

# *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century*

**VOLUME ONE**

Fugue, Form and Style

The image shows a snippet of a musical score, likely from a 19th-century French work. It features a fugue-like texture with multiple voices. The lyrics are in French: "si je te perds, si je te perds, je vais mourir!". The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "p" (piano). The background of the book cover is a faded, yellowish musical score with similar notation.

**EDITED BY IAN BENT**



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## Preface to volumes I and II

'Never confuse analysis with mere description!', Hans Keller used waggishly to say, chastising unfortunate speakers at conferences. To Keller, most so-called 'criticism' and 'analysis' was an amalgam of the descriptive and the metaphorical: 'The descriptive is senseless, the metaphorical usually nonsense.' Most analytical writings boiled down to 'mere tautological descriptions'. Not even Tovey was beyond reproach: 'his "analyses" are misnomers', Keller remarked; they were in his view 'faultless descriptions' with 'occasional flashes of profound analytical insight'; otherwise they contained 'much eminently professional tautology'.<sup>1</sup> More recently, V. Kofi Agawu has taken one analyst to task for failing to observe 'the distinction between description and analysis, between a critical, necessarily impressionistic commentary and a rigorous interpretative exercise . . .'.<sup>2</sup>

With censure such as this, what justification is there for entitling the contents of these two volumes 'Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century'? There are in fact two justifications, one intentional, the other actual.

First, it is upon 'analysis' that most of the authors represented in these volumes considered they were engaged. Thus, analysing is what Berlioz thought he was doing when he wrote about Beethoven's nine symphonies in 1838 ('Nous allons essayer l'analyse des symphonies de ce grand maître'), and when he reviewed the first performance of Meyerbeer's *Les Huguenots* on 6 March 1836, and later its score. 'Analysis' is what Momigny set out to do with the first movement of Mozart's D minor string quartet ('Analyse du beau Quatuor en ré mineur du célèbre Mozart') and Haydn's 'Drumroll' Symphony; it is what Reicha sought to do with harmonic, melodic and contrapuntal models in all three of his major treatises; what Fétis claimed to have done with the late string quartets of Beethoven, and what von Lenz promised his readers in his treatment of Beethoven's sonatas for piano. Basevi claimed to have 'analysed' the operas of Verdi in 1859 (he called the process 'critica analitica'), and Beethoven's string quartets Op. 18 in 1874 ('analisi dei sei quartetti'). So too did Sechter in his examination of Mozart's 'Jupiter' Finale in 1843 ('Analyse der Mozartschen Instrumentalfuge'), Dehn in his studies of three fugues from Bach's *Well-tempered Clavier* in 1858 ('zu analysiren und in Betracht ihres Baues kritisch zu beleuchten'), Lobe in 1850 and Helm in 1885 in their

1 Quoted from Hans Keller, 'K.503: The Unity of Contrasting Themes and Movements – I', *Music Review*, 17 (1956), 48–9; these views, always trenchantly put, are widespread in his writings.

2 *Music Analysis*, 7 (1988), 99: review of W. Frisch, *Brahms and the Principle of Developing Variation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984).

3 'to analyse and illuminate critically in regard to their construction': the editor (Foreword) reporting Dehn's intentions before he died.

studies of works by Beethoven, and Kretzschmar in his 'analytische Bestrebungen'.<sup>4</sup>

Nor was this corporate expression of purpose limited to cognate forms of the Greek word *Analysis*. A multitude of terms existed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by means of which those who subjected musical fabrics, configurations, structures and styles to close scrutiny might designate what they were doing: in French, *décomposer*, *dégager*, *expliquer*; in German, *auffassen*, *betrachten*, *beurtheilen*, *entdecken*, *enträthseln*, *erklären*, *erläutern*, *phrasiren*, *zergliedern*, *zerlegen* – to mention only a few. Each of these terms had its own special implication, each formed part of a terminological network, each belonged to a particular array of time and space. The principal terms will be discussed at strategic points in the introductions and editorial material below.

Most of the writers represented in the present volumes characterize their work in some such terms. Surprisingly, A. B. Marx (vol. II, Analysis 12) is an exception. His minutely detailed descriptions of musical formations, in his manual of composition as well as his volumes on Beethoven's works, are couched in synthetic rather than analytic terms – they are phrased constructively rather than deconstructively. (Where he used the German term *Analyse*, it was in reference to the work of others not himself, specifically that of Berlioz and Ulibishev.<sup>5</sup>) His case demonstrates that the absence of such defining terms by no means necessarily signals absence of analytical material. Nor does it for that matter imply a desire to avoid self-characterization. In the case of E. T. A. Hoffmann, for example (vol. II, Analysis 9), whose descriptions are at times highly detailed and technical, it reflects perhaps a mastery of language and a lack of self-consciousness about what he is doing.

None of this would, of course, have mollified Hans Keller, who saw the confusion as lying not in the realm of public perception, but in the mind of each deluded would-be analyst. But to return for a moment to Berlioz: when, confronted by 'bold and imposing' effects in the Act V trio of *Les Huguenots*, Berlioz pleads for 'time to reflect on my impressions', who are we to disparage his intention, which is 'to *analyse* them and *discover their causes*' (my italics)? To be sure, he was not seeking 'the latent elements of the unity of manifest contrasts' (Keller), or 'a precise formulation of norms of dimensional behaviour against which we can evaluate [the composer's] practice' (Kofi Agawu). But he *was* seeking, from an examination of Meyerbeer's complex deployment of forces in the massacre scene of this trio (three soloists and two separate on-stage choruses, with markedly conflicting gestural and emotional characters and contrasting musical styles, orchestra in the pit and brass chorus outside the auditorium) and from study of Meyerbeer's treatment of tonality here (minor key, but with the sixth degree frequently and obdurately raised), to determine precisely how the terrifying and blood-curdling effect that he had observed came about. To take apart, and uncover the prime causes – is that not a type of analytical procedure?

4 'analytical endeavours': 'Anregungen zur Förderung musikalischer Hermeneutik', *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters für 1902*, 9 (1903), 47; later issued in *Gesammelte Aufsätze aus den Jahrbüchern der Musikbibliothek Peters* (Leipzig: Peters, 1911; reprint edn ibid 1973), p. 168.

5 Seemingly without disparagement (*Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen* (Berlin: Otto Janke, 1859), vol. 1, p. 295 note). More likely, *Analyse* alludes to their being written in French. Marx occasionally used *zergliedern* and *Zergliederung* for what he himself did.



This, then, is the second justification for the entitling of the present volumes: that, irrespective of the name given to them, there were in the nineteenth century species of activity that meet the general criteria of the present day for analysis. Dunsby and Whittall say something of this latter sort in the following statement, while qualifying it with respect to purpose:<sup>6</sup>

The kind of analysis we would nowadays recognize as 'technical' has been in practice for more than two centuries. Yet it came to be regarded as a discipline apart from compositional theory only at the turn of this century. Around this time, the relationship between traditional analysis and compositional theory ceased to be significantly reflexive.

Their first sentence, however, invokes technicality, and therefore makes a slightly different point from my own. Were we still in the 1960s or 1970s, then our two statements would perhaps be saying the same thing (intentionally or not); but in the world of the 1990s I believe they no longer do this. I shall return to this in a moment.

Consider the latter two sentences of the above quotation. Taken on their own terms, the thesis that they embody is factually disprovable: the analysis of J. S. Bach's *The Art of Fugue* in Analysis 3 below, dating from 1841 and as rigorous and technical as anything presented here, arose in the context not of compositional theory but of historical textuality. It formed the critical commentary to the *Art of Fugue* volume of a collected edition of Bach's keyboard works. Far from being prescriptive, it was an abstract engagement in contrapuntal process – written, as it was, by Moritz Hauptmann, one of the principal theorists of the century but a writer of 'pure' theory rather than compositionally instructional theory. Then again, the analysis of leitmotifs in *Tristan and Isolde* by Karl Mayrberger (Analysis 13), dating from 1881 and highly technical, was a contribution not to a composition manual but to a journal intended for amateur devotees of Wagner's music dramas, a contribution that was then turned into a small monograph indicatively titled *The Harmonic Style of Richard Wagner*.

Not that the above disproof invalidates Dunsby's and Whittall's argument. The bulk of technical analysis in the nineteenth century probably did indeed reside within compositional theory. The analyses given below by Reicha, Sechter, Czerny and Lobe certainly did; and those by Vogler, Dehn, Marx and Riemann can be seen as outgrowths of composition manuals already written or edited by those authors. The effect of my disproof is perhaps no more than to set back earlier in time the moment at which the 'reflexivity' between analysis and theory began to break down. Indeed, the continuation of Dunsby's and Whittall's statement invites this very suggestion:

Analysis became the technical or systematic study, either of the kind of familiar tonal style few composers felt to be current any longer, or of new music that the wider public found profoundly hard to understand, and the challenges of which seemed to focus on the question of whether tonal comprehensibility was present at all.

Hauptmann's analysis of *The Art of Fugue* perfectly exemplifies the former, itself an early manifestation of the Bach revival and its author a figure later associated with that movement; and Mayrberger's exemplifies the latter, since it was one of the earliest attempts to tackle the apparent incomprehensibility of Wagner's

<sup>6</sup> J. Dunsby and A. Whittall, *Music Analysis in Theory and Practice* (London: Faber, 1988), p. 62.



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envisage such a 'humanistic' – in contrast to quasi-scientific – mode of analysis. Fred Everett Maus has propounded a type of analysis in which the distinctions between 'structural' and 'emotive', between 'technical' and 'non-technical', are lost; using a dramatic model, he interprets music in terms of 'actions' and 'agents'. The music's structure becomes a 'plot', and the analysis 'narrates' (in the fullest sense of that word) that plot.<sup>9</sup> Marion Guck has for some time been engaged in a systematic investigation of metaphor in analytic discourse about music with a view to locating new modes of description.<sup>10</sup> No longer will a statement such as the following (from vol. II, Analysis 4 of the present work) be greeted with universal scorn or discomfort:

The movement begins with strident augmented sixths, like a sudden cry of anguish from the terrified soul. Passagework now follows, which, like some foaming mountain stream, plunges wildly into the chasm below, growls and grumbles in the depths, until at last a figure, tossing back and forth – the first principal theme – breaks away from the whirlpool, eddies up and down, then spouts up roaring in uncontrolled passion, undeterred by the wailing parallel thirds which themselves are dragged into the maelstrom.

These words, a mixture of technicality ('augmented sixths', 'passagework', and the like), simile ('like a sudden cry . . .'), metaphor ('plunges wildly into the chasm below') and partial personification ('roaring in uncontrolled passion'), map the motions of natural phenomena and the human psyche on to the motions of the music in an effort to exteriorize the interior life of that music. The words are by Ernst von Elterlein, a minor mid-nineteenth-century writer on music. Written in 1856, they depict the opening of the Finale of Beethoven's 'Appassionata' Sonata.

A significant group of thinkers is nowadays prepared to acknowledge that figurative writing containing these categories of language usage has a legitimate place in analytical discourse. Such vividly naturalistic images as the above, in such profusion, seem quintessentially Romantic, recalling (to take English examples) the paintings of John Martin or the poetry of Wordsworth and Tennyson (albeit in a debased and only semi-literary form). The 1990s have their own world of images upon which to draw for analytical purposes. The present volumes appear perhaps not inopportunistically, displaying as they do a broad range of analytical types from the last century: technically theoretical, compositionally instructive, musicologically historical and metaphorically experiential.

These two volumes differ from others already published in the series *Cambridge Readings in the Literature of Music* not only in their concern with specifically

- 9 F. E. Maus, 'Music as Drama', *Music Theory Spectrum*, 10 (1988), 56–73. Maus's approach is informed by the work of Edward T. Cone, *The Composer's Voice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), and by recent literary theory and narratology, notably by T. Todorov, *Introduction to Poetics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981). The term 'plot' was first imported into musical discourse from historian Paul Veyne by Jean-Jacques Nattiez in 'The Concepts of Plot and Seriation Process in Music Analysis', *Music Analysis*, 4 (1985), 107–18.
- 10 M. A. Guck, e.g. 'Rehabilitating the Incurable', in *Cognitive Communication about Music*, ed. F. E. Maus and M. A. Guck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, forthcoming); see Guck's notes 19 and 23 for a survey of recent analyses by Cone, Lewin and Treitler that use figurative language, and by Newcombe that uses emotive descriptions. Tangentially, see remarks in my own 'History of Music Theory: Margin or Center?', *Theoria*, 6 (1993), 1–21.



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[cellos and] basses are reinforced [in unison] by the bassoons, at the upper octave by the violas, and at the double octave above by the oboes. Because the horns and trumpets enter half a bar later with the first three notes of the same theme, followed by the identical three notes on timpani a moment later, the effect is almost that of a four-part canon, albeit not running its full course. This canon is repeated once [bb. 265<sup>3</sup>–268<sup>3</sup>], this being made possible only by the fact that it has the properties of a circular canon. After this, a brief coda [*Anhang*] is introduced [bb. 268<sup>2</sup>–271], based on a figure from the last portion of the canon, leading to a rest in all parts [*Abschnitt*].<sup>49</sup> This heralds the return of the second subject, which in section I was in G major and must now appear, obeying the dictates of form, in C major.<sup>50</sup>

{182} As symphonic form [*die Form der Sinfonie*] demands, the second subject, which in section I was in the key of the dominant, now makes its appearance in the tonic key. My readers may care now to compare the following passages: bb. 272–284<sup>1</sup> with that of bb. 74–86<sup>1</sup>, bb. 284–292<sup>2</sup> with bb. 86–94<sup>2</sup>, bb. 292<sup>3</sup>–296<sup>2</sup> with bb. 94<sup>3</sup>–98<sup>2</sup>, bb. 296<sup>3</sup>–312 with bb. 98<sup>3</sup>–114, bb. 313–334<sup>2</sup> with bb. 115–135<sup>2</sup> and bb. 334<sup>3</sup>–356<sup>2</sup> with bb. 135<sup>3</sup>–157<sup>2</sup>.<sup>51</sup> On grounds of orchestration alone, the small-scale modifications that are revealed by so doing will be of interest to my readers. The passages comprising bb. 272–356,<sup>52</sup> in the course of which no new material of significance is introduced, all now follow in unbroken succession.<sup>53</sup>

{188} After the repetition of section II is complete [b. 356], the first violins and [cellos and] basses reintroduce the second theme simultaneously, the latter in direct motion and the former in inversion, though with a small modification after the first three notes, thus [bb. 356–9]:

Example 18



Second violins and violas reinforce this entry freely in parallel motion. Horns, trumpets and timpani also enter at this point, and then reiterate the first three notes of the theme. Because the flute, oboes and bassoons sound the opening of the theme half a bar later [than the initial entry], this gives the illusion of three thematic entries in quick succession.<sup>54</sup>

49 *Abschnitt*: contemporary use of this term conveys not only a phrase unit but also a rest punctuating such a unit. Koch (1802), e.g. defines it thus: 'With this term are often designated the points of rest [*Ruhepunkte*] that demarcate a melody, when the extent of its sections [*Theile*] is left unspecified. The specific extent of melodic sections and units [*Glieder*] are designated by the terms *Periode*, *Absatz* and *Einschnitt* (q.v.).'

50 The original has 'This passage appears as follows in the orchestral score:' followed by bb. 263<sup>3</sup>–271 quoted in full score as Ex. s.

51 'that of *t* with that of *e*, *u* with *f*, *v* with *g*, *w* with *h*, *x* with *i*, and *z* with *k*'.

52 't to z'.

53 At this point bb. 272–356<sup>2</sup> (2nd-time bar) are quoted in full score on pp. 183–7, the letters *t*, *u*, *v*, *w*, *x* and *z* marking off the sections corresponding to earlier full-score examples.

54 The original has 'This is how it looks in the orchestral score:' followed by bb. 356<sup>3</sup> (2nd-time bar)–359 quoted in full score as Ex. aa.



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material throughout the fugue. Built into this was observation of the major structural components – exposition, episodes, middle-entry series, stretti.

It is one aspect of this last which perhaps gives individuality to the analysis of the D minor fugue. Dehn was greatly concerned with uncovering how, while achieving maximum unity, Bach contrived the avoidance of monotony. As the analysis proceeds, Dehn builds us a map of parallel passages – between bb. 13–14 and 21–22, for example. These parallelisms are often covert, and involve passages of markedly different length – bb. 1–6 and 27–9, for example. The result is an elaborate internal cross-referencing of the fugue. Dehn ignores the one truly obvious parallelism – that between bb. 17–21 and 39–43 – perhaps precisely because this was a formal concluding repetition rather than an inner relationship.

His portrayal of the D minor subject here contrasts incisively with that of the E♭ major subject from Book II No. 7, given later in *Analyses*. The former unfolds the identity of the minor mode by gradually disclosing its distinguishing scale degrees (... f' ... c♯' ... b♭' ...); the latter asserts the major mode by thrusting its distinguishing notes (e♭–b♭ ... g–c') upon the listener. Dehn delimits the subject as lasting to the initial quaver e' of b. 4, tacitly sanctioning the overlap of the answer by a full measure. Modern analysts would probably terminate it at a crotchet's value (or a quaver's value, or even at the attack-point) of the initial a' of b. 3, leaving the following measure as a non-obligatory codetta.

There are anomalies in the segmentation of the D minor subject: according to the text, figures 4 and 5 both begin on a tied note, for example, and the first semi-quaver of b. 2 has a place in neither figure 1 nor figure 2. On the other hand, Example 1 half includes this note in figure 1. Indeed, the inflexibilities of moveable type (which have been reproduced as faithfully as possible here) give rise to several ambiguities in the figure-bracketing of Examples 1 and 4 – does the initial quaver rest belong to figure 1 or not? – do theme and countersubject really intersect at the e' of b. 4? Notably, in terms of the text, four of the five figures are multiples of a single note value; only figure 2 includes different values. The overlaying of figures 2 and 3 represents an interesting conceptual leap; also interesting is the fact that both are upbeat–downbeat patterns. (These remarks should not mask the existence of some innovative structural music examples later in the volume.) Dehn was apparently unaware of Bach's authority for a slur on the three semiquavers of figure 2, a staccato on the first crotchet and a trill on the second. He thus attributes the notes of the upper voice in b. 5 to figure 2, whereas Tovey insisted, on grounds of the absence of these signs, that they 'do not allude to the subject'.<sup>3</sup> Note how he treats the E♭ major chord in b. 9 as a 'passing modulation', showing no conception of the flattened second degree as a chromatic identity within a key.<sup>4</sup> Comparison with Vogler's treatment of the same phenomenon some fifty years earlier is striking. He observes (Analysis 7 below) with extraordinary

3 J. S. Bach: *Forty-eight Preludes and Fugues*, ed. D. F. Tovey (London: Associated Board, 1924), vol. 1, p. 57; Tovey speaks only of 'the final crotchets of bar 5'.

