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# HARMONIA

The Journal of the Graduate Association of  
Musicologists und Theorists (GAMuT)

**Conference Proceedings of the 2015 UNT  
International Czech Music Festival**

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Musicologists und Theorists at the  
University of North Texas

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# **Music Education in the Moravian Church of Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Colonial Pennsylvania: A History**

NANCY GLEN

## **Introduction**

The history of the Moravian church as a religious and social institution is built upon the ideas of individuals attempting to respond to perceived problems in the Roman Catholic Church during the fifteenth to eighteenth-centuries. Their concerns led them to form a religion with a “rich and orderly ecclesiastical life” that stressed apostolic simplicity and piety among its members, and included missionary outreach throughout the world.<sup>1</sup> European Moravians immigrated to Colonial America in the mid-eighteenth century, establishing closed congregational communities meant to further their mission as a church. In the midst of many challenges associated with settlement in Colonial America, the Moravians developed a strong educational system, which included significant study of music in both the school and home.

Numerous compositions by church members, who sought to praise God through the development of their works, contributed to a rich heritage of Moravian music, which has been carefully preserved by the church. They developed and sustained a program of music education in their schools and communities, based upon philosophies which were not only intrinsic to their religious and educational beliefs, but may have foreshadowed current American music education values. An understanding of their musical practice and its impact on American music education is best predicated upon a brief history of the Moravian church itself.

## **I. History of the Moravian Church**

The roots of the Moravian church lie within the fifteenth-century *Hussite* reformation and the eighteenth-century German Pietist movement, a reform movement in the German Lutheran Church, stressing the emotional and personal aspects of religion.<sup>2</sup> As early as the fourteenth-century, demands for reform in the Roman Catholic

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<sup>1</sup> Nola Reed Knouse, “Music of the Moravians,” *Grove Music Online*, ed. Stanley Sadie, accessed February 12, 2014, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.source.unco.edu>.

<sup>2</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Pietism,” accessed June 12, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/459967/Pietism>.

Church were being made throughout Europe. In Bohemia and neighboring Moravia, the reform was centered in Prague on the campus of Charles University, which had been founded in 1348. Jan (John) Hus (1369-1415), a priest, professor, and popular preacher at the University of Prague became a voice for the reform, advocating a return to apostolic simplicity within the church.<sup>3</sup>

Difficulties with the religious hierarchy of the church led to Hus's excommunication, and he was burned at the stake as a heretic in 1415. Hus's death served to ignite and solidify his Bohemian followers, who regarded him as a martyr and folk hero. The papacy attempted to subdue them as heretics through a series of unsuccessful crusades. This only served to strengthen the particularly resilient group of Bohemian religious and political reformers. The movement as a separate political party was destroyed in 1413, but their religious ideas remained intact.

Several dissenting groups among the Bohemian and Moravian population, claiming their religious ideas to be a part of Hus's heritage, rose up against the Roman Catholic Church. Among these were the *Utraquists*, a conservative reformation group who believed in the right of all worshippers to receive the bread and wine of Communion.<sup>4</sup> As a reaction to religious controversy swirling around his homeland, King George of Bohemia soon required that all inhabitants of Bohemia conform to the two legal religions of the land, Utraquist or Roman Catholicism. This sent the small group of Bohemian Hussites underground to avoid persecution due to their unwillingness to conform to the edict of the King. The preaching of Jan z. Rokycan (c. 1390-1471), an Utraquist archbishop-elect, inspired followers to establish the Unity of Brethren (*Jednota Bratrská*); a church body consecrated to "following Christ in simplicity and dedicated living."<sup>5</sup> They were also known as *Unitas Fratrum*, or the Society of Brethren.<sup>6</sup> This group was founded in the village of Kunwald<sup>7</sup> on the estate of Lititz, Bohemia in March 1457, sixty years before Martin Luther began

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<sup>3</sup> A simplistic life lived according to strict Biblical tenets. *Encyclopedia of Religion Online*, s.v. "Moravians," by David A. Schattschneider, accessed June 12, 2014, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/article-1G23424502114>.

<sup>4</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*, s.v. "Utraquist," accessed June 12, 2014, <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/620799/Utraquist>.

<sup>5</sup> Nola Reed Knouse, "Music of the Moravians," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Stanley Sadie, accessed June 19, 2014, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.source.unco.edu>.

<sup>6</sup> Nola Reed Knouse, "Music of the Moravians."

<sup>7</sup> "A Brief History of the Moravian Church," Moravian Church in North America, accessed June 12, 2014, <http://moravian.org/the-moravian-church/history/>.

his Reformation. Its membership grew rapidly, with 150,000-200,000 members by 1520, located in 400 congregations in Moravia and Bohemia.

Threatened by the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), the group went underground, meeting secretly to avoid persecution by Emperor Ferdinand of Bohemia. The evangelist, Christian David (1690-1722), led a group of the Brethren to the baronial estate of Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700-1760) for refuge and asylum. Together with dissenters from other Bohemian locations and Moravia, they established the village of *Herrnhut* ("the watch of the Lord")<sup>8</sup> on a section of his land, which would become the headquarters for the renewed *Unitas Fratrum*.

The members of *Herrnhut* were organized into residential units based on their sex, age, and marital status. The units, referred to as "choirs," were not to be confused with a musical choir. The Moravian choirs were a "system of social organization"<sup>9</sup> intended to permit a "spiritual experience appropriate to one's stage in life and to utilize the resources of a concentrated labor force"<sup>10</sup> that "labored for the common good"<sup>11</sup> and left the care and education of children from infancy to adolescence to the church and its schools.<sup>12</sup> The choir system was made up of Children from weaning to six years, Younger Boys and Younger Girls from age six to twelve, Older Boys and Girls from twelve to seventeen, Single Sisters from age seventeen, Married People, and Widows and Widowers. Colored ties on the white linen hats (*haubes*) worn by women and girls identified the "choir" to which they belonged.<sup>13</sup> This residential system also allowed for care and education of children whose parents had been called away from the settlement to do missionary work throughout the world. The village became the center of their social and religious life, and the model for settlement congregations (*Gemeinen*)<sup>14</sup> throughout Europe and later in America, in the same manner as those of *Herrnhut*. The settlements

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<sup>8</sup> Nola Reed Knouse, ed. *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*. (Rochester NY: University of Rochester Press, 2009.), 11.

<sup>9</sup> Mabel Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania* (Nazareth, PA: The Moravian Historical Society, 1953), 298.

<sup>10</sup> *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, s.v. "Moravians," accessed July 14, 2014, <http://www.encyclopedia.com/article-1G2-3424502114>.

<sup>11</sup> Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania*, 353-54.

<sup>12</sup> Haller, *Early Moravian Education*, 354.

<sup>13</sup> A *Schwestern haube* is a "simple, close-fitting cap historically worn by Moravian women." "New Acquisition: 18<sup>th</sup>-Century *Haube*," *Voices from the Vault* no. 14 (June 2011): 1, accessed June 11, 2014, <http://www.moravianchurcharchives.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Voices-2011-June.pdf>.

<sup>14</sup> Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, 13.

were “quiet and sanctified retreats...where religion was the all-absorbing topic and the chief factor in life.”<sup>15</sup> They are also referred to as *Ortsgemeinen*.<sup>16</sup>

Zinzendorf stressed a liturgical life, with strong emphasis on the relationship between the believer and his Savior, and the development of education and the arts as a means of His praise. He “made great use of worship and instruction through song, employing carefully selected Christ-grounded and experience-centered hymn stanzas”<sup>17</sup> to support religious tenets. Zinzendorf, like Martin Luther, regarded music as the “fifth gospel,” with those talented in music to use it for the good of the community.<sup>18</sup> Worship itself was simple, with particular attention paid to the Advent-Christmas and Holy Week cycles of the Liturgical year. Much music was composed for these periods, primarily to accompany the worship service itself. The *liebesmahl* (or lovefeast) was also developed, a simple meal and service with singing and religious testimonies, patterned after the *Agapae* [*sic*] meals of the early Christian Church, expressing fellowship with one another through food and song.<sup>19</sup> The emphasis on music would become a hallmark of Moravian church services throughout the world.

