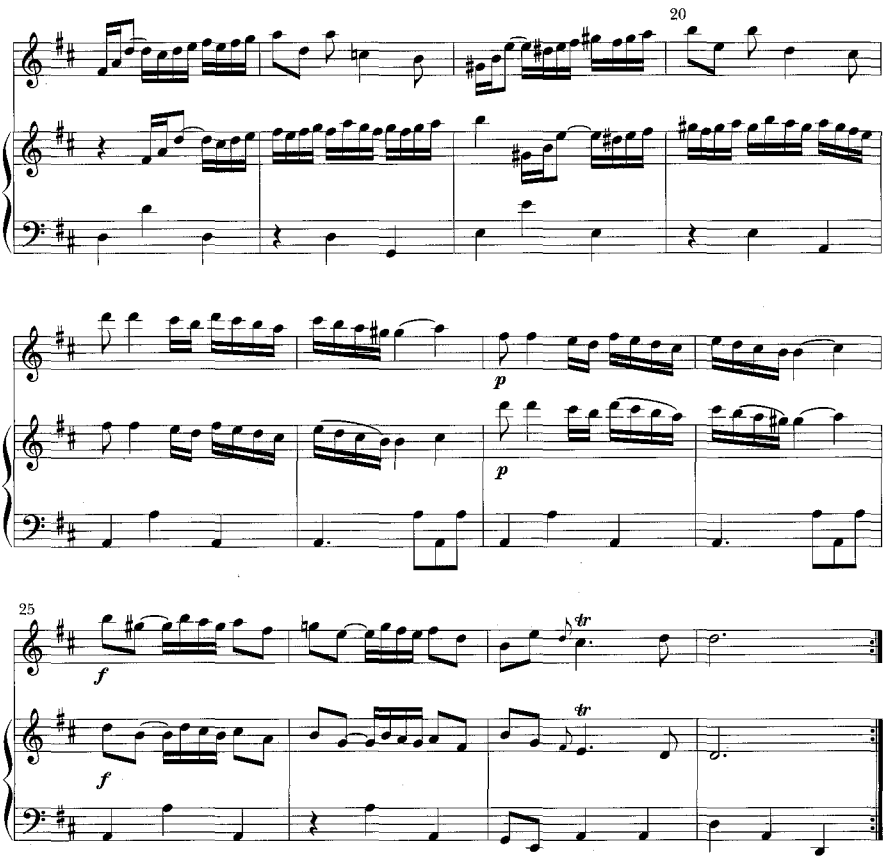
[20] Its opening theme bears some relation to that of the keyboard sonata H. 32.5/I (1743).

[21] The figuration in minuet 1 of H. 502 closely resembles the keyboard figuration in the last movement of the C major flute sonata, BWV1033, also a minuet. This puzzling work, which survives only in a copy by C. P. E. Bach (D-brd B St. 460, ca. 1731, the same year as H. 502!) is scored for flute and continuo except in the first minuet, which, for unexplained reasons, has an obbligato keyboard part. The rudimentary continuo part in this sonata is highly uncharacteristic of J. S. Bach, one factor casting doubt on the work's previous attribution to him. Robert Marshall has postulated that Sebastian composed the work as an unaccompanied flute sonata several years earlier and then assigned Emanuel the task of writing a bass for it ("J.S. Bach's Compositions for Solo Flute," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 32, no. 3 [Fall 1979]: 463–98; revised and reprinted as chapter 12 of *The Music of Johann Sebastian Bach: The Sources, the Style, the Significance* [New York: Schirmer Books, 1989]). If Marshall's hypothesis is correct (and evidence points to it being so), it is not unreasonable to suppose that Emanuel might have also tried his hand at writing an obbligato part for the minuet movement. When he then composed his own sonata for violin (or flute?) and keyboard around the same time, he might well have drawn upon ideas he had explored for BWV1033. (Marshall suggests that J. S. Bach's original flute line was the line now preserved as the keyboard right hand, arguing that the flute part appears to have been derived from the keyboard line (ibid., 205). However, the opposite is equally plausible; i.e., that the present right hand part was derived from the present flute line by filling in the longer notes with diminution.)

Example 3. Sonata for violin/keyboard, H. 502, last movement
a. Version from D-brd B, St. 262



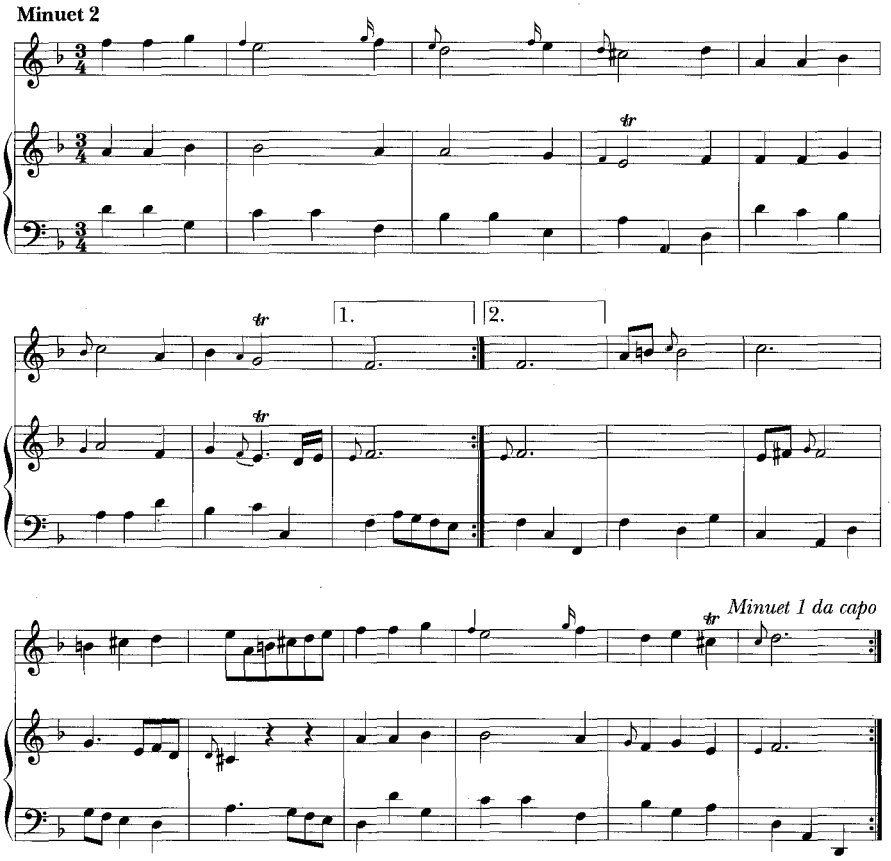
Example 3a (cont.)



flute's lowest note) except, interestingly, in one place in the unique minuet 3 (see example 3a, minuet 3, m. 4). Even this spot does not present much of a problem, however, as the flute's range is easily accommodated by raising most of the measure an octave, as shown in dotted brackets. In other trio sonatas that have the option of flute or violin, Bach indicated such necessary octave transpositions by placing long slurs above the notes in question.[22]

[22] For example, in the G-major Trio Sonata H. 581/583, Bach wrote at the top of the manuscript: "Sonata a 2 Violini e Basso[.] Wenn die 1ste Violin mit der Flöte soll gespielt werden, so müssen die Noten, worüber ein langer Bogen stehet, ein Octav höher gesetzt werden." For a facsimile of the beginning of this manuscript, see Miller, "C.P.E. Bach's Sonatas for Solo Flute," 224.

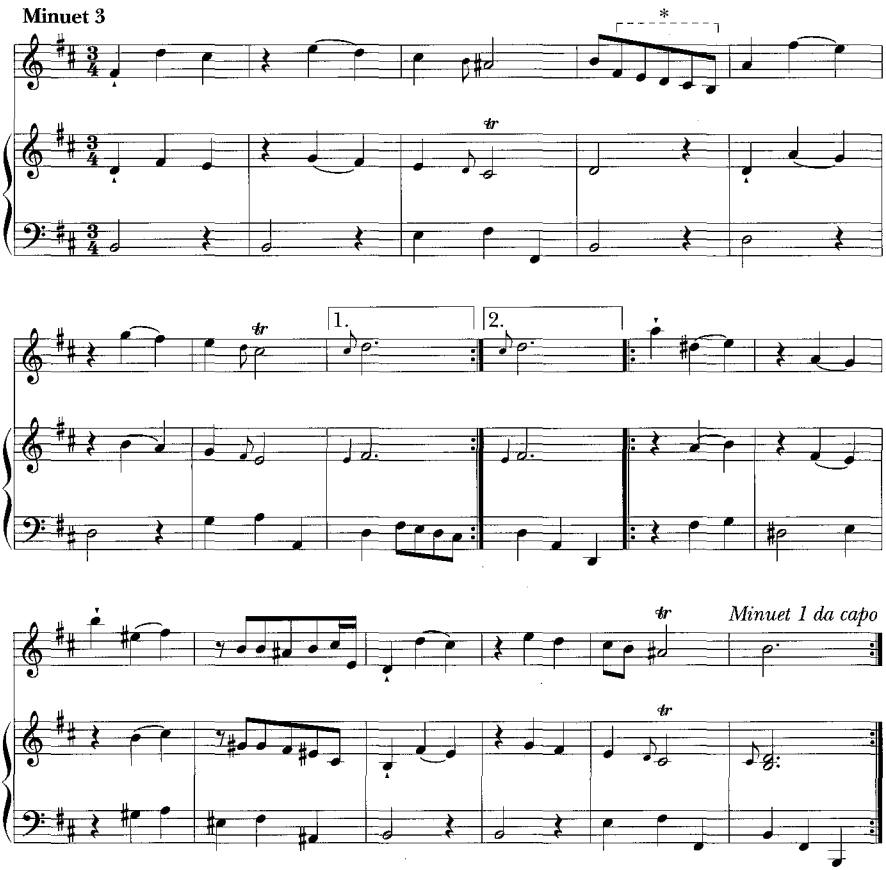
Example 3a (cont.)



There is little doubt that the alterations to the finale of H. 502 were spurred by an attempt to improve the composition. In other cases, however, Bach's motivation may have been less the reparation of flaws or shortcomings than an attempt at modernization or a reconsideration of formal organizational strategies. For the keyboard sonata H. 16, three versions survive (1736, 1744, and a Hamburg revision from the 1770s).[23]

[23] For details on this work and other early keyboard sonatas, see Wolfgang Horn, *Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Frühe Klaviersonaten* (Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung K. D. Wagner, 1988), especially pp. 232–40. Horn speculates that the first movement of H. 16 might have been composed in 1734 and the other two movements added in 1736. In addition to the alterations to the first movement discussed in this article, Bach also made substantial changes to the second and third movements, expanding the early 21-measure *siciliano* to a 32-measure *andante* and rhythmically enlivening the finale.

Example 3a (cont.)



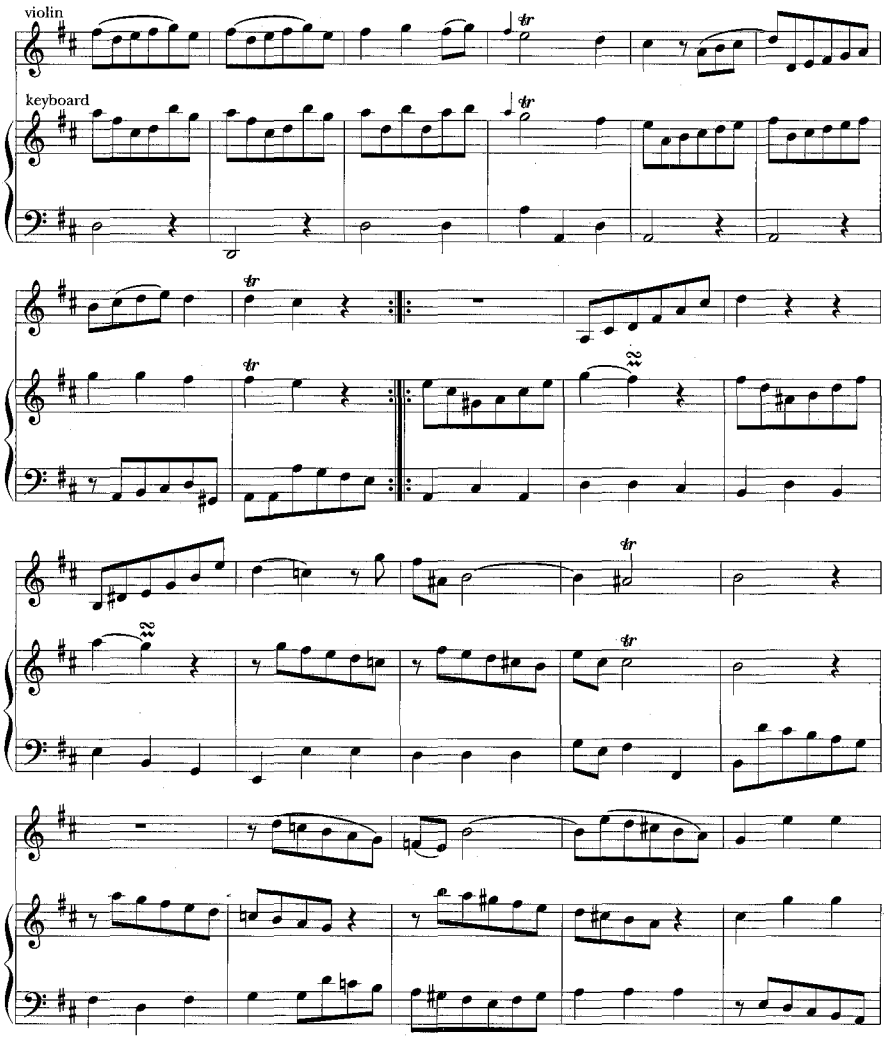
* Phrase in dotted brackets would need to be raised an octave for performance on the flute.

In his first revision Bach reconfigured the first movement's phrase structure to conform to his other compositions from the 1740s (figure 2): four- and eight-measure phrases now predominate in the first reprise and the development has been dramatically prolonged.[24] The Hamburg version adds a brief retransition and an expanded recapitulation.

[24] Similarly, in H. 15, alterations to the finale in Bach's later wavering hand transform an 8 + 12 measure first reprise and an 8 + 10 measure recapitulation into a more balanced 8 +16 measures in both cases. For further information on H. 15, see Berg, "Bachs Umarbeitungen seiner Claviersonaten," *Bach-Jahrbuch* (1988): 123–61. In a recent paper at the American Musicological Society annual meeting in Montreal (1993), Pamela Fox traced the development of Bach's "wavering hand" which resulted from a well-documented hand tremor.

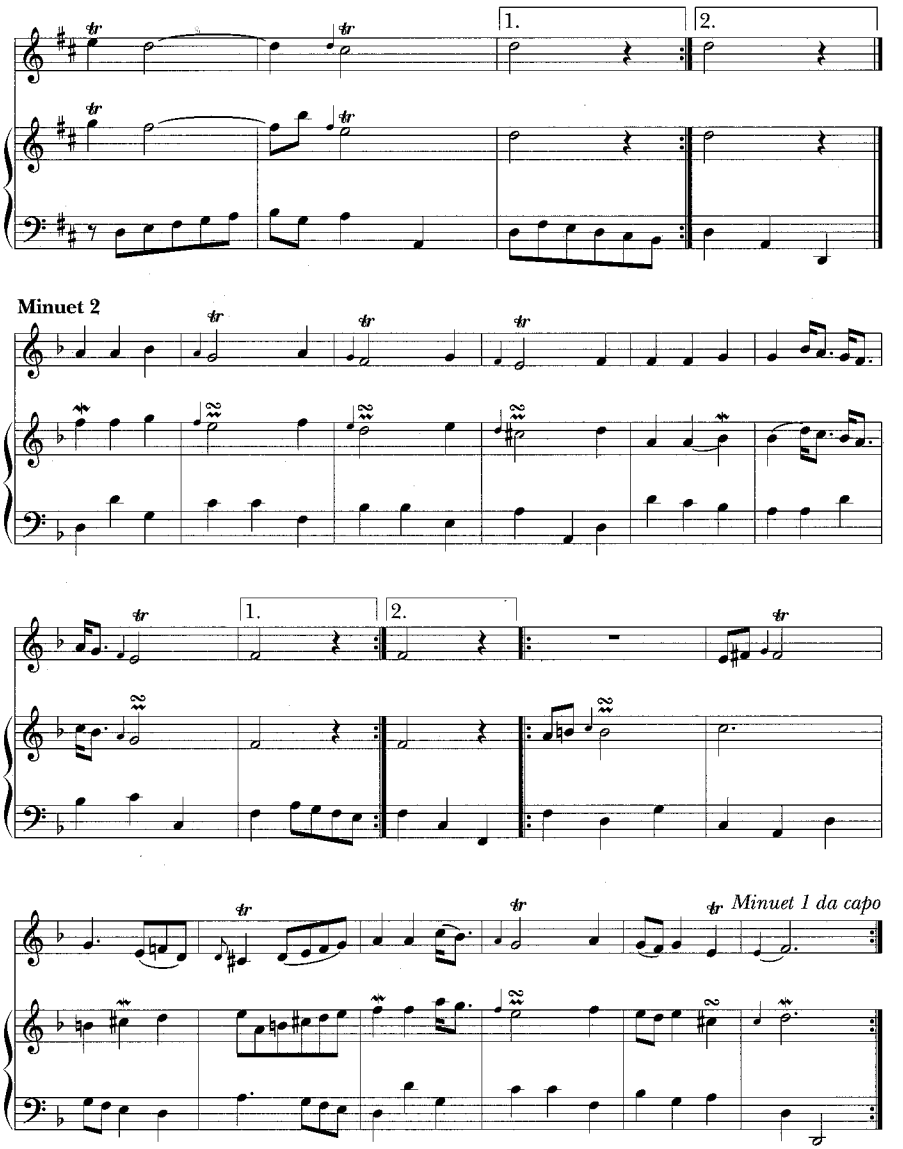
Example 3. Sonata for violin/keyboard, H. 502, last movement
b. Version from A Wgm, XI 36264; B-Bc, 6354; and D-brd B, St. 562

Minuet 1



According to Fox, isolated examples appear as early as the 1740s, but Bach's hand was steadier in the 1750s. The tremor becomes more pronounced after 1765 and there is a decided escalation of the problem after 1775. (Pamela Fox, "Toward a Comprehensive C. P. E. Bach Chronology: *Schriftchronologie* and the Issue of Bach's 'Late Hand.'")

Example 3b (cont.)



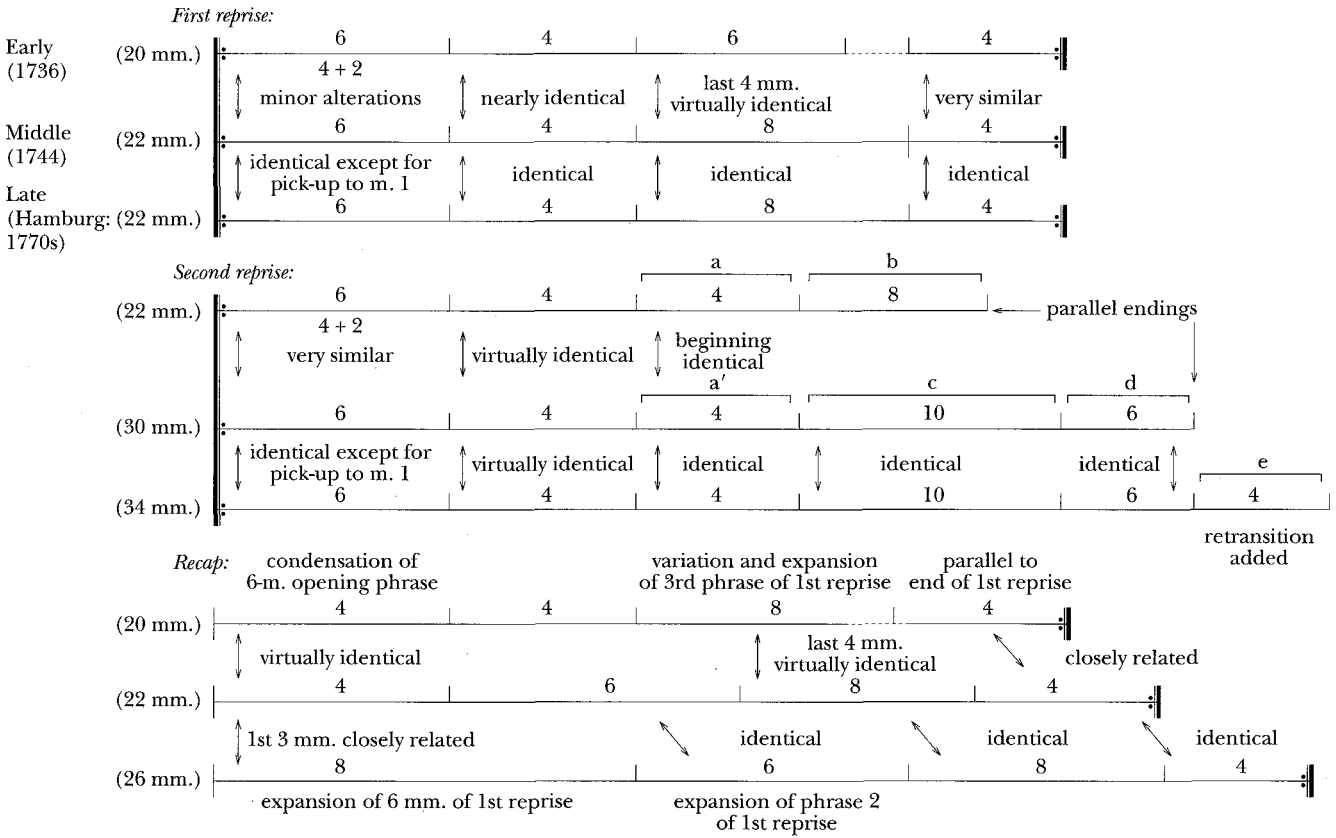
The expansion of the development section, by far the most important alteration to the movement, is effected by the interpolation or substitution of discrete modules, as shown in figure 2. Phrase c is substituted for phrase b, which probably suggested the alteration to the end of phrase a (example 4a). For the 1744 version, phrase d was interpolated between c and the recapituation, echoing at its conclusion the end of the old phrase b (figure 2). A second interpolation, the retransition phrase e, was added in the Hamburg revision (example 4b); its melodic material foreshadows the alteration Bach made to the opening theme, where the rhythmic momentum is increased by the substitution of four descending scalar thirty-seconds for the original two ascending triadic sixteenths.

The development's expansion disrupts the balance of the early version, in which all three sections were virtually the same length (figure 2). Attention is increasingly focussed on the center of the movement, whose inherent instability is reinforced by the rhythmic and harmonic language of the new material (example 4c): the momentum of phrase c builds to a continuous flow of sixteenth-note triplets and a typically Classical half cadence (mm. 45–46), which ushers in an astonishing chromatic divergency marked piano and cut off in midstream by a rest in the right hand and a two-octave downward thrust in the left (mm. 47–48). The language of these interpolated phrases is remarkably Mozartian, particularly in comparison to the Baroque rhetoric of the original version. (Note, for example, the upward resolving appoggiaturas in mm. 39 and 41, the octave leaps in mm. 38 and 40, and the approach to the half cadence in octaves in mm. 45–46.)

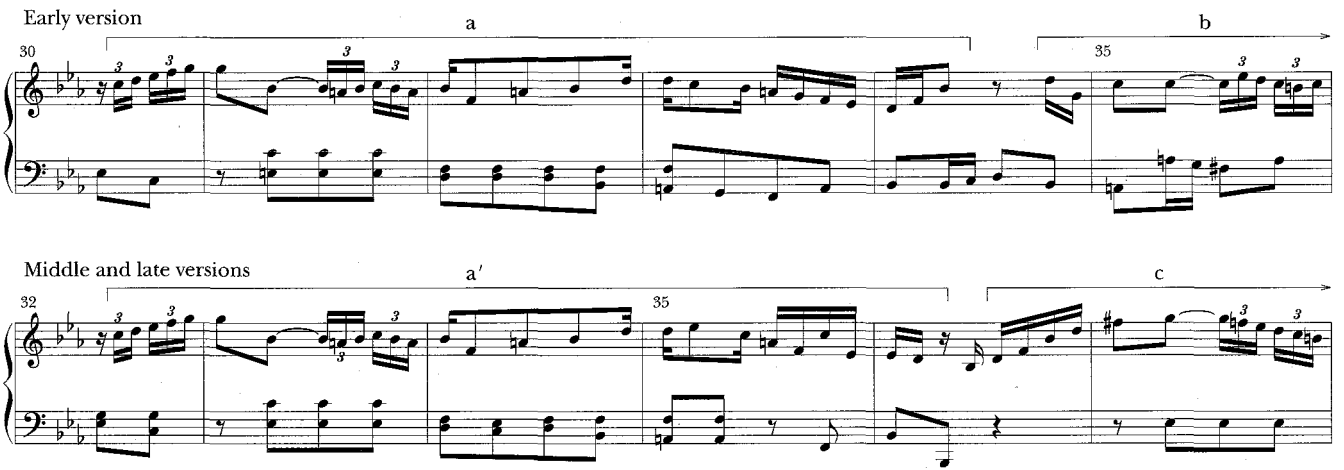
In H. 16 (as in H. 502 and the sonatinas), Bach's alterations were clearly revisionary, designed as replacements. He used the same type of interpolative compositional procedure, however, in works designed specifically as alternatives. Alternative versions are legion in nearly every genre in which Bach composed. Trio sonatas frequently admit multiple performance options, including scoring as obbligato (duo) sonatas. Keyboard concerti were arranged for keyboard solo, while solo keyboard works were orchestrated as "sonatinas" (cembalo concertato, horns, flutes, and strings) or as septets (two clarinets, two flutes, two violins, and bass). And six keyboard concerti survive in equally authentic versions for flute, cello, and/or oboe.