4 The term 'Neapolitan sixth' appears in Riemann's *Handbuch der Harmonie* (Leipzig: B&H, 4/1906), and perhaps goes back to his earlier *Skizze einer neuen Methode der Harmonielehre* (1880). I do not know who used the term first.



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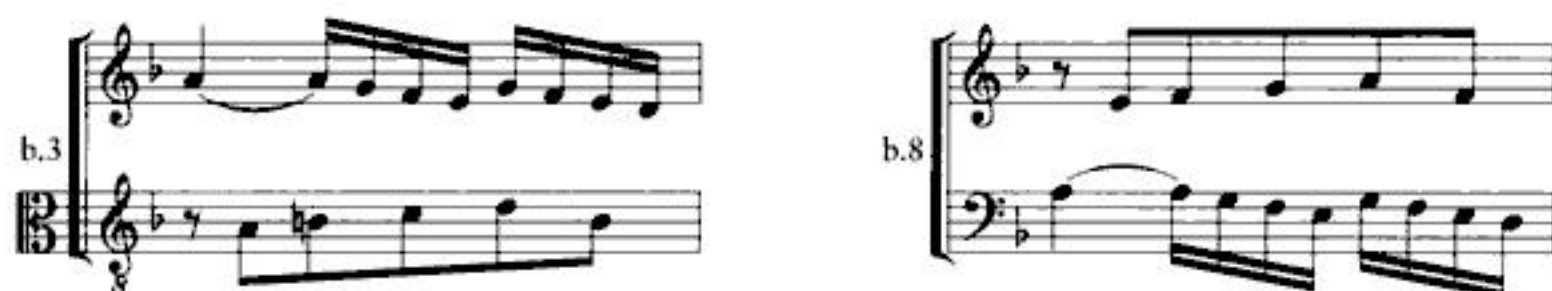


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voice. Since, however, the two voices are not set in counterpoint at the same interval, but rather the upper voice is an octave below and against that the lower voice a fifth higher, so the deployment of invertible counterpoint at the fifth or twelfth stands out clearly, as the following example demonstrates.

Example 3



In addition to the invertible counterpoint just cited, a further ingenuity in the treatment of the subject is worth mentioning at this point. The entry of the subject in the upper voice, in b. 8, provides the means of connecting the next section of the fugue tightly to the exposition [*Exposition*]. Throughout the exposition, nothing other than the tonic and dominant keys have arisen: nothing remote or alien. Now, to avoid any danger of monotony, a passing modulation is effected which touches fleetingly on E $\flat$  major. This key does not come about by transposition of the subject up one step but rather in an entirely natural and unforced way through a tiny melodic modification of the subject. Whenever a subject is modified, it must always be plainly recognizable – so runs a time-honoured rule the reasons for which need no further enlargement. In the passage under discussion, the melodic modification brings to the subject a new upward momentum [*Aufschwung*]: instead of the semitone step (E–F) that can be seen in the subject in the upper voice between bb. 1 and 2, and then in the bass between bb. 6 and 7, and in the answer in the middle voice {3} [B–C] between bb. 3 and 4, what is now interpolated in the upper voice between bb. 8 and 9 is a leap of a fourth [F–B $\flat$ ].

*Episode* [*Zwischensatz*] 1 of the fugue begins in b. 9. Each of the three voices presents a figure from either the subject or the countersubject out of b. 4, this time not successively but simultaneously. Consequently nothing the slightest bit alien is introduced into the fugue in the course of this first episode. In the upper voice, b. 9 sees the continuation of the subject as it entered melodically modified in b. 8 on the second degree of the tonic key, but not the completion of the subject; instead, figure 3 is repeated (the last two crotchets of b. 2 and the first crotchet value of b. 3 in the segmentation of the subject given earlier). Against this figure there enters, from b. 10 onwards in the middle voice, a rhythmic imitation of figure 2 of the subject (the whole of b. 2 except for the first semiquaver); and before that, in the third voice in b. 9, there enters figure 5 (from the countersubject in b. 4). An extension of this episode with its various figures begins with the middle voice in b. 12 using figure [1] (the first bar of the subject) – the figure which ushered in this episode in b. 8, made no further appearance and now brings the episode to a close, at the same time providing a link to the series of middle entries [*Repercussion*] that follows.<sup>7</sup> This entry of figure 1 is in inversion, and against it appears,

<sup>7</sup> *Repercussion*: often translates as 'exposition'; however, it here refers to successions of entries that do not encompass all three voices and therefore do not qualify for that term.



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component (the two crotchets) inverted. Yet another distinction is the presence of figure 3 (the two crotchets of b. 2 and the first crotchet value of b. 3 taken together) in the upper voice of bb. 9–11, and its absence from bb. 30–32, where instead the bass fills out the three-part contrapuntal texture with a purely free part. Finally, as regards tonality, the earlier episode is remarkable for the fleeting appearance of a remote key (E $\flat$  major), this never being established by a fully-fledged modulation involving a cadence.<sup>10</sup> In the present episode also there is a modulation, but it differs crucially from its counterpart in that (1) it comes about by way of a perfect cadence,<sup>11</sup> and (2) [it leads to] a related key (G minor). Specifically in b. 30 the {6} harmony

Example 5



occurs: fundamentally [the] chord of the leading-note in G minor by means of which the transition [*Uebergang*] to the tonic chord [*Grunddreiklang*] of this key is effected and carried through (cf. *Theory of Harmony: Arbitrary and Specified Modulations*, pp. 230ff, also the tabular synopsis of the key relationships, p. 235, where G minor is shown as closely related to D minor<sup>12</sup>). At the end of this episode, different bars of the subject appear simultaneously in different voices, just as was the case earlier in b. 6. Up to this point, whenever stating again something that has been heard before, the composer has been at pains to ensure a difference in presentation, and precisely in so doing, he has brought to the fugue a remarkable degree of variety within unity. Thus in b. 6 he juxtaposes the first bar of the subject with the third, whereas in b. 33 he juxtaposes the first with the second, to be followed immediately by the third in b. 34, the result being that fragments comprising the entire subject are assembled within the space of two bars. A comparable assemblage has already taken place in bb. 12–13, but that was markedly different from the present case. In that, the second bar of the subject appeared *beneath* the first, whereas now the first appears beneath the second; in that, the first bar was inverted, now it is in its original form.

Bar 34 sees the beginning of the *fifth series of middle entries*, its initial note being the tonic of the home key. The subject, only the first two bars of which appear here in the bass, the voice which opens the series of entries, is in neither the major nor the minor of the tonic key, for the major third (F $\sharp$ ) rules out minor, and yet the minor sixth (B $\flat$ ) rules out major. In the light of the fully-fledged modulation to G minor just noted in b. 30, which patently did not come about fortuitously, it is on the dominant of that key that the subject now makes its appearance. Should there be any argument that the E in the first bar of the subject is not in the domain of G minor, G minor requiring E $\flat$ , it can be argued in return that the minor scale is often modified under melodic conditions by taking the major

10 *nicht durch eine Cadenz vollständig gemachte Ausweichung festgestellte fremde Tonart*: it is not clear whether Dehn intends *vollständig* to be attributed to *Cadenz*, thus implying a 'perfect cadence', as later in the sentence.

11 *mittels einer vollständigen Cadenz*: see note 10. Below, however, this is described as a *vollständige Ausweichung*.

12 [Dehn:] In the older schools, a basis for the relationship of keys was seen to lie in speculative theory.



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on his *New School of Melodic Composition* of 1883, subtitled 'a manual of counterpoint based on a new method'.<sup>4</sup> It derives more generally from the theory of harmony that he had been developing throughout the 1880s.

In the 1888 edition of his *Catechism of Musical Aesthetics*, Riemann spoke of 'my editions, known as "phrase-structure editions", of the sonatas of Mozart and Beethoven, and the sonatinas of Clementi and Hässler, not to mention of keyboard works by Bach and Schubert' (p. 45), which in later editions became '... of the sonatas of Mozart, Beethoven and Haydn, and sonatinas by Clementi, Kuhlau and others, not to mention keyboard works by Bach, Schumann, Schubert, Chopin etc' (6/1923, p. 47). Riemann had indeed produced just such editions of the *Well-tempered Clavier* and of the *Art of Fugue*.<sup>5</sup>

The status of Riemann's analysis of Bach's *Well-tempered Clavier* is not unlike that of Hauptmann's *Elucidations* of Bach's *Art of Fugue*. Both are commentaries of editions already published. In both, elements of the edition break through into the commentary. Yet there are substantial differences between these two commentaries.

A typical analysis by Riemann comprises three principal components: graphic elements, discussion of the compositional materials and description of the formal structure. The first of these includes harmonic tabulations and charts, and for some of the preludes full-scale melodic-structural graphs deploying the whole panoply of symbols for phrase structure and chords (see Example 1). Even the many short music examples are in fact extracts from the phrase-structure edition and are thus as much graph as excerpt.

The second of these components involves, for a prelude, the identification of a principal motif and attendant counterpoint; and, for a fugue, a close examination of the structure of subject, answer and countersubjects. In a prelude, the third component addresses periodic structure and quality of symmetry, while, in a fugue, it marks out the succession of expositions and episodes, normative eight-bar structure prevailing within expositions, with period (*Satz*) dividing into antecedent and consequent (*Vordersatz* and *Nachsatz*), the latter often being *frei* – that is, not based on subject or answer. Riemann states his view of fugal structure as follows (Foreword to the first edition):

What these fugal analyses bring home most strikingly is the perfect correspondence of Bach's fugal structure with the norms of all other musical conformation [*Formgebung*]. The tripartite nature, schematically A–B–A (primary section in the tonic, modulatory transitional section, closing section in the tonic) is everywhere plainly in evidence [...]. The free episodes do not function as linking units interpolated between main sections of the fugue, but belong within those main sections themselves, complementing the entries of the theme, acting as a foil to them, or surpassing and crowning them.

4 *Lehrbuch des einfachen, doppelten und imitierenden Kontrapunkts* (Leipzig: B&H, 1888, 3/1915); *Neue Schule der Melodik: Entwurf einer Lehre des Contrapunkts nach einer gänzlich neuen Methode* (Hamburg: Richter, 1883).

5 *Joh. Seb. Bach's Wohltemperirtes Clavier mit Phrasierungs- und Fingersatzbezeichnung herausgegeben* (London: Augener, [n.d.]) and *Die Kunst der Fuge [The Art of Fugue] von Johann Sebastian Bach: Phrasierungsausgabe* (London: Augener, [n.d.]); endpaper advertisements give also *Joh. Seb. Bach's Inventionen für Piano. Mit genauer Bezeichnung der Phrasierung und neuem Fingersatz* (London: Augener, [n.d.]).



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‘Prelude and Fugue in B♭ minor, Bk II No. 22’

*Catechism of Fugal Composition (Analysis of J. S. Bach’s ‘Well-tempered Clavier’ and ‘Art of Fugue’)*

Source:

‘II. 22. Präludium und Fuge B-moll’, *Katechismus der Fugen-Komposition (Analyse von J. S. Bachs ‘Wohltemperiertem Klavier’ und ‘Kunst der Fuge’)*, vol. II, Max Hesses illustrierte Katechismen, vol. XIX (Leipzig: Max Hesse, 1890), pp. 183–97.

[Prelude]

Before us lie two of the mightiest pieces from Book II. In both, the art of counterpoint appears with unusual richness, but it is never for one moment overdone. In the prelude, opportunities for more cunning stratagems present themselves at every turn, but Bach has resisted them. Consider just the initial motif (a turn, and a step of a second approached from the fourth): innumerable possibilities seem to call our attention in the four bars:

Example 2

Allegro risoluto

(4)

Inversion simil. etc.

{184} We find none of these possibilities taken up in the finished piece. It is for us to concentrate on what Bach has selected from the wealth of possibilities – that is, the theme and its fugal-style treatment. Not that the theme comprises the paltry scraps shown above: on the contrary, it is a full-phrased melodic unit [*ganzer Satz*]:



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Example 11



Even so, it accompanies the theme, so to speak, with dark growlings, while the theme itself blazes forth in anger. The {188} cadence motif of this, the primary countersubject, sinks step by step as if in resignation during the episode which heralds the third entry:

Example 12



During the third statement of the theme [bb. 11<sup>1</sup>–14<sup>1</sup>], the first voice [i.e. soprano] puts forward elements of a second countersubject:<sup>17</sup>

Example 13



It seems to be gathering strength once more, but only to break off as if sobbing in violent, spasmodic outbursts. Although this second countersubject never recurs as a whole, the syncopation of the second and third crotchets followed by quaver figure surface again and again in the course of the fugue, as too do the sobbing crotchets.

{189} The fugue falls naturally into five clearly discernible sections [*Abschnitte*]:

*I. Exposition of the theme in original form* in the customary manner as subject and answer, accompanied by the countersubjects given above [bb. 1–26]. *Period [Satz] 1* [bb. 1–10<sup>3</sup>]: subject in the alto, answer in the soprano, followed by a codetta [*Anhang*] three bars in length (6a–8a) [bb. 8<sup>2</sup>–11<sup>1</sup>] leading back to the tonic. *Period 2* [bb. 11<sup>1</sup>–20<sup>1</sup>] (beginning at (8=1)): subject in the bass, followed by a three-bar codetta (4a, 3b–4b [bb. 14<sup>3</sup>–17<sup>1</sup>]); consequent [*Nachsatz*]<sup>18</sup> (4b=5) [bb. 17<sup>1</sup>–20<sup>1</sup>] with answer in

<sup>17</sup> *des dritten Gegensatz*: presumably 'third' is a typesetting error, since two sentences later the countersubject is referred to as *dieser zweite*. However, it remained uncorrected in the third edition of 1916.

<sup>18</sup> In analyses of other fugues in the *Wohltemperirtes Klavier* (e.g. Book I No. 6) Riemann speaks also of 'antecedent' [*Vordersatz*]. Normatively, a 'period' [*Satz*] comprises eight bars, of which the first four are antecedent and the last four consequent, though these may be compressed or expanded by any of the usual devices, or extended by interpolation of a 'codetta' [*Anhang*].



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{193} Consequent [bb. 70<sup>2</sup>–73<sup>1</sup>] (with b. (5) elided), no statement of subject, but chromatic countersubject in bb. (7–8). *Period 2* [bb. 73<sup>1</sup>–80<sup>1</sup>] (beginning with (8=1)): inversion of the subject in F minor (starting on C) in the alto, inversion of the theme (starting on D<sup>b</sup>) in the bass [bb. 73<sup>1</sup>–76<sup>2</sup>]. Codetta [bb. 76<sup>2</sup>–77<sup>1</sup>]: one-bar restatement of the F minor cadence, after which comes a new foreshortened consequent [bb. 77<sup>1</sup>–80<sup>1</sup>] (with b. (5) elided), with no statement of the subject, and modulating to A<sup>b</sup> major (relative major of the subdominant) (°C l(6) F<sup>VII</sup> (=E<sup>b</sup>7) A<sup>b</sup>+ D<sup>b</sup>6 l(8) E<sup>b</sup>7).<sup>28</sup> The half-close here leads us into:

V. *Stretto of the theme in original form against its own inversion* [bb. 80<sup>1</sup>–101]: *period 1* [bb. 80<sup>1</sup>–89<sup>1</sup>]: introduces (at (8=1)) the inverted subject [in the soprano] in A<sup>b</sup> (though over E<sup>b</sup>7 harmony to support the starting note, E<sup>b</sup>) and the theme in its original form [in the tenor] starting on G (its design would therefore permit combination in stretto with the subject in original form in A<sup>b</sup> major). Hints of the countersubject are to be found in bb. (3)–(4) [bb. 81<sup>1</sup>–83<sup>1</sup>] (in the former, the stabbing, isolated crotchets [bb. 81<sup>2</sup>–82<sup>1</sup>], in the latter the chromatic principal countersubject [bb. 82<sup>1</sup>–83<sup>1</sup>]). The combination is as follows:

Example 19



The cadence in A<sup>b</sup> has a one-bar restatement [bb. 83<sup>2</sup>–84<sup>1</sup>], but {194} frustrated by a mixolydian inflection in the bass (G<sup>b</sup>). The consequent [bb. 84<sup>2</sup>–89<sup>1</sup>] is a free episode which makes three feints at b. (6) [bb. 85<sup>2</sup>, 86<sup>3</sup>, 88<sup>1</sup>], using a motif that cuts across the bar (making three bars of 4/2):

Example 20



and then comes metrically into line again as it flows back to the tonic key. *Period 2* [bb. 89<sup>1</sup>–101] (starting at (8=1)): the subject returns in the bass in original form, against which the inversion appears in the alto starting on G<sup>b</sup> (such that it would fit with the inversion starting on F):

28 i.e. (bb. 78<sup>1</sup>–) chords of C minor, G half-diminished seventh [= E<sup>b</sup> dominant seventh], A<sup>b</sup> major, D<sup>b</sup> with added major sixth, E<sup>b</sup> dominant seventh.

29 Riemann gives them reversed: *mit Terzen- bzw. Sextenverdoppelung*.



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	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Bass-line	4 - 8 D E F	5 6 D -	4 3 C -	5 6 F -	4 3# E -	5 C B	4 3 C - A	4 3# - G - -
Roots	11 - 10 9 - 8 D - - I	5 B <sub>b</sub> VI IV	11 10 C - V		11 10# E - I IV V	7 3# I V	11 10 5# C - F# I IV#	11 10# 7 - V

	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
Bass-line	5 4 6 - 3# 4 - G -	5 C B	4 3 5 - 6# C - A	4 3# - 5 - - G - -	5 3# 6 6# 4 6 4# G E D	4 3 6 - 7# C - G#	4 3 6# 5 - A - D
Roots	9 8 3# C - G I V	7 3# G I V	11 10 5# C - F# I IV#	11 10# 7 G - - V	9 8 7# C G# I VII#	13 12 A - I VII#	5# B I II

	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
Bass-line	5# 4 7 6 5# 4 - 3# E - -	6 5 4 6# 2 F E <sub>b</sub> D	6# 3# 6# 4# D -	4 3 6 - 7# C - G#	4 3 5 - 6# A - D	5# 4 7 6 - 3# E - -	3# A
Roots	9# 8 3# A - E I V	7# F - B <sub>b</sub> VI V I	3# B <sub>b</sub> G# VII#	13 12 A - I VII#	11 10 5# A - B II	7 9# 8 3# A - E I V	I

	30	31	34	35	38	39	42	43
Bass-line	32 5 6 C -	33 7 6 5 B - -	36 5 6 A -	37 7# 6 5 G# - -	40 5 6 F -	41 7 6 5 E - -	5 6 F D	4 3 7# C - F#
Roots	3# A I VI	7 3# - B G - VII V	7 F I VI	7# 3# - G# E - VII# V	5 3# F D I VI	7 5 7# E C - VII V	5 B <sub>b</sub> I IV	11 10 C V VII#



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harmony yields shapely lines in all voices and flows forward uninterrupted; the key-progression, colouring the periods and phrases as it does, enlivens the rhetorical discourse through its orderly succession and moves unswervingly towards its constant goal, its logical conclusion, which is never lost from sight. Only compare the model in bb. 1–8 with the subsequent twenty bars {28} in which the theme undergoes proliferation. Note, further, how in the passage bb. 30–42 the *same material* [*idem*] persistently recurs, and in ever-changing guise begets *diversity* [*varium*], and how the theme is developed. Whereas the periods from b. 1 to b. 30 have been mostly<sup>30</sup> four bars in length, they contract at this point to two bars' length, and then in bb. 42–58 to *one* bar's length: during these last sixteen bars, first b. 1 [bb. 42–9] then b. 2 [bb. 50–58] is forcefully elaborated. Bb. 58–72 appear at first sight to be a straight repetition of the material heard earlier in bb. 13–29. It has in fact a much more conclusive effect, because E $\flat$  (1) is now the remotest key, and (2) is more remote from D minor than C was from A [minor]. Ultimately, however, the *Epiphonema*<sup>31</sup> in bb. 72 and 81 consists in the introduction of the theme in the bass, the appearance of the thirteenth above the root in b. 73 and of the ninth in b. 82, and finally the presentation of two themes in counterpoint against one another in one and the same bar,<sup>32</sup> thereby making a convincing and crowning effect.

Not content at having prepared a double reward for the player and reader, as promised, by way of this edition,<sup>33</sup> and wanting by way of this analysis to render him a competent judge [of music], I feel bound to point out that two bars could be excised to the significant improvement of the rhetorical discourse, namely if the player will cut from b. 67<sup>2</sup> to b. 69<sup>3</sup>.<sup>34</sup> In an earlier draft, b. 79 comprised only a crotchet and two rests, and I had interpolated two bars that contained the material of bb. 78–9 a tone higher:

after | E $\flat$  D C | B $\sharp$  | F E D | C $\sharp$ .

However, the transposition weakened the effect of the conclusion, so I discarded it. {29} The above two bars (bb. 68–9) I decided to leave in so as to afford the reader the satisfaction of rendering it aesthetically truer by his own hand.

30 Having disregarded it earlier (see notes 20 and 34), Vogler here betrays his awareness that bb. 21–9 comprise either 4 + 5 or 5 + 4.

31 *Epiphonema*: 'Rhet. An exclamatory sentence or striking reflection, which sums up or concludes a discourse . . .' (OED). See also *System*, 58: 'a compressed *Resumé*, a conclusive *Epiphonema*, closes the fugue'.

32 [Vogler:] In bb. 81 and 83, b. 1 appears in the bass, b. 2 in the soprano; in bb. 82 and 84, b. 2 appears in the bass, b. 1 in the soprano.

33 In producing reworkings of his 112 *petits préludes pour l'orgue ou fortepiano* (Munich, 1776), Vogler stated:

to the owners of the earlier edition [who might purchase it] I hoped to offer a small compensation [in the differences between the two editions], but to those true amateurs and connoisseurs of music who desire to penetrate to the essence of its individuality, [I hoped] to proffer a double reward by way of the aesthetic, rhetorical and harmonic enquiries of the following analysis. (p. 1)

34 [Vogler:] Were I to perform this piece, I should cut from b. 65 to b. 71. [This remarkable and surprising remark relates to the recurrence of the very passage referred to earlier in notes 20 and 30. In the present context, however, the periodic construction is no longer irregular, since bb. 50–73 make up (4 + 4) (4 + 4) (4 + 4): whereas b. 14 fell on a structural upbeat, its counterpart, b. 58, falls on a structural downbeat, reversing out the stress patterns of the two-bar phrases. If, however, one considers bb. 61–71 as an enclosed unit (4 + 5 + 4) – or (4 + 4 + 5) – then the text recommendation renders that (4 + 3 + 4), whereas the footnote renders it (4 + 4), the latter evidently being what Vogler had in mind.]



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'Aria ["Non so più"] from Mozart's *The Marriage of Figaro*'  
*Treatise on Melody*

Source:

'*Traité de mélodie: abstraction faite de ses rapports avec l'harmonie . . . le tout appuyé sur les meilleurs modèles mélodiques* (Paris: pubd privately, 1814, 2/1832), vol. I, p. 43; vol. II *Soixante-dix-sept planches graves, contenant les exemples auxquels renvoie le texte du Traité de mélodie* (Paris: pubd privately, 1814), pl. E4, pp. 23–5.

This is an example of an *aria agitato* in large binary form. The rhythm of this aria, delightfully regular, is as follows: Part I: 4;–4;–3;–3.–6;–4;–6:–6. Part II: 4;–4;–3;–3.–4;–4;–6;–8.–4;–4;–4;–8:–4;–6. The half cadence has been indicated here by the semicolon (;), the perfect cadence by the full point (.) and the interrupted cadence by the colon (:).

This aria is from all points of view a perfect model. It demonstrates in the most convincing manner (1) that melody is capable of expressing the most animated feelings of our hearts just as well as the sweetest; (2) that regularity of rhythm, without which there can be no true melody, can and should have a place in the one as in the other; (3) that this way of expressing the agitations of our hearts is infinitely better than all the orchestral fracas with which composers nowadays try to portray similar situations and in which the vocal part is for all intents and purposes redundant; (4) it shows, moreover, that music can and should delight us, even when expressing powerful emotions; it shows lastly (5) that there is no reason to go running after bizarre modulations in order to achieve this goal, and that it can be attained by the simplest and most natural means. Exemplary also is the manner in which this aria is accompanied: the orchestra expresses the agitation of the singer covering the voice, without diverting our attention from its melody; in short, it does no more than second it, and second it perfectly (see the full score).

Example 1<sup>1</sup>

Part 1 comprising 2 Periods

Mozart

4-bar rhythm.

E<sup>4</sup>

All. vivace

cad.

Nonsò più co-sa son, co-sa fac-cio, or di foco or-a so-no di-ghia-ccio og-ni

same.

3-bar rhythm.

don-na can-giar di co-lo-re, og-ni don-na mi fà pal-pi-tar, og-ni don-na mi



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## Antoine Reicha (1770–1836)

*Traité de haute composition musicale*, vol. II (1826)

Reicha's *Course in Musical Composition* (see Analysis 2 above), which not only presented its own classification of intervals and rules of progression and modulation, but also dealt with harmonic writing for choir, instrumental groupings and full orchestra, had unseated Charles-Simon Catel's influential *Treatise on Harmony* (1802) as the official harmony textbook of the Paris Conservatoire, Reicha being appointed professor of counterpoint there in 1817 after the death of Méhul.<sup>1</sup> Fétis (Analysis 16b), who later attacked this work violently in his *Universal Biography*, was appointed professor of counterpoint and fugue at the Conservatoire in 1821, while Cherubini became its Director in 1822 (Marmontel later recalled the side-long glances that were constantly exchanged in the 1830s 'between Italy, Bohemia and the Low Countries'<sup>2</sup>).

It was against this background of rivalry that Reicha wrote his two mighty volumes encompassing 600 folio pages, the *Treatise on Advanced Musical Composition* (1824–6), which exploded upon the scene, splitting the Conservatoire from top to bottom for its total disregard of species counterpoint. Baini devoted ten pages of his great study of Palestrina in 1828 (Analysis 14 below) to refuting Reicha's historical statements. Fétis lashed the work in his *Universal Biography*. Cherubini published his own *Course in Counterpoint and Fugue* (1835), reinstating the method established by Fux's *Gradus ad Parnassum* in 1725 of teaching species counterpoint, though with reference to only major and minor modes, as an implicit refutation of Reicha's treatise. As a result, while Cherubini discarded the church modes but retained species counterpoint, Reicha discarded the species but retained the modes for their practical compositional value.<sup>3</sup>

However, having led the 'advanced' student through part-writing in traditional and modern styles, double, triple and quadruple counterpoint, imitation and canon, and fugue in all its aspects, Reicha embarked upon a still more radical enterprise in the sixth and final book of the *Traité*, flaccidly entitled 'The Art of Making the Most of One's Ideas, or of Developing Them' (vol. II, pp. 234–359). *Idée* in that context is a very general term for a musical element ('roughly speaking between two and twenty-four bars in length') that embodies feelings and is memorable.

1 Eitner's *Quellenlexikon*: 'Prof. der Komposition' and '1818'.

2 Antoine François Marmontel (1816–98) taught *solfège* at the Conservatoire 1837–87; see M. Emmanuel, *Antonin Reicha* (Paris: Henri Laurens, 1937), 48–50.

3 To submit oneself nowadays to [strict] composition in all its severity is entirely to disregard the progress that the art of music has made in the past century; armed with compass and ruler, one has to calculate rather than to feel [. . .] He who is trained only in this style is incapable of writing a pleasing tune, a striking dramatic scene, even less a piece of instrumental music that has verve, taste and warmth. (*Traité de haute*, vol. I, p. 6)



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15. that in the ten bars following this [bb.  $^2_{173-182}^1$ ], a phrase which was heard near the beginning in bb.  $^2_{27-31}^1$  is reiterated twice (the second time an octave higher in both melody and harmony);<sup>12</sup>
16. that the same happens with the idea [Example 5] [from bb.  $^3_{32-35}^2$ ] in bb.  $^3_{183-190}^2$ ; and that the four bars following that [bb.  $^3_{191-194}$ ] derive from the last seven notes of this same phrase [bb.  $^3_{34-35}^1$ ].

Example 5



12 Reicha: 27-37 (*sic*).



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a much wider readership through French and English translations of the third edition,<sup>3</sup> and itself prompted a challenge from Fétis.

Weber summarizes the views of Fétis (whose own rewritings of 'faulty' passages presumably prompted those by Weber referred to above) and 'Leduc', preceded by those of Giuseppe Sarti, in the introduction to his analysis (the summary is here omitted); and it is doubtless against Sarti and Fétis that his barbed references to 'critics' (§466<sup>22</sup>) and 'fools and jealous ones' (§466<sup>28</sup>) are directed, as well as the obvious scornful allusion to the "two plus two is four" fashion' of formulating compositional theory.

Weber had discussed and quoted these bars of Mozart in several earlier paragraphs of the *Attempt*, in illustration of passing notes, cross-relations and parallel progressions. Accordingly, when he now reached these matters, he merely referred the reader to those paragraphs. In the *Caecilia* version of the analysis, on the other hand, Weber imported large portions of these paragraphs, and in so doing he made the analysis much more diffuse; even so, he failed to include some of the extant allusions to the Mozart passage. In the present translation, all references to the passage have been incorporated, together with just the most essential statements from the surrounding paragraphs, with explanatory footnotes. The resultant surgery, while less than perfect, was inevitable. On the other hand, Weber's network of cross-references to tangential discussions elsewhere in his four volumes, which would have served no purpose in this context, has been replaced by bracketed ellipses.

When stating the pitches of a chord, Weber adopts the orthographical device of surrounding the letter-names with square brackets, thus: [c f# d' a"]. Despite the normal reservation of square brackets in the present volume for editorially supplied matter, this device has been preserved. There should be no confusion: *all* such sets of letter-names are in Weber's original text, all other items in square brackets are editorial. Weber's use of typography (for which he is justly famed in the history of theory) has also been retained: Gothic letters signify roots, Roman letters keys; Roman numerals signify scale-degrees; and in all these cases, large capitals denote major triads, small capitals minor triads.

3 French trans. said to be by J. G. Kastner, *Essai d'une théorie systématique de la composition* (1837), place of publication and publisher unknown; Eng. trans. by J. Bishop in his edition (London: Cocks, 1851), pp. 733–54, of the Eng. trans. by J. F. Warner, *The Theory of Musical Composition* (London: Novello, [Preface: 1842]).



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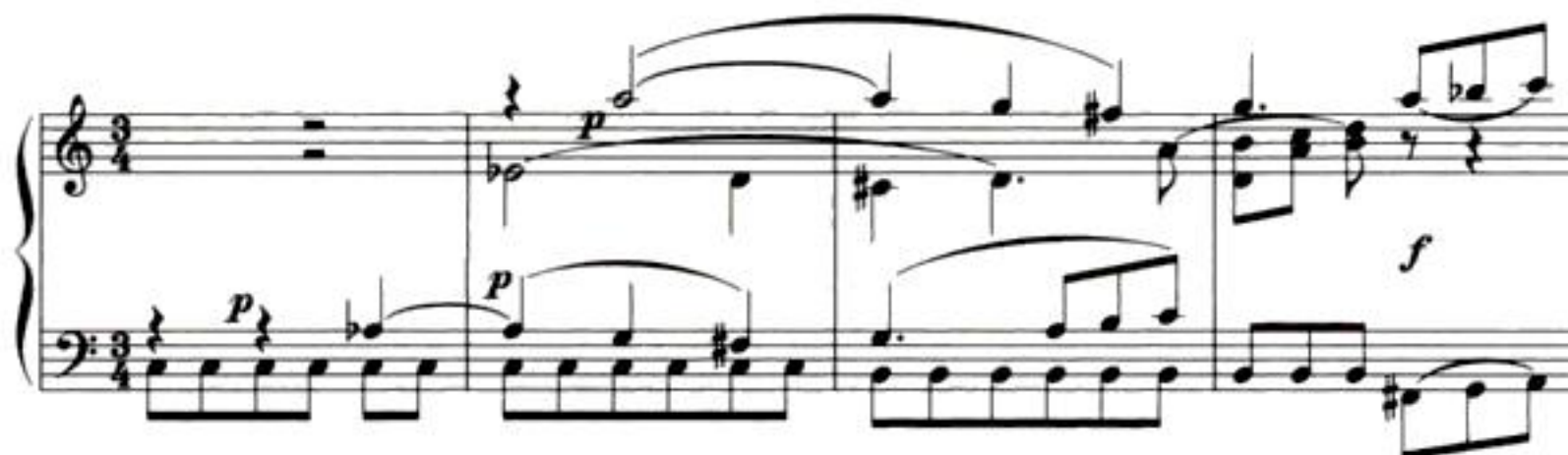
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{204}

Example 1

§466<sup>3</sup>

On the last crotchet-beat of b. 1, the note  $a\flat$  enters against this  $c$ . This leaves the ear with a new element of uncertainty: is this latter note to be heard as  $g\sharp$  or  $a\flat$ ? [. . .]

It would be notated as  $g\sharp$  if, for example, the passage were to continue along the following lines:

Example 2



Example 3



If, however, it is heard as  $a\flat$ , much ambiguity remains, in that the ear still has the choice of regarding the dyad

[*Zusammenklang*] [ $c\ a\flat$ ] as belonging to the chord of . . . . .  $A\flat$   
 thus as the chord on the sixth scale-degree in C minor . . . . .  $c: VI$   
 or as the tonic chord of  $A\flat$  major . . . . .  $A\flat: I$ ;  
 or as belonging instead to the minor triad . . . . .  $f$ ,  
 thus as the chord on the fourth scale-degree in C minor . . . . .  $c: IV$ ;  
 or perhaps as the tonic chord of F minor . . . . .  $f: I$ .

{205} Initially, the ear must await more precise specification, in what follows, of the intended key – of which there is as yet no intimation. [. . .]

With the entry of the note  $e\flat$  at the beginning of the next bar, the dyad of the hitherto isolated notes [ $c$  and  $a\flat$ ] now takes the form of a complete  $A\flat$  triad. With this, the ear experiences the pleasant sense of relief which it always associates with the gradual resolution of harmonic ambiguities.

Example 4





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introducing immediately after voice 3's

a-b $\sharp$ -c'      and then      a'-b $\sharp$ '-c''  


and likewise after voice 2's {210}

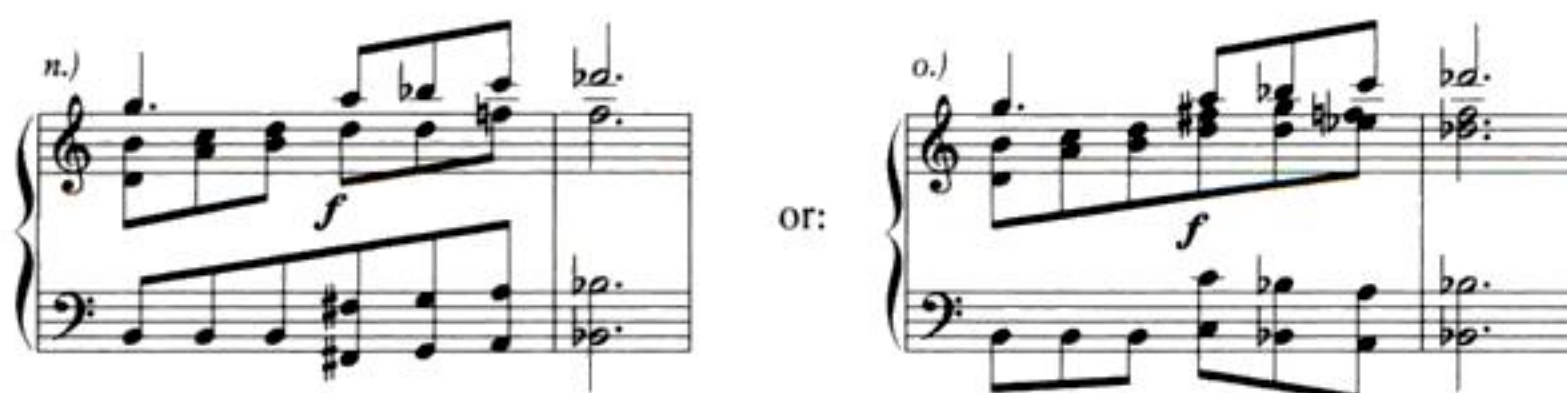
a'-b $\sharp$ '-c''  


out of the blue, in complete disregard for what has gone before,

not a $\sharp$ ''-b $\sharp$ ''-c'''      but instead      a''-b $\flat$ ''-c'''.  


This happens, moreover, on a beat (the weak final beat of the 3/4 bar) that is ill-equipped, because of its brevity and lack of inherent stress [. . .] for carrying so momentous a deflection and modulation [*Ab- und Ausweichung*] to the unsuspecting ear. So revolutionary a move [*eine solche Reform*] [the first voice] tries to foist upon the ear (which might have accepted it, had it been presented in a rather more imposing manner, or even just with fuller texture, such as:<sup>8</sup>

Example 13),



not only at a point of such weak stress but also in bare two-part texture, accompanied solely by the bass's G, without support from the other voices, who are resting, and whose b $\sharp$ s are still ringing in our ears. On its own authority, and without any apparent motivation, it takes the law into its own hands and seeks to overthrow the  $\mathbb{G}$  major triad which has been in force as a result of the combined efforts of all four voices up to this point throughout the greater and more stressed part of the bar, transforming it now unilaterally into the triad of  $\mathbb{G}$  minor. In so doing, moreover, [the upper voice] is given less than satisfactory support by the bass, its sole accompaniment: the space separating the two notes, {211} G-b $\flat$ '', unmediated as it is by middle voices, is so *extreme* as not to present them to the ear as a functional unity. [. . .]

Confronted by the emergence of so indecisive a change of harmony [*Harmoniewechsel*], the ear almost goes astray, and is left in some doubt as to whether to believe, whether to take seriously, what it has heard. Will the first violinist, with his remote, tenuous, etiolated b $\flat$ '', now restore the hitherto ubiquitous b $\sharp$ , all casual like, during the last beat of the bar [*im letzten Tactviertel*]? Or has he

8 Music example not in *Caecilia* version.



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<[. . .] Not infrequently, a neighbouring note immediately precedes a note of a chord, *while at the same moment in another voice* the note of that chord is itself sounded. [. . .]

In b. 3, a" appears in the upper voice as a neighbouring note to g", while at the same moment in voice 3 g is itself sounded. Again, in the same bar, in voice 3, one hears the a as a neighbouring note leading to b<sup>b</sup>, while at the same moment in the bass B<sup>b</sup> itself is sounded; – and while this bass note is still continuing to sound, voice 2, and then voice 3 again, present a' as a neighbouring note leading to b<sup>b</sup>'. The same process can be seen [a whole tone lower] in bb. 7–8.<sup>13</sup>

<The simultaneous sounding of the main note with its neighbouring note gives the least harsh effect when the former is the root of the chord [. . .]. The effect is less mild when a neighbouring note sounds simultaneously with *one of the other* notes [of the chord], for example the fifth, [. . .] and still more offensive to the ear when sounding simultaneously with the third [. . .].

This may be the reason why the passing notes already mentioned in bb. 4 and 8 [. . .] are so ungrateful to the ear.><sup>14</sup>

<[. . .] Sometimes the passing note is struck at exactly the same moment as other [notes] of harmonic status – sometimes not. [. . .]

Thus in b. 2 [. . .] a" in the upper voice is struck at exactly the same moment as g [in voice 3], this g evidently being a passing note to f<sup>#</sup>, along with c in the bass. Again, in b. 3, where the two passing notes a" and c<sup>#</sup> sound simultaneously [. . .], the latter passing note, c<sup>#</sup>, is struck at exactly the same moment as B<sup>b</sup> and g in the lower voices. The process repeats itself [a whole tone lower] in bb. 6 and 7.<sup>15</sup>

<Such increased harshness is doubly perceptible when the *very harmony note* to which the passing note pertains is struck simultaneously with it, so that main note and passing note are not merely *heard together* but are actually *struck at one and the same moment*. [. . .]

The paragraphs thus cross-referred all occur in chapter VIII 'Passing notes': section II 'Different ways in which passing notes may occur', (F) 'Main note sounding simultaneously with its neighbouring note' (§§360, 361) and (G) 'Passing notes struck simultaneously' (§§362, 363), and section IV 'Ambiguity', (C) 'Mediating effect of ambiguity' (§§407, 408). The passages given in angle-brackets in translation are the relevant extracts from these cross-referred paragraphs, and are identified by individual footnote below.

In the *Caecilia* version, the following paragraph appears:

In order to present the most noteworthy features in this respect, I have quoted *verbatim* as conveniently as possible those paragraphs of my manual of composition in which the relevant principles (admittedly in a way which, while as self-explanatory as possible, deviates from the fragmentary treatment in this analysis up to now) are set forth, and in which I (as already mentioned in the introduction to the present article) have used by way of illustration the *Mozart* composition now under discussion (itself debated by others). I have reproduced what was relevant in the paragraphs concerned word for word (according to the second and especially the third editions).

Weber then incorporates passages from §§354, 355, 358, 360, 361, 362, 363, 407, 408, 490, 491, 492 (omitting the discussion of Mozart, but transferring the example to the next paragraph), 493, 494, 495 (excluding the last clause and example), 496, 499, 500.

13 The passage in angle-brackets is extracted from §360 (vol. III, pp. 68–9). In the original, it includes bb. 1–8 in short score (as Ex. 177 i), and concludes with a cross-reference to §466<sup>bs</sup>, i.e. the main discussion of the Mozart passage.

14 The passage in angle-brackets is extracted from §361 (vol. III, pp. 70–71). The original cross-refers to Ex. 177 i of the previous passage, and concludes with a cross-reference to §466<sup>bs</sup>.

15 The passage in angle-brackets is extracted from §362 (vol. III, pp. 71–2). The original cross-refers to Ex. 177 i of the penultimate passage, and concludes with a cross-reference to §466<sup>bs</sup>.



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bar g The B $\sharp$  in the upper voice is the free lower neighbouring note of C, the formation as a whole being a hybrid chord, namely: the F $\sharp$  is borrowed chromatically from G minor/major as also is the A $\flat$  from C minor.

bar h The C $\sharp$  is the lower neighbouring note of D and is also melodic-chromatic.

Bars e, f, g and h can be construed as an unbroken succession of dominant seventh chords, e.g.:

{10}

### Example 8



Fundamentals:	A.	(F $\sharp$ )	B.
OR			
Scale-degrees in A minor	1.		
" " E minor	4.	(2.)	5.

bar l D is the freely suspended eleventh which, in order to ascend, describes a melodic-chromatic passing motion to D $\sharp$ .

G $\sharp$  is the suspended upward-resolving seventh, which turns into the ninth of the implicit fundamental F $\sharp$ <sup>24</sup> and later resolves on to the dominant seventh of the fundamental B $\sharp$ .

F is the suspended thirteenth, which resolves in orthodox fashion.

bar m E $\sharp$  in the upper voice is the melodic-chromatic lower neighbouring note of F $\sharp$ .

bars l and m These last two bars, rather complicated as they are for the layman, can be reduced to the following simple harmonic progression:

### Example 9



Fund.: A. (F $\sharp$ ) B.

23 [Mayrberger:] By 'hybrid chord' the author intends what was earlier meant by 'altered chords' and is nowadays referred to as 'chords of the extended minor system'. The first of these is the most apt, as can be seen from the fact that such a chord belongs *purely* to neither the one key nor the other, hence has something genuinely hybrid about it. [See Introduction for a discussion of this chord.]



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## 7. Inversion of the Tristan motif (score, p. 5)

Example 18<sup>28</sup>

	Fund.:	(G.)	C.	(F.)	B.	(G.)	C.	C#	(A.)	D.	(G.)	C#	(A.)	D.	
in C	<u>minor</u> major	7.	(5.)	1.	(4.)	7.	(5.)	1.							
in F	<u>minor</u> major		(2.)	5.	(1.)		(2.)	5.							
							in D	<u>minor</u> major	7.	(5.)	1.	(4.)	7.	(5.)	1.
							in G	<u>minor</u> major		(2.)	5.	(1.)		(2.)	5.

bar a The first chord, over the bass note D $\flat$ , is a hybrid chord in which the B $\sharp$  of the tenor [*recte* alto] points to C minor/major whereas the D $\flat$  points to F minor/major.

{15}

bar b The F $\sharp$  in the soprano is the melodic-chromatic lower neighbouring note of G. The second half of bar b and first half of bar c are a literal repetition of the foregoing, and are to be interpreted in the same way.

bar c The chord formation over the bass note E $\flat$  is a hybrid chord in which the C $\sharp$  points to D minor/major whereas the E $\flat$  points to G minor/major.

bar d The G $\sharp$  in the soprano is the melodic-chromatic lower neighbouring note of A. There then follows a repetition of this, which is to be interpreted in the same way.

Although the interpretation of the bars given above is sufficient in itself for an understanding of the rich chromaticism contained in them, a simplified harmonic progression is nonetheless supplied below, because reduction to simple diatonic form is the only way to make complicated chromaticism readily intelligible to the layman.

Example 19

pure C major                      pure D minor enclosed within C major

(Fundamentals as above)



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## [PART II]

## 9. [Death motif]

A wonderful piece of harmony, but at the same time one which certainly taxes the understanding of many a musician, is that of the Death motif (Act I, Scene 2: score, p. 26):

## Example 25

For clarity, bars e and f have been enharmonically rewritten, as follows:

Fundamentals: D.	G.	(E $\flat$ )	A $\flat$	A $\flat$	D $\flat$	D $\flat$	F.	D.	G.
in G $\frac{\text{minor}}{\text{major}}$ 5.									
in C minor 2.	5.	(1.)	6.						
		in D $\flat$ $\frac{\text{minor}}{\text{major}}$	5.	5.	1.	1.	D $\flat$ major 3.		
							in C minor ... 4.	2.	5.
							in G $\frac{\text{minor}}{\text{major}}$	5.	

bars a and b The interpretation given for bars g and h of motif 1 applies also here.

bar b The B $\flat$  and A $\sharp$  in the upper middle voice provide melodic-chromatic passing motion to the A $\flat$  that follows them. This same A $\sharp$  replaces B $\flat$  enharmonically, and serves as a forewarning of the approaching modulation towards the ominous key of D $\flat$  minor.

bars c and d The fundamentals and keys noted beneath the staff provide all the explanation that is necessary of these two bars.

bars e and f The B $\flat$  in the upper voice is a freely suspended thirteenth, except that rather than resolving over the fundamental D $\flat$  it does so over the following fundamental, F, a device which is accounted for in theoretical terms as a simple retarded suspension (see the author's *Textbook of Musical Harmony* (Pressburg and Leipzig: Gustav Heckenast), 201, §89).<sup>30</sup> It is precisely because bars e and f can be construed as in D $\flat$  minor that {20}

<sup>30</sup> *Lehrbuch*, vol. 1, pp. 201–03, §89 ‘Von der verzögerten Auflösung der Vorhalte’ (‘Retarded Resolution of Suspensions’). This clause deals first with the ninth, showing with examples ‘how the ninth is resolved not over its own fundamental, but over some other’, and then with the eleventh.



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bar a The  $E\flat$ ,  $A\sharp$  and  $C\sharp$  in the three middle voices are harmonic-chromatic embellishments of the chord constituents  $D\flat$ ,  $B\flat$  and  $D\flat$ . The fact that they sound simultaneously with the  $G\flat$  in the lowest voice lends to this formation the aspect of a hybrid chord, as its three chromatic notes are derived from three related minor keys, namely:

$E\flat$  from  $G\flat$  minor  
 $A\sharp$  from  $B\flat$  minor, and  
 $C\sharp$  from  $D\flat$  minor.

This chord could just as well be notated as  $G\flat$ ,  $B\flat$ ,  $C\sharp$ ,  $E\flat$ , in which case its chromatic notes would derive from only two related minor keys, namely:

$E\flat$  from  $G\flat$  minor  
 $B\flat$  and  $C\sharp$  from  $D\flat$  minor.

bar b In their capacity as embellishments of  $B\flat$  and  $D\flat$ , the  $A\sharp$  and  $C\sharp$  are tied over into this bar, but because they now occur on the strong beat they acquire the character of upward-resolving suspensions.

The  $C\sharp$  in the upper middle voice here is purely melodic-chromatic.

The  $D\sharp$  in the lower middle voice is a chromatic passing note to the chord constituent  $E\flat$ , whereas the  $F$  is a diatonic passing note to the chromatic chord constituent  $G\sharp$ .

bar d The  $G\flat^{33}$  in the upper voice is a suspended eleventh and does not resolve until the following bar. The remaining melodic material of the upper voice is partly embellishing, partly harmonic in function.

{29}

### Continuation of 15

#### Example 39

Fundamentals:	D.	$\text{e.}$	$\text{f.}$	$\text{g.}$	etc.
in $E\flat$ minor	7.				
in C minor					
		enharmonic			
		7.			
		in C $\frac{\text{minor}}{\text{major}}$	7.	7. (5.)	1.
			in F minor (2.)	5.	

33 *ad Takt c.* Das g: the double error ('bar c' for 'bar d', and 'The  $G\sharp$ ' for 'The  $G\flat$ ') suggests an error of copying or typesetting at this point, since Mayrberger unaccountably offers no commentary on bar c, and since the  $G\sharp$  in the upper voice would have been the first feature on which to comment in bar c, as the lower neighbouring note of  $A\flat$ .



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# Introduction

The literature of music abounds in classificatory systems. They can be found in the writings of the Greeks, of the medieval and Renaissance theorists, and of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century theorists and commentators. Thus Boethius, in the early sixth century, crystallized and amplified ancient concepts of the universal field of ‘music’ and fashioned a threefold classification: ‘planetary’, ‘human’ and ‘instrumental’. Rejecting this division eight centuries later, Johannes de Grocheio grudgingly accepted a twofold classification into ‘measured’ (i.e. polyphony) and ‘not precisely measured’ (i.e. monophony), but categorized the Parisian music of the late 1200s in threefold manner as: ‘of the people’, ‘measured’ (or ‘composed’) and ‘of the church’ – a polyglot of function, technique and social group. Grocheio further subclassified these, eventually identifying genres such as the rondeau, the *estampie*, organum, hocket and motet.

Temporal and generational distinctions were created around such words as ‘art’ and ‘practice’. With ‘old art’, ‘new art’ and later ‘subtler art’, theorists in the fourteenth century differentiated between types of metre, rhythmic pacing and patterning (features that were at least as visible in the notation as they were audible in performance). Two centuries later, Claudio Monteverdi’s brother Giulio Cesare invoked ‘first practice’ and ‘second practice’, in 1607, when speaking of the primacy of counterpoint or harmony, the pre-eminence of music or text, the strict or free observance of dissonance rules. Diruta, reflecting the last of these three distinctions two years later, articulated two categories of ‘counterpoint’ as what might rather freely be translated ‘law-abiding’ (*osservato*) and ‘lax’ (*commune*).

The word ‘style’ appeared as a vehicle for such categories towards the middle of the seventeenth century. Thus Marco Scacchi, in about 1648, adumbrated a threefold classification of style whose categories were ‘of the church’, ‘of the chamber’ and ‘of the stage or theatre’. Two of these styles were in turn broken down into substyles by the identification of genres, performance forces and stylistic features:<sup>1</sup>

the church style into four types: masses, motets and other vocal pieces without organ for four to eight voices; the same with organ or with several choruses; similar vocal music *in concerto*, that is with instruments; and motets or concerti in the modern style, that is [...] in *stile misto* or *recitativo imbastardito* (‘hybrid recitative’), in which the recitative is interrupted by ornate and melodious passages or sacred songs in aria style. The chamber style had three components: madrigals without instruments (*da tavolino*), vocal pieces with continuo, and vocal pieces with instruments such as violins, violas ‘majores’, theorbos, lutes and recorders. The theatrical style [was] a single style of ‘speech perfected by song, or song by speech’.

1 Claude V. Palisca, ‘Scacchi, Marco’, in NGDM.



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Giuseppe Baini (1775–1844)

*Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina* (1828)

To have attempted in the 1820s a close account of the stylistic development of a Renaissance composer without benefit of either of those scholarly tools that we now regard as essential to such an enterprise, a catalogue of works and a complete critical edition, was surely a hazardous undertaking. Palestrina's output, moreover, was gigantic: 104 masses, more than 375 motets and 140 madrigals, sixty-eight offertories, sixty-five hymns, thirty-five Magnificats and four or five sets of Lamentations, to speak only of authenticated works.<sup>1</sup> Prerequisite to such a task was a chronological framework. In Baini's day, the only significant sources of such a framework were Palestrina's publications. However, a publication date was in itself no reliable indicator of the time of composition, for composers often assembled for publication works that they had composed months or even years earlier. What is more, over forty percent of Palestrina's output was published for the first time after his death, so providing no basis at all for chronology.

What Baini achieved in 1828 was a pioneering accomplishment. If his historiography had its antecedent in that of La Borde (1780), Burney (1776–89) and others, and his biography its precursors in Mainwaring's *Memoirs* of Handel (1760) and Forkel's *Life, Art and Works* of Bach (1802), his description and classification of personal style was without precedent. He was from the age of twenty himself a member of the papal chapel, the one institution that had an unbroken tradition of *a cappella* singing from Palestrina's own time. As a bass singer, and later the chapel's archivist and administrator, he not only steeped himself in the Palestrinian style but also used his access to early editions, manuscripts and documents to conduct serious research, of which the *Memorie* is the chief result – 'a vast mixture of erudition and hero-worship' (Lockwood). He also planned an edition of the composer's works, but this apparently came to nothing.

In the course of the passage given below, Baini takes his reader through Palestrina's compositional output twice, first summarily, then schematically. However, the latter presentation does not always map on to the former. Underlying the former is a tripartite scheme whereby Palestrina first imbibed the style of his alleged teacher, Claude Goudimel (c.1515–72), a style that was 'artificial' despite the assertion that Goudimel extolled the virtues of nature to his pupils; then dramatically discarded that artificial style ('he broke his shackles and his chains, overthrew art, and restored the command to Nature'); and finally evolved

<sup>1</sup> I take these figures from the fine article on Palestrina by Lewis Lockwood in *NGDM*. I am greatly indebted to Leeman Perkins and Jerome Roche, both of whom aided me greatly in interpreting Baini's meanings. There remains much that I have had to leave unexplained.



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careful attention', the imitation of nature in music entails an appearance of effortlessness, an ease, a smoothness. 'Imitative music', then, is music that feels natural, that holds no puzzles or distractions. Yet there is another aspect of musical verisimilitude – one that can evidently bring *imitazione* into conflict with *natura*. Baini is presumably alluding to word-painting when he says of the fifth style: 'if [Palestrina] used imitations with more frequency, he always clothed them masterfully according to nature'. While acting mimetically upon the text, word-painting, because of its specificity, can disrupt the flow of the music – an effect that must be counteracted by some smoothing process. And yet, in his closing words Baini associates Palestrina's artistic perfection with 'the exact imitation of words and meanings'. 'Imitative music' is equated with musical 'philosophy'; its antithesis is equated with musical 'rhetoric'. The latter is what Palestrina learned in his youth from Goudimel, the former is what he imbibed subsequently from Festa, Morales and others.

Ultimately, Palestrina achieved not what Vasari had seen as the amalgam of styles of Raphael's late work, but what Baini saw as the unified style of late Palestrina: a style of great flexibility, in which grandiosity coexists with simplicity and artifice; a style in which all antitheses are resolved: nature is wed to art, rhetoric and philosophy are reconciled, and art and science join forces.

Baini's notion that Palestrina studied with Goudimel stems from a late seventeenth-century reference to one 'Gaudio mell flandro' as having taught several Roman composers. The French composer Goudimel is not known ever to have been in Italy, and the supposed teacher-pupil relationship has long been discredited. To this day, we do not know with whom Palestrina studied, and scholars can only surmise that he was trained by senior men at Santa Maria Maggiore, among whom Robin Mallapert and Firmin Lebel, both Frenchmen, were in post at about the right time (c.1537–44). Thus, if indeed his first masses, motets and madrigals are in an apprenticeship style, we have yet to identify whose style they emulate.

Baini's *Memorie* comprise two volumes, some 850 quarto-size pages. Straddling these two volumes are three principal sections (each of twelve chapters), the first (vol. I, pp. 1–73) covering Palestrina's life and work up to his appointment at Santa Maria Maggiore in 1561, the second (vol. I, pp. 74–370) examining at length the church's desire to prohibit elaborate polyphony, the Council of Trent, and Palestrina's defense of liturgical music during the decade 1561–71, the third (vol. II, pp. 1–434) covering the remainder of his life, the posthumous publications and the works surviving only in manuscript, a chronology of the life and works and, finally, an attempt to set Palestrina in the context of music history.

It is the closing pages of this latter attempt, chapter 12 of Section 3 (vol. II, pp. 387–434), that are given below. This final chapter provides a history of musical style from the tenth century, through Palestrina to his 'followers'. The first three-quarters of the chapter (vol. II, pp. 387–421) outline the history of music from the tenth century to the end of the fourteenth, and then chart four generations of composers from 1400 to the time of Palestrina, the final quarter comprising the essay on Palestrina's ten styles, which concludes with Cavalieri, Peri and others,



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Alexander Dmitryevich Ulibishev (1794–1858)

*Nouvelle biographie de Mozart* (1843)

Forkel's *Life, Art and Works of Bach* (1802), Baini's *Historical and Critical Memoirs of the Life and Works of Palestrina* (1828: Analysis 14 above), Winterfeld's study of *Giovanni Gabrieli and His Age* (1834) – these monuments of early nineteenth-century biography differ from their contemporary 'necrologies' by displaying an awareness of historical context and stylistic milieu that was new for their time. Ulibishev's biography of Mozart, complete with *A Survey of the History of Music, and Analysis of Mozart's Principal Works*, of 1843, followed in this line. In three fat volumes, over 1,100 pages in all, only its first volume was pure biography. Mozart biography had well and truly established itself by that time, through the contributions of Schlichtegroll (1794), Niemetschek (1798), Arnold (1803), Stendhal (1814), Lichtenthal (1816) and others. Such a biography, by Georg Nissen (1828), which made many important documents public for the first time, came into Ulibishev's hands in 1830.<sup>1</sup> 'There is nothing of him [Nissen] in the work that bears his name', complained Ulibishev, only '... a mortally tedious recitation' of minutiae. Even worse: about music there is nothing but facts: 'Idea, unity, plan, sketching process [*rédaction*], style, logic – you search in vain for any of these things.'<sup>2</sup> Ulibishev filled his hours of solitude in remote Nizhni-Novgorod by rewriting Nissen in readable form, believing that Mozart's compositions were 'the principal actions of his life', and so providing in vols. II–III a *partie analytique*.<sup>3</sup> The task took him ten years; one of its results was a genuine attempt to create a stylistic classification of Mozart's output as a totality.

The second half of vol. II and the whole of vol. III form a series of chapters on the works. The Requiem and each of the major operas from *Idomeneo* to *La clemenza di Tito* has its own chapter, as does the Overture to *The Magic Flute*. The instrumental works are treated collectively in three chapters: the string quartets, the string quintets, the symphonies.<sup>4</sup> The string quintets, emotionally more

1 Georg Nikolaus Nissen, *Biographie W. A. Mozarts: nach Originalbriefen, Sammlungen alles über ihn Geschriebenen, mit vielen neuen Beylagen, Steindrucken, Musikblättern und einem Facsimile* (Leipzig: B&H, 1828, suppl. 1829). Nissen (1761–1826) was Danish Chargé d'Affairs in Vienna, 1793–1820. In 1809 he married Mozart's widow, Constanze; in 1820 they retired to Salzburg, where the biography was compiled. It was completed posthumously, and Constanze saw it through the press.

2 *Nouvelle biographie*, vol. I, pp. iv–vi. Ulibishev wrote in French because Russian was 'deficient in almost all its technical terminologies, including musical vocabulary', and so as to reach a more knowledgeable readership (*ibid.*, xvi–xvii).

3 *ibid.*, vi–ix, xiii, xv.

4 *ibid.*, III, 1–27, 206–32, 233–70. Von Lenz criticized him for ignoring the works for piano, those with piano accompaniment and others. See *Beethoven et ses trois styles* (St Petersburg: Bernard, 1852; new edn, ed. M. D. Calvocoressi, Paris: Legoux, 1909; reprint edn New York: Da Capo, 1980), 27–8.



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forms that govern the development of thought-processes. Moreover, we saw there how the greater the extent to which a work simulated a proposition discussed straightforwardly or contradictorily, sustained, attacked, and ultimately demonstrated as true, the more did the meaning of that work resist definition in words. This is of special relevance to the quartet. More than any other genre in the world of music, the quartet appears to address itself to our faculty of intelligence. This is why there is no genre that calls for a more motif-based choice of thematic materials, for a more logical sequence of events, for a more severe discipline of style and for such an abundance of melodic and harmonic invention, in order to compensate for the inevitably spartan nature of its resultant sound quality on the one hand and lack of powerful, emotive and impassioned outpourings to which the quartet cannot and must never aspire on the other. But let us not misunderstand ourselves. There are of course passages in Mozart's quartets dedicated to Haydn that are powerful, emotive, impassioned in the extreme. But never do they form principal themes; in no case do they represent the overall character of a quartet. They pass by rapidly like one of those surges of happiness that sometimes takes us totally by surprise when we are in the calmest frame of mind, or like one of those sudden and acute pangs of conscience that occasionally strike us to the core without apparent rhyme or reason. Such *unaccountable* flarings-up of passion (not arising out of the thematic materials) are allowed to occur in the quartet, since their brilliance radiates, as is appropriate, in the psychological realm, the domain to which we have assigned the quartet.

Such, in a word, is the theory of that type of quartet {10} known as *travaillé* (*das gearbeitete Quartett*)<sup>26</sup> in order to distinguish it from the many other instrumental compositions in four parts: a genre of which Haydn takes the credit for being the founder, and which Mozart carried to the highest imaginable, the highest possible degree of perfection; a genre which is, by virtue of its stringent arguments and special qualities, and as the world is coming to recognize it, in process of becoming the touchstone of the composer's true skills, the favourite music of the experts and at the same time the bugbear, the bane of the ladies, be they musicians or no. This is not a theory that we have dreamed up; as with any theory of art which contains a grain of truth, ours stems directly from practice. It has been deduced and abstracted, piece by piece and word by word, from existing models of the genre, above all from the quartets of Mozart, the most perfect that there are. We have done no more than verify empirically, and attempted to unify in a single system, rules that would not have been discovered had example not preceded them. If there is any truth in these observations, it will be an easy task for us to demonstrate the superiority of Mozart's quartets over those of all other composers; not so much by comparing their beauties with the perhaps equal beauties that distinguish other composers' works – a line of enquiry that would

musical ideas, the beauty of thematic development, correspond to the inferences, proofs and corollaries that the skilled logician is able to deduce from some fruitful proposition. (p. 163)

26 See Introduction for Quantz's use of *gearbeitet* to mean 'elaborate', 'contrapuntal' (1752). While applying it to duets, trios, and the main theme of overtures yet not to the quartet, Quantz did include 'correct and short imitations', and ideas that will combine contrapuntally as requirements for the quartet, and allowed for inclusion of fugue (*Versuch einer Anweisung*, p. 302).

lead us nowhere at all, for musical beauties cannot be weighed by the pound or the ounce – but to demonstrate it by negative means, drawing attention through examples to the way in which the most skilful composers have sometimes deviated in one way or another from the fundamental theoretical requirements of the genre, whereas our hero has never at any time gone astray.

When we speak of Mozart’s rivals, in the realm of the quartet there are but two to invoke: Haydn–{11}–Mozart–Beethoven! –the three greatest names in all music, the names that are most frequently on our lips, and that we most gladly hear spoken.

In other times, the general preference was for Haydn and Mozart; nowadays it is Beethoven who is most in favour. Haydn has a kind of sprightliness or good humour that renders him approachable to people of mediocre intelligence. He loves to jest and laugh with his listeners, which goes down well with his audience. This endearing playfulness, this amicability, Mozart replaces with a loftiness and profundity. Mozart breathes life again into Bach, but this is Bach with the benefit of an extra half-century, Bach turned great melodist, yielding up from the depths of his grave, or perhaps we should say from the celestial heights above, novel harmonies, the likes of which our poor planet took a long time to assimilate. Therein lie the very different fates of the two great composers. The one, the idol of his contemporaries, no doubt looked upon with special favour by God as the bard who sang of his creation, Haydn still today counts among his admirers all trained and discriminating musicians. The other saw his quartets hounded out of Italy for copying errors that did not exist.<sup>27</sup> He was criticized by one professor for faults in composition that were, with one exception, in reality novel and original beauties,<sup>28</sup> exposed to public criticism in concert for errors that were initially blamed on the players! All of this because they were too perfect. You will see what I mean.

[First,] in the majority of Haydn’s quartets, *cantabile* sections and decorative passage-work alternate with a regularity that simply cannot be tolerated in the genre, an effect which gives to thematically constructed works a false air of concertante music and enfeebles the work of the composer in the interests of the first violinist. In the case of Mozart, these features are kept apart, {12} and are less prominent. They derive more closely from the thematic material, and they work together with it in contrapuntal combinations that lead to the use of fugal style. In

27 *AmZ*, 1 (1799), col. 855:

These quartets suffered a singular fate at times. After the late Artaria had sent them to Italy, he received them back – ‘because the engraving was so full of errors’. People took the many strange chords and dissonances for engraver’s errors. True, in time people came to think better of it. But this work of Mozart’s fared no better at times in Germany. The late Count Grassalkowich, for example, once had some of his court musicians play these same quartets. Again and again, he shouted: ‘You’re not playing it right!’, and when they convinced him to the contrary he tore up the parts on the spot.’

No date is given for either anecdote, nor is there evidence to support their veracity (the quartets were first released in 1785, and again in 1787 and 1797; Pasquale Artaria died in 1785).

28 The reference is presumably to Fétis, who rewrote passages of the String Quartet in C K465 (‘Dissonance’) that he found contravened the rules of his own counterpoint treatise (see introduction to Analysis 16, below) (F.-J. Fétis, ‘Sur un passage singulier d’un quatuor de Mozart’, *La Revue musicale*, 5 (1829), 601–02, and 6 (1830), 25–32); for an excellent account of this controversy, see J. A. Vertrees, ‘Mozart’s String Quartet K.465: The History of a Controversy’, *Current Musicology*, 17 (1974), 96–114.



that way, they become closely wedded to the original idea and acquire a significance, an import, that mere ornamentation of the melody, or bravura passage-work, interspersed throughout a thematically constructed composition so as to enhance the status of the player, could never have attained. It is a delight to the ear and to the spirit at one and the same time to hear how a simple melismatic turn of phrase, a light *fioritura*, accompanied almost imperceptibly, changes a moment later into a contrapuntal figure of great elegance, logic and vigour, as in Example 1.<sup>29</sup>

Example 1

**Molto Allegro**

The musical score is written for a single instrument, likely a piano, in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. It is marked 'Molto Allegro'. The score is divided into three systems, each containing four staves. The first system shows the initial entry of the theme in the right hand, with the left hand providing a simple harmonic accompaniment. The second system shows the theme continuing in the right hand, with the left hand developing a more active contrapuntal line. The third system shows the theme in the right hand, with the left hand continuing its contrapuntal development, featuring more complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines.

{13} Secondly, in many places, the melodic style of Haydn’s quartets comes distinctly close to vocal music. He harks back to *The Creation* and *The Seasons* even when he is not actually working with such archaic melodic forms. Many of Haydn’s adagios and andantes are veritable cavatinas from beginning to end, the first violin reduced to being a substitute for a singer. The only thing missing is the text – as in Example 2.<sup>30</sup>

Example 2



Scour the pages of Mozart’s quartets. You will be hard put to find anything – let me not say a whole movement, but just an isolated phrase – that smacks of opera, or that would even sound well if sung. But what aristocratic grace, what indescribable elegance, what psychological profundity shine through these impossible-to-sing melodies, how clearly they bear the stamp of immortality! And what makes them vocally unsingable? The fact that they could never carry text. And why could they never carry text? Because the things they say to you are so difficult to express and recount that there is not a language in the whole world in which the words would do other than a disservice, would be other than an absurd contradiction, at best a gross approximation, would ever convey a faithful translation of the music.

Thirdly, we showed earlier how, for perfectly obvious reasons, conventional turns of phrase that are acceptable in orchestral works – where they would in fact be difficult {14} always to avoid – must strenuously be eliminated from quartets. True, Haydn let them creep in, though rarely and as it were inadvertently. Example 3 in a case in point.<sup>31</sup>

29 Mozart: Quartet in G major, K387: mvt 4, Molto Allegro, bb. 23–39.

30 Haydn: Quartet in C Op. 50 no. 2, Hob. III/45: mvt 2, Adagio cantabile, bb. 8–16.

31 Haydn: Quartet in E $\flat$  Op. 71 no. 3, Hob. III/71: mvt 1, Vivace, bb. 300–15.



again and again, counterpoint, the element that brings strength and durability to music, represents our faculty of intelligence in musical works of art; it is logic in music. Moreover, we can see immediately that the works of Beethoven do not display to the extent that those of Mozart do that quality of aesthetic inevitability whereby the work of the contrapuntist appears to take shape of its {16} own accord, as if there were no other way in which it could be done. Even the most partisan of Beethoven’s advocates are bound to concede this brand of superiority to our hero because it would be difficult to contest it among musicians. But they will undoubtedly add that this quality, paramount as it was in the scholastic era of music, ranks no higher than second place in our own day. Genius, they will contend, transcends technique; very few listeners bother their heads about logic in music; most of them have no idea what it is, whereas all of them want to be overcome with emotion. Now, the quartets of Beethoven have something about them that is more moving than those of Mozart. If they *prove* less, they *are* more *moving*, and that is at least sufficient compensation, you will claim, when it comes to music. I accept the premise, and I repudiate the consequence. True enough, several of Beethoven’s quartets, among them those in C minor [Op. 18 no. 4] and F minor [Op. 95], have a more impassioned character than any of Mozart’s; and according to our principles what follows from this is nothing but a second species of relative inferiority. The composer of *Don Giovanni* has every bit as much passion in his soul as the composer of *Fidelio*; but since it is instrumental music of which we are speaking, let us take the Allegro, Minuet and Finale of Mozart’s G minor Symphony [No. 40, K550]. I put it to you: can you recall a piece of music, can you even conceive of a piece, more filled with pathos, more alive with vitality, more profoundly incisive than this, especially the Finale?<sup>33</sup> [This is] proof that Mozart could show as much sign of emotion, and could become as excited as anyone else, if not more, when he wanted to. If he never exhibited such great passion in the quartet, this is because *non erat hic locus* [‘this was not the place for it’].<sup>34</sup> He did not want his quartets – masterpieces equal in their genre to the most perfect things that he ever wrote – to become symphonies for two violins, viola and cello [*base*], a {17} very incomplete instrumentation for a symphony, as anyone will tell you. Beethoven is far from having understood the principle with the same reflective and intuitive clarity of mind. First and foremost a great symphonist, he is sometimes able to bring to chamber music the feel of orchestral music – the genre which was his highest calling, his most unmistakeable vocation. In one place, you may hear a shapely and distinctive melody, smooth and mellifluous phrases, which would sound natural on flute, bassoon or clarinet, if only there were a bassoon, a clarinet or a flute to hand. In another, an impressive-sounding thematic idea seems to cry

33 Ulibishev’s discussions of *Don Giovanni* and the G minor Symphony occur in vol. III, pp. 67–208 and 255–60. Eduard Hanslick cited passages from these two discussions as corroborating ‘Oulibicheff’s mistaken opinion that a piece of instrumental music cannot be a product of genius [*geistreich*] because “genius [*Geist*] in a composer consists purely and simply in a certain applicability of his music to a direct or indirect program”’ (*Vom Musikalisch-Schönen* (Leipzig: Barth, 1854, 17/1971), pp. 74–5; trans. G. Payzant (Indiana: Hackett, 1986), p. 36). Bujić, 26, translates *Geist* and *geistreich* as ‘ingenuity’ and ‘ingenious’.

34 Horace, *Ars poetica*, line 19: *Sed nunc non erat hic locus* (‘But now there is no place for them’), speaking of ‘purple patches’ in poetic style. I am indebted to James Zetzel for this identification.

as first among equals for having understood and overcome these difficulties the most effectively, for having avoided the pitfalls more consistently and more successfully, than anyone before or after him.

Since men such as Haydn and Beethoven, equals of Mozart as they are, are not always beyond reproach when it comes to the principles [of style],<sup>38</sup> what are we to say about, or rather what do those principles tell us about some of the most celebrated musicians who cultivate this same branch of art today? –Exhibit 1: the dramatic quartet, in which the violin sings you a recitative, but a recitative so expressive that it seems to form words, to speak to you, it as good as tells a story. Very well, then: why not put it into the mouth of a prima donna, and the words might come over even more clearly? –Exhibit 2: the quintet with explicit programme: ‘Fever’, ‘Delirium’, ‘Convalescence’, ‘Recovery’. Call a conference of doctors and they will unerringly recognize in the music the symptoms, the tell-tale signs of these various conditions. Doctors, maybe. But for each of these states there would be a far clearer way of issuing a medical bulletin: for fever, an actor tucked up warm in a blanket; for delirium, in a night gown or *in naturalibus*; for convalescence, in a dressing gown; and for recovery, in fancy dress. –Exhibit 3: the quartet *brillant* without pretensions: a solo with simple accompaniment. Principles have nothing to tell us about this one. When a soloist plays with limited resources [*en petit comité*], having no orchestra at his disposal, he needs something to provide the chords for him; whether it is three instruments of the violin family or a harpsichord is neither here nor there. –And now Exhibit 4: {22} the quartet *brillant* with technical pretensions, that is to say, with a leading violin part even more difficult than a concerto, together with an accompaniment heavy with erudition, overloaded with chromatic and enharmonic passage-work. ‘Two husbands! – That is more than custom permits’, as the notary said in *Femmes savantes*.<sup>39</sup> Two genres of music in one and the same composition? –too much for the ear, our principles tell us. You have forgotten, they say to the composer, that the contrapuntal style and the concertante style are mutually exclusive: they make diametrically opposite demands and hence are totally antipathetic. The one achieves its effect by the disciplined combination of contrapuntal parts, the other by the wholesale isolation of one part from others. Obviously, you have begun by writing your *violino primo*; and in so doing you have thought in purely melodic terms. At some point you decided to dabble a little in technique; and so, observing the rules of musical arithmetic, you tried to find short phrases [*dessins*] and points of imitation [*imitations*] that could be worked into the other parts so as to impart a little rigour. Being the patient fellow that you are at figures, you have achieved what you set out to do. But let us remind you, my dear sir, that this is technique after the fact. True contrapuntists do not compose in this way. They think all-of-a-piece. They work with fire and inspiration; they do not first surrender their ideas to the demands of virtuosity – demands totally alien to their purpose. To them,

<sup>38</sup> *principes*: ‘of style’ has been inferred from the succeeding discussion.

<sup>39</sup> Molière, *Les femmes savantes*, Act V Scene 3, lines 1623–4: ‘Deux époux! C’est trop pour la coutume’ (quotation-marks not given by Ulibishev) (*Molière: Oeuvres complètes*, ed. G. Mongrédien, vol. IV (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1965), p. 366).



Four essays on the styles of Beethoven's music

(a) Johann Aloys Schlosser (c.1790–?)

‘Urtheile über Beethoven's Werke’

*Ludwig van Beethoven: eine Biographie* (1828)

(b) François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871)

‘Beethoven (Louis van)’

*Biographie universelle des musiciens* (1837)

(c) Wilhelm von Lenz (1809–1883)

‘Les trois styles de Beethoven’

*Beethoven et ses trois styles* (1852)

(d) Alexander Dmitryevich Ulibishev (1794–1858)

‘Les trois manières de Beethoven’

*Beethoven, ses critiques et ses glossateurs* (1857)

The notion that Beethoven's musical output forms three distinctive, largely consecutive temporal categories is one that we find in many writers over a period of some thirty years after Beethoven's death, notably Schlosser in 1828, Fétis in 1837, Schindler in 1840, von Lenz in 1852 and Ulibishev in 1857. We might suppose that these men shared a single method of classification, based on a common view of the composer's career. The truth is somewhat more complex. There are three distinct paradigms at work in the writings of these five men, represented in purest form by Schindler, von Lenz and Ulibishev.

Anton Felix Schindler (1795–1865) had been Beethoven's amanuensis and friend for many years, and at the composer's death had acquired conversation books and letters which, together with his own reminiscences, formed the basis of his *Biography of Ludwig van Beethoven*, the first edition of which was published in 1840.<sup>1</sup> Schindler had opted to divide this work into three ‘periods’ (*Perioden*), the first extending from Beethoven's birth to 1800, the second from the onset of troubles with his brothers and the early signs of deafness to October 1813, and

<sup>1</sup> Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1840, 2/1845; Eng. trans. Ignace Moscheles, London: Colburn, 1841).

the third from the scandal over Maelzel to his death in 1827 – uneven time-periods which, perhaps by chance, produced roughly equal numbers of opuses.<sup>2</sup> Schindler made no attempt to analyse Beethoven's musical style, or to categorize it by intrinsic criteria: 'I follow here', he declared, 'a scheme of division derived not from the course of [Beethoven's] spiritual development, but purely from the various phases of his life as Beethoven himself had observed them'.<sup>3</sup> The association of individual works with 'first period', 'second period' and 'third period' (the labels most commonly used nowadays to classify Beethoven's output) was therefore purely mechanical, and the result an entirely clean compartmentalization of the works into three exclusive periods which presented no problems of stylistic definition.

Wilhelm von Lenz's *Beethoven and his Three Styles* of 1852 represents the second of our paradigms in its purest form. Von Lenz relegated external biography to a passive role, assigning himself a very specific task: 'To orient the music lover within Beethoven's *œuvre*, complex as it is'.<sup>4</sup> His is a developmental account of Beethoven's output: the works are treated as manifestations of a dynamic inner growth. He charted this growth in three phases, calling them, significantly, not 'periods', but 'styles' or 'manners'. He was careful to detach these phases as far as possible from temporal categories. As he said of the composer: 'There are within him three Beethovens, very different from one other.' Von Lenz conceptualizes these as 'the different directions that his mind took' and 'the *layers* [*assises*] of his output' – both epithets that avoid strictly temporal associations. Not that the three manners are completely synchronous: the word *assise* denotes a 'course of bricks' in bricklaying, and so conveys an image of successive construction (as it does too of upward and cumulative progression); an *enchaînement* ('linkage') exists between the manners, which 'influence' one another and in themselves constitute 'major transformations of his genius'. However, the sequentiality that these epithets imply is not purely one of chronological time. It exists as an independent construct – a construct that occupies Beethoven's life-span and yet does not precisely match the series of external events that constitute his career.

It matches, rather, the life of the mind and spirit. It should not surprise us, then, that the Sonatina in G Op. 79, though written in 1809, is assigned to the first style, or that, whereas the *Eroica* Symphony Op. 55 written (in von Lenz's view) in 1802–04, is a late manifestation of the first manner, the Piano Sonata in A $\flat$  Op. 26 and the String Quintet Op. 29, written (again in his view) in 1802, were pure instances of the second manner. Nor were works necessarily to be assigned wholly to a single style: as we see in the analysis of the Sonata in F Op. 10

2 Schindler rewrote his biography in the late 1850s (Münster: Aschendorff, 1860; trans. and ed. D. W. McArdle as *Beethoven as I Knew Him*, London: Faber, 1966). Shifting his period divisions by a few months, the first back, the second forward, resulted in markedly unbalanced reallocation of works to periods (now in the form of lists): I, Opp. 1–15; II, broadly Opp. 16–93; III, broadly Opp. 90–127. By this time, he was familiar with the work of Fétis, von Lenz and Ulibishev, and betrays influence from their notions of style (e.g. pp. 110–11). Several works (notably the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies and the 'Archduke' Trio) now appeared in both the second and the third periods, so blurring his original compartmentalization.

3 *Biographie* (1840), pp. 9–10.

4 Wilhelm von Lenz, *Beethoven et ses trois styles*, ed. M. D. Calvocoressi (Paris: Legouix, 1909; reprint edn with Foreword by Joseph Kerman, New York: Da Capo, 1980), p. 4.



Schindler's treatment of the creative output, that of Schlosser is centred on the music, and is style-critical in nature. Nevertheless, its place lies within a biography (a 'worthless and error-filled' one, according to Solomon<sup>8</sup>), it follows directly on from the life, and it is itself based on chronology, speaking in terms of 'periods' as much as of 'styles'. It envisages 'critical moments' at which changes in the prevailing style occur; periods are thus discrete compartments of time, hence artistic life is seen as a linear progression. However, while coexistence of styles is consequently not allowed for, nor even transitional phases introduced, 'reversion to an earlier period', because mentally linear, is conceded. The entire process is teleological in that it moves towards the organic wholeness that Schlosser finds in the third period, and as a result, there is no question of late-period decadence.

Fétis's discussion is also coupled with a biographical account. Whether Fétis knew Schlosser's biography when writing his article on Beethoven is not clear, though he furnished a biographical article on him later in his *Universal Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*. That Fétis's account was familiar to von Lenz and Ulibishev is undoubted, and his influence on both of them is manifest.

His treatment of Beethoven's works embraces elements of all three paradigms. It is chronologically framed, in that no work is assigned to more than one manner. On the other hand, works are said to look forward to the next period or manner (notably the String Quintet Op. 29, the Violin Sonatas Op. 30 and the Piano Sonatas Op. 31 to the second manner, and the Seventh Symphony and the 'Archduke' Trio to the third), and the course of Beethoven's development is said to be a 'continual transformation'. Unmistakeably overlaid upon this is the growth-decay paradigm. In one sense, Beethoven found his own voice in the second period, freeing himself from the model of Haydn and Mozart; in another sense, however, Beethoven's artistic development advanced healthily and constructively until, from 1811 onwards, the composer's tendency to shut himself off from the outside world brought a mysticism and excess to his music that incurred an irreversible loss of coherence.

The conservative French critic Pierre Scudo (1806–64), noting that all of Beethoven's biographers had divided the composer's works into three categories, gave paradigmatic status to Fétis's hybrid model, in a broad-ranging essay from 1850 that took as its starting-point the 'Moonlight' Sonata Op. 27 no. 2 in C# minor:<sup>9</sup>

These three *manners*, so the learned [biographers] tell us, can be observed in all men of genius save those who, like Tasso, Raphael and Mozart, died too young. They are the outward manifestation of the three broad periods incessantly traversed by the human spirit before reaching the fatal bourne: youth, maturity and decline [*décadence*]. During the first period, man gets up his courage, and makes his first sorties into the battles of life under the watchful eye of his mother; then he blossoms gloriously, lit by the fire of his passions; finally he diminishes and dies. These are the three ages of the world, of which the poets speak. For men dedicated to the pursuit of beauty, of the golden age, it is the age of love, of sublime and holy passion, that attains its full flood only *nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita*.

8 Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer, 1977), p. x.

9 Pierre Scudo, 'Une sonate de Beethoven', *Revue des deux mondes*, 20/8 (1 October 1850), 77–97, esp. 92. The final phrase 'vers le milieu di nostra vita' is patently a reference to Dante's *Divine Comedy*, Inferno, 1.1.

superimposition of three styles upon two, he remarks: 'the French outlook, bereft of idealism as it is, could not think otherwise'. Von Lenz, for all his higher sense of purpose, failed to divest himself of an outmoded view of musical form as 'something opposed to content, as at best a framework [*Spalier*], with the aid of which the teacher trains would-be infant composers to run for the first time'. Marx concluded:<sup>13</sup>

Ironically, von Lenz's failure to probe more deeply [into the nature of form] proves a handicap, for his periodization is just so many lifeless compartments, forced barbarically and intrusively into a flow of life that is constant and unbroken, just as he himself visualizes art forms. Any other periodization would have met the same fate: life resists (as Lenz should have learned from the theory of form) every external intervention.

Of Schlosser, nothing is known save Fétis's report that he was born in Lann, in Bohemia, c.1790, and that in the same year as his Beethoven biography, 1828, he also wrote a biography of Mozart.

François-Joseph Fétis is remembered today mostly by music historians, and largely for one work: his *Universal Biographical Dictionary of Musicians and General Bibliography of Music*. First published in eight volumes between 1833 and 1844, enlarged and revised by Fétis himself in 1860–65 in the form that remains a standard reference tool to the present day; and subsequently reissued many times and supplemented by other writers, it is commonly dubbed 'unreliable' and 'biased', yet remains an indispensable source.<sup>14</sup> It is from the article on Beethoven in this work that the passage below is taken. As librarian of the Paris Conservatory between 1826 and 1830, and owner of a personal library of fabulous proportions, Fétis was well placed to amass the information that he needed for his dictionary. Moreover, as founding director of the Brussels Conservatory from 1833 to 1871, he exerted a powerful influence upon the world of music education. Historians of music theory know him as a thinker of considerable originality. His *Treatise on Counterpoint and Fugue* (1824) was commissioned as the textbook for the Paris Conservatory alongside Simon Catel's *Treatise on Harmony* (1802).<sup>15</sup> In his *Outline History of Harmony* (1840), Fétis adumbrated a new theory of 'tonality' (*tonalité*), which he then developed in his *Complete Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Harmony* (1844),<sup>16</sup> in which he defined the stylistic phases

13 Adolf Bernhard Marx, *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen* (Berlin: Janke, 1859), vol. 1, pp. 34–5.

14 *Biographie universelle des musiciens et bibliographie générale de la musique* (Brussels: Leroux; Paris: H. Fournier, 1833–44; enlarged 1860–65, 1873–75, suppl. 1878–80, ed. A. Pougin; reprint edn Brussels: Editions Culture et Civilisation, 1972).

15 By Cherubini, then its director (1822–42). *Traité du contrepoint et de la fugue, contenant l'exposé analytique des règles de la composition musicale* (Paris: Ozu, 1824; enlarged 1846). Catel's *Traité de l'harmonie* (Paris: Conservatoire de Musique, 1802), adopted in 1802 as a bulwark against Rameau's theories, was replaced by Antoine Reicha's *Cours de composition musicale ou Traité complet et raisonné d'harmonie pratique* (see Analysis 2 above) in 1817, but reinstated by Cherubini (see Renate Groth, *Die französische Kompositionslehre des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Beihefte zum Archiv für Musikwissenschaft, vol. XII (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1983), pp. 7–11).

16 *Esquisse de l'histoire de l'harmonie considérée comme art et comme science systématique* (Paris: Bourgogne et Martinet, 1840; Eng. trans. M. I. Marvin, PhD diss., Indiana University, 1972); *Traité complet de la théorie et de la pratique de l'harmonie contenant la doctrine de la science et de l'art* (Paris: Schlesinger, 1844; enlarged 1849). The term *tonalité* was previously used by Alexandre Étienne Choron (1771–1834) in his *Méthode élémentaire de composition* . . . (Paris: Courcier,



(a) Johann Aloys Schlosser  
 ‘Critical Assessment of Beethoven’s Works’

Source:

*Ludwig van Beethoven: eine Biographie desselben, verbunden mit Urtheilen über seine Werke* (Prague: Buchler, Stephani & Schlosser, 1828), pp. 79–85.

I shall refrain here from enumerating Beethoven’s<sup>20</sup> works individually, since they are to be found cited in the catalogues of the various music dealers. More to my purpose here is to make a critical assessment of these works and to gauge their value.

In the life of every great artist certain periods can be discerned through which of necessity that artist must pass, drawn along as he is by the flood-tide of a natural force which evolves immutably in accordance with fixed laws. To be sure, great artists occasionally do emerge apparently fully formed from the very beginning; but in reality such men have kept themselves to themselves during their formative period, and in this way their true beginnings have been hidden from public view. Then there are those whose style alters with the {80} materials at hand,<sup>21</sup> in such a way that the process of change is always linked to their spiritual development. This last is especially true of Goethe,<sup>22</sup> whose artistic career has proceeded in an unbroken circle, describing the entire circumference of one individual’s human creative powers.

Thus we confront the task of charting for Beethoven’s<sup>23</sup> career the critical moments through which he inevitably had to pass if he was ultimately to emerge fully formed in his own individual perfection. The establishment of the periods of his life cannot rest solely on the successive numbering of his works, for many a work was composed early in life which was not published till much later. Nor can such a categorization aspire to mathematical precision, for that would be to place music, which is an outpouring of artistic freedom, into an alien and injurious environment.

Beethoven’s<sup>24</sup> genius manifested itself for the first time in three Trios [Op. 1] for fortepiano, violin {81} and cello. There is about these trios a pleasing quality which is extraordinarily deeply inspired but which has not yet quite found its true and right outlet. It is precisely on this account that some have complained – and not without justification – of disorder in this work and that which followed it. This music, as well as that of the later works, gives ample evidence of the inexhaustible surging of Beethoven’s heart towards that new world which he was subsequently

20 *Beethoven*: spaced type.

21 *mit dem Stoffe*: lit. ‘with the raw material’. It is unclear whether this refers to the musical substance or to the circumstance and subject-matter of a piece.

22 *Goethe*: spaced type.

23 *Beethoven*: spaced type.

24 *Beethoven*: spaced type.

to conquer. At first, by his very nature he was incapable of working with ideas on other than a grand scale [*in grossen . . . Massen*], ideas which were not always clearly delineated or sharply distinguished. Nevertheless, he aroused great expectations in the minds of the connoisseurs, especially on grounds of the sustained melody [*Gesang*] to be found in his allegros and also in his exquisitely beautiful adagios. In view of the sublime and passionate style of his works, requiring as it does a sense of grand proportions and a high degree of involvement on the part of the performer, it was only natural that he should demand more than the usual from his instruments. The style of keyboard writing had {82} by his time been extended through the addition of several happy effects, and to these Beethoven<sup>25</sup> in turn contributed – for instance, through the unconventional use of widely spaced harmony<sup>26</sup> with spread chords in his keyboard writing, to cite but one instance. For the rest, the works of this and the following period are reminiscent of the form made pre-eminent by Haydn and Mozart, albeit Beethoven,<sup>27</sup> although under the influence of these composers, was striving continuously to attain independent clarity of thought. To this period belong his world-famous Sextet,<sup>28</sup> and also the two symphonies [No. 1] in C and [No. 2] in D and the six<sup>29</sup> String Quartets Op. 18. At the same time, all manner of foretastes of the later period abound, as is inevitable with so tirelessly questing an artistic development.

The works that span Opp. 40–60 form a sort of transition. This is not wholly without digression, of course – {83} there are occasional reversions to the earlier period – on the whole, however, it is the later period which predominates to a telling extent. The *Eroica* Symphony<sup>30</sup> will serve to represent this period and to endorse the view just expressed. In general, the period is marked by a profound seriousness which is nonetheless capable of turning into boisterous jollity now and then as the composer, overtaken by an irresistible impulse, erupts into brilliant and mischievous mockery. One might almost call it musical humour. The character of several works from this time seems to point, if conjecture may be allowed here, to a condition of mind marked by something quite exceptional [. . .]

The Fifth Symphony resoundingly proclaims Beethoven's<sup>31</sup> arrival at the threshold of the third period. Indeed, in its blend of {84} retrospective and prophetic tones it chronicles the inner life of the composer. It begins with an

25 *Beethoven*: spaced type.

26 'of widely spaced harmony': *der zerstreuten Harmonie*.

When [. . .] the notes of the chords comprising the harmonic fabric lie so far apart from each other that between the upper voice and the inner voices lie notes that are fundamental to the chords [. . .], the harmony is said to be *zerstreut*, or the chords are said to be in *zerstreuter Harmonie*. If, by contrast, the notes of the chords [. . .] lie so close to one another that no chord constituents can occur between them, then the chords are used in *enger Harmonie*. [. . .] In thoroughbass, the chords are usually taken in *enger Harmonie*, since the span of the hand does not permit the use of chords in widely spaced harmony. (H.C. Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt a/M: Hermann, 1802; reprint edn Hildesheim: Olms, 1964), 1757–8)

27 *Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven*: spaced type.

28 It is unclear whether the E $\flat$  Sextet for two horns and strings, Op. 81b (?1795), is intended, or the E $\flat$  Wind Sextet Op. 71 (1796) – neither published until 1810; or even perhaps the E $\flat$  Septet for wind and strings, Op. 20 (1799–1800) – published in 1802.