The church began the practice of diaspora,<sup>20</sup> the process of geographic scattering of members of the community. It was one of the major efforts of the Moravian Church to further its growth and support its missionary work, a concept that has remained a part of the basic beliefs of the contemporary Moravian church throughout the world. By 1735, there were over 100 members practicing diaspora in the Herrnhut area, with diaspora societies in eighty-six places on the European continent, with about sixty-one of these in Germany.<sup>21</sup> The diaspora of the church was further increased by the immigration of German and Scandinavian members to the United States in 1735,

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<sup>15</sup> J. Taylor Hamilton, *A History of the Church Known as the Moravian Church, or The Unitas Fratrum, or The Unity of the Brethren during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. (Bethlehem, PA: Times Publishing Company, 1900), 219.

<sup>16</sup> Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, 13.

<sup>17</sup> Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania*, 293.

<sup>18</sup> Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, xii.

<sup>19</sup> Jewel Ann Smith, “Music, Women, and Pianos: The Moravian Young Ladies’ Seminary in Antebellum Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1815-1860,” (PhD diss., University of Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, 2003), 38.

<sup>20</sup> “Moravian Glossary,” Christian History Institute, accessed June 20, 2014, <https://christianhistoryinstitute.org/magazine/article/moravian-glossary>.

<sup>21</sup> John Rudolph Weinlick, *The Moravian Diaspora: A Study of the Societies of the Moravian Church within the Protestant State Churches of Europe* (Nazareth, PA: Moravian Historical Society, 1959), 26.



which brought new settlements to Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Lititz, Pennsylvania and Salem, North Carolina.

The Moravian Church holds many of its original tenets, affirms the creeds of the Christian church, and ordains both men and women as pastors. In spite of its consistent growth, the Moravian church is still a relatively small congregation compared to others. The worldwide membership of the church is almost a million members,<sup>22</sup> and its motto is "In essentials, unity, in nonessentials, liberty, and in all things, love."<sup>23</sup>

## II. Educational Philosophy and Music Education in Moravian Communities of Colonial Pennsylvania

John Amos Comenius (1592-1670), a teacher who was born into the Unity of the Brethren and eventually became the last bishop to serve in the old church of Moravia and Bohemia,<sup>24</sup> had a strong influence on the Moravian educational system. Comenius wrote some of the earliest statements on music and education, appearing in his prescriptive text, *The School of Infancy*.<sup>25</sup> The text is written for mothers, with suggestions on how a child should be educated during the first six years of life.

He lists three basic areas in which a child is to be educated: faith and piety, uprightness in respect of morals, and knowledge of languages and the arts.<sup>26</sup> He advocated education for *everyone*, especially noting the need for education of females in Chapter Nine of his text, *Didactica Magna (The Great Didactic)*, written sometime around 1631.<sup>27</sup> His philosophy was influenced by work begun by Jan Hus and the Brethren, who believed "all men are created in the image of God, and share the same right (which is a duty) to be educated, to develop their

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<sup>22</sup> <http://www.moravianseminary.edu/moravian-studies/about-the-moravians/introduction-to-the-moravian-church.html>, accessed July 23, 2014.

<sup>23</sup> "Who we are, what we believe," accessed July 25, 2014, <http://www.unitymoravian.org/who-we-are/what-we-believe>.

<sup>24</sup> Donna K. Rothrock, "Moravian Music Education as a Forerunner to Public School Music Education," *The Bulletin of Historical Research in Music Education*, 8, no.2 (1987): 64.

<sup>25</sup> John Amos Comenius, *The School of Infancy: An Essay on the Education of Youth During the First Six Years* (Boston: D.C Heath & Co. Publishers, 1896).

<sup>26</sup> Comenius, *The School of Infancy*, 11.

<sup>27</sup> John Amos Comenius, *The Great Didactic*, trans. M.W. Keating (New York: Russell & Russell, 1967), accessed February 15, 2014, <http://studentzone.roehampton.ac.uk/library/digital-collection/froebel-archive/great-didactic/Chapter%209.pdf>.

natural gifts and to continue striving towards perfection throughout their lives.”<sup>28</sup>

In *The School of Infancy*, Comenius suggests that the mother provide instruction in music over the first five years of the child’s life, stating “Music is natural for us, for as soon as we see the light, we immediately sing the song of paradise. ...I maintain that complaint and wailing are our first music.”<sup>29</sup> He proceeds to indicate that children in their second year may be delighted by “external” music, and in their third year should be introduced to the “sacred music of daily life,” which includes singing before and after meals or when prayer is begun or ended.<sup>30</sup> In the fourth year, children may “sing of themselves” or use an instrument such as a whistle or drum to accustom their ears to various sounds, and imitate them.<sup>31</sup> Comenius concludes the subject by stating that in the fifth year, “it will be time to open their mouths to hymns and praises to God, and to use their voices for the glory of their Creator.”<sup>32</sup> It is primarily from his writings that music instruction in the Moravian schools developed its educational philosophies and practices.

Music was a part of the process of education almost from the time of a child’s birth, and was present at all levels of formal instruction in Moravian schools: nursery schools, primary schools, academies for males and seminaries for women, and vocational training schools, with additional instruction given in the choir houses.<sup>33</sup> Early vocal and instrumental instruction was free, however a small stipend was collected from able students beginning in 1762, when Moravian schools started charging regular tuition.<sup>34</sup> Many of the teachers were ministers or their wives, and quite often had been educated in Moravian schools.

The Widows and Single Sisters in the community cared for the youngest children from eighteen months until the age of three, after which they were placed in separate classes for boys and girls. The primary curriculum consisted of religious activities, music, and the “fundamental processes.”<sup>35</sup> The fundamental processes consisted of

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<sup>28</sup> Charles Henry Dobinson, ed., *Comenius and Contemporary Education: An International Symposium* (Hamburg: Unesco Institute for Education, 1970), 18.

<sup>29</sup> Comenius, *The School of Infancy*, 48.

<sup>30</sup> Comenius, *The School of Infancy*, 48.

<sup>31</sup> Comenius, *The School of Infancy*, 49.

<sup>32</sup> Comenius, *The School of Infancy*, 49.

<sup>33</sup> Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania*, 215, quoted in Hall, “Moravian Music Education in America,” 226.

<sup>34</sup> Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania*, 257.

<sup>35</sup> Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania*, 229.

the rudimentary subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic, along with domestic activities of sewing, knitting, and spinning, and occasionally grammar, history, nature study, geography, and drawing. Moravians were also educated musicians and “accomplished amateurs,”<sup>36</sup> having spent years in school and many Sundays perfecting their knowledge.<sup>37</sup>

The public examination (*Das öffentliche Examen*) was a unique exercise in Moravian schools, held in May and November at the close of every school term.<sup>38</sup> Similar to today’s commencement exercises, the students were examined in all subjects over a period of up to five days, including performance of instrumental and vocal music, according to prescribed standards of the academic system. This process not only allowed the students to achieve technical proficiency, but also helped them develop sensitivity for artistic excellence in themselves and fellow students.<sup>39</sup>

### III. Vocal Music

Thorough training in vocal music was basic to the education of students, with a focus on recitation of hymns included as a weekly exercise in school music. It provided a basis for carrying on church traditions, and formed a curriculum of musical thought and study. The *Singstunde*, a singing session of approximately forty-five minutes, became a part of each school day, especially for the younger children.<sup>40</sup> Most of the songs sung in schools were remnants of tunes written by Count Nicholas Ludwig Von Zinzendorf and Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg (1704-1792) from the Brethren Church in Bohemia. Zinzendorf wrote a volume of children’s songs, *Das Kinder-Büchlein in den Brüder-Gemeinen* in 1755,<sup>41</sup> while Spangenberg’s volume, *Kinder-Gesangbüchlein* came into use in 1799.<sup>42</sup>

In the nineteenth century, as communities in the Lehigh Valley in Southeastern Pennsylvania grew with the development of the railroad, steel industry, and the founding of Lehigh University, non-Moravians living near Moravian settlements recognized the excellence of their educational system, and began to enroll their children in Moravian schools, academies, and seminaries. Choral

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<sup>36</sup> Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, 207.