The creation of these alternative versions frequently served as a catalyst for compositional reconsiderations as well. While Bach was probably motivated to make such arrangements by the availability of particular performers or the demands of a particular occasion or patron, the arranging process often generated alterations of a more fundamental nature as well. A case in point is the A major concerto for flute, cello, or keyboard and

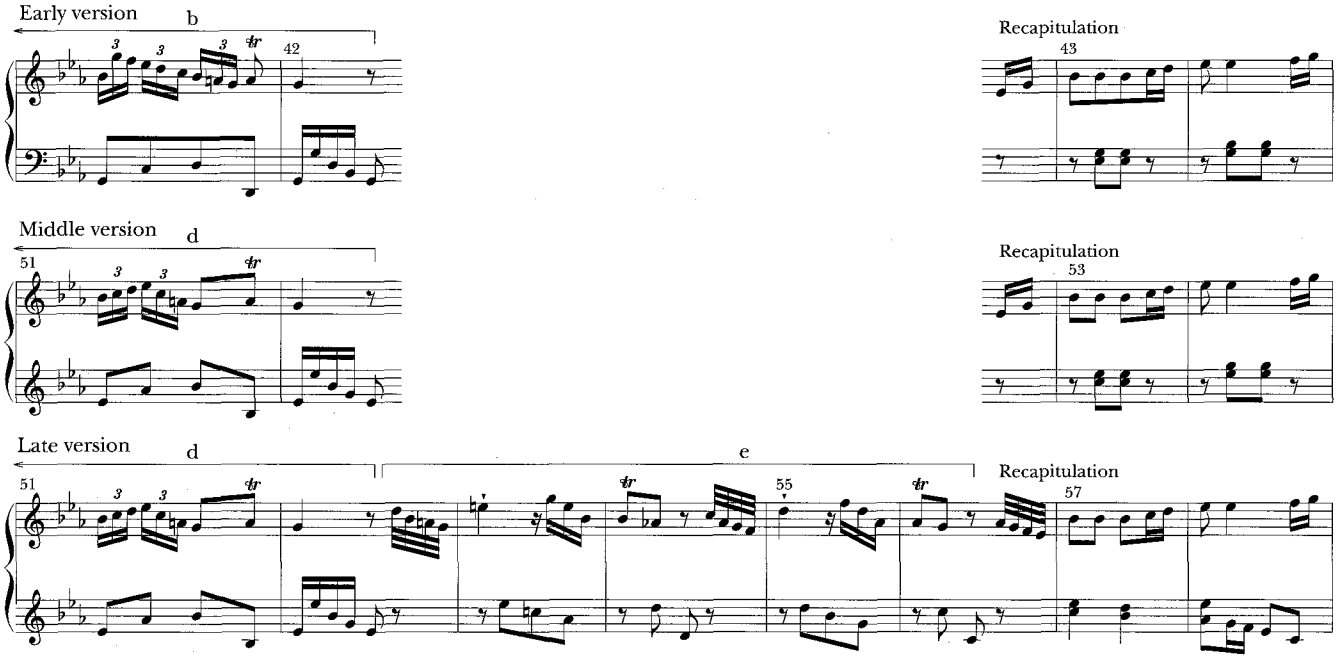
Figure 2. Keyboard sonata, H. 16, mvt. I. Comparison of the phrase structure in early, middle, and late versions



Example 4. Keyboard sonata H. 16, mvt. I
Early version (1736; transcribed from D-brd-B P 368)
Middle version (1744; transcribed from D-ddr-Bds P371 and D-brd-B P775A)
Late version (1770s; transcribed from D-brd-B P775)
a. Phrase a

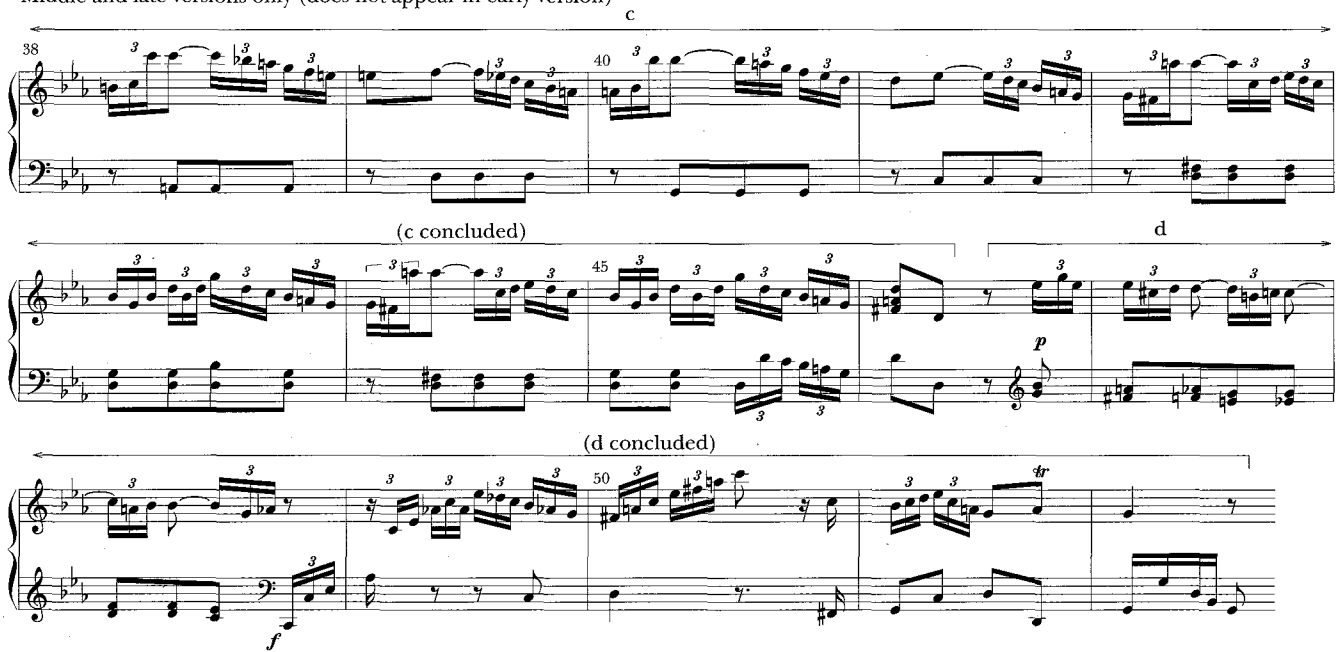


Example 4. Keyboard sonata H. 16, mvt. I
b. Retransitions



Example 4. Keyboard sonata H. 16, mvt. I
c. Phrases c and d

Middle and late versions only (does not appear in early version)



orchestra (H. 437/438/439). Two versions of the keyboard concerto survive: a simpler one in a Library of Congress manuscript, which corresponds more closely to the flute and cello versions of the work, and a more elaborate, clearly later, version in a Brussels copy.[25] The cello and both keyboard versions contain passages not present in the flute version, suggesting that the flute concerto was the original. In the last movement, a twenty-nine measure solo passage identical in the keyboard and flute versions is expanded to thirty-nine measures for the cello. In a later solo section both the earlier and later harpsichord versions contain additional material—four measures of idiomatic keyboard figuration not present in either the flute or cello versions.

Internal evidence suggests that the cello version postdated the earlier keyboard version, for in numerous places the early keyboard version follows the flute version while the cello version is altered.[26] It appears, then, that Bach first composed the flute version, following it with the simpler keyboard version, in which he inserted, among other changes, an extra four-measure module in the finale. When he later composed the cello version, he abandoned those four measures of keyboard figuration but drastically revised and extended another section of the last movement. Finally—possibly during his Hamburg years—he returned to his keyboard concerto to add more virtuosic figuration.[27]

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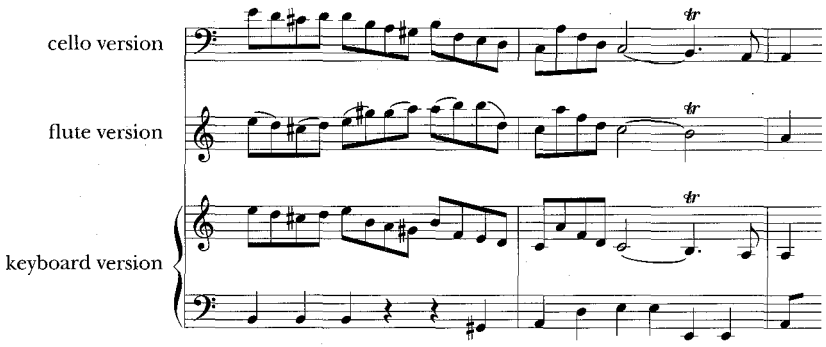
[25] Variants are found only in the first and third movements. My thanks to Jane Stevens for sharing unpublished research on this concerto.

[26] For example, in movement 3, mm. 81–85 and 253–58. Furthermore, of the two interpolations in the finale, the cello insertion appears to be later than the keyboard one, for Bach not only expanded the section in question but also revised its entire harmonic underpinning: the orchestral parts as well as the solo part are rewritten, harmonies are prolonged, an ascending chromatic bass line is extended, and a pedal point is expanded. Though conceivable, it is hard to imagine that after altering and intensifying the flute version so radically to create the cello version Bach would return to his original scheme for the harpsichord version.

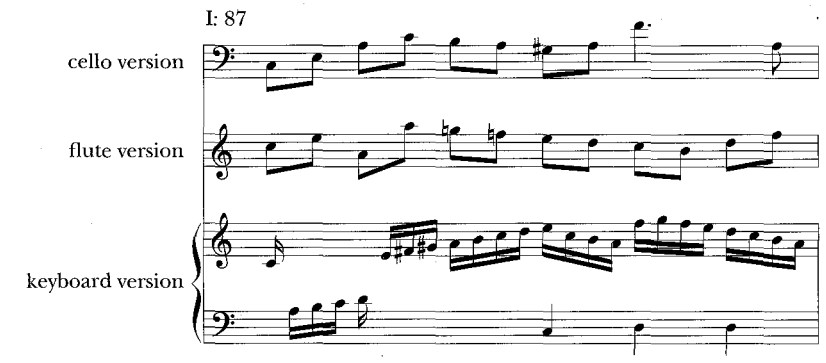
[27] The B♭ Major Concerto H. 434/435/436, which also survives in versions for flute, cello, or keyboard, may have undergone similar expansion. The cello concerto is preserved in a clean copy by Michel in the Brussels library (Bc 5633) in a version which corresponds closely to the flute and keyboard concerti. However, two early-twentieth-century prints preserve a version quite different from that shown in the Michel copy. One print is decidedly unreliable: the Klengel edition of 1931. The version presented by Walter Schulz, however (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Härtel, 1938), appears to be more authoritative. Unfortunately, neither edition cites its source. In places where the two editions disagree, the Schulz version seems to reflect a more authentic reading (e.g., in movement I: 150, Klengel shows virtuosic triple stops in the solo part while Schulz shows the soloist doubling the violins). However, for several crucial variants from the Brussels manuscript, the two versions are in full agreement. One notable instance occurs in two separate passages in the finale, where a two-measure figure in the other versions consistently appears as a single measure in these published

Alterations in other concerti for keyboard, flute, or cello were naturally occasioned by the capabilities of particular instruments, as in example 5a from the A minor concerto (H. 430/431/432); here the upward thrust of the flute line in measure 201, beat 2, seems to have been dictated by the instrument's range: Bach clearly needed to raise the flute line an octave in the next measure so that the cadential passage would not dip below the instrument's lowest note (d′).

Example 5. Concerto in A minor for flute, cello or keyboard (H. 430/431/432)
a. I: 201–203

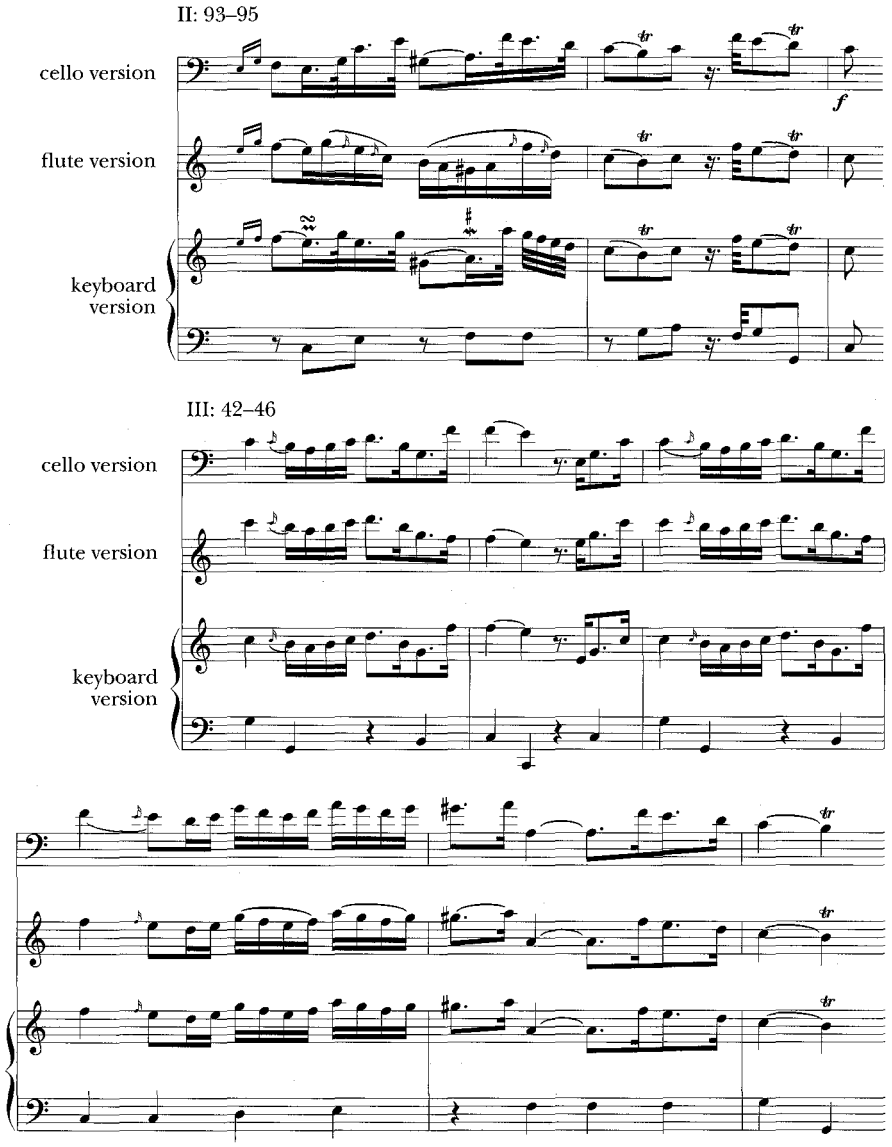


b.



cello editions; that is, alternate measures are excised. While it is possible that the editors altered the concerto, the excision of every other measure in both publications seems an unlikely editorial decision. The reduction makes the phrase less dramatic and the cello part less virtuosic (precisely the opposite motivation from what one might expect in an early-twentieth-century edition). Instead it appears possible that the editors were working from an exemplar of the cello concerto which, like many of Bach's manuscripts, is now lost or in private hands. If so, then it appears that there was a variant earlier version of the cello concerto, which Bach subsequently expanded by interpolation.

Example 5b (cont.)



Such alterations can provide essential indicators of filiation where evidence is otherwise lacking. Example 5b, for instance, suggests that the flute version of the A minor concerto may have postdated either the cello or the keyboard version (or both). Indeed, if one postulates for the mo-

ment that the flute version was a later arrangement, a number of variants can be explained as responses to the demands of the instrument. Those in the flute line in example 5b allow the performer to conveniently avoid leaping to or holding the instrument's rather unresponsive high f'''. Furthermore, if the flute were to follow the shape of the cello line in II: 93, thus rising to its highest octave, it would be forced, at the end of measure 94, into the unsatisfactory d'''–e''' trill (which is extremely narrow). By the same token, if the flute followed the cello/keyboard in III: 42 and III: 44, leaping to the upper octave, measures 45–46 would become extremely awkward.[28] Unlike H. 16 and H. 502, Bach's motivation in these concerti was clearly to provide alternatives rather than replacements. In the process, however, he made compositional revisions at times dictated by the capabilities of the new medium and at times reflective of his own stylistic evolution.

In other cases, Bach adopted a revision as part of a new composition without in any way rejecting the older one. The earlier work (with which he was apparently satisfied) was neither suppressed nor arranged. Instead it was transformed or excerpted to form the basis for a new, quite independent, yet related work. Prime examples of this process are two flute/continuo sonatas from 1746–47, H. 560 and 561. As table 1 shows, Bach's enthusiasm for the flute/continuo medium cooled soon after his appointment to Frederick the Great's court in 1738, leaving a six-year hiatus in which he composed no works in this genre. His interest in the solo flute sonata was rekindled in the late 1740s, however—the very same period in which he was busy revising six early trio sonatas for flute, violin, and continuo.[29] It is hardly surprising that when he again began composing flute *soli* he would draw upon movements from his earlier flute sonatas for inspiration.

Nor is it surprising that the first sonata he chose to transform was H. 552 in B♭ major, an attractive yet somewhat awkward work because of its key, low tessitura, and passages of rapid articulated notes in the low octave. The first two movements of H. 560 are new, but the finale is an adaptation, in close to its original form, of the last movement of H. 552. The two sonatas are listed independently in the *NV* with no reference to a relationship between them.

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[28] Elias N. Kulukundis has discussed the priority of versions of these concerti in a series of unpublished papers, among them "Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach: Concerto in A Minor; Priority of Versions," in which he reaches a different conclusion. I am very grateful to the author for sending me his papers as well as copies of the manuscripts of several of these concertos.

[29] I discuss possible causes for the hiatus in Bach's production of flute sonatas as well as for the renewal of his interest in the instrument in the late 1740s in my article "C.P.E. Bach's Sonatas for Solo Flute," 211–12.

Table 1
C.P.E. Bach's Sonatas for Solo Flute

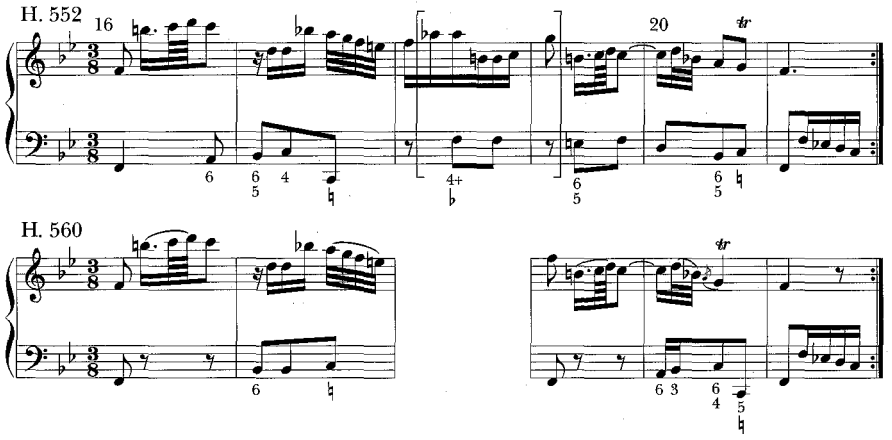
Sonata	Date	Scoring	Key	Alternate Versions
1735–37, Frankfurt:				
H. 550	1735	fl/continuo	G maj.	—
H. 551	1737	fl/continuo	E min.	—
1738–40, Berlin:				
H. 552	1738	fl/continuo	B♭ maj.	—
H. 553	1738	fl/continuo	D maj.	—
H. 554	1739	fl/continuo	G maj.	—
H. 555	1740	fl/continuo	A min.	—
H. 556	1740	fl/continuo	D maj.	—
H. 548*	undated	fl/continuo	G maj.	—
1746–47, Berlin:				
H. 560	1746	fl/continuo	B♭ maj.	*Last movement is a transformation of the finale of H. 552*
H. 561	1747	fl/continuo	D maj.	*Second movement is a transformation of the second movement of H. 556* *Last movement is based on H. 556 and H. 558 (a gamba sonata)*
H. 562	1747	fl alone	A min.	—
1747–49, Postdam:				
H. 505	1747	fl/obbl. keybd	D maj.	fl/vn/cont (H. 575)
H. 578	1748	fl/obbl. keybd	B♭ maj.	fl/vn/cont; vn/keybd
H. 506	1749	fl/obbl. keybd	E maj.	2 fl/cont (H. 580)
1754–55, Berlin:				
H. 508	1754	fl/obbl. keybd	G maj.	fl/vn/cont (H. 581) 2 vn/cont (H. 583)
H. 509	1755	fl/obbl. keybd	G maj.	fl/vn/cont (H. 586)
1766, Berlin:				
H. 515	1766	fl/obbl. keybd	C maj.	—
1786, Hamburg:				
H. 564	1786	fl/continuo	G maj.	—

* For a discussion of the dating of H. 548, see Miller, "C.P.E. Bach's Sonatas for Solo Flute," *Journal of Musicology* II, no. 2 (spring 1993): 228–30.

The first reprises of the two movements are nearly identical, except for the contraction of an 8 + 13 measure pattern in H. 552 to a more balanced 8 + 12 pattern in H. 560 (figure 3).[30] The omitted measure, a little diversion to the minor mode shown in brackets in example 6a, is a typical Emanuel Bach parenthetical interpolation. Here, as in many of Bach's early works, the irregular phrase structure of H. 552 seems to have arisen from a symmetrical structure that has been distorted by an insertion that could conceivably be simply lifted out of the composition (a process I have referred to elsewhere as "structural ornamentation" and have shown to be related to Bach's own instructions for composing fantasies in his *Versuch*).[31] In fact, the portion in brackets in H. 552 could be totally bypassed without destroying the harmonic or melodic flow of the passage. Bach did just that in his revision for H. 560.[32]

Alterations to the development section parallel the type of revisions he made to the keyboard sonata H. 16: the central section of the movement is expanded from twenty-three measures to thirty by an asymmetric insertion (seven measures) including a virtuosic passage of thirty-second notes (example 6b), which is then followed by a new retransition. As in H. 16, he

Example 6a. Sonatas for flute and continuo, H. 552 (1738) and H. 560 (1746) (transcribed from B-Bc 5517 [H. 560] and 5518 [H. 552])



[30] It is also interesting to recall, in this regard, the first minuet of H. 502 (revised in 1746, see example 4) which appears to have been regularized in its revision from 𝄆 8 𝄇 12 + 8 𝄇 to 𝄆 8 𝄇 8 + 8 𝄇.

[31] Leta Miller, "Structural Ornamentation in C.P.E. Bach's Sonatas for Flute and Continuo," in *The Creative Process*, Studies in the History of Music, vol. 3 (New York: Broude, 1992), 107–28.

[32] A similar excision may have been made in the trio sonata H. 573. The autograph shows an extra measure near the end of the finale, which has been crossed out. The addition of this excised measure extends an eight-measure phrase to nine.

Example 6b. End of the development sections

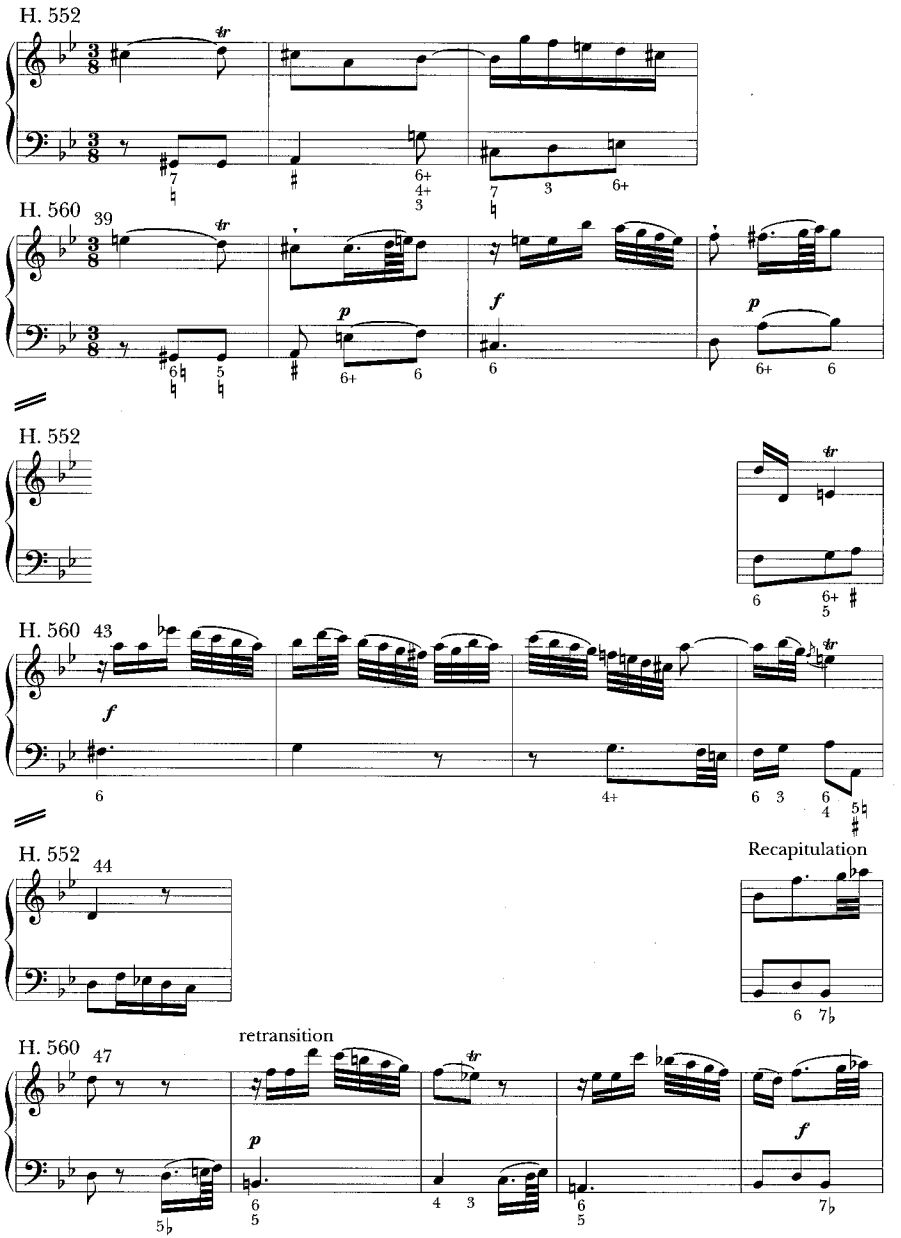
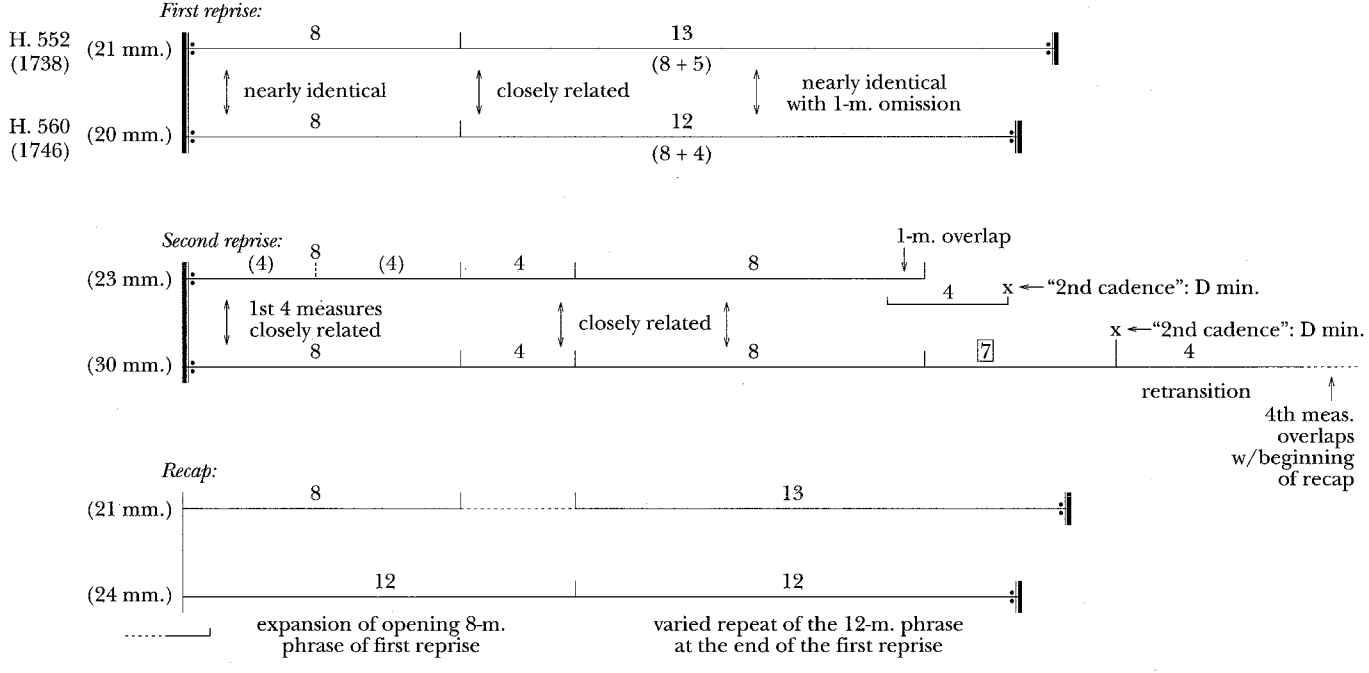


Figure 3. Sonatas for flute and continuo, H. 552 and H. 560, mvt. III: Comparison of the phrase structures



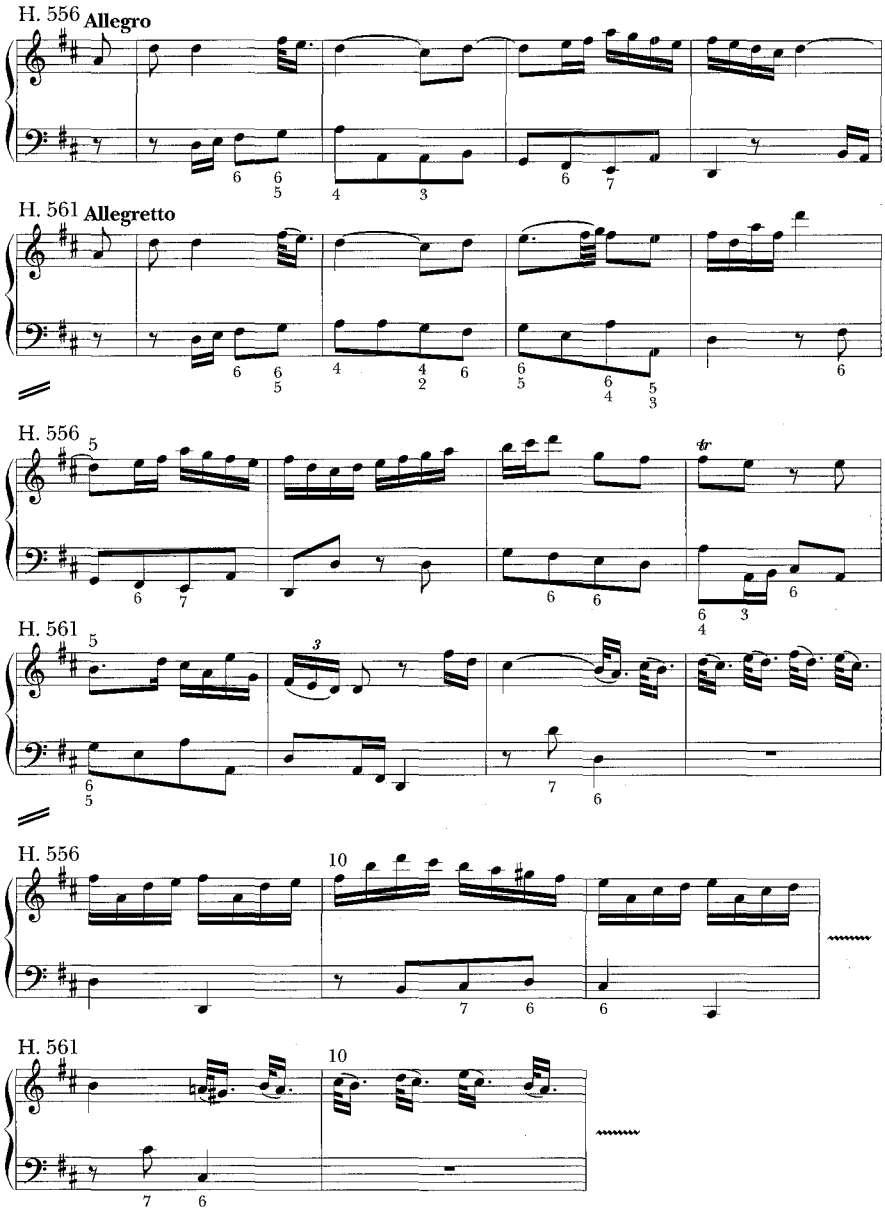
"irregularized" the phrase structure and strengthened the arrival of the second cadence by rhythmic acceleration, structural asymmetry, and harmonic instability. While he removed a parenthetical insertion from the first reprise, he added one—and an extended one at that—to the development.