29 six: 16.

30 *Eroica Symphony*: Roman type.

31 *Beethoven*: spaced type.



impetuous Allegro, the seriousness of which, full of foreboding, sets the underlying tone of a life of energetic purpose. The wistful sorrow of the Andante which follows is relieved, as the music turns its gaze full of hope out into infinity. In the ensuing Allegro, fate's storm can be heard breaking in, until at the onset of the Finale all earthly burdens fall away and the victorious spirit soars into the sun-filled transparent ether of eternal freedom.

The works of this last period are characterized by an inner compulsion. Features that arise are always intrinsically prepared and determined by those that precede them, such that any possibility of fortuitous, wayward or alien elements is excluded, and the whole, in its well-regulated inner coherence, achieves a vigorous unity. In just the same way, the fruit springs [85] from the blossom, and the blossom itself from the burgeoning, totally controlled germination of the tree. Herein lies the secret, the law of every single life-form, be it in nature or in art. Beethoven obeys a controlling force which regulates right down to the smallest detail; and precisely because of this he exhausts the possibilities of a theme – even sometimes a conventional and perfectly trivial theme – in the production of what many people who have neither the intelligence nor the sensibility to appreciate readily overlook: purely and simply, an artistic form fully articulated in its own right. Beethoven is to be likened to Goethe<sup>32</sup> in that the latter, too, sometimes follows<sup>33</sup> the inspiration of a less-than-portentous moment, and that he like Beethoven brings to bear on the realization of the work that selfsame primal guiding spirit,<sup>34</sup> right down to the very last detail.

So much for Beethoven's<sup>35</sup> works as a whole.

32 *Goethe*: spaced type.

33 At the time that Schlosser was writing (1828), Goethe (1749–1832) was still alive; *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* was not quite complete, and Part II of *Faust* was yet to be published, posthumously, in 1832.

34 'primal guiding spirit': *Urgeist*.

35 *Beethoven*: spaced type.



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more he advanced along this new path, the more did he strive to introduce into music things that lie outside his domain, and the more did his sense of the essential intimacy of his art fade in his mind. From my own careful analysis of Opp. 127–135,<sup>45</sup> it is clear to me that in these last works the requirements of harmony had diminished in his mind in the face of considerations of a different sort. He was occasionally reproached for this towards the end of his life in criticisms that came to his notice. Allegedly he cried, wringing his hands: 'Yes, yes. They are astonished, but they understand nothing because they can find none of it in a treatise on figured bass!' At another part of his life he had energetically defended the teachings of his textbooks, and his studies<sup>46</sup> are full of expressions of confidence in their rules. These two totally contrary opinions stand for two opposite systems of thought, and encapsulate the entire history of the transformation of Beethoven's genius. [. . .]<sup>47</sup>

What gives the compositions of this great man their distinctive quality is the spontaneity of the episodes by which he suspends the interest that he has aroused in these works, substituting for it another which is as vital as it is unexpected. This ability is his alone, and it is to this that his finest achievements can be attributed. These episodes, apparently alien to the first idea, initially command our attention by their originality. Then, as the effect of surprise diminishes, the composer knows just how to draw them into the unity of his plan and so bear out the fact that within the totality of a composition variety is subordinate to unity. To this rare quality Beethoven brought also his unique feeling for instrumental sonority, unlike that of any other composer. No one has the ability as well as he to *fill* the orchestra {112b} with sound, and to contrast one sonority with another. It is through this that the impact of his great works outstrips in power all that has been written before him.

Whatever differences of opinion may exist on the works of the various periods of Beethoven's life, there is one point on which everybody will eternally agree: that the works of this composer are to be counted among those of the very greatest artists, those who by their talents have contributed the most to furtherance of their art.<sup>48</sup>

45 'Les derniers quatuors de Beethoven', *Revue musicale*, 7 (= 2nd ser., 1), 279–86 (3 April 1830), 345–51 (17 April 1830).

46 Reference here is presumably to Beethoven's studies with Albrechtsberger in 1794–5, the exercise books of which had been edited by Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried in *Ludwig van Beethovens Studien im Generalbasse, Contrapunkt und in der Compositions-Lehre* (Vienna: Haslinger, 1832, 2/1853; reprint edn 1967; Eng. trans. 1853).

47 2/1860 continues:

M Ulibishev, whose taste was revulsed by the works of the last period of the great composer's life, and who provides, in his book, an analysis that is just, albeit harsh, of certain passages, does not shrink from offering an alternative cause for the aberrations of his genius. According to this, they are the product of a weakening of his faculties brought on by domestic unhappiness, and preoccupation with business matters that drove him to extreme neuroticism. Undaunted, he declares that Beethoven became prey to hallucinations. In the account that Rellstab of Berlin gives of a visit to this extraordinary man in his final years, he too expressed the opinion that his stability had been gravely undermined, and was nothing short of the degeneration of his mental equilibrium [*état primitif*].

48 2/1860 continues:

He possessed one of those rare geniuses which dominates a whole era; and gives it a bearing which comes to characterize that art-form for that time. His attributes are grandeur, poetic



(c) Wilhelm von Lenz  
 'Beethoven's Three Styles'

*Beethoven and his Three Styles*

Source:

*Beethoven et ses trois styles: analyses des sonates de piano suivies d'un essai d'un catalogue critique, chronologique et anecdotique de l'œuvre de Beethoven* (St Petersburg: Bernard, 1852; Brussels: Stapleaux, 1854; Paris: Lavinié, 1855; new edn, ed. M. D. Calvocoressi, Paris: Legouix, 1909; reprint edn New York: Da Capo, 1980), pp. 52–67.

You must at some time or another have heard remarked what a composer Beethoven was, to have had the three Piano Trios Op. 1 as his first work! But we must make a distinction here. These trios are Beethoven's first *published* work, but not his first composition [. . .]. Quite the contrary: it is highly likely that with the exception of the String Quartets [Op. 18] the bulk of the compositions that comprise Opp. 1–18 were already in existence by the time that the trios were published. We exclude the string quartets from this because if Beethoven had indeed produced these works – works of major importance which ushered in a new era of chamber music – one might imagine that he would have launched his publications with them. Together with the string trios [Opp. 3 and 9], the First and Second Symphonies, the Septet [Op. 20] and certain of the sonatas for piano solo and for piano with one other instrument (*avec accompagnement*),<sup>49</sup> they represent in purest form the style that constitutes his first manner. No doubt Beethoven selected the piano trios as his first publication because they were the works to which, of all his output so far, he attached the greatest importance. {53} By so doing, in one leap he proved himself the equal of Haydn and Mozart, whose piano music contained nothing remotely like these trios, where everything was new, and still is to some extent. Beethoven himself did not surpass them so long as he worked in this style – a style that embodied a hallowed respect for the traditions that Haydn and Mozart brought into the world of music while exhibiting a

strength. He did not have Mozart's abundant flow of ideas, flooding in all directions. His thought processes matured slowly, laboriously; his themes, even those themes that seem simplest and most natural, were revised by him again and again before arriving at their definitive form. But once it was fixed, his mighty intellect grasped the overall shape of the composition. One of the most remarkable examples of this long gestation period which could precede the begetting of a theme, a theme which he envisages subjecting to extensive development, was that of the main melody of the great choral Finale of the Ninth Symphony. He drafted, erased and redrafted the phrases of this tune time and time again, and many days went by before he reached the final form. At long last he cried enthusiastically: "I have it! I have it!" True, this melody, which sent him into such transports of joy, is really quite vulgar. But he was looking at it not from the musical point of view, but from that of the emotion that he was striving to express. In his preoccupation with this theme there was more of Germanic reverie than of aesthetic conception.

49 Von Lenz gives a more specific version of this list of cited works later.

richness of ideas hitherto unknown. To elevate the piano (which was still little more than a harpsichord at that time) to such a lofty status, to display an abundance of ideas so plentiful that every piece seems almost to regret ever having to end (whereas the end of a piece in Haydn, and more often than not in Mozart too, and most especially in the finales of their chamber works, surrenders whatever life is left in it to the mechanical aids of repetition, imitation, canon, modulation and transformation) – to do all this was to create a revolution in art and to proclaim himself its dictator. 'Style is the man himself', as the Haydn of the naturalists said.<sup>50</sup> Applied to music, style is the mode of usage of the means that work together to express the composer's idea.

The intervening work in Haydn and Mozart – in brief, their way of taking up an idea and showering upon it all the resources of melody, harmony and rhythm – is not without its wearisomeness, and it betrays from time to time a certain monotony which is the inevitable companion of any taught precept, even if the precept is perfect and the teaching impeccable. By contrast, in Beethoven the idea never succumbs: it is form that proves to be impotent because the idea overflows. It is from this that the new forms of the second and third manner arise. M Fétis (*Universal Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*: 'Beethoven') has put his finger on one of the most characteristic aspects of Beethoven when he observes that what distinguishes him 'is the spontaneity of the *episodes* by which he suspends the interest that he has aroused, substituting for it another which is as vital as it is unexpected'. 'This ability is his alone,' says M Fétis. 'These episodes, apparently alien to the first idea, {54} initially command our attention by their originality. Then, as the effect of surprise diminishes,' Beethoven 'knows just how to draw them into the unity of his plan and so bear out the fact that within the totality of a composition variety is subordinate to unity.'<sup>51</sup>

To take Mozart's piano works, you would think that despite his being (or perhaps because of his being) a pianist, Mozart saw the piano as a poor object, a mediocre repository unfit to house his most precious treasures. Mozart thus preferred to concentrate on the quartet, the symphony, the ecclesiastical style and opera. Only fortuitously did he bestow his most beautiful things for performance on the piano – only by accident, when required to write something for piano. Beethoven laid bare the most intimate secrets of his soul lovingly to the piano, judging the symphony too large-scale an undertaking to attempt more than nine times in a life-span of fifty-seven years. Haydn and Mozart composed symphonies just as they composed anything else. For Beethoven the symphony was the central concern of his existence, the triumph of the style to which he for ever put his name. By virtue of his symphonies – leaving aside the music, and considering them only as edifices of ideas – Beethoven ranks equal with the greatest minds that the

50 *Le style c'est l'homme*: the comte de Buffon, 'Ces choses sont hors de l'homme, le style est l'homme même', *Discours sur le style*, address to the Académie française, 25 August 1753. Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon (1707–88), was a naturalist, keeper of the Jardin du Roi and museum, author of, among other works, the *Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1749–88). This aphorism soon became distorted as 'Le style, c'est l'homme', and is usually quoted in that form. See the Introduction to Part III, above, note 6.

51 See Analysis 16b above.



history of humanity has ever known. Like Napoleon, Beethoven has already acquired a legendary air – he sometimes seems more myth than reality. To grasp the full import of his genius one would need to be able to put oneself in the shoes of a composer whose contemporaries are Haydn and Mozart. How difficult it would be in that position to blaze a third trail! How difficult to avoid being enslaved by those prevailing influences, which must have seemed the only possible truth. What a phenomenal period the eighteenth century was, seeing in close succession the births of Gluck (1714), Haydn (1732), Mozart (1756), Beethoven (1770) and Weber (1786) in Germany; Grétry (1741) and Méhul (1763) in France; Pergolesi (1710), Cherubini (1760) and Rossini (1792) in Italy!<sup>52</sup>

[55] Song, melodic idea, was the dominant force in music up to the instrumental music of Mozart. Think only of the latter's incomparable Quintet for Piano and Wind [K452]. This work has something very special about it, a grandeur, a taste of such purity, it has feelings of such nobility, exudes a conviction so profound as to the power of its genius, displays a sense of proportion so sure in all things; clearly Beethoven wrote his own Quintet for Piano and Wind [Op. 16] under the influence of this established masterpiece. It has the same basic shape: introduction–allegro–andante–finale:<sup>53</sup> no scherzo – it must have rankled with Beethoven that there was no place for what he excelled in; for in this form more than any other he could hope to draw attention to himself; he had, after all, already produced the very models of the genre, models that remain to this very day (those of the Piano Trios [Op. 1] and the String Trios Op. 9).

Beethoven seems to have put so much of himself into the String Trios Op. 9 that, after their polish, their classic elegance,<sup>54</sup> the very earliest piano works might be taken for hurriedly-done holiday products. The trios could be called his *Sposalizio*: they have all the grace, all the colour, all the sweet melancholy of that celebrated painting by Raphael,<sup>55</sup> attributes only to be abandoned later by Beethoven for the large canvasses and bold lines of his second manner, in which his style is assimilated into the exuberant invention, the reckless brush-strokes of the *galérie Médicis* of the Louvre.<sup>56</sup>

The String Trio Op. 3 in E♭ major, composed in 1796, two years before the Trios Op. 9,<sup>57</sup> is not of the same quality. It conforms to the String Trios [K563] of Mozart in its subdivisions, its formal structure and even its keys: both contain

52 'Haydn (1731)', 'Pergolesi (1707)', 'Rossini (1789)'.

53 K452: largo–allegro moderato–larghetto–[rondo:] allegretto. Op. 16: grave–allegro ma non troppo–andante cantabile–rondo: allegro ma non troppo.

54 *atticisme*: 'the peculiar style and idiom of the Greek language as used by the Athenians; hence, refined, elegant Greek, and *gen.* a refined amenity of speech, a well-turned phrase' (OED).

55 *Sposalizio*: Raphael's *Sposalizio*, or *Marriage of the Virgin*, was painted at Città di Castello in 1504 for the Church of St Francis. It is now in the Brera Museum, Milan. It is in a tradition of paintings on this subject, and is itself modelled on the painting (1503–04) by Raphael's master, Perugino, but goes beyond its model in its treatment.

56 Von Lenz is presumably alluding to the great cycle of twenty-one allegorical paintings by Rubens, one of two cycles commissioned by Marie de Médicis for her return as Queen Mother in 1620 and intended for two long galleries in the Luxembourg Palace, painted 1622–25 and exhibited in its own gallery in the Louvre, in Paris.

57 1796 and 1798 are the publication dates of Opp. 3 and 9. Op. 3 was composed sometime before 1794 and Op. 9 in 1797–8.

two minuets, an andante, an adagio and two allegros.<sup>58</sup> It was Beethoven’s fate to live for a while under the sway of Mozart’s style; he is indeed, in his earliest compositions, the most complete expression of that style rather than a copy of it: the First and Second Symphonies, the Septet [Op. 20], the first six string quartets [Op. 18], the four string trios [Opp. 3 and 9], the first four piano trios [Opp. 1 and 11], the first three (56) violin sonatas Op. 12, the first two cello sonatas Op. 5 and the first ten solo piano sonatas [Opp. 2, 7, 10, 13 and 14].

History repeatedly shows us that the man who is called to further his art and to set it enduringly on its destined path begins by summing up the genius possessed by the greatest of his predecessors, and sets out as the culmination of that before embarking on the course that will lead him to higher ground. But there is one thing above all else which we must realize about Beethoven, one thing which alone will enable us to understand him: namely, that there are within him three Beethovens, very different from each other. Like Raphael and Rubens, Beethoven has a first, a second and a third manner, each one with its own distinctive characteristics. The different styles that these represent, the different directions that his mind took, the major transformations that his genius underwent, are the *layers* of his output. It is important to study them as a continuity, and to trace the influences that they exert upon one another, if we are to have any hope of distinguishing them and of understanding them. The task that we have set ourselves in this essay is thus to analyse these layers, and so make the study of this great composer more widely possible.

Though a work of Mozart’s youth may be inferior to a product of his genius at its height and full maturity, that is not to say that the man himself has changed in the meanwhile – only that his talent has become augmented. Beethoven’s earliest works may indeed radiate the genius of Mozart, as if they were some temporary guest of the immortal composer taking up residence for a while in his household. But if you look more closely you will detect the stirrings of discontented melancholy, the embryonic plans of a conqueror, just where you would expect to find the gentle tones of Mozart. This remains true as late as the Third Symphony, the seventh string quartet [Op. 59 no. 1], dedicated to Count Rasumovsky; the three Violin Sonatas [Op. 30], dedicated to the Emperor Alexander [I]; and the solo Piano Sonata Op. 22,<sup>59</sup> the work which in our analysis of the sonatas takes us to the furthest remove of this, the first phase of the composer’s genius, his first manner. From (57) this point on, the ‘giant of music’, as M Berlioz called him,<sup>60</sup>

58	K563	Op. 3
	Allegro (E♭)	Allegro con brio (E♭)
	Adagio (A♭)	Andante (B♭)
	Menuetto (Allegro) (E♭)	Menuetto (Allegro) (E♭)
	Andante (B♭)	Adagio (B♭)
	Menuetto (Allegretto) (E♭)	Menuetto (Moderato) (E♭)
	Allegro (E♭)	Finale: Allegro (E♭)

59 *opéra* 22. The works listed here date respectively from 1803, 1805, 1801 and 1800. Although von Lenz considered Op. 22 ‘composed in 1802’, it is clear from his catalogue that he was aware of the relative chronology of these works.

60 ‘... only with one of the giants of poetry can we find anything to compare with this sublime page of the giant of music’ (Berlioz, analysis of Beethoven’s Fourth Symphony, *Revue et gazette musicale de Paris*, 5/4 (28 January 1838), 34); reprinted in *A travers chants* (Paris: Lévy, 1862), p. 28.



It will be both andante and scherzo in the Piano Trio in E♭ Op. 70 [no. 2], an andante in the Seventh and Eighth Symphonies<sup>68</sup> and in the F minor String Quartet [Op. 95]. How are we to comprehend this Proteus?<sup>69</sup> In the C minor Symphony and the Pastoral Symphony, the scherzo abandons its name but does not for a moment abandon its essential nature. No longer will it serve to paint some fabulous and fanciful picture without predictable subdivisions (cf. the Scherzo of the F major Rasumovsky String Quartet [Op. 59 no. 1] and of the String Quartet Op. 74). It will lead unerringly yet unassumingly towards an order of ideas altogether vaster and more lofty: it will lead towards the finale for which it has laid the groundwork so splendidly. The scherzo will be the phoenix rising from the ashes of the old school and launching itself in liberation toward the skies! The engravings of Della Bella, nowadays a rarity, are charmingly and simply entitled 'Facetious Inventions of Love and War'.<sup>70</sup> Beethoven's scherzos, too, are a thousand 'inventions of love and war' – two ingredients which go together far too well for us not to rejoice at {60} seeing them united. The extra life-span that Beethoven brought to the scherzo opened up such vistas to the imagination that it all seems obvious to our eyes now whereas in reality it was one of the most important conquests made by instrumental music. How far removed the Beethoven scherzo is from the minuet of Haydn and Mozart! It is completely new territory, the discovery of which should be heralded in the annals of music. At first, the Beethoven scherzo ventured little; it fell into the role of younger brother to the minuet (e.g. the String Quintet in C [Op. 29], the Piano Trios Op. 1 and the String Quartets Op. 18). For a long time it preserved the same formal scheme, before eventually unveiling to the world the emancipated style and bearing of the scherzo of the second and third manners. To appreciate in detail the metamorphoses undergone by the scherzo at the hands of Beethoven would require special investigation. We can do no more here than point to the need for such an investigation. But we can recommend the amateur pianist to make his own personal selection of scherzos from the piano works, irrespective of the sonatas to which they belong; to carve out for himself a repertory of scherzos within the reach of the amateur. These will teach him more about the great master than any number of études, for which he will have neither the time nor the technique. Equally well, for anyone who feels more sympathy for adagio movements, the adagios of the piano sonatas would make up a repertory every bit as interesting. The pianist has much to gain from the old adage about having a stab at something now and tackling the rest later. *Non omnia possunt omnes* ['Some limit must there be to all man's faculties'].<sup>71</sup>

68 Op. 70 no. 2 has two such movements. Von Lenz presumably sees the second movement, Allegretto, as a scherzo, and the third movement, Allegretto ma non troppo, as an andante. The Allegretto of the Eighth Symphony is actually designated *Allegretto scherzando*.

69 The sea-god Proteus was capable of assuming many different guises.

70 Stefano Della Bella (1610–64) was a Florentine engraver, prolific and highly successful in his day. The *Facétieuses inventions d'amour et de guerre pour le divertissement des beaux esprits* is a set of thirteen items designed by Della Bella but engraved by Colignon and printed in 1634, picturing dwarves and soldiers. See Alexandre de Vesme, *Steffano Della Bella: catalogue raisonné*, ed. P. D. Massar (New York: Collectors Editions, 1971), pp. 162–3, 197.

71 Virgil, *Eclogues*, VIII, p. 63. *Apprendre quelque chose et y rattacher le reste*: source unknown.

The sonata's constituent forms will lose their rigidity in the style of the second manner. What is in essence a single movement will become the whole sonata (Op. 90), and a very lovely sonata at that. From now on the adagio will take the shape of a colossal lament (as in the String Quartet in F Op. 59 [no. 1]), or of a plangent entreaty from the whole of suppliant humanity (as it does in the Fourth Symphony), or of a scene of Paradise in which lovers here below will meet again in ultimate bliss (the String Quartet in E minor [Op. 59 no. 2]). The adagio will no longer always reach a conclusion: its last note will be at the same time the first of the finale (as in the String Quartet in F Op. 59 [no. 1], the ['Archduke'] Piano Trio in B $\flat$ , [61] the Piano Sonata in F minor Op. 57 – cf. the Allegretto of the F minor String Quartet [Op. 95] and the coda of the Minuet in the C major String Quartet with fugue [Op. 59 no. 3]). In one case, a finale will blaze forth its new ideas in a magnificent stream at the very threshold of the movement (in the C minor Symphony). Another will resemble a banquet at which poison is slipped into the cups so that the guests, overtaken by death, adorn themselves with flowers for the very last time (A major Symphony). And so it is with the sonatas, too; for nothing in Beethoven's output is so small and yet at the same time in the absolute sense so great. Each is self-contained, each is but *one* thing: *man in his struggle with the world*.

No one will deny Beethoven the right to treat the world outrageously, or to outdo other men when they are in his company. He is after all a millionaire in the realm of ideas. It is this exuberance of ideas which has caused people to suspect he is reproaching them (Tieck: *Musikalische Freuden und Leiden*).<sup>72</sup>

But if one had all the treasures of this world, would the happiness that they brought leave nothing further to be desired? Is there not an element of the unattainable in everybody's life? It is out of this that the third and final transformation of Beethoven's genius sprang: the Choral Symphony, to which the inscription on Herschel's telescope might apply: *coeli munimente perrupit* ['It has pierced the walls of the heavens'];<sup>73</sup> the Adagio of this symphony, which might be called the *agapes*<sup>74</sup> of his instrumental music; and the late quartets, which are nothing less than a portrayal of the life of the just man, recording memories of his journey through earthly life – and these memories are just as confused as the memories of anything so fragile and so many-faceted as human existence once it has fallen by the wayside. Beethoven will write his last five sonatas in this style of mystic revelation which is the essence of his third manner. Beethoven's ideas, as they are presented in this wholly exceptional style, are always complex. They are the outward manifestation of his innermost thoughts – thoughts of an abnormal life which was by then running its course remote from the real world. Total deafness

72 Ludwig Tieck, *Musikalische Leiden und Freuden* (1824), see *Werke in vier Bänden*, vol. III *Novellen*, ed. M. Thalmann (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965), pp. 75–128.

73 Sir William Herschel (1738–1822), musician, and a leading astronomer of his day. I have been unable to determine which of the many telescopes that he manufactured, now surviving worldwide, bears this inscription. A plaque to his memory in Westminster Abbey reads *Coelorum Perrupit claustra*, and a similar phrase occurs on his gravestone. I am grateful to Alan V. Sims of the William Herschel Society for this information.

74 *les agapes*: *agape* (Gk), 'love', in the New Testament the reciprocal love between God and man. Von Lenz uses the word in the plural with terminal -s.



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have to rise above the afflictions of human nature and so lead men back to the path of true destiny.

Beethoven occupies a place in the history of mankind alongside those of Shakespeare and Michelangelo. He exhibits a severity of mind like that of Buonarrotti's 'Moses'; a mind which, for all that, does not lack the grace of Sanzio;<sup>76</sup> a mind which believes in the separateness of individualities, yet, tinged with pantheism, is able to declare also 'All is true!'.<sup>77</sup> Beethoven's spirit is a chasm that grows ever deeper as time passes. Among emotions, it is love which predominates: 'Beethoven was never out of love; and love almost always deeply moved him' (Wegeler, p. 42).<sup>78</sup>

After all, he had to love greatly in order to understand.

To the majority of his works can be applied the medieval legend in which the Devil accosts a painter, as he is drawing a tree, with the remark: 'You are a lover, Signor Pittore; if you were not, you could not see that tree in the way you do'.<sup>79</sup>

Youth and beauty have advantages that cannot be overlooked. The heart, with its richer hues – knowledge – genius: all are powerless in the face of them. All his life, Beethoven suffered unhappy love [64] because he fell for ladies in the upper classes of society. This is the real key to his complex output, the true breeding-ground of his sublime ideas. Rejected because they were misunderstood, the impassioned entreaties of his music were from then on conceived as if for some less earthly ladylove.

The object of his love was transformed into a passionate mirage, which was always receding (e.g. the *Appassionato* section of the Finale of the A minor String Quartet [Op. 132]).

M Scudo, in the *Revue des deux mondes*, 1 October 1850, confuses, among other things [. . .], the metamorphoses of Beethoven's style with the periods of his life established by Schindler, p. 9. M Scudo likens these three periods to youth, maturity and decline as they 'can be observed in all men of genius'; he adds, 'save those who, like Tasso, Raphael and Mozart, died too young'.<sup>80</sup>

It is a strange sort of decline that is represented by the Choral Symphony, the Mass in D, the late quartets and the late sonatas! Raphael, despite his death at the age of thirty-seven, did in fact have *three* manners. No critical study can afford to be unaware of this. Did he not start as a continuator of Perugino before becoming the painter who effected a fusion of the styles of da Vinci and Buonarrotti? Is not this third manner represented by his *Spasimo* and by his *Transfiguration*?<sup>81</sup> We

76 Buonarrotti (i.e. Michelangelo): his sculpture *Moses*, for the tomb of Pope Julius II at S Pietro in Vincula, Rome, dates from 1545 and displays the *terribilità* which is a feature of Michelangelo's work. Sanzio (i.e. Raphael).

77 'All is true!': von Lenz quotes in English.

78 F. G. Wegeler and F. Ries, *Biographische Notizen über Ludwig van Beethoven* (Koblenz: Bädeker, 1838), p. 42 (footnote to a letter from Beethoven to Wegeler of 16 November 1801): 'Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried . . . [contended]: "Beethoven never married, and oddly enough was never involved in a love-affair." The truth, as I gathered it from my brother-in-law Stephan von Breuning, from Ferdinand Ries and from Bernhard Romberg, and as I came to learn it for myself, is that Beethoven was *never out of love*, and was mostly consumed by a passion of great intensity.'

79 I have been unable to identify this quotation.

80 For Schindler and Scudo, see the Introduction, above.

81 Raphael's *Spasimo di Sicilia*, or *Christ bearing his Cross*, was painted for the monastery of S Maria della Spasimo, Palermo, in 1517, and is now in the Prado Museum in Madrid. The *Transfiguration*, Raphael's last work, was painted for the cathedral church of Narbonne in 1517–c.1520 and left unfinished at his death; it is now in the Vatican.



draw attention to this error on the part of M Scudo because we have ourselves referred to the three manners that are recognized in Raphael's work, when talking about the subject of our own study. [. . .]

{65} M Fétis is the first writer to have established a threefold categorization of Beethoven's works [. . .]<sup>82</sup> It is to be regretted that he did not go into the subject in much greater detail.

For M Fétis, the second period extends from the *Eroica* Symphony Op. 55 to the [Seventh] Symphony in A Op. 92 exclusively. As can be seen, this grouping contains nothing but the symphonic style. The String Quintet in C Op. 29, the three Piano Sonatas Op. 31, and the three Violin Sonatas Op. 30, dedicated to the Emperor Alexander, all of them compositions that came *before* the *Eroica*, are no less manifestations of this style of the second manner, but simply located in another sphere of action. They reflect just as fully an increasing liberation from the received style to which belong the early trios Opp. 1, 3, 9 and 11, the first six string quartets, the First Symphony, and even the Septet and the Second Symphony, which stand right on the borderline between the styles of the first and second manners.

M Fétis finds in the Piano Trio in E $\flat$  Op. 97 and the [Seventh] Symphony in A Op. 92 the *first* symptoms of the third manner. These symptoms are just as detectable, if not more so, in a {66} work that predates them: the Piano Sonata Op. 54 [and also] in the F minor String Quartet Op. 95, which plainly bears one of the characteristic signs of the style, the absence of [double bar and] repeat in the allegro, which is cast as a single span. The Symphony in A is undoubtedly very much more the fullest expression from within Beethoven's symphonic style of the second, or more grand manner, than it is a constituent of the third manner, of which we can recognize in it no symptoms other than the complacency with which Beethoven lingers over the welter of harmonic and rhythmic developments in section II of the allegro and in certain passages in the finale. The Symphony in A is the very last outpost of the symphonic style of the second manner, just as the Septet and the Second Symphony are the keystone of the arch of the first manner. It is the bridge that links the second manner to the third. The astonishing ['Archduke'] Trio in B $\flat$  occupies the same place. It is one of the loftiest peaks of the second manner, and yet the appearance of the minor in the scherzo gives perhaps a first glimpse of the yawning apocalyptic chasms of the style of the third manner: *abyssus abyssum invocat*.<sup>83</sup> Alone among the symphonies, the Choral Symphony is a true product of the third manner, as are the five late string quartets, the five late piano sonatas, the Mass in D, the Overture [*The Consecration of the House*] Op. 124, but not the very latest overtures, as M Fétis says, because the Overture *The Ruins of Athens* Op. 113, the Overture to *King Stephen* Op. 117 and the [Name-day] Overture Op. 115 belong to the late works and yet show not the slightest trace of this style.<sup>84</sup> We plan to write a whole chapter on the

82 See Analysis 16b above.

83 Vulgate, Ps.41.8 = Authorized King James Version, Ps.42.7: 'Deep calleth unto deep'. See *Biblia sacra iuxta latinam vulgatam versionem*, vol. X (Rome: Vatican, 1953), p. 117.

84 Von Lenz gives no composition dates for these three works in his catalogue. The dates of publication of their scores were 1823, 1826 and 1825 respectively; but they are now known to have been composed in 1811, 1811 and 1814-15, facts which support von Lenz's judgment.



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## (d) Alexander Dmitryevich Ulibishev

## 'Beethoven's Three Manners'

*Beethoven, His Critics and His Glossators*

Source:

*Beethoven, ses critiques et ses glossateurs* (Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus; Paris: Jules Gavelot, 1857), pp. 105–08.

Fétis was I believe the first, in France at least, to draw attention to the transformations undergone by Beethoven's style, and to classify the latter's output as a whole into three categories of works [*productions*]. Our learned professor delineates these transformations with his characteristic shrewdness; but while indicating their outward effects he does not allow himself to touch on their causes, since this would have taken him beyond the scope of a dictionary article.

Since Fétis, there has been a spate of commentaries on the three manners of Beethoven, viewing them independently and in their chronological relationships. To the best of my knowledge, not one of these critiques has addressed the possibility of a relationship of coexistence. Transformations of style are to be observed in the output of a host of composers, {106} indeed of all who have produced enough and lived long enough to make a name for themselves. These changes signify nothing more than the stages of the artist's development – or his decline, should he have suffered such a thing. Sometimes the change of manner occurs consciously, premeditated, even calculated, as in the cases of Gluck, Cherubini, Spontini and Meyerbeer who, having wrought their Italian operas, then embraced the opposite system as being more profitable to their interests or as bringing them greater glory, and became one after another the leading proponents of the French school. However, there is one thing in common among musicians who subject themselves to transformation, whether of their own volition or out of an inability to do otherwise: they all have in common that they divest themselves of the old manner and adopt the new one as a permanency.

But none of this is true of Beethoven. His three manners, when compared with each other, do indeed exhibit a kind of succession which bears out what Fétis maintains as their reality. However, a careful examination proves to us equally well that none of these three systems of composition, which ultimately come down to two, ever existed exclusively of the others in Beethoven's artistic personality. He used them at all stages of his artistic career, mingling them, albeit in proportions that became more and more unequal as time went on.<sup>86</sup> Once we have established

86 The passage from 'His three manners, when compared . . .' to this point is quoted in Fétis, 2/1860, after the latter's words 'despite the lovely ideas with which it abounds'. It is prefaced by M Ulibishev, in his book entitled *Beethoven, His Critics and His Glossators*, of which more will be said later, acknowledges (p. 105) that I was the first to draw attention to the transfor-



reliable and practicable criteria for determining the chronology of Beethoven’s output, we shall see beyond all shadow of doubt [in the chapter that follows, ‘Beethoven’s Output’, pp. 109–297] that the first manner leads ultimately into the third, and that the second manner is nothing more than an admixture of the two others, albeit an admixture with an ever increasing propensity for the features of the late works. I should point out in passing that if the division of Beethoven’s works into three categories had not already taken hold so firmly, there would be nothing now to prevent our positing four or five, or even more. Without a doubt, the string quartets Opp. 127, 130, 131, 132 and 135 (107) are an infinitely greater advance upon the [Seventh] Symphony in A Op. 92 with which according to Fétis the third manner begins, than that symphony could ever be upon the Trios Op. 1. Fétis himself seems to suggest that when composing Beethoven followed two opposite systems *in alternation*, one based on the principles of harmony and the demands of the ear, and common to all musicians, the other lying outside the dictates of grammar, and known only to himself. He exploited the two contrary systems side-by-side, blending them in different proportions according to whether the work under construction lent itself to normal artistic means, or its mode of thought demanded that he call on some degree of his novel resources. The more exalted the moral tone, or the deeper the metaphysical cast of the work, the more significant did the role of the third manner become, and the greater the extent of its application. This accounts for two things: first, the disdain that the composer came eventually to feel for the works written during the period 1795–1814 and second, the impossibility of putting a date to precisely how far back the third manner goes, given the way in which the second manner gradually merges with it.

To sum up, then, my contention is that the metamorphoses through which Beethoven’s style went resulted much less from the natural development of the artist than from the spiritual aberrations of the man. At this stage, the assertion is no more than conjecture, proposition. Full corroboration must await the processes of a critical assessment of the music. When we come to examine the works of this great composer more closely, I shall demonstrate by way of musical examples – the best and most conclusive sort of proof for those who know their music – that the late works of Beethoven mark the end of the progressively more and more unequal struggle of *truth* against *error* – two words that must be understood here in their absolute sense, with all due rigour. (108) The error of the great man has never been illustrated in this way before; nor has it ever been explained to my entire satisfaction. It was primarily my desire to cast light on a subject of such considerable interest as this – let me confess it, my hope of being able to do so – that impelled me to embark on the present book. [. . .]

mations of Beethoven’s style and divide his output as a whole into three categories of works (in the first edition of the *Universal Biographical Dictionary of Musicians*). He adds (p. 106) . . .

Fétis concludes with:

To this critical observation there is a reply that rings strikingly true: it is that the artist’s genius, his propensities, and his habits, do not change on one specific day, such that at a given moment nothing of the past remains. The transformation takes place bit by bit, in the direction that his ideas are leading, and in his style. Moreover, I believe I have quite adequately established in the paragraphs that follow the causes that gave rise to the last manner of the illustrious composer.



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# Appendix

## (a) Handel: Suite No. 6 : 3. Allegro (Fugue)

Ah! mon pè-re, lais-sez vous flé-chir

Soprano

1<sup>st</sup> Exposition

I Tenor

pri-ez pour moi, ma mè-re, pri-ez pour moi ma mè-re

Non, — Non, o - - bé - is

[5]

[II]

[2] Bass

[10]

a

3

b

[III]

[15]

c

4

2<sup>nd</sup> Exposition

IV

[20]

[d]



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This musical score is for the piece "Andante for Wind Quintet" by Carl Reicha. It consists of seven systems of music, each with a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The score includes parts for Oboe (Ob.), Flute (Fl.), Horn (Hn.), Clarinet (Clt.), and Bassoon (Bsn.).

- System 1 (Measures 40-45):** Oboe and Flute have melodic lines. Horns play a rhythmic accompaniment. Dynamics include *p* (piano).
- System 2 (Measures 46-50):** Oboe and Flute continue their lines. The bass line features triplet patterns. A trill (*tr*) is marked in the Oboe part at measure 50.
- System 3 (Measures 51-55):** Oboe and Flute parts are prominent. The bass line continues with triplets. A dynamic marking of *p* is present.
- System 4 (Measures 56-60):** Flute and Oboe parts are active. The bass line features triplet patterns. Dynamics include *p* and *[3]* (triplets).
- System 5 (Measures 61-65):** Oboe and Flute parts are active. The bass line features triplet patterns. Dynamics include *p* and *[3]* (triplets).
- System 6 (Measures 66-70):** Oboe and Flute parts are active. The bass line features triplet patterns. Dynamics include *p* and *[3]* (triplets).



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string quartets *contd.*

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