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THOROUGHBASS PEDAGOGY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY VIENNESE  
COMPOSITION AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICES

by

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Floyd Kersey Grave

and approved by

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## ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Thoroughbass Pedagogy in Nineteenth-Century Viennese Composition

and Performance Practices

by DAVID CHAPMAN

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There is a good deal of recent scholarship concerning the putative demise of thoroughbass practice at the end of the eighteenth century. Not only do many modern scholars view the performance-practice aspects of thoroughbass as having become obsolete by this time, but there is also a prevalent conviction that the pedagogical and compositional aspects of *Generalbass* had dwindled to the status of a mere mnemonic aid, no longer relevant to the communication of a substantive musical utterance.

The purpose of this dissertation is to illuminate the many uses – theoretical, rhetorical, hermeneutical, and in performance practice – that this well-established system still enjoyed in the nineteenth century, particularly as utilized and passed along by those within the Viennese sphere of musical endeavor. The fundamental-bass principles that are first codified in the *Traité de l'harmonie* of Jean-Philippe Rameau (1722) – and explicated in terms of thoroughbass performance therein – are later assimilated, with significant modifications, into the theoretical systems of Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg and Johann Philipp Kirnberger. The confluence of thoroughbass and fundamental-bass practices that the systems of these theorists display is shown to have had a strong

influence on a series of important Viennese composers from the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The dissertation focuses on two prominent composers of the nineteenth century, Ludwig van Beethoven and Anton Bruckner, and examines their theoretical training in relationship to their compositional output and performance practices. In the course of this discussion, the *Generalbass* treatises of theorists such as E. A. Förster, Joseph Drechsler, Joseph Preindl, and Ambros Rieder – all prominent members of the Viennese musical establishment – are considered. The concepts of *Stufentheorie*, as put forth by Georg Joseph Vogler and Gottfried Weber, and *Funktionstheorie*, as advanced in the latter part of the nineteenth century by Hugo Riemann, are also considered in relation to the need for these theorists to explicate their novel concepts to the public at large via the widely understood vehicle of *Generalbass* notation.



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## Introduction

From its inception around the turn of the seventeenth century, the so-called basso continuo (or thoroughbass; *Generalbass* in German) found a home in most musical genres. In opera, in sacred vocal music, and in instrumental ensemble settings, the basso continuo supplied harmonic support to the prominent melodic lines associated with the style. This precise method for indicating the proper harmonies proved to be an exceptionally flexible tool; it provided the basis for an array of more or less structured improvisational practices, and it served equally well as a method by which a complex work could be reduced to its core harmonic structure.<sup>1</sup> But eventually, changing musical tastes and new theoretical models that had come to the fore by the end of the eighteenth century radically altered the environment in which the long-enduring practices of thoroughbass were conducted. In the view of some present-day scholars, these practices were doomed to a swift demise both as an element of texture and as a focal point for theory and composition.

But the assumptions on which claims for the eclipse of thoroughbass are founded need to be scrutinized, especially as they pertain to the extraordinarily influential region of Vienna during this period. An examination of some of the more relevant and consequential *Generalbass* treatises of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries yields a sense of how such manuals – and the musicians who produced them – were instrumental in the furtherance of many of the most significant musical developments of the nineteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> Peter Williams and David Ledbetter, “Generalbass,” *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 9 (London: Macmillan, 2001), p. 649.

When sifting through various twentieth-century perspectives on the theoretical applicability of the traditional *Generalbasslehre* to the newer musical paradigms that were emerging in the beginning decades of the nineteenth century, it is not unusual to encounter statements that are dismissive of the conventions contained in these thoroughbass manuals. Viewed in this light, figured-bass manuals were often interpreted as being detached from contemporary compositional practices, a circumstance leading to its eventual demise. The following quote is representative of such an early twentieth-century attitude:

One understands the problem of the gradual dissolution of the *Generalbass* practice in the 18<sup>th</sup> century correctly only if one does not regard *Generalbass* as a necessary component of the compositional process, but rather as a performance practice custom.<sup>2</sup>

As the twentieth century progressed, such statements became even more categorical; consider the following from Charles Rosen concerning Mozart's concertos and also, tangentially, Haydn's symphonies:

Continuo playing in secular music died out in the second half of the eighteenth century, although only gradually, and everything about the music of Haydn and Mozart tells us that it was *musically*, if not practically, dead by 1775 (emphasis Rosen's).<sup>3</sup>

Thus both the compositional utility as well as the performance-practice efficacy of this tradition are, in the minds of some recent scholars, quite superfluous by 1800. The characterizations of this putative demise are often stated in the starkest of terms; Carl Dahlhaus, for example, classifies examples of *Generalbass* practice after the late

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<sup>2</sup> Fritz Oberdörffer, *Der Generalbass in der Instrumentalmusik des ausgehenden 18. Jahrhunderts*, (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1939), p. 168. "Man wird dem Problem der allmählichen Auflösung der Generalbasspraxis im 18. Jahrhundert nur gerecht, wenn man den Generalbass nicht als einen notwendigen Bestandteil der Komposition, sondern als eine aufführungspraktische Sitte betrachtet."

<sup>3</sup> Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: Viking Press, 1971), p. 26. These views – as well as Rosen's claim that continuo notation in music after this date serves merely as a "mnemonic aid" (ibid.) – remain unchanged in the 1997 reprint of this book.

eighteenth century as belonging to a set of ideas that merely constitute “exercises in a dead language, the easy codifiability of which is obtained only at the price of irrelevance.”<sup>4</sup>

While the need for historians to categorize and organize practices and styles is understandable, the tendency to simplify— and, indeed, at times to oversimplify — this process of classification often can be more of a hindrance to understanding than a help. A tradition as widespread and well-assimilated as thoroughbass certainly requires a more careful and nuanced approach; categorical denunciations will not further our understanding of the musical works that emerged from this enormously variegated tradition.

In fact, there is considerable evidence that *Generalbass* conventions continued in many forms and as a substantive part of a variety of genres, both old and new, well into the nineteenth century. The importance of these practices in performance is clearly a major part of this story, but the integral compositional – and, indeed, exegetic and even hermeneutical – associations inherent in the musical systems that employed *Generalbass* should not be overlooked. As the nineteenth century progressed, these practices were often adapted, rethought, reshaped, and reevaluated, but, by many composers of the period, never truly forsaken. In fact, one can point to many cases in which musicians of all description, amateur and virtuoso alike, recognized not only the musical-theoretical implications of the system but also the associative and representational aspects that the peculiar sound complex of such a performance style renders.

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<sup>4</sup> Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. B. Robinson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 26.

For many twentieth-century commentators, *Generalbass* concerned itself with nothing more than the proper realization of a figured bass. In this mechanical conceptualization, all references to compositional concerns, such as large-scale tonal design and modulation, were extraneous. Thus the tradition of the Viennese *Generalbasslehre* would not concern itself with such matters, these being more correctly and effectively associated with the *Harmonielehre* of the period.<sup>5</sup> In this limited view, concepts such as scale steps and pivot chords as primary components of any compositional theory or practice are the exclusive province of harmony treatises; therefore, for the most part, a vast and untraversable gulf exists between the archetypal treatises of *Generalbass* and *Harmonie*.<sup>6</sup>

I believe that these positions are in need of further examination. To begin with, the discussion of modulation is anything but an anomaly in nineteenth-century Viennese *Generalbass* treatises. The notion of the *Generalbassist* providing mechanical formulae with no regard for the larger musical processes involved in the work of which he is such an integral part is surely an unfair caricature. Indeed, the disciplines of *Generalbass* and *Harmonie* were inextricably linked throughout the nineteenth century; in fact, by the mid-eighteenth century, the designation *Generalbass* had assumed a virtually universal meaning as a term describing the science of tonal harmony. Although in recent years

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<sup>5</sup> Many of the ideas presented in this paragraph are echoed in Murray Dineen, "Figured Bass and Modulation: The *Wiener-Tonschule* of Joseph Preindl," *Music Theory Online* 8 / 3 (2002); Dineen's views in relation to Preindl's treatise are discussed in detail in Chapter 3, pp. 234ff.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid, § [1.3]. "In our modern harmony texts, we often rely upon the economical notion of a pivot chord to explain modulation. We teach our students to find a diatonic or chromatic chord common to both keys involved in a modulation. This pivot serves as a path through which the harmony is led from one key to the other. We often limit pivot harmonies to diatonic triads or seventh chords, and sometimes extend this to include applied chords and ultimately such chromatic chords as the Neapolitan and the augmented sixth. This apparently simple pivot-chord conception entails, however, certain complex ideas of chordal function and chordal classification, ideas that are largely irrelevant to a pure *Generalbasslehre* tradition but are the essence of the *Harmonielehre* or *Traité de l'harmonie*."



some scholars have advanced the idea that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century *Generalbass* treatises offered little or no direct discussion of the art of figured-bass accompaniment,<sup>7</sup> it should be noted that the practical tools of accompaniment, such as *tasto solo*, *all'Ottava*, *all' Unisono*, etc., were usually presented in these manuals, attesting to the continued practicality of this accompanimental style. Further, the linkage between performance practice and composition is one that is frequently addressed by the authors of thoroughbass manuals. Many such treatises, up to and including those produced in the late nineteenth century, speak earnestly and at length concerning the idea of compositional processes that are expressed physically in the “streaming out through [the] fingers . . ., spinning out the four threads of melody that make up the four-voiced work simultaneously, while never dividing or confusing them.”<sup>8</sup> Thus a situation develops in which the *Generalbasslehren* of the nineteenth century – despite the shifting performance-practice and harmonic traditions of the period – retain their function as a viable means in service of the assimilation of harmonic principles. Indeed, often the *Generalbasslehren* of the nineteenth century had a purpose precisely analogous to the *Harmonielehren* that would simultaneously proliferate.<sup>9</sup>

An examination of these treatises makes clear that the role of the performer should not be overlooked. The function of the *Generalbassspieler* as director of the ensemble during this period remains an important aspect of this performance tradition; as

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<sup>7</sup> Williams / Ledbetter, “Generalbass.”

<sup>8</sup> Hugo Riemann, *Anleitung zum Generalbass-Spielen (Harmonie-Übungen am Klavier)* (Berlin, 1917) “Vorwort der ersten Auflage,” pp. III-VIII. For a fuller discussion of Riemann’s *Anleitung*, see Chapter 3, pp. 150ff. below.

<sup>9</sup> Daniel Gottlob Türk, *Anweisung zum Generalbassspielen* (Leipzig und Halle: 1800; reprinted Netherlands: Frits Knuf, 1971), “Nachwort.” “Thus, the *Generalbasslehren* have exactly the same function in the instruction of music theory as the *Harmonielehren* during the 19<sup>th</sup> century.” [Die Generalbasslehren haben also genau dieselbe Funktion im Musiktheorie-Unterricht wie die Harmonielehren seit dem 19. Jahrhundert].

such, it is a major factor in the continuation of thoroughbass practices in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. To be sure, even well into the nineteenth century, as in earlier times, the performer of any given work was often also likely to be its creator; as such, the composer was able to maintain some measure of control over the work. This control extended not only to the functional aspects of the performance, such as maintaining tempi, controlling dynamics, etc., but also in many cases to the correct realization of harmonies as prescribed by the *Generalbass* rules in which the artist was trained. Proper realizations of this sort routinely included pitches that would not be found in the collective harmony of the individual parts; this was the case even for large-scale works such as symphonies or concertos from the early nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> Thus the notion of the superfluous, redundant *Generalbass*, when examined in this light, is shown to be an inaccurate one.

Many thoroughbass treatises of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were heavily influenced by the writings of Jean-Philipp Rameau (1683-1764). Rameau's *Traité de l'harmonie* (1722) attempted to codify musical principles that, in many cases, had been heretofore considered disparate or unrelated concepts. Thus the notions of a fundamental bass, chord roots, invertible triadic entities, and modulation are all addressed in Rameau's seminal work. The *Traité* considered these abstractions in the broad context of the fundamental principles of consonance and dissonance, setting the pattern for Rameau's nineteenth- and twentieth-century successors. Further, the presentation of the concepts mentioned above are couched in the familiar language of thoroughbass notation

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<sup>10</sup> For more on this, particularly in the context of Beethoven's piano concertos, see Chapter 3, pp. 209ff.

and offered in no small measure as a guide to the performer who would still rely on this notational device in large part.

Thus, the extent to which Rameau's theories are influential in the development of the theoretical concepts of his successors is of great importance. While his ideas enjoyed great currency in Europe throughout the eighteenth century, several prominent eighteenth-century musicians continued to express their compositional designs in a thoroughbass context. The highly regarded *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* of Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (Part I, 1753; Part II, 1762) is one such effort. The *Kurze und systematische Anleitung zum General-Bass*<sup>11</sup> of Johann Michael Bach (1745-1820) – a treatise that is little known today but one that achieved great currency in the latter years of the eighteenth century – is also worthy of note. It is J. M. Bach's work that, perhaps more than most at this crucial time in the development of music theory, demonstrates the degree to which ideas and concepts were conflated and assimilated, always with an eye towards practical performance considerations as well as basic theoretical tenets. This is truly the manner in which J. M. Bach's successors in the nineteenth century would approach their theoretical writings. Present-day scholars who infer a clear demarcation between the linear concepts of figured bass and the more verticalized theories of Rameau and, later, Vogler and Gottfried Weber, fail to appreciate the degree to which all of the seemingly incompatible theories were recognized, assimilated, and then integrated into both compositional and performance-practice

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<sup>11</sup> Johann Michael Bach, *Kurze und systematische Anleitung zum General-Bass und der Tonkunst überhaupt* (Cassel: Waysenhaus-Buchdruckerey, 1780). For a full discussion of this, see Chapter 1, pp. 70ff.

paradigms in the hopes of providing the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century student and performer with a viable vehicle for all his needs.

As an extension of the composer's craft, compilations of contrapuntal and thoroughbass studies – along the lines of Ludwig van Beethoven's *Materialen zum Generalbass*<sup>12</sup> or the *Kurze General-Bass Regeln*, which reflect Anton Bruckner's course of study with Leopold Edler von Zenetti<sup>13</sup> – played an important role not only in the formulation of the compositional matrices of these artists, but also as a pedagogical tool with which to communicate their ideas to successive generations. And indeed such *Generalbass* manuals – whether informal collections of exercises put together by composers as a codification of their own understanding of certain processes, or more formal, commercially published works of this nature – often served as a format for the integration of many stylistic and functional principles from previous periods that the author found to be still relevant to contemporary musical discourse. This was true not only for the area surrounding Vienna; other European capitals produced musicians and theorists who likewise sought to integrate the various new concepts circulating at the end of the nineteenth century. The fact that such disparate artists as Beethoven, Mendelssohn, Chopin, and Bruckner – to name only a small sampling – were all trained in the concepts of continuo accompaniment and *Generalbass* theoretical principles, and all, in one way or another, made practical use of this training, speaks to the persistence of these traditions.

Further, the fact that the language of *Generalbass* was so universally understood – by professional artists such as those mentioned above as well as by amateur musicians

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<sup>12</sup> See Chapter 3, pp. 214ff.

<sup>13</sup> Anton Bruckner, *Kurze General-Bass Regeln*, Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Fonds Göllicherich, MS 5565. See Chapter 4, pp. 337ff. for a full discussion of this treatise.

and concertgoers – lent the figured-bass practice an instantly recognizable character that composers continued to exploit throughout the nineteenth century. Discourse, both textual and musical, was often advanced by way of the firmly established tenets of *Generalbass*, theoretical as well as performance-oriented. Composers often utilized the keyboard as a hermeneutical device to induce the desired metonymic response from their audience. In addition, when the new theoretical principles of a Vogler or a Weber were first being introduced, the best, indeed the only, viable method by which these tenets could be properly communicated to their audience was through the well-established language of *Generalbass*, which was instantly recognizable to musicians throughout the Western world.

This is particularly true concerning the question of modulation in the nineteenth century. Voice-leading principles and notions of local connections through a firmly established *Verwandtschaft* of tonal areas are critical to the compositional concepts, as expressed in their thoroughbass manuals, of all the composers discussed in the following chapters. This is also true, however, for musicians associated with theoretical practices that seem to be, on the surface, dismissive of traditional figured-bass methods, Vogler and Weber in particular. Therefore, suggestions that exponents of *Generalbass* in the Viennese sphere of influence were only vaguely aware of the more advanced Voglerian concepts of *Mehrdeutigkeit* or, on a more basic level, the notion of scale steps and pivot chords being related to compositional theory, must be discounted. Even a cursory examination of the treatises of the Viennese theorists from the turn of the nineteenth century puts this notion to rest.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Dineen, “Figured Bass and Modulation.” “The patterned bass approach seems to grow logically out of figured-bass practice. The pivot-chord approach does not, but derives presumably from other sources, as

Once the importance of the continued *Generalbass* influence on a variety of aspects of musical production and performance is acknowledged, many of the seemingly dense concepts of nineteenth-century musical analysis are illuminated. Nowhere can this be seen more clearly than in the conceptualizations of the Swiss musicologist Ernst Kurth (1886-1946), whose notions of constructive and destructive forces lent much to the discussion of tonality in the late nineteenth century. Firmly rooted in the concept of the *Einheit*, or structural triad – an idea that goes back centuries and is found in *Generalbass* manuals as early as Andreas Werckmeister’s *Kurtze Anleitung zur musicalischen Composition*<sup>15</sup> – the notions of *eigentlich* and *klangsinnlich* forces adumbrated by Kurth are perfect musical expressions of the concept of organic unity so prevalent during this period.

Kurth’s ideas are prominent among early twentieth-century approaches. As outlined in his *Romantische Harmonik und ihre Krise in Wagners “Tristan”* (1923), his theory of constructive and destructive forces in music points directly to the dichotomy between functional harmony, as adumbrated by Hugo Riemann, and the more localized, *Generalbass*-oriented notions of chordal progressions of Simon Sechter.

For Kurth, constructive and destructive forces were inherent in the chordal formations themselves; this is best expressed in his concept of the *energetischen* nature of the consonant, “harmonic,” fundamental triad, which implies stasis, and the *klangsinnlichen* characteristics of the chordal constructs generated through voice leading, which imply progression. These terms have their basis in the Kirnbergerian concepts of

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if Preindl had heard rumor of the new, more northerly Teutonic developments in theory – Vogler and Weber, for example – but only rumor.”

<sup>15</sup> Andreas Werckmeister, *Harmonologia musica, oder Kurtze Anleitung zur musicalischen Composition* (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1702).

*wesentlich* (essential) and *zufällig* (non-essential) dissonance as outlined in Kirnberger's seminal 1771 treatise, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*. Further, they foreshadow the later theories of Heinrich Schenker, who devotes a great deal of energy to his discussion of linear dissonance and the concept of *Harmoniefähigkeit* or "harmonizability" in his *Harmonielehre* (1906) and elsewhere in his writings.<sup>16</sup>

The relationship that various theoretical concepts have to the broader notion of organic unity, so prevalent in nineteenth-century philosophical thought, is also pertinent to the discussion that follows, particularly in regard to how the theoretical and the philosophical merge in the nascent field of musical hermeneutics. The large-scale manner in which all elements of a given text – or, more precisely in regard to our discussions, a composition – contribute to that work's inherent meaning is discussed in terms of not only the listener but also the composer. The innate principles of *Generalbass*, so much a part of European thought, clearly have implications for these early hermeneuticists, both in terms of theoretical and stylistic dimensions of the compositions as well as the performance-practice implications. Thus for the late nineteenth-century efforts in the field of musical exegesis, like those in Hermann Kretzschmar's *Führer durch den Konzert-Saal* (Volume I first appeared in 1887), the listener, the performer, and the composer all engage in the hermeneutical processes in great works that exhibit true organic unity.

There is perhaps no better example of a composer who embraces the conflation of the various ideas, genres, and principles afoot in the middle of the nineteenth century than Anton Bruckner. Bruckner's early training – the initial instruction he received from

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<sup>16</sup> A discussion of Schenker's approach to consonance and dissonance can be found in Chapter 4, pp. 371ff.

family members as well as his studies at the monastery of St. Florian – is illuminating, particularly with regard to the repertory with which the young artist was brought into contact. In examining the various stages of his training as a composer, it is interesting to note that very early in this process, Bruckner, like Beethoven, relied on a modest treatise of instructional examples that illustrate the principles of *Generalbass*. The *Kurze General-Bass Regeln*, a fascinating document in manuscript that has received little scholarly attention, is a concrete expression of the theoretical and performance-practice training of his early years that did much to influence his later works.<sup>17</sup>

That these principles would in fact extend to his later career, both as a composer and as a pedagogue, is evident from the lecture notes that survive from his classes at the University of Vienna. How his students, notably Heinrich Schenker, were affected by his instruction, which relied so heavily on both figured-bass and fundamental-bass principles, is of particular interest.

Further, modern analysis of Bruckner's works, particularly his later symphonic output, demonstrates a reliance on compositional designs that have their roots firmly in the *Generalbass* tradition on which so much of that composer's early training was founded. Recent research by Graham H. Phipps, for example, draws attention to the close relationship between Bruckner's compositional and pedagogical efforts.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, the reconstruction of the *finale* to Bruckner's Symphony No. 9 – left unfinished at the time of the composer's death in 1896 – from various surviving manuscripts by the Australian scholar John A. Phillips offers additional insights into Bruckner's reliance on figured-

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<sup>17</sup> Though the question of whether this document is indeed in Bruckner's hand remains far from resolved, the idea that it represents to a large extent Bruckner's assimilation of Zenetti's theoretical concepts seems clear. See Chapter 4, particularly note 746, for a further discussion.

<sup>18</sup> See Chapter 4, pp. 400ff.



bass and fundamental-bass procedures even in the initial stages of his compositional process.<sup>19</sup>

Thus the continued vitality of the still-vibrant *Generalbass* traditions in all their iterations, particularly as expressed among the all-important Viennese line of composers throughout the nineteenth century, is worthy of deeper and more meaningful engagement. The contribution that the proponents of this tradition contributed to our understanding of musical art is enormous; it is, therefore, of the greatest importance that we understand clearly the nature of this art as they often did, in the language of *Generalbass*.

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<sup>19</sup> See Chapter 4, pp. 403ff., particularly note 898.

## Chapter 1

### Thoroughbass as a Pedagogical Tool in the Eighteenth Century

The transcendental state of inspiration, viewed by the eighteenth century as if it were some unstable material, some fissionable element, and contained within the Invention [the initial, exclusively mental stage of the compositional process] so as not to contaminate the later stages of composition and thereby produce an incoherent and ill-proportioned work of art, is in the nineteenth century progressively freed from its containment and allowed to spread across the face of the compositional process. Perhaps we can see in this a reflection of the change from the eighteenth-century view of the artist as doer and producer in a world of art regulated by taste, to the Romantic view of the artist as creator, exalted for his originality.<sup>20</sup>

#### I. Eighteenth-Century Thoroughbass Manuals: An Overview

Within the musical universe of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, thoroughbass practice was considered to be elemental. Since the end of the sixteenth century, the ubiquity of figured and non-figured basses as an accompanimental complement to melody was an inescapably tangible element of performance practice. In the view of many theorists and composers of the eighteenth century, the notion that compositional theory originated in this very practice was equally elemental. The plethora of *Generalbass* materials assembled during the latter part of the eighteenth century attests to this preoccupation. In his *Allgemeine Litteratur der Musik*, the standard-setting bibliography first published in 1782, Johann Nicolaus Forkel lists 31 such manuals in the period from 1750 to 1789 alone.<sup>21</sup> These writings, meant to establish the foundational training for musicians, were prevalent in the seventeenth century and maintained their prominence through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as well. The German theorist and composer Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721-1783) indicates the need for such training in the introduction to Part I of his influential *Kunst des reinen Satzes*:

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<sup>20</sup> Ian Bent, "The 'Compositional Process' in Music Theory 1713-1850," *Music Analysis* 3 (1984), 29-55. See particularly 51.

<sup>21</sup> Johann Nicolaus Forkel, *Allgemeine Litteratur der Musik oder Anleitung zur Kenntnis musikalischer Bücher* (Leipzig, 1792, R / Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1962), pp. 349-60.

Since it can be assumed that those who want to profit from this book are already trained in the fundamentals of music, everything that pertains to these elementary studies is omitted here.<sup>22</sup>

Thoroughbass is not discussed in the *Kunst*; the “fundamentals of music” to which Kirnberger refers are set forth in his treatise *Grundsätze des Generalbasses*. Published in 1781, this work postdates the *Kunst* by several years. It is clear, however, that it is meant as an introduction to the *Kunst*; though intended for beginners, the *Grundsätze* “combines theoretical information with practical training in the fundamentals of realizing a figured bass at the keyboard.”<sup>23</sup> Thus Kirnberger stresses the need to become acquainted with thoroughbass practice at an early stage as preparation for the craft of composition as well as performance.

A similar separation of pedagogical materials can be seen in the theoretical works of several of the most important musicians of the eighteenth century. Consider, for example, Johann Mattheson’s *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*. In this, his most important theoretical work, published in 1739, Mattheson addresses every aspect of musical composition that he deems important, from the most basic matters of musical discourse to the principles of music inherent in complex compositional situations.<sup>24</sup> Yet as with Kirnberger, the subject of thoroughbass is dealt with in separate treatises specifically designed for such instruction. Mattheson’s *Exemplarische Organisten-Probe im Artikel vom General-Bass* (1719) – along with its companion work, the *Grosse*

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<sup>22</sup> Johann Philipp Kirnberger, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, translated by David Beach and Jurgen Thym as *The Art of Strict Musical Composition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), p. 9.

<sup>23</sup> David Williams Beach, “The Harmonic Theories of Johann Philipp Kirnberger: Their Origins and Influences,” Ph.D. diss. (Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms, 1974), p. 12.

<sup>24</sup> Ernest C. Harris, *Johann Mattheson’s ‘Der vollkommene Capellmeister’: A Revised Translation with Critical Commentary* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1981), p. 12. Part II of the *Capellmeister* is essentially a reaffirmation of the melodic principles set forth by Mattheson in the *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft* of 1737. Beekman Cannon considers it to be a “precursor” of the *Capellmeister*; see Beekman Cannon, *Johann Mattheson: Spectator in Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), p. 88.

*General-Bass-Schule, oder, Der exemplarischen Organisten-Probe* zweite, verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage (1731), a revision and expansion of the earlier volume – and the *Kleine General-Bass-Schule* (1735) deal specifically and extensively with the subject of thoroughbass. The early *Organisten-Probe* and its subsequently revised version are for advanced keyboard players and contain information on equal temperament (of which Mattheson was an advocate) and playing in the elegant style.<sup>25</sup> The *Kleine General-Bass-Schule* “was designed to give the rudimentary principles of thorough bass as a detailed supplement to his earlier books on the subject.”<sup>26</sup>

Despite the absence of attention to thoroughbass procedures in *Capellmeister*, Mattheson, like Kirnberger, makes it clear that knowledge of the practice is essential to the assimilation of the procedures outlined therein.

Fine arts do not tolerate the bonds of a handicraft, and the academic rungs of scholars are of a very different nature than weaver’s spools and joiner’s benches. Many slovenly, vexatious practices, such as those of hazing and oath taking, etc., have also now been banished from universities. . .

However, so dryly calling the masters of church music *time-beaters*, the thorough bass *sterile numerical instruction*, the clavier a *noise-box*, etc., are errors which can hardly be improved upon through education and volition. . .

Preludes and fugues are pieces for hands just as hats and shoes are clothing: for everything which is played on the clavier is divided into only two types: into hand-pieces and thorough bass pieces: but whoever wants to play the latter skillfully must be able to compose extemporaneously. Composition cannot exist without thorough bass, since the latter is constantly included and is just as old as harmony. The Lutheran teachings existed before Luther, and the thorough bass before Viadana. Threshing out a concocted, figured voice or part without knowledge of harmony is a mechanical work.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Harris, *Johann Mattheson*, p. 10. Thomas Christensen aligns this work with the Italian *partimenti* school of thoroughbass instruction popular at the time. This will be discussed more fully below. See page 62ff., particularly note 150.

<sup>26</sup> Cannon, *Johann Mattheson*, p. 87. Cannon points out that the *Introduction* to this work is used by Mattheson to rail against “the enemies of church music and their policy of slowly strangling it by not providing adequate support.”

<sup>27</sup> Harris, *Johann Mattheson*, p. 255.

The distinction continued to be drawn to the end of the eighteenth century, for performance tutors as well as composition manuals. Daniel Gottlob Türk's *Clavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Clavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende* – first published in 1789 and reissued in an expanded version in 1802<sup>28</sup> – covers in considerable detail topics such as fingering, ornamentation, appoggiaturas and terminations, and other performance-oriented details.<sup>29</sup> It does not, however, concern itself with thoroughbass practices, except to offer the following advice:

A knowledge of thoroughbass is indispensable to good execution [on the clavier] because without this knowledge, the various rules concerning appoggiaturas and ornaments, the required strength or weakness of consonant and dissonant harmonies, and the like, cannot be followed.<sup>30</sup>

Türk then goes on to recommend some of the better thoroughbass manuals of the day:

Among the works in which the theory of thoroughbass is expounded, the following distinguish themselves: C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, part 2, and Kirnberger's *Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik*, supplement to part 1. This latter work already presumes some knowledge of thoroughbass and is therefore especially to be recommended for skilled players.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Both the facsimile edition of the *Clavierschule*, edited by Edwin Jacobi (New York: Bärenreiter Kassel, 1962), and the English translation as *School of Clavier Playing or Instructions in Playing the Clavier for Teachers & Students* by Raymond H. Haggh (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982) are based on the 1789 version of Türk's treatise. According to Haggh, "[t]he 1802 edition is weaker in organization and the additions obscure rather than enlighten." See Haggh, *ibid.*, "Translator's Introduction," p. xix.

<sup>29</sup> Türk / Haggh, *School*. The *Clavierschule* was apparently intended for performers on the clavichord rather than the rapidly encroaching fortepiano; the translator notes in the Introduction state that "[t]here is substantial evidence for translating the German word *Klavier* as it was used by Türk as 'clavichord'." See pp. xiv-xv.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323. A footnote by Türk continues the thought: "Not to speak of the fact that this knowledge itself has a great bearing on the ability to read notes and sight-read." See p. 504.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 323. Regarding the Kirnberger citation, Türk is referring here to *Die wahren Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie ... als ein Zusatz zu der Kunst des reinen Satzes in der Musik* (Berlin, 1773). Though now known to have been written by J. A. P. Schulz under Kirnberger's supervision, the *Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie* is primarily concerned with Kirnberger's theoretical ideas – particularly those related to his system of chord classification – rather than elementary thoroughbass procedures, which, as stated above, were presented in his *Grundsätze des Generalbasses*. See Beach, "The Harmonic Theories," pp. 11-12, particularly n. 7.

Türk had been even more adamant in his stance concerning the necessity of a complete grounding in thoroughbass practices in his first theoretical work, *Von den wichtigsten Pflichten eines Organisten in Beytrag zur Verbesserung der musikalischen Liturgie*, published in 1787. In this volume, Türk was primarily addressing the organist with little or no formal training; a typical church organist of this period was an elementary-school teacher with scant musical training.<sup>32</sup> He is nonetheless insistent upon this point:

Before attempting to give a closer definition of the aids [for strengthening sentiment in the playing of chorales] mentioned above, I must first make the important observation that it is utterly impossible to play a chorale well and with expression without a fundamental knowledge of thoroughbass. For how is the organist to select an appropriate harmony if he does not have an adequate understanding of it? And how else does he obtain this understanding except by means of thoroughbass? . . .

[E]ven if one learned through many unsuccessful attempts to make modifications in the harmony, the prelude would still require a solid knowledge of thoroughbass, not to mention composition and double counterpoint. And even if one were to make still further objections here, it is still undeniably certain that for the accompaniment of church music, and the recitatives in particular, thoroughbass is indispensable.

To explicate everything pertaining to a fundamental knowledge of thoroughbass would be contrary to my purpose and quite superfluous, since there are many works, some of which are quite excellent, dealing with this branch of music; I need cite only the second part of [C. P. E.] Bach's *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* and Kirnberger's *Grundsätze des Generalbasses*. But this much I must mention here in passing, that no one could even remotely be considered a good thoroughbass player if he knew [only] the most familiar chords, knew how to find them by the figures set above them, and at best was able to avoid octaves and fifths. He must be so fluent in and familiar with the rules – how each voice should advance properly, which dissonances should be prepared, and how to resolve them; which intervals may or may not be doubled, what the origin is of each chord, the natural progression, all types of modulations, etc. – that he can play in all key signatures without hesitation and without error, and can modulate to any key with just a few chords.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Daniel Gottlob Türk, *Von den wichtigsten Pflichten eines Organisten in Beytrag zur Verbesserung der musikalischen Liturgie*, trans. by Margot Ann Greenlimb Woolard as *On the Role of the Organist in Worship* (London: Scarecrow Press, 2000), "Translator's Introduction," p. xv.

<sup>33</sup> Türk / Woolard, *On the Role*, pp. 11-12.

It is important to note here that Türk refers his presumably unsophisticated reader to Kirnberger's *Grundsätze des Generalbasses* – which, as we have noted above, was intended also for beginners – while in the *Clavierschule*, a work intended for more advanced performers, Türk recommends the more theoretically and harmonically oriented *Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie* (see note 31 above). This, along with the quoted statements themselves, indicates a comprehensive knowledge of thoroughbass practice and practitioners, as well as the importance attached by contemporary composers, performers, and theorists at all levels to an exhaustive study of thoroughbass procedures. It is at the very heart of performance and compositional practice at the turn of the nineteenth century.

Hence the perceived need by Türk to produce a definitive *Generalbass* manual to serve the needs of composers of his day. The fact that the thoroughbass manuals followed publication of the compositional and performance treatises in these cases is worth noting. Along the same lines, thoroughbass manuals often appear, in the case of composers who do not produce other theoretical works, following a relatively extended period of significant and successful compositional activity.<sup>34</sup> This tendency may be representative of several issues of importance at the turn of the nineteenth century. It seems primarily to be an expression of the ubiquity of the *Generalbass* practice during this period, despite the fact that newer styles pointed in the direction of its demise. The universal persistence of thoroughbass principles would account for the necessity of

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<sup>34</sup> Examples of this category would include the *Partitur-Fundament* compiled by Michael Haydn (ed. M. Bischofreiter, Salzburg, 1833) and the widely circulated effort in this area by Johann Michael Bach (1745-1820), *Kurze und systematische Anleitung zum General-Bass und der Tonkunst überhaupt* (1780). Beethoven's *Materialen zum Generalbass* certainly falls within these parameters as well. All of these works will be discussed in detail in the following chapters.

updated manuals. The modern editor of Türk's *Anweisung zum Generalbassspielen* addresses this point in the following passage:

In contrast to the diminishing practical applications of *Generalbass* in the late eighteenth century stands an enormous number of *Generalbass* tutorials . . . . Now it is a well-known phenomenon that during the heyday of a style the passing of a verbal tradition from the teacher to the student is sufficient and that the textbooks are content with a mere outlining [of the material]; however, with the decaying of a style, the need for evermore exact text books increases . . . . The extensive range that the *Generalbass* manuals embrace speaks for itself: the treatise of Francesco Bianciardi (1607) is contained on one large single sheet; Türk's "brief" *Instructions in Generalbass Playing* (1791) required 312 pages, to which the author in the second edition (1800) added a further 80 pages.<sup>35</sup>

Clearly the need to rearticulate and codify thoroughbass principles by the writers of these manuals – both for their own use and for that of their students and the public in general – was an issue of great importance to them, and it need not be seen as a sign that changing styles in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were making *Generalbass* practice obsolescent. To the contrary, the later formulations of thoroughbass concepts were often explicitly intended to promote newer music and to acquaint the musician with certain skills necessary for its proper and tasteful execution. C. P. E. Bach addresses this point directly in Part II of his *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*. Part I of the *Versuch*, published in 1752, is, like Türk's *Clavierschule*, a performance manual for keyboard players. Bach added the second part, consisting primarily of instruction in thoroughbass, in 1762. In the Foreword, he addresses his reasons for doing so:

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<sup>35</sup> Daniel Gottlob Türk, *Anweisung zum Generalbassspielen*, "Nachwort." "Im Kontrast zur schwindenden praktischen Bedeutung des Generalbasses im späteren 18. Jahrhundert steht eine Unmenge an Generalbassschulen . . . . Nun ist es zwar eine bekannte Erscheinung, dass während der Blutezeit eines Stils die mündliche Tradition vom Lehrer zum Schüler ausreicht und die Lehrbücher sich mit einer Skizzierung begnügen, dass aber mit dem Zerfall des Stils das Bedürfnis nach immer genaueren Lehrbüchern wächst. . . . Die Umfangerweiterung der Generalbassschulen spricht für sich: der Traktat von Francesco Bianciardi (1607) fand auf einem einzigen grossen Blatt Platz; Turks "kurze" *Anweisung zum Generalbassspielen* (1791) benötigt hingegen 312 Seiten, denen der Autor in der zweiten Auflage (1800) weitere 80 Seiten hinzufügte."



Our present taste [in music] has brought about an entirely new use of harmony. Our melodies, embellishments, and manner of performance often call for unusual chords. At times they must be played in few parts, again, in many. Thus, the range of the accompanist's duties has greatly increased and the recognized rules of thorough bass, which must often be modified, are no longer sufficient.<sup>36</sup>

The continuing influence of Bach's *Versuch* is quite clear from the myriad references to it invoked by theorists and performers at the turn of the nineteenth century, as the above examples attest. Kirnberger, who had studied with Johann Sebastian Bach and considered himself a disciple of the elder Bach's teachings, cultivated close ties to the thoroughbass lineage of the Bach family. Kirnberger considered J. S. Bach to be the consummate performer, teacher, and theorist and sought in his own theoretical works to propagate "[the elder] Bach's method."<sup>37</sup> This clearly included complete grounding in thoroughbass practices, such as that provided in the *Versuch*. C. P. E. Bach provided a detailed description of his father's compositional teaching method in a letter to Forkel dated 13 January 1775:

Since [J. S. Bach] himself had composed the most instructive pieces for the clavier, he brought up his pupils on them. In composition he started his pupils right in with what was practical, and omitted all the dry species of counterpoint that are given in Fux and others. His pupils had to begin their studies by learning pure four-part thorough bass. From this he went on to chorales; first he added the basses to them himself, and they had to invent the alto and tenor. Then he taught them to devise the basses themselves. He particularly insisted on the writing out of the thorough bass in [four real] parts (*Aussetzen der Stimmen im Generalbasse*). The realization of a thorough bass and the introduction to chorales are without doubt the best method of studying composition, as far as harmony is concerned.<sup>38</sup>

Therefore it seems clear that the "practical" concepts of composition for J. S. Bach involved a thorough grounding in the concepts of thoroughbass, the study of which was

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<sup>36</sup> C. P. E. Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen*, trans. by William J. Mitchell as *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1949), p. 174.

<sup>37</sup> Howard Serwer, "Johann Philipp Kirnberger," *NGD*, Vol. 13, pp. 628-30.

<sup>38</sup> Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, editors, *The Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1945), p. 279.

during this period inextricably bound to the concept of harmony and, therefore, proper compositional practices; the total assimilation of the former was a necessary component in the process of acquiring the skills needed to be an able practitioner of the two latter disciplines.

## II. Thoroughbass in Pedagogical Contexts

### a) The Rule of the Octave

The thoroughbass manuals that proliferated throughout the eighteenth century were utilized not merely as rudimentary instructional texts but in many other ways as well. Their emphasis on the classification of simultaneities led many of the authors of these works to seek mnemonic devices that would aid the student in a manner that was somewhat less tedious than rote memorization. The most effective – as well as the most influential – of these devices was the *règle de l'octave*. The term was first utilized by François Campion, a French composer, theorist, and performer on the theorbo and guitar whose 1716 thoroughbass manual, *Traité d'accompagnement et de composition selon la règle des octaves de musique*, op.2, explores this device in detail.<sup>39</sup> Though Campion coined the term, its employment was evidently ubiquitous:

In virtually every eighteenth-century thorough-bass and composition treatise one finds a series of scale harmonizations figured above all 24 ascending and descending major and melodic minor scales. These harmonizations go by various names, including the “ambitus modi,” “harmonical scale,” “modulazione dell’ottava,” “Sitze der Accorden,” and perhaps most common of all, “la règle de l’octave” – the “rule of the octave.”<sup>40</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Phillippe Vendrix, “François Campion,” *NGD*, Vol. 4, p. 888.

<sup>40</sup> Thomas Christensen, “The *Règle de l’Octave* in Thorough-Bass Theory and Practice,” *Acta Musicologica* 64 (1992), 91-117. See 91. Christensen states that Campion claimed to have received the *règle* from his predecessor at the theorbo position at the Opera, a man named Maltot. However, neither Maltot nor Campion can be credited with its invention: “In truth, . . . the *règle* was a progression that predated either man; it had a long pedigree in music pedagogy that can be traced back to the early seventeenth century. In numerous composition and thorough-bass treatises of the early Baroque, there are simple chord harmonizations of diatonic scales that served the same function as Campion’s *règle*; to provide the beginning composer or accompanist a rule-of-thumb for supplying chords above a bass line.” See *ibid.*, 96.

By assimilating the *règle*, a performer could easily and quickly provide proper simultaneities for any given bass line. This was achieved in a manner that would have a significant impact on theoretical practices in the eighteenth century:

The idea behind the *règle* is that each scale degree can be associated with a unique harmony, one which reciprocally defines that scale degree. Only the tonic and dominant [as we would understand them] support “perfect chords” (i.e. “root-position” triads), while all other scale degrees support some variety of sixth chord. By knowing which particular sixth chord belongs to which scale degree, one can harmonize any diatonic scale progression. At the same time, by means of differing characteristic dissonances, one can orient a given chord within any key.”<sup>41</sup>

Thus, through the use of the *règle* and other formalized practices, Campion was able to establish a basic grammar for the practicing musician.<sup>42</sup> Such a system clearly points in the direction of what Joel Lester has described as a “coalescing tonal syntax” that was beginning to assert itself at the time of the publication of Campion’s *Traité* (see note 42). This is not to imply that the idea of tonality was absent from music of earlier generations. Harold Powers’s studies, for example, have demonstrated that what he terms “tonal types” were indeed present during periods in which the music has hitherto been referred to as “modal”; this suggests, in his view, that “modality and tonality may be different kinds of phenomenon, and therefore not related through any of the simple evolutionary sequences to which we are today accustomed.”<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Christensen, “The *Règle*,” 91.

<sup>42</sup> Joel Lester, “Rameau and eighteenth-century harmonic theory,” *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory*, Thomas Christensen, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 753-77. “Through the ‘Rule’ (or many of its variants), countless eighteenth-century musicians learned the common scale-step placements of harmonies within a key, and how they interacted with one another. Campion, implicitly recognizing that harmonic norms were different when the bass moved by skip rather than by step (as in the ‘Rule’), also included other progressions illustrating additional common and less common harmonies, and explained their normative scale-step location. These guidelines, found in both theoretical and practical literature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, helped to codify and promote musical intuitions of the harmonic norms that became part of a coalescing tonal syntax.” See pp. 756-57.

<sup>43</sup> Harold S. Powers, “Is Mode Real? Pietro Aron, the octenary system, and polyphony,” *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* 16 (1992), 9-52. Powers has many such articles that are aimed at

## b) Thoroughbass and Modal Traditions

The interaction of older and newer compositional processes was thus an integral feature of musical development in the early seventeenth century. Indeed, the musical landscape of the period was well populated with divergent styles and processes that had been in place for some time. Connections drawn by Monteverdi between thoroughbass and the *stile antico* are a case in point. Chafe makes the following observations:

In the fifth book [of madrigals], for the first time in Monteverdi's oeuvre, a group of madrigals (the last six in the collection) is set wholly in the *concertato* style – that is, with obbligato basso continuo, and featuring practices such as extended solo-duet sections, juxtaposition of solo voices or duet with ensemble, and the like. The texts of these pieces are generally lighter, more playful in tone than those of the 'polyphonic' madrigals, and there are distinct departures from the procedures of the older type, even in their tonal devices. The presence of the basso continuo affects both the vocal bass and the upper parts, the one much slower and supportlike and the others far more often given over to ornamental roulades and other soloistic devices. These aspects in turn affect other musical features, such as the regularizing of the rate of harmonic change and the phrase structure.<sup>44</sup>

Thus a harmonic grammar predicated on slow harmonic rhythm, implied chordal roots, and harmonically conceived bass lines is embedded in musical practices quite outside the theoretical principles that Rameau eventually codified: the works of early eighteenth-century composers such as Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-1736) and Johann Adolph Hasse (1699-1783), for instance, exemplify such tendencies.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile, knowledge of the ecclesiastical modes was deemed by theorists and performers to have enduring practicality, and many expressed dismay at the prospect of musicians ignorant of the intricacies of a system that had been so firmly established for

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pointing out the artificiality of the modal / tonal dichotomy. See *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, Cristle Collins Judd, ed. (New York: Garland, 1998), "Introduction," p. 7, particularly notes 12 and 13. See also Powers's article in that volume, "From Psalmody to Tonality," pp. 275-340.

<sup>44</sup> Eric T. Chafe, *Monteverdi's Tonal Language* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), p. 117.

<sup>45</sup> For more on how these divergent styles came together throughout the eighteenth century, see Kenneth Nott, "'Tilge, Höchster, meine Sünden': Observations on Bach and the *Style Galant*," *Bach: The Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute* 23 (1992), 3-30 and Floyd K. Grave, "Abbé Vogler's Revision of Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater*," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 30 (1977), 42-71.

such an extended historical period. Kirnberger in particular is clear concerning the advantages of retaining at least some connection with the modal system:

Knowledge of these old church modes and their correct treatment is necessary not only because correct fugue writing cannot be learned without them, as will be clear from what I shall say later about this matter, but also because the old style of writing has real advantages which are missing in the new style.

We have numerous old hymns that are so full of feeling and expression that they cannot be reworked in the new style without noticeably diminishing their value.

Moreover, the old modes have more variety of harmony and modulation than the newer style permits in such simple hymns, where generally only the tonic and its dominant and subdominant chords are used [ . . . ]

I can also state the finest of the more recent composers, J. S. Bach, considered the technique of composing in the old church modes to be necessary, as is to be seen from his *Catechismus: Gesänge*.<sup>46</sup>

Thus the appearance of references to modal practices, even at the end of the eighteenth century, need not be understood as aberrations, and the influence of the ecclesiastical modes on composers of the time must not be overlooked. Johann Georg Albrechtsberger's *Generalbass- und Harmonielehre*<sup>47</sup> discusses the modes, albeit briefly and somewhat indifferently,<sup>48</sup> and, in a more substantive way, his *Gründliche Anweisung zur Composition ... mit einem Anhang von der Beschaffenheit und Anwendung aller jetzt*

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<sup>46</sup> Kirnberger / Beach and Thym, *The Art of Strict Musical Composition*, pp. 319-20. In a footnote, the translators inform us that the work by J. S. Bach to which Kirnberger refers here is the *Dritter Theil der Clavierübung, bestehend in verschieden Vorspielen über die Catechismus- und andere Gesänge vor die Orgel* (Leipzig: 1739). Ibid., note g.

<sup>47</sup> This is not to be confused with the *Kurzgefasste Methode den Generalbass zu erlernen* (Vienna, c1791), which, according to Joel Lester, is of spurious origin. Lester points to many stylistic differences between the orderly *Gründliche Anweisung zur Composition* of 1790 and the relatively slovenly *Methode* published a year later. See Joel Lester, *Compositional Theory in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), Appendix 2, pp. 320-21. The *Generalbass- und Harmonielehre*, which exists only as a manuscript (Wgm; Gesellschaft für Musikfreunde), is reproduced in J.G. Albrechtsberger's *sämmtliche Schriften über Generalbass, Harmonie-Lehre, und Tonsetzkunst*, ed. Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried (Vienna, 1826, R / Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975).

<sup>48</sup> J. G. Albrechtsberger's *sämmtliche Schriften*, "Zweyter Band," pp. 7-8. Albrechtsberger discusses the authentic modes of the Greeks (*Modi authentici*) with their names and ranges (Dorian D – d, Phrygian, E – e, etc., including the Ionian and Aeolian modes) and their plagals (*Modi plagales*), which are formed from the notes either a fifth higher or a fourth lower. See p. 7. For further information on the subject, Albrechtsberger refers the reader to the *Abhandlung von der Fuge nach dem Grundsätzen der besten deutschen und ausländischen Meister* (Berlin, 1753–4) of Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg: "Wer von diesen Antiquitäten mehrere Wissenschaft verlangt, der lese des Herrn Marpurg 9. Abschnitt im ersten Theile der *Abhandlung von der Fuge*." See p. 8.

*üblichen musikalischen Instrumente* (Leipzig, 1790) also addresses the issue. As is the case in many compositional manuals, Albrechtsberger's begins with the basics of *Generalbass*, that is to say, the identification of the basic intervals used in musical practice.<sup>49</sup> The author also offers a presentation of the major and minor scales; however, in addition to the basic letter names, solmization syllables are provided above the scales as well. In this manner, the tonic of the the major scale can appear as both *do* and *fa*, as in the lower syllabification. The addition of the upper syllabification renders *do* as both tonic and dominant. Similarly, in the minor scale, *re* represents the tonic in the lower syllabification, while in the upper, *re* represents the raised sixth degree (Example 1-1).



Example 1-1, Albrechtsberger, *Gründliche Anweisung* (1790), p. 1

The fact that many prominent composers of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were trained in a manner that emphasized the juxtaposition of these various tenets is pertinent to the basic argument of this study. Joel Lester points out, for example, that Joseph Haydn was a choirboy at St. Stephen's in Vienna at the time that

<sup>49</sup> Johann Georg Albrechtsberger, *Grundliche Anweisung zur Composition; mit deutlichen und ausführlichen Exempeln, zum Selbstunterrichte* (Leipzig: J. G. I. Breitkopf, 1790), p. 1. "From various *Generalbasslehre* it is well known that, generally, there are only eight intervals (*Zwischenräume* [literally, spaces between the notes]), namely: the second, the third, the fourth, the fifth, the sixth, the seventh, the eighth, and the ninth. The unison, which has no space [between its component parts] is used most often in four-voiced compositions instead of the octave, however the tenth is often used instead of the third." [Aus jeder *Generalbass-Lehre* ist bekannt, dass, überhaupt nur acht Intervalle (*Zwischenräume*) sind, nämlich: die Secunde, die Terz, die Quarte, die Quinte, die Sexte, die Septime, die Octave, und die None. Der Einklang, welcher keinen Zwischenraum hat, wird meistens im vierstimmigen Satze, statt der Octave, die Decime aber statt der Terz gebraucht].

Johann Joseph Fux (1660-1741) was Kapellmeister and therefore “quite probably learned six-syllable solmization with hexachordal mutation” as part of his training.<sup>50</sup> Lester continues along this line:

It gives one pause to realize that Beethoven, who worked from this text [the *Anweisung*] when he studied with Albrechtsberger only a couple of years [after the publication of that work], was familiar with a solmization system in which the tonic of a key could appear with more than one syllable, and in which the syllable denoting the tonic could also denote another scale degree. Modern, seven-syllable solmization methods, whether based on fixed or movable *do*, always link the tonic with a single syllable in a passage within a single key.

In evaluating the role of such tenets in the conceptual world of the time it is important to remember that their absence from other works may not necessarily indicate their absence from common musical parlance.<sup>51</sup>

Surely the role of *Generalbass* practices during this period could fit equally well into the statement above. Its utility in the “common musical parlance” of the nineteenth century renders it an important consideration in the compositional output of many composers from that time.

And indeed, the Viennese *stile antico*, of which Fux was the most prominent exponent during his tenure at the *Hofkapelle* – a style epitomized by the works of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina (c1525-1594) and which Fux immortalized in his *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725) – was a powerful force throughout the eighteenth century and as a result of the influential teachings of Fux’s disciples, including Albrechtsberger and Georg Reutter (1708-1772), well into the nineteenth century as well.

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<sup>50</sup> Lester, *Compositional Theory*, p. 171.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 171-72.

### c) Thoroughbass and its Connections to Older Pedagogical Systems

Vienna during the eighteenth century was an ardently Catholic metropolis, inspired in this faith to a great degree by the piety of the Imperial Court.<sup>52</sup> As Imperial Kapellmeister from 1715 until his death in 1741, Fux embraced the *stile antico* as an important stylistic and compositional practice. This did not take the shape of mere imitation, however;<sup>53</sup> rather, the Palestrina style was seen as one that had tremendous relevance to the music of Fux's contemporaries. It was not, then, regarded as an historical relic; to the contrary, the style of vocal polyphony that Fux presents in the *Gradus* is one of timelessness, one that represents attitudes and principles of the deeply pious religious institution in which he was employed, principles that could be applied to the music of contemporary Vienna.<sup>54</sup>

The performance of church music in Vienna was aided to a great degree by the emergence of musical brotherhoods designed specifically to promote such works. Fux, along with his vice Kapellmeister, the Italian composer Antonio Caldara (1671-1736), were both members of the influential *Cäcilienbruderschaft* or “musikalische Kongregation” that was associated with St. Stephen's Cathedral.<sup>55</sup> Dedicated to the promotion and performance of good church music, the St. Cecilia Brotherhood – which gathered each year on November 22 for performances, initially at the *Augustinerkirche*

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<sup>52</sup> Bruce C. MacIntyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass of the Early Classical Period* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), p. 13.

<sup>53</sup> Jen-Yen Chen, “Palestrina and the Influence of ‘Old’ Style in Eighteenth-Century Vienna,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 22 (2003), 1-44. Chen makes the point in this article that the early twentieth-century assessments of the use of the Palestrina style during this period claimed a basis for it in direct imitation of Palestrina, or *Palestrina-Nachahmung*, as coined by Karl Gustav Fellerer in 1929. See *ibid.*, note 1.

<sup>54</sup> Chen, “Palestrina,” 5.

<sup>55</sup> MacIntyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass*, p. 16. See also *ibid.*, note 17.



and later at St. Stephen's<sup>56</sup> – differed in many important ways from its nineteenth-century incarnation, not the least of which was its emphasis on the musical relevance of the *stile antico*. While *a capella* works in the Palestrina style – Masses, Vespers, motets, etc. – were always an important part of these festivities, more popular styles were also included:

The Musical Brotherhood this evening gave the Vespers in honor of the Feast of their patron, which falls on the Sunday. Monday morning this Feast will be celebrated by a solemn High Mass, during which various excellent musicians will be heard in arias and concertos.<sup>57</sup>

Such a mixture of styles was anathema to the nineteenth-century Cecilian movement, which advocated an uncompromising return to a pure *a capella* style, featuring modal harmonies, use of Gregorian chant, and strict counterpoint.<sup>58</sup> Fux and his contemporaries saw in the promotion of these ideals not the propagation of some historical artifact; such an historicist mind-set was not in their nature.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, the attributes and characteristics of the *stile antico* were still consciously utilized by these artists to instill a specifically desired affect in their audience:

The *stile antico* possessed a functional character during this period and served as an adjunct to a set of specific external circumstances. This does not imply, however, that the Palestrina style lacked affective significance for eighteenth-century listeners, or that composers wrote in the style only when liturgical regulations demanded it . . . Practical considerations alone did not motivate composition in *stile antico*. The idiom conveyed multiple meanings.<sup>60</sup>

This adaptability of the Palestrina style did much to perpetuate its usage; its functionality, stylistic desirability, and affective qualities all led to a situation in which its

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

<sup>57</sup> H. C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: Chronicle and Works*, Vol. 2 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), p. 230. Landon draws this passage from the *Wiener Diarium*, no. 94, Wednesday 25<sup>th</sup> Wintermonth [November], 1767.

<sup>58</sup> Patrick M. Liebergen, "The Cecilian Movement in the Nineteenth Century: Summary of the Movement," *The Choral Journal* 21 / 9 (1981), 13-16.

<sup>59</sup> Chen, "Palestrina," 2.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 3.

incorporation into modern stylistic practices of the mid- to late-eighteenth century would prove to be a crucial development. For as the century neared its end, composers of the next generation, including Albrechtsberger and Reutter, continued to recognize, as did their immediate predecessors, the desirability of a conflation of modal and tonal principles. The imposition of the thoroughbass system, with its emphasis on key centers, upon the inherent modality of the *stile antico* to which this latter generation had been repeatedly exposed would color compositional thought well into the nineteenth century.

The presence of the basso continuo in the *stile antico* idiom of liturgical music during this period was both described and condoned by Fux. In the final chapters of the *Gradus*, Fux discusses at length the ecclesiastical style (*Stylo Ecclesiastico*). He recognizes that modern tastes in music have led to a dichotomy of musical approaches: a *Stylus a Capella*, for full choir (*pleni Chori*) and a *Stylus mixtus*, which can be for various combinations of voices together with instruments.<sup>61</sup>

He is careful to point out that a further stylistic bifurcation is to be found within the *Stylus a Capella*:

It is well known that in early times the Divine Offices were sung by voices only. Then, later on, after organs were introduced, instruments of almost all kinds were used, as modern custom still clearly shows. Accordingly the technique of this “Stylus a Capella” is now twofold: without organ and other instruments, and with voices only; and with organ and other instruments. The first is still kept up in as many cathedral churches as can do it; and in the Emperor’s court, for forty years, through the singular piety of our most venerable monarch, and through reverence for divine worship. And so in this type of composition, first and foremost, the “mixed style” is to be avoided, and also the transposed modes, which have too many sharps and flats, by using the pure diatonic type only – for otherwise the composition . . . will never have the right effect.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Susan Wollenberg, trans. and introduction, “Johann Joseph Fux: *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725): Concluding Chapters,” *Music Analysis* 11 (1992), 209-43. See 218.

<sup>62</sup> Wollenberg, “*Gradus*,” 218.

Fux warns earlier in the *Gradus* of the dangers of leaving the diatonic system in modal configurations in favor of a “transposed mode” in this exchange from Book II:

Joseph – Couldn’t one change the diminished fifth to a perfect one by flatting the lower note, or sharpening the upper one . . . ?

Aloysius – One may do so, but . . . , where the fifth leaves the diatonic system, it would no longer pertain to any of the natural modes . . . but to a transposed mode.

Joseph – Is there any distinction between these different modes?

Aloysius – Yes, a great difference. For the varying position of the semitones results in a different melodic line with each of these octaves.<sup>63</sup>

Thus Fux displays his preference for the modal system in the strict style of species counterpoint with which Book II of the *Gradus* is concerned and, therefore, its suitability for usage in completely *a capella* ecclesiastical compositions. Fux was, indeed, quite opposed to the notion of twenty-four keys as a viable basis on which to construct one’s compositions.<sup>64</sup>

Other theorists of this period, however, were emphatic in their assertions that a system of twenty-four keys should be implemented as a replacement for the modal system. Mattheson in particular is quite forceful in his views on the subject, even engaging Fux (and others) in a lively dispute on the topic.<sup>65</sup>

Still, even so ardent a supporter of the newer tonal model as Mattheson finds some utility in the traditional modal system. The conflation of the systems is apparent in the matter of key characteristics, or affects customarily associated with a particular key. Consider the following:

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<sup>63</sup> Johann Joseph Fux, *Gradus ad Parnassum*, trans. by Alfred Mann as *The Study of Counterpoint* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1971), p. 34.

<sup>64</sup> Joel Lester, “The Fux-Mattheson Correspondence: An Annotated translation,” *Current Musicology* 24 (1977), 37-62.

<sup>65</sup> Lester, “Fux-Mattheson,” 37-39.

Mattheson was in the forefront of the campaign to replace the old modal system with the modern tonal system. His sacrilegious attitude towards old theory, in particular Guidonian solmization, led to the well-known polemical disputes with [Erfurt organist Johann] Buttsett [1666-1727] and Fux. Yet he did not reject all aspects of modal theory. He still respected the numerical order of the “church keys.” Also he associated modal names with modern keys . . . . The determining factors in deciding which mode belonged to which key were the pitch of the final and the presence of a major or minor third.

For those keys with modal counterparts, Mattheson first gives his own interpretation of the affect and then cites certain selected passages [in older treatises], mainly from Athanasius Kircher and Johannes Corvinus.<sup>66</sup>

As Steblin points out, Mattheson’s emphasis on a correlation of modern keys with the affects of the old church modes is remarkable.<sup>67</sup> This speaks plainly to the importance of the idea of key characteristics in the compositional outlook of Mattheson and many of his contemporaries. Thus the modal principles with which all musicians were intimately acquainted during this period exhibited the flexibility required for inclusion in a new system of compositional theory.

Fux’s recognition of an accompanied *Stylus a Capella* as a modern reality is an excellent example of the confluence of musical styles discussed above. His approach belongs to the strong concerted-mass tradition evident in Vienna throughout the eighteenth century. In most such works, the basso continuo was played by an organ and a violone.<sup>68</sup> Concerted masses of this type tend to articulate the tonal areas implicit in the theoretical underpinnings of *Generalbass* teachings. This emphasis on tonality, therefore, goes far in setting forth the idea that the purely melodic elements of such a work can, in

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<sup>66</sup> Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), p. 45. Mattheson’s association of mode and key were as follows: d minor – Dorian; g minor – transposed Dorian; a minor – Aeolian; e minor – Phrygian; C major – Ionian; F major – transposed Ionian; G major – Hypoionian; B<sup>b</sup> major – transposed Lydian.

<sup>67</sup> Steblin, *Key Characteristics*, p. 48.

<sup>68</sup> Mac Intyre, *The Viennese Concerted Mass*, p. 95ff. The various instruments used to double the choral voices, as well as their relative deployment, are discussed in depth here. Mac Intyre points out that the violone is the continuo instrument called for in most continuo parts of the mid-eighteenth century, with parts for violoncello appearing more frequently (but never exclusively) towards the century’s end. Though the terminology is often confusing, the term *violone* generally denoted a true sixteen-foot contrabass instrument, which was, presumably, more suited to accompanying the continuo organ in this context.

fact, be adapted to a harmonic format through the inclusion of the *Generalbass*. The question of whether a mode should constitute a melodic or harmonic abstraction is at the heart of the debate between Mattheson and Fux. Lester frames the matter thusly:

Traditional modal theory was fundamentally a melodic theory, in which different melodic possibilities arose in each mode because of the different distribution of . . . intervals in relation to the final. The major-minor perspective views modes as harmonic – they are differentiated by the quality of particular consonances over particular scale degrees.

It is this failure [of Fux and Mattheson] to get down to the underlying principles that gives rise to the lack of resolution of the issues involved. Each theorist is “right” from his perspective, even though they articulate contradictory positions.<sup>69</sup>

A view that embraced the various intersecting compositional styles was a key element in the overall musical concept of musicians during this period. In discussing a mid-eighteenth century mass by Georg Reutter, Chen makes the following observation:

The presence of a basso continuo part contributes to the progressive character of Reutter’s Mass by highlighting the vertical aspect of its music. The figures in this part often indicate pitches not present in the voices, thereby filling out otherwise incomplete harmonies.<sup>70</sup>

This would, of course, be one of the primary uses of such a thoroughbass accompaniment in all types of music for many years to come. Various composers, faced with circumstances less than ideal for the performance of their works, would utilize a thoroughbass notation to complement insufficient performance forces well into the nineteenth century. However, the use of thoroughbass accompaniment to fill out harmonies not present in the orchestral voices but nonetheless necessary for the desired harmony even when *tutti* forces are present – in order to provide not only proper harmonizations but also to provide a directorial *Generalbass* foundation and to maintain the desired sound complex to be furnished by the keyboard instrument – is also to be seen well into the nineteenth century.

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<sup>69</sup> Lester, “Fux-Mattheson,” 39.

<sup>70</sup> Chen, “Palestrina,” 31.

Thus the contrapuntal procedures of Fux were adapted to the more progressive eighteenth-century styles in large part by thoroughbass procedures, particularly via the theoretical concepts of late eighteenth-century musicians such as Albrechtsberger. Seen in this light, thoroughbass could be said to be the dynamic engine powering the crystallization of modern tonality. Lester speaks to this point:

The whole notion of key structure, which was bypassed entirely or treated in terms of modes in contrapuntal approaches, came to the fore in thoroughbass approaches. The need to know the key at every point spurred the codification of major and minor keys, the growing standardization of key signatures, the explanation of how to recognize keys, and the establishment of standard progressions in each key, whether by means of the *règle* or various verbal explanations of common practices. And the inclusion of only triads and seventh chords in the *règle* and in various rules for unfigured basses promoted the sense that these harmonies were more fundamental than what we view today as chords with added non-harmonic tones.

Thoroughbass approaches, at least in the hands of the more perceptive theorists, thus contained a wealth of knowledge about musical structure.<sup>71</sup>

### **III. The Influence of Jean-Philippe Rameau**

#### **a) The Triad and Seventh Chords from a Thoroughbass Perspective**

Notwithstanding the persistence of modal thinking and *stile antico* contrapuntal practices, a new harmonic idiom based largely on the notion of chordal roots gained momentum as the eighteenth century progressed. This development was largely a reaction to the plethora of rules governing thoroughbass voice-leading principles, especially in relation to the new emphasis on key area that thoroughbass practices did so much to foster. The composer and theorist at the forefront of the movement was Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764). Seeking a way to simplify the vast array of thoroughbass rules with which students were confronted, Rameau proposed in his *Traité de l'harmonie*

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<sup>71</sup> Lester, *Compositional Theory*, pp. 88-89.

*reduite à ses principes naturels* (Paris, 1722)<sup>72</sup> a theory that reduced the confusing *mélange* into two basic chord types: the triad (the *accord parfait*), or consonant harmony, and the dissonant seventh chord. By solidifying such principles as chord inversions and the notion of scale-step designations – many of which already existed, like many thoroughbass procedures, as unwritten rules – Rameau’s theory goes far towards establishing the principles of tonality that were revolutionizing musical theory during the early eighteenth century. In particular, the codification of the seventh as an elemental dissonance over a chord root, no matter the inversion, solved a multitude of problems encountered by performers of thoroughbass in the period. The ideas that follow from the rudiments of his system – particularly the classification of his two basic chord types as tonic (*accord parfait*) and dominant (seventh chords), the distinction drawn between the sounding bass, or *basso continuo*, and the fundamental bass (or, in our terminology, the chord root), and the principles of chord succession that arise from the close relationship Rameau perceived between the fundamental bass and the structure of the simultaneities themselves— had an enormous impact on the future of music theory.<sup>73</sup>

Inextricably bound to the codification of thoroughbass designations are Rameau’s principles regarding the use of the fundamental bass. Rameau addresses the matter of the fundamental sound briefly in Book I of the *Traité*<sup>74</sup> and returns to it immediately at the beginning of Book II. Here he links the fundamental sound with the

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<sup>72</sup> This work has been translated in English as: Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony*, trans. Philip Gossett (New York: Dover, 1971).

<sup>73</sup> For a fuller discussion of all of these principles, see Lester, *Compositional Theory*, particularly pp. 90-106.

<sup>74</sup> Rameau / Gossett, *Treatise*, p. 7. Book I of the *Traité* contains the mathematical operations by which Rameau arrived at his arithmetic and harmonic proportions. In the “Translator’s Introduction” to the English version, Gossett makes the observation that “[t]he instinctive reaction of most readers to Book I is simply to skip it” as it has, even by Rameau’s admission, little practical relevance. Gossett does go on to point out, however, that a complete understanding of the principles outlined in this chapter is necessary to a thorough assimilation of Rameau’s theory. See Rameau / Gossett, *Treatise*, p. xv.

bass and cites the *Istitutioni harmoniche* (1558) of the Italian theorist and composer Gioseffo Zarlino (1517-1590) as the basis for his conclusions:

As the part containing the fundamental sound is always the lowest and the deepest, we call it the bass. Here is what Zarlino says on the subject:

*Just as the earth is the foundation for the other elements, so does the bass have the property of sustaining, establishing, and strengthening the other parts. It is thus taken as the basis and foundation of harmony and is called the bass – the basis and support, so to speak.*

After imagining how, if the earth were to disappear, all the beautiful order of nature would fall into ruin, he says:

*In the same way, if the bass were to disappear, the whole piece of music would be filled with dissonance and confusion [. . .] Thus, when composing a bass, the composer should make it proceed by movements which are rather slower and more separated, i.e., more spread out, than those of the other parts. In this way other parts can proceed in conjunct motion, especially the treble, whose property it is to move in this manner, etc.*<sup>75</sup>

Having thus invoked his illustrious predecessor, Rameau then sets forth, in terms of his two archetypal chords, the function of the fundamental bass in his theory:

If the fundamental bass is removed [from a chord] and one of the other parts [of the chord] is put in its place, all the resulting chords will be inversions of the original chords. The harmony will remain good, for even when the fundamental bass is removed, it is always implied. The different dissonances heard because of the different position of these parts will completely follow the progression determined by the original chords.<sup>76</sup>

The idea of chord inversion is certainly not new; it had in fact been introduced by several theorists in many different forms well before Rameau. For example, Andreas Werckmeister (1645-1706) makes specific reference to chordal inversion in his *Harmonologia musica, oder Kurtze Anleitung zur musicalischen Composition* of 1702, curiously embedding his mention of the phenomenon within a discussion of *cantus durus* and *cantus mollis*:

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<sup>75</sup> Rameau / Gossett, *Treatise*, p. 59.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.



The present period is the first to name the concepts of a major [tonality] and another minor [tonality]; The Ancients, however, had for all their chants named [as follows] / Where there is no B<sup>b</sup>, major, however, where there is a B<sup>b</sup>, minor. The inversions of the triad were accordingly labeled as *syzigiae*, as in e. g. c., or g. c. e.; also a. d. f. or f. a. d. etc. and thusly through all keys.<sup>77</sup>

In the ensuing paragraph, Werckmeister instructs the player in the most correct and current method of *Generalbass* employment necessary to the production of a satisfying musical experience:

The normal phrases and chords can usually be taken all in the right hand / in the proper execution of the *Generalbass*, because the left hand remains thusly with the bass, and alone plays the Fundament / so can the *passagio* be highlighted more effectively / Especially in our *stylo musico*, the basses occasionally have a tendency to run on / and proceed quickly: As in the best music, nearly everything in today's *Generalbass* practice is thusly executed / This the Ancients did not do, but rather most chords were played by the left hand / therefore often producing a rumbling sound / and a most graceless result.<sup>78</sup>

Here Werckmeister employs the term *Fundament* in a manner widely understood at the time. Johann Gottfried Walther provides the following definition of the term:

The Fundament is generally any part that plays the Bass; particularly, however, [this refers to] the *Generalbass*, which, together with the bass notes [*Grund-Noten*], combines to express the harmony.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> Andreas Werckmeister, *Harmonologia musica, oder Kurtze Anleitung zur musicalischen Composition* (Franckfurth und Leipzig, 1702), p. 6. "Itziger Zeit wird die erste von den *Practicis* dur, die andere moll genennet; Die Alten aber haben alle Gesänge / wo kein b.[B<sup>b</sup>] vorstehet dur, da aber das b. vorstehet moll genennet. Die Versetzung der Triadum werden danach Syzigiae genennet / als e. g. c. oder g. c. e. etc. item a. d. f., f. a. d. etc. und also durch alle Claves." The term *syzigia* refers to the linear configuration of three celestial bodies, as in the sun, moon, and earth during a solar or lunar eclipse. The term can also be used in reference to the Holy Trinity, particularly in works of art. Werckmeister's analogy may in fact represent a restatement of principles previously annunciated in the theoretical works of Johannes Lippius (1585-1612), who compares all forms, or inversions, of the *trias harmonica* ("harmonic triad") to the Holy Trinity, because it is a unity born of three separate parts. See Lester, *Compositional Theory*, p. 97. Certainly the term appears in later treatises on this subject; see note 112 below.

<sup>78</sup> Werckmeister (1702), p. 6. "Die Ordinar - Sätze und Griffe können meist alle in der rechten Hand genommen werden / in Tractirung des *General-Basses*, denn so bleibet die Linke bei dem Basse, und führet das Fundament allein / und können die Passagien desto besser heraus gebracht werden / zumahl da in dem itzigen *Stylo musico* die Bässe offters lauffen und geschwinde fort gehen: Wie dann die besten *Musici* fast alle den *General-Bass* heutiges Tages also tractiren / welches die Alten nicht gethan / sondern die meisten accorden in der lincken Hand geführet haben / daher aber oft ein Gemurr entstanden / und wenig Anmuth gewesen seyn muss."

<sup>79</sup> Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon, oder Musicalische Bibliothec* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732), p. 268. "*Fundamento* [ital.] *Fondement* [gall.] *Fundamentum* [lat.] ist überhaupt jede Partie, so denn Bass führet; insonderheit aber der General-Bass, weil dieser, nebst den Grund-Noten, auch die Harmonie zugleich mit exprimiret."

Walther's definition is a nearly exact reiteration of the definition found in Brossard's *Dictionnaire de musique, contenant une explication des termes grecs, latins, italiens et françois* of 1703.<sup>80</sup> A similar term, *Fundamentalis sonus*, was used during this period to describe the arrangement of the *trias harmonicus* (see note 77), a concept that had been in circulation since the beginning of the seventeenth century. According to Walther, "*Fundamentalis sonus* is, in any harmonic triad, the lowest sound."<sup>81</sup> However, there is no equivalence of nomenclature here, as the references to such kindred yet distinct terms as *Fundament* / *Fundamentalis sonus* and *General-Bass* / *Grund-Noten* show. The distinction between *Fundamental* and *Bass* is especially clear in the Walther / Brossard definition quoted above, where he states that it is the bass *plus* the fundament that produces the harmony (see notes 79 and 80).

Therefore, while the invertibility of triads as such was recognized – and while theorists of the time affirmed that the melody and harmony of a work are, to a large degree, governed and guided by the bass line – the notion that all verticalities might be explained in terms of chord roots was not formulated prior to Rameau's *Treatise*. It is clear from the opening statement of his Book II, quoted above (see p. 36), that it was just this terminology with which Rameau was attempting to grapple; his subsequent explication had wide-ranging influence on theoretical thought for the rest of the eighteenth and well into the nineteenth century.

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<sup>80</sup> Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique, contenant une explication des termes grecs, latins, italiens et françois* (Paris: Christophe Ballard, 1703). The definition in the Brossard reads: "*Fundamento*, ou chez quelques Etrangers *Fundament*. C'est en général, toute Partie qui sert de *Basse*; mais spécialement c'est la *Basse-Continuë*, parce qu'elle est la Baze & la fondement de toute l'*Harmomie*." Ibid., p.29. This definition also found its way into James Grassineau, *A Musical Dictionary* (London: Wilcox, 1740), which was thought to borrow quite heavily from Brossard: "*Fundamento* is, in general, every part that plays or sings the bass; but the *basso continuo* is more particularly so called, because it is the basis or foundation of all harmony." Grassineau, p. 81.

<sup>81</sup> Walther, *Lexicon*, p. 268. "*Fundamentalis sonus* [lat.] ist in jeder *triade harmonica* der untereste Klang."

## b) Rameau and the Fundamental Bass

Rameau is insistent throughout the *Traité* as to the primacy of harmony in his musical system; to that end, he excoriates the ancients for relying solely on the rules of melody when composing their chants:

The Ancients, too much the slaves of their first discoveries, composed all these chants from melodies provided by the perfect system, thus finishing where they should have begun. They based the rules of harmony on melody, instead of beginning with harmony, which comes first (as the division of the string proves), and basing the rules of melody on harmony, a procedure which would even have led to a type of chant simpler and more flowing than that used in our churches today. Their blindness is further revealed by the fact that they differentiated between authentic or principal modes and plagal or collateral ones.<sup>82</sup>

Rameau goes on in this section to explain that Zarlino's process of dividing the octave by a fourth to obtain a new mode was merely a transposition of the division of the mode by a fifth; as Rameau puts it, "a process we call inversion." As such, they are not different modes but rather the same mode with the same harmonic characteristics; it is only in matters of melody that they differ.<sup>83</sup> Therefore, in Rameau's opinion, the practices of our Greek forebears should have been adhered to more stringently by Zarlino and his peers:

If Zarlino had followed the opinion of Plato, who (as he reports) considered melody to be born of harmony, he would have searched for the fundamentals of modulation in harmony. This would in turn have led him along paths by which he could have achieved the perfection which he believed he had attained, for only from the perfect chord of the tonic note, the perfect chord of its dominant to which a seventh is added whenever appropriate, and the seventh chord of its second note is true modulation, and consequently all the sequence of good harmony and beautiful melody derived.<sup>84</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Rameau / Gossett, *Treatise*, pp. 160-61.

<sup>83</sup> Rameau / Gossett, *Treatise*, p. 161. During this discussion, Rameau, like so many of his eighteenth-century contemporaries, displays his knowledge of the Guidonian hexachord system. He refers to the principal note in the example that follows this discussion as "C, Sol-Do, . . . the tonic note for both modes."

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

Rameau, then, embraces only the major and the minor modes, in which “the tonic note may take on any of the twenty-four different notes of the chromatic system.”<sup>85</sup> Yet he is still keen to identify individual keys with particular affective qualities, much as the ancients did with the modal system he has just castigated, in the modulation of these octaves.

The different arrangement of the semitones found in the octave of each note which can be taken as the principal or tonic note [. . .] creates certain differences. It is thus appropriate to explain their properties.

The major mode taken in the octave of the notes Do, Re, and La is suitable for songs of mirth and rejoicing. In the octave of the notes Fa and Si<sup>b</sup>, it is suitable for tempests, furies, and other similar subjects. In the octave of the notes Sol or Mi, it is suitable for both tender and gay songs. Grandeur and magnificence can also be expressed in the octave of the notes Re, La, or Mi.

The minor mode taken in the octaves of the notes Re, Sol, Si, or Mi is suitable for sweetness and tenderness. In the octave of the notes Do or Fa, it is suitable for tenderness or complaints. In the octave of the notes Fa or Si<sup>b</sup>, it is suitable for mournful songs. The other keys are not in general use, and experience is the surest means by which to learn their properties.<sup>86</sup>

Rameau’s system, not unlike those of his contemporaries, reflects processes of transition as it seeks to assimilate disparate ideas within a comprehensive paradigm. With the concept of the fundamental bass as articulated in the quote from Book II, Chapter 5 above (see page 36, note 76), Rameau could explain many of the previously confusing thoroughbass figurations in terms of the resolution of the seventh chord and its two dissonances within the context of a paradigmatic perfect cadence (*cadence parfait*).

The first of the two notes forming the perfect cadence in the bass is called the dominant, because it must always precede the final note and therefore dominates it.

The seventh, formed by adding a minor third to the perfect chord of the dominant, forms a dissonance not only with this dominant but also

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid., p. 163. Gossett assumes here that Rameau is speaking not of enharmonic spellings, but of the different major and minor keys that can be formed on the twelve chromatic steps of each mode. See Translator’s Note 81.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, pp. 163-64.

with the major third of this same dominant, so that the major third forms a new dissonance here with regard to the added seventh. This major third is thus the origin of all the major dissonances and the seventh is the origin of all the minor dissonances, without exception.

The note which completes the perfect cadence is called the tonic note, for it is with this note that we begin and end, and it is within its octave that all modulation is determined.<sup>87</sup>

Here Rameau's codification of a tonic / dominant archetype, with the major dissonance – the major third of what we would call a dominant-seventh chord – and minor dissonance – formed by Rameau by stacking a minor third atop the perfect chord – as the essence of his system. The major dissonance, constituting the leading tone (*note sensible*) of the perfect chord, must resolve up, while the minor dissonance must descend to the third of the perfect chord.

Using this model, Rameau is able to explain in an organized manner the various inversions of the dominant-seventh chord and their proper resolution. This, however, does not provide any assistance in terms of intervals that exceed the compass of the octave. Rameau is quite adamant in his limiting chordal formation to relationships within the octave. In Book II, Chapter 10, he states the following:

[I]f all chords are formed of the fifth and the thirds (as we said in Book I, Chapters 7 and 8), they should be divided by thirds in the natural division of the fifth. If the two sounds of the octave serve as terminals for everything that may form a perfect harmony (the sounds exceeding the terminals being nothing but replicates of those found within its limits), then the octave should also serve as the limit for all chords.<sup>88</sup>

Thus, in order to address the commonplace ninth and eleventh chords present in thoroughbass practice, Rameau proposed his theory of *supposition*, in which these simultaneities are explained in relationship to an assumed chord root. In this model, suspensions – the ninths and elevenths – are reinterpreted as minor dissonances of

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<sup>87</sup> Rameau / Gossett, *Treatise*, p. 65.

<sup>88</sup> Rameau / Gossett, *Treatise*, p. 88.

seventh chords and resolved as such according to Rameau's rules for the perfect cadence. This is accomplished by placing the fundamental bass a third or fifth above the sounding bass, thereby explaining a ninth or eleventh chord as a seventh chord with one or more tones supposed, or *sub-posed*, below the fundamental bass.<sup>89</sup>

While the sounds that comprise the seventh chord are present in the upper voices and may be freely inverted, the supposed tones are supernumerary (*surnumeraire*), and therefore ineligible to participate in any of the functions enjoyed by the chordal structures that operate within the terminals of the octave.

The seventh chord, which is always built on this supposed fundamental sound, may be inverted just as before, but the added sound can never change position. It will always occupy the lowest position, while the other parts may profit from inversion, in which they may mutually participate since they are contained within the prescribed limits of the harmony. The sounds which can be inverted will follow their natural progressions in the mode they represent and the added sound will fade away when united with them. As a result, the added sound must be regarded as supernumerary, since the fundamental harmony will always subsist without it and the progression of chords is not altered by it.<sup>90</sup>

With the concept of supposition, Rameau was able to incorporate virtually all of the simultaneities that occur in thoroughbass practice into his overall theory of the fundamental bass. Moreover, rather than just being able to describe the various suspensions and their respective resolutions, as had been the case in thoroughbass

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<sup>89</sup> The term *supposition* has a long history in music theory, dating back to Giovanni Maria Artusi (*Delle imperfessioni della moderna musica*, 1571), who employed it with regard to dissonance control. Seventeenth-century theoretical treatises often used the term in reference to the use of melodic, passing dissonances. Rameau was familiar with this usage, but also uses *supposition* as the designation for an assumed chord root in the *Traité*: "This term has been applied until now only to sounds used as melodic ornaments . . . . The term should be applied more specifically, however, to those sounds which, when added to chords, alter the perfection of these chords by making them exceed the range of an octave." Rameau / Gossett, *Treatise*, p. liii. In fact, this more harmonic connotation was present in many early eighteenth-century treatises that pre-date the *Traité*. See Albert Cohen, "La *supposition* and the Changing Concept of Dissonance in Baroque Theory," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 24 (1971), 63-84.

The variation of the terms *supposition* or *supposed* that has gained currency in recent years is the above-mentioned *sub-posed*, which, in the minds of many, more accurately reflects the Latin origins of the term: *sub* (below) and *positio* (from the verb *ponere*, to place). See Lester, *Compositional Theory*, p. 109.

<sup>90</sup> Rameau / Gossett, *Treatise*, pp. 88-89.

manuals of the past, Rameau can now explain them.<sup>91</sup> With the addition of his theory of chordal succession, in which the fundamental bass normally moves only by the intervals of the perfect chord (thirds and fifths, as well as their inversions, sixths and fourths),<sup>92</sup> Rameau now had what he believed to be an eminently practical, as well as neatly theoretical, approach to composition and, equally important during this period, accompaniment.

Indeed, basso continuo accompaniment according to the precepts of the fundamental bass occupies a large portion of the *Traité*; Books III (Principles of Composition) and IV (Principles of Accompaniment) of the treatise are very much like many of the thoroughbass manuals of the day. The tendency towards the practical application – combined with a loosening of his theoretical principles in the service thereof – can equally be seen in his *Dissertation sur les différentes methods de l'accompagnement* of 1732, in which Rameau takes a pedagogical approach to the subject of accompaniment. Such concerns are, in fact, prominent throughout Rameau's theoretical works, particularly in the manuscript *L'Art de la basse fondamentale* compiled between 1737 and 1744 and, finally, the *Code de musique pratique* (1760), in which Rameau deals in great detail with the matter of figured bass accompaniment.<sup>93</sup> Yet as

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<sup>91</sup> Thomas Christensen, "Rameau's *L'Art de la Basse Fondamentale*," *Music Theory Spectrum* (1987), 18-41. See 28-29.

<sup>92</sup> Rameau / Gossett, *Treatise*, p. 206. "The essence of composition, for harmony as well as melody, lies principally, especially at present, in that bass we call fundamental. It should proceed by consonant intervals, which are the third, the fourth, the fifth, and the sixth; we may thus make the notes of the fundamental bass ascend or descend only one of these intervals." Rameau, however, also notes in the *Traité* that the fundamental bass can sometimes move by a second (and its inversion, the seventh) by way of *license*; thus, theoretically, in the *Traité*, the fundamental bass can move by any interval, though Rameau attempts to distance himself from this stance in later writings. See Lester, *Compositional Theory*, p. 115.

<sup>93</sup> Christensen, "Rameau's *L'Art de la Basse Fondamentale*." Christensen also notes that Rameau's involvement with his theory of the fundamental bass predates the *Traité*; manuscripts found from his second residency (1716-1721) at Clermont (the so-called "Clermont notes") reveal that he used the fundamental bass as a tool for continuo realization for his composition students during this period. See *ibid.*, p. 19, note 5. Chapter 18 of the *Génération harmonique* also contains material for thoroughbass

Christensen points out, for most composers during this period there was little if any distinction between the skills required for a mastery of composition and those required for fluency in accompaniment. The necessity to have his theoretical ideas assimilated into a practical method adducing these complementary skills was, therefore, paramount in the mind of Rameau, as his attention to the practical necessities of throughbass accompaniment makes clear.

It should be noted, however, that throughout his writings, even those of the most theoretical nature, Rameau is clear about the separation of the fundamental bass from the continuo bass, as the following comment from the *Génération harmonique* demonstrates:

A variety in the fundamental bass need not be a strict rule within a single mode because the melody can be varied easily within the same fundamental route . . . . A lack of variety in the fundamental bass is corrected by the continuo bass, which is then composed from one of the notes contained in the harmony of this fundamental bass.<sup>94</sup>

Thus the continuo bass is not generative; it functions as do the other parts, all of which are derived, or “born,” of the harmony of the fundamental bass. This is a matter of great importance when considering Rameau’s approach to the subject of modulation.

#### **IV. Modulation**

##### **a) Eighteenth-Century Definitions and their Consequences**

The term “modulation” had differing, concurrent meanings during the most of the eighteenth century. The prevalent distinctions are perhaps best expressed in the following definition from Jean-Jacques Rousseau in 1768:

MODULATION. This is properly the method of establishing and treating the mode; but this word, at present, is more generally taken for the art of conducting the harmony, and the air [melody] successively in

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realization. See Deborah Hayes, “Rameau’s Theory of Harmonic Generation: An Annotated Translation and Commentary of ‘Génération harmonique’ by Jean-Philippe Rameau,” Ph.D. diss., Stanford Univ., 1968 (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1968), Chapter XVIII, pp.196-244.

<sup>94</sup> Hayes / Rameau, “Harmonic Generation,” p. 206.



several modes, by a method agreeable to the ear, and conformable to rules.

If the mode is produced by harmony, from thence also arises the laws of modulation. These laws may be simply conceived, but are difficult to be observed. Herein lies their consistent rules.

To modulate well in a same tone, we must first go through all its sounds with a fine music, by striking the essential chords oftener, and resting on them longer: that is to say, that the sensible [dominant] concord, and the concord of the tonic, ought to be shewn therein frequently, but under different appearances, and by different courses, to prevent the monotony . . . .

But to pass from one tone to another, we must consult the analogy, and pay attention to the connection of tonics, and to the quantity of chords common to the two tones.<sup>95</sup>

Rameau was conversant with both meanings of the term,<sup>96</sup> utilizing both in the *Traité*.<sup>97</sup>

He would in fact remain remarkably consistent in this twin terminology throughout his career; in the *Génération harmonique*, for example, he states:

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<sup>95</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768). “C’est proprement la manière d’établir & traiter le Mode; mais ce mot se prend plus communément aujourd’hui pour l’art de conduire l’Harmonie & le Chant successivement dans plusieurs Modes d’une manière agréable à l’oreille & conforme aux regles.

Si le Mode est produit par l’Harmonie, c’est d’elle aussi que naissent les loix de la modulation. Ces loix sont simples à concevoir, mais difficiles à bien observer. Voici en quoi elles consistent.

Pour bien moduler dans un même Ton, il faut 1°. en parcourir tous les Sons avec un beau Chant, en rebattant plus souvent les Cordes essentielles & s’y appuyant davantage: c’est-à-dire que l’Accord sensible, & l’Accord de la Tonique doivent s’y remontrer frequemment, mais sous différentes faces & par différentes routes pour prévenir la monotonie . . . .

Mais pour passer d’un Ton à un autre, il faut consulter l’analogie, avoir égard au rapport des Toniques, & à la quantité des Cordes communes aux deux Tons.” See pp. 295-96. The English translation above is found in William Waring, *A Complete Dictionary of Music* (London: J. Murray, 1779 R / New York: AMS Press, 1975), p. 249.

<sup>96</sup> A similar dual definition to the one given in Rousseau’s *Dictionnaire* can be found in Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique, contenant une explication des termes grecs, latins, italiens et françois* (Paris, 1703). “MODULATION . . . . It is necessary only to add here that to modulate according to the Moderns requires not only that the melody should pass through the essential and natural chords of a mode more often than through the others; but also it is helpful if these same chords are used in the parts which are harmony, more often and preferably than others, which it is necessary to avoid; not that these [chords] are not good, but because they often leave a bad feeling concerning the mode.

To modulate is also to move out of the mode sometimes, but so as to return properly and naturally.”

MODULATIONE . . . . Il faut seulement ajouter icy que moduler selon les Modernes, c’est non seulement faire passer un Chant par les Cordes essentielles et naturelles d’un mode plus souvent que par les autres; mais aussi se servir des mêmes Cordes dans les Parties qui sont harmonie, plus souvent et préféablement à d’autres qu’il faut éviter; non qu’elles ne fussent bonnes, mais parce qu’elles feroient sortir souvent mal à propos du mode.

Module rest aussis sortir quelques fois hors du Mode, mais pour y rentrer à propos & naturellement.” P. 53.

<sup>97</sup> In Book III, Chapter 9, “On How to Modulate harmonically when the Bass is given a diatonic progression,” Rameau discusses the treatment of consonant and dissonant chords and their various

The art of composition depends upon a knowledge of modulation, which consists of a knowledge of intervals, of chords or harmony of modes, and of all the possible harmonic successions, whether within the same mode, or passing from one mode to another. Whoever knows how to modulate knows how to compose music.<sup>98</sup>

Modulation, then, involves nothing less than the entire realm of harmonic variety, on which the affectiveness of a composition depends, either within a key or in the motion from one key to another. When wishing to provide the performer with the species of variety that occurs within the key, Rameau introduces a number of methods by which this can be accomplished. These include the use of chords in inversion (*l'Imitation des Cadences par renversement*, Book II, Chapter 18), the deceptive cadence (*cadence rompuë*, Book II, Chapter 16), and chords by supposition (Book II, Chapter 20), among others.

Cadences that involve something other than simple inversion or varied bass movement may imply a change in function and therefore a change in key. Further, since according to Rameau any perfect triad – even if it occurs on a non-tonic note – must, by definition, constitute a tonic, then, by implication, when a perfect triad appears, a modulation has taken place. This, for Rameau, constitutes the essence of modulation in terms of change of key:

We learn to change the key primarily by means of cadences. These cadences introduce a certain repose during a piece, after which we may pass into another key by using a cadence in this new key, and so on in

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inversions within the context of a single key. In Book III, Chapter 23, “On How to pass from one Key to another; i.e., on how to Modulate,” Rameau discusses the definition of the term that we are more familiar with: “After having begun a piece in a certain key, then, we may pass to another key a third, fourth, fifth, or sixth above or below, the original tonic note becoming the mediant, dominant, fourth, or sixth note of the new key, and so on successively from key to key.” See Rameau / Gossett, pp. 221-25 and p. 267 respectively.

<sup>98</sup> Rameau / Hayes, “Harmonic Generation,” p. 196. Rameau’s consistency on this subject would extend to his last major theoretical work, the *Code de musique pratique, ou Méthodes pour apprendre la musique ... avec de nouvelles réflexions sur le principe sonore* (Paris, 1760), where he states the following: “One calls modulation the art of conducting its melody and its harmony, as much in a single key, as from one key to another.” “On appelle moduler l’art de conduire un chant & son harmonie, tant dans un meme Ton, que d’un Ton à un autre.” *Code*, p. 135.

succession; for we are free to pass to any chord we like after the perfect chord which terminates all cadences.<sup>99</sup>

This could result in a great many such modulations, as many as one per measure. It should be kept in mind, however, that concepts of mode, key, and cadential chord succession all contributed during this time to a sense of “tonic” that was quite different from that which we understand today. As Christensen points out:

The various cadences on new “tonics” did not signify the dramatic shift of key we associate with the larger forms of classical style. It was perfectly intuitive to an eighteenth-century French musician that a mode could change every measure, or on every beat.<sup>100</sup>

For Rameau, then, the context of chords and their relationships is crucial. In the *Traité*, the contextual relationship extends only to the singularly consonant tonic triad. In his subsequent theoretical works, however, Rameau would enhance this view by distinguishing between various levels of modulation, emphasizing the connection between successive keys related by common chord function.<sup>101</sup> This is aided by the acceptance in the *Nouveau système* of the subdominant as an official member of the key configuration, acting, in effect, as another dominant;<sup>102</sup> thus Rameau can designate the

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<sup>99</sup> Rameau / Gossett, *Treatise*, Book III, Chapter 24, p. 270

<sup>100</sup> Christensen, “Rameau’s *L’Art*,” 27, note 33.

<sup>101</sup> E. Cynthia Verba, “Rameau’s Views on Modulation and their Background in French Theory,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 31 (1978), 467-79.

<sup>102</sup> Thomas Christensen, “Jean-Philippe Rameau,” *NGD*, Vol. 20, pp. 778-806. See §5, pp. 794-96. “While the fundamental bass was conceived to explain localized chord connections, Rameau was also interested in more global questions of harmonic function and modal identity. The evolution of his thoughts on the subdominant (*sous dominante*) is an illustrative case. The importance of the fourth scale degree in the mode was initially singled out by Rameau in his *Nouveau système* (1726). Modelled by a ‘geometric’ triple progression of connected 5ths (1:3:9), the lower (*sous*) dominant was posited as a symmetrical counterpart to the upper dominant. In the *Génération harmonique* (1737), though, Rameau began to assign the subdominant a privileged harmonic function in his hierarchy of scale degrees, not only because of its important role in the irregular cadence (now dubbed the *cadence imparfaite*), but because of its importance in framing and defining a modal centre. Inspired by elements of Newtonian physics that were circulating widely in France during the 1730s, Rameau reconceptualized the tonic chord as a kind of gravitational body that was surrounded by upper and lower dominants. Each of these dominants was attracted to the tonic and at the same time helped constitute the mode.”

appropriate modulations as these two “dominants” and their respective relative minors (V and III, IV and II, and VI).<sup>103</sup>

The idea of linking modulations through the process of *liaison* is also broached in the *Nouveau système*. Verba is especially enlightening on the subject of *liaison*, in which Rameau states that this procedure

[is] a means of linking or creating a bond between successive chords in a progression through the use of dissonance which requires preparation and resolution.<sup>104</sup>

In linking modulations to tonal centers, Rameau avoids abrupt shifts to distant keys in favor of smooth, closely related transitions. By emphasizing, as he does in the *Code* of 1760, the primacy of the original key – or the reigning tone (*ton régnant*), which remains in effect throughout the whole piece – in governing these modulations, Rameau clearly advocates harmonic unity as a compositional ideal.

#### **b) Assimilation of Rameau’s Principles by Marpurg and Kirnberger**

The extent to which Rameau’s principles outlined above were assimilated into the various preexisting theoretical and practical systems of the later eighteenth century defines in many ways the stylistic characteristics of compositions produced under those systems. In the various attempts by theorists to validate the principles of dissonance treatment in the context of the new, *galant* style of this period, equally diverse approaches to the problem can be seen.

The assimilation of Rameauian principles into established thoroughbass practices was paramount for many later eighteenth-century theorists. Such was the case with Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg’s *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der*

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<sup>103</sup> Christensen, Rameau’s *L’Art*,” 27.

<sup>104</sup> Verba, “Rameau’s Views,” 476.

*Composition* (1760). This text was intended as a practical introduction to composition. It therefore goes beyond the scope of traditional thoroughbass manuals that were primarily concerned with the rudiments of accompaniment:

Marpurg's main concern . . . is to preserve, and in some instances even reinterpret, traditional practical rules of composition in the face of new theoretical knowledge. Marpurg, as so many of the theorists of his time, was trying to reconcile Rameau's principles with compositional fact, and for German writers compositional fact already represented a rich, cross-cultural heritage. What Marpurg attempted was a synthesis of what he felt to be Rameau's most important ideas on the one hand, and the tradition of German music pedagogy on the other.<sup>105</sup>

Sheldon points out that in fact there is not very much in Marpurg's *Handbuch* that addresses conventional thoroughbass accompanimental practices. This he attributes to the tradition of thoroughbass having "almost run its course."<sup>106</sup> Marpurg is apparently aiming at something grander; he states unequivocally that the treatises of his rival, Georg Andreas Sorge, are to be discounted on the grounds that they are nothing more than tutorials for keyboard players and not true theoretical methods.<sup>107</sup> Yet as we will see, the more general, technical aspects of thoroughbass practice continued to be addressed – often to the near-complete exclusion of an overarching theoretical foundation – in many other treatises of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, attesting to the continued importance and pragmatic utility of the practice in the eyes of both performer and theorist.

Marpurg was at least indirectly aware of Rameau's theories, having encountered them through the work of Jean le Rond d'Alembert (1717-1783). D'Alembert's compilation of Rameau's theories, the *Elémens de musique théorique et pratique suivant*

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<sup>105</sup> David A. Sheldon, *Marpurg's Thoroughbass and Composition Handbook: A Narrative Translation and Critical Study* (Stuyvesant, N.Y.: Pendragon Press, 1989), p. x.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> Jonathan W. Bernard, "The Marpurg-Sorge Controversy," *Music Theory Spectrum* 11 (1989), 164-86. See 173.

*les principes de M. Rameau* (1757) draws largely on Rameau's *Démonstration du principe de l'harmonie* (1750), but also incorporates significant portions of the *Génération harmonique*.<sup>108</sup> Marpurg's 1757 translation of the *Elemens*<sup>109</sup> is clearly the source of most of his knowledge of Rameau's ideas and, indeed, it could be said that many differences between the doctrines of Marpurg and Rameau can be attributed to the transmission of the latter's ideas through this intermediary source.<sup>110</sup>

One of the best examples of Marpurg's adaptation of Rameau's principles can be seen in his approach to ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth chords in the *Handbuch*. Marpurg is in agreement with Rameau on the derivation of the seventh via the addition of a minor third to the perfect triad.<sup>111</sup> He identifies, therefore, both the triad and the seventh chord as generative or basic chords (*Grundharmonien*); the *harmonische Dreiklänge* (harmonic triad)<sup>112</sup> is naturally consonant and three-voiced, but can be made four-voiced (the *gemeiner Accord* or common chord) by the doubling of the bass at the octave. The *Septimenaccord* (seventh chord) is naturally dissonant and four-voiced. There can be no other basic chords because, according to Marpurg, there are only two types of interval, consonant and dissonant.<sup>113</sup> Marpurg goes on to state that the seventh chord is the source

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<sup>108</sup> Thomas Christensen, "Jean le Rond d'Alembert," *NGD*, Vol. 1, pp. 349-50.

<sup>109</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Systematische Einleitung in die musikalische Setzkunst, nach den Lehrsätzen des Herrn Rameau* (Leipzig, 1757).

<sup>110</sup> Sheldon, *Marpurg's Thoroughbass*, p. x, note 3.

<sup>111</sup> This was by no means a universal view of the origin of this dissonance; Sorge, for example, derives it from the seventh partial, which Rameau had rejected as out of tune. See Bernard, "Marpurg-Sorge," 173.

<sup>112</sup> Marpurg also later echoes Werckmeister in his description of the triad: "Der Grund derselben ist, wie gesagt, der sogenannte *harmonische Dreiklänge, trias* oder *Syzygia harmonica*, bestehend aus der Terz und Quinte." Marpurg, *Handbuch*, p. 27. See note 77 above.

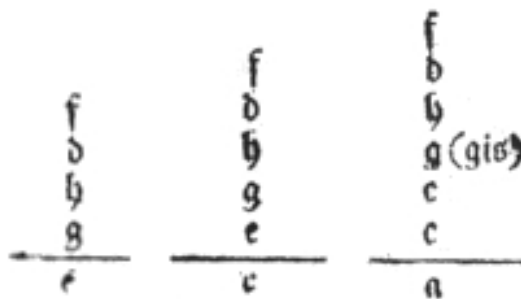
<sup>113</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition mit zwey- drey- vier- fünf- sechs- sieben- acht und mehreren Stimmen* (Berlin, 1755), p. 24. "Es fraget sich jetzt, welches die Grundharmonien sind, auf welche man alle übrige zurücke führen kann. Diese Grundharmonien sind:

of all dissonance, as first publicly expressed by a certain Herr Rameau in his 1722 treatise.<sup>114</sup>

Because the seventh chord is categorized as a *Grundharmonie* (i.e., a generative chord), it can beget other chords by inversion, just like a triad.<sup>115</sup> Additionally, tones placed a third, fifth, or seventh below this generative seventh chord result in the creation of the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth chords. These, in turn, can also result in other chordal formations by means of inversion.

If in Art, as in Nature, one follows the two primary harmonies and the manner through which they are constructed in thirds [then if], proceeding downwards, under the basic harmony of the seventh chord one sets a third, these examples [result].<sup>116</sup>

Marpurg then goes on to illustrate the manner of construction of these chords, indicating for each a *Grundton* and the added third below (*hinzugefügte Terz von unten*; see Example 1-2 below).



Example 1-2: Marpurg, *Handbuch*, pp. 24-25

- 1) *Der harmonische Dreyklang*, eine dreistimmige consonirende Grundharmonie; und die nur alsdenn ein Vierklang oder *gemeiner Accord* genennet wird, wenn die Octave vom Basse hinzugethan wird.
- 2) *Der Septimenaccord*, eine vierstimmige dissonirende Grundharmonie.

Das ist nicht mehr, als zwey Grundaccorden geben könne, ist daraus klar, weil man nur zweyerley von Intervallen hat, consonirende und dissonirende."

<sup>114</sup> Marpurg, *Handbuch*, p. 24. "Die Septime ist also die Quelle aller Dissonanzen, und derjenige, der dieses zuerst öffentlich gelehret hat, ist der berühmte Tonkünstler in Frankreich, Herr Rameau in seinem 1722. zu Paris ans Licht gestellten *traité de l'harmonie*."

<sup>115</sup> Marpurg / Sheldon, *Handbook*, p. 5.

<sup>116</sup> Marpurg, *Handbuch*, p. 24. "Wenn man der Art, wie der Natur die zwey ersten Zusammenstimmungen durch etliche über sich gebaute Terzen hervorbringet, unterwärts nachfolget, und unter den Grundton des Septimenaccords ein Terz setzet."

Marpurg's notion of *Unterschiebung* is clearly borrowed from Rameau's theory of supposition. It differs, though, in allowing the supernumerary tones – which for Marpurg as for Rameau are posited below the fundamental seventh chord – to participate in inversions, a procedure that owes more to traditional thoroughbass practice than to Rameau's rational formulation. Marpurg's chords with supernumerary tones are not to be considered *Grundharmonien*, however; here he makes an important distinction between the original generative seventh chord and these new constructions:

These three new dissonant chords, however, despite the fact that they display the outward characteristics of the *Grundaccordes*, nevertheless are compound entities comprised of thirds and therefore not actually fundamental chords [*Hauptaccorde*], but merely ancillary chords [*Nebenaccorde*]. In that they are constructed in thirds placed above one and other, therefore they result from the juxtaposition of seventh chords. The ninth chord therefore consists of two seventh chords, the eleventh chord of three, and the thirteenth chord of four.<sup>117</sup>

These new chords are therefore the result of overlapping, or *zusammengeschobne*, seventh chords.<sup>118</sup> Later in the *Handbuch*, Marpurg makes it clear that the uppermost notes in these chordal formations function as sevenths;<sup>119</sup> therefore, the root of the generative seventh chord forms the essential (*eigentliche*) bass, placing it and the other notes of the seventh chord, by definition, within the octave.<sup>120</sup> Thus Marpurg explains these chords as did Rameau, the result of adding one or more thirds below a fundamental

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<sup>117</sup> Marpurg, *Handbuch*, p. 25. “Diese drey neue dissonirenden Accorde aber, ob sie schon die äusserlichen Merkmahle eines Grundaccordes haben, nemlich, das sie Terzenweise zusammengesetzt sind, sind deswegen doch keine eigentlichen oder *Hauptgrundaccorde*, sondern nur *Nebengrundaccorde*. Dass sie Terzenweise übereinander gebauet sind, davon ist die Ursache, das sie zusammengeschohne Septimenaccorde sind. Der Nonenaccord nemlich besteht aus zwey Septimenaccorden, der Undecimenaccord aus dreyen, der Terzdecimenaccord aus vieren.”

<sup>118</sup> Marpurg / Sheldon, *Handbook*, pp. 8-9. See also Marpurg, *Handbuch*, pp. 25-26.

<sup>119</sup> Marpurg, *Handbuch*, pp. 185-89. For example, when discussing the following four-voiced eleventh chord [g / f c d]: “We have in this example repeated proof that the seventh is the source of all dissonance, as was demonstrated in Part I of the *Handbook*. Not only this eleventh chord itself, but all remaining eleventh chords that are produced through the inversion of the *Grundaccorde* [that is, the seventh chord, in this case d f a c] from which they originate.” [Man hat an diesem Exempel einem abermahligen Beweiss, wie die Septime die Quelle der Dissonanzen ist, wie schon in I. Theile des Handbuchs gezeigt ist. Nicht allein der Undecimenaccord an sich, sondern alle übrige Undecimen, die durch Verkehrung der Grundaccorde entstehen, nehmen von ihr den Ursprung]. *Handbuch*, p. 185.

<sup>120</sup> Marpurg / Sheldon, *Handbook*, pp. 8-9.



seventh chord. Though he refers here to the lowest note of the ninth, eleventh, or thirteenth chords as *Grundtonen* (see Example 1- 2 above), Marpurg recognizes, as stated above, that the true fundamental is the root of the generative seventh chord. It is only in a subsequent theoretical work that Marpurg clearly makes the distinction between the *Fundament* or *Grundton* (the lowest note of the generative seventh chord) and the bass tone (the lowest note of the compound chords, which is, borrowing Rameau's phrase, *supponiert*).<sup>121</sup> Despite all inconsistencies in the system – many of which were noted and disputed by Sorge – Marpurg's concept of invertible entities to explain complex thoroughbass figurations was a major step forward in eighteenth-century theoretical models, one that would be expanded upon by Marpurg's contemporaries and successors.

Notwithstanding his advocacy of Rameau's fundamental bass theories, it is now widely accepted that Marpurg understood these theories only in a faulty and incomplete way. Perhaps the best indication of this arises from Marpurg's ultimate theoretical work, the *Versuch über die musikalische Temperatur, nebst einem Anhang über den Rameau- und Kirnbergerschen Grundbass*. In the appendix mentioned in the title of this work, he makes the following statement:

Mr. Rameau indicates by the word fundamental bass a bass which is nothing more than the raw fundamental chords of the miscellaneous chords contained in the thoroughbass of a piece, exhibited without the slightest connection among themselves. I say without the slightest connection because in the exposition of the fundamental chords the manner of their progression is not taken into consideration; rather, each single chord of the thoroughbass is merely reduced to its fundamental chord.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> David A. Sheldon, "The Ninth Chord in German Theory," *Journal of Music Theory* 26 (1982), 61-100. See note 26. The later theoretical work referred to above is Marpurg's "Untersuchung der sorgischen Lehre von der Entstehung der dissonierenden Sätze," *Historische-kritische Beyträge* 5 (Berlin: G. A. Lange, 1754-60). It is in this work that Marpurg, though stating that the principle of supposition is confirmed by practice, admits that a seventh chord can, on occasion, be transformed into a ninth chord by the upward addition of a third. See Sheldon, *ibid.*, note 25.

<sup>122</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Versuch über die musikalische Temperatur, nebst einem Anhang über den Rameau- und Kirnbergerschen Grundbass* (Berlin: J. F. Korn, 1776), p. 232. Translation from Cecil

This statement represents a misinterpretation of Rameau's theories, for it was a paramount concern of Rameau's throughout his theoretical writings that procedures involving the proper progression and resolution of chords be addressed. This can be seen in various mechanisms he employed in order to demonstrate scientific and rational relationships between chordal entities.<sup>123</sup>

The major objections to the fundamental bass procedures that Marpurg voiced in the *Anhang* had mainly to do with the extension of the concept of an interpolated bass technique as espoused by Johann Philipp Kirnberger (1721-1783). As Wason observes, Kirnberger's system drew distinctions "between 'essential' dissonances, which are explained by harmonic processes, and 'non-essential' dissonances, which are viewed as the result of melodic displacement – a process well understood in figured bass theory."<sup>124</sup> Kirnberger was selective in his employment of fundamental-bass processes. Very few examples of its usage appear in his most influential treatise, *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes* (1771-79); indeed, the fundamental bass appears much more prominently in a subsequent treatise, *Die wahren Grundsätze zum Gebrauch der Harmonie* (1773), written by Kirnberger's student J. A. P. Schulz under his master's supervision.<sup>125</sup> Grant credits the application of Rameau's interpolated bass technique in this work to Schulz's greater

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Powell Grant, "The Real Relationship between Kirnberger's and Rameau's Concept of the Fundamental Bass," *Journal of Music Theory* 21 (1977), 324-39. See note 12 for the original German.