<sup>37</sup> Paul A. Larson, *An American Musical Dynasty: A Biography of the Wolle Family of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2002), 143.

<sup>38</sup> Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania*, 315.

<sup>39</sup> Hall, “Moravian Music Education in America,” 233.

<sup>40</sup> Hall, “Moravian Music Education in America,” 227.

<sup>41</sup> Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania*, 226.

<sup>42</sup> Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania*, 227.

performance became a larger presence in the community of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania as well. The Philharmonic Society of Bethlehem, developed in the 1820's, performed both vocal and instrumental works, and operated under the direction of J. Fred Wolle, whose musical family impacted the church and community from 1800 through 1933.<sup>43</sup>

The collegium musicum (1863-1933)<sup>44</sup> in Bethlehem, which was used to instruct and develop instrumentalists in the settlement, became a part of the Philharmonic Society, and began to include works of European composers, such as Haydn's work, "The Creation," and works by Mozart, Mendelssohn, Spohr, and Rossini. They performed regular public concerts at the Central Moravian Church in Bethlehem, and at Packer Memorial Church, on the Lehigh campus.<sup>45</sup> Wolle also organized the Bethlehem Bach Choir in 1898<sup>46</sup> (which replaced the Bethlehem Choral Union he had organized at age nineteen in 1882),<sup>47</sup> with the purpose of bringing the choral works of Bach to Bethlehem and the Lehigh Valley. On March 27<sup>th</sup>, 1900, the choir performed the American premiere of the "Mass in B Minor," with Wolle not only conducting, but playing the organ as well.<sup>48</sup> Future performances of Bach works followed, and Wolle developed an annual Bach Festival in Bethlehem that gained international attention, and continued after Wolle's death in 1933.

The festivals were only interrupted for six years, when Wolle left Bethlehem to develop a music department for the University of California-Berkeley, and create a Bach Choir in the Bay area,<sup>49</sup> and in 1924, when he contracted a severe illness. The Bach Choir of Bethlehem is still in existence, and will perform its 109<sup>th</sup> Festival in 2016.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Larson, *An American Musical Dynasty*, 13.

<sup>44</sup> Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, 173-74.

<sup>45</sup> Paul S. Larson, *An American Musical Dynasty: A Biography of the Wolle Family of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania* (Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press), 103.

<sup>46</sup> Larson, *An American Musical Dynasty*, 223.

<sup>47</sup> Raymond Walters, *The Bethlehem Bach Choir-An Historical and Interpretative Text* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1918), 30, accessed July 12, 2014, <https://archive.org/stream/bethlehembachch00waltgoog#page/n302/mode/2up>.

<sup>48</sup> Larson, *An American Musical Dynasty*, 192-93.

<sup>49</sup> Larson, *An American Musical Dynasty*, 275.

<sup>50</sup> "BACH AT THE HEART 2015-2016 Season & 109<sup>th</sup> Bach Festival," accessed November 4, 2015, <http://www.bach.org>.

#### IV. Instrumental Music

Moravians had great interest in instrumental music, but actually composed very little of it. Significant instrumental compositions by Moravian composers include works by John Antes (1740-1811), Johann Friedrich Peter (1746-1813), Christian Ignatius LaTrobe (1758-1836), and Frances F. Hagen (1815-1907).<sup>51</sup> Although the Moravians were excellent record-keepers, some of the instrumental music has been lost, including a set of quartettos<sup>52</sup> written by Antes at the age of 16, which were presented to Benjamin Franklin for his approval<sup>53</sup> after he had made a visit to Bethlehem in the 1750's.

The Trombone Choir (*Bläser-Chor*), the "ecclesiastical ensemble" of the Moravian church, was an interesting facet of their practice of instrumental music.<sup>54</sup> It can be traced directly to the German *Stadtpeifer*,<sup>55</sup> or town band. Arranged in soprano, alto, tenor, and bass, the trombone choirs replicated the voicing of Moravian and Lutheran chorales. The trombone was chosen because it was appropriate for performance in outdoor occasions, to proclaim the Easter morning services, and for the custom of announcing the deaths of members of the church community.<sup>56</sup> It was a "musical benediction reserved for members of the Moravian faith"<sup>57</sup> who were now "Asleep in Jesus." This term refers to a chorale written by Theodore Wolle, of the prolific musical Moravian family,<sup>58</sup> and may have been one played by the trombone choir to announce a death. Beginning in 1757,<sup>59</sup> three chorales were played from the belfry of a local church. The first,

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<sup>51</sup> Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, 267-80.

<sup>52</sup> Italian term for quartet. *Dictionary Online*, s.v. "quartetto," accessed June 11, 2014, <http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/quartet>.

<sup>53</sup> Since no "quartettos" written by Antes have ever been located, and he would not have used that term, reports of this may have confused the term "quartet" with the trios that he actually wrote and sent to Franklin. K. Marie Stolba, "Evidence for Quartets of John Antes, American-Born Moravian Composer," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 33, no. 3 (1980): 567.

<sup>54</sup> "Moravian Musical Heritage," accessed February 15, 2014, [www.moravianmusic.org](http://www.moravianmusic.org).

<sup>55</sup> Paul Peucker, "The Role and Development of Brass Music," in Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, 173.

<sup>56</sup> Nola Reed Knouse. "Music of the Moravians," *Grove Music Online*, ed. Stanley Sadie. accessed February 14, 2014, <http://0-www.oxfordmusiconline.com.source.unco.edu>.

<sup>57</sup> Harry H. Hall, "The Moravian Trombone Choir: A Conspectus of Its Early History and the Trombone Death Announcement," *Moravian Music Journal* 26, no.1, (1981): 6.

<sup>58</sup> Larson, *An American Musical Dynasty*, 153-59.

<sup>59</sup> Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, 175.

“O Sacred Head, Now Wounded,”<sup>60</sup> announced the death; a second indicated the specific residential “choir” to which the deceased belonged, and a restatement of the first chorale, which originally announced the death.<sup>61</sup>

Musical instruments were plentiful for both performance and individual instruction. A collection of French (hunting) horns was brought to the first American Moravian settlement in Savannah, Georgia.<sup>62</sup> This settlement was unsuccessful, due to conflict between the English Protestants and Spanish Catholics in Florida, so Moravian settlers left the area at the invitation of George Whitefield, an English preacher,<sup>63</sup> and relocated to Nazareth, Pennsylvania in 1741.<sup>64</sup>

Similar collections were sent to Bethlehem, along with some Baroque instruments from Europe.<sup>65</sup> European instrument makers built some of the instruments, but eventually Moravian craftsmen began to make their own instruments in American *Ortsgemeinen* settlement communities. These were used in the collegium musicum, an amateur instrumental organization, which played sacred and secular music in German Moravian churches, before arriving with Moravian settlers in America. The collegium musicum in Bethlehem was formed for the purpose of instructing instrument players, and improving music within the community.