While the second flute/continuo sonata from this period (H. 561) also draws from previous *soli,* it is, at the same time, more independent from its models. As in H. 560, Bach composed a new opening slow movement. For the middle movement he transformed the central movement of H. 556 (1740), retaining only the beginning and ending of each half (figure 4 and example 7, the first two measures and the last six measures). The old-fashioned *Fortspinnung* of H. 556 is replaced by a more *à la mode* Lombard motive (m. 9ff.); but at the same time, Bach retained a basic compositional strategy of the earlier sonata: the use of a distinctive second theme that begins in the minor dominant and ends in the major dominant (m. 19ff.). As in H. 560, the later work has a more regularized first reprise (the unbalanced 8 + 10 + 8 + 6 pattern of H. 556 becomes 6 + 12 + 6 + 6; see figure 4), a development section highlighting an irregular seven-measure phrase immediately before the second cadence, and a somewhat longer retransition, which preserves the melodic and harmonic outlines of its model during its first ten measures, but replaces the earlier sonata's awkward ending (example 8).

The finale of H. 561 draws its opening theme directly from the gamba sonata H. 558 (1745), but also may have been inspired by the finale of the same sonata from which it derived its second movement, H. 556 (example 9a). The playful opening motive of H. 556 suggests the anachronistic, if apt, image of an old car stuttering on a cold morning, twice stalling before reaching the first corner (a half cadence) where it fails yet a third time. The opening of the gamba sonata tells much the same story: the stall is yet more abrupt (a one-measure rather than a two-measure motive) but is counterbalanced by connecting passages in the bass. In H. 561 the humorous effect is enhanced by sharpening the triplets to a dotted rhythm and imitating the total silences of H. 556. But the biggest stall is yet to come: in m. 16 of H. 556 the ensemble encounters a major obstacle (an augmented sixth chord), which prompts a startled silence (example 9b). In H. 558 Bach tried a written-out ritard to achieve a similar effect (note that mm. 31–32 are really just an expansion of an expected quarter-eighth rhythm). By H. 561 the retardation has been embellished with fermatas and the silence of H. 556 reestablished.

In this discussion of the finales of H. 552/560 (which are virtually identical for much of the movement), the central movements of H. 556/561 (in which only the beginning and ending of each half is identical),

Example 7. Sonatas for flute and continuo, H. 556 (1740) and H. 561 (1747), mvt. II (transcribed from B-Bc 5517)



Example 7 (cont.)

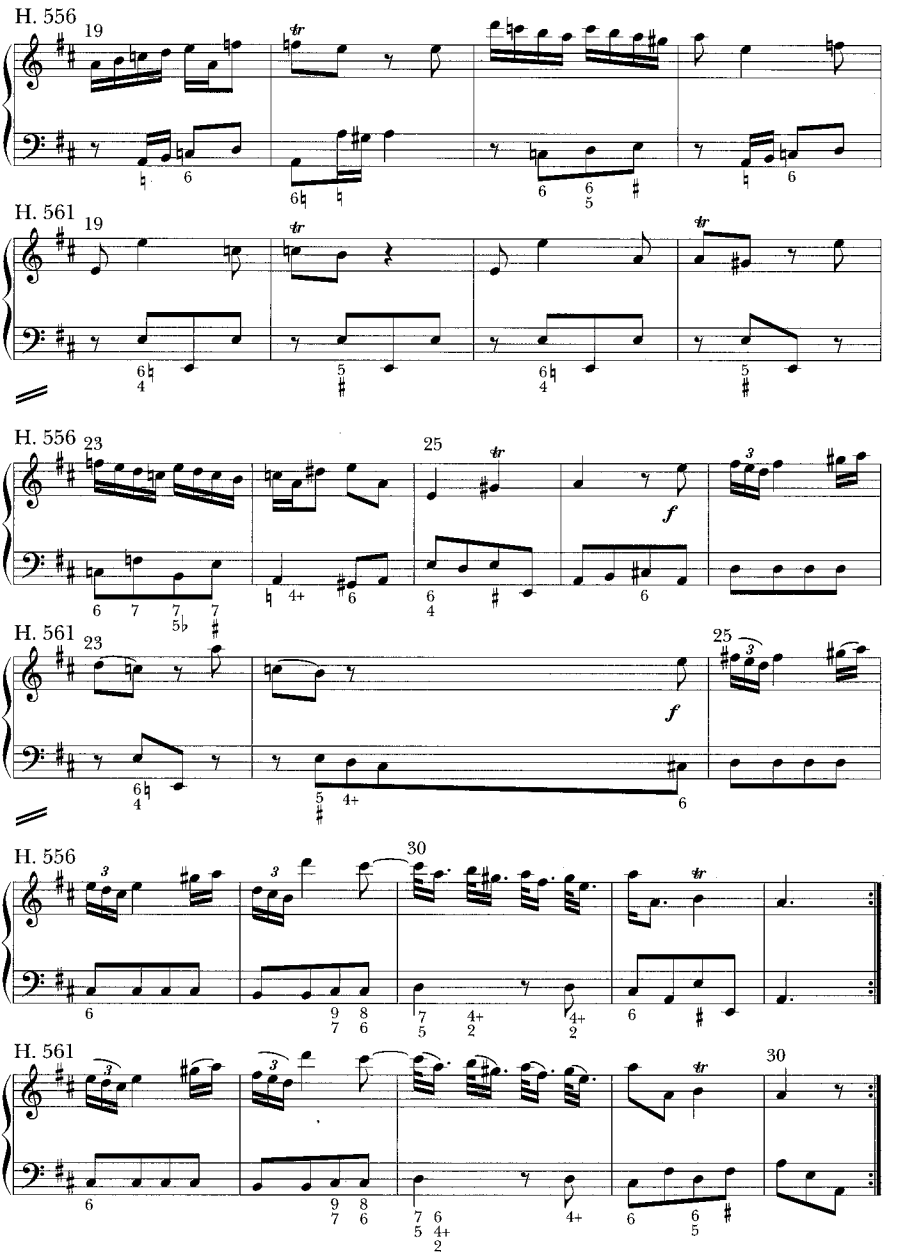
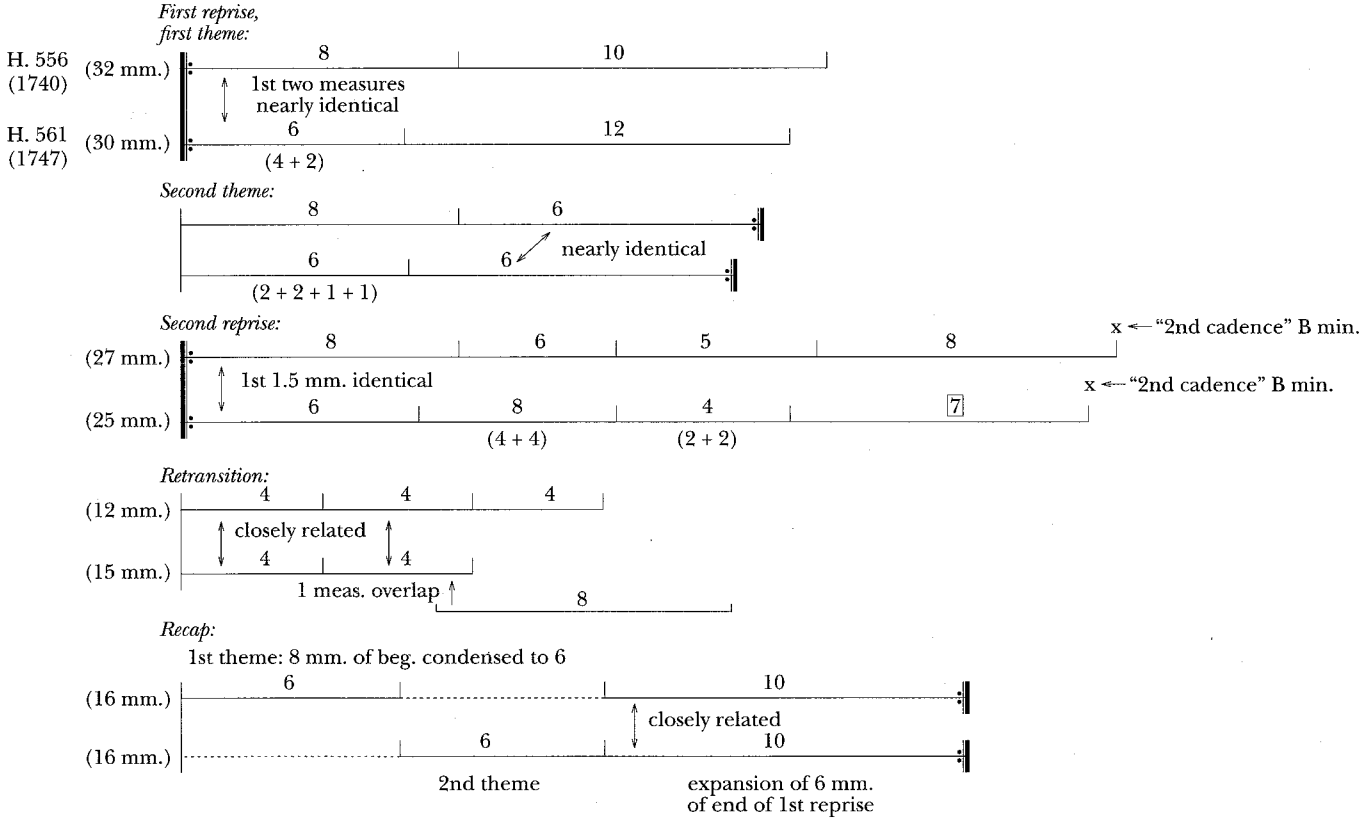
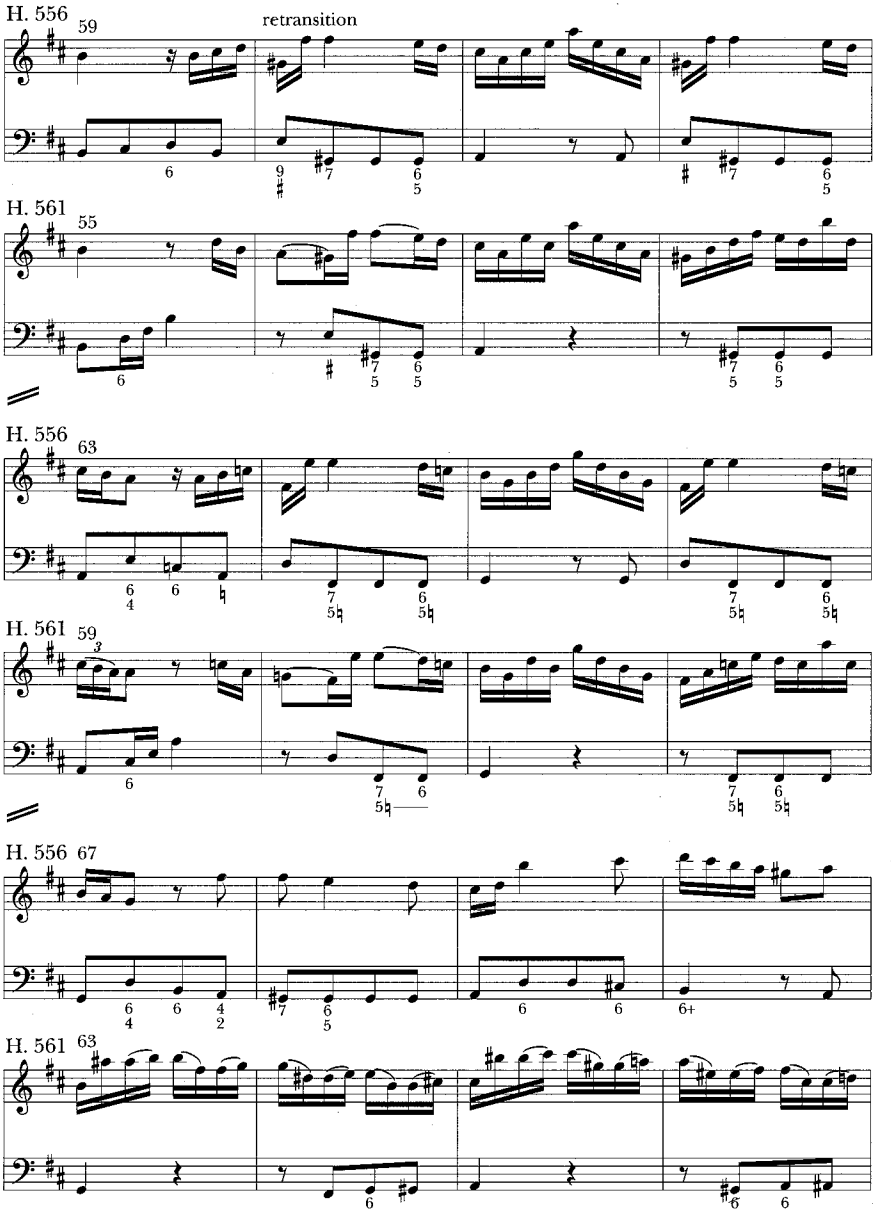


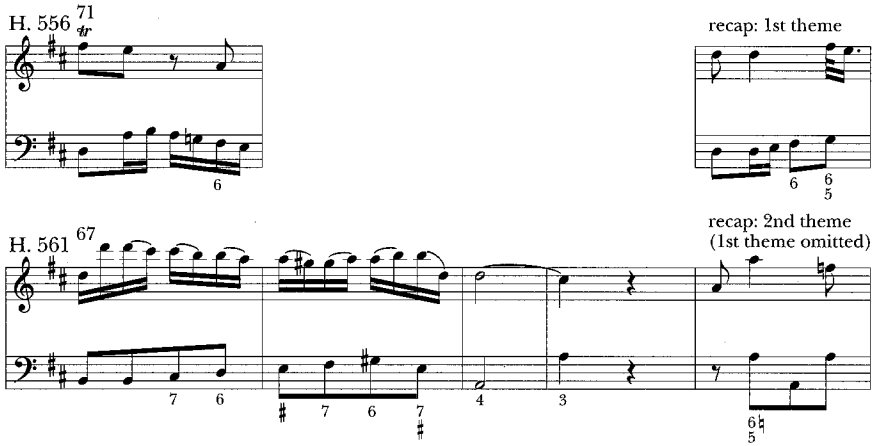
Figure 4. Sonatas for flute and continuo, H. 556 and 561, mvt. II: Comparison of the phrase sturtures



Example 8. Sonatas for flute and continuo, H. 556 and H. 561 (1747), mvt. II: retransitions

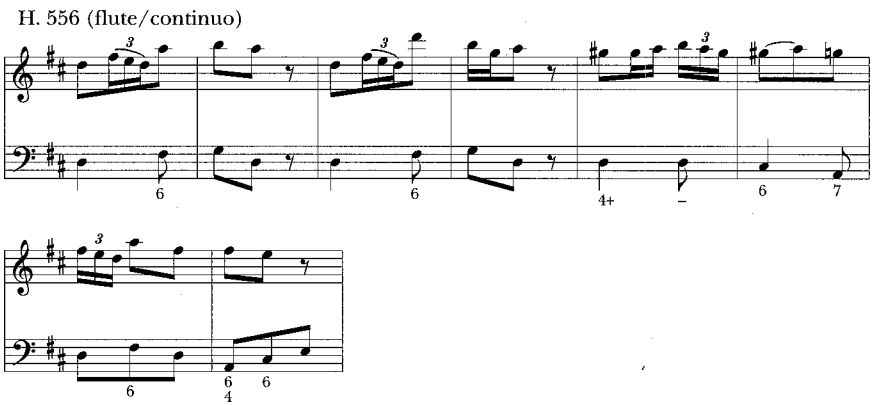


Example 8 (cont.)



Example 9. Sonatas for flute and continuo, H. 556 and H. 561 and sonata for viola da gamba and continuo, H. 558, mvt. III. (transcribed from B-Bc 5517 and 5634)

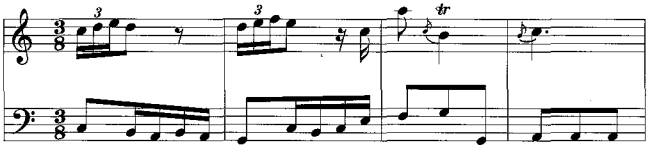
a. Opening phrases



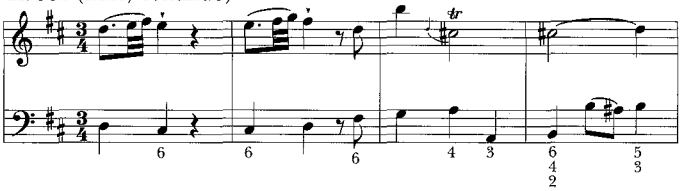
and the finales of H. 558/561 (in which only the main theme, which appears at the opening of both halves and the recapitulation, is adopted), we have clearly moved from a case of revision to one of "thematic reference." Here, of course, the question of dependency becomes increasingly tenuous. Are the perceived relationships conscious or merely fortuitous? The answer, of course, depends on the length of the quotation, the degree of similarity between the versions, and the distinctiveness of the motives themselves. Certain figurations, such as the opening of H. 561 mvt. III, for instance, crop up repeatedly (example 10). Not surprisingly, similar resemblances can be found throughout Bach's oeuvre.

Example 9a (cont.)

H. 558 (viola da gamba/continuo)

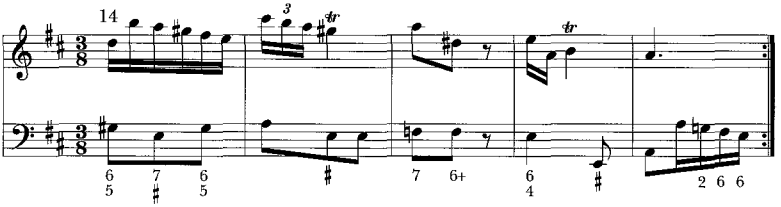


H. 561 (flute/continuo)

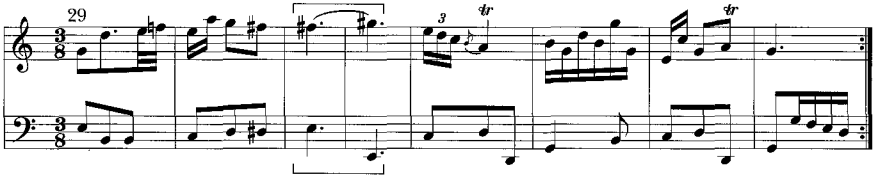


Example 9b. Endings of the first reprise

H. 556 (flute/continuo)

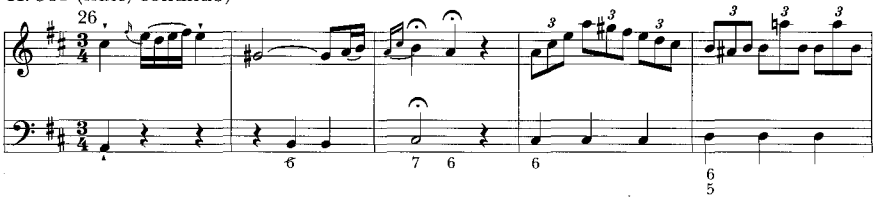


H. 558 (viola da gamba/continuo)



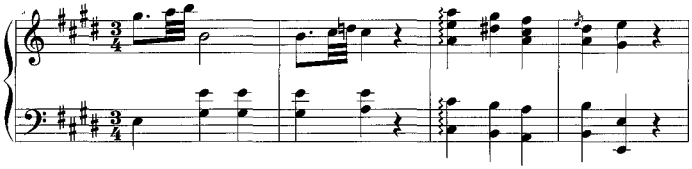
* A written-out retardation of the expected single measure ♩ ♪,
which expands an eight-measure pharse to nine.

H. 561 (flute/continuo)

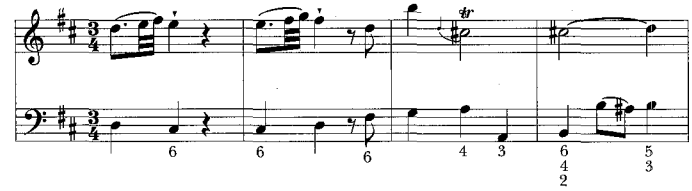


Example 10. Variants on the theme of H. 561, mvt. III

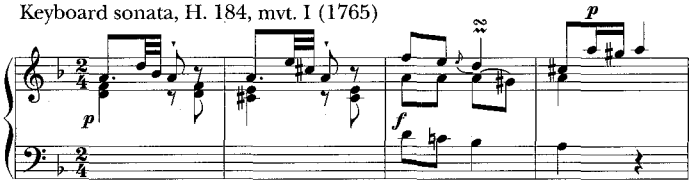
Keyboard sonata, H. 39, mvt. III (1744)



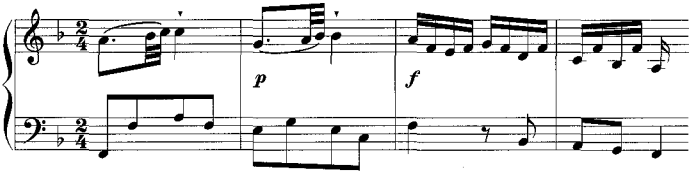
Sonata for flute/continuo, H. 561, mvt. III (1747)



Keyboard sonata, H. 184, mvt. I (1765)



Keyboard sonata, H. 240, mvt. I (1769)



* * *

Bach's assertion that he had "made [his] three published sonatinas much better and more brilliant" is hardly surprising: we might expect most composers, given a choice near the end of their lives, to endorse the revised version of a particular work, even in cases in which they also admitted the viability of earlier compositional solutions. From the composer's point of view, the authority of revisionary alterations may supersede even an accurate and authorized print that received special attention as it was readied for publication. As we have seen, the fact of publication hardly forecloses the possibility of future revision, although it admittedly makes the task more difficult.

The revision process may even generate several alternatives that in the composer's view are equally viable. A case in point is the keyboard sonata H. 150 from Bach's *Fortsetzung von Sechs Sonaten fürs Clavier* (a sequel to the *Reprisen-Sonaten* but without varied reprises). The sonata underwent two revisions after publication (example 11).[33] The first (H. 156) reads like Bach's earlier published varied reprises: the harmonic underpinning and formal structure remained unchanged, while the melody underwent elaborate alteration. The second revision (H. 157) is a more radical departure from H. 150, although the movement is the same length and the cadential points occur in the same places. Both revisions are preserved in clean Michel copies prepared in Hamburg; there is no reason to believe that Bach rejected his first alteration in favor of the second one. He seems, in fact, to have produced, through revision, two authoritative alternatives.

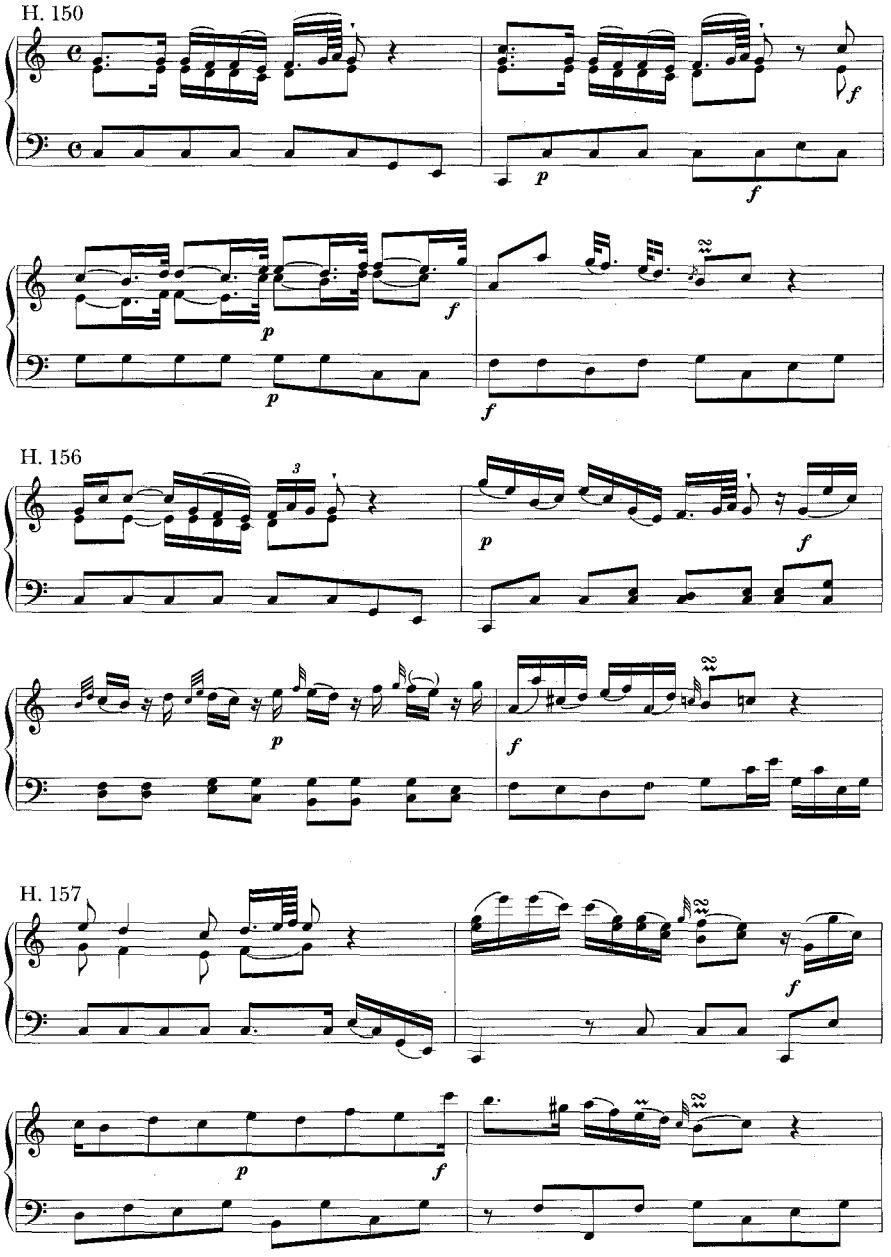
By the same token, the preparation of an alternative version—though presumably designed by the composer as an equally viable option to the original—may serve as a catalyst for more fundamental changes that create a quite different composition. The new alternative might even constitute an "improvement" in the composer's (or audience's) opinion even though it does not invalidate the original.