<sup>123</sup> Grant, "The Real Relationship," 333. "With concepts such as string division, the sonorous body (*corps sonore*), the triple and quintuple progressions, and the dual usage of dissonance [*double emploi*], to mention but a few, Rameau tirelessly seeks to prove intervallic norms for the fundamental bass progressions of musical practice. Hence Marpurg's false attribution of a random succession to Rameau's fundamental bass classically illustrates his gross misperception of the Frenchman's theoretical perspective, and shows how ill-fated was Rameau to have such a person as defender and explicator of his theories."

<sup>124</sup> Robert W. Wason, "Fundamental Bass Theory in Nineteenth-Century Vienna," Ph.D. diss. (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983).

<sup>125</sup> Serwer, "Johann Philipp Kirnberger," *NGD*, vol. 13, pp. 628-30.

affinity for Rameauian practices but goes on to point out that Kirnberger also calls for such an interpolated bass in *Die Kunst*.<sup>126</sup>

Linear perspectives on Rameau's concepts can also be seen in Kirnberger's approach to what we would call the  $\text{vii}^{\circ 6}$  chord, which he interprets as an incomplete dominant-seventh chord.<sup>127</sup> It is therefore seen by Kirnberger as a linear version of the dominant-seventh chord, emphasizing his commitment to good voice leading so much a part of thoroughbass practice.<sup>128</sup>

Further, his notion of ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth chords arising from melodic embellishment (the aforementioned "non-essential" or *zufällig* dissonances)<sup>129</sup> certainly has its roots in a practical, performance-oriented thoroughbass concept. Indeed, many modern scholars and theorists find a certain measure of elegance in Kirnberger's approach to dissonance that Rameau's view may be lacking. In his quest for systematic coherence, Rameau utilizes the chord of supposition to explain all dissonances in relation to a chord root. But Kirnberger's less rigid approach to dissonance seems more familiar to us today, a fact that points directly to the conclusion that the music of later historical periods has more than a little to do with figured-bass procedures generally considered to have been abandoned during this time:

Kirnberger's explanation of the suspension is much closer to the modern view than Rameau's; moreover, the concept of melodic displacement in which this explanation has its origin more clearly recognizes that certain musical phenomena are linear in origin rather than vertical. Kirnberger's introduction of melodic displacement at an

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<sup>126</sup> Grant, "The Real Relationship," 331.

<sup>127</sup> Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 40.

<sup>128</sup> MacKay, "Rameau and Kirnberger," 28-29. "Kirnberger's discussion of the  $\text{V}^{4/3}$  chord as a linear embellishing chord between I and  $\text{I}^6$  also illustrates his awareness of harmonic prolongation. Interestingly, Kirnberger also uses the  $\text{vii}^{\circ 6}$  chord in a similar context (like Rameau, he considers this chord to be a dominant seventh . . . with missing root). As such, the  $\text{vii}^{\circ 6}$  chord is a linear version of  $\text{V}^7$ , which, in Kirnberger's words, 'allows for a complete tonic chord to follow [in four-part writing].'"

<sup>129</sup> Howard Serwer, "Marpurg vs. Kirnberger: Theories of Fugal Composition," *Journal of Music Theory* 14 (1970), 209-36.

early stage of his treatise [*Die Kunst*] highlights his awareness that the horizontal and vertical planes can function independently of each other. This awareness exhibits a reconciliation of the figured bass school's linear concerns with Rameau's categories of chords and chord progressions.<sup>130</sup>

Kirnberger's views on the prominence of the bass in the compositional process were well known and widely disseminated during this period. In Johann Georg Sulzer's *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste* (1792), we find the following:

In music today, the most important part is the bass, which subordinates all the [upper] voices. When the composer has correctly selected the series of bass notes and properly set the upper voices, then the composition is pure.<sup>131</sup>

Indeed, in *Die Kunst des reinen Satzes*, Kirnberger portrays the art of composition “as beginning with a figured bass and its more or less elaborate realization.”<sup>132</sup>

The two main tenets that reappear throughout Kirnberger's writing's [are]... that counterpoint originates in figurate harmony (as in J.S.Bach's four-part chorale harmonizations) and...that melody originates in the realization of thoroughbass (which is not quite the same thing as Rameau's idea that ‘melody is born of harmony’).<sup>133</sup>

Kirnberger, a student of J. S. Bach's during the period 1739-41, was evangelical in his support of the compositional practices of his master, particularly Bach's approach to contrapuntal matters. In his treatise *Gedanken über die verschiedenen Lehrarten in der*

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<sup>130</sup> James S. MacKay, “Linear Issues in the Harmony Treatises of Rameau and Kirnberger,” *Theoria: Historical Aspects of Music Theory* 12 (2005), 9-30. See 25.

<sup>131</sup> *Allgemeine Theorie der schönen Künste*, ed. Johann Georg Sulzer (Leipzig, 1792; rpt. Hildesheim: Olms, 1970), Vol. 1, “Bass,” p. 298. “Es erhellet hieraus, dass in der heutigen Musik der Bass die wichtigsten Parthie sey, welcher alle Stimmen untergeordnet sind . . . Wenn der Tonsetzer die Folge der Basstöne gut gewählt, und die Töne der obern Stimmen regalmässig daraus hergleitet hat, so ist der Satz rein.” Sulzer's two-volume set is a compilation of contributions from various contemporary writers on a number of creative issues, including aesthetics and the creative process. The musical articles were prepared by Sulzer with the help of Kirnberger and Kirnberger's student Johann Adolph Peter Schulz. Schulz and Kirnberger's contributions were restricted, however, to technical matters. See *Aesthetics and the Art of Musical Composition in the German Enlightenment: Selected Writings of Johann Georg Sulzer and Heinrich Christoph Koch*, ed. Nancy Kovaleff Baker and Thomas Christensen (Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 14.

<sup>132</sup> David Schulenberg, *The Instrumental Music of Carl Philipp Emmnauel Bach* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984), p. 22.

<sup>133</sup> William S. Newman, “Kirnberger's Method for Tossing Off Sonatas,” *Musical Quarterly* 47 (1961), 517-525. In this statement, Newman accurately captures Kirnberger's free adaptation of many of Rameau's principles.

*Komposition, als Vorbereitung zur Fugenkenntniss* (Berlin, 1782), Kirnberger presents his defense of the art of strict counterpoint in the face of incursions of the *galant* style.

While Bach is the designated hero, Fux is cast as a villain whose rules for the preparation and resolution of dissonance Kirnberger found too strict to be reconciled with the more liberal approaches to voice leading found in the works of the high Baroque.<sup>134</sup>

Kirnberger is careful, however, to make clear at the outset of this pamphlet – as he had in *Die Kunst* – the importance of a complete knowledge of thoroughbass as a necessary component of any compositional training. All aspects of the discipline must come together if the student is to master the craft of musical composition. Kirnberger therefore advocates the renewed attention to thoroughbass studies that had been allowed to lie fallow for some time:

I have sought to reduce the method of the late J. S. Bach to basic principles and to present his instruction to the very best of my ability in my *Kunst des reinen Satzes*. In the first part of *Kunst des reinen Satzes* from 1771, I have set a condition on page 1 of the Introduction that to gain an understanding of this work one must at least know how to play figured bass correctly. One knows from history that many countries have always had organists who, particularly in church music, have played figured bass as it must be accompanied – following thorough rules. It was as rare then to find an organist who did not understand how to play figured bass correctly as it is today to find one who can. [It is true, however, that] most organists played through a figured bass in an entirely mechanical fashion, since they were content that they knew after looking at the signatures over the bass note which notes one had to play with it: like the 3 with the 5 and the 8 with the 6 / 4, the 8 with the 5 / 4, and so forth. Likewise [they knew] how all dissonances had to be prepared and resolved without knowing which was the proper root for each chord. Only the actual composers of the time were concerned about all of this. Indeed, it was not necessary to know the science of composition in its entirety in order to play the figured bass, but pure three- and four- voice composition remained indispensable and was always taught and inculcated itself through much practice and experience. Furthermore, unfigured bass, which can be played neither from the [full] score nor from an accompanying voice [part], cannot be understood without a general understanding of composition, because after a note or dissonant chord nearly all possible progressions of

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<sup>134</sup> Richard B. Nelson and Donald R. Boomgaarden, “Kirnberger’s ‘Thoughts on the Different Methods of Teaching Composition as Preparation for Understanding Fugue,’” *Journal of Music Theory* 30 (1986), 71-94. See 72.

chords must be immediately apparent to the eye, yet that chord which the composer has first chosen must be resolved by an attentive and prompt ear . . . .

In order to revive the playing of strict thoroughbass, I have published a short work on figured bass [through the firm] of Herr Kommerzienrat Hummel, with which I believe even a modest mind could educate itself. Even in this thoroughbass manual I have taught very little of colorful basses, such as those with eighth notes in *alla breve* meter, sixteenth, as well as even thirty-second notes in other kinds of meter, and of fugal accompaniment, and have promised to teach these things in the future [. . .] I am hopeful that I can publish [. . .] as soon as possible, instructions on national dances, and then either the continuation of the figured bass study, or a handbook on fugue.<sup>135</sup>

The “short work on figured bass” to which Kirnberger refers is the *Grundsätze des Generalbasses*, published the previous year (1781). It seems from his statement above that he considered the subject of thoroughbass to be one that would require greater attention than he had previously given it; his clear intention to return to the subject speaks to the level of importance ascribed to this practice by Kirnberger, particularly as it pertained to the art of composition. The methods and approaches are all of a piece, compiled and presented with the intention of teaching “a basic set of general rules that can be applied to the creation of virtually all genres and styles.”<sup>136</sup>

## V. The Teaching of Keyboard Accompaniment

### a) C. P. E. Bach and Kirnberger

A stark contrast can be drawn between Kirnberger’s theoretical works and the widely circulated *Versuch* of C. P. E. Bach. Despite both men’s close ties to the elder Bach and his teachings, the *Versuch* differs in many ways from Kirnberger’s approach. Part II, as stated above, is a thoroughbass treatise that concerns itself with the art of

<sup>135</sup> Nelson / Boomgaarden, “Kirnberger’s ‘Thoughts,’” 75-77.

<sup>136</sup> David Ferris, “C. P. E. Bach and the Art of Strange Modulation,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 22 (2000), 60-88. Ferris is referring specifically to the *Kunst* in this statement. But, clearly, the subjects of thoroughbass, fugue, harmony, dissonance treatment, the fundamental bass, etc., all played a role in Kirnberger’s compositional thinking.

keyboard accompaniment through figured-bass principles. Bach is clear in his attitude towards the necessity of these instructions in the *Introduction* to Part II:

The pianoforte and clavichord provide the best accompaniments in performances that require the most elegant taste. Some singers, however, prefer the support of the clavichord or harpsichord to the pianoforte.

Thus, no piece can be well performed without some form of keyboard accompaniment. Even in heavily scored works, such as operas performed out of doors, where no one would think that the harpsichord could be heard, its absence can certainly be felt. And from a position above the performers all of its tones are clearly perceptible. I base these observations on experiences which may be duplicated by anyone.<sup>137</sup>

The improvisatory nature of the accompanist's craft is emphasized throughout, particularly in the last chapter of Part II, *Von der freyen Fantasie*. It is here that Bach's approach to modulation comes to the fore. In comparison to Kirnberger's views on this subject, Bach adopts a very free and unsystematic technique of modulation.

In Kirnberger's view, the tonal variety that modulation brings to a work is a desirable goal, so long as certain conditions are met:

When one has played for a while in the original key, the ear is so accustomed to this key that it feels the entire diatonic scale to some extent on each chord. If the harmony moves to a different key, the ear attunes itself to the scale of this new key in the same way as it did with the preceding one. It is easy to imagine and even easier to hear how difficult and unpleasant it is for the ear to attune itself suddenly to a scale that differs greatly from the one it has felt shortly before [. . .] Such rapid changes are contrary to our sensibilities. Generally all changes must happen gradually so as not to be offensive, and the present sentiment must never contrast greatly with the preceding one if we are not to be affected unpleasantly [. . .]

Thus, in modulation it is necessary above all to consider the relationship of keys. It is self-evident that those keys whose scales have most notes in common are most closely related.<sup>138</sup>

Here Kirnberger used the German word *Modulation* to communicate his meaning. In the following quote, concerning the relative length of tonal areas within the framework of an overall composition, he reemphasizes his point but also clarifies his phraseology:

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<sup>137</sup> Bach / Mitchell, *Essay*, pp. 172-73.

<sup>138</sup> Beach & Thym / Kirnberger, *The Art*, p. 123.

It still remains to be investigated how in each case the modulation [*Ausweichung*] is to be organized and accomplished. The very term modulation [*Ausweichung*], which has been given to the transition from one key to another, already implies that this must happen gradually. If one wanted to go directly from one key to another without any preparation, the harmonic progression would be incoherent and very harsh. Therefore one must already sense at the end of a period the key in which the following period will continue, and the keys through which the harmony is led in an entire composition must be related or connected in this way.<sup>139</sup>

The use of the new term *Ausweichung*, which in the German language carries the connotation of gradually giving way, seems to reinforce Kirnberger's point: the transition from one key to another is accomplished "at the end of a period," through a cadence on the dominant of the new tonic:

[The above described process] is best accomplished when each period [*Periode*] closes in the key of the following period. In this way the periods are closely connected. If one has begun in C major, for example, and wants to go from there to G major, one need only conclude the phrase or period [*Abschnitt*] leading from C major with a cadence in G major and continue this key in the following period.<sup>140</sup>

*Ausweichungen* are structural events for Kirnberger, through which the large-scale organization of the work is defined,<sup>141</sup> so that modulation, in this sense, becomes a formal device, capable of articulating the musical proportions and contours in an easily intelligible way. In the next chapter of his treatise, *Von der Modulation in entfernte Tonarten, und von plötzlichen Ausweichungen*, Kirnberger provides a chart outlining the method by which modulations to remote keys may best be accomplished (see Example 1-3 below).<sup>142</sup>

Note that Kirnberger divides these modulations [*Ausweichungen*] into distinct classes: *Direct Modulations (unmittelbare Ausweichungen)*, *First Level of Distant*

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid., p. 127.

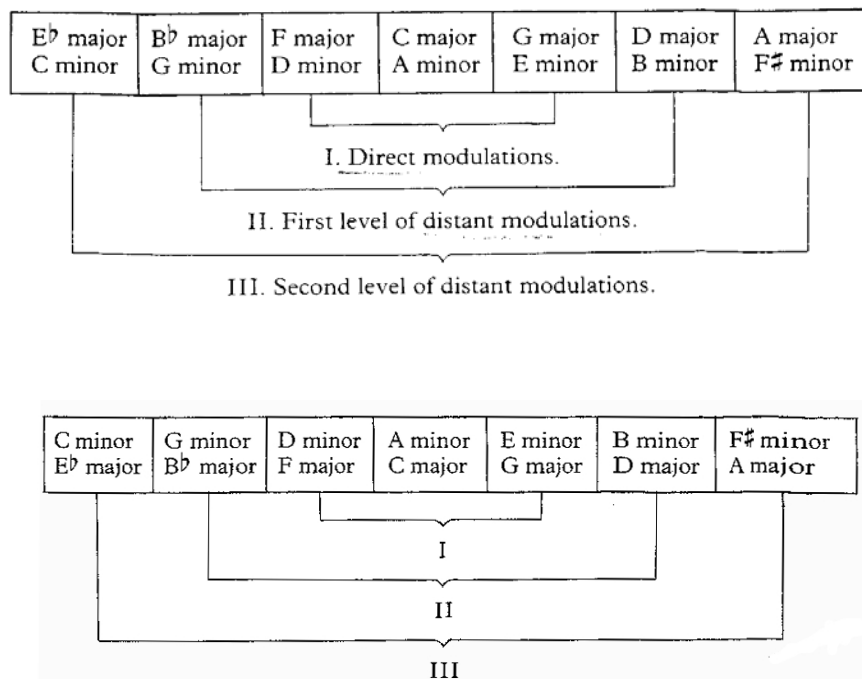
<sup>140</sup> Ibid.

<sup>141</sup> Ferris, "C. P. E. Bach," 65-66.

<sup>142</sup> Kirnberger, *Die Kunst*, p. 122. A corresponding chart for minor keys follows on p. 123; see Example 1-3.



*Modulations (erster Grad entfernter Ausweichungen)*, and *Second Level of Distant Modulations (zweyter Grad entfernter Ausweichungen)*. This appears to be the limit for Kirnberger, however, as he makes clear in this statement:



Example 1-3: Kirnberger's modulation charts, major and minor, Beach and Thym, p. 139-40

[O]ne should be content with [these modulations], since an even greater removal from the main key would lead too far. Those pieces which modulate in a circle through all keys are only a curiosity and are of no use otherwise.<sup>143</sup>

C. P. E. Bach's terminology seems less explicit than Kirnberger's, since he uses *Ausweichung* to describe not only large-scale shifts in key center but also more immediate chromaticism not involving the establishment of a new key center. For Bach, then, modulation proves to be a more fluid concept in the service of expressiveness, pointing towards the precepts of the thoroughbass tradition it is clearly meant to explicate.<sup>144</sup>

<sup>143</sup> Beach & Thym / Kirnberger, *The Art*, p. 139.

<sup>144</sup> Ferris, "C. P. E. Bach," 67.

## b) *Partimento* Methods and Friedrich Erhard Niedt

Close ties to previous thoroughbass practices can be seen in Bach's initial instructions in the chapter on improvisation:

Following are the briefest and most natural means of which a keyboardist, particularly one of limited ability, may avail himself in extemporizing: with due caution he fashions his bass out of the ascending and descending scale of the prescribed key, with a variety of figured bass signatures[.]<sup>145</sup>



Example 1-4: Bach / Mitchell, *Essay*, p. 432

Mitchell points out that these “traditional settings” are reminiscent of the *règle de l’octave* as utilized by Rameau and others in their thoroughbass delineations. Yet Bach’s first example, like many of the subsequent examples in this chapter of the *Versuch*, is equally reminiscent of the *partimento* exercises of the early eighteenth century.

<sup>145</sup> Bach / Mitchell, *Essay*, p. 431.

Predominantly indigenous to the Italianate areas, the term *partimento* generally refers to exercises in thoroughbass performance. However, while the pedagogical value of *partimento* exercises were clear from the inception of the practice in the mid-seventeenth century, the musical value of some of the solo keyboard works that resulted from the practice, particularly the difficult fugal *partimenti*, is noteworthy.

Indeed, typical collections of basso continuo repertory from the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries offer a complex array of figured-bass pieces, some clearly intended as exercises in patterns for the developing *Generalbassist* and some displaying more advanced technical and compositional elements. Consider Examples 1-5a and b below. These are taken from a manuscript collection of basso continuo pieces by the Italian composer and keyboardist Bernardo Pasquini (1637-1710).<sup>146</sup> The second volume of the manuscript, dated 4 December 1708,<sup>147</sup> carries the inscription *102 Versetti in Basso continuo per rispondere al coro Di Ber[nar]do Rico[rdat]i Pasq[ui]ni*.<sup>148</sup> Example 1-5a (*Versetti* 1-4) offers standard *Generalbass* formulations, while Example 1-5b (*Versetti* 13-16)<sup>149</sup> presents a mixture of diatonic and chromatic bass patterns as well as a more complex fugal bass line with figured-bass explication.

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<sup>146</sup> This three-volume manuscript is available in facsimile as *London, British Library, MS Add. 31501 (Bernardo Pasquini, Partial Autograph)*, ed. A. Silbiger (New York: Garland, 1988). For further information on the Italian *partimento* practice see Florian Gampp, "Partimento – Musik für Generalbass Solo Teil 2: Römische Quellen zur Partimento-Praxis," *Concerto: Das Magazin für Alte Musik* 194 (2004), 23-27.

<sup>147</sup> Silbiger, *ibid.*, *Introduction*, p. vi. Silbiger notes that the date appears to have been changed and may in fact have originally read 1704.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.* Silbiger states that the flyleaf of Volume I of the manuscript carries the inscription "Ad usum Bernardi Felici Ricordati di Buggiano in Etruria," a reference to Pasquini's nephew who, it is believed, is the copyist for many of the pieces in the manuscript.

<sup>149</sup> The term *Versetto* or *Verso* refers to a brief keyboard interlude, generally in the fugal style. These pieces are therefore probably intended as models for student improvisations for such occasions. See Pasquini / Silbiger, *ibid.*, p. vii and *Dizionario Enciclopedico Universale della Musica e dei Musicisti*, ed. Alberto Basso, Vol. 4, p. 695.



Part I of Niedt's *Handleitung* presents the general rules of thoroughbass accompaniment, both unfigured (Chapter VII) and figured (Chapters VIII and IX).<sup>151</sup> Chapter X (*On Higher Basses and Fugues in the Thorough-bass*) treats the proper realization of fugal compositions in thoroughbass notation. He makes clear the usefulness of thoroughbass concepts in composing complex polyphonic works;

When Fugues are written in thorough-bass, it should be noted that a fugue consists of no fewer than two voices, and yet can be set or composed for three, four, ten, or up to twenty voices. In a Fugue sometimes the left hand and sometimes the right hand begins alone. The first two voices are usually written above one another, so that one can easily see how it should be played.<sup>152</sup> (See Example 1-6 below)

Niedt is quite clear concerning the inherent relationship of contrapuntal writing and thoroughbass in Part III of the *Handleitung*; indeed, in the connection between the two, counterpoint is portrayed as the more elementary system:

In the musical ABCs, counterpoint is like spelling, as I learn to put letters together and, from these, form syllables.

On the *Clavier*, a true counterpoint is produced when the thoroughbass is played. If the Reader peruses my First Part on the thoroughbass, he will recognize this Wondrous Creature quite easily without using large Spanish spectacles.<sup>153</sup>

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linguistic derivation, this phenomenon very probably also existed as a soloistic *Generalbass* style north of the Alps, particularly in Germany. As in Italy, early references to [partimento] can be found around the turn of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, decades before the appearance of Mattheson's *Grosser Generalbass-Schule*. Thus, in the first chapter of his *Musicalischen Handleitung* (1700), Friedrich Erhard Niedt, as a basic demonstration of *Generalbass* compositional technique, presents a figured-bass line as an exemplar for controlled improvisations, although primarily only as an illustration of basic modulation formulae for organists [who perform improvised] preludes." [Ungeachtet der Tatsache, dass der Begriff "Partimento" vorwiegend im italienischen Sprachraum anzutreffen ist, existiert das Phänomen eines solistischen Generalbassspiels sehr wohl auch nördlich der Alpen, insbesondere in Deutschland. Ähnlich wie in Italien sind auch dort frühe Hinweise um die Wende zum 18. auszumachen, noch Jahrzehnte vor dem Erscheinen von Matthesons *Grosser Generalbass-Schule*. So präsentiert Friedrich Erhard Niedt im ersten Teil seiner *Musicalischen Handleitung* (1700) nach einer grundlegenden Darstellung der Generalbass-Satztechnik die bezifferte Basslinie als Vorlage zur gebundenen Improvisation, wenngleich zunächst nur zur Veranschaulichung von Modulationsformeln für den präludierenden Organisten]. Grampp points out that these improvisational and compositional methods are "controlled" or "restricted" [*gebundenen*] in relation not only to the proper bass progressions, but to the general structural characteristics of the piece performed, i.e., dance works such as *sarabandes*, *minuets*, etc., in contrast to the improvised preludes. See *ibid.*, note 3, p. 36.

<sup>151</sup> Friederich Erhardt Niedt / Pamela L. Poulin and Irmgard C. Taylor, translators, *The Musical Guide: Parts 1 (1700/10), 2 (1721), and 3 (1717)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 37-47.

<sup>152</sup> Niedt / Poulin and Taylor, *Guide*, pp. 48-49.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 237.

Example 1-6: Niedt / Poulin and Taylor, pp. 48-49

Similar examples of the setting of fugal compositions in throughbass notation can be found in other early eighteenth-century treatises, such as the *Probestücke* of Johann Mattheson's *Grosse General-Bass Schule* (1731) and Johann David Heinichen's *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (1728). Heinichen's example is particularly impressive – a double fugue executed within a compact space. This stands as somewhat of a focal point of the treatise; Grampp points out that this example is placed approximately midway through this voluminous work, after the general explication of thoroughbass rules and directly before the chapter entitled *Vom Manierlichen General-*

*Bass*. This, in his opinion, sets this style of playing aside as exemplary of compositional / technical thoroughbass practice of the highest order.<sup>154</sup>

The importance of such a style to the ensemble accompanist of Heinichen's time is clear; a contemporary musician can use Heinichen's example as a model for a variety of applications. As George J. Buelow states:

Numerous Baroque works (including fugal sections in overtures and cantatas) require such an accompaniment; and the length of [this] example helps us to penetrate the means of continuing a realization, a problem left unsolved by the brief examples found in most treatises.<sup>155</sup>

Kirnberger presents a similar example in the Appendix to Volume 1 of *Die Kunst*, in which he explicates his Fugue in E minor in thoroughbass notation. In his prefatory remarks, he states the following;

It has been mentioned with regard to regular and irregular passing notes that it is sometimes very difficult to find principal notes and to detect the true harmony as conceived by the composer. So that beginners can practice the correct judgment in a few rather complex situations, the following keyboard piece has been inserted here, and, below the actual parts, three additional staves with bass clef have been added to clarify the harmony. (See Example 1-6a below)

The lowest of these three staves is really what the French composers call the fundamental bass. It contains the true fundamental chords, that is, the triads and seventh chords on which the harmony is based throughout.

The next staff shows the nonessential dissonances, or suspensions, where they occur.

But the top staff [of the three added] presents the thorough bass and shows which inversion of the triad or seventh chord the composer has used at each harmony. Suspensions are also indicated there.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> Grampp, "Partimenti: Teil 4," 33. "It is probably not a coincidence that Heinichen's fugue sits at the center of this monumental, nearly thousand-page volume, following the explanation of basic principles of *Generalbass* and preceding the chapter entitled *On the Stylistic Generalbass*, thusly marking it (together with the preceding remarks on multi-voiced [polyphonic] playing) as a paradigmatic example of the level of compositional knowledge, in addition to the level of technical expertise, [expected of] an experienced *Generalbass* performer." [Wohl nicht zufällig steht die Fuge Heinichens in der Mitte seines monumentalen, fast tausendseitigen Bandes, nach der Erläuterung der Grundlagen des Generalbasses und vor dem Kapitel *Vom Manierlichen General-Bass*, bezeichnet sie doch (zusammen mit den vorangegangenen Ausführungen zum vollstimmigen Spiel) auf exemplarische Weise den satztechnischen Kenntnisstand, aber auch das spieltechnische Niveau eines versierten Generalbassspielers].

<sup>155</sup> George J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment According to Johann David Heinichen* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), p. 211.

<sup>156</sup> Beach & Thym / Kirnberger, *The Art*, p. 266.

Example 1-6a: Kirnberger, Fugue in E minor, Beach and Thym, *The Art*, pp. 270-71

The differences between Kirnberger and Rameau discussed above (see pp. 55-56) are alluded to here by Kirnberger as his remarks continue:

Many have been persuaded by French writers that we owe this simple theory of harmony to Rameau, whom the French would like to praise as the first profound teacher of harmony. However, nothing is more certain than the fact that this very theory of fundamental chords and the variety resulting from their inversions were known better and more thoroughly by the old German composers long before Rameau wrote. He has not yet grasped the theory of simplicity of harmony in its true purity, since sometimes he actually considers passing tones as fundamental tones.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>157</sup> Ibid., p. 267.



## VI. Transmission of the Pedagogical Legacy of the Bach Family

### a) J. S. Bach's *Precepts and Principles*

Perhaps the most important document attesting to the didactic methods of J. S. Bach to survive is the handwritten manuscript that bears the title “The Precepts and Principles for Playing the Thorough-bass or Accompanying in Four Parts by the Royal Court Composer and Capellmeister as well as director of Music and Cantor of the *Thomas Schule*, Mr. Johann Sebastian Bach, at Leipzig for his Students in Music, 1738.”<sup>158</sup> This manuscript apparently contains material, taken down by a student for later reference, from Bach's lectures at the *Thomas Schule*.<sup>159</sup> Section II of the work, *Fundamental Instruction in Thorough-Bass (Gründlicher Unterricht des General-Basses)*, contains ten chapters, the first nine of which are paraphrases of Chapters I-IX of Part I of Niedt's *Handleitung*.

As we know from the description of J. S. Bach's teaching style from his son C. P. E. Bach quoted above (see pp. 21-22), the elder Bach began his compositional instruction with the realization of a thoroughbass in four parts and the introduction of chorale writing. Thus the familiarity with Niedt's practices as outlined in the *Handleitung*

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<sup>158</sup> *Des Königslichen Hoff-Compositeurs und Capellmeisters ingleichen Directoris Musices wie auch Cantoris der Thomas-Schule Herrn Johann Sebastian Bach zu Leipzig Vorschriften und Gründsätze zum vierstimmigen Spielen des General-Bass oder Accompagnement für seine Scholaren in der Musik, 1738*; Brussels, Bibliotheque du Conservatoire Royal de Musique, MS AA 27.224. Translation from Niedt / Poulin and Taylor, p. xii. The manuscript can be seen in a modern edition that provides a translation and a facsimile of the original. See Pamela L. Poulin, *J. S. Bach's Precepts and Principles for Playing the Thorough-Bass or Accompanying in Four Parts, Leipzig, 1738* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). In this edition, Poulin gives the MS number as mr. FRW 27.224.

<sup>159</sup> Niedt / Poulin and Taylor, *Guide*, p. xii. This student was for many years assumed to be the German organist and composer Peter Kellner (1705-1772), as reported by Philipp Spitta. This has recently been shown to be inaccurate, however; it is not even clear that Kellner was a student of Bach's, although they did know each other personally. See Russell Stinson, “Peter Kellner,” *NGD*, Vol 13, p. 463. Recent analysis of corrections to the manuscript and the title page by Hans-Joachim Schulze show the handwriting to belong to Carl August Thieme (1721-1795), a student at the *Thomas Schule* from 1735 to 1745 and the school's assistant rector from 1767 to 1795. See Niedt / Poulin and Taylor, *ibid.*, p. xiii.

seems quite natural. In fact, Poulin and Taylor suggest the possibility that Part I of the *Handleitung* is

a record of the Bach family's teaching techniques transmitted from Johann Nicolaus Bach (1669-1753 – with whom Niedt studied from 1695) to Niedt, later attracting the attention of Johann Sebastian as a clear statement of a methodology he also followed.<sup>160</sup>

**b) Johann Michael Bach's *Kurze und systematische Anleitung zum General-Bass***

A further confirmation of this lineage can be seen later in the eighteenth century as well. Johann Michael Bach (1745-1820), whose later career included appointments as organist and *Kantor* at the small central-German village of Tann, published his *Kurze und systematische Anleitung zum General-Bass* in 1780.<sup>161</sup> Though thought to be descended from a Hessian line of Bachs that can trace its origins back to Caspar Bach (*d. Struth*, 1640), it is presumed that there was some connection to the more prominent Wechmar line of the family as well.<sup>162</sup> Whatever the case, Johann Michael Bach was clearly familiar with the theoretical works of C. P. E. Bach, Marpurg, and others. His extremely popular and widely disseminated treatise is an excellent example of the way in which many of the theoretical concepts afoot at the turn of the nineteenth century were transmitted, particularly those concerning chordal construction in the context of the still-vibrant *Generalbass* practice.

J. M. Bach's *Anleitung* follows the pattern of many treatises from the earlier part of the eighteenth century. For example, his chart for figured bass notation (*Signaturen*) according to chord classification is reminiscent of similar schematics found in Marpurg's

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<sup>160</sup> Niedt / Poulin and Taylor, *Guide*, p. xiii.

<sup>161</sup> Johann Michael Bach, *Kurze und systematische Anleitung* (Cassel: Waysenhaus-Buchdruckerey, 1780).

<sup>162</sup> Christoph Wolff, et al., *The New Grove Bach Family* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983), p. 354. Karl Geiringer's report that Johann Michael was the son of Johann Elias Bach (1705-1755) of Schweinfurt is apparently incorrect.

*Handbuch* and provides insight into his basic approach to common *Generalbass*

formulations. Compare the two following examples (see Examples 1-7a and b below):

§. 4.

Wenn der Dreyklang, durch die Verdoppelung des Grundtons mit dem Einklange oder der Octave, zu einem Vierklang gemacht wird: So kann solcher nebst den vermittelst der Verkehrung von ihm abstammenden Sätzen, auf sechserley Art gegen den Baß versetzt werden, 1. E. der Vierklang von E dur.

8 c	3 e	5 g	6 c	8 e	3 g	4 c	6 e	8 g
5 g	8 c	3 e	3 g	6 c	8 e	8 g	4 c	6 e
3 e	5 g	8 c	8 e	3 g	6 c	6 e	8 g	4 c
E	E	E	E	E	E	G	G	G

Vierklänge.      Sextenaccorde.      Sertquartenaccorde.

Example 1-7a: Marpurg, *Handbuch*, p. 29.

Dreyklänge.										Sexten - Accorde.										Sext - Quarten - Accorde.									
5	8	8	3	8	8	8	5	0		3	3	3	8	8	8	3	3	3	3		8	-	8	-	8	4	6	0	
3	3	3	5	5	5	5			8	6	3				8	3	3	8	8	3									
8	5	3	5	3	8	8	5	3	6	-	-	6	6	6	6	-	-	6	6	-	6	5	6	5	6	5	6	-	
												8	6	8							4	3	4	6	4	4	4	-	

Quint - Quarten - Accorde.										Septimen - Accorde.										Sept - Quarten - Accorde.									
8	-	-	5	5		5	3	3	3	-	5	3								(b, h, x)	3								
5	-	8	-	8	8	3	8	3	8	-	3	8	5	3	3	-	0		3	werden, wenn	8	wenn sie eine							
4	5	5	4	4	4	7	-	-	7	6	7	6	7	7	7	7	7	7	6	sie zufällig sind,	6	Septime -							
																			5	angezeigt.	5	vorbereitet.							

Terze

Example 1-7b: J.M. Bach, *Kurze . . . Anleitung*, p. 28.

Many of his examples in the later chapters could also be said to resemble the *règle* exercises discussed above. This was of course common practice throughout the century in the discussion of the extemporaneous creation of free fantasies.<sup>163</sup> J. M. Bach utilizes the *règle* as a didactic tool for localized modulations, very much in the spirit of Campion's *Traité* (see pp. 22-24). Consider the Examples 1-8a and b below in relation to Campion (1-8c): the first from C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch*, pertaining to the free fantasy, and the second from J. M. Bach's *Anleitung*, from the chapter on the sixth chord (*Sexten-Accord*).

<sup>163</sup> Christensen, "The *Règle*," 109. "In virtually every discussion of the Free Fantasy in eighteenth-century keyboard texts, one finds prescribed some variant of the *règle*."

Figure 472

Example 1-8a: Bach / Mitchell, *Essay*, p. 432

1. Exempel über die Sexten-Accorde.

2. Exempel.

1. Anmerkung. Wenn im 2ten Satz zum 6ten Accord über f die Octave verdoppelt wird, dann muß zu der folgenden Note das getheilte Accompaniment gewechselt werden.

\*) Wer die Natur der 2 noch nicht kennt, der sehe einfallen ins Schema von der Begleitung nach, was dazu getroffen wird.

2. 211

Example 1-8b: J. M. Bach, *Kurze . . . Anleitung*, p. 34

Con majeur.

Con mineur.

Example 1-8c: François Campion, *Addition au traité d'accompagnement et de composition par la règle de l'octave* (Paris, 1730), p. 44.

J. M. Bach derives his consonances from the basic triad and recognizes inversions; in so doing, he adapts Marpurg's terminology of the pseudo-consonance,<sup>164</sup> meaning for Bach a somewhat free treatment of the fourth in the six-four chord, as in what Marpurg would have considered a *galant* style:

From the inversion of the triad \* (\* here he refers the readers to examples of the sixth chord in Chapter 8, sections 1, 2, and 3) the sixth chord is formed, if one puts the third as the fundamental note [*Grund-Ton*]. If the fifth is shifted into the bass, then the six-four chord is formed, in which the fourth is a *Pseudo consonance*; while, through repetition and doubling, [the fourth] can also be used as a dissonance, without or with preparation, if the appropriate resolutions are applied.<sup>165</sup>

If one adds to the triad on that dominant\* (\*the fifth of the key-note), in either the principal key or a neighboring key, an additional third above, the seventh chord is formed.

From the inversion of this chord, if one places the third in the bass, the 6 / 5 chord is formed.

If one places the fifth in the bass, the 4 / 3 chord is formed

If the seventh itself is placed in the bass, it becomes the *Secund-Accord* [the 4 / 2 chord]<sup>166</sup>

As we have seen, Marpurg also relates all dissonance to the seventh chord but does not specify the dominant-seventh chord in his general comments on dissonance; instead, he draws the distinction between simple and compound dissonances:

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<sup>164</sup> Marpurg considered the 6 / 4 chord to be essentially dissonant, even though it is derived from the inversion of the consonant triad. See Marpurg / Sheldon, *Handbook*, p. 5. He uses different terminology concerning the perfect fourth in his various writings, sometimes referring to it as a *pseudo dissonance*, as in the *Handbuch* ("Der Pseudodissonanz der Quarte," p. 187), and later as a pseudo consonance or imperfect dissonance in *Sorgens Anleitung* (pp. 104, 106). See Marpurg / Sheldon, *Handbook*, p. 3.

<sup>165</sup> Johann Michael Bach, *Kurze . . . Anleitung*, p. 12. "Aus des Umkehrung des Dreiklangs\* (\*Der Anfänger studiere hier zuvörderst den 1. 2. und 3<sup>ten</sup> Abschnitt, im 8. Capitel, Exempel zur Uebung ) entsteht der Sexten-Accord, wenn man die Terz zum Grund-Ton legt. Wenn die Quint in den Bass versetzt wird, so entsteht der Sextenquarten-Accord, in welchem die Quarte ein Pseudo consonanz ist; indem sie verdoppelt und durchgehend gebraucht werden kan, auch als Dissonanz, ohne und mit Vorbereitung, doch darauf erfolgreicher Auflösung angewendet werden kan."

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., p. 13. "§1. Wenn man dem Dreyklang auf der Dominante\* (\**Quinte von: Haupt-Ton*), einer Haupt- oder Neben-Ton-Art, von oben noch ein Terz hinzufügt, entsteht der Septimen-Accord. §2. Aus der Umkehrung dieses Accordes, wenn man der Terz des Basses zum Grunde legt, entsteht der 6 / 5ten Accord. Legt man die Quinte des Basses zum Grunde, so entsteht der 4/ 3ten Accord. Die Septime selbst in den Bass gelegt, wird zum Secunden-Accord."

### On the Dissonant Harmonies

These are divided into simple and compound. All four-voiced seventh chords and their inversions constitute the simple, all ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth chords and their inversions constitute the compound dissonances.<sup>167</sup>

A further separation from Marpurg's formulations can be seen in J. M. Bach's derivation of the ninth chord. As discussed above, Marpurg generates the ninth chord by supposition (and later as the result of overlapping seventh chords), and obtains other compound (*zusammengesetzte*) chords by the extension of these processes (see above, pp. 52-55, particularly note 117). J. M. Bach's generation of the ninth chord is quite different; it too derives from the seventh chord but not according to Rameauian principles:

The Ninth [chord] is also derived from the seventh chord on the dominant, if one adds to this still another third above. One then omits one of the other figures in use, in order to make it less full-voiced.<sup>168</sup>



Example 1-9: Bach, *Kurze und systematische Anleitung*, p.15

Later in the *Anleitung* Bach is more specific in his description of the ninth chord, pointing out which tones are included and also the proper treatment of the ninth as a dissonance:

<sup>167</sup> Marpurg, *Handbuch*, p. 30. "Von den dissonirenden Sätzen – Es theilen sich solche in einfache und zusammengesetzte. Alle vierstimmige Septimenaccorde mit ihren Verkehrungen machen die einfachen, alle Nonen, Undecimen, und Terzdecimenaccorde mit ihren Verkehrungen machen die zusammengesetzte Dissonanzen aus."

<sup>168</sup> J. M. Bach, *Kurze . . . Anleitung*, p. 15. "Die None wird auch von dem 7<sup>men</sup> Accord auf der Dominante hergeleitet, wenn man demselben noch eine Terz von oben zufügt. Man lässt alsdann bey dem Gebrauch ein oder die andere Ziffer weg, um ihn weniger vollstimmig zu machen."

### On Ninth Chords

This chord consists of the ninth, fifth, and third.  
The ninth [of the chord] must always be prepared, and  
resolve downwards by step.<sup>169</sup>

Though Marpurg eventually acknowledged a similar approach to the ninth chord (see note 121 above), this was merely an ancillary feature to his larger theoretical design. By contrast, J. M. Bach's classification of the ninth chord as a specific entity connects closely with the foundations of his system. Notably, his recognition of the ninth chord as an invertible component in the *Anleitung* is crucial to his goal of simplifying and systematizing the plethora of symbols available to the *Generalbassspieler*. He explains the process thusly:

From the inversion of [Example 1-10a], a seventh  
harmony arises [Example 1-10b].<sup>170</sup>

Erster Abschnitt.

Der neun Accord:

Aus dessen Umkehrung ein 7<sup>ten</sup> Satz entspringt:

Die Umkehrung, wenn die Note auf den Kopf gestellt wird, taugt nicht.

Example 1-10a and b: Bach, *Kurze und systematische Anleitung*, p. 15

Bach goes on to warn that the inversion which places the ninth in the bass is not desirable.

If the inversion is such that the note [the ninth] is on  
its head, it is not suitable.<sup>171</sup>

In referring to the ninth chord with the ninth in the bass as an inversion “on its head,”

Bach again borrows from Marpurg's terminology.<sup>172</sup> The most noteworthy feature here is

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., p. 44. “Vom Nonen – Accord. - §1. Dieser Accord besteht aus der None, Quinte und Terz. §2. Die None wird allezeit vorbereitet, und muss bei der Auflösung eine Stufe heruntertreten.”

<sup>170</sup> Ibid., p. 15. “Aus dessen Umkehrung ein 7<sup>ten</sup> Satz entspringt.”

<sup>171</sup> Ibid. “Die Umkehrung, wenn die Note auf den Kopf gestellt wird, taugt nicht.” See Example 1-10b above.

that the root is not supposed but regarded as an integral part of the ninth chord. Though the initial discussion of the ninth chord immediately follows that of the diminished-seventh chord, Bach reverts to the full dominant-seventh to explain the ninth. As seen in Examples 1-10a and b above, the root of this dominant-seventh chord participates in the inversion; it is neither excluded nor supposed. Still, Bach states that the ninth must always resolve downwards, in the manner of a seventh of a dominant-seventh chord, again suggesting his affinity with Marpurg's principles.

J. M. Bach continues to stack thirds to produce the eleventh chord, though he does not refer to this chord by name anywhere in the *Anleitung*. He does, however, derive the origin of this verticality from the seventh chord, this time the seventh chord built on the tonic degree (*Tonica*). Again, though deriving this vertical entity differently than Marpurg,<sup>173</sup> Bach recognizes that these simultaneities represent common thoroughbass formulas; in the case of the eleventh chord, as for Marpurg, these inversions produce the 9 / 4, the 5 / 4, and the 5 / 2 chords:

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<sup>172</sup> Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Herrn Georg Andreas Sorgens Anleitung zur Generalbass und zur Composition, mit Anmerkungen* (Berlin: Lange, 1760), Chapter 8, *Vom Sextquartenaccord*, §. 27, p. 138. "The reason why the six-four chord does not produce the same effect as that which the basic triad is capable of can be found by considering the origin of this type [of chord]. From how many inversions of the triad is it formed? From two. If, by the first inversion, the [quality of] the triad is already lost, so must the second inversion, which, by means of placing [the chord] on its head, so that the fundamental tone is inverted, indisputably produce the most imperfect harmony of its kind." [Die Ursachen, warum der Sextquartaccord nicht diejenige Wirkung thut, deren der vollkommene Dreyklang fähig ist, ist meines Erachtens in der Art seines Ursprungs zu suchen. Aus der wievielsten Versetzung des Dreyklangs entsteht derselbe? Aus der zweyten. Wenn nun der Dreyklang schon durch die erste Versetzung verliert: so muss aus der zweyten Versetzung, vermittelst welcher er gänzlich auf den Kopf gestellet, und der Fundament verkehrt wird, unstreitig der unvollkommenste Satz in seiner Art entstehen]. Marpurg is responding here to Sorge's contention that the fourth is never a dissonance, since its origin is derived from the perfect triad; therefore, no inversion of a consonance can possibly be dissonant. See Bernard, "Marpurg-Sorge," 174.

<sup>173</sup> J. M. Bach's derivations of the ninth and eleventh chords are not accompanied by any theoretical explanations as in Marpurg's treatise; aside from their association with dominant and tonic chords respectively, they are approached merely as vertical entities. However, particularly in the derivation of the eleventh chord and the description of the formations that result from its inversions, Bach's presentation seems to owe much to Marpurg, particularly to the concept of overlapping or *zusammengeschobne* chords.



The seventh chord on the tonic (if an additional pair of thirds are placed above), can in addition to this fundamental chord also stand for the 9 / 4 chord. (Example 1-11a)

From the inversion this is first produced (Example 1-11b)

The 5 / 4 chord can also be derived in the same way. (Example 1-11c)<sup>174</sup>

§. 4. Der Septimen-Accord auf der Tonica (wenn demselben noch ein paar Terzen von oben zugefügt werden), kan ferner vor den Stamm-Accord des  $\frac{9}{4}$  Accordes stehen.

Example 1-11a, b, and c: Bach, *Kurze und systematische Anleitung*, p. 44

The acceptance of the ninth chord as a vertical entity that occurs on certain scale degrees as an anticipation (*Aufhaltung*) or delayed (*aufgehalten*) dissonance further positions J. M. Bach squarely in the camp of other German theorists:<sup>175</sup>

The ninth [chord] with the augmented fifth, which occurs on the 3<sup>rd</sup> degree of the minor scale, is an anticipation of the sixth chords that follow. [Example 1-12a]

The minor ninth [chord] with the diminished fifth has its position on the second degree of a minor scale. [Example 1-12b]<sup>176</sup>

Die Quarte erfordert allezeit ihre gehörige Vorbereitung; die Resolution versteht sich von selbst.

Example 1-12a: Bach, *Kurze . . . Anleitung*, p.46, first complete measure

<sup>174</sup> J. M. Bach, *Kurze . . . Anleitung*, p. 14. "Der Septimen-Accord auf der Tonica (wenn demselben noch ein paar Terzen von oben zugefügt werden), kan ferner vor der Stamm-Accord des  $\frac{9}{4}$  Accordes stehen . . . Aus der Umkehrung des ersten entsteht . . . Der  $\frac{5}{4}$ ten Accord kan auch von demselben abgeleitet werden." For Marpurg's explanation of the inversions of the eleventh chord, see the *Handbuch*, p. 183-84 and 203-4.

<sup>175</sup> For more on this, see Sheldon, "The Ninth Chord," particularly 62-75.

<sup>176</sup> J. M. Bach, *Kurze . . . Anleitung*, p. 44. "§. 3. Die None mit der übermässigen Quinte, kommt vor auf der 3<sup>ten</sup> eines Moll-Tons, und ist eine Aufhaltung des darauf folgenden Sexten-Accordes. §. 4. Die kleine None mit der falschen Quinte hat ihren Sitz auf der zweiten Stufe eines Moll-Tons."



Example 1-12b: Bach, *Kurze . . . Anleitung*, p. 45, third complete measure

David A. Sheldon addresses the importance of the acceptance of the ninth chord, particularly regarding the treatment of dissonance, to the theoretical landscape of the late eighteenth century:

The willingness of German theorists to invert the ninth chord proved their acceptance of this harmony as an important vertical entity; and their acceptance of this chord seemed to provide a basis for their acceptance of eleventh and thirteenth chords. Very interesting, too, is the fact that often two other uniquely German concepts, anticipation and delay, were used in conjunction with that of the invertible ninth chord for explaining irregularly handled dissonance. Quite simply, a dissonant voice is assumed either to have been anticipated or else delayed in order to bring it into accordance with “correct usage.” This horizontal hypothesis is often used in conjunction with inversion by the same writer, sometimes even as a dual means of explaining the same harmonic phenomenon.<sup>177</sup>

Sheldon goes on to point out that this bifurcated approach to harmony would have a profound effect on the theoretical concepts of the nineteenth century as well.

It is clear, however, that J. M. Bach’s *Anleitung* is not concerned with promoting and disseminating an overarching system of chordal interrelationship, as were Marpurg, Kirnberger, Rameau, and others of the eighteenth century; there is no attempt to offer a theoretical explanation for the stacking of thirds in the ninth- and eleventh-chord configurations, as with the aforementioned theorists. There is no effort made to include them, by way of supposition or the overlapping of seventh chords, in such a system. Rather, the main purpose here, as in his putative cousin C. P. E. Bach’s *Versuch*, was to

<sup>177</sup> Sheldon, “The Ninth Chord,” 62.

categorize chords and chord types for the purpose of showing the performer how to properly and expediently interpret the *Generalbass* figures.<sup>178</sup> J. M. Bach calls particular attention to the practical performance orientation of the *Anleitung* in two places. In his fifth chapter, *Von der Ausweichung*, Bach ties the practice of modulation to the seventh chord:

In order to go quickly from one key area to another, one leaves, by means of those intervals heard in the seventh chord, (or its inversions), which form the best approach to the subsequent key area.<sup>179</sup>

In so doing, he is alluding to Kirnberger and his use of the term *Ausweichung* as well as the examples provided in the *Kunst*. For Kirnberger, an *Ausweichung* represents a gradual change of key in that there must be an authentic cadence and therefore a minimum of three chords to complete the key change. This is in contrast to C. P. E. Bach's *Modulationen* in the revised edition of his *Versuch*, which was published in 1779.<sup>180</sup> C. P. E. Bach's *Modulationen* needed no such cadences, thus he can represent them with only two chords. Compare the three examples (1-13a, b, and c) below.

Kirnberger's progressions require the cadence to utilize a secondary dominant-seventh chord, with root movement occurring by fifths, a strong indication of a fundamental bass approach. However, as can be seen in the example below, several of J. M. Bach's progressions utilize a fully diminished secondary seventh chord; movement by step in the bass is accepted with no implication of a supposed note below the continuo bass, as in Bach's progression from C major to D minor (Example 1-13c, second system, third example). This is a bow on J. M. Bach's part to the practical, thoroughbass-

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<sup>178</sup> McKay, "Rameau and Kirnberger," 11.



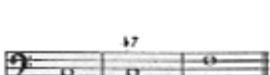
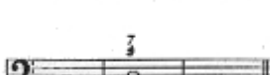

<sup>179</sup> J. M. Bach, *Kurze . . . Anleitung*, p. 20. §. 1. "Um von einer Ton-Art geschwind in eine andere zu kommen, lässt man, vermittelst des Septimen-Accordes, diejenigen Intervallen hören, (oder dessen umgekehrten Accorden), welche der folgende Ton-Art wesentlich zukommen."

<sup>180</sup> Ferris, "C. P. E. Bach," 75.




Example 1-13a: C. P. E. Bach, Ferris, p. 75

1. From the tonic chord

- to the second, D minor. 
- to the third, E minor. 
- to the fourth, F major. 
- to the fifth, G major. 
- to the sixth, A minor. 

Example 1-13b: Kirnberger / Beach &amp; Thym, p. 131



Example 1-13c displays three systems of musical notation, each showing a sequence of chords. The first system includes labels: "C dur in C moll.", "oder", "C dur in Des dur.", and "C dur in Cis dur.". The second system includes labels: "C dur in Cis moll.", "C dur in D dur.", "C dur in D moll.", and "C dur in Es dur.". The third system includes labels: "C dur in Es moll.", "C dur in E dur.", "C dur in E moll.", and "C dur in F dur.". Each system shows the corresponding chord symbols and musical notation for each chord.

Example 1-13c: J. M. Bach, *Kurze und systematische Anleitung*, p. 21

oriented nature of the *Anleitung*; the niceties of the art of composition are for others to address. Bach acknowledges as much when he states in this chapter:

[This manual] is not the forum for [a discussion of] the proper modulations in [the art of] composition. For this, one should see Herr Kirnberger's *The Art of Strict Musical Composition*.<sup>181</sup>

Bach's interest in practical matters is also evident in the way he addresses the terms *tasto solo*, *all'Unisono*, and *all'Ottava*. Here his remarks can be seen as a simple abridgement of those on the same subject from C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch*.<sup>182</sup> They occur within the context of his discussion of the pedal point (*Orgel-Punct*). After a simple definition of the term *Orgel-Punct*, J. M. Bach offers the following:

[Pedal points] tend to occur on the dominant, but also can occur near the end [of a composition] on the main note (*tonic*). The words: t. s., *tasto solo*, are placed above or below it, indicating that the accompanist should play only the bass note, without taking part in the harmony of the remaining voices.

If all voices proceed in unison or in octaves with one another, this is indicated through [the placement of the terms] *all' Ottava* or *all' Unisono* above or below the notes. The accompaniment continues simply in octaves from then on.

C. P. E. Bach's influence is evident here. Indeed, Peter Williams points out that although the term *tasto solo* appears in many thoroughbass manuals (Heinichen, et al.), the terms *all'Ottava* and *all'Unisono* were initially applied by C. P. E. Bach and only appear later in the context of works produced by composers and theorists under his influence.<sup>183</sup> This, of course, includes a great many composers of the nineteenth century, particularly in regard to the emerging genre of the piano concerto, of which J. M. Bach produced several early examples.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>181</sup> J. M. Bach, *Kurze . . . Anleitung*, p. 23. "Von den regelmässigen Ausweichungen in der Composition ist hier die Rebe nicht. Man sehe davon Herrn Kirnbergers *Kunst des reinen Satzes*."

<sup>182</sup> See C. P. E. Bach / Mitchell, *Essay*, pp. 313-21, for his full explanations of these terms.

<sup>183</sup> Peter Williams, "Tasto solo," *NGD*, Vol. 25, pp. 118-19. Actually, C. P. E. Bach conflates the terms *all'Unisono* and *all'Ottava*: "The octave is included in the term *unison*. Thus when parts progress either in real unisons or in octaves, they are said to move in unison (*all'unisono*)." See C. P. E. Bach / Mitchell, *Essay*, p. 313.

<sup>184</sup> J. M. Bach is credited with the production of six piano concertos, published in 1767. See Christoph Wolff, "Johann Michael Bach," *NGD*, Vol. 2, p. 427.

Therefore, the *Anleitung* of J. M. Bach can best be seen as a compilation of current ideas and trends, both in the worlds of theoretical thought as well as in the practical application of thoroughbass in performance. This amalgamation of materials is by no means unique; it represents in many ways the shifting perspectives of the musical landscape at the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth. Many composers would seek to solidify and codify their compositional and performance practices through just such means in the nineteenth century, thereby continuing the link between the realms of harmony and performance practice that the ubiquitous *Generalbass* notation of the eighteenth century enabled.

J. M. Bach seems to have sensed the fluidity of the stylistic idiosyncrasies of the day, as well as the necessity of maintaining a flexible approach to changing musical fashions, in a somewhat tongue-in-cheek *Vorrede* to the *Anleitung*:

A work of this kind – in which worthy men of their day have already published their contributions, a C. P. E. Bach, a Marpurg, etc. – what does it hold for the enlightened Public? *Practice is many-sided.*

Good friends, patrons, and others must commonly play the role of a midwife. Shouldn't they do so here? Since we live in the best of all worlds, who would deny the relative usefulness of any document? And thus the combative author has a chance to expose his acumen that is otherwise unknown to the world.

Shall I, in the manner of Yorick, begin the history of these pages from before their birth? Already at this point there looms at the head of a troop with sabers a . . . – *The laboring mountains scarce bring forth a ridiculous mouse.* The fellow seems to have some culture. Good old Horace must be exploited at each opportunity.

But the dear heart – how does he judge others? In which position does he write? Back to the Truth, which does not remain hidden. Only a bit shrouded at times. Our delicate senses and extreme sensibilities suffer no more Spartan dancers. To the Truth. Here, gentlemen and ladies.

Ha! It is the *Galanterie*<sup>185</sup> that is the motivating force. Tut! Tut! what a French *Ragout* instead of good healthy German fare! Tut! Tut! To drum some dry chords with a great deal of noise into the audience!

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<sup>185</sup> The term *Galanterie* in the German language is a reference to an up-to-date or trendy work, especially when applied to a multimovement keyboard piece. The fashionable, though slightly unflattering, connotations that the term implied during the early years of the eighteenth century gave way to an outright pejorative sense of the term by the time of J. M. Bach's treatise. In this sense, it referred to the then-outdated *galant* mannerisms of much of the music of that period. See "Galanterie," *NGD*, Vol. 9, p. 432.

To make his *Entreé* with such a pompous sound! Tut! Tut! In all modesty, the fellow seems to have his whims. We know not yet what he wants.

Tut! Tut! Ha! Here I see the benevolent man and woman looking down with a pleasing smile trying to be helpful and obliging to their fellow citizens. No more words: I present to you my work for your kind judgment.<sup>186</sup>

J. M. Bach will, in short, clarify theses opposing forces through the traditional medium, the *Generalbassschule*.

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<sup>186</sup> J. M. Bach, *Anleitung*, “Vorrede.” “Ein Werk von dieser Gattung – worin bereits würdige Männer ihre Verdienste an den Tag gelegt, ein Bach, C. P. E., ein Marpurg u. u. – dem aufgeklärten *Publico* vorzulegen, was hat das auf sich? . . . *Practica est multiplex*. Gute Freunde, Gönner u. u. müssen gemeiniglich die Heb-Ammen-Stelle vertreten. Sollen sie nicht hier? Da wir in der besten Welt sind, wer will einer Schrift den relativen Nutzen absprechen? Da der Federfechter Gelegenheit bekommt, seinen sonst unbekannten Scharfsinn der Welt auszukramen. Soll ich Yoricksmässig die Geschichte dieser Blätter vor der Geburt anfangen? Dort droht schon ander Spitze einer besäbelten Schaar, ein – *parturiunt montes nascetur ridiculus mus*. Der Mensch scheint Belesenheit zu haben. Der gute Horaz muss bey jeder Gelegenheit geplündert werden. Allein das gute Herz – wie urtheilt er von andern? In welcher Lage schreibt er? Zurück zur Wahrheit, sie bleibt doch nicht verborgen. Nur zuweilen ein Mäntelchen darum. Unsere zarte Sinnen und hochgespannte Empfindelen, leidet keine spartanische Tänzerinnen mehr. Zur Wahrheit. Hier, meine Herren und Dames. Ah! Ist eine Galanterie die Triebfeder. St! St! welch ein französischer *Ragout* statt guter gesunder deutscher Kost! St! St! Einige trockene Accorde mit vielem Lärmen ins Publicum zu trommeln! In einem hochtrabenden Ton seine *Entreé* zu machen! St! St! Mit Bescheidenheit, der Mensch scheint Laune zu haben. Man weiss noch nicht, was er will. St! St! ah! hier seh’ ich den edlen Menschenfreund und Freundin mit gefälligem Lächeln, auf die Bemühung ihrer Mitbürger sich nützlich und gefällig zu machen, herabsehen. Kein Wort mehr: ich überreiche Ihnen mein Werkchen zur gütigen Beurtheilung.” The section is signed “Göttingen, den 2<sup>ten</sup> Julii 1780 – Der Verfasser.”

The reference to Yorick is from the popular novel *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, Gentleman* by Laurence Sterne. The series consisted of nine volumes, the first two appearing in 1759; the rest appeared during the ensuing ten years.

## Chapter 2

### The Viennese Environment at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century: the Role of Thoroughbass in Theory and Practice

One is tempted to say that hunting for surviving musical materials from another era is a futile pastime, until we realize that, though an ideology may be lost, a given era may put things into general use that continue independently of the era's aesthetics and semantics . . . . But while one realizes that the ideology has become outmoded, one sees not just the musical material but the philosophical vocabulary enduring in the aesthetics of the era.<sup>187</sup>

#### I. Understanding the Paradox of Enduring Thoroughbass Practices in a Time of Radical Change

##### a) The Theories of Ernst Kurth

The momentous changes that central European musical practices were undergoing at the turn of the nineteenth century can, in many ways, be perceived in the divergence of mainstream theoretical and pedagogical systems. Many factors were in play as decisive changes came about. Regional differences, the association of music and the religious communities within those regions, and the influence of the most prominent theorists of the time on future generations are among the most important factors that need consideration here. It is clear, for example, that two major Viennese theorists, Johann Georg Albrechtsberger and Simon Sechter, had considerable impact on the works of their most famous pupils, Beethoven and Bruckner respectively. That the pedagogical currents of the rest of Europe were generally perceived to have, to some extent, passed these accomplished teachers by in Vienna is affirmed by their continued embrace of the *Generalbasslehre* as a preferred method of instruction. While other parts of the continent were endorsing the seemingly unrelated theoretical principles of fundamental-bass theory, as outlined in the previous chapter, or the newer step theories of Adolf Bernhard

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<sup>187</sup> F.J. Smith, "Mozart Revisited, K.550: The Problem of the Survival of Baroque Figures in the Classical Era," *The Music Review* 31 (1970), 201-14.



Marx, Gottfried Weber, and, perhaps most importantly, Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler, as well as the musical implications that accompanied these theories, the Viennese masters maintained their connection to the *Generalbass* practices of preceding generations. It must be further noted that the theorists mentioned above had more than a passing acquaintance with the practices of traditional *Generalbass* and, as we will see, often incorporated these more conventional methods into their newer theoretical approaches. Indeed, it was more often the case than not that in explicating their new concepts, theorists such as Weber, Marx, and Vogler were forced, for the sake of clarity, to rely upon the standard, widely understood thoroughbass figurations to convey their revolutionary concepts.

In most early twentieth-century accounts of this period, the thoroughbass practices sanctioned by the theorists mentioned above – and, as we shall see, a great many others – were viewed as anachronistic and cumbersome relics at best. Still, for some modern writers, ties to the inherently localized *Generalbass* procedures could be seen as one of the many interpretations of the gradual expansion of eighteenth-century harmony that contemporary *Harmonielehren* sought to depict. This viewpoint is perhaps best embodied in the theories of Ernst Kurth. In his seminal work, *Romantische Harmonik und ihre Krise in Wagners "Tristan,"* Kurth offers a definition for the properties of tonality that has its roots in the conflict between the localized *Generalbass* procedures and the newer, freer harmonic idioms of the nineteenth century:

The term "tonality" means the homogeneous relationship of the sonorities to a central tonic and therefore is based on two different premises; the first is the presence of instances of unity, the second the presence, or at least the ideal, of the outlining of a tonal center. The processes and alterations in the [individual] simultaneities and in the

[collective] harmony are therefore to be considered separately in their effect on the concept of tonality.<sup>188</sup>

In order to clarify his idea of tonality, Kurth introduces the concept of “constructive” and “destructive” forces that work in opposition to one another (*Gegeneinanderwirken*) in this battle for the (not mutually exclusive) ideals of tonal integrity and chromatic expansion on which the harmonic language of the nineteenth century is predicated. The constructive forces buttress tonality while the destructive forces undermine it.<sup>189</sup>

In discussing the effects of these forces on the concept of tonality, Kurth submits the seemingly disparate theories of Hugo Riemann and Simon Sechter for consideration. Though generally dismissive of Sechter’s theories, he still finds much about the fundamental-bass approach to be in line with the ideas expressed above:

In [the above-mentioned] context, I would like to call attention to an interesting contrast that lies concealed in the harmonic theories of Riemann and those (for the other *Harmonielehre* still representing a [basic theoretical] foundation) of Sechter, that has a fundamental meaning in connection with the developmental-explication principles presented here. If one goes back only to the most general prerequisites that lie (to a great degree unspoken) behind these theoretical

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<sup>188</sup> Ernst Kurth, *Romantische Harmonik und ihre Krise in Wagners “Tristan”* (Berlin: 1923), p. 306. “Der Begriff ‘Tonalität’ bedeutet die einheitliche Beziehung der Klänge auf eine zentrale Tonika und enthält daher zweierlei Voraussetzungen; einmal das Vorhandensein zusammenschliessender Momente, zweitens das Vorhandensein oder zumindest die ideelle Rekonstruierbarkeit eines tonartlichen Zentrums. Die Vorgänge und Veränderungen in den Klangzusammenhängen und die am Klang sind daher gesondert in ihrer Einwirkung auf den Tonalitätsbegriff ins Auge zu fassen.”

<sup>189</sup> Lee A. Rothfarb, *Ernst Kurth as Theorist and Analyst* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), p. 158. “According to Kurth, every chord has three possible referential modes: tonal referentiality, local referentiality, and self-referentiality. As tonal referents, chords have functions supporting a global scheme; this is the case with tonic, dominant, and sub-dominant harmonies, as well as with chords related closely to them (VI, III, VII, II). As local referents, chords relate only to their immediate predecessors. Local referentiality may or may not confirm tonal referentiality. When it does not, or does so only indirectly, Kurth speaks of absolute progressions, whose jarring effects set chosen chord pairs in relief against their harmonic environment. The conflict between tonal environment and local referentiality may become so great that a chord becomes isolated unto itself. Such chords are self-referential. Kurth believes that tonal referentiality reinforces tonality. For this reason he calls it ‘constructive.’ By contrast, the other two modes, local referentiality and self-referentiality, undermine tonality and are thus ‘destructive.’ At any given moment, a chord may function in one or another referential mode.”

developments, then this contrast between tonal unity and direct harmonic-progression processes is reflected in a peculiar way.

I refrain here from [discussing] Riemann's untenable dualistic explanation of the minor and the chordal symmetry that results from this entire *Klangsystem*<sup>190</sup> and select only the idea of organization by tonal functions, in which the most fruitful and fundamental values of his theory lie. Generally, this standardization is the basis by which Riemann designates the notion that the term tonality exists in the sense of the relationship of each tone to the tonic; Sechter on the one hand constructs his (otherwise musically and scientifically primitive) work on the fundamental progressions that take place between the individual chord degrees of a scale. If one understands only these basic features (without seeking to develop them further), a distinctive dual internal process of harmony lies therein; Sechter guides the progressions between directly successive chords, whose orientation to the tonic is expressed beside it in step designations; Riemann, however, identifies the individual sonorities only in their relationship to the tonic chord; therefore, each chord is immediately perceived as a "function" and is related directly to the scalar [tonal] center. These, therefore, are the basic principles that already point in opposite directions; on the one hand the driving and corrosive strength, which even in its inchoate form brings out the fundamental tonal progressions ["destructive"], on the other hand the centralizing force of a tightly directed unified relationship ["constructive"].

If one places both attempts at a solution to the tonality problem in their proper historical perspective, then it is clear that Riemann's theory, which was developed at the highpoint of the new Romantic musical style, strives to adhere to the path of unity and also to stress the most distant functional relationships, as was necessary for the great outpouring of contemporary development, while with the old school, which Sechter epitomizes, individual instances stand out, [which makes Sechter seem] oblivious to the groundwork of the system with regard to the development of the independence of the individual fundamental progressions and thus also appears to refer to the beginnings of a later loosening of the internal tonal procedures, if only from afar.<sup>191</sup>

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<sup>190</sup> Riemann's harmonic theories are predicated for the most part on two elemental principles; dualism and function. In terms of the former, Riemann conceived of the minor as an antithesis, a perfect opposite, of the major. While consonance in the major can be generated from the harmonic series (1, 1/2, 1/3, 1/4, 1/5, 1/6 representing C, c, g, c', e', g'), consonance in the minor can be generated arithmetically (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 representing g'', g', c', g, e<sup>b</sup>, c). Since the harmonic series represents a fundamental tone and its overtones, outlining the major tonality, Riemann postulated a concomitant undertone series as a physical causation of the minor, similarly outlining its tonality. Though he spent a great deal of his career in pursuit of this theory of dualism, Riemann never convincingly proved it and ultimately rejected it.

The term function is used to describe the harmonic progressions that occur within the major and minor key systems. Here Riemann identifies "three pillars:" tonic, dominant, and sub-dominant. In the *Klangsystem* that Kurth refers to above, other chords are derived from a mixture of tones from these primary chords. Harmonic "progression" involves the movement away from tonic to dominant or sub-dominant and back again to tonic. See William C. Mickelsen, *Hugo Riemann's Theory of Harmony and History of Music Theory, Book III* by Hugo Riemann (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), pp. 3-5.

<sup>191</sup> Ernst Kurth, *Romantische Harmonik*, note 1, pp. 308-9. "In diesem Zusammenhange möchte ich darauf hinweisen, dass ein interessanter Gegensatz in den harmonischen Theorien von Riemann und der (für die übrigen Harmonielehren noch immer einen Untergrund darstellenden) von Sechter verborgen liegt, der im Zusammenhange mit den hier durchgeführten Entwickelungserscheinungen prinzipielle Bedeutung hat. Geht man nämlich nur zu den allgemeinsten Voraussetzungen zurück, die (grösstenteils unausgesprochen) hinter den

For Kurth, then, the individual theoretical system practiced by composers need not dictate the harmonic language of a composition or of a composer's overall stylistic approach, for that matter; a compositional system founded on the theoretical principles espoused by traditional throughbass rules and practices may very well project the "localized" qualities of referentiality that Kurth recognizes as inherent in any tonal system (see note 189). Rather, Kurth's defining structural forces, constructive and destructive, are inherent in the chords themselves and thus dictate, by their very nature, the dissolution of harmony that is the hallmark of late nineteenth-century music:

Yet constructive and destructive forces appear already to exist within the chord itself, arising out of the organic structure of the sonorities. For in addition to the growth of the chord from its basic form there also arises an increased approach to tone color rooted in a juxtaposition [of the basic triad] with these strongly "destructive" [*zersetzenden*] instances, namely the *Alteration[stil]*,<sup>192</sup> leading in no way to a mere adherence to tonality, but rather to the rapid emergence of [these destructive forces]; from this

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theoretischen Durchführungen liegen, so spiegelt sich in merkwürdiger Weise dieser Gegensatz von tonaler Einheitswirkung und unmittelbarer Fortschrittswirkung. Ich sehe auch hierbei von Riemanns unhaltbarer dualer Mollbegründung und der durch das ganze Klangsystem durchgeführten Akkordsymmetrie ab und greife nur die Idee der Vereinheitlichung durch tonale Funktionen heraus, in der die grossen fruchtbaren und grundlegenden Werte seiner Theorie liegen. Dieser Vereinheitlichung liegt bei Riemann allgemein der Gedanke zugrunde, im Sinne des Tonalitätsbegriffes jeden Klang in seinem Verhältnis zur Tonika zu kennzeichnen; Sechter hingegen baut seine (im übrigen musikalisch und wissenschaftlich primitive) Satzlehre auf die Fundamentfortschreitungen, die sich zwischen den einzelnen Akkordstufen einer Tonart vollziehen. Fasst man nur diese allgemeinen Grundzüge (ohne weiter auf ihre Durchführung einzugehen) heraus, so liegt darin ein zweifacher innerer Vorgang der Harmonik ausgeprägt; Sechter lenkt auf die Fortschreitungen zwischen den unmittelbar aufeinanderfolgenden Akkorden, deren Vereinheitlichung zur Tonika er daneben in Stufenbezeichnungen ausdrückt; Riemann hingegen kennzeichnet die einzelnen Klänge nur in ihrer Beziehung zum Tonikaklang selbst, jeder Akkord wird sofort als "Funktion" gefasst und so unmittelbar auf das Tonartszentrum bezogen. Das sind demnach Grundzüge, welche schon nach entgegengesetzten Richtungen weisen, einerseits die treibende und zersetzende Kraft, welche im Keime bereits die tonalen Fundamentfortschreitungen bergen, andererseits die zusammenhaltende Kraft der unmittelbaren straffen Einheitsbeziehung. Wenn man die historische Entstehungszeit beider Lösungsversuche vom Tonalitätsproblem betrachtet, so ist es charakteristisch, dass Riemanns Theorie, die zur Zeit der Hochblüte der neuromantischen Musik entstand, den Weg zur Einheit festzuhalten und diese auch bei entferntesten Funktionsverhältnissen zu betonen strebt, wie unter der Not der weitausflutenden Zeitentwicklung, während die ältere Lehre, die Sechter zusammenfasst, ein Moment heraushebt welches in den ihm selbst nicht bewussten Unterlagen des Systems mit den einzelnen Fundamentfortschreitungen auf deren Verselbständigung und damit auf die Ansätze zu späterer Lockerung der inneren tonalen Vorgänge, wenn auch von weitem, hinzuweisen scheint."

<sup>192</sup> The term *Alterationstil* refers to Kurth's theory of composition by means of chromatic inflection of diatonic pitches. As an example of this, Kurth analyzes the opening measures of the *Tristan* "Prelude" as two dominant seventh chords (B<sup>7</sup> – E<sup>7</sup>). These form a "simple cadential gesture" (*einfache Kadenzierung*) whose components are "distorted by chromaticism" (*durch Chromatik entstellt*). See Rothfarb, *Ernst Kurth*, p. 134.

subsequently arises the fact that tonality is mainly derived from the unity symbol of the triad and as a result wavers in its foundation at that instant because of these deviations.

Therefore, while on the one hand the *energetischen* tensions of the music are contained already in the consonant fundamental triad born of the third, what is emphasized by the chords in this pure *klangsinnlichen* Epiphanic moment is a certain increase in the tonality destroying features; this is appropriate to this fusion phenomenon [*Verschmelzungsphänomen*] and its peculiar power of pushing the chordal structures forward, going beyond the triad towards a more settled, natural meaning and technical manner of treatment.<sup>193</sup>

The terms *energetischen* and *klangsinnlichen* have special meanings for Kurth.

While both are based essentially on the concept of tertian harmony, as the above quote suggests, the former term refers to “chords which convey a strong root sense, resulting in harmonic inertia,” while the latter indicates “voice-leading chords, tertian and otherwise, which convey a sense of melodically inspired harmonic momentum.” As Rothfarb points out, these terms have a rough parallel in Kirnberger’s *wesentlich* (essential) and *zufällig* (non-essential) dissonances from *Die Kunst*.<sup>194</sup>

### **b) The Concept of Organic Unity**

Kurth’s references in the quotes above to the broad concepts of unity and organicism are emblematic of the period of music that he seeks to describe, as well as to the composers and theorists of the earlier nineteenth century who so heavily influenced Kurth’s theory of an *Alterationstil*. The concept of organic unity was essential to the

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<sup>193</sup> Kurth, *Romantische Harmonik*, p. 309. “Doch zeigen sich bereits innerhalb des Akkords selbst konstruktive und destruktive Kräfte aus der organischen Konstitution der Klänge gegeben. Denn auch das Wachstum der Akkorde über die Grundform hinaus, wie es sich in erhöhter Einstellung auf das Klangsinnliche als Gegenstreben gegen die starken zersetzenden Momente namentlich der Alteration ergibt, leitet keineswegs gerade zur Tonalität und ihrem Festhalten, sondern rasch ihrerseits wieder über diese hinaus; das ergibt sich schon daraus, dass die Tonalität genau in der Einheitsbedeutung des Dreiklanges beruht und daher von dem Augenblick an in den Grundfesten wankt, da von dieser abgewichen wird. Während demnach einerseits die energetischen Spannungen der Musik schon innerhalb der konsonanten Grunddreiklänge keimhaft in den Terztönen enthalten sind, bergen die Akkorde auch in ihren rein klangsinnlichen Erscheinungen Momente, die von einer gewissen Steigerung an tonalitätszersetzend wirken; sie liegen im Verschmelzungsphänomen und seiner eigenartigen Kraft, auch Klangformen, die über den Dreiklang hinausgehen, zu gewisser, ursprünglich nur diesem zukommender Bedeutung und technischer Behandlungsweise vorzutreiben.”

<sup>194</sup> Rothfarb, *Ernst Kurth*, p. 114.

philosophical systems in place at the turn of the nineteenth century, embraced by a wide circle of theorists, musicians, and writers. In a general sense, the concept of organic unity has resonated throughout the entire history of Western culture, tracing its roots at least as far back as Plato and Aristotle. Earlier music theorists, notably Lippius in the seventeenth century and Werckmeister in the early eighteenth century, acknowledge the concept of the triad as an immutable entity, a “unity born of three separate parts” (see Chapter 1, note 77). Werckmeister’s notion of the triad as an entity was completely compatible with the ubiquitous *Generalbass* procedures of the day; the idea of a vertical harmonic entity did nothing to diminish the linear element of thoroughbass.

The concept of organic unity seems to have reached its apotheosis in the critical language of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.<sup>195</sup> It was seen by the *Frühromantiker* as being necessary and integral to the creation and interpretation of literature and art.<sup>196</sup> In the service of this ideal, many philosophical minds of the day turned to hermeneutical approaches – particularly that espoused by the German philosopher and theologian Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher (1768-1834) – when seeking to understand the forces at work in the musical *milieu* of the time.

For Schleiermacher, the hermeneutical approach was based on the fact that inherent in each text is a message; therefore, the primary task of hermeneutics is to interpret the author’s original intention and to facilitate understanding in the reader.<sup>197</sup> Schleiermacher’s theory of hermeneutics, dubbed general hermeneutics, was capable of

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<sup>195</sup> Ruth A. Solie, “The Living Work: Organicism and Musical Analysis,” *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 4 (1980-81), 47-156.

<sup>196</sup> Abigail Chantler, “Revisiting E. T. A. Hoffman’s Musical Hermeneutics,” *International Review of Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 33 (2002), 3-30.

<sup>197</sup> Ian Bent, “Plato-Beethoven: A Hermeneutics for the Nineteenth Century,” *Music Theory in the Age of Romanticism*, Ian Bent, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 105-24.

embracing all of the preexisting eighteenth-century hermeneutical fields - biblical hermeneutics, classic literary hermeneutics, and juridical hermeneutics – and expanding on them in order to embrace all other types of textual and spoken communication.<sup>198</sup>

Hermeneutics, under this system, dealt with the text as a whole:

The whole is understood from the parts, so the parts can be understood only from the whole. This principle is of such consequence for hermeneutics and so incontestable that one cannot even begin to interpret without using it.<sup>199</sup>

That these critically important concepts would be carried over into the field of music seems elementary, given the high regard for music at the time as an art form capable of conveying not only emotionally affective messages but narrative explications as well. However, whereas Schleiermacher saw the organic unity of a text as the source of its definite meaning, the prominent author, critic, and musician E. T. A. Hoffmann viewed the organic unity of an art work, particularly in musical terms, in relation to its metaphysical meaning.<sup>200</sup> Hoffmann's metaphysical approach is more in keeping with the trends in philosophical thought current in Europe during this period. The state of the collective European mind at this time, and Hoffmann's engagement with it, are expressed succinctly in the following:

Thus the art of instrumental music found itself, around the time of Mozart's death in 1791, suddenly at a central point of mediation where mental, physical, spiritual, and social considerations of existence converged. Few seem not to have had an intellectual and even practical interest in music, whether the poet and librettist Goethe (1749-1832), the physicist and writer Johann Wilhelm Ritter (1776-1810), the poet and geologist Novalis (1772-1801), and so on. If easily remembered for the startling or grotesque juxtapositions of 'normal' and 'supra-normal' in his fiction, Hoffmann was nevertheless firmly rooted in the

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<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

<sup>199</sup> Friedrich Schleiermacher, *Hermeneutik: nach den Handschriften neu herausgegeben*, trans. by James Duke and Jack Forstman as *Hermeneutics: The Handwritten Manuscripts* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), pp.195-96.

<sup>200</sup> Chantler, "Revisiting E. T. A. Hoffmann." Chantler views these divergent viewpoints of Hoffmann and Schleiermacher as problematic to Ian Bent's bundling the two together under the rubric of "hermeneuticists." See 5.

mainstream of modern thought in Germany. . . . Whereas Novalis and others emphasized the hidden unity connecting all aspects of nature, and thus the possibility of endless metaphorical transformation, Hoffmann emphasized that our recognition of 'higher natures' (linking man with this normally hidden level of awareness) was particularly to be mediated through certain types of music.<sup>201</sup>

Schleiermacher believed that all linguistic utterances are essentially equivocal; this is evident in the "recognition of the semantic indeterminacy of language and the multiple meanings of texts and verbal utterances on which his formulation of a 'general hermeneutics' was based."<sup>202</sup> In his view, language is inherently ambiguous, with no direct link between word (part) and concept (whole). He believed that a text must in all important aspects be seen in relation to the broader sociological and historical context of its production.<sup>203</sup> To separate word from text in a fragmentary manner would be to obliterate the meaning, i. e. the message. Each element for Schleiermacher was related to the whole:

Schleiermacher took a broadly organic view of any text; at all levels of construction there is a whole, comprised of parts; and this relation applies not only within the organic work itself, but also outside . . . to the work in relation to other works of its class, to that class in relation to some larger class, to some body of knowledge, to a given social context, and so forth.<sup>204</sup>

For Schleiermacher, it was the organic unity of texts *as products of their time* that dispelled the ambiguity of language and revealed the author's intended meaning.<sup>205</sup> The language had no inherent meaning by itself; the unitary parts were meaningless unless they possessed a vitality that could only be conferred upon them by the whole.

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<sup>201</sup> David Charlton, editor, *E. T. A. Hoffmann's Musical Writings: "Kreisleriana," "The Poet and the Composer," Music Criticism*, trans. by Martyn Clarke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 6-7.

<sup>202</sup> Chantler, "Revisiting," 5.

<sup>203</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>204</sup> Bent, "Plato-Beethoven," p. 113.

<sup>205</sup> Chantler, "Revisiting," 10.



Although aspects of Hoffmann's interpretation of musical works can be understood as an application of Schleiermacher's hermeneutic principles to musical language,<sup>206</sup> he believed that the separate musical traditions and practices of previous eras – these components would be analogous to “parts” as outlined in the Schleiermacher quote above – did indeed have a meaning and vitality of their own. That being the case, it is not difficult to comprehend overt references to styles and practices of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries found in later musical compositions as messages directed at a presumably receptive audience, one equipped with the necessary referential knowledge to make the proper associations. I believe that we can easily group the use of *Generalbass* – both as a performance medium and a theoretical and compositional tool – within the boundaries of such organic “parts.”

In terms of what Ian Bent describes as Hoffmann's “musical hermeneutics,”<sup>207</sup> we can see a philosophy that embraces the long-standing aesthetic traditions of previous generations, notably those of the *Sturm und Drang* movement, which reached its high point in the 1770s, as well the mid-eighteenth century *Empfindsamkeit*, which was its immediate precursor. According to Chantler:

The kinship between the aesthetic conception of organic unity adumbrated by thinkers of the *Sturm und Drang* movement such as Goethe and Herder, and that conceived by Hoffmann, was a reflection of the affinity between their respective philosophical outlooks. The attempts of German thinkers of the 1770s to formulate a comprehensive world-view, according to which nature and art, and body and soul are interrelated phenomena emanating from a common origin, resonated in the philosophical idealism widely subscribed to by the *Frühromantiker*. Such attempts were reflected in the eclectic interests of the *Sturm und Drang* movement which informed their conception of organicism.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>206</sup> Ibid.

<sup>207</sup> Ian Bent, ed., *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century: Hermeneutic Approaches* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 19.

<sup>208</sup> Chantler, “Revisiting,” 13.

In Hoffmann's view, the search for organic unity is seen as a tool for the aesthetic evaluation of an art work rather than as a method of assigning definite meanings.<sup>209</sup> It is a cumulative process that eventually achieves a "whole," and although it recognizes Schleiermacher's hermeneutical principles in relation to their social context, Hoffmann's concept of organic unity also embraces that of the Romantic poets, as articulated by the German writer, critic, and philosopher Karl Wilhelm Friedrich von Schlegel (1772-1829), in which art, like a living organism, is always in "a state of becoming."<sup>210</sup>

Such analogies to biological systems were common in German philosophical thought at the end of the eighteenth century. According to a prevalent line of thought, "a work of art should possess unity in the same way, and to the same extent, that a living organism does."<sup>211</sup> The importance of the artwork as a whole is evident in this German organistic school, and its ideas found a home in Hoffmann's musical hermeneutics. His notion of a large-scale cumulative process can be seen as a reflection of the idea of "a whole that is presupposed by all its parts,"<sup>212</sup> found in the writings of the first major exponent of this organistic view in literature, Samuel Taylor Coleridge.<sup>213</sup> Pepper sums up the process as follows:

There are two qualitative dimensions that yield organistic standards of beauty – the degree of integration and the amount of material integrated. . . The maximum of integration is a condition where every detail of the object calls for every other. . . Or negatively, it is a condition where no detail can be removed or altered without marring or even destroying the value of the whole. Such a whole is called an organic unity."<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 10. See Friedrich Schlegel, *Philosophical Fragments*, trans. Peter Firchow (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1991), pp. 31-32.

<sup>211</sup> Solie, "The Living Work," 148.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid. See M. H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (London: Oxford University Press, 1953), p. 220.

<sup>213</sup> Ibid.

<sup>214</sup> Ibid. See Stephen Pepper, *The Basis of Criticism in the Arts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946), p. 79.

The comparison of artworks to organisms, made by *Sturm und Drang* thinkers such as Goethe as well as by the German organicists, allows the critical analyst to “explore the artist’s creative process, as the means by which an entire work is developed out of one component part or structure.”<sup>215</sup> The idea of a work that is “developed out,” or “composed out” (*auskomponiert*) – attributed to many compositions of the nineteenth-century – is clearly reflected in the manner in which later generations perceived, appreciated, and analyzed these works. Certainly Kurth’s derivation of tonality – and the destructive forces that led to its eventual demise – from the organic unity of the basic triad has its roots in this popular concept.

## II. Hermann Kretzschmar

### a) Musical Hermeneutics and Organic Unity

The German conductor and musicologist Hermann Kretzschmar (1848-1924) set forth his own notions on the use of associative devices in his early twentieth-century commentary on the derivation and development of the elements of musical hermeneutics (“Anregungen zur Förderung musikalischer Hermeneutik”). Kretzschmar sees, first and foremost, recognition by *Kenner und Liebhaber* alike of certain symbolic gestures and patterns inherent in music of the nineteenth century. Indeed, it was often the case that this proto-semiotic approach was first embraced by the *dilettanti*, since professional musicians of the later nineteenth century often chose to reject extramusical associations in purely instrumental works.<sup>216</sup> Though he is addressing a contemporary audience,

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<sup>215</sup> Chantler, “Revisiting,” 13.

<sup>216</sup> Kretzschmar lists several composers active at the turn of the twentieth century among those who reject this less “analytical,” hermeneutic approach. Among the musicians cited are Richard Heuberger (1850-1914), Heinrich Zöllner (1854-1941), Fritz Vollbach (1861-1940), and Engelbert Humperdinck (1854-1921). See Hermann Kretzschmar, “Anregungen zur Förderung musikalischer Hermeneutik,” *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* 2 (1902), 45-66.

Kretzschmar clearly recognizes that many hermeneutical devices operative in the music of his time were utilized by composers in earlier periods; his hermeneutical theory grows out of a long tradition that extends back to the beginnings of the tonal period.<sup>217</sup>

In relation to the other arts, music is a latecomer in the realm of hermeneutical exegesis. Still, in Kretzschmar's opinion, its importance to the thoroughgoing embrace of great musical works is not to be underestimated; as he describes it,

[this] field, which is cultivated by both the competent and the uninitiated analyst, is a very important theoretical discipline, as it were the culmination, the last and most valuable fruit of the complete course of musical study.<sup>218</sup>

Not only is this approach valuable to the aesthetic experience of both the accomplished analyst and the novice, but it is equally important both to the listener, who may experience the work through this hermeneutical framework, and to the composer, who may choose to utilize this new science as yet another, highly affective, means by which to communicate the meaning of a total artwork to the listener:

In the arts, the meaning of hermeneutics coincides with that of the masterpiece, for if the great works of the masters are the most important bulwarks and emissaries of art, then serious attempts to engage a full understanding of these works is of importance. These works have the same validity for the producer of art as for the receiver of art. Whether we realize our own individual lives through art, thus creatively taking part in it, or only wish to live outside [this creative sphere], makes no substantial difference in the relationship to the masterpieces.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>217</sup> Kretzschmar particularly invokes the Italian theorist, philologist, and composer Giovanni Battista Doni (1595-1647), whose embracing of the *tonoi* and genera of ancient Greek music is seen by Kretzschmar as the starting point of this musical elucidation. See Kretzschmar, "Anregungen," 54.

<sup>218</sup> Kretzschmar, "Anregungen," 47. "[Denn] das Feld, das die berufenen oder unberufenen Erklärer bebauen, ist eine sehr wichtige theoretische Disziplin, gewissermassen der Abschluss, die letzte und wertvollste Ernte der gesamten Musiklehre."

<sup>219</sup> Ibid., 47-48. "Für die Künste fällt die Bedeutung der Hermeneutik mit der der Meisterwerke zusammen, denn wenn die grossen Werke der Meister die wichtigsten Stützen und Träger der Kunst sind, dann haben auch die ernstesten Versuche, das volle Verständnis dieser Werke zu erschliessen, Wichtigkeit. Dieser Satz hat für Kunsterzeuger und Kunstempfänger dieselbe Gültigkeit. Ob wir durch Kunst eignes Leben ausleben, uns also schaffend an ihr beteiligen, oder nur fremdes nachleben wollen, das macht für das Verhältnis zu den Meisterwerken keinen wesentlichen Unterschied."

Kretzschmar's adumbration of his theory echoes Schleiermacher's concept of organic unity in two important ways. First, Kretzschmar is quite clearly in agreement on the idea of the organic whole being generated through the accrual of individual parts, thereby becoming greater than their sum. He states the matter thusly:

According to the laws of the accretion, if a complete composition is to be explicable, it must possess the means of disclosing the spirit of the entire work and its individual parts in the smallest of its components, it must, in a word, be capable of a musical hermeneutics.<sup>220</sup>

This explication can occur, as in Kurth's theory of constructive and destructive forces, at the most basic levels, and it is indeed the duty of a good instructor to emphasize from the beginning the affective powers of these simple harmonic elements:

Just as juxtaposed major and minor triads pose for the imagination and the senses the contrasts between hard and bright and soft and dull, then also for the pupil the fact that [the existence of] diminished and augmented triads – dissonant developments that are connected to simple, clear chordal types – is dependent on the juxtaposition with "ordinary" triads and that they thereby possess predominantly attributive and comparative meaning, is immediately illuminated . . . .

It is then a matter for the teacher to present the greatest possible number of such connections [systematically], first of all in a rhythmically similar and simple form and then through these to demonstrate how the same chord can change its character according to its position and context.<sup>221</sup>

Both Kurth and Kretzschmar, then, seem to affiliate themselves with an idea of organic unity that was current in philosophical circles at the turn of the twentieth century.

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<sup>220</sup> Ibid., 49. "Nach den Gesetzen der Addition muss sich dann aber auch eine ganze Komposition erklären lassen, es muss Mittel geben den Geist eines ganzen Musikstücks und seiner einzelnen Teile bis in die kleinsten Glieder hinein offenzulegen, es muss mit einem Wort eine musikalische Hermeneutik möglich sein."

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., 59-60. "Wie Dur- und Molldreiklang nebeneinander gestellt vor der Phantasie und dem Gefühl die Gegensätze von hart und hell zu weich und trüb hervorrufen, so leuchtet dem Schüler beim Vergleich auch sofort ein, dass der verminderte und übermässige Dreiklang unselbständige, dissonante Bildungen sind, dass sie an einfache, klare Akkordgrössen angeschlossen, mit gewöhnlichen Dreiklängen verbunden sein wollen, dass sie vorwiegend attributive und komparative Bedeutung haben. . . . Es ist nun Sache des Lehrers eine möglichst grosse Zahl solcher Verbindungen, zunächst in rhythmisch gleichen und leichten Formen durchzunehmen und an ihnen zu zeigen, wie derselbe Akkord nach Stellung und Umgebung seinen Charakter wechseln kann."

Equally important to Kretzschmar's hermeneutical conception is the idea, also stated by Schleiermacher, that texts are products of their time; Kretzschmar feels, again like Kurth, that semiotic units are encountered in music at the most elemental of levels:

Listening is the first step of every musical exercise and theory, feeling [affection], the communication of spiritual and intellectual relevance, the last. Therefore, musical instruction and practical music-making offer the most suitable opportunities for musical-aesthetic training. Of all the subjects of instruction, it is harmonic theory in particular that naturally suggests itself [to this task]. Therefore, the thoughtful instructor will himself point out the aesthetic demands common in the conventional [harmonic] terminology.

Already in the first lesson, in which the chords are classified, [the student] encounters "consonance" and "dissonance," which are aesthetic rather than technical concepts, as are the differences between "harsh" and "mild" dissonances. In addition, "major" and "minor" are not structural, but rather aesthetic designations, explicating not the external experiences, but rather the inner sensations.<sup>222</sup>

Kretzschmar later expands on this pedagogical thought, expressing the opinion that a composer's personality can often be divined through careful consideration of the basic structural devices for which he exhibits a preference:

Insofar as composers are generally spiritual personalities of great stature, their individuality expresses itself primarily in the predilection for certain intervals, rhythms, and chords, or in the particular usage of such elementary devices. . . .

[In] the preference for certain chordal formations, Handel's harmony differs from that of all others through the significant use of the diminished triad, Mozart's through the predilection for the sixth chord. This relationship to the elementary components clearly demonstrates not only the characteristics of individual masters, but rather also that of periods and nations.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Ibid., 56-57. "Das Hören ist das erste Glied jeder musikalischen Übung und Theorie, das Empfinden, das Übertragen des Gehörten ins Seelische und Geistige das letzte. Der musikalische Unterricht und das praktische Musizieren bieten also die geeignetsten Gelegenheiten zur musikästhetischen Schulung. Unter den Unterrichtsfächern ist es namentlich die Harmonielehre, der sie nahe liegen. Weist doch hier den denkenden Lehrer selbst die übliche Terminologie häufig auf ästhetische Pflichten hin. Schon in den ersten Stunden, wo er die Akkorde gruppiert, stösst er auf 'Konsonanz' und 'Dissonanz,' also auf ästhetische nicht technische Begriffe, ebenso bei der Unterscheidung von 'harten' und 'milden' Dissonanzen. Auch 'Moll' und 'Dur' sind nicht konstruktive, sondern sensitive Bezeichnungen, nicht der äusseren Anschauung, sondern der inneren Empfindung entnommen. Mit ihnen weisen noch viele andre Spuren in der heutigen musikalischen Grammatik auf eine Zeit zurück, die im Anschluss an die Sprachlehre bemüht war den Schüler nicht bloss in die Technik der Tonformen sondern zugleich auch in ihren Geist und ihre Bedeutung einzuführen."

<sup>223</sup> Ibid., 60-61. "Soweit die Tonsetzer überhaupt geistige Persönlichkeiten von Belang sind, äussert sich ihre Individualität meistens auch in der Vorliebe für bestimmte Intervalle, Rhythmen und Akkorde, oder im besonderen Gebrauch solcher Elementarmittel . . . [Durch] die akkordischen Mittel bevorzugt

Such compositional materials – pedagogical as well as performance based – should, by definition, be classified as products of their time, since they arise from contemporary tastes and practices with which the composer is imbued. Their proper interpretation and appreciation is required:

Acquaintance with the spirit and the currents of the time of origin, with its particular musical customs and practices, often produces more detailed information concerning the meaning and the object of instrumental composition.<sup>224</sup>

Therefore, Kretzschmar seems to be saying that all the parts must be considered in the perception of an organic musical whole. It would seem that a method of communication so widely disseminated and practiced throughout Western music as thoroughbass – still a significant method of instruction well into the nineteenth century – would qualify as an integral part of many compositions, even those produced during Kretzschmar’s lifetime. Thoroughbass procedures could be seen to be every bit as much of an identity marker for a composer, a period, a national style, or a particular affect as those mentioned above by Kretzschmar.

Indeed, according to Kretzschmar, the proper interpretation – whether by performer, composer, or listener – relies on a basic understanding of the entire range of musical vocabulary available to any participant. Music implies understanding, not merely of elementary conventions, but also of their broader, hermeneutical implications and inferences. In the process of executing a given composition, competent instrumentalists

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werden, die Harmonik Händels unterscheidet sich von der aller andern Meister durch die bedeutende Verwendung des verminderten Dreiklangs, die Mozarts durch die Vorliebe für Sextakkorde. In dem Verhältnis zu den Elementarmitteln wird nicht bloss die Eigenheit einzelner Meister, sondern auch die von Perioden und Nationen schnell äusserlich deutlich.”

<sup>224</sup> Ibid. “Bekannntschaft mit dem Geist und den Strömungen der Entstehungszeit, mit ihren besonderen musikalischen Sitten und Bräuchen gibt häufig näheren Aufschluss über den Inhalt, über das Objekt von Instrumentalkompositionen.”

must be ever cognizant of the character of the figures that the composer has set down, regardless of any dearth of indications on the page. Using a particular passage from a Beethoven violin part as an example, Kretzschmar states the following:

Thus the violinists, for technical reasons must, to begin with, be clear as to the uniform execution of the character of this figure. And so it is everywhere in instrumental music: without an understanding of the actual meaning, hardly a measure can correctly be carried out and, it may justly be added, listened to. Instrumental music constantly demands that the performer see uninterruptedly the capabilities behind the markings and formal ideas, it demands that this, the gift of explication, which [instrumental music] possesses, rise up . . .

Therefore, if musical practice demonstrates for us the necessity of a deeper musical understanding, one that extends beyond formal boundaries, it also at the same time raises [certain] possibilities. If the orchestra plays the Beethoven motive harshly and combatively, if the chorus sings the Berlioz [work] gently and dreamily, thus the actual evidence is produced that, as concerns the [distinctive] spirit and the character of discrete sections of a composition, a unity, a clarity arising from these juxtaposed components, can be realized.<sup>225</sup>

#### **b) Kretzschmar's *Führer durch dem Konzert-Saal***

For Kretzschmar and many others during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, then, the ability to engage the listener through hermeneutical means is crucial to the proper conveyance of the composer's ideas and intentions. Obviously, the converse of this statement is then true as well: the listener must be sufficiently well versed in this symbolic language to perceive the composer's intentions. An interesting example of the use of traditional figured-bass notation to these ends can be found in what is perhaps Kretzschmar's most famous contribution to musical exegesis, the *Führer durch dem*

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<sup>225</sup> Ibid., 49. "[S]o müssen die Geiger schon aus technischen Rücksichten, wegen der gleichmässigen Ausführung über den Charakter dieser Figur im Klaren sein. Und so ists überall in der Instrumentalmusik: ohne Verständnis des eigentlichen Sinnes lässt sich kaum ein Takt richtig ausführen und, wie gleich hinzugefügt werden darf, anhören. Die Instrumentalmusik verlangt ununterbrochen die Fähigkeit hinter den Zeichen und Formen Ideen zu sehen, sie verlangt, dass diejenigen, welche sie treiben, die Gabe des Auslegens besitzen . . . Wie uns somit die musikalische Praxis die Notwendigkeit eines tieferen über die Formensicherheit hinausgehenden Musikverständnisses zeigt, so ergibt sie zugleich auch dessen Möglichkeit. Wenn die Orchester jenes Beethovensche Motiv hart und streitbar spielen, die Chöre das Berliozsche weich und träumerisch singen, so ist damit der tatsächliche Beweis geliefert, dass über den Sinn und den Charakter einzelner Stellen einer Komposition eine Einigung, eine den nächsten Bedarf deckende Klarheit erzielt werden kann."



*Konzert-Saal (Guide to the Concert Hall)*, which went through many editions in the late nineteenth century and was expanded by other authors in the 1930s.<sup>226</sup> In several examples in the *Führer*, it is clear that Kretzschmar is confident in his readers' ability to interpret certain hermeneutical aspects of compositions through figured-bass notation.

Kretzschmar felt that it was important to instruct the uninitiated public in the hermeneutical elements of "the greatest creations in the field of instrumental music [that is] so important nowadays."<sup>227</sup> The purpose of such explications, he felt, was universal throughout the disparate artistic disciplines:

In every field [hermeneutics'] aim is the same – to penetrate to the meaning and conceptual content enclosed within the forms concerned, to seek everywhere for the soul beneath the corporeal covering, to identify the irreducible core of thought in every sentence of a writer and in every detail of an artist's work; to explain and analyze the whole by obtaining the clearest possible understanding of every smallest detail – and all this by employing every aid that technical knowledge, general culture and personal talent can supply.<sup>228</sup>

Kretzschmar presents his hermeneutical interpretations as an interaction between the motivic activity of the work (for which he provides musical examples in his analyses) and a rather lengthy assortment of stock musical allusions represented by various technical elaborations. The evocation of foreboding, for example, would be accomplished by the introduction of chromatic scales.<sup>229</sup> For Kretzschmar, the basic vocabulary that would enable the listener to establish the necessary connections were

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<sup>226</sup> Peter Bent, editor, *Music Analysis in the Nineteenth Century*, Volume II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 106.

<sup>227</sup> Hermann Kretzschmar, "Anregungen zu Förderung musikalischer Hermeneutik," *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters für 1903* 9 (1903), 47-53. English translation by Martin Cooper in *Music in European Thought: 1851-1912*, edited by Bojan Bujić (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 114-20.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid., p. 115 in Bujić.

<sup>229</sup> Bent, *Music Analysis*, p. 107. This is an excellent example of the use of a particular tonal or harmonic formula to express a certain affect. Like *anabasis* and *catabasis*, discussed in more detail in Chapter 4 (see pp. 267ff. below), this technique has been given a name: *pathopeia*, or the use of chromaticism to symbolize fear, pain, terror, etc. Literally translated, the term means "excitement of the

what our forebears used to call the “affections,” i.e. the characteristic qualities of sensations, images, and ideas. It is these “affections” that are, so to say, incarnate in musical phrases, themes, and figures, *either in isolation or in associations and amalgamations such as are possible only in music.* [emphasis added]<sup>230</sup>

Kretzschmar firmly believed in the composer’s complicity in producing these impressions on the listener. What were in the late nineteenth century recent discoveries of sketches by Beethoven, Haydn, and Mozart proved to him that for all three artists, as well as for their contemporaries, “exceptional results [were] the outcome of calculation and conscious invention rather than mere inspiration.”<sup>231</sup>

Thus when discussing a composition such as Anton Bruckner’s Fourth Symphony, Kretzschmar is concerned not so much with dissecting Bruckner’s work as in discerning the composer’s motivations behind his compositional decisions, or “in reconstructing Bruckner’s motivation for composing as he did,” in the words of Bent.<sup>232</sup> In the case of the Fourth Symphony, the listener is presented with a programmatic title (“Romantic”); in such an instance, hermeneutic explication is given a considerable boost. Kretzschmar is thus tempted to speak of a “forest symphony,” the composer “process[ing] through the avenues of lofty tree trunks, in his mind the lines of the poet: ‘Thou hast built up thine own pillars and founded thy temple.’”<sup>233</sup> Such programmaticism is couched in technical processes as described above, so that the hermeneutic vocabulary

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passions.” See Joachim Burmeister, *Musical Poetics*, trans. Benito V. Rivera (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 175 for definition and pp. 278-81 for musical examples. George J. Buelow, in “Rhetoric and Music,” *NGD*, Vol. 21, § I, 2- 4, notes, however, that such examples of the German *Figurenlehre*, as initially advanced by Burmeister, contained “numerous conflicts in terminology and definition among various writers” and therefore lacked any clear systematization, despite claims from many German writers throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including Kretzschmar. This point is irrelevant to the purposes of this study; that writers and the public at large, as well as composers, were aware, both consciously and subconsciously, of these musical-rhetorical gestures – no matter what the level of systematic coordination – is the salient point.

<sup>230</sup> Kretzschmar, “Anregungen zu Föderung,” in Bujić, p.117.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>232</sup> Bent, *Musical Analysis*, p. 107.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109.

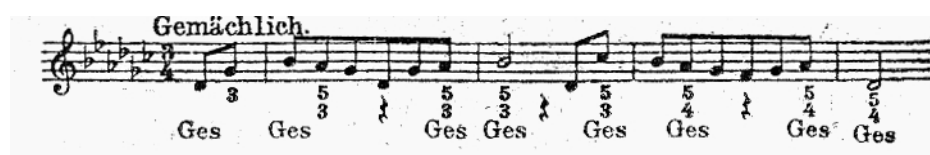
is clear to the listener. Sextuplet eighth notes in the finale, for example, must arouse in the listener “the terror of the forest, the woods at night and in storms, their somber and ghostly character.”<sup>234</sup>

Along these lines, of particular interest is Kretzschmar’s discussion of the trio of the third movement. In his narrative of the movement, the *Scherzo* proper is the section in which “the horns regale us with hunting motives.”<sup>235</sup> The *Trio* presents an image that contrasts to that of “the exciting life of the huntsman”<sup>236</sup> depicted in the *Scherzo*.

Kretzschmar describes the *Trio*, marked *Gemächlich* (leisurely), as follows:

From the outset, it sounds like a simple dance, and has a very droll, at times burlesque effect that derives from its lolling main melody, suggesting the lower social classes and their pleasures.<sup>237</sup>

He provides a musical incipit to illustrate the point.



Example 2-1: Kretzschmar, *Führer*, p. 786

It is telling to note that he presents this example not merely as melody with accompanying chord symbols to indicate the tonality but with figured-bass notation as well. This practice is by no means *de rigueur* for Kretzschmar in the *Guide*. While the letter names to indicate tonal areas are used somewhat consistently throughout the volume,<sup>238</sup> there are no more than a handful of other instances of figured-bass notation in

<sup>234</sup> Ibid., p. 116.

<sup>235</sup> Hermann Kretzschmar, “*Führer durch den Konzertsaal: I. Abteilung: Sinfonie und Suite Band I / II* (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1921), p. 785. “... empfangen uns die Hörner mit Jagdsignalen.”

<sup>236</sup> Kretzschmar, *Führer*, p. 786. “. . . aufgeregt Waidmannsleben.”

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., p. 786. “Es klingt auf Augenblicke wie ein Tänzchen und wirkt auf Grund seiner gemächlichen, auf niedere Volksschichten und ihre Freudenweisenden Hauptmelodie sehr drollig, stellenweise burlesk.” Translation from Bent, *Musical Analysis*, p. 115.

<sup>238</sup> These are indeed indications of localized harmonic movement and not Sechterian expressions of fundamental bass progressions, though Sechter uses a similar notation in his *Grundsätze der*

Kretzschmar's work.<sup>239</sup> These cases seem not to be arbitrary; rather, the figured bass appears to be integral to the explication of a point Kretzschmar is striving to make.

For example, in the musical incipit that accompanies his essay on the third movement of Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherzade* (Example 2-2), the elaborate figured-bass part beneath the melody seems to underscore the complex harmony and the relationship between the two elements in a way mere chord symbols could not.



Example 2-2: Kretzschmar, *Führer*, p. 474

Here the composer “seeks to offer new and entirely audacious color changes with modulations through counterpoint.”<sup>240</sup>

Kretzschmar's examples for the second movement of Dvořák's Symphony No. 9, the opening melody (*Largo*) and the C<sup>#</sup> minor theme that follows (*Un poco più mosso*), are comparably illuminating. Here again, it would seem that the figured bass is intended to provide a link to the composer's compositional thought process. For example,

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*musikalischen Komposition* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1854). This renders the rare thoroughbass explications even more effective.

<sup>239</sup> These examples are, as they appear in the *Führer*, as follows: 1) G. Gabrieli, Canzona No. VIII for Two Violins, Two Trumpets, and Two Trombones, p. 27; 2) Rimsky-Korsakov, *Scheherazade*, mvt. III (*Andante quasi Allegretto*), p. 474; 3) Dvořák, Symphony No. 9 (listed in the *Führer* as the *Fünfte Sinfonie*), mvt. II, pp. 589-90; 4) Borodin, Second Symphony, mvt. III, p. 629; 5) Saint-Saëns, Second Symphony, mvt. III, p. 839.

<sup>240</sup> Kretzschmar, *Führer*, p. 474. “Die Farben wechseln, die Modulationen unter den Kontrapunkten, mit denen er Neues zu bieten sucht, sind ganz verwegene.”



### c) Eduard Hanslick's Formal Aesthetics

It should be pointed out that Kretzschmar's view of associative meaning, which he and his German contemporaries dubbed *Affektenlehre*, had no place in the extremely popular concept of formal aesthetics put forth during the nineteenth century by the Austrian historian and music critic Eduard Hanslick (1825-1904). In Hanslick's view, music is a structured pattern of sound: "the expression or representation of distinct feelings cannot be considered the 'content' of music or the basis of its aesthetic value."<sup>243</sup> There is, then, no relationship with the representational or emotional devices delineated by Kurth or Kretzschmar. Music is not used by the composer to elicit emotion, nor can it be perceived by the listener as an evocation of that emotion. Nick Zangwill puts it thusly:

Hanslick's view is that the beauty of music is *specifically musical*. He takes that to mean that musical beauty is inherent in tonal relationships and it involves no connection with anything extra-musical, such as the emotions of a composer or listener. I prefer to put Hanslick's view by saying that beauty in music is *determined* solely by tonal relationships, and it is not determined by anything extra-musical . . . [T]he value of a piece of music is determined solely by its being a particular structured pattern of sound.<sup>244</sup>

Kretzschmar rejects this view categorically, deriding what he perceives as Hanslick's dismissiveness of the traditions of the past:

Musical hermeneutics was truly only seriously questioned in our time by the so-called formal aestheticists . . . This ancient party found in the rise of the New German music a representative in Eduard Hanslick, who, with his dazzlingly ingenious dialectics, went so far as to leave the apt observations and commentaries of all the Pythagoreans, all the Artusians, and all the Ulibischeffians behind. [Hanslick], and only he, had the musical world believing for a while that the establishment of new forms with some new references would be inadmissible, that music had no [extra-musical] content, that it was, indeed, [merely] a series of tones. The untenable nature of this statement is made clear if one attempts to transfer its message to the other arts. Thus the meaning of poetry would lie in a series of syllables,

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<sup>243</sup> Thomas Grey, "Eduard Hanslick," *NGD*, Vol. 10, pp. 827-33.