Few girls studied wind instruments, with the exception of the flute, but boys studied all of the wind instruments and strings.<sup>66</sup> The instruction was from the Single Brethren and Sisters, with ample time provided for practicing and performance. Students were expected to develop their talent, no matter how small it might be.<sup>67</sup> Moravian students would go on to perform music throughout adulthood, as a

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<sup>60</sup> “O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden,” German translation. Hall, “The Moravian Trombone Choir,” 7.

<sup>61</sup> “The Water Journey (Die Wasserfahrt),” accessed July 10, 2014, <http://www.newworldrecords.org/linernotes/80490.pdf>.

<sup>62</sup> Donald M. McCorkle, *The Moravian Contribution to American Music* (Winston-Salem, NC: The Moravian Music Foundation, Inc., 1956), 5, accessed July 23, 2014,

<https://archive.org/stream/moraviancontribu00mcco#page/5/mode/2up>

<sup>63</sup> Pauline Marie Fox, “Reflections on Moravian Music: A Study of Two Collections of Manuscript Books in Pennsylvania ca.1800,” (PhD diss., New York University, 1997), 18. (UMI 9731394).

<sup>64</sup> Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, 13.

<sup>65</sup> These included flutes, violins, violas da braccio and gamba, the first trombones for the Trombone choir, and the first organ. McCorkle, *The Moravian Contribution to American Music*, 5,

<sup>66</sup> Hall, “Moravian Music Education in America,” 231.

<sup>67</sup> Hall, “Moravian Music Education in America,” 233.

leisure activity, in church, and as members of community bands playing at a variety of functions and celebrations.

## V. Keyboard Music

The importance of keyboard instruction in the music education of Moravian communities can be seen in comments made by James Ogden after his visit to the Single Sisters' House in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Ogden observed there was an "organ, harpsichord, or forte-piano in almost every room."<sup>68</sup> Both boys and girls studied the clavier, which was used to accompany singing in the children's worship services. Keyboard music of a secular nature was also performed without reservation.<sup>69</sup> Much of the music for keyboard instruction was taken from standard European classic literature, but Moravian composers wrote some compositions used for teaching purposes. Moravian scholar Hall describes the aim of keyboard instruction:

...whether the pupil...becomes primarily proficient in the art;...the aim being more a general refinement of thought and introduction to musical feeling,

produced by an acquaintance with the choicest airs and sonatas of Mozart, Haydn and Beethoven, than to send forth accomplished musical scholars.<sup>70</sup>

The organ was used for accompanying hymn singing and as accompaniment to anthems, which were sung during the lovefeast celebrations as either scriptural texts (Psalms) or sung by the musical choir (Cantatas).<sup>71</sup> Although composers like Johannes Friedrich Peter (1746-1813) and Johannes Herbst (1735-1812) were considered excellent organists, no organ works by Moravian composers survive. Moravians did make a significant contribution to music through the field of organ building. The first organ ordered by the Moravians in America was built in 1746 by Mons Gustavus Hesselius (1682-1784) of Philadelphia, and installed in the Bethlehem Congregational House by Johann Gottlieb Klemm (1690-1762). His partner, David Tannenberg (1727-1804), who became the most prolific American Moravian organ builder, continued Klemm's work after his death. He

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<sup>68</sup> Hall, "Moravian Music Education in America," 229.

<sup>69</sup> Hall, "Moravian Music Education in America," 228.

<sup>70</sup> James Henry, *Sketches of Moravian Life and Character: Comprising a General View of the History, Life, Character and Religious and Educational Institutions of the Unitas Fratrum*, quoted in Hall, 231.

<sup>71</sup> C. Daniel Crews, "Moravian Worship: The Why of Moravian Music," in Knouse, *The Music of the Moravian Church in America*, 37.

built more than thirty-two organs, and an unrecorded number of pianos, harpsichords, and clavichords.<sup>72</sup>

## **VI. Possible Impacts of Moravian Music Education on American Music Education**

During the often-harsh conditions of their settlement in Colonial Pennsylvania, the members of the Moravian church managed to create an excellent educational structure for their children, as well as strong communal connections within their residential organizations. Even in the primeval conditions of frontier life, they composed and performed an amount of music that was unparalleled in the colonies at the time.<sup>73</sup> They were also pioneers in many educational philosophies, having developed the first regular music schools in America, the first church boys' boarding school in Pennsylvania, the first program of vocational education and adult general education classes, as well as teacher training programs and studies in the Indian language and culture.<sup>74</sup> They understood the value of working for the common goals of all members, and were largely invested in educating their children to carry on the morals and values of their church mission. Having embraced the philosophies of John Amos Comenius, they understood the value of music as part of a child's education. Haller continues:

Music's effectiveness in disseminating religious fervor, was early recognized by the educational leaders of the Brethren, who used it unsparingly for the spiritual development of the children in all their schools, combining musical and religious activities, each of which complemented the other in perfect harmony.<sup>75</sup>

Even viewed from two centuries later, it appears that Moravian music education practices show some similarities to current philosophies of music education. The Moravians appear to have valued music education for its aesthetic qualities, its use as a component of interdisciplinary education, and the importance of periodic assessment in their academic programs. They felt music was an effective force for "stimulating, developing and refining man's aesthetic sensitivities,"<sup>76</sup> reflecting the earlier writings of Comenius, who:

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<sup>72</sup> McCorkle, *The Moravian Contribution to American Music*, 7.

<sup>73</sup> Hall, "Moravian Music Education in America," 225.

<sup>74</sup> Haller, *Early Moravian Music Education in Pennsylvania*, 356-57.

<sup>75</sup> Haller, *Early Moravian Music Education in Pennsylvania*, 355.

<sup>76</sup> Hall, *Moravian Music Education in America*, 226.



wanted to develop the appreciation of beauty in nature, in human works of all kinds and in human relations. The development of this aesthetic sensitivity leads to children forming the right decisions which do not neglect the welfare of others. In such aesthetic development, music, singing, reciting, language training and religious education all have a part to play.<sup>77</sup>

The Moravian appreciation of the aesthetic value of music as an education of feelings may have been similar to the teachings of twentieth-century music education philosophers such as Suzanne Langer<sup>78</sup> and Bennett Reimer.<sup>79</sup> Additionally, the philosophy of “learning to do by doing”<sup>80</sup> was evident in practical applications of education. Students practiced the life skills they would need in areas such as housekeeping, and became active musicians within Moravian church services and communities. Interdisciplinary learning was practiced during classes, with music used to accompany the learning of other academic subjects. Hoople indicates “The music lesson appears, more often than not, to have been integrated into the total educational experience rather than treated as an isolated exercise.”<sup>81</sup> Students would “...sing aloud the syllables of their spelling words in melodic or rhythmic cadences, according to the prescriptions of musical notes written on the blackboard by the teacher.”<sup>82</sup> Periodic assessment in all areas of education was practiced in Moravian schools. Students were required to show proficiency in all academic areas, including vocal or instrumental performance, as an assessment of their study.

## **VI. Conclusion**

Music education in Moravian schools appears to have been innovative in many ways. Moravian and non-Moravian students, educated in the tenets of the church, went out into local communities to teach music in the style they were taught, blending their own philosophies with the utilitarian style of music education already in place in the public schools of nineteenth-century communities in Pennsylvania. It is

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<sup>77</sup> Dobinson, Comenius and Contemporary Education, 30.

<sup>78</sup> Sam Reese, “Forms of Feeling: The Aesthetic Theory of Suzanne Langer,” *Music Educators Journal* 63, no. 8 (1977): 45-49.

<sup>79</sup> Bennett Reimer, *A Philosophy of Music Education: Advancing the Vision*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2003).