With the existence of so many alternative renditions of Bach's works, we need to question the possibility of arriving at *any* "authoritative version" from the viewpoint of either the editior or the performer. The search for such an "authoritative version" would obviously weigh in favor of composer preference. But even in cases in which it is possible to ascertain such preference, can we count on the composer in all instances to be the best judge of his/her own compositions? Can we assume, in fact, that future generations will necessarily concur with the composer's judgment of revisionary alterations? The new varied reprises in Bach's sonatinas, with their virtuoso keyboard displays, surely made the works "more brilliant," and the addition of horns to the ensemble rendered them more up-to-date, perhaps even more fashionable; but whether they are really "better," as Bach asserts, or whether they merely reflect a later reconsideration of the genre is far less clear.

More importantly, should we be searching for an "authoritative version" in the first place or is such a search predicated on an unwarranted

[33] The *NV* notes: "No. 119 . . . ist die 1ste Sonate der 1sten Fortsetzung der Reprisen-Sonaten. Diese Sonate ist nachhero 2 mal durchaus verändert," 16.

Example 11. Keyboard sonata, H. 150, mvt. I and its two later revisions, H. 156 and 157 (transcribed from *Fortsetzung von sechs Sonaten* . . . Winter, 1761 [H. 150], D-brd-B P776 [H. 156 and 157])



belief in the inviolability of a work of art as a "finished" product?[34] In fact, the commitment to finding a single acceptable (or even preferred) version throws us immediately into an unresolvable dilemma. To accept the original version—even for published works—not only ignores the composer's later reconsiderations but also elevates the initial conception to a position of unwarranted authority. To suppress it in favor of a later version, however, is to obscure the compositional process. By doing so, we might even bury a masterful work the composer eschewed as outmoded or unfashionable, but that later generations would prize as equally (or even more) valuable than the newer form. Clearly the latest version of any of Bach's compositions is merely that: the latest version on a continuum of constant alteration. Though in his view it may be the most "authoritative" version, potentially it, too, might have been subjected to further alteration had he lived a few years longer. In the face of these conflicting considerations, modern scholars and performers are best served by an editor who clearly presents the alternatives and reserves evaluation for the prefatory material.

The problem is even more vexing for performers. To what extent does Bach's facile revision and alteration process give us license to alter his scores in performance? Half of the trio sonatas survive in authorized duo versions (the keyboardist taking on one of the solo lines); do these existing duo versions provide authority for arranging the remaining trio sonatas in the same way? Indeed many surviving unauthorized manuscripts from the period do just that. By the same token, shouldn't flutists feel free to play H. 502 even though Bach apparently reconsidered the flute/violin alternative in his later revision?

More problematically, if modern performers were truly to imitate Bach's models for "varying the reprises" in his keyboard sonatas, the result would be alterations far more extensive than contemporary players customarily hazard in performance, much less in recordings. Bach's didactic *Veränderungen* admit considerably more flexibility than we are wont to apply. Indeed, these models, which provide (presumably unimaginative) performers "the satisfaction of adding alterations to the pieces they perform," invite us to partake actively in a collaborative role with the composer.

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[34] The situation is even more problematic in the case of Bach's vocal works, particularly those from his Hamburg period. Many of the larger compositions from this period are actually "pasticcios" including movements borrowed from other composers as well as reworkings of his own older compositions. Here the question arises as to whether the works should even be included in a "C. P. E. Bach edition" at all; but that is the subject for another article.

At the same time, however, there is the downside risk of burying Bach's intentions under those of our own invention. Bach was surely aware of this danger; nevertheless he chose to publish his variation models. In an era in which the concept of a fixed unalterable text did not exist, Bach could only hope to provide *Veränderungen* so successful that they would discourage those of shallow technical showmen, whom he derisively likened to "trained birds." Although his varied reprises were models, they were also statements of what he considered the best type of alteration. As he himself notes in the *Versuch,* "many variants of melodies introduced by executants in the belief that they honor a piece actually occurred to the composer, who, however, selected and wrote down the original because he considered it the best of its kind."[35]

ABSTRACT

C. P. E. Bach was seemingly obsessed by a compulsion to rework his compositions, devising either replacements or alternatives for earlier versions—categories that prove to be far from discrete. This article explores the function of such "recompositions," citing examples from instrumental genres in which he wrote.

In cases of intended replacement, Bach made a concerted effort to destroy earlier versions, an effort that unfortunately proved highly successful, for few of them survive. Occasionally, however, a stray copy escaped Bach's conflagrations, such as a formerly unidentified variant of his earliest "trio," the violin and keyboard sonata H. 502. At times Bach's motivation appears to have been improvement; at other times it was apparently modernization, as in the keyboard sonata H. 16, which he successively altered by interpolating distinct modules at crucial points. Even publication did not prevent revision, as changes to his sonatinas or *Reprisen-Sonaten* show. In such cases, it may be difficult to determine which version Bach himself would have preferred.

The creation of alternative versions often served as a catalyst for compositional changes of a more fundamental nature, as in the concerti for flute, cello, or keyboard and orchestra. In still other cases, Bach incorporated sections of early compositions into later works without rejecting former compositional solutions. The same interpolative process seen in the sonata H. 16 frequently appears in these alternative versions as well.

[35] Quoted from the translation by William Mitchell: C. P. E. Bach, *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (New York: Norton, 1949), 165.

In weighing the validity of alternate versions, the composer's preferences clearly constitute one factor, but not necesarily the deciding one. The latest version (though probably Bach's preference) is merely one stage on a continuum of change, itself subject to invalidation. Finally, the extent of Bach's revisions/alterations/variations should make us take a new look at the role of the performer as collaborator in the compositional process.

The Russian Submediant in the Nineteenth Century*

By Mark DeVoto

> Can one speak of specifically Russian harmony, as distinct from German, Italian or French harmony? . . . Russian art-music grew up under peculiar conditions, partially isolated from contemporary Western music, mainly in the hands of composers who were (for good or ill) amateurs, closely linked with a folk-music marked by various tonal peculiarities. . . . Apart altogether from the fact that Russian musicians have always shown a peculiar intellectual interest in what we may call the curiosities of harmony and that two or three of them have been revolutionary innovators, it is hardly surprising that the harmonic style of the Russian school in general, and of the "mighty handful" in particular, bears an unmistakable stamp of what we may as well call "nationality."

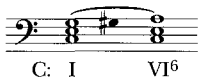
Thus begins the final chapter, "The Evolution of Russian Harmony," of Gerald Abraham's *On Russian Music* (1939).[1] The quotation is a muted recognition that the music of Glinka and his successors possesses "national" harmonic individualities; few writers, however, have attempted to identify these individualities since Abraham thus made a tentative beginning. The present essay is another such attempt, limited to a single tonal function but exploring its many ramifications. This is the relationship of submediant to tonic, or in the larger sense of relative major and minor. Russian harmony significantly increases the importance of the submediant function in a major-mode context, by emphasizing the sixth degree as an adjunct harmonic factor to the tonic triad, and by promoting the submediant as an alternative tonal focus to the tonic function, even by merging the relative major and minor into a single superkey with two tonics. So important is this evolved submediant function that it becomes the basis of a prominent stylistic mannerism, even a distinguishing characteristic, in the works of Tchaikovsky and the Five (particularly Balakirev and Borodin). We can see this mannerism, which I call the Russian sixth, first emerging as an individual phenomenon in Glinka and Dargomizhsky,

* This essay derives from a paper first presented at a meeting of the New England Chapter of the American Musicological Society in September 1991 at the University of Lowell. In expanding it for publication I have benefited considerably from discussions with interested colleagues, and wish to mention especially David Cohen, Leo Kraft, Emily Snyder Laugesen, Lewis Lockwood, Karen Painter, Joel Sheveloff, Anne Swartz, and Richard Taruskin.

[1] Gerald Abraham, *On Russian Music* (New York and London: Scribners, 1939), 255–56.

later achieving full flower in Tchaikovsky and the Five, and eventually moving into Western Europe by the 1890s, at the same time that it disappears from Russia.

Example 1: Prototypical progression



1. Tonal and Modal Harmony

In the Western diatonic system the relationship of relative major and minor is as basic and intrinsic as the same key signature that is used for both; at the same time, it goes much further than mere notation or theoretical construct. (Even the notation of key signatures requires that the leading tone of the relative minor has to be indicated by an additional inflectional sign, and often this is necessary for the sixth degree as well.) The association of relative major and minor as a resource of tonality and form has been validated by more than three centuries of tonal music ever since the late sixteenth century. Its intrinsic importance was recognized early by several theorists, but we need only cite here Rameau: "[O]ne may conclude that a great relationship exists between these two systems [G major and E descending minor]. Likewise, it is only from this relationship that the liberty which we have to pass back and forth from the major mode to the minor mode is born."[2]

For a concise and elementary illustration we may look to J. S. Bach's chorale harmonizations (example 2), crowning examples of the German Baroque chorale, which reveal numerous instances where tonal functions are guided by various modal characteristics of the older cantus firmi, and where tonal functions, even those reinforced by secondary dominants, may be unexpected; in many instances, when the primary tonality is minor, the strongest secondary tonal function is the relative major.

Two analyses are shown, one modulating, the other identifying secondary functions. The relative minor and major tonic functions (or, alternatively, the tonic and mediant) are strengthened by their preceding dominants. Notwithstanding that relative minor and major appear within the same phrase, this is unmistakably tonal harmony, of a kind that is completely characteristic of Western styles throughout the period of common practice.

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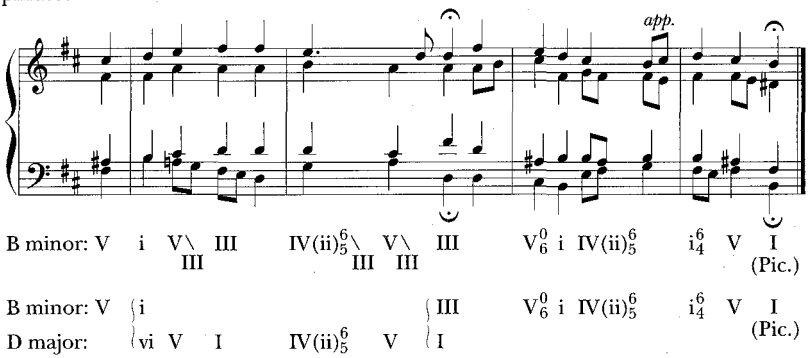
[2] Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Nouveau système de musique théorique et pratique,* 1726; the citation here is from B. Glenn Chandler, *Rameau's "Nouveau système de musique théorique": An Annotated Translation With Commentary* (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana University, 1975). I am grateful to David Cohen for pointing out this particularly appropriate source to me.

Example 2: Bach: Chorale no. 62, "Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten," (1724) last two phrases



By the time of the flowering of the classical sonata form in the minor mode, the same relationship expands to include the assurance of the relative major for the second key area of the exposition, in nearly all cases. Two things are primarily significant about this result. First, the reverse association does not occur; in chorales in the major mode, the relative minor is not tonicized disproportionately to other secondary functions, not more often, say, than V or II; nor does a sonata form in C major proceed to A minor for its second theme. Second, secondary tonicizations require secondary dominants.

From time to time one encounters an example of music in which there is an actual balanced oscillation between relative major and minor by means of intervening applied dominants, and in which one perceives an effortless interchange between the two keys, Rameau's "[passing] back and forth from the major mode to the minor mode." This is what Jan LaRue meant when he wrote, using a visual analogy in a well-known essay about what he called *bifocal tonality* in Baroque music: "In each case the secondary tonality, though partly out of focus, is still very much in view, and only the slightest inflection is required to change the focus."[3] The two phrases of the Bach chorale cited above show this in miniature. A more extended but tonally no more complex example would be the final section (following the A major section) of the second movement of Schubert's

[3] Jan LaRue, "Bifocal Tonality: An Explanation for Ambiguous Baroque Cadences," in *Essays on Music in Honor of Archibald Thompson Davison, by his Associates,* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957), 182.

"Great" C major Symphony; A minor is the stronger tonality, for structural reasons, but the C major is only slightly less important.[4]

Modal harmony is a term that is often used but seldom precisely defined. The early Baroque chorales are often said to exhibit both modal and tonal harmony, and a modal origin is often offered as an explanation of diatonic deviations from tonal harmony within common practice; for instance, the beginning of the finale of Beethoven's Opus 59 no. 2 String Quartet and the beginning of the slow movement of Brahms's Fourth Symphony are sometimes cited as related instances of Phrygian inflection of a tonal E minor. Diatonic scale patterns resembling the classical descriptions of the church modes, and harmony to fit them, begin to appear with increasing prominence in Western music after about 1850, at the same time that the harmony of Wagner and Liszt and their followers becomes increasingly enriched by chromaticism. Without dismissing their accomplishments in chromatic harmony, we will focus here on the modal harmony of the nineteenth-century Russians, and attempt to arrive at a definition of modal harmony that is practical enough to describe their music but that can also be extended to the modal harmony of their successors in Western Europe.

We begin here in a relatively restricted way by defining *modal progression* as any progression involving a modal-degree function (III, VI, and sometimes II) without an applied dominant. Modal harmony, then, is harmony in which modal progressions are particularly prominent, and in which dominant or secondary-dominant functions are de-emphasized. This definition may seem too simple, to be sure, but it does cover a lot of late nineteenth-century harmonic phenomena.

In Russian modal harmony, the association of relative major and minor is more important than any other modal relationship. Uniting the two domains is the sixth degree of the major scale itself. It functions as the root of VI, the third of IV, and the fifth of II. All of its other unitonal functions are dissonant: the upper neighbor of the fifth of the tonic triad, for instance, or the ninth in dominant harmony. We shall see that all of these functions are exploited in Russian harmony in such a way as to give unusual prominence to the sixth degree as a kind of "strange attractor," as a momentary tonal focus within the larger major-mode context.

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[4] A less familiar but equally convincing example is the final "Alleluia" chorus of Bach's Cantata no. 142, "Uns ist ein Kind geboren," a work which may be not by Bach but by Johann Kuhnau. In the 41 measures of this chorus, the principal A minor shifts to C major and back five times; the only harmonies used in the entire movement are A minor and C major and their dominants, and—just three times—D minor, as II of C and IV of A minor.

2. The Natural Minor Mode, Folksong, and the Pentatonic Scale

It is a truism that the melodic inspiration of Russian art music depends heavily on Russian folksong. (Even if it were not true, in this century it necessarily has been claimed as true for political reasons.[5]) We have the testimony of the greatest Russian composers, including the specific examples they pointed to in writing about their own works. The point here is not to determine the extent to which Russian composers' adoption of folk melody accurately reflects an authentic folk practice or tradition, but rather to consider how folk melodies were handled in their works.

There are many different published collections of Russian folk melodies available to the researcher, some of them going back to before the nineteenth century. Rimsky-Korsakov published a collection of one hundred Russian folksongs with texts (op. 24, 1875–76), providing his own harmonizations, as did Tchaikovsky, who arranged fifty, without texts (1868–69).[6] One assumes that neither composer attempted to transcribe or recreate an authentic style of folk harmony reflective of Russian peasant sources, but that their motivation was instead a practical one: to make the melodies available in a form suitable for everyday use, as for instance for singing in the home or at school.

We have space here for only a brief examination of the relationship of Russian folksong melody to the harmonic individualities of Tchaikovsky and the Five. But even without amplification, some things should be mentioned. Both Tchaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov, in the harmonizations in their folksong collections, made abundant use of a more pronounced modal harmony than normally appears in their more familiar music, such as their symphonic works. This modal harmony often is grounded in the natural minor scale and avoids leading-tone inflections. Most important, the structure of any particular melody most often guides the modal harmony, particularly at cadential points. It is probably not an exaggeration to say that many Russian folk melodies map onto the diatonic major and natural minor scales with equal ease; in Rimsky-Korsakov's collections, at least one-fifth of the total lend themselves to this description. César Cui, in a famous essay first published in Paris in 1878,[7] went so far as to say:

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[5] See, for instance, the resolution of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party, 10 February 1948, and documents emanating from a meeting of Soviet composers in Moscow, 17–26 February 1948, as cited in Nicolas Slonimsky, *Music Since 1900,* 3d ed. (New York: Coleman-Ross, 1949), 684–709.

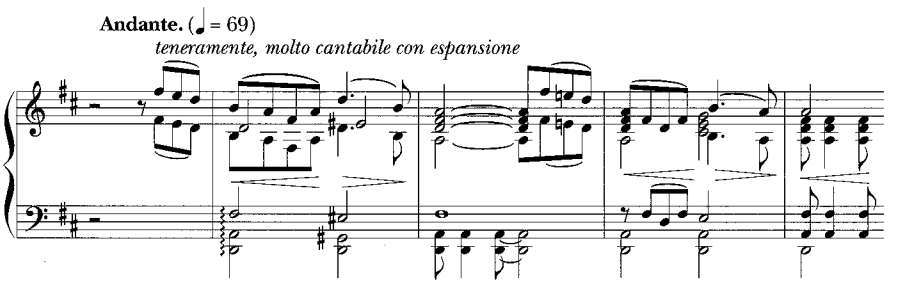
[6] Rimsky-Korsakov Complete Edition, vol. 47; Tchaikovsky Complete Edition, vol. 61.

[7] César Cui, "La Musique en Russie," *Revue et Gazette musicale* 45, no. 19 (12 May 1878): 146.

> The Russian folksong imperiously demands an original harmonization and a very special art of modulation. First, it is rare to come on a song the melody of which can be treated entirely in one of the two modes, major or minor; most often, even if it spans but a few measures, it passes from the minor to its relative major and vice versa. These changes, generally unexpected, are almost always of a striking and sympathetic effect.[8]

Some Russian folk melodies can be categorized even more simply as essentially pentatonic, and this property has important echoes in Russian art music. The pentatonic scale is really a kind of Occam's razor for the associated relative major and minor; only two triads can be formed from it, namely those related as relative major and minor. We normally think of the pentatonic scale in connection with ethnic melodies of the Far East and the British Isles; yet the melos of much Russian music is marked by it, even when the supporting harmony is fully diatonic or more (Chopin's "Black Key" Etude, though hardly a Russian piece, can be cited as an instance of a diatonic left-hand harmonization for an entirely black-key, or pentatonic, right-hand part). For a familiar example, we need look no farther than the most famous melody of Tchaikovsky's *Pathétique* Symphony, which is entirely pentatonic in its first two phrases (example 3); its characteristic sound, and perhaps no small part of its languorous sadness, comes not from the chromatic richness of its accompaniment, which in Western common-practice terms is entirely conventional, but from the exposure and attraction of the appoggiatura major sixth degree.

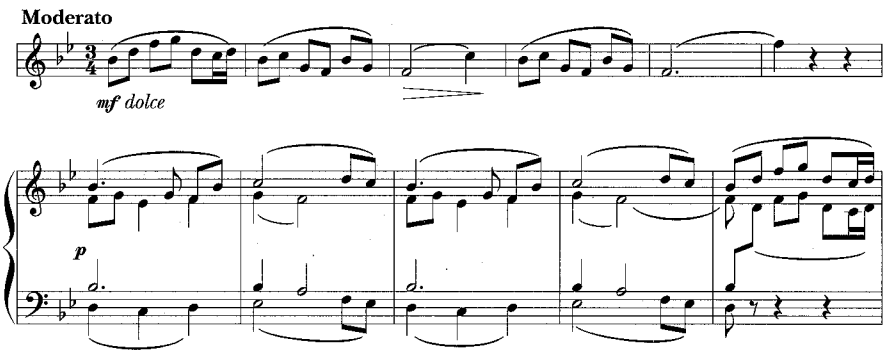
Example 3: Tchaikovsky: Symphony no. 6 ("Pathétique"), I (1893)



[8] Translation cited from Sam Morgenstern, *Composers on Music: An Anthology of Writings from Palestrina to Copland* (New York: Pantheon, 1956), 220–23.

An even more striking example is this one from Borodin's Third Symphony (example 4):

Example 4: Borodin: Symphony no. 3, II (Trio) (1882–87)



The full melody of 25 bars has only two notes from outside the B♭ pentatonic scale, and it is remarkable how this scale has successfully and unobtrusively blended with the completely diatonic harmonization that supports it. The sixth degree here is hardly more than an upper neighbor to the fifth in tonic harmony, but it is a naturally contiguous scale degree in a pentatonic melody which is itself left for several measures without any added harmonization.[9]

3. Pairing the Relative Major and Minor

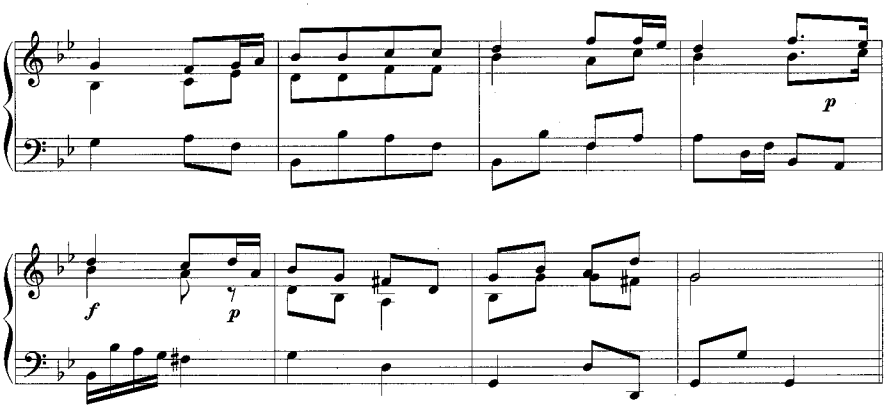
We will begin here with a specific illustration of the occurrence of relative major and minor within individual Russian folk melodies. Like the later collections by Tchaikovsky and Rimsky-Korsakov, the famous collection of Russian folk songs compiled by Lvov and Prach (1790),[10] from which Beethoven drew the *Thème russe* in the finale of his op. 59 no. 1 quartet, is a practical edition. Example 5 illustrates the way the song appears there.

In tonal terms, this harmonization is comparable to the typical minor-mode Baroque chorale, in that relative major and minor are represented,

[9] Borodin's Third Symphony, unfinished at his death in 1887 but essentially complete in two movements, was reconstructed and orchestrated by Alexander Glazunov.

[10] Nikolai Lvov and Ivan Prach, *Sobranie russkikh narodnykh pesen s ikh golosami* (A Collection of Russian Folk Songs), Classics of Russian Musical Folklore, ed. by Malcolm Hamrick Brown, introduction and appendix by Margarita Mazo (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1987), 177–78.

Example 5: Melody from Lvov & Prach

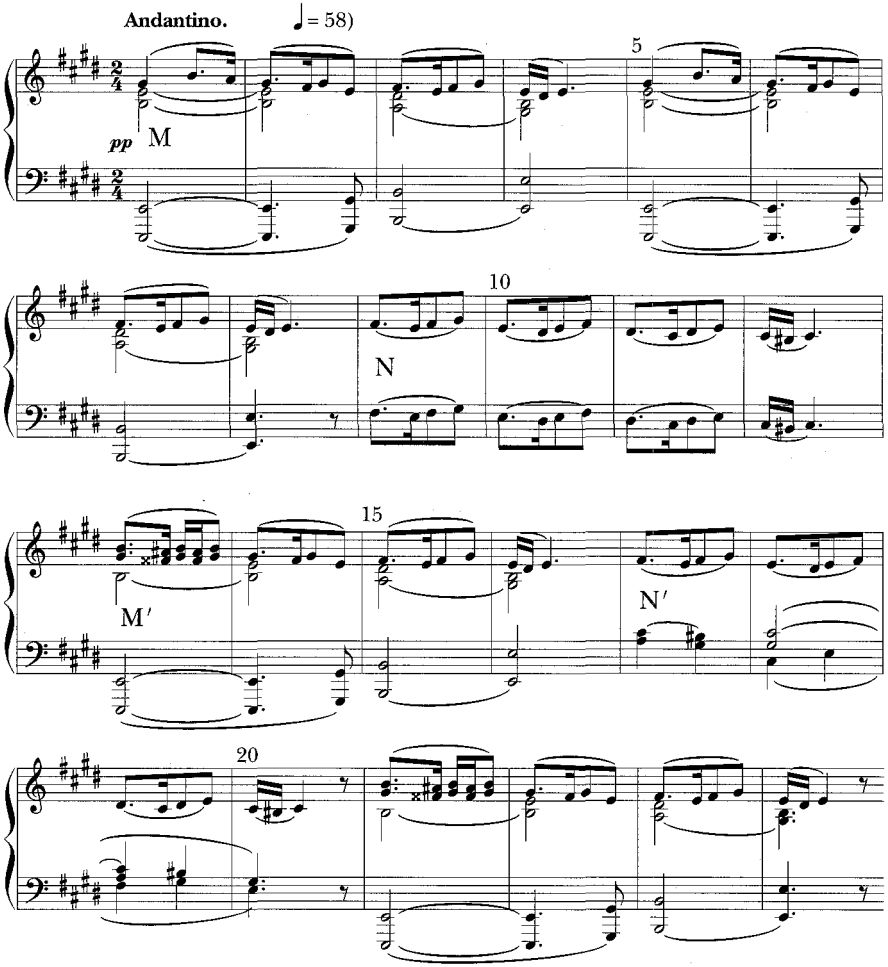


and even balanced, *pari passu* with the structure of the melody, and the harmony drawn from the two modes is conventional, with the B♭ major and G minor well supported by their own dominants. The shape of the melody suggests a single phrase of eight measures (or perhaps a nonsymmetrical breakdown into 4 1/2 and 3 1/2 measures, the longer first portion stressing B♭ major while the shorter second portion stresses G minor). Only the initial G appears to contradict the B♭ major tendency, and at that not very strongly. (Beethoven's own F major treatment of the melody, even in varied harmonizations, is comparable in this regard; he disposes of the initial pitch as a sixth-degree appoggiatura to dominant harmony.)

Glinka's *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, composed 1837–42, a landmark in the history of Russian opera, is also an exotic, "orientalist" opera that served as a model for Borodin's *Prince Igor* and dozens of others of the genre. At the very least this exoticism is suggested by the geographical attributes all over the score: in addition to the Great Prince of Kiev, we have a Prince of Khazaria, a Persian chorus (whose melody is said to be an actual Persian folk melody), and dances from Turkey, Arabia, and Lezghin (subtitled "Caucasian Dance"). More important, *Ruslan* is a seminal work of Russian nationalism, in which Glinka's style demonstrates an original harmonic inventiveness that goes far beyond his merely skillful imitations of Rossini and other Italian models.

The Chorus of Persian Women at the beginning of Act III is an excellent illustration of how the sixth degree began to be tonally liberated in Russian music. The song is too long for more than partial quotation here (example 6), but it could profitably be examined in its entirety for a good appreciation of its developing significance of the C♯ minor focus within an overall E major context.