<sup>244</sup> Nick Zangwill, "Feasible Aesthetic Formalism," *Noûs* (1999), 610-29. See 622. The italics are Zangwill's.

and that of paintings and sculptures in color and canvas, marble and bronze.<sup>245</sup>

In direct refutation of Hanslick's formalist position that music is determined solely on its musical content, Kretzschmar states the following:

Forms are the means of expression. That which is to be expressed is something spiritual. If the composer does not wish to indulge in mere hocus-pocus, [the meaning] must come to light by way of the forms, and the listener can thereby be enlightened, at least [in terms of] the principle components [of expression], which are the *Affekte*. The opinion that music works only musically must be eliminated and the joy in "absolute music" as an aesthetic ambiguity be recognized.<sup>246</sup>

While Kretzschmar's zeal in pressing his case for musical hermeneutics is understandable, his reading of Hanslick's theories, particularly as presented in the analogy with other arts, may be a bit overstated. Modern proponents of formal aesthetics have little problem with the idea of non-aesthetic properties of a work – in this analogy the "color and canvas, marble and bronze" from the above quote – being perceived as integral parts of the organic whole.

Only the most literal interpretation of Hanslick's view of musical aesthetics would lead the reader to conclude that the artistic value of the work is totally self-contained and self-referential. A more moderate position on formal aesthetics is put forth by Zangwill in the following statement:

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<sup>245</sup> Kretzschmar, "Anregungen," 49-50. "Ernstlicher ist eine musikalische Hermeneutik eigentlich in unserer Zeit nur durch die sogenannten Formalästhetiker in Frage gestellt worden. Diese uralte Partei fand beim Emporkommen der neudeutschen Musik in Eduard Hanslick einen Vertreter, der an glänzender geistreicher Dialektik, an treffenden Beobachtungen und Bemerkungen allerdings alle Pythagoraeer, alle Artusi und Ulibischeffs weit hinter sich liess. Ihm, und nur ihm hat es die Musikwelt eine Zeitlang glauben können, dass die Begründung neuer Formen mit einem neuen Inhalt unstatthaft sei, dass die Musik keinen Inhalt habe, es seien denn Tonreihen. Die Unhaltbarkeit der Behauptung ergibt sich schon durch den Versuch sie auf andre Künste zu übertragen. Da bestünde der Inhalt der Poesie in Silbenreihen, der von Gemälden und Skulpturen in Farbe und Leinwand, in Marmor und Bronze."

<sup>246</sup> Ibid., 53. "Die Formen sind Mittel des Ausdrucks. Was ausgedrückt werden soll, ist etwas Geistiges. Dass muss, wenn der Komponist nicht Hokusfokus treibt, unter den Formen und durch sie zum Vorschein kommen und dem Hörer mindestens in den Hauptzügen, das sind die Affekte, klar werden. Die Ansicht, dass Musik nur musikalisch wirke, muss beseitigt, die Freude an der 'absoluten Musik' als eine ästhetische Unklarheit erkannt werden."

Someone who was attracted to the view that the beauty of music is purely musical might not accept the strong thesis that the value of a piece of music is determined solely by its constituent tones. He might say that the musical significance of a piece of music is determined in part by the musical tradition of which it is a part. On this hybrid view, the beauty of a particular piece of music is partly determined by other pieces of music but not by some relation to emotion. A musical tradition is not extra-musical, unlike the emotions of a composer or listener.<sup>247</sup>

Thus, if we follow this model, even by the tenets of formal aesthetics, such musical devices as figured-bass and *Generalbass* practices may be recognized as part of a musical tradition and thereby eligible for inclusion in the organic whole.

### III. The Appropriation of Thoroughbass Pedagogy for New Purposes

#### a) Georg Joseph Vogler

Kretzschmar was especially intent on propagating his hermeneutical view through the well-tested means of the *Intervallenlehre*. Indeed, he advocates incorporating precepts of aesthetic expression in the exercises of a preparatory harmony text:

Since each method must begin with the [basic] elements, a preparatory school of musical aesthetics must first teach what the simplest melodic, rhythmic, and harmonic forms for the expression and encouragement of our feelings and conceptions are . . . . The attempt at a methodical training in the aesthetics of these three ancient elements is already difficult enough, because they occur extremely rarely in pure form, at least in the newer music, which modifies each intervallic event rhythmically and harmonically, connecting each rhythm with melody and harmony, each chord with melody and rhythm. Yet these attempts are not entirely hopeless. The possibility of an aesthetic *Intervallenlehre* has, in earlier times, already been repeatedly demonstrated, most convincingly by Anton Reicha, who begins his compositional tutor with a flawless [section on] melodic rhetoric.<sup>248</sup>

<sup>247</sup> Zangwill, "Formalism," note 43.

<sup>248</sup> Kretzschmar, "Anregungen," 58. "Da jede Methode mit den Elementen beginnen muss, hat eine Vorschule der Musikästhetik zunächst zu lehren, was die einfachsten melodischen, rhythmischen und harmonischen Elementarformen für Empfindungen und Vorstellungen ausdrücken und anregen . . . . Schon die Versuche einer methodischen Ausbildung in der Ästhetik der alten drei Elements sind schwer genug, weil sie in reinen Formen äusserst selten vorkommen, wenigstens in der neuen Musik, die jede Intervallwirkung rhythmisch und harmonisch modifiziert, jeden Rhythmus mit Melodie und Harmonie, jeden Akkord mit Melodie und Rhythmus verbindet. Doch sind diese Versuche nicht ganz aussichtslos. Die Möglichkeit einer ästhetischen Intervallenlehre ist bereits mehrfach tatsächlich in älterer Zeit bewiesen worden, am überzeugendsten von Anton Reicha, der seine Kompositionslehre mit einer einwandfreien melodischen Rhetorik beginnt." Kretzschmar refers here to Antoine Reicha, *Traité de mélodie* (Paris, 1814), which contains references to eighteenth-century rhetorical practices. The list of authors who



Kretzschmar was not alone in attributing hermeneutical value to basic musical elements. It should be stressed here that even as the early nineteenth-century theorists strove to dislodge theoretical principles from the grip of what they felt to be the convoluted and highly distracting rules of *Generalbass* formulae, they chose to explain their new, harmonically oriented theories through the only medium with which a benighted public was musically conversant – namely, those very *Generalbass* conventions. Consider the *Handbuch zur Harmonielehre und für den Generalbass* of Georg Joseph Vogler; though tending to be dismissive of *Generalbass* practices in the context of a scientific musical system, Vogler nonetheless devotes a full seventeen pages to his “Abhandlung vom Generalbass” that serves as a conclusion to the *Handbuch*.<sup>249</sup> The continuing importance of the tradition was clearly not lost on him. The first chapter, which presents the questions *Was ist Generalbass?* and *Was heisst Generalbassist?* in its heading, makes the following assertions:

*Generalbass* is a figured-bass voice within which the entire harmony is expressed.

A *Generalbassist* is one who either sets the figures above the notes or, as it were, plays the notes from the previously set figures, or one who realizes a figured bass or unfigured-bass chords out of a complete score.

In this *Appendix* I will present the art that concerns which numbers are correct for which notes.

The skill by which the ability to play the figures immediately is achieved only by a great deal of practice, and is amenable to no special forms of instruction.

The science by which one can figure an entire bass part from a score allows the player to anticipate with precision the details of the

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included a compendium of affective and rhetorical references in their treatises is quite extensive, including Mattheson, Werckmeister, Marpurg, and Quantz. See George J. Buelow, “Affects, theory of the,” *NGD*, Vol. 1, p. 181

<sup>249</sup> Georg Joseph Vogler, *Handbuch zur Harmonielehre und für den Generalbass* (Prague: K. Barth, 1802), pp. 125-41.



However, Vogler does include Roman numerals, I through V, in his chart, providing some insight into the transitional nature of his theoretical concept. The Graves put in thusly:

Vogler's opposition to thoroughbass methods resides not in their emphasis on voice leading, but rather in their insistence on looking to the bass line, rather than the chord roots, as the foundation for their rules. By mastering thoroughbass, as Vogler himself attempted to do in his student years, the pupil can gain a glimmer of insight into the role of voice leading in the grammar of harmony – the interplay of consonance and dissonance that animates the underlying harmonic order – but he learns nothing of the rational foundations on which that order rests.

Vogler's solution is to combine the principal advantages of fundamental-bass and thoroughbass approaches in his own system of reduction. As in a rigorous fundamental-bass system, the root of the chord is the foundation of the harmony, regardless of which note lies in the bass. But Vogler's notion of what constitutes the root of a chord is quite different from Rameau's; it is a scale degree, pure and simple, regardless of the quality of its third or fifth, and its location is determined by the context of the voice leading in accordance with the system of reduction.

The stable basis of Vogler's system, then, is not the perfect triad on one hand, nor the bass line on the other, but the tonal center represented by a scale. For Vogler, any given sonority may be explained in terms of its relationship to a scale-degree root within a key. By virtue of this proposal, he succeeds in drawing a direct line from the elaborated surface of a musical texture to a tonal center, represented by a scale and the triads built upon any of its degrees. More remote relationships are then perceived as embellishments or elaborations of these secondary centers.<sup>251</sup>

Vogler's new principles, revolutionary though they may have been, still required a contextual language with which he might be able to communicate them to the greater musical community of his day. No other such notational language existed at this time and so we see Vogler having to transmit his ideas – even the advanced concept of *Mehrdeutigkeit* – in terms of the still ubiquitous *Generalbass* figurations, as can be seen in Example 2-5 below, also from the *Handbuch*.

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<sup>251</sup> Floyd K. and Margaret G. Grave, *In Praise of Harmony: The Teachings of Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), p. 47.

Vogler's appropriation of the familiar *Generalbass* terminology extends far beyond the efforts mentioned above. Indeed, the abbé had a long history of pedagogical engagement with more practical musical material. One of the most prominent examples is his *Zwei und dreisig Präludien für die Orgel und für das Fortepiano, nebst einer Zergliederung in ästhetischer, rhetorischer und harmonischer Rücksicht* (Thirty-two preludes for the organ and for the fortepiano, accompanied by an analysis from the aesthetic, rhetorical, and harmonic point of view). In this 1806 work, Vogler

Example 2-5: Vogler, *Handbuch*, Tab. VII

provides an analytical table for each of the thirty-two works (see Example 2-5b below).



Bent's description emphasizes the symbiotic nature of the many converging concepts taking place at this time, although to him, this suggests a somewhat different slant on the issue. He prefaces his analysis in this way:

The table uses not staff but figured-bass notation (which lends it the superficial appearance of a keyboard tablature), and yet negates the very principle of figured-bass thought by interpreting the vertical sonorities in terms of roots and then rewriting the figurings as chords of those roots.<sup>255</sup>

Whether or not Vogler's analytical notation implies the negation of thoroughbass tradition, the figured-bass explication of these *Präludien*, combined with chord-root analysis, lends itself well to the grammatically complex nature of these pieces, providing a multi-dimensional and easily comprehensible model, set forth partially in a well-established nomenclature, for the serious student to practice and study.

#### **b) Gottfried Weber**

The precepts of the German composer and theorist Gottfried Weber (1779-1839) have much in common with Vogler's. And, indeed, his *Versuch einer geordneten Theorie der Tonsetzkunst* (1817-1821) is explicitly dismissive of *Generalbass* practices as they pertain to the overall presentation of a musical-theoretical approach. The quote below is the only time in the entire three-volume treatise that the subject ever really arises:

In addition to the notation described thus far, there is also still another notation that utilizes numbers, or rather a concatenation of notes, numbers, and other indications, to which one traditionally refers as *Generalbass*. (See my "Commentary on, or rather against, the so-called *Generalbass* performance, etc." in the *Leipziger allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 1813, No. 7).

This cryptographic language (*Chiffersprache*), however, presupposes an understanding of intervals, indeed of the entire scope of [harmonic and melodic practices]; therefore, it cannot be expounded upon here.<sup>256</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Ibid.

<sup>256</sup> Gottfried Weber, *Versuch einer geordneten Theorie der Tonsetzkunst zum Selbstunterricht, mit Anmerkungen für Gelehrtere* (Mainz: B. Schott, 1817), §. 44, p. 46. "Ausser der bisher beschriebenen Notenschrift giebt es auch noch eine Notenschrift durch Ziffer, oder vielmehr ein Gemengsel von Noten,

Thus Weber joins the parade of theorists who would wish to withhold the discussion of *Generalbass* practices to a point in the student's instruction where all of the basic compositional elements have been set in place; and by pointing to his earlier article in the *Leipziger allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* of 1813, he seems to be referring the reader of the treatise back to this article with the intention of indicating that it contains all the information necessary on *Generalbass* practices that the modern *Tonkünstler* might need to know.

The article does indeed echo the statement above in many ways; and yet, though the title of this article might initially lead the reader to a certain conclusion about Weber's position on the subject, much of what he has to say is actually favorable towards many *Generalbass* procedures; while denouncing the tradition as having no viable role in contemporary performance, he acknowledges that *Generalbass* procedures have retained their efficacy as a compositional and pedagogical tool:

The figuring of the instrumental-bass voice of the score is an approach [used by] composers of early [i. e., Baroque] sacred music. This figuring undoubtedly has its uses, if only in that it, in a run-through, an overview of the score can produce an immediate understanding of the various voices. . . . to facilitate the harmony and to prevent the attention of the keyboardist, – the director in a rehearsal, and so on – or else the [score] readers, from allowing an unexpected leading tone, or an otherwise crucial interval, which very likely might be concealed in some unusual key where one may not easily notice it, to escape unnoticed.

The utility of these applications is so obvious that one wonders such practices would not be found in secular music as well.

However, a completely different question remains: Is it desirable to have the figured bass performed as part of a work?

One will no doubt chastise me as an enemy of the organist if I maintain that this type of organ accompaniment is injurious to the effect of the performance: and yet, I can readily protest that it may not

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Ziffern und andern Zeichen, die man auch Generalbass zu nennen pflegt. (Vergl. meine Abhandl. über oder vielmehr gegen das sogenannte Generalbassspielen etc. in der Leipziger allg. Musik. Zeitg. von 1813 N.º 7)

Diese Chiffersprache setzt aber Kenntnis der Intervalle, ja eigentlich der Harmonie und Melodie in ihrem ganzen Umfang voraus; sie kann also hier noch nicht erklärt werden."

be easy to find a more ardent advocate for this multifaceted musical instrument as am I . . . .

I do not need to enumerate here the insufficiency, the unreliability, and the other deficiencies that generally result from musical notation through figuration – these are widely recognized . . . .

The entire [process of] figuration [that is, pitch notation of any kind] is, in and of itself, nothing more than an abbreviation, which developed in the Middle Ages, in the same epoch in which the use of abbreviation in written language was, through the emergence of printing, becoming extremely commonplace. At that time, when music was yet in its infancy, things were different in that a highly simple and manageable chorale melody [would be given] an equally simple harmonic accompaniment on the organ, and multi-voiced vocal and instrumental music could be performed without figuring each individual scale degree. – This was probably sufficient to satisfy such an abbreviated style; here a few figures, serving as memory guides, were sufficient to the purpose, designating for the organist what little needed to be notated in such an accompaniment.

The music, however, became more structured and complex: at the same time, the art of figuration developed more and more along with it, but such steps were insufficient to contain [the essence of] the art . . . . Now, like Egyptian hieroglyphics used to write a philosophical treatise, this imperfect sign language, no longer a concise abbreviation, falls short.

These figures, so helpful in the facilitation of an overview of the harmony, or, as it were, to sketch a mnemonic abbreviation or a stenographic shorthand [version] of the harmony – are no longer useful as a surrogate notation in the proper labeling of something so intricate as our current harmonic materials . . . . and the performer of figures can no longer, for the most part, provide an effective accompaniment, much in the way the best orator can deliver a poor and stumbling lecture if he should be forced to read illegible handwriting, in which no words are [fully] written out, rather all are abbreviated.<sup>257</sup>

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<sup>257</sup> Gottfried Weber, “Ueber das sogenannte Generalbass-Spielen bey Aufführung von Kirchen-Musiken, und über würdigere Auswendung der Orgel,” *Leipziger allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, No. 7, 1813, 102-12. “Es ist ein altchristliches Herkommen unter den Kirchen-Componisten, die Instrumental-Bassstimme ihrer Partituren zu beziffern. Wol hat diese Bezifferung ihren Nutzen, wäre es auch nur den, bey dem Durchspielen die Uebersicht der Partitur das augenblickliche Auffassen der oft in sehr verschiedenartige Stimmen zertheilten Harmonie zu erleichtern, und zu verhindern, dass der Aufmerksamkeit des Partiturspielers, – des Dirigenten etc. bey der Probe u. dergl. – oder sonst des Lesers, nicht etwa ein unerwarteter Leitton, oder sonst ein entscheidendes Intervall, unbemerkt entschlüpfe, welches vielleicht in einem unwichtig scheinenden Blasinstrumente, in einem ungewöhnlichen Schlüssel, oder sonst versteckt seyn möchte, wo man es nicht leicht gesucht hätte. – Die Nützlichkeit dieses Gebrauchs an sich ist so einleuchtend, dass man sich wol wundern darf, wenn er nicht eben so gut in der profanen Musik Aufnahme findet.

Eine ganz andere Frage bleibt aber: Ist es gut, diesen Zifferbass bey der Aufführung des Stückes *abspielen zu lassen*?

Man wird mich kurzweg einen Orgelfeind schelten, wenn ich behaupte, dass diese Art von Orgelbegleitung dem Effect der Aufführung schädlich ist: und doch kann ich redlich betheuern, dass es nicht leicht einen wärmern Verehrer dieser vielseitigen Tonwerkzeuge geben mag, als ich es bin . . . .

Ich brauche zum Ende nicht erst hier die Mangelhaftigkeit, die Unzuverlässigkeit, und die sonstigen Mängel der Tonschrift durch Ziffern überhaupt weitläufig aufzuzählen — sie sind anerkannt . . . .

Die ganze Bezifferung ist ja an sich nichts anders, als eine *Abbréviatur*, entstanden im Mittelalter, in eben der Epoche, wo das Abbreviren auch in der Schrift so häufig vorkam, und durchgehends so ganz gewöhnlich war, dass sie sogar noch in die Druckschrift herübergezogen wurde. Damals, wo sich die



The placing of thoroughbass procedures in pedagogical settings proves to be a constant throughout the nineteenth century. As discussed in the previous chapter, the orientation of composers from 1600 on, in terms of performance practices as well as pedagogical and compositional training, was rooted in the figured-bass manuals that proliferated during this extended period. While many of the specific qualities associated with thoroughbass are taken up elsewhere, it should be pointed out that many nineteenth-century composers made great use of a figured-bass texture, either explicitly, with actual figured continuo parts, or implicitly, making use of the still well-established principles that had their roots in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The point is affirmed by Leonard Ratner, who calls attention to the relevance, both pedagogical and compositional, of figured bass traditions:

In pedagogy and in free composition of both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the polarity of outer lines is manifested commonly in figure-bass textures. Most exercises in treatises and a great deal of free composition embody the typical layout of figured-bass texture, which derived from continuo practice; that is, a single bass line supporting two or three close-position voices in the treble. Figured bass itself was current in teaching throughout the nineteenth century; its methods differed little from those established in the eighteenth century.<sup>258</sup>

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Musik noch in der Kindheit befand; als es blos darauf ankam, zu einer höchst einfachen u. langsamen Choral-Melodie ein eben so einfache harmonische Begleitung auf der Orgel, und ohne Hinzutritt einer figurirten, vielstimmigen Vocal- und Instrumental-Musik zu spielen. – da konnte ein solche abbrevirte Schreibart wol genügen; da konnten ein paar Ziffern als blosse Denkzeichen wol ihren Zweck erfüllen, dem Organisten das Wenige, was bey einer solchen Begleitung zu bemerken ist, zu bezeichnen. Als aber die Musik sich mehr auszubilden anfang und complizirter wurde: da bildete sich zwar zugleich mit ihr auch die Bezifferungskunst mehr und mehr aus, aber Schritt halten konnte eine an sich so mangelhafte Sache nicht mit der Kunst selbst; und jetzt langt . . . diese unvollkommene Zeichensprache, langen blosse Abbreviaturen nicht mehr, und so wenig hin, als ägyptische Hieroglyphen, um eine philosophische Abhandlung zu schreiben. – Die Ziffern, so dienlich sie zur Erleichterung der Übersicht der Harmonie sein mögen, oder als Abbreviaturen, um, gleichsam mnemonisch oder stenographisch, eine Harmonie zu skizzieren – zu *gehöriger* Bezeichnung von etwas so Verwickeltem, wie unsere heutigen Harmoniengewebe sind . . . taugt solch ein Schrift-Surrogat nicht mehr, und der Ziffer-Spieler kann nicht anders als grossentheils effectwidrig begleiten, gerade wie auch der beste Declamator, wenn er eine unleserliche Handschrift vorlesen soll, worin kein einziges Wort ausgeschrieben, sondern alle abbrevirt sind, nicht anders, als schlecht und holpernd vortragen kann.”

<sup>258</sup> Leonard G. Ratner, *Romantic Music: Sound and Syntax* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1992), p. 16.

Berlioz states in his *Memoirs* that as a child, “the only pieces of music I knew were *solfeggios* accompanied by a figured bass, solos for the flute, or bits of operas with pianoforte accompaniment.”<sup>259</sup>

Evidence that thoroughbass practices extended to the late nineteenth century may be adduced from a statement by Tchaikovsky concerning his work habits:

I usually write my sketches on the first piece of paper to hand. I jot them down in the most abbreviated form. A melody never stands alone, but invariably with the harmonies which belong to it. These two elements of music, together with the rhythm, must never be separated; every melodic idea brings its own inevitable harmony and its suitable rhythm. If the harmony is very intricate, I set down in the sketch a few details as to the working out of the parts; when the harmony is quite simple, I only put in the bass, or a figured bass.<sup>260</sup>

Clearly the number of musicians using figured bass, *col basso*, or other unfigured basso continuo practices in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is sufficient to suggest underlying purposes other than the mere reflexive reliance on a time-honored habit. Further, the fact that the practice continued far into the nineteenth century and beyond, in a direct line of descent from Sechter through Bruckner, all the way to the harmonic practices outlined by Schoenberg in his *Harmonielehre* of 1911,<sup>261</sup> would seem to indicate a compositional process into which the older traditions of figured bass and other basso continuo processes were fully integrated.

#### **IV. The Enduring Presence of Thoroughbass in Nineteenth-Century Harmonic Theory**

##### **a) Monism, Dualism, and Polarism**

It is clear that prominent musicians of the nineteenth century took note of the large-scale compositional implications of *Generalbass* theory as well as the more

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<sup>259</sup> Hector Berlioz, *Memoirs of Hector Berlioz*, trans. E. Newman (New York: Tudor Publishing, 1932), pp. 15-16.

<sup>260</sup> Modeste Tchaikovsky, *The Life and Letters of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky*, trans. Rosa Newmarch (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1924), p. 309.

<sup>261</sup> Ratner, *Romantic Music*, Chapter 2, note 1.

immediate pedagogical and explicative aspects. It would appear that, in retrospect, Kurth's adumbration of the tectonic forces ("constructive" and "destructive") discussed above can be viewed as valid not only for Richard Wagner and his followers in these matters, such as Bruckner and Hugo Wolf, but for earlier nineteenth-century composers and theoretists as well. This can be readily seen in nineteenth-century approaches to modulation. Techniques for negotiating the connection between keys, outlined by eighteenth-century musicians, are in the nineteenth century merely taken to their logical, if extreme, conclusion. As we have seen in our discussion of Kurth's theories above (see pp. 84ff.), the presence of constructive and destructive forces in chordal structures are what propel the music forward. Modulation processes – inherent in the very nature of tonality derived from tertian construction due to the presence of these constructive and destructive forces – are what carry the day for Romantic harmony; for it is the triumph of the destructive forces that opens the processes of tonality to the extremes necessary to the composition of music in the later nineteenth century:

Above all a contradistinction was to be made [in these processes] between adhering to the same tonality and a transition to a foreign tonality; further, this latter case can be based on the logical connection of harmonies within the key, or, for all intents and purposes, in a [tonal] shift and its total coloristic effect; for now, with these complete progression processes also exhibiting evermore-frequent and ever-closer skips, one on the heels of another, in the changing tonalities, it is clear that the way in which the decaying over the cohesive, [that is to say the way in which] the destructive over the constructive forces attain predominance, lies here.<sup>262</sup>

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<sup>262</sup> Kurth, *Romantische Harmonik*, p. 307. "Vor allem war hierbei zwischen einem Festhalten der gleichen Tonart und zwischen Übergang in fremde Tonart zu unterscheiden; auch der letztere kann in logischem Tonartszusammenhang beruhen, oder schlechtweg in einer Rückung und ihrem absoluten Farbeffekt; indem sich nun mit absoluten Fortschrittwirkungen auch immer häufiger und immer dichter hintereinander ein Überspringen in wechselnde Tonarten ausgelöst findet, ist es klar, dass hier der Weg liegt, auf dem die zersetzenden über die zusammenhaltenden, die destruktiven über die konstruktiven Kräfte das Übergewicht erlangen."

Therefore, processes of modulation – whether conceived locally, as in thoroughbass practice, or more globally, as in the newer, “destructive” formats already current in the early nineteenth century – is crucial to the compositional techniques of musicians who occupied the turbulent musical landscape of the turn of the nineteenth century.

The role of modulatory processes in compositional and performance mechanisms at the turn of the nineteenth century is crucial to an understanding of the development of virtually every important composer of that century. In the previous chapter, we discussed various approaches to modulation in writings by Rameau, C. P. E. Bach, and others. Many scholars have grouped their discussions into the categories of monism and dualism. The following explanation of these principles is among the clearest and most succinct I have encountered:

“[H]armonic monism” . . . represent[s] categories of music-theoretical work that assume the abstract primacy of the major triad, which finds its concrete form in the acoustic structure of the overtone series or in the properties of certain advantaged interger ratios applied to string divison; accordingly, the minor triad appears in such theories as a derivative, produced by History, or in the case of Schenker, by the true Subject of History, the Artist. “[H]armonic dualism” . . . represent[s] categories of music-theoretical work that accept the absolute structural equality of major and minor triads as objects derived from a single, unitary process that structurally contains the potential for twofold, or binary, articulation.<sup>263</sup>

Especially pertinent to our discussion is Ulf Thomson’s expansion on this dialectic to include the new, syncretic principle of polarism.

Monism regards harmony as the stacking [of tones] over a bass note. It thereby declares itself [in accordance with] *Generalbass* [practices] and, from the beginning, does without all explanations of a harmonic nature, which are not understood through the *Generalbass*. It interprets the chord as a static entity and reckons only with the simultaneity, not with the [harmonic] motion.

Dualism, based on Rameau’s teachings that the tonal center is defined by the dominant, was expanded by Riemann to the [theory of]

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<sup>263</sup> Henry Klumpenhouwer, “Dualist tonal space and transformation in nineteenth-century musical thought,” *Cambridge History of Western Music Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 456-76. See particularly p. 457.

functional harmony (*Funktionsharmonik*). All harmonic events are related to the center. This system is determined less by experience than by speculation and design.

Polarism tries to understand, by means of a scientifically precise foundation in the knowledge of tonal materials, the harmonic nature that is fashioned by the application of psychological forces. Ernst Kurth could be counted as an exponent of this school of thought, as could, in more recent times, [the Austrian composer and aestheticist] Friedrich Neumann (1924-1959).<sup>264</sup>

Temporarily putting aside Thomson's somewhat gratuitous categorization of *Generalbass* practices, we can appreciate his clear demarcation between the monistic thoroughbass theorists and proponents of dualism, who in the nineteenth century would derive their theoretical *imprimatur* from the writings of the Prussian physicist Hermann von Helmholtz.<sup>265</sup> Thomson's reference to dualism here includes all theories that feature the tonic / dominant relationship as a starting point for theoretical observations. He thus positions Riemann's theory of functional harmony as a logical extension of what Rameau expressed in his *Traité*,<sup>266</sup> though Rameau's attempts to engage the implications of the subdominant in this form were ultimately futile.<sup>267</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> Ulf Thomson, *Voraussetzungen und Artungen der österreichischen Generalbasslehre zwischen Albrechtsberger und Sechter* (Tutzing: Han Schneider, 1978), p. 102.

"Der Monismus betrachtet die Harmonie als Schichtung über dem Basston. Er bekennt sich damit zum Generalbass und verzichtet von vornherein auf alle jene Erklärungen des harmonischen Wesens, die durch den Generalbass nicht erfasst werden. Er versteht den Akkord als statisches Gebilde und rechnet nur mit dem Zusammenklang, nicht mit der Bewegung.

Der Dualismus, basierend auf Rameaus Lehre von den das tonale Zentrum einrahmenden Dominanten, wurde von Riemann zur Funktionsharmonik ausgeweitet. Alles harmonische Geschehen ist auf das Zentrum bezogen. Weniger Empirie als Spekulation und Konstruktion bestimmen das System.

Der Polarismus versucht auf einer wissenschaftlich einwandfreien Basis in der Erkenntnis des Tonmaterials die dem harmonischen Wesen Gestalt verleihenden psychischen Kräfte zu erfassen. Ernst Kurth wäre als Exponent dieser Richtung zu nennen und in neuerer Zeit Friedrich Neumann."

<sup>265</sup> Klumpenhouwer, "Dualistic tonal space," 457ff.

<sup>266</sup> Dale Jorgenson, "A Résumé of Harmonic Dualism," *Music and Letters* 44 (1963), 31-42. See 31.

<sup>267</sup> Jorgenson, "A Résumé," 34-35. Rameau embraced a dualistic theory of this sort in the *Génération harmonique* of 1737 after becoming aware of Joseph Sauver's theories concerning the natural resonance of sonorous bodies; however, Rameau eventually discarded the idea in the *Démonstration du principe de l'harmonie* of 1750. For more on Rameau's engagement of the subdominant see Chapter 1, note 102. See also Wason, "Fundamental Bass Theory," p. 2. Riemann's concept of dualism is briefly explained in Chapter 2, note 190 above. Note also in the quote that accompanies this footnote (pages 86-87 above) that Kurth is careful to distinguish between Riemann's "untenable dualistic explanation of the minor" and his "idea of organization by tonal functions."

Thomson positions polarism, then, as a synthesis by which the combined properties of monism and dualism – as expressed in such nineteenth-century theories as those of Riemann and Sechter – mesh with the Kurthian psychological forces we have referred to above. In Thomson's view, even the concept of "constructional dualism" – that is to say, Riemann's *Funktionstheorie* – putatively a creature of the late nineteenth century, is shunted aside by the forces of polarism described by Kurth:

Even the constructional dualism of Hugo Riemann is subsumed in the procedures of Romantic music: the attenuation of the centralizing sense of the tonic, the extension of the cadence, abrupt modulation, chromaticization and the use of third-related harmonies [that provides] justification [for these practices] - these are the result of the Romantic tendencies determined by Kurth.<sup>268</sup>

Thus, while condoning Riemann's concept of functional harmony, Kurth is nevertheless committed to the premise that Romantic music is the result of the systematic erosion of a central tonic through such means as chromaticism and reliance on tertian relationships. Music is, to be sure, a fusion of melodic and harmonic forces that create the very tensions on which so much of the Romantic musical concept depends, and this is clearly reflected in those very qualities of the *klangsinnlich* and the *energetisch* that we have previously discussed:

Kurth contrasts Baroque and Romantic styles based on their relationship to Classical style. He stresses that the "dynamic effects of linear polyphony" developed "before Classicism," that is, before homophonic harmony. Thus linear polyphony (polyphonic harmony) differs from Romantic harmony, whose very origin is the influx of kinetic-melodic energy into Classical harmony. Romantic harmony is neither wholly linear nor completely "harmonic," but rather a synthesis of these two extremes. In analyzing Wagner's music, Kurth tries to determine the nature of a given chord, and the sense of the progression to which it belongs, by assessing the relative strength of two competing

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<sup>268</sup> Thomson, *Voraussetzungen*, p. 107: "Selbst der konstruktive Dualismus Hugo Riemanns verliert in den Vorgängen der romantischen Musik: die Schwächung des zentralisierenden Tonikaempfindens, der Erweiterung der Kadenz, der Rückung, der Chromatisierung und dem Gebrauch terzverwandter Harmonik seine Gültigkeit — diese nämlich sind das Ergebnis der von Kurth festgestellten romantischen Tendenzen."

qualities in the harmony: the “sensuous” qualities (*klangsinnlich*) and the “energetic” qualities (*energetisch*).<sup>269</sup>

It is widely accepted that such psychological / creative forces evident at the beginning of the nineteenth century all but condemned the thoroughbass practices of the previous century to extinction. According to this view, the localized nature of *Generalbass* procedures – as described in Thomson’s quote above – precluded their participation in the new, free, unrestrained creations of contemporary genius; the old system was not able to cope with this new paradigm. New lines of thought, such as Vogler’s engagement with the *Tonleiter* and Gottfried Weber’s step method, seem to point in the direction of the future. *Generalbass* seemed unequal to the new tasks that musical composition entailed. Thomson interprets the problem in this way:

*Generalbass* as a basis for music theory was thus threatened from two sides: 1. through the positive insight that there were changes in the objectives of expression, from which the artistry of a particular time may be judged. Thus, accordingly, it is not a decline in ability but rather a re-orientation of the creative forces that is experienced at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and 2. through the negative insight that, with the theoretical tools provided by the *Generalbass*, one could not come to grips with [the ideas of] the present.<sup>270</sup>

However, as we shall see below, the focus had not shifted completely away from *Generalbass* procedures at the turn of the nineteenth century. This was especially true in Vienna, where, curiously enough, much that would lead to the *Zukunftsmusik* of the latter part of the century was rooted in the contributions of two prominent *Generalbassschulern*, Beethoven and Bruckner.

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<sup>269</sup> Rothfarb, *Ernst Kurth*, p. 113.

<sup>270</sup> Thomson, *Voraussetzungen*, 105. “Der Generalbass als Fundament der Musiktheorie war also von zwei Seiten her bedroht: 1. durch die positive Erkenntnis, dass es Änderungen im Ausdruckswillen gibt, von denen aus das Können einer Zeit zu beurteilen ist. Dass es demnach nicht ein Verfall von Können sondern eine Neuorientierung der Gestaltungskräfte ist, den das beginnende 19. Jahrhundert erlebt, und 2. durch die negative Erkenntnis, dass mit dem theoretischen Handwerkszeug, das aus dem Generalbass stammt, die Gegenwart nicht zu meistern ist.

**b) J. G. Albrechtsberger and E. A. Förster: Two Views of  
Nineteenth-Century Thoroughbass Pedagogy**

The extent to which elements of theory, composition, and performance practice among the Viennese *Frühromantiker* continued to be influenced by the eighteenth-century thoroughbass can be seen not only in the great number of *Generalbasslehren* still available in Vienna at the time, but also in the need for practicing composers to arrange, codify, and otherwise explicate these procedures, not only for the edification of their students, but also for their own compositional clarity.

The sheer number of *Generalbass* tutors available in Vienna during this period would seem to attest to this fact. Ulf Thomson lists eighty such works by thirty-two different authors in the Viennese circle during the period 1793-1850.<sup>271</sup> The importance of these thoroughbass manuals to the overall musical enlightenment of performers and composers is clearly the main thrust of the material contained therein. If musical developments of the ensuing nineteenth century would cast such works as “primitive,” as Kurth proposed, the contemporary theorists of the Viennese school certainly did not see it that way.

Consider, for example, the Introduction to the *Generalbass- und- Harmonie Lehre* by Albrechtsberger. The elemental and organic nature of the study of *Generalbass* practices is laid out succinctly here:

*Generalbass* is the fundamental basis for all music. The thorough study thereof is an essential requirement for all who wish to dedicate themselves seriously to [the production of] beautiful artworks. Without

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<sup>271</sup> Ulf Thomson, *Voraussetzungen*, pp. 55-63. There are, of course, pertinent theoretical works from this category that exceed the latter time limit; of particular interest is Hugo Riemann, *Anleitung zum Generalbass-Spielen (Harmonie-Übungen am Klavier)* (Leipzig, 1889). This work will be discussed in more detail below. Thomson lists also, albeit parenthetically, the thoroughbass manual that circulated in W.A. Mozart’s name under the title *Kurzgefasste Generalbassschule* (Vienna: A. Steiner, 1817). This work has been clearly demonstrated to be spurious. See Hellmut Federhofer, “Mozart als Schüler und Lehrer in der Musiktheorie,” *Mozart-Jahrbuch* 1971 / 72, 89-106. See particularly 100-1.



this knowledge, one can admire the physical impression of excellence from a musical work, but one can never truly appreciate the merits of its internal content: from innate talent [alone] one will probably produce errors, yet this is not a valid reason for the discarding of creativity, [particularly] when one has a firm guarantee of strictly critical and unimpeachable grammatical-technical methods [at one's disposal]. – *Generalbass* teaches us, for each composition, regardless of the instrumentation for which it is written, however extravagant the principal voice and the brilliant passage work, when providing the figured accompaniment, to reduce this to the most basic and simple triads; this permits us a window into the exposed inner sanctuaries, revealing the entire mysterious structure of the artwork in skeletal form, stripped of all embellishing decoration; through these conditions the initiate may properly accompany a polyphonic work, according to a figured bass, with all the appropriate idioms and harmonic sequences; [this process] is our steadfast guide and beacon, organizing and connecting ideas, paving the way, binding that which without its assistance would come apart and produce errors. – Therefore everyone should acquaint themselves with this elementary science!<sup>272</sup>

Emmanuel Aloys Förster gives voice to similar perceptions in the Foreword to his

*Anleitung zum General-Bass:*

Music consists of melody and harmony. Most musical instruments play only the melody; some, along with the melody, [provide] some harmony; the *Clavier* is the instrument that has the greatest amount of harmony together with the melody, and there is nevertheless among an amazing number of *Clavier* players only a few who are acquainted with [the principles of] harmony. It is not necessary that a string player or a wind player possess a knowledge of harmony, although, if he does, it is an asset: but for a [professional] *Clavier* player, or even for a *Dilettante*, is it tantamount to disgrace to be so inexperienced [in harmony].

It is true, *Generalbass* was created for the support of the singers in the church, and for precisely this reason organists, whose business it is

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<sup>272</sup> Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried, ed., *J. G. Albrechtsberger's Sämmtliche Schriften über Generalbass, Harmonie-Lehre, und Kontrapunkt* (Vienna, 1837), "Einleitung," p. 1. "Der Generalbass ist die Fundamental-Basis der ganzen Musik. Das gründliche Studium desselben unerlässliche Bedingniss für Jeden, der sich ernstlich dieser schönen Kunst weihen will. Ohne diese Kenntniss kann man wohl nach dem physischen Eindruck die Vortreflichkeit eines Tonstückes bewundern, aber nie dessen inneren Gehalt nach Verdienst würdigen: aus angeborenem Talente kann man wohl selbst etwas nicht ganz Missrathenes erzeugen, jedoch keine vollkommen befriedigen Rechenschaft über das eigen Geschaffene ablegen, noch die reine Tadel- und Makellosigkeit in grammatikalisch-technischer Hinsicht mit fester Überzeugung verbürgen. – Der Generalbass lehrt uns, jede Composition, für welches Instrument sie auch immer geschrieben, so üppig sowohl die Hauptstimme, als die sie begleitenden figurirt, und mit glänzenden Passagen ausgestattet sein mögen, auf ihre einfachen, ursprünglichen Grund- und Stamm- Accorde zu reduciren; er gestattet uns einen Blick in das entscheyerte, innerste Heiligthum, zeigt den ganzen geheimnissvollen Bau eines Kunstwerkes in Skelet, entkleidet von allem ausschmückenden Zierrath; durch ihn wird der Eingeweihte in den Stand gesetzt, ein vielstimmiges Tonwerk bloss zufolge des bezifferten Basses regelrecht in allen seinen Wendungen und Harmonienfolgen zu begleiten; er ist unser sicherer Führer und Wegweiser, ordnet und bindet die Ideen, ebnet die Pfade, kettet, was ohne ihn getrennt, einet, was ohne seine Hülfe unstät herum irren würde. – Darum befreunde sich jeder mit dieser Elementar-Wissenschaft, wie es unsere grossen Altvordern gethan, und er wird wohl dabey fahren!"

to acquaint themselves especially in figured-bass performance, still to this day perform [in this manner]: however, [figured-bass accompaniment] can also be found in [prominent] social circles, where the *Clavier* must support the singer for the most part alone and often only from [reduced] scores. Still, setting all of this aside, should the *Clavier* player perform the piece mechanically, like a machine, without [an understanding of] the key in which the piece is set, without [an understanding of] the secondary key into which it modulates; without [an understanding of] the chords and the progressions of the harmony, etc.?

Perhaps a reason that most *Clavierspieler* are strangers to harmony is that compositions that employ not only the ears but the intellect as well, as opposed to those that embrace the ordinary fare and the dance music, are not understood and thus become despised. I believe, therefore, that it is not too much that each and every mediocre *Clavierspieler*, even including those of the fair sex, possess a knowledge of harmony if they do not wish to make themselves unworthy of their instrument. I seek to offer in this current *Instructions in General-Bass* information that will be especially useful to *Dilettantes*. I aspire to brevity and clarity at all times. Time will tell whether I have earned approval.<sup>273</sup>

Both Albrechtsberger and Förster are quite explicit in their assessment of the importance of these manuals. For Albrechtsberger, the *Generalbasslehre* provides a window into the soul of a composition; for Förster, this method of obtaining knowledge of harmony is essential for all keyboardists if they do not wish to embarrass themselves in performance.

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<sup>273</sup> Emmanuel Aloys Förster, *Anleitung zum General-Bass* (Vienna: Artaria, 1803), “Vorrede,” pp. I-IV. “Die Musik besteht aus Melodie und Harmonie. Die meisten musikalischen Instrumente haben bloss Melodie; einige nebst der Melodie etwas Harmonie; das Clavier ist das instrument, welches nebst der Melodie die reichste Harmonie hat, und doch sind unter der erstaunlichen Menge von Clavierspielern nur wenige, die mit der Harmonie bekannt sind. Von einem Geiger oder Blaser ist nicht zu fordern, dass er Kenntnisse von der Harmonie habe; auch ist er desto Schätzbarer, wenn er sie hat: aber für einen Clavierspieler, sey er auch Dilettant, ist es fast eine Schande, in derselben unerfahren zu seyn.

Es ist wahr, der Generalbass wurde zur Unterstützung der Sänger in der Kirche erfunden, und wird aus eben der Ursache den Organisten noch heut zu Tage in Ziffern vorgelegt, deren sache es ist, sich vorzüglich in Zifferspiele zu üben: allein wird denn nicht auch in gesellschaftlichen Zirkeln gesungen, wo das Clavier meistens allein die Singenden unterstützen muss, und nach dazu öfters aus Partituren? Aber auch dieses sey bei Seite gesetzt, soll der Clavierspieler sein Stück wie eine Maschine herunter spielen, ohne die Haupt-Tonleiter, aus der das Stück gesetzt ist, ohne die Neben-Tonleiter, in die es ausweicht; ohne die Accorde und den Gang der Harmonie u.s.w. zu verstehen?

Das die meisten Clavierspieler in der Harmonie Fremdlinge sind, ist vielleicht Ursache, das jene Compositionen, die nicht nur die Ohren, sondern auch den Verstand beschäftigen, und nur einiger Massen über das Alltägliche, und über die Tanzmusik hinaus gehen, nicht verstanden, und desshalb verachtet werden.

Ich glaube deswegen, dass es nicht zu viel ist, zu fordern, dass jeder auch nur mittelmässige Clavierspieler, selbst das schöne Geschlecht nicht ausgenommen, Kenntnisse der Harmonie besitzen müsse, wenn er sich seines Instrumentes nicht unwürdig machen will.

Ich habe gesucht, in gegenwärtiger *Anleitung zum Generalbass* vorzüglich Dilettanten nützlich zu werden. Kürze und Deutlichkeit war zugleich mein Bestreben. Die Zeit wird lehren, ob ich einigen Beyfall verdiene.”

If one were to rely on Albrechtsberger's *Kurzgefasste Methode den Generalbass zu erlernen* (1791) for an overview of his harmonic theories and practices, the logical conclusion would be that Albrechtsberger's concepts fall unambiguously into Thomson's monistic species. Here there is no hint whatsoever of Rameauian theory; indeed, the text is confined to a basic, practical discussion on the proper execution of figured basses at the keyboard.<sup>274</sup> The *Generalbassschule* circulated under Albrechtsberger's name is much the same, presenting the standard progression: from intervals to rule-of-the-octave exercises and finally to a discussion of different chord types. The presentation ends with brief examples of ninth chords – all of which are presented as suspensions– and a final exercise designed to be practiced by the student in all twenty-four keys (Example 2-6 below).

The authenticity of these treatises has been called into question by Joel Lester, who points out various inconsistencies in style between the *Kurzgefasste Methode* and the more authoritative *Gründliche Anweisung zur Composition* (1790). Similarly, the *Generalbass- und Harmonie-Lehre* that Seyfried includes as the opening section of his *J.G. Albrechtsberger's sämtliche Schriften über Generalbass, Harmonie-Lehre, und Tonsetzkunst* (1826) is reported by Lester “to be compiled almost completely from scratch since only a very small portion of the materials existed.” If a canonical *Generalbassschule* was in existence, surely Seyfried would have utilized it in his edition.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>274</sup> Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 8.

<sup>275</sup> Lester, *Compositional Theory*, Appendix Two, pp. 320-1. Lester reports that later editions of the *Methode* circulated throughout Europe over the ensuing decades, some bearing the title *Generalbassschule*. I have consulted an example of this from the Duke University Library: J.G. Albrechtsberger, *General-bass-schule: Neue vom Verfasser vermehrte Auflage* (Vienna: J. Cappi, 1805); see Example 2-6.

The *Gründliche Anweisung*, however, is a different matter as regards Albrechtsberger's harmonic principles. This work, like the other composition manuals discussed in the previous chapter, assumes a complete knowledge of thoroughbass procedures and, indeed, approaches thoroughbass in a decidedly harmonic manner. Though it includes introductory chapters that take the student through the customary thoroughbass regimen, including standard *règle de l'octave* exercises, harmonic concepts such as inversion extend even to Albrechtsberger's discussion of counterpoint. Hence the appreciation for harmonic thinking in a linear context is very much a part of his musical vocabulary.<sup>276</sup>



Example 2-6: Albrechtsberger, *Generalbassschule*. Last exercise

<sup>276</sup> Ibid., pp. 188-89.

### c) Förster's *Anleitung zum General-Bass*

Many of the *Generalbassschulen* that appeared in Vienna during the first years of the nineteenth century exemplified the attempt to reconcile theory and practice. The *Anleitung zum General-Bass* by Förster certainly falls into this category. Förster introduces a system built on step designations (*Stufenbezeichnungen*) that aims to ameliorate the prevailing bifurcation of harmonic practice. Förster, like Albrechtsberger, limits chordal entities to the triad and seventh chord and their inversions, recognizing other vertical constructions as the result of suspension (*Verzögerung* or *Retardation*); those that exceed the octave are described as “stacked” chords (*Menge Accorde*), whose extra notes seek resolution in any number of ways to one of the two acceptable *Stamm-Accorden* in Förster's system:

If one or more intervals of the triad, including its derivatives, and also the seventh chords including their derivatives, are delayed, a stacked chord is produced, of which only the most prominent, namely those that occur with the most frequency, are cited here. The delay (retardation) happens in following types:



Example 2-7: Förster, *Anleitung*, Example 104.

It is unnecessary for the bass to wait for the resolution of a dissonance; rather, it can proceed along its course, according to what the composer deems best. The ninth can therefore resolve to a great many intervals. We are aided here by Example 112 (See Example 2-8 below). In *a* it resolves to the second; in *b* to the third; in *c* to the fourth; in *d* to the fifth; in *e* to the sixth; in *f* to the seventh.<sup>277</sup>

<sup>277</sup> Förster, *Anleitung*, pp. 25-27. “Wenn ein oder mehrer Intervalle des Dreiklangles sammt seinen abgeleiteten, und des Septimen-Accordes ebenfalls sammt seinen abgeleiteten verzögert werden, so entstehen eine Menge Accorde, von denen hier nur die vorzüglichsten, die nämlich am öftersten vorkommen, angeführt werden. Die Verzögerung (Retardation) geschieht aber auf folgende Art: bie 104 . . . . Es ist nicht nothwendig, dass der Bass die Auflösung einer Dissonanz abwarte, sondern er kann seinen Gang fort gehen, wie es der Componist für gut findet. Die None kann demnach in allerhand Intervallen sich auflösen. Zur Probe dient Nr. 112. Bie *a* löst sich dieselbe auf in die Secunde; bei *b* in die Terze; bei *c* in die Quarte; bei *d* in die Quinte; bei *e* in die Sexte; bei *f* in die Septime.”

Förster's approach thus differs from that of J. M. Bach, who speaks of actual ninth chords, and it has nothing to do with supposition. Förster's "stacks" are the result of suspension, not new chordal entities formed from the expansion of the dominant-seventh chord. In fact, Förster was quite anti-Rameau in his theoretical outlook, as the following statement to his publisher indicates:

Presently, I will be sending you in advance a list of suspensions with the necessary preparations. Moreover, I am of the opinion that these chords originate in the creative imagination of the composer in this manner – not through all possible inversions of the Rameauian system . . . I am convinced that none of the great composers thought [in terms of] Rameau's system.<sup>278</sup>

Example 2-8: Förster, *Anleitung*, Example 112

<sup>278</sup> E. A. Förster, *Generalbassschule*, Bd. 2, *Supplementband* (1823), p. 19. "Ich schicke gegenwärtig ein Verzeichnis von Vorhalten mit der nöthigen Vorbereitung voraus. Übrigens bin ich der Meinung das diese Accorde in der Einbildungskraft des Componisten auf diese Art, keineswegs aber durch alle möglichen Versetzungen des Rameauschen Systems entstehen . . . Ich bin überzeugt, dass keiner der grossen Componisten an das Rameausche System . . . gedacht hat." See also Thomson, *Voraussetzung*, p. 88, Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 21, note 1, and Chapter 3, p. 237, note 511 below.

In the above examples, not only are traditional thoroughbass figures provided, but Förster also designates each chord with an additional Arabic numeral below the staff. These *Stufenbezeichnungen* indicate the bass note's relationship to the tonic. Therefore, the step designation for the upbeat to Example 112 is "7," despite the fact that the chord is a dominant seventh of C major ( $V^{6/5}$  in our modern terminology). When the example modulates, as in the third full measure of Example 112, the relative position of the bass note is indicated in both tonalities, in this case in C major (7 – 6) and A minor (2 – 1).

The designation of chordal entities tied through a common relationship to an established tonic, yet still expressing the linear aspects of traditional thoroughbass, is reflective of changes afoot in Vienna during this period. Förster was not an organist, as were so many of his theorist contemporaries, but he was a composer of some note and considered quite progressive – even “Romantic” – in style.<sup>279</sup> He counted Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven among his friends and musical associates, and certainly his theoretical principles were known to Beethoven.<sup>280</sup>

While Förster's theoretical approach represents a break with the Rameau-Marpurg camp, in that it rejects the idea of chord generation through supposition, the attachment to figured-bass principles and the local, chord-to-chord connections that they (and for that matter the *Stufenbezeichnung*) imply should not be overlooked. The

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<sup>279</sup> R. M. Longyear / Michael Lorenz, “Emanuel Aloys Förster,” *NGD*, Vol. 9, pp. 104-5.

<sup>280</sup> Thomson even suggests that Beethoven was instrumental in having Förster's *Anleitung* published: “If Förster invokes the great composers as witnesses for his statements, he indeed has good reason, since he had, after all, maintained intimate contact with the greatest of his musical contemporaries and it was quite probably on Beethoven's suggestion that his theoretical ideas were edited as a method book.” [Wenn Förster grosse Komponisten zum Zeugen für seine Erklärungen anruft, hat er ein gutes Recht dazu, da er doch mit den grössten musikalischen Zeitgenossen vertrauten Umgang gepflegt hatte und vermutlich auf Beethovens Anregung hin seine theoretischen Gedanken als Schulwerk edierte.]” See Thomson, *Voraussetzung*, p. 89.

introduction of the *Stufenbezeichnung* does little to blunt the figured-bass notation's power as a *lingua franca*, a common ground on which new theoretical notions might be discussed. This would continue to be the case not only throughout the entire nineteenth century but into the twentieth, notably in various pedagogical enterprises.

#### **d) Vogler's Theory of Reduction**

The most prominent theorist to reject the fundamental bass principles of Rameau, as well as the figured-bass conventions of the above mentioned treatises, was Abbé Georg Joseph Vogler (1749-1814). A well-travelled composer, educator, and theorist, Vogler was only briefly in Vienna, from 1803 to 1805, yet his impact on Viennese theorists and composers would be a lasting one.

For Vogler, the principles of thoroughbass, as well as the Fuxian contrapuntal methods, were not only disorganized and confusing, but they lacked any claim to the scientifically arranged theoretical precepts to which he aspired. Though the fundamental-bass innovations of Rameau and his successors, such as Marpurg and Kirnberger, were an improvement on the thoroughbass system, lending some constancy, the precepts underlying these theories were deficient, and this led to a breach between the theory and practice of music. Since the uniting of these realms was the theorist's highest goal, a more practical and discerning system was needed.<sup>281</sup>

Vogler put forth his new theories initially in the 1776 treatise *Tonwissenschaft und Tonsezkunst*; the subsequent *Handbuch zur Harmonielehre und für den Generalbass* (1802) elaborates his system in greater detail. At the center of that system is the principle of *Redukzion*. In this scheme, there is only one fundamental chord, the triad; the seventh

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<sup>281</sup> Floyd Grave, "Abbé Vogler's Theory of Reduction," *Current Musicology* 29 (1980), 41-69. See 41.



chord is not accepted as a *Stammaccord*. Having arrived at the existence of the natural major triad through the string divisions – that is to say, utilizing the proportions 1: 1/3: 1/5 – Vogler continues his reasoning by producing his major scale from the conflation of three triads whose roots lie a fifth apart: F – C – G.

When brought within the range of the octave, the tones of these chords produce a diatonic major scale on C. Identifying the minor triad as a chord based on the major with reversed thirds, [Vogler] employs the analogous procedure with minor triads on D, A, and E, to obtain a diatonic minor scale on A.<sup>282</sup>

Since these generative triads (F – C – G) can now also be used as chords in the new scalar formation Vogler has created, he posits by analogy that chords can now be built on the remaining scale degrees as well:

These additional triads, occupying the second, third, sixth, and seventh steps, are accepted as fundamental, and each is understood as a sovereign representative of its key. To designate the different tonal functions that those chords represent, Vogler lights upon a method that eventually becomes standard: he assigns Roman numerals to each triad according to the scale degree upon which it is built.<sup>283</sup>

Vogler again resorts to string divisions to derive the natural seventh, which furnishes a model for the diatonic sevenths that can be added to any of the scale-degree triads previously formed. As a rule, the local context of a tone determines the chordal entity to which it relates as either a consonant or dissonant element. This is the essence of the principle of *Redukzion*; all non-essential dissonances can be related to – and therefore explained in accordance with – thoroughbass figures of 3 and 5. In the *Handbuch*, Vogler defines the principle as follows:

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<sup>282</sup> Grave, “Reduction,” 43. Grave points out that Vogler derives these string divisions not from a standard monochord, but from an eight-stringed device called a *Tonmaass*. “Each of its strings are tuned to the same pitch, great F, and fixed bridges, placed on the rectangular body of the instrument beneath each string, mark their division into 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16 parts, respectively. The relationships thus made available give all the proportions and acoustical materials [Vogler] needs for his system.”

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, 44. Grave states that Vogler’s use of Roman numerals in this manner dates back to 1776 in the *Tonwissenschaft*; see *ibid.*, p. 65, n. 14.

[The] system of reduction . . . is one by which one resolves all vertical sonorities to a single and simple triad, and can rest assured that for any harmony that occurs, no matter how complicated it appears, a root with third or fifth may be discovered, and that the third and fifth form a root position chord.<sup>284</sup>

Vogler's emphasis, then, is on the identification of chordal entities as they relate to the scale from which they are generated, rather than on the local connections inherent in the system of the fundamental bass of Rameau, Marpurg, and Kirnberger. Vogler's triads, which can be inverted to form entities previously explained as common figured-bass constructs, can take on different meanings at different times, again a matter of context. Here we confront the principle of *Mehrdeutigkeit*, translated by Wason as "plurisignificance" and Grave as "multiple meaning."<sup>285</sup> Thus for Vogler, a "progression" is a succession of cadences generated by the change of harmonic meaning of one of the chords of the cadence.<sup>286</sup> A triad becomes a potential diatonic pivot chord between two keys; a C major chord (I in C) may also appear as III in A minor, IV in G major, V in F major, or V in F minor. Various enharmonic spellings expand the compass of possibilities, a common occurrence with diminished seventh and German sixth chords, for example.<sup>287</sup> This is in addition to the three scale degrees that may be altered as part of Vogler's concept of cadential progression, the raised fourth in both major and minor and the raised seventh in minor.<sup>288</sup> The result is "a virtually limitless realm of harmonic possibilities."<sup>289</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> Vogler, *Handbuch*, p. 6. Translation from Grave and Grave, *In Praise of Harmony*, pp. 30-31. This process applies to either suspended dissonances or to dissonances that arise through melodic embellishment, such as the appoggiatura (*Vorschlag*), the escape tone (*Nachschlag*), and the passing tone (*Zwischenklang*). See Grave, "Reduction," 47.

<sup>285</sup> See Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 14 and Grave, "Reduction," 49.

<sup>286</sup> Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 14.

<sup>287</sup> Grave gives the example of F<sup>#</sup>-A<sup>b</sup>-C-E<sup>b</sup> being respelled as G<sup>b</sup>-A<sup>b</sup>-C-E<sup>b</sup>, rendering the original augmented sixth chord of one key a dominant-seventh chord in another. See Grave, "Reduction," 49.

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, 44-45.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

Most eighteenth-century *Generalbass* manuals, as well as those that would be produced in the nineteenth century, delineate a graduated and finite ambitus of diatonic key areas [*Verwandtschaften*] available for modulation, as we saw in Kirnberger's *Kunst*, for example.<sup>290</sup> Vogler's view, grounded in the theory of chordal function, allows him the freedom to explore more fully this "limitless realm by means of chromaticism:"

There are twelve tones in the chromatic scale [and] I can modulate from each tone to each other one; eleven modulations originate in this manner. From C major, for example, I can go to eleven major and eleven minor keys, and again from C minor, to eleven major and eleven minor keys, Since I cannot call the change from C major to C minor a modulation, this leaves four times eleven, or forty-four modulations.<sup>291</sup>

Vogler's notion of "progression," then, according to Wason, "begins to sound like Kurth's notion of 'romantic harmony.'"<sup>292</sup>

Vogler, as we have stated, paid little attention to the subject of thoroughbass in any of his writings. Like many other theorists we have discussed, he places the topic at the end of his course of theoretical study. As several of his theorist contemporaries stated, they chose to present *Generalbass* manuals subsequent to the appearance of successful composition treatises because of the importance of a complete grounding in thoroughbass principles to the art of composition. Vogler's view is antipodal; citing the lack of objective logic in thoroughbass schemes, Grave analyzes his position as follows:

From Vogler's vantage point, the study of thoroughbass is not only devoid of any scientific basis, but it actually presupposes a complete knowledge of harmonic principles. Thus its proper place would indeed seem to be at the end of a course of theoretical study.<sup>293</sup>

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<sup>290</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 60-61.

<sup>291</sup> Vogler, *Handbuch*, p. 112. "Wir haben in chromatischer Leiter 12 Tönen, von jedem Ton kann ich in jeden andern ausweichen; hiedurch entstehen 11 Ausweichungen. Vom harten C z.B. kann ich in 11 harte und 11 weiche Tonarten, und wieder vom weichen C in 11 harte und 11 weiche Tonarten übergehen; da ich den Wechsel vom harten und weichen C keinen Übergang nennen darf, so bleiben 4 mal 11 oder 44 Ausweichungen."

<sup>292</sup> Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 15.

<sup>293</sup> Grave and Grave, *In Praise of Harmony*, p. 43.

Though Vogler was of the opinion that the thoroughbass system had outlived its usefulness, even such an ardent detractor as he had to acknowledge that competency in thoroughbass was still a requisite part of a contemporary musician's craft, however obsolescent this craft might be.<sup>294</sup> In this spirit he presents some traditional *règle de l'octave* exercises (see Example 2-9 below)



Example 2-9: Vogler, *Handbuch*, Table XII, Figs. 1-3<sup>295</sup>

and, in Section V of this final portion of the *Handbuch*, entitled “Of what does the modern Generalbass method consist?” (*Worin besteht die neue Generalbasslehre?*), offers four rules for practical application by the student:

He who is acquainted with harmony and understands four-part texture is a respectable accompanist. However, in order to provide hints as to how one should realize these figures in notes, and to provide the student with a foretaste of how one should realize the harmonies in a four-voiced vocal setting, I have in Tab. XII (Fig. 4) [see Example 2-10 below] supplied an example in four staves. On the third system we have the bass, on the fourth the fundamental harmony (*Hauptklang*); the upper system is a compilation of errors, the amelioration of which is provided in the second system.

Since the realized figures are presented in an *a quattro* vocal texture, it should be noted that:

<sup>294</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>295</sup> Vogler's use of the chromatic scale (*Die chromatische Leiter zum Grund*) here is a further indication of his embracing of the “limitless realms” of modulatory areas. The idea of utilizing the harmonic progressions derived from a chromatic scale can also be seen in E. A. Förster's *Anleitung zum Generalbass* (Förster calls his example the *Teufelsmühle* or “Devil's Mill”), Joseph Drechsler's *Harmonie- und Generalbass-Lehre*, and Simon Sechter's *Die Grundsätze der musikalischen Komposition*, all of which will be discussed in the following chapters. See also Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, pp. 15-16, 25-26, and 57-58.

1. If a note of a preceding harmony appears again in the succeeding chord, one gladly retains this note in the same voice;
2. If this note is [to become] a dissonance (*Uibelklang*) [in the succeeding chord], as in the unprepared seventh or other tones that require no preparation, then this note truly must remain in the same voice.
3. Each individual voice, in and of itself, seeks to produce one singable melodic line; this is especially true, however, for the two outermost voices, the bass and the treble, in accordance with their character and register.
4. One may not permit any voice to engage in cross relations; one should carefully avoid hidden octaves and fifths, [as well as] the complete omission of a harmonic chord or its excessive doubling, but rather one should seek to represent all voices as essential and independent.<sup>296</sup>

*In Noten ausgesetzte Ziffern:*

Example 2-10: Vogler, *Handbuch*, Table XII, Fig. 4

<sup>296</sup> Vogler, *Handbuch*, pp. 137-38. "Derjenige, der die Harmonie kennt und den vierstimmige Satz versteht, ist ein eminenter Akkompagnateur. Um aber einen Fingerzeig zu geben, wie man die Ziffern in Noten aussetzen soll, und um dem Zögling einen Vorgeschmack beizubringen, wie man die Harmonien in vier Singstimmen aussetzen soll, habe ich auf Tab. XII (Fig. 4) ein Beispiel zu vier Notensystemen geliefert. Im dritten Notensystem haben wir den Bass, im vierten den Hauptklang; das obere Notensystem ist der Sammelplatz von Fehlern, deren Verbesserung im zweiten verkommt.

Da die in Noten ausgesetzten Ziffern ein Quatro von Singstimmen vorstellen, so ist zu bemerken:

1. Wenn eine Stimme in der vorhergehenden Harmonie schon den Ton hat, der in der folgender wieder verkommt, lässt man gerne diesen Ton in derselben Stimme liegen;
2. Wenn dieser Ton ein Uibelklang ist, sei's auch die Unterhaltungs-Siebente, die sonst keiner Vorbereitung bedarf, so muss schlechterdings dieser Ton in derselben Stimme liegen bleiben.
3. Einer jeden Stimme, für sich betrachtet, sucht man eine melodische Bewegung anzuweisen, so dass sie singen werde, besonders aber die aussersten Stimmen, den Bass und den Diskant, nach ihrem Karakter und Umfang rein zu setzen.
4. Keiner Stimme darf man mit der andern unharmonische Querstände zulassen; man soll sorgfältig vermeiden, dass eine Stimme zweimal in verbotener Achten- oder Fünftenfolge einhertrete, ein harmonisches Glied ganz verabsäumt oder zu viel verdoppelt werde, sondern alle Stimme als wesentliche und selbstständige darzustellen suchen.

This fourfold layout strongly resembles some other *Generalbass* methods that we will consider shortly below. It should be noted that the bifurcation between a continuo bass and a fundamental bass, with chordal and tonal implications, is here explicated for the aspiring *Generalbassist* in not only the *neue* nomenclature of the Roman-numeral roots, but also in the still-relevant figured-bass notation from which many of the rules of chordal succession listed by Vogler are traditionally derived.

## V. Vogler's Influence on Succeeding Generations

### a) Michael Haydn's *Partitur-Fundament*

Whatever his feelings towards the *Generalbass* practices of the day, Vogler's theories struck a chord among contemporary composers and theorists. The impact of the new approach to modulation exemplified by Vogler's system as opposed to the eighteenth-century notion of a diatonic *Verwandtschaft* was felt in all quarters. Thomson puts the matter succinctly:

With regard to modulation, the two epochs [the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries] differ. As long as the "purity" of an artistic ideal and a dearth of modulation are a mark of quality for a musical composition, then the nineteenth century has not yet commenced. This is also indicated in [the words of] Michael Haydn through the reminiscences of his friends:

"[T]he strict master, Michael Haydn, when discussing many of the newer composers, who quite often and too harshly strayed from one scale to another, himself experienced a diverse, wild, secret annoyance, such that he expressed in confidence to his good friends the [following]: 'One no longer knows which is the prevailing tonality!' - He never expressed such sentiments publicly, but rather allowed each individual [to experience] in tolerant composure [a work's] joy and — its value."<sup>297</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> Thomson, *Voraussetzungen*, p. 110. "In der Einstellung zur Modulation unterscheiden sich zwei Epochen. Solange die "Reinheit" ein Kunstideal für den musikalischen Satz und Modulationsarmut ein Güte Merkmal sind, ist das 19. Jahrhundert noch nicht angebrochen. Dies zeigt sich auch bei Michael Haydn in der Erinnerung seiner Freunde: '[D]er strenge Meister, Michael Haydn, über manche neuere Tonsetzer, die gar zu oft und zu grell von einer Tonart in die andere, und selbst in die heterogenste, ausschweiften, heimlicher Ärger anwandelte, den er im Vertrauen auch gegen gute Freunde mit den Worten äusserte: Man weiss ja nicht mehr, welches da die herrschende Tonart ist! -so setzte er solche Schwärmer niemals

Michael Haydn's name is attached to a popular *Generalbasslehre* of the nineteenth century, the so-called *Partitur-Fundament*, published in Salzburg by the Benedictine father Martin Bischofreiter in 1833. Bischofreiter was a student of Haydn's in his youth, as were many other notable composers of the early nineteenth century, including Anton Diabelli (1781-1858), Ignaz Assmayer (1790-1862), and Carl Maria von Weber (1786-1826). Several of these students, Assmayer and Diabelli among them, became prominent figures on the Viennese musical scene.<sup>298</sup>

The *Partitur-Fundament* exists in several manuscripts and editions and seems to represent a collaborative effort on the part of Michael Haydn, Bischofreiter, and the German composer and organist Anton Cajetan Adlgasser (1729-1777), whose name appears on several manuscript versions.<sup>299</sup> The Bischofreiter edition contains figured (or unfigured) bass lines with three-part realizations given on a staff above. A partial explanation for this arrangement is given by Bischofreiter in his *Vorerinnerung* to the 1833 edition:

The famous composer, Mr. Michael Haydn, had himself assembled, for the instruction of his students, a systematic *Partitur-Fundament* that will be greatly appreciated by all music connoisseurs. It contains therein exercises in all the best known and also the most frequently occurring major and minor keys, and according to all possible progressions of the bass. The explanation concerning these [exercises] flowed from his own mouth. Now that the mouth of the elucidator has been silenced, and since I once had the good fortune to be his student, I therefore

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öffentlich herab, sondern liess jedem in duldsamer Gelassenheit seine Freude und — seinen Wert.” The quote is taken by Thomson from *Biographic Skizze von Michael Haydn* (Salzburg, 1808), p. 51.

<sup>298</sup> Gerhard Croll, *Johann Michael Haydn: sein Leben, sein Schaffen, seine Zeit* (Vienna: Neff, 1987), pp. 124-27.

<sup>299</sup> Rudolf Flotzinger, “Unbekannte Modulationsbeispiele aus der Feder Michael Haydns? Jedenfalls: eine Orgel- oder Generalbass-Schule aus dem Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts,” *Festschrift zum zehnjährigen Bestand der Hochschule für Musik und darstellende Kunst in Graz* (Vienna: Universal, 1974), pp. 92-105. Flotzinger cites as an example Manuscript 138 at the Carolino Augusteum Museum in Salzburg, which bears the title “Partitur Fundament von berühmten Auctoren H: Cajetan Adalgasser und H: Michael Haydn.” This manuscript corresponds perfectly to the Bischofreiter edition that claims sole authorship for Haydn. See *ibid.*, p. 93.

wished, in writing above these examples, to provide a duplicate commentary, so that teachers as well as advanced pupils would have less trouble to teach and learn the *Partitur* properly, although I am not worthy of consecrating the work of so great a master in the art of composition with my ideas. I wanted also to convey the work through printed [editions], so that the less well-to-do can purchase it quite inexpensively. Who goes through [this work] attentively will, I hope, be able to harvest from its use that which I wish most ardently.<sup>300</sup>

Bischofreiter seems to be indicating here that the only parts of the *Partitur-Fundament* completely attributable to Haydn are the unrealized bass lines; the realizations in the upper staves come from Bischofreiter himself and refer back to Haydn in spirit only.<sup>301</sup>

The many versions of the treatise, then, reflect the contributions of its editors and copyists:

The so-called *Partitur-Fundament* of Michael Haydn consists solely of a sequence of *Generalbass* examples, which he used in his instruction and personally commented on (see the statements of Bischofreiter, which are consistent in all editions). Naturally, these were frequently copied (preserved by [the copyists and editors]: Lergetporer, Köck, Parzer, Bischofreiter). The annotated and / or realized versions (Köck, Bischofreiter) represent additional adaptations in the spirit of Haydn (Bischofreiter) or, by and large, that of the Salzburgian theoretical tradition (of, or according to, Adlgasser).<sup>302</sup>

The exercises in Bischofreiter's edition thus represent standard *Generalbass*

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<sup>300</sup> Martin Bischofreiter, editor, *Michael Haydn's Partitur-Fundament* (Salzburg, 1833) "Vorerinnerung," p. 1. "Der berühmte Tonkünstler, Herr Michael Haydn, hat für sich selbst zum Unterrichte der Jugend ein eigenes Partitur-Fundament verfertigt, das von allen Musikkennern sehr geschätzt wird. Er hat darin Uebungen in allen bekanntesten und auch am öftesten vorkommenden Dur- und Mollarten, und nach allen möglichen Fortschreitungen des Basses angebracht. Die Erklärung darüber floss aus seinem eigenen Munde. Nun da der Mund des Verklärten schweiget, und ich das Glück hatte, einst seyn Schüler zu sein, so wollte ich eine meistens doppelte Erläuterung über jene Beyspiele schriftlich verfassen, damit Lehrer so wohl, als vorzüglich Schüler weniger Mühe hätten, die Partitur regelmässig zu lehren und zu erlernen, obschon ich nicht würdig bin, dem Werke eines so grossen Meisters in der Tonsetzenskunst meine Gedanken zu weihen. Ich wollte sie auch zum Drucke befördern, damit Ärmeren sie sichs wohlfeiler anschaffen können. Wer selbe aufmerksam durchgeht, wird, wie ich hoffe, daraus Nutzen ernten können, was ich sehnlichst wünsche."

<sup>301</sup> Flotzinger, "Unbekannte," p. 93.

<sup>302</sup> Ibid., pp. 94-95. "Das sog.[genannten] *Partitur-Fundament* Michael Haydns besteht lediglich aus einer Folge von Generalbass-Beispielen, die er im Unterricht verwendete und persönlich kommentierte (siehe Aussage Bischofreiters, Gemeinsamkeit sämtlicher Fassungen). Diese wurden naturgemäss oftmals abgeschrieben (erhalten: Lergetporer, Köck, Parzer, Bischofreiter). Die kommentierten bzw. ausgesetzten Fassungen (Köck, Bischofreiter) stellen nachträgliche Bearbeitungen im Sinne Haydns (Bischofreiter) oder der Salzburger Theoretikertradition insgesamt (durch oder nach Adalgasser) dar."



practices as envisioned by Haydn and realized with what is presumably a more contemporary slant by his pupil; and although they remain firmly grounded in eighteenth-century principles, they offer occasional glimpses of the chromaticism of which Michael Haydn complained to his friends in private, as can be seen in the D minor (staff 1) and G minor (staff 3) examples below (Example 2-11).

In addition to the published Bishofreiter version of the *Partitur-Fundament*, several manuscript copies were circulating in the general vicinity of Vienna during the early part of the nineteenth century. The composite manuscript discussed in Flotzinger's article also contains exercises in modulation, which will be discussed below in Chapter 4. Through the wide circulation of the Bishofreiter edition of the *Partitur-Fundament*, as well as the manuscript copies, the *Generalbass* practices this treatise represents would continue to be influential, particularly in the next generation of composers and theorists upon whom Haydn himself had a decisive influence.



Example 2-11: Michael Haydn, *Partitur-Fundament*, p. 10

### b) Joseph Drechsler's *Harmonie- und Generalbass-Lehre*

An important name to add to the list of Michael Haydn's students whose work was animated by the Viennese theoretical tradition is that of Joseph Drechsler (1782-1852). Drechsler was Bohemian by birth and came to Vienna in 1807, where he would carve out a successful career as a composer, conductor, and organist.<sup>303</sup> In addition to these activities, he was also well known for his pedagogical methods, particularly the *Harmonie- und Generalbass-Lehre; nebst einem Anhang vom Contrapuncte* (Vienna, 1816).

Writing from the point of view of an organist, the author spends considerable time in his Introduction (On the Genesis of the Organ and its Various Types of Treatment) discussing the historical, mechanical, and artistic aspects of the instrument.<sup>304</sup> But in his Preface, we get a clear idea from the outset of Drechsler's pedagogical roots and how they inform the goals he has set for his *Generalbass-Lehre*:

We are in possession of a great many *Generalbass* methods, each of which has its own peculiar advantages; however, the principles of a Michael Haydn, an Abbé Vogler, and a Grotius (my teachers), and the study of other excellent music teachers, such as Kirnberger, [C.P.E.] Bach, Türk, etc, brought me to the notion of approaching *Generalbass* teachings from a scientific basis, lining up the facts of the musical science one after another in an orderly textbook, and furnishing proofs as to why these and no other procedures will, can, and must [be followed].

The Table of Contents will soon convince every reader that each principle in and of itself may be correctly inferred from the preceding [principle] and then joined to the next, by which treatment I believe to have provided this work with its particular value.

I consider it to be a sacred obligation of gratitude not only to cleanse this second edition, by the most careful and exacting examination, of all human error, but also to illuminate [these principles] quite clearly through the essential examples in a certainly not unwelcome appendix,

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<sup>303</sup> Peter Branscombe, "Joseph Drechsler," *NGD*, Vol. 7, pp. 562-63.

<sup>304</sup> Joseph Drechsler, *Harmonie- und Generalbass-Lehre; nebst einem Anhang vom Contrapuncte* (Vienna: Haslinger, 1816): "Einleitung" (*Von der Entstehung der Orgel und deren Behandlungsart*), pp. 1-4.

which will enhance [the study of] the art of variation, imitation, and counterpoint.<sup>305</sup>

Immediately following his discourse on the organ mentioned above, Drechsler launches into a full-blown discussion of *Generalbass* teachings, beginning with the following definition:

*Generalbass* is a numbered bass line, within which is contained nearly the entire harmonic system. One tends to indicate this harmonic system [by placing] various numbers and symbols over the notes. According to my teachings, *Generalbass* is the dexterity to play a figured bassline correctly, the art of setting the correct figures to the notes, and recognizing the derivation of each harmony and, according to the rules, connecting them.<sup>306</sup>

To underscore his point, Drechsler goes on to enumerate the most important functions of *Generalbass* practices in his contemporary environment:

A thorough knowledge of the *Generalbass* breaks down to the following four points:

- 1) The art of translating the figures into notes.
- 2) The dexterity to play the figures;
- 3) The science of compressing the entire harmonic content of the score into a figured bass;
- 4) The theory or method by which all harmonies are known, and the examples or exercises, [in which] all the

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<sup>305</sup> Drechsler, *Generalbass-Lehre*, “Vorrede.” “Wir besitzen zwar mehrere Generalbass-Lehren, deren jede ihre eigenthümlichen Vorzüge hat; allein, die Grundsätze eines Michael Haydn, eines Abbé Vogler und eines Grotius (meiner Lehrer), dann das Studium anderer und der vorzüglichsten Tonlehrer, als Kirnberger, Bach, Türk, u., brachten mich auf den Gedanken, die Generalbass-Lehre wissenschaftlich vorzutragen, die Fächer der Tonwissenschaft in einem ordentlichen Schulbuche an einander zu reihen, und Beweise zu liefern, warum so und nicht anders verfahren wird, verfahren werden muss und nicht anders verfahren werden kann.

Der Inhalt wird jeden Leser bald überzeugen, dass ein jeder Grundsatz an und für sich selbstständig, aus dem vorhergehenden richtig gefolgert, an den nächsten sich enge anschliesse u., durch welche Behandlung ich eben diesem Werke einen eigenen Werth verschafft zu haben glaube.

Ich hielt es für eine heilige Pflicht der Dankbarkeit, diese zweyte Auflage nicht nur auf das sorgfältigste durch die allergeaueste Durchsicht von jeden menschlichen Mängeln zu reinigen, sondern mit einem gewiss nicht unwillkommenen Anhang, über die Kunst des Variirens, der Nachahmung und des Contrapunctes zu vermehren, und durch die erforderlichen Beyspiele recht klar zu versinnlichen.”

<sup>306</sup> Ibid., §3, p. 5. “Die Generalbass ist eine bezifferte Grundstimme, die das Harmonie-All in sich fasst. Dieses Harmonie-All pflegt man über den Noten durch verschiedene Ziffern und Zeichen anzudeuten. Nach meinem Unterrichte ist der Generalbass die Fertigkeit, ein bezifferte Bassstimme rein zu spielen, die Kunst die Ziffern in die Noten rein zu setzen, und jede Harmonie aus ihrem Ursprunge zu erkennen, und selbe nach den Regeln zu verbinden.”

forthcoming harmonies can be resolved by means of the bass.<sup>307</sup>

Since the treatise is meant for the guidance of performers, particularly organists, as much as for theoretical instruction, Drechsler is specific concerning the role of *Generalbass* precepts for the accomplished organist:

That the organist should himself be a connoisseur of *Generalbass* and counterpoint, in the manner of a Kapellmeister or a composer, is an extremely uncompromising requirement. However, if the organist is to perform an improvised fugue or any prescribed theme according to strict rules, then he must possess more talent in *Generalbass* and counterpoint than the Kapellmeister; it is easier to compose a fugue gradually, with effort and forethought, than it is to arrange, correctly and purely, a [spontaneous] flood of contrapuntal ideas.<sup>308</sup>

The treatise goes on to consider basic notational details in the manner of all *Generalbass* manuals, but returns to specific rules for *Generalbass* performance in Chapter 9. There, in contrast to his teacher Vogler, who dismissed these “outmoded” practices with a few exercises and four curt injunctions, Drechsler presents a list of twelve rules (*Allgemeine Regeln für den Generalbassspieler*), covering everything from basic registral questions to proper harmonic resolution of suspended dissonances. Rule I gives a clear indication of the spontaneous, improvisational nature of *Generalbass* that Drechsler and his followers found so appealing:

Rule I. The *Generalbassspieler* must look only at the approaching chords, since certain errors are inevitable if one has not already selected the appropriate harmony. Since dissonances must be prepared, it is extremely advantageous to read ahead. Just as every [solo]

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<sup>307</sup> Ibid., §5, p. 6. “Die gründliche Kenntniss des Generalbasses zerfällt in folgende vier Punkte: 1) in die Kunst, die Ziffern in Noten zu übersetzen; 2) die Fertigkeit, die Ziffern zu treffen; 3) die Wissenschaft, die ganze Harmonie der Partitur in einen bezifferten Bass einzuschränken; 4) die Theorie oder Lehre, alle Harmonien zu kennen, und die Practik oder Übung, alle die vorkommenden Harmonien mittelst des Bases aufzulösen.”

<sup>308</sup> Ibid., §6, p. 6. “Dass der Organist auch ein solcher Kenner des Generalbasses und Contrapunctes seyn soll, wie der Kapellmeister oder Tonsetzer selbst, ist eine sehr schwere Forderung. Soll aber der Organist aus dem Stegriefe fugiren, oder gar jedes aufgegebene Thema nach den strengen Regeln ausführen, so muss er mehr Fertigkeit im Generalbasse und Contrapuncte besitzen, als der Kapellmeister selbst; den es ist leichter, mit Mühe und Nachdenken nach und nach eine Fuge zusammen zu setzen, als einen contrapunctischen Gedankenfluss, wenn er anders richtig und rein seyn soll, zu seiner Disposition zu haben.”

Die harte Tonleiter in allen drey Lagen.

I. Lage. II. Lage.

III. Lage.

Die weiche Tonleiter.

I. Lage. II. Lage.

III. Lage.

\*\*\* Ein chromatischer Satz.

Example 2-12: Drechsler, *Harmonie- und Generalbass-Lehre*, pp. 76-77

*Clavierspieler* must read ahead, in order to be able to select the proper fingering, so must the *Generalbassist* survey [the upcoming music] with a view towards [selecting] the [proper] sequence of chords.<sup>309</sup>

Following the list, we find a note in which Drechsler introduces standard rule-of-the-octave exercises featuring different chordal spacings (see Example 2-12). He offers these for the C major scale (*Die harte Tonleiter in allen drey Lagen*), the A minor scale (*Die weiche tonleiter*) and, reflecting his studies with Vogler, a chromatic scale built on C (*Ein chromatischer Satz*). Drechsler states the following in the accompanying note:

For practice, the beginning *Generalbassist* will find at the end of this treatise an example in which all the harmonies and rules are contained, just as here below the diatonic scale in the three spacings is figured. The chromatic progression with \*\*\* (that the Abbé Vogler calls the chromatic scale) can be more helpful to the *Generalbassist* in [harmonic] progressions. [This chromatic progression] will become extremely useful to the industrious pupil, if he makes this scale one with his fingers. He may avail himself of still more advantages if he transposes the two scales [major and minor] into the remaining eleven keys in each spacing and learns to play them by heart.<sup>310</sup>

Incorporation of the chromatic scale (or *Satz*, as Drechsler refers to it) is an important lesson taken over from Vogler.<sup>311</sup> The other main feature of Vogler's teachings appropriated by Drechsler is the use of *Stufenbezeichnungen*, indicated here, as in Vogler, with Roman numerals. For Drechsler, however, these are mere indications of the step number of the bass note in relation to the key area operative at that particular point, not an indication of chord root as in Vogler's concept. So, as we see in the example below,

<sup>309</sup> Ibid., §104, p. 74-76. "I. Regel. Der Generalbassspieler muss auf die erst kommenden Accorde voraus sehen; denn gewisse Fehler sind unvermeidlich wenn man nicht schon die erforderliche Lage gewählt hat. Vorzüglich ist das Voraussehen wegen der vorzubereitenden Dissonanzen äusserst nothwendig. So wie ein jeder Clavierspieler voraus sehen muss, um die gehörige Applicatur nehmen zu können, eben so muss der Generalbassist mit Einem Blicke eine Folge von Accorden übersehen."

<sup>310</sup> Ibid., §104, p. 76. "Anmerkung: Zur Übung findet der angehende Generalbassist am Ende dieses Schulbuches ein Beyspiel über alle in diesem Buche enthaltenen Harmonien und Regeln, so wie hier unten die diatonische Leiter in den drey Lagen beziffert. Dieser chromatische Satz mit \*\*\* (den Hr. Abt Vogler die chromatisch Leiter nennt) kann den Generalbassisten in der Folge dienlicher sein. Es wird einem fließigen Schüler sehr viel Nutzen gewähren, wenn es diese Tonleiter seinen Fingern eigen macht. Noch mehr Vortheil darf er sich versprechen, wenn er die beyden Tonleitern in die übrigen eilf Töne in jeder Lage übersetzt und sie auswendig spielen lernt."

<sup>311</sup> Indeed, it is an exact replica of the chromatic scale that appears in Vogler's *Handbuch*. See note 295 above.

the various inversions of the seventh chord, here accompanied by their respective figured-bass designations, draw different step designations in the putative key of C in which they are set.

45

§. 66.

Da der Septimen-Accord vierstimmig ist, so leidet er eine dreyfache Verwechslung. Wird die Terz zum Grundtone, so entsteht der Quintsexten-Accord ;



VII.

ist die Quinte im Basse, so entsteht der Terzquarten-Accord ;



II.

steht die Septime in der unteren Stimme, so entsteht der Secunden-Accord.



IV.

Ein jeder Accord hat, wie wir im fünften Capitel gehört haben, drey Lagen. Diese Septimen-Accorde muß man sich daher in einer jeden Lage eigen machen.

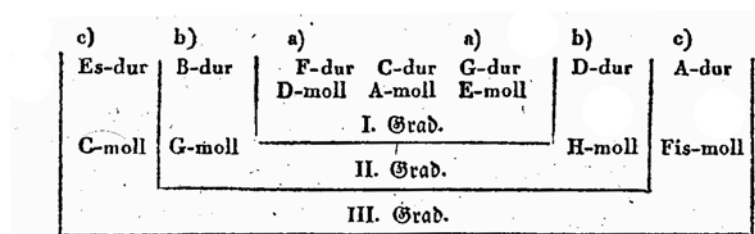
§. 67.

Example 2-13: Drechsler, *Harmonie- und Generalbass-Lehre*, p. 45

Regarding modulation,<sup>312</sup> Drechsler seems far more conservative than Vogler. His modulations, whether simple (*leichten*) or expanded (*weitläufige*) all occur within the framework of a *Verwandtschaft* quite reminiscent of that presented in Kirnberger's *Kunst* (see Example 2-14 below). Affirming that this model is paramount to the correct

<sup>312</sup> Drechsler uses the terms *Modulation* and *Ausweichung* interchangeably, as in the title to his chapter on this topic: *Von der Modulation (Ausweichung) und den Arten derselben*. See Drechsler, *Generalbass*, Chapter 11, p. 85.

engagement of the modulation process, he writes: “Above all, in modulation, one must keep the relationship (*Verwandtschaft*) of the tonal areas in sight.”<sup>313</sup>



Example 2-14: Drechsler, *Harmonie- und Generalbass-Lehre*, “Verwandtschaft,” p. 92<sup>314</sup>

Drechsler’s *Generalbass-Lehre* can thus be seen as an amalgam of current and past methods, evidently communicated to him through his teachers, notably Michael Haydn and Vogler. Drechsler embraces the duality of Rameau’s binary *Stamm-Accorde* and also the derivation of chordal entities through supposition. Yet the chromaticism of Vogler’s theory is clearly important, if not to Drechsler’s theoretical concepts, at least to his idea of good, practical *Generalbass*. This is the way in which theoretical principles will influence others of this period.

Drechsler, as we have noted above, was a well-received composer in his day, not only of the organ-oriented church music so popular in Vienna during the opening decades of the nineteenth century, but of more secular fare as well. It was in his capacity as Kapellmeister at the Theater in der Josefstadt in Vienna that he had occasion to encounter and interact with many of the great talents of the day. These included Ludwig van Beethoven, who was a great advocate for Drechsler’s career. That Beethoven knew and admired the compositional and theoretical work of contemporaries such as Förster and

<sup>313</sup> Ibid., § 117, p. 86. “Man muss bey der Modulation vor allen Dingen die Verwandtschaft der Töne vor Augen haben.”

<sup>314</sup> Ibid., § 126, p. 92. This chart and its implications are discussed in greater detail below in Chapter 3, pp. 242ff.



Drechsler is evident in many aspects of Beethoven's career, as will be noted in the chapter that follows.

### Chapter 3

#### Continuity of Thoroughbass Practices throughout the Nineteenth Century: *Stufentheorie* vs. *Funktionstheorie*

##### I. The Theories of Hugo Riemann

In the opinion of many modern scholars, nineteenth-century attitudes towards *Generalbass* practices were marked by indifference. Emergent musical styles are thought to have rendered the old traditions of keyboard accompaniment irrelevant. This view may be understood as the product of historiographical models organized around artificial boundaries that in many cases serve only to categorize, often somewhat arbitrarily, stylistic features, performance practices, and even aesthetic values within the well-established confines of the canonical style-period designations. Scholars' assumptions of a unitary or homogeneous stylistic concept within each of several historical periods has arguably led them to misrepresent the trajectory of stylistic development not merely within a given period but over the entire course of what is often referred to as the common practice era. According to one familiar assessment,

[t]he second half of the eighteenth century represents an important stage in the centuries-long process of the destruction of the linear aspect of music. The linearity of music is not only horizontal, as it is most often conceived, with only the independent and continuous voices of a contrapuntal texture recognized as lines. There is a vertical aspect as well. The figured bass of the Baroque from 1600 to beyond 1750, in which the music is structured by a series of chords, is a conception of the flow of music in terms of a series of vertical lines; in fact, the notation yields this vertical linearity easily to the eye. . . . These vertical "lines" were carried by a strong horizontal bass line throughout the entire Baroque period, and both aspects were heavily attacked by the new style of the later eighteenth century. . . . [T]he classical style attacked the horizontal independence of the voices and the vertical independence of the harmony by isolating the phrase and articulating the structure. . . . Imposing this new periodic system upon the musical flow and blurring the inner progression of that flow by the new accompaniment figures meant that the linear sense of the classical style was transferred to a higher level[.]<sup>315</sup>

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<sup>315</sup> Charles Rosen, *The Classical Style: Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven* (New York: Viking Press, 1971), pp. 28-29.

Here the author not only implies that an alleged disintegration of thoroughbass practice was a defining feature of late eighteenth-century classical style but that the alleged disintegration was part of a “centuries-long” process.

Comparable attitudes have persisted into the twenty-first century with respect to a wide range of theoretical and performance-practice issues. Claims that the thoroughbass tradition had run its course<sup>316</sup> or become outmoded and rendered superfluous by newer kinds of musical texture and syntax are commonplace not only in general history texts but in the specialist literature. Consider the following comment:

In his free fantasy chapter [of the *Essay*], C. P. E. Bach advocates the harmonic and modulatory freedom that Kirnberger discourages, and thus appears to be more forward-looking than his younger contemporary. On the other hand, Bach discusses his ideas within the theoretical context of thoroughbass, which was already becoming old-fashioned at the time he wrote his treatise. By the time Bach returned to the subject of modulation in the paragraph that he added to his chapter [written sometime after February 1783 and added to the revised version of the *Essay* that was published in 1797], thoroughbass had become outmoded altogether, yet he still uses the symbolic notation of figured bass to present his analytic examples.<sup>317</sup>

It is telling that the author of this passage felt obliged to acknowledge C. P. E. Bach’s continued use of thoroughbass notation in explicating his theoretical ideas, notwithstanding the conventional wisdom that thoroughbass “had become outmoded altogether.” Indeed, many of the composers and theorists of the later eighteenth century not only maintained a working relationship with thoroughbass practices – as demonstrated in the previous chapter through their engagement in the production of various *Generalbassschulen* – but went on in many cases to indoctrinate their younger

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<sup>316</sup> Marpurg / Sheldon, *Handbuch*, p. x. “[Marpurg’s] *Handbuch* [bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition] is a detailed (341 pp.) and practical introduction to composition. It has very little to do with thoroughbass accompaniment; very few of its examples even utilize figured-bass symbols. Its title is not so much misleading as simply anachronistic, reflecting a tradition that had almost run its course.”

<sup>317</sup> Ferris, “C. P. E. Bach,” 61. [emphasis added]

contemporaries into a well-established thoroughbass tradition, so that its continuation was ensured well into the nineteenth century.

*Generalbass* would indeed remain an integral component in the concepts of influential theorists even well into the late nineteenth century, including those of Hugo Riemann. Although the engagement with certain theories proved unfortunate for Riemann's reputation, notably his "dualistic" theory of overtones and undertones,<sup>318</sup> his concept of a *Funktionstheorie* was widely adopted. His formulation of a tonic, dominant, and subdominant axis around which all harmony revolved was merely an extension of the Rameauian theories that had been afoot in Europe for one hundred and fifty years:

Function theories of all types are themselves, in contrast to the chord-repertoire [of the step theories], based not on [the placement of verticalities on] scale steps, but on the triumvirate of fifth-related triads, whereby the central harmony is referenced by the tonic (T), the dominant above (D), and the sub-dominant below (S). Long before Riemann referred to this so-called *Funktionstheorie*, it had become clear that more was implied in this than simply three "basic triads."

Since Jean-Philippe Rameau, and surely since Moritz Hauptmann, these principles of a coordinated tonality, a center with its revolving satellites exerting centrifugal and centripetal forces have been [established]. In accordance with these references to the three basic functions, the postulate of third-stacking is thus greatly diminished. Rather, basic sounds (*Grundtöne*) are always derived from the three basic triads (even if the [triads] are not apparent).<sup>319</sup>

The presentation of Riemann's new *Funktionstheorie* was of course of great importance to him, and it would be fair to say that this is perhaps his best-known contribution to the field of musical discourse. His many writings on harmonic theory

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<sup>318</sup> See Chapter 2, p. 87, note 190.

<sup>319</sup> Peter Rummenh  ller, "Stufentheorie und Funktionstheorie – Krieg und Frieden," *Musiktheorie* 16 (2001), 311-318. "Funktionstheorien jeglicher Varianten sind sich demgegen  ber einig, dass ihr Akkord-repertoire nicht auf Leiterstufen, sondern auf drei quintverwandten Dreikl  ngen basiert, wobei der mittlere die zentrale Bezugsharmonie, die Tonika (T), der obere die Dominante (D), der untere die Subdominante (S) ist. Schon lange vor Riemanns von ihm expressis verbis so genannter Funktionstheorie wurde deutlich, dass mit den drei Akkorden mehr gemeint war als nur drei 'Hauptdreikl  nge.' Seit Jean-Philippe Rameau und ganz sicher seit Moritz Hauptmann sind sie vielmehr Prinzipien, Koordinaten der Tonalit  t, ein Zentrum mit seinen es umkreisenden Trabanten, mit zentrifugalen und zentripetalen Kr  ften. Gem  ss dieser Bezogenheit auf die drei Hauptfunktionen gilt auch das Postulat der Terzenschichtung nicht mehr ungebrochen. Grundt  ne sind vielmehr stets die der drei Hauptdreikl  nge (auch dann, wenn sie nicht erscheinen)." 311.

culminated in 1893 with the publication of his *Vereinfachte Harmonielehre* (1893), translated in 1895 as *Harmony Simplified, or the Theory of the Tonal Functions of Chords*. It is in the subtitle that Riemann first engages the term “function.”<sup>320</sup> Yet during the gestation of this theoretical work, the subject of *Generalbass* and its implications, for performance as well as for theoretical instruction, was clearly of comparable importance to him. Consider his remarks from the *Vorwort* to the first edition of his *Anleitung zum Generalbass-Spielen*, published in 1889;<sup>321</sup> the *Vorwort* is entitled *The Pedagogical Significance of Generalbass Performance (Die pädagogische Bedeutung des Generalbassspiels)*:

From approximately the beginning of the eighteenth century, the ability to perform *Generalbass* was an art that all refined musicians of substantial talent needed to master, since in former times the composer not only counted upon the participation of a keyboard (harpsichord) or organ accompaniment in the performance of vocal works with orchestra as well as in works for orchestra alone and, therefore, always added to these scores a figured bass (continuo), but also because complete works or movements were written for the limited forces of such a keyboard accompaniment supporting a prominent (solo) melodic voice only. Even in our own time, the *secco* recitatives of the oratorios and operas often feature no more extensive accompaniment than a figured bass.

Now these works, as far as they are still presented today, are for the most part provided with explicit accompaniments from a figured bass line intended for the expert player (and, since our contemporary tastes reject the piano as an orchestral instrument and replaces the harpsichord with string and wind instruments, it is only in sacred vocal works that an outlined organ accompaniment is set in a full-voiced manner);

Thus, the conductor is no longer compelled to become the perfect *Generalbassspieler* as well as the *maestro al cembalo* (the *Kapellmeister* who directs from the keyboard) of legend. Nevertheless, one probably goes a bit too far if one totally abandons the training of young musicians in *Generalbass* practices. Thus one can assess the high value high of these practices, completely apart from their most familiar practical [i. e., performance] purposes, as an educational tool.

Therefore, if this modest book aids in the revitalization of *Generalbass* performance, at the same time I have not set out with the sole purpose in mind of enabling the player to reconstruct performances of older musical works in their original form – although this viewpoint can also be readily demonstrated and could even be construed in our

<sup>320</sup> Brian Hyer and Alexander Rehding, “Hugo Riemann,” *NGD*, Vol. 15, pp. 362-66.

<sup>321</sup> Hugo Riemann, *Anleitung zum Generalbass-Spielen*. The original title of the publication was *Katechismus des Generalbass-Spiels (Harmonie-Übungen am Klavier)* (Leipzig, 1889).

time as representing a predilection for the regressive view to the old days that exists among my friends who are so engaged; rather the concern, therefore, is to restore once again to its proper place an important component of the musical discipline after almost a century of neglect.

By no means, however, do I claim the originalty of this idea for myself; I have, indeed, stated quite the opposite to my friends, that, for example, in the Brussels Conservatory, a course exists called "Harmony pratique réalisé sur le clavier," which pursues the same goals of my book. Also, the existence of various *Choralbüchern* with figured basses demonstrates that there are still organists who appreciate the significance of this talent for the purposes of musical education.

I never had a teacher who would allow me to play *Generalbass* and I have reason to believe that the number of music schools and private instructors who methodically train their students in the art of playing a figured bass is very small. I believe that, when leafing through this small book, the eyes of a great number of musicians will be opened, and, hopefully, will remain opened!

It was about three years ago now that I came to the realization that there did not exist a high estimation of the pedagogical significance [of *Generalbass*], if one compares the training of pupils in written harmony exercises with a requirement that they perform these examples instead, allowing the student to make direct conversions at the piano of figured exercises into full-voiced pieces. I proceeded immediately to the practical implementation of these ideas; for example, we had for some time a special course in *Generalbass* performance at the Hamburg Conservatory, for which I availed myself, with the exception of the occasional consultation of figured basses of Bach and Handel (accompaniments), of the *Hannover Choralbuchs* of Heinrich Enckhaufen. (It is a sign of the times that the second edition of this excellent work, with prepared four-part exercises, has appeared, so that it was only with some little effort that my students and I were able to come into possession of some copies of the first edition).

This was a surprising success. For it turned out in fact that the students who flawlessly carried out their work at home or also in class at the chalkboard proved themselves to be miserable amateurs as soon as I set [the exercises] at the keyboard, however, in contrast, others engaged themselves at the piano much as in their written work. In other words: the carrying out of the harmony exercises at the piano places entirely new demands on the student that are so significant to his success that I had to consider *Generalbass* playing at this time as a primary component in the education of the principles of harmony. These components also include:

- 1) Presence of mind, a vigorous consolidation of and concentration on the exercise so that a true utilization of the correlated knowledge, accessed in an efficient manner, becomes possible;
- 2) a highly-developed sense of voicing, a vivid awareness of polyphony, pursuing the progression of the four voices not mechanically but in a spiritual manner.

The second point is the more important one; a true musician must be able, as it were, to relate what is in his soul or to tell of the inner workings of his imagination, streaming out through his fingers and yet fully aware, spinning out the four threads of melody that make up the

four-voiced work simultaneously, while never dividing or confusing them. That this is a valuable precondition not only for improvisation, but also for composition, is self-evident; here, therefore, is given a means by which a student can be trained in such tasks, in that those who may not themselves rise to an inspired creative level can be guaranteed of a substantial heightening of artistic quality.

I may say without exaggeration that none of my students participated in these *Generalbass* exercises without clearly perceiving the utility of its use and I am pleased therefore to offer, with the highest conviction of my art, this complete essay on the subject: [those who engage it] will not have cause to repent!

However, the monitoring of these exercises presupposes a good teacher who is, to some extent at least, capable of improvisation at the piano or (if he is not a keyboardist) of demonstrating the correct rules of polyphonic composition, who will attack the written work and sample compositions in order to find errors the student does not see, and, to this end, allow the student to play [these exercises] in a *Generalbass* manner. Meanwhile the teacher should not underestimate himself. If he has never in the past attempted practices of this type, then it may seem a daring thing to expect exercises of this sort from his students; therefore, he should spend some time attempting to acquire these abilities and then, for example, convince the student through his own attempts at correct composition at the keyboard; if these attempts are well-received, the teacher can thereby demonstrate to the student without delay how to utilize this ability . . . .

Perhaps if a teacher or two, after testing the usefulness of my figuring for the more advanced stages of these exercises, befriends these ideas, they may also become accustomed to utilizing this method for more primary instruction in harmonic theory and agree with the all-too-eager supporters of my method who observe that uses for *Generalbass* nevertheless still hold some meaning for the future and do not completely belong in the [historical] junk room!<sup>322</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> Riemann, *Anleitung*, "Vorwort der ersten Auflage," pp. III-VIII. "Das Generalbassspielen war etwa bis zu Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts eine Kunst, welche jeder wohl erzogene Musiker mit erheblicher Fertigkeit beherrschen musste, da früher die Komponisten nicht nur auf die Mitwirkung des begleitenden Klaviers (Cembalo) oder der Orgel bei Aufführung von Vokalwerken mit Orchester wie auch bei Werken für Orchester allein rechneten und daher stets ihren Partituren einen bezifferten Bass (Continuo) beigaben, sondern sogar auch ganze Werke oder Sätze schreiben, die zur Unterstützung der melodieführenden (Solo-)Stimme sich ausschliesslich auf ein solches Akkompagnement beschränkten. Die Secco-Rezitative der Oratorien und Opern haben zum Teil noch bis weit in unsere Zeit hinein keine andere Begleitung als einen bezifferten Bass.

Nun sind zwar jene Werke, soweit sie heute noch aufgeführt werden, zumeist von kundiger Hand mit ausgeführten Begleitungen auf Grund der bezifferten Bässe versehen worden (und zwar, da unser Zeitgeschmack das Klavier als Orchesterinstrument aufgegeben hat, mit Ersetzung des Cembalo durch Streich- und Blasinstrumente, während für die kirchlichen Vokalwerke das nur skizzierte Orgelakkompagnement vollstimmig ausgesetzt ist); die Dirigenten brauchen also nicht mehr perfekte Generalbassspieler zu sein und der *maestro al cembalo* (der vom Klavier aus dirigierende Kapellmeister) ist zur Legende geworden. Man ist aber doch wohl zu weit gegangen, wenn man darum die Ausbildung der jungen Musiker im Generalbassspiel ganz aufgegeben hat. Man hat dabei übersehen, welchen hohen Wert dieselbe, ganz abgesehen von ihrem nächsten praktischen Zwecke, als Erziehungsmittel hatte.

Wenn daher dieses kleine Buch die Wiederbelebung des Generalbassspiels anbahnt, so habe ich dabei keineswegs nur, ja nicht einmal vorzugsweise den Zweck im Auge, die Aufführung alter Tonwerke in ihrer Originalgestalt zu ermöglichen – obgleich auch dieser Gesichtspunkt gar nicht so ohne weiteres von der

Hand zu weisen ist und selbst schon in unserem mit Vorliebe rückwärts schauenden Zeitalter meinem Bestreben Freunde genug zuführen könnte; vielmehr handelt es sich darum, einem wichtigen Teile der musikalischen Erziehung nach fast hundertjähriger Vernachlässigung wieder seine gebührende Stelle anzuweisen.

Keineswegs nehme ich aber für mich die Originalität dieser Idee in Anspruch, konstatiere im Gegenteil mit Freunden, dass z.B. am Brüsseler Konservatorium ein Kursus 'Harmonie pratique réalisé sur le clavier' existiert, der dasselbe Ziel verfolgt wie mein Buch. Auch deutet die Existenz von Choralbüchern mit bezifferten Bässen darauf hin, dass es noch Organisten gibt, welche die Bedeutung dieser Fertigkeit für die musikalische Erziehung zu schätzen wissen.

Mich selbst hat nie ein Lehrer Generalbass spielen lassen und ich habe Grund zu der Annahme, dass die Zahl der Musikschulen und der Privatlehrer, welche methodisch die Fähigkeit ausbilden, einen bezifferten Bass abzuspielen, eine sehr kleine ist. Ich glaube, dass eine sehr grosse Zahl von Musikern beim Durchblättern dieses kleinen Buchs die Augen weit aufmachen werden, hoffentlich, um sie dann offen zu behalten!

Es sind jetzt etwa drei Jahre, das mir die Erkenntnis aufging, dass es pädagogisch doch von gar nicht hoch genug zu schätzender Bedeutung sein müsse, wenn man nach genügender Ausbildung der Schüler in der schriftlichen Ausarbeitung von Harmonieaufgaben gleichsam als Probe aufs Exemple von ihnen verlange, dass sie direkt am Klavier eine entsprechende Verwandlung der bezifferten Aufgaben in vollstimmige Sätze vornehmen. Sofort schritt ich zur praktischen Berwirklichung des Gedankens, d.h. wir hatten seit jener Zeit am Hamburger Konservatorium einen besonderen Kursus Generalbassspiel, für den ich mich ausser gelegentlicher Heranziehung Bachscher und Händelscher bezifferten Bässe (Akkompagnements) des Hannoverschen Choralbuchs von Heinrich Enckhaufen bediente. (Es ist ein Zeichen der Zeit, dass die zweite Auflage dieses ausgezeichneten Werkes mit ausgearbeiteten vierstimmigen Sätzen erscheinen ist, so dass es mir und meinen Schülern nur mit Mühe gelang, einiger Exemplare der ersten Auflage habhaft zu werden). Der Erfolg war ein überraschender. Denn es stellte sich dabei heraus, dass Schüler, welche zu Hause oder auch in der Klasse an der Tafel ihre Arbeiten fehlerfrei ausführten, sich als jämmerliche Stümper erwiesen, sobald ich sie ans Klavier setzte, während umgekehrt andere am Klavier sich zum mindesten ebenso geschickt anstellten, wie bei den schriftlichen Arbeiten. Mit anderen Worten: das Ausführen der Harmonieaufgaben am Klavier stellt ganz neue Anforderungen an der Schüler, die so bedeutsam in ihren Erfolgen sind, dass ich das Generalbassspiel von der Stunde an für einen Hauptbestandteil der Ausbildung in der Harmonielehre ansehen musste. Diese Anforderungen sind:

- 1) Geistesgegenwart, ein energisches Sichzusammenraffen und Konzentrieren auf die Ausgabe, so dass wirklich eine Verwertung der angesammelten Kenntnisse in Moment, eine gewisse Schlagfertigkeit möglich wird;
- 2) ein ausgebildetes Stimmgefühl, ein lebendiges Bewusstsein der Polyphonie, ein nicht mechanisches sondern seeliches Verfolgen des Ganges der vier Stimmen.

Der zweite Punkt ist der wichtigere; ein wirklicher Musiker muss imstande sein, gleichsam seine Seele oder sagen wir seine lebendig arbeitende Phantasie, seinen in die Finger überströmenden Willen zu teilen und vollbewusst die vier Melodiefäden des vierstimmigen Satzes zugleich zu verfolgen und korrekt fortzuspinnen, ohne dass sie sich verwirren oder abreißen. Dass das nicht nur für die Improvisation, sondern erst recht für die Komposition Vorbedingung ist, versteht sich ja von selbst; hier zeigt sich aber ein Mittel, solche Fähigkeiten auch bei denen, welche nicht berufen sind, selbstschöpferisch aufzutreten, bis zu einem Grade auszubilden, der ein mächtiges Erstarken ihrer künstlerischen Qualitäten verbürgt.

Ohne Übertreibung darf ich sagen, dass keiner meiner Schüler an der Übungen im Generalbassspiel ohne deutlich erkennbaren Nutzen teilgenommen hat, und ich bitte daher voll heiligster Überzeugung alle meine Kunst genossen, mit dem Generalbassspiel einen Versuch zu machen: sie werden es nicht zu bereuen haben!

Allerdings setzt die Überwachung dieser Übungen einen guten Lehrer voraus; wer nicht einigermaßen der Improvisation am Klavier oder doch (wenn er nicht Klavierspieler ist) der korrekten polyphonen composition fähig ist, wer etwa selbst bei schriftlichen Arbeiten und Kompositionsversuchen mit groben Satzfehlern zu kämpfen hat, wer Fehler sehen muss, um sie zu finden, der ist nicht fähig, seine



Riemann is specific here in affirming that training in *Generalbass* reinforces musicianship along three distinct axes: pedagogical, improvisational (continuo accompaniment in the “Classical” style), and, perhaps most significantly at this point in the nineteenth century, compositionally. In this sense, his view is very much in keeping with the concepts of organic unity so prevalent at the time – a true expression of the total musical experience involving not only theoretical and aural signification but the other senses (i.e., touch) in the system as well.