<sup>80</sup> Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania*, 259.

<sup>81</sup> Donald Graham Hoople, “Moravian Music Education and the American Moravian Music Tradition,” (PhD diss., Columbia Union Teachers College, 1976), 36.

<sup>82</sup> Haller, *Early Moravian Education in Pennsylvania*, 311.

significant that music in the Moravian schools was considered at the time to enjoy “firm curricular status”<sup>83</sup> as part of a basic education, when so many years later it is still often fighting for its very existence in many public schools in the United States.

Music education programs were a vital and distinct part of Colonial Pennsylvania Moravian schools and religious functions. Their impact was felt in religious, school, and community music performances and celebrations. Eventually, under the control of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Moravian schools gave way to the educational philosophies of the common school movement. It is still, however, interesting that their methods were similar what were to become tenets of philosophy of music education well into twentieth-century American schools, with an impact worth further study in the history of American music education, and certainly not to be ignored.

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<sup>83</sup> Hall, “Moravian Music Education in America,” 233.

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## Completing a Sketch: Jan Dismas Zelenka's "Regina Coeli" (ZWV 133)

JUSTIN LAVACEK

The great Czech composer Zelenka was baptized Jan Lukáš in Louňovice in 1679; his more familiar middle name, Dismas, was perhaps added at confirmation.<sup>1</sup> Catholicism was an essential part of Zelenka's life and his music. Adding not only the apocryphal name of the penitent thief, Dismas, he later added Ignatius to his name, reflecting his Jesuit education and the order he'd serve his entire life. Zelenka's genius for music was perhaps picked out amidst that particular din that was music education in small Bohemian village schools: a room of a dozen young boys of unequal ability, practicing together for four to five hours. A yearbook from 1796 describing the education of earlier generations in Prague recalls it this way: "The difficulty of maintaining attention and order amidst this noise was to be the true test as to whether this or that child had an inclination and genius for music. If, despite these difficulties, one of the children showed outstanding ability, then the little virtuoso had to perform in public."<sup>2</sup> However he was discovered, Zelenka's musical education continued under his patron Count Josef Ludvik Hartig, Protector of the Academy of Music in Prague. He was later in Vienna a student of the illustrious Johann Joseph Fux, whose careful counterpoint pedagogy in the *Gradus ad Parnassum* was learned by Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven, among others.

In 1711, aged 32, Zelenka was appointed to the *Hofkapelle* in Dresden as a contrabass player at the court of Friedrich August I, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony. The conversion to Catholicism of the house of Wettin was alienating to many within Lutheran Germany, and living and working as a Catholic may have been a source of professional hardship there for Zelenka. Yet it seems almost preordained that his first official work for the court should be a mass (ZWV 1) for the feast of St. Cecilia, patroness of music, on 22 November of that year.

Although Zelenka composed a great deal for the court over decades of employment, it seems a sign of underappreciation that he was nearly always listed as a bass player on the payroll. He held the status of a chamber musician, therefore, though in compositional duties he was second only to the *Kapellmeister*, Johann David Heinichen. Even so, to

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<sup>1</sup> Stockigt, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Stockigt, 3, quoted from a reference to earlier generations in Schönfeld's *Jahrbuch der Tonkunst von Wien und Prag*, 1796.

be a musician in Dresden's top orchestra at the time was no small accomplishment. Under the illustrious concertmaster Johann Georg Pisendel, Friedrich August I's orchestra was considered by many the finest in Europe. J.S. Bach, in 1730, enviously referred his own Leipzig Town Council to the conditions enjoyed by the orchestra in Dresden. Johann Joachim Quantz, an important composition student of Zelenka's, said that Dresden's Royal Orchestra "achieved a finesse of performance which I have never heard bettered in all my travels."<sup>3</sup> Part of their mastery no doubt owed to the luxury of court musicians in Dresden being allowed to specialize in one instrument only.

As Heinichen aged, Zelenka rightly expected to succeed him as *Kapellmeister*. But even when in his final illness, Heinichen himself commissioned one Tobias Butz, third ranking court composer at Dresden, to fulfill his duties instead of Zelenka. Indeed, for two years after Heinichen died in 1729 he continued to be listed as *Kapellmeister*, though death put severe limitations on his composing. In 1731, the year of the king's death, the position of *Kapellmeister* was simply left blank.<sup>4</sup> This was the approximate year of Zelenka's unfinished "Regina Coeli" sketch (ZWV 133), to which we'll return later.

Ill and destitute the following year (1732), Zelenka, in his own words, "completely lacking in means to live," threw himself upon the mercy of his queen, Maria Josepha, asking her directly for an increase in salary.<sup>5</sup> His salary was indeed increased by 150 thalers to a salary of 550, and was still listed as a contrabassist. Recognizing himself being phased out in 1733, as the latest operatic Italian style was favored by the new ruler, Friedrich August II, Zelenka made bold to petition the king himself. An excerpt from his letter is worth quoting at length:

It will be known to Your Majesty that it is now twenty-four years that I have had the honor of serving Your Most High Royal House most subserviently, especially the hallowed person of Your Royal Majesty himself for one and a half years in Vienna, by order of Your Royal Majesty's father of most glorious memory, at rest in God, without deriving any remuneration for my music: whereas the other royal musicians sent from here were rightly and generously provided for. ... I do beg You on my knees that You may be pleased to most mercifully confer upon me the position of Kapellmeister left vacant since the aforementioned

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<sup>3</sup> Stockigt, 73.

<sup>4</sup> Stockigt, 102.

<sup>5</sup> Stockigt, 203.

Heinichen's death [4 years ago] and administered since then by me, and also to graciously bestow upon me a portion of his former salary in payment of my work since his death. ... Wherefore, I will prove myself tirelessly day and night and remain, until I am in my grave, in the most glorious, merciful, and pleasing service of Your Royal Highness and His Most High Royal House, Your Royal Highness's and Elector's most humble and obedient servant, Jan Dismas Zelenka 18 November 1733.<sup>6</sup>

A new *Kapellmeister* does indeed appear on the courtly payroll of 1 December of that year, less than two weeks after Zelenka's plea. Alas, it was not Zelenka himself, but the already rich and famous composer of German opera, Johann Adolph Hasse. Hasse came with his wife, the celebrated Italian mezzo Faustina Bordoni, who was his equal in influencing and satisfying the popular musical taste in opera and away from liturgical music. Though heir to the leading musical position in Dresden, Zelenka was overlooked for four years before ultimately being passed over.

With Hasse and Bordoni came the ascendancy of opera and decline of Catholic church music in Dresden. Indeed, the year 1733 was the last in which Zelenka would travel with the court or be listed among the King's Capella. At this point his job title was reduced to "church composer." And this diminished role would be challenged in 1738, when Zelenka was overshadowed by the immense, though titular, presence of Johann Sebastian Bach, who even as a Lutheran became the court's official church composer for a time.<sup>7</sup> Incidentally, Bach's son Carl Philipp Emanuel said to the early biographer Johann Nikolaus Forkel that his father "esteemed Zelenka highly" and copied and used some of his works in the *Thomaskirche* [e.g. the "Amen" from Zelenka's *Magnificat*, ZWV 108].<sup>8</sup> While likely coincidental, note the similarities between the theme of Zelenka's "Regina Coeli" (ZWV 133) and Bach's later fugue subject in C major from the second book of the Well-Tempered Clavier. They both begin in the alto voice, thus:

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<sup>6</sup> Stockigt, 204.

<sup>7</sup> Stockigt, 210.

<sup>8</sup> Stockigt, 271.