Example 6: Glinka: *Ruslan and Lyudmila,* act III, beginning (1837–42). Chorus of Persian Women, mm. 1–24



Mm. 1–8 introduce a principal melody, which we may call M repeated, in E major. The consequent phrase, mm. 9–12, labeled N, moves to C♯ minor, and an etiolated C♯ minor at that, because there is no supporting harmony. M′, a slight variant of M, then returns in E major for one phrase, followed by N, this time without the voices but with a full harmonic support in the orchestra, so we may call it N′. We now have twenty measures of alternating E major and C♯ minor in which the C♯ minor moves gradually to the foreground. Significantly, the cadential C♯ minor triad in m. 20 is in first inversion, to connect better with the E bass in the

E major harmony that immediately follows: a modal progression. There is but slight semblance of a modulatory process between C♯ minor and E major here; the one moves to the other as smoothly as possible, with a pivot chord (II^6 of E major = IV^6 of C♯ minor) in m. 16, and a modal shift between m. 20 and m. 21.

Measures 21–24 are identical with mm. 13–16. Thus we have what appears to be a complete 24-bar stanza whose formal outline, in six four-bar phrases, is MMNM′N′M′.

The second stanza is of identical length and form, from m. 25 through m. 48, with identical vocal melody. What is different in this stanza is the harmony, texture, and orchestration, a good illustration of "changing background." This time, the C♯ minor triad appears in m. 26 in first inversion, that is, over a tonic pedal; it forms a smoother connection with the II harmony that follows than would the tonic triad. It is worthwhile to make a close comparison of the harmony in the two nearly identical phrases that begin the second stanza:

25	26	27	28
I I	I VI	II V^7	I I (tonic pedal throughout)

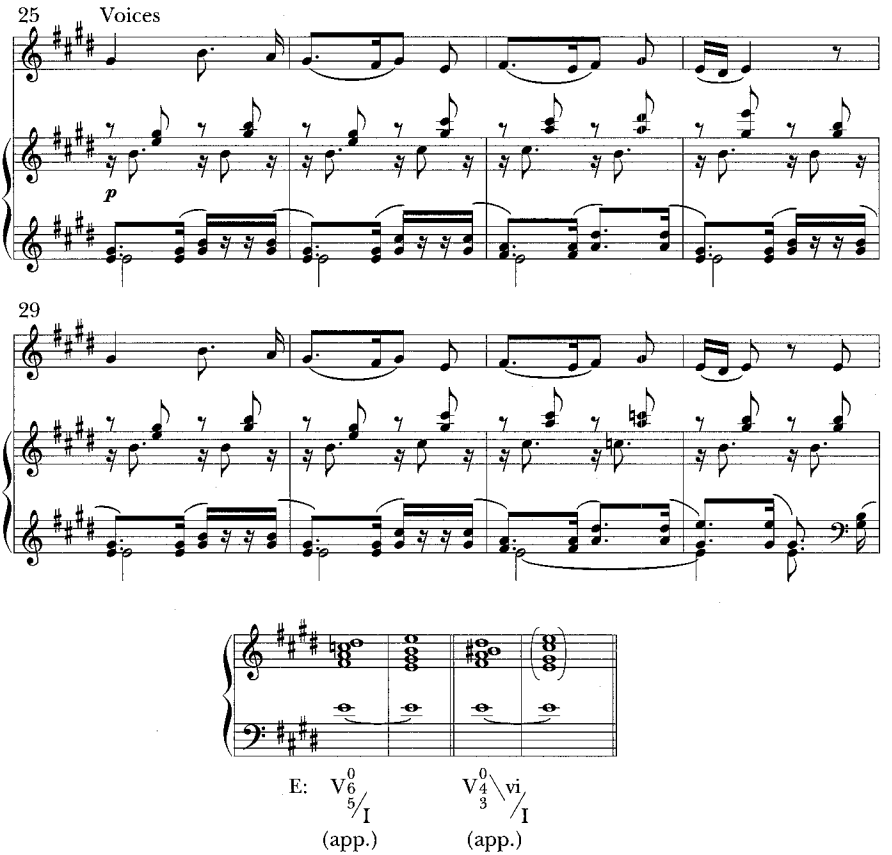
29	30	31	32
I I	I VI	II V^{o9}	I I (tonic pedal throughout)

The brushstroke in m. 31, compared with m. 27, is the C♮ minor ninth of dominant harmony in E major, enharmonic with B♯ that would be the leading-tone to C♯. For an instant one hears an uncertainty of resolution: the C♮ represents a mixed-mode inflection in E major, but the B♯ is a conventional third in a secondary dominant (V\VI) (example 7).

The important differences of the fourth stanza (mm. 73–96) are at once apparent. The M melody which was harmonized in E major before is now harmonized with a C♯ minor neighbor-note ostinato figure; the B♮ in the melody is treated as the seventh degree of the descending melodic minor, with the resulting B♯–B♮ cross-relation. It would have been too much to do this with the more strongly E major M′ at mm. 85 and 93, and so M′ is replaced in the succession by M. What is especially noticeable, however, is the harmonic flexibility that permits the easy interchange of E major and C♯ minor as harmonic context for identically repeated melodic figures.

The fifth and final stanza, mm. 97–126, begins to alter the melody and the phrase pattern, and the concomitant variants of the harmonic pattern introduce the minor sixth degree (C♮) in II^{642} harmony, in other words, as part of a plagal formula (mm. 111, 125), which is sometimes varied with

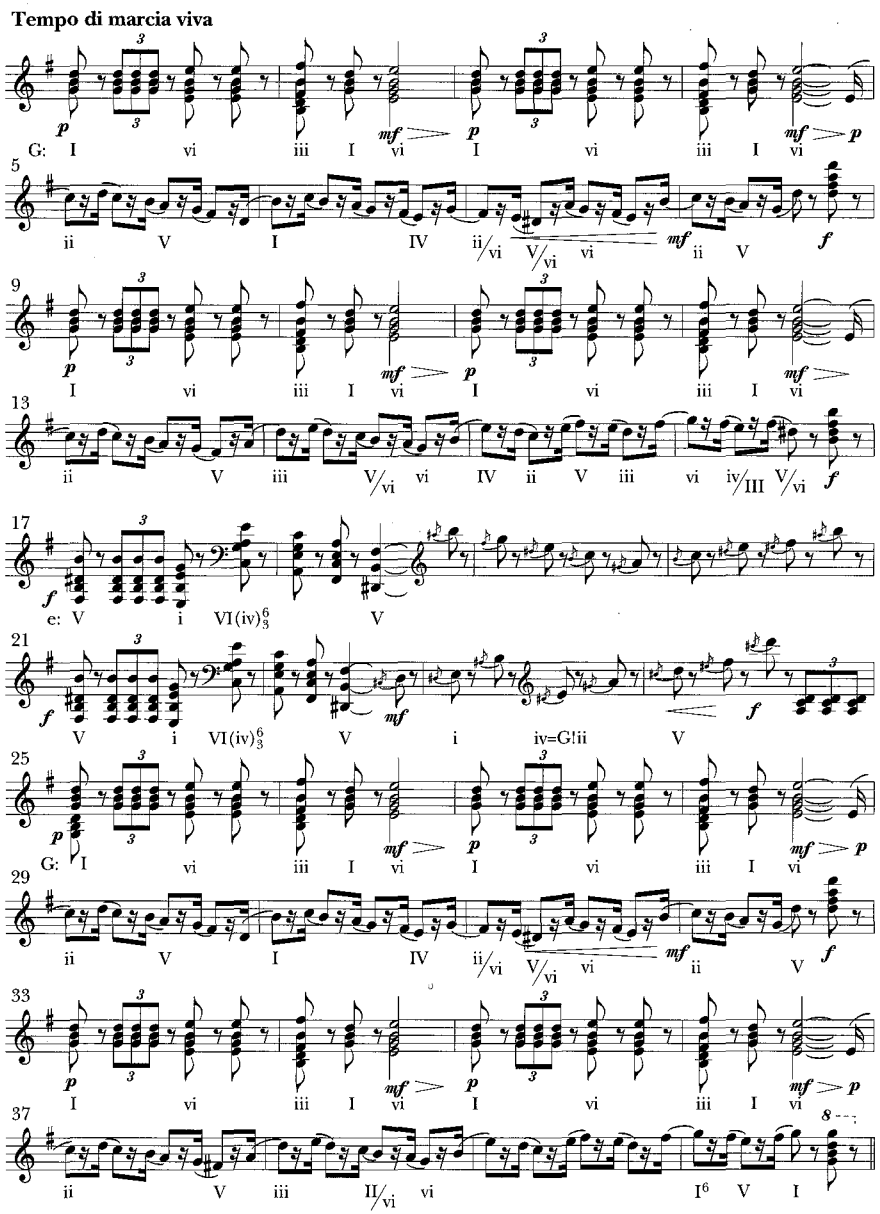
Example 7: Glinka: *Ruslan and Lyudmila*, Chorus of Persian Women, mm. 25–32



$V^{o7}{}_{42}$ (m. 123, minor ninth plus tonic pedal), and reinforced by the II(minor)^{642} at the very end, a touch that might have been inspired by the end of the Nocturne from Mendelssohn's *Midsummer Night's Dream*, in the same key.

The March in Tchaikovsky's *Nutcracker*, half a century after *Ruslan*, reveals an object example for bifocal relative major and minor (example 8). The opening two bars are a modal *Grundgestalt* of the whole piece, in that G major (without its dominant) and E minor (without its leading tone) frame the phrase. All the periods that follow, up to the E minor Trio, are in G major, either with half cadence on V\vi or full cadence on I, or E minor, cadencing in E minor or G major. A glance at the chart below (which for convenience is analyzed with root functions in a single key) shows how completely G major is interpenetrated with E minor.

Example 8: Tchaikovsky: *The Nutcracker,* March (1892). Single-staff score



Mm. 1–4	G: I vi | iii I vi | (twice)
Mm. 5–8	ii V | I IV | ii\vi V\vi vi | ii V |
Mm. 9–12	like 1–4
Mm. 13–16	ii V | iii (V\V) vi | IV ii V iii | vi IV\vi V\vi |
Mm. 17–20	V\vi vi ii(IV)^{65} | ii^{7} ii^{7}\vi V\vi | vi IV\vi | IV\vi V\vi |
Mm. 21–24	V\vi vi ii(IV)^{65} | ii^{7} ii^{7}\vi V\vi | vi IV\vi (= ii)| V |
Mm. 25–28	like 1–4
Mm. 29–32	like 5–8
Mm. 33–36	like 1–4
Mm. 37–40	ii V | iii (V\vi) vi | IV ii V | I^{6} V I | (cf. 13–16)

4. The Major Triad with Added Major Sixth

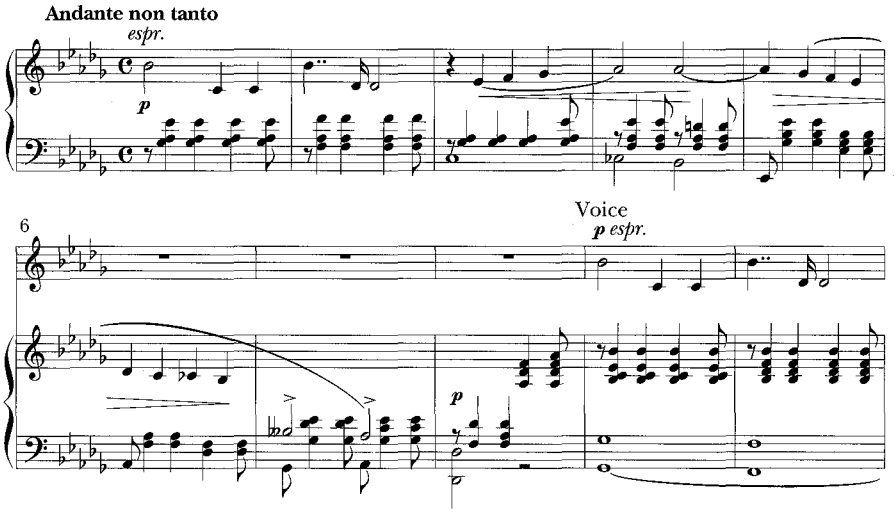
The beginning of Tchaikovsky's "None but the lonely heart" (example 9) may serve as a prototype for this use of the sixth degree. At the beginning the sixth degree is a simple ninth above the dominant, dissolving to the leading tone below. On a different level of perception, the sixth degree is a marker; it acquires a quasi-centric dimension, attracting the ear to a focus distinct from the tonic, and, added to the tonic triad as a harmony note, it is not considered an appoggiatura and thus needs no resolution. The expectation of resolution is contravened by the absorption of the B♭ into the tonic harmony.

Put another way, this sixth degree *sounds as though it belongs in the tonic harmony.* Compare especially mm. 2 and 10; the A♭ is present in the former but not the latter. Consider mm. 1–2 without the B♭, and they remain nothing more than a V in the 642 position resolving regularly to I in first inversion. If there is any doubt about the independent attractive power of the B♭ at this point, we need only compare these measures to mm. 9–10. The bass progression is the same as in mm. 1–2, but now the tonic six-five of m. 2 is replaced by a submediant six-four, an unstable but pure triad all the same; tonic and submediant functions are combined, actually blended into one.

Another striking example of this stressed sixth degree is found at mm. 156–195 of the Finale of Tchaikovsky's ever-popular Violin Concerto (1878). The less well-known first movement of Tchaikovsky's Third Piano Concerto (1893), op. 75, reveals a similarly extended passage.[11]

[11] See measures 91–115 of this movement (Tchaikovsky Complete Edition, Kalmus reprint, volume 52). The idea has echoes even lasting into our own time, if one remembers the signature tune to the Barbara Eden/Larry Hagman sitcom "I Dream of Jeannie."

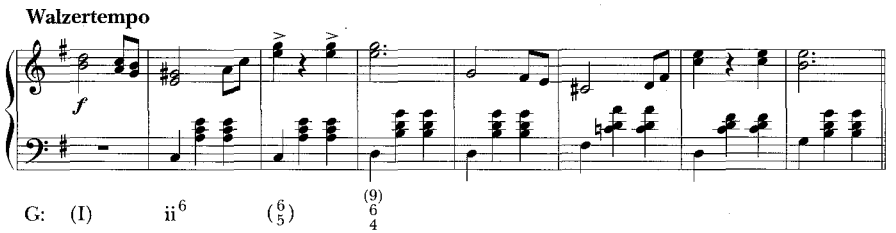
Example 9: Tchaikovsky: *Nyet, tol'ko-tot, kto znal . . .*, "None but the lonely heart," Op. 6, no. 6 (1869)



These examples all stress the sixth degree originating as the ninth of V, *within the melodic line.* In tonic harmony the sixth degree becomes absorbed into the harmony itself when it is in the position of upper neighbor to the fifth of the root-position tonic triad.

The major tonic triad with added major sixth begins to appear with some frequency in various Western styles at about the time it becomes a distinctive Russian emblem. For no readily apparent reason, it seems to turn up more frequently in ballet music than elsewhere. In waltzes it has been identified as the "Viennese sixth";[12] the following example could be supplemented by dozens of others, from the Waltz King to Waldteufel to Chabrier to Fauré.

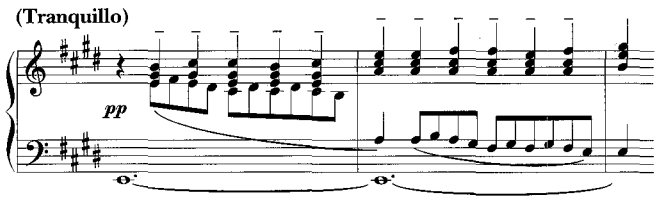
Example 10: Johann Strauss, Jr.: *Die Fledermaus,* Act II, finale (1874)



[12] Fritz Reuter, *Praktische Harmonik des 20. Jahrhunderts: Konsonanz- und Dissonanzlehre nach dem System von Sigfrid Karg-Elert* (Halle: Mitteldeutscher Verlag, 1952), 67.

More typically Russian, however, is this example from Rimsky-Korsakov:

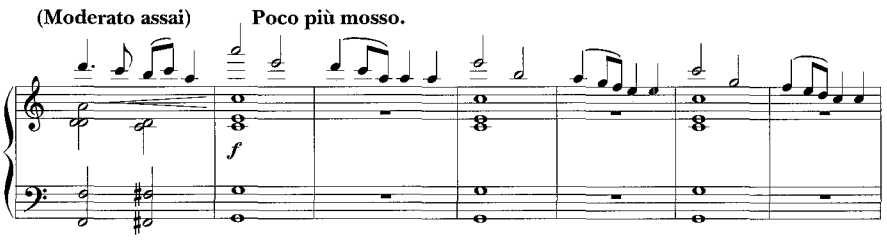
Example 11: Rimsky-Korsakov, *Scheherazade*, I (1888)



This is somewhat like Offenbach's famous Barcarolle or any of several other familiar pieces in which the neighbor-note sixth degree is prominently emphasized. Here, however, the tonic harmony with added sixth is associated with auxiliary *subdominant* harmony. The submediant is an anticipating substitute for IV; there is no dominant component to the phrase at all.

The A minor first movement of Borodin's Third Symphony has extensive passages where the leading tone is effectively suppressed, allowing natural-minor harmony to be projected. In such instances the perception of C major or A natural-minor centricity often veers away from classical expectations. The melody that appears unmistakably in A minor at the beginning of the movement is reharmonized just as unmistakably in C major only a minute or so later, with the A functioning as a *harmonic* added major sixth above the tonic six-four. In this harmony, tonic and submediant are completely merged (example 12).

Example 12: Borodin: Symphony no. 3, I (1882)



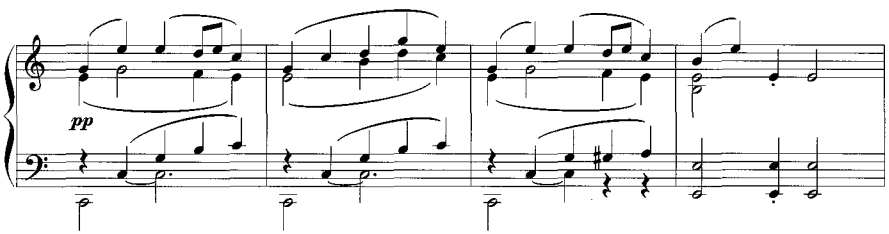
Another and even subtler example, too long to quote here, is the beginning of the second scene of Act III of Musorgsky's *Boris Godunov* (1871–74); E♭ major and C minor are well blended, hovering about each other, again without dominants.

With examples like these in mind, we are now ready to consider the Russian sixth, which is the most characteristic manifestation of associated submediant and tonic functions in the nineteenth century and, at the same time, the most widely distributed among different Russian composers.

5. The Russian Sixth

> The one really characteristic and recurrent chromaticism in Glinka's harmony is the sharpened fifth (or flattened sixth) of the scale. . . . Glinka is very fond of using it to produce brief cadential modulations to the relative minor, often so brief that one feels them to be less truly modulations than chromatic extensions of the major; but even its transient appearance as a passing-note is sufficient to cast a minor shadow over the music (see [example 13], for instance).[13]

Example 13: Glinka: *Ivan Susanin*, act III, Bridal Chorus



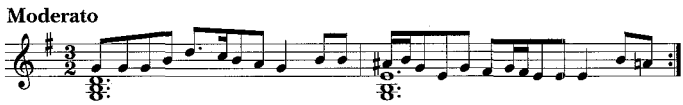
The example cited by Abraham, from the Bridal Chorus in Glinka's *Ivan Susanin*, would not seem out of place in any Western work contemporary with it. (One could easily go back even further to find familiar examples, for instance to the third vocal phrase of Schubert's "Ave Maria" of 1825.) Here the "characteristic and recurrent chromaticism" is nothing more than a straightforward preparation for a cadence on the dominant octave of the relative minor. It is only in hindsight that we see it as a harbinger of later emblems in Russian music.

The Russian sixth that we will consider extensively here is an aspect of harmony, one that is so prominent as to become a nationalist mannerism, marking a particular era in Russian music with characteristic force and precision. It is remarkable that Gerald Abraham, veteran scholar of Russian music, failed to hit the mark when he came as close to describing the Russian sixth as he did in the paragraph cited above. It is no less remark-

[13] Gerald Abraham, *On Russian Music* (New York and London: Scribners, 1939), 259–60.

able that so few writers anywhere have identified it, including not a single Russian source that I have seen. Even César Cui, the least illustrious member of the Five but himself an adept practitioner of the Russian sixth, seemed only indirectly aware of its outstanding harmonic aspects—the association of root-position tonic and first-inversion submediant—when he wrote his paragraph quoted above on page 53, although he attached the following example:

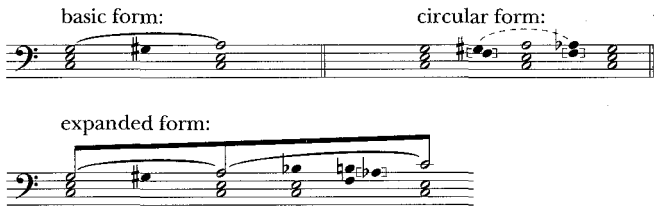
Example 14: from César Cui, "La Musique en Russie"



For a proper identification of the individualities of the Russian sixth we must look to Western writers of our own time. One good and extensive discussion, with several examples, is a recent essay by Edward Garden.[14] Even more recently, Richard Taruskin, in an engaging essay, has also nailed down the Russian sixth.[15] Taruskin identifies it specifically as an aspect of Russian musical orientalism; my own net is cast somewhat wider, but I will refer to appropriately oriental markers as we go along.

The Russian sixth is best illustrated by the following prototypes (example 15), plus a familiar example (example 16).

Example 15: Prototypical forms

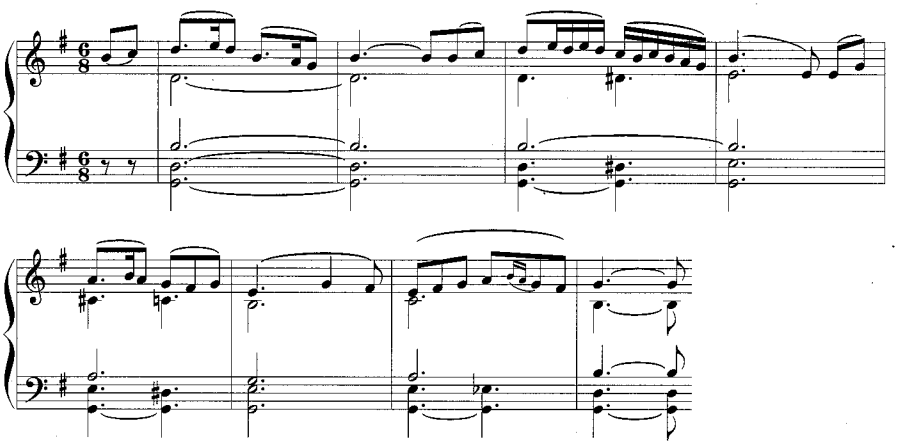


The distinguishing characteristics of the Russian sixth are: 1) the strength of the submediant degree *within the melody*; 2) the concomitant *avoidance* of emphasis of this same degree in the bass, while the *tonic* degree is

[14] Edward Garden, "Balakirev's Influence on Musorgsky," in *Musorgsky in Memoriam 1881–1981*, Russian Music Studies, ed. Malcolm Hamrick Brown, no. 3 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), 15–17.

[15] Richard Taruskin, "'Entoiling the Falconet': Russian Musical Orientalism in Context," *Cambridge Opera Journal* 4, no.3 (1992): 253–80. The author draws particular attention to the importance of the *descending* chromatic motion from major sixth degree to minor.

Example 16: Rimsky-Korsakov: *Scheherazade,* III (1888)



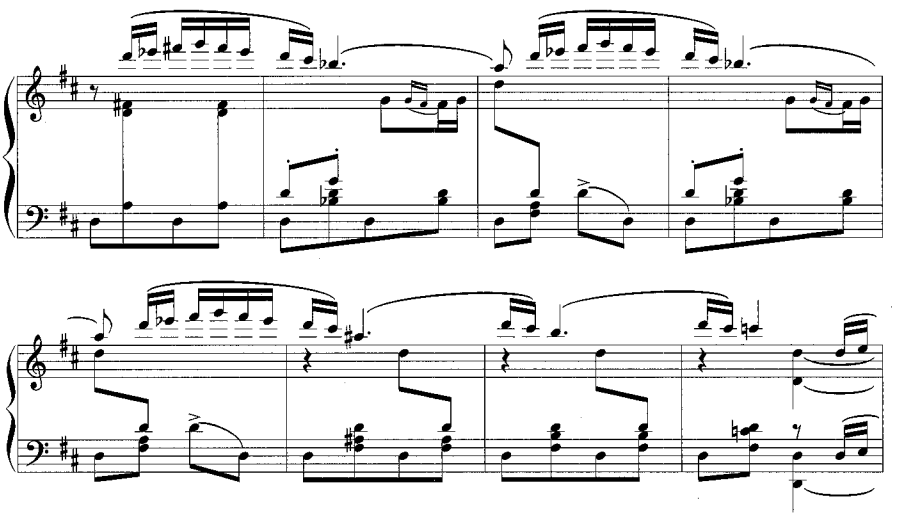
maintained instead, resulting in a first-inversion submediant as a tonic prolongation; 3) the chromatic approach to the submediant degree in an inner part by raising the fifth degree. (This raised fifth degree is not always present, but it is one of the surest indicators when it is found. Historically, the tonic with raised fifth is anticipated by an earlier function, that of connecting I and IV^{64}.)

I have not found a convincing example of the Russian sixth earlier than example 17, from Glinka's *Ruslan and Lyudmila,* which is more characteristic than the example from *Ivan Susanin* cited by Abraham. This passage from the Lesginka in act IV is not particularly striking in itself.[16] But it is unquestionably part of an orientalist context, in a work in which relative major and minor come into a variety of close associations, and in whose exotic climate the listener perceives a number of emerging stylistic markers that would be developed much more fully by others, as we shall see.

The first inheritor of Glinka's stylistic legacy was Dargomyzhsky, whose relatively slender formal technique is well compensated by a considerable harmonic imagination. The following example, the beginning of his song

[16] The lesghinka, or lezghinka, is a dance of the Lesghian people of Dagestan in the Russian North Caucasus, not far from present-day Chechnya. About Balakirev's *Islamey* a recent editor, Christof Rüger, writes: "*Islamei* is a folk-dance, a variety of the *Lesginka,* practiced by the peoples of the present-day Carbadian-Balkarian ASSR, and in contrast to the *Lesginka* which must be written down in 6/8 time, is specifically built up on a 12/16 rhythm." (Preface to Balakirev's *Islamei,* Edition Peters Nr. 9167, [Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1970].) No. 10 of the *Transcendental Etudes* (1897–1905) of Balakirev's pupil, Sergey Lyapunov, is modeled on *Islamey* and is specifically entitled *Lesginka in the style of Balakirev.*

Example 17: Glinka: *Ruslan and Lyudmila,* act IV, Lesginka



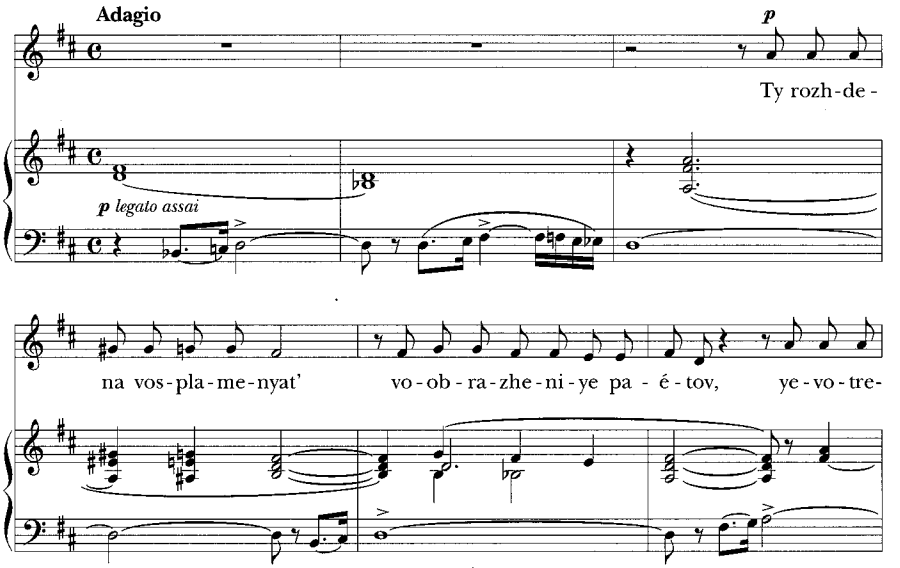
Vostochniy romanç (Eastern romance), composed in 1852 on a text by Pushkin, shows the Russian sixth as something more than an incidental by-product of voice-leading (example 18). The ambiguity of the A♯ leading tone rising to B with the B♭ minor sixth degree falling to A provides a closure that surrounds the B, and this expanded use of the Russian sixth was widely modeled by later composers, as we shall see (compare the second prototype above).

Dargomyzhsky died in 1869; in that year, his admirer Balakirev wrote what would become one of the most famous piano pieces by any of the Five, the furiously difficult *Islamey,* which he subtitled "oriental fantasy." Balakirev begins the piece with his own Lesginka melody that advantageously balances B♭ minor and D♭ major (example 19).

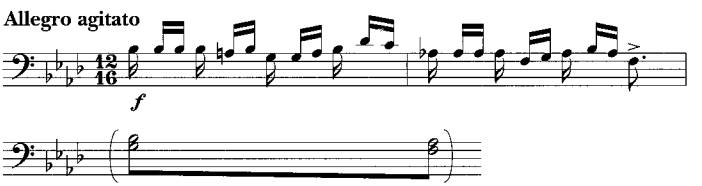
In example 20, very near the beginning, the B♭ is harmonized at the beginning of the phrase as part of an auxiliary subdominant, and at the end of the phrase as a Russian sixth, which emerges as a stable entity in the harmony despite the chromatic counterpoint.[17]

[17] In the contrasting middle section of *Islamey,* an entirely new theme appears, prominently featuring the Russian sixth. In 1871, two years after *Islamey,* the Russian sixth appears prominently in the Lesginka of the opera *The Demon,* by Anton Rubinstein (1829–94), the great German-trained Russian pianist and prolific composer who founded the Moscow Conservatory, and who held that there never could be an authentic Russian nationalism in music. The Rubinstein example is quoted in Taruskin, "Entoiling the Falconet" (example 8).

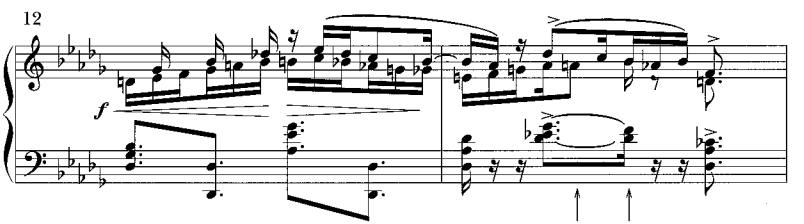
Example 18: Dargomyzhsky: *Vostochniy romanç* (1852)



Example 19: Balakirev: *Islamey*, monophonic melody (1869)

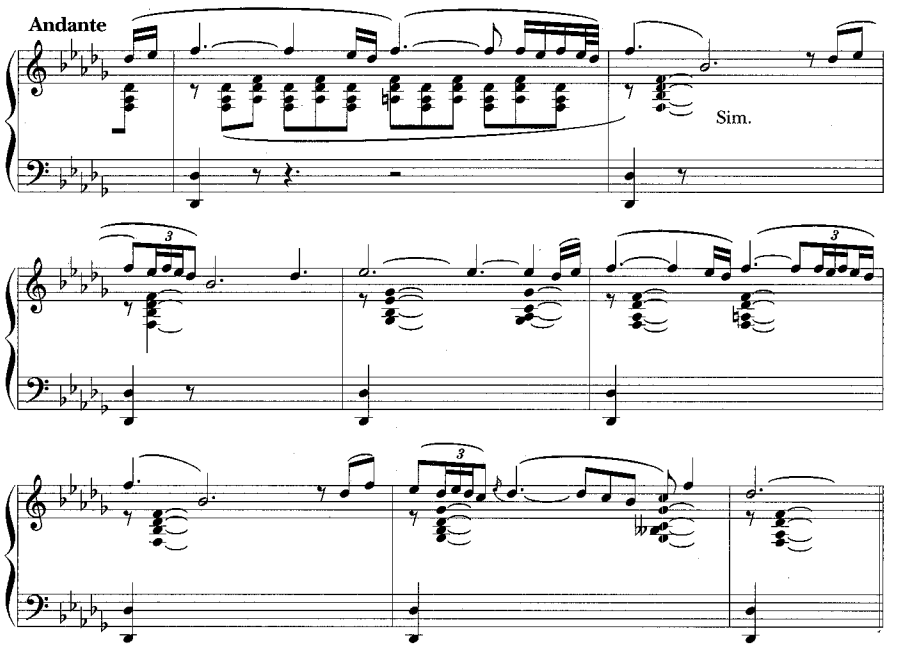


Example 20: Balakirev: *Islamey*



The Russian sixth plays a considerable part in Balakirev's First Symphony (1864–66, reworked 1893–97), which, notwithstanding some formal defects which were not remedied during the work's long and difficult gestation, remains one of his best works, indeed, one of the best and most original of all Russian symphonies (example 21). The long, expressive theme of slow movement announces the Russian sixth at the outset:

Example 21: Balakirev: Symphony no. 1, III (1864–66)

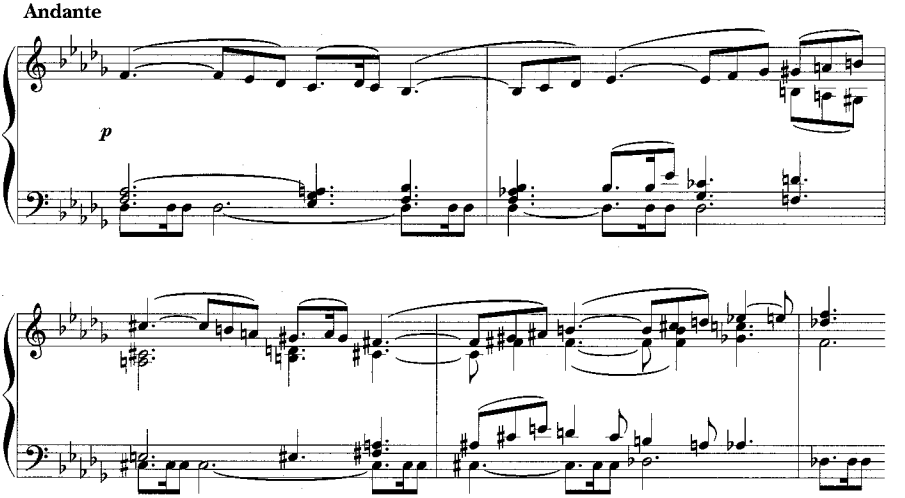


This statement shows full closure comparable to the Dargomyzhsky example given above. Later, the Russian sixth appears with its V^{09}/IV extension, like the last chord in the *Islamey* example, in the rich circular modulation, seen in example 22.

Borodin's unfinished *Prince Igor,* an orientalist opera that was as inspired by Glinka's *Ruslan and Lyudmila* just as certainly as it inspired an immortal Broadway musical called *Kismet* three-quarters of a century later,[18] provides some particularly resplendent examples of the Russian sixth. We will examine here the *Presto* tarantella in F major, which is sometimes

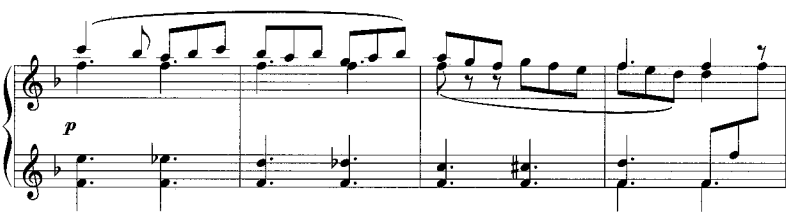
[18] By Robert Wright and George Forrest (1953).

Example 22: Balakirev: Symphony no. 1, III



included in performances of the famous Polovetsian Dances. The opening phrase cadences on the Russian sixth (example 23):

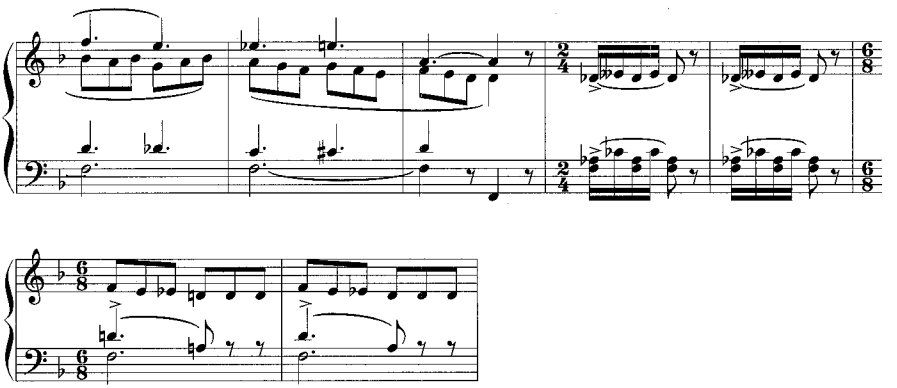
Example 23: Borodin: *Prince Igor,* act II, Dance of the Polovetsian Maidens (1869–87)



The answering period unambiguously cadences on the F major tonic. Near the end of the dance, the Russian sixth appears more intensely, with first-inversion submediant chromatically by a doubly augmented fourth chord; the enharmonically notated D♭ (for C♯) resolves regularly for the Russian sixth, and irregularly for the augmented sixth chord (example 24).

A more complex and subtle example of the Russian sixth is the familiar "Stranger in Paradise" passage in the Polovetsian Dances (example 25), which warrants a detailed examination, especially of the unusual shape of the melody itself, with its ambitus between high and low F♯ and its centering on B. The first statement of the melody cadences on a VI^6 in A major;

Example 24: Borodin: *Prince Igor,* act II, Dance of the Polovetsian Maidens



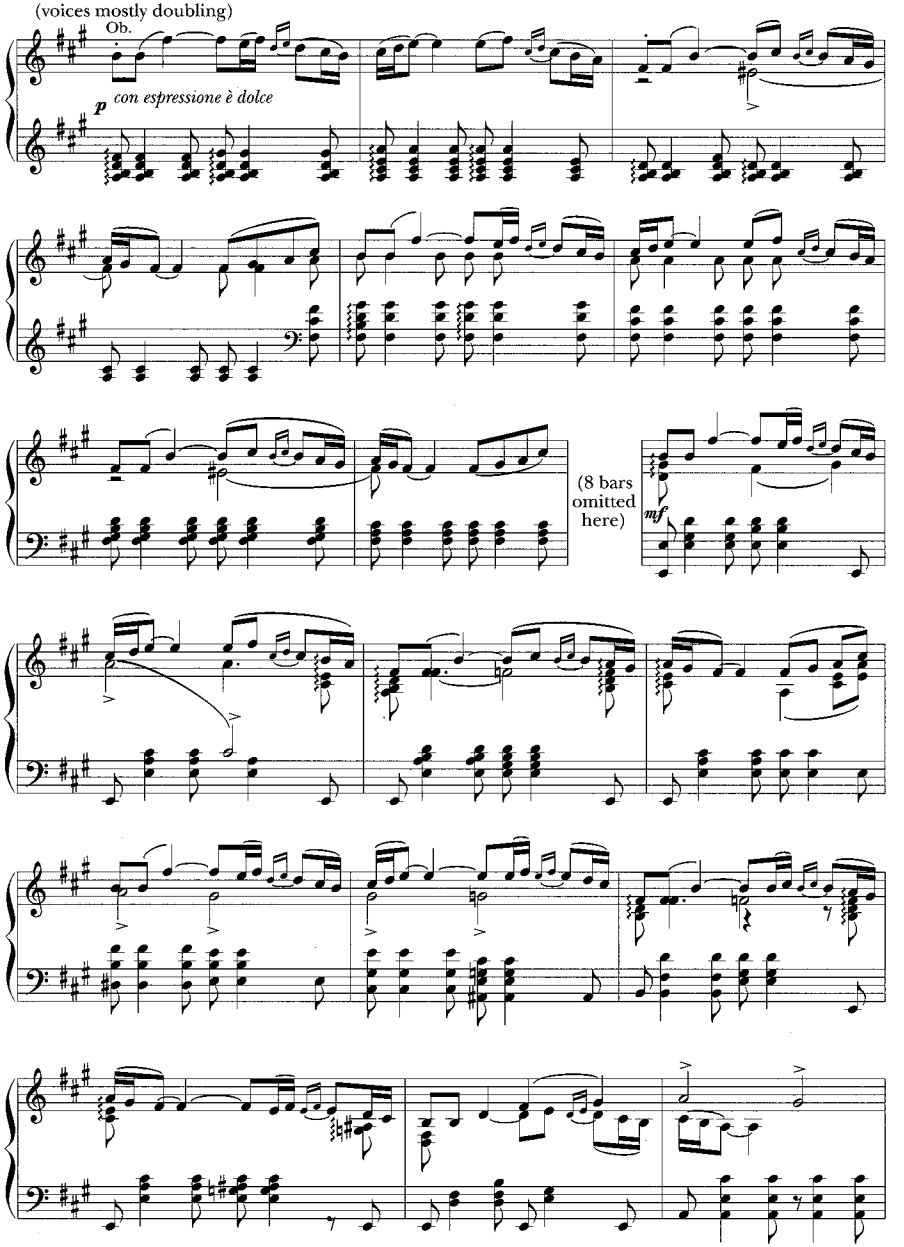
the Russian sixth here, as in so many other instances, is a concomitant of the tonic pedal that initiated the phrase. The second statement moves the pedal bass down to F♯, with no change at all in the melody itself, giving a much stronger feeling of F♯ *natural minor* to the phrase, although the accented E♯ in the English horn remains in the cadence. Eight bars later, with a fuller orchestration, the melody returns for a third time, this time over an E pedal, the harmonization otherwise being almost identical with the first; the exception is the cadence, which is now upon a full tonic triad, but in the six-four position from the E pedal, and the chord leading into it is a dominant minor ninth, with F♮ instead of E♯. The fourth and final statement of the complete melody gives a true harmonic bass, with secondary dominants applied to V and to II, but the cadence is just as it was in the third statement, on a tonic six-four with superposed sixth degree. Only after a two-measure extension of the phrase do we get a classical cadence in root position, indeed a perfect cadence, with the melody altered so as to end on the tonic note.

The whole passage, another fine illustration of "changing background," is telling testimony not only to Borodin's melodic and harmonic originality but also to his sense of form.

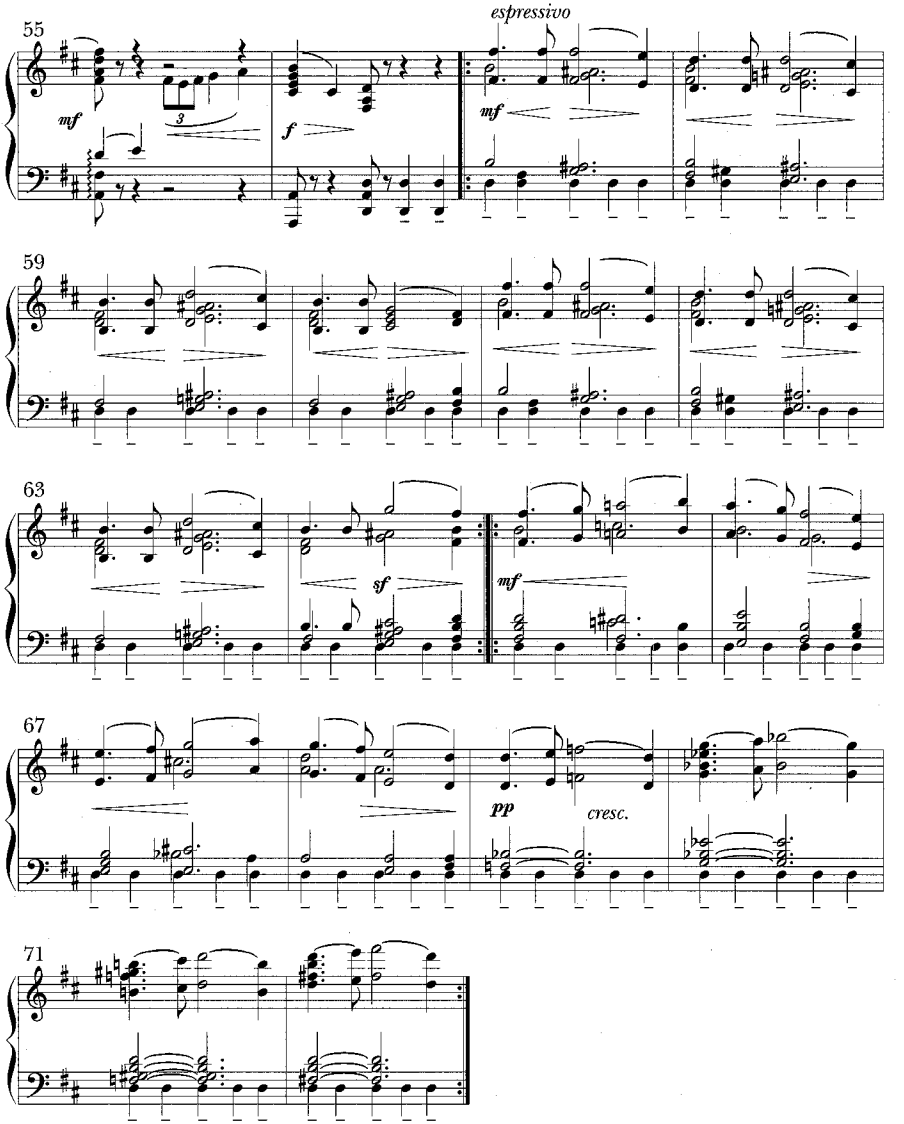
The most exaggerated Russian sixth I will offer here amounts to nearly an entire section of a movement, namely the trio of the second movement of Tchaikovsky's Sixth Symphony, 55 bars (including repeats) of virtually uninterrupted D pedal ostensibly in B minor (example 26).

Ostensibly, because the D major is closely in the background, and the A♯–B♭ ambiguity is especially stressed. In the first sixteen measures (including repeat) of the trio, for example, under the melodic appoggiatura on every third beat the ostensible dominant of B minor is a $V^{\circ 9}$, lacking the F♯ but with the G and A♯ emphasized. This is offset in the next sixteen

Example 25: Borodin: *Prince Igor*, act II, Chorus of Polovetsian Maidens



Example 26: Tchaikovsky: Symphony no. 6, II (1893)



measures by harmony pointing more strongly toward D, including, in m. 67, a $V^{\circ 9}$ in D, with B♭ resolving down to A in m. 68. The phrase nevertheless cadences on B minor with D ever faithfully in the bass—the unmistakable Russian sixth. One is continually aware of the different ways Tchaikovsky could have resolved the harmonies more conventionally, in favor of a more definite B minor in one instance or a more definite D

major in the other, by means of a mere brushstroke of harmonic or melodic detail—and in every case one is grateful for the straight-and-narrow road not taken.

Tchaikovsky had considered this kind of extended harmony before, in an earlier and less developed passage in his *Sleeping Beauty* of 1888–89: the Dance of the Countesses in the second tableau is 26 measures long, over a continuous C pedal, ending on a first-inversion A minor triad.

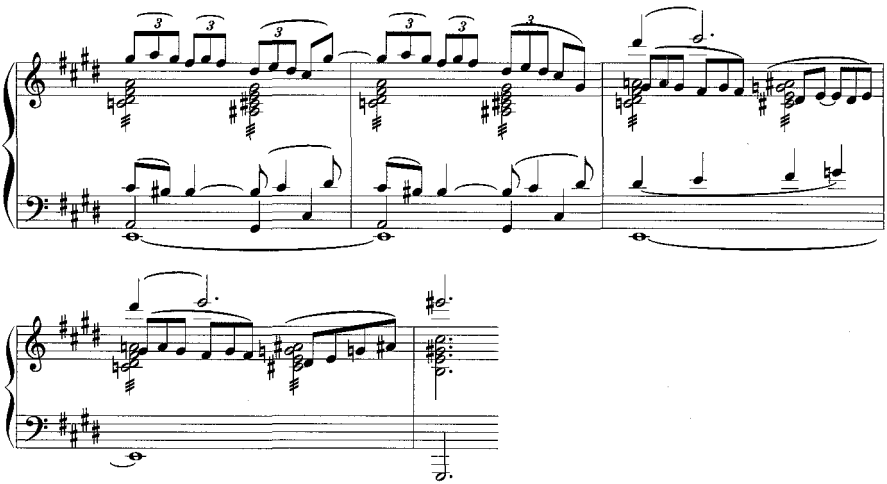
Tchaikovsky's death in 1893 at the height of his career, a few days after conducting the premiere of the Sixth Symphony, marks an apogee of the Russian sixth as well, at least in Russia. By that time, the Russian sixth was well established in works of younger Russians, and one can begin to identify it as well in the works of composers outside its country of origin. There are some intriguing passages in early pieces of Claude Debussy, who had a nearly direct connection with Tchaikovsky from spending two summers in Russia in 1880 and 1881 as Mme. von Meck's household pianist. A clear example of a Russian sixth is found in the first measures of Debussy's early Piano Trio of 1880; another one turns up in his *Danse* for piano (1890; originally entitled *Tarentelle styrienne*). Debussy may well not have been aware of any Russian influence in this particular aspect of his compositional development, although he was well aware of it in other aspects; a number of his works, especially the *Prélude à l'Après-midi d'un Faune* (1894), show profoundly original and skillful application of the bifocal relative minor and major, and this can be correlated with his interest in Musorgsky and others of the Five. The following passage (example 27) is both harmonically and contrapuntally complex, with vii6/I in E major, an appoggiatura chord, substituting for the tonic itself in what sounds like a Russian sixth progression, moving with unexpected smoothness to VI^6 over the E pedal.

An even later Russian sixth can be found in Debussy's *Fêtes*, the second of the *Nocturnes* for orchestra, whose first complete version dates from 1899. In that same year, Jean Sibelius conducted his own First Symphony, whose first movement begins its *Allegro energico* with a blazing Russian sixth (example 28).

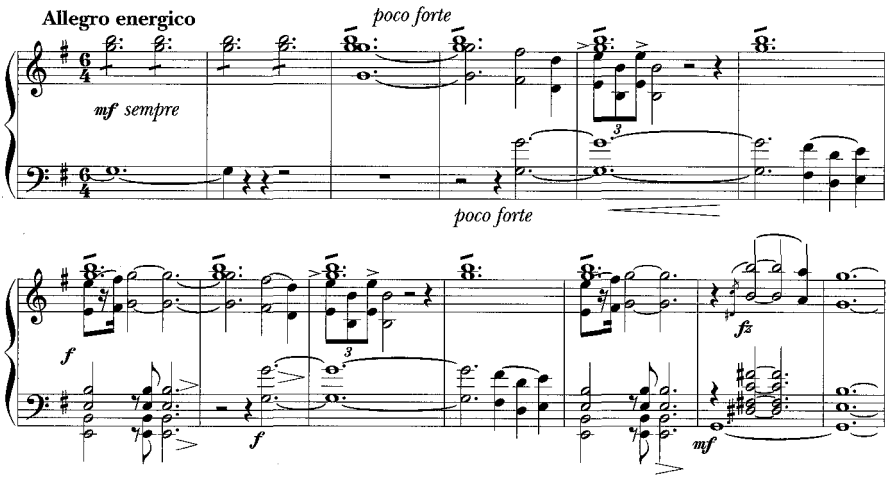
So strong is this statement, indeed, that it becomes a motivic harmonic progression that reappears in different dispositions and textures in each of the remaining three movements. From the nationalist standpoint this is not necessarily so surprising. Sibelius came from a culture strongly marked by Russian influence, and indeed his native Finland would not achieve political independence from Russia for another nineteen years.

Russian composers of the next generation, such as Arensky, Lyapunov, Glazunov, Rachmaninov, Kalinnikov, and Glier, used the Russian sixth from time to time, but it is safe to say that its use had faded more or less completely by the first years of the twentieth century. I have not found

Example 27: Debussy: *Prélude à l'Après-midi d'un Faune* (1894)



Example 28: Sibelius: Symphony no. 1 (1899)

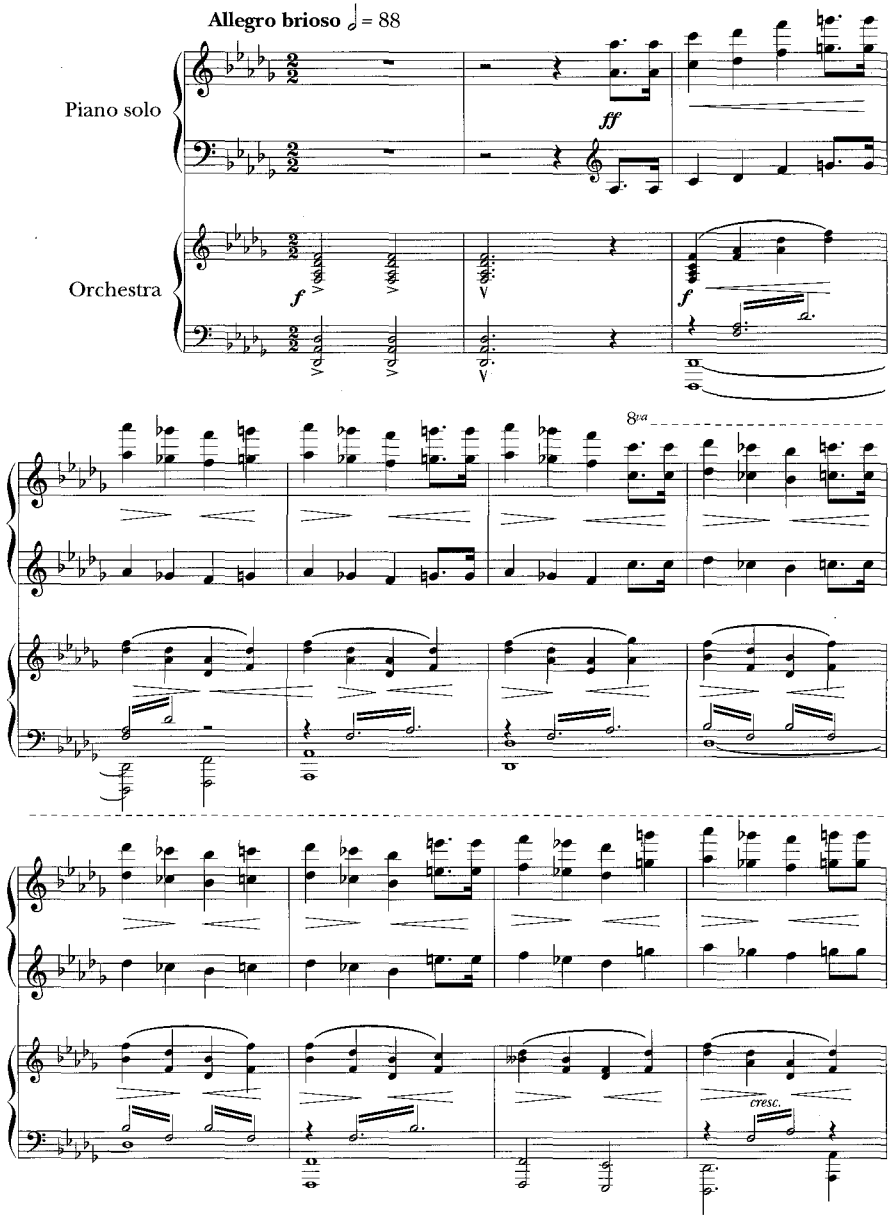


even a hint of a Russian sixth in the earliest works of Stravinsky, still under the influence of Rimsky-Korsakov, but, according to his own later (and hardly ingenuous) testimony, firmly opposed to Russian nationalism and orientalism.[19] Nevertheless a passage like the following (example 29), a

[19] "Nor could I take [Cui's] orientalism seriously. 'Russian music,' or 'Hungarian' or 'Spanish,' or any other of the national nineteenth-century kind is, all of it, as thin as local color, and as boring." Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Memories and Commentaries* (Garden City and New York: Doubleday, 1960), 59.

remote echo of the classic Russian sixth by the twenty-year-old Prokofiev, is a proud survivor, offering a fitting capstone to this discussion.

Example 29: Prokofiev: Piano Concerto no. 1 (1911)



One should compare this example, both psychologically and from the standpoint of voice-leading (even without the chromatically raised fifth degree), with the initial measures of another and much more famous D♭ major piano concerto—the grandiose beginning of the one known as the Concerto no. 1 in B♭ minor, by Tchaikovsky. That favorite concert piece, in the tonal structure of its first movement especially, crystallizes the relative major/relative minor formal association in much the same way as Balakirev's *Islamey*, and with the same keys and even a similar pianism, suggesting an influence from the earlier work.

To summarize our discussion, we may conclude that Glinka, and possibly no others, inspired by Russian folksong, sowed the seeds of the Russian submediant practically spontaneously. It was left for Dargomyzhsky to nurture its early growth, and for Tchaikovsky and the Five to reap the harvest, especially of the Russian sixth, of the submediant's fullest flowering. After the death of Tchaikovsky there was a second but shorter growing season of the Russian submediant, before it began to lose all of its nationalist individuality upon the dawning of a new age in Russian music in the twentieth century.[20] The Russian submediant remains, however, as one of the most recognizable characteristics of a famous national style through its most distinctive historical period. The Russian submediant became and remained a basis for an expanded diatonicism in which modal harmony successfully fought off, for half a century, the encroachments of Western chromaticism.

ABSTRACT

An outstanding characteristic of 19th century Russian nationalist music is its common language of modal harmony. Harmonic associations of submediant and tonic functions, frequently in relation to melodic use of pentatonic and natural minor scales, became particularly prominent in the works of Tchaikovsky and the "Five." An outstanding nationalist mannerism, identified here as the "Russian sixth," began in Glinka's operas, continued in Dargomyzhsky's works, evolved in full strength in numerous examples by Tchaikovsky and the "Five," abated somewhat in the generation of Russian composers that followed them, and died out by the turn of the twentieth century, at about the same time that it reappears in works of non-Russian composers such as Debussy and Sibelius.

[20] I have a vivid memory of hearing a lush and noisy orchestral piece, with unmistakable Russian sixths prominently featured, on the radio. Not recognizing the work, I guessed it might be a film score by some Soviet realist composer whom I didn't know. It turned out to be the *Russian Suite* by Arnold Bax.

reviews

Margot Fassler. Gothic Song: Victorine Sequences and Augustinian Reform in Twelfth-Century Paris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993. xxi, 487 pp.

At first encounter, the principal title, *Gothic Song,* is likely to arouse both visual images of lofty stone cathedrals and monastic churches, and aural images of *ars antiqua* polyphony—organum, conductus, and motet. The dust jacket reinforces that visual impression with its print of the Abbey Church of Saint Victor, spires towering toward the clouds, flying buttresses thrusting against a three-storied nave, rose window blossoming above the south transept.[1] The subtitle firmly corrects the tentative aural connection by naming a single liturgical genre, the sequence, as the focus of the study. Margot Fassler defends the Parisian sequence's Gothic status in noting its chronological conjunction with construction of the twelfth-century church of Saint Victor and rebuilding of Saint Denis as well as in characterizing it as the "first major musical endeavor of the famed Notre Dame school" (p. 138). She also calls attention to the link between the twelfth-century Gregorian reform movement and "early manifestations of the art often called 'Gothic'" (p. 211). Just as the illustrious reformer Hugo of Saint Victor influenced sacred visual art and architecture (including Saint Denis), so his writings had a marked impact on the Victorine sequences. These remarks justify the title to a reasonable degree, but some attention might yet have been directed toward previous linkages between the "Gothic" and other musical repertories, such as Ernest Sanders' contention that the thirteenth-century motet was the genre within which "medieval man . . . achieved a quintessential embodiment of the Gothic spirit."[2]

Some acknowledgment might also have been granted other kinds of new religious song that flourished in the twelfth century: versus (mono-

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[1] The engraving apparently depicts the sixteenth-century edifice, which incorporated some elements of the twelfth-century church. Despite the late date of construction, the building displays typically "Gothic" features in this picture, which is also reproduced as plate 11.1.

[2] Ernest Sanders, "The Medieval Motet," *Gattungen der Musik in Einzeldarstellungen,* ed. Wulf Arlt et al. (Bern and Munich: Francke, 1973), 528. Christopher Page's recent critique of "cathedralism" in chapter 1 of *Discarding Images* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) shows the need for much more careful examination of this subject (see especially p. 35).

phonic and polyphonic) of Aquitanian tradition, liturgical dramas, ecstatic songs of Hildegard of Bingen, Parisian organum and conductus. The implied geographical limits of the label "Gothic" automatically exclude some of these phenomena from consideration, but the effect is to isolate the Victorine sequence from other sacred "new music" of the time. This study avoids such matters by introducing the late rhymed sequence under the theme of liturgical change and within the straits of genre, in comparison with the earlier west-European sequence tradition. The rationale for a study focused on the late sequence repertory and the milieu in which it was cultivated becomes increasingly clear as one proceeds through this impressive monograph. Still, it will be well if in the future the term "Gothic song" is allowed to extend beyond a single genre.

Fassler presents a remarkably coherent story of how the Augustinian canons at the Abbey of Saint Victor in Paris cultivated the new sequence as an instrument of their political and religious goals. Its narrative components are impressively interdisciplinary in nature, ranging across liturgy, the politics of cathedral and cloister in twelfth-century Paris, the clerical reform movement spearheaded by the Augustinians, exegesis of sacred texts, intertextual connections, and musical analysis. The intersections among these diverse planes reveal the Victorine sequence repertory as an exemplary case of art in the service of institutional purposes.

The coherence of the overall story is matched by the complexity of its argument, which may be roughly summarized as follows. Twelfth-century Augustinian canons regularly favored sequences with new-style rhymed texts that observed regular versification. Because by the early thirteenth century two Parisian churches—the Cathedral of Notre Dame and the Abbey church of Saint Victor—had incorporated relatively large numbers of late sequences into their liturgies, and because Adam of Saint Victor (fl. 1108–1140) achieved renown as a sequence poet, a substantial number of new sequences probably originated in Paris. Although the earliest manuscripts to witness the late sequences in the Notre Dame and Saint Victor liturgies date from the thirteenth century, they testify to a tradition that must have evolved over the preceding eighty to one hundred years. Liturgical commentaries and communal beliefs manifested in the new sequence texts mesh perfectly with doctrines, religious images, and reform theology proclaimed by the influential theologians Hugh of Saint Victor (fl. 1120–1141) and Richard of Saint Victor (fl. 1150–73). These linkages corroborate a common milieu and time period for the theological writings and the sequence texts. The individual melodic tradition the Victorines devised for their sequences—a tradition based on reworkings of two core melodies—permitted them to create families of sequences genetically bound by common musical phrases. These conveyed deep textual resonances so

that an "entire interrelated [sequence] complex resonated with a host of associations" (p. 300). On the musical as well as the textual plane, sequences provided a medium through which the Saint Victor monastic community could affirm, in a performative mode, the beliefs and aspirations of their order.

> Since all the music written by the Victorines themselves is based upon the melodies of "Laudes crucis" and (to a lesser extent) "Zima vetus," it thus depicts through its very notes the process of transmission of the power of the cross from the head of the church to the teachers and preachers who form the ecclesiastical hierarchy. . . . [T]he entire section of the sequence repertory completely designed and created by the Victorines themselves became a sounding representative of the idea of transmission and building; when they sang the pieces, they proclaimed their vocation, becoming part of a complex liturgical and musical symbol. (p. 307)

As is so often the case in medieval studies, it is the source situation that poses difficulties. In the absence of twelfth-century Parisian liturgical documents and written testimonials documenting the growth of the new sequence repertory and specifying the contributions of Adam of Saint Victor—the renowned poet whom Fassler has identified as precentor of the Cathedral—the historian must reconstruct the past from oblique angles of perspective. Detailed comparison of twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century sequentiaries from abbeys and cathedrals in Chartres, Nevers, and Limoges indicates that Augustinian canons were particularly disposed to refashion sequence repertoires and more readily adopted new-style sequences than other groups. This propensity would extend in all probability to the Augustinian community at Saint Victor in Paris, the city Fassler designates as the primary test site for examining "the hypothesis that the late sequence was, originally, an 'Augustinian sequence'" (p. 134). The thirteenth-century Parisian manuscripts show substantial concentrations of late sequences at Cathedral and Abbey, such that either qualifies as a likely center of production. Fassler bases her judgment as to the Parisian origin of individual sequences on patterns of manuscript transmission:

> pieces are called "Parisian/Victorine" only if they show up exclusively in Parisian sources from the thirteenth century, in the sources cited above [sites for which a Parisian "stream of influence" is postulated] . . . , and in no more than one other center. (pp. 155–56)

On the basis of such transmission statistics, some sixty-two pieces emerge as Parisian in origin. The precision of determining origins in this manner is a matter on which readers are likely to differ. Yet the argument does not

rest on transmission patterns alone, but finds reinforcement in the kernel of religious values and Old Testament typologies in texts and in the melody families favored in the Victorine sphere. It is the confluence of factors, rather than any one factor alone, that imparts a Victorine cast to the late sequences sung in Paris.

Although the message on origins permeates the book, it is not maintained uniformly. A number of passages speak of Adam of Saint Victor's agency with respect to individual items in qualified terms of likelihood or supposition (for example, pp. 253, 256, 272), and even at a fairly late point in the study a note of uncertainty sounds:

> [I]t is not possible to know absolutely that Parisian texts and melodies which appear both at the abbey and the cathedral were written by Victorines, even though it is probable that many of them were. Of the majority of texts belonging to both traditions one can say only this for now: they were written in Paris by theologians in sympathy with Hugh's ideas and with Augustinian ideals of reform in general. (p. 290)

The thirteenth-century sources definitely document a special melodic tradition for the sequence repertory at Saint Victor—one that differs in crucial respects from that at Notre Dame Cathedral. Fassler finds that two melodies, those for "Laudes crucis" (feast of the Finding of the Cross) and "Zima vetus" (Octave of Easter) are "the models for all other melodies composed at Saint Victor," but even "Zima vetus" is a "reworking" of the central "Laudes crucis" tune (p. 295).[3] Because it circulated so widely, the origins of "Laudes crucis" cannot be localized to Paris on the basis of available evidence (see table 7.1b, p. 159), although the melody is used early in this study to demonstrate "some of the techniques used by composers in the Parisian school of the twelfth century" (p. 74).

Far from viewing the reuse of whole melodies and selected melodic segments as a simple matter of musical economy, Fassler argues that common melodies drew sequences together into meaningful family groups and that musical appropriations and associations served important exegetical functions, bringing textual references from source sequences to

[3] Signals about the origins of "Zima vetus" fluctuate. At one point, we are told "it is not unreasonable to suppose" the melody to be "Adam's own gift to the Abbey of Saint Victor" (p. 297), and a few pages later that although the melody "was most likely written by Adam for the abbey, it does survive in other early collections frequently enough to raise doubt" (p. 302).

bear on new texts. Many connections she notes seem quite plausible, such as the choice of the "Zima vetus" melody for two other texts that deal with dramatic reversals ("In natale salvatoris" for Christmas and "Gratulemur in hac die" for the Assumption of the Virgin) (p. 299–300). Similarly apt is the observation that a phrase from "Laudes crucis" dealing with the Passover deliverance from the sword appears within "Gaude Roma" (for Saints Peter and Paul) just at the point where that poem mentions Peter's deliverance from execution by an angel. Besides the textual cue (both passages refer to "gladium" [sword] as the instrument of destruction), the musical reference serves to associate two miraculous deliverances, the Old Testament one of the Jews in Egypt and the New Testament one of Peter (p. 310).[4] On cognitive grounds, it seems a bit extreme to suppose that all texts associated with a given melody would have echoed in the mind of a singer performing one version (p. 300), but some resonances seem likely.

Other suggested references seem less persuasive, as when phrases in "Gaude Roma" and "Roma petro" that refer to Peter's crucifixion are said to represent the manner of his upside-down crucifixion through inversion of phrases from the "Finding of the Cross" sequence, "Laudes crucis" (pp. 310–11, shown here in example 1). Two objections may be raised to the "Gaude Roma" example. One is that the figure, a descending series of thirds, first appears in association with Nero's fury (VIII.1) so that the connection with Peter is not immediate. Moreover, the ascending version of the figure in "Laudes crucis" is associated with four different texts (X.1,2 and XI.1,2), none of which specifically refers to the cross or to crucifixion.[5] The other objection is that the "Laudes crucis" figure consistently begins the *second* unit in a four-unit phrase, while the "Gaude Roma" figure initiates the *first* unit of four.[6] The differences in position, combined with different surroundings of high and low registers, ascent and descent, blur the sense of association or symbolic musical commentary. The vexed problem of referentiality, with its various facets of composer intent, performer sensibilities, and audience receptivity, comes to the fore in such discussions. At least in this instance, it should seem possible to have encoded a reference to "Laudes crucis" and to a reverse crucifixion in a more transparent way than is claimed for the "Gaude Roma" passage.

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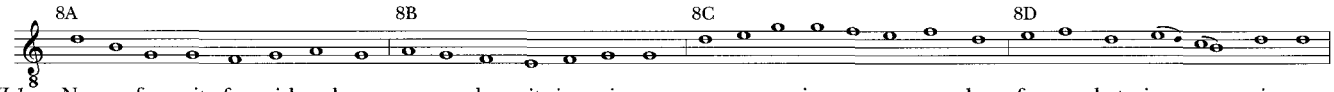
[4] There is an unnoted textual discrepancy here in the "Laudes crucis" passage. The text version in chapter 4 reads "Nec defusit gaudium / nec amisit filium" (VI.2, p. 71) while that in the musical edition reads "Necque sensit gladium / nec amisit filium" (p. 417).

[5] A further complicating factor is that "Laudes crucis" 11A ends with a similar descending-thirds figure.

[6] In "Roma petro" 13, the figure has yet another position, at the end of a second unit.

Example 1

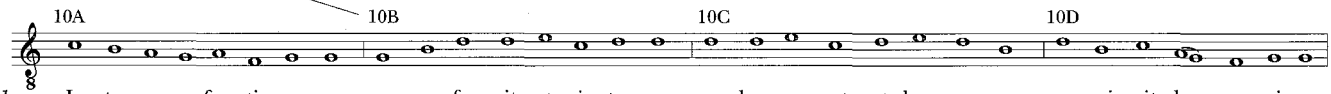
a: Gaude Roma 8



VII.1: Ne-ro fre-mit fu-ri bund-us ne-ro plan-git im-pi-um ne-ro cu-ius eg-re mun-dus fe-re-bat im-pe--ri-um.

VII.2: Er-go pe-tro crux pa-ra-tur a mi-nis-tris sce-le-rum cru-ci-fi-gi se tes-ta-tur in hoc chris-tus i-te-rum.

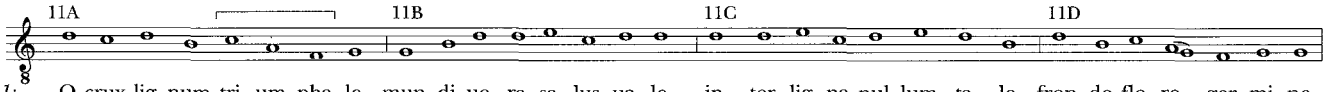
b: Laudes crucis 10



X.1: Is-ta su-os for-ti-o-res sem-per fa-cit et uic-to-res mor-bos sa-nat et lan-guo-res re-pri-mit de-mo-ni-a.

X.2: Dat cap-ti-uis li-ber-ta-tem ui-te con-fert no-ui-ta-tem ad an-ti-quam dig-ni-ta-tem crux re-dux-it om-ni-a.

c: Laudes crucis 11



XI.1: O crux lig-num tri-um-pha-le mun-di ue-ra sa-lus ua-le in-ter lig-na nul-lum ta-le fron-de flo-re ger-mi-ne.

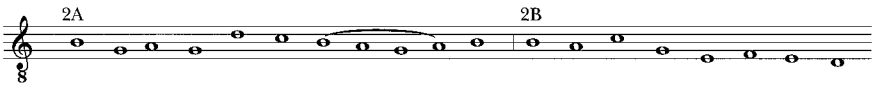
XI.2: Me-di-ci-ne chris-ti-a-na sal-ua sa-nos e-gros sa-na quod non ua-let uis hu-man-na fit in tu-o no-mi-ne.

Observations on melodic modeling and compositional methods inevitably rely on basic analytic principles that ground associative judgments. In *Gothic Song*, the analytic principles employed to determine melodic relationships are assumed rather than examined. Although detailed consideration of analytic premises would have expanded the volume beyond its already ample girth and added yet another strand to an already intricate weave of topics, some focused commentary on the subject would have benefited the musical argument. More is at stake than nuances in the degree to which Victorine composers and redactors of the sequence repertory relied on two source melodies, for claims about pointed textual connections and resonances depend on the agency of musical associations. These associations anchor a central thesis of this study, that in important families of sequences "the Victorines created a new kind of exegesis, one which depended upon the power of music, as used in contrafacta, to interregulate texts" (p. 335).

Questions about analytic criteria arise as early as chapter 4, where the opening of "Laudes crucis" is said to be composed according to the "principle of successive variation" (p. 74). Take, for example, the ensuing discussion of the relationship between phrases 3A–B and 2A–B (shown here in example 2a and 2b).

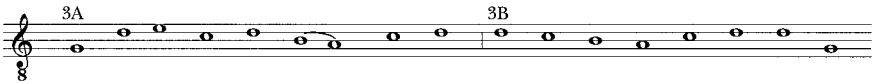
Example 2

a: Laudes crucis 2A–B



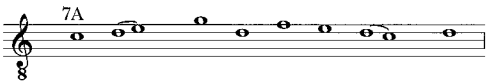
II.1: Dul - ce me - los tan - gat ce - los dul - ce lig - num dul - ci dig - num

b: Laudes crucis 3A–B



III.1: Ser - vi cru - cis cru - cem lau - dent qui per cru - cem si - bi gau - dent

c: Laudes crucis 7A



VII.1: Lig - na le - gens in sa - rep - ta

Fassler writes:

> Phrase 3A resembles phrase 2A, but it is organized around d′, rather than g, leaping upward to d′ at the start and remaining there throughout. Phrase 3B repeats the pitches of the ending of phrase 3A but spaces them out and closes with an abrupt leap back down to g. . . . (p. 75)

It is questionable whether 3A particularly "resembles" phrase 2A, since circling motions about a central pitch are not uncommon in the seven- or eight-syllable melodic units of the repertory and since phrase 2A arguably centers on b not g. The d′–c′–b–a descent beginning 3B does not exactly repeat the end of 3A. It fills the gap between d′ and b and treats b and a syllabically rather than as a *clivis,* a detail that very probably entails a rhythmic differentiation. The beginning of 3B might be related more directly to the end of 2A, but their different positions within the phrase (one initial, the other medial and cadential) also distinguish them and attenuate the visual association. Units 2A and 3A–B all inhabit the fifth above the modal final, and it is at this background level—more than in specific melodic resemblance—that their basic connection may reside.

The basis for declaring unit 7A to resemble 2A (p. 75) is also questionable (example 2c). Unit 7A inhabits a higher melodic register than 2A, thrusts upward at its beginning, and continues a play on c′ as lower neighbor to d′ begun in the preceding two or three phrases. Whereas 2A ends on a modally unstable pitch, 7A concludes on a modally stable pitch that by this point in the song is well established.

Similar queries might be posed about some of the modeling relations claimed between sequences. Association between the first units (1A–B) of "Prunis datum" and "Laudes crucis" seems slightly forced (pp. 308–09; example 3a, b). To be sure, both opening cells are "comprised of a decorated g" (p. 309), but the b♭ in "Prunis datum" imparts a singular modal quality to that g that would have been recognized by anyone familiar with Guidonian teachings.[7] Both passages do involve motion around g followed by a descent of a fourth from c′ to g, but there is a marked difference when one passage accomplishes this within a single eight-syllable unit and the other spreads it over two eight-syllable units, also incorporating a b♭/b♮ shift. Except that it is placed late in the piece, "Laudes crucis" 10A (example 1b) might constitute as plausible a parallel to "Prunis datum" 1B (example 3a). It also seems odd to invoke "Laudes crucis" 4B as a source for segment 4B of "Prunis datum" when "Laudes crucis" 3A provides an exact parallel save the initial note (p. 425; shown here in examples 4a, b and 2b). (On other occasions, two- or three-note "substitutions" form no impediment to association.)[8] Here, eagerness to find similarities at corre-

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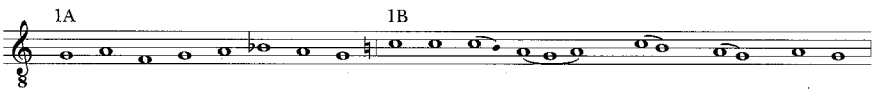
[7] See Guido of Arezzo, *Micrologus,* chap. 8, translated in W. Babb, *Hucbald, Guido, and John on Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 64–65. Fassler's remark that "the B♭ here is to avoid the tritone" does not successfully address the modal differentiation.

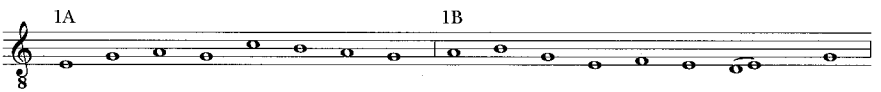
[8] See, for example, "Zima vetus" 6A and 6F in relation to "Laudes crucis" 7A and 7C, respectively (p. 422), or "Gaude Roma" 3B in relation to "Laudes crucis" 3B (p. 429).

sponding locations—so that the fourth verse pairs correspond in both—overrides a more obvious melodic similarity. By the argument used for "Prunis datum" 1A–B, "Prunis" 4C might be labeled an amalgam of "Laudes crucis" 9B–C (example 4a, c). But the modeling pattern of "Laudes crucis" *4A–4B-new unit* Fassler proposes for "Prunis datum" 4A–B–C looks far more orderly than a modeling of "Laudes crucis" *4A–3A–9B–C.* In a rare oversight, the relationship of "Prunis datum" 10A–B to "Zima vetus" 5D–E is not noted, although "Prunis" 10A resembles the "Zima vetus" phrase more closely than it does "Laudes crucis" 9A, the connection indicated (p. 427). These observations are not made to deny the general concept of musical association and its significance proposed in this study, but are meant to alert readers to unresolved analytic issues and to the desirability for further, more systematic, investigation in this area.

Example 3
a: Prunis datum 1A–B



b: Laudes crucis 1A–B

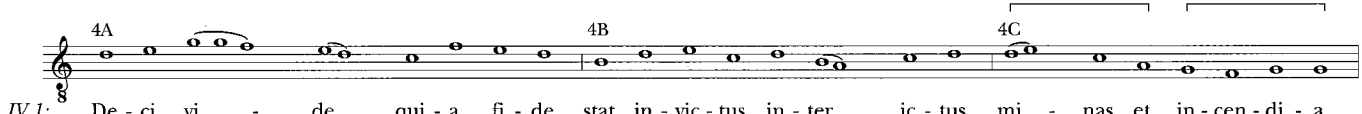


Because of its interdisciplinary scope and the number of different themes it engages, this study is at times difficult to follow. Chapter 12 prepares chapter 13 in terms of liturgical and textual matters, but for the musical issues that are the focus of chapter 13 the reader must revisit chapters 4 and 8. Similarly, chapter 9 with its consideration of canons regular and liturgical reform politics, seems an odd sequel to chapter 8's detailed examination of musical contrafacta in Parisian sequences. Individual readers may well wish to plot their own path through the book in "hypertext" fashion. They will be aided by the detailed table of contents as well as by the "conclusions" at the ends of parts (and of some chapters) that neatly condense the complex arguments and results advanced in the preceding sections. A short epilogue, "Sacred history and the common life," summarizes the overall message of the study.

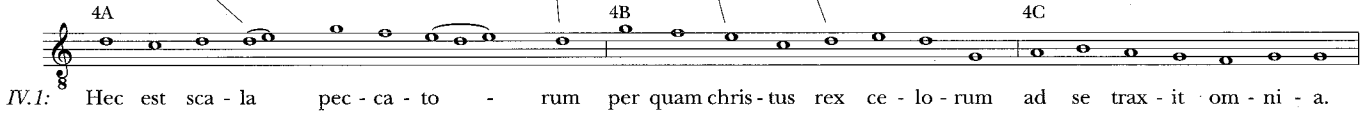
Supplementing the body of the text and providing essential primary materials are appendices with repertory lists from twelfth- and thirteenth-century French sequentiaries and ordinals, and with editions of eight late

Example 4

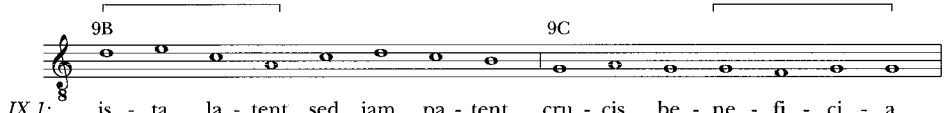
a: Prunis datum 4A–B–C



b: Laudes crucis 4A–B–C



c: Laudes crucis 9B–C



sequences accompanied by text translations. The typography in the editions gives pitches in great round noteheads and text in very small typeface. This is a practical means to accommodate extended text lines horizontally across a page and to depict the regularity of poetic form, but in diminishing the visual impact of the text, the small typeface works counter to the message of the study. The large void noteheads of the main editions do contrast effectively with the black notation on small staves used to cue references to source phrases from the Ur-sequences.

For the most part, the book is well produced, with only a few typographical slips. Appendix 5 would be more easily interpreted if accompanied by a key to symbols. Table 8.6, mentioned on page 322, does not exist. The reference is evidently to the list of sequence families on pages 178–81, which occurs within the body of chapter 8 itself rather than as a separate table.

Fassler mounts a persuasive case that this genre of "gothic song" deserves attention for what it can reveal about a religious community and their implementation of new sacred song within their liturgy to further their doctrines, self-images, and religious purposes. Her study is written with fervor, a fervor arising from the excitement of discovery, as well as—I would judge—from admiration at the skill and ingenuity with which the Victorines appear to have encoded their beliefs and values in communal song. Her controlling metaphor is that of a central place with a central creative personality who set forth the first principles of the new rhythmic rhymed sequence. This will seem attractive and highly plausible to many readers. Others will worry over the rationale for regarding most late sequences as Parisian in origin or over the attributions of intent to the Victorine community (pp. 240, 291). In any event, the bold claims advanced in this erudite and imaginative work are likely to encourage more research on the late sequence—on the origins of specific pieces, on the evidence for a central place of production, on principles of musical analysis appropriate to the repertory. Besides fostering further research, this book will serve liturgical scholars, musicologists, and sociologists of art as a comprehensive case study in the uses of art to promote religious reform and to achieve institutional goals.

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Leslie C. Dunn and Nancy A. Jones, eds. *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994. xvii, 254 pp.

The first volume in the Cambridge series New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism, edited by Jeffrey Kallberg and Anthony Newcomb, is a provocative one. While dealing with a topos that has been of considerable interest in musicological circles in recent years (the gendered voice, where "voice" is taken both literally and figuratively), *Embodied Voices* vividly realizes the series editors' intention "to create a greater presence of music in the ongoing discourse among the human sciences"[1] through its interdisciplinary—primarily literary—nature. Of the fourteen authors included, ten are associated with literature departments (including classics), one is in cultural studies, and another is in film studies; the music disciplines are represented by one historical musicologist and one ethnomusicologist. I find myself struck as much by the sheer existence of the book as by its contents.

The essays are grouped into four sections: "Vocality, Textuality, and the Silencing of the Female Voice," "Anxieties of Audition," "Women Artists: Vocality and Cultural Authority," and "Maternal Voices." As titles, these address specific and distinct ideas within the larger common topic, although, as might be expected, there is a good deal of crossover—mothers' voices are everywhere, and Sirens only slightly less ubiquitous. All the authors are concerned with ways in which voice in its widest sense is mediated through the body, the site of the physical production of sonorous noise and often its visual emblem. Many of the essays—perhaps most, depending upon the criteria applied—are not about music as such, but all are about the contextual frameworks, mythic traditions, and representational practices in and through which music, as well as other purveyors of voice, is experienced by its listeners.

The theme of the first section—all readings of literary texts—is well represented in Leslie C. Dunn's "Ophelia's Songs in *Hamlet*: Music, Madness, and the Feminine," an essay that resonates with some important recent musicological work on operatic madness (by Susan McClary, Ellen Rosand, and Mary Ann Smart, among others). Arguing that "in Shakespeare's dramatic construction of Ophelia as madwoman, the discourse of music has a privileged place" (p. 50), Dunn begins with what

[1] Statement by the series editors, *Embodied Voices,* p. iv.

may by now be an overfamiliar story, the alignment of femininity with musicality taken as excess, or abnormal discourse. But she goes beyond this simple assertion to explore the contested contextual terrain of Christian humanism and Platonism—the confrontation of Pythagorean order with "the Queene of the senses"—that made Ophelia's singing just as semiotically charged for Renaissance audiences as were her words and her distracted appearance. Ophelia is silenced, not in the spectacular demise typical of opera, but by virtue of the play's refusal to portray her death: "it is not even represented on stage, but rather reported . . ." (p. 62).

Barbara Engh's essay, "Adorno and the Sirens: Tele-phono-graphic Bodies," addresses the "anxieties of audition" as well as presenting very directly the central issue of the whole volume, the precise import of the embodiment of the female voice. Engh offers us a charmingly postmodern text, summoning up the early telephone ("the first technology to disembody the voice," p. 121) and its roomsful of invisible and infinitely interchangeable female operators as a kind of mascot for her exploration of Adorno's gnomic comment on the early phonograph. "Male voices can be reproduced better than female voices," Adorno asserts, "[because] . . . the female voice requires the physical appearance of the body that carries it" (quoted, p. 128). Engh has some fun with this notion as she pursues it along a trajectory both serious and fascinating, although to a not very conclusive destination—one perhaps inevitable given that Adorno's comment appears to be nothing more than mere pronouncement.

The third section of the volume addresses the issue of female creativity, taking "voice" at its most metaphoric level—as authorial power. Janet Beizer picks up from Dunn in "Rewriting Ophelia: Fluidity, Madness, and Voice in Louise Colet's *La Servante*" but does not deal with a musical voice in any form. Rather, "the figurative sense of voice as style, subjectivity, perspective, individuality—the textual voice" (p. 153) is the topic of Beizer's intriguingly contrapuntal study. Louis Colet was a poet, novelist, and playwright; she was for a time the lover of Gustave Flaubert. Her verse narrative *La Servante,* written contemporaneously with *Madame Bovary,* is read by Beizer as (in part) a dialogue with Flaubert about women's access to cultural authority and about the "standard stories" with which he, among others, had circumscribed the possibilities of women's lives. Beizer's argument is quite complex, making use of Flaubert's correspondence, both his and Colet's literary texts, and the embodiment of Ophelia by Harriet Smithson in Paris in 1827 as elements of the case. I risk extreme oversimplification by saying, in summary, that *La Servante* retells both Emma Bovary's story and Ophelia's—though not, Beizer thinks, with ultimate success.

The fourth section of the book addresses itself explicitly to the maternal, and it is here that we encounter, perhaps with a resigned sigh, the

obligatory essay on Madonna.[2] But the faint of heart may take comfort in the fact that this one is by Nancy Vickers, a critic whose work always manages to be elegant, subtle, and entertaining at the same time. Here she explores the notorious near-simultaneity of Madonna's 1989 Pepsi-Cola commercial "Make a Wish" and her video "Like a Prayer," two "video variations" on the same song that "dramatically produc[ed] two alternative meanings within twenty-four hours" (p. 232). Reading these video texts as part of a two-year cycle of creative work in which Madonna explores her relationship to the mother she lost at the age of five, Vickers demonstrates the multiple ways in which the maternal is embodied in this elaborate brew of commercial and aesthetic values and is then further disrupted in the "ambivalent maternalism" of Madonna herself toward the members of her performance troupe in the full-length film *Truth or Dare.* (It is interesting to compare the lyrics of "Like a Prayer" [pp. 239–40] that address the dead mother to those doing the same in Elizabeth Tolbert's essay, "The Voice of Lament: Female Vocality and Performative Efficacy in the Finnish-Karelian *Itkuvirsi,*" p. 185.)

* * *

It becomes clear while reading this volume that its contents could also profitably be collated in terms of the various worlds of scholarship that the essays draw on, an unusually rich and diverse array. Unsurprising commonalties include French poststructuralist theory (especially Kristeva, Poizat, Clément, the later Barthes), film theory (Kaja Silverman, Clare Kahane, Trinh Minh-ha), and psychoanalytic theory (Guy Rosolato, Hélène Cixous)—although it is perhaps pointless by now to attempt these distinctions. But there are some essays that clearly dwell in other methodological realms: Linda Austern's takes advantage of the extraordinary efflorescence of New Historicist work in the English Renaissance (Stephen Greenblatt, Louis Montrose, Thomas Laqueur) as well as the feminist theory of Denise Riley and Genevieve Lloyd; Elizabeth Tolbert's ethnomusicology is technical, mostly linguistic; Charles Segal's classical and classicist sources will be a bit unfamiliar for most readers of this volume; Barbara Engh's contribution is explicitly framed in the criticism of the Frankfurt School. A few of the essays seem entirely innocent of theoretical grounding, or, now and then persuasively, have other goals in mind.

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[2] The Madonna industry has been so astonishingly fecund that Vickers's footnotes—over three-quarters citations of this literature rather than of other theoretical frameworks—are the most numerous and extensive in the book, giving the queasy-making impression that more has been written on Madonna than on, say, Dante.

What is most intriguing about the collection when parsed in this way is the evidence it offers that methodological frameworks are no longer moored to disciplines in the ways that once seemed self-evident—or in the ways still asserted by institutional structures. Far from being "borrowed" from one field by another in the manner (whether surreptitious or cheeky) of the early 1980s, critical theory is by now a fully freestanding congeries of tools and ideas contributed for general use from many disparate quarters. As such, it serves particularly well another stated goal of the series editors: "to elaborate structures of explanation, interpretation, commentary, and criticism which make music intelligible . . ." (p. iv). The invocation of intelligibility offers what is surely the best rationale for interdisciplinary work, quite apart from access to the critical insights of colleagues schooled in other approaches: it reminds us that music is and has been intelligible—signifies and has signified—in a very broad sense throughout cultures, and not only to musicologists.

Sarah Webster Goodwin's "Wordsworth and Romantic Voice: The Poet's Song and the Prostitute's Cry" will have a familiar feel to musicologists, since one of its patron spirits is Lawrence Kramer. Like much of Kramer's work, it engages central expressive tenets of Romantic subjectivity from an essentially deconstructive viewpoint. Goodwin studies the proliferation of singing women (and "feminized songbirds") in Romantic poetry—Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, Goethe—as well as the more complex move in which the figure of the female singer is displaced onto that of the prostitute. "Repeatedly, for the male Romantic writer," she argues, "to appropriate femininity is also to appropriate the woman's embodied voice, itself often represented as more physical than verbal, as ecstatic, dangerous, seductive, and mysterious—and in need of a mastering vehicle" (pp. 66–67).

It strikes me that this last story itself ramifies, within the book as a whole, resisting the best efforts of historically minded scholars to confine it to local and particular meanings, and looms over the reader like the ghost of Mr. Casaubon's "key to all mythologies." In a context where every critical and postmodern instinct shrinks from such master narratives—where I suspect that no single one of these writers would assert its universal pertinence—its constancy here is a source of bemusement for which I can offer no explanation other than cultural inertia.

Linda Austern tells us a very particularly inflected version of the story in "'No Women Are Indeed': The Boy Actor as Vocal Seductress in Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century English Drama." Since Elizabethan theater used boys to play women on stage, its audiences became accustomed to a situation of unusual gender fluidity that forced them to fuse insiders' knowledge with the suspension of disbelief: that is, since the

plays themselves (as Austern shows) troped cunningly on this performance convention, viewers needed both to know and to not-know that male bodies inhabited the female costumes. And yet, since the recognition of female characters depended upon certain stereotypical gender markers (costume, gesture, demeanor), the familiar narrative returns to the fore as vividly as ever. In this gender system, music seems to be coded pretty much as it was for Goodwin's Romantic poets: it was, Austern writes, "an indispensable component of Renaissance drama with its own recognizable sexual, effeminate, and repulsively attractive aspect" (p. 89) that called forth "fear of emasculation through uncontrolled musical ravishment" (p. 90).

In at least one case the story is different. Elizabeth Tolbert's essay on the lament is one of the volume's rare ventures into the area of performativity: that is, it investigates the power and the ritual efficacy of sonorous voices actually issuing from physically present female bodies. It is precisely the stylized mode of performance—Tolbert borrows the vivid term "icons of crying" from anthropologist Greg Urban—that constitutes the practice of lament and marks it as a female genre. Since the lamenter provides a service for the community as a whole, serving "as a mediator between the world of the living and the world of the dead" (p. 181), there is no suggestion in Tolbert's examination of the practice that this formalized weeping is perceived as excessive, out of control, or in need of masculine containment.

* * *

This collection, to judge from its title and subject matter, takes an at least implicitly feminist stance, at a moment when many are questioning the relationship between the development of pan-disciplinary critical tools and feminist goals. As many a feminist scholar has pointed out, postmodern theory has the tendency to make women, and even the whole question of gender, disappear just as thoroughly as the old universalizing humanisms ever did. At the same time, feminist theory gets little of the credit for ideas it introduced or developed that have become common coin ("the gaze," for example), while it continues, in different political circles, to come top of the list of potential threats to Western civilization. It seems that the old paradox whereby women are ineffectual and yet somehow dangerous is alive and well.

On the whole, the essays here negotiate this risky ground with a gratifying degree of success—and certainly they deal with many actual women—although it is fair to say of some of the authors that their command of feminist theory is rather less developed than other facets of their thinking. Still, many central feminist ideas are in evidence. The recurrent topos of

the mother's voice emerges from the feminist recasting of psychoanalytic theory. Karla F. C. Holloway's essay, "The Lyrical Dimensions of Spirituality: Music, Voice, and Language in the Novels of Toni Morrison," evokes (though it does not explicitly *in*voke) "womanism," that inflection of feminism specific to the African-American cultural context. A few of the essays—surprisingly few, perhaps—engage the question of embodiment from the primarily feminist perspective of performativity. Most significantly, the book as a whole interrogates the practices of European/American culture that persistently represent and enact a fundamentally dichotomous and unequal gender system.

* * *

Particularly in an era of interdisciplinary ferment, individual critical essays can serve us well as timely "news bulletins." But the currently favored practice of anthologizing them between hard covers—as I have occasion to know only too well—brings along with its substantial advantages a real handicap: the stately pace of book publication.[3] There is no doubt that the essays here were a long time arriving in print and that some have lost a bit of their edge in the process. The editors tell us that the first idea for *Embodied Voices* originated at a Lyrica Society session at the 1990 meeting of the Modern Language Association, and I heard some of its papers presented at the first Feminist Theory and Music conference in Minneapolis in 1991. Of the fourteen essays included in the book, three are reprinted from earlier publications, in one case dating back as far as 1987.

The equally ubiquitous leisureliness of the academic reviewing process has, in this case, added another two years to the temporal telescope through which we read these essays. At that rate, it is too much to expect up-to-the-minute engagement with ongoing topics of debate. Instead, we must assess them as permanent contributions to the critical literature; fortunately, most of these essays—and certainly the volume as a whole—happily meet this criterion.

—*Ruth A. Solie*
Smith College

[3] On the other hand, Susan C. Cook and Judy S. Tsou have recently argued that the multi-authored collection is "the genre of choice for feminist work," reflecting the diversity and the collaborative nature of that scholarship. See the introduction to their collection, *Cecilia Reclaimed: Feminist Perspectives on Gender and Music* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 6.

Irina Nikolska. *Conversations with Witold Lutoslawski.* Translated by Valerie Yerokbin. Stockholm: Melos, 1994, 221 pp.

Charles Bodman Rae. *The Music of Lutoslawski.* London: Faber and Faber, 1994, xvi, 288 pp.

The late Witold Lutoslawski (1913–1994) has inspired a musicological literature that few recent composers can claim. While his own recorded lectures and published essays number well over fifty, there are now eleven books devoted to the composer and his work as well as numerous articles, interviews, panel discussions, theses, and dissertations.[1] The latest contributions to this growing body of literature are a book of interviews by Russian musicologist Irina Nikolska and a critical survey of Lutoslawski's works by British composer Charles Bodman Rae. Nikolska's book-length collection of conversations is the third such published collection (even bearing the same title as its immediate predecessor[2]), while Rae's book combines analytical and biographical commentary in a manner that resembles Steven Stucky's *Lutoslawski and His Music* (1981).[3] Although neither Nikolska nor Rae can avoid some of the same paths taken by previous authors, both present new ideas and discoveries that merit the reader's attention.

The content of Nikolska's *Conversations with Witold Lutoslawski* benefits greatly from the author's skill as an interviewer as well as from her personal relationship with the composer. Nikolska's skill lies primarily in her ability to keep Lutoslawski talking about a chosen topic without interrupting him or ignoring the direction of his discourse. As a result, he explains some of his ideas in more detail than one will find in other published interviews. Their discussion about harmonic practice provides one vantage point from which to compare Nikolska's conversations with other interviews. In Varga's set of introductory interviews, Lutoslawski simply rephrases ideas about pitch organization that were already available in his published lectures. The composer avoids detailed discussion of his harmonic prac-

[1] Martina Homma has compiled the most recent Lutoslawski bibliography in *Musik-Konzepte 71/72/73: Witold Lutoslawski,* ed. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (Munich: Edition Text + Kritik, 1991), 208–16.

[2] Tadeusz Kaczynski, *Conversations with Witold Lutoslawski,* trans. Yolanda May (London: Chester Music, 1984).

[3] Steven Stucky, *Lutoslawski and His Music* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

tice, claiming that such explanation would bore readers.[4] In Kaczynski's interviews, Lutoslawski once again manages to avoid detailed discussion of pitch organization: in this case, when the composer indicates some interest in divulging details, Kaczynski abruptly changes the subject. Consider, for instance, their conversation about *Mi-parti,* Lutoslawski's 1976 symphonic masterpiece.[5] Lutoslawski tells his interviewer that he has been experimenting with new harmonic techniques in his latest works and offers as an example an excerpt from the trumpet section at rehearsal no. 24. Rather than asking the composer to elaborate, Kaczynski ignores the comment entirely and asks a new question about the piece.[6] Admittedly, Kaczynski's questions generally draw many useful insights from the composer about his music of the 1960s and 1970s, but the frequency with which he interrupts or ignores Lutoslawski's answers tends to prevent the composer from clarifying many of his ideas.

Nikolska's book includes a thirteen-page dialogue devoted exclusively to matters of harmonic practice (pp. 120–33). She listens to the composer's words and responds intelligently, thereby sustaining a useful and productive discussion in which Lutoslawski describes some of his harmonic techniques in great detail. Along with the explanation of twelve-note harmonic principles that one can find in several of his interviews and lectures, the reader will encounter Lutoslawski's discussion of his use of major sevenths and minor ninths for voicing harmonies, his claim that theorists overrate the significance of pitch-symmetry relations in his music, and his comments on his habits of developing new chord voicings in his studio, as well as other harmonic techniques that he does not discuss in any other published interview. Musical examples in the back of the book help clarify the content of these conversations, and include samples of printed score, manuscript, sketch materials, and schematic reductions that are cross-referenced with endnotes to the text.

Lutoslawski and Nikolska converse about other compositional features as well, such as melody, texture, text setting, and form; they also address topics of biographical interest, discussing the composer's opinions about music and art, dance, theater, literature, film, religion, and poetics. Lutoslawski's remarkable candor demonstrates his familiarity with Nikolska and his confidence that he would not be misrepresented. Comparing my own interview with Nikolska's, I notice that her conversation details the

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[4] Bálint András Varga, *Lutoslawski Profile: Witold Lutoslawski in Conversation with Bálint András Varga* (London: Chester Music, 1976), 34.

[5] Kaczynski, *Conversations with Witold Lutoslawski,* 81–92.

[6] Kaczynski, *Conversations with Witold Lutoslawski,* 87.

teaching methods of Lutoslawski's mentor Maliszewski more than does mine, in spite of the fact that I placed a great deal of emphasis on the topic during my interview.[7] Simply put, the familiarity and esteem shared by Lutoslawski and Nikolska enrich the content and scope of this collection of conversations, thereby enhancing its musicological value.

Unfortunately, Nikolska's brilliant work reaches its English-speaking readers in poorly translated and awkwardly edited form. Lutoslawski himself spoke better English than did his translator, who often fails to use correct grammar in her rendering of the text. In addition, some terms are translated inaccurately, as for instance, when the unflattering expression "accidental music" (p. 38) occurs where "incidental music" is intended.

Complicating this state of affairs is the manner in which the conversations themselves are presented. While Nikolska transcribed some of the conversations from audiocassettes, others that had never been taped had to be dictated by hand.[8] As we do not know to what extent Nikolska had to reconstruct those untaped interviews from abbreviation and paraphrase, we cannot be entirely sure as to their accuracy. Indeed, the reader is not even informed as to which interviews were taped and which were dictated. Not only does Nikolska leave each interview undated, but she splices together different interviews and excerpted passages under general topic headings such as "Melody," "About Some of the Performers of the Composer's Works," and "Ballet." A straightforward rendering of each interview would have been more valuable in allowing the reader to evaluate each remark within its original context. Nikolska could have included her topic headings in a general index at the back of the book.

In conclusion, Nikolska has done a fine job interviewing Lutoslawski (a task that she was especially qualified to do); the editing of her manuscript, however, has not preserved the original context of the conversations, and the translation could stand improvement.

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Charles Bodman Rae's recent book on Lutoslawski provides the English-speaking community with a reliable study of the composer and his work. Beginning with a guide to Polish pronunciation, the work gives precise historical, political, and genealogical information about the

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[7] Douglas Rust, "Conversation with Witold Lutoslawski," *Musical Quarterly* 79, no. 1 (spring 1995): 207–23, especially pp. 207–10. Compare Nikolska, *Conversations with Witold Lutoslawski*, pp. 89–91, 104–9.

[8] Nikolska recounts these procedures in pp. 17–18.

Lutoslawski family; an equally precise history of the composer's musical style that traces the origins and purpose of each new compositional technique; a formal synopsis of each major work, including the exact proportion of each work's climax as well as a general description of harmonic vocabulary and horizontal interval pairing for some movements; the circumstances of every commission; and corrections of errata in Lutoslawski's published scores, essays, and program notes.

Perhaps the most important feature of Rae's book is the description (apparently paraphrased from discussions with the composer) of Lutoslawski's harmonic practice (pp. 49–57). Rae explains the composer's general principles for constructing and categorizing different types of aggregate voicings; he then labels all of the tetrachordal components used to build the chords that Lutoslawski referred to in his interviews as warm, indeterminate, or mild.[9] This important technical foundation is supplemented throughout the subsequent analyses by the author's personal knowledge of Lutoslawski's habits and attitudes toward voicing chords. For instance, Rae's book is the first to document the composer's distinction between voicings that have a perfect fifth as their lowest component interval and those that have a diminished fifth in this position.[10] Rae's technical understanding of these matters enriches many of his analyses: for example, in his description of the climactic chord succession from *Trois poèmes,* rehearsal nos. 55–56 (p. 88), he not only identifies the intervallic vocabulary of these chords but also interprets the linear patterns and contrapuntal sequences that connect them.

Since Rae both motivated and translated the English edition of Lutoslawski's *Polish Christmas Carols,* it comes as no surprise that this book has more information about the composer's incidental songs than does any other source (p. 25). Rae not only has tracked down all of the folk-music sources for these pieces but, in some cases, has documented exactly how Lutoslawski altered the original tune. No other published analysis of this repertoire offers the same depth of insight or attention to detail.

In his preface, Rae lists "correcting some minor errors and omissions made by Stucky" (p. x) as one of the motivations for writing his book, but the only such corrections relate to such small matters as biographical details from Lutoslawski's boyhood or the number of unpublished canons

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[9] Such terms appear in Kaczynski, *Conversations with Witold Lutoslawski,* 41, 86, 88; and in Janny Dejong, "In gesprek met Lutoslawski," *Mens en melodie* 31 (1976): 365; translated in Steven Stucky, *Lutoslawski and His Music,* 193.

[10] By "lowest component interval," I mean the pitch interval that separates the lowest pitch in the voicing from the second lowest pitch. Rae first mentions this idea on p. 26.

sketched by the composer during the last year of World War II. Rae also reproves Stucky for publishing a biography in 1981 that did not account for the beginning, in 1979, of Lutoslawski's last style period. This reproach is hardly fair to Stucky, however, since Stucky chose to end his book with *Mi-parti* (1976) and would have found it impossible to demonstrate the arrival of a post-1979 style period from a 1981 perspective. Rae himself describes the first two major works of the post-1979 period as stylistic hybrids (pp. 154, 176).

In general, Rae's book has certain advantages over Stucky's: it analyzes every major work in the composer's oeuvre, it is able to define his last style period, and it documents various compositional techniques that do not receive mention in Stucky's book (such as the aforementioned principles for voicing twelve-note harmony, pp. 49–57). Yet Stucky's book also has its advantages. Readers who are not already familiar with Lutoslawski may find Stucky's book to be a better introduction. Stucky writes with an engaging prose style and includes a wider variety of comparisons than does Rae. For example, when Stucky discusses Lutoslawski's *String Quartet* (both in pp. 147–55 and in his general discussion of style, pp. 111–12, 122), he compares its aleatoric aesthetic to that of Alexander Calder, its technical details to the music of Krzysztof Penderecki, Henryk Górecki, György Ligeti, Alois Hába, Harry Partch, Ben Johnston, Béla Bartók and Igor Stravinsky and incorporates the ideas of other musicologists into his discussion (Edward Cowie, Stephen Walsh, Christian Martin Schmidt, Joachim Hansberger). Rae draws fewer parallels, citing Bartók, Calder, Cowie, Gunther Schuller, and Earle Brown. Thus, the reader who is not already familiar with Lutoslawski's ideas may find that Stucky's frequent recourse to comparison offers a wider variety of routes into the new subject matter. Furthermore, the design of Stucky's book, with biographical materials at the beginning, a general description of style in the middle (chapter 5), and analytical essays at the end, makes it easy to select those portions of the text that are most pertinent to the reader's interest. Rae's book combines those three subjects within a continuous chronological succession of chapters. It is easy enough to locate Rae's analyses, since he labels each one with the title of the piece, but biographical details and general topics are more difficult to pinpoint without the assistance of the index. Simply put, Stucky's book provides a good introduction to Lutoslawski for the uninitiated; Rae's book is more useful for reference purposes.

Although *The Music of Lutoslawski* contains information that is both useful and accurate, its author occasionally neglects important formal and structural aspects of the pieces under discussion. For instance, Rae's account of Symphony no. 3 fails to recognize the sonata-form design of the second movement. In his formal synopsis, the reprise of the first theme

goes unnoticed, as it is combined with the central metamorphosis section of rehearsal nos. 49 to 61 into one lengthy formal division titled "toccata-like themes" (p. 168). As Aloyse Michealy has shown, the first and second themes begin at rehearsal nos. 32 and 37, respectively, and return (in the same order) starting three bars after rehearsal no. 65 and at rehearsal no. 73.[11] Rae takes no notice of this sonata design, not even documenting the presence of Michealy's competing interpretation. Throughout his book, Rae loses several opportunities for comparison of his ideas with those of other published authors.

Rae's work shies away from speculative or interpretive acts that might have suggested interesting ways of hearing compositional structure. He writes little about Lutoslawski's theory of musical action (*ackja*) or his mentor Maliszewski's ideas about character, and he rarely applies these terms to form analysis.[12] Furthermore, Rae almost entirely disregards certain theoretical issues that are common to English-language analytical literature, such as the structural significance of transposition and inversion operations in Lutoslawski's music, the appearance of familiar collections (particularly the octatonic) in his harmony, the unfolding of patterns in pitch space, and the contrapuntal structure and order patterns that arise as concomitants of Lutoslawski's melodic-interval pairings. For example, Rae cites a violin cadenza from the first movement of *Chain 2,* at rehearsal no. 15 (p. 202), and his only interpretation of this melody is to note the presence of interval pairing 2 + 5 (meaning that all registral distances between temporally adjacent notes span either interval class 2 or interval class 5). If he had interpreted the line further, he might have pointed out that the last eleven pitch classes repeat the order of the first eleven, or he might have drawn attention to the rising chromatic pattern (heard between notes at the top of the solo violin's melodic contour) that recalls similar patterns from earlier in the movement (in the accompaniment at rehearsal nos. 11–13, for example). Rae identifies this melody's accompaniment as the literal pitch-class complement of the solo violin line, but he

[11] Aloyse Michealy, "Lutoslawskis III. Sinfonie: Untersuchungen zu Form und Harmonik," in *Musik-Konzepte 71/72/73: Witold Lutoslawski,* 52–197, especially 113. Note that Michealy refers to the incipit of the second theme as the "Streicherphrase" (p. 113); he uses the term "EspressivoPhrasen" (p. 119) to describe the second theme group as a whole.

[12] Rae explains action on pp. 117–18, and Maliszewski's "character" on pp. 7–8. His analysis of *Jeux vénitiens* demonstrates the limited manner in which he applies these ideas to form analysis. Rae states, "in *Jeux vénitiens* we have each of Maliszewski's four 'characters' precisely identified with the individual movements: Introductory, Transitional, Narrative and Concluding" (p. 83). Hence, the rhetorical characters become nothing more than pseudonyms for entire movements.

does not mention that the accompanying harmony initiates a pattern of transposition that connects this cadenza with the closing material of rehearsal nos. 16–22.[13] Such an interpretation justifies Rae's segmentation of the form while it hints at the remarkable mastery of technique that pervades every single detail of Lutoslawski's late works. It is not enough to identify melodic interval pairing: one needs to explain the composer's use of the technique in a manner that gives the reader a better vantage point from which to appreciate Lutoslawski's superlative artistry.

In all fairness, I should point out that Rae wanted his book to apply a critical (rather than a theoretical) approach to Lutoslawski's music; thus, he explains in his preface, he avoids incorporating too much detailed analysis and theoretical jargon (p. xi). He refers theorists to his dissertation for more of these details. (Unfortunately, his dissertation is not readily available to readers living outside England.) Rae's decision, however, lessens the impact of his critical mission: because his analytical commentary reveals a glimpse of his profound understanding of Lutoslawski's compositions, he could have explained Lutoslawski's artistry with a critical depth that few musicologists would have been able to match; however, his avoidance of technical detail suppresses this potential.

In summary, Rae deserves praise for the great precision and clarity with which he introduces Lutoslawski's music and ideas; Rae's insights, both personal and musical, rank him among the most eminent Lutoslawski scholars. His book is well worth reading—but is also disappointing, because the author could have said so much more.

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[13] The transpositional pattern unfolds as follows:

R.15	R.16	R.17	R.18	R.19	R.20	R.21	R.22
(4-1)	**T8**	(4-1)	**T1**	(4-1)			
	(4-23)	**T8**	(4-23)	**T1**	(4-23)	**T0**	(4-23)

Underlined numbers indicate rehearsal numbers, transpositional levels appear in boldface, and parenthetic expressions are set-class labels from Allen Forte, *The Structure of Atonal Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973), 179–81.