However disappointed by the limited commercial success of the first edition of the *Anleitung*, Riemann did not back off from his claims in the *Vorwort* to the second edition, which appeared in 1903. Indeed, there he is even more forceful in his justification of *Generalbass* practices within these parameters, again pointing to the specific elements of the aforementioned axes and further invoking current psychological theories in defense of these concepts:

In the year 1889, I certainly would not have dreamed that the second edition of my *Kompositionslehre* and of my *Musikgeschichte* would have appeared before that of the handbook of *Generalbass* playing. In view of the excellent success of this type of exercise and the lively interest of certain older pupils, I had expected a faster, more general resumption of a discipline that, towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, had formed the true basis of musical education. That I was thwarted in this expectation is an unfortunate indication that the usual instruction in music theory continues in the impotent and lethargic forms that were present at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Since the 3000 copies of the first edition of this apprenticeship were exhausted only after 12 years, the explanation that other books of this kind covered the need is

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Schüler Generalbass spielen zu lassen. Indessen unterschätze sich der Lehrer nicht. Hat er früher selbst nie Übungen dieser Art gemacht, so mag es ihm wohl gewagt scheinen, dergleichen von seinen Schülern zu verlangen; er versuche daher zunächst ein Weilchen, sein eigener Schüler zu sein, d.h. überzeuge sich durch eigene Versuche, ob er des reinen Satzes am Klavier fähig ist, und erwerbe sich, wenn der Versuch gut ausfällt, soviel Gewandtheit, dass er den Schülern ohne Stocken vormachen kann, was sie tun sollen . . . . Vielleicht befreundet sich der eine oder andere Lehrer, wenn er die Brauchbarkeit meiner Bezifferung für die höheren Stufen dieser Übungen erprobt hat, mit den Gedanken, sie auch für den Anfangsunterricht in der Harmonielehre zu verwerten, wie umgekehrt die allzueifrigen Anhänger meiner Methode bemerken werden, dass der Generalbass doch auch für die Zukunft noch zu etwas nutze ist und nicht ganz in die Rumpelkammer gehört!”

insufficient. No, this modest volume still today stands isolated in this respect and the proof is furnished in the fact that only a relatively small number of music teachers and institutions of music education have taken up the performance of *Generalbass* in their curricula.

I do not speak arbitrarily, but rather I am supported by the facts. It is certainly not the determining factor, but nonetheless true, that the adjudicating representatives specializing in music theory at one of the largest schools of music in Germany a few years ago answered a suggestion by the directors concerning the appraisal of the application of *Generalbass* practices with [the statement that these practices are] "certainly very useful, but nevertheless not so important that one can set aside special hours for it" (!!). Every pupil who has learned, through practical application, the principles of *Generalbass* knows that, on the contrary, the principles of *Generalbass* playing only demand a great deal of time in the initial stages, until, at least, some routine has been acquired. To be sure, whether the private conservatories' financial profitability affects these calculations as to whether to allot sufficient time required for the full utilization of *Generalbass* concepts – that is a question I dare not answer so easily. But still, much could be gained if only, toward the end of the usual harmony courses, the pupils could receive 6 or 8 hours training per half-semester, divided weekly, in *Generalbassspielen*. Certainly my experience in teaching since 1886 shows that pupils, having once made a beginning with such exercises, tended to continue, and that the position of the private conservatories [on this matter] is dubious.

In both my treatises on score realization [*Anleitung zum Partiturspiel* (Leipzig, 1902)] and orchestration [*Katechismus der Orchestrierung* (*Anleitung zum Instrumentieren*) (Leipzig, 1902, 3/1919 as *Handbuch der Orchestrierung*, 4/1923)], I repeatedly took the opportunity to suggest the extraordinary advantages for all further steps in the musician's education that a routine in *Generalbass* offers to him; score realization clearly establishes itself as the nearest practical application [to *Generalbass* accompaniment] and orchestration is again nothing more than the application of these same principles in the reverse direction (in score realization, the reduction of the parts into the narrow confines of a two-handed span, in orchestration the spreading-out of this span [within the compass of this general philosophy] to the more expansive regions of orchestral timbres). I do not doubt, therefore, that the two treatises mentioned above will be of considerable assistance in bringing the principles of *Generalbassspielen* to a more favorable standard of acceptance.

What I indicated in the preface of the first edition only in passing – that is, the importance of *Generalbass* for the performance of older works in their original forms – has in the last decade acquired more persuasiveness. The noticeably increasing interest of our historians in older instrumental music, in which *Generalbass* is an integral factor, provided the impetus for the publication of a large number of chamber-music works with figured bass, some of which have appeared already, though much is still forthcoming. Even if some of these publications include a written-out keyboard part, nevertheless, this novel publication practice featuring figured basses might spur many good musicians to experiment as to whether these works cannot benefit from this type of publication treatment, the amount of which is quite large, and whose capacity for artistic training through *Generalbass* playing is indispensable.

The new edition of this treatise makes allowances for these views, even if only in modest measure. The admission of some further examples of compositions with figured basses does not, to be sure, raise the treatise to the full height of the artist craft, allowing for the perfect execution of accompaniments in the style of Classical works with continuo, but it at least provides a basic conception of the manifold higher tasks that await, foreshadowed by the simple exercises of the *Choralübungen*, which form the principal content of the treatise. A more complete tutor in accompaniment in the form of an anthology of complete works taken from advantageous *Generalbass* literature (in a large note format) will no doubt also prove to be desirable. Meanwhile, however, this treatise, in its previous form, is still sufficient, since it alone fills a large gap in our method of music education.

The internal changes that appear in the new edition of the treatise require no elucidation or explanation. That I have incorporated into this work the important innovation of the labeling of the functional steps of the harmony speaks for itself. . . .

So it is urgent that we regard *Generalbassspiel* not merely as a rehearsal of examples, but rather as an indispensable addition to and the most reliable means of support of theoretical training. In recent times, physiologists and psychologists have related muscle responses to the hearing, reading, and understanding of musical ideas. These muscle sensations are developed by the practice of *Generalbass* in the hands in a very curious way; a well-trained *Generalbass* player feels incorrect consecutives immediately in his fingers, which he can then forestall and thus implement the proper consecutives before his eye can correctly comprehend it. This is what I meant by my statement in the *Vorrede* of the first edition concerning the “four-parts streaming out through the fingers.” The meaning of this achievement for the composer, in addition to merely improvising at the piano, is obvious; from my teaching experience, I wish to add the fact that when silent examination of exercises produced with the pencil was utilized, this often impeded the process of muscle sensation that led to more immediate results.<sup>323</sup>

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<sup>323</sup> Riemann, *Anleitung*, “Vorwort der zweiten Auflage,” pp. VIII-XII. “Dass der Katechismus des Generalbassspiels später als diejenigen der Kompositionslehre und der Musikgeschichte zur Neuauflage kommen würde, habe ich mir im Jahre 1889 freilich nicht träumen lassen. Angesichts der ausgezeichneten Erfolge der Übungen dieser Art und des lebhaften Interesses der in dieselben hineingewachsenen Schüler musste ich eine schnellere, allgemeinere Wiederaufnahme einer Disziplin erwarten, welche bis gegen Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts die eigentliche Grundlage der Musker-Erziehung gebildet hatte. Dass ich mich in dieser Erwartung getäuscht, ist ein bedauerliches Zeichen, wie sehr doch immer noch der Durchschnittsunterricht in der Musiktheorie sich in den schläfrigen, energie- und interesselosen Formen der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts bewegt. Denn dass die 3000 Exemplare der ersten Auflage dieses Katechismus erst in 12 Jahren erschöpft wurden, erklärt sich nicht etwa dadurch, dass der Bedarf durch stärkere Gangbarkeit anderer Bücher dieser Art gedeckt worden wäre. Nein, das kleine Büchelchen steht noch heute isoliert da und der Beweis ist damit erbracht, dass nur ein verhältnismässig kleiner Teil der Musiklehrer und Musikbildungsanstalten das Generalbassspielen in der Lehrplan aufgenommen hat.

Ich rede nicht ins Blaue, sondern stütze mich auf Tatsachen. Es ist gewiss kaum glaubhaft, aber darum doch nicht minder wahr, dass die massgebenden Vertreter der theoretischen Fächer an einer der grössten Musikschulen Deutschlands vor wenigen Jahren eine Anregung des Direktors mit dem Gutachten beantwortet haben, dass das Generalbassspielen “gewiss sehr nützlich, aber doch nicht so wichtig sei, dass man dafür besondere Stunden angesetzt könne” (!!). Jeder Schüler, der das Generalbassspielen praktisch kennen gelernt hat, weiss, dass im Gegenteil das Generalbassspielen nur allzuviel Zeit in Anspruch nimmt, wenigstens in den ersten Stadien bis zur Erlangung einiger Routine. Freilich ob die auf pekuniäre Rentabilität angelegten privaten Konservatorien auf ihre Rechnung kommen können, wenn sie dem

As indicated in the passage above, Riemann's *Anleitung* presents the basic concepts of *Generalbass* accompaniment briefly at the outset, much in the manner of the

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Generalbassspielen soviel Zeit zu wenden, wie es erfordert, um seinen vollen Nutzen zu entfalten – das ist eine Frage, die ich selbst nicht ohne weiteres zu bejahen wage. Doch wäre schon viel gewonnen, wenn nur gegen Ende der gemeinen Harmoniekurse die Schüler zu 6 oder 8 in der Stunde in halbes Jahr lang wöchentlich einmal Anleitung zum Generalbassspielen erhielten. Meine Erfahrungen seit 1886 lehren freilich, dass die Schüler, die einmal damit einen Anfang gemacht haben, nach Fortsetzung der Übungen verlangen, und das mag wohl für den Stat der Privat-Konservatorien seine Bedenklichkeiten haben.

In meinen beiden Katechismen Partiturspiel und Orchestrierung habe ich wiederholt Gelegenheit genommen, darauf hinzuweisen, welche ausserordentlichen Vorteile dem Musiker für alle weiteren Stufen der Ausbildung die Generalbass-Routine bietet; das Partiturspiel ergibt sich ganz von selbst als nächste Nutzsanwendung derselben und die Orchestrierung ist wieder nichts anderes als seine Anwendung derselben Prinzipien in der umgekehrten Richtung (beim Partiturspiel Zusammenraffung der Stimmen in die engen Grenzen des zweihändig greifbaren, bei der Orchestrierung Auseinanderlegung des greifbaren [mit dem sich Konzeption im allgemeinen deckt] auf das weite Gebeit der Orchestertongebung). Ich zweifle darum nicht, dass die genannten beiden Katechismen ganz bedeutend dazu helfen werden, das Generalbassspielen in grösserem Massstabe in Aufnahme zu bringen.

Was ich im Vorwort der ersten Auflage nur von ferne andeutete, die Wichtigkeit der Generalbassroutine für die Aufführung älterer Werke in ihrer Originalgestalt, hat in dem letzten Jahrzehnt auch mehr Überzeugungskraft gewonnen. Das auffällig erstarkende Interesse unserer Historiker für die ältere Instrumentalmusik, in welcher der Generalbass ein integrierender Faktor ist, hat zur Veröffentlichung einer grossen Zahl von Kammermusikwerken mit beziffertem Bass Anstoss gegeben, die teilweise schon erfolgt ist, zum grössten Teile aber noch unmittelbar bevorsteht. Wenn auch manchen dieser Publikationen ein ausgearbeiteter Klavierpart beigegeben worden ist, so reizt doch die neue Veröffentlichung der bezifferten Bässe gar manchen guten Musiker, sich zu versuchen, ob ers nicht besser kann als für die Bearbeitung noch nicht wieder veröffentlichter Werke dieser Art, deren Menge unglaublich gross ist, noch mancher künftigen Arbeitskraft, deren Schulung durch das Generalbassspiel unerlässlich ist.

Die neue Auflage des Katechismus trägt auch diesen Aussichten Rechnung, wenn auch nur in bescheidenem Masse. Die Aufnahme einiger weiteren Beispiele von Kompositionen mit bezifferten Bässen setzt zwar den Katechismus nicht instand, auf die volle Höhe der Künstlerschaft zu führen, welche zur stilgerechten Ausführung der Akkompagnements klassischer Werke mit Continuo befähigt, aber sie gibt doch wenigstens einen Begriff, wie mannigfache höhere Aufgaben desjenigen harren, der durch die einfachen Übungen der den Hauptinhalt des Katechismus bildenden Choralübungen vorgeschult ist. Eine weiter ausgeführte Schule des Akkompagnements in Gestalt einer Anthologie ganzer Sätze aus guten Generalbassliteratur (im grossem Notenformat) wird mit der Zeit wohl auch begehrt werden. Einstweilen reicht aber der Katechismus in seiner bisherigen Gestalt noch aus, da er wie gesagt noch immer allein eine klassende Lücke unserer Musikbildungsmittel ausfüllt.

Die internen Umgestaltungen, die der Katechismus in der neuen Auflage erfahren hat, bedürfen nicht der Aufweisung und Motivierung. Dass ich den grossen Fortschritt der Funktionsbezeichnung der Harmonien auch in dieses Werkchen überführen musste, versteht sich ja von selbst . . .

So sei denn nochmals aufs eindringliche gebeten, das Generalbassspiel nicht als eine blosser Probe aufs Exempel anzusehen, sondern vielmehr als seine unentbehrliche Ergänzung und als das allerverlässlichste Förderungsmittel der theoretischen Ausbildung. Die Physiologen und Psychologen der neuesten Zeit wissen gar viel zu berichten von Muskelgefühle beim Musikhören, Musiklesen, Musikdenken. Diese Muskelgefühle werden durch das Generalbassspielen auch in den Händen in ganz merkwürdiger Weise entwickelt; fehlerhafte Parallelen fühlt ein wohlgeschulter Generalbassspieler gar bald sicher in den Fingern, die sich geradezu sträuben, die Parallelen auszuführen, bevor das Auge sie begriffen hat.

Das ist es, was ich bereits in der Vorrede der ersten Auflage mit "Vierteilung des in der Finger überströmenden Willens" meinte. Die Bedeutung dieser Errungenschaft für den Komponisten und zwar nicht nur den am Klavier improvisierenden liegt auf der Hand; aus meiner Lehrer-Erfahrung will ich noch hinzufügen, dass beim stummen Durchfehen von Ausgaben oft schon der in der Hand gehaltene Stift den glatten Verlauf der leisen Muskelgefühle stört und das sofortige Auffinden der bessern Wege erschwert."

other manuals we have examined. The familiar number designations and symbols are set forth and this is followed by a brief explanation of how the numbers are arranged according to standard *Generalbass* configurations, i.e. 6 / 4 / 3, 6 / 4 / 2, etc.<sup>324</sup> However, he very quickly proceeds to an explanation of Rameau-based theoretical principles by way of Gottfried Weber.<sup>325</sup> In the context of a review of Weber's *Stufentheorie*, Riemann moves on to an explanation of his own concept of the *Klangschlüssel*. Here he breaks with traditional theoretical concepts concerning chord derivation in favor of his undertone theory.<sup>326</sup> In section c) of the *Einleitung* – entitled *Explanation of the Riemannian Figurations* [for the student trained in *Generalbass* methods] (*Erklärung der Riemannischen Bezifferung* [für die noch *Generalbass*methode vorgebildeten Schüler]) – Riemann explains the principles of the *Klangschlüssel* thusly:

The novelty of the *Klangschlüssel* is in its assertion of principles that stand in opposition to the centuries-old contentions of the most highly regarded theorists (Zarlino, Salinas, Rameau, Tartini, M. Hauptmann), who put forth and indeed emphasized the view that the minor chord was derived from the major chord. The minor chord is derived from the primary tone (*Prim* or *Hauptton*), the major third below (*grosser Unterterz*), and the perfect fifth below (*grosser Unterquint*), while the major chord is derived from the primary tone, the major third above (*grosser Oberterz*), and the perfect fifth above (*grosser Oberquint*):<sup>327</sup>

$$\text{Durakkord} \left\{ \begin{array}{ll} \text{g} \dots \text{Oberquint} & \text{e} \dots \text{Hauptton} \\ \text{e} \dots \text{Oberterz} & \text{c} \dots \text{Unterterz} \\ \text{c} \dots \text{Hauptton} & \text{a} \dots \text{Unterquint} \end{array} \right\} \text{Mollakkord.}$$

Example 3-1a: Riemann, *Anleitung*, p. 12

<sup>324</sup> Riemann, *Anleitung*, pp. 1-2. Riemann uses number designations from 2 to 13 for the individual interval designations; however, he points out that the figure 11 is equal to 4 and 10 is equal to 3. See *ibid.*, p. 2.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 9-12.

<sup>326</sup> See Chapter 2, p. 87, note 190.

<sup>327</sup> Riemann, *Anleitung*, p. 12. "Das eigentlich Neue an dem Klangschlüssel ist die Geltendmachung der seit Jahrhunderten von den bedeutendsten Theoretikern (Zarlino, Salinas, Rameau, Tartini, M. Hauptmann) erkannten und betonten Auffassung des Mollakkords als eines dem Durakkord durchaus gegensätzlichen Gebildes. Der Mollakkord besteht aus Prim, grosser Unterterz und reiner Unterquint, wie der Durakkord aus Prim, grosser Oberterz und reiner Oberquint besteht."

He then assigns the following symbols: for the *Oberklang*, or major triad, the perfect triad above a given note, he utilizes the designation +; for the *Unterklang*, or minor triad, the perfect triad below a given note, he uses the designation 0. Thus, c+ is a C major triad, whereas the symbol 0e designates the minor triad constructed under the note E, or the A minor triad.<sup>328</sup>

To the Weberian *Stufen* and his own *Klangschlüssel*, Riemann now adds his concept of *Funktionsbezeichnung*. As he states in section d) of the *Einleitung*, he first presented this theory in his *Vereinfachte Harmonielehre* in 1893.<sup>329</sup> As he acknowledges in the *Vorwort* to the third edition cited above, he has now incorporated this theory into his *Generalbass* presentation. Riemann's three harmonic functions are *Tonica* (T), *Dominante* (D), and *Subdominante* (S). From these, Riemann derives functional designations to explain commonly encountered verticalities, such as the *Tonikaparallele* (Tp), or the parallel chord of the major tonic, as in the A minor triad in C major, or the *Molldominanteparallele* (<sup>0</sup>Dp), the G major chord in A minor.<sup>330</sup>

With these and other designations, Riemann can now present a composite overview of the harmonic structure of a work by utilizing the analytical apparatus at his disposal. As an illustration of how his various methods can explicate a given example, he provides the following passage from C. P. E. Bach's *Essay*. In the example, the

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<sup>328</sup> Riemann, *Anleitung*, p. 12.

<sup>329</sup> Hugo Riemann, *Vereinfachte Harmonielehre oder die Lehre von den tonalen Funktionen der Akkorde* (London and New York, 1893, 2/1903; trans., 1895).

<sup>330</sup> Riemann, *Anleitung*, pp. 16-17. Concerning Riemann's parallel areas in the minor mode, Mickelsen provides the following explanation: "In the minor mode the parallel keys are not found on the second, third, and sixth degrees, but rather on a minor third above each primary chord; thus in a minor the tonic parallel is on the third (c-e-g), the subdominant parallel on the sixth (f-a-c), and the dominant parallel on the seventh (g-b-d). Just as the parallel major mode is a minor third above, so are the parallel clangs a minor third above the clang they represent." See *Hugo Riemann's Theory of Harmony: A Study by William C. Mickelsen and History of Music Theory, Book III by Hugo Riemann*, trans. and ed. by William C. Mickelsen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), p. 65.

traditional *Generalbass* figures appear above; below the staff are found, respectively, explications according to Weber's method, the *Klangschlüssel*, and finally the *Funktionsbezeichnung*:

Gen. Baß.  $\begin{matrix} 7 \\ 0 \\ 4 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} b7 \\ 5 \\ 2 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 6 \\ 5 \\ 3 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 7 \\ 0 \\ 4 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 9 \\ 5 \\ 3 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 7 \\ 5 \\ 3 \end{matrix}$

1. 

Weber:  $\text{C} \mid \text{f}\sharp 0 \ 7 \ \text{h} 0 \ 7 0 \ \text{e} 7 \mid \text{f}\sharp 0 \ 7 0 \mid ? \ \text{h} 0 \ 7 0 \ \text{C} \ \text{G} 7 \mid$   
(Orgelpunkt nicht ausdrückbar)

Klang-  
schlüssel:  $\begin{matrix} 6 \\ 4 \\ 1 \end{matrix} \mid \text{a} 0 \ \text{g} 0^{\circ} \ \text{8} \mid \text{a} 0^{\circ} \mid \begin{matrix} 4 \\ 1 \end{matrix} \mid \text{g} 0^{\circ} \mid \text{c} \mid \begin{matrix} 7 \\ 5 \\ 1 \end{matrix} \mid$

Funktions-  
bezeichnung:  $D_4^6 \mid D_7^9 \ 8 \mid D_7^9 \mid D^4 \mid \begin{matrix} 3 \\ 0 \\ 7 \\ 1 \end{matrix} \mid T \mid \begin{matrix} 7 \\ 5 \\ 1 \end{matrix} \mid$

Erklärung der Riemann'schen Bezifferung.

$\begin{matrix} 6 \\ 5 \\ 3 \\ 8 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 7 \\ 0 \\ 4 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 5 \\ 4 \\ 2 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 7 \\ 5 \\ 3 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 6 \\ 4 \\ 3 \\ 8 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 7 \\ 5 \\ 3 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 2 \\ 0 \\ 2 \end{matrix}$



Weber:  $\text{a} 7 \ \text{h} 0 \ 7 0 \ \text{G} 7 \ \text{G} 7 \mid \text{f}\sharp 7 \ \text{h} 0 \ 7 0 \ \text{C} \mid \text{a} : \text{I} - \text{II} 0 7 \text{V} \mid$   
Kl.:  $0 \ \text{g} 0^{\circ} \ 8 \ \text{c} 7 \mid \text{f}\sharp 7^{\circ} \ \text{g} 0^{\circ} \ \text{c} \mid \text{Oe} \dots \text{a}^{\text{VII}} \text{e} + \mid$

F.:  $\text{S}_7^9 \text{D}_7^9 \ 8 \ (\text{D} 7) \mid [\text{S}] \text{S}_7^9 \text{D}_7^9 \ T \ 0 \text{T} \dots \text{S}^{\text{VII}} \text{D} \mid$

$\begin{matrix} 7 \\ 0 \\ 4 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 6 \\ 4 \\ 2 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 7 \\ 5 \\ 3 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 6 \\ 4 \\ 3 \\ 8 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 7 \\ 5 \\ 3 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 2 \\ 0 \\ 2 \end{matrix}$



Weber:  $\text{III} + \text{I} \ \text{I} \ \text{VI} 0 7 \ \text{VI} 0 \mid \text{V} 7 \ \text{I} \ \text{VI} 7 \ \text{II} 0 7 \mid$   
Kl.:  $\text{e} 5^{\circ} \ \text{Oe} \dots \text{VII} \ \text{f}\sharp 7 \mid \text{e} 7 \ \text{Oe} \dots \text{VII}^{\circ} \ \text{a}^{\text{VII}} \mid$   
F.:  $\dots \text{T} \ \text{T}^{\text{VII}} \ \text{D} 7 \mid \text{D} 7 \ 0 \text{T} \dots \text{VII}^{\circ} \ \text{S}^{\text{VII}} \mid$

$\begin{matrix} 4 \\ 2 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 6 \\ 4 \\ 2 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 7 \\ 5 \\ 3 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 6 \\ 4 \\ 3 \\ 8 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 7 \\ 5 \\ 3 \end{matrix}$   $\begin{matrix} 2 \\ 0 \\ 2 \end{matrix}$



Weber:  $\text{VI} 0 7 \ \text{I} \ \text{VI} 0 \mid \text{III} + 7 \ \text{I} \ \text{V} \mid$   
Kl.:  $\text{e} : \text{IV} \ \text{VI} 0 7 \mid \text{e} 5^{\circ} \ \text{Oe} \ \text{e} + \mid$   
F.:  $\text{D}_7^9 \ 0 \text{T} \ \text{D}_7^9 \ \text{D} 7 \mid \text{T}^{\text{VI}} \ \text{V} \ \text{D} \mid$

Example 3-1b: Riemann, *Anleitung*, pp. 18-19

Thus we find Riemann endorsing the notion that *Generalbass* practices and concepts could still, at the turn of the twentieth century, be engaged by a musically literate public for the explication of new and in many ways revolutionary ideas about musical theory. Here *Generalbass* practice, far from the “dead language” that Dahlhaus declared it to be, is still capable of expressing musical meaning, both implicit and explicit, much as in Kretzschmar’s *Führer*.

Riemann continued to expand on his multifaceted premises well into the twentieth century. As demonstrated by the *Vorwort* to the fourth edition of the *Anleitung* (1917), his convictions concerning the merging of *Generalbass* practices with the more modern tonal and modulatory theories of the day not only provided the impetus for this fourth edition but for further writings as well:

Although the largest and most outstanding conservatories still oppose the introduction of *Generalbass* playing as a mandatory course (because it would take up too much time and place a heavy burden on the administration), nevertheless, the necessity of a new edition demonstrates that the popularity of these exercises increases constantly. However, I believe that a further strong impetus for the regular practice and promotion of *Generalbass* concepts has resulted from my suggestion for the establishment of a “School of Tonal Alteration” (see *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters in Leipzig*, 1914-15 and 1916),<sup>331</sup> which adumbrates the timbral significance of such *Generalbass* practices. The internal regularity of the harmonic sequences imposes itself through the return again and again of the same combinations, reinforcing the recognition and giving the rarer developments the proper relief. At the same time, the function label performs an essential service in that it marks that which is rare, making the complex easily recognizable. A [complete] revision did not prove to be desirable; this new edition, therefore, develops further what editions 1 – 3 had previously established.<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> Hugo Riemann, “Ideen zu einer ‘Lehre von den Tonvorstellungen,’” *Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters* (1914 / 15), 1-26 and “Neue Beiträge zu einer Lehre von der Tonvorstellungen: Typische Bahnen und Sonderphänomene der Tonvorstellung auf rhythmus-metrischem Gebiete,” *JMBP* (1916), 1-21.

<sup>332</sup> Riemann, *Anleitung*, “Vorwort der vierten Auflage,” p. XIII. “Obgleich gerade die grössten und angesehensten Konservatorien sich noch gegen die Einführung des Generalbassspiels als obligatorische Kursus sperren (weil dasselbe viel Zeit in Anspruch nimmt und den Stat stark belastet), so wächst doch sichtlich die Erkenntnis des hohen Nutzens dieser Übungen stetig, wie auch die Notwendigkeit der vorliegenden Neuauflage beweist. Einen kräftigen weiteren Anstoss wird aber, denke ich, die Pflege des Generalbassspiels durch meine Anregung zur Begründung einer ‘Lehre von den Tonvorstellungen’ erhalten (vgl. Jahrbuch der Musikbibliothek Peters in Leipzig pro 1914-15 und pro 1916), da das



Thus it is clear that Riemann, along with practicing musicians and theorists of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, saw no problem with assimilating disparate theoretical concepts from previous generations into a concerted whole, an organic entity that explained both the musical practices of past epochs and the music that was currently being created.

Modern theorists often seek to place the origins of Riemannesque functionality in the late eighteenth century, emphasizing – as does Rosen above – the vertical qualities of the music:

To be sure, functional theory is presented as having developed throughout history to stand as a “law of nature,” however, in this historical context, no one can seriously deny that it is derived from the “Classical style” and its triad-oriented idioms.<sup>333</sup>

It should be remembered, however, that this type of retroactive assignment of functional principles to the musical utterances of previous centuries can quickly become mired in contradiction. The reasons for this are quite apparent. First, the horizontal linear aspects of music from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries remained strong. It continued as the focal point of compositional thought throughout the nineteenth century in both the theoretical and practical aspects of many of the musicians we will discuss below. The following observation can illuminate this point:

Obviously any analysis with regard to the determination of function must arise from the correct [interpretation of] the voice leading. But

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Voraussetzen der Klangwiedergaben durch das Generalbassspielen dauernd geübt und gefördert wird. Die innerliche Gesetzmässigkeit der Harmoniefolgen drängt sich durch die Wiederkehr immer wieder derselben Kombinationen zwingend der Erkenntnis auf und gibt den selteneren Bildungen das gebührende Relief. Dabei leistet die Funktionsbezeichnung wesentliche Dienste, da sie das Selteneren als ein Komplizierteres augenfällig kenntlich macht. Eine Umarbeitung hat sich nicht als wünschenswert erwiesen; möge also die neue Auflage weiter führen, was die 1.- 3. Auflagen angebahnt haben.”

<sup>333</sup> Thomas Daniel, “Bach und die Funktionstheorie,” *Musiktheorie* 16 (2001), 325-32. “Zwar tritt die Funktionstheorie mit dem Anspruch auf, wie ein ‘Naturgesetz’ zu wirken und damit über der Geschichte zu stehen, doch im historischen Rückblick wird niemand ernsthaft leugnen, dass sie vom ‘Klassischen Stil’ und dessen dreiklangsgebundener Idiomatik ausgeht.” See 325.

functional theory produces its results not by defining the voice leading,  
but – to the contrary – it is abstracted from the voice leading.<sup>334</sup>

It is, indeed, within the context of these linear voice-leading connections that any “functionality” needs to be expressed: Polth uses as an example of this phenomenon the *Funktionstheorie* concept of the *Doppeldominante*. Whether or not any given simultaneity can be described as a *Doppeldominante* is completely dependent on the voice-leading context in which it exists; the local connections are what determine functionality.<sup>335</sup>

This observation leads directly to the second major point that needs to be made. Local connections, of the type that *Generalbass* describes so well, are of particular importance in instances where the overall tonality is not apparent. Where recurring instances of *Kadenzflucht* can be found,<sup>336</sup> the notion of these more linear, local cadential connections – best expressed by the idea of the *Stufenreichtum*<sup>337</sup> – is far more important

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<sup>334</sup> Michael Polth, “Ist die Funktionstheorie eine Theorie der Funktionalität?” *Musiktheorie* 16 (2001), 319-24. “Selbstverständlich kann ein Analysierender, der Funktionen bestimmt, auf die Stimmführung achten. Aber die Funktionstheorie selbst macht ihre Ergebnisse nicht von der Stimmführung abhängig, sondern – im Gegenteil – sie abstrahiert von der Stimmführung.” See 323, note 15.

<sup>335</sup> *Ibid.*, 323. The term *Doppeldominante* is used in functional theory to denote a chord that serves as a dominant to a dominant. It is considered to be a species of *Zwischendominante*.

<sup>336</sup> *Ibid.*, 331ff. Polth uses the term *Kadenzflucht* (literally, “leaping cadence”) to describe the rapid modulations in a chorale by J. S. Bach.

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, 332. Polth borrows the notion of the *Stufenreichtum* from Arnold Schoenberg. Schoenberg’s explanation, which is presented in his *Harmonielehre* (Vienna: Universal, 1911), p. 416, is illustrative not only of the points made above, but also of many that will be presented below in Chapter 4. “Modulations are only episodes. But such an episode, which in a cadence is presented only in concentrated form, can also be set apart and given individual treatment. Then one can present it more expansively; it can be less concentrated, more richly elaborated with greater independence of movement and clearer tendencies. That is just what we did in the earlier modulations where, for that very reason, we acquired the habit of shaping modulations broadly and gradually. Meanwhile, through the more complicated devices for modulation, we have learned possibilities for extending our efforts. Now if we have mastered the difficult task of making these devices serve the purpose of a key, then it must be that much easier to exploit them in modulating. Since I have been at all times more concerned with developing the pupil’s sense of form than with stuffing him full of indigestible information, I should not like to neglect mentioning something that now seems to me worthy of attention, especially now that I am going to recommend to him modulation by ‘fast’ means. I believe that harmonic richness does not come about by going through a great many keys, but by making the *richest possible use of the degrees*. In this sense a chorale of Bach is harmonically richer than most modern compositions. . . . Rich, varied use of the degrees (*Stufenreichtum*) is thus the most essential feature of the harmonic art. Aside from that, it is relatively unimportant which particular devices we employ.” The

than any overarching functional description. The emphasis in many of the treatises discussed below on fast or sudden (*plötzlich*) modulatory cadential patterns illustrates the point.

The following statement effectively incorporates the ideas expressed in the preceding two points with the basic premise that Rosen articulates in the above quotation (see note 315); however, rather than the pejorative slant and emphasis on the bifurcation of vertical and horizontal linear arrangements in the musical expressions of this period, here we find an eloquent defense of the stylistic and theoretical bases for a still-vibrant keyboard-continuo practice – articulated through the melding of horizontal and vertical concepts – in the latter part of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century:

Among its many musical functions, keyboard continuo provides the skeletal structure of Classical music – the vertical pillars of chordal progressions around which the orchestral instruments weave their horizontal, melodic arabesques. Thanks to the performance of continuo, dissonances result from the clash of the keyboard’s “consonant” chords with the dissonances provided by the orchestral instruments in the form of long and short appoggiaturas, passing-notes, neighboring notes, and so on. When continuo is performed as prescribed by the Classical composers in their piano concertos, the multi-layered sound that results from the inclusion of the keyboard creates, at times, dissonances such as minor and major seconds, and even minor and major sevenths, on the most exposed component of the musical structure – the strong beat(s). Whether in soft or loud passages, these dissonances are heard by the listener as a subliminal harmonic presence – just as the bones in the human body, under normal circumstances, remain concealed to the eye. This subliminal harmonic presence cannot be eliminated without penalty, for the harmonies provided by the keyboard constitute coordinates against which the other orchestral instruments gain their proper musical context[.]<sup>338</sup>

The intersection of these ideas, then – of linear and vertical, local and global, thoroughbass and fundamental bass (often by way of the emerging step theories of the

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English translation is from Arnold Schoenberg, *Theory of Harmony*, trans. by Roy E. Carter (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), p. 370.

<sup>338</sup> Tibor Szász, “An Authentic Parisian Source for Mozart’s Piano Concerto in C Major, K. 246: New Ideas on the Questions of Continuo and Cadenzas,” *Early Keyboard Journal* 15 (1997), 7-42. To support his reference to a “subliminal harmonic presence,” Szász offers the statement by C. P. E. Bach that is quoted below; see note 339.

early nineteenth century) – are what serves as the basis for the theoretical and practical ideals in the works and writings of the musicians discussed in the following pages. The integration of these principles into their musical paradigms is seen clearly not only in their theoretical writings, but also in their finished works and the performance practices associated with them. The willingness to embrace the tenets of earlier musical styles is apparent and may be regarded as a critical determinant of their musical idioms.

## II. Performance-Practice Considerations

### a) Directing from the Keyboard

While perhaps waning, the *Generalbass* maintained its functionality well into the nineteenth century in genres that, as will be discussed in the foregoing sections, are today thought to have been devoid of such practices. Throughout the eighteenth century, prominent composers and theorists had looked on the presence of keyboard continuo in instrumental music as essential to the proper presentation of a work. A particularly important treatise on continuo practices, which goes far in addressing just this matter, is the previously discussed text by Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714-1788). As we have seen, his *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (Part One, 1753 – Part Two, from which the following passage is extracted, 1762) provides some of the clearest evidence of the ubiquity of keyboard continuo through the middle of the eighteenth century. The Introduction to Part II of the Bach's treatise bears further consideration:

Thus no piece can be well performed without some form of keyboard accompaniment. Even in heavily scored works, such as operas performed out of doors, where no one would think that the harpsichord could be heard, its absence can certainly be felt. And from a position above the performers all of its tones are clearly perceptible. I base these observations on experiences which may be duplicated by anyone.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>339</sup> Bach / Mitchell, *Essay*, p. 173. Part II of the *Versuch* is devoted to the art of figured bass accompaniment.

It is, perhaps more than any other single factor, this “clearly felt” keyboard presence that is so important to the present discussion. Bach seems to feel that something very tangible, some element crucial to the overall artistic impact of the work being presented is contained in the thoroughbass accompaniment. Without it, the work suffers. This can be as a result of the loss of control by the composer over the ensemble performing his work; in complex church music, Bach offers the opinion that the organ can be used to “[provide] splendor and maintain order.”<sup>340</sup> And certainly, the role of Kapellmeister, the consummate musician in command of the instrumental sources surrounding him, was one with which most prominent late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century composers were familiar. To maintain this type of directorial control over the piece in question – particularly in concertos, but also, I believe, in other genres as well – is an elemental factor in the compositional thought processes of a composer of this period.<sup>341</sup> Any bifurcation along the lines of composer / performer or work / performance – as represented by the emerging nineteenth-century phenomenon of the traveling instrumental virtuoso – is, in many ways, antithetical to the underlying foundational training that many of the composers discussed below received. Certainly C. P. E. Bach would fall into this category, as would Beethoven; theirs was clearly the training of the Kapellmeister, in command, to the degree that circumstances would permit, of all aspects

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<sup>340</sup> Ibid., p. 172.

<sup>341</sup> This point, as well as many others concerning the use of continuo in instrumental works well into the nineteenth century, is made in Linda Faye Ferguson, “The Classical Keyboard Concerto: Some Thoughts on Authentic Performance,” *Early Music* 12 (1984), 437-46. See also Ferguson, “Col Basso and Generalbass in Mozart’s Keyboard Concertos: Notation, Performance, Theory, and Practice” (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, June, 1983).

of the compositional process as well as the performance situations in which these works were ultimately presented.<sup>342</sup>

But there is also an aural effect to which Bach refers in the quotation above; he maintains that the keyboard can be heard even in unfavorable circumstances. If we accept this, then composers certainly had ample reasons to continue to employ the basso continuo accompaniment in their works well into the nineteenth century, not only as a directorial device but as an integral part of the musical experience. In this way, they could continue to refer to a particular stylistic concept, producing an immediate metonymic response in the listener. Neal Zaslaw echoes this notion in the following statement concerning the bass part in Mozart's symphonies:

The *colla-parte* bass line continued to exist for Mozart, as for Beethoven and Schubert after him, as an option for reinforcing tutti passages and for evoking powerful, archaic orchestral textures to contrast with more modern, variegated ones. The [eventual] dissolution of the thoroughbass, along with heavier orchestration and the rise of violinist-leaders, helped to render the keyboard continuo dispensable.<sup>343</sup>

And indeed, as the basso continuo style became more infrequently utilized,<sup>344</sup> as Zaslaw alludes to above, the power of this metonym on the listener grew in intensity. Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century, keyboard instruments employed in this manner could have an immediately recognizable effect on the listener, conjuring up a compositional

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<sup>342</sup> Concerning this point and Beethoven, see pp. 175ff. below. Bruckner's similar training and engagement with his works will be discussed extensively in Chapter 4.

<sup>343</sup> Neal Zaslaw, *Mozart's Symphonies: Context, Performance Practice, Reception* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), p. 514.

<sup>344</sup> C. P. E. Bach speaks in his *Essay* of a thinning of the thoroughbass ranks due to changes in the demands made upon players, an indication of a developing musical style: "As regards performers of thoroughbass, we are worse off now than we used to be. The cause of this is the refinement of modern music. No one can be content any longer with an accompanist who merely reads and plays figures in the manner of a born pedant, one who memorizes all of the rules and follows them mechanically. Something more is required." See Bach / Mitchell, *Essay*, p. 173. Providing instruction along these lines is the reason for the existence of Part Two of the treatise: "The 'something more' provides the reason for this continuation of my *Essay*, and it shall furnish the principal materials of its teachings. I aim to instruct those accompanists who, in addition to learning the rules, desire to follow the precepts of good taste." Ibid. Bach thereby indicates his continued support for thoroughbass practice.

and performance style that was now antiquated, at least in the minds of a newer generation of composers and listeners. Thus the continuity of various generic performing traditions in the more “modern, variegated” textures and the evoking of an archaic *Generalbass* style topic in these new works need not be mutually exclusive concepts; they can exist simultaneously as a means of more effectively coloring the musical utterance, as well as assisting in the more practical functions (control of ensemble, etc.) that we have discussed.

Thus the dissolution to which Zaslav refers is of a decidedly more gradual sort than one might infer from the above quotation. As he points out, the option of thoroughbass accompaniment in symphonic music extends clearly into the works of Beethoven and Schubert, an extension that has obvious roots in the well-documented accompanimental practices of Mozart and his contemporaries. Mozart was apt to differentiate his directing styles along generic lines, as follows: sacred vocal music (cantatas, offertories, etc.) would be directed by beating time (*Taktiren*); operas were usually directed – often by the composer himself – from the keyboard (*Dirigiren beim Clavier*); and, finally, arias and symphonies were directed through the use of *Generalbass* harmonies in an accompanimental style (*Akkompagniren*).<sup>345</sup>

The presence of the violin-director played an increasingly important part in the development of orchestral practices throughout the eighteenth century. Since the keyboardist played such a vital role in the overall sound complex of the typical early eighteenth-century orchestral ensemble and because the keyboardist was often in fact the composer of the work being performed, the function of director was frequently assigned

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<sup>345</sup> Faye Ferguson, “The Classical keyboard concerto,” 437. In note 5, Ferguson refers the reader to the extensive discussion of this topic found in her dissertation.

to him. However, it seems clear that the role of the violin-director, or Konzertmeister, grew in importance as the century progressed. This led in many instances to a system of dual control, by which the Kapellmeister and the Konzertmeister shared directorial duties. The venue of performance and the genre of the work were factors in determining which of these artists would exert primary control over the ensemble.<sup>346</sup>

Dual-leadership practices appear to have survived largely intact into the beginning of the nineteenth century. Although there is a dearth of eyewitness accounts testifying to the presence of keyboard accompanists in concert-hall orchestras in the period after the 1780s, Ferguson has posited that this should not be perceived as indicative of their absence. The ubiquitous nature of the keyboard accompanist in concert situations rendered any special mention of the practice by contemporary observers superfluous.<sup>347</sup>

Despite the ascendancy of the violin director in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the use of keyboard instruments as a complement to the bass in an orchestral setting seems to have persisted into the 1800s. Koch makes this clear in his 1802 dictionary.

The harpsichord is still used in most large orchestras, in part as support for the singer in the recitatives and also, mainly, to fill out the harmonies by means of the *Generalbass* . . . .

Since, of all the keyboard instruments, the tone of the harpsichord is the least well sustained, it is also not well suited to the performance of cantabile passages or to the general subtleties of taste. However, its strong, piercing tone makes it quite adept at filling out the whole in

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<sup>346</sup> Daniel J. Koury, *Orchestral Performance Practices in the Nineteenth Century: Size, Proportions, and Seating* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1986), p. 52. For example, Koury states that “[i]n actual practice, in the opera, the Kapellmeister at the first harpsichord was in charge of the performance as a whole, the voices in particular. . . . The rest of the group, that is, the orchestra, was under the subordinate control of the Konzertmeister.” However, “[i]n concert performances (symphonies, concertos, etc.), [while] the keyboard director might sometimes be primary . . . more often the violin leader took control with the keyboard player as his subordinate.” See *ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>347</sup> Ferguson, “Col Basso and Generalbass,” p. 130. Conversely, the novelty of the Konzertmeister was, in and of itself, reason for comment.



works with full orchestration; it will, therefore, probably continue to be a useful orchestral instrument for quite some time in the large opera houses and where many people perform together, until another instrument of equal strength, but with a more gentle and pliant tone, is invented, one which is equally capable of performing the *Generalbass*.

In a concert hall and in places where fewer people perform together, the piercing tone of this instrument, particularly in passages that are to be performed softly and with a subtlety of expression, is too strident and sounds too choppy, in part because the player has to play only chords with his right hand and in part because the instrument is not capable of producing any modification of the loudness and softness of the tone save for that which can be achieved by alternating between the two keyboards. Due to this liability, which is certainly more noticeable in modern compositions – especially those utilizing only a few players – than in older works, one has sought to exchange the harpsichord with the admittedly weaker, yet more soothing, fortepiano.<sup>348</sup>

Johann Peter Michlmeyer's 1797 treatise on the art of keyboard playing also recognizes the continued presence of the fortepiano in the orchestras of the day. In his discussion of how to select an appropriate instrument, the performer is told the following:

One must not imitate the habit of those who try out a new instrument by striking chords, wanting only to hear whether it has a good bass. Strong basses are good only when one accompanies an orchestra in a concert hall or in an opera house.<sup>349</sup>

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<sup>348</sup> Heinrich Christoph Koch, *Musikalisches Lexikon* (Frankfurt: A. Hermann, 1802; reprint Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1985), pp. 586-87. "Des Flügels aber bedient man sich noch in den mehresten grossen Orchetern theils der Unterstützung des Sängers bey dem Recitative, theils und hauptsächlich aber auch zur Ausfüllung der Harmonie mittelst des Generalbasses. . . . Weil unter allen Arten der Claviatur-Instrumente auf dem Flügel der Ton am wenigsten unterhalten werden kann, so ist er auch zum Vortrage cantabler Sätze, so wie überhaupt zu Feinheiten des Geschmacks, nicht geeignet. Sein starker durchschlagender Ton macht ihn aber bey vollstimmiger Musik zur Ausfüllung des Ganzen sehr geschickt; daher wird er auch wahrscheinlich in grossen Opernhäusern und bey zahlreicher Besetzung der Stimmen den Rang eines sehr brauchbaren Orchester-Instrumentes so lange behaupten, bis ein anderes Instrument von gleicher Stärke, aber von mehr Mildheit oder Biegsamkeit des Tones erfunden wird, welches zum Vortrage de Generalbasses eben so geschickt ist. In einem Concertsaale, und bey minder starker Besetzung der Stimmen ist der durchschlagende Ton dieses Instrumentes, besonders bey Stellen, die mit schwachem Tone und mit Feinheit des Ausdruckes vorgetragen werden müssen, zu grell, und klingt zu sehr gehackt, weil theils der Spieler mit der rechten Hand bloss die Akkorde anzuschlagen hat, theils weil das Instrument keiner andern Modifikationen der Stärke und Schwäche des Tones fähig ist, als die durch die Abwechslung des Vortrages auf den beyden Clavieren hervorgebracht werden können. Durch diesen Uebelstand veranlasst, der in Tonstücken nach dem Geschmacke der Zeit, besonders bey schwacher Besetzung der Stimmen, allerdings merklicher ist, als in den ältern Tonstücken, hat man seit geraumer Zeit angefangen, den Flügel mit dem zwar schwächern, aber sanftern, Fortepiano zu vertauschen.

<sup>349</sup> Johann Peter Milchmeyer, *Die wahre Art das Pianoforte zu Spielen*, trans. Robert Rhein (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1993), p. 137.

Similarly, Türk praises the positive effect of the keyboard on large ensembles in his

*Anweisung zum Generalbassspielen*, published in 1800:

The ultimate purpose of the *Generalbass* is principally: to set the overall inflection (*Modulation*) [of the work] more precisely; to support the singer, particularly in recitatives, or to maintain the sound, and to fill out certain gaps in the harmony. Therefore, especially in works that are not polyphonic and exhibit the odd empty spot, such as chorales, recitatives, etc., the *Generalbass*, played with appropriate discretion, is of decided utility. Nevertheless, it is also the case that, even in polyphonic pieces, the harmony is often advantageously reinforced through the use of the *Generalbass*. In symphonies, choruses, etc., the entire ensemble gains very noticeably from its use. Besides – not to imply other advantages here – through a time-keeping *Generalbass* player, the tempo or the gestures can very perceptibly be established, and the whole orchestra can be held in order.<sup>350</sup>

It is important to notice here that Türk not only praises the role of the continuo instrument as an aid to the harmony – linking the fugal and *stile antico* contrapuntal textures with the more polarized melody / bass textures of the recitative – but goes on to emphasize the directorial advantages that such an arrangement can engender, advantages of which many early nineteenth-century composers would almost certainly have wished to avail themselves; as we shall see, several did just that.

This publication of 1800 is in fact a reworking of the *Kurze Anweisung zum Generalbassspielen*, first published in 1791. Following so close on the publication of two other major theoretical works – *Von den wichtigsten Pflichten eines Organisten in Beytrag zur Verbesserung der musikalischen Liturgie* (Halle, 1787/R, rev. 2/1838), and *Clavierschule, oder Anweisung zum Clavierspielen für Lehrer und Lernende ... nebst 12*

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<sup>350</sup> Daniel Gottlob Türk, *Anweisung zum Generalbassspielen* (Leipzig und Halle: 1800; reprinted Netherlands: Frits Knuf, 1971), p. 40. “Der Endzweck des Generalbasses ist hauptsächlich: die Modulation genauer zu bestimmen; die Sänger, besonders in Recitativen, zu unterstützen, oder im Tone zu erhalten, und gewisse Lücken in der Harmonie auszufüllen. Vorzüglich bey nicht vielstimmigen Tonstücken und bey einzelnen leeren Stellen, so wie bei Chorälen, Recitativen, u. ist daher der Generalbass, mit erforderlicher Beurtheilung gespielt, von entschiedenem Nutzen. Indess wird doch auch, selbst bey vielstimmigen Tonstücken, die Harmonie durch den Generalbass oft vortheilhaft verstärkt. Den sogar bey Sinfonien, Chören, u.dgl. gewinnt dadurch das Ganze sehr merklich. Ueberdies kann auch - anderer Vortheile hier nicht zu gedenken - durch einen taktfesten Generalbassspieler das Zeitmas oder die Bewegung sehr fühlbar gemacht, und das ganze Orchester in Ordnung gehalten werden.”

*Handstücken* (Leipzig and Halle, 1789, enlarged 2/1802/R) – the *Kurz Anweisung* and its successor in 1800 surely represent a codification of many ideas formed by Türk throughout the course of his career. Bernhard Billeter makes the observation that during the height of any particular style or practice, the need for written communication is often superseded by the constant practical interaction between teacher and student. Such less-formalized transmission of the practice is therefore likely to ebb as the practice itself diminishes in popularity. Hence the need, at a time of dwindling attention, for an extensive *Generalbasslehre* with which to instruct a new generation that did not enjoy the opportunity of total stylistic immersion.<sup>351</sup> Prominent musicians from all over Europe stepped in to address this need.

#### **b) Beethoven's *Missa solemnis* and the Ninth Symphony**

A discussion of stylistic tendencies that developed in Western art music at the turn of the nineteenth century would not be complete without an examination of the contributions by Ludwig van Beethoven. And, indeed, Beethoven's career and compositions have much to offer in the way of enlightenment on the subject of figured bass in general and *Generalbass* accompanimental procedures in particular.

It has been noted by present-day theorists, for example, that the role of basso continuo practices is crucial to our understanding of compositional processes in Beethoven:

Any technical study of Beethoven's works must recognize that his compositional technique cannot be understood apart from certain

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<sup>351</sup> Türk, *Anweisung*, "Nachwort." "Now it is a well-known feature of any style that, during its heyday, the verbal tradition, passed along from teacher to student, is sufficient and the textbooks content themselves with a mere outlining [of these practices;] however, with the dissolution of the style, the necessity for evermore exactness from the instructional books increases." [Nun ist es zwar eine bekannte Erscheinung, dass während der Blütezeit eines Stils die mündliche Tradition vom Lehrer zum Schüler ausreicht und die Lehrbücher sich mit einer Skizzierung begnügen, dass aber mit dem Zerfall des Stils das Bedürfnis nach immer genaueren Lehrbüchern wächst].

concepts of musical structure which reached a definitive stage of development about a century before the composing of [the Piano Sonata No. 30 in E,] Op. 109. Many of these concepts are expressed within the practice of thorough bass. Contrary to a widespread notion, thorough bass is far more than a kind of musical shorthand; rather, it should be regarded as a codification of principles which govern the interaction of moving lines within a tonal concept. This means that unless certain of the more basic concepts implicit in thorough bass are grasped it is almost impossible to cope with the complex structure of composed tonal music at any other than the surface level.<sup>352</sup>

Beethoven was indoctrinated in thoroughbass procedures at an early stage of his musical development, as was the custom of the day. His earliest formal instruction in Bonn came from the composer, organist, and conductor Christoph Gottlob Neeffe (1748-1798). Neeffe became Beethoven's instructor in 1780 or 1781 and remained his only significant teacher until Beethoven left Bonn in November 1792.<sup>353</sup>

Neeffe taught Beethoven piano and organ as well as thoroughbass and composition. He introduced the young musician to the works of J. S. Bach (*Das wohltemperirte Clavier*) and C. P. E. Bach (*Gellert-Lieder*).<sup>354</sup> Among his early works, the two cantatas that Beethoven produced in Bonn during the year 1790 – the *Trauer-Kantate auf den Tod Kaiser Josephs des Zweiten* (WoO 87) in March and *Kantate auf die Erhebung Leopold des Zweiten zur Kaiserwürde* (WoO 88) in September<sup>355</sup> – are clearly intended for a continuo realization of the bass line, which Beethoven termed *Fondamento* in his scores.<sup>356</sup>

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<sup>352</sup> Allen Forte, *The Compositional Matrix* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1974), p.15. This book provides analysis of Beethoven's Piano Sonata No. 30 in E major using the composer's sketches as a basis for commentary. Following the above quote, Forte elaborates on this statement using as a model concepts presented in Johann David Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition* (Dresden: 1728) that the author states are inherent in Beethoven's compositional processes. See pp. 15-17.

<sup>353</sup> Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Schirmer, 1998), pp. 33-34.

<sup>354</sup> Lothar Hoffmann-Ebrecht, "Christian Gottlob Neeffe," *NGD*, Vol.17, pp. 74-75.

<sup>355</sup> Solomon, p. 68.

<sup>356</sup> Ludwig van Beethoven, "Kantaten," *Beethoven Werke: Gesamtausgabe* X, Band 1, ed. Ernst Herttrich (Munich: G. Henle, 1996), "Quellenbeschreibung," p. 320. Certainly most modern performances of this work are given with either harpsichord or fortepiano realization of this bass line.

As assistant court organist at the age of 12, Beethoven often found himself in full charge of the *Hofkapelle*. In addition, Neefe soon turned over to his young *protégé* the duties of “cembalist” to the court orchestra, which involved direction of the orchestra from the keyboard and playing at sight from the score.<sup>357</sup> It is revealing that accounts of Beethoven retaining this style of orchestral direction persisted well into his career and in settings where the shifting face of orchestral direction – and composition, for that matter – often pointed to more progressive approaches.

Beethoven was never appointed to a position as Kapellmeister at any court or other musical establishment.<sup>358</sup> His opportunities for conducting, therefore, were fewer than for many of his contemporaries who held such posts, as noted by Schindler in his biography of the composer:

At the time when his hearing was yet perfect, he had not often the occasion to come into contact with the orchestra, and especially to acquire practice in the conducting department at the theatre which is the best school for that purpose. In the concert-room the talent most fitted for this difficult function is never fully developed, and remains one-sided and awkward. Thus we see composers of eminence incapable of conducting the orchestra in performances of their own works, if they have not previously acquired the necessary routine in listening to, and superintending numerous bands.<sup>359</sup>

This situation was especially apparent on the occasions when Beethoven would direct the ensemble in the modern manner of the baton director. Many anecdotes from contemporaries attest to his difficulties in this area, including the following from the Austrian composer and conductor Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried (1776-1841):

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<sup>357</sup> Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 34.

<sup>358</sup> He was, however, offered the post of Kapellmeister at the court of Kassel in 1808 by the younger brother of Napoleon, Jerome Bonaparte, who had been installed there as the King of the newly created realm of Westphalia. Though he ultimately declined the invitation, he did manage to use it to leverage his existing position with his Viennese patrons. See Joseph Kerman, Alan Tyson, and Scott G. Burnham, “Beethoven,” *NGD*, Vol. 3, pp. 73-140.

<sup>359</sup> Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven*, trans. Ignaz Moscheles as *The Life of Beethoven* (Boston: Oliver Ditson, 1841), p. 80.

As a conductor our Master could in no wise be called a model, and the orchestra had to pay heed lest it be misled by its mentor, for he thought only of his tone-poems, and was ceaselessly engaged in calling attention to their authentic expression by means of the most manifold gesticulations. Thus he often struck *down* with his baton at a strong dynamic point, though it might occur on the weak beat of the measure. He was accustomed to indicate a *diminuendo* by trying to make himself smaller and smaller, and at the *pianissimo* slipped under the conductor's desk, so to say. As the tonal masses increased in volume, he too seemed to swell, as though out of a contraction, and with the entrance of the entire body of instrumental tone he rose on the tips of his toes, grew to well-nigh giant size, and swaying in the air with his arms, seemed to be trying to float up into the clouds. He was all active movement, no organic part of himself was idle, and the whole man might be compared to a *perpetuum mobile*. With increasing deafness, it is true, a rude disagreement often took place when the *maestro* was beating arsis and the orchestra was accompanying him in thesis; then the conductor who had strayed from the path found his way back most easily in the soft movements, while the most powerful *forte* meant nothing to him. In these cases his eye also came to his assistance: he could observe the bow-stroke of the string instruments, guess from it the figure they were playing, and soon find his place again.<sup>360</sup>

In addition to Beethoven's lack of conducting experience and the debilitating effects of his progressing deafness, the professional conventions of the Viennese orchestral establishment provided further impediments to accurate and artistic performances of the composer's increasingly complex works. Concerning the correct interpretation of the fermatas and tempo changes in the Symphony No. 5, Schindler comments as follows:

Those who have not had the good fortune to hear [a] performance, and to have thereby obtained the advantage of observing that by varying the time at suitable points powerful effects are produced, and the most abstruse music rendered an intelligible language to unlearned ears, may possibly doubt the accuracy of what I have stated; but nevertheless, unjustly.

If Beethoven did not direct the performance of his instrumental music in the manner above described, it was for the important reason that he had not, *ex officio*, any orchestra under his control, and none would have had the patience to be schooled by him. This sort of study could only be practicable with the well-organized orchestra of a chapel or musical *Conservatoire*. With respect to the orchestra of the Vienna

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<sup>360</sup> O. G. Sonneck, editor and translator, *Beethoven: Impressions of Contemporaries* (New York: Schirmer, 1926), pp. 39-40. The quote originally appeared in Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried, ed., *Ludwig van Beethoven's Studien im Generalbasse, Contrapuncte und in der Compositions-Lehre* (Vienna: T. Haslinger, 1832).

Theatre, the performers engaged in it have always insisted that, with the exception of their duties on the nights of performance, nothing more shall be required of them; and the orchestra of the Concert-Spirituel includes among its coadjutors dilettanti, who cannot devote the necessary time to rehearsals.<sup>361</sup>

All these conditions would seem to support a hypothesis that Beethoven may often have been in a position to avail himself of a directorial custom with which he was quite familiar and which afforded him maximum control over a possibly unruly group of musicians – namely that of leading from the fortepiano in accordance with the *Generalbass* tradition. Schindler describes a performance of the inaugural concert of the Josephstadt Theater on 3 October 1822, in which a revision of *Die Ruinen von Athen*, Op. 113, and the newly composed overture *Die Weihe des Hauses*, Op. 124,<sup>362</sup> were featured:

The newly constituted orchestra of the Josephstadt Theater received the music [for the evening's performance] on the afternoon of the day of the opening, with countless copying mistakes in every part. All that a rehearsal in front of an auditorium that was already filling up could accomplish was to correct the most noticeable of these errors.

Beethoven had stipulated that he should conduct at the ceremonial opening of the theatre. Accordingly he took his place at the piano in a position in which he was facing most of the orchestra and where his left ear, which was still of some service to him, was turned towards the stage. The Kapellmeister Franz Gläser (now Court Kapellmeister in Copenhagen) placed himself on Beethoven's right where he could oversee the whole performance, while I led the orchestra from my place at the head of the first violins. I was no longer simply an amateur musician; I had recently given up the law, a change brought about in considerable part through the influence of our composer.<sup>363</sup>

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<sup>361</sup> Schindler / Moscheles, *The Life of Beethoven*, pp.152-53. In a footnote to illustrate this point, Schindler reports the following: "It is also a fact that on the occasion of the first performance of [the] Ninth Symphony, in 1824, at the Kärnthner-Thore theater, Beethoven could obtain no more than two rehearsals, because the orchestra was engaged in rehearsing a new Ballet. Remonstrances and entreaties, on the part of Beethoven, for a third rehearsal, which he considered necessary, proved unavailing. He received for definitive answer – 'Two rehearsals will be quite sufficient.'" Ibid., pp. 153-54.

<sup>362</sup> Thayer explains the purpose of these revisions thusly: "Carl Meisl, who was a Commissioner of the Royal Imperial Navy, had written two festival pieces for the opening [of the Josephstadt Theater], which had been set down for October 3, 1822, the name-day of the Emperor. The first piece was a paraphrase of [August von] Kotzebue's *Ruinen von Athen*, written for the opening of the theatre in Pesth in 1812, for which Beethoven had composed the music. Meisel took Kotzebue's text and made such alterations in it as were necessary to change *Die Ruinen von Athen* into *Die Weihe des Hauses*. . . . Beethoven wrote a new overture also, that known as *Die Weihe des Hauses*, putting aside the overture to *Ruinen von Athen* because that play had served as a second piece, or epilogue, at Pesth." See Thayer, *Thayer's Life*, pp. 806-7.

<sup>363</sup> Anton Schindler, *Biographie von Ludwig van Beethoven* (1860), trans. Ruth W. MacArdle as *Beethoven as I Knew Him: A Biography* (London: Faber and Faber), 1966, p. 235. Franz Gläser (1798-

For circumstances in which the direction of his orchestral (or orchestral and choral) music demanded dual directorship along the Kapellmeister / Konzertmeister lines, or even, in extraordinary cases, in which some sort of modified triple-directorship situation was employed,<sup>364</sup> we can see that the participation of the keyboard instrument was vital to directorial success in the presentation of these new instrumental works.

There are many accounts of Beethoven's directing an orchestral ensemble from the keyboard. An extensive overview of relevant anecdotes can be found in Linda Faye Ferguson's dissertation on Mozart's use of *Generalbass*.<sup>365</sup> While Ferguson demures from accepting these accounts as evidence of universal *Generalbass* usage during the early nineteenth century,<sup>366</sup> several points merit our attention.

First, the above-mentioned concert at the Josephstadt Theater took place in 1822, a date by which most scholars are in agreement that all such basso continuo practices were well in decline. An even later example can be found in the famous concert at the Kärntnertor Theater on 7 May 1824. It is reported that here also Beethoven was compelled to adopt a multiple-direction approach owing to the scope of the works

1861) was a Bohemian by birth; he came to Vienna in 1817 and served as Kapellmeister at the Josephstadt Theater until 1827. See Peter Branscombe, "Franz Gläser," *NGD*, Vol. 9, p. 928

<sup>364</sup> Owing to the many performances of oratorios and other large-scale works involving copious and diverse personnel occurring during this period, this triple-directorship concept was not uncommon. See Clive Brown, "The Orchestra in Beethoven's Vienna," *Early Music* 16 (1988), 4-33: "This concept of divided direction meant that in performances of music for choir and orchestra there were often three directors: a *Violindirektor*, who directed the orchestra, a *Klavierdirektor*, who accompanied the recitative in pieces with a continuo part, or otherwise assisted the soloists and chorus, and a director whose principal responsibility was for the co-ordination of the whole. This was common practice in concerts with large forces." See 17.

<sup>365</sup> Ferguson, "Col Basso"; see especially pp. 158-68. For additional information, also see Elliott W. Galkin, *A History of Orchestral Conducting in Theory and Practice* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1988), pp. 543-49.

<sup>366</sup> Ferguson, "Col Basso," p. 167. "It is difficult to know just how to approach these late documents, but I doubt that we can unquestioningly infer from them that Beethoven or a local theater Capellmeister was seated at the keyboard in every one of his symphonic performances up to and including those at the Josephstadt and Kärntnertor Theaters in 1822 and 1824."



presented as well as his advanced hearing loss. The official announcement of the concert informs us that the program consisted of *A Grand Overture (Die Weihe des Hauses, Op. 124)*, *Three Grand Hymns with Solo and Chorus Voices* (three movements from the *Missa solemnis*), and *A Grand Symphony with Solo and Chorus Voices entering in the finale on Schiller's Ode to Joy* (Symphony No. 9, Op. 125).<sup>367</sup> As to the particulars of direction, the program tells us the following:

Herr Schuppanzigh has undertaken the direction of the orchestra,  
Herr Kapellmeister Umlauf the direction of the whole and the Music  
Society the augmentation of the chorus and orchestra as a favor.

Herr Ludwig van Beethoven will himself participate in the general  
direction.<sup>368</sup>

Michael Umlauf, as a deputy Kapellmeister of the Royal Imperial Court establishment,<sup>369</sup> assisted Beethoven in the preparation of the singers<sup>370</sup> and in the direction of the entire performance by beating time more accurately than Beethoven would have been able to manage.<sup>371</sup> Umlauf's position as baton conductor is expressly confirmed by a review of this concert in the *Leipziger allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*:

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<sup>367</sup> Alexander Wheelock Thayer, *Thayer's Life of Beethoven*, revised and edited by Elliot Forbes, Volume II, pp. 907-8.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 908. The program refers to Michael Umlauf (1781-1842), the Austrian composer and conductor and not to his father Ignaz, as the index of Forbes's edition of Thayer's work (note 367 above) seems to indicate. Ignaz Umlauf, who died in 1796, served as Kapellmeister of the new "German National Singspiel" of Joseph II beginning in 1778 and by 1783 had risen to the position of deputy Kapellmeister to Salieri in the Hofkapelle. See Peter Branscombe, "Ignaz Umlauf," *NGD*, Vol. 26, pp. 67-68.

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 907. Salieri held the post of Hofkapellmeister until his retirement in 1824. His deputies included his protégé Joseph Weigl, the Bohemian Adalbert Gyrowetz, and Michael Umlauf, son of Ignaz. See Brown, "The Orchestra in Beethoven's Vienna," 7.

<sup>370</sup> Due to the fact that full rehearsals were limited to two by the Kärntner management, sectional rehearsals of this type were necessary. "Ignaz Dirka, chorus-master of the Kärntner theatre, directed the choral rehearsals, Schuppanzigh was responsible for working with the strings, Beethoven and Michael Umlauf both rehearsed the vocal soloists, and Ludwig Schwarzböck directed the boy sopranos. Ferdinand Piringer and Leopold Sonnleithner also worked with some of the performers." David Benjamin Levy, *Beethoven: The Ninth Symphony* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), p. 132.

<sup>371</sup> Beethoven's baton conducting was often problematic. Consider this statement regarding the 1814 revival of *Fidelio*, in which Thayer reports: "The opera was excellently rehearsed. Beethoven directed, but his enthusiasm often carried him away from the beat, but Capellmeister Umlauf behind his back directed as well as he could with eye and hand." See Thayer, *Thayer's Life*, p. 583.

Herr Schupannzigh directed at the violin, Herr Kapellmeister Umlauf directed with the baton, and the composer himself took part in the general direction of everything; he stood, namely, by the side of the presiding marshall and indicated the beginning of each [new] tempo, reading in his original score, because a higher enjoyment sadly was denied him due to his hearing inability.<sup>372</sup>

The violinist Ignaz Schuppanzigh's role as *Konzertmeister* in the dual-directorship mold is equally clear, but there was yet another component to the directorial matrix of this performance.

A conversation that Thayer had some years later with the German pianist and composer Sigismond Thalberg (1812-1871) sheds additional light on this performance's direction. His reminiscence to Thayer on 28 November 1860 in Paris goes as follows:

[Thalberg] was present at Beethoven's concert in the Kärntnerthor Theatre 1824....He saw after the Scherzo of the 9<sup>th</sup> Symphony how B. stood turning over the leaves of his score utterly deaf to the immense applause, and Unger pulled him by the sleeve, and then pointed to the audience when he turned and bowed. Umlauf told the choir and orchestra to pay no attention whatever to Beethoven's beating of time but all to watch him. Conradin Kreutzer was at the P.F.<sup>373</sup>

Conradin Kreutzer (1780-1849) held the position of resident Kapellmeister at the Kärntnertor Theater intermittently from 1822 and 1832 and was so engaged at the time of this performance. As recounted by Thalberg, his presence at the pianoforte raises certain questions, especially in the context of the works performed.

It is known, for instance, that the Kärntnertor Theater had in 1821 banished its fortepiano from the opera orchestra and had turned exclusively to the modern time-

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<sup>372</sup> *Leipziger allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, 26. Jg. (1824), no. 27 (July 1), cols. 437-42. As quoted in David Benjamin Levy, "Early Performances of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: A Documentary Study of Five Cities," Ph.D. diss. (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1980), p. 63. "Hr. Schuppanzigh dirigirte an der Violine, Hr. Kapellmeister Umlauf führte den Commandostab, und der Tonsetzer selbst nahm an der Leitung des Ganzen Antheil; er stand nämlich dem amtirenden Marschall zur Seite, und fixirte den Eintritt eines jeden Tempo, in seiner Original-Partitur nachlesend, denn einen höhern Genuss gestattet ihm leider der Zustand seiner Gehörswerkzeuge nicht."

<sup>373</sup> Thayer, *Thayer's Life*, p. 909. Caroline Unger (1803-1877) was the mezzo-soprano for the performance.

beating conductor in its performances.<sup>374</sup> Yet apparently, the offending instrument had been reinstated, temporarily at least, for this 1824 performance. What could the purpose of this have been? Ferguson offers the following observation, which points to a line of thought that we should consider:

For whatever reasons Kreutzer assumed this post – whether only to prompt the soloists with occasional pitches or actually to provide a full-voiced accompaniment in strongly scored passages – his very presence at the keyboard not only ran counter to newly-adopted Theater policy, but also, by all evidence, *recalled a practice now virtually obsolete among an up-and-coming generation of Capellmeisters*.<sup>375</sup>

While it seems clear that the members of this combined directorial force recognized early on that maintaining control over such a large enterprise would require extraordinary means,<sup>376</sup> perhaps there is also an element of attempting to consciously “recall a practice now virtually obsolete.” Let us consider the repertoire.

This concert began – as did the concert at the Josephstadt Theater of only two years earlier – with an interesting work when considered in this light. The C-major overture *Die Weihe des Hauses*, Op. 124 is often described as being Handelian in character. Usually this description is meant to point out the overt contrapuntal nature of the work in contrast to the more concerted textures prevalent at this time. The story

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<sup>374</sup> Ferguson, “Col Basso,” p. 168. Ferguson draws attention to the following: “During the August holidays the orchestra of the Imperial Court Theater by the Kärntnertor has received a new and more expedient arrangement in that, first of all, the directing Capellmeister has taken up another position from which he can better oversee the entire personnel, both in the orchestra below and on the stage above. The basses are increased from three to four and placed closer to him, to be more sure of their total effect and influence.

The forte piano, which so disturbs the orchestral tone, is done away with and the directing is confined entirely to time-beating. As a matter of fact, with so well-trained a vocal ensemble and so grand and precise an orchestra, this arrangement will always be best, whereas it is not at all to be recommended at smaller provincial theaters.” See *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* [Wien] 5, 1821, 596. Translation from Ferguson, *ibid.*, pp. 150-51.

<sup>375</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 168. (Emphasis added).

<sup>376</sup> This concert had been contemplated for some time. The original plans had called for it to be presented at Count Ferdinand Palffy’s Theater-an-der-Wien, where directorial duties would have been shared by the Kapellmeister Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried and the Konzertmeister Franz Clement, but Beethoven’s insistence on Schuppanzigh as orchestra director caused these plans to be aborted. See Thayer, *Thayer’s Life*, pp. 901ff.

related by Schindler of the genesis of its motivic material is the principal source for this characterization:

Time was passing and it was September. It was time to see about writing a new overture, for the master had long felt with justification that the overture to *Ruinen von Athen* was not appropriate to the forthcoming dedication ceremony. One day while walking with his nephew and me in the lovely Helenental near Baden, Beethoven told us to go ahead and wait for him at a certain spot. He soon caught up with us and remarked that he had jotted down two themes for the overture. He explained that he planned to develop one of them freely and the other in the formal style of Handel. He sang them both as well as his voice would allow and asked which one we liked better. His discovery put him for the moment in a gay mood, as if he had found two precious stones for which he had long been searching. The nephew liked both themes, while I said I should like to see the fugue subject developed in a strict Handelian style. At any rate, Beethoven did not write the overture *Zur Weihe des Hauses* just to please me, but rather because he had long entertained the idea of writing an overture specifically in the style of Handel. This is not the place to say whether or not he succeeded. Many loud voices have condemned the work. Undoubtedly these critics went too far, however, when they maintained of our master that in his overture he had denied his own individuality. Certainly he had never intended to produce an imitation of Handel; he merely wished to invoke the style of his great predecessor.<sup>377</sup>

The implication in Schindler's remarks is that Beethoven was attempting in some way to summon the spirit of the style of the early eighteenth-century masters and transfer it to a modern idiomatic context – certainly not an unheard-of idea, although one that may have been judged by some in Beethoven's Vienna as reactionary, as Schindler's narrative suggests.

This piece also appeared as the opening selection in the 1824 Kärntnertor Theater event described above. Like the 1822 concert, this was a major event and required an augmentation of the Kärntnertor's orchestral forces. In a letter to Kärntnertor

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<sup>377</sup> Schindler, *Beethoven as I Knew Him*, pp. 234-35. It has been demonstrated that the origination of this "Handelian" theme may not have been as revelatory as this anecdote suggests; Beethoven used something very much like this subject in his Cello Sonata Op. 102, No. 1 / IV. See Elaine Sisman, "Memory and Invention at the Threshold of Beethoven's Late Style," *Beethoven and His World*, ed. Scott Burnham and Michael P. Steinberg (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 63-67.

director Louis Antoine Duport dated 24 April 1824, Schindler makes the following requests:

The musical society [*Die Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in Vienna] has, as a favor for Herr van Beethoven, agreed to reinforce the orchestra [of the Kärnthnerthor Theater] with its most superb members, so that the whole will consist of 24 violins, 10 violas, 12 basses and violoncelli, in order to deepen the harmony; therefore it is also necessary to place the entire orchestra on the stage, as is generally the case in grand Oratorios.<sup>378</sup>

Schindler's final reference here might indicate that this entire concert had a somewhat antiquated sensibility attached to it from the outset. Under such circumstances, the use of *Die Weihe des Hauses*, with its blatant neo-Baroque qualities, would set the tone nicely. And, indeed, the rest of the program presented at the Kärntnertor Theater certainly lends itself to this premise quite well. An overture followed by solo- and choral-orchestral works certainly is reminiscent of an oratorio performance (See Appendix Example 3-1: Beethoven, *Die Weihe des Hauses*, Op. 124, Overture, mm. 184-189).

There is, in fact, ample evidence that Beethoven would have considered the use of the three movements from the *Missa solemnis* in this context to be proper and, indeed, desirable. Let us remember that for Beethoven, the dissemination of his creations – preferably among a following that was both artistically and financially appreciative – was always of paramount importance; works were not strictly assigned a particular generic identity, and thereby also assigned a specific list of venues or, perforce, performance-practice characteristics, at least not to the degree in which we regard them today.

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<sup>378</sup> Ludwig van Beethoven, *Briefwechsel Gesamtausgabe, Band 5: 1823-1824*, ed. Sieghard Brandenburg (Munich: G. Henle, 1996), pp. 308-9. "Der musik.Verein hat aus Gefälligkeit für H.[errn] v. Beethoven übernommen, das Orchest.[er] mit seinen vorzüglichsten Mitgliedern zu verstärken, so dass also im Ganzen 24 Violinen, 10 Violen, 12 Bassi & Viol[once]lli nebst doppelter Harmonie zusammen kommen, daher es auch nothwendig ist, das ganze Orchest.[er] auf die Bühne zu stellen, so wie es bey grossen Oratorien überhaupt der Fall ist."

With an eye towards the widest possible circulation, Beethoven sent out a series of letters offering a subscription to the Mass shortly after its completion in 1822.<sup>379</sup> These letters, as well as other correspondence, speak to this point, as in the case of this letter to the Grand Duke Ludwig I of Hesse-Darmstadt, dated 5 February 1823:

Your Royal Highness!

The undersigned has just finished his latest work which he considers to be the most excellent product of his mind. It is a grand solemn Mass for four solo voices, with choruses and a full grand orchestra; and it can also be performed as a grand oratorio.<sup>380</sup>

In a similar letter, written after the Kärntnertor concert, Beethoven expresses his dissatisfaction with the arrangement of that event and with Duport. This letter is addressed to the Russian Prince Nicolas Galitzin (1794-1866), an ardent admirer and patron of Beethoven's, whose influence with the St. Petersburg Philharmonic Society led to the first performances of the Mass on 26 March and 7 April 1824.<sup>381</sup>

Recently, I was invited to give a couple of concerts, at which I lost time and money; and to the disgrace of our present arrangements in Vienna I had to become the victim of an ex-dancer Duport, who is now the owner of the Kärntnertor Theatre . . . I have been informed here that at St. Petersburg the Mass too is going to be performed as an oratorio on a grand scale. Since people in Vienna are doing nothing whatever for me but rather a great deal against me, my present circumstances compel me to open a second smaller subscription list for this work . . . Since I can well believe that you yourself make use of works for this purpose, I will send Y[our] E[xcellency] a new overture and a trio . . . Should you like to have a new grand symphony with a Finale in which choruses and solo voices are introduced, I would have this copied too in score . . . Perhaps it might be possible that by your efforts the Mass could be dedicated to His Majesty the Emperor of Russia; and perhaps so munificent a monarch as the Emperor of Russia might even disburse a yearly pension for me.<sup>382</sup>

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<sup>379</sup> Solomon states that work on the *Missa solennis* was completed "save for minor finishing touches" in 1822, with the autograph score being "wholly finished by mid-1823." See Solomon, *Beethoven*, pp. 345-47.

<sup>380</sup> Emily Anderson, ed. and trans., *The Letters of Beethoven* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1961), Volume III, p. 995.

<sup>381</sup> Geoffrey Norris, "Prince Nikolay Borisovich Golitsin (Galitzin)," *NGD*, Vol. 10, p. 114.

<sup>382</sup> Anderson, ed., *The Letters of Beethoven*, pp. 1127-28. The overture mentioned is *Die Weihe des Hauses*, which was eventually dedicated to the Prince. The "new grand symphony" is, of course, the Symphony No. 9, Op. 125.

The presence of the Mass movements in the context of the Kärntnertor concert makes perfect sense in light of Beethoven's identification of the work with the oratorio genre. Further, in addition to the above references – and independent of any general structural or stylistic similarities concerning movement length or construction,<sup>383</sup> of which there are many – Beethoven continues to demonstrate his admiration for Handel in this work through overt quotation. Consider the fugal section at the *Dona nobis pacem* section of the *Agnus dei* from the Mass. Here the motivic material is a direct quote from the *Hallelujah Chorus* in *Messiah*.



Example 3-2: Beethoven, *Missa solemnis*, Agnus Dei, mm. 216-224

With regard to basso continuo elements, the Mass, like all such sacred-vocal works, is equipped with an explicit figured bass. There seems to be no question as to the presence of the organ in this work; Beethoven's conversation-book remarks on the opening of the *Kyrie* from a very early stage in the conception of the work indicate that the organ was always considered an essential voice in the *Missa solemnis*, despite the fact that explicit figured-bass notation is not found in the autograph until the Credo.<sup>384</sup>

<sup>383</sup> It has been suggested, for example, that the opening chorus of the *Kyrie* is in many ways reminiscent of Handel's oratorio style. See Arnold Schmitz, *Das romantische Beethovenbild: Darstellung und Kritik* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1978), p. 100. "[D]er Anfang des *Kyrie* klingt wie der Anfang eines grossen Anthem-Chores aus einem Händelschen Oratorium." Many other allusive similarities between these works have been suggested by various scholars as well. See William Drabkin, *Beethoven: Missa solemnis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 3 for a partial list of such "Handelian" references.

<sup>384</sup> Ludwig van Beethoven, "Missa solemnis," *Beethoven Werke: Gesamtausgabe* VIII, Band 3, ed. Norbert Gertsch, p. 297. "The opening remarks of April 1819 written down by Beethoven in connection



Example 3-3: Beethoven, *Missa solemnis*, Credo, mm. 70-76 with figured bass

The notable presence of the fortepiano in this performance gives rise to the question of whether this instrument was used as a continuo element in the Mass<sup>385</sup> rather than the house organ at the Kärntnertor Theater.<sup>386</sup>

When Beethoven – or Schindler or any of their contemporaries – invoked the oratorio characterization for the Mass, they were likely making reference to a concert performance of this piece, much in the way we might see it performed today. In such a circumstance, we might well assume that the organ of the theater was employed, as it would be in a concert hall today, retaining the sacred overtones of the piece.

Nevertheless, the oratorio model from which they draw their characterizations is based at least in part, no doubt, on the Viennese performances of Haydn's two late

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with the rough draft of the Kyrie that '[in] the prelude of the Kyrie, the organ should begin loud and gradually diminuendo to piano' demonstrates that the organ was intended to be included in the instrumentation of the *Missa solemnis* from its inception. Nevertheless, *Generalbass* figures are not found in the autograph score until the Credo at the following two places, mm. 399-406 and 414-415." [Die Anfang April 1819 im Zusammenhang mit der Konzeptionsphase zum Kyrie von Beethoven niedergeschriebene Notiz 'preludiren des Kyrie vom organisten stark und abnehmend bis vor dem Kyrie piano' beweist, dass die Orgel von Anfang an bei der Instrumentation der *Missa solemnis* eingeplant war. Dennoch finden sich erst im Credo des Autographs an zwei Stellen Generalbassziffern, bei T. 399 – 406 und 414 / 415]. Gertsch goes on to speculate that the reason for the late entry of the figured bass may be that this represents the composer's first conscious thoughts as to the actual arrangement of the organ part in the context of the work.

<sup>385</sup> In his sketchbooks, Beethoven makes reference to a "Klavier-Messe."

<sup>386</sup> The operas presented in the Kärntnertor Theater, particularly during the mid to late eighteenth century would have required a variety of continuo performers. This is reflected in the lists of the *Hof-Musikanten* from which the members of the opera orchestra were drawn. The list for the year 1747, for example, includes a number of distinguished organists, including Karl Richter, Gottlieb Muffat, Carl Mathias Reinhard and Wenzel Pirckh; in addition, we see the names of Joachim Sero as theorbist and Mathias Gellman as cembalist. See Gustav Zechmeister, *Die Wiener Theater nächst der Burg und nächst dem Kärntnerthor von 1747 bis 1776* (Vienna: Böhlau, 1971), p. 189.



oratorios, *The Creation* and *The Seasons*.<sup>387</sup> These works were enormously popular and influential in the early nineteenth century and – concurrently with the increased interest in the biblical oratorios of Handel and music of the early masters in general – led to a considerable degree of production in the genre during this period. What is known of the performance of these works<sup>388</sup> might point to the use of a fortepiano in the Kärntnertor performance. And the fact that it was specifically brought in for this performance perhaps strengthens that argument. We have no way to know for sure which instrument was employed. What does seem certain, however, is that the explicit figured bass parts of the Mass movements were realized by one of several qualified candidates present at this performance.

We should also consider this point: recommending the adaptation of the *Missa solemnis* to a concert format should be seen not as a renunciation of its inherent religious character. Oratorios were viewed as religious works, even if they were often presented in more secular contexts.<sup>389</sup> Rather, this should be perceived as a necessary capitulation to the inevitable problems of advancing one's works in an era of nascent artistic independence. Composers during this period – and, indeed, well into the nineteenth

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<sup>387</sup> The first public performance of Haydn's *The Creation* was given at the Burgtheater, the sister theater of the Kärntnertor, on 19 March 1799. The combined orchestral and choral forces totaled approximately 180 participants. See James Webster, "Joseph Haydn; §. 5. Vienna, 1795-1809" *NGD*, Vol. 11, pp. 186-90.

<sup>388</sup> Consider the following account of the premiere performance of *The Creation* at the Burgtheater on 19 March 1799. It is from the memoirs of the Swedish violinist and composer Johan Fredrik Berwald (1787-1861), who toured Europe as a child prodigy and was present at this performance: "When we entered [the Burgtheater], we saw that the stage was set up in the form of an amphitheatre. Down below at the fortepiano sat *Kapellmeister* [Joseph] Weigl, surrounded by vocal soloists, the chorus, a violoncello and a double bass [as continuo]. At one level higher stood Haydn himself with his conductor's baton." As reprinted in H.C. Robbins Landon, *Haydn: The Years of "The Creation," 1796-1800*; Vol. 4 of *Haydn: Chronicle and Works* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), p. 455.

<sup>389</sup> An element of sacred / secular crossover can be seen clearly in *The Seasons*, whose text is not primarily religious and therefore places it outside of the mainstream of oratorio history. See Howard E. Smither, "Oratorio," *NGD*, Vol. 18, pp. 503-28. Also concerning the primarily sacred nature of the oratorio, see Schmitz, *Das romantische Beethovenbild: Darstellung und Kritik*, p. 100.

century – often found it advantageous to encourage performances of their works in what might be considered by today’s standards less than acceptable circumstances. Often works were written in which certain parts were designated *ad libitum* or other accommodations were made for performances in which full instrumentation might not have been available. We will consider some of these instances in the last chapter of this study. However, it should not be assumed that such designations or accommodations in any way represent ambivalence on the composer’s part towards specific aspects of the work, be they matters of form, instrumentation, expression, or other features. These were merely allowances applied by the composer, however grudgingly, in order for his work to attain the best conditions for the greatest number of adequate performances.

It would seem appropriate here to take into account Beethoven’s own religious beliefs and how they may have been reflected in his compositions. Though raised in the Roman Catholic tradition, Beethoven was recognized by Schindler as having had Deist tendencies.<sup>390</sup> Later studies on this subject, however, tend to indicate that Beethoven’s early exposure to the precepts of the Catholic Enlightenment that suffused Viennese society at the time of his arrival there in 1792 was extremely influential in the development of his *Weltanschauung*. The movement was at this time a highly differentiated one. The reforms enacted by Emperor Joseph II had exerted a decidedly liberating effect on the political, social, and religious climate of Vienna, and the level of intellectual and artistic freedom that resulted from these reforms was such as would not be seen again in Austria until the late nineteenth century.<sup>391</sup>

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<sup>390</sup> Schindler, *Beethoven as I Knew Him*, p. 365. “We can, however, say almost certainly that his religious views were not so much based on church doctrine as on a sort of deism.”

<sup>391</sup> Derek Beals, “Vienna,” §. 4, *NGD*, Vol. 26, pp. 546-82.

Even after the death of Joseph II in 1790, under the reign of Leopold II – a time of relative conservatism – Josephine reforms maintained their momentum. In terms of the religious views that were current, the seminaries were disposed to training their students in rationalistic disciplines, tending towards Gallicanistic rejection of papal authority as well as the Newton-inspired English Deism mentioned by Schindler.<sup>392</sup>

Perhaps the most overt demonstration of the influence of this Josephine rationalism on Beethoven is his association with the Freemasons and his espousal of their ideas. During his formative years in Bonn, the Order of the Illuminati, a radical, anticlerical branch of Freemasonry, was embraced by many of Beethoven's close associates, including Neefe.<sup>393</sup> Masonic thinking certainly followed him to Vienna, where he attracted a following of enlightened and revolutionary adherents,<sup>394</sup> many of whom had reputed ties to the Freemasons (now allegedly a “secret society,” having been banned in Vienna shortly after Beethoven's arrival in 1792).<sup>395</sup>

The only explicit reference to Beethoven as a Freemason comes from the amateur violinist and Beethoven confidant Karl Holz (1798-1858), who stated that

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<sup>392</sup> Schmitz, *Das romantische Beethovenbild*, p. 82. “The Catholic Enlightenment in Vienna during Beethoven's time was a very sophisticated movement. Under Leopold II and the early years of the reign of Franz II, the Josephine [reforms] had not yet lost their traditional influence. Most of the clergymen trained in the Josephine seminaries propounded theological Rationalism, some sympathizing with English Deism and others with Gallicanism.” [Die katholische Aufklärung war in Wien zu Beethovens Zeiten eine sehr differenzierte Bewegung. Der Josephinismus hatte unter Leopold II. und in den ersten Regierungsjahren Franz II. noch nicht viel von seiner alten Stosskraft verloren. Die meisten der in den josephinischen Generalseminarien ausgebildeten Geistlichen vertraten einen theologischen Rationalismus, einige sympathisierten mit dem englischen Deismus, andere mit dem Gallikanismus].

<sup>393</sup> Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 50.

<sup>394</sup> Solomon cites dedications of the Symphony No. 1, Op. 21 and the Piano Sonata in D, Op. 28, to Baron Gottfried von Swieten and Joseph von Sonnefelds respectively, as examples of this tendency. See Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 178.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 116.

“Beethoven was a Freemason, but not active in later years.”<sup>396</sup> Implicit Masonic references are to be found, however, in Beethoven’s everyday effects and personal correspondence. In a letter to the Countess Erdödy, for example, Beethoven expresses the following sentiment:

May God grant you greater strength to enable you to reach your  
Temple of Isis, where the purified fire may swallow up all your  
troubles and you may awake like a new phoenix.<sup>397</sup>

The mixture of the Egyptian mysticism associated with Freemasonry and a Christian Creator embedded in this statement exemplifies the religious thinking afoot in Vienna at the turn of the nineteenth century. Yet it should be noted that it is indeed a mixture – no denigration of Christianity is implied by such statements. It is merely an expression of the Josephine rationalism that suffused contemporary thought.

Beethoven was known to have kept an inscription by his desk that further demonstrated his acquaintance with the Egyptian mysteries so closely associated with the Freemasons. As reported in several sources, the inscription, copied out in the composer’s hand, read as follows:

I am that which is. I am all that was, that is, and that shall be. No  
mortal man has ever lifted the veil of me. He is solely of himself, and to  
this Only One all things owe their existence.<sup>398</sup>

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<sup>396</sup> Friedrich Kerst, ed., *Die Erinnerungen an Beethoven*, Vol. II (Stuttgart: Julius Hoffmann, 1913), p. 187; from an 1852 conversation with Otto Jahn. The original quote reads, “Beethoven war Freimaurer, aber in späteren Jahren nicht in Tätigkeit.”

<sup>397</sup> This passage is taken from a letter to the Countess Anna Marie Erdödy, 19 October 1815. See Anderson, ed., *The Letters of Beethoven*, Vol. II, p. 528.

<sup>398</sup> Friedrich Kerst, *Beethoven: The Man and the Artist, as Revealed in His Own Words*, translated and edited by Henry Edward Krehbiel (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1905), pp. 103-4. Krehbiel describes this as “Beethoven’s Creed” and reports, according to Schindler, that Beethoven obtained this passage from the book *The Paintings of Egypt* by Jacques-Joseph Champollion-Figérac (1778-1867). This book, however, did not appear until 1839, so Beethoven could not have obtained it from this source. More probable, according to both MacArdle’s translation of Schindler and Forbes’s Thayer edition, is that Beethoven found these words in Schiller’s essay *Die Sendung Moses* (*The Mission of Moses*), which features the following: “Under an ancient monument of Isis were to be read the words: ‘I AM THAT WHICH IS,’ and upon a pyramid at Sais the strange primeval inscription: ‘I AM ALL, WHAT IS, WHAT WAS, WHAT WILL BE; NO MORTAL MAN HAS EVER LIFTED MY VEIL.’” See Thayer / Forbes, *Thayer’s Life of Beethoven* Vol. I, p. 481. Also see Schindler / MacArdle, *Beethoven as I Knew Him*, pp.365-66 and note 293, pp.390-

That Beethoven's probable source for this quotation was an essay by Schiller (see note 398) demonstrates not only his shared affinity for such beliefs with the poet, but also the tendency for assimilation of various strands of religious and mystical dogma that was an integral part of the atmosphere of Vienna during this period.

An ecumenical tendency can also be seen in Beethoven's later years, particularly in the emergence of a more conservative Christian outlook in his personality. During this time he is said to have been guided more by the principles of Fideism than by the rationalistic currents of his youth.<sup>399</sup> This may have been partially as a result of his contact with Bishop Johann Michael Sailer, who was first brought to Beethoven's attention in connection with the education of the composer's nephew Karl.<sup>400</sup> In subsequent years, Beethoven became aware of Sailer's theological writings, which emphasized the fundamental principles of faith that stem from an affirmation of the divinity of Jesus Christ. Beethoven was in possession of several of Sailer's writings; he was apparently interested not only in the bishop's pedagogical works but also in his religious concepts,<sup>401</sup> many of which resonated with the greater German Christian

91. In this note, Forbes suggests K. L. Reinhold's *Die hebräischen Mysterien oder die älteste religiöse Freimaurerei* (Leipzig, 1788) as another possible source of the quotation, further reinforcing the connection to Freemasonry. A reproduction of the handwritten text can be seen in Solomon, *Beethoven*, p. 205.

<sup>399</sup> Fideism (also known as Strict Traditionalism) is an extreme form of Roman Catholic philosophical thought that posits that the only true source of faith and knowledge comes from divine revelation. These tenets were adumbrated by the French Catholic philosophers Joseph-Marie, Comte de Maistre (1753-1821) and Louis de Bonald (1754-1840), and later by Félicité de Lammenais (1782-1854). See *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Thomson / Gale, 2002), Vol. 5, pp. 711-13.

<sup>400</sup> Johann Michael Sailer (1751-1832) was a renowned Catholic orator and pedagogue. At the time of his first communication with Beethoven in 1819, he was a professor of theology at the University of Landshut in Bavaria, where he taught pastoral and moral theology, pedagogics, homiletics, liturgy, and catechetics. See "Johann Michael Sailer," *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 12, pp. 530-31.

<sup>401</sup> Schmitz, *Das romantische Beethovenbild*, p. 94. "Beethoven kannte Sailer auch aus einigen seiner Schriften. Er besass die Kleine Bibel für Kranke und Sterbende, Christians Vermächtnis an seine lieben Söhne, Goldkörner der Weisheit und Tugend, in den Konversationsheften notierte er ausserdem noch die Rede von der Priesterweihe. Er interessierte sich also nicht nur für die Pädagogik, sondern auch für die spezifisch religiösen Ansichten Sailers."

community, Protestant and Catholic alike. Indeed, Sailer is generally credited with ameliorating the effects of rationalism and suffusing contemporary society with an ecumenical piety in which both sides of the religious schism could find common ground.<sup>402</sup>

It is in this spirit that we should consider Beethoven's sacred works, particularly the masses. The transmission of his religious sentiments to all Christians seems to have been uppermost in Beethoven's mind in the composition and subsequent reception of the *Missa solemnis*. In addition to the emphasis he placed on its alternative identity as an oratorio, Beethoven sought other ways to communicate the spirit of Christianity to his listeners in the most affective (and catholic) ways available. Notable in this regard is his willingness to have German texts replace the Latin in his masses for use in Protestant communities. As he writes in a letter of 30 August 1820 to the publisher Nikolaus Simrock in Bonn:

My first Mass, published by Breitkopf, was issued with a German text as well; and it is performed every year not only at Leipzig but also in all other Protestant towns. . . . Should you wish to have a German translation of the Mass [in D], let me know by return post; I will arrange for it to be done and will adapt it to my composition.<sup>403</sup>

Thus we see that Beethoven's approach, under the influence of Sailer's teachings, seeks to encompass all Christians, unencumbered by the Protestant / Catholic dichotomy that would characterize later composers' sacred works. The works of Brahms and Bruckner were also influenced by the cultural and religious climates of their times, often with a more noticeable effect on the stylistic design of their works. These composers tended to turn more inwardly towards their respective sects, and this seems to be reflected in their

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<sup>402</sup> "Johann Michael Sailer," *The New Catholic Encyclopedia*.

<sup>403</sup> Anderson, editor, *The Letters of Beethoven* Volume II, letter No. 1029, p. 899. Beethoven's reference to his "first Mass" indicates the *Mass in C*, Op. 86, published by Breitkopf & Härtel in October of 1812 with a German text by Dr. C. Schreiber.

musical expressions, so that the integration of enlightened rational and conservative Catholic traditions present in Beethoven does not seem to be replicated in the music of Brahms and Bruckner. This could also be said of Beethoven's integration of absolute musical forms, most notably in the last movement of the Ninth Symphony, with a large vocal ensemble, thereby blurring what was otherwise a recognized division between the vocal and symphonic realms. Later in the nineteenth century, Brahms and Bruckner diverged on this matter, with Bruckner succeeding in the end in melding the two in both his symphonic masses and – implicitly – in his later instrumental works. Beethoven's message of brotherhood and heavenly guidance in the Symphony No. 9 is a direct and tangible influence on the mysticism and cosmological concepts present in the symphonies of Bruckner.<sup>404</sup>

Further along these lines, it has often been noted that Beethoven made use of numerous devices from previous compositional periods and styles in the *Missa solennis* in order to convey the proper affect to his listeners. Maynard Solomon offers the following:

Beethoven's musical archaisms and reminiscences – Dorian and Mixolydian modes, Gregorian "fossils," quotations from Handel's *Messiah* in the Gloria and Agnus Dei – and his employment of procedures and musical imagery derived from older liturgical styles are, in context, modernistic devices that also serve to stretch the expressiveness of his music beyond the boundaries set for liturgical music by his contemporaries.<sup>405</sup>

A famous example of Beethoven's use of church modes comes in the *Et incarnatus est* section of the *Credo* in the *Missa solennis*; here Beethoven reinterprets the

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<sup>404</sup> Rupert Mayr, "Of violins, violas, and others: Aspects of scoring in the symphonic works of the great masters (Part 55)," *Musica* 32 (2004), 6-60.

<sup>405</sup> Solomon, *Beethoven*, pp. 402-3.

Dorian mode in a nineteenth-century polyphonic context,<sup>406</sup> referencing a metonym that will be easily grasped by his audience. The use of such a device, though occasionally only coloristic, most often represents an overt, conscious reference by the composer. He is utilizing the symbol as an integral element in the construction of the work as a whole, thereby increasing the impact of the musical discourse on the listener. Speaking of modal passages in the works of such nineteenth-century composers as Beethoven, Bruckner, and Liszt, Anthony F. Carver offers the following statement:

Thus these evocations of aspects of the Palestrina style seem to communicate a metaphysical “otherness,” as if time, represented by harmonic progression, is suspended.<sup>407</sup>

It would seem that the use of continuo in a work such as the *Missa solemnis* is totally in keeping with the spirit Beethoven wished to express, even if the actual practice was, in general, becoming an archaism. I further propose that independent of sacred vocal music – in which the tradition of figured bass clearly continued well into the nineteenth century – other musical genres may also have made use of the “reminiscences” to which Solomon alludes in the above quote (see note 405) in the service of the expressiveness and, indeed, “otherness” of which the above-quoted authors speak. And certainly the use of other well-established rhetorical devices in the service of the text in the *Missa solemnis* is squarely within the Mass tradition as practiced by both Protestant and Catholic composers for generations before – and after – Beethoven. In furtherance of this, Beethoven often utilized rhetorical devices in, as Drabkin describes it, a “pictorial or symbolic” manner.<sup>408</sup> A partial list of such instances is provided by Drabkin:

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<sup>406</sup> Drabkin, *Beethoven: Missa solemnis*, p. 58. Drabkin notes, pertinent to our discussion here, that Beethoven does not limit his use of such devices to sacred music; he points to the composer’s use of the Lydian mode in the “Heiliger Dankgesang” of the Quartet, Op. 132.

<sup>407</sup> Anthony F. Carver, “Bruckner and the Phrygian Mode,” *Music and Letters* 86 (2005), 74-99.

<sup>408</sup> Drabkin, *Beethoven: Missa solemnis*, p. 102.



Where the Mass does not acknowledge the archaic aesthetic of sacred music, it often moves far beyond the Classical set-up of the orchestra by exploring the pictorial and symbolic value of individual, or groups of, instruments. The best-known examples of this are the flute at 'Et incarnatus', as a musical representation of the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove; the brass chorus in the 'Sanctus,' as 'tower music' representing the singing of angels; the solo violin in the Benedictus, as the presence of Christ on the altar; the trumpets and timpani in the 'Dona,' as the elements of War; the trombones in various passages in the work, as the symbol of the power of God (for example, at 'omnipotens' in the Gloria and 'judicare' in the Credo).<sup>409</sup>

It would seem to be a glaring omission to document in so detailed a manner the expressive, associative, programmatic, and hermeneutical properties of Beethoven's orchestration and leave out so fundamental an instrument as the organ. What are its coloristic properties? What associative characteristics does this instrument contribute and why? How does the presence of the figured bass and its proper realization reflect the compositional methods of the composer? How do these methods translate into other works not generally associated with figured-bass or *Generalbass* practices? How is it that such questions are routinely ignored in these discussions? The importance of the continuo part is often clearly indicated by Beethoven and other composers in their statements and correspondence. Yet, as we observed in the opening remarks to this chapter, it seems that in the quest to neatly classify the works and careers of nineteenth-century composers, modern scholars would rather relegate certain practices to the role of quaint anachronism, with no functional or musical – let alone rhetorical or hermeneutical – significance. This is the position set forth by, among others, Carl Dahlhaus, who likens the use of figured bass notation in the works of nineteenth-century composers to "exercises in a dead language, the easy codifiability of which is obtained only at the price of irrelevance."<sup>410</sup>

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<sup>409</sup> Ibid. The author cites as a source for the first two references in this quotation Warren Kirkendale, "New Roads to Old Ideas in Beethoven's *Missa solennis*," *Musical Quarterly* 56 (1970), 665-701.

<sup>410</sup> Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, p. 26.

The above discussion leads us to the final work on the 7 May 1824 program, the Symphony No. 9, Op. 125. If we take Thalberg's statement quoted above in its most literal sense, then Kreutzer was present at the piano at least after the *Scherzo* of the symphony. This work, then, would be the only one for which we have a first-hand account of Kreutzer's participation (though surely we can infer a keyboard presence in the other works as well, as we have above). Taking into account the nature of the final movement of this symphony, it would seem that many of the conditions for performance noted in the two previous works are present here as well. The interjection of choral parts into what is in many respects an extremely traditional "Classical" symphonic model reduced many of Beethoven's contemporaries – learned critic and casual listener alike – to a state of confusion. The foreshadowing of the choral entrance by the cellos and contrabasses in the form of an instrumental recitative did little, apparently, to assist them, at least according to some of the contemporary reviews of this performance.<sup>411</sup>

Still, if we consider the presence of a *Generalbass* keyboardist (Kreutzer) in this situation, the intention may have been to aid in this exegesis, to assist in the audience's perception of the work. The continuo may have been meant to be perceived as an overt allusion to generations past, linking the Romantic elements of the symphony with the more Classical and Baroque aspects, as had been done in the other works on the program. It has been suggested that this introduction by the orchestral basses in fact

by systematically alternating between orchestral passages and pseudo-recitativic phrases approximates the style of an extended *accompagnato*.<sup>412</sup>

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<sup>411</sup> Wallace, *Beethoven's Critics*, pp. 86ff.

<sup>412</sup> Mayr, "Of violins, violas, and others." For background on the instrumental recitative, including Beethoven's use of this device in the Ninth Symphony, in an historical context, see Herbert Seifert, "Das Instrumentalrezitativ vom Barock bis zur Wiener Klassik," *De Ratione in Musica: Festschrift Erich Schenk zum 5. Mai 1972* (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1975), pp. 103-16.

However, in interpreting the symphony, many contemporary writers seem not to have addressed the link between instrumental and vocal music that suffuses the entire program of this concert. For the most part, the blurring of the boundaries between vocal and instrumental music that the instrumental-bass recitative represents at the outset of the last movement is ignored as an aesthetic issue.<sup>413</sup> Consider the review by Kanne from the *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*. His prose is nothing if not lavish in its hermeneutical associations for the other movements of the Symphony, as the following passage on the *Scherzo* demonstrates:

One sees in the staccato runs of the oboe, flute, bassoon, etc. the little Columbine tripping with her Harlekin, who springs in bold leaps from one modulation land to another, and changes at every moment.<sup>414</sup>

The exegesis of the fourth movement, however, remains couched in musical terms; it discusses instrumentation, elements of form, harmony, and other technical matters. But hermeneutics are set aside in favor of a merely descriptive process:

[I]n the *Finale*, . . . Beethoven, so to say, takes up a *recapitulation* of his earlier themes different in their meters and introduces them one after another. Indeed, when one considers that he even gave the basses a recitative that recurs often, and to which the other instruments listen in silence, also that at the end the entire chorus still blends, with its singing, Schiller's famed Ode to Joy, and that the composer has sought to bring into unity all these contradictory elements, then is one inwardly fully impressed by the gigantic design that his imagination grasped in the first moments of creation, and which also is imprinted more or less strongly in plan and execution upon every movement.<sup>415</sup>

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<sup>413</sup> Robin Wallace, *Beethoven's Critics*, p. 88.

<sup>414</sup> Levy, *Early Performances*, p. 87. The entire review can be found in the *Wiener allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* 8 (1824), Nos. 38 and 40 (June 5 and June 7), 149-51 and 157-59. This section in German is as follows: "In dem stakkirten Laufe der Oboe, Flöte, des Fagotts [e]tc. sieht man ordentlich die kleine Colombine mit ihrem Harlekin trippeln, der mit gewagten Sprüngen aus einem Modulations-Lande in das andere springt, und aller Augenblicke verwandelt." Levy, p. 80.

<sup>415</sup> Levy, *Early Performances*, p. 90. The German text is on p. 83: "Beide leisteten besonders im *Finale* desshalb das Unglaubliche, weil darinnen Beethoven gleichsam eine *Recapitulatio* seiner früheren in den Tactarten so verschiedenen Thema's vornimmt, und eins nach dem anderen aufführt. Ja, wenn man bedenkt, dass er sogar den Bässen ein sehr oft wiederkehrendes Recitativ gegeben hat, welches alle übrigen Instrumente still anhören, dass am Ende auch noch der ganze Chor Schillers berühmte Ode an die Freude, singend einwebt, und der Compositeur alle diese verschiedenen, beinahe widerstrebenden Stoffe zur Einheit zu bringen gesucht hat, so wird man von dem gigantischen Entwurfe, den seine Phantasie in der

Though some lauded the composer's mastery of the symphonic framework, as well as the precedent-setting configuration of the fourth movement, "[o]pinions regarding the relative merit of the choral finale were divided."<sup>416</sup> There was, in fact, a general awareness at the time by Beethoven and his contemporaries that the assimilation of this new choral feature might be problematic for contemporary audiences. Indeed, there is some evidence that Beethoven, after this initial performance, considered revising the symphony, substituting an instrumental finale for the choral one, perhaps for the very reasons discussed above.<sup>417</sup>

Beethoven was attempting a musical / rhetorical conflation in his choral fourth movement, but the ability of his audience to assimilate the proper symbolic gestures was a matter of concern for him. The presence of voices in this heretofore strictly instrumental work serves as

an interjection of drama [to the symphonic format] that can be provided only by borrowing a rhetorical tool from another genre whose association with discursive communication is unmistakable to anyone

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ersten Augenblicken der Schöpfung auffasste, und der jedem Tonstücke mehr oder weniger in Anlage und Ausführung auch kräftig aufgedrückt ist, auch recht innig durchdrungen.

<sup>416</sup> Levy, *Early Performances*, p. 106.

<sup>417</sup> Thayer-Beethoven, pp. 894-96. Thayer reports as follows: "In 1852 Carl Czerny told Otto Jahn that Beethoven had thought, after the (7 May) performance, of composing a new finale without vocal parts for the work." He goes on to note that Schindler found this story to be specious. Wallace reports that Seyfried also promulgated this anecdote in a review of the Ninth Symphony in the periodical *Caecilia*. Wallace goes on to suggest that the avoidance of exegesis of the final movement may have been due to the fact that such a conflation of choral and instrumental music as that found in the last movement of the Ninth may have been previously adumbrated by such writers as C. P. E. Bach, whose symphonic works often merged elements of instrumental and vocal music: "It is as though [the critics] felt that the contrast in genre between instrumental and choral music – between abstraction on the one hand and the unambiguous meaning of the text on the other – simply did not exist." Observers, therefore, felt no need to comment on this aspect of the work, suggesting, as I do above, that other *antico* associations are needed in any case to properly convey this affect to the audience. See Wallace, *Beethoven's Critics*, pp. 88-91.

A separate anecdote relating Czerny's description of Beethoven's feelings on this subject can be found in a letter from Dr. Leopold Sonnleithner to the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* published in the 6 April 1864 edition. See Max Rudolph, "A Question of Tempo in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony: Sonnleithner's 1864 Letter on the Contrabass Recitative," *Beethoven Newsletter* 4 (1989), 56-57.

who hears it. Instrumental recitative is music *qua* music striving to become articulate.<sup>418</sup>

Indeed, this seems to be the perception that Beethoven is trying to create. In doing so, he also makes use in the Ninth Symphony of instrumental forces that far exceed the normal symphonic complement. He thus harks back to performances of Haydn's oratorios that employed a large number of musicians. This has led many scholars besides Levy to attribute oratorio-like qualities to this work, as the following quote demonstrates:

[T]he gigantic complement Beethoven demanded for the Ninth – a complement reflected in the Wellingtonish scoring of the work, the last movement of which includes parts for piccolo, four horns, three trombones, contrabassoon, and three percussionists – is obviously related to the fact that his last symphony is half oratorio.<sup>419</sup>

Therefore, the presence of a continuo instrument – which no doubt carried similarly unmistakable associations for Beethoven's audience as those referred to in the above quote (note 418) – may be viewed as a further reinforcement of the standard recitative / aria concept the composer was trying to communicate to his audience. This would at least give some explanation as to Kreutzer's presence "at the P.F. (pianoforte)" other than to merely give pitches to the choir and instrumentalists, an interpretation that would make Kreutzer's participation seem superfluous at best.

Though writers of Beethoven's time largely avoided overt hermeneutical commentary on the last movement of the Ninth Symphony, this is not the case with modern scholars. Various exegeses of this movement have appeared that offer pertinent insights into the question of continuo accompaniment.<sup>420</sup> However, the subject is rarely if

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<sup>418</sup> David B. Levy, "The contrabass recitative in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony revisited," *Historical Performance* (1992), 9-18.

<sup>419</sup> Richard Taruskin, "The New Antiquity," *Opus* 3 (1987), 31-63. See 34.

<sup>420</sup> Some of the more relevant include: Wilhelm Seidel, "9. Symphonie op. 125," in *Beethoven: Interpretationen seiner Werke*, Vol. II, ed. A. Riethmüller, et al. (Laaber, 1994), pp. 252-71; Nicholas Cook, *Beethoven: Symphony No. 9* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Scott Burnham, "Our Sublime Ninth," *Beethoven Forum* 5 (1996), 155-63; David B. Levy, "The Contrabass Recitative in

ever discussed overtly; it is again noteworthy that so ubiquitous and apparent a device as *Generalbass* accompaniment would not be included among the plethora of instrumentally conveyed symbols, signs, and rhetorical gestures conferred by modern writers upon this movement.

For example, the opening of the fourth movement, with its “paradoxical switching of roles between voices and instruments,” has been described as the “hermeneutic crux” of the entire work,<sup>421</sup> the point at which the intersection of the aesthetics of earlier musical styles are integrated into the processes of the emergent musical ethos. This “contamination of instrumental music (that is, the symphonic format) by operatic gestures and by words and the nature of those gestures – the recitative of the bass instruments and the baritone’s exaggerated melismas”<sup>422</sup> – all serve to reinforce this point. Indeed, Stephen Hinton posits that the last movement of the symphony does not merely allude to past musical styles; it may, indeed, represent for the composer, in light of his pronounced deafness, a connection to the musical sensations he had formerly experienced:

The finale is . . . doubly retrospective: aesthetically, with its reference to an eighteenth-century view; and biographically, by invoking sensations no longer experienced by the composer.<sup>423</sup>

This view would accord well with the many references in *Generalbass* manuals to the manner in which the keyboard continuo provides a tactile as well as auditory connection to the individual musical lines of a work.<sup>424</sup>

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Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony Revisited,” *Historical Performance* 5 (1992), 9-18; Claus Canisius, *Beethoven: “Sehnsucht und Unruhe in der Musik”: Aspekte zu Leben und Werk* (Munich, 1992), pp. 172-75.

<sup>421</sup> Stephen Hinton, “Not Which Tones? The Crux of Beethoven’s Ninth,” *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 22 (1998-99), 61-77.

<sup>422</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

<sup>423</sup> *Ibid.*, 71.

Thus the anomaly of the vocal styles and gestures – of which a continuo accompaniment to a recitative must be considered an integral part – in an overtly symphonic work is crucial to its hermeneutic power:

Incongruity creates the hermeneutic demands of the crux. Adorno couched this point in the language of alienated subjectivity when he wrote that “conventions become expression in the naked representation of themselves.”<sup>425</sup>

None of this is to suggest that the admittedly meager evidence of Kreutzer’s presence or other anecdotal information constitutes a definitive defense for the use of *Generalbass* accompaniment in works such as those discussed above. It would be wrong on the face of it to assume that any particular performance of any one work – or group of works, for that matter – reflects a certainty upon which we may rely today. As noted above, Beethoven, like his predecessors as well as those who would follow him, was often at the mercy of circumstances when it came to the performance of his works; pragmatism reigned in the service of the best possible performance opportunity.

What I am suggesting, however, is that the presence of thoroughbass accompaniment in a performance such as the one described above – and by extension, in many others during this period and later – represents what Taruskin describes as a “phenomenological Gestalt.”<sup>426</sup> In Taruskin’s formulation, borrowed and adapted to the

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<sup>424</sup> This is a common theme in the introductory sections of many of the *Generalbasslehren* discussed in this paper. The following quote, from Hugo Riemann, *Anleitung zum Generalbass-Spielen*, is exemplary of this sentiment by theorists nearly 100 years after Beethoven’s time: “A true musician must be able, as it were, to relate [through *Generalbass* accompaniment] what is in his soul or to tell of the inner workings of his imagination, streaming out through his fingers and yet fully aware, spinning out the four threads of melody that make up the four-voiced work simultaneously, while never dividing or confusing them.” See Chapter 3, pp. 153ff. above for the complete quotation in context.

<sup>425</sup> Hinton, “Not Which Tones?,” 74. The quote from Adorno is taken from that author, “Spätstil Beethovens,” *Der Auftakt* 17 (1937); rpt. in *Moments musicaux* (Frankfurt / Main, 1964), pp. 13-17.

<sup>426</sup> Here Taruskin might be recalling Hans Mersmann, who describes various musical elements such as motive, line, etc., as “elemental principles . . . in reality more like ideas than manifestations.” See Hans Mersmann, “Versuch einer Phänomenologie der Musik,” *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1922 / 23), 226-69.

question of basso continuo in instrumental works of this period, the actual figured-bass notation needn't be present to infer a continuo presence. It is, rather, the capacity of the mind of the listener to correctly interpret the semiotic value of the continuo presence that would make its presence an artistic necessity for the composer. This semiotic meaning, then,

inheres in the work as long as the work is performed among those who have learned the concept and have the ability to recognize it in context. For those who haven't, . . . the work has no existence.<sup>427</sup>

It should be pointed out that Taruskin apparently fails to see the connection that I have made here. Taruskin's example for a semiotic vehicle in the above quotation is the tonic triad. This, he states is

not a sound, but a function assigned a sound within a syntactical and hierarchical system one must be trained to perceive.<sup>428</sup>

In the same article, however, when describing a 1984 recording by the Hanover Band of Beethoven's First Symphony that employs a *Generalbass* accompaniment, he refers to this accompaniment as "the inaudible, pseudohistorical 'continuo' fortepianist."<sup>429</sup> Why, one might ask, would Beethoven's audience be predisposed to perceive a thoroughbass accompaniment as less of a "function" than a tonic triad. One could certainly argue that the practice of basso continuo and the tonic triad had each, in their own way, been instrumental in bringing about the drastic changes in music that informed the styles and genres with which the audiences of Beethoven's time were familiar. To impart special semiotic significance to one and not the other would seem to suggest a bias that almost certainly did not exist among Beethoven's contemporaries. The preference of Taruskin

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<sup>427</sup> Taruskin, "The New Antiquity," 32-33.

<sup>428</sup> Ibid., 32.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid., 34. The recording is "Beethoven Symphony No. 1; Piano Concerto No. 1," *The Hanover Band*, Mary Verney, soloist, Nimbus Records, 1984.



and others for a continuo-less First Symphony – or any number of works, such as those that will be discussed below – is, I believe, reflective of that bias and not grounded in the contemporary associations that were clearly articulated in the treatises of the day. In terms of *continuo* accompaniment, then, it might be wise to consider some of the notions expressed above when performing works by Beethoven and his contemporaries, as well as the younger generation that immediately succeeded these composers.

Beethoven certainly produced many works in which explicit figured-bass parts exist as well; these are, notwithstanding, still today a matter of controversy as to the propriety of continuo accompaniment. The next section will address some of these works and how they directly relate to many of the concepts discussed above.

### **c) Thoroughbass and the Solo Concerto**

The Classical concerto is one genre where the tradition of the basso continuo was dutifully retained by many late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century composers. The concerto genre, with its obvious roots in an earlier style, was in many ways a synthesis, a fusion, combining the *ritornello* / *solo* concept with the newer, sonata-form conventions of the later eighteenth century. Further, the polarized texture of the concerto, an important element in service of expressing the *ritornello* format, has much in common with the operatic works that continued to be popular during this period. Opera was, indeed, one genre where the continuo presence remained strong throughout the nineteenth century through its participation in *secco* recitative. With this in mind, it is clear that many solo concertos of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries retained an attachment to their predecessors in many ways, not the least of which was the use of figured-bass notation.

The assimilation of certain characteristics of operatic arias, notably in the case of Mozart and his concertos, is a case in point. The notion that the paradigmatic, late-eighteenth-century sonata form as an “ideal type,” as James Webster puts it, did not lend itself to the features of the operatic aria points toward some rather misleading conclusions concerning the influence of this genre on the concertos of this period. Webster puts it thusly:

Regarding Mozart, [Donald Francis] Tovey’s interpretation is that his concerto form synthesizes ritornello and sonata principles; it remains the best we have. To put it another way, we may say that both genres [aria and concerto] exhibit *multivalent* form; that is, a form based on the interaction of independent, at times noncongruent, patterns of organization in different domains (tonality, material, instrumentation, and so forth; plus, in arias, the text and action as well). Multivalent form is characteristic of vocal music, especially opera (not least Mozart’s operas), but there is no reason why it should not be sought in instrumental works as well, particularly those which, like the concerto, are based on a fundamental distinction among the performing forces.

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The assimilation of operatic-aria influences in a purely instrumental form is pertinent to our examination of the continued use of *Generalbass*, particularly in the context of our previous discussion of the recitative elements of Beethoven’s Ninth. But Webster cautions us concerning some of the prejudices that have often informed the assimilation debate in the twentieth century, when absolute music was considered to be the “aesthetic touchstone,” and thus observers such as Tovey sought to explicate works in terms of this aesthetic rather than accepting the true assimilation of genres in these

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<sup>430</sup> James Webster, “Are Mozart’s Concertos “Dramatic”? Concerto Ritornellos versus Aria Introduction in the 1780s,” *Mozart’s Piano Concertos: Text, Context, Interpretation* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 107-37. Webster points to Tovey, Charles Rosen, and Leonard G. Ratner as the most prominent twentieth-century historians who assume a close similarity in the two genres. For more on the concept of multivalence and its impact on instrumental music of this period, see *ibid.*, note 9, pp. 134-35.

works.<sup>431</sup> The case for assimilation will hopefully be furthered by the following discussion.

The list of composers who used figured-bass notation in their concertos during the late-eighteenth century is long. Mozart and Haydn are included along with many of their contemporaries, notably Dittersdorf and Wanhals. Later, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Hummel and Beethoven, among others, continued the tradition. The use of continuo in this genre has drawn scholarly attention recently and has produced conflicting theories as to the significance of the figured-bass notation in concertos of the time. It seems clear, for example, that Mozart intended the figures to be played. It was most probably his intention to direct the orchestral ensemble from the keyboard during performances of his concertos. The practice of directing operas from the keyboard (*Dirigiren beim Clavier*) is referred to by Mozart, and his arias and symphonies were directed through *Generalbass* accompaniment. Though the documentary evidence from Mozart's life tells us only that he "played" (*spielte*) his piano concertos, it seems likely that he would wish to exert the same control over the orchestral ensembles performing these concertos as was present in other instrumental works. The presence of the figured bass and *col basso* indications would seem to support this view.<sup>432</sup>

*Col basso* indications were understood to mean that the keyboard soloist, as ensemble director, should play during the *tutti*s. Playing in *tutti*s as a form of direction was a practice that was retained well into the nineteenth century by Hummel and

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<sup>431</sup> Ibid., p. 133. See also note 106 above for references to the confluence of vocal and instrumental genres in the music of the late eighteenth century.

<sup>432</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of Mozart's use of these indications see Ferguson, "Col Basso." Also see Ferguson, "The Classical Keyboard Concerto." In this article, as in the dissertation, Ferguson calls particular attention to the various methods of ensemble direction mentioned above.

probably by Mendelssohn and Chopin as well.<sup>433</sup> In addition, the practice allowed piano sonority to be a presence throughout an entire work, a factor to which the composers of this period may well have given particular attention. The following statement speaks to this point directly:

Mozart as a composer of piano concertos continued the earlier practice of the keyboardist's accompanying role during the tuttis in all movements in every piano concerto via basso continuo accompaniment, as exemplified in autograph scores and contemporary performance materials. . . .The omnipresence of piano and orchestra throughout every concerto is supported by scoring practices in symphonies and chamber music of the period, where a given sound-complex prevails in all movements.<sup>434</sup>

Derr's observation represents the autograph scores and the performance materials as equally valid sources of information concerning the composer's intentions; this sentiment is elaborated on by Cliff Eisen, who resists the notion that the autograph scores of Mozart's piano concertos represent substance – that is to say, a idealized concept –over performance. On the contrary, the text of the autograph scores in effect represents a performance.<sup>435</sup> This is a point that will be taken up in detail below during the discussion of Beethoven's use of figured bass in his piano concertos. Though the tendency in any such debate is to reduce the elements to a simple “for” or “against” dichotomy, it would be well to consider Eisen's observations concerning these points as expressed through examples from the concertos presented in his article:

Even these few, summary examples are suggestive: they argue that a source is as representative of performance as it is representative of ‘work’, that the essence of the relationship between soloist and orchestra is more complicated than the black-and-white play-or-not-play suggested by proponents and detractors of continuo, and that

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<sup>433</sup> Peter Williams, “Continuo,” *NGD*, Vol. 6, p. 351.

<sup>434</sup> Elwood Derr, “Basso Continuo in Mozart's Piano Concertos: Dimensions of Compositional Completion and Performance Practice,” *Mozart's Piano Concertos: Text, Context, Interpretation*, ed. N. Zaslaw (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 393-410.

<sup>435</sup> Cliff Eisen, “The primacy of performance: text, act and continuo in Mozart's keyboard concertos,” *Words about Mozart: Essays in Honour of Stanley Sadie*, ed. Dorothea Link with Judith Nagley (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 107-19.

‘necessity’ [that is, the argument that there is no need for a continuo to fill in harmonies in such an “advanced style” of composition] is not an issue but a fiction deriving from the separation of substance and presentation. Concertos – Mozart’s concertos – can therefore be understood essentially as subtle exploitations of texture, as complicated interactions between competing voices split not only among different instruments but even between the two hands of the piano, sometimes working cooperatively, at other times antagonistically – more so, even, than we have supposed.<sup>436</sup>

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Evidently adhering to the *col basso* tradition, Beethoven utilized standard *Generalbass* notational conventions in all of his piano concertos, as well as in his Triple Concerto, Op. 56. Explicit figured-bass parts are present in both the autograph and early prints of Opp. 15 and 73, whereas unfigured bass lines are found in the autographs of the remaining concertos,<sup>437</sup> with the exception of Op. 58.<sup>438</sup> The second movement of Op. 58 is unique among the movements of Beethoven’s piano concertos in that the keyboard-continuo function is excluded; reasons for this will be discussed below.

Most scholars today feel that Beethoven fully intended for his figured basses to be played, although there is some disagreement on this point. One view from the German musicologist Hans-Werner Küthen sees the figures as merely didactic in intent:

Beethoven employed his autograph manuscript [of the *Emperor Concerto*] as teaching material, feeling that it was not only his most recent and only available work, but also, as a concerto, the most suitable basis for teaching a composition pupil....The thoroughbass

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<sup>436</sup> Ibid., pp. 116-17.

<sup>437</sup> Tibor Szász, “Beethoven’s Basso Continuo: Notation and Performance,” *Performing Beethoven*, ed. Robin Stowell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 1-22. The chart that appears on p. 4 of this article is extremely helpful in documenting the various *Generalbass* practices employed by Beethoven in each of these concertos, as well as in the two Masses. Opp. 19, 37, and the Triple Concerto rely on “an unadapted and unfigured string bass plus the first-violin cue,” which, he believes, was often “[a] more effective means of assisting performers in the production of correct accompaniments” than an explicit figured bass. See *ibid.*, 20.

<sup>438</sup> The autograph score of Op. 58 is lost, but, as Szász’s chart on p. 4 of his article (see note 437 above) indicates, the printed editions do contain an unfigured bass line. His chart of p. 5 further indicates that the printed editions of Op. 58, while lacking traditional *Generalbass* indications, include a *Clavierauszug* with orchestral cues in both the left and right hands.

figures, in other words, do not imply that the soloist should play continuo.<sup>439</sup>

Küthen's view drew a good deal of criticism, particularly in regard to his edition of the piano concertos for the *Neue Gesamtausgabe*. In his defense, Küthen argues that the very explicit *Generalbass* indications provided by Beethoven are not, in fact, evidence in support of continuo participation. Consider the following statement:

In the case of Beethoven's piano concertos, I shall argue that the physical appearance of the solo part suggests an intention different from that of a musical text originally conceived and ultimately intended for performance in a concert hall. This is particularly pertinent to the question of how to handle the piano part in the orchestral tutti sections; whether in the older manner as a continuo instrument, or in the more modern sense as an equivalent concertante partner who is allowed to rest during tutti passages, thereby abstaining from continuous participation and displaying full sovereignty, without being compelled to do "double duty" for thoroughbass support.<sup>440</sup>

Küthen's position here seems to founder on two counts. First, it goes against the ideas of Derr and Eisen presented above (see notes 434-436 above) concerning the validity of performance parts as sources. The second point is that this statement fairly bristles with negative connotations, pitting the "modern" image of equivalence in the relationship between the orchestra and the soloist against a cumbersome "older manner" in which the hapless soloist is "compelled" to do "double duty," thereby abdicating his putative "sovereignty."

As we have seen from our previous discussions, the ability to perform *Generalbass* in the manner of the learned Kapellmeister was an art that was held in high esteem.<sup>441</sup> Further, our discussion of the assimilation of various elements into the concerto form has indicated that in that genre, the component parts were all

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<sup>439</sup> Hans-Werner Küthen, ed., *Beethoven Werke: Gesamtausgabe* III, Band 3 (Munich: G. Henle, 1996), "Klavierkonzerte II," "Vorwort."

<sup>440</sup> Hans-Werner Küthen, "Gradus ad partituras: Appearance and Essence in the Solo Part of Beethoven's Piano Concertos," *Beethoven Form* 9 (2002), 137-70.

<sup>441</sup> For a representative contemporary statement on this opinion, see the Foreword to E. A. Föster's *Anleitung zum General-Bass* quoted above; see Chapter 2, p. 125-26.

contemporarily vibrant traditions. Rather than a conscious attempt to access the past, as is the case with the other genres discussed above, the concertos of the early eighteenth century were viewed as expressions of the present and, indeed, the future. Continuo participation in the case of Beethoven's piano concertos, then, should not be seen as the "old manner" of performance; these concertos indicate clearly that this style of *Generalbass* was simply the logical extension of the most modern musical ideas and practices at that time.

Küthen presents several points in defense of his position. For example, his view as stated above leads him to conclude that Beethoven's "tutti abbreviations" – i.e., the notation of orchestral material in the tutti passages – present in the solo parts of the concertos do not indicate full-blown continuo participation in the orchestral tuttis of these works; rather, they perform the following limited functions:

1. to orient the soloist with regard to the whole, as indicated by the distinction between solo and tutti passages
2. to offer a basis for the conductor to lead his ensemble (this function was of course typically fulfilled by a single individual who acted as both the conductor and soloist), and
3. to allow performances in domestic settings, that is by pianoforte alone, or with an ensemble considerably smaller than the full orchestra called for by the original.<sup>442</sup>

The function of the solo part, then, is that of a *Direktionstimme*, or conductor's part.

Küthen sees in the discrepancy between manuscript score – in which "the solo part is notated so that it contains only information specific to the solo writing, without regard to the orchestra" – and solo part as evidence of a lack of continuo participation in the tuttis.

The viability of this position depends upon two principal points. The first is discussed in detail by Ferguson, who sums up her stance in the following statement:

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<sup>442</sup> Ibid., 139.

[Beethoven's] autograph scores are relevant to the discussion of authentic performance practice only insofar as they can be shown to have served as printer's models (*Stichvorlagen*). Where they did not, they cannot be invoked, as they sometimes are, as evidence against a face-value interpretation of the thoroughbass notations in the authentic printed parts of his concertos.<sup>443</sup>

The second point concerns whether one wishes to see the figured-bass notation present in the autograph scores of Opp. 15 and 73 as “information” that would relate to an orchestral function on the part of the soloist. On this point, Küthen is simply reverting to the familiar premise that “direction” from the keyboard in Beethoven's time meant merely following the score and waving one's arms, dispensing with, for reasons he does not make clear, a *Generalbass* accompaniment.

To further advance his position, Küthen posits that the figured-bass notation in the autograph of the Concerto No. 5 can only have the pedagogical import he assigns these notations in his remarks in the *Neue Gesamtausgabe*. He points to the random and spotty nature of the figuring and concludes that it therefore represents a “second layer” of composition that has no “practical relevance for performance” but functions merely as a didactic tool, in this case for the edification of the Archduke Rudolph:

Note that the various additions of figured bass and *Einschnitte* are scattered throughout the manuscript: rather than being systematic or continuous, they occur instead at the most prominent moments of compositional interest. The implications of these choices, touching on a broad range of musical elements in this concerto, point toward the didactic nature of Beethoven's purposes here.<sup>444</sup>

This is one possible interpretation; yet as various scholars have pointed out, the mere absence of figures is not in and of itself proof of the absence of continuo

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<sup>443</sup> Ferguson, “The Classical Keyboard Concerto,” 439. For a more complete discussion of the relationship between the autograph scores and the first printed parts in these concertos, Ferguson refers to her dissertation. See Ferguson, “Col Basso,” pp. 243-73 and 297-307.

<sup>444</sup> Küthen, “Gradus,” 150-51. The term *Einschnitte* refers to marks made in the score by Beethoven to delineate phrasing and / or harmonic structure; this practice corresponds to that mentioned by Türk in his *Clavierschule* of 1789. Küthen points to Türk's didactic use of this symbol as proof of his view on the figured-bass notation. See 155-59.



accompaniment.<sup>445</sup> To be sure, in an evolving *Generalbass* system that had apparently reached an advanced stage with the composition of the Concerto No. 5, it would seem prudent and eminently functional if the only explicit figures to appear were those that called attention to “the most prominent moments of compositional interest.” Indeed, such *Generalbass* indications would, in all probability, be the only ones worth explicit notation; others would be routine and commonplace, rendering their notation superfluous, even for a student such as the Archduke. Further, it should be pointed out that the various functions that these figured-bass and *Generalbass* notations imply – pedagogical, compositional, or directorial – need not necessarily be viewed as mutually exclusive. One need not revert to silent direction simply because the figures disappear (unless, of course, this occurs according to the conventions of *Generalbass* accompaniment, i.e., at places marked *tasto solo*). Clearly, Beethoven’s use of figures as a teaching aid to the Archduke does not preclude their compositional importance nor the *Generalbass* / directorial function they may represent. That they may well be “particularly apt for a pupil’s instruction”<sup>446</sup> does not make them any less functional or, indeed, artistic with respect to any notion of the work as a unified entity.<sup>447</sup>

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<sup>445</sup> One of the most famous scholarly statements along these lines can be found in James Webster, “On the absence of keyboard continuo in Haydn’s symphonies,” *Early Music* 18 (1990), 599-608. Webster, in fact, sets out to prove the opposite of my statement above; however, concerning his thesis that Haydn did not intend for a keyboard continuo to be present in his early symphonies, as many modern scholars have postulated, Webster is obliged to make the following caveat: “I must ask readers to grant me the benefit of the doubt on one point: my thesis, being a ‘negative,’ cannot be *proved*; the ‘evidence’ constitutes primarily the absence of those indications we should expect to find if he had employed a continuo, and is otherwise indirect and circumstantial.” See 600.

<sup>446</sup> Küthen, “Gradus,” 155.

<sup>447</sup> Or, to explore another side to this argument, if, as Küthen suggests, these figured-bass notations represent merely a “didactic layer,” why do we not encounter them in other works that might have been similarly suitable for instruction? Why, for example, no figured-bass notations at “moments of compositional interest” in the Piano Sonata, Op. 81a, which also has associations with the Archduke Rudolph. Surely there are such opportunities in this work; if these figures were not to have been interpreted in Beethoven’s time as performance indications, why not use them instructionally in a sonata context as well as in a concerto?

### III. Theoretical and Performance-Practice Materials of Beethoven and the Next Generation

#### a) Beethoven and the *Materialen zum Generalbass*

Clearly Beethoven was fluent in the language of *Generalbass* accompaniment. The list of *Generalbass* indications provided by Szász in the above-mentioned article (see note 437) includes such staples of the practice as *tasto solo* (designating a cessation of right-hand accompaniment), *unisono* (right-hand duplication of the left-hand part in as many octaves as desired; no harmony), and *all'ottava* (continuo activity achieved through the parallel duplication of the cello line an octave higher). These terms were codified by Beethoven for his own compositional purposes – as well as for use in teaching<sup>448</sup> – in the 1809 collection known as the *Materialen zum Generalbass*. The *Materialen* consist not of original exercises by Beethoven himself; rather, this volume is a compilation assembled from past theorists such as C. P. E. Bach, Marpurg, Kirnberger, and Albrechtsberger.<sup>449</sup>

The *Materialen* are most easily accessible today through the edition of Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried, which was published in 1832 under the title *Ludwig van Beethoven's Studien im Generalbasse, Contrapuncte und in der Compositions-Lehre*. The title page states that the volume was “compiled and edited from the handwritten estate papers” of Beethoven.<sup>450</sup> This would seem to be corroborated by Gustav Nottebohm, who considered the matter in an article that appeared in the *Allgemeine musikalische*

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<sup>448</sup> Presumably, as discussed above, this material would have been for the edification of his most notable – in fact, only – composition student, the Archduke Rudolph. See Richard Kramer, “Notes on Beethoven's Education,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975), 72-101. See 97.

<sup>449</sup> Joseph Kerman, et al., “Beethoven,” §.18, *NGD*, Vol. 3. Similar borrowings from these theorists can also be seen in the *Landsberg 5* manuscript. See Clemens Brenneis, ed., *Ludwig van Beethoven: Ein Skizzenbuch aus dem Jahre 1809 (Landsberg 5) II: Übertragung / Kommentar* (Bonn: Brietkopf und Härtel, 1992), pp. 45-46.

<sup>450</sup> Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried, ed., *Ludwig van Beethoven's Studien im Generalbasse, Contrapuncte und in der Compositions-Lehre: Aus dessen handschriftlichem Nachlasse gesammelt und herausgegeben von Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried* (Vienna: T. Haslinger, 1832).

*Zeitschrift* on 7 October 1863.<sup>451</sup> He reports that in November 1827, an estate sale of Beethoven's papers was held. Lot Number 149 of the listings carried the title "Contrapunctische Aufsätze; Fünf grosse Packets." These were purchased by the publisher Tobias Haslinger for 70 Gulden; later, ownership devolved to his son, Carl Haslinger, from whom Nottebohm gained access for his own inspection.<sup>452</sup>

From this collection, three notebooks can be found pertaining to the subjects of *Generalbass*, harmony, and counterpoint. These are written throughout in Beethoven's hand, and from the condition of the notebooks and the characteristics of the writing, all seem to come from the same period in the composer's life. After comparing the manuscript notebooks to Seyfried's edition, Nottebohm concludes that for the most part, this edition does indeed reflect Beethoven's studies in *Generalbass*, compiled from the authors listed above; this is not altered by the fact that hardly a sentence in the text goes unchanged by Seyfried.<sup>453</sup>

The *Generalbasslehre* is presented first in Seyfried's edition. It looks very much like other such treatises we have discussed, beginning with a list of common figured-bass designations and spending a good deal of time with such matters as the oft-cited *Telemannische Bogen* – a common figured-bass notation that demonstrates a connecting link from the theoretical nomenclature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to that

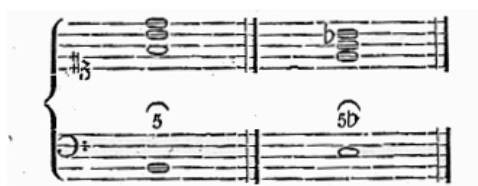
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<sup>451</sup> Gustav Nottebohm, "Beethoven's theoretische Studien," *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*, Nr. 41 (Leipzig: 7 October 1863). A second edition of this material was issued in 1852 by the Leipzig publishing house of J. Schubeth & Co., edited (in English) by Hugo Pierson. This was followed by a third edition in 1880 from the same publisher, edited this time by Louis Köhler (in German). Both of these editions are abbreviated in their presentation of the material when compared with the 1832 edition, particularly in the chapters on harmony and counterpoint. However, the presentation of the *Generalbass* materials discussed here is identical in all editions, though the order may be changed. See Ludwig van Beethoven, *Studien im Generalbass, Contrapunkt und der Composition*, Louis Köhler, ed. (Leipzig: J. Schubeth & Co., 1880), "Vorwort zur Dritten Ausgabe."

<sup>452</sup> Nottebohm, "Beethoven's theoretische Studien."

<sup>453</sup> Ibid.

of the early nineteenth. It is described by Beethoven as primarily a notation for the fully diminished triad (*der weichen verminderten Dreyklang, mit der kleinen Terz und der kleinen Quinte*),<sup>454</sup> as seen below:



Example 3-4: Beethoven / Seyfried, p. 12

The idea that all chords are derived from two *Grundaccorde* – borrowing terminology from Marpurg – is presented quite unequivocally by Beethoven:

*Grundaccorde* are those from which all others are derived. There are only two of these; the complete, perfect, pure triad 8 / 5 / 3, and the seventh chord 7 / 5 / 3; all remaining [chords], which are derived from these, are called inversions or *Nebenaccorde*.<sup>455</sup>

By this we understand that the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth chords are for Beethoven exactly what they were for Marpurg – ancillary verticalities or *Nebenaccorde* that arise from the supposition of intervals beneath a *Grundaccorde*, the seventh chord. This is arrived at in the same manner as with Marpurg:

The ninth chord is formed by adding a third under the root (*Grundton*) of a seventh chord:<sup>456</sup>



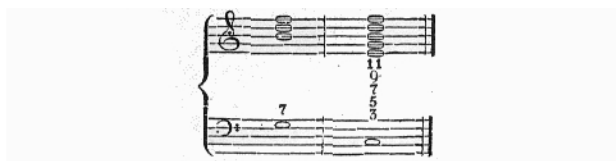
Example 3-5a: Beethoven / Seyfried, p. 70

<sup>454</sup> Beethoven / Seyfried, *Beethoven's Studien*, pp. 12-13. Beethoven goes on to describe other uses for the *Telemannischen Bogen*, including as an indication of incomplete chords (*unvollständige Accorde*) and suspensions (*Vorhalten*).

<sup>455</sup> Ibid., Chapter 3, p. 21. "Grundaccorde sind diejenigen, von welchen andere abstammen. Es gibt deren nur zwey: der vollkommene, perfecte, reine Dreyklänge 8 / 5 / 3, und der Septimenaccord 7 / 5 / 3; alle übrigen, von derselben hergeleitete heissen Versetzungen oder Nebenaccorde."

<sup>456</sup> Ibid., Chapter 10, p. 70. "Der Nonenaccord entsteht durch das Hinzufügen einer Terz unter den Grundton eines Septimenaccordes[.]" The terminology is similar to Marpurg's description of this supposed third as a "hinzugefügte Terz von unten." See Marpurg, *Handbuch*, pp. 24-25.

The eleventh chord is formed by adding a fifth and (the intervening) third below a seventh harmony:<sup>457</sup>



Example 3-5b: Beethoven / Seyfried, p. 70

The thirteenth chord is formed by adding a seventh, fifth, and third beneath the root of a fundamental seventh chord:<sup>458</sup>



Example 3-5c: Beethoven / Seyfried, p. 72

All of this is recognized within the context of a Kirnbergerian fundamental-bass conception, which Beethoven spells out quite clearly immediately following his declaration of the primacy of the two *Grundaccorde*:

If one writes a bass that indicates only the triads and seventh harmonies, then this is the true basic (*Grund-*) or fundamental bass (*oder Fundamentalbass*); e.g.<sup>459</sup>



Example 3-6: Beethoven / Seyfried, p. 21

We can see from a comparison with J. M. Bach's theory of the eleventh chord the ways in which, through inversion and omission of certain intervals, the two approaches are

<sup>457</sup> Ibid., Chapter 10, p. 70. "Der Undecimenaccord entsteht durch das Hinzufügen einer Quinte, und (der dazwischen liegenden) Terz unter eine Septimen-Harmonie[.]"

<sup>458</sup> Ibid., Chapter 10, p. 72. "Der Terzdecimen-Accord entsteht durch Hinzufügen einer Septimen, Quinte und Terz unter den Grundton der Stamm-Septimen-Harmonie[.]"

<sup>459</sup> Ibid., Chapter 3, p. 21. "Schreibt man einen Bass, worin bloss Dreyklänge und Septimen-Harmonien vorkommen, so ist dieses der wahre Grund- oder Fundamentalbass; z. B."

similar. Beethoven, for example, derives from the abbreviated version of the eleventh chord shown below the *Generalbass* figuration 5 / 4. Similarly, he derives the 5 / 2 from an abbreviated inversion of this *Nebenaccord*. J. M. Bach arrives at the same formation, despite his different notion about the genesis of the eleventh chord, which he claims arises from the addition of three thirds atop a tonic triad (see Chapter 1, pp. 75-77).



Example 3-7a and b: 5 / 4 and 5 / 2, in Beethoven / Seyfried, p. 71

§. 4. Der Septimen-Accord auf der Tonica (wenn demselben noch ein paar Terzen von oben zugefügt werden), kan ferner vor den Stamm-Accord des  $\frac{9}{4}$  Accordes stehen.

Aus der Umkehrung des ersten entsteht:

Der 7ten Ac- cord kan auch von demselben abgeleitet werden.

Umkehr.

Der

Stamm-Accord.

7 9 8 4 3

6 7 8

5 4 3 2 5 6

Ex. 3-7c: 5 / 4 and 5 / 2, J. M. Bach, *Kurze . . . Anleitung*, p.14

Thus Beethoven demonstrates his allegiance to the linear and gravitational aspects of fundamental-bass theory, in the manner of Kirnberger, rather than merely recognizing the fundamental bass as a way of describing verticalities. The strong *Generalbass* traditions inherent in treatises such as that of J. M. Bach can be reconciled and reinterpreted within the newer concepts of the day and thereby made practicable for an ensuing generation of composers, Beethoven foremost among them.

Beethoven's discussion of modulation, although admittedly brief, is particularly revealing. Beethoven follows Kirnberger closely in this section, which occurs at the very end in Seyfried's edition; he positions the concept of supposition as an aid to the

modulatory process, notably where rapid modulation to remote keys involves enharmonic respellings. He states the following;

For enharmonic modulation, the *Septnonen-Accord* is especially well-suited:



Examples 3-8a and b: Beethoven / Seyfried, p. 73

What Beethoven shows in this example is that by reinterpreting certain notes enharmonically, different versions of the ninth chord can be derived. For instance, by reinterpreting the  $E^b$  in the first progression (Ex. 3-8a) as  $D^\sharp$  in the second (Ex. 3-8b), a new ninth chord with a root a third below the previous root can be formed. This is exactly as is presented in Kirnberger's *Kunst des reinen Satzes*, with the following explanation:

Each of these four roots is the dominant of a particular tonic to which the chord resolves at the cadence. Thus it is possible to close directly from this chord in four keys: (1) in G when D is the root; (2) in E when B is the root; (3) in  $C^\sharp$  when  $G^\sharp$  is the root; and (4) in  $B^b$  major when F is the root.<sup>460</sup>

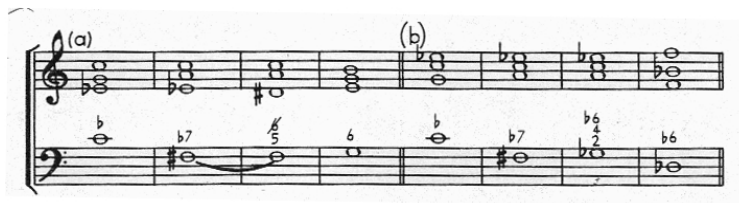


Example 3-9: Kirnberger / Beach & Thym, *The Art*, p. 146

Beethoven's next example, presented under the heading "Inverted Modulations" (*Verwechselte Ausweichung*), is also identical to a corresponding example in Kirnberger's treatise:

If the first inversion of such a 9 / 7 chord is used instead of [having] one of its roots in the bass, the ninth then becomes the seventh. Thus, instead of closing to the tonic of the actual root, it is possible to arrive at a completely foreign tonic by means of an enharmonic shift, as can be seen clearly in [the example below].

<sup>460</sup> Beach & Thym, *The Art of Strict Composition*, p. 146.

Example 3-10a: Kirnberger / Beach & Thym, *The Art*, p. 147

Verwechselte Ausweichungen :



Example 3-10b: Beethoven / Seyfried, p. 73

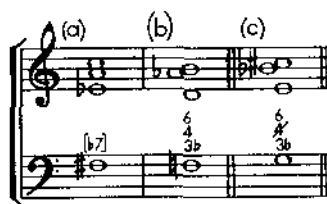
In the first progression, the second chord is really the 9 / 7 chord on D, but in its inversion, where the ninth has now become the seventh. Instead of resolving downward immediately like a suspension, the ninth is held over to the next chord. In the third chord, this ninth is enharmonically changed from E<sup>b</sup> to D<sup>#</sup>, whereby the chord becomes a 9 / 7 chord on B, which is used here in its second inversion. From here it must lead to a close on E, while the same chord without the enharmonic shift (if it had remained as in the second measure) would have caused a close on G.

In the second progression, another enharmonic shift occurs in the third measure. Here the bass note is really the ninth of F, the dominant of B<sup>b</sup>, to which the close occurs.<sup>461</sup>

Having shown that it is possible to reach remote keys quite quickly in this manner,

Kirnberger allows for the possibility of a seventh chord that does not lead to the desired remote chord by recommending the procedure illustrated in the following example:

If a given diminished-seventh chord does not lead to the desired remote chord, another chord of this type can immediately be obtained by moving the first chord up or down by a half step, from which one can go to four new keys.<sup>462</sup>

Example 3-11: Kirnberger / Beach & Thym, *The Art*, p. 148

<sup>461</sup> Ibid., pp. 146-47.

<sup>462</sup> Ibid., pp. 147-48.





concertos (Example 3-13). In this method of notation, the keyboard tutti bass, whether figured or unfigured, “was always printed or engraved in the same (large) note sizes as the solo passages.”<sup>465</sup> This provided the greatest artistic latitude to the performer:

5 Beethoven, Grand/CONCERT/POUR LE  
PIANO-FORTE/. /Oeuvre 15 (Bonn: Simrock,  
[1801], VN:187)



Example 3-13: Beethoven, Piano Concerto No. 1, Op. 15, 1801

Deceptively simple in appearance, this notation demanded by far the greatest expertise on the part of the soloist, who was expected to improvise or work out beforehand a harmonic accompaniment in support of the tutti orchestra (or more specifically, the tutti string orchestra).<sup>466</sup>

This would have been the method of realization by the accomplished Kapellmeister, not the new breed of solo virtuoso, who, owing to the changing performance circumstances commented on above, may have had little knowledge of thoroughbass accompaniment.<sup>467</sup>

Surely Beethoven belonged to the former category; his engagement with *Generalbass* accompaniment clearly implied in this notation speaks directly to his roots as an orchestral accompanist.<sup>468</sup>

<sup>465</sup> Ferguson, “The Classical Keyboard Concerto,” 440. Szász concurs. In speaking of the first four concertos and the Triple Concerto, he states the following: “Whether figured or unfigured, the *basso continuo* line is engraved with the same size noteheads as the solo passage.”

<sup>466</sup> Ibid.

<sup>467</sup> Ibid., 438.

<sup>468</sup> Ferguson is quite adamant on this point: “By omitting a thoroughbass part where one is written, by entrusting the direction of the orchestra to the leader or to the conductor with baton, we cast ourselves in the role of either fledgling amateur, who could meet challenges only as his natural talents permit, or the traveling showman, who for all his musicianly prowess was incapable of realizing two lines of a thoroughbass part. Who would not prefer to be remembered instead as the consummate artist who possessed

In response to Küthen's arguments, Paul Badura-Skoda offers a succinct objection:

The irony of the situation concerning the current discussion [as to the use of *Generalbass* accompaniment] is that, as a musician, I would thoroughly sympathize with Mr. Küthen's position, if I could see in Beethoven's concertos, even in a few places, an indication that *Generalbass* should never occur during the *tutti*.<sup>469</sup>

Mention must of course be made regarding the importance of the explicit figured bass notation in the Concerto No. 5 *vis-à-vis* the correct harmony intended by the composer:

Contrary to popular belief, the right hand does not play only pitches that are already present in the combined harmony of the horizontal obbligato voices. [Through the correct realization of these figures], the keyboard continuo [creates] a harmonic fullness that cannot be achieved by a mere increase in the size of the string section or by any other method short of a Romantic type of reorchestration. . . . [A]ny notion that a correct continuo performance should be seen but not heard evokes the false image of a Beethoven engaged in the pursuit of pure *Augenmusik*.<sup>470</sup>

In other words, if these figures were purely didactic in intent, they would presumably only reflect the harmony present in the obbligato orchestral voices. This is clearly not the case, as demonstrated by Szász in numerous examples. Here we find perhaps the most compelling reason for the realization of any figured bass part – to insure that the proper harmony be adequately and completely conveyed to the listener.

This is especially true in the context of the composer's attempt to convey a unified whole, capable of transmitting the desired affect to the audience by way of any number of musical "functions," as Taruskin terms them. A basic example of how

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the rare combined skills of virtuoso and Kapellmeister?" See Ferguson, "The Classical Keyboard Concerto," 444.

<sup>469</sup> Paul Badura-Skoda, "Zur Rolle der Continuo-Notierungen in Beethovens Klavierkonzerten," *Das Orchester* 37 (1989), 207-8. "Das Ironische an der nun zur Diskussion stehenden Situation aber ist die Tatsache, dass ich als Musiker mit dem Standpunkt Herrn Küthens durchaus sympathisiere, habe ich doch Beethovens Klavierkonzerte, von einigen wenigen Stellen abgesehen, nie mit Generalbassspiel während der *Tutti* aufgeführt."

<sup>470</sup> Szász, "Figured Bass in Beethoven's 'Emperor' Concerto," 29-30.

Beethoven accomplished this can be found in his treatment of the tutti sections of his piano concertos. With the proper realization of the figured or unfigured bass, the performer can establish a link with the concerto genres in much the same way as Beethoven had in the works presented at the 7 May 1824 concert discussed above. In the long tuttis of the first movement of the Emperor Concerto, for example, the continuo is present essentially “to integrate the keyboard as part and parcel of the Classical orchestral family of instruments; thus the word *tutti* still retains the literal meaning of ‘everyone’ which it had during the Baroque era.” Here, the soloist participates fully, utilizing both hands for the most part, only occasionally playing with the left hand alone. In the corresponding short tuttis, however, which are described as “stretches of soloistic activity . . . in which the soloist never reverts to playing continuo chords with the right hand,” we experience the characteristic alternation of contrasting orchestral ripienos and what Szász has termed “solo blocks.”<sup>471</sup> This texture, first seen in Mozart’s treatment of tutti sections in his piano concertos, represents a paradigmatic shift, a transitional phase of development in the concerto style that calls upon the listener to assimilate aspects of the older styles as well as the new:

Aesthetically, this treatment of the tuttis places Mozart’s [and Beethoven’s] idea of the Classical concerto halfway between the Baroque and Romantic concertos. With the left hand still a member of the string bass section, but the right hand already dissociated from the orchestral mass, the Janus-like image of the classical soloist in such short tuttis represents a perfect aural and visual symbol of classical aesthetics. Rather than adopting the extremes of the Baroque (total integration of the solist in tuttis long and short) or of the Romantics (total dissociation of the soloist in tuttis long and short), Mozart’s treatment of the tuttis affords alternately the total integration (long tuttis) and the partial or total dissociation (short tuttis) of the soloist from the orchestral mass.<sup>472</sup>

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<sup>471</sup> Szász, “Figured Bass,” 42. Szász differentiates between “long” tuttis, such as the orchestral exposition and “short” tuttis, which recur in the context of a larger soloistic section.

<sup>472</sup> *Ibid.*, 43. Szász goes on to emphasize that Mozart’s principles “govern the treatment of short tuttis in [Beethoven’s] ‘Emperor’ [Concerto]” as well.

Expanding on this concept, Eisen presents the following idea, a more refined version of the statement above:

Mozart's continuo notation ascribes not two but three functions to the keyboard: a purely continuo function, a purely soloistic function, and a third function – something between the two – a kind of soloistic continuo, where the keyboard “plays along” with the orchestra but nevertheless retains its own distinctive voice, whether through rhythmic differences . . . or through figuration . . . And this may have implications for how we understand other passages in the concertos; . . . it may be that the triple function of the soloist is not restricted to successive passages, to blocks of material, long or short, that follow on from each other, but can be split between the hands at any particular time. . . . In this formulation, sound, not form, takes centre stage.<sup>473</sup>

I believe that Eisen's observation, reinforcing as it does the *ripieno* / *solo* features of the concerto format, offers insight into the continued usage of figured bass throughout the mid to late nineteenth century. Many textural, structural, rhythmic, melodic, and harmonic implications can be derived from the presence of the continuo in Beethoven's piano concertos, pointing directly to our previous conclusion; the piano concertos of Beethoven and his contemporaries represent the cutting edge of compositional thought at the time. They balance the ideals of continuity and progress in a remarkably effective manner. The inclusion of basso continuo in these works is a driving force in the realization of the new paradigm.

The prevailing view today takes a variety of aspects of the basso continuo into account when evaluating its presence in the Beethoven concertos. Objections to the realization of Beethoven's authentic figured-bass notation are effectively countered by many scholars. For example, in response to claims that the soloist no longer occupies the role of director (conductor) in modern ensembles, it has been pointed out that from an acoustical and textural standpoint, composers such as Beethoven were quite intent on

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<sup>473</sup> Eisen, “The primacy of performance,” 118-19.

preserving the well-established sound complex of the Classical concerto for various expressive and rhetorical reasons and perhaps for hermeneutical purposes as well.

[B]ecause certain sound effects in Classical symphonic orchestration were assigned exclusively to the keyboard, continuo must be present regardless of whether the tuttis are led by conductor, concertmaster, or soloist.<sup>474</sup>

To answer the argument that the keyboard instrument's inability to blend into the orchestral sound is a drawback, it is noted that "the keyboard's distinctive sound is the very quality that ensured its effectiveness in orchestral leadership"; objections are merely a reflection of the modern taste for a more "homogenized" sound.<sup>475</sup> And to the opposite claim, that the keyboard instrument cannot be heard through an orchestral texture, passages from C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch* concerning the keyboard's importance to orchestral texture are readily invoked.<sup>476</sup>

One final point concerns Beethoven's ties to the Viennese theorists alluded to above. Beethoven's close association with Albrechtsberger is well documented; less well known are his connections to the Austrian composer and pedagogue E. A. Förster and to Ambros Matthias Rieder, the Viennese instrumentalist and composer, whose *Anleitung zur richtigen Begleitung der vorgeschriebenen Kirchengesänge wie auch zum Generalbass* of 1830 contains many similarities to Beethoven's *Materialen*, particularly in regard to the use of the fundamental bass. Rieder was a well-known figure in Viennese society and would have had many occasions for interaction with Beethoven, especially owing to his position as violist in Ignaz Schuppanzigh's quartet, a group that was instrumental in bringing the works of

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<sup>474</sup> Szász, "Figured Bass in Beethoven's Emperor Concerto: Basso Continuo or Orchestral Cues?," 38.

<sup>475</sup> Ibid.

<sup>476</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 59, note 137.

Beethoven into the public consciousness.<sup>477</sup> That the theoretical concepts shared by these prominent musicians found practical means of expression seems no great leap of the imagination.

### **b) Hummel, Mendelssohn, and Chopin**

As the nineteenth century progressed, the *Generalbass* associations still predominant in Beethoven's generation began to fade. Some from the older school, notably the Austrian composer and pedagogue Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778-1837), clung for the most part to the older conventions. It was not until Hummel's last concerto – Opus 113, 1830 – that he completely abandoned the old *Generalbass* notation that was common for piano concertos of the eighteenth century and still an integral part of Beethoven's works in the genre. Hummel had every expectation that the piano soloist would accompany the orchestra in the *tutti*s, as was his own custom.<sup>478</sup>

In his Opus 113, Hummel replaced the older *Generalbass* notation with a small-note *Clavierauszug*, and though his publisher produced an edition that showed the soloist at rest during the *tutti*s, this was not Hummel's intention, as noted above. The change from *Generalbass* notation in printed editions of the early to mid nineteenth century to such small-note representations is well documented by Ferguson.<sup>479</sup> It can be seen in piano concertos well into the century. The purpose was quite utilitarian: the small-note

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<sup>477</sup> Christian Fastl, "Ambros Matthias Rieder," *MGG* 14, pp. 49-50. Fastl does not state during which years Rieder performed with Schuppanzigh's quartet, but he does note that he had considerable contact with the great master in addition to this. In his article on Schuppanzigh, however, Knittel does not mention Rieder's name in connection with the quartet; see K. M. Knittel, "Ignaz Schuppanzigh," *NGD*, Vol. 22, pp. 818-19. For more on Rieder's treatise, see Chapter 4, pp. 325ff.

<sup>478</sup> Ferguson, "Col Basso," pp. 274-78. "In every [concerto from Opus 17 through and including Opus 113, Hummel] demanded that the soloist participate as *tutti ripienest* and *Generalbass* player." See p. 277.

<sup>479</sup> Ferguson, "Col Basso," see particularly pp. 220ff. Ferguson points out that developments in the printing process are crucial to the replacement of *Generalbass* notation in concerto editions, beginning in the late eighteenth century. Following that line of reasoning, Ferguson notes that some have declared the Beethoven editions produced in Vienna with conventional *Generalbass* figures products of these earlier printing practices. Ferguson does not concur with this opinion, nor do I. See pp. 241-42.

*Clavierauszug* was meant to serve as a tool for the performance of a concerto with limited accompaniment – by strings alone – or even with no accompaniment at all.<sup>480</sup>

This arrangement can be seen in works as late as Felix Mendelssohn's 1833 concerto Opus 25. His intentions are made clear in a letter to his publisher, Breitkopf & Härtel, in which he specifically points to this arrangement:

I . . . ask that the winds be engraved from the score and that the engraver be told to take seriously to heart my comments pasted on at the beginning. The strings and pianoforte, on the other hand, must be engraved from the enclosed manuscript parts, because I have included small notes there to make the piece playable also simply with string accompaniment.<sup>481</sup>

Mendelssohn was no stranger to the concepts of *Generalbass* accompaniment; indeed, it was an integral part of his early training, as it had been for Beethoven. Mendelssohn's principal teacher, the German composer and conductor Carl Zelter (1758-1832), was clearly a member of the old school, relying heavily on thoroughbass exercises for his course of instruction. The chief sources for his pedagogical principles were Kirnberger's *Kunst* and Marpurg's *Abhandlung von der Fuge*.<sup>482</sup> In the figured-bass exercises Mendelssohn completed for Zelter, the influence of Kirnberger is particularly evident; while he would add thoroughbass figures to a bass line and then construct three- and four-part realizations above it, he would also supply a staff below the bass line on which to indicate root movement of the fundamental bass according to Kirnberger's principles.<sup>483</sup>

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<sup>480</sup> Ferguson, "Col Basso," p. 285.

<sup>481</sup> Ferguson, "Col Basso," p. 285. The quote is taken from Felix Mendelssohn, *Briefe an deutsche Verleger*, ed. Rudolph Elvers (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968), p. 22. Translation by Ferguson.

<sup>482</sup> R. Larry Todd, *Mendelssohn: A Life in Music* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 44. "Essentially, Zelter served as a musical hyphen to connect Felix to eighteenth-century German musical culture, epitomized by J. S. Bach and expounded in the music theory of the Berliners Kirnberger and Marpurg. Figured bass, chorale, and counterpoint formed the triangular foundation of that tradition and thus of Zelter's instructional method."

<sup>483</sup> Todd, *Mendelssohn*, p. 45.



Mendelssohn's early works also exhibit the conservative style that was the hallmark of his teacher's compositions. Among these pieces are the string symphonies, six of which were completed by Mendelssohn by the time he was twelve years old. According to contemporary accounts,<sup>484</sup> these works were performed as part of the Sunday musicales that took place at the Mendelssohn residence. Todd explains:

Felix led the ensemble from a piano, where he provided a continuo part by playing the bass line and improvising a harmonic accompaniment above, to substitute for the missing winds. The archaic genre of the string symphony, use of the obsolescent continuo, reliance on monothematic sonata form and baroque "spinning out" of the thematic material all reflect Zelter's conservative guidance. And the eighteenth-century antecedents of the *sinfonie* – admixtures of C. P. E. and J. S. Bach, Mozart, and Haydn – also betray the teacher's tastes.<sup>485</sup>

The account is an instructive one, although the characterization of continuo practice as "obsolescent" might be called into question. For indeed, the continuo presence, as well as other style points mentioned by Todd, might well have been used deliberately to conjure up a certain effect.

This is true in another of Mendelssohn's early works that employs basso continuo, the *Te Deum* of 1826. The piece was written for the Berlin *Singakademie*, which performed under Zelter's direction beginning in 1800.<sup>486</sup> According to Todd, Zelter was in the habit of supporting this vocal group with a basso continuo accompaniment in the old manner; Mendelssohn performed the work with the *Singakademie* in 1829, presiding at the piano, as did his teacher.<sup>487</sup>

Todd cites as inspiration for this work Handel's *Dettingen Te Deum* of 1747 and points to several Handelian characteristics, including a walking bass line and such complex

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<sup>484</sup> Adolf Bernhard Marx, *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Berlin: O. Janke, 1865), Vol. I, pp. 111-12.

<sup>485</sup> Todd, *Mendelssohn*, p. 61.

<sup>486</sup> Hans-Günter Ottenberg, "Carl Zelter," *NGD*, Vol. 27, pp 781-83.

<sup>487</sup> Todd, *Mendelssohn*, p. 157.

contrapuntal textures as double fugues.<sup>488</sup> Perhaps an even more direct line can be drawn to this work from Handel's *Utrecht Te Deum* of 1713, which Zelter arranged for eight voices in order to accommodate the forces of the *Singakademie*. Many Baroque-related or Handelian characteristics in Mendelssohn's *Te Deum* can be seen as allusions to Handel's work; the opening bars of Mendelssohn's piece are closely related to sections of Handel's *Utrecht Te Deum*.<sup>489</sup>



Example 3-14a: Mendelssohn, *Te Deum*, mm. 1ff.



Example 3-14b: Handel, *Utrecht Te Deum*, No. 10, Chorus, mm 1ff.

In addition, it is known that the initial performances of Mendelssohn's *Te Deum* involved a continuo part improvised from the grand piano that was available at the *Singakademie* building, with Mendelssohn himself directing in this manner.<sup>490</sup> As can be seen in the above example, the continuo line is unfigured. Mendelssohn also reverts to a *basso seguente*, doubling the vocal basses, at convenient places in the score, attesting to his familiarity with this long-standing convention. Whether or not Mendelssohn employed melodic bass instruments as part of this continuo is a matter for speculation;

<sup>488</sup> Ibid.

<sup>489</sup> Barbara Mohn, ed., *Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy: Te Deum* (Stuttgart: Carus-Verlag, 1997), "Foreword," p. V.

<sup>490</sup> The *Singakademie* did not acquire an organ until 1876, though this would have been the preferred continuo instrument. See Mohn, *Te Deum*, p. VI.

none of the early accounts enlightens us on these details. However, Mohn quotes the following from a description by Zelter of the performance of a Mass by C. F. Fasch that was similar in its polychoral style and its use of a figured *basso seguente*:

If a Contraviolon is added to each choir for certainty of intonation, the instrumentalists must be familiar with church music and willing to match their playing to the voices. With us [the *Singakademie*] this music has always been accompanied by a good grand piano, or in church by the organ.<sup>491</sup>

As Mohn states in her edition of the *Te Deum*, whereas Mendelssohn probably did not employ other low-register instruments such as a violone or cello, their use in modern performances of this work, especially with larger choral forces, is completely appropriate. Continuo lines are also provided in later *a cappella* works by Mendelssohn; the autograph score of his *Ave Maria*, Op. 23 (1830), includes a figured continuo line, and an unfigured continuo line is furnished for the *Hora est* (1828).<sup>492</sup>

As with the Beethoven works discussed in this chapter, it would seem clear that the continuo presence itself might be a valuable and affective hermeneutical device to convey an image of *Altmusik* classicism. Indeed, that was the explicit purpose for Mendelssohn's restoration of the organ part in Handel's oratorio *Solomon* for a performance at the Lower Rhine Music Festival in Cologne on 7-8 June 1835. The concert was advertised as an authentic recreation of Handelian performance practices; certainly not by chance, Beethoven's *Consecration of the House* overture appeared on this program as well.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>491</sup> Mohn, *Te Deum*, p. VI.

<sup>492</sup> Ibid. See especially n. 10.

<sup>493</sup> Todd, *Mendelssohn*, pp. 303-4. Mendelssohn's restoration of continuo to replace wind parts in the Handel arrangements that proliferated at the turn of the nineteenth century would continue with *Israel in Egypt*. In the Preface to his edition of this work, Mendelssohn states: "I have written [the organ part] down in the manner in which I would play it, were I called upon to do so at a performance of this Oratorio. These works ought of course never to be performed without an Organ, as they are done in Germany, where additional wind instruments are introduced to make up for the defect. In England the Organist plays usually

The piano concertos of Fryderyk Chopin (1810-1849) also suggest the cultivation of traditional methods. During his days at the Warsaw Conservatory, which he entered in 1826, Chopin was trained in thoroughbass practices by Vaclav Wilhelm Würfel.<sup>494</sup> He was also well versed in the *Generalbass* performance practices of the old masters of the Viennese school and is known to have performed works that required keyboard participation in the tuttis.<sup>495</sup> Goldberg has determined that, in preparing his piano concertos for performance, Chopin arranged the performance parts with several possible configurations in mind: a full orchestral performance; a performance (or rehearsal) utilizing a string quartet plus double bass, with the keyboardist providing the missing wind parts; a double quartet plus bass; or a rendition solely for piano. This insight renders previously problematic aspects of some extant performance parts for the concertos quite understandable.<sup>496</sup> Whereas Ferguson had come to the conclusion that Chopin's performance environment would have required the soloist to rest in the tuttis during an orchestral (or reduced, chamber) presentation of the concertos, Goldberg feels that Chopin's grounding in *Generalbass* traditions would indicate the opposite.<sup>497</sup>

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*ad libitum* from the Score, as it seems to have been done in Handel's time." See Todd, *Mendelssohn*, p. 476 and note 140 on pp. 619-20.

<sup>494</sup> Halina Goldberg, "Chamber Arrangements of Chopin's Concert Works," *Journal of Musicology* 19 (2002), 39-84. Würfel was Chopin's organ teacher in Warsaw beginning around 1823; though Würfel was on the Conservatory staff at that time, he reportedly left for Vienna just as Chopin was officially enetering the Conservatory in 1826. Apparently, in any event, it was customary for Conservatory students to take their thoroughbass and theory courses through the University. See Jim Samson, *Chopin* (New York: Schirmer, 1996), pp. 14, 20. Whenever the actual figured-bass instruction may have occurred, the point remains the same.

<sup>495</sup> Goldberg, "Chamber Arrangements," 70. Goldberg cites the Piano Concerto in E minor by Adalbert Voytech Gyrowetz (1763-1850) as an example. Gyrowetz was Bohemian by birth but traveled a good deal during his career and developed a warm friendship with Mozart during a visit to Vienna in 1785 or 1786. He also made the acquaintance of Haydn and Dittersdorf. See Adrienne Simpson / Roger Hickman, "Adalbert Gyrowetz," *NGD*, Vol. 10, pp. 620-22.

<sup>496</sup> Goldberg, "Chamber Arrangements," 68-71.

<sup>497</sup> Ferguson bases her conclusions on the difference in the small-note and large-note presentations in the various editions available in France, England, and Germany during the nineteenth century. "The similarity in origins and performance histories of Opus 11 (*Concerto No. 1 in E minor*) and Opus 21 (*Concerto No. 2 in F minor*) would also lead to the conclusion that the two works were the product of the

The idea of a written-out representation of accompanying chords in the *tutti*s of concertos had been around for a while when Mendelssohn and Chopin made use of it. Even Vogler advocated its use as an alternative to the figured-bass tradition from which he wanted to distance himself.<sup>498</sup> Vogler had concluded that the musical styles of his time had progressed to the point where fast tempos and complex harmonic progressions had rendered the older custom of thoroughbass realization inadequate for the performance of modern compositions. “As the organist scrambles to find his proper notes, he detracts from the music instead of contributing to its strength.” Therefore, a fully realized continuo part, such as the one Vogler provided for his *Deutsche Kirchenmusik*, is more desirable in these cases.<sup>499</sup>

Vogler was not opposed to the texture and sonority of the continuo (fully realized or otherwise) in such works; in other sacred compositions, Vogler sometimes provided a figured bass in the tradition of the Viennese concerted masses that could be found in abundance during the latter half of the eighteenth century. This was not only in service of purely pragmatic, harmonic goals, but for expressive purposes as well; the Graves describes such a work, Vogler’s *Miserere*, thusly:

[In the *Miserere*,] Vogler has not restricted himself to a pure vocal texture. In fact, he readily condoned the support of a figured bass as a means of keeping performers in tune and together in an otherwise unaccompanied fabric; nor did he exclude the possibility of orchestral participation, as witnessed in his optional orchestral parts. For this special, model work, the *continuo* reaches well beyond a merely utilitarian function to become a real textural resource and thus a means of enriching an otherwise austere, homogeneous sound.<sup>500</sup>

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same performance practice, despite their conflicting notations in the German editions. Considering the correctness, in the absolute sense, of the *tutti* notations in the French and English editions of Opus 21 and in all three editions of Opus 11, the performance solution embodied in these undoubtedly more closely approaches the performance solution Chopin himself had in mind, preferred, and expected of others. The soloist was supposed to rest in the *tutti*s.” See Ferguson, “Col Basso,” pp.291-96, especially 295.

<sup>498</sup> Goldberg, “Chamber Arrangements,” 68.

<sup>499</sup> Grave and Grave, *In Praise*, p. 43.

<sup>500</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33.

Since this was a sound that his listeners would have no problem identifying, Vogler could be confident of the affect his continuo texture would convey to listeners.

Whether the persistence of basso continuo practices during the early to mid nineteenth century was for directorial purposes or ensemble purposes or merely a theoretical basis for musical communication and didactic discourse, its universality cannot be overlooked. In a period in which new trends and ideas would take musical expression far beyond the norms of the eighteenth-century masters, the need for structural, theoretical, formal, and hermeneutical devices in the service of expression and for the benefit of the listener cannot be overemphasized. The role that thoroughbass practices continued to play as the century progressed demonstrates this clearly.

#### IV. Questions of *Stufentheorie* vs. *Funktionstheorie*: Preindl's *Wiener Tonschule*, Förster's *Anleitung*, and Drechsler's *Generalbass-Lehre*

Just as the performance tradition of *Generalbass* persisted into the nineteenth century—albeit less pervasively and often in a format in which strict compliance with the older thoroughbass practices was not *de rigueur*—so too did the production of *Generalbass* treatises extend into the 1800s. One of the more interesting is the *Wiener Tonschule* of Joseph Preindl (1827).<sup>501</sup> Born in Marbach in Lower Austria, Preindl received his first musical instruction from his father, an organist. He continued his organ studies as a choirboy at Mariazell, Styria, with F. X. Widerhofer, with whom he also began studies in composition.<sup>502</sup> In 1772, Preindl was appointed to the post of organist at the *Waisenhaus* in Vienna, where he had the opportunity to complete his musical training with Albrechtsberger. He subsequently held a series of organist posts in Vienna and its

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<sup>501</sup> Joseph Preindl, *Wiener Tonschule; oder Anweisung zum Generalbass, zur Harmonie, zum Contrapuncte und der Fugen-Lehre*, ed. Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried (Vienna: Haslinger, 1827).

<sup>502</sup> Uwe Harten, "Josef Preindl," *NGD*, Vol. 20, p. 290.

suburbs; in 1783, he would reunite with Albrechtsberger at the Carmelite church in Leopoldstadt, where the latter held the position of *Regens chori*. The two would serve again in these respective roles at St. Stephen's in Vienna, where Preindl was appointed *Kapellmeister-Adjunkt* in 1795 with a claim to the post of *Domkapellmeister*, which he received upon the death of Albrechtsberger in 1809.<sup>503</sup>

His music was well known in Vienna and generally well received; he was among the favorite composers of Prince Nicholas II of Esterházy and was a highly regarded piano instructor.<sup>504</sup> His music enjoyed wide circulation during his lifetime as well as after and found its way into the repertoire of many musical establishments, among them the monastery at St. Florian, where Anton Bruckner would later encounter them.<sup>505</sup>

The *Wiener Tonschule* was edited by Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried, and by all accounts this was accomplished in such a manner as to make the line between author and editor indistinguishable.<sup>506</sup> Though Seyfried's contribution is thought to be significant in terms of the resulting work, it is nevertheless assumed that most of the ideas adduced represent Preindl's methods, particularly as the treatise so unmistakably bears the stamp of Albrechtsberger's *Generalbass* influence.<sup>507</sup>

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<sup>503</sup> Uwe Harten, "Joseph [Josef] Preindl," *MGG* 2 / 13, pp. 908-10.

<sup>504</sup> Harten, "Preindl," *MGG*.

<sup>505</sup> See Chapter 4 below, particularly p. 280.

<sup>506</sup> Ernst Tittel, "Wiener Musiktheorie von Fux bis Schönberg," *Beiträge zur Musiktheorie des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Martin Vogel (Regensburg: Bosse, 1966), pp. 163-232; see p. 174. "Allerdings wurde die Tonschule erst nach dem Tode Preindls 'gesammelt, bearbeitet, erläutert, vermehrt und ergänzt herausgegeben' von Ignaz Ritter von Seyfried, so dass schwer auszumachen ist, wo die Grenze zwischen beiden Verfassern liegt."

<sup>507</sup> Harten, "Preindl," *MGG*. See also Murray Dineen, "Figured Bass and Modulation: The *Wiener-Tonschule* of Joseph Preindl," *Music Theory Online* Volume 8, No. 3 (October, 2002), particularly n. 4.

Tittel has commented that this work is one of the first of the Viennese *Generalbass* manuals to adopt the term *Harmonielehre*.<sup>508</sup> Although this is technically true, it should be kept in mind that this is certainly not the first such treatise. As we have already seen, Drechsler's manual also carries the term *Harmonie* in its title (*Harmonie- und Generalbass-Lehre*, 1816), and the resemblances between these two works do not end there.

To embed the term *Harmonie* in such titles is to embrace certain contemporary practices, as argued by Tittel and, to a greater degree, Murray Dineen, whose article on the *Wiener Tonschule*<sup>509</sup> goes into great detail concerning this matter. To be sure, neither Drechsler nor Preindl lived in an isolated backwater of musical endeavor, nor were either of these men of limited intellectual or musical abilities. However, Dineen claims that Preindl's attempt to engage the subject of modulation in the context of what is essentially a *Generalbass* manual is out of character, inappropriate, and, to a certain degree, ineffective:

Modulation belongs to a more abstract, less immediately practical study (than a *Generalbass* manual), such as a *Harmonielehre* might entail. In essence, a figured-bass player merely applies accidentals where appropriate; no understanding of a larger tonal design, such as that implicit in modulation, is required. In a pure figured-bass tradition such as the Viennese *Generalbasslehre*, the study of modulation is an anomaly and, like many anomalies, worthy of examination – the object of study.<sup>510</sup>

But the conception of a *Generalbassist* as someone who mechanically applies prescribed notes over a bass line is simplistic at best. Further, the assertion about modulation being anomalous in this context is inaccurate. Two Viennese *Generalbass*

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<sup>508</sup> Tittel, "Wiener Musiktheorie." "Seine *Wiener Tonschule*, die als eines der ersten Wiener Theoriebücher den Terminus 'Harmonielehre' verwendet, ist ein gross angelegtes Werk, etc." See p. 174.

<sup>509</sup> See note 507 above.

<sup>510</sup> Dineen, "Figured-Bass," 1-2.



manuals, produced during the tenure of Preindl as *Domkapellmeister* in that city, can well serve as examples on the subject of *Generalbass* engagement of modulation: Emanuel Aloys Förster's *Anleitung zum General-Bass* and Drechsler's above-mentioned treatise.<sup>511</sup> Although Förster's section on the topic (§§. 98 and 99, p. 31) comes at the end of his treatise and is quite brief, it nonetheless provides a definition of modulation as well as practical suggestions for proper implementation, complete with musical examples:

Modulation exists in the mixture of different scales. A piece set in one key would soon become repugnant to us if it did not pass through to other scales. One can always identify the scale through the *characteristic* and *enharmonic* chords, and, because these have designated steps in [the scale], the piece may transition [*ausweichen*, i.e., modulate] to related scales [*Verwandschaft*] or remote scales.<sup>512</sup>

*Characteristic* and *enharmonic* chords are two of the four types of seventh chords that Förster has described in previous chapters. His discussion of these chordal types occurs earlier in his treatise, in Chapter Three, and necessarily involves a somewhat more extensive engagement with the subject of modulation. *Characteristic* chords are the dominant-seventh chords, so named because they contain the characteristic or *empfindsame* note, or leading tone;<sup>513</sup> *enharmonic* chords are the diminished seventh chords. His third class is the so-called *zweideutige* (*ambiguous* or, as Wason terms them, *amphibolous* chords), in that they are equally at home in major or minor.<sup>514</sup> According to

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<sup>511</sup> Förster's *Anleitung zum General-Bass* was first published in Leipzig by Artaria in 1805; the musical examples (*Praktische Beyspiele als Forsetzung seiner Anleitung*) followed in 1818 and the entire work was reprinted in 1823 and 1840. See Longyear / Lorenz, "Förster," *NGD*, Vol. p, pp. 104-5.

<sup>512</sup> Förster, *Anleitung*, Chapter 5, §. 98. "Die *Modulation* besteht in der Mischung verschiedener Tonleitern. Ein Stück, aus einem Tone gesetzt, würde uns bald zum Ekel werden, wenn es nicht in andere Tonleitern überginge. Durch die *charakteristischen* und *enharmonischen* Accorde kennt man allezeit die Tonleiter, weil sie eine gewisse Stufe in derselben haben, das Stück mag in verwandte oder entfernte Tonleitern ausweichen."

<sup>513</sup> Förster, *Anleitung*, Chapter 3, §. 58.

<sup>514</sup> Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, pp. 22-23. Förster's fourth class of seventh chords consists of "all remaining seventh chords, which deserve no further attention."

Förster's system, these first three classes of seventh chords are noteworthy for three reasons:

The first three classes of chords are special in that, first, they do not require any preparation in the *galant* style; second, that they have a specific step (*Stufe*) on the scale on which they alone can occur, whereby one thusly recognizes in all instances into which scales a piece may transition [*ausweichen*], even if the scale should change on every chord; third, that one can learn to transition by the chords of the first two classes of a scale into another scale, which is called *modulieren* [*moduliren*], as we will see in the following [examples].<sup>515</sup>

Förster then presents a diagram demonstrating the correct step designations of these simultaneities:

	<i>k. e.</i>	<i>k. e.</i>	<i>k.</i>	<i>ü. e.</i>	<i>k. e.</i>
5 6 7	4 6	5 4	5 6	5	6
3. 4. 2.	3. 5. 6.	3. 2. 3.	3. 4. 7.	3. 6. 2.	5. 7
I	II, III.	IV.	V	VI.	VII

Example 3-15: *Schema* from Förster, *Anleitung*, Ch. 3, §. 50.

In the diagram, the characteristic chords are designated with a *k*; the enharmonic chords with an *e*. Förster's accompanying paragraph explains further:

The seven Roman numerals [*lateinische Zahlen*] represent the seven steps that each major and minor scale contain and which designate here each bass- or fundamental note on which each chord is situated. From [the previous chapters] we already know that triads each have their own step; here only the most excellent are designated. Thus sixth chords can be found on each step; in the diagram the augmented-sixth chord is found on the sixth step, marked with *ü*. The six-four chord is at home on the first and the fifth step. The remaining [chords] are explained in the following [sections].<sup>516</sup>

<sup>515</sup> Förster, *Anleitung*, Chapter 3, §. 49. "Die Accorde der ersten drei Classen haben dieses Besondere, dass sie *erstens* in der galanten Schreibart keiner Vorbereitung bedürfen; *zweitens*, dass sie eine gewisse Stufe in der Tonleiter haben, auf der sie nur allein vorkommen können, wodurch man also überall erkennt, in welche Tonleitern ein Stück ausweicht, auch wenn mit jedem Accorde die Tonleiter sich ändern sollte; *drittens*, dass man durch die Accorde der zwei ersten Classen von einer Tonleiter in die andere ausweichen lernen kann, welches *moduliren* heisst, wie wir in der Folge sehen werden."

<sup>516</sup> Ibid., Chapter 3, §. 50. "Die sieben lateinischen Zahlen bedeuten die sieben Stufen, welche jede Dur- und Molltonleiter enthält, und die hier jeden Bass- oder Grundton bezeichnen, auf welchem jeder Accord seinen Sitz hat. Aus dem 19. §. kennen wir schon die Dreiklänge, wie sie jeder Stufe eigen sind; hier sind nur die vorzüglichsten angemerkt. So kommt auch der Sexten-Accord auf jeder Stufe vor; auf dem *Schema* ist der übermässige Sexten-Accord mit *ü* auf der sechsten Stufe angemerkt. Der Quart-Sexten-Accord ist auf der ersten und fünften Stufe zu Hause. Das Uebrige wird in der Folge erklärt."

Thus each scale degree contains chordal entities that pertain directly to the tonal center of the scale on which they are based. Förster provides incipits to illustrate his system. For example, the characteristic chord (dominant-seventh) that occurs on the second scale degree bears the thoroughbass designation  $4/3$ . In other words, the dominant-seventh chord that arises from realizing that harmony over the second scale degree reinforces the tonality of that scale. For this configuration, the proper resolutions can occur in major or minor:



Example 3-16: Förster, *Anleitung*, Example 68a and b

As can be seen in his examples, Förster reverts to Arabic designations, but the meaning of his scale-degree numbers remains the same as the Roman numeral step designations (*Stufenbezeichnungen*) in representing the scale position of the bass note.

In his discussion of modulation in Chapter Five, Förster refers the student back to Chapter Three for guidance in performing exercises he provides for practice in the art of modulation. The first is a section of a minuet, eight bars in length.



Example 3-17: Förster, *Anleitung*, Example 145

Förster tells the student the following concerning this exercise:

The related scales [*Verwandschaft*] are contained within the main scale, in which the piece begins and ends, in so close a connection that they exist in all instances by the [previously established] rules. I have

set as an example the first section of a minuet (8-bars), in which all five related scales are acceptable . . . .<sup>517</sup>

The five scales related to the tonic, C major, as represented in the example include D minor, G major, E minor, A minor, and F major. In all but one instance, the modulation is marked by a change of *Stufenbezeichnung* in the bass notes. While all modulations are carried out by characteristic chords, this example points out an interesting feature having to do with Förster's concept of chromaticism. Förster has told us that this example contains all five of the related keys he has previously identified;<sup>518</sup> but since he considers any leading tone to be diatonic, and since the C<sup>#</sup> in the second full measure of this example serves in this role – that is to say, as the characteristic note of the dominant-seventh chord that leads us to D minor – this allows Förster to keep the diatonic step designation in the bass in C major. It is only when a leading tone appears in the bass – as in all but one of the remaining modulations in the above examples – that the designation “7” is applicable, indicating the modulation. In this way, the characteristic chord (with the fifth in the bass rather than the third, or leading tone of the next key) represents not a modulation (*Modulation*), but a transition (or *Ausweichung*), a structural event as described by Kirnberger. Here the C<sup>#</sup> appears as the tonality “gradually gives way” to new key areas as the the modulating sequence commences.<sup>519</sup>

This approach to modulation can also be seen in Förster's exercises that accompany his explanations of the *Verwandtschaft* from Chapter Three. Consider the following example, meant to demonstrate the easy accessibility of these key areas: the

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<sup>517</sup> Ibid., Chapter 5, §. 98. “Die verwandten Tonleitern stehen mit der Haupttonleiter, in welcher das Stück anfängt und endigt, in so naher Verbindung, dass sie alle Augenblicke zu Gebote stehen. Ich habe zum Beispiele den ersten Theil einer Menuet von 8 Takten hergesetzt, wo alle fünf verwandten Tonleitern angebracht sind.”

<sup>518</sup> Ibid., §. 65. Here Förster identifies the related scales (*verwandte Tonleitern*) as *A-moll*, *F-dur*, *D-moll*, *G-dur*, and *E-moll*.

<sup>519</sup> See Chapter 1, note 141 above.

*enharmonische* chord in the eighth measure of Example 3-18c below receives the step designation “7” for the bass note, which we would think of as the root of the diminished-seventh chord (G<sup>#</sup>). The *characteristische* chord that appears on the second beat of the second measure of Example 3-18d also has a step designation of “7” for the bass note; this chordal entity is inverted, however. In either case, the chromatic note is interpreted as a leading tone, thereby implying a temporary tonicization of the next chord – a secondary seventh or secondary dominant respectively in our terminology – leading to a proper cadence at the modulatory destination. This goes far beyond mere construction of intervals above a figured bass; it implies a level of compositional sophistication that the detractors of *Generalbass* systems are loath to accord them.

Example 3-18: Förster: *Anleitung*, Example 78

The image displays three systems of musical notation for Example 3-18. Each system consists of a treble staff and a bass staff. The first system is a single measure. The second system is a single measure. The third system is a single measure. The notation includes figured bass and step designations (1-7) for the bass notes. The first system has a treble staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a bass staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The second system has a treble staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a bass staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#). The third system has a treble staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#) and a bass staff with a key signature of one sharp (F#).

While Förster's *Anleitung* devotes relatively little space to the subject of modulation, Drechsler's *Generalbass-Lehre* awards it rather extensive treatment, occupying nearly fourteen pages of the text. He begins the chapter on modulation (*Chapter Eleven: On Modulation and its various Types*) with a basic definition:

§. 114.

Modulation is the type of chordal sequence [that occurs in a work] from the beginning to the conclusion, or, also, the transition from one mode or key to another. Modulation is threefold [has three types]; simple, expanded, and sudden.<sup>520</sup>

Here Drechsler recognizes not only the older definition of modulation, that of the general course of chord progressions in any given work, but also the more modern concept of motion between different tonal areas. He continues with an explanation of his modulatory species:

§. 115.

If one remains within the *Verwandschaft* of the key and does not pass over into an unrelated key then one calls this *simple* or *ordinary* modulation (*Modulation*). If one modulates (*Ausweicht*), however, into distant key areas, then one calls these modulations either *expanded* or *sudden*.<sup>521</sup>

In this passage, Drechsler embraces both terms for modulation (*Modulation* and *Ausweichung*) and seems to use them interchangeably. Finally, he enumerates certain principles necessary for the proper execution of a modulation:

§. 116.

In modulation, it is necessary to be aware of three major points:  
1) into which key one can modulate from any [other] specified key;  
2) the length of time in which one can remain in this new key, and  
3) how the modulation is to be organized and concluded.<sup>522</sup>

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<sup>520</sup> Drechsler, *Generalbass-Lehre*, §. 114, p. 85-86. "Die Modulation ist die Art der Folge der Accorde vom Anfange bis zum Schlusse, oder auch der Übergang von einem Tone oder einer Tonart in die andere. Die Modulation ist dreyerley; die leichte, die weitläufige und die plötzliche."

<sup>521</sup> Ibid., §. 115, p. 86. "Wenn man bey der Verwandschaft der Töne bleibt und nicht in die nicht verwandten Töne übergeht, so nennt man das die leichte oder gewöhnliche Modulation. Weicht man aber in die entfernten Tonarten aus, so nennt man es entweder die weitläufige oder die plötzliche Modulation."

<sup>522</sup> Ibid., §. 116, p. 86. "Bey einer Modulation sind drey Hauptpuncte nothwendig zu wisse: 1) in was für Töne man aus einem jeden angegebenen Tone ausweichen kann; 2) wie lange man sich in diesem Tone aufhalten darf, und 3) wie die Modulation zu veranstalten und zu vollenden sey."

Like Förster, Drechsler recognizes two kinds of *Stamm-Accord* – the triad and the seventh chord – and observes that certain configurations result from inversions of these entities.<sup>523</sup> Also like Förster, he provides step designations, using Roman numerals for scale degrees and for the triads constructed on them. And again like Förster, Drechsler differentiates between seventh chords built on the fifth degree of the scale and diminished-seventh chords, which he actually calls diminished (*verminderte*) but which he also terms *enharmonische*.<sup>524</sup>

Drechsler's rules for modulation are enumerated in Chapter 11. His first level of related keys is the same as Förster's: for C major, it encompasses G major, A minor, E minor, F major, and D minor. Drechsler offers the following explanation for these choices:

In [the process of] modulation, one must, above all things, keep the *Verwandschaft* of keys in view. The scales that have the most tones in common are those of the keys that are the most closely related. So one can say that the key of C major is most closely related to G major because they differ from one another only in a single note; namely C, which has the note F, and G, which has the note F<sup>#</sup>.<sup>525</sup>

In simple (*leichten*) modulation, Drechsler suggests remaining within the close confines of the related keys:

In simple modulation (*Ausweichung*), one does best when one is content with modulating within the scope of the next five most appropriate levels of the *Verwandschaft*, so that the main key is never to be lost; e.g., if one were in C major and then modulated into its dominant, G major; if one then wished to make G major the main key and progress to its related keys, then little would remain of the true integrity of [original] key. Therefore one may not go in this natural key directly to its dominant D major, but one must first modulate to D

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<sup>523</sup> Ibid. See Chapter 5, §§. 38-41, Chapter Six, §§. 51-61, and Chapter 7, §§. 62ff.

<sup>524</sup> Ibid., §. 65, p. 44. Drechsler points out that his fully diminished seventh chord occurs naturally in the (altered) minor scale, i.e., *b-d-f-a<sup>b</sup>* in C minor.

<sup>525</sup> Ibid., §. 117, p. 86. "Man muss bey der Modulation vor allen Dingen die Verwandschaft der Töne vor Augen haben. Diejenigen Töne sind mit einander am engsten verwandt, welche in ihren Tonleitern die meisten gemeinschaftlichen Töne haben. So kann man sagen, dass die Tonart C-dur mit G-dur am nächsten verwandt ist, weil sie nur in einem einzigen Tone von einander abgehen; nähmlich bey C in dem Tone F, und bey G in dem Tone Fis."

minor, which is related to C major. So also it is with C major and F major; one can not modulate to B<sup>b</sup> major or G minor, but rather [only] through G major. Therefore, in simple modulation [*Modulation*], one may never regard the keys to which one modulates as main keys, from which [further] modulations to other related keys may occur.<sup>526</sup>

Drechsler recommends the use of the dominant-seventh chord as the quickest method of accomplishing a simple modulation and offers examples for modulations to all five related keys (see Example 3-19):

Therefore, modulation occurs if one comes to the new tonal area in a progression from the dominant [of the new key]. If for this one utilizes the small seventh and large third [the dominant-seventh chord], then one must cadence in the [new] tonic. Only from the dominant can this occur so quickly.<sup>527</sup>

For the expanded (*weitläufige*) modulations, Drechsler must extend his ambitus of appropriate keys past the *Verwandtschaft*. He does this by means of a system of graded levels that resemble other such systems, notably that which appears in Kirnberger's *Kunst des reinen Satzes*. Drechsler's system is shown below (Example 3-20), and he explains the chart as follows:

Expanded modulation occurs when one treats the tonality into which one transitions as the principle key, from which one can again modulate into its related tonal areas. E.g., I modulate from C major as tonic (principal key) into G major, and then allow G major to be considered the principal key area, thus I encounter two new keys, i.e. D major and

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<sup>526</sup> Ibid., §. 118, p. 87. "Bey der leichten Ausweichung thut man am besten, wenn man bey der Ausweichungen mit dem fünf angezeigten nächsten Graden der Verwandtschaft zufrieden ist, der Hauptton sollte daher nie verloren gehen; z. B. man wäre in C-dur, und wäre in seine Dominante G-dur ausgewichen; wollte man nun G-dur zum Hauptton machen und in seine verwandten Töne gehen, so bliebe wenig mehr von der wahren Einheit der Tonart. Man darf daher nicht in die natürliche Tonart seiner Dominante D-dur gehen, sondern man muss noch D-moll moduliren, welcher Ton mit C-dur verwandt ist. So auch von C-dur nach F-dur; man darf nicht in B-dur oder G-moll ausweichen, sondern nach G-dur. Man darf daher bey der leichten Modulation diejenige Töne, in die man ausgewichen, nie als eine Hauptton betrachten, von welchem man wieder in andere mit ihm verwandte Töne ausweichen kann."

<sup>527</sup> Ibid., §. 123, p. 89. "Die Ausweichung geschieht also, wenn man in der Fortschreitung auf die Dominante des neuen Tones kömmt. Nimmt man auf derselben die kleine Septime und grosse Terz, so muss man alsdann den Schluss in der Tonica machen. Auf die Dominante kann man so geschwind als man nur will kommen."

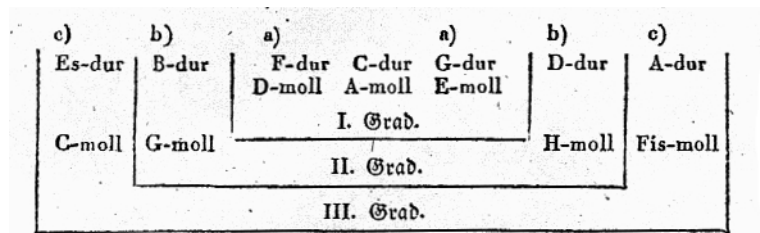


The image displays musical notation for a bass line, likely for a cello or double bass, showing various modulations and fingerings. The notation includes staff lines with notes, accidentals, and Roman numerals (I, II, III, IV, V, VI) indicating fingerings. Some measures are marked 'besser.' (better). The example is divided into sections labeled a) through f).

Example 3-19: Drechsler, *Generalbass-Lehre*, §. 123, pp. 89-90

B minor, which cannot be reached through C major; if I now accept the sub-dominant (*Unter-Dominante*), F major, as a principal tonal area, then again two new keys for modulation occur, namely B<sup>b</sup> major and G minor. Finally, if one places D, which arose from G major, in the position of a principal tonal area, then one gets two new keys, A major and F<sup>#</sup> minor. In this manner one also produces from B<sup>b</sup>, as the sub-dominant of F, E<sup>b</sup> major and C minor. The following table presents the *weitzläufige* modulations, where the C major tonality represents the principal key area.<sup>528</sup>

<sup>528</sup> Ibid., §. 126, pp. 91-92. "Die weitzläufige Modulation geschieht, wenn man den Ton, in den man ausgewichen ist, als den Hauptton behandelt, aus welchem man wieder in seine verwandte Töne ausweicht. Z.B. ich weiche von C-dur als Tonica (Hauptton) in G-dur aus, und lasse nun G-dur als den Hauptton gelten, dadurch bekomme ich zwey neuen Töne, nämlich D-dur und H-moll, welche bey C-dur nicht vorkommen; nehme ich nun die Unter-Dominante, F-dur als Hauptton an, so kommen wieder zwey neuen Tonarten in der Modulation vor, nämlich B-dur und G-moll. Lässt man zuletzt das D, welches in G-dur vorkommt an die Stelle des Haupttons kommen, so bekommt man die zwey neuen Töne A-dur und Fis-



Example 3-20: Drechsler, *Generalbass-Lehre*, §. 126, chart, p. 92

a) is the simple (*leichte*), direct modulation; b) is the first level of remote modulation; c) is the second level of remote modulation. The key areas for the minor scale are also arranged in a similar manner.<sup>529</sup>

For the sudden (*plötzliche*) modulations to distant keys, Drechsler prescribes the following:

If it is necessary to modulate quickly to remote keys, then this may occur in the following manner. One takes the dominant of a key, to which one can go directly from the tonic, and without having this chord cadence on this tonic, this chord on the dominant will be a triad from a [new] tonic, from which one can now approach any step that lies on the [new] scale; e.g. I wish to go very quickly from the tonality of C major to a chord as far-removed as F<sup>#</sup> major; thus in order for me to so pass, I would want to go from C major to E minor, which can occur directly; further, I would require the triad of B major as the dominant of E. I can then perceive this triad (B major) as a principal key and connect directly to the chord of F<sup>#</sup> major, since it lies within the scale, and these procedures are called sudden (*plötzliche*) modulation.<sup>530</sup>

As an alternative method for executing sudden modulations, Drechsler then recommends the following:

Another good method of modulating to remote chordal areas arises if one interprets the bass note, rather than as the II., III., etc. steps of its

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moll. Eben so bekommt man durch das B, als Unter-Dominante von F, Es-dur und C-moll. Folgende Tabelle stellt die wietläufige Modulation vor, wo die harte Tonart C den Hauptton ausmacht.”

<sup>529</sup> Ibid. “Bey a), a) ist die leichte unmittelbare Ausweichung; bey b), b) ist der erste Grad entfernter Ausweichungen; by c), c) ist der zweyte Grad entfernter Ausweichungen. Auf die ähnliche Art liegen auch die Töne für die weiche Tonart.”

<sup>530</sup> Ibid., §. 128, p. 94. “Ist es nothwendig, sehr schnell in entfernte Töne ausweichen, so geschieht es auf folgende Art. Man nimmt die Dominante eines der Töne, in die man aus dem Haupttone unmittelbar gehen kann, und ohne von dem Accorde derselben in ihre Tonica zu schliessen, wird der Accord auf dieser Dominante, als der Dreyklange eines Haupt-Tonica angesehen, von welcher man nun durch einen Schritt auf jeden in ihrer Tonleiter liegenden Accord kommen kann; z. B. ich wollte ganz schnell von dem Haupttone C-dur in den weit entfernten Accord Fis-dur kommen; so stelle ich mir vor, ich wollte aus C-dur nach E-moll gehen, welches unmittelbar geschehen kann; dazu brauche ich den Dreyklang H-dur als die Dominante von E. Dieser Dreyklang (H-dur) denke ich mir als den Hauptton, so kann ich unmittelbar den Accord Fis-dur anschlagen, weil er in der Tonleiter liegt, und dieses Verfahren heisst die plötzliche Ausweichung.”



The use of enharmonic chords for modulation is granted particular attention in Drechsler's scheme; here he utilizes the fundamental bass thinking of Kirnberger – to whom he gives credit in his *Vorrede* – by interpreting the chords in question as inversions of ninth chords built on the dominant-seventh chords of a key:

The fastest method by which one may modulate into remote keys comes through the *enharmonische* chord (see Chapter VII.), because each root [*Ton*] of these chords can be a leading tone, and because, according to the principles of the seventh chord on the dominant of the tonic, the major third is always the major seventh degree of the tonic, to which one must proceed.<sup>532</sup>

He provides the following example and commentary:

The image shows a musical example with four chords labeled a) through d), each followed by 'oder:'. Each chord is represented by two staves (treble and bass clef) and a figured bass notation below. The chords are: a) V. von D. (C#), b) V. von F. (E), c) V. von H. (A#), and d) V. von Gis. (F#). The resolution is indicated by 'oder:' and 'As-moll.'

Example 3-22: Drechsler, *Generalbass-Lehre* §. 130, p. 94

In a) C<sup>#</sup> is the leading tone of D or the major third of the fundamental tone [*Grundtone*] A; therefore I can cadence on D; in b) E is the leading tone of F or the major third of the fundamental tone C; therefore I can cadence on F; in c) A<sup>#</sup> is the leading tone of B, and the major third of the fundamental tone F<sup>#</sup>; therefore one can proceed to B; in d) F<sup>x</sup> is the leading tone of G<sup>#</sup> and the major third of D<sup>#</sup>, therefore one ends in G<sup>#</sup> or A<sup>b</sup>.<sup>533</sup>

We can now see that by comparison with the discussion of modulation in the *Generalbass* manuals of this period, Preindl's *Wiener Tonschule* is not the aberration that Dineen makes it out to be. It is, however, a treatise that is firmly grounded in the *Generalbass* traditions of the day and reflects to a large extent the important

<sup>532</sup> Ibid., §. 129, p. 94. "Die schnellste Art in die entferntesten Töne auszuweichen, erhält man durch den enharmonische Accord, (siehe VII. Capitel), weil ein jeder Ton dieses Accordes ein Leitton seyn kann, und weil nach der Lehre im Septime-Accorde auf der Dominante der Tonica die grosse Terz alle Mahl die siebente grosse Stufe der Tonica ist, wohin man gehen darf."

<sup>533</sup> Ibid. "Bey a) ist Cis der Leitton von D oder die grosse Terz vom Grundton A; folglich kann ich nach D schliessen; bey b) ist E der Leitton von F oder die grosse Terz von Grundton C, folglich kann ich nach F schliessen; bey c) ist Ais der Leitton von H, und die grosse Terz vom Grundton Fis, folglich kann man nach H gehen; bey d) ist Fis der Leitton von Gis und die grosse Terz von Dis, folglich schliesst man nach Gis oder As."

performance-practice concerns that an organist such as Preindl would encounter. While much of the treatise is geared towards practical ends, the theoretical groundwork relies heavily on concepts that were common currency in both thoroughbass and fundamental-bass camps during this period.

Preindl does devote a section of his Chapter 1 to the ecclesiastical modes. As Dineen points out, this is for the benefit of the church organist who will inevitably have to deal with mode-related issues in the performance of his duties. Preindl quickly guides the discussion to the modern system and gives practical examples of the major / minor configuration, with the proper placement of half-steps.<sup>534</sup>

Following this, he goes on to a discussion of chords. Like most of the theorists we have already discussed, he recognizes the two *Grund- or Stamm-Accorden*, the triad (*der vollkommene, perfecte, reine Dreyklange*) and the dominant-seventh chord (*der kleine Septimen-Accord*). He presents the triads in all spacings, inversions, and keys in both major and minor.<sup>535</sup> He then goes on to enumerate the inversions of the dominant-seventh chord, classifying these, as well as the six-four inversion of the triad, as dissonances; that is, all chordal formations except the root-position triad and the six-chord are considered dissonant.<sup>536</sup> Common thoroughbass configurations such as the various inversions of the ninth chord are given with no explanation as to their origin (such as had been offered by Drechsler, for example).

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<sup>534</sup> Preindl, *Wiener Tonschule*, Chapter 1, §. 4 (*Von den Tonarten und Tonleitern*), pp. 9-19. Preindl also includes a discussion of the chromatic scales; see p. 19.

<sup>535</sup> *Ibid.*, §§. 5-7, pp. 20-26.

<sup>536</sup> *Ibid.*, §. 6, p. 24. For a discussion of the treatment of the six-four chord in the treatises of Marpurge and J. M. Bach – particularly regarding the use of the terms *pseudo consonance* and *pseudo dissonance* – see Chapter 1, p. 73, particularly notes 164 and 165.

Dineen points out correctly that Preindl refers to the scale degrees of tonic, mediant, and dominant in Part 1, §. 8. Dineen's point here is that the terminology is incomplete, with no Roman numeral designations and no further step designations, such as supertonic, subdominant, and submediant.<sup>537</sup> Preindl presents these terms merely in the context of a brief discussion of generally used artistic terms, however; while it is true that these are the only chord designations Preindl provides in the treatise and that Roman numerals appear nowhere therein, this is by no means the end of the discussion on chordal positions in relation to a tonic.

The main purpose of §. 9, *Von der Bezifferung*, is the instruction of the pupil in the various Arabic-numeral designations (*Bezifferung*) that he is likely to encounter. Such discussions, utilizing this exact title or something quite similar, are common enough in *Generalbass* manuals from all over Europe.<sup>538</sup> After a brief account of the proper treatment of a note with no numeric designation (*unbezifferte*), Preindl then states the following:

In a sequence [*Reihenfolge*] of triadic chords (*perfecter Accorde*) those intervals that are already contained in the preceding chord must also be maintained in the next and be treated, as it were, as tied preparations. It is automatically understood that either a major or a minor third requires a fifth of the same quality (that is, always a perfect fifth)[.]<sup>539</sup>

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<sup>537</sup> Dineen, "Figured-Bass," 5-6.

<sup>538</sup> See for example, the J. M. Bach, *Kurze . . . Anleitung*, Chapter 7, pp. 27-29 (*Von der Bezieferung*), which provides some simple rules for figuration and an explanation of the symbols most often utilized, including the *Telemannische Bogen*. A figured-bass chart representing all of the available figurations and inversions is also included. Similarly, in the Beethoven / Seyfried *Studien*, page one starts such a discussion thusly: "All types of signs concerning the accompaniment are referred to as signatures [.] (Alle Arten von Zeichen, welche die Begleitung angehen, heissen Signaturen [.])." See *Studien*, p. 1.

<sup>539</sup> Preindl, *Wiener Tonschule*, §. 9, p. 36. "Bey einer Reihenfolge perfecter Accorde müssen jene Intervalle, welche bereits in dem vorhergehenden Accorde enthalten sind, auch im nächstfolgenden beybehalten, und gleichsam als gebundene Vorbereitungen angebracht werden. Es versteht sich von selbst, dass ein grosse, oder kleine Terz auch die Quinte in derselben Qualität verlange[.]"

*Reihenfolge harter Tonarten.*

*Enharmonische Verwechslung.*

*In der Terz-Lage*

Example 3-23: Preindl, *Wiener Tonschule*, §. 9, p. 37

Dineen has translated the term *Reihenfolge* in the above quote as “row-successions” and interpreted them as a “charting of tonal spaces” that “show[s] key relationship in both major and minor keys.”<sup>540</sup> This translation would be at odds, however, with Preindl’s use of this term elsewhere in the treatise. For example, consider the following passage from his discussion of chordal spacing:

If all notes of a chord lie close to one another in their natural sequence [or order] (*Reihenfolge*), then one calls this close harmony[.]<sup>541</sup>

As Dineen acknowledges, what this example represents is a simple circle of fifths.

However, its special intent is related to the opening remarks of the section concerning chordal figuring and the subsequent remarks quoted above on how to handle the presence of the resulting figures properly.<sup>542</sup> Dineen goes on to explain that key signatures are

<sup>540</sup> Dineen, “Figured-Bass,” 6.

<sup>541</sup> Preindl, *Wiener Tonschule*, §. 7, p. 30. “Wenn alle zu einem Accorde gehörigen Töne in ihre natürlichen Reihenfolge nahe an einander liegen, so nennt man solches die enge Harmonie [.]”

<sup>542</sup> Ibid., §. 9, p. 36. “The major and minor scales are determined by the key signatures; a change of accidentals is indicated only by a <sup>#</sup> or a <sup>b</sup> or a <sup>n</sup>, which signature always refers to the third [.] (Die harte oder

introduced in the context of these *Reihenfolge*; this may explain his translation of the title of the section as “On Signatures.” But in fact, what he terms the *Reihenfolge* – as well as the subsequently appearing *Wechselfolge*, which Dineen translates as “Changing Successions,” but which could more correctly be seen as “Alternative Sequences,” outlining a pattern of thirds rather than fifths – only appear in C major or A minor. The title of the the section actually refers not to key signatures but to the numeric designations associated with the standard *Generalbass* repertory.<sup>543</sup> In the ensuing forty pages of the treatise, Preindl goes through the basic figurations (i.e., *kleine Sekunden-Accorde*, in *allen drey Lagen*; see Example 3-24 below) in various keys and spacings. The *Reihenfolge* and *Wechselfolge* to which Dineen attaches so much importance do not reappear.



Example 3-24: Preindl, *Wiener Tonschule*, §. 9, p. 39

The detailed descriptions and examples of §. 9 are followed in §. 10 (*Tabelle der üblichen, verkürzten Bezifferung*) by illustrative charts and tables presented in a manner consistent with many of the *Generalbassschule* dating back to the late seventeenth

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weiche Tonart bestimmt die Schlüsselvorzeichnung; ein zufällige Veränderung wird nur durch ein # oder b oder <sup>n</sup> angezeigt, welche Signatur sich immer auf die Terz bezieht [...]

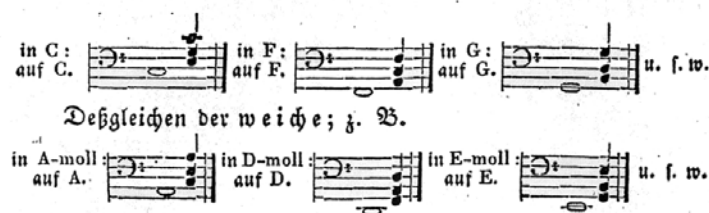
<sup>543</sup> Dineen, 6-7.



century. Notably, Preindl devotes no fewer than five pages to standard rule-of-the-octave exercises in both major and minor (pp. 89-94).

If §. 9 had little to do with the tonal orientation of chords, §. 14 begins to point the student more in that direction. Titled *Von dem Sitz der Accorde* (On the Position of the Chords), Preindl offers the following explanation:

By this expression one understands that step of the scale on which an individual chord-species tends to occur frequently. Therefore, the consonant major triad always has its position on the keynote (*Grundtone*): e.g.<sup>544</sup>

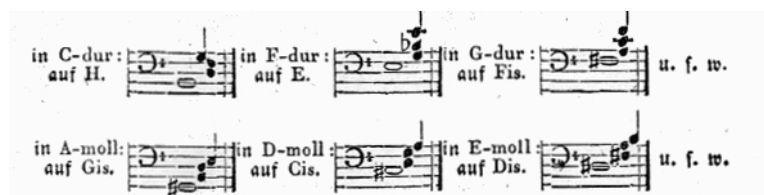


Example 3-25: Preindl, *Wiener Tonschule*, §. 14, p. 120

In this manner, all *Generalbass* configurations discussed in §. 9 and illustrated in §. 10 are given homes, as it were, on specific scale degrees in major and minor tonalities according to their frequency of occurrence therein. In true *Generalbass* fashion, these positions are always determined by the position of the *bass note*, just as in Förster's and Drechler's theories. Thus the 6 / 5 chord with the minor third, diminished fifth, and minor sixth (that is, what we would call a first-inversion dominant-seventh chord) has its position in all scales on the leading tone (*Unter-Secunde*) of the tonic.<sup>545</sup>

<sup>544</sup> Preindl, *Wiener Tonschule*, §. 14, p. 120. "Unter diesem Ausdruck versteht man diejenige Stufe der Tonleiter, auf welcher eine jedwede Accorden-Gattung am häufigsten vorzukommen pflegt. Demnach hat der consonirende harte Dreyklang immer seinen Sitz auf dem Grundtone selbst; z.B."

<sup>545</sup> Ibid., p. 125. "Der Quint-Sexten-Accord hat seinen Sitz: Mit der kleinen Terz, verminderten Quinte, und kleinen Sexte in allen Tonleitern auf der Unter-Secunde der Tonica [.]". The use of the term *Unter-Secunde* could also be construed as an addition to Dineen's list of step designations (Tonic, Mediant, and Dominant) in Preindl's system.



Example 3-26: Preindl, *Wiener Tonschule*, §. 14, p. 125

Sections on suspensions, cadences, and pedal points follow. Thus informed, the student is confronted with the final section of the first part of the treatise, *Von Präambuliren*. This is indeed the true home of the discussion of modulation in Preindl's treatise. However, in Dineen's discussion of this section, we get no sense of any precedent for such a section in a figured-bass treatise. And yet, one of the most influential works of this kind – the *Versuch* of C. P. E. Bach, has a chapter entitled *Von der freyen Fantasie* that deals with the subject of modulation from the performer's perspective very much in the manner of Preindl's treatise. Considering Preindl's close association with Albrechtsberger and the ubiquity of the Bach treatise during Preindl's formative years, such a connection to the *Versuch* is hardly surprising.

Modulation is also a topic of considerable prominence in the *Kurze und systematische Anleitung zum General-Bass* (1780) by J. M. Bach that was discussed in Chapter 1. As we saw there, J. M. Bach tied his concept of modulation (*Ausweichung*) to the seventh chord in a cadential pattern reminiscent of other contemporary theorists. Bach stressed the importance of modulation for the *Generalbassspieler*,<sup>546</sup> and Preindl would agree, to judge from the prefatory remarks to his section on *Präambuliren*:

*Präambuliren* refers to all types of preludes that are introduced by such a feature [that is, by a *Präambulum*]. Particularly, every organist must be thoroughly experienced in this, since the obligation is incumbent upon him, for every Mass setting as well as for most [other] ecclesiastical functions according to their requirements, to *präambuliren* for either a long or short period.

<sup>546</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 79-80.

A long, fully developed *Präambulum*, in which several subjects are presented, connected, and melded together into a well-ordered whole, is called a free fantasy.

Not only should the ideas be beautiful and noble, but the player should also be intimately familiar with modulation [*Modulation*]; indeed, he must possess the ability to be able to transition (i. e., modulate) [*ausweichen*] from one key area to the others quickly with harmonic expedience [*Richtigkeit*].

Since this can be achieved in an infinite variety of ways, then the creative ability of each individual [performer] cannot be limited by settled prescriptions, and therefore guideposts are set up here that result only from well-founded experience.<sup>547</sup>

In order to demonstrate how modulations might be best accomplished in a short *Präambulum*, Preindl presents a brief eleven-bar example. He prefaces it with these remarks:

A short *Präambulum* in C major, where the scales of G major, A minor, E minor, D minor, and F major are touched upon, and which the industrious Scholar, following this [exercise] closely, may transpose into the remaining 24 keys, is this:<sup>548</sup>



Example 3-27: Preindl, *Wiener Tonschule*, §. 18, p. 157

<sup>547</sup> Preindl, *Wiener Tonschule*, §. 18, pp. 156-57. "Präambulum nennt man überhaupt alle Gattungen von Vorspielen, mit welchen ein Tonstück vor der wirklichen Anfang desselben eingeleitet wird. Insbesondere muss jeder Organist in dieser Kunst gründlich erfahren seyn, weil ihm die Pflicht obliegt, von jedem Satz einer Messe, und bey den meisten kirchlichen Functionen nach Erforderniss länger oder kürzer zu präambuliren.

Ein weit ausgeführtes Präambulum, worin mehrer Thema's durchgearbeitet, verbunden, und in ein geregeltes Ganzes zusammen geschmolzen werden, heisst ein freyen Phantasie.

Abgesehen, dass die Ideen schön und edel seyn sollen, muss auch der Spieler mit der Modulation innig vertraut seyn; nämlich, die Fähigkeit besitzen, von einem Ton in die übrigen mit harmonischer Richtigkeit behende ausweichen zu können.

Da solches auf unendlich verschiedenen Wegen erreicht werden kann, so lässt sich das Erfindungs-Vermögen eines jeden Einzelnen durch keine bestimmten Vorschriften beschränken, und nur Resultate bewährter Erfahrungssätze hier als Wegweiser aufgestellt werden."

<sup>548</sup> Ibid., §. 18, p. 157. "Ein kurzes Präambulum in C-dur, worin die Tonleiter von G-dur, A-moll, E-moll, D-moll, und F-dur, berührt werden, und welches der fleissige Scholar, gleich den noch folgenden, auch in die übrigen 24 Tonarten zur Übung transponiren mag, ist dieses[.]"

From Preindl's remarks and from the above example we can see clearly what he is outlining with this exercise. In fact, it is very much like Drechsler's minuet from his chapter on modulation. It outlines the by now well-established key areas of the traditional *Verwandtschaft* as they have been in effect in Kirnberger, Drechsler, Förster, and many others. Thus this exercise would belong to the category of *leichten* modulation, as Drechsler would have put it, spelling out the key areas in the first level of modulation with which every *Generalbassist* should be familiar.

We may take the analogy with Drechsler's example even further. It can be seen in the example above that when the modulation is carried out through the use of the dominant-seventh chord – what Drechsler would have called the *characteristische* chord – it occurs on the step designation that Drechsler would have assigned it on his chart. For example, the characteristic chord in Drechsler's system occurs in the 6 / 4 / 2 configuration on step IV. Therefore, in the fourth measure of Preindl's example, this bass note (A) represents step IV of the new key, that is, E minor. The same is true in the following measure; the characteristic 4 / 2 chord occurs on the bass note (G) of step IV of the new key, D minor. And in measure seven, the characteristic chord on the bass note E reflects step VII of the new key, F major. It is these aspects of key transition, or modulation, with which Preindl is exhorting his students to become intimately familiar. And these procedures suggest an awareness of the nascent step concepts that many theorists, including Vogler, were articulating during this period.

For more abrupt modulations (*plötzlich*, as Drechsler termed them), Preindl suggests the same approach as the former – utilization of the characteristic 6 / 5 chord to produce a cadence in the new key and thereby quickly reach the specified destination:

If the bass rises one-half step, then one can proceed directly to the next key that is a major second away with a six-five chord; e.g.<sup>549</sup>

The image contains two musical staves, each with a treble and bass clef. The first staff is labeled 'Von C-major nach D-major' and shows a sequence of chords with figured bass numbers 6, 5, 4, and 4. The second staff is labeled 'oder: Von B-major nach C-major' and shows a sequence of chords with figured bass numbers 6, 5, 9, 8, 4, and 4. Both staves illustrate a modulation by a major second using a six-five chord.

Example 3-28: Preindl, *Wiener Tonschule*, §. 18, p. 172

Dineen suggests that the more sudden modulations represent faint glimmerings of a pivot-chord concept but that they remain incomplete and lacking sufficient explanation. I would suggest that Preindl probably felt that no lengthy explanation was warranted in light of the fact that this ground had already been covered by several theorists in great detail before him. Dineen suggests that these “pivot-chord” examples, such as the one above, do not grow logically from a figured-bass approach to harmony, “but [derive] presumably from other sources, as if Preindl had heard rumor of the new, more northerly Teutonic developments in theory – Vogler and Weber, for example – but only rumor.”<sup>550</sup>

This is clearly not the case. Preindl’s position in a musical community that was completely at home with these concepts is demonstrated in our discussion above. In effect, Dineen has conflated the precepts of a *Stufentheorie* with the later concept of hierarchical step designations that inform a Riemannesque *Funktionstheorie*. For a

<sup>549</sup> Ibid., §. 18, p. 172. “Wenn der Bass um einen halben Ton steigt, so kann man mit einem Quint-Sext-Accorde unmittelbar in die nächste Tonart der grossen Secunde gelangen: z. B.”

<sup>550</sup> Dineen, “Figured-Bass,” 3.

system to qualify under the heading of step theory, all that is necessary is the recognition of chordal entities that form the steps of either the major or minor scales and the generation of different types of chords as well as their own leading tones to promote modulation. Although Preindl's system was not equipped with explicit step designations, as were Drechsler's and Förster's, I think it is clear that many of his ideas stem directly from contact with the works of these men during his professional career in Vienna. The similarities are striking and too numerous to be coincidental.

In this way the history of the relationship between *Generalbass* practices and later harmonic concepts may become distorted. I believe that many similar misconceptions inform present-day commentary concerning the continued prevalence of figured-bass procedures throughout the nineteenth century. The synthesis of *Generalbass* theory and the newer harmonic concepts continues to inform the discourse, both musical and hermeneutical, of nineteenth-century musicians, most notably through the teachings of Simon Sechter and the music of Anton Bruckner.



## Chapter 4

### Anton Bruckner's Engagement with Thoroughbass: Compositional, Pedagogical, and Performance-Practice Related

Great art must proceed to precision and brevity. It presupposes the alert mind of an educated listener who, in a single act of thinking, includes with every concept all associations pertaining to the complex. This enables a musician to write for upper-class minds, not only doing what grammar and idiom require, but, in other respects lending to every sentence the full pregnancy of meaning of a maxim, of a proverb, of an aphorism. This is what musical prose should be – a direct and straightforward presentation of ideas, without any patchwork, without mere padding and repetitions.<sup>551</sup>

#### I. Introduction

That all the concepts and performance practices discussed in the preceeding chapters are present in and integrally connected to the older but still valuable practice of *Generalbass* – as expressed in the manuals that we have examined in those chapters and from which any number of nineteenth-century composers might have sampled – is surely relevant to the refutation of the notion that such thoroughbass procedures had, by this time, long been relegated to complete obsolescence. For if this were the case, how do we explain the reliance of such gifted teachers and composers as those that will be discussed below, such as Johann August Dürrenberger and Leopold Zenetti, on these materials in order to express their new ideas and systems? The training in this system of accompaniment (and, by extension, composition) continues throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. To imagine that composers could be so greatly influenced by the theoretical concepts and musical products of an older tradition and yet remain blind to the finer points of a *Generalbass* tradition in which they were active participants throughout their careers strains the imagination. It is on such evidence that Dahlhaus's "dead language" analogy surely runs aground.

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<sup>551</sup> Arnold Schoenberg, "Brahms the Progressive," *Style and Idea: Selected Writings of Arnold Schoenberg*, ed. L. Stein (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), pp. 414-15.



In this chapter, the career of the most famous pupil of the above-mentioned pedagogues, Anton Bruckner (1824-1896), will be examined in terms of his engagement with *Generalbass* theory and practices. This will be done not only concerning his employment of *Generalbass* as a compositional tool, but also with regard to his use of continuo practices as they relate to large-scale structural design as well as the hermeneutical properties of the presence of a continuo. A variety of examples will be employed to demonstrate that Bruckner, very much as a consequence of his early training, utilized traditionally recognized rhetorical figures in his compositions, both along the lines of their established Baroque employment and in a less overt manner. Many rhetorical figures survived through the eighteenth century and beyond, particularly in the works of Beethoven. Still, the shift from a primarily *affective* to a primarily *structural* usage of such figures can clearly be traced in the works of the Viennese Classical masters,<sup>552</sup> and indeed, as presented by Parkany, this *structural meaning*<sup>553</sup> only gained importance in the nineteenth century. As Bruckner steadily withdrew from the close confines of the monastery of St. Florian – becoming through his studies with various teachers ever more familiar with newer and bolder compositional styles – it would appear that he carried with him many strong associations, including the affinity for a basso continuo texture in large-scale works. In Bruckner’s hands, the basso continuo became a powerful semiotic vehicle; the allusive nature of semiotic devices – relying, as they do, on centuries of exposure to the listener – represents a potent structural force in Bruckner’s works. Indeed, his instruction after his second St. Florian sojourn only served

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<sup>552</sup> F.J. Smith, “Mozart Revisited.” The term “primarily” is key here. This is not meant to suggest that rhetorical devices in Baroque music were never used structurally, only that the surface affects were usually more prominent and certainly more readily identifiable by the listener.

<sup>553</sup> See n. 594 below. Also this is directly related to the structural concept of the *Gänge*, as discussed below. See pp. 349ff.

to reinforce the importance of fundamental bass and figured-bass procedures in his compositional style, an idiom that was already steeped in these semiotic practices.

Bruckner's continued studies following his days at St. Florian would introduce him to many of the current European styles, particularly those of Richard Wagner, whose influences on Bruckner are undeniable. However, it would, I believe, be a mistake to drift too far from the deeply religious nature of virtually all Bruckner's compositional output. Indeed, even after his training with the progressive theatrical conductor and instrumentalist Otto Kitzler in the 1860s, he continued to embrace liturgical works – as seen most importantly in the three great masses from this period – as both a foundation from which to draw inspiration as well as a launching point for his later efforts into the symphonic realm. Many of the stylistic features Bruckner honed in these masses return in the later symphonies; indeed, Bruckner's symphonies are often referred to as religious works, "Masses without text."<sup>554</sup> Certainly Bruckner sought to imbue them with just this quality, through all available musical and non-musical means. The influence of a figured-bass compositional and performance-practice style can be counted among the more important of these factors.

## **II. Bruckner Reception**

### **a) Absolute Music and the Catholic Perspective**

The expressive and highly idiosyncratic works from the latter part of Bruckner's career – many of which modern listeners find among the composer's best – were often perceived by his contemporaries as the erratic and emotional expressions of a talented but unsophisticated intellect. Johannes Brahms in particular often commented on his fellow

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<sup>554</sup> Manfred Wagner, "Bruckner's Weg zur Symphonie: Von Religiosität gebahnt?" *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 51 (1996), 17-26. See 26.

composer's state of mind – not to mention his music, tainted for Brahms and others in Vienna by its Wagnerian allusions – in rather uncomplimentary terms.<sup>555</sup> To be sure, there was much about the personality of Bruckner that stands in opposition to that of Brahms; their individual upbringings, educational backgrounds, as well as the general worldviews that each man developed as a result of his life's circumstances would all but guarantee this. Certainly Bruckner's deep Catholic mysticism stood in stark contrast to Brahms's rationalistic, secularized Protestant beliefs,<sup>556</sup> and differences in their personality traits can be perceived in their music. Bruckner's circumstances led him to a fervent Catholicism that imbued the music he produced, music heavily influenced by his Catholic predecessors, including Caldara, Palestrina, and Fux, and of course Mozart and Haydn. Brahms's Lutheranism, secularized though it may have been, led him to be more influenced by the works of J. S. Bach and Heinrich Schütz.<sup>557</sup> Still, a certain ecumenical spirit was afoot in the nineteenth century; rapprochement between the Christian sects was not unheard of when it came to borrowing from their respective musical traditions. In this Bruckner was no exception.

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<sup>555</sup> In a letter to Elisabet von Herzogenberg dated 12 January 1885, Brahms wrote: "He is a poor crazy man whom the priests at St. Florian have on their conscience. I don't know if you have any conception of what it means to have spent your youth with priests. I could tell you one or two things about Bruckner. But I should not even be talking about such nasty things with you." See Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, Vol. 3 (Berlin: 1912), page 408n. For references concerning Bruckner's work, see, for example, Hans Gal, *Johannes Brahms: His Work and Personality*, trans. J. Stein (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1975), p. 153. "'Look!' Brahms exclaimed, pointing to the first pages of the score. 'Here this man [Bruckner] composes as though he were a Schubert.' Brahms then indicated the unisons and the chromatic passages in the closing section and said: 'Then he suddenly remembers he is a Wagnerian, and everything goes to the devil.'"

<sup>556</sup> Brahms's religious beliefs were colored to a large extent by the prevailing currents of German culture as concerned the Lutheran Church. He was in many ways "a typical product of the post-Romantic secularization of German culture." See Daniel Beller-McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), p. 31. Perhaps most directly related to this point is the following: "For German artists and intellectuals, Lutheranism became as much a cultural tradition as a system of faith. Whatever his beliefs in a deity, Brahms strongly identified with this secularized and cultural brand of Lutheranism." *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>557</sup> Constantin Floros, *Brahms und Bruckner: Studien zur musikalischen Exegetik* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1980), p. 17.

Despite their different religious backgrounds, Brahms and Bruckner were linked in the imaginations of their contemporaries by one aspect of their shared craft; they were thought to be proponents of absolute music, bulwarks against the flood of programmatic music with which the nineteenth-century landscape was seen to be inundated. Brahms's credentials in this area were impeccable. Indeed, for mid twentieth-century musicians, the need to maintain the notion of Brahms as absolute musician – and therefore the antipode to Wagner – became urgent due to the National Socialist connotations that Wagner's music acquired during the period of the Third Reich.<sup>558</sup> In the music of Brahms, the arbiters of musical propriety who emerged in the aftermath of World War II sought to neutralize any negatively referential aspects of German music by emphasizing this “absolute” quality.<sup>559</sup>

The concept of Brahms as a proponent of absolute music predates the excesses of the Nazis, however.<sup>560</sup> In a 1933 radio address entitled “Brahms the Progressive” – from which the opening quote of this chapter is taken – Arnold Schoenberg champions Brahms's “technique of developing variation as more forward looking than Wagner's

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<sup>558</sup> Beller-McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit*, p. 190.

<sup>559</sup> This idea, still prevalent today, is echoed in Raymond Knapp, *Brahms and the Challenge of the Symphony* (New York: Pendragon Press, 1997): “Brahms's music is venerated precisely because it may be understood without taking referential issues into account at all . . . Brahms's music is widely seen as the most purely absolute music of his age.”

<sup>560</sup> Indeed, many accounts from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be found attesting to the non-programmatic nature of the music of Brahms. Floros, for example, states the following: “[N]o composer since Beethoven has produced musical works so completely devoid of programmatic references as Brahms.” [Kein Componist nach Beethoven so völlig ohne ‘Programm’ musicirt habe wie Brahms]. See Floros, *Brahms and Bruckner*, p. 12. Floros's basis for this statement is found in Julius Spengel, *Johannes Brahms: Charakterstudie* (Hamburg: Lütcke & Wulff, 1898), p. 35. “Brahms is representative of the foundation of absolute music and it is in this manner by far that all the most modern efforts of our youngest composers are [influenced].” [Brahms steht auf dem Boden der absoluten Musik und in dieser Eigenschaft den allmodernsten Bestrebungen unserer Jüngsten völlig fern]. Also Viktor Urbantschitsch, “Die Entwicklung der Sonatenform bei Brahms,” *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* 14 (1927), 265-85. On 285, Urbantschitsch calls Brahms the “Klassiker der Romantik.”

ostensibly more progressive musical language.”<sup>561</sup> Brahms is thus a “harbinger of modernism,”<sup>562</sup> anchoring his art in the symphonic and chamber genres in opposition to the aesthetics of the *Neudeutsche Schule*. This is a role that twentieth-century musicians were only too happy to assign to him, since it had the dual effect of elevating Brahms while implicitly denigrating Wagner.<sup>563</sup>

There are equally compelling statements from early twentieth-century commentators on Bruckner’s fidelity to absolute music. The German conductor, composer, and scholar Fritz Volbach refers to Bruckner as “an absolute musician of the strongest order, [forming] rather of a contrast to Wagner.”<sup>564</sup> This somewhat late “rehabilitation” as an absolute musician echoes that of Brahms in its placing of Bruckner in the midst of the struggle between the *Neudeutsche Schule* and the conservatives.<sup>565</sup> However, particularly in the years following Wagner’s death in 1883, this sentiment, while present even then, was somewhat tempered by the need to present an opposing force to the works of Brahms. Bruckner’s well-known admiration and affinity for Wagner seems to have, in some quarters at least, served this purpose well; Bruckner was frequently served up as an antithesis to Brahms where this new vacuum now existed,<sup>566</sup>

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<sup>561</sup> Bellar-McKenna, *Brahms and the German Spirit*, p 188.

<sup>562</sup> Ibid., p 3.

<sup>563</sup> Ibid.

<sup>564</sup> Floros, *Brahms and Bruckner*, p. 13. “With his Classical inclinations in the symphonic form, [Bruckner], as an absolute musician of the strictest order, stood rather as a contrast to Wagner.” [[M]it seiner klassischen Tendenz der Symphonieform, als ‘absoluter’ Musiker strengster Observanz, eher einen Gegensatz zu Wagner [bilde]]. Floros’s source for this statement is Fritz Volbach, *Die deutschen Musik in neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Kempten: J. Kösel, 1909), p. 95.

<sup>565</sup> Wolfgang Kühnen, “Die Botschaft als Chiffre: Zur Syntax musikalischer Zitate in der ersten Fassung von Bruckners Dritter Symphonie,” *Bruckner-Jahrbuch* (1991-93), 31-43.

<sup>566</sup> A particularly vituperative accusation of Wagnerian contamination can be found in Max Kalbeck, *Johannes Brahms*, Vol. 3 (Berlin: Deutsche Brahms-Gesellschaft, 1927), p. 404. Here Kalbeck refers to Bruckner as a “Papist” (*Römling*) and accuses him of “staining” his symphonies with Wagner’s mythologically oriented Germanic mores.

any alleged absolutism notwithstanding. The controversy over Bruckner's ostensible programmatic tendencies would, in any case, continue throughout the twentieth century.

The truth of the matter is that during their lifetimes, while many may have seen both Brahms and Bruckner as proponents of absolute music, Bruckner was perceived to be the more progressive force, with Brahms cast in the role of conservative. In this scenario, we are presented with Brahms as the more reflective and historically informed artist, calmly assimilating that which had gone before him,<sup>567</sup> while Bruckner is presented as the naïve but artistically gifted genius. In order to fulfill this scenario, Bruckner's modernism, the progressive thrust of his music, is portrayed as arising from his utilization of compositional formulae driven perhaps more by emotion than reason, an untidy process that fits in well with not only the "bumpkin" caricature so often presented in the literature but also with the mystical associations that his strong Roman Catholic affiliation provided. However, these characterizations fail to take into account the strongly systematized theoretical tenets behind his compositional processes and thus fail to capture the breadth of his musical realm. Influences that were present in Bruckner's life from a very early age and that informed his compositions throughout his entire lifetime are far more complex than simple stereotypes can adequately convey.

#### **b) Associative, Rhetorical, and Hermeneutical Properties in Bruckner's Music**

Standing opposed to Brahms's Protestant convictions, Bruckner's Catholicism reflected the tenets of the contemporary Church, which centered around the worship of

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<sup>567</sup> One would have to include in a list of such historically informed musical attributes of Brahms his own extensive engagement with figured-bass procedures and methods. For an exhaustive treatment of this subject, see Georg A. Predota, "Johannes Brahms and the Foundations of Composition: The Basis of his Compositional Process in his Study of Figured Bass and Counterpoint," Ph.D. diss. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2000).

God the Father and his son Jesus Christ; the bias of more modern practices, such as devotion to the Virgin Mary, was not as yet part of Catholic consciousness.<sup>568</sup> To be sure, a particularly strong tradition of harmonic – or more precisely, enharmonic – symbolism arising from such powerful religious sentiments is evident in the musical languages of Haydn and Mozart and extends throughout the entire nineteenth century to those of both Bruckner and Brahms, particularly in the sacred-vocal repertoire.<sup>569</sup> According to Timothy L. Jackson, in the musical vernacular adopted by these composers, “the transformation of a flat into its enharmonically equivalent sharp. . . signif[ies] the Judeo-Christian experience of redemption through faith.”<sup>570</sup>

Though the Catholic / Protestant dichotomy informs much of the associational iconography in Bruckner’s works, the ecumenical approach to Christianity to which we referred above was often in effect. In this spirit, it is not unusual for composers to draw on the traditional elements of one particular faction of Christianity. Therefore, to concentrate exclusively on symbolism that arises from Catholic mysticism may be to overlook other hermeneutical and exegetic aspects of Bruckner’s works;<sup>571</sup> these are often not merely present in the music, but explicitly so. Surely the enharmonic symbolism that Jackson elucidates owes much to the very Baroque theoretical concepts of “anabasis” and “catabasis” that are, for example, so much a part of Eric Chafe’s theory

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<sup>568</sup> M. Wagner, “Bruckners Weg.”

<sup>569</sup> Timothy L. Jackson, “Schubert as ‘John the Baptist to Wagner-Jesus’: Large-scale Enharmonicism in Bruckner and his Models,” *Bruckner-Jahrbuch* (1991-93), 61-107. See also Timothy L. Jackson, “The Enharmonics of Faith: Enharmonic Symbolism in Bruckner’s *Christus factus est* (1884),” *Bruckner-Jahrbuch* (1987-88), 7-20.

<sup>570</sup> Ibid.

<sup>571</sup> Floros, *Brahms and Bruckner*, p. 18.

of tonal allegory in J.S. Bach's music.<sup>572</sup> In the former, Jackson describes the process as follows:

The musical "fall" of a flat can metaphorically represent "fallen" or "unredeemed" man, while the "rise" of a sharp may correspond to man's "redemption" or, in an eschatological context, "resurrection."<sup>573</sup>

Compare this to the definitions for anabasis and catabasis set forth by Johann Gottfried Walther in his *Musicalisches Lexicon* of 1732:

Anabasis: is a musical phrase whereby something that rises up into the air is represented. For example, on the words: He is risen, etc.; God ascends, etc.; and the like.

Catabasis: is a harmonic period whereby something lowly, humble, and despicable is represented. For example, He went down; I was very humiliated; and the like.<sup>574</sup>

According to Stephen A. Crist, J. S. Bach frequently employed these tonal patterns, particularly in connection with the use of remote key areas for allegorical purposes.<sup>575</sup>

Chafe elaborates on this definition with respect to the importance of this hermeneutical process to the Lutheran aesthetic:

A pattern of tonal catabasis (descent through the circle of fifths, modulation in the direction of increasing flats) followed by anabasis (ascent; modulation toward increasing sharps) often has a unifying effect on the allegorical detail similar to that of Luther's "analogy of faith" on designative allegory.<sup>576</sup>

This process was used extensively by Bach as a method for explicating the religious meaning of the text, particularly in his cantatas and Passions. And while Chafe ascribes

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<sup>572</sup> Eric Chafe, *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 15. Chafe contends that Bach "probably developed this pattern intuitively, rather than as a studied feature of his musical Lutheranism," but nonetheless understood its theological significance.

<sup>573</sup> Jackson, "The Enharmonics of Faith," 7.

<sup>574</sup> Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732; facsimile reproduction, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1953), pp. 32, 148. Translations taken from Stephen A. Crist, "Bach, Theology, and Harmony: A New Look at the Arias," *Bach* 27 (1996), 1-30. It should be noted that the vocabulary of gestures that resides within the confines of the terms "anabasis / catabasis" is quite extensive and therefore falls outside the scope of this study.

<sup>575</sup> Crist, *ibid.*, 8.

<sup>576</sup> Chafe, *Tonal Allegory*, p. 15.



the very essence of Lutheranism to this type of “hidden meaning,”<sup>577</sup> the process of anabasis and catabasis can certainly be seen in the works of composers whose Catholic affiliations were strong, notably Joseph Haydn. Such an example can be found in the Kyrie of Haydn’s *Nelsonmesse*, where the rhetorical device of the *passus duriusculus* – in this case in the form of the descending chromatic fourth, a species of catabasis with extensive rhetorical significance for Baroque listeners – is utilized:<sup>578</sup>



Example 4-1: Haydn, *Nelsonmesse*, Kyrie, mm. 54-58

From the standpoint of the Catholic Church, these rhetorical practices had a practical as well as artistic purpose: in sustaining these musical traditions, a certain Church authority is retained, where more individualistic approaches to mass composition might undermine that authority in a variety of ways.<sup>579</sup>

An excellent example of the melding of the two religious philosophies in musical terms can be seen in the use of the musical-rhetorical device of catabasis – in the form of a descending chromatic fourth – as the foundation for Franz Liszt’s *Variationen über das Motiv von Bach*, S. 180 (1862), a work that incorporates both the programmatic gestures of his tone poems and the religious-mystical elements of his later works.<sup>580</sup>

<sup>577</sup> Ibid. “In a word, Lutheran theology is nothing if not allegorical.” See p. 15.

<sup>578</sup> Haydn utilized the descending chromatic fourth figure in numerous works, both secular and sacred. See Peter Williams, *The Chromatic Fourth during Three Centuries of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 121-25. “Haydn provided a series of isolated examples of the chromatic fourth in masses from at least the *Kleine Orgelmesse* (c. 1775) to the *Harmoniemesse* (1802), particularly for such works as *Kyrie* and *Crucifixus*, where it might appear just once, often in the bass.” See also Othmar Wessely, “Vergangenheit und Zukunft in Bruckners Messe in D Moll,” *Österreichische Musikzeitschrift* 29 (1974), 411-17.

<sup>579</sup> Williams, *The Chromatic Fourth*, p. 124.

<sup>580</sup> For a detailed analysis of the musical symbolism in this work, see Michele Horner Tannenbaum, “Tradition and Innovation in Franz Liszt’s ‘Variations on a Motive of Bach,’” Ph.D. diss. (Kent State



Example 4-2: Liszt, *Variationen*, S. 180, mm. 18-36

Bruckner's use of Baroque rhetorical gestures such as this is well known. Even at a very early stage of his compositional career, symbolic references inform his musical vocabulary to a great degree. In his Requiem of 1849, for example, we see many such rhetorical devices, including the use of catabasis.<sup>581</sup> Consider the example below, from the *Domine* of that work:



The text at this point reads:

*Domine, Jesu Christe, Rex gloriae, libera animus omnium fidelium  
defunctorum de poenis inferni et de profundo lacu*

Lord Jesus Christ, King of Glory, free the souls of all the faithful  
departed from infernal punishment and the deep pit.

Perhaps more overtly symbolic, but no less affective, is Bruckner's appropriation of Liszt's "tonic symbol of the Cross," a three-note motive – utilized in this piece and others – declared by Liszt to have such extramusical associations.<sup>582</sup> For Liszt, this symbol, derived from the Gregorian chant for Good Friday *Crux fidelis*, was symbolic of Christ and the Cross.<sup>583</sup> It was built on a scalar passage consisting of a major second and a minor third, for example, g-a-c; Liszt frequently constructed two overlapping versions of the Cross symbol (one on the dominant, one on the tonic) in order to further emphasize what Tibor Szász refers to as Liszt's "associative musical symbolism."<sup>584</sup>



Example 4-4: Liszt, Two Cross Symbols

And, indeed, in a larger sense, one must take into account that Latin texts with which Bruckner would work throughout his entire career carry a definite hermeneutical meaning for the listener. Even those who do not possess a complete understanding of the language are aware, through consistent exposure, of the underlying message of these religious

<sup>582</sup> See Tibor Szász, "Liszt's symbols for the divine and diabolical: their revelation of a program in the B-minor sonata," *Journal of the American Liszt Society* 15 (1984) 39-95. Floros also connects the usage of this motive to various works of Bruckner's, particularly the E-minor Mass as well as to works by Wagner, Mahler, and Tchaikovsky. See Constantin Floros, *Gustav Mahler II: Mahler und die Symphonik des 19. Jahrhunderts in neuer Deutung* (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1977), pp. 242-45 and 256-59.

<sup>583</sup> Szász, *ibid.* The chant can be found on p. 742 of the *Liber Usualis*.

<sup>584</sup> *Ibid.* The author identifies a variety of works in which Liszt utilized his Cross symbol. These include the oratorio *Die Legende von der heiligen Elisabeth*, in which he explicitly identifies the Cross symbol as such, the symphonic poem *Hunnenschlacht*, and, perhaps most significantly (and affectively) for Szász, in the Sonata in B minor.

texts.<sup>585</sup> Thus the use of the language itself becomes a tool for evoking a certain hermeneutical response. Manfred Wagner puts the matter thusly:

[In the great masses] a type of intersection between the autonomy of the musical shape and the function of the words emerges. So, for each of the Masses an underlying theme (*Grundthema*) is fashioned, to which the entire texture is subject, as [Bruckner] will also later do in the symphonies.<sup>586</sup>

That Bruckner was aware of such processes seems to be without doubt, as Jackson's studies reveal. Jackson certainly feels that many of Bruckner's later works, particularly the symphonies, display what he terms a "programmatic-constructivist aspect without, however, in anyway compromising the 'absolute' integrity of Bruckner's music,"<sup>587</sup> a point that would have been appreciated by Bruckner's contemporaries who strove to portray him as something other than a Wagner epigone. Jackson feels this to be the case whether these allusions arise by conscious or unconscious (or even spiritual) means.<sup>588</sup>

Carl Dahlhaus also sees in Bruckner's works a process of assimilation of many disparate hermeneutical devices, all aimed at conveying the most powerful message possible to the listener. Dahlhaus is clear in his assessment that, particularly in the later symphonic works, Bruckner had consciously sought to utilize hermeneutical devices in order to achieve the culmination of a process begun by Beethoven. This, according to

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<sup>585</sup> M. Wagner, "Bruckner's Weg," 21.

<sup>586</sup> Ibid., 25. "...eine Art Verschränkung zwischen der Autonomie der musikalischen Gestalt und der Funktion der Worte entsteht. So konstruiert er für jede der grossen Messen ein musikalisches Grundthema, dem er die gesamte Textur unterwirft, was er auch später bei der Symphonie tun wird."

<sup>587</sup> Jackson, "Wagner-Jesus," 74.

<sup>588</sup> Ibid. Jackson is quite adamant on this point. Regarding the "programmatic-constructivist" nature of the music, he states the following: "This is not to say, however – and the point must be stressed to prevent misunderstanding – that when Bruckner commenced work on the *Andante* of the *Eighth* and *Ninth Symphonies* he consciously set out to parody Schubert and Wagner." He goes on to caution against assuming that Bruckner began his compositional process with a particular program or semantic in mind, as he claims that Floros has in his writings (see n. 53 in the Jackson article). It is Jackson's opinion that, considering the available evidence, "the semantic of a particular passage or movement could be far from settled well into the compositional process."

Dalhaus, accords well with the opinion of such influential thinkers of the early twentieth century as Ernest Bloch, who considered Bruckner's music to be a "purification of Wagner"; Bruckner achieved this by "rehabilitat[ing] the symphony, declared dead by Wagner, in the musical language of Wagnerian orchestral melody."<sup>589</sup> Dahlhaus writes:

As Wagner reclaimed the musical powers of speech of the Beethovenian symphony for music drama, Bruckner assimilated the musical language of music drama for the symphony.<sup>590</sup>

Therefore, assimilation of these hermeneutical devices into a unified whole seems to be an integral part of his compositional process. They are capable of instantly conveying the desired message to the "upper-class minds" that Bruckner wished to engage.

Many of these musical allusions have strong – if not outright explicit – hermeneutical characteristics, as is evident in the Wagnerian references in the first version of the Third Symphony or the *Adagio* of the Seventh.<sup>591</sup> Particularly in the Third Symphony, explicit quotations from the Wagner canon are combined with quotations from his own works in order to convey a precise message.<sup>592</sup>

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<sup>589</sup> Carl Dalhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, trans. by Robert Lustig (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), pp. 122-23.

<sup>590</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123.

<sup>591</sup> For the Third Symphony, see Kühnen, "Die Botschaft als Chiffre." For an extensive analysis of the *Adagio*, see Stephen Parkany, "Kurth's *Bruckner* and the *Adagio* of the Seventh Symphony," *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 11 (1988), 262-81.

<sup>592</sup> Kühnen, *ibid.* Wagnerian quotations from *Tristan und Isolde*, *Die Walküre*, and *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg* are utilized here along with quotations from Bruckner's Second Symphony in C minor and the *Miserere* from the *Gloria* of his Mass in D minor. It should also be noted that Egon Voss has disputed the validity of the idea that these quotations are present in the first version of the Third Symphony. See his article "Wagner-Zitate in Bruckners Dritter Sinfonie? Ein Beitrag zum Begriff des Zitats in der Musik," *Die Musikforschung* 49 (1996), 403-6. Voss bases his argument on only two of the reported (in Kühnen) nineteen different quotations present in the first version of the Third Symphony and, even in the context of this meager sampling, seeks to discredit their validity as quotations solely on the basis of their lack of "Wörtlichkeit" or "literalness;" that is to say, the lack of strict adherence to the melodic and rhythmic integrity of that which is quoted. I find his argument unconvincing, especially in comparison to Kühnen's comprehensive and insightful treatment of the subject. Also addressing the problem of "fragmentary" (*fragmentarisch*) quotation in this symphony, see Elisabeth Reiter, "Nochmals: Die 'Wagner-Zitate' – Funktion und Kontext," *Bruckner-Jahrbuch* (1994-96), 79-89.

While these Wagnerian influences are undeniable, it is also true that, as discussed in the opening of this chapter, Bruckner's strong religious beliefs greatly influenced the vast majority of his compositional output. The extent to which this vibrant Catholicism is melded with a variety of other influences – particularly, for the purposes of this argument, the tenets of *Generalbass* – is perhaps the most striking feature of Bruckner's remarkable compositional style.

In instances encountered earlier, such as the excerpts from Kretzschmar's *Führer durch den Konzertsaal*,<sup>593</sup> we have seen examples of the melding of the notational aspects of figured-bass practice with its aural components. While such visual, graphic manifestations of the hermenutical components of the figured-bass tradition are apparent, we should not in any way interpret this as a deemphasis of the impact of a basso continuo format as an element of an overall sound-complex. I believe that it is possible, with the intent of presenting the listener with Schoenberg's "full pregnancy of meaning," to view the use of basso continuo elements in the music of Bruckner as having what Stephen Parkany refers to as *structural* meaning.<sup>594</sup> This is true whether these elements appear as full-blown, explicit figured-bass parts, as in his early sacred-vocal works (particularly the Requiem), for example, or merely as an implicit yet recognizable textural presence in his later, more symphonic works (in which category we might be justified in placing the later great masses in E minor, D minor, and F minor). Parkany equates this concept with Wagner's oft-quoted phrase *deeds of music*, "referring to the

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<sup>593</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 100ff.

<sup>594</sup> Parkany, "Kurth's *Bruckner*." Parkany's *structural meaning* is presented in juxtaposition to what he terms *associative* meanings, which "deriv[e] from immediate local reference to extra-musical events and states of feeling." See 263. The intent here is not to suggest that Bruckner did not engage in this associative type of formal synthesis; indeed, as we have noted above, many such examples can be found in both the sacred-vocal and secular-instrumental works.

musical foundations supporting what Wagner judges to be ideal dramatic effects and structures.”<sup>595</sup> These foundations are created by formal (i.e., compositional, in this case) processes and may then be interpreted as verbal (or exegetic) metaphors. These metaphors – already mature in Bruckner’s vocabulary of hermeneutic implications by the time of the composition of the great masses of the 1860s – become an overarching structural foundation for his later symphonic works.<sup>596</sup> As we shall see, the continuo imagery in music of this type, with all its concomitant associations, is a powerful one in the hands of a composer so adept at the use of such devices. It is, indeed, in this sense of structural unity that the figured-bass associations with which we are concerned here allowed Bruckner to attain what Dahlhaus views as the ultimate in an absolute musical style, “*the Absolute*,” the divine or supernatural sphere which humans are otherwise usually unable to perceive.<sup>597</sup> In this way, Ernst Kurth’s idea of a concept of absolute music “that was exalted into the realm of the immeasurable”<sup>598</sup> finds its ultimate expression in his 1300-page *Standardwerke* on Bruckner.<sup>599</sup> For in the works of Bruckner, Kurth sees a synthesis of the “polyphonic” style of Bach with the “organic form” of Beethoven to produce a “third culture,” which attains this paradigmatic state of absoluteness.<sup>600</sup> Bloch echoes this sentiment when he speaks of a similar Brucknerian synthesis of these composers’ styles, resulting in “the *total dramatic counterpoint* [that]

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<sup>595</sup> Parkany, “Kurth’s *Bruckner*,” n. 4.

<sup>596</sup> See, for example, the discussion below involving Bruckner’s utilization of what A. B. Marx termed *Gänge* as a structural device in these later works. This process, derived from Bruckner’s exposure to the Baroque masters referenced above and developed initially in his early works of the second St. Florian period, was also employed in his later large-scale works as a structural device. See pp. 349ff. below.

<sup>597</sup> Parkany, “Kurth’s *Bruckner*,” 265. Parkany refers the reader to Dahlhaus’s summary of these ideas in Carl Dahlhaus, *Die Musik des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1980), pp. 13–19. See Parkany, n. 15.

<sup>598</sup> Dahlhaus, *The Idea of Absolute Music*, p. 30.

<sup>599</sup> Parkany’s article gives a complete overview of the ideas presented in Ernst Kurth’s *Bruckner*.

<sup>600</sup> Parkany, “Kurth’s *Bruckner*,” 266.

remains as the place of preparation laid before the ultimate music, before the ontology of music as such.”<sup>601</sup>

### **III. Bruckner’s Education: Exposure to Older Traditions**

#### **a) Early Influences**

While evaluating the associative and hermeneutical properties of the continuo tradition on the works of Bruckner, we must keep in mind the fact that his later works owe a great deal to the earlier – and more conservative – compositional efforts of the composer’s career. Perhaps to a greater extent than most of his fellow nineteenth-century musical artists, Bruckner was immersed from an early age in the theoretical – as well as practical – concepts that informed the great body of Viennese concerted works from the previous century. This holds true not only for the tutelage he received from his father, who, as schoolmaster of the provincial town of Ansfelden where Bruckner grew up, was expected to perform musical duties as well; his mother – who had a fine singing voice and introduced young Anton to the local church choir and orchestra’s performances of the liturgical music of, among others, Michael Haydn – was also a guiding force in his early musical development.<sup>602</sup> His subsequent studies served to reinforce his training. Due to the crowded conditions brought about by the arrival of two younger sisters, Bruckner left his own home in the spring of 1835 to stay – for an eighteen-month period, as it turned out – with his godfather and cousin Johann Baptist Weiss (1813-1850), who was twenty-one years old at the time and employed as schoolmaster and organist at the

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<sup>601</sup> Ernest Bloch, *Geist der Utopie: Bearbeitete Neuauflage der zweiten Fassung von 1923* (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1964), translated by Anthony A. Nassar as *The Spirit of Utopia* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), p. 139.

<sup>602</sup> Derek Watson, *Bruckner* (New York: Schirmer Books, 1996), p. 2.



nearby town of Hörsching.<sup>603</sup> It was during this stay with Weiss – who was a highly regarded organist and composer in the area of Upper Austria – that he received his first serious instruction in organ as well as being introduced to studies in harmony, counterpoint, and the use of figured bass.<sup>604</sup> The exercises Weiss gave the young student were taken from the works of Bach, Handel, Joseph and Michael Haydn,<sup>605</sup> Mozart, and Albrechtsberger, as well as from works by Weiss himself, including a Requiem in E<sup>b</sup> – a favorite of Bruckner’s – and a Mass in G major. This period of instruction led directly to Bruckner’s first compositional attempts, including an *a cappella* setting of the Thomas Aquinas Corpus Christi hymn *Pange lingua* (WAB 31) – believed to be his earliest extant choral work – and a set of five organ preludes (WAB 127 and 128).<sup>606</sup>

Perhaps the most important influence on the young Bruckner was his association with the Augustinian monastery of St. Florian. He had been acquainted with the monastery since boyhood; but in 1837, following the death of his father from consumption, Bruckner’s mother prevailed upon the prior, Michael Arneth, to accept the boy as a chorister. There he was lodged with Michael Bogner, the headmaster of St. Florian, who continued the emphasis on counterpoint and figured-bass instruction.<sup>607</sup> This early training cannot be overlooked; when one takes into account the fact that, in many ways, St. Florian represented a spiritual and emotional home for Bruckner – not only during these formative years but throughout the composer’s career – it becomes

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<sup>603</sup> Crawford Howie, *Anton Bruckner: A Documentary Biography*, Volume I (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2002), p. 7.

<sup>604</sup> Watson, *Bruckner*, p. 3.

<sup>605</sup> The official biography begun by August Göllerich and completed by Max Auer – A. Göllerich, *Anton Bruckner: ein Lebens- und Schaffensbild*, i. (Regensburg, 1922/R); ii-iv, ed. Max Auer (1928-37/R) – reports that Weiss introduced Bruckner to the scores of *The Creation* and *The Seasons* by Joseph Haydn. See Paul Hawkshaw and Timothy L. Jackson, “Bruckner,” *NGD*, Vol. 4, p. 459.

<sup>606</sup> Some doubt has been cast concerning these organ pieces in recent scholarship. See Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 8, n.16 for explanation.

<sup>607</sup> Watson, *Bruckner*, p. 4.

apparent that many of the stylistic and formulaic approaches that he encountered during this early period left a deep emotional impression on the composer, one that perhaps can be associated with his most expressive outpourings in his later works. And, indeed, the subsequent instruction in compositional procedures he would eventually receive from Simon Sechter and Otto Kitzler would only serve to reinforce the concepts Bruckner encountered in his early training and allow them to be assimilated into a rapidly expanding compositional palette.

To be sure, there has been considerable debate concerning the effects of this early period at St. Florian on Bruckner's later compositional efforts. Ernst Tittel, for example, did not see these early experiences as having a lasting impact on Bruckner's compositional development;<sup>608</sup> however, other scholars see it differently. For example, Fritz Grüninger states unequivocally that this period represented the greatest experience of the composer's entire life, invoking what he considered to be sound psychological principles in assessing the impact of this period on his future endeavors.<sup>609</sup> Alfred Orel also suggests that it was at this time, when Bruckner was serving as a choirboy, that the power of the Catholic Church first made its substantial impact on the young boy and that this led to the enormous religiosity that infused his life and work ever after.<sup>610</sup>

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<sup>608</sup> Ernst Tittel, *Österreichische Kirchenmusik* (Vienna, 1961), p. 284.

<sup>609</sup> Fritz Grüninger, *Anton Bruckner: Der metaphysische Kern seiner Persönlichkeit und Werke* (Augsburg: B. Filser, 1930), pp. 20-21. "It is a venerable tenet of psychology that the impressions received in youth are among the strongest and most influential of one's life and that the influences they exert continue vividly [throughout the course of one's life]. It is, therefore, indisputable that many substantial characteristics of a master's works may be traced back to the effects of these youthful impressions." [Es ist ein alte Erfahrung der Psychologie, das die in der Jugend empfangenen Eindrücke zu den stärksten und nachhaltigsten das ganzen Lebens gehören und dass ihr Einfluss von dauernder Lebendigkeit ist. Daher sind unstreitig wesentliche Eigenschaften der Werke des Meisters auf die Auswirkung seiner Jugendeindrücke zurückzuführen].

<sup>610</sup> Alfred Orel, *Anton Bruckner* (Vienna-Leipzig: A. Hartleben, 1925), p. 120.

It should be noted that primarily due to the lack of documentary evidence, early biographies such as those mentioned above often sought to portray Bruckner's artistic development as the result of general cultural, regional, or even political influences. But recent studies have demonstrated the necessity of a closer examination of the church music with which Bruckner would have become acquainted during not only his first stay at St. Florian from 1837 to 1840, but also his second, which lasted from September 25, 1845 – at the time of his appointment to the position of assistant teacher at the parish school – until December 1855.<sup>611</sup>

#### **b) Repertory Available at St. Florian: Caldara and Later Composers**

As compiled by Walter Pass,<sup>612</sup> the list of works with which Bruckner would have come into contact at St. Florian during this time provides some interesting insights into the matter of his early musical experiences. Pass is correct when he notes that the need for a documentary study of the sources that so affected Bruckner's early development is crucial to an understanding of his later artistic efforts. Pass's study in particular demonstrates that Bruckner was not newly introduced to the literature of the Austrian church music tradition on the occasion of his 1845-55 sojourn at St. Florian. Rather, it was during his first stay at the monastery that a comprehensive understanding of the practical and artistic merits of the works available there – as demonstrated by the documentary evidence of music to which he had access and performances with which he

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<sup>611</sup> A. C. Howie, "Traditional and Novel Elements in Bruckner's Sacred Music," *Musical Quarterly* 67 (1981), 544-67. Bruckner also acquired the post of organist at St. Florian when Anton Kattinger, who gave Bruckner instruction on the organ, left in 1848. The position was provisional at first and then, from 1851, became permanent.

<sup>612</sup> The most complete studies of this sort to date are: Walter Pass, "Studie über Bruckners St. Florianer Aufenthalt," *Bruckner-Studien: Festgabe der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft zum 150 Geburtstag von Anton Bruckner*, ed. O Wessely (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1975), pp. 11-51, which covers Bruckner's first years at St. Florian (1837-1841) and Walter Schulten, "Anton Bruckners künstlerische Entwicklung in der St. Florianer Zeit (1845-1855)," Phil. Diss. (Mainz, 1956), in which church documents covering the years after 1845 are considered.

would have been involved – had been deeply ingrained on his consciousness. This practical knowledge was only amplified in the years of his second stay at St. Florian and beyond, informing the deep religious ethos of his later works.<sup>613</sup>

According to Pass, the amount of church music that Bruckner would have encountered at St. Florian during this period was enormous. Further, the number of performances that the musicians and their conductor, Josef Eduard Kurz, would have been responsible for presenting corresponds to that given by Schulten for a period ten years later in 1848.<sup>614</sup> Bruckner was very much integrated into the church-music establishment during this period, serving as an instrumentalist<sup>615</sup> and also as a copyist<sup>616</sup> in support of the *Regens chori* Kurz.

Special attention was given to the musical organization of the liturgy, particularly during the three main festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost. For example, the Lenten cycle would commence on Ash Wednesday with a *Choralamt* (a choral church service). For the fourth Sunday of Lent, an instrumental mass would be presented along with a Gradual and Offertorium for mixed voices.<sup>617</sup> The documentation concerning the arrangement of music for Passion Week is a bit less clear, but the high points were the *Lamentationen* and *Responsorien* on Wednesday, with the Passion Friday *Grabmusik* usually consisting of one of two works by Joseph Haydn; the *Stabat mater* or

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<sup>613</sup> Pass, “Studie,” pp. 11-12.

<sup>614</sup> Ibid., p. 43. Pass gives the ratio of performances as being 94 in 1838 / 39, compared to Schulten’s documentation of 99 performances in 1848. The upswing in the performance of church music during the twenty year period from 1829, when Kurz assumed the position of *Regens chori*, through the cited year of 1848 seems to have a direct connection to the increased momentum of the Catholic Restoration movement in Austria during that period. Pass construes this as evidence that the tenure of Kurz as *Regens chori* did not represent a low point in the musical life of St. Florian, as has been reported.

<sup>615</sup> Bruckner studied violin with Franz Gruber and organ and piano with Anton Kattinger while at St. Florian. See Watson, *Bruckner*, p.4.

<sup>616</sup> Pass, “Studie,” p. 42.

<sup>617</sup> Ibid., p. 44. The works presented on this Sunday in 1839 (10 March) were the *Missa ex D* by Josef Preindl, a *Graduale ex G* (*Ecce nunc benedicimus Dominum*) by Franz Gleissner and an *Offertorium ex E moll* (*Exsultate Sancti in gloria*) by Michael Haydn.

the *Seven Last Words*.<sup>618</sup> Likewise the Easter cycle would usually commence with an Easter Sunday morning service that featured a large and solemn mass by either Joseph Haydn or Mozart, followed by an afternoon service during which a *Magnificat* and a *Te Deum laudamus* were performed.<sup>619</sup>

There were, of course, numerous other feast days throughout the liturgical calendar that required an equal amount of musical coordination, and Bruckner would have also been involved in these preparations. The list of composers whose works constituted the St. Florian repertoire – and to whose works Bruckner would thereby be exposed – is an extensive one. Again, in comparison to Bruckner's second sojourn at St. Florian, the practices of the church musical establishment mostly correspond, with differences occurring mainly in the repertoire. The emphasis here seems to be on the so-called *älteren Musik*;<sup>620</sup> the works of Classical and pre-Classical composers certainly dominated during this period, with works by a wide range of musicians appearing. The two most notable exceptions in the list of composers are Luigi Cherubini and Ludwig van Beethoven.<sup>621</sup>

But also absent from the St. Florian repertoire are works by Palestrina, Hassler, or Gabrieli, or, indeed, any of their *römischen* successors of the seventeenth century. Bruckner would not encounter their music until his second stay at St. Florian, and then

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<sup>618</sup> Ibid. The *Grabmusik* in 1838 was *Die 7 Worte des Heilands*. In 1840, apparently in accordance with an older tradition that can also be seen in the monastery at Kremsmünster as well as at St. Florian, parts of Handel's *Messiah* were performed as the Good Friday *Grabmusik*.

<sup>619</sup> Ibid. The Easter Sunday works for 1839 were the *Missa ex C* by Mozart, a *Magnificat* by Grasl, and a *Te Deum laudamus* by Franz Seraph Aumann.

<sup>620</sup> Ibid., p. 45; see particularly note 58. These works include a Choral Requiem by Aumann on the feast of All Soul's Day, 2 November 1839, a *Requiem solemne ex C moll* as well as the next day's *figuriert Requiem* "*defunctis concanonicis florianensibus*."

<sup>621</sup> Ibid. Also included in Pass's list of notable exceptions are Franz Umlauff, Ignaz Holzbauer, and Johann Kaspar Aiblinger.

only due to the introduction of the editions of Proske and Ett into the musical establishment there.<sup>622</sup>

The only Baroque composer whose works appear in this early repertoire list of St. Florian is Antonio Caldara, and we see his works repeatedly. A Mass in F major along with Masses in D minor and A minor for low strings and trombones are represented on the repertoire list. These works were often presented on solemn occasions during a High Mass and were considered to be models of contrapuntal composition.<sup>623</sup> Caldara's compositional style has been termed forward-looking, simplifying the relatively complex harmonies of the Baroque period in a way that foreshadows the *Frühklassik*. Yet still, his emphasis on fugal procedures, contrapuntal connection to melody, and heavy reliance on basso continuo procedures all hark back to the deeply ingrained Baroque style.<sup>624</sup> Therefore, for most musical tastes in the Romantic period, Caldara remained largely an historical figure; performances were restricted primarily to monasteries such as St. Florian and the larger churches of Austria, Bohemia, Moravia, and Southern Germany. Still, as we can see by the St. Florian repertoire list, performances continued well into the nineteenth century.<sup>625</sup>

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<sup>622</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>623</sup> Ibid. See, for example, the *Hochamt um 9 Uhr* for the fourth Sunday in Advent, 22 December 1839, in which the *Missa ex F* is listed.

<sup>624</sup> Bernhard Baumgartner, "Antonio Caldara," *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* 2 (Kassel, 1952), p. 649. "Already in the early Classical period, efforts aimed at slightly modernizing the traits of the Caldara-style voice leading (without, however, assuming the mannerisms of the later Neapolitans), in connection with nascent tendencies toward simplification of the harmonic framework within that clearly articulated period, resulted in an emphasis, indeed a predilection, for the fugal style, for intensive contrapuntal linkage of the melodic line with the basso continuo as a deliberately conservative reminiscence." [Streben leicht modernisierende Züge der Caldaraschen Linienführung (ohne etwa das Gehaben der späteren Neopolitaner anzunehmen), verbunden mit leisen Tendenzen zur Vereinfachung des harmonischen Gerüsts innerhalb der klar abgegliederten Periode, schon der Frühklassik entgegen, so wirkt andererseits seine Vorliebe für die fugierende Schreibweise, für intensive kontrapunktische Verknüpfung der Melodiest, mit dem Continuobass konservativ, ja betont rückschauend].

<sup>625</sup> Brian W. Pritchard, "Antonio Caldara," *NGD*, Vol. 4, p. 821.

Caldara's music, along with that of other Baroque masters, also gained currency in private hands during the nineteenth century, particularly in those sacred music collections devoted to the aesthetics of the Cecilian movement.<sup>626</sup> But the tenets of Cecilianism had not reached the sheltered halls of St. Florian at this time; therefore, the music of Caldara was by and large the sole representative of the *älten* or *kontrapunktische Stil*.<sup>627</sup> There were, to be sure, composers represented in the St. Florian repertoire that had "connections," as Pass puts it, to Caldara and his school of compositional practices. The composers Georg von Reutter the younger (1708-1772) and Luca Antonio Predieri (1688-1767), both of whose works were performed at St. Florian, did indeed have such connections to Caldara. Predieri succeeded Caldara as Kapellmeister to the Viennese court<sup>628</sup> and Reutter was a student of Caldara, trained in the most contemporary compositional techniques.<sup>629</sup> Though the works of these composers are present in the repertoire,<sup>630</sup> the overwhelming majority of *Gradual* and *Offertorium* settings found in the repertoire list were composed by Michael Haydn. It is interesting to note the intersection of the *älteren Musik* with that of the Viennese Classical composers. It is apparent here in the fact that Reutter, the Caldara student, was, as part of his duties as first Kapellmeister at St. Stephan's Cathedral in Vienna, in charge of the choir school where his students included Joseph and Michael Haydn, among

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<sup>626</sup> Ibid.

<sup>627</sup> The main exception to this statement is, of course, Handel's *Messiah*, parts of which, as stated above, were used at St. Florian as well as at Kremsmünster in earlier times as *Grabmusik* for the service on Good Friday. That this custom was rescinded in favor of more affect-laden works such as Joseph Haydn's *Stabat mater* or *Seven Last Words* during Bruckner's time at St. Florian, could also be seen as having a psychological effect on the young composer. See Pass, "Studie," p. 47.

<sup>628</sup> Anne Schnobelen, "Luca Antonio Predieri," *NGD*, Vol. 20, p. 283.

<sup>629</sup> David Wyn Jones, "Georg (von) Reutter (ii)," *NGD*, Vol. 21, p. 235.

<sup>630</sup> In Pass's list, which covers the liturgical years of 1838 and 1839, performances of works by Reutter totaled 11 (seven *Graduals* and four *Offertoriums*) and works by Predieri were performed a total of two times (both *Offertoriums*).

others.<sup>631</sup> In this sense, we can see the music of the old school merging with that of the Viennese Classical masters in an unbroken tradition during a period in which the compositional techniques of the old music were viewed with a new and avid receptiveness by the practitioners of the newer style.<sup>632</sup> And, as we have seen in the previous chapters, this compositional and performance tradition was often passed along to succeeding generations by such masters as Michael Haydn in the form of *Generalbasslehre*.

The masters of the Viennese Classical period are well represented in this repertoire. Joseph Haydn and W. A. Mozart figure prominently, as do their more Salzburgian counterparts Michael Haydn and Leopold Mozart. In addition, most of the well-known names in the contemporary Viennese compositional school are present on the list; some of the names include composers who were also notable for their contributions to the realm of music theory, such as Albrechtsberger, Joseph Preindl, and – possibly the most significant from Bruckner’s perspective – Simon Sechter.<sup>633</sup>

Pass, like Grüninger, feels strongly that the effect of these early musical and social experiences on Bruckner’s psychological development cannot be overemphasized, and this applies not only to his early works. As he says,

[i]n order to understand Bruckner’s compositions – and this means not only the smaller liturgical works – [these early experiences and influences] represent an important starting point. Aesthetic qualifications, such as “religious” or “liturgical,” that later became attached to his stylistic posture, find their roots in this choirboy period, which, in terms of psychological development and its effects on the formulation of [Bruckner’s] personality, cannot be overestimated.”<sup>634</sup>

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<sup>631</sup> Wyn Jones, “Reutter.”

<sup>632</sup> Pass, “Studie,” p. 47.

<sup>633</sup> For a complete listing, see Pass, “Studie,” pp. 48-50.

<sup>634</sup> Pass, “Studie,” 46-47. “Für das Verständnis von Bruckners Kompositionen - und dies betrifft nicht nur die Gruppe der sogenannten kleineren Kirchenmusikwerke - liegt hier ein wichtiger Ansatzpunkt. Ästhetische Qualifizierungen wie etwa ‘kirchlich’ oder ‘liturgisch’, die er später derartigen stilistischen Haltungen beimass, haben also ihre Wurzeln bereits in der Sängerknabenzeit geschlagen, deren



### c) Bruckner's Studies with Dürnberger

The lessons Bruckner received from the St. Florian headmaster Michael Bogner certainly prepared the young student well for his next teacher. Bruckner moved to Linz in 1840 in order to complete a ten-month teacher-training course. It was here that the young musician met Johann August Dürnberger (1800-1880), who continued Bruckner's instruction of thoroughbass using for instructional purposes his own *Elementar-Lehrbuch der Harmonie - und Generalbass-Lehre* (Linz, 1841). Dürnberger remained an important influence throughout Bruckner's career; he was, for example, instrumental in the process that led to Bruckner's appointment as organist at Linz Cathedral.<sup>635</sup> More importantly, perhaps, is the strong influence on Bruckner's future pedagogical exploits that these early lessons with Dürnberger exerted. For it seems clear that after Sechter's *Grundsätze*,<sup>636</sup> Dürnberger's *Elementar-Lehrbuch* was the most important such influence.<sup>637</sup> Bruckner is known to have remarked later in life concerning Dürnberger's treatise: "This book made of me what I am."<sup>638</sup> Indeed, the influence of Dürnberger was never really superseded by ensuing instruction, not even the rigorous course of study in which he engaged with Sechter. Rather, as Wason puts it, "the two continued to co-exist as 'authorities,'"<sup>639</sup> allowing Bruckner to incorporate elements of both into his pedagogical approach.<sup>640</sup> Evidence of this can be found in the musical examples from his University

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entwicklungs-psychologisch relevante Bedeutung bei der Persönlichkeitsbildung des Komponisten nicht hoch genug veranschlagt werden kann."

<sup>635</sup> Watson, *Bruckner*, p. 145.

<sup>636</sup> Simon Sechter, *Die Grundsätze der musikalischen Komposition* (Leipzig, 1853).

<sup>637</sup> Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 69.

<sup>638</sup> Max Auer, *Bruckner* (Vienna: Amalthea-Verlag, 1923), p. 42.

<sup>639</sup> Wason, p. 164, note 19.

<sup>640</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71. Whether or not a relationship between Bruckner's teaching of theoretical concepts at the Vienna Conservatory and the University of Vienna and his compositional practices exists is problematic for many scholars (see, for example, Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 68). It appears to this observer, however, that the elements of figured-bass and fundamental-bass approaches were so far ingrained in the

lectures, which utilize a four-staff system much like that found in the *praktischer Theil* in Dürnberger's *Elementar-Lehrbuch*: the lowest staff contains the bass line while the upper three staves show the various positioning of the chord tones above the bass. A comparison of the examples from the *Elementar-Lehrbuch* (Example 4-5) and those reproduced by Bruckner's student Ernst Schwanzara from his notes on Bruckner's University lectures<sup>641</sup> (Example 4-6) demonstrates the similarity:



Example 4-5: Dürnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, praktischer Theil, p. IV



Example 4-6: Schwanzara, *Vorlesungen*, p. 13

compositional methods of Bruckner that, in order to be able to fully express himself later in his career, he relied on many of these methods, along with the distinctive sound-complex properties that their practical employment produces. These thereby became powerful tools for rendering a hermeneutical impact on the listener.

<sup>641</sup> Ernst Schwanzara, ed., *Anton Bruckner: Vorlesungen über Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt in der Universität Wien* (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1950). Schwanzara's notes cover the period from 1891 to 1894; See Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 221, n. 38.

Bruckner's method of notating fundamental-bass progressions can also be seen clearly in the notebooks kept by his student at the Vienna Conservatory Rafael Loidol.<sup>642</sup>

Example 4-7, an excerpt from these notebooks, demonstrates the method in which Bruckner encouraged his pupils to visualize the music.

The image shows a musical score with four staves. The top staff is labeled 'Septlage (13)' and contains a series of notes with accidentals. The second staff is labeled '25 Oktavlage' and contains a series of notes with accidentals. The third staff is labeled 'Terzlage' and contains a series of notes with accidentals. The fourth staff is labeled 'Quintlage' and contains a series of notes with accidentals. Below the fourth staff, there is a row of numbers: 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 7, 3. Below this row, there is another row of numbers: 1, 4, 7, 3, 6, 2, 5, 1. The notation includes various musical symbols like notes, rests, and accidentals.

Example 4-7: Loidol / Flotzinger, p. 396

Further, Bruckner was known to have made reference to the compatibility of theory and compositional practice in his lectures. Consider the following, from Schwanzara's *Vorlesung*:

I will endeavor in my lectures to facilitate comprehension through clear presentation and to make the ABCs of theory live through graphic examples, mindful of Goethe's words: 'All theory is gray / Only Life's golden tree is green.' I will reduce many difficulties to a minimum

<sup>642</sup> The relationship between Loidol and Bruckner was a close one for many years. Following his studies at the University of Vienna – where he was enrolled in the *Philosophischen Fakultät* – Loidol entered the Benedictine monastery at Kremsmünster as a novice (on 18 August 1880), where he took the name "Oddo." From 1881 to 1885, he studied at St. Florian, where he was active not only as religious instructor (*Katechet*) in the monastery school but also as singing instructor in the *Gymnasium*. The measure of the friendship between Loidol and Bruckner can be seen in the latter's dedication of his *Christus Factus est* (WAB 11) to Loidol (2 August 1885). See Rudolf Flotzinger, "Rafael Loidol's Theoriekolleg bei Bruckner 1879 / 80," *Bruckner-Studien*, ed. O. Wessely (Vienna, 1975), 379-431. See note 8.

through practical exercises, so that theory and practice are tightly bound together.<sup>643</sup>

Concerning the similarities between the examples in the *Elementar-Lehrbuch* and Bruckner's later pedagogical materials, however, Wason makes the following curious statement:

Throughout his University lectures, Bruckner notated all musical examples on a four-stave system: the lowest staff contained the bass line (and the fundamental bass notated in black note heads, as Sechter often did), while the upper three staves illustrated the three possible positions of the soprano in close position. The *praktischer Theil* in Dürnberger's book is set up precisely in the same way (without the fundamental bass, of course).<sup>644</sup>

However, close examination of these two examples reveals that Dürnberger did indeed provide something very close to a fundamental-bass explication in many of his examples. They are merely couched in the step designations of Roman numerals rather than the small black note heads in Schwanzara's edition of Bruckner's *Vorlesungen* (accompanied by the appropriate Arabic numeral). Thus, in Example 4-5 above, the second measure has a fundamental-bass progression of F – D (IV – II), thereby providing the proper root movement by fifth to the next measure. The same process is repeated in the ensuing section of Example 4-5.

Example 4-6 from the *Vorlesungen* is a demonstration of the proper progression of stepwise movement in the bass line, which must proceed in the following manner only, as described by Bruckner (through Schwanzara) in his lectures during the 1890s:

We made our previous chord connections by way of fundamental steps, which are: descending fifths (*Quintfallen*) and ascending fifths (*Quintsteigen*) as well as descending thirds (*Terzfallen*) and ascending

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<sup>643</sup> Schwanzara / Bruckner, *Vorlesungen über Harmonielehre*, p. 55. "Ich werde bei meine Vorträgen stets bemüht sein, durch klare Darstellung das Verständnis zu fördern und durch anschaulich Beispiele den Buchstaben der Theorie beleben machen, eingedenk der Worte Goethes: 'Grau is jede Theorie / Nur grün des Lebens goldner Baum.' Werde Ihnen manche Härten durch praktische Übungen auf ein Minimum reduzieren, somit Theorie und Praxis innig miteinander verbinden." Translation from Jackson, "Bruckner's Metrical Numbers," n. 22.

<sup>644</sup> Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, pp. 70-71.

thirds (*Terzsteigen*). Fundamental steps are those where the harmony contains at least one common tone. There is only one common tone in the connections that rise or fall a fifth; these steps are called whole steps. In the connections by thirds, we have two common tones; these are called half steps.

We come now to some new steps. I do not refer here to my polka steps, as the gentlemen are now learning in the dancing schools (it was 16 January 1893 and therefore during the carnival). [Rather, I refer to] the steps where the bass note (*Fundament*) rises or falls by a step. First we observe the rising stepwise motion of the bass. With this, we really have not merely a whole step, but rather one and a half steps, in that we at the same time fall first by a third and then by a fifth (or rise by a fourth); therefore, a half and an whole step ( $1 + \frac{1}{2}$ ) produce, as you know, a step and a half ( $1 \frac{1}{2}$ ). One can have in this way two triads on adjacent scale degrees or an inverted triad and a seventh chord; and / or two seventh chords can follow together. We will wish to observe this according to their order.<sup>645</sup>

Thus in the examples from Bruckner's lectures shown above, the motion of the fundamental steps (thirds and fifths), which are allowable, is utilized in a fundamental-bass manner to justify bass movement by step. While this is not always the case in Dürnberger's use of the Roman numeral designations, nonetheless this can be the effect of this notation. Clearly, by the time of Bruckner's University lectures, his studies with Sechter had introduced him to that theorist's concept of the *Zwischendominante*, as seen in this example. However, the idea that Dürnberger's notation of inverted chords may have also influenced fundamental-bass thinking in Bruckner's later compositional and theoretical concept is worth considering. That Bruckner used the small-note fundamental-bass notation to explain common yet complex figured-bass patterns, even at the end of

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<sup>645</sup> Schwanzara / Bruckner, *Vorlesungen*, p. 179. "Unsere bisherigen Akkordverbindungen haben wir mit Fundamentalschritten gemacht, das sind: Quintfallen und Quintsteigen sowie Terzfallen und Terzsteigen. Fundamentalschritte sind diejenigen, wo die Harmonien wenigstens einen gemeinsamen Ton haben. Nur ein gemeinsamer Ton ist beim Quintfallen und Quintsteigen; diese Schritte heissen ganze Schritte. Bei den Terzschriften haben wir zwei gemeinsame Töne; es sind halbe Schritte.

Wir kommen jetzt zu neuen Schritten. Ich meine nicht Polkaschritte, wie sie die Herren jetzt (es war 16. Jänner 1893, also im Fasching) in der Tanzschule lernen. Es sind diejenigen Schritte, wo das Fundament um eine Stufe steigt oder fällt. Zuerst betrachten wir das Stufesteigen des Fundaments. Bei demselben haben wir eigentlich nicht bloss einen ganzen Schritt, sondern eineinhalb, indem wir dabei zuerst um ein Terz fallen und dann noch um eine Quint fallen (oder Quart steigen), also einen halben und einen ganzen Schritt machen und  $1 + \frac{1}{2}$  ist bekanntlich  $1 \frac{1}{2}$ . Man kann auf den Nachbarstufen hier zwei Dreiklänge folgen lassen oder auf einen Dreiklang einen Septakkord, bzw. umgekehrt; es können sich aber auch zwei Septakkorde folgen. Das wollen wir der Reihe nach betrachten."

the nineteenth century, is clear, as can be seen in Example 4-8 below; perhaps the similarities between Dürnberger's system and Bruckner's later pedagogical activities lay somewhat deeper than previously imagined.



Example 4-8: Schwanzara, *Vorlesungen*, Example 77, p. 13

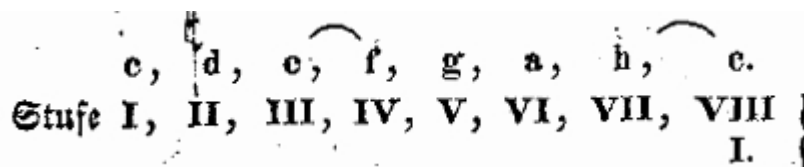
In order to better understand these relationships, we should examine more closely the system set forth by Dürnberger in the *Elementar-Lehrbuch*.

#### d) Dürnberger's Theoretical Approach in the *Elementar-Lehrbuch*

Dürnberger saw his pedagogical method as outlined in the *Elementar-Lehrbuch* very much as an amalgam, a synthesis of the most current theoretical and practical concepts then circulating throughout Europe. This can be readily seen in the layout of the first major section of the treatise, the *Theoretischer Theil*.<sup>646</sup> As in the other *Generalbass* manuals we have examined, Dürnberger begins with the most elemental concepts, i.e., what constitutes a musical tone, voicings, use of sharps and flats, and so forth. This information is contained in §§. 1-9 of the *Erster Abschnitt*, entitled *Die Tonlehre*.<sup>647</sup> It is at this point that he introduces the concept of the scale (*Tonleiter* or *Scala*). It can be *harte* (*Dur* or *Major*) or *weiche* (*Moll* or *Minor*). Dürnberger outlines the steps of these scales, using Roman numerals to represent individual scale steps (the brackets above indicate the half steps), as seen in Example 4-9 below:

<sup>646</sup> Johann August Dürnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch der Harmonie-und Generalbass-Lehre abgesondert in den theoretischen und praktischen Theil* (Linz: J. Weinmayr, 1841), pp. 1-89.

<sup>647</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1-9.



Example 4-9: Dürnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, p. 10, §. 12

The use of the Roman numerals is an indication that Dürnberger was familiar with the theoretical works of Vogler and Weber, along with the other Viennese theorists, such as Drechsler and Förster, who had adopted this system. Indeed, Dürnberger even quotes Vogler in his *Einleitung* to the *Elementar-Lehrbuch*; further, there are still more indications in the *Elementar-Lehrbuch* that Vogler's concepts found their way into Dürnberger's – and by extension, Bruckner's – theoretical scheme.<sup>648</sup>

Dürnberger utilizes the traditional nomenclature for step designations, as indicated in his chart and explanation in §. 26:

**§. 26.**

In vielen Lehrbüchern findet man noch jene Ausdrücke, mit welchen früher die verschiedenen Tonstufen eigens bezeichnet wurden. Die Ordnung derselben, nach ihrer natürlichen Entstehung und nach dem Grade ihrer Wichtigkeit in der Harmonie ist folgende:

die Tonic (Hauptton, Hauptklang)	I. Stufe.
= Dominante (herrschende — verwaltende)	V.
= Mediant (mittlere — ausmittelnde)	III.
= Subdominante (unter-neben-herrschende)	IV.
= Submediante (unter-neben-ausmittelnde)	VI.
das Subsemitonium (halber Ton der Tondart)	VII.
oder auch — Leitten —	
Semitonium modi (auch nota sensibilis — empfindsame Note —)	

Für die II. Stufe kommt eine solche besondere Bezeichnung nicht vor.

Die eigenthümliche Bedeutung dieser Ausdrücke, deren Kenntniß allerdings nothwendig ist, wird in der Folge von selbst ganz klar werden.

Example 4-10: Dürnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, p. 19-20, §. 26, chart and text<sup>649</sup>

<sup>648</sup> This is duly, albeit briefly, noted in Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 27.

<sup>649</sup> Dürnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, pp. 19-20. "In many textbooks, one still finds these expressions by which, in former times, the various tonal steps were individually designated. The traditional order, according to their natural occurrence as well as the relative degree of their importance in the harmony, is the following:

No special designation is given for the scale degree II.

The special meaning of these expressions, the knowledge of which is, to be sure, necessary, will become absolutely clear in the following [sections].

Moreover, as Wason has pointed out, Dürrnberger recognizes that these Roman numerals can be used to identify different scale steps in different keys. These are related to each other – in terms of scale steps and also in terms of key areas – through the by-now familiar concept of the *Verwandtschaft*. Dürrnberger even appropriates Voglers's term *Mehrdeutigkeit* to express the ability of these scale steps to function differently according to their position in a given scale. His rules for the positioning of keys in the *Verwandtschaft* are given as follows:

From the principle of *Mehrdeutigkeit* arises the concept of the relationships between scales and keys, which is of paramount importance in harmony since it contains the basis of the order in which the keys either progress from one to the other [in close proximity] or, on the other hand, develop more distant relationships.

The *Verwandtschaft* of keys exists primarily in the mutual aggregation of the diatonic notes [of the scales].

From this principle, we can always discern a similar pattern, in which the major and minor key, which is called the *Parallel Key* (*gleichlaufende*), is that which is most closely related. Such is the case with, for example, C major and A minor, whose diatonic scales

c, d, e, f, g, a, h,

und

a, h, c, d, e, f, g,

consist exclusively of common tones. According to this [process], one can determine the subsequent degrees of distance of the *Verwandtschaft*.<sup>650</sup>

Thus, the next degree of distance is between the scales in which there is only one note different between the two scales, as in C major and G major. Like most of his fellow theorists, Dürrnberger provides a chart to demonstrate his point, in which the steps along

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<sup>650</sup> Ibid., §. 27, p. 20. "Aus der Mehrdeutigkeit der Töne leitet sich der Begriffe der Verwandtschaft der Tonleitern und Tonarten, welche in der Harmonie von höchster Wichtigkeit ist, indem sie die Grundlage der Ordnung enthält, in welcher die Tonarten entweder zunächst aufeinander folgen, oder sich gegenüber, oder von einander entfernt stehen.

Die Verwandtschaft der Tonarten besteht eigentlich in der wechselseitigen Gemeinschaft ihrer leitereigene Töne.

Hiernach sind sich immer die unter einer und derselben Vorzeichnung vorkommenden Dur – und Moll – Tonarten am nächsten verwandt, welche man Parallel – Tonarten (gleichlaufende) nennt. Solche sind z. B. C – dur und A – moll mit ihren diatonischen Leitern

[see above]

weil dieselben wechselseitig alle Töne mitsammen gemein haben. Nach diesen hat man zur näheren Bestimmung eigene Grade der Verwandtschaft angenommen."



the *Verwandtschaft* proceed from the principle keys (*Haupt-Tonarten*) of C major and A minor in either an upwards (*aufsteigender*) direction or a downwards (*absteigender*) one:

viertel-	E - dur	Cis - moll	= Grad der Verwandtschaft in aufsteigender Linie.
drittel-	A - dur	Fis - moll	
zweyter-	D - dur	H - moll	
erster-	G - dur	E - moll	
Parallel-			
Haupt-	C - dur	A - moll	= Tonart.
	Tonarten.		
erster-	F - dur	D - moll	= Grad der Verwandtschaft in absteigender Linie.
zweyter-	Hes - dur B	G - moll	
drittel-	Es - dur	C - moll	
viertel-	As - dur	F - moll	

Example 4-11: Dürrnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, p. 21

This is very much in keeping not only with the theoretical approach of these musicians, but also with their compositional styles. For example, in a discussion of how these concepts, as transmitted by Vogler, had an effect on the music of Carl Maria von Weber, Joachim Veit offers the following explanation:

In the context of the analysis of Vogler's symphonies, the author is able to state that the harmonic pallet in these works is enriched by the inclusion of the diatonically adjacent keys as a goal of modulation, through which one may change keys without restriction (i.e., not by a "modulation" that is reinforced by a cadence), as well as by the frequent use of minor (key) variants, and that the return to the original key is usually effected in a clear and outwardly sophisticated manner by way of diminished-seventh chords and / or enharmonic reinterpretations. Relationships by thirds or mediant connections are therefore not uncommon. Thus the opening bars of Vogler's C major symphony consist of contiguously existing four-measure sections in C major and D minor, measure 8 ending on the dominant chord (of D minor) A major and, after the fermata, at the interval of a major third follows F major, the subdominant of the original key area.<sup>651</sup>

<sup>651</sup> Joachim Veit, *Der junge Carl Maria von Weber: Untersuchungen zum Einfluss Franz Danzis und Abbé Georg Joseph Voglers* (Mainz: Schott, 1990), p. 211. "In Rahmen der Analyse der Sinfonien Voglers konnte der Verfasser feststellen, dass die harmonische Palette in diesen Werken durch das Einbeziehen leitender Nebenstufen als Modulationsziel, durch die ohne Einschränkung möglichen Ausweichungen (d.h. nicht durch Kadenz befestigte \*Modulationen\*) sowie durch die häufige Verwendung der Mollvarianten bereichert wird, und dass die Rückkehr zur jeweiligen Ausgangstonart meist über Formen



Example 4-12: Veit, *Der junge Carl Maria von Weber*, p. 212, Vogler symphony

The embracing of this particular *Tonalitätsverwandschaft* appears early in Bruckner's works. Walter Schulten, in his exhaustive coverage of the early works of the composer, points to this as a central feature of Bruckner's compositional style that would have ramifications in his later works:

Orel has stated that Bruckner, in place of the *Quintverwandschaft*, shifted instead to a mediant-oriented *Verwandschaft*. Even a fleeting examination into the early compositions [of Bruckner] confirms that one can thus speak of a true *Terzverwandschaft* during the St. Florian period. In almost all these works, Bruckner readily centers on the mediant or the parallel (minor) of the original key. This tendency, which holds such significance for the realization of his later harmonic practices, has its roots, however, particularly in these early works. Countless examples of this can be cited without effort.<sup>652</sup>

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des verminderten Septakkords bzw. enharmonische Umdeutungen an entscheidenden Stellen im Satzverlauf in deutlich herausgehobener Form erfolgt. Terzverwandte oder mediantische Verbindungen sind dabei nicht selten. So stehen z.B. in der C-Dur-Sinfonie Voglers in den ersten Takten zunächst viertaktige Abschnitte in C-Dur und d-Moll nebeneinander, T. 8 schliesst dominantisch mit A-Dur und nach einer Fermate folgt im Grossterzabstand F-Dur als Subdominante der Ausgangstonart."

<sup>652</sup> Walter Schulten, "Anton Bruckners künstlerische Entwicklung," p. 133. "Orel hat festgestellt, dass bei Bruckner an stelle der Quintverwandschaft eine mediantische Verwandschaft getreten sei. Nur eine flüchtiger Blick in die frühen Kompositionen bestätigt, dass man auch in der St. Florianer

Thus, Bruckner is embracing these materials, as well as the use of other such structural devices that play a major role in his later works, in his earlier efforts.

So ubiquitous are *Verwandtschaft* principles in the concepts of nineteenth-century theorists that it should come as no surprise that – contrary to the belief that such modulatory schemes are somehow incompatible with, or incongruent to, *Generalbass* teachings – they appear in the various thoroughbass manuals that we have examined, and that they should influence composers as diverse as Carl Maria von Weber and Bruckner.

The *Zweyter Abschnitt* of Dürnberger's treatise introduces the reader to the various intervals. This is done by letter name in the text with reference to *Tabelle III*, which provides students with the common *Generalbass* designations they will need in order to properly realize the music with which they will be confronted. *Tabelle III*, Fig. 1- 2 shown below (Example 4-13) go with the explicatory text from §§. 31 and 38, respectively. It should be noted that Dürnberger recognizes intervals with numerical designation up to 15.<sup>653</sup> This entire section, then, is dedicated to the rudiments of *Generalbass* figuration.

In the *Dritter Abschnitt (Die Accorden-Lehre)*, Dürnberger identifies the construction of the various chordal entities the student will encounter. He also identifies the quality of each of the verticalities present in a major or minor scale; for example, in a

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Zeit von echter Terzverwandtschaft sprechen kann. Fast in allen Stücken steuert Bruckner gern die Medianten oder die Parallelen der Ausgangstonart an. Dieser für die spätere Harmonik so bedeutsame Feststellung hat aber ihre Wurzeln gerade in den frühen Werken. Ohne Mühe lassen sich zahllose Beispiele dafür anführen." Schulten is citing Alfred Orel here, in his book *Anton Bruckner: das Werk, die Künstler, der Zeit* (Vienna, 1925). Schulten presents a list of works that fit into the category, including the *Tantum ergo* in C major and the *Agnus dei* of the B<sup>b</sup> minor Mass. See Schulten, *ibid.*, p. 133-34.

<sup>653</sup> Dürnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, §. 31, p. 24 and §. 38, pp. 30-31, with reference to *Tabelle III*, Fig. 1 and Fig. 2.



So ist z. B. der harte Dreyklang						$\left\{ \begin{array}{c} g \\ e \\ c \end{array} \right.$
Dreyklang	der	I. Stufe	in	C-dur		
"	"	IV.	"	G-dur		
"	"	V.	"	F-dur		
"	"	V.	"	F-moll		
"	"	VI.	"	E-moll		

Example 4-14: Dürnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, p. 46

Though this may be a somewhat diluted version of Vogler's application of the term *Mehrdeutigkeit*, as Wason suggests,<sup>656</sup> it nevertheless indicates that Dürnberger recognizes these chordal entities not only in terms of their ability to exist in inverted forms, but also their ability to exist as viable structures in various keys, thus implying a different function within each tonality.

The principle of invertibility is also explained in this section:

Through inversion and transposition, the derivative chords emerge from the *Stamm-Accorden*, which one usually calls inversions (*Verwechslung* or *Umwendung*).

These inversions exist through the assumption that one or the other of the tones in these *Stamm-Accordes* will be regarded as the lowest voice (*Grundton*), and the other tones remain the same. Thus no changes occur here to the tones (of the triad) themselves, but rather they move only through the transposition of the bass note in relationship to the other tones.

Thus it follows that each *Stamm-Accord* has as many inversions as it has integral intervals.

Consequently, since a triad has two integral intervals, namely the third and the fifth, therefore this *Stamm-Accord* has two inversions.<sup>657</sup>

<sup>656</sup> Wason actually uses the term "highly diluted." See Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 27.

<sup>657</sup> Dürnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, §. 71, p. 61. "Aus den Stamm-Accorden entstehen die abgeleiteten Accorde durch die Verwechslung oder Versetzung des Grundtones, welches man überhaupt Verwechslung oder Umwendung nennt.

Diese Verwechslung besteht darin, dass man den einen oder den anderen Klang des Stamm-Accordes als Grundton annimmt, und die übrigen Klänge desselben beybehält. Es geschieht also hierbey an den Klängen selbst gar keine Veränderung, sondern dieselben treten nur durch die Versetzung des Grundtones in andere Tonverhältnisse.

Hieraus folgt, dass jeder Stamm-Accord so viele Verwechslungen hat, als wesentliche Intervalle enthält.

Thus, the explanation for the dual system of Roman numerals in the examples provided by Dürrnberger, such as the one cited above (Example 4-5), is explained in a manner consistent with the *Generalbass* sensibilities the author presupposes of his reader:

In *Generalbass* [practices], the sixth chord is ordinarily designated merely with the figure 6 as an additional sign of inversion to be suspended when no longer required; if, however, the third [of this triad] is not diatonic, an additional accidental sign must be included in the signature.

Often one finds the designation 6 / 3 for the diatonic sixth chord, of which, however, the numeral 3 is clearly superfluous; and also occasionally the signature 8 / 6 for special cases, in which the octave of the *Grundton* is to be particularly emphasized.

Every sixth chord can be easily attributed to its *Stamm-Accord* if one accepts that the root is the sixth as reckoned from the bass note and the remaining tones are maintained[.]

In the *praktischen Theile*, to be implemented in every key, are several cadences that include the sixth chord and adhere to the following pattern as a basis, namely:

nach welchem solche in jeder Tonart sehr leicht auszuführen ist,  
nämlich:

3.	6.	5.	8.
I.	{ IV.	V.	I.
	{ II.		

Example 4-15a: Dürrnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, p. 63 chart

This cadence therefore consists of the triad on I, the sixth chord on IV, which, however is actually the triad of II, and from there progresses to the triad on V and then later to that on I.<sup>658</sup>

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Da sonach der Dreyklang zwey wesentliche Intervalle, nämlich die Terze und die Quinte in sich begreift, so hat dieser Stamm-Accord zwey Verwechslungen."

<sup>658</sup> Ibid., §. 72, pp. 62-63. "Im Generalbasse wird der Sexten-Accord gewöhnlich bloss mit der Ziffer 6 nebst dem nach Erforderniss anzuhängenden Versetzungs-Zeichen bezeichnet, wenn aber die Terze nicht diatonisch ist, so muss auch diese mit dem erforderlichen Versetzungszeichen in die Signatur einbezogen werden.

Sehr oft findet man auch selbst für diatonische Sexten-Accorde die Signatur 6 / 3, bey welcher aber die Ziffer 3 offenbar überflüssig ist; und manchmal auch die Signatur 8 / 6 für besondere Fälle, in welchen eigens die Octave des Grundtones zu gebrauchen ist.

Jeder Sexten-Accord lässt sich leicht auf seinen Stamm-Accord zurückführen, wenn man den Hauptklang, nämlich die Sexte als Grundton annimmt, und die übrigen Klänge beybehält, z. B.

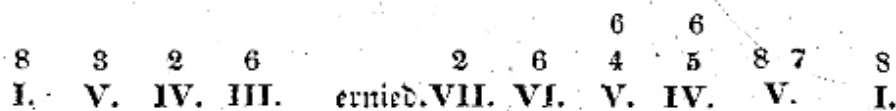
Der im praktischen Theile ausgeführten Cadenz mit Einbeziehung des Sexten-Accordes liegt folgendes allgemeine Schema zu Grunde, nach welchem solche in jeder Tonart sehr leicht auszuführen ist, nämlich:

Diese Cadenz besteht also aus dem Dreyklange der I. Stufe, aus dem Sexten-Accord der IV. Stufe, welcher aber eigentlich Dreyklang der II. Stufe ist, dann aus dem Dreyklange der V. und wieder aus jenem der I. Stufe."



Example 4-15b: corresponding example in *praktischer Theile*

Dürnberger then proceeds to discuss inversions of triads and seventh chords – the two *Stamm-Accorde* – in every possible configuration and according to *Generalbass* figurations with appropriate examples. For example, a typical *Secunden-Accord* progression is given in the following pattern; the example below demonstrates Dürnberger's handling of this according to *Generalbass* principles:



Example 4-16a: Dürnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, § 80, p. 73



Example 4-16b: corresponding example, *praktischer Theile*, p. XIII

Again, the Roman numeral designations show both the scale step and the true, or “fundamental,” bass motion. This is clearly not a *Funktionstheorie* in the manner of Riemann; there is, for instance, no recognition of the B<sup>b</sup> in this example as affecting the step designations or the *Generalbass* figurations. It is easy for us, with our modern sensibilities – especially given the wording of his description of this progression above – to conclude that Dürrnberger is telling us that the second verticality in Example 4-15b is actually ii<sup>6</sup> in C major. But that interpretation presupposes a *Funktionstheorie* that does not exist here and, not coincidentally, obviates the *Generalbass* characteristics of the voice leading that a *Stufentheorie*, on the other hand, emphasizes. The Roman numerals express only the scale degree, not the function. This interpretation dovetails nicely with what Bruckner would later encounter with Sechter, who drew heavily from the works of Kirnberger. A discussion of Sechter’s use of the term “fundamental chord” yields the following:

It is important to keep in mind that when one of these fundamental chords (that is, a triad or seventh chord) is inverted, it is no longer a fundamental chord. Rather, it is distinguished according to the intervals formed by its inversion. For example, a triad in first inversion is identified by Sechter as a sixth chord, and though it is derived from a fundamental chord, it is distinct from a fundamental chord by virtue of being inverted. In other words, only root position triads and seventh chords fit Sechter’s definition of fundamental chords. As with many aspects of Sechter’s treatise (*Die Grundsätze der musikalischen Komposition*, 1853-54), this is adopted directly from Johann Philipp Kirnberger, with whose work Sechter was intimately familiar.<sup>659</sup>

The bottom Roman numerals in these examples, therefore, serve the purpose of outlining the “fundamental” bass pattern in terms of Bruckner’s fundamental steps (thirds and fifths) as later adumbrated in Schwanzara’s *Vorlesungen* (in which the influence of Sechter is clearly felt); this indeed operates quite similarly to the manner in which

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<sup>659</sup> James Chenevert, “Simon Sechter’s ‘The Principles of Musical Composition:’ A Translation and Commentary on Selected Chapters,” Ph.D. diss. (University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1989), pp. 8-9.



Bruckner would utilize such examples in later pedagogical exercises. However, the clearly chordal approach – in which *Generalbass* verticalities are given at least a semblance of tonal context by virtue of their association with a scale degree – is indicative of Dürrnberger's approach to the remaining *Generalbass* indications not covered under the umbrella of the original two *Stamm-Accorde* (triad and seventh chord).

For this, Dürrnberger turns to the Marpurgian concept of the ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth chords as viable vertical entities, nonetheless still emphasizing the linear aspects of these chordal formations. He explains these verticalities thus:

To be sure, three hypothetical subsidiary *Stamm-Accorde* exist, namely the five-note, the six-note and the seven-note [chords] (see Example 4-17 below):

Of these passing [*durchgehends*]<sup>660</sup> dissonant chords, only the five-note, or the so-called *Nonen-Accord*, ever appears in its complete form, however the six-note, or the so-called *Undecimen-Accord*, and also equally the seven-note, or the so-called *Terzdecimen-Accord*, are never seen in their complete, basic configuration [*Stamm-Gestalt*]; they do, however, occur in their incomplete forms in the applicable inversions.

Accordingly, the following are the only such ancillary chords that can be found in use:<sup>661</sup>

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<sup>660</sup> Dürrnberger uses this term quite deliberately here; he is expressing, in the contemporary terminology, the idea that these chordal formations occur in passing, as the result of melodic movement. Therefore the dissonances that characterize such chords are synonymous with the *zufällige*, or nonessential, dissonances, which resolve as suspensions over a bass note. See Otto Tiersch, "Durchgehende Accorde," *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon*, Hermann Mendel, ed. (Berlin: R. Oppenheim, 1873), pp. 289-92. Tiersch offers the equivalent term *durchgangsasscorde* (as in the familiar *durchgangsquartsextaccord*, or passing six-four chord) and states the following: "Similar to the expression *Durchgang*, a variety of theorists also utilize [the term *durchgehende Accorde*] in a broad sense. Therefore, these theorists name all those chords. . . , which are caused by the effect of melodic relationships or through rhythmic displacement in the individual voices, entirely in the same way. . . . These chords are caused in the same manner as the nonessential dissonances, that is to say, solely through the effect of the principles of melody." [*Durchgehende Accorde* ("Durchgangsasscorde"). Aehnlich wie bei dem Ausdrucke *Durchgang* nehmen auch hier verschiedene Theoretiker den Begriff im weiteren Sinne. Diese Theoretiker nennen alle diejenigen Zusammenklänge . . . , welche durch Einwirkung der melodischen Verwandtschaft, oder durch rhythmische Verschiedenheit in den einzelnen Stimmen, also ganz in derselben Weise entstehen . . . . Diese Zusammenklänge entstehen eben ganz in derselben Weise wie die "zufälligen Dissonanzen," nämlich lediglich durch Einwirkung des Melodieprinzips]. See pp. 289-90.

<sup>661</sup> Dürrnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, §. 82, p. 77. "Die angenommenen drey Neben-Stamm-Accorde, nämlich der Fünfklang, der Sechsklang und der Siebenklang, bestehen, und zwar: [chart]

Von diesen durchgehends dissonirenden Accorden wird nur der Fünfklang oder der sogenannte Nonen-Accord vollständig gebraucht, allein der Sechsklang oder der sogenannte Undecimen-Accord, und ebenso auch der Siebenklang oder der sogenannte Terzdecimen-Accord kommt in seiner Stamm-Gestalt

1. der Fünfflang mit fünf wesentlich verschiedenen Klängen, aus:					
None	9	d	a		
Septime	7	h	f		
Quinte	5	g	d		
Terze	3	e	h		
Grundton	I. ♯. B. C	oder	G.		
2. der Sechßklang mit sechs wesentlich verschiedenen Klängen, aus:					
Undecime	11	f	hes		
None	9	d	g		
Septime	7	h	e		
Quinte	5	g	e		
Terze	3	e	a		
Grundton	I. ♯. B. C	oder	F.		
3. der Siebenklang mit sieben wesentlich verschiedenen Klängen, aus:					
Terzdecime	13	a	e		
Undecime	11	f	c		
None	9	d	a		
Septime	7	h	fis		
Quinte	5	g	d		
Terze	3	e	h		
Grundton	I. ♯. B. C	oder	G.		

Example 4-17: Dürnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, p. 77

Dürnberger then proceeds to explain the remaining thoroughbass verticalities in terms of inversions and transpositions of these chordal structures. For example, the common *Generalbass* configuration 7 / 6 / 3, or the three-voiced version 7 / 3, is derived from the first inversion of the complete ninth chord without the original seventh:

The seventh-chord configuration (*Septimen-Ligatur*) is truly represented by the figuration 7 / 6 / 3 but can also appear as 7 / 3 / 8 or 3 / 7 / 3 and, in the three-voiced version as 7 / 3.

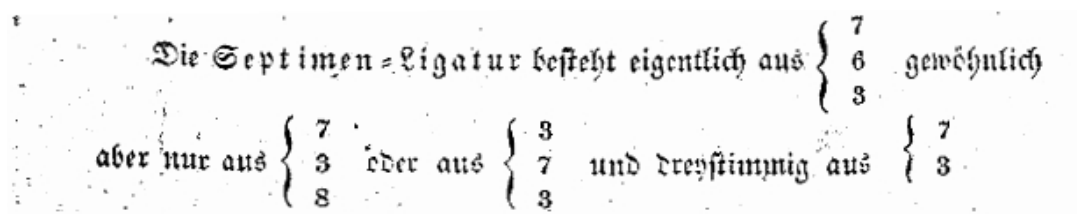
This chord is derived from the incomplete five-note (*Nonen-Accord*) without the original seventh through the first inversion or the transposition of the third (to the bass).<sup>662</sup>

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vollständig gar nie, in seinen anwendbaren Verwechslungen oder Versetzungen aber auch immer nur unvollständig vor.

Demnach folgen auch hier nur jene hievon abgeleiteten Accorde, welche wirklich im Gebrauche stehen.”

<sup>662</sup> Ibid., § 85, p. 78. “Die Septimen-Ligatur besteht eigentlich aus 7 / 6 / 3 gewöhnlich aber nur aus 7 / 3 / 8 oder aus 3 / 7 / 3 und dreystimmig aus 7 / 3. Dieser Accord entsteht aus dem unvollständigen Fünfklang ohne Stamm-Septime durch die erste Verwechslung oder Terz-Umwendung desselben.”

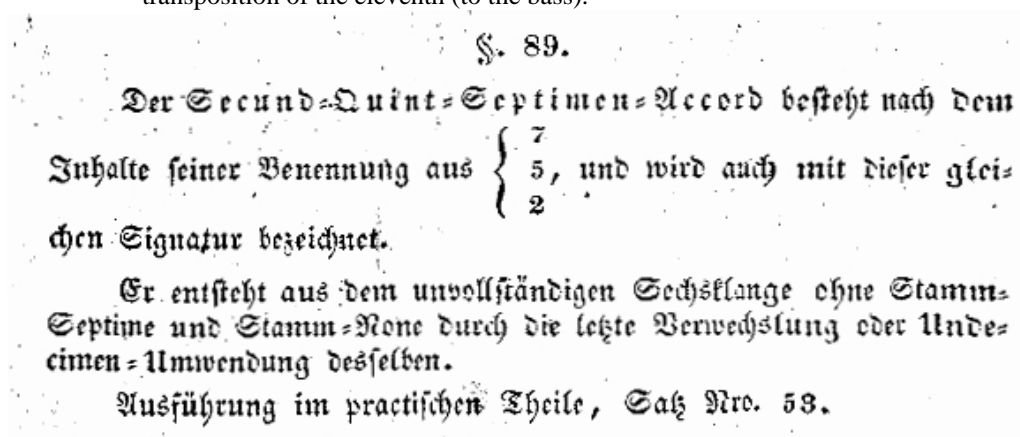


Example 4-18: Dürnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, p. 78, §. 85

Similarly, the 7 / 5 / 2 chord is generated from the last inversion of the eleventh chord:

The *Secund-Quint-Septimen-Accord* is formed from the contents of its designation as 7 / 5 / 2 and is also designated by this same signature.

It is derived from the incomplete six-note (*Undecimen-Accord*) without the original seventh and ninth through the last inversion or the transposition of the eleventh (to the bass).<sup>663</sup>



Example 4-19: Dürnberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, p. 80, §. 89

Such concepts would have been encountered by Bruckner in his studies of Marpurg's *Handbuch*, which played so large a role in Dürnberger's course of study and which certainly led to his incorporation of such chordal entities into his later theoretical and pedagogical efforts, though they differed considerably from the views of Sechter.<sup>664</sup>

<sup>663</sup> Ibid., §. 89, p. 80. "Der Secund-Quint-Septimen-Accord besteht nach dem Inhalte seiner Benennung aus 7 / 5 / 2, und wird auch mit dieser gleichen Signatur bezeichnet.

Er entsteht aus dem unvollständigen Sechsklang ohne Stamm-Septime und Stamm-None durch die letzte Verwechslung oder Undecimen-Umwendung desselben."

<sup>664</sup> Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 73. "In Sechter's system, the ninth is always the product of suspension, there are no inversions of the ninth chord, and scale-degree ninth chords can only occur in the sequence through delayed resolution of a suspension beyond the change of bass. In Bruckner's system, on the other hand, the ninth chord is a 'fundamental harmony'; the eleventh and thirteenth are on some occasions the result of suspension, while on others they are part of a six- or seven-note chord on the dominant." See also n. 36.

Indeed, the influence of Marpurg is an early and profound one and this could only have been reinforced by Dürnberger's approach.

#### d) Dürnberger's Thoughts on *Generalbass*

On the basis of the above discussion, we can see that Bruckner is at this point in his development laying the groundwork of his later compositional philosophy on the familiar nomenclature of the practicing *Generalbassist*, as expressed in the treatises of Marpurg, Ambros Rieder,<sup>665</sup> Fr. May,<sup>666</sup> and, apparently most significantly, Dürnberger. But in addition to the purely theoretical considerations here, one should also consider the less tangible but nonetheless appreciable qualities of *Generalbass* practice during this period. The *Einleitung* to Dürnberger's *Elementar-Lehrbuch* speaks eloquently to the decreasingly interchangeable nature of the contemporary concepts of harmony and *Generalbass*; he therefore advises maintaining a privileged place for thoroughbass procedures that is at the same time inextricably linked to the more modern, "scientific" harmonic theories emerging at this time:

The science of music has its basis within the scope of these concepts: tone, interval, chord, and harmony, in its strictest sense.

The object of the study of harmony is to thoroughly represent these concepts, by way of their elements, in all their relationships and ramifications to the most comprehensive extensions, to organize the correct sequences and most exhaustive treatments.

The similar, subsidiary *Generalbass* studies contain merely the rules by which the individual tonal ratios or composite tonal connections are expressed by numbers and indications in the simplest manner.

One usually encounters these two terms as being equivalent in their meaning, one for the other, or most probably the *Generalbass-Lehre* is regarded as the main course of study. However, this blatant error reveals not only the important difference in the content of these methods themselves, but rather also the obvious fact that the origin of the *Harmonie-Lehre*, for so long exercising its regulations on music, owes its emergence to the development of the *Generalbass-Lehre* by

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<sup>665</sup> See pp. 326-34 below.

<sup>666</sup> See pp. 321-26 below.

the Italian Ludwig Viadana in the year 1592, the primary principles of which provided for the facilitation of a generally accepted overview [of harmonic thought] and continued on a course to completion [of this concept].

Hence it clearly follows that the *Harmonie-Lehre* itself can be considered the main course of study and that the knowledge of [its principles] is an essential matter to, at the very least, all singers and, however, more generally, [it should be considered] an indispensable condition for [the training of] all instrumentalists as well, an exalted, if overly common, mechanism without which the spirit of the art cannot find corresponding rational expression in the wider spheres of musical [practice].

On the other hand, the study of *Generalbass* remains a primary task of composers, organists, and conductors, a necessary branch of knowledge which, however, cannot naturally exist independently without the [influence of] a course of study in harmony.

Experience demonstrates that the mechanical aspects of music, which have prospered to a nearly unbelievable degree of perfection, are, nevertheless, in contrast to the scientific aspects, which remain largely underdeveloped. This striking disparity is based upon two distinctly opposed primary theses, namely the largely prevailing prejudice that the study of harmony is connected to [the performance of] tasks of the most odious difficulty and therefore not a profitable course; or, on the other hand, on the popular delusion that the acquisition of [the principles of] this science could be obtained in a very short time, indeed, could be restricted to a few hours [study], thereby rendering these dry exercises superfluous.

Thus it is certain that each of these two primary theses lie merely in a complete ignorance and misconception of the basis of elementary instruction, in such a manner that that the former premise is narrow-minded and the latter is laughable.

It remains unchallenged that a thorough, consistent, and clear course of elementary instruction, which takes the acumen and the spirit of the proper [musical] proportions into account, must be not only the most useful, but rather also the most interesting. The singular conviction that, from these primary elements, each rule develops so simply and naturally can already be adopted as an initial influence. This effect is the first impetus towards independence, the capacity for which increases from stage to stage of its own volition ever more effectively and thus, in addition, the more profitable, the more comprehensive, and the higher the range of knowledge and the degree of perfection one may attain.

Herewith is to be gained not only [this knowledge], but also valuable time, so as not to be bewitched by a lack of comprehension and ridiculous vanity, which might lead one to consider that such instruction may bring these obvious benefits in this first encounter; thus it stands certain, over every protestation, that the greater the time spent related to [the acquisition of] honest knowledge, the sooner this will lead to one's independence, which can never be obtained through the guild-like, mechanical training of legend, couched as it is in continual

darkness and adhering to all the wretched laboriousness of a burdensome machine, which without continual outside intervention [and influences] stands mute.

On the other hand, however, science nonetheless demands that the customary tribute be paid. One's high stature does not allow one to skip a step on the ladder. One must not abandon any stage prematurely, or a relapse may result as a consequence. The more careful the exploration of the lowest steps that occurs, the more far-reaching and easier the progress becomes. Therefore, it can only be that the claim for comprehension of this science in only a few hours of work is either made from ignorance or from presumptuous boastfulness, for to be satisfied with the tattered fragments of superficial knowledge, for example, to function with at most half of one's education, which in its consequences proves only more disadvantageous and consequently more objectionable, is [equivalent to functioning with] no [knowledge] at all.

Who has the patience to subject themselves to the most annoyingly mechanical exercises that contain time-consuming codes, since in our day such striking admonishments are so frequently dispensed; it is certainly not due to a lack of will that the scientific sections dedicate a much shorter time to these necessities, and it would be in line with appropriate instruction if the obligation to establish these personal convictions were to occur early.

The great importance of recognizing the defective validity of preferring a particular method through a sense of duty and honor, that through this [recognition] is generated not only a general interest in science and art, but rather also, like the sturdiest dam, all such consequences and every pitfall arising from the singular pursuit of only one type [of method], which [can lead to] the desecration of art, [and to] every violation of perverted distortion of prevailing taste, can be resisted.

The present textbook, supported by more than three decades of experience, should not serve the purpose of burdening the memory with mere theories, of playing through the practical exercises mechanically and thereby considering oneself a fully-formed contrapuntist, but rather it should serve as a manual for one's own clear perceptions and presentations of how the elements of music branch out from their incipient naked simplicity from stage to stage, their origins and developments interweaving and ever-expanding, without the most exact knowledge of which we would remain in a state of impenetrable chaos.

Therefore, with this comprehensive knowledge, one is equipped with an aid to the greater awareness of more advanced compositions, not only readily overcoming the more odious difficulties, but also rendering that which was previously inexplicable effortlessly obvious. One therefore will not be vexed and place the available superlative compositions to the side, but rather utilize them out of interest and, from these decided advantages, provide for the production and completion of true art only.

Concerning, incidentally, the Classical stage of the science of harmony and, namely, church music, one would do well to heed the

already rapidly fading remarks of the once highly respected Abbé Vogler: - "Music, this divine art, this celestial language of the heart, has been cultivated by kings, school teachers, folk singers, and poets, all of whom were also law-makers, for over 2000 years. At that time, whereas the people with religious susceptibility sipped only the most elegant and exclusive melodies, in which the praise of the invisible divinity constituted the oracle of the representational idea of the supernatural in national ceremony, the effect was that of the most brittle leaves of greyest antiquity being ground to fine dust. However, as soon as this material became less reverential, less mystical, even profane, and the musicians themselves became too base, so then did the musical arts as well serve merely as a pastime, a filler of space, and, finally, the ultimate anesthetic, eliminating, as if by a magic wand, the emotion, the singular ineffable Affection of the soul" – the timelessness of which could be claimed by few other statements.<sup>667</sup>

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<sup>667</sup> Dürrenberger, *Elementar-Lehrbuch*, "Einleitung," pp. III – VIII. "Die Tonwissenschaft gründet sich auf den Umfang der Begriffe: Ton, Intervall, Accord und Harmonie in engeren Sinne.

Diese Begriffe von ihren Elementen in allen Beziehungen und Verzweigungen bis zu ihrer umfassendsten Ausdehnung gründlich darzustellen, folgerecht zu ordnen, und erschöpfend abzuhandeln, ist Gegenstand der Harmonie-Lehre.

Die derselben untergeordnete Generalbass-Lehre enthält bloss die Regeln, wie einzelne Tonverhältnisse oder zusammengestellte Tonverbindungen durch Ziffern und Zeichen auf die einfache Weise ausgedrückt werden.

Gewöhnlich findet man diese zwey Begriffe in ihrer Bedeutung gleich gehalten, oder den einen für den anderen genommen, oder wohl gar die Generalbass-Lehre als Hauptlehre betrachtet. Diesen offenbaren Irrthum aber widerlegt nicht nur der so bedeutende Unterschied in dem Gehalte dieser Lehren von selbst, sondern auch der Umstand augenfällig, das sich der Ursprung der Harmonie-Lehre, so lange geregelte Musik ausgeübt wird, folglich von Jahrtausenden herleitet, während die Generalbass-Lehre der Erfindung des Italieners Ludwig Viadana im Jahre 1692 ihr Entstehen verdankt, dessen erste Grundsätze zur Erleichterung der Uebersicht allgemein angenommen und weiter vervollständigt wurden.

Hieraus folgt klar, dass die Harmonie-Lehre für sich als Hauptlehre besteht, und dass die Kenntniss derselben wenigstens in der Hauptsache besonders für jeden Sänger, überhaupt aber auch für jeden Instrumentisten jene unerlässliche Bedingung ist, ohne welche sich ein über gewöhnlichen ledigen Mechanismus erhabenes, dem Geiste der Kunst entsprechendes rationales Wirken in dem weiten Bereiche der Musik nicht denken lässt.

Dagegen bleibt die Generalbass-Lehre zunächst Aufgabe der Tonsetzer, Organisten und Dirigenten, als ein nöthiger Zweig des Wissens, welcher aber ohne die Harmonie-Lehre für sich natürlich nicht bestehen kann.

Die Erfahrung beweiset, das bisher der mechanische Theil der Musik zu einem fast unglaublichen Grade der Vervollkommenheit gediehen, dagegen aber der wissenschaftliche Theil um so weiter zurückgeblieben ist. Dieser auffallende Abstand beruht auf zwey gerade entgegengesetzten Haupturfachen, nämlich auf dem einerseit herrschenden Vorurtheile, dass das Studium der Harmonie-Lehre eine mit den abstossendsten Schwierigkeiten verbundene und nicht lohnende Aufgabe sey; oder auf dem anderseits einreissenden Wahne, dass sich die Aneignung dieser Wissenschaft in kürzester Zeit erzielen, ja auf vorberechnete wenige Stunden beschränken lasse, oder wohl gar als ein blosses trockenes Regelwerk ganz überflüssig sey.

So gewiss es ist, dass jeder dieser zwey Haupturfachen nur eine gänzliche Unkenntniss und Mangelhaftigkeit des Elementar-Unterrichtes Grunde liegt, so ist erstere eben so ungeräumt, als letztere lächerlich ist.

Es bleibt unwidersprechlich, dass ein gründlicher, folgerechter und deutlicher Elementar-Unterricht, welcher den Verstand und das Gefühl im gehörigen Ebenmasse in Anspruch nimmt, nicht nur der nützlichste, sondern auch der interessanteste seyn muss. Die eigene Ueberzeugung, wie sich aus dem ersten Elemente jede Regel so einfach und natürlich entwickelt, kann schon gleich anfänglich nicht anders als angenehm einwirken. Diese Einwirkung ist der erste Impuls zur Selbstthätigkeit, welche sich von Stufe zu Stufe bey immer gesteigerter Fähigkeit zur eigenen Rechenschaft um so wirksamer, aber auch um so

lohnender beweiset, je umfassender das Bereich des Wissens und je höher der Grad der Vollkommenheit wird.

Hiermit ist nicht nur in der Sache selbst, sondern auch an der kostbaren Zeit alles gewonnen, denn, obschon es nicht zu läugnen ist, dass ein solcher Unterricht schon in der ersten Zeit jene scheinbaren Treibfrüchte nicht bringen kann und darf, mit welchen sich nur Unkenntniss und lächerliche Sittelkeit bethören lässt; so steht doch die Gewissheit über jede Einwendung erhoben, dass sich die auf reelles Wissen verwendete längere Zeit von selbst um so eher hereinbringt, je früher sie zur eigenen Selbstständigkeit führt, während diese durch ein zunftmässiges mechanisches Abrichten nie erzielt werden kann, sondern statt derselben eine in beständiges Dunkel gehüllte und mit allen erbärmlichen Mühseligkeiten belastete Maschine bleibt, welche ohne fortwährende fremde Einwirkung stille steht.

Dagegen fordert aber auch Wissenschaft den Zoll ihres Tributes. Ihre Höhe gestattet nicht, eine Stufe der Leiter zu überspringen. Jeder Sprung ermüdet zu frühzeitig, oder hat einen Rückfall zur Folge. Je bedachtsamer die Ueberschreitung der untersten Stufen geschieht, desto gewandter und leichter wird die weitere höhere Fortschreitung. Es kann also die anderseits angepriesene Beybringung dieser Wissenschaft in wenigen Stunden nur das Werk eigener Unkenntniss oder anmassender Grossspecherey seyn, die mit oberflächlicher Kenntniss abgerissener Bruchstücke sich begnügend, etwa höchstens halbe Bildung erzwackt, welche in ihren Folgen nur nachtheiliger, und sonach verwerflicher, als gar keine ist.

Wer übrigens die Geduld hat, sich den verdriesslichsten mechanischen Uebungen mit allem Cifer und Zeitaufwande zu unterziehen, wovon unsere Zeit wirklich so häufige auffallende Beweise liefert; dem wird es gewiss an Willen nicht mangeln, auch dem wissenschaftlichen Theile die erforderliche, ungleich kürzere Zeit widmen, und es kann bey zweckmässiger Anleitung nicht anders kommen, als dass eigene Ueberzeugung diesen aufgestellten Ansichten gar bald selbst beypflichten muss.

Die Wichtigkeit dieser augenfälligen Wahrheit mögen insbesondere Lehre von Ehr- und Pflichtgefühl um so mehr beherzigen, als dadurch nicht nur das allgemeine Interesse der Wissenschaft und Kunst, sondern auch jeden Falles das eigene individuelle Interesse in einem Grade gefördert wird, welcher der Entweihung der Kunst, jedem Einrisse einer verderbenden Verzerrung des herrschenden Geschmacks und allen übrigen nachtheiligen Folgen gewiss den festesten Damm entgegen stellt.

Das gegenwärtige auf mehr als dreyssigjährige Erfahrung gestützte Lehrbuch soll nicht etwa den Zweck haben, mit den aufgestellten Lehrsätzen bloss das Gedächtniss zu beschweren, die practischen Uebungstücke mechanisch durchzuspielen, und sonach als vollendeter Harmoniker sich zu dünken, sondern es soll als Leitfaden zur eigenen klaren Anschauung und Vorstellung dienen, wie sich die Elemente der Musik aus ihrer nackten Einfachheit von Stufe zu Stufe so natürlich verzweigen, verweben und in jenes weite Bereich ausdehnen, das ohne genaueste Kenntnisse seines Ursprunges und seiner successiven Ausdehnung ein unerforschliches Chaos bleibt.

Mit dieser vollständigen Kenntniss aber ausgerüstet wird man zur höheren Vollendung mit Beyhülfe bewährter umfassenderer Tonwerke nicht nur die gewöhnlich abstossenden anscheinenden Schwierigkeiten leicht besiegen, sondern es wird und muss das bisher Unerklärbare von selbst ganz natürlich in die Augen fallen. Man wird die vorhandenen unübertrefflichen höheren Tonwerke nicht verdrossen zur Seite legen, sondern eben diese mit Interesse benützen, und aus denselben jene entschiedenen Vortheile schöpfen, die sie zur Förderung und Vollendung wahrer Kunst einzig gewähren.

Was übrigens den classischen Theil der Tonwissenschaft und namentlich die Kirchenmusik betrifft, so dürfte folgende schon fast verklungene Aeusserung weiland des hoch verdienten Abbe Vogler: - 'Die Musik, diese göttliche Kunst, diese sphärische Herzenssprache ward seit 2000 Jahren von Königen, Volkslehrern, Volkssängern oder Barden, die dabey auch Gesetzgeber waren, cultivirt. Zur Zeit, wo das Volk mit religiöser Empfänglichkeit nur da ausschliessend und desswegen Melodien einschlürfte, wenn das Lob der unsichtbaren Gottheit, das Orakel der Repräsentanten den Gegenstand der National-Feyerlichkeit ausmachte, musste die Wirkung, wie die morschen Blätter des grauesten Alterthums sie uns mahlen, überirdisch gewesen seyn. Sobald aber der Stoff weniger heilig, weniger mystisch, ja sogar profan, und das Musiciren zu gemein geworden, sobald die Tonkunst nur zum Zeitvertreib, Luckefüllen, endlich gar zur Betäubung dienen sollte, verschwand auch der Zauberstab, die Rührung, eine unnennbare Affection der Seele,' - wohl gegenwärtig um so weniger ein Wort zur Unzeit seyn.



While Dürnberger acknowledges the growing bifurcation of the two traditions of harmony and thoroughbass, he is careful to point out, in the most eloquent of terms, how the two can never really be fully divorced from each other. Rather, a complete and thorough knowledge of both is the aim of his treatise; in his own words, “a manual for one’s own clear perceptions and presentations of how the elements of music branch out from their incipient naked simplicity from stage to stage, their origins and developments interweaving and ever-expanding.” This is very much in keeping with the mid-nineteenth century concept of organic unity that would pervade the latter part of this era as well. A mere reliance on the “scientific” approaches to music theory won’t do; it is necessary for the true artist to engage all aspects of the composer’s craft, to assimilate all methods that have gone before and produce a synthesis that is progressive yet instantly recognizable to the listener. For a concept such as this, Dürnberger posits, the longstanding art of *Generalbass* must not be forgotten; it must instead be assimilated into an organic whole to produce the true art of the ensuing decades.

#### **IV. Bruckner’s Continued Studies: Windhaag, Kronstorf, and Beyond**

##### **a) The *Landmesse* Style**

Having concluded his 10-month teacher-training course at Linz, Bruckner moved on to a position in Windhaag, a village near the city of Freistadt on the Bohemian border.<sup>668</sup> During this period (1841-1843), he relied heavily on the copy of Marpurg’s *Handbuch bey dem Generalbass und der Composition* (Berlin: 1755-60) that Dürnberger had presented to him for his continued self-instruction in theory.<sup>669</sup> Bruckner’s high

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<sup>668</sup> Watson, *Bruckner*, p. 6.

<sup>669</sup> Tittel, Ernst, “Bruckner’s musikalischer Ausbildungsgang,” *Bruckner-Studien*, ed. Franz Grasberger (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1964), pp. 105-11.

esteem for Marpurg's treatise can be attested to by the fact that he apparently made reference to it years later during his lectures at the University.<sup>670</sup>

The emphasis on the thoroughbass approach to composition can be seen in Bruckner's *Windhaager Messe* of 1842, scored for alto solo, two horns, and organ, and composed in the simple basso continuo manner of the popular *Landmesse*, or "country mass," of the period.<sup>671</sup> With competent instrumental (not to mention vocal) forces often lacking in rural parishes such as Windhaag, this style of composition enjoyed enormous popularity throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>672</sup> Many elements of the work point to Bruckner's familiarity with Baroque compositional practices. As can be seen in Example 4-20 below, the thoroughbass organ part – which contains the solo vocal line, in keeping with Baroque practice – is for the most part unfigured and unrealized. Hawkshaw views this as evidence that Bruckner must have performed the continuo part himself,<sup>673</sup> a point which becomes important when considering the role of the organ in his later sacred vocal works.

Many scholars have seen strong evidence of such Baroque influences. While typical of the *Landmesse* style that Bruckner encountered in his childhood, it has been

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<sup>670</sup> Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 69. Wason cites here the unpublished materials of Friedrich Eckstein (currently housed in the Austrian National Library), particularly "Anton Bruckners Universitäts Vorlesungen über Harmonielehre, gehalten 1884-86 zu Wien" (Mus.Hs. 28.445 A/Bruckner 208b). These materials apparently show Bruckner's practices in a similar manner to those in the Schwanzara edition of Bruckner's *Vorlesungen* cited above, as do the notes of Rafael Loidol on Bruckner's University lectures. See Rudolf Flotzinger, "Rafael Loidols Theoriekolleg bei Bruckner 1879/80," *Bruckner-Studien*, pp. 379-431.

<sup>671</sup> *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke: Band 21, Kleine Kirchenmusik, 1835-1892*, ed. Hans Bauernfeind and Leopold Nowak (Vienna: 1984), p.IX.

<sup>672</sup> Joseph Dyer, "Roman Catholic Church Music," § IV, 6, *NGD*, Vol. 21, pp. 557-58.

<sup>673</sup> Paul Hawkshaw, "Bruckner's large sacred compositions," *The Cambridge Companion to Bruckner*, ed. John Williamson (Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 41-53. See p. 44.

suggested that this work can also be seen as leaning towards the type of monodic treatment of the mass seen in the later works of Lodovico Viadana (1560-1627).<sup>674</sup> The



Example 4-20: Bruckner, *Windhaager Messe*, 1842, autograph organ part

resemblance to Viadana's *Concerti ecclesiastici* op. 12 (1602) is striking; in both cases, the use of the monodic style reflects the desire to ensure clear declamation of the sacred

<sup>674</sup> Elisabeth Maier, "Anton Bruckners Frühwerke – Einflüsse und Vorbilder," *Anton Bruckner und Leopold von Zenetti* (Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1980), pp. 127-61.

text.<sup>675</sup> Indeed, Bruckner designates the alto solo line *concerto* in keeping with this stylistic concept. In any event, the work marks one of the first truly creative musical expressions to emerge from Bruckner.<sup>676</sup>

Bruckner's use of horns in this score is significant for Manfred Wagner, who sees in this instrumentation an early indication of Bruckner's mastery of theological expression through musical means:

Already in his first mass setting [the *Windhaager Mass*], which belongs to the category of a *Landmesse*, Bruckner demonstrates with the use of the horns a concern for a specific expression of metaphysics, of power and glory, as opposed to the violins, which symbolize a more normal, true-to-life standard.<sup>677</sup>

Bruckner's time at Windhaag was, by all reports, not entirely pleasant, with many problems erupting over the necessity of having the young schoolmaster assist in manual duties in the fields. This was common practice at the time, and the friction between Bruckner and his superior, Franz Fuchs, is probably somewhat exaggerated in the biographical literature.<sup>678</sup> Nonetheless, it was a disciplinary measure that resulted in Bruckner's transfer to his next post at Kronstorf, near the villages of Enns and Steyr. The ensuing employment decree of 21 January 1843, ordered by the St. Florian establishment and executed by the prior Michael Arneht, proved to be extremely advantageous for the young composer's development. In Kronstorf, proximity to St. Florian and to the cities of Enns and Steyr allowed the cultural influences of these places to be more fully absorbed.

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<sup>675</sup> Viadana's op. 12 is chronologically the first publication to include a basso continuo with sacred vocal music. See Federico Mompellio, "Lodovico Viadana," *NGD*, Vol. 26, p. 517.

<sup>676</sup> Maier, "Anton Bruckners Frühwerke."

<sup>677</sup> Manfred Wagner, "Bruckners Weg." "Schon seine ersten Mess vertonungen, dem Typus der Landmesse zugehörig, zeigen Bruckners Anliegen, mit dem beigefügten Hörnerklang einen spezifischen Ausdruck von Metaphysik, von Macht und Glorie herzustellen, der gegenüber den Violinen als Träger des Normalen, Lebensnahen absticht." See 23-24.

<sup>678</sup> For example, Paul Hawkshaw reports that Fuchs provided a glowing reference for Bruckner at the time of his departure from Windhaag in 1843. Paul Hawkshaw and Timothy Jackson, "Anton Bruckner," *NGD*.

Further, the attitudes of his superiors towards Bruckner's musical ambitions were far more favorable than those he encountered during his time at Windhaag. This was particularly so in the case of Franz Seraph Lehofer, his immediate supervisor, and his wife, in whose home Bruckner resided during this period.<sup>679</sup>

### c) Studies with Zenetti; Connections to Schubert

The proximity to Enns also made it possible for Bruckner to initiate studies with the organist, composer, and teacher Leopold Edler von Zenetti, with whom Bruckner had initially become acquainted during his first stay at St. Florian.<sup>680</sup> Bruckner would make the hour-long journey from Kronstorf to Enns several times a week. The course of study consisted mainly of the *Anweisung zum Generalbassspiel* of Türk;<sup>681</sup> it would appear that the Marburg *Handbuch* also played a role in this course of instruction, as did J. S. Bach's *Wohltemperierte Klavier*.<sup>682</sup>

Between the time of his arrival in Kronstorf and his departure for the second St. Florian sojourn in 1845, Bruckner produced several works of varying size and quality. These include a Mass in D minor (*Messe ohne Gloria und Credo*, WAB 146) and a Mass for Maundy Thursday (*Messe für den Gründonnerstag*, WAB 9), both for unaccompanied SATB,<sup>683</sup> as well as a *Libera me* in F major. This last work, also for SATB, is described by Nowak as being “in the traditional church music style; its manner – a mildly

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<sup>679</sup> Elisabeth Maier, “Anton Bruckners Weg in den Jahren 1843-1855,” *Anton Bruckner und Leopold von Zenetti*, E. Maier and F. Zamazal, eds. (Graz: Akademische Druck - und Verlagsanstalt, 1980), pp. 11-16. Fuchs' dismay over Bruckner's musical ambitions has been widely reported in the biographical literature, but, again, the favorable recommendation cited in n. 678 above somewhat mitigates these reports. It could even be concluded that this recommendation was a result of Fuchs's eagerness for Bruckner to move on.

<sup>680</sup> Ibid.

<sup>681</sup> Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 68

<sup>682</sup> Elisabeth Maier, “Der Nachlass Leopold von Zenettis and der Musiksammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek,” *Bruckner-Studien*, pp. 53-79.

<sup>683</sup> The two works share the same Sanctus, with minor variations. The Kyrie and Gloria for WAB 9, composed in 1845, are lost. See *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke*, Band 21.

contrapuntal texture with thoroughbass – is in the Fux-Caldara tradition.”<sup>684</sup> And, indeed, many of these works speak to the fact that Bruckner, at this early stage of his career – and it might be said all the way up until 1855, when his studies with Simon Sechter began – can be viewed completely in the role of rural organist and choir director.<sup>685</sup> Still, Bruckner’s studies from this period show a definite affinity for the use of counterpoint, especially a mastery of fugal composition. This early training is also reflected in his later works, where the coloring of the musical texture often reflects his early organist roots;<sup>686</sup> this, combined with the contrapuntal emphasis and his familiarity with the Baroque *Affektenlehre*, clearly point to a synthesis in his later works that combines all these elements in the service of the most powerful presentation of his musical ideas.<sup>687</sup>

Maier considers the time of study with Zenetti to be crucially important in the creative development of Bruckner as a composer. His creative spirit was fired by the congenial musical atmosphere of his immediate surroundings at Kronstorf as well as by his studies with Zenetti. As proof of this Maier cites the presence of Bruckner’s signature on the autograph copy of the *Zwey Asperges* of 1845 (WAB 3), in which he styles himself *Anton Bruckner. Componist*. Maier sees symbolic value in this act, and considers

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<sup>684</sup> Ibid., p. X.

<sup>685</sup> Maier, “Anton Bruckners Frühwerke,” pp. 133-34.

<sup>686</sup> M. Wagner, “Bruckners Weg,” 24.

<sup>687</sup> Paul Hawkshaw concurs with the notion that Bruckner’s exposure to the contrapuntal tradition of the Austrian church composers whose works were to be found in the St. Florian library influenced his later compositional output. In a forthcoming article, Dr. Hawkshaw states that the records at St. Florian attest to Bruckner’s activities in this area: “[T]he librarians’ dates and performance logs support the theory that Bruckner’s *modus operandi* was to identify contrapuntal passages as the music was used during the liturgical cycle [at St. Florian], retrieve the materials (usually parts) from the music archive, and copy them for study and later reference.” This engendered in the young composer a total immersion in the contrapuntal methods – as well as other practices – of these past masters, leading to Bruckner’s first large-scale sacred-vocal work, the Requiem of 1849, which, as discussed below (see pp. 344ff.), has direct references to Mozart’s Requiem. See Paul Hawkshaw, “Anton Bruckner in Saint Florian: The Preservation, Assimilation and Transmission of Contrapuntal Tradition,” (2008), in process. I am grateful to Dr. Hawkshaw for sharing this material with me prior to publication.

this period – in terms of releasing the artistic nature in Bruckner’s personality – to be analagous to his later period of study with Otto Kitzler in Linz.<sup>688</sup>

Few details concerning Bruckner’s period of study with Zenetti are available. It does seem, however, that the works produced by Bruckner under Zenetti’s tutelage demonstrate a fundamentally eclectic philosophy, one which preserves an aesthetic of the rural Biedermeier and late-Biedermeier styles, not only by maintaining close associations with the triumvirate of Haydn-Mozart-Beethoven, but also by integrating into their stylistic palette the music of the *Frühromantiker* such as Mendelssohn, Weber, and, perhaps most importantly, Franz Schubert.

Virtually all biographical studies of both Schubert and Bruckner refer to connections between the two composers. These connections, however, are often viewed as being less tangible than those between Bruckner and Wagner, Bruckner and Beethoven, or even Bruckner and Mendelssohn.<sup>689</sup> Bruckner certainly viewed Schubert as an important and imposing figure in the development of nineteenth-century music. He referred to Schubert in his later University lectures as “Johannes der Täufer” (John the Baptist); as St. John was a forerunner of Jesus Christ, preparing the way for his coming, so was Schubert a precursor to Wagner and his bold harmonic language.<sup>690</sup> But while Bruckner in later years often consciously referenced the works of Beethoven and Wagner, similarities in his works to those of Schubert seem to exist at a more subliminal

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<sup>688</sup> Maier, “Werk und Wirken,” pp. 108-26.

<sup>689</sup> For a detailed discussion of this latter connection see Othmar Wessely, “Bruckners Mendelssohn-Kentniss,” *Bruckner-Studien*, pp. 81-112.

<sup>690</sup> Franz Grasberger, “Schubert und Bruckner,” *Schubert-Kongress, Wien, 1978* (Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), pp. 215-28. For a further discussion of this complex analogy see Jackson, “Schubert as ‘John the Baptist to Wagner-Jesus.’”

level: “[I]n Schubert [Bruckner] sensed a kinship which expresses itself in his works without conscious effort.”<sup>691</sup>

That a youthful Bruckner would have been exposed to Schubert’s music is not in question; in a letter to his parents in 1825, Schubert remarked as follows: “In Upper Austria, I find my compositions everywhere, particularly in the monasteries of St. Florian and Kremsmünster.”<sup>692</sup> Bruckner would also have encountered Schubert’s music at the parish church in Enns during his studies with Zenetti.<sup>693</sup> And, indeed, many of the characteristics of Schubert’s musical style are present in the early works of Bruckner. For example, the male-voice chorus piece *Die Geburt* (WAB 69), composed at St. Florian in 1851, displays, as discussed previously, a strong tendency towards tertian relationships. Further, both the *Missa solennis in B<sup>b</sup> minor* (1854, WAB 29) and the *Tantum ergo* (1854 / 5, WAB 44) show many other marked Schubert characteristics, including inherent polyphony, rhythmic integration, and folk-like melodies such as the *Ländler*.<sup>694</sup>

However, caution must be observed in drawing too direct a connection between the two composers in terms of stylistic traits and compositional practices. It is often the case that what has traditionally been presented as a rather clear and linear relationship between the stylistic tendencies of two composers can become, when analyzed on the basis of independent and unbiased observation, a casualty of such scrutiny. Popular reminiscences and superficial congruence should not be mistaken for substantive deductions based on an examination of available documentary evidence. As a result of

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<sup>691</sup> Louise H. and Franz Tischler, “Schubert and Bruckner: A Comparison,” *Chord and Discord* 2 / 4 (1946), 23-29.

<sup>692</sup> Otto Erich Deutsch, ed., *Franz Schubert, Briefe und Schriften* (Vienna: 1954), p. 116.

<sup>693</sup> Grasberger, “Schubert und Bruckner.”

<sup>694</sup> Erich Wolfgang Partsch, “Bruckner und Schubert: Zu Interpretation und Kritik einer vielbehaaupteten Beziehung,” *Bruckner: Vorbilder und Traditionen*, ed. Uwe Harten, et al., (Vienna: Musikwissenschaftlicher Verlag, 1999), pp. 79-97.



this examination, it is important that all findings that tend not to prove an accepted point be included as well as all that do.<sup>695</sup>

Erich Wolfgang Partsch points to many such inconsistencies in the accepted version of the Schubert-Bruckner connection. Partsch states that in comparison to Beethoven and Wagner, Schubert's influence is relatively slight. He points to the meticulously maintained notebook calendars kept by Bruckner, in which references to Schubert appear only three times; twice in regard to performances of Schubert's E<sup>b</sup> major mass, and once concerning Bruckner's attendance at Schubert's grave.<sup>696</sup> Widespread admiration for Schubert was indeed prevalent among composers of the nineteenth century, but this, Partsch believes, should not be equated with concrete influences on particular compositions. Admiration often took the form of viewing Schubert as a "natural genius," and Bruckner, too, was often classified as such, so that a link to Schubert was forged. Add to this the other *topoi* present in the popular conception of both artists – their humble origins, their use of folk music, manifested, for example, in the frequent occurrence of the *Ländler* in both men's work, the apparent *naivete* of their music coupled with an, at times, almost incomprehensible complexity and scale – all served to reinforce the idea of strong connections between the two composers.

And yet, as Partsch and others have observed, the most obvious style characteristics of the two composers differ greatly. Bruckner was "not an imitator or

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<sup>695</sup> This point is addressed in Partsch, "Bruckner und Schubert."

<sup>696</sup> Partsch, "Bruckner und Schubert." Bruckner certainly exhibited a strong interest in death and corpses in general. This interest manifested itself in a number of ways, including the touching and kissing of the skulls of Beethoven and Schubert at their exhumations. For a discussion of the implications of this facet of his personality on his music, as well as Bruckner's notebook calendars, see Elisabeth Maier, "An Inner Biography of Anton Bruckner," *Bruckner Studies*, ed. Timothy L. Jackson and Paul Hawkshaw (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 32-53.

epigone of [Schubert].”<sup>697</sup> Indeed, the point to be made here is that impressions of Schubert’s work were formed at an early period in Bruckner’s life, and clearly left a lasting imprint on not only his later symphonic style,<sup>698</sup> but on his basic compositional approach, including works cited above that contain an overt basso continuo presence. While the contemporary composer, conductor, and critic Eduard Kremser, declared “Bruckner is the Schubert of our time,”<sup>699</sup> he also went on to describe Bruckner as coming out of an older school of contrapuntal composition, yet having the ability to adapt earlier concepts to conventional nineteenth-century formats.<sup>700</sup> Despite such influences, Kremser stresses the characteristic originality with which Bruckner combines a variety of elements to produce something new and fresh. “Is one a naked imitator,” Kremser asks, “if one makes use of the inheritance of earlier traditions?”<sup>701</sup> In Bruckner’s case, he clearly feels that this is not the case.<sup>702</sup>

As a principal factor in the formation of Bruckner’s musical personality, Schubert certainly merits great attention. But contributions to his overall musical personality were derived from many sources. Indeed, one scholar has postulated that in Bruckner, we see a synthesis of stylistic elements from both Schubert and Beethoven,

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<sup>697</sup> Tischler, “Schubert and Bruckner.”

<sup>698</sup> A point made clearly by Grasberger in the article cited above (see note 690 above).

<sup>699</sup> In a review of Bruckner’s Symphony No. 4 in *Das Vaterland: Zeitung für der Österreichische Monarchie*, Wien: 3. März, 1881. See Grasberger, “Schubert and Bruckner,” note 16. Kremser’s remark echoes Schumann’s famous dictum, “Mendelssohn is the Mozart of our time.”

<sup>700</sup> Grasberger, “Schubert und Bruckner,” p. 227. “The accomplished organist, arising from the school of the old contrapuntists, could express himself just as well in the [newer] conventional forms and be just as precise in doing so in these forms as in some others in which technical control constitutes the full [artistic] richness.” [Der treffliche Organist, hervorgegangen aus der Schule der alten Contrapunctisten, könnte sich sehr gerne ebenso gut in den herkömmlichen Formen bewegen und sich in diesen Formen ebenso präzise ausdrücken, als mancher Andere, bei dem die technische Beherrschung eben dieser Formen den ganzen Reichtum ausmacht].

<sup>701</sup> Ibid. “Ist man aber darum gleich ein blosser Nachahmer, weil man das von Früheren Überkommene und Ererbte verwendet?”

<sup>702</sup> Jackson takes a similar stance in “Schubert as ‘John the Baptist to Wagner-Jesus.’” “I shall argue that Bruckner did not simply parody Schubertian and Wagnerian models; his was a Judeo-Christian ‘revaluation of their values’!”

influences for which Bruckner found confirmation and validation in the music of Richard Wagner.<sup>703</sup> Further, the *kleinmeisters* of the Classical period, many of whose works Bruckner had access to at St. Florian, were included in the stylistic mix, producing in Bruckner a highly individualistic approach. Indeed, Elisabeth Maier considers the timing of Bruckner's period of study with Zenetti to be extremely fortunate. She views all his training – self-instruction as well as more formal lessons, such as those from Weiss or Dürrnberger – to have been excellent preparation for the young composer's introduction to a more expansive and eclectic musical language. She therefore sees Zenetti as an important mentor, watchfully guiding Bruckner as the full creative potential of his artistic abilities took shape.<sup>704</sup>

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<sup>703</sup> Grasberger, "Schubert und Bruckner. "In Bruckner, we find a fusion of the influences of Schubert and Beethoven, which was confirmed and afforded 'moral support' by the music of Wagner." [Bei Bruckner finden wir Einflüsse Schuberts und Beethovens verschmolzen, Bestätigung und 'Rückenstärkung' war die Musik Wagners].

<sup>704</sup> Maier, "Anton Bruckners Frühwerk," p. 135. "For Bruckner, the close association with Leopold Zenetti occurred at the most favorable moment. All his previous training – with Johann Baptist Weiss in Hörsching, his acquaintance with the Classical and traditional church music as a choir boy, and then later as an instrumentalist and copyist during the first St. Florian sojourn, and, in the end, his instruction with August Johann Baptist Dürrnberger for the *Präparandie* – had been part and parcel of the general scholastic upbringing and / or the education of a teacher (for at that time, to be sure, musical knowledge was obligatory [for that position]); therefore, the instruction [with Zenetti] can be classified as voluntarily self-imposed, and characteristic of [Bruckner's] awaking creativity. The ecclesiastical orientation of a teacher could not, in and of itself, produce such a positive effect; therefore the training [with Zenetti] provided clear guidance and multivalent [artistic] stimulation."

[Für Bruckner erfolgte die nähere Begegnung mit Leopold von Zenetti im günstigsten Moment. War alles vorhergegangene Lernen – bei Johann Baptist Weiss in Hörsching, das Bekanntwerden mit der klassischen und klassizistischen Kirchenmusik als Sängerknabe, später als Instrumentalist oder Kopist während des ersten St. Florianer Aufenthaltes und schliesslich der Unterricht bei August Johann Baptist Dürrnberger in der *Präparandie* – eingebettet gewesen in die allgemeine schulische Erziehung bzw. die Ausbildung zum Lehrer (für den damals freilich musikalische Kenntnisse obligatorisch waren), so ist der Unterricht bei Zenetti freiwillig, selbstgewählt und dem Aspekt des erwachenden Schöpferischen zugeordnet. Die eklektizistische Einstellung des Lehrers konnte sich nicht anders als positiv auswirken, da durch sie dem Lernenden gleichermassen gediegene Führung und vielseitige Anregung zuteil wurden].

### c) Zenetti's Teaching Materials

#### 1) May's *Generalbass oder Pathietur*

In addition to the *Kurze Anweisung zum Generalbassspiel*, Bruckner's instruction with Zenetti also included Türk's *Von den wichtigsten Pflichten eines Organisten* as well as the Bach organ chorales to supplement the lessons of the *Wohltemperierten Klavier*.<sup>705</sup> Further, Bruckner was also introduced by Zenetti to the following works:

*Anfangsgründe des Generalbasses*,  
J. B. Wanhal (Vienna: 1817)

*Generalbass oder Pathietur*, F. May (1819: manuscript  
copy in the Austrian National Library Music Collection,  
Mus.Hs. 4846)

*Vorbereitung für Klavierschüler zum Generalbass*, Johann  
Keinerstorfer (Linz)

*Anleitung zur richtigen Begleitung der vorgeschriebenen  
Kirchengesänge wie auch zum Generalbass*, Ambros  
Rieder (1830: manuscript copy in the Austrian National  
Library Music Collection  
Mus. Hs. 5080)

*Partitur-Fundament*, Michael Haydn (Salzburg, 1833)

*Praktische Generalbass-Schule, Op. 49*, Simon Sechter  
(Vienna, 1830)<sup>706</sup>

The clear emphasis of this course of instruction was on the practical requirements of thoroughbass procedures, a thorough and systematic course of instruction for a student whom Zenetti, even at that time, saw as the future organist of the Linz Cathedral.<sup>707</sup>

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<sup>705</sup> Zenetti is said to have been especially fond of the organ chorales for instructional purposes. See Maier, "Anton Bruckners Frühwerk," p. 136.

<sup>706</sup> Maier, "Werk und Wirken," p. 114.

<sup>707</sup> Ibid., p. 115. The extent to which Bruckner had assimilated Zenetti's teachings can be attested to by the remarks made by his former instructor Dürnberger on the occasion of Bruckner's qualifying

The treatise by May is perhaps the least complex of all the works that will be considered in detail below; it approaches the subject of *Generalbass* from a purely intervallic perspective. That is to say, the various chapters of the work are arranged not according to the various chordal constructs that arise from the combination of intervals (i.e., as in Preindl's treatise, such as *kleine Secunden-Accorde*, *grosse Secunden-Accorde*, *ü bermässige Secunden-Accorde*, etc.), but rather according to the intervals themselves. Therefore, after two introductory chapters in which May discusses clefs, common key signatures (beginning on C and continuing to four sharps and three flats), frequently encountered time signatures (see Example 4-21 below), and the existence of twelve chromatic tones,<sup>708</sup> he commences with the main feature of the treatise, the discussion of the various intervals.

May states that the usable intervals consist of the following: 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. These intervals are classified first as consonant (*Intervala consonans*) or dissonant (*Intervalum Dissonans*). The consonant intervals are further divided according to the categories of perfect (unison, fifth, and octave) and imperfect (third and sixth). The imperfect consonances can also have major and minor forms.

There are four dissonances; the second, the fourth, the seventh, and the ninth. The fourth, however, may be considered a consonance under certain conditions, such as

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examination (the *Konkursprüfung*) for full certification as a teacher that took place on 29 May 1845. The remarks are as follows: "The candidate was awarded the highest grades with honors in harmony and in practical organ playing and at the same time was proven to have a very commendable knowledge and talent in vocal and instrumental music, in particular in the choral works and figured song." "[Der Kandidat] in der Harmonik und im praktischen Orgelspiele die erste Klasse mit Vorzug erhalten und zugleich auch in der Vocal- und Instrumental-Musik namentlich im Choral- und Figural-Gesange sehr empfehlenswerte Kenntnisse und Fertigkeiten beweisen [habe]]." See also Watson, *Bruckner*, 7.

<sup>708</sup> Fr. May, *Generalbass oder Pathietur* (1819), Chapters I-II, pp. 3-5.

in the 8 / 6 / 4 configuration. Dissonant intervals also encompass the subcategory of the *Intervalum falsam*: the *falsche Quart oder Tritonus* and the *falsche Quint*.<sup>709</sup>

In Nomini Jesu et Maria. 3.  
Erinnerung.

Erinnerung, welches die Pathietur der General-Bass  
zu lernen, anhangen will, soll vornehmlich konstant  
Pfeifen können, als z. B. Präludien, Tugen der Galanterie,  
Stücke, welche durch solche konsonante Melodie  
klingt, nicht nur das Clavier wohl bekannt, sondern auch die  
Singen sehr leicht, und angenehmer werden.

Das 1<sup>te</sup> Kapitel.  
Von dem richtigen Spiel.

1. Man muß folgenden Bass, den wohl bekannt, und  
sagen, mit dem für einen Bassist die Pathietur beginnt  
ist, denn es ist nicht allzuletzt der Bassist, sondern  
es kann auch ein anderer sein, folgendermaßen: z. B.  
hinter, oder Bass. oder hinter, oder Alt Discant. *hinter*

2. So ist man, ob man den Bassist mit B, A, oder auch  
sagt, dann mit dem Bassist. So ist es, oder auch  
mit dem Bassist, sondern auch mit dem Bassist. z. B.  
*hinter*

3. Man sagt, ob es die ganze Melodie, oder Bassist. *hinter*

Example 4-21: May, Generalbass oder Pathietur, p. 3

Having established the scope of acceptable intervals, May goes on in Chapter 4 to demonstrate how intervals may be constructed over a bass note to form what he refers

<sup>709</sup> Ibid., Chapter III, p. 5.

to as the *concerto ordinario* or the *Perfectstimmig*, that is, the  $8 / 5 / 3$  chord. He then provides numerous examples of the uses of this chord (*Beyspiele von vollkommenen Greifen, oder Perfectstimmig*) involving a great many permutations of the figures and skips in the bass line by third, fourth, fifth, etc., through the octave. To conclude Chapter 4, May provides, under the heading of *Kurze Anmerkung* (*Brief Remarks*), a chart of some of the more common vertical entities that can arise from the basic  $8 / 5 / 3$  verticality.<sup>710</sup>

Example 4-22: May, *Generalbass oder Pathietur*, p. 8

The remaining chapters each take up the configurations that can be formed through the vertical employment of the particular interval with which that chapter is concerned. All aspects of the interval, in all subcategories, are discussed, with special attention given to inconsistencies the player might encounter. For example, in Chapter 7 (*Vom der Quart [4]*), May demonstrates his previous assertion as to the duality of the fourth in terms of consonance and dissonance; he makes it clear through numerous examples that the fourth as a consonant interval (in a configuration such as the  $8 / 6 / 4$ ) will resolve differently than when it is encountered in the  $4 / 5$  or  $4 / 3$  configuration. The tritone and the diminished fourth (*Quart Minuta*) are also discussed in this chapter in a variety of settings.<sup>711</sup>

<sup>710</sup> Ibid., Chapter IV, pp. 7-8.

<sup>711</sup> Ibid., Chapter VII, pp. 11-13.

Because of their importance to *Generalbass* practices, the chapters on the seventh and the ninth (Chapters 11 and 13 respectively) identify two basic types of these chordal formations that will be encountered: *In Tritinio*, or three-voiced chords such as the 7 / 5 / 3 or the 9 / 3, and *In Quatrilinio*, or the four-voiced configurations, such as the 7 / 3 / 8 / 5 or the 9 / 5 / 3 verticalities. Numerous examples and rules for proper approach and resolution of these chords are provided in each chapter.<sup>712</sup>

At the conclusion of Chapter 13 on the ninth, May makes his only literal reference to harmony, stating that the best method for understanding the foregoing concepts arise from *Generalbass* practices.<sup>713</sup> As an example, he provides a series of modulations in an eight-measure sequence that modulates through a circle of fifths (see Example 4-23 below). The sequence begins on E and works backwards through the circle to finally end in E<sup>b</sup>. The modulations are accomplished exclusively through cadential procedures involving the 6 / 5 configuration on the seventh scale degree, similar to those described by Förster. The exercise itself is reminiscent of the eight-bar minuet provided by Förster in his *Anleitung*, which spelled out the tonal areas of the *Verwandtschaft*.<sup>714</sup>



Example 4-23: May, *Generalbass oder Pathietur*, p. 23

Chapters 14 (*Von der Cadenz*) and 15<sup>715</sup> go on to explain how these tonal areas can be accessed through cadential procedures. The cadences available to the student are:

<sup>712</sup> Ibid., Chapter XI, pp. 18-20 and Chapter XII, pp. 21-23.

<sup>713</sup> Ibid., Chapter XIII, p. 23.

<sup>714</sup> See Chapter 3, p. 239 above.

<sup>715</sup> For some reason, May designates the fifteenth chapter as 15<sup>th</sup> *Kapitel*, while he uses Roman numerals for all of the other chapter designations. See May, *Generalbass*, p. 25.



the *minor* cadence (*kleine*), the *minima* cadence (*kleinsten*), and the *major* cadence (*grosse*). These chapters, particularly Chapter 15, emphasize the utility of the 6 / 5 configuration as a means to reach distant tonalities, stressing the half-step motion in the bass (or the *Semitonium minus*, as May describes it) as the best vehicle for these shifts of tonality. Though the words *Modulation* or *Ausweichung* are never used, this emphasis on the 6 / 5 verticality over the leading tone and its correct resolution in *Generalbass* terms for these purposes calls to mind the more elaborately espoused theories of Drechsler, Förster, and Beethoven.



Example 4-24: May, *Generalbass oder Pathietur*, p. 25

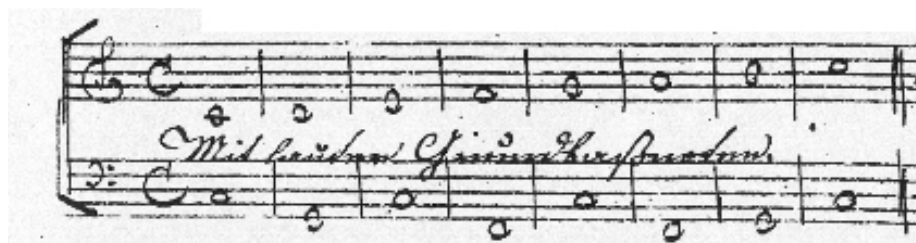
May's treatise clearly places its emphasis on the practical matters of concern to the *Generalbass* performer rather than the conceptual matters that some of the other theorists we have discussed chose to engage. Nonetheless, we can see in this treatise many concepts and principles that will be reemphasized in Bruckner's later studies.

## 2) Rieder's *Anleitung zur richtigen Begleitung*

A somewhat more sophisticated presentation of materials is offered in the *Anleitung zur richtigen Begleitung* of the composer, instrumentalist, and organist Ambros

Rieder (1771-1855).<sup>716</sup> Rieder received his early musical training from his grandfather, Thomas Rieder (d. c. 1793), but also studied *Generalbass* and composition in Vienna with Karl Martinides, Leopold Hofmann, and Albrechtsberger.<sup>717</sup> Rieder's treatise, compiled in 1833 during his tenure as *Regenschory*<sup>718</sup> in the Viennese suburb of Perchtoldsdorf, consists of four distinct sections: I. *Abtheilung von der richtigen Begleitung der Melodie und Kirchengesänge*; II. *Vom Generalbasse*; III. *Vom Präludiren*; and IV. *Vom Fugiren*. Like May's work, Rieder's *Anleitung* exists in manuscript only.

The first section, as its heading implies, provides the keyboardist with the basic information necessary for the accompaniment of a melody. To that end, common figured-bass arrangements (6 / 3, 6 / 5, 6 / 4 / 3, etc.) are presented immediately, based on the steps of a C major scale. The idea that these scale steps might imply a certain fundamental harmony, or a fundamental bass, follows soon after, as can be seen in Example 4-25a below.



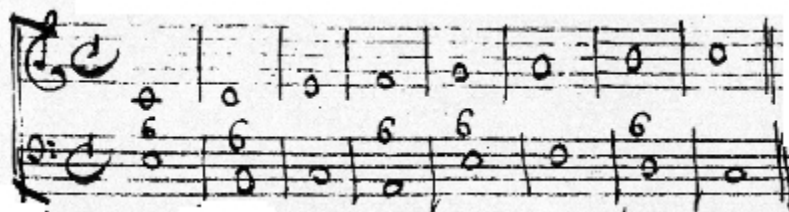
Example 4-25a: Rieder, *Anleitung*, p. 6

This idea is then linked to the concept that the figures above the bass note can represent different configurations, or inversions, of a chordal entity, as Rieder shows in Example 4-25b.

<sup>716</sup> Ambros Rieder, *Anleitung zur richtigen Begleitung der vorgeschriebenen Kirchengesänge, wie auch zum Generalbasse, zum Praeludiren und zum Fugiren in Beyspielen. Zur Selbstübung für angehende Organisten verfasst* (Perchtoldsdorf, 1833).

<sup>717</sup> Christian Fastl, "Ambros Matthias Rieder," *MGG* 14, pp. 50-51.

<sup>718</sup> This is the spelling that appears on the title page of the manuscript of Rieder's *Anleitung*, which describes the author as "Regenschory zu Perchtoldstorf."



Example 4-25b: Rieder, *Anleitung*, p. 6

Thus, in providing the most appropriate accompaniment for a vocalist or in church music in general, the keyboardist should be aware not only of the localized figures generated from what Rieder refers to as the *Mittelbass* (that is to say, the “practical” bass or the continuo bass), but also of the broader harmonic implications of the *Grundbassnoten* (the fundamental bass). Rieder provides an example of this concept on page 10 of his treatise. Here he presents, from top staff to bottom, the melody, the fundamental bass that it implies, and four staves of various types of this *Mittelbassnoten* accompaniment that one might encounter (see Example 4-26 below).<sup>719</sup>

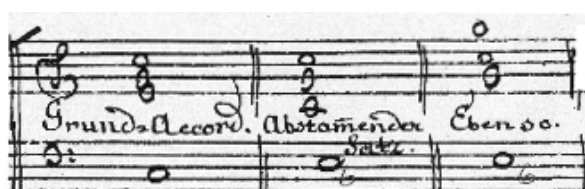
Example 4-26: Rieder, *Anleitung*, p. 10

<sup>719</sup> Rieder, *Anleitung*, p. 10. Rieder’s third *Mittelbass* example is termed *laufend*, or, in running notes.

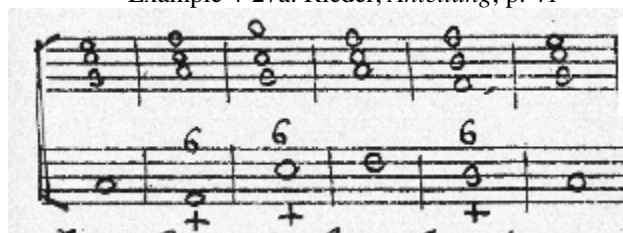
The balance of Section I consists of examples of the *Mittelbass* concept taken mostly from church hymns as well as several examples of common cadences within the ambitus of three flats and two sharps.<sup>720</sup>

Section II, *Vom Generalbass*, then, with its presentation of standard figured-bass numbering, arises directly from the basic concepts discussed in Section I. Rieder begins this section by identifying the triad as the basic unit of these *Generalbass* verticalities, calling it, as many theorists had, the *vollkommene Accord*. He presents numerous examples of the various voicings for root-position triads in different keys.<sup>721</sup>

Rieder then proceeds to list the various signs (#, b, etc.) used to represent the verticalities and to provide examples of their proper usage. This is done, however, in the context of an awareness of the invertibility of these *vollkommene Accorde*. In the example below (Example 4-27a), he identifies the perfect chord as a *Grund-Accord*, followed by two forms of a first inversion (*abstamender* (sic) *Satz*, or “derived” chord). He then demonstrates the correct usage of these inversions as an alternative in the bass to the exclusive use of the *Grund-Accorde* (Example 4-27b).<sup>722</sup>



Example 4-27a: Rieder, *Anleitung*, p. 41



Example 4-27b: Rieder, *Anleitung*, p. 42

<sup>720</sup> Ibid., pp. 14-29. For the section on cadences, see pp. 25-26.

<sup>721</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>722</sup> Ibid., pp. 35-42.

The balance of the *Generalbass* section is then given over to the traditional enumeration of possible figurations. Rieder provides a chart to define the quality and quantity of each interval (Example 4-28); he then, like Preindl, offers examples of the use of each interval, proceeding in order from the *kleine Secunde* through the *grosse None*.<sup>723</sup>



Example 4-28: Rieder, *Anleitung*, p. 43

The section concludes with a brief fugal composition in which the previously discussed *Generalbass* symbols are utilized (*Kleine Fuge mit beziffertem Basse*).<sup>724</sup>



Example 4-29: Rieder, *Anleitung*, p. 52

Section III, *Vom Präludiren*, now addresses the important topic of modulation.

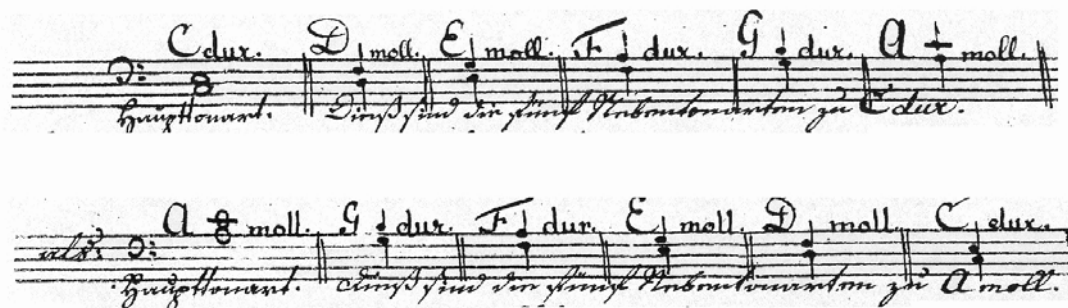
In Rieder's concept, this is accomplished most successfully via the motion of the leading tone (*Leitton*) to a new central pitch. In practice, this is best achieved through the use of

<sup>723</sup> Ibid., pp. 43-50.

<sup>724</sup> Ibid., p. 51-52. The various clefs with which the accompanist must be familiar are also listed here with examples; there are ten in all, including the violin clef. See *ibid.*, p. 52.



Thus Rieder has established the methodological guidelines for his concept of *Präludiren*, which relies on the principle of *Modulation* – Rieder uses this term explicitly<sup>727</sup> – as realized through these seventh-chord formations. He then proceeds to fix the acceptable ambitus of key areas to which the proper musician may carry his modulations. With C major as the principal key (*Haupttonart*), the following secondary key areas (*Nebentonarten*) may be reached: D minor, E minor, F major, G major, and A minor. With A minor as the *Haupttonart*, the same *Nebentonarten* are available, in reverse order, as can be seen below in Example 4-32.<sup>728</sup>



Example 4-32: Rieder, *Anleitung*, p. 57

In relation to other examples of the *Verwandtschaft* we have encountered, beginning with Kirnberger's, Rieder's ambitus is rather circumscribed; it encompasses only the two *Haupttonarten* and secondary areas that extend to only one sharp and one flat in both major and minor.<sup>729</sup> Still, Rieder utilizes this restricted ambitus to maximum effect in the examples that follow. The emphasis remains throughout on the utilization of the *Leittone* to achieve these modulations. Thus we see another short example, this time eighteen bars in length, along the lines of those seen in the Förster and Drechsler manuals, in which the principal *Nebentonarten* are accessed. Rieder indicates in writing the use of the leading

<sup>727</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>728</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>729</sup> Ibid., pp. 60-61.

tone to accomplish the desired modulation; note that in this example, they all occur on *enharmonische* seventh chords (see Example 4-33 below). The sole exception to this scheme, here as in Förster's minuet, involves the shift from A to D. Rieder accomplishes this via the fully diminished seventh chord – for Rieder, a *Grundaccord* – thus highlighting this as more of a structural, or transitional, event, in this case, marking the final cadence to C major.<sup>730</sup>



Example 4-33: Rieder, *Anleitung*, pp. 60-61

Several examples of *Präludia* are presented by Rieder in the remainder of Section III; all of these represent some traditional modulatory pattern with which the accompanist might wish to become familiar. Of course, all of these examples remain within the ambitus of the prescribed *Nebentonarten*.<sup>731</sup>

Section IV of Rieder's treatise, *Vom Fugiren*, consists exclusively of unfigured examples of fugal procedures; each bears the title *Fughetta*. These examples occur in various keys and two carry the name of their originator: Rieder's former teacher

<sup>730</sup> The discussion of Förster's similar example can be found in Chapter 3, pp. 239-40. In both cases, I believe that the deviation from modulation via the first-inversion dominant seventh chord to a different inversion of that chord (as in Förster's minuet) or a fully diminished seventh chord (as in Rieder's example) is indicative of the Kirnbergerian distinction between true modulations (or what Drechsler calls *plötzlich* modulations; see Chapter 3, note 530) and structural transitions, or, for Kirnberger, *Ausweichungen*. See also Chapter 1, pp. 58ff.

<sup>731</sup> Rieder, *Anleitung*, pp. 61-69.



Albrechtsberger and the highly regarded German organist Gottlieb Muffat,<sup>732</sup> who spent most of his career in the musical establishment of the Viennese court.<sup>733</sup> The idea that all of the information contained in Rieder's *Anleitung* was necessary to the proper instruction of any young organist – even in 1830 – is stated unequivocally in the closing remarks of the author:

With these *Fughetten*, I now close this work, which I wrote with love for the self-instruction of the beginning organist. How heavily does the commencement of the [instruction in] playing the organ lie upon the young, curious organist who, from a deficiency in the necessary instructional sources, often can only make progress in this, the most beautiful of arts, with difficulty? I believe that I have stated in this work the most important and most necessary information required for the initial as well as the more advanced education of an organist, in order that he might make progress with honors therein. Persistent meditation, diligence, and practice are what will finally create a master, crowning [the student's] restless efforts with happy success. As the setting sun invites the weary to the calm of the comfortable evening and smiles amiably towards them – I would like my own setting life-light to lend me comfort in the knowledge that this work has been useful to my neighbors!<sup>734</sup>

### 3) Michael Haydn's *Partitur-Fundament*

In Chapter 2, we discussed Michael Haydn's *Partitur-Fundament* and its role in continuation of *Generalbass* pedagogy into the nineteenth century.<sup>735</sup> In the article by Rudolf Flotzinger cited there, that author draws a direct line of continuation for an eighteenth-century *Generalbassschule* on the basis of the manuscript score of Haydn's

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<sup>732</sup> Ibid., p. 74.

<sup>733</sup> Susan Wollenberg, "Gottlieb Muffat," *NGD*, Vol. 17, pp. 364-66.

<sup>734</sup> Rieder, *Anleitung*, p. 76. "Mit diesen Fughetten schliesse ich nun diess Werk, welches ich für angehende Organisten zur Selbstübung und mit Liebe verfasst habe. Wie schwer fällt nicht manchem jungen, wissbegierigen Organisten der Anfang zum Orgelspiele aus Mangel der nöthigen Hülfquellen und wie schwer oft nicht die herbeyzuschaffenden Mittel, in dieser schönen Kunst gedeihliche Fortschritte zu machen? – Ich glaube in diesem Werke das Hauptsächlichste und Nöthigste gesagt zu haben, was zum Anfange und zur fernerer Ausbildung eines Organisten erfordert werde, um mit Ehren Fortschritte darin zu machen. – Beharrliches Nachdenken, Fleiss und Übung bilden denn endlich doch den Meister, und krönen dessen rastlose Bemühungen mit einem glücklichen Erfolge. Nur die untergehende Sonne ladet den Müden zur behaglichen Abendruhe ein, und lächelt ihm freundlich entgegen. – Möchte auch mir meine untergehende Lebenssonne den Trost verleihen, mit diesem Werke meinen Nebenmenschen recht nützlich gewesen zu seyn! –" The treatise is then dated and signed as follows: "Perchtoldstorf, am 31. Jänner, 1830, Ambros Rieder, Regenschory."

<sup>735</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 138-41.

*Partitur-Fundament* copied by one Matthias Parzer.<sup>736</sup> Considering the available information discernible from Parzer's manuscript, Flotzinger posits a lineage for its development as follows: those parts of the manuscript that rely upon the Haydn / Adlgasser examples are the earliest, dating to around 1780; references to and examples from Albrechtsberger's *Generalbass- und Harmonie-Lehre*<sup>737</sup> can be dated at around 1790; this is followed by a section that references Drechsler's *Harmonie- und Generalbasslehre*, which Flotzinger dates at around 1816.<sup>738</sup> Since Drechsler was known to have been a pupil of Michael Haydn,<sup>739</sup> Flotzinger posits that he might have used Parzer's resultant composite version of the *Partitur-Fundament* in his classes at the *Normalschule* of the *Annakirche* in Vienna, where he conducted courses in organ performance and *Generalbass* beginning in 1815.<sup>740</sup> Flotzinger perceives a strong connection here:

Yes, one could even go so far as to see in this "Organ and *Generalbass* school" [Parzer's manuscript *Partitur-Fundament*] the practical counterpart to Drechsler's *Harmonie- und Generalbasslehre* (both from around 1815).<sup>741</sup>

The modulation examples that appear in this manuscript follow directly after the main sections of the *Partitur-Fundament* – that is to say, the original *Generalbass* examples of Haydn with commentary by Adlgasser. These modulation examples consist of twenty-four incipits in which each of the twenty-four major and minor keys are

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<sup>736</sup> Rudolf Flotzinger, "Unbekannte Modulationsbeispiele," p. 92. Flotzinger states that nothing is known of Parzer apart from his indication on the manuscript; "den 27ten Jänner / 1830 / M[a]tth[ias] Parzer / m[anu]pro] pria / Lehrer." See *ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>737</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96. Flotzinger provides a list of Albrechtsberger examples used in the Parzer manuscript in footnote 18.

<sup>738</sup> *Ibid.* See note 20.

<sup>739</sup> As Drechsler states in the *Vorrede* to his treatise; see Chapter 2, pp. 142-43.

<sup>740</sup> Flotzinger, "Unbekannte Modulationsbeispiele," p. 97. Flotzinger thinks it not too much of a stretch that Parzer may have been a colleague of Drechsler's on the teaching staff of the *Annakirche*.

<sup>741</sup> Flotzinger, "Unbekannte Modulationsbeispiele," pp. 97-98. "Ja, man könnte sogar so weit gehen, in dieser "Orgel- und Generalbassschule" das praktische Gegenstück zu Drechsler's *Harmonie- und Generalbasslehre* (beide um 1815) zu sehen."

utilized, starting from C major and progressing chromatically (i.e., to C<sup>#</sup> minor, D<sup>b</sup> major, D minor, etc, as seen below in Example 4-34a). A similar set of examples returns the student to the main key of C major (Example 4-34b).<sup>742</sup>

Flotzinger believes, due to shared similarities in the way this early, original material and these modulation exercises are presented, that it is not only possible but highly probable that the latter exercises are also from Michael Haydn, representing a heretofore unknown counterpart to the *Generalbass* exercises in Bishofreiter's edition of the *Partitur-Fundament*.<sup>743</sup>

Robert Haas indicates that Bruckner was introduced to the Bishofreiter-published version of the work.<sup>744</sup> However, considering the amount of manuscript circulation still current during this period, it is not out of the question that Bruckner may have come into contact with Parzer's composite manuscript and thence had further access to examples of common *Orgelspiel und Generalbass* modulation practices.

What is clear is that many of the concepts by which Bruckner would be influenced later in life – not only in terms of composition but in his pedagogical methods as well – have their inception in these now obscure treatises of May and Rieder as well as the better-known works of Michael Haydn and Sechter. The separation between theory and practice is not as stark in these manuals as some would have it, nor is the bifurcation of *Generalbass* and contemporary theoretical principles:

The emphasis on *Generalbass* in [the titles of many Viennese compositional methods] may appear to be an anachronism, since its significance in contemporary composition had greatly decreased. Still, there is more to be perceived here than a mere distinction between compositional practice and theory (the so-called “naturalistic argument”). In practice, *Generalbass* retained its meaning for the

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<sup>742</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>743</sup> Ibid., pp. 96-97.

<sup>744</sup> Haas, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 95. Haas specifically cites the 1833 Salzburg edition.

(f.21 r)  
Ins  
Cis min:

Des maj:

D min:

(f.21 v)  
Ins  
D maj:

Example 4-34a: M. Haydn / Flotzinger, p. 98

[von]  
Cis maj:

[von]  
Des maj:

[von]  
D min:

[von]  
D maj:

Example 4-34b: M. Haydn / Flotzinger, p. 101

longest period in church music, and the theorists were themselves usually church musicians and so had, to some degree, the methods for practical church musicians specifically in mind when writing these methods. Moreover, in terms of content, what some theorists called a *Harmonielehre* was more or less included under the [practices of] *Generalbass*, that is, these theoretical principles are a mixture of older *Generalbass* teachings and the more current harmonic practices (such as can already be seen in the title of Drechsler's publication), respectively.<sup>745</sup>

<sup>745</sup> Gernot Gruber, "Die Zeit der Wiener Klassiker," *Musikgeschichte Österreichs*, Bd. 2: *Vom Barock zum Vormärz*, ed. Gernot Gruber (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), pp. 133-277. See p. 156. "Die Betonung

May's straightforward *Generalbass* approach, therefore, combined with Rieder's more integrated musical philosophy – in which the principles of the *Fundamentalbass* and the *Mittelbass* play so important a role – would not have constituted an unusual course of study in Bruckner's Vienna; quite the contrary is true, in fact. It seems clear that these principles inflect the compositions that arose not only from the second St. Florian sojourn but well into his career, including the great symphonic works of Bruckner's post-Kitzler period. Applying many of the principles described above to a Marpurgian concept will complete this complex compositional and instructional picture.

#### **d) The *Kurze General-Bass Regeln***

That Bruckner fully grasped the importance of the procedures outlined in the treatises detailed above to his compositional training would seem to be affirmed by the fact that a summary of Zenetti's teachings, entitled *Kurze General-Bass Regeln*, may be found among the collected papers of Bruckner in the Austrian National Library. Although this manuscript document had long been thought to be in Bruckner's hand, recent scholars have cast doubt upon that assumption. In any case, the materials contained within this brief treatise are exemplary in many ways of the concepts that Bruckner would have encountered through Zenetti's teachings.<sup>746</sup> Example 4-35 below is a facsimile of a page from the document.<sup>747</sup>

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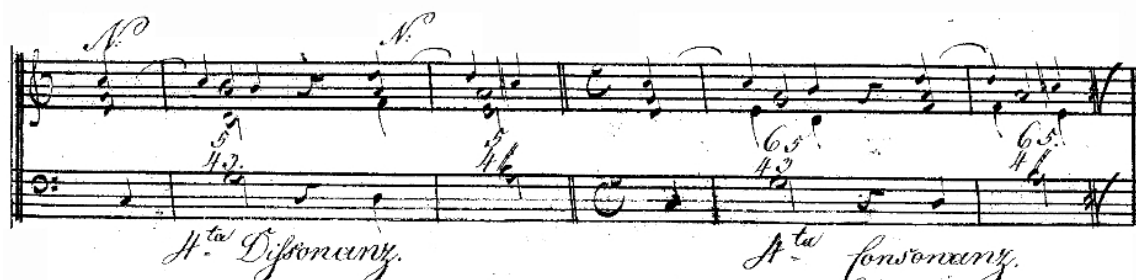
des Generalbasses in der Lehr erscheint als ein Anachronismus, da seine Bedeutung in der zeitgenössischen Komposition sehr abgenommen hatte. Doch liegt hier mehr als nur eine Diskrepanz zwischen kompositorischer Praxis und Theorie (der sog. "Naturalistenstreit") vor. In der Praxis behielt der Generalbass am längsten in der Kirchenmusik Bedeutung, und die Theoretiker waren eben meist Kirchenmusiker und hatten auch teilweise ausdrücklich die kirchenmusikalische Praxis bei ihrer Lehre in Auge. Ausserdem ist inhaltlich das, was andere Theoretiker 'Harmonielehre' nannten, mehr oder minder unter 'Generalbass' begriffen, bzw. die Theorie befindet sich in einem Mischbereich zwischen älterer Generalbass- und aktueller Harmonielehre (was etwa bei Drechsler schon im Titel zum Ausdruck kommt)."

<sup>746</sup> The designation of the *Kurze General-Bass Regeln* as Bruckner's autograph is offered in several sources. This collection was identified by Göllicher nearly a century ago as such and this attribution is also



The manuscript that I consulted, which can be found in the archives of the Austrian National Library (see note 747), is missing pages 2-4; the treatise picks up on page 5 with a discussion of the various forms of *dissonanz Accorde*. The examples given are: 6 / 4 / 2; 8 / 5 / 4; 7 / 5 / 3; and 9 / 5 / 3. Thus we can assume that the previous pages included a discussion of the various positions and *Generalbass* figurations of what the author goes on to describe as *vollkommene Accorde*, or triads in root position with the root doubled. He states that there are twelve each of these chords in major and minor, a total of twenty-four such verticalities. He also points out the enharmonic equivalency of such keys as C<sup>#</sup> and D<sup>b</sup> and D<sup>#</sup> and E<sup>b</sup>.<sup>749</sup>

The reader is then introduced to the imperfect (*unvollkommene*) *Sext Accord* (8 / 5 / 3) and provided with examples. The *Quart-Sexten Accord* follows; depending on the context, the fourths in these verticalities may be either consonant or dissonant, as can be seen from the example reproduced below (Example 4-36):<sup>750</sup>



Example 4-36: Zenetti / Bruckner, *Kurze General-Bass Regeln*, p. 9

After a brief paragraph in which the remaining symbols necessary to the proper notation of *Generalbass* are provided (i.e., the symbols for the sharp, double-sharp, flat, double-flat, and natural),<sup>751</sup> the author launches immediately into examples of the various applications of these symbols; these examples, as in the May, Preindl, and other treatises

<sup>749</sup> Ibid., pp. 5-6.

<sup>750</sup> Ibid., pp. 6-9.

<sup>751</sup> Ibid., p. 9.

we have discussed, occur in order of their numerical position. Therefore, the first examples deal with the multifarious instances in thoroughbass practice of the figure 2.<sup>752</sup>

This procedure is followed through all of the remaining intervals, as was the case in many of the previous manuals we have examined. Each individual figuration is given careful consideration as to quality (major, minor, augmented, etc.) and correct voice leading. Copious examples are provided in all instances. Along the way, the author points out interesting features of each interval, such as the fact that the minor sixth (*kleinen Sext*) is most effective when employed over the *Nota Sensibilis*, or leading tone.<sup>753</sup> This section is concluded with a series of charts, again in the tradition of the *Generalbass* manual, indicating the sum of all of these examples in a condensed format to facilitate implementation by the performer. (Example 4-37).<sup>754</sup>

1.	2.	3.	4.	4.	5b.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
0.	4.	5.	5.	2.	12.	3.	3.	3.	5.	5.	5.
0.	3.	3.	6.	6b.	5.	3.	3.	3.	3.	3.	3.

12.	4.	3.	7.	4.	5.	6.	11.	8.	9.
12.	2.	2.	2.	3.	3.	3.	3.	3.	3.
5.	6.	8.	4.	6.	3.	3.	5.	5.	5.
chrom. 2.	chrom. 3.	3.	3.	chrom. 5.	6.	3.			

5.	6.	11.	3.	9.	10.	6.	7.	3.	10.	7.	3.	9.	5.	9.	9.	10.	5.
4.	4.	4.	4.	4.	4.	5.	5.	5b.	5.	6.	6.	6.	7.	7.	8.	8.	5.
3.	3.	5.	3.	5.	6.	3.	3.	12.	3.	2.	3.	3.	3.	3.	4.	5.	
chrom. 6.	3.			chrom. 3.		chrom. 2.											

Example 4-37: Zenetti / Bruckner, *Kurze General-Bass Regeln*, pp. 24-25

<sup>752</sup> Ibid., pp. 9-11.

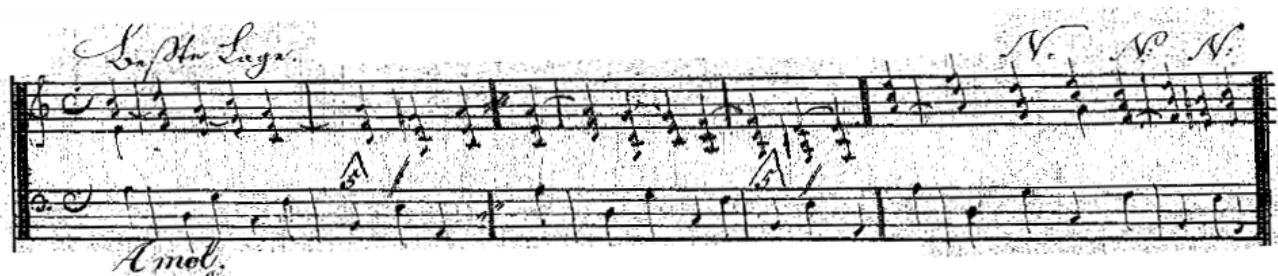
<sup>753</sup> Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>754</sup> Ibid., pp. 24-25.





Several special designations are addressed in this section, notably the *Telemannische Bogen* that we have encountered so much in the previous treatises and that provides such a direct link to *Generalbass* practices of the eighteenth century. This figure is used in the conventional manner, to designate the diminished fifth (*verminderten Quinten*) in a fully diminished triad as opposed to the same configuration of notes as they appear in a sixth chord, as in the two examples below.



Example 4-39a: Zenetti / Bruckner, *Kurze General-Bass Regeln*, p. 35



Example 4-39b: Bruckner, *Kurze General-Bass Regeln*, p. 38

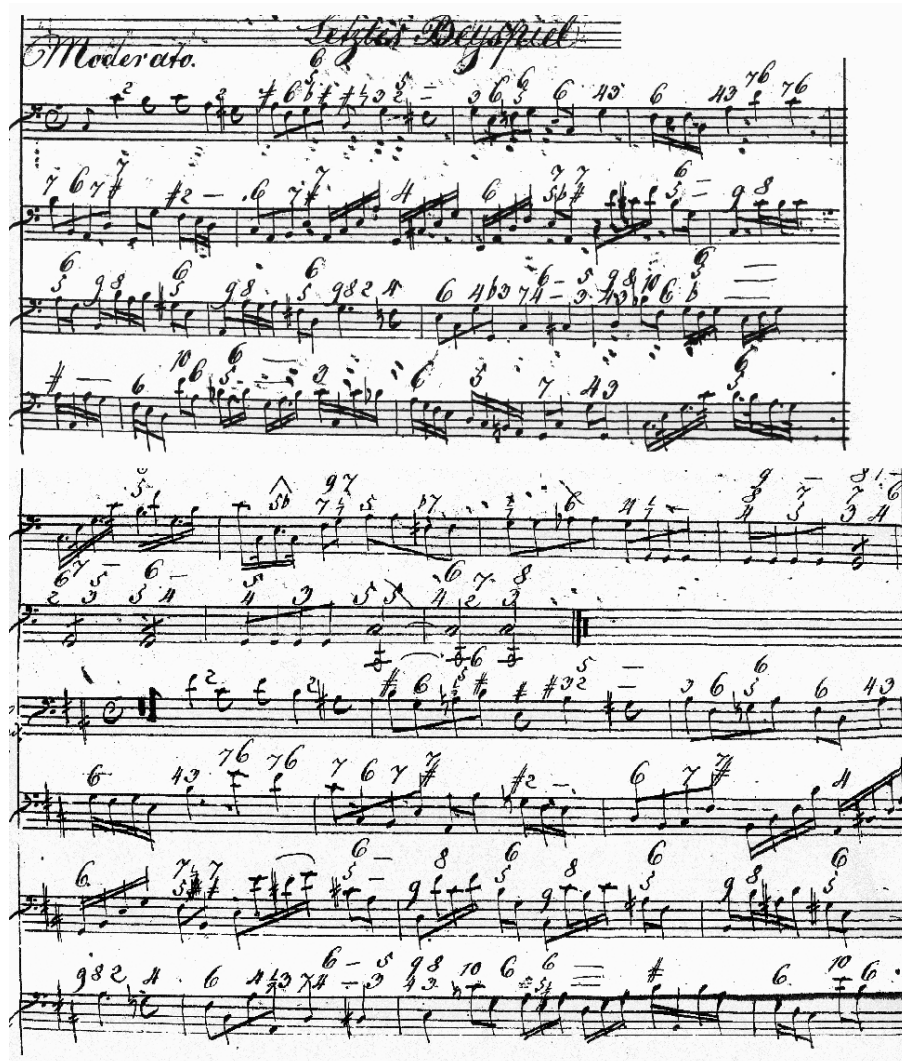
This section then proceeds to provide examples, in all three spacings, involving each individual interval that the *Generalbassspieler* may encounter; *kleine Secunden*, *grosse Secunden*, *übermässigen Secunden*, etc., through to the *kleinen* and *grossen Non Signaturen*, paying special attention to the *Tritonus* and the configurations of the sixths and sevenths.<sup>757</sup>

This is followed by a series of *Octav Läufen*, or exercises in scalar *passaggi* utilizing the various interval configurations.<sup>758</sup> The author then presents examples of the

<sup>757</sup> Ibid., pp. 40-75.

<sup>758</sup> Ibid., pp. 76-79.

use of ligatures (i. e., *gebundenen Septimen Accorden*, *gebundenen Seconden Quinten Accorden*, etc.) followed by a concluding section of sample bass lines (*Letztes Beyspiel*) that incorporate all of the previously discussed *Generalbass* symbols and figurations.



Example 4-40: Zenetti / Bruckner, *Kurze General-Bass Regeln*, pp. 88-89

Assuming that this treatise does indeed provide us with an overview of Bruckner's course of study with Zenetti, the emphasis on pure *Generalbass* notation in these *Kurze General-Bass Regeln* is indicative of the extent to which Bruckner was influenced not only by his mentors up to this point but also of the significance that the young composer attached to the assimilation of those mentors' rules, not only in terms of

their importance to him as an organist, but also in his compositional activities that were beginning to take on greater importance at this time. So thorough a grounding in these still-vital thoroughbass practices surely would not be eradicated by any subsequent training in a somewhat different system, such as Bruckner would encounter later with Kitzler. The earlier training would remain an underpinning of Bruckner's compositional processes throughout his career.

Though virtually devoid of references to harmonic function – the terms *Tonica* and *Dominante* occur only twice in the entire treatise; both instances serve only to posit a dichotomy of *vollkommene* chords and / or keys, along the lines of major and minor<sup>759</sup> – the *Kurze General-Bass Regeln* are nonetheless representative of the complex and exhaustive musical training that Bruckner had received to this point in his career. His later studies with Sechter, the groundwork for which had no doubt already been laid by Bruckner's engagement with Rieder's concept of the relationship of the *Mittelbass* / *Grundbassnoten*, would rely on this training as just such a foundation on which to build.

### **e) Zenetti's Influence on Bruckner's Compositional Style**

#### **1) Mozart's Requiem**

The influence of Zenetti on Bruckner's future musical endeavors is quite clear. However, certain documentation has been uncovered that can provide further awareness of the deep impression that the elder organist and composer made upon the young Bruckner. The discovery in 1939 of materials from the Zenetti estate in the music collection of the Austrian National Library has provided scholars with some interesting insights into the relationship of Bruckner and Zenetti.

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<sup>759</sup> Ibid., pp. 9 and 41.

The collection of works owned by Zenetti in the Austrian National Library contains 138 manuscripts and 47 printed scores in which a large cross-section of composers is represented. Again, as in the case of the repertoire of St. Florian, Zenetti's collection is filled with the works of Joseph Haydn, W. A. Mozart, and Beethoven, as well as numerous others in the Viennese Classical tradition, contemporaries of and successors to these composers. Some of the composers included are Carl Maria von Weber, Wanhal, Ignaz Pleyel, Felix Mendelssohn, and Franz Schubert, as well as Zenetti himself.<sup>760</sup>

In addition to the importance of the music itself, some interesting similarities in the procedures of student and master can be observed. For example, at the end of a *Vespers* in B<sup>b</sup> major we find the inscription "O.A.M.D.G. (Omnia ad majoram Dei Gloria) 21.12.61," similar to inscriptions that can be found in several of Bruckner's autograph manuscripts.<sup>761</sup> Further, a striking similarity can be seen in the manuscripts of Bruckner and Zenetti, which, according to Maier, goes far beyond any regionally or temporally conditioned habits.<sup>762</sup>

It should also be noted that Zenetti's contact with Bruckner did not end in 1845, when Bruckner returned to St. Florian. Teacher and student both made an effort to visit each other whenever possible.<sup>763</sup> Certainly their close personal affinity contributed to the effectiveness of Zenetti's teachings and to their influence on Bruckner's late compositional practices. In addition, the continued influence of Zenetti into the second

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<sup>760</sup> Maier, "Der Nachlass," p. 54. Zenetti's own compositions are found among the listing entitled "Anonyma."

<sup>761</sup> Ibid., p. 55. See, for example, the *Te Deum*, for which Bruckner also prepared a separate organ part, now in the Austrian National library (Mus.Hs.29.303). The provisional completion date on the autograph score in the same library (Mus.Hs.19.486) is 28 September 1883.

<sup>762</sup> Ibid.

<sup>763</sup> Ibid.

St. Florian period, coupled with the large amount of music by the Viennese Classical masters available both in Zenetti's collection and in the St. Florian repertory is of great importance to Bruckner's compositional development.

Indeed, many of the compositional elements that Bruckner came into contact with as a result of his studies with Zenetti can be seen in the former's first truly large-scale work, the Requiem in D minor of 1849. Here Bruckner's affinity for the Classical masters is clear; the allusions to Mozart's Requiem – a work that influenced his compositional practices throughout his career – are apparent from the opening theme.<sup>764</sup>

In addition to several thematic similarities,<sup>765</sup> the layout of the scores is similar.

Bruckner's Requiem is arranged in the style of the Viennese masters, positioning the three upper string parts (Violin I, Violin II, and Viola) at the top of the score, followed by the three trombones (Alto, Tenor, and Bass), the four vocal parts (in the original clefs), a line for the bass instruments (Violon<sup>766</sup> et Violoncello) and the continuo organ line (Organo) at the bottom, as can be seen in the Appendix Examples 4-41a and b.

This "antiquated, (essentially eighteenth-century) layout" is indicative of Bruckner's thorough grounding in conservative eighteenth-century Austrian liturgical music.<sup>767</sup>

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<sup>764</sup> In addition to being familiar with this work from his studies at St. Florian, Bruckner used Mozart's Requiem in his later career as a model for the correct employment of consecutive octaves and unisons in his own works, notably in his revisions to the Mass in F minor in 1877, as well as the First Symphony and Eighth Symphony in 1890. See Timothy L. Jackson, "Bruckner's *Oktaven*: the problem of consecutives, doubling, and orchestral voice-leading," *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, edited by C. Howie, P. Hawkshaw, and T. Jackson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1988), pp. 30-66.

<sup>765</sup> Watson, *Bruckner*, p. 86. Watson cites the similarity in the opening sections of both works as well as several thematic quotations from Mozart's work in Bruckner's.

<sup>766</sup> It is interesting to note Bruckner's choice of term for the contrabass instrument. In Vienna, the term *Violon* had very specific connotations. A sizable body of solo, chamber, and orchestral literature for the five-string, fretted *Violon* arose during the latter half of the eighteenth century. The bass lines in this work and others (notably *Psalm 146*, which also calls specifically for *Violon*) seem to indicate a knowledge on the part of the composer as to the range limitations of this instrument, which exceed the lower compass of the typical double-bass instrument of the nineteenth century. This could be construed as a further effort on the part of the composer to ensure a proper continuo sound in these works.

<sup>767</sup> Howie, et al., *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, "Introduction," p.xvi.

Further, it “reflects the traditional concept of the continuo group set against obbligato string and wind parts.”<sup>768</sup>

Mozart’s Requiem was apparently performed only once at St. Florian during the period from 1845 to 1855, at the funeral of the long-time Prior Michael Arneth,<sup>769</sup> on 28 March 1854. However, from 1845 leading up to the composition of Bruckner’s Requiem in 1849, a large number of requiems – representing a diverse selection of composers, including Preindl, Franz Joseph Aumann, Albrechtsberger, and Michael Haydn, among many others<sup>770</sup> – were performed at St. Florian. Still more requiems, from composers such as Moritz Brosig and Maximilian Stadler, are listed in the St. Florian archives from 1849 until Bruckner’s departure in 1855.<sup>771</sup>

Of course, Bruckner was involved to varying degrees in the performance and composition of the St. Florian repertoire. For example, he felt compelled to become more personally involved in the proceedings surrounding Arneth’s funeral; he therefore composed the *Libera me* in F minor for five-voice mixed choir, three trombones, and continuo (organ with violoncello and violone) for performance at this occasion.<sup>772</sup> The use of the three trombones (*Alt*, *Tenor*, and *Bass*) is reminiscent not only of the Bruckner’s earlier Requiem, but also his later great masses as well, as is the contrapuntal nature of the main body of the work (See Appendix Example 4-42).

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<sup>768</sup> Williams and Ledbetter, “Continuo,” *NGD*, Vol. 6, p. 351.

<sup>769</sup> Arneth served as Prior at St. Florian from 1823 until his death. See Watson, *Bruckner*, p. 3.

<sup>770</sup> Manfred Schuler, “Bruckners Requiem und das St. Florianer Repertoire musikalischer Totenmessen,” *Anton Bruckner: Tradition und Fortschritt in der Kirchenmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. F. W. Riedel (Sinzig: Studio, Verlag Schwewe, 2001), pp. 125-138.

. This information can be found in Schulten, “Anton Bruckners künstlerische Entwicklung,” pp. 5-20.

The works of Aumann were featured in the St. Florian repertoire most frequently. This is to be expected; Aumann (1728-1797) entered St. Florian in 1753 and served as *Regens chori* from 1757 until his death. See Peter Dormann, “Franz Joseph Aumann,” *NGD*, Vol. 2, pp. 184-85.

<sup>771</sup> Ibid. Schuler also mentions requiems by Fritz Langer, Johann Baptist Schiedermayr, and Bernhard Puchinger. See p. 127.

<sup>772</sup> Schuler, “Bruckners Requiem.”

Indeed, this type of texture had already been masterfully displayed by Bruckner in the Requiem, as can be seen in the expansive 132-measure double fugue from the *Quam olim* section of that work (See Appendix Example 4-43).

Utilization of the extramusical, rhetorical devices discussed earlier in this chapter can also be found in the Requiem. Consider, for example, the second measure of the work. Here we can detect a form of the descending-fourth pattern. As pointed out by Peter Williams, a similar pattern can be seen in the Mozart Requiem (see Example 4-44 below). Williams considers this to be an unconscious use of the pattern by Bruckner, arrived at by the composer as “some simple association for Catholic Austrian composers between one Requiem in D minor and another.”<sup>773</sup>



Example 4-44a: Bruckner, Requiem (1849), opening

Example 4-44b: Mozart, Requiem, first movement

More explicitly, Example 4-45 from the *Domine* of the Bruckner Requiem demonstrates the use of the *passus duriusculus* figure to enhance the text, which, as we saw in Example 4-3 (see page 270 above), at this point presents a plea for the deliverance of all faithful souls from the torments of hell.<sup>774</sup>

<sup>773</sup> Williams, *The Chromatic Fourth*, p. 214.

<sup>774</sup> That Bruckner would have been familiar with such devices – in addition to catabasis and the *passus duriusculus*, *exclamatio* and *tnesis* are also mentioned – from the available contemporary repertoire





Example 4-45: Bruckner, Requiem, “Domine,” mm. 12-15

While the textual associations of the above example indicate that Bruckner used this device intentionally as a rhetorical figure along the lines of its traditional Baroque employment, the previous example (Example 4-44) hints at a less direct utilization of such figures. As we have noted earlier, many such rhetorical figures survived well into the eighteenth century and beyond, particularly in the works of Beethoven. Further, the reorientation from a primarily *affective* to a primarily *structural* usage of such figures in accordance with Parkany’s notion of *structural meaning*, as commented upon in the opening remarks to this chapter, were crucial to the development of compositional practice in the nineteenth century. Thus Bruckner’s continued engagement with all of these practices and concepts would clearly play a role in his later compositional output.

## 2) Marpurg’s *Handbuch* and the Use of *Gänge*

The practicality of the basso continuo format within which Bruckner was so completely immersed also plays a role in his continuing utilization of it. A work from the second St. Florian period that demonstrates this is the *Magnificat*, probably composed in the summer of 1852. The *Magnificat* comes down to us only as a set of parts from the St. Florian Monastery Library (SF 20 / 36).<sup>775</sup> Unsigned and undated, some of the parts are in Bruckner’s hand, while others are in an as yet unidentified handwriting.<sup>776</sup> Among the original parts is the unrealized figured-bass part for the organ. Hawkshaw points out that

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at St. Florian during this early period is pointed out by Manfred Schuler, “Bruckners *Requiem* in der St. Florianer Repertoire,” pp. 130-31. The list of composers within whose works Bruckner would have found such models includes, in addition to the Mozart *Requiem*, Aumann, Albrechtsberger, Puchinger, Nefischer, and Rieder.

<sup>775</sup> Paul Hawkshaw, ed., *ABSW: Psalmen und Magnificat*, Vol. XX, “Foreword.”

<sup>776</sup> Ibid. Hawkshaw has dubbed the unknown scribe “the St. Florian copyist.”

this manuscript is an unusual one; the notes were written by this unidentified copyist while the continuo figures were added by the composer. “One presumes,” Hawkshaw states, “that Bruckner played [the organ part] himself and supervised the early performances from it.”<sup>777</sup> By this, I assume that Hawkshaw means that Bruckner “conducted” the work from the keyboard in the manner of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Kapellmeister. Considering that Hawkshaw voices a similar opinion concerning the *Windhaager Messe*, this would seem to indicate a pattern of composer participation via basso continuo performance that further links Bruckner with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century traditions. Bruckner’s conditions of employment throughout his career were often linked to his virtuosic ability on the organ; it seems likely, given his proficiency on the instrument, that he would have wished to participate in the performance of liturgical works in this Kapellmeister role, both for his own and those of other composers later in his career as well.

It should also be mentioned that the training Bruckner received prior to the second St. Florian sojourn from both Dürnberger and Zenetti emphasized the principles set down by Marpurg in his *Handbuch*. This is cited by Walter Schulten as being a seminal stage in the compositional development of the young Bruckner.<sup>778</sup>

Schulten informs us that Dürnberger presented Bruckner with a copy of Marpurg’s *Handbook* after the successful completion of his *Präparandie* course. And indeed, it was a foundation based on the principles of Marpurg that both Dürnberger and later Zenetti transmitted to their young student; this would have an enormous impact on the future compositional practices of Bruckner. Schulten explains:

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<sup>777</sup> Ibid.

<sup>778</sup> Schulten, “Anton Bruckners künstlerische Entwicklung,” pp. 68 ff.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly why Dürnberger would give this particular book [Marpurg's *Handbuch*] to Bruckner. It belongs more properly to the time of [J. S.] Bach, but it was also true for Marpur what Eugen Bieder had to say, that "one would hardly find among [Marpurg's] contemporaries a [work of] comparable breadth of knowledge and erudition in all branches of music and the musical sciences,"<sup>779</sup> and Marpur's theoretical system is based on a profound knowledge of the older theoreticians, including the French masters.

In the introduction to his work, Marpur makes reference to the fact that, in questions of practicality, it was primarily the theories of Rameau that Philipp Emanuel Bach would follow. This work provided Bruckner with a complete *Harmonielehre* in a detailed format.

However, one fact concerning a particular compositional feature of Bruckner's can be singled out as having the greatest importance, standing above all others: the *Gänge*.<sup>780</sup> Already in the early works of Bruckner, the *Gänge*, as a form-articulating resource, were playing an essential role. It would seem that [Bruckner] found the impetus for the use of these compositional materials through Marpur. Marpur traces [the use of] the *Gänge* back to P. E. Bach: "Herr Bach is the first to observe the use of so many noteworthy *Gänge*." Marpur presents two examples from Ph. Em. Bach: [Examples 4-46 a&b below] and definitively delimits the concept of the *Gänge* as opposed to that of progression [*Fortschreitung*].



Examples 4-46a&b: Schuten, Anton Bruckners, p. 69

<sup>779</sup> Eugen Bieder, "Über Fr. W. Marpur's System," Phil. Diss. (Berlin, 1923), p. 3, as quoted in Schuten, "Anton Bruckners," p. 69.

<sup>780</sup> The term *Gang* in German can have many different connotations; it is perhaps most often used as a synonym for the English terms "run" or "passage," and in that sense is equally synonymous with the Italian *passaggio*. However, another sense of the term is that set forth by, among other theorists, A. B. Marx, who describes a *Gang* as "any organized melodic sequence of notes that, in and of themselves, have no satisfying conclusion." Marx contrasts this with the German term *Satz* (another German term with multiple meanings but, in this case, "period" is implied), which he takes to mean a melody that communicates a complete thought by exhibiting a definite beginning and ending. See Hermann Mendel, ed., *Musikalisches Conversations-Lexikon* (Berlin: Robert Oppenheimer, 1874), Bd. IV, "Gang," pp. 123-24. Schuten is here pointing out that the use of the term *Gang* is often extended to the concept of harmony or a melodic / harmonic relationship, as the next paragraph of the quotation above describes. Schuten devotes an extended section of his dissertation to Bruckner's use of these compositional materials and their implications for his later works; see Schuten, "Anton Bruckners," III. Teil, *Gänge: Auf- und Abstiegsformen*, pp. 161-68.

By the use of the term *Gang* one understands that this is not a [melodic] sequence, and also not a “harmonic” sequence, but rather a melodic-harmonic thematic section, through which the powerful, possibly heterogeneous, repetitively inclined formal components of a section of the composition develop. Therefore, the *Gang* is to be seen primarily as a tectonic [i. e., architectural or structural] device. It will be shown later how Bruckner, already by the time of [his stay at] St. Florian, eagerly availed himself of these [compositional] materials.

Also, it must be noted that Marpurg’s system provided intensive instruction in the [concept of the] *Zwischendominante*. Through Bruckner’s studies with Sechter, this will also later play a central role in his harmonic concept.<sup>781</sup>

Bruckner’s embrace of the older stylistic and theoretical idioms and practices is a mainstay of his compositional process; Schulten points this up in the preceding quotation aptly. In embracing the *Gänge* as structural material, Bruckner is again applying a device from an earlier era in a structural manner, again in much the same way as Parkany describes. The use of these “melodic / harmonic thematic sections” also passes through many of the same compositional hands as did the larger *Generalbass* formulae in which they are often situated; Marx, to whom we owe the most modern definition of the term *Gang*, held the view that the structural, form-articulating power of

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<sup>781</sup> Schulten, “Anton Bruckners,” pp. 68-70. “Es lässt sich wohl kaum feststellen weshalb Dürnberger gerade dieses Buch Bruckner schenkte. Es gehört ja beinahe noch der Bachzeit an, wenn auch für Marpurg zutrifft, was Eugen Bieder sagt dass ‘eine ähnliche Belesenheit und Gelehrsamkeit in allen Zweigen der Musik und Musikwissenschaft . . . kaum bei einem seiner Zeitgenossen zu finden’ waren, und Marpurgs theoretisches System auf profunden Kenntnissen der alten Theoretiker beruht, einschliesslich der französischen Meister.

In der Vorrede zu seinem Werk weist Marpurg darauf hin, dass er in der Theorie vornehmlich Rameau, in den praktischen Fragen mehr Philipp Emanuel Bach folge. Das Werk bot Bruckner die gesamte Harmonielehre in ausführlicher Form dar.

Es sei hier vor allem aber ein Faktum herausgegriffen, dass für das Verständnis besonders einer Kompositionerscheinung Bruckners von grösster Wichtigkeit wird: die *Gänge*. Schon in Bruckners Frühwerk spielen die *Gänge* als formbildendes Mittel eine wesentliche Rolle. Es scheint so, als finde sich durch Marpurg der Anstoss zum Gebrauch dieses Kompositionsmittels. Marpurg führt die *Gänge* auf Ph. Em. Bach zurück: ‘Der Herr Bach ist der erste der, so wie viele andere besondere *Gänge* beobachtet hat.’ Marpurg gibt zwei Beispiele von Ph. Em. Bach: [examples] und grenzt den Begriff des Ganges gegen die Fortschreitung genau ab.

Unter einem Gang ist keine Sequenz auch keine ‘harmonische’ Sequenz zu verstehen, sondern er ist ein melodisch-harmonischer Themenabschnitt, der durch seine starke, eventuell variierende Repetitionstendenz formbildend auf einen Teil der Komposition einwirkt. Damit ist der Gang als ein in erster Linie tektonisches Mittel anzusehen. Es wird noch darauf hinzuweisen sein, wie sich Bruckner schon in der St. Florianer Zeit dieses Mittels besonders gern bediente.

Auch muss beachtet werden, dass Marpurg in seinem System die *Zwischendominanten* schon weitgehend ausgebildet hat. Durch Bruckners Studien bei Sechter werden diese später noch eine zentrale Rolle in seinem harmonischen Denken einnehmen.”

these sequence-like sections was integral to the compositional processes of Beethoven; Schulten points to many other adumbrations as well as more explicit examples of this technique in the earlier church music with which Bruckner was engaged while at St. Florian.<sup>782</sup>

Schulten also broaches these matters in his dissertation during a discussion of Bruckner's ambitus of tonality. Here he points up the use of the third relationships that we have previously discussed (see note 652 above). Under the heading of *Tonalitätsverwandtschaft*, Schulten states the following:

Orel<sup>783</sup> has stated that Bruckner, in place of the *Quintverwandtschaft*, shifted instead to a mediant-oriented *Verwandtschaft*. Even a fleeting examination into the early compositions [of Bruckner] confirms that one can thus speak of a true *Terzverwandtschaft* during the St. Florian period. In almost all these works, Bruckner readily centers on the mediant or the parallel (minor) of the original key. This tendency, which holds such significance for the realization of his later harmonic practices, has its roots, however, particularly in these early works. Countless examples of this can be cited without effort.<sup>784</sup>

One can see that this *Terzverwandtschaft* is already frequently in use in the early works, not only in the [subsequent] symphonies. While Romantic and, particularly, Wagnerian harmony played a part in influencing these [symphonies], an alternative explanation may be applied to the early compositions; the young Bruckner had yet another genuine relationship to the *Trias harmonica*.

This can be explicated as follows: To begin with, Bruckner, according to his studies of Marpurg, utilizes in his cadential processes the sequence of scale degrees (*Stufenfolge*) from the old theor [etical practices]: *Primaria* (tonic), *Secundaria* (dominant), and *Tertiaria* (mediant), in consideration of the scale degrees of the *Trias harmonica*. Further, Bruckner had the wealth of scale-degree [sequences] (*Stufenreichtum*) of the Venetian choral music in his ears, and the security with which Bruckner utilized these ancient scale-degree sequences proves conclusively that this is no coincidence, but rather that these harmonic progressions were designed according to a conscious plan. Naturally, Bruckner also made use of the functions derived from the newer harmonic methods and was able to combine these with the traditional scale-degree [approach] to produce, one could say, a larger "functional

<sup>782</sup> Schulten, "Anton Bruckners," pp. 161ff.

<sup>783</sup> Alfred Orel, *Anton Bruckner: das Werke, der Künstler, die Zeit* (Vienna-Leipzig: A. Hartleben, 1925), p. 9, as quoted in Schulten, "Anton Bruckners," p. 133.

<sup>784</sup> Schulten provides a list of works in which such instances may be found, including the *Agnus dei* section of the Mass in B<sup>b</sup> minor. See Schulten, "Anton Bruckners," p. 133.

effectualness” [*Funktionsreichtum*]. How Bruckner planned such a harmonic track can be demonstrated, for example, in the simple *a cappella* movement *Requiem aeternam*, modeled on a type of Venetian *sinfonia*:

[Moll] Parallele

Re-qui-em ae-ter-nam do-na

[Medianta]

e-is Do-mi-ne et lux per-pe-tu-a

lu-ce-at, lu-ce-at e-is [Dominantischer Raum]

lu-ce-at lu-ce-at e-is lu-ce-at, lu-ce-at

[Scrib. Dom]

e-is

Example 4-47: Bruckner / Schulten: “Requiem Aeternam”

The order of the scale degrees is: tonic (*Primaria*) – mediant (*Tertiaria*) – sub-dominant (beyond the parallel [that is to say, the sub-dominant of the original key]) – dominant (*Secundaria*) – tonic.

By utilizing this scale-degree concept, Bruckner succeeds in postponing the all too usual and comfortable [arrival of the] dominant as long as possible, thus providing the entrance of the chorus with a more powerful coloring.

The materials that the young Bruckner makes use of here are very simple in their fundamentals and therefore very effective. They allow [the work] to expand without [the use of] modulation within the circle of fifths [*Tonalitätskreis*]. Therefore, for Bruckner, the roots of his later use of significant and obviously expanded tonality lie in the works from his time at St. Florian. To be sure, the explanation of these harmonic relationships arises from Bruckner’s knowledge of traditional theory and choral music. The influence of these Venetian art [processes] is the starting point for this development.<sup>785</sup>

<sup>785</sup> Schulten, “Anton Bruckners,” pp. 133-34. “Orel hat festgestellt, dass bei Bruckner an stelle der Quintverwandtschaft eine mediantische Verwandtschaft getreten sei. Nur eine flüchtiger Blick in die frühen Kompositionen bestätigt, dass man auch in der St. Florianer Zeit von echter Terzverwandtschaft sprechen kann. Fast in allen Stücken steuert Bruckner gern die Medianten oder die

It is clear from what we have seen up to this point that Bruckner's compositional style was greatly influenced by a variety of processes; indeed, so influential were these older works and traditional theoretical concepts on the young composer that they inspired not mere imitation but rather a synthesis of ideas of musical expression that took into account many of these influences. Thus by the end of his stay at St. Florian in 1855, Bruckner is perfectly positioned for the new ideas that would await his further study and consideration, since he was, as we see from Schulten's quotes above, well on his way towards a compositional system that would fit in very well with the more advanced currents of the day.

In this context, it is now perhaps possible to blunt some of the late twentieth-century criticism generated by the practices and conventions represented in a

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Parallele der Ausgangstonart an. Dieser für die spätere Harmonik so bedeutsame Feststellung hat aber ihre Wurzeln gerade in den frühen Werken. Ohne Mühe lassen sich zahllose Beispiele dafür anführen.

Man sieht daran, dass die Terzverwandtschaft schon in den frühen Werken oft ausgenutzt wird, nicht erst in den Symphonien. Dabei hat in diesen ein Einfluss romantischer und insbesondere Wagnersche Harmonik mitgespielt, während für die frühen Kompositionen eine andere Erklärung zutrifft; der junge Bruckner hatte noch ein echtes Verhältnis zur Trias harmonica.

Das begründet sich folgendermassen: Einmal hat Bruckner die Stufenfolge der alten Theorie: Primaria (Tonika), Secundaria (Dominante), und Tertiaria (Mediante) nach Marpurg studiert, der die Stufen der Trias harmonica in seiner Kadenzlehre mit berücksichtigt. Dann hatte Bruckner den Stufenreichtum der venezianischen Chormusik in den Ohren, und schliesslich beweist die Sicherheit, mit der Bruckner die alte Stufenfolge angewendet hat, dass dies keine Zufälligkeit ist, sondern nach einem bewussten Plan die Harmonienfolge angelegt wurde. Bruckner hat natürlich auch die aus der neueren Harmonielehre abgeleiteten Funktionen mit benutzt und diese mit den alten Stufen gemischt, sodass ihm ein grösserer, man könnte sagen, "Funktionsreichtum" zur Verfügung stand. Wie Bruckner den harmonischen Weg plant, zeigt u. a. der einfache nach Art der venezianische Sinfonia angelegte a cappella Satz "Requiem aeternam:"

Die Reihenfolge den Stufen ist: Tonika (Primaria) – Mediante (Tertiaria) – Subdominante (über die Parallele) – Dominante (Secundaria) – Tonika.

Es gelingt Bruckner mit dieser Stufenanlage die allzu gewöhnliche und bequeme Dominante soweit als möglich hinauszuschieben und dem Chöreinsatz eine stärkere Färbung zu geben.

Die Mittel, deren sich der junge Bruckner bedient, sind im Grunde sehr einfach und daher so überzeugend. Sie gestatten ihm ohne Modulation den Tonalitätskreis zu erweitern. Somit liegen auch die Wurzeln der für Bruckner wichtigen und später stets selbstverständlich benützten erweiterten Tonalität in den Werken der St. Florianer Zeit. Allerdings sind diese harmonischen Verhältnisse nur aus Bruckners Kenntnissen um die alte Theorie und Chormusik zu erklären. Jene, von der venezianischen Kunst beeinflussten Sätze bilden der Ausgangspunkt dieser Entwicklung.

*Generalbass* manual such as Dürrnberger's or any of the above-mentioned treatises. For example, with respect to the use of Roman numeral designations that we have encountered, Wason has the following comments:

In its most general sense, the term "function" seems to denote the way in which a chord operates in relation to a tonal center. In the usual "step theory," inherited from Weber or Vogler, chords are reduced mechanically to "root position" prototypes, and the resultant roots are assigned Roman numerals in a somewhat primitive attempt to symbolize their function in relation to a tonic.<sup>786</sup>

One might wish to reassess the characterization of "primitive" when considered in the light of the above discussion. The term primitive might well be used to describe the relationship of these Roman numeral systems to our modern concept of functional harmony. However, the musical expressions derived from a concept such as Bruckner's *Funktionsreichtum* as described above by Schulten can hardly be said to be primitive utterances. To the contrary, they exhibit all of the artistic craft and nuance of any truly functional work that one might wish to name. Neither does the fact that all of these conceptions lie couched in a *Generalbass* format confer on them any primitive characteristics.

**f) Simon Sechter: The *Praktische Generalbass-Schule* and the *Praktische . . . Darstellung***

In 1855, Bruckner began his course of instruction with Simon Sechter, and it is this relationship that exerted the most profound influence on Bruckner's pedagogical thought, if not on his compositional processes as well. Sechter was well grounded in the practical as well as the theoretical applications of *Generalbass* methods. His *Praktische Generalbass-Schule*, op.49<sup>787</sup> and the postliminary volume *Praktische und im*

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<sup>786</sup> Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 126.

<sup>787</sup> Simon Sechter, *Praktische Generalbass-Schule*, op.49 (Vienna: A. O. Witzendorf, 1830).



*Zusammenhange anschauliche Darstellung*, op.59<sup>788</sup> testify to this familiarity. The former volume represents a straightforward explication of standard *Generalbass* formulae, consisting of a large number of exercises built around the various vertical configurations that the student will encounter. These are arranged in a manner similar to that which we have observed in other manuals, although these exercises are geared to the needs of the improvising and accompanying organist, as Sechter explains in his

*Vorerinnerung:*

Each of these 120 exercises is presented in several formats: first, of course, are the four-voiced versions in various spacings; then, insofar as it is possible, also the five-, three-, and two-voiced versions, and finally the bass variations as well. Since it is absolutely necessary for every *Generalbass* player to know the soprano, alto, and tenor clefs, then with these exercises it is ensured that the player receives this [knowledge] in the simplest and most pleasant manner. It goes without saying that, due to [the need to improvise on] preludes, a five-voiced *Generalbass* [technique] in particular will be very useful to the performer. However, since most five-voiced examples cannot be easily implemented with the hands alone, then the pedal can take over the bass notes in these cases. - These exercises will be of the greatest utility if they are transposed into all keys. These transpositions (*Transponiren*) can be implemented in part through [written exercises, and in part] through realization – in that, for example, one can look at a piece written in C major and realize it in another major scale.

If possible, the rules of harmony were herein strictly adhered to, and only hidden octaves and fifths, as justified by their prolonged general use, are therefore utilized.

The development of these exercises is derived from their order.

First one works with triads alone, then the *Sextaccorde* are added, then the *Quartsextaccorde*. We close with the *Septaccorde*, and also the inversions of this, the *Non*, *Septnon*, *Quartquint*, and *Quartnonaccorde*, and so on on, so as to be sure that any dissimilarity in the figuring is only presented gradually.

In the bass variations, the pedal can merely play the notes as in the simple examples, although one remains at liberty also to express the remaining important notes of the variation with the pedal.<sup>789</sup>

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<sup>788</sup> Simon Sechter, *Praktische und im Zusammenhange anschauliche Darstellung, wie aus den einfachen Grundharmonien die verschiedenen Bezifferungen im Generalbasse entstehen*, op.59 (Vienna: Artaria, 1834).

<sup>789</sup> Sechter, *Praktische Generalbass-Schule*, “Vorerinnerung,” p. 3. “Jede dieser 120 Übungen ist auf mehrere Arten ausgeführt, und zwar zuerst vierstimmig in verschiedenen Lagen, dann, in sofern es möglich ist, auch fünf- drey- und zweistimmig, und endlich die meisten auch mit Bass-Variationen. Da der Sopran-Alt- und Tenorschlüssel jedem Generalbass-Spieler zu kennen unumgänglich nöthig ist, so ist bey diesen Übungen gesorgt worden dass der Spieler auf die angenehmste und leichteste Weise darin Übung erhalte. Obgleich es gerade nicht nöthig ist, den Generalbass fünfstimmig vorzutragen, so wird es dem Spieler, besonders des Präludirens wegen, doch sehr nützlich seyn. Da aber die meisten fünfstimmigen Beyspiele

Thus the conception of the chordal entities communicated through these *Generalbass* designations is quite similar to what we have encountered so far, including the assumption that the more complex chords (*Non*, *Quartquint*, etc.) are derived from the inversion of the basic seventh chord in some manner. Though theoretical principles are not offered here – the volume contains only the exercises alluded to in the *Vorerinnerung* – this seems clear.

The *Praktische . . . Darstellung* also offers little in the way of theoretical explication, although the *Vorrede* does offer some insights into the germination of many of Sechter's later theories during this period:

The fundamental bass method can best be shown, as with so many other such [courses of instruction], in examples rather than quibbling with words. It is on this assumption that I authored the current work, in which the various *Generalbass* figurations and their derivation from the simplest harmonic modulations, as shown through the variations which emerge from the theme, are demonstrated succinctly yet correctly by way of chordal examples.

The fundamental bass is contained in the simple themes; the variations demonstrate the various *Generalbass* formulae that can arise from these [basses].

I have carried the idea of such a demonstration around with me for some time, and through manifold tuition and persistent meditation, I have organized it to the extent that I can now believe that these [exercises] may provide the music lover with utility and at the same time pleasure, since each individual example expresses a perfectly intelligible point. The brevity of these exercises makes it easy to

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mit den Händen allein nicht leicht ausgeführt werden können, so kann in diesen Fällen das Pedal die Basstöne übernehmen. – Diese Übungen werden den meisten Nutzen bringen, wenn sie in alle Töne übersetzt werden. Diese Übersetzen (Transponiren) kann theils schriftlich, theils durch die Einbildungskraft – indem man z. B. ein Stück, das in C dur geschrieben steht, ansieht, es sich aber in einer andern Dur-Tonleiter vorstellt – ausgeübt werden.

Die Strenge der harmonischen Regeln ist hiebey möglichst beobachtet worden, und nur jene verdeckten Octaven und Quinten, die durch den allgemeinen Gebrauch längst gerechtfertiget wurden, sind darin gebraucht.

Das Progressive dieser Übungen besteht in ihrer Ordnung.

Zuerst wird mit Dreyklängen allein gearbeitet, dann kommen die Sextaccorde, dann die Quartsextaccorde hinzu. Nun schliessend sich Septaccorde, nach und nach auch die Verwechslungen derselben, die Non- Septnon- Quartquint- und Quartnonaccorde u.s.w. an, so zwar dass die Verschiedenheit in der Bezifferung sich nur allmählig vermehrt.

Bey den Bass Variationen kann das Pedal bloss die Noten wie bey den einfachen Beyspielen nehmen, obgleich es unbenommen bleibt, auch die übrigen wichtigen Noten der Variation mit dem Pedale auszudrücken."

interpret the consistent connection of each variation to its fundamental theme, thus encouraging its entrance into the memory.

It was not necessary to compose anew all of the variations, and I therefore seek no compensation save that perhaps their organization according to their relationship to the fundamental theme may hopefully garner for me some little appreciation.<sup>790</sup>

Sechter then proceeds directly to the exercises, which constitute the balance of this work.

The first theme is provided with forty-eight variations (see Example 4-48 below), while the second theme is treated to two hundred. As can be seen in the Example 4-48 below, the fundamental-bass progression of I – V or V<sup>7</sup> (in this case C – G<sup>(7)</sup>) can be used to elucidate all of the conventional *Generalbass* figurations. Several other *Themas* with variations are subsequently presented, each sketching out certain bass formulae;<sup>791</sup> thus the linkage of the later fundamental-bass theories of Sechter with the well-established nomenclature and practices of *Generalbass* is thrown into sharp relief.

It is in the *Grundsätze* that Sechter puts forth many of his new “harmonic” methods. The notion of *Hauptaccorde*, or primary chords, that is, I, IV, and V<sup>792</sup> and *Nebenaccorde*, or secondary chords (ii, iii, iv, and vii<sup>o</sup>) arises from the theories presented

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<sup>790</sup> Sechter, *Praktische . . . Darstellung*, “Vorrede,” p. 1. “Die Lehre vom Fundamentalbasse lässt sich, so wie manches andere, besser in Beispielen als Wortstreitigkeiten zeigen. In dieser Voraussetzung schrieb ich vorliegendes Werk, in welchen die verschiedenen Bezifferungen des Generalbasses und deren Herleitung von den einfachsten harmonischen Wendungen, als den Variationen von ihren Thema, in kurzen, aber gehörig zusammenhängenden Beispielen gezeigt werden.

Der Fundamentalbass ist in den einfachen Thematzen enthalten; in den Variationen zeigt sich, welche verschiedene Gestalten er im Generalbass annehmen kann.

Lange trug ist schon die Idee einer solchen Darstellung mit mir herum, und durch vielfältiges Unterrichten und beharrliches Nachdenken habe ich sie in soweit geordnet, dass ich nun glauben kann, den Musikliebhabern damit Nutzen und zugleich Vergnügen zu verschaffen, weil jedes einzelne Beispiel einen vollkommenen verständlichen Sinn gibt. Die Kürze derselben erleichtert das stette Beziehen einer jeden Variation auf ihr Fundamentalthema, und ermuntert zum auffassen ins Gedächtniss.

Es war nicht nöthig alle diese Variationen selbst zu erfinden, auch suche ich darinn kein Verdienst, aber das Unterordnen derselben unter ihre Fundamentalthemata, was hier meine eigentliche Arbeit war, wird mir hoffentlich einigen Dank erwerben.”

<sup>791</sup> See, for example, the discussion of *Thema VIII* below (pp. 392ff.).

<sup>792</sup> Sechter refers to these primary chords as *wichtige Accorde* (important chords) and further classifies them in the following order; I is the most important, followed by V<sup>(7)</sup> and then IV. See Chenevert, “The Principles of Musical Composition,” pp. 9-11.

X. Thema mit Variationen in Cdur.

Var1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.

I. Thema  
mit 48  
Variationen.

12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21.

22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31.

32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40.

41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48.

Example 4-48a: Sechter, *Praktische . . . Darstellung*, Var. I (complete)

Var. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11.

II. Thema  
mit 200

Variationen.

12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23.

24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34.

35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44.

45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54.

Example 4-48b: Sechter, *Praktische . . . Darstellung* Var. 2 (first page)

in this treatise, as do the various other classifications that are now commonly recognized by modern theorists. Sechter's concept of a *Zwischendominante*, in which the first chord in a stepwise progression approaches the second by a means of a descending fifth, much in the manner of the progressions we have discussed above, is also clearly part of Bruckner's later compositional style. The example below, from Sechter's *Grundsätze*, is very much like the fundamental-bass formulae that would later appear in Bruckner's University lectures.



Example 4-49: Sechter, *Grundsätze*, p. 33

Bruckner would indeed synthesize many of these concepts – all of which had come to him within the context of *Generalbass* practices – into a new paradigm that continued to accrue fresh influences as his exposure to the musical world around him increased.

Wason states that Bruckner's teaching and compositional careers were separate and unrelated, and that Bruckner therefore is representative of the ever-widening gap between theory and compositional practice that was so characteristic of the entire nineteenth century. Further, Wason goes on to state that, this being the case, the influence of Sechter's theoretical teachings on Bruckner's compositions – no matter how deeply ingrained or fervently taken to heart – “if there really is any – is difficult to determine.”<sup>793</sup>

<sup>793</sup> Wason, p. 68. However, Wason does note that claims to the contrary exist. He cites Friederich Eckstein, *Erinnerungen an Anton Bruckner* (Vienna, New York: Universal Edition, 1923), who says: “I have often seen that while he worked on his own scores he not only numbered the bars of the periods, but also notated the fundamental tones underneath in black note heads or with the aid of letters.” (See Eckstein, p. 30).

Yet, surely the theory and the practice cannot be that far separated. It should be noted, for example, that, in addition to Bruckner's very Sechterian use of fundamental-bass note heads as a way of monitoring progressions in his pedagogical materials,<sup>794</sup> he also frequently utilized a similar note-head method of tracking the fundamental bass in his compositions.<sup>795</sup> In addition to the note-head method, he sometimes utilized pitch names followed by the annotation "*Fund[ament]*."<sup>796</sup> The note-head method of designating the fundamental bass progressions, as well as the letter-name method – similar to that seen in Example 4-49 above from Sechter's *Grundsätze* – is related to the large-scale development of the work and, more generally, reflects Bruckner's reliance on Sechter's instruction in all facets of the compositional process.<sup>797</sup>

The fundamental-bass note heads, then, are a confirmation – indeed, a further explication – of the figured-bass notational system with which Bruckner had become familiar as a child and utilized throughout his entire career to this point. Sechter's use of a fundamental bass system to explain the counterpoint was entirely conducive to Bruckner's musical goals<sup>798</sup> as a composer as well as a teacher. Further, Bruckner's

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<sup>794</sup> For more on this see Wason's references to Eckstein, *Anton Bruckners Universität Vorlesungen in Viennese Harmonic Theory*. Also, Rudolf Flotzinger, "Rafael Loidols Theoriekolleg bei Bruckner 1879 / 80," *Bruckner-Studien*, ed. O. Wessely (Vienna: 1975), pp. 379-431.

<sup>795</sup> This was often done in conjunction with his notations on the metrical structure of the composition. For more on this aspect of Bruckner's compositional process, see Timothy L. Jackson, "Bruckner's Metrical Numbers," *19<sup>th</sup>-Century Music* 14 (1990), 101-31.

<sup>796</sup> C. Howie, P. Hawkshaw, T. Jackson, eds., *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), "Introduction," p.xxi.

<sup>797</sup> Jackson, "Bruckner's Metrical Numbers." Jackson interprets the conflation of these methods as confirmation of Bruckner's adherence to Sechter's rhythmic principles as well as to his harmonic concepts. "Bruckner's notes to himself in his manuscripts, e.g., "extensions of the fundamental" ["Fortdauer des Fundaments"], "extension(s) of the fundamental in even measures are syncopated" [Das Fortdauer des Fundaments in geraden Takten – [es] sind sincopen"], and his use of letters to designate fundamentals, confirm Eckstein's observation, pointing directly to Sechter's treatise."

<sup>798</sup> Sechter's theory of the fundamental bass is, for the most part, an adoption of Rameau's ideas. While it is unclear whether or not Sechter was ever exposed to the theoretical writings of Rameau, it is known that he had a thorough knowledge of the works and writings of Kirnberger, who was himself heavily influenced by Rameau's theories. See Chenevert, "The Principles of Musical Composition," p. 40.

interest in such a fundamental-bass system seems not to have waned in the latter stages of his career. It is indeed possible to find examples in his later symphonies where the harmonic motion can be easily explained in terms of Sechterian thinking.<sup>799</sup> Bruckner's total assimilation of these principles – despite his occasional deviations from Sechter's teachings<sup>800</sup> – is therefore not restricted to music in which some sort of explicit keyboard accompaniment is required. Still, in Bruckner's music, perhaps more than in that of any other composer, the connection between the bifurcation of secular / sacred is bridged by the use of these practices; the “religiosity” so often commented upon in his symphonic output can be as directly related to harmonic practices as to the more overt hermeneutical allusions induced by time-honored instrumental references. This confluence can be seen especially in Bruckner's Symphony No. 9, which will be discussed further below.

**g) Bruckner's Studies with Otto Kitzler: A. B. Marx's *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition***

Bruckner's studies with Sechter were completed in March of 1861.

Characteristically seeking to improve his craft, he immediately immersed himself again in study, this time with the cellist and conductor Otto Kitzler (1834-1915). According to Kitzler's own account, Bruckner began regular lessons in orchestration with him in the fall of 1861. Kitzler described the relationship to Franz Gräflinger in the following manner:

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<sup>799</sup> Elmer Seidel, “Simon Sechters Lehre von der Richtige Folge der Grundharmonien und Bruckners Harmonik – Erwägungen zur Analyse Brucknerscher Musik,” *Anton Bruckner: Tradition und Fortschritt in der Kirchenmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. F. W. Riedel (Sinzig: Studio, Verlag Schwewe, 2001), pp. 307-38. Seidel offers numerous examples from works as late as the Symphony No. 9.

<sup>800</sup> Wason, *Viennese Harmonic Theory*, p. 73. Perhaps the most pertinent of these deviations for our purposes here is the difference between Bruckner's categorization of ninth chords and Sechter's. The former treats the ninth chord as a “fundamental harmony,” while Sechter's ninth chords always arise as a result of suspension, therefore precluding the idea of inversion. Bruckner also allows for certain eleventh and thirteenth chords on the dominant.

Before commencing the orchestration course, I gave him [Bruckner] some instruction in musical form with the assistance of a by now completely out-of-print book by Richter, and took him through all the important structural schemes from eight-bar period to sonata form.<sup>801</sup>

The book to which Kitzler refers is *Die Grundzüge der musikalischen Formen und ihre Analyse* (Leipzig, 1852). This text, along with A. B. Marx's *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition, praktisch-theoretisch* (Leipzig, 1850) and Johann Christian Lobe's *Lehrbuch der musikalischen Komposition* (Leipzig, 1850), formed the basis of Kitzler's instructional approach with Bruckner.<sup>802</sup> The effect of the use of the formal / structural *Gänge* as influenced by Marx's theories has already been discussed; it should further be noted that in addition to the *Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition*, Bruckner was also familiar with Marx's two-volume Beethoven biography as well as his *Anleitung zum Vortrage Beethovenscher Klavierwerke* of 1863; both of these volumes were found in Bruckner's *Nachlass*.<sup>803</sup>

Though primarily a compositional aid, Marx's *Lehre* nonetheless recognizes the fact that the traditions and practices of the *Generalbass* method are still widely in force; therefore, knowledge of such practices for the composer and performer is "indispensable" (see note 804 below). Thus in the chapter titled "Harmonic Designs," which deals primarily with the connection and inversion of chords, we get the following reference:

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<sup>801</sup> Franz Gräflinger, *Anton Bruckner: Bausteine zu seiner Lebensgeschichte* (Munich: R. Piper, 1911), p. 25. "Vor Beginn der eigentlichen Orchestrierungsübungen führte ich Bruckner mit Hilfe einer heute gänzlich vergriffen Formenlehre von Richter in den Bau der Tonwerke ein, liess ihn von der achttaktigen Periode bis zur Sonate alle notwendigen Studien durchmachen." The English translation above appears in Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 84.

<sup>802</sup> Howie, *Bruckner*, p. 85.

<sup>803</sup> Adolf Bernhard Marx, *Anleitung zum Vortrag Beethovenscher Klavierwerke* (Berlin: O. Janke, 1863) and *Ludwig van Beethoven: Leben und Schaffen* (Berlin: O. Janke, 1859). See Schulten, "Anton Bruckners," pp. 161-62, especially notes 51 and 52.



Before we return to our practice, we must take a precautionary measure which becomes particularly necessary on account of the inverted chords.

As long as we placed every chord where our first attempts at harmony made it necessary, we could hardly speak of a choice of chords. However, we have not merely the choice of different triads for every tone of the melody, but we can also introduce the dominant chord arbitrarily, and in addition to this we have the inversions. It is clear that the figures which we formerly placed above the melody are no longer sufficient. We require now a different kind of signs which remind us what chords we have chosen, and what chords we have to carry out in notes. This new proceeding is called *figuring*. The composer in his sketches often makes use of this figuring in order to contrast the most essential points of his work. For this it would suffice to a degree, but it is impossible to express in it what we express in notes, and instead of giving it that importance which many theorists attach to it, we will only introduce it as we want it.

We are already accustomed first to remember the bass and then to add the middle voices; the bass aids us to find our way in the harmonic mass. Over or under the bass we place, therefore, this so-called figuring. For the present, the few following remarks will be sufficient.

1. Triads generally have no figuring, because there are no simpler chords in existence. If, however, we intend a passage to be unaccompanied, if the bass shall go on alone, so we mark it with *t.s. (tasto solo)*. When all voices proceed in unison, or in octaves, it is marked *all' unisono*, or *all' ottava*; if a single tone in the bass is intended to be unaccompanied, we will mark it by *a<sup>o</sup>*.
2. Every other chord is indicated by figures that correspond with its principal intervals. Therefore
  - The Septime chord is marked by 7
  - The Sext chord “ by 6
  - The Quart-sext chord “ by 6 / 4 or 4 / 6
  - The Quint-sext chord “ by 6 / 5 or 5 / 6
  - The Terz-quart chord “ by 4 / 3 or 3 / 4
  - The Second-chord “ by 2
3. the dominant chord, if before the end, requires no figuring, as it is too important to be forgotten, even without them.

We will make use of these figurings, and consider them as memoranda, as it were, of what we are going to do, as we are not yet able to represent to ourselves a whole series of chords with all their different voices. For the present, therefore, we will merely write down the bass and figurings, and add the other voices afterward.<sup>804</sup>

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<sup>804</sup> Adolf Bernhard Marx, *Theory and Practice of Musical Composition*, trans. and ed. Hermann S. Saroni (New York: Mason Brothers, 1856), pp. 134-35. In Marx's original treatise, this material appears in the chapter on chord inversion. He states the following: "In order to preserve the advantage (of perceiving chords in inversion), we introduce an additional method of figured notation, under the name of figuration, *Generalbass* notation, or *Generalbass* figuration, the knowledge of which is indispensable, particularly as it may be utilized as a helpful secondary notation as given here in a special commentary. Apart from the use that the composer may make of this, and its much-greater utilization in earlier periods, we would wish to acquaint ourselves with [these practices] in order to make us familiar with all manner of harmonic practices for our future use." [Um nun jenen Vortheil zu bewahren, hat man unter dem Namen Bezifferung,

This approach can indeed be seen throughout the remaining chapters. The following explication of a harmonization of a melody in a minor key is representative:

Example 4-50: Marx, *Composition*, p. 159

Thus Marx relies heavily on thoroughbass practices that had been in effect for hundreds of years. The numbers above the melody to which he refers in the above quote are simply

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Generalbassschrift, oder Generalbassbezeichnung, auch wohl Signatur eine Zifferschrift eingeführt, deren Kenntniss nicht gerade unentbehrlich, wohl aber in mancher Beziehung hülfreich wird und als Nebenlehre in besonderen Anmerkungen hier gegeben werden soll. Abgesehen von dem Gebrauche, den der Komponist von dieser Schrift macht und der weit ausgebreiteteren Verwendung, die sie früher fand, wollen wir uns ihrer bei unseren Harmonie-Uebungen bedienen, um sie uns für jede Weise künftiger Verwendung geläufig zu machen].

Most of the material that appears above is then presented in a footnote, with some minor changes and with the following prefatory remarks: “*Generalbass* notation cannot and should not replace conventional notation, but rather should be used in place of this more complete notation only when one is short on space or time and one can be content with a glimpse of the essential contents of the harmony. In this regard, [*Generalbass*] serves the composer in properly indicating the sequence of the harmony in the design of a composition. The signs (figural notation, letter notation, etc.) are placed either over or under the bass voice, allowing one to recognize immediately [the harmony] ‘in general’ and are therefore referred to as *Generalbass* or the *Generalbass*-part.” [Die Generalbassschriften kann und soll nicht die wirkliche Notenschrift ersetzen, sondern nur da vertreten, wo Zeit oder Raum zu vollständiger Notierung fehlt und man sich mit einer flüchtigen Andeutung des wesentlichen Harmonie-Inhalts begnügen kann. In dieser Hinsicht dient sie dem Komponisten, um in Entwurf einer Komposition den Gang der Harmonie anzudeuten. Ihre Zeichen (Ziffern, Buchstaben, u.s.w.) werden über oder unter die Bassstimme gesetzt, die nun “das Allgemeine” (nämlich der Harmonie) zu erkennen giebt und daher Generalbass oder Generalbass-Stimme heisst]. See A. B. Marx, *Die Lehre von der musikalischen Komposition, praktisch / theoretisch*, ed. H. Riemann (Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1887), pp. 114-18.

Much of the theoretical material in the Marx *Musical Composition* treatise would have been easily recognizable to Bruckner from his previous studies; the idea of key relations, for example, is almost identical to the precepts outlined by Dürrenberger. See Marx, *Musical Composition*, pp. 46-49.

a restatement of the well-established principles of the rule of the octave;<sup>805</sup> and clearly the reliance on such primary materials for an understanding of verticalities according to their traditional *Generalbass* designations had not completely disappeared.

A clear and concise record of Bruckner's studies with Kitzler can be found in the volume referred to by Paul Hawkshaw as the *Kitzler Studienbuch*, which contains in its 163 folios most of the extant exercises that Bruckner produced under Kitzler's instruction.<sup>806</sup> Bruckner arranged these exercises – some of which took the form of fully developed works<sup>807</sup> – in the *Studienbuch* chronologically, beginning in December of 1861 (“Cadences and Modulations / within one 8-measure period / within two 8-measure periods”) and ending 10 July 1863 (“Overture, Symphony and Psalm completed”). It is clear from the many voice-leading errors in these exercises that the primary goal of these instructions was form and orchestration; the extensive contrapuntal studies that Bruckner had undergone with Sechter left no doubt in Kitzler's mind as to Bruckner's mastery of this element of composition.<sup>808</sup> Indeed, Hawkshaw – while acknowledging that the degree of Kitzler's influence is difficult to determine from the available evidence – sees Kitzler's role as instructor as an important yet passive one:

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<sup>805</sup> Marx, *Theory and Practice*. In the previous section of the treatise (Chapter II, “The Accompaniment of Melodies,”), Marx has used Arabic numerals above a melodic line to refer to “how far below [the melodic note] the fundamental note of the chord is to be found.” See pp. 107-12. This pedagogical tool, like the one described in the above quotation, is rooted in *Generalbass* practices of the *régle de l'octave*. See Chapter 1, pp. 22ff.

<sup>806</sup> Paul Hawkshaw, “A composer learns his craft: lessons in form and orchestration, 1861-1863,” *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, pp. 3-29. According to Hawkshaw, this “miscellany is one of the few major Bruckner manuscripts remaining in private possession.” See *ibid.*, n. 4.

<sup>807</sup> Some of these latter “exercises” were subsequently published. These include the String Quartet in C minor (WAB 111), the F minor “Student” Symphony (WAB 99), the D minor March (WAB 96), a piano sonata movement in G minor, published as Overture in G minor (WAB 98) and the Three Orchestral Pieces (WAB 97). See Hawkshaw, “A composer,” pp. 3-4. Also included on the final page of the *Studienbuch* (fol. 163r.) is the above-mentioned reference to a “Psalm.” This is the *Psalm 112*, which was the last piece composed by Bruckner for Kitzler. It survives not as part of the *Studienbuch*, but as an autograph score (Austrian National Library, Mus. Hs. 3156), which was included in Bruckner's *Nachlass*. See Paul Hawkshaw, “Psalm 112,” *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke*, 20 / 5 (Vienna: 1996), “Foreword.”

<sup>808</sup> Hawkshaw, “A composer,” p. 4.

[Kitzler] chose the course of study and then served in an advisory capacity – leaving Bruckner to work out the details of the exercises for himself, rather than correcting every exercise as a harmony teacher might for a young student.<sup>809</sup>

Again, it should be pointed out that Kitzler's student in this case is a bit of an anomaly; "a world-class organist with an exceptional grasp of counterpoint and superb improvisational skills, yet with a professional musical experience confined primarily to churches in the rural reaches of Upper Austria."<sup>810</sup> Hawkshaw gives Kitzler the most credit for being able to synthesize a suitable course of study from the texts mentioned above as well as from various other materials, including the analysis of several Beethoven sonatas and of works by Mendelssohn.<sup>811</sup> Additionally, Kitzler served his pupil well by bringing him up to date in terms of exposure to more modern musical styles – particularly those of Wagner and Beethoven<sup>812</sup> – as well as informing him as to the latest developments in form and orchestration.

In the *Studienbuch* exercises, we can again see the enormous impact of thoroughbass practices on Bruckner's theoretical and compositional thinking. Hawkshaw describes the layout of the exercises in the following manner:

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<sup>809</sup> Paul Hawkshaw, *The Manuscript Sources for Anton Bruckner's Linz Works: A Study of his Working Methods from 1856-1868* (Ann Arbor: UMI, 1984), p. 85, footnote 4.

<sup>810</sup> Hawkshaw, "A composer," p. 23.

<sup>811</sup> Watson, *Bruckner*, p. 16. The study of Beethoven's sonatas seems to have been especially appealing to Bruckner, as the following statement by Kitzler shows: "Beethoven's sonatas formed the comparative basis of our exercises, and Bruckner always expressed a special joy if he discovered musical forms or modulations that ran counter to his earlier technical studies with Sechter." [Beethovens Sonaten bildeten die vergleichende Grundlage unserer Uebungen, und Bruckner bezeugte stets besondere Freude, wenn er auf eine, seinen früheren Satzstudien bei Sechter zuwiderlaufende musikalische Wendung oder Gestaltung stieß]. See Gräflinger, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 25.

<sup>812</sup> Kitzler seems to have had an interesting and productive career as a performer, conductor, and teacher. Born in Dresden, he is known to have sung in a performance of Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 in that city in 1846 under Wagner's direction. His progressive musical nature led him to champion the works of Wagner throughout his career; as conductor of the Linz Theatre, Kitzler oversaw the first Linz production of *Tannhäuser* on 13 February 1863, followed by *Der fliegende Holländer* (October, 1865) and *Lohengrin* (February, 1866). The score to *Tannhäuser* played a major role in Bruckner's instruction with Kitzler. See Watson, *Bruckner*, p. 16.

The vast majority [of the exercises] are in two-stave keyboard or four-stave string quartet score. Many are melody / bass skeletons with occasional chords and contrapuntal voices filled in or indicated by figured bass.<sup>813</sup>

Indeed, figured bass seems to have played a very prominent role, as can be seen from the examples below:

Lied mit Trioform

1. O habt die Thrill - ne - gern Die still im Au - ge bebt Es ist ein  
2. Vom Him - mel ist ein Stern der in der Wie - gen glänzt: Re - denks und

lich - ter Stern Nach dem ihr lang ge - strebt Nun strahlt ein Stern im Aug ihr  
dankt den Herrn deß Lang - muth un - be - grenzt. Ihr mögt die Sonn ver - stehn und

nennt ihn Thrill - ne - gern Die Thrill - ne - kann ich auch ich nenn - sie - lie - ber - Stern  
habt sie Al - le - gern O müht - euch - zu ver - stehn Im Aug - den - stil - len - Stern.

[Fine]

Examples 4-51a: Hawkshaw, Bruckner *Studienbuch*

<sup>813</sup>Hawkshaw, "A composer," p. 4.

Trioform

Wer stil - le Thü - re scheint dem wirts so - himm - lich - leicht - wie, wenn ein -

Stem uns scheint - das - Graun - der Nacht - ent - weicht Da wirts - uns - oft so - klar

Dab. was uns weh - ge - than - Zu uns - rem - Frie - den war Nach [ ? ] Lie - be - Plan.

*Du Capo*

Example 4-51b: Hawkshaw, Bruckner *Studienbuch* <sup>814</sup>

### h) The Continued Use of *Generalbass*: Heinrich Schenker

The assertions of the previous sections gain greater weight when one considers that as the twentieth century unfolded, the use of *Generalbass* practices in pedagogical situations remained strong. In many European artistic centers, training in the finer points of harmony and composition were often centered around a thorough grounding in these principles. Ratner has described succinctly what we have observed above concerning the continuation of figured bass as a pedagogical tool throughout the nineteenth century:

In pedagogy and in free composition of both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the polarity of outer lines is manifested commonly in figured-bass textures. Most exercises in treatises and a great deal of free composition embody the typical layout of figured-bass texture, which derived from continuo practice; that is, a single bass line supporting two or three close-position voices in the treble. Figured bass itself was current in teaching throughout the nineteenth century; its

<sup>814</sup> Ibid., Examples 1.4 and 1.5. These examples were prepared for Dr. Hawkshaw at Yale University for the purposes of his essay. He states that “[t]hese transcriptions contain the final reading of any erasures or corrections.” See n. 6.

methods differed little from those established in the eighteenth century.<sup>815</sup>

That this practice continued into the twentieth century, through a direct line of descent from Sechter through Bruckner, all the way to the harmonic practices outlined by Schoenberg in his *Harmonielehre* of 1911,<sup>816</sup> would seem to indicate a compositional process into which the older traditions of figured bass and other basso continuo processes were fully integrated. Twentieth-century figured-bass manuals continued to have an impact on new generations of composers, particularly through such efforts as the *Harmonielehre* of Franz Bölsche.<sup>817</sup> First appearing in 1911, the same year as Schoenberg's *Harmonielehre*, this manual – which features the use of *Generalbass* figurations in a tonal context much along the lines of Riemann's efforts – was employed by Bölsche in his capacity as instructor at Cologne Conservatory in the early decades of the twentieth century.<sup>818</sup> The manual was often reprinted, both before and after World War II, and remains a popular method for harmony instruction in many areas of Europe, particularly Germany.<sup>819</sup>

Ratner's description above of the emphasis of *Generalbass* teachings on the polarity of the outer voices also had a profound effect on the theories of the Austrian theorist Heinrich Schenker (1868-1935). The clear connection to older *Generalbass* traditions can be seen most vividly in Schenker's theoretical writings. Many of the concepts that he espoused in these works can be directly related to our discussion of

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<sup>815</sup> Ratner, *Romantic Music*, p. 16.

<sup>816</sup> Ibid., Chapter 2, note 1.

<sup>817</sup> Franz Bölsche, *Übungen und Aufgaben zum Studium der Harmonielehre* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1911).

<sup>818</sup> Bölsche, *Harmonielehre*, "Vorwort," pp. III-IV. "Es mögen noch einigen praktische Winke folgen, die sich beim theoretischen Unterricht am Cölner Konservatorium, besonders auch beim Gebrauch der vorliegenden Aufgaben, seit Jahren auf das beste bewährt haben."

<sup>819</sup> Rummenhüller, "Stufentheorie."

organic unity above. Schenker's theories are, to a large degree, contingent upon the ability to perceive the works of music of the preceding generations in terms of the concept of organic unity; that is to say, his tendency is to treat an artwork as a whole, a discrete, unitary entity whose "wholeness stems from a central generative force to which everything else is subordinate."<sup>820</sup> Schenker declares his organistic philosophy in the Introduction to *Der freie Satz*:

I here present a new concept, one inherent in the works of the great masters; indeed, it is the very secret and source of their being: the concept of organic coherence.<sup>821</sup>

Later in the same work, Schenker informs the reader as to the criteria necessary for his concept of organic unity:

All musical content arises from the confrontation and adjustment of the indivisible fundamental line with the two-part bass arpeggiation.<sup>822</sup>

Schenker had considered this type of organicism previously, particularly in reference to large-scale formal structures. But the main principles later elaborated upon in *Der freie Satz* were already in place when he put forth the following statement:

This characteristic [organic unity] is determined solely by the invention of the parts out of the unity of the primary harmony – in other words, by the composing out [*auskomponiert*] of the fundamental line [*Urlinie*] and the bass arpeggiation.<sup>823</sup>

Schenker's references to the organic qualities of music are characteristic of his contention that contrapuntal processes are the basis of all harmonic activity in music; no matter how elaborate the system, it is merely a reflection of the interaction of individual lines of music.

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<sup>820</sup> Solie, "The Living Work," 151.

<sup>821</sup> Heinrich Schenker, *Der freie Satz*, trans. as *Free Composition* by E. Oster, (New York: Longman, 1979), p.xxi. *Der freie Satz* is the third of three volumes in which Schenker expounded his harmonic theory. See Robert Snarrenberg, "Heinrich Schenker," *NGD*, Vol. 22, pp. 479-81.

<sup>822</sup> Schenker, *Free Composition*, p.15.

<sup>823</sup> *Ibid.*



Schenker's formal musical training included studies at the Vienna Conservatory with Bruckner. Schenker is listed in documents from the Conservatory as having studied harmony with Bruckner during his first academic year (1887 / 88) and counterpoint during his second (1888 / 89).<sup>824</sup> Though somewhat critical of Bruckner's compositional abilities in his later correspondence,<sup>825</sup> Schenker nonetheless clearly held his former master in high esteem and undoubtedly took Bruckner's compositional principles to heart when formulating his later theoretical concepts.

Schenker's direct engagement of *Generalbass* in the development of his theories is apparent in his comments from the Introduction to *Der freie Satz*; the quotation concerning organic unity above (note 821) continues as follows:

The following instructional plan provides a truly practical understanding of [organic unity]. It is the only plan which corresponds exactly to the history and development of the masterworks, and so is the only feasible sequence: instruction in strict counterpoint (according to Fux-Schenker), in thorough-bass (according to J. S. and C. P. E. Bach), and in free composition (Schenker). Free composition, finally, combines all others, placing them in the service of the law of organic coherence as it is revealed in the fundamental structure (fundamental line and bass arpeggiation) in the background, the voice-leading transformations in the middle-ground, and ultimately in the appearance of the foreground.

C. P. E. Bach wrote his treatise on thoroughbass when he realized, to his grief, that the discipline of thoroughbass might disappear in theory and in practice, because it was not really understood. His incomparably great work was motivated by a desire to do his utmost to save and clarify that discipline. Now the time has come for me – “To every thing there is a season,” says the writer of Ecclesiastes – to proclaim the new concept of organic coherence and thereby to give the fullest possible expression to what the music of the masters was and must continue to be if we wish to keep it alive.<sup>826</sup>

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<sup>824</sup> Hellmut Federhofer, “Heinrich Schenkers Bruckner-Verständnis,” *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 39 (1982), 198-217. Schenker was also enrolled at the University of Vienna during this period, from which he earned a Dr. jur. (Doctor of Jurisprudence) on 20 November 1889.

<sup>825</sup> Ibid. Federhofer offers illustrations of Schenker's opinions on a variety of aspects concerning Bruckner's music and compositional processes. This is accomplished primarily through an examination of his correspondence with German music critic Karl Grunsky. Grunsky, together with the German composer and educator August Halm, were among the most active supporters of Bruckner at the beginning of the twentieth century. See 200.

<sup>826</sup> Schenker / Oster, *Free Composition*, “Introduction,” pp. xxi-xxii.

The second stage of Schenker's sequence of musical study is the only one not to have been published, the first and third being realized in print as *Kontrapunkt* (1910) and *Der freie Satz* (1935). However, Schenker did produce a systematic study of thoroughbass procedures that, though never appearing in print, figured prominently in his early work on *Der freie Satz*.<sup>827</sup> This study, bearing the title "Von der Stimmführung des Generalbasses," exists in manuscript form as dictated by Schenker to his wife, Jeanette. The last page of the manuscript bears the date 29 August 1917.<sup>828</sup> The manuscript (designated *Generalbasslehre* in Siegel's article) consists mostly of musical examples with annotations by Schenker; the most numerous of these come from C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch*. There are fewer examples from the work known as "Precepts and Principles for Playing Thorough Bass or Accompanying in Four Parts," discussed previously as the basis of the elder Bach's teaching materials for his classes at the *Thomas Schule* (see Chapter 1, pp. 69-70). Schenker referred to this work as the *Generalbassbüchlein*; he gained access to it through the only available source of the period, the appendix to Philipp Spitta's biography of Bach.<sup>829</sup>

It seems clear that Schenker saw in the thoroughbass examples that he incorporated into his *Generalbasslehre* from the two generations of Bachs validation for

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<sup>827</sup> Ibid., Oswald Jonas, "Preface to the Second German Edition," pp. xv-xvi. "The earliest version of [*Der freie Satz*] was begun in 1915. It gives us evidence that Schenker first thought of the book as a continuation of his work on counterpoint: 'free composition,' section VII of the theory of counterpoint. Here he meant to show how the laws of strict counterpoint continued to operate in free composition. Even at this point, Schenker speaks of 'composing out' of the scale degree and of 'horizontalization.' The concept of the 'fundamental line' already appears, first as 'melodic line,' then as 'line,' graphically indicated by vertical arrows over the relevant notes of the example. In a later version there is a special section on 'piano style' (*Klaviersatz*), and also a section devoted to thoroughbass."

<sup>828</sup> Heidi Siegel, "A source for Schenker's study of thorough bass: his annotated copy of J. S. Bach's *Generalbassbüchlein*," *Schenker Studies*, ed. Heidi Siegl (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 15-28. Siegel states that the introductory section of the manuscript did appear in print shortly after Schenker's death in the periodical *Der Dreiklang* 3 (1937) under the title "Von der Stimmführung im Generalbasses."

<sup>829</sup> Ibid., 16. The original edition of Spitta's volume appeared in 1880.

his concept of *Auskomponierung*. In Schenker's view, particularly concerning the examples from J. S. Bach's *Büchlein*, the cited thoroughbass realizations manifest the prolongations of basic progressions characteristic of free composition.<sup>830</sup>

Thus thoroughbass is for Schenker an integral, organic, part of the compositional process, as he states in the *Generalbasslehre*:

Thoroughbass shares with free composition, of which it is an organic part, the intertwining of harmonic degree and voice leading that constitutes the essence of free composition.<sup>831</sup>

Schenker also seems to share with many of the authors of *Generalbasslehren* that we have considered in the previous chapters the feeling that a full and complete knowledge of the fundamentals of thoroughbass is a prerequisite for the proper education of a composer. Siegel points out that in the opening paragraphs of the *Buchlein*, Schenker heavily underlined the following passage: *der General Bass ein Anfang ist zum componiren* (thoroughbass is the beginning of composition).

Still, while acknowledging the importance of fluency in the language of *Generalbass*, Schenker is at pains in his *Generalbasslehre* to demonstrate that which we have seen adumbrated in the treatises of Förster, Dreschler, Preindl, and others. Though their engagement with the placing of verticalities over designated scale steps may be at odds with the opening of Schenker's quote below, the basic idea is the same – that scale-step theory and figured-bass theory are not exclusive, but rather complementary:

It is not the job of figured-bass theory to deal with scale degrees, because it must above all provide instruction concerning the figures [and their execution]; but as I said before, both the assignment [*Setzung*] and the interpretation [*Deutung*] of the figures depend upon the [totality of the] composition, and thus upon scale degrees, modulation, form, and so forth, to such an extent that even the theory of

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<sup>830</sup> Ibid., 19.

<sup>831</sup> Ibid., 21.

scale degrees becomes a latent, supplementary component of figured-bass theory.<sup>832</sup>

The direct integration of various voice-leading principles that arise directly from *Generalbass* teachings – many of which Schenker would have encountered during his two years of study with Bruckner at the Conservatory – is clearly demonstrated even as early as the *Harmonielehre* (1906). It is here that the fundamental distinction between consonance and dissonance, so important a part of contrapuntal training, is extended to the concept of vertical simultaneities. Consider the following passage from the *Harmonielehre*:

§ 55. Harmonizability as the Conceptual Prerequisite  
of the Modern Interval

The reader may have understood by now that, in the present phase of our art, the concept of interval has become bound to and limited by the concept of harmonizability. In other words, the possibility of being used in a triad or seventh chord has become a conceptual prerequisite of the interval.<sup>833</sup>

In his annotation concerning this idea of harmonizability [*Harmoniefähigkeit*],<sup>834</sup> Oswald Jonas states the following:

The term [harmonizability] already implies the concept of “unfolding,” created and developed by Schenker. It implies, i.e., the concept of unfolding the vertical or space dimension of the intervals in the horizontal or time dimension. Only consonances, i.e., the intervals contained in the triad, can be unfolded in this way. The dissonances and, in particular, the seventh-chord, owing to its dissonant character, originate in passing notes.<sup>835</sup>

The idea of linear progression was elaborated upon by Schenker in his later writings. In particular, the notion of passing dissonance – and the fundamental relationship that exists

<sup>832</sup> From Schenker’s *Generalbasslehre*, as quoted in John Rothgeb, “Schenkerian Theory: Its Implications for the Undergraduate Curriculum,” *Music Theory Spectrum* 3 (1981), 142-49.

<sup>833</sup> Heinrich Schenker, *Harmony*, edited and annotated by Oswald Jonas, translated by Elisabeth Mann Borgese (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 121-22.

<sup>834</sup> This is Schenker’s original term; see Heinrich Schenker, *Harmonielehre*; photocopy reproduction of the 1906 edition (Vienna: Universal, 1978), pp. 55-56. The subtitle of § 55. is given as “*Harmoniefähigkeit als die begriffliche Voraussetzung des moderne Intervalles.*”

<sup>835</sup> *Ibid.*, note 3.

between it and the larger concept of organic unity – is addressed directly in Volume II of *Das Meisterwerk in der Musik* (1926). In the essay from that volume entitled “The Dissonant Interval is Always a Passing Event, Never a Composite Sound,” Schenker makes the following observations, utilizing examples from second-species counterpoint:

A linear progression always presupposes a passing note; there can be no linear progression without a passing note, no passing note without a linear progression. Therefore, it is only by means of the linear progression – by means of the passing note – that it is possible to achieve coherence, to achieve the synthesis of the whole. . . .

The meaning of the passing dissonance consists solely in its function of forming a melodic bridge from one consonance to the next, and of creating the tension of the third-progression [*Terzzug*], for whose duration (through the dissonance and beyond) the primary note is retained (see [example 4-52 below]). There is no question of an intervallic relation between it and the sustained note of the *cantus firmus*.



Example 4-52: Schenker, *Meisterwerk*, Vol. II, p. 9

Therefore it contradicts the nature of the passing note to discriminate in any substantial way among the intervals of a fourth, a seventh and a ninth, to say nothing of positing an increasing scale of dissonance for these intervals; the vertical dimension is altogether excluded, everything hinges on the horizontal tension alone. It is as though there were nothing but a vacuum separating the dissonant passing note and the sustained note of the *cantus firmus*.

The only notes that join together to count as composite sounds are, in the vertical dimension, the two consonances at the beginning and end of the third-progression and, in the horizontal direction, the [terminal notes of the] third-progression that includes the passing note.

Between the dissonant passing note and the sustained note, therefore, no composite sound exists. Anyone who, in disregard of this fact, posits a composite sound at the upbeat – between the dissonance and the *cantus firmus* note – has not grasped the nature of dissonance, of the passing note as strict counterpoint teaches it.<sup>836</sup>

Stated thusly, Schenker’s view of the nature of simultaneities that result from voice leading is reminiscent of Dürrnberger’s description of “passing dissonant chords” (*durchgehends dissonirenden Accorden*) from his *Elementar-Lehrbuch* (see page 301

<sup>836</sup> Heinrich Schenker, *The Masterwork in Music: A Yearbook*, Volume II, ed. William Drabkin, trans. Ian Bent, et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 9-10.

above, particularly note 660), as well as Marpurg's earlier use of this term.<sup>837</sup> This view of dissonance and voice leading would surely have been discussed by Bruckner in his Conservatory classes. Further, since the principles of passing dissonance can also be traced back to the concepts of essential (*wesentliche*) and nonessential (*zufällige*) dissonances of Kirnberger, in Schenker's theories we have evidence of a direct and unbroken connection between the *Generalbass* theory of the mid eighteenth century and the newer ideas and compositional processes – including the Kurthian paradigm of organic unity, which describes this passing-dissonance phenomenon in terms of *energetischen* and *klangsinnlichen* simultaneities<sup>838</sup> – that Schenker is adumbrating at the beginning of the twentieth century. In this way, Schenker hoped to provide a valuable service to composers, conductors, performers, and listeners in the twentieth century by acquainting them with the underlying structural processes inherent in the music of the early masters. In this task, Schenker's engagement of *Generalbass* theory played no small role. It is clear, then, that the principles outlined in the foregoing chapters remained vital and viable into the twentieth century. Rather than mere expressions in a dead language, the musical discourse that imparted such animation and dynamism to nineteenth-century works of art continued to rely heavily on the still-current and still-useful *Generalbass* traditions, both in their creation and in their subsequent explication.

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<sup>837</sup> In his *Anleitung zum Clavierspiel der schönen Ausübung der heutigen Zeit gemäss* (Berlin, 1755, 2/1765/R), Marpurg designates notes that are subsidiary to the main harmony (*Nebennoten*) as either passing notes (*durchgehende*) or changing notes (*Wechselnoten*). See Lester, *Compositional Theory*, p. 212.

<sup>838</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 84ff. above.

## V. *Generalbass* and the Works of Bruckner

### a) The Mass in D minor

It is the general perception of later generations that Bruckner's compositional career entered a new phase of creativity and maturity as a result of his studies with Kitzler. His previous counterpoint studies with Sechter had been intense, often requiring six or seven hours a day to complete. In addition, Sechter had required Bruckner "to abstain from any free composition so that he might acquire the tools of harmonic training based upon strict voice-leading principles."<sup>839</sup> In the minds of some scholars, this slavish devotion to authority had the effect of "imprisoning" the composer in the Classical period;<sup>840</sup> this line of thinking holds true only if the earlier compositional efforts by Bruckner are to be considered in some ways invalid or inferior. Certainly it seems much more accurate to recognize in Bruckner's new, more "symphonic," creations of the 1860s and beyond a maturity that grows directly from these "orthodox" or "merely competent" prior efforts. When viewed in this context, one can see in such works as the Requiem or the *Psalm 146* the germ of these later works, the composer referencing the figured-bass tradition in which he was schooled in the manner of his predecessors, the Viennese masters in whose steps he saw himself following.

Bruckner's first such large-scale work was his Mass in D minor (WAB 26), the first of the three great masses, all composed in the 1860s. Bruckner's grasp of the new symphonic elements introduced by Kitzler is clear in this work; indeed, Watson sees it as the essential feature in this work as well as in the subsequent Mass in F minor. Other

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<sup>839</sup> Graham H. Phipps, "Bruckner's free application of strict Sechterian theory with stimulation from Wagnerian sources: an assessment of the first movement of the Seventh Symphony," *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, pp. 228-58. See p. 230.

<sup>840</sup> Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 51.

scholars agree that this period is a crucial one in the development of Bruckner's mature compositional style and point to the emphasis that the composer places on instrumentation during this period, as well as in the subsequent revisions of these works that would occur throughout the remaining decades of his life. Indeed, it is in this Mass that we begin to see some characteristic musical gestures, including extended ostinatos, pedal points, and brass fanfares;<sup>841</sup> as we shall see, the emphasis on instrumentation will continue to be an integral feature of his subsequent symphonic style.<sup>842</sup> With this understanding, I believe that we must look more closely at the role of the continuo instrument in the "symphonic" masses in conjunction with the figured-bass theoretical models from which so much of Bruckner's compositional style is derived. Only by observing this important confluence of stylistic-theoretical development and practical-directorial input can the true impact of the basso continuo influence in these works be appreciated.

To be sure, many of the symphonic elements present in Bruckner's later orchestral works – particularly the thematic linking of outer movements – have their roots in these great masses, where – in the case of the Mass in D minor, for example – reminiscences of the *Kyrie* can be found in the *Dona nobis pacem*.<sup>843</sup> The instrumentation is also more symphonic than in previous works in this genre, as can be seen in Example 4-53 below from the *Gloria*, as is the score layout. Kitzler's influence is

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<sup>841</sup> William Weinert, "Bruckner's Mass in F Minor: Culmination of the Symphonic Mass," *Choral Journal* 37 / 2 (1996), 9-16.

<sup>842</sup> Dieter Michael Backes, "Die Instrumentation in den Messen von Anton Bruckner – eine Studie zum Phänomen des Symphonischen in Bruckners Kirchenmusik," *Anton Bruckner: Tradition und Fortschritt in der Kirchenmusik des 19. Jahrhunderts*, ed. F.W. Riedel (Sinzig: Studio, Verlag Schwewe, 2001), pp. 253-305. "Surely, therefore, one can say without exaggeration that the area of instrumentation was one in which [Bruckner] continued to learn and further develop until the end of his life." [Sicherlich kann man daher ohne Übertreibung sagen, dass das Gebiet der Instrumentation dasjenige war, auf welchem er bis an sein Lebensende lernte und wo er sich am meisten weiterentwickelte]. See p. 257.

<sup>843</sup> Watson, *Bruckner*, p. 62.



obvious in the more modern positioning of woodwinds and brass at the top of the score followed by upper strings, voices (in the traditional C-clefs) and the bass line (Basso & Cello).<sup>844</sup> This layout of the score, with its primarily unison Basso line (this line is divided into violoncello / contrabass parts, but, in fact, these two seldom diverge) appears much as it does in Bruckner's earlier works of this type. Although the composer includes no explicit figured-bass part, it is noted by Leopold Nowak that such a figured thoroughbass "is indispensable in this type of music."<sup>845</sup>

Example 4-53: Bruckner, Mass in D minor, *Gloria*

The presence of an organ in this work is not in dispute, although its actual function sometimes is. To be sure, certain allowances were made for performances in

<sup>844</sup> Example 4-53 from Robert Haas, *Anton Bruckner*, Tafel III, p. 72.

<sup>845</sup> Leopold Nowak, editor, *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke*, Band 16, "Mass in D minor (WAB 26)" (Vienna: 1957), "Preface."

venues that would exclude its usage. The second performance of the Mass in D minor, for example, took place at the Linz *Redoutensaal* on 18 December 1864. As there was no organ at this venue, this integral solo part was transcribed for two clarinets and two bassoons, probably by Bruckner himself.<sup>846</sup> Bruckner indeed makes reference to this transcription in a letter to his friend, the Austrian composer and choir director Rudolph Weinrum, dated 21 January 1865.<sup>847</sup> Hawkshaw points out that there was another reason necessitating such an arrangement: by 1865, orchestral pitch had already risen above the level of many organs that Bruckner might encounter when performing this work,<sup>848</sup> as Bruckner himself acknowledges in the aforementioned letter.<sup>849</sup> But certainly this would not have precluded the use of the organ as a continuo instrument under optimal conditions; Bruckner's explicit inclusion of an organ part in subsequent works, particularly the *Te Deum* of 1884, would seem to confirm this. Further, its use in this work seems carefully considered, both musically and rhetorically. The wind transcription should be viewed, I believe, as a case of Bruckner bowing to the realities of contemporary performance conditions.

The organ makes a rather poignant solo appearance prior to the *Et resurrexit* section of the *Credo*. This particular point of the *Credo* narrative, crucial (in all senses of the word), is greatly enhanced by the sudden emergence of the solo organ from the orchestral texture, evoking a sparse, sacred style. The subtler presence of a fully realized

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<sup>846</sup> Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 168.

<sup>847</sup> ABSW: "Briefe," Vol. I, p. 49. "Habe Nachsicht u Geduld mit mir. Vor dem *Et resurrexit* im *Credo* ist ein kleiner Orglsatz, welcher für 2 *Clarinetten* u 2 *Fag[otte]* übertragen wurde."

<sup>848</sup> Paul Hawkshaw, "Bruckner's large sacred compositions," note 36, p. 266.

<sup>849</sup> ABSW: "Briefe," Vol. I, p. 49. "(NB. weil meistens die Orgeln zu tief sind) wovon die Stimmen den betreffenden Zettel enthalten." Again, different translations could lead to different conclusions. Hawkshaw (*ibid.*) translates the German word "tief" as "low," suggesting a pitch relationship, as the rest of the statement would seem to imply. However, others such as Howie translate the passage thus: "because the organs are usually too *deep*. . ." This would seem to imply that Bruckner was more concerned with a discontinuity of a timbral nature. See Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 168.

continuo performs much the same function throughout the entire work: less dramatically, perhaps, yet no less affectively.



Example 4-54: Bruckner, Mass in D minor, organ part from Haas, p. 70

This explicit organ section – in which the organ alternates statements with the unaccompanied voices (*et sepultus est*) and brass choir (first horn and trombones) – also serves to set up a very symphonic pedal-point section on the dominant, leading directly to a brilliant return of the tonic at the *Et resurrexit*. The gradual intensification through instrumentation of the musical texture in this orchestral interlude is reminiscent of similar sections in Bruckner’s later symphonic works, albeit on a smaller scale.<sup>850</sup>



Example 4-55: Bruckner, Mass in D minor, *Credo*

<sup>850</sup> M. Wagner, “Bruckners Weg,” 26.

This section of the Mass in D Minor has received a good deal of scholarly attention in recent years. Dieter Michael Backes makes many points regarding the use of instrumentation by Bruckner in the service of hermeneutical explication of the text.<sup>851</sup> Indeed, he has divided the middle section of the *Credo* movement (mm. 113-214) into discrete sections, each typifying a particular topic of the relevant liturgical text. He divides this section thusly:

1. Resurrection [*Auferstehung*] – mm. 113-150
2. Ascension [*Himmelfahrt*] – mm. 151-159
3. The Second Coming of Christ [*Wiederkunft*] – mm. 160-174
4. Last Judgment [*Jüngste Gericht*] – mm. 174-188
5. The Everlasting Glory of the Kingdom of God  
[*Die unvergängliche Herrlichkeit des Reiches Gottes*] – mm. 188-214

For each of these subdivisions, Backes offers specific details concerning the use of instrumentation to further the proper expression of the text. For example, for the first segment, concerning the Resurrection of Christ, he offers the following:

For the *Resurrection*, Bruckner conceives a sound model that is characterized by an orchestrated crescendo, motivic-thematic intensification, rhythmic diminution, and by numerous highly agitated figurations (sequential scale figures and / or arpeggios, ostinato tone repetitions, pedal-point-like tympani rolls, string tremolos, block chords in the wind parts, etc.)<sup>852</sup>

[See Appendix Example 4-56: Bruckner, Mass in D minor, *Credo* mm. 113- 122]

Backes goes on to echo Manfred Wagner's observations on this section of the Mass quoted above (see note 850 above) as follows:

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<sup>851</sup> Dieter Michael Backes, "Die Instrumentation."

<sup>852</sup> Ibid., p. 255. "Für die 'Auferstehung' konzipiert Bruckner ein Klangmodell, das durch ein ausinstrumentiertes Crescendo, durch motivisch-thematische Verdichtung, durch rhythmische Diminution und durch zahlreiche hochoerregte Spielfiguren (sequenzierte Tonleiterfolgen bzw. Dreiklangsbrechungen, ostinate Tonrepetitionen, orgelpunktartige Paukenwirbel, Streichertremoli, Bläserhältetone etc.) gekennzeichnet ist."

Similar sound structures can be found in [Bruckner's] later symphonic works – usually within the development, before the emergence of the actual main theme – in abundance.<sup>853</sup>

Backes offers a similar interpretation for the next section of the *Credo*:

For the *Ascension*, Bruckner utilizes a sound model that arises from the principle of contrast. Through the juxtaposition of two distinctly different timbral blocks, he achieves here a remarkable close / far, or, rather, light / shade effect, which – through a mediant relationship based on a flexible minor / major exchange – is repeated twice.<sup>854</sup>

[See Appendix Example 4-57: Bruckner, Mass in D minor, *Credo*, mm. 150-155]

Backes again goes on to relate these characteristics to later works by Bruckner:

Similar sound models featuring block-like color contrasts and expansive dimensions belong particularly to the integrated nature of the musical vocabulary of the late symphonies.<sup>855</sup>

Like other commentators, I would tend to agree with many of the points made by Backes. Especially as concerns his contention that Bruckner connects the discrete segments described above in a musically linked, organic manner that foreshadows the later symphonies,<sup>856</sup> I find his reasoning quite convincing. However, it seems surprising

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<sup>853</sup> Ibid., p. 255. “Ähnliche Klangstrukturen finden sich ebenfalls in seiner späteren Symphonik – meist innerhalb des Entwicklungsgedankens, vor Ausbruch des eigenlichten Hauptgedankens – in reichem Masse.”

<sup>854</sup> Ibid. “Für die ‘Himmelfahrt’ verwendet Bruckner ein Klangmodell, das auf dem Kontrastprinzip aufgebaut ist. Mittels Gegenüberstellung zweier unterschiedlicher Klangfarbblöcke erzielt er hier eine auffallende Nah-Fern- bzw. Licht-Schatten-Wirkung, die - im Mediantenabstand und verbunden mit einem plastischen Moll-Dur-Wechsel - zweimal wiederholt wird.”

<sup>855</sup> Ibid. “Ähnliche Klangmodelle mit blockhaften Farbkontrasten und raumhaften Weitendimensionen gehören besonders in den späten Symphonien zum integrierten Bestand seiner musikalischen Sprachformeln.”

<sup>856</sup> Ibid., p. 256. “In conclusion, it should also be noted that – despite the variety of individual pictorial sound configurations in this middle section of the *Credo* – Bruckner never loses sight of the relation to the whole and creates, by means of multiple musical connections, an organic (and at the same time symphonic) unity. These few indications should suffice to show that there is a thick network of connections between Bruckner's church music and his symphonic style, both with regard to content as well as to stylistic aspects.” [Abschliessend sei noch bemerkt, dass – trotz der Vielfalt der einzelnen bildhaften Klanggestaltungen in diesem Credo Mittelteil – Bruckner nie den Zug zum Ganzen aus den Augen verliert und mittels zahlreicher musikalischer Verknüpfungen eine organische (gleichsam symphonische) Einheit schafft. Diese wenigen Andeutungen mögen genügen, um zu zeigen, dass es zwischen Bruckners Kirchenmusik und seiner Symphonik ein dichtes Netz von Beziehungen gibt, was sowohl die inhaltliche als auch die stilistische Seite betrifft].

that so careful an instrumental exegesis as the one presented by Backes would so casually dismiss the use of the organ in this work, as evidenced by the following statement:

The participation of the organ [in these masses], natural for a performance in a church setting, is not specifically prescribed by Bruckner; one should not ignore, however, mm. 100-109 in the *Credo* of the *Mass in D Minor* and mm. 239-261 in the *Gloria* of the *Mass in F Minor* – where [the organ] is expressly required in the service of a certain scenic-dramatic and / or motivic effect.<sup>857</sup>

Backes here implicitly recognizes the very “scenic / dramatic effect” to which I have referred above in the *Et sepultus est* section of the *Mass in D minor* immediately preceding the middle section of the *Credo*. Yet by his citing of the particular measure numbers in which the organ is “expressly required,” he is implying that its continuo function may well be dispensed with throughout, so that the organ is superfluous to the presentation of the work with the exception of its inclusion in this small segment of music.<sup>858</sup>

I believe that Backes overlooks certain obvious aspects set up by his own exegesis of this section, for the presence of the organ could only serve to reinforce the very features of the individual parts as adumbrated by Backes. For example, what better way to enhance the many aspects listed as characteristic of the *Resurrection* segment (orchestrated crescendo, pedal-point-like timpani rolls, ostinato figures) than with the organ? Similarly, could not the features mentioned for the *Ascension* segment of this section (particularly the “juxtaposition of two distinctly different timbral blocks”) be aided greatly by the contrasts inherent in the sound quality of the organ, or, perhaps, from

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<sup>857</sup> Ibid., pp. 263-64. “Die Mitwirkung der Orgel, bei einer Aufführung im kirchlichen Raum selbstverständlich, wird von Bruckner nicht eigens vorgeschrieben; man übersehe aber nicht die Takte 100-109 im *Credo* der d-Moll-Messe sowie die Takte 239-261 im *Gloria* der f-Moll-Messe – wo sie zur Erreichung einer bestimmten szenisch-dramatischen bzw. motivischen Wirkung ausdrücklich verlangt ist.”

<sup>858</sup> Ibid. Backes includes a table (Tabelle 2, p. 263) that outlines the dispersal of instruments in both the *Mass in D minor* and the *Mass in F minor*; for all movements of these works, except those mentioned above, he leaves the spaces labeled “organ” blank, implying non-participation of the organ.

its alternating presence or absence? Is it not a strange thing if a composer for whom instrumentation plays so key a role in his compositional process almost totally disregards the marvelous characteristics of the very instrument on which he is an acknowledged virtuoso? I think so, and I believe that Bruckner may also have thought this way.

Backes is certainly not alone in his cautious and dismissive treatment of continuo participation in both the Mass in D minor as well as the Mass in F minor.

Consider the following:

Bruckner's 1881 score [of the Mass in F Minor] contains a handful of cues for organ, but it is unclear exactly where or what the organ should be playing.<sup>859</sup>

However, it seems clear for a number of reasons that full basso continuo participation by the organ is called for in these works. It should be noted, for example, that Bruckner often participated in performances of both the Mass in D minor and the Mass in F minor. It is recorded that he directed the Mass in D minor at its premiere at the Linz Cathedral on 20 November 1864. Nowak states that this first performance was given “under the composer’s baton.”<sup>860</sup> This statement actually comes from the English translation by Dr. Christal Schönfeldt. Nowak’s original sentence reads: “. . .am 20. November 1864 fand im alten Dom in Linz unter des Komponisten persönlicher Leitung die Uraufführung statt.” A more literal translation might render “under the composer’s personal direction” as a result. If this were the case, then Bruckner may have been filling the role of composer-director from the keyboard as in the Baroque style. Still, there is no reason to doubt the former characterization; a work of this scope could certainly benefit from the

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<sup>859</sup> Weinert, “Bruckner’s Mass in F Minor.”

<sup>860</sup> Nowak, “Mass in D minor,” “Preface.”

services of a baton conductor. This being the case, we could then assume that someone other than Bruckner performed the organ part.

Nonetheless, that Bruckner participated in this work as an organist is also amply documented. The first review of a Bruckner work in Vienna involves a performance of the Mass in D minor at the *Hofkapelle*.<sup>861</sup> The records of the *Hofkapelle* indicate that Kapellmeister Johann Ritter von Herbeck (1831-1877) conducted this performance, which took place on 10 February 1867.<sup>862</sup> That Bruckner participated in the performance at the organ can be seen from Ludwig Speidel's 11 February review of the concert.<sup>863</sup> And again, in a performance given some time later, at the Steyr Parish Church on 2 April 1893, Franz Bayer, organist and choirmaster of the church, filled the role of conductor, with Bruckner playing the organ part. It is clear, therefore, that Bruckner felt comfortable with supplying continuo realizations for his Mass in addition to the organ solo in the *Credo*. Indeed, it seems that Bruckner also improvised on themes from the Mass during the accompanying church service,<sup>864</sup> testifying to the extemporaneous nature of his art. It would seem safe, then, to extrapolate a similar thoroughbass realization from the organists other than Bruckner who performed the work. One might even envision some form of dual directorship in these performances, with Bruckner at the organ leading the chorus, in the Baroque style, while the baton conductor was in charge of the instrumentalists, or vice versa. The symphonic nature of the work does not negate its

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<sup>861</sup> Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 113.

<sup>862</sup> Theophile Antonicek, "Anton Bruckner und die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle," *Anton Bruckner: Dokumente und Studien* (Graz: Akademische Druck - und Verlagsanstalt, 1979), p. 142.

<sup>863</sup> Ludwig Speidel, "Theater und Kunst," *Fremdenblatt* 41, 11 February 1867, 5. Speidel points out that Bruckner's performance evidenced his "great theoretical knowledge" stemming from his studies with "Altmeister Sechter" as well as his "truly outstanding organ playing." See also Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 113.

<sup>864</sup> Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 667.



connection with the Viennese mass tradition with which Bruckner was so familiar, nor does the absence of an explicit figured bass.

Bruckner's adept use of counterpoint in the Mass in D minor was also a matter for editorial comment. Consider the following from the *Linzer Zeitung* by Franz Gamon, a prominent Linz *dilettante*, in which he refers to Bruckner's

predilection for the polyphonic style [which he employed] certainly not to appear competent or out of mere pleasure in self-imposed difficulties but because it alone is worthy of the highest thoughts. The realization of the artistic ideal is seen at its most admirable in the strict forms of complex counterpoint, as these admit depth and strength of characterization in a flexible conception.<sup>865</sup>

### **b) Mass in F minor**

A similar stylistic concept can be seen in the Mass in F minor (1868). This is a work that is perhaps most famous for the number of the revisions it would undergo after its inception. Careful study of the various layers of these revisions by Hawkshaw<sup>866</sup> has led him to certain conclusions. Among these is the fact that many of the later revisions that Bruckner himself made to the work were directly related to practical considerations encountered while participating in performances of the Mass as organist at the Viennese *Hofkapelle*.<sup>867</sup> Hawkshaw's statement on this subject brings up an interesting point; Bruckner is listed by Theophile Antonicek (see note 862) as "conductor" for several

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<sup>865</sup> Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 168. Gamon was a professional draughtsman but was highly regarded in the Linz musical circles. In addition to his critical efforts, which included this installment in a series on the development of the mass in the *Linzer Zeitung*, he was also known as a violist, participating in the string quartet of Karl Zappe, which boasted Otto Kitzler as cellist. See p. 65.

<sup>866</sup> Paul Hawkshaw, "An anatomy of change: Anton Bruckner's revisions to the Mass in F Minor," *Bruckner Studies*, ed. Paul Hawkshaw and Timothy L. Jackson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 1-31. Hawkshaw identifies four stages of alterations – early revisions, the period from 1877-81, the 1890s, and the first edition. See p. 2.

<sup>867</sup> *Ibid.*, 3. A listing of Bruckner performances during his lifetime at the *Hofmusikkapelle* can be found in Antonicek, "Anton Bruckner und die Wiener Hofmusikkapelle," p.142, note 172.

performances of the Mass in F Minor at the *Hofmusikkapelle*.<sup>868</sup> It is, therefore, unclear whether these “conducting” efforts by Bruckner were of the baton variety or in the more traditional keyboard-director style. Antonicek lists Herbeck as *Dirigent* for the performance of the Mass in D minor on 10 February 1867 alluded to above, in which we know Bruckner played the continuo part. This would seem to point to the former being the case.

Written accounts do little to illuminate the situation in any decisive way.

However, we do know that at the first performance of the Mass in F minor, which took place at the *Augustinerkirche* on 16 June 1872, Bruckner wrote that he intended to conduct the Court Opera chorus and orchestra led by Joseph Hellmesberger.<sup>869</sup>

Hellmesberger was a renowned violinist and conductor and it should be noted that, following Herbeck’s death in 1877, he was appointed to the position of

*Hofkapellmeister*.<sup>870</sup> This certainly points towards a system of dual direction in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manner and we may infer that subsequent performances at the *Hofkapelle* of the Mass in F minor listed in Antonicek as being “conducted” by Bruckner may indeed have been performed in a similar fashion, since Hellmesberger had risen to a position of such importance in the Court. It seems logical that the *Hofkapellmeister* would have a prominent role in these performances.

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<sup>868</sup> Antonicek’s list includes seven performances of the Mass in F Minor, the first on 8 December 1873 and the last on 8 December 1885. Of these seven performances, Bruckner is listed by Antonicek (using Göllicherich / Auer as the source) as conductor (*Dirigent*) for six. Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>869</sup> Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 177. The exact text of Bruckner’s letter to Moritz von Mayfield on 11 June 1872 is as follows: “Ihrem Wunsche gemäss beeile ich mich zu berichten, das Sonntag den 16. Juni um 11 Uhr *unter meiner Leitung* meine F Messe endlich einmal zur Afführung kommt, u. zwar in der Augustinerkirche Hofopernorchester u. Chor mit Dir. Hellmesberger *an der Spitze*. [italics mine]. See *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke*, “Briefe,” Volume 24, Band 1, ed. Andrea Harrandt und Otto Schneider, p.134.

<sup>870</sup> Ricard Evidon, “Joseph Hellmesberger,” *NGD*, Vol. 11, p. 350. Evidon points out that Hellmesberger also had excellent credentials as a choral conductor; he was temporarily named director of the *Singverein* at the *Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde* in 1879.

Whatever the case, it is clear that in this work, as in the previous Mass in D minor, the organ bears key hermeneutical significance, both explicating portions of the text as well as in a more general sense. Consider the text at the one explicit reference in the score for organ.<sup>871</sup> This occurs in the *Gloria* at a point of contrasting tempo (*Ziemlich langsam*), initiating the final, and perhaps most important, part of the text on the words *in Gloria Dei patris, amen* (in the glory of God the Father, amen). The more solemn tone is evident.

[See Appendix Example 4-58: Bruckner, Mass in F minor, *Gloria*, mm. 239-261]

The importance that Bruckner attached to the organ in the performance of these works can be also be seen in the following statement, taken from a letter to the conductor of the Berlin Philharmonic choir, Siegfried Ochs, who was considering undertaking a performance of the Mass in F minor.<sup>872</sup>

Dearest, incomparable Director!

Bruckner is getting old and would really like to hear the F minor Mass again! Please, please! That would be the highpoint of my life. But there are many changes that don't appear in the score! At the D-flat major passage in the *Credo* – “*Deum vero de Deo vero*” – full organ, please! Spare no stops!”<sup>873</sup>

Again, Bruckner clearly feels that the emergence of the organ from the general continuo texture will go far towards explicating the text (*true God of true God*). But this also indicates that the composer saw the role of the organist as a controlling, directing one, in which the entire orchestral texture can be changed, even within this large

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<sup>871</sup> *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke* Band 18, Leopold Nowak, editor, “Mass in F Minor.” In the Preface, Nowak states: “For a Church performance the organ is obviously essential, though not specifically prescribed except in bars 239-261 in the *Gloria*, where it is expressly stipulated.”

<sup>872</sup> Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 183. The letter is dated 14 April 1895.

<sup>873</sup> *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke*, “Briefe,” Vol. 2, p. 303. “Hochverehrtester, unvergleichlicher Direktor! Der Bruckner wird alt und möchte doch so gern die *F-moll* hören! Bitte, bitte! Das wäre der Höhepunkt meines Lebens. Aber dann manches anders als die Partitur! Bei *Des-dur* im *Credo*: *Deum verum de Deo*, bitte *Organo pleno*! Nicht Register sparen!” English translation in Howie. p. 183.

symphonic format, not through any explicit set of figures – or even written directions of any kind – but merely by the correct application of hermeneutical precepts that Bruckner assumed would be rather generally understood, a scarcely veiled reference to a universally assimilated stylistic gesture. He certainly seems to have felt that Ochs would share – or at least understand – his view on this point.

**c) Application of Principles in Bruckner's Works: *Tantum ergo*,  
*Missa solennis*, and others.**

None of the immediately foregoing points are meant to suggest, however, that Bruckner was not still evolving towards the more symphonic techniques with which Otto Kitzler had recently acquainted him. The stylistic shift is quite evident during this period. However, as we have said, Bruckner's earlier training, particularly from Sechter, remained with him throughout his entire creative life. The fundamental-bass procedures in which the composer was indoctrinated by Sechter appear often in the Mass in F minor, following closely the exercises that Bruckner had familiarized himself with during his arduous tutelage under the master. Consider the passage below from the *Benedictus* (Example 4-59a). Here we see a classic use of the fundamental-bass procedures inherent in Sechter's system, as is apparent from a comparison of the examples below.

**A** 30

Bassoon *p*

Violin I *p*

Violin II *p*

Viola *p*

Tenor Solo *p* qui

Soprano *p* be - ne - dic - tus

Alto *p* be - ne - dic - tus

Tenor *p* be - ne - dic - tus qui ve - nit in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni, *cresc.*

Bass *p* be - ne - dic - tus qui ve - nit in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni, *cresc.*

Violoncello *p*

Contrabass *p*

**A** *p* I Ab V<sup>4</sup> Eb (III<sup>4</sup>) C vi<sup>4</sup> F ii<sup>4</sup> Bb V<sup>7</sup> Eb I Ab vii<sup>7</sup> Bb (F)

35 *cresc.* *a2.* 40

Bsn. *cresc.*

Vln. I *cresc.*

Vln. II *cresc.*

Vla. *cresc.*

T. Solo *p* ve - nit, qui ven - it in no - mi - ne, no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni,

B. Solo *p* be - ne - dic - tus, be - ne - dic - tus qui ve - nit in no - mi - ne Do - mi - ni,

Vc. *cresc.* *p*

Cb. *cresc.*

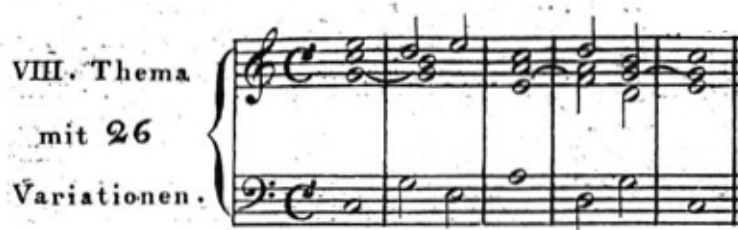
Example 4-59a: Bruckner, Mass in F minor, *Benedictus*, mm. 29-40

The symbols beneath the bass line in Example 4-59a represent a simplified modern analysis of the passage in question. Example 4-59b shows, in reduction, how the fundamental-bass procedures of Sechter are present in this passage.



Example 4-59b: Bruckner, Mass in F minor, *Benedictus*, mm. 29-36

This particular pattern can be seen in Sechter's theoretical writings as early as the *Praktische...Darstellung*, as shown in Example 4-59c:



Example 4-58c: Sechter, *Praktische... Darstellung*, Thema VIII, p. 15

And, indeed, we could further explicate the passage – as a demonstration of the degree to which Bruckner relied upon a synthesis of the principles acquired during his early training in his later compositional methods – in terms of Dürnberger's system, as seen in Example 4-59d:



Example 4-59d: Bruckner, Mass in F minor, *Benedictus*, mm. 29-36

As Seidel points out, this stepwise-rising bassline recurs throughout the movement, providing ample opportunities for this procedure.

It is interesting to note further in the above example (4-59a) that Bruckner chose to extend the progression by way of the *Gang* procedures. To initiate this process, Bruckner interpolated a diminished-seventh chord – certainly a familiar entity to the practicing *Genralbassist* – into the sequence (Example 4-59a, m. 34); this bass movement by half-step can, of course, be justified by interpreting the fundamental bass of this chord as F. Thus the somewhat extended and embellished cadence of ii ( $B^b$ ) – V ( $E^b$ ) – I ( $A^b$ ) (mm. 35-40) now serves to reinforce the overall structure of this particular section of the movement.

Indeed, this particular pattern could also be said to adumbrate a less localized, more all encompassing, application of Sechter's system; one might even call it more "symphonic" application of the principles involved in the example above. Seidel points to a large-scale instance of Sechter's theories in a well-known work from this time, the 1869 gradual *Locus iste* (WAB 23). Here, Seidel maintains that the overall ternary structure of the work is governed by these fundamental-bass procedures;<sup>874</sup> in so doing, Bruckner not only demonstrates his mastery of Sechter's principles, but moves beyond his teacher to a new level of practical application of Sechter's theories. On this point, Seidel states:

This means that in the large-scale harmonic form of the piece we can see not only Bruckner's grand design, but also the point at which [he] goes beyond Sechter's teachings . . . It appears to me to be [important] to recognize in the large-scale harmonic form of the *Locus iste* how much Bruckner, already by 1869, conceived even so brief a church

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<sup>874</sup> Elmer Seidel, "Simon Sechters Lehre." In Seidel's analysis of the gradual, he sees two main tonalities – C major and E minor – connected, according to Sechter's fundamental bass procedures, by an intervening tonality of D minor, much as in Example 4-59 above, on a larger scale. See pp. 321-29. "The large-scale harmonic form of the piece is shaped by the main tonality of C major and the [subsidiary] tonality of e minor. The tonality of d minor in measures 13-16, 23-24, and 41 serves to connect these two tonalities. This is quite in keeping with Sechter's teachings, i.e., the interval sequences of the bass are fundamental." [Die harmonische Grossform des Stückes wird von der Haupttonart C-Dur und der Tonart e-Moll geprägt. Die Tonart d-Moll in den Takten 13-16, 23-24 und 41 verbindet die beiden anderen Tonarten. Das geschieht im einzelnen durchaus nach Sechters Lehre, d. h. die Intervallfolgen der Grundbässe sind fundamental]. See p. 329.

work as this symphonically – we should not forget the Linz version of the First Symphony had already emerged by 1865 / 6.<sup>875</sup>

Bruckner would carry much of his cumulative knowledge forward in his later symphonic compositions. The idea of the utilization of various types of *Gänge* as large-scale structural devices, such as that in the example from the F minor Mass above, can be seen in many of his symphonic works from the 1860s forward; this is a further example of the total integration of stylistic techniques that represents his overall development as seen in his later compositions. Examples of this technique from his earlier works are not difficult to find.

Consider, for instance, the following two examples from works of Bruckner from the second St. Florian period, as put forth by Schulten in his dissertation.<sup>876</sup> The first (Example 4-60a below) is from the *Tantum ergo* (1846; WAB 41 / IV) in C major.



Example 4-60a: Bruckner, *Tantum ergo*

The second (Example 4-60b) is from the *Missa solemnis in B<sup>b</sup> minor* (1854; WAB 29 / “Gloria”). Both are exemplary of the use of *Gänge* as structural devices.

<sup>875</sup> Elmer Seidel, “Simon Sechters Lehre.” “Das bedeutet: an der harmonischen Grossform des Stückes erkennen wir nicht nur Bruckners Gesatmkonzept, sondern auch den Punkt, an dem Bruckner über Sechters Lehre hinausgeht ... Wichtiger erscheint es mir, an der harmonischen Grossform von *Locus iste* zu erkennen, wie sehr Bruckner 1869 selbst in einem so kurzen Kirchenstück schon als Symphoniker dachte - vergessen wir nicht, die Linzer Fassung der I. Symphonie war bereits 1865 / 66 entstanden.” See p. 329.

<sup>876</sup> Schulten, “Anton Bruckners,” pp. 163-64. Schulten compares Bruckner’s use of *Gänge* to similar passages from the works of Aumann and Michael Haydn.



The image shows a musical score for Bruckner's *Missa solemnis*, "Gloria," measures 24-27. The score is for Soprano (Sopr.), Alto (Alt.), Tenor (Ten.), Bass (Baß), Voice and Keyboard (Vc.u. Kb.), and Organ (Org.). The lyrics are "ri - fi - ca - mus te, glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te, glo -". The music is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The Soprano, Alto, and Tenor parts have lyrics under the notes. The Bass part has lyrics under the notes. The Voice and Keyboard part has lyrics under the notes. The Organ part has lyrics under the notes. The score is written on six staves. The Soprano, Alto, and Tenor parts are in treble clef. The Bass, Voice and Keyboard, and Organ parts are in bass clef. The lyrics are "ri - fi - ca - mus te, glo - ri - fi - ca - mus te, glo -".

Example 4-60b: Bruckner, *Missa solemnis*, "Gloria," mm. 24-27

Instances of the use of such structural devices on a larger scale in Bruckner's symphonies are equally frequent; in fact, they are among the most easily recognizable features of these works. The following example, from the Symphony No. 6 in A major (1881; WAB 106 / IV), is representative of this technique in a large-scale symphonic format.

[See Appendix Example 4-61: Bruckner, Symphony No. 6 / IV, mm 331-371]

The repetitive, sequential pattern that begins in the violins over the B-natural pedal in the second cellos and contrabasses eventually travels through all of the voices between mm. 332 and 356. This pattern is then reiterated, this time over a bass pedal one half-step higher, on C, leading to a cadence at m. 371 on F. This sort of structural device does much to add to the expansive scope of Bruckner's symphonic movement. It is a device that is borrowed, however, from earlier times and learned by Bruckner in a far different context. Nonetheless, it has been assimilated into his later compositional style fully and effectively, providing these symphonic works with a range and breadth that was new to these genres at the time.

The Mass in F minor in particular, unlike either of the other two great masses, further adumbrates this symphonic style, providing full choral and orchestral settings, for example, to the opening of both the *Gloria* (*Gloria in excelsis Deo*) and the *Credo* (*Credo in unum Deum*); these words were traditionally intoned by the priest and often set monophonically in such masses.<sup>877</sup> Further, the piece exhibits a great deal of motivic integration, a very symphonic attribute.<sup>878</sup> And, it could be said that the emergence of the organ from the continuo texture at the explicit spot in the *Gloria* cited above hints at the more complete departure from continuo function that Bruckner will adopt in his later *Te Deum*.

In addition to the revisions undertaken by Bruckner on this work, there were also revisions by Bruckner's student Joseph Schalk. The intent of these revisions – as was the case with most of the revisions instituted by the students of Bruckner<sup>879</sup> – was to make the work more palatable to modern audiences, at least in the mind of the reviser, and to thereby increase their general popularity. And indeed, this seems to have been the general effect. However, since many of these changes, particularly those instigated by Joseph Schalk and his brother Franz (see note 879 below), were undertaken without Bruckner's knowledge or consent, Bruckner's suspicions about these changes caused a rift in the relationship with the Schalks and Max von Oberleithner, another Bruckner *protégé* who was also involved in the preparations for Joseph Schalk's 1893 revision of the Mass.<sup>880</sup>

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<sup>877</sup> Dika Newlin, "Bruckner's Three Great Masses," *Chord and Discord* (1958), 3-16.

<sup>878</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>879</sup> Schalk, along with his brother, the Austrian conductor Franz Schalk, Ferdinand Löwe, Max von Oberleithner, and Cyrill Hynais – all former pupils – were, for better or worse, responsible for many cuts, revisions, and in some cases outright recompositions in the works of Anton Bruckner, particularly as concerns his later symphonies. See Watson, *Bruckner*, pp. 55-56. Watson points out that, as students of Bruckner, these men had only the best intentions towards the composer in these undertakings.

<sup>880</sup> Hawkshaw, "Anton Bruckner's revisions," p. 30.

Schalk's considerable revisions – undertaken between 1889 and 1893 – were mainly concerned with orchestration. Schalk added two horn parts, extensively rewrote the wind and brass parts, and added several dynamic markings and tempo indications. In addition, small changes were made in the vocal parts.<sup>881</sup> This arrangement – which was used for the first concert performance of the Mass in F minor on 23 March 1893 at the *Musikverein* hall<sup>882</sup> – survives as parts. In this version, the greater density of orchestral timbre that results from the addition of wind parts is seen by Weinert as an attempt “in part to fulfill the function of the organ for concert performances [such as this one] where no organ is available.”<sup>883</sup> Further, Weinert feels that the changes in the dynamics and tempo markings “have all the earmarks of conductor's performance markings,” and that Schalk was really presenting here “a conductor's interpretation of the score,” which could be used to inherently shape the musical materials.<sup>884</sup>

I support this interpretation; further, I think that it may be said that this was one of the functions that Bruckner ascribed to the continuo organ in such works. The clear references cited above to the use of the organ to explicate certain passages supports this conclusion. I think that in this version, Schalk is, at least in part, attempting to replace the textural underpinnings of the continuo function as well as to substitute for its directorial effects, clearly recognized since the inception of basso continuo practice.

Despite this documentary and anecdotal evidence, however – even in light of the fact that Bruckner's six years of study with Sechter could hardly have been more

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<sup>881</sup> Weinert, “Bruckner's Mass in F Minor.”

<sup>882</sup> Hawkshaw, “Anton Bruckner's revisions,” p. 28. The parts were prepared for the *Wiener Akademischer Wagner-Verein* between 1899 and 1893.

<sup>883</sup> Weinert, “Bruckner's Mass,” 14. Weinert goes on to state that “Bruckner's 1881 score contains a handful of cues for organ, but it is unclear exactly where or what the organ should be playing.” However, I think the unfigured continuo function is apparent.

<sup>884</sup> *Ibid.*

extensive, comprehensive, or grueling, and therefore must have made an indelible impression on his compositional methods – links to Bruckner’s working procedures and Sechterian theory have been largely ignored, if not outright rejected.

Some scholars today see, however, a rapprochement between Bruckner’s teaching efforts and his compositional career. One such scholar is Graham H. Phipps, who has much to say on the subject. Phipps notes that Sechter is quite dogmatic in his approach to harmonic procedures in that he admits no other basis for this practice than diatonic chord roots. He offers the following quote in support of this statement:

All fundamentals remain diatonic and only their members – i.e., their respective thirds, fifths, sevenths, and ninths – may bear changes, according to which they are connected to the scale of the principal key through the scales of secondarily related keys.<sup>885</sup>

Phipps’s article examines the first movement of Bruckner’s Seventh Symphony in great detail, concentrating on how this work “illustrates an appropriation of Sechter’s [harmonic] precepts, extending the strict contrapuntal explanations of their origins to embrace free applications of their harmonic essence.”<sup>886</sup> However, there is an underlying point made in this article that speaks to the present study quite well. According to Phipps, Bruckner extends the free treatment of secondarily related key areas – already present in the first movements of his Fifth and Sixth Symphonies – “to encompass traditionally accepted modal and tonal attributes of the key of E major as the basis for a special *Trauerode* in honor of the composer whom he most idolized, Richard Wagner.”<sup>887</sup>

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<sup>885</sup> Simon Sechter, *Die Grundsätze der musikalischen Komposition*, Vol. 1, “Die richtige Folge der Grundharmonien,” (Leipzig, 1853), p. 128. “Alle Fundamente bleiben diatonisch und nur ihre Antheile, d.h. Terz, Quint, Sept und Non, eine Änderung erleiden, je nachdem sie auf eine mit der Haupttonleiter verwandte Nebentonleiter Bezug haben.” Translation by Phipps.

<sup>886</sup> Graham H. Phipps, “Bruckner’s free application of strict Sechterian theory with stimulation from Wagnerian sources: an assessment of the first movement of the Seventh Symphony,” *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, pp. 228-58. See p. 231.

<sup>887</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 231.

Concurrently with his work on the symphony during the 1880s, however, Bruckner was also revising his Mass in E minor (1866), a work that featured many of the Renaissance attributes that so fascinated the composer,<sup>888</sup> combined with some of the advanced chromaticism that Bruckner had discovered as a result of his encounters with Wagner.<sup>889</sup> Phipps finds this amalgamation of stylistic impulses to be of great importance:

[T]he very nature of his own musical activities provided a contextual basis for a grand synthesis of widely divergent musical sources ranging from the conservative elements of Renaissance polyphony and strict Sechterian pedagogy to the most progressive aspects of chromatic practice derived from the music of Richard Wagner.<sup>890</sup>

The question then becomes: To what end is Bruckner seeking this “grand synthesis?” As Phipps states the case, it seems a deliberate and ingenious attempt to imbue his compositions with the best attributes of all of these disparate styles. The

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<sup>888</sup> Bruckner’s use of an eight-part mixed chorus and a wind band for the Mass in E minor was enthusiastically supported by the *Cäcilien-Verein*, which advocated the exclusion of symphonic instrumentation from the devotional music of the Roman Catholic Church. Bruckner had tenuous connections with the Cecilians, but he, like Franz Liszt, who also demonstrated an interest in the aims of this organization, kept his distance and ultimately rejected the philosophy as too pedantic. Still, the overt use of Palestrina-style contrapuntal techniques and the exclusion of the normal instrumentation are conscious nods to the Cecilians by Bruckner (although the work was written specifically for an out-of-doors occasion, and therefore inappropriate for strings or organ accompaniment under such conditions). His willingness to invoke these archaic styles in furtherance of a connection with a contemporary movement would seem to indicate strongly his need to communicate by any means available. Bruckner clearly felt, at least initially, that the message of the Cecilians might resonate with the public at large and therefore seemed ready to utilize the skills of his youth to produce such a work. This seems to accord well with the points presented above.

There are reports that, at a performance at the Linz Cathedral, Bruckner played the instrumental parts on the organ, and, apparently, an organ setting of the wind parts exists. See Wouter Paap, “Anton Bruckner and Church Music,” *Sacred Music* 102 (1975), 4-6. This possibility is discounted, however, by Nowak in the *Bruckner-Gesatausgabe*, “Messe-E-Moll, Fasung von 1866,” (Vienna, 1977), “Foreword.”

<sup>889</sup> This point is echoed in A. C. Howie, “Traditional and Novel Elements in Bruckner’s Sacred Music,” *Musical Quarterly* 67 (1981), 544-67: “Bruckner’s works contain little *evident* [Howie’s italics] Gregorian and Palestrinian structures, displaying instead a perfect fusion of melodic formations suggested by both these older styles and more modern ones.”

<sup>890</sup> Allusions to Wagner, often in the form of actual quotation, can be found throughout the first movement of the Seventh Symphony as recounted in Phipps. The impending death of Wagner during the early part of 1883 weighed heavily on Bruckner’s mind, however, and seems to have directly influenced the composition of the subsequent *Adagio*. See Watson, *Bruckner*, pp. 109-10. Similar hermeneutical associations are evident in the *Te Deum*; see Haas, *Anton Bruckner*, pp. 93-94.

implications of a Renaissance style in the Seventh Symphony<sup>891</sup> allow the composer to “suggest the triumph of spiritual values over temporal ones,”<sup>892</sup> these latter being, presumably, the strict Sechterian principles Bruckner feels, due to the nature of his personality, constrained to follow.

Having ventured this far, the next logical question is: What are the devices that Bruckner would find natural to deploy in this effort? Surely, considering all that has been said here concerning Bruckner’s theoretical and practical training – as a performer, teacher, and composer – it seems clear that the presence of a basso continuo, either explicit, as in his works up until the mid-1850s, or implicit, as in the use of the organ in virtually all of his sacred-vocal works continuing into the 1880s (as in, for example, the *Te Deum*, 1884) as well as in the aforementioned adherence to a harmonic practice firmly rooted in a fundamental-bass concept, surely qualifies as an element in this mixture. This raises several questions: Is the use of organ in these works structural in nature or related solely to issues of soundscape? Is the role of the composer-as-director, an unequivocal participant in a performance, a factor in such scoring? Are all of these factors related and therefore equally compelling for the composer? Inferences concerning these questions can be drawn, I believe, from consideration of a work that occupied the last days of Bruckner’s life, his Symphony No. 9.

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<sup>891</sup> These devices include implications of the Phrygian mode in Bruckner’s E major, cadences and other phrasing gestures that refer to the Renaissance style, the implication of “learned” techniques and contrapuntal procedures, and, perhaps most interestingly, sequencing patterns based not on the usual nineteenth-century circle-of-fifths model, but rather patterns alternating between an upward fifth and an upward third or retrogressive upward-third motions, a possible reflection of the eighteenth-century notion of *anabasis* and *catabasis* (see pp. 267ff. above). See also Phipps, “Bruckner’s free application.”

<sup>892</sup> Ibid., p.251.

#### d) Symphony No. 9 and the *Te Deum*

The Symphony No. 9 represents in many ways a summation of Bruckner's compositional career. Work on the Ninth occupied him throughout the final nine years of his life, albeit with many interruptions.<sup>893</sup> Ill health in the final years of his life further hampered his efforts at completion of the symphony in what he considered to be its proper form. Having failed to complete a *finale* for this work before his death in 1896, Bruckner thereby left for his interpreters three completed movements. These were made to stand on their own as a “performable, closed unit”<sup>894</sup> for several decades, despite the oft-stated need for a *finale* by Bruckner. For, contrary to well-established mythology on this subject, it seems clear that Bruckner intended the Symphony No. 9 to be a four-movement work from the outset.<sup>895</sup>

Certainly this work is indicative of Bruckner's lifelong religious fervor. There can be no question as to the metaphysical subtext of the piece; one need only to look to Bruckner's dedication to “dem lieben Gott” for proof of this.<sup>896</sup> Still, such overt gestures do not in and of themselves serve to produce the desired metaphysical affect that Bruckner is so clearly trying to achieve in all his symphonies. Numerous quotes from Bruckner's masses in his symphonies in general – and the use of the *Te Deum* themes in the Ninth in particular – cannot be seen as the end product of this convergence of sacred and secular. On this matter, Egon Voss states the following:

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<sup>893</sup> Nowak cites Haas and Orel in commenting that the earliest date upon which Bruckner could have begun work on the Symphony No. 9 is 21 September 1887. The interruptions mentioned above include the rewriting of the Symphony No. 3 (1888-89) followed by that of the Symphony No. 8 (1889-90) and the final revisions on the Mass in E minor and the Mass in F minor (1890-91). See Leopld Nowak, ed., *ABSW*, “IX. Symphonie D-Moll (Originalfassung),” “Foreword.”

<sup>894</sup> Benjamin-Gunnar Cohrs, *Anton Bruckner: Symphony No. 9 (with Finale reconstructed by Samale - Phillips- Cohrs- Mazzucca)*, Naxos CD (HNH International Ltd., 2003), booklet notes.

<sup>895</sup> John A. Phillips, “The facts behind a ‘legend’: the *Ninth Symphony* and the *Te Deum*,” *Perspectives on Anton Bruckner*, pp. 270-81.

<sup>896</sup> Nowak, “IX. Symphonie.”

It seems dubious to interpret these symphonies as Masses in symphonic garb or to speak of a “type of Mass-Symphony,” as suggested by H. F. Redlich, in which the sections of the Mass are outlined.<sup>897</sup>

Indeed, the true nature of this synthesis lies at a much deeper level.

In order to understand this point, it is necessary to examine Bruckner’s monumental struggle to come to grips with a *finale* for the Ninth. As stated above, it was always Bruckner’s intent that a purely instrumental fourth movement would complete the symphonic cycle of this work.<sup>898</sup> Bruckner began work on the *finale* in May of 1895, following his recovery from a serious illness that befell him in November of the previous year.<sup>899</sup> It seems clear that he worked assiduously on this movement for the remaining eighteen months of his life; it is equally clear that, during this time, despite several bouts of ill health, his intellectual and creative energies – at least until the very last months –

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<sup>897</sup> Egon Voss, “Bruckners Sinfonien in ihrer Beziehung zur Messe,” *Schallplatte und Kirche* 5 (1969), 103-9. “Es erscheint daher fragwürdig, die Sinfonien etwa als Messen in symphonischem Gewande zu interpretieren oder von einem “Typ der Messensymphonie” H. F. Redlich zu sprechen, in der die Stationen der Messe durchlaufen werden.” Voss refers to the British musicologist Hans Ferdinand Redlich (1903-1968).

<sup>898</sup> Many scholars have dismissed the copious amount of material for this fourth movement left behind by the composer as being insufficient from which to extrapolate a convincing representation of the composer’s final intentions. Consider the following: “[T]he movement is incomplete and is not completable. Much detail of the inner parts, the sense of coherent continuity and the entire Coda are missing, and none but the composer himself could supply such elements. Bruckner simply did not live long enough to envisage this finale as a truly unified entity. What remains is a torso representing the composer’s faithfully recorded final visions; visions which were abruptly ended and not left to the world in a tangible enough form to allow performance or even speculative completion.” See Watson, *Bruckner*, pp. 121-22.

However, recently the Australian scholar John A. Phillips has reconstructed what he refers to as Bruckner’s “autograph score in development” (*ein “Partitur-Autograph im Entstehen”*) and published his findings in the *ABSW*. The results of this endeavor, along with informative critical commentary, can be found in *Anton Bruckner Sämtliche Werke B, Rekonstruktion der Autograph-Partitur* (Vienna, 1994, 1999) and *Faksimile-Ausgabe* (1996). Several other contributors are credited by Phillips in the preparation of these editions: “The researches and deliberations of musicologists and composers Nicola Samale, Giuseppe Mazzuca, Gunnar Cohrs and finally the editor himself in the process of arriving at a philologically sound performing version were to prove useful and apposite in preparing an edition of the Finale which presents the surviving material of the last work phases in the order of its continuity.” *Rekonstruktion*, “Concerning this edition,” p. XXVI.

<sup>899</sup> Phillips, *Rekonstruktion*, “Foreword,” p. XXI.



remained at a very high level. He continued to refine his vision of the work to very end of his life.<sup>900</sup>

It should be noted, however, that Bruckner was acutely aware of his failing health during this period and, it seems, often despaired of ever completing the *finale*. He made many pronouncements to this effect to a variety of acquaintances. In several of these statements, he specifically designated the *Te Deum* as a substitute should he be unable to complete the *finale*.<sup>901</sup> One such statement can be found in the accounts of Bruckner's University student Ernst Schwanzara, who quotes Bruckner as saying the following:

Three movements of my Ninth Symphony are already finished, the first two completely; only in the third movement must I still add some nuances. I imposed a heavy burden of work upon myself with the symphony. Considering my advanced age and poor health I should not have done it. Performing the symphony will not be easy. The Adagio, which comes from within, is the most beautiful that I have written. If I play it, it always moves me. Should I die before the completion of the symphony, my *Te Deum* should be played in place of the fourth movement. This I have already decided.<sup>902</sup>

The idea of using the *Te Deum* as an ersatz *finale*, therefore, seems to have been in Bruckner's thoughts for some time, apparently well before the commencement of work on this final symphonic movement in 1895.<sup>903</sup> Having progressed to a certain point in the composition of the *finale*, however, and weighing the very real possibility that he might not live to complete the movement, Bruckner apparently considered using the material

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<sup>900</sup> Ibid., "Foreword," p. XXII.

<sup>901</sup> For several examples of these statements, see Phillips, "The facts behind a 'legend,'" pp. 271-72.

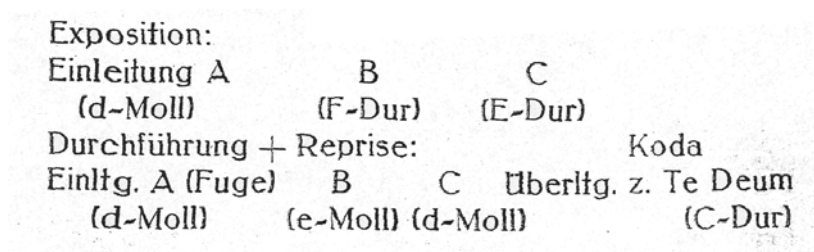
<sup>902</sup> Schwanzara, ed., *Anton Bruckner: Vorlesungen über Harmonielehre und Kontrapunkt*, pp. 97-98. "Drei Sätze meiner IX. Symphonie sind schon fertig, die zwei ersten schon vollständig, nur im dritten Satz muss ich noch etwas nuancieren. Mit der Symphonie hab' ich mir noch eine starke Arbeit auferlegt. Ich hätt' es nicht tun sollen bei meinem hohen Alter und meiner Kränklichkeit. Zu spielen wird die Symphonie nicht leicht werden. Das Adagio, das drinnen verkommt, soll das schönste sein, das ich geschrieben habe. Mich ergreift es immer, wenn ich es spiele. Sollte ich vor der Vollendung der Symphonie sterben, so soll statt dem vierten Satz mein Tedeum gespielt werden. Ich habe es schon so bestimmt."

<sup>903</sup> The date for the remarks taken down by Schwanzara, for example, comes from the second academic quarter in November, 1894. See Schwanzara, ed., *Anton Bruckner: Vorlesungen*, pp. 97-98.

already completed on the *finale* as an instrumental torso with which he could make a transition to the *Te Deum* as the main body of a final movement.<sup>904</sup> Detailed descriptions of how this would be accomplished go back to Max Auer, who states the following:

Recognizing that the completion of a purely instrumental *finale* was impossible, [Bruckner] attempted to establish an organic connection to the *Te Deum*, an emergency ending to the work, as it were, tonal reservations notwithstanding.<sup>905</sup>

Auer even provides a schematic outline detailing how the *Te Deum* should be used as an “emergency ending”:



Example 4-62: Göllicher / Auer, p. 620

The “tonal reservations” referred to above concern the fact that the Symphony is in D minor, while the *Te Deum* as a conclusion would provide an ending in C major. However, Phillips points to Max Kalbeck’s defense of the *Te Deum* as an appropriate ending; Kalbeck quite rightly points out that “it was no worse concluding a D minor symphony with a C major *Te Deum* than with an E major *Adagio*,”<sup>906</sup> as was the custom in the early twentieth century when performing this work.<sup>907</sup>

<sup>904</sup> Phillips, “The facts behind a ‘legend,’” p. 272.

<sup>905</sup> G/A, IV / 3, pp. 614-15. “Als er erkennen musste, dass die Vollendung eines rein instrumentalen Finale unmöglich war, versuchte er eben zu dem ihm als Schluss vorgeschlagenen Te Deum eine organische Verbindung herzustellen, und so einen Notschluss des Werkes, den tonalen Bedenken entgegen, herzustellen.”

<sup>906</sup> Phillips, “The facts behind a ‘legend,’” p. 278. Phillips cites Kalbeck’s critique of the Symphony as found in Manfred Wagner, ed., *Geschichte der österreichischen Musikkritik in Beispielen* (Tutzing: Schneider, 1979), p. 242.

<sup>907</sup> Bruckner’s Symphony No. 9 had its premiere performance on 11 February 1903 under the direction of the Austrian conductor and Bruckner disciple Ferdinand Löwe. Although Löwe included the *Te Deum* in this performance, out of “pious obligation to the wishes of the master,” the general reception of the work tended to discount the use of the *Te Deum* as a viable conclusion, either on the tonal grounds cited above or on more general stylistic criteria. The practice of performing the symphony with only three movements, as

Also cited as evidence for this solution are the “vi-de” indications in both the autograph score of the *Te Deum* (Austrian National Library Mus. Hs. 19.486; see Example 4-63 below) and in the *finale* score.



Example 4-63: Bruckner, *Te Deum* score, “vi-de”

Although Nowak comes to a different conclusion regarding these indications in the score of the *Te Deum*,<sup>908</sup> Phillips believes that “the most likely reason for Bruckner proposing a

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a sort of symbolic gesture on Bruckner’s part, gained great currency in the early part of the century, despite the composer’s repeated admonitions to include the *Te Deum* should death intrude upon his completion of the fourth movement. See Phillips, “The facts,” pp. 275-76.

<sup>908</sup> ABSW: *Te Deum*, ed. Leopold Nowak. Nowak attributes the cut in the *Te Deum* to a suggestion from Hellmesberger, who considered performing it at the *Hofkapelle* on 22 November 1884. This explanation, however, seems not to satisfy even Nowak, who goes on to state: “Hellmesberger found the work too long and was in favor of cutting out the “Te Ergo” section; yet the cut suggested by Bruckner himself (i.e., the “vi-de” section mentioned above) is more comprehensive still, and indeed it would hardly be possible to perform the *Te Deum* at all in so truncated a form.” See “Preface.”

cut in the *Te Deum* would have been its use in conjunction with some or most of the *finale* [of the Ninth Symphony] as a transition or an introduction to it.”<sup>909</sup>

The evidence, therefore, demonstrates that Bruckner intended the *Te Deum* to be used in this manner. The presence of many statements to that effect by Bruckner, as well as the complete absence of any statements contravening this intention, makes this clear. Further, the *Te Deum* held a special significance for Bruckner. He referred to it as the “pride of my life,”<sup>910</sup> and the religious character of the work is completely in keeping with Bruckner’s devout personality. It certainly seems a fitting conclusion to a symphonic work that is in many ways a summation of a career steeped in Catholic mysticism. Bruckner’s thoughts on the subject place the entire symphony in the religious context in which he had come to view it. He discussed the matter with Dr. Josef Kluger,<sup>911</sup> who reports the following:

Bruckner described [the Ninth] to me as a “homage before the divine majesty.” Therefore, the final movement should develop this central idea with the fullest clarity. If, as a result of serious illness, he should be incapable of composing the fourth movement, he was comfortable with the whole idea of connecting the previously completed 1884 *Te Deum* to the three movements of the Ninth as the clearest expression of this homage before the divine majesty.<sup>912</sup>

In this work, as in so many others, Bruckner utilized as many associative elements as possible in order to convey this metaphysical affect to the listener. Consider the following observations:

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<sup>909</sup> Phillips, “The facts,” p. 276.

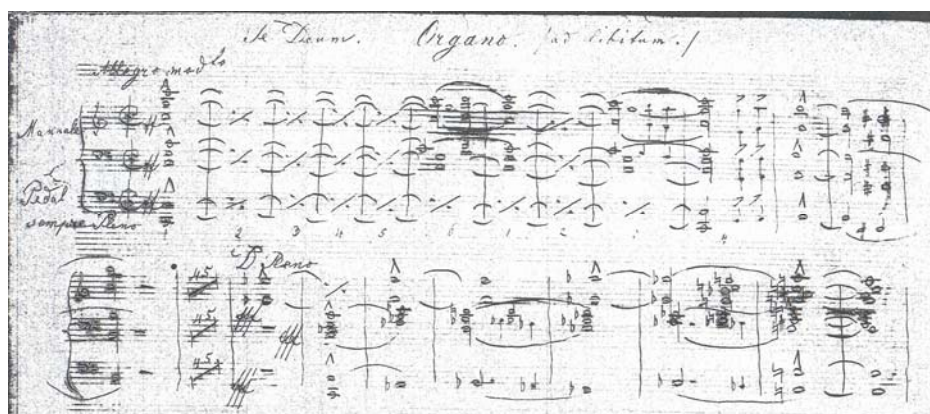
<sup>910</sup> Nowak, ed., *ABSW: Te Deum*, “Preface.”

<sup>911</sup> Josef Kluger (1865-1937) was a priest and later provost at Klosterneuberg Abbey. He was a close friend of Bruckner’s. See Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, p. 272, n. 166.

<sup>912</sup> *G/A*, IV / 3, p. 560. “Diese bezeichnete mir Bruckner als ‘Die Huldigung vor der göttlichen Majestät.’ Auch hier hätte der Schlusssatz den leitenden Gedanken in vollster Klarheit entwickeln sollen. Doch anders, als es sich Bruckner gedacht, sollte diese Absicht des frommen Meisters zur Ausführung gelangen. Infolge schwerer Krankheit unfähig, diesen vierten Satz zu schreiben, legte ihm die Idee des Ganzen den Gedanken nahe, sein bereits 1884 vollendetes Tedeum als den klarsten Ausdruck seiner Huldigung vor der göttlichen Majestät den drei Sätzen der IX. anzuschliessen.”

By maintaining for the most part a diatonic tonality in the purely choral portions of the work, by unison singing, by the admission of so-called ecclesiastical progressions, by the use of triads without their thirds, and by keeping the distinction between praise and prayer well in view, Bruckner has produced a work of eminently religious character, and one for which the epithet “sublime” does not seem too strong.<sup>913</sup>

Certainly one of the most obvious aural references to church music in such a symphonic context would be the presence of the organ. For those observers in the early twentieth century who sought to preclude the *Te Deum* from performances of the Symphony No. 9 on stylistic grounds, the organ part in the former work could surely have been viewed as one more point in their favor, although as previously stated, the organ part is clearly marked *Organo. / ad libitum.* / (see Example 4-64 below).<sup>914</sup>



Example 4-64: Bruckner, *Te Deum*, organ part, p. 1

Considering this indication by the composer, one could argue that the inclusion of organ in a putative symphonic format would be suspect.<sup>915</sup> Yet, the presence of a chorus in the last movement of an otherwise symphonic work is certainly not without precedent in Bruckner's time. And when considering the use of the *Te Deum* as a *finale* for the

<sup>913</sup> Howie, *Anton Bruckner*, pp. 526-27. This paragraph is taken from an article by C. A. Barry in *The Musical Times* xxvii / 520 (1 June 1886), 322ff.

<sup>914</sup> Taken from the autograph organ part, Austrian National Library, Ms. Hs. 29.303. Of course, this part, like the full score, was produced in 1884, so any considerations regarding its subsequent association with the Symphony No. 9 and the *ad libitum* designation are not relevant.

<sup>915</sup> Nowak states that this *ad libitum* indication “may well have been warranted [in Bruckner's day] as easing the conditions of performance, but nowadays no one would dream of performing the *Te Deum* without organ[.]” See *ABSW*, Band 19, “Preface.”

Ninth, Bruckner was apparently looking to make an indelible impression on the listener.

Consider the following remarks made by the composer concerning this point. In

Bruckner's concept, the transition to the *Te Deum* was to have

an overwhelming effect with the broad entry march of the principal theme, blasted out by the wind band, and the ensuing distantly reminiscent, familiar and original introductory measures of the *Te Deum*, as well as the entry of the singers [onto the stage in solemn procession]. He wanted, as he explained to [his companion and amanuensis Anton] Meissner several times while playing, "to rattle the gates of Eternity."<sup>916</sup>

What better method of "rattling" could be employed than the sudden emergence from the heretofore-conventional orchestral texture of the full organ sound, as specifically designated by Bruckner in the separate organ part.<sup>917</sup> One can certainly see a correlation between this theoretical passage in a hybrid fourth movement and the *Credo* section in the F minor Mass mentioned by Bruckner, where he informed Siegfried Ochs that he wished to "spare no stops" (see pp. 391-92 above) in an effort to achieve the proper rhetorical affect. The organ – particularly in conjunction with the chorus – would produce precisely the devotional atmosphere necessary for Bruckner's "homage."

Having gone this far in our deductions, we need to consider two points. First, although the organ part is fully written out by Bruckner for all of the massive choral entrances, might there not be an implied basso continuo function in some of the areas designated as rests in the organ part? For example, after the initial thirteen bars of the *Te Deum*, the organ part calls for rest for the next forty-five bars (see Example 4-64). The

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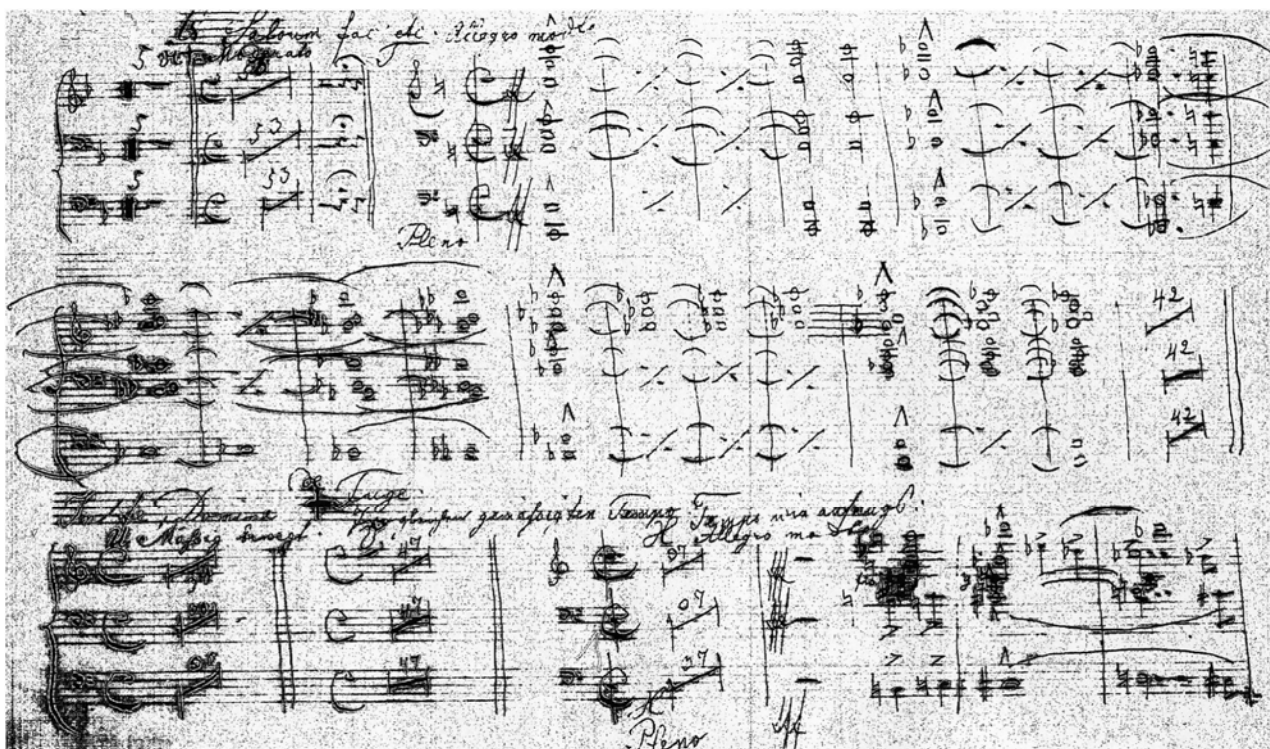
<sup>916</sup> *G/A*, IV / 3, p. 559. "Er schien nun auch an eine Überleitung zum *Te Deum* zu denken und versprach sich, wie Meissner erzählt, 'von dem weit einherschreitenden Hauptthema, vom Bläserchor hinausgeschmettert, und den darauf fern anklingenden bekannten und originellen Einleitungstakten des *Te Deum*, sowie den auftretenden Sängern eine ungeheure Wirkung. Er wollte, wie er Meissner einigemal beim Vorspielen erzählte, gleichsam, "an den Pforten der Ewigkeit rütteln" –.'" English translation from Phillips, "The facts," p. 274.

<sup>917</sup> Bruckner writes *sempre Pleno* (see Examples 4-64 and 4-65) or *Pleno* for all but one of the fully written-out entrances of the organ.

next entrance of the organ, according to the part, comes at rehearsal letter D. However, there is considerable orchestral and choral activity beginning at letter C, in contrast to the soloistic section that immediately precedes (mm. 15-42). Might we not expect some type of reinforcement from the organ at letter C, if only of the *tasto solo* variety? The departure of the organist from the written-out part has ample precedent in Bruckner's works, as we have noted in both the Mass in D minor and the Mass in F minor.

Second, it seems abundantly clear from what we have determined above that Bruckner considered the *Te Deum* as a fitting conclusion to this symphony; if not the optimal solution, than at least an eminently viable one. From the statements cited above, it is also clear that this problem was on his mind constantly throughout the final years of his life. He considered all of his options up until the very end and weighed all the musical elements carefully. If in the event that he did not complete the fourth movement and the *Te Deum* was to be used in its place, did Bruckner intend it to be an organless *Te Deum*, an option that the *ad libitum* direction of 1884 seems to endorse, thereby preserving the completely symphonic nature of the Ninth?

A closer look at the organ part would seem to preclude this interpretation. For, as can be seen in Example 4-65, the same "vi-de" instructions cited above, which Phillips associates with Bruckner's attempts to graft the *Te Deum* onto the torso of the *finale*, are present here as well. Obviously, Bruckner intended the organ to be a prominent part of the symphonic texture in this daring and innovative work.



Example 4-65: Bruckner, *Te Deum*, organ part, p. 3, with “vi-de” cuts

If we accept this explanation, could we not go one step further? Is it possible that, with the *Te Deum* so integrally connected to his deliberations over the development of the Ninth, that Bruckner actually considered an organ part for his fourth movement, should he have lived to complete it? We have demonstrated above how intimate is the association between the fundamental-bass / figured-bass procedures that inform Bruckner’s compositional style and the continuo practices from which they ultimately stem. For Bruckner, figured bass and basso continuo procedures were an extension of his creative processes, an outward manifestation of the music that, as in generations past, held both overt and latent hermeneutical messages for the listener. Surely he would wish to invoke as many of these references as possible in his ultimate musical statement.

Further, following Bruckner’s death, many of the bifolios for the *finale* of the Ninth were lost or otherwise spirited away. Phillips considers it a possibility that “to this



day many other fragments [of the *finale*] remain inaccessible in private hands, that is, where in the course of time they have not become completely lost.”<sup>918</sup>

The autograph score of the *Te Deum* is written on bifolios that contain twenty staves each, divided into six measures per page. Due to the instrumentation of the work, this score layout left no room for an organ part, which Bruckner was forced to write out separately.<sup>919</sup> The score for the *finale* is prepared on bifolios containing twenty-four staves per page. However, owing to increased orchestral forces in this work – a third flute, oboe, clarinet, and bassoon, a contrabass tuba, etc. – these staves are barely adequate. Is it not possible that somewhere amongst the missing fragments of this *finale* that everyone acknowledges exist, there is an organ part that Bruckner wrote out separately, in the manner of the *Te Deum*? The presence of the instrument, with all its myriad associations, would indeed seem to be called for. Such playing to the prior experience of the beholder, that is, the commonality of the basso continuo processes and sound world that they invoke, would be an effective method of communicating a particularly affective metonym to the listener, “addressing the interstice between a text and an apprehending mind.”<sup>920</sup>

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<sup>918</sup> Phillips, *Faksimile-Ausgabe*, “Foreword,” p. XIV.

<sup>919</sup> Nowak, ed., *ABSW: Te Deum*, “Preface.”

<sup>920</sup> Bent, *Music Analysis II*, p. 8.

## APPENDIX OF EXAMPLES

## Example 3-1c

The musical score for Example 3-1c spans measures 50 to 51. The instrumentation includes Flute (Fl.), Oboe (Ob.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Horn (C) (Cor. (C)), Trumpet (C) (Tr. (C)), Timpani (Timp.), Violin (Vl.), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vc.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The score is written in 3/4 time and features a variety of rhythmic patterns and dynamics, including fortissimo (ff) and piano (p). The key signature is one flat (B-flat major or D minor). The score is divided into two systems, with measures 50 and 51 clearly marked. The music is characterized by a strong, rhythmic pulse and a variety of melodic lines.

Beethoven, *Die Weihe des Hauses*, Op. 124, Overture, mm. 184-189

Example 4-41a

*And. Requiem in D minor*

Violino I  
" II  
Viola  
Alto Tromba  
Tenor  
Bass  
Soprano  
Alto  
Tenor  
Bass  
Violoncello  
Organo

Bruckner, Requiem in D minor, opening

Ex. 4-41b

Violino I  
Viola  
2 Violoncelli in f  
Fagotti  
2 Clarini in D  
Trombe in D  
Canto  
Alto  
Tenore  
Basso  
Organo e Basso

Mozart, Requiem, K. 626, opening



## Example 4-43

## QUAM OLIM

**A Con spirito**

Alt-Trombone  
Tenor-Trombone  
Bass-Trombone  
Violino I  
Violino II  
Viola  
Sopra  
Alt  
Tenor I  
Bass  
Violoncello u. Bass  
Organo

Quam o - lim A - bra - hae pro - mi -

**10**

Alt-Tr.  
Ten-Tr.  
Bass-Tr.  
Viol. I  
Viol. II  
Viola  
Sopr.  
Alt.  
Ten.  
Bass.  
V-cello u. Violon.  
Org.

Quam o - lim A - bra - hae pro - mi - si - sti,

Bruckner: Requiem in D minor (WAB 39)

## Example 4-56

K Allegro

Fl. 1.2.  
Ob. 1.2.  
Klar. 1.2.  
in A  
Fag. 1.2.  
Hrn. 1.2.  
in F  
Tromp.  
1.2. in F  
A. Tr.  
Pos.  
B.  
Pk.  
Allegro  
Viol. 1.  
Viol. 2.  
Vla.  
S.  
A.  
T.  
B.  
Vc.  
Cb.  
K *pp* Allegro

Bruckner: Mass in D minor, *Credo*, mm. 113-118

## Example 4-56 (continued)

120

Fl. 1.2.  
Ob. 1.2.  
Clar. 1.2.  
in A.  
Bsn. 1.2.  
Hrn. 1.2.  
in F.  
Tromp.  
1.2. in F.  
A. T.  
Pos.  
B.  
Pk.  
Viol. 1.  
Viol. 2.  
Vla.  
S.  
A.  
T.  
B.  
C.  
Kb.

120

Bruckner: Mass in D minor, *Credo*, mm. 119-123



## Example 4-57

150

Fl. 1, 2. *dim.* *f*

Ob. 1, 2. *dim.* *f*

Klar. 1, 2. in A *dim.* *f*

Fag. 1, 2. *dim.* *f*

Hrn. 1, 2. in F *f*

Tromp. 1, 2. in F *f*

A. T. Pos. B. *f*

Pk. *f*

Viol. 1 *dim.* *f*

Viol. 2 *dim.* *f*

Vla. *dim.* *f*

S. *f* *ptu - ras.* *Et a - scen - dit in*

A. *f* *ptu - ras.* *Et a - scen - dit in*

T. *f* *ptu - ras.* *Et a - scen - dit in*

B. *f* *ptu - ras.* *Et a - scen - dit in*

Vc. *dim.* *f*

Kb. *dim.* *f*

150

a 2

Bruckner: Mass in D minor, Credo, mm. 150-152



## Example 4-57 (continued)

The musical score is arranged in systems. The first system includes staves for Flute 1 & 2 (Fl. 1. 2.), Oboe 1 & 2 (Ob. 1. 2.), Clarinet 1 & 2 in A (Klar. 1. 2. in A), Bassoon 1 & 2 (Fag. 1. 2.), Horn 1 & 2 in F (Hrn. 1. 2. in F), Trombone 1 & 2 in F (Tromp. 1. 2. in F), Alto Saxophone (A. T.), Bass Saxophone (Pos.), Baritone (B.), and Piano (Pt.). The second system includes Violin 1 (Viol. I.), Violin 2 (Viol. II.), Viola (Vla.), and the vocal choir (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass). The third system includes the vocal choir and the double bass and cello (Vc. and Kb.).

The vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) have the lyrics: "coe - lum, et a -". The instrumental parts include various dynamics such as *f* (forte), *dim.* (diminuendo), and *dim.* (diminuendo). The woodwinds and brass parts feature complex rhythmic patterns and melodic lines. The strings provide a steady accompaniment.

Bruckner: Mass in D minor, *Credo*, mm. 153-155

## Example 4-58

**K Ziemlich langsam** [240]

Kl. 1.2 in A *a2*

Fag. 1.2

Hrn. 1.2 in F *a2*

**K (Ziemlich langsam)**

Viol. 1

Viol. 2

Vla. I. *f*

Vla. II. *f (div.)*

Sop. *A - men, a - men,*

Alt. *A - men,*

Ten. *In glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris, a - men,*

Baß *In glo - ri - a*

Vc. *f Orgel*

Kb. *f Orgel*

**K Ziemlich langsam** [240] *f Orgel*

Fl. 1.2 *a2*

Ob. 1.2 *a2*

Kl. 1.2 in A *(a2)*

Fag. 1.2 *(a2)*

Hrn. 1.2 in F *(a2)*

Viol. 1

Viol. 2

Vla.

Sop. *in glo - ri - a De - i Pa - tris,*

Alt. *a - men, a - men,*

Ten. *a - men, a - men,*

Baß *De - i Pa - tris, a - men, a - men,*

Vc. *a - men,*

Kb. *a - men,*

*Orgel*

Bruckner: Mass in F minor, *Gloria*, mm. 239-261

Bruckner: Symphony No. 6 / IV, mm. 331-350

## Example 4-61 (continued)

The musical score is presented in two systems, each spanning two pages (181 and 183). The instrumentation includes Flutes (Fl.), Oboes (Ob.), Clarinets (Cl.), Bassoons (Fg.), Horns (Hr.), Trumpets (Trp.), Trombones (Tbn.), Tuba (Tuba), Violins (Viol.), Violas (Vla.), Cellos (Vcl.), and Double Basses (Kb.). The score features various musical notations, including dynamics (pp, p, mf, f, ff), articulation (acc., marc.), and tempo markings (lento, moderato, allegro, andacelerando sempre, ritard.). The score is written in G major and 4/4 time.

**System 1 (Pages 181-182):**

- Page 181:** Measures 351-360. The score begins with a tempo marking of *lento* and a dynamic of *pp*. The music is characterized by dense, rhythmic patterns in the woodwinds and strings.
- Page 182:** Measures 361-370. The tempo marking changes to *moderato*. The music continues with similar rhythmic density, featuring prominent woodwind and string textures.

**System 2 (Pages 183-184):**

- Page 183:** Measures 371-380. The tempo marking changes to *allegro*. The music becomes more rhythmic and driving, with a focus on the woodwinds and strings.
- Page 184:** Measures 381-390. The tempo marking changes to *allegro*. The music continues with a driving, rhythmic character, featuring prominent woodwind and string textures.

## Example 4-61 (continued)

The musical score is presented in two systems. The left system contains staves for the following instruments: Flute 1, Flute 2, Oboe 1, Oboe 2, Clarinet 1, Clarinet 2, Bassoon 1, Bassoon 2, Trumpet 1, Trumpet 2, Trumpet 3, Trombone 1, Trombone 2, Trombone 3, Tuba, Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass. The right system contains staves for: Flute 1, Flute 2, Oboe 1, Oboe 2, Clarinet 1, Clarinet 2, Bassoon 1, Bassoon 2, Trumpet 1, Trumpet 2, Trombone 1, Trombone 2, Trombone 3, Tuba, Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings (pp, p, f, ff). A tempo change is indicated by 'X a Tempo'.

Bruckner: Symphony No. 6 / IV, mm. 369ff.



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