### Zelenka



### Bach



Zelenka—still prolific in his output, tireless in directing the court’s sacred music, and steadfast in his perceived value—appealed to the king twice more in the next two years for the money he felt due to him as acting *Kapellmeister* in Heinichen’s absence nearly a decade ago. He was heard this time and his salary was raised from 550 to 800 thalers.<sup>9</sup>

Zelenka died on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 1745, a few days after Prussia captured and occupied Dresden. In 1747, Lorenz Mizler eulogized: “Here, the superb church composer Johann Dismas Zelenka is greatly mourned. His splendid tuttis, beautiful fugues, and above all the special skill in the church style, are sufficiently known to true lovers of music.”<sup>10</sup>

Upon Zelenka’s death, his complete musical estate was bought by the queen, Maria Josepha, who was fond of the composer and, it will be recalled, raised his salary the first time she was asked. The manuscript of Zelenka’s only extant sketch, the “Regina Coeli” (ZWV 133), still remains in Dresden’s Sächsische Landesbibliothek. It is a work for choir, probably alternating with SATB soloists, and orchestra. Had this antiphon been heard in Dresden, it would have been at the conclusion of Vespers, which began at 4pm, between Easter and Pentecost.<sup>11</sup>

Zelenka left a number of incomplete works in manuscript, where the polyphony that exists is complete, but the piece was never carried out to its conclusion. These pieces, one assumes, were abandoned for practical reasons as Zelenka’s compositional burden varied depending upon the season in the church calendar and upon special events like births and deaths among the royal family. Only in our “Regina Coeli” from around 1731 did Zelenka leave various melodic

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<sup>9</sup> Stockigt, 218.

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in Stockigt, 266.

<sup>11</sup> Stockigt, 85.



fragments here and there without fully realizing them within a polyphonic fabric. The manuscript shows its age and is badly damaged. As a standard representative of his notation, Figure 1 shows the first page of a clean Zelenka manuscript. This is a different “Regina Coeli” (ZWV 130), written a few years earlier.

Figure 2 is the first page of the sketch I completed. The total of Zelenka’s fragmentary sketching out of this work covers only four-and-a-half pages: 36 measures together. In reconstructing this piece, my job was like that of an investigator come late (*very* late, 284 years) to the scene of a crime planned but never fully committed. I pieced together the available evidence and reconstructed a musical narrative of what could have happened here.

The title page indicates oboes. Zelenka didn’t leave so much as a staff on the score for them, so I’ve left them out. In other works of the early 1730s, Zelenka provides two separate staves for two independent oboes. The lack of such staves here suggests the “Regina Coeli” oboes are simply doubling the violins, a practice also suggested by their position on the same line and dashed to the violins on the title page. In many completed scores, Zelenka left shorthand signs for the copyist concerning this particular orchestration: “VV” when he wanted violins only, otherwise duplication by the oboes was implied.<sup>12</sup> This practice had apparent currency across 18<sup>th</sup>-century Europe. In the important *Dictionnaire de Musique* of 1768, Rousseau has the following entry under the term copyist: “If I had to judge the taste of a musician without hearing him, I would ask him to extract an oboe part from that of the violin: every copyist should know how to do it.”<sup>13</sup> We know Zelenka had a special appreciation for oboe, and perhaps two special performers in mind for this antiphon, from the challenging and popular set of six sonatas (ZWV 181) from the 1720s. Furthermore, in the early 1730s, Zelenka compiled dozens of various psalms in a collection known as *Psalmi varii*. All of them are reworkings of existing music, both his own and that of various other composers, and to almost every one Zelenka added two oboes.<sup>14</sup>

On the first page of ZWV 133, given in Figure 2, notice the three blank staves for strings at the top, repeated in the next far bars in the system below. Zelenka in fact composed only eight notes total for strings in this piece, so far as he got through it. The string parts of my reconstruction of this sketch, then, are almost entirely mine.

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<sup>12</sup> Stockigt, 240.

<sup>13</sup> Quoted in Stockigt, 244.

<sup>14</sup> Stockigt, 171.

In the vocal parts, see the text “Regina coeli” in the alto part. Now try to read a single syllable after that. “Alleluia” can perhaps be picked out in the choral tutti, especially knowing in advance how common that word is in the text, ending every line. For obvious reasons, then, the texting is almost entirely mine also.

For the technical discussion of my reconstruction below, please refer to the complete orchestral score in the appendix. In my edition, the notes in black are Zelenka’s original, as far as I could make out from the manuscript, and those in gray are my own.<sup>15</sup>

The alto part has been given special attention, with more than double the notes of any other voice. For this leading part Zelenka likely had in mind one of the new alto castrati brought in from Italy, either Domenico Anibali or Casimiro Pignotti, along with the ascendancy of opera under Hasse and Bordonì.<sup>16</sup> The tenor and bass parts fade into obscurity, by comparison, both literally and figuratively (see m. 3ff). This homophonic tutti is a recurrent feature which gives formal articulation to the various sections that make up the work, and likely suggests the alternation of choral and solo vocal forces.

Further on in the word, a cadence is implied by the soprano’s anticipation just before the four blank measures (mm. 25–8) and there’s a choral tutti just after it, so I left out the vocal forces there. Up to that point in the piece, Zelenka had articulated each new section with a choral tutti and a new motive in the alto. When the manuscript resumes in m. 29, a tutti is inferred from the lone bass line, which has the rhythmic and melodic profile of the others tutti. Following that, Zelenka proceeds as usual with a new alto motive. In mm. 32–4 can be admired the eight notes Zelenka wrote for strings during a circle of fifths sequence. I’d like to focus on this section of the piece, mm. 30–38, for a brief demonstration of my process in completing this sketch.

Zelenka, the contrabassist, completed the continuo part as far as he got in this “Regina Coeli.” This bottom voice is, of course, the driver of harmonic progression, especially so in the era of *General-Bass* in Baroque Germany. My natural first step in completing the sketch was to analyze the completed harmonic foundation, then weave in among the pattern of Zelenka’s sketch other voices that complete the contrapuntal fabric.

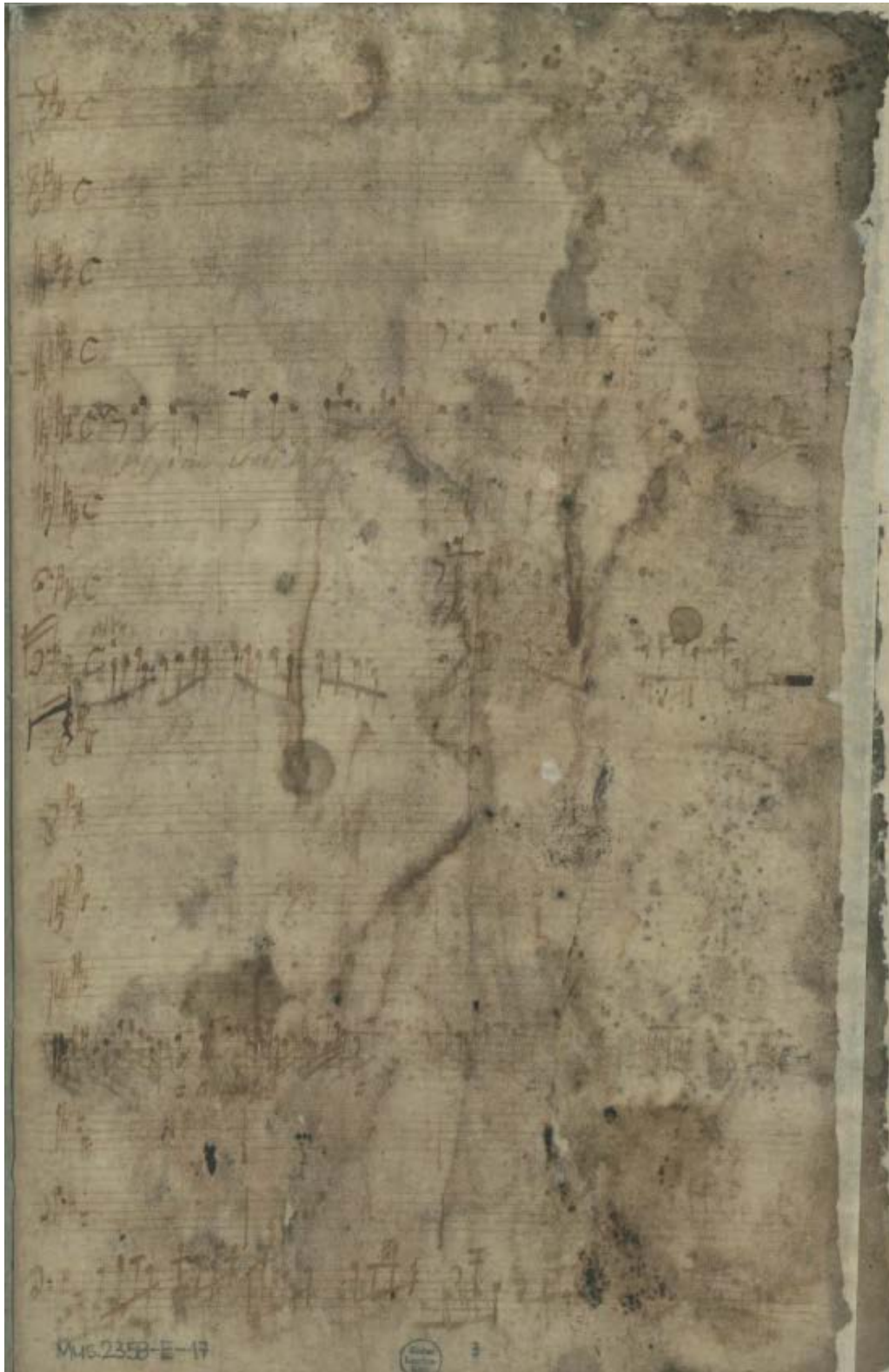
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<sup>15</sup> The grey notes still have black beams.

<sup>16</sup> Stockigt, 72.



**Figure 2: Zelenka's incomplete sketch "Regina Coeli" ZWV 133 in MS**



A new alto theme begins in m. 30 expressing a simple alternation between tonic and dominant in F-sharp minor. Notice how the V chord (C#) is embellished by a 6/4 upper neighbor across the barline into m. 32. That C# then begins a circle of 5ths sequence through m. 35, where G is expected. But in m. 34 Zelenka changes from his descending circle of 5ths pattern. The D major triad in the second half m. 34 becomes B minor through 5-6 exchange, a pattern repeated up a step twice in the following measures. Measure 36 prepares a cadence in B minor that could have concluded the phrase on the downbeat of 37, but Zelenka's bass gives it in 1<sup>st</sup> inversion. The rest of that measure sets up the same cadence more strongly, this time via a quick succession of fifths: VI – ii – V – i. I wrote all voices in unison to emphasize this moment where the strongest closure is expected, and the voices do close, following Zelenka's arrival on 1 in the principal alto part. Yet Zelenka also writes a rest in the continuo line, which continues driving through to the downbeat of m. 39, where it lands on tonic. The new key of B finally being achieved, I elided this arrival with the entrance of a new motive in the tenor.

At this moment, m. 40, the manuscript goes blank. I introduce here a section of systematic imitation, pairing the alto and tenor then the soprano and bass. Zelenka wrote some free imitation earlier among the "alleluias" and I further develop the implication with my own motive. The brief instrumental interlude thereafter is meant to provide textural relief in a piece that, through my own hand, was getting dense. The absence of singers here also allowed me to highlight the double formal return of the opening theme and key area by aligning it with the timbral return of vocalists and text.

For the final section, beginning in m. 77, I wanted to exhaust the central theme of the work. If my reconstruction has an unusual surfeit of this theme for high Baroque style, the fault is in my unwillingness to compose too much of myself into the piece, preferring instead to give pride of place to the music Zelenka left us. It's given to each part in turn, in modified augmentation in the bass, which is in stretto with both the soprano and alto entries imitating each other at the fifth. This and the total contrapuntal saturation of the last few measures is meant to suggest an ecstatic state of spiritual abundance, fully representing the text proclaimed so often: "alleluia."

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# Johann Nepomuk Hummel: The Forgotten Member of the First Viennese School

MICHAEL LANCE RUSSELL

The exquisite pianist and composer, Johann Nepomuk Hummel (1778–1837), has received curiously little attention in the history books relative to his contemporaries. Typical historiography of the Classical era focuses on the three composers of the First Viennese School: Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven. Hummel, as we shall see, had close personal and professional relationships with all three, and his public reception was no less illustrious. He also can be regarded as a powerful influence on the next generation of composers, most notably Schubert, Schumann, Liszt, and early Chopin works. So why then, if Hummel was such a widely regarded and highly respected figure in the Classical era, has he been largely forgotten to music history? This paper seeks to address this issue, as well as to provide some insight into Hummel's life, career, his relationships with each of the composers of the First Viennese School, and his influence on the next generation of composers.<sup>1</sup> We will also make note of how this piece in particular shaped Hummel's career and how widely it was studied and performed by later composers.

Hummel was born on November 14, 1778 in Pressburg (now Bratislava), an important capital city in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. His father Johannes was an accomplished violinist and was eventually appointed to be the orchestra director of *Neues Theater*, one of the most beautiful theaters in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Soon after Johann was born, his father resigned and moved to Prague seeking better employment. However, he was unsuccessful in this attempt and soon moved back to Pressburg to accept a position as music director at the Military Institute in Wartberg.<sup>2</sup> Similar to Mozart, Johann proved himself to be a child prodigy. He learned to read music at age four, and by age five he was playing a small violin and small piano with impressive skill. He could also reproduce what music he heard on the piano and could sing with perfect intonation. As a child, Hummel also had a strong desire to perform in public. Johann Seidel, a friend and colleague of Hummel's who wrote an extensive biographical sketch after his death, recounted an amusing anecdote about Hummel's childhood: Seidel describes how Hummel would leave his home in the

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<sup>1</sup> A version of this paper was originally presented as a pre-concert lecture to a performance of Hummel's *Piano Concerto in A Minor*.

<sup>2</sup> Mark Kroll, *Johann Nepomuk Hummel: A Musician's Life and Work* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 4.



evenings to give violin concerts in the streets. One night, Hummel encountered an antagonistic schoolboy who criticized his playing and teased him by saying his music sounded like “a meowing cat.” The boys began fighting, and at one point Hummel smashed his violin over the boy’s shoulders, breaking it into pieces.<sup>3</sup> After the experience, Hummel mostly stayed indoors practicing his piano instead of the violin. And thus, Hummel’s journey as one the most virtuosic pianists of his time had begun.

## I. Mozartian Roots

Hummel is perhaps best known as a successful student of Mozart. His lineage as such was essential in developing his image as one of Vienna’s premier performing artists. But what is lesser known is Hummel’s role in continuing the popularity of Mozart’s music after his death. Hummel undertook the massive project of transcribing much of Mozart’s music, particularly his piano concertos, modernizing pieces for the modern ear, and then frequently featured Mozart’s works in his programs. This section of the paper recounts their personal/professional relationships and briefly discusses Hummel’s role in codifying Mozart’s work in the musical community after his passing. This in turn had a tremendous effect in establishing Mozart as a musical legend, perhaps at the cost of Hummel’s own historical weight.

In 1786, Hummel’s father gained new employment as the music director of the *Theater auf der Wieden* in Vienna, where he had the opportunity to meet or even work with Mozart. When the opportunity presented itself, Johannes brought the young Hummel to Mozart and asked that he teach his son. After hearing Hummel play, Mozart was so moved and excited by the performance that he agreed to accept Hummel as a live-in student for a term that would last two years. This claim to fame as Mozart’s favorite student followed Hummel for the duration of his career.<sup>4</sup>

At Mozart’s recommendation, Hummel and his father began a five-year grand debut tour in 1788, just as Mozart had done with his father as a child. Mozart attended one of the concerts in Dresden, where Hummel played Mozart’s *Piano Concerto in C Major* and *Lison*

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<sup>3</sup> Kroll, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Kroll, 15. For historical reference, it was during this period that Mozart composed *The Marriage of Figaro* and *Don Giovanni*. During this period Hummel likely would have met a number of influential people that were involved with the production of these operas, including Mozart’s Librettist Lorenzo da Ponte, as well as Pasquale Bondini and Josef Strobach, the two men responsible for the Prague premier of *The Marriage of Figaro* in 1786.



*Dormant*, K. 264. Seidel reports that after the concert, Mozart had been more than satisfied, and said the following to Hummel:

Listen, Hansl, you draw out of the instrument everything that I have tried to do in vain. You will blaze a new path for all those who hear you, and who want to dedicate themselves and their art to this instrument, because you already handle it like a tender loving mother treats her beloved child. They will all avoid the bumps in the road and everything will be bathed by [your playing] as the bright rays of the morning sun do as a soft, melting breath on an Indian topiary garden. You will treat your instrument like Raphael has done for his art. You will enchant your listeners, and transport them to higher planes. So keep going, my son, and avoid the all too common tinklings and barrel organ playing that sound like a blacksmith hammering on nails, all the overpowering thrashing and throwing about of the hands and fingers, that silly critics unfortunately call art. Because of this, one can justly say aloud: "Lord forgive them, they know not what they do!" Remain true to your innermost feelings, my Hansl, because they will never lead you astray.<sup>5</sup>

Seidel, as Mark Kroll notes, may have been as much Hummel's mythographer as his biographer. Certain events in Hummel's life as recorded by Seidel appear to be exaggerated or even fictional. This quote for example, with its extravagant language, is out of character for Mozart, and the "overpowering thrashing and throwing about of the hands and fingers that silly critics unfortunately call art" sounds suspiciously like a criticism against Beethoven, who was known to have a heavier touch than Hummel in his performances. Nevertheless, it is true that Mozart attended Hummel's initial concerts, and that their closeness and affection for each other was clear.<sup>6</sup>

After Mozart's death, the popularity of his music surged thanks in large part to Hummel. He, in collaboration with Mozart's wife Costanze, his sister Nannerl, and other Mozart admirers, worked

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<sup>5</sup> Max Johann Seidel, *Biographische Notizen aus dem Leben des am 17ten October 1837 verstorbenen Großherzoglich—Sachsen—Weimarischen Kapellmeister und Ritter mehrer Orden: Johann Nepomuk Hummel, ersten Klavierspieler seiner Zeit* (handwritten), 1. Original in Dük, Katalog der Musikalein (Bonn, 1987), no. 2317: 21.

<sup>6</sup> Kroll, 17.

diligently to spread the large body of work Mozart had yet to publish. In doing so Hummel expertly transcribed Mozart's work to accommodate the changing sociological and economic atmosphere.<sup>7</sup> In the early years of the nineteenth century, for example, there was a growing preference for chamber music and string quartets, and so Hummel transcribed some of Mozart's larger symphonic works for string quartet or solo piano. By the 1820s and 30s, the piano itself was revolutionized in many ways, such as the extension of the range, change in tension of the strings, and the dimensions of the hammers. We can see in Mozart's K. 466 how Hummel adjusted passages to include the new fuller range of the piano (Example 1).<sup>8</sup>

**Example 1. Mozart, K. 466, Allegro, mm. 88-91.**



These changes also allowed for increased expressivity. We can see in Mozart's K. 537 how Hummel interpreted and modernized Mozart's work to reflect innovations without affecting the style or structure of the music (Example 2). He also notated stylistic ornamentations where he thought that Mozart would have done so in performance.

Such interpretations can be observed in Example 2b, to which again we credit Miucci and would like to discuss briefly. In the original manuscript, we see relatively dry harmonic support underneath a running sixteenth-note pattern with little embellishment and few performance markings. The range also appears to be constricted to the limits of an older piano, as was shown in the earlier example. In Hummel's transcription, we see much more activity in the left hand, providing richer harmonic and contrapuntal support. The range is expanded for the modern piano, and additional slurring, accents, and dynamic markings are included. In this transcription we see that, while not changing the essential structure of the passage, Hummel imposed a level of virtuosity not immediately apparent in the original manuscript. Hummel transcribed about fifty pieces of Mozart's music,

<sup>7</sup> Leonardo Miucci has written a wonderful article on the importance of these transcriptions).

<sup>8</sup> Leonardo Miucci, "I concerti per fortepiano e orchestra di W. A. Mozart: Le trascrizioni di J. N. Hummel" in *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia* 43, no. 1 (2008): 81–128, see pg. 98. Examples are borrowed from Miucci. Pianos for which Mozart wrote his music had a range of about five octaves. Pianos from the nineteenth century had ranges extending beyond seven octaves.

and Miucci suggests that much of the richness of texture, clarity of motives, and stylistic embellishments found within those works are attributable to him.<sup>9</sup>

Hummel, along with other famous pianists at the time, programmed Mozart's music frequently in his concerts as part of a renewed interest in Mozart that came about in the 1820's. As publications and performances of his work surged, Mozart's music had become increasingly popular.<sup>10</sup> This solidified Mozart's place in Western canon, though perhaps at the expense of his favorite student Hummel, who was never quite able to stand apart from his great master.

**Example 2a. Mozart, K. 537, Allegro, mm. 89-99 (original manuscript).**



**Example 2b. Mozart, K. 537, Allegro, mm. 89-99 (Hummel transcription).**



## II. Hummel in Eisenstadt

This section is meant to describe Hummel's relationship with Haydn, and how it played a fundamental role in Hummel's professional development. In 1791, Hummel's debut tour brought him to London, where he developed a friendship with Haydn. This friendship was maintained after Hummel's return to Vienna, and it is possible that Hummel had organ lessons with Haydn. This friendship proved vital for Hummel's career when in 1803 Haydn recommended Hummel for the position of *Kapellmeister* to the Württemberg court. The recommendation did not secure the position for Hummel, but

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<sup>9</sup> Miucci, 98.

<sup>10</sup> Miucci, 88.

afterward Haydn wrote another recommendation, this time for Hummel to be his successor at the Esterhazy court in Eisenstadt. This time Haydn's recommendation was accepted, and the young Hummel was appointed as orchestra director in 1804.

This was Hummel's most prestigious step forward in his professional career, but unfortunately, Haydn's former position proved difficult for Hummel; many of the other court musicians were not amicable to the new young director. As Kroll put it, Hummel was not a handsome man, and he was often mocked for his weight and brusqueness.<sup>11</sup> The hostile work environment seems to have weighed on Hummel's enthusiasm for the job, as well as his general demeanor. He became aggressive, neglected many of his responsibilities, and ignored the dress code. The process was gradual, but after seven years the prince of the Esterhazy court finally had enough of Hummel's controversies and complaints (including a particularly noteworthy encounter with Beethoven, which will be discussed in the next section), and dismissed him in 1811. Afterward, Hummel returned to Vienna.<sup>12</sup> Although Hummel's tenure at Eisenstadt was tumultuous, his role as successor to Haydn's legacy is historically noteworthy, and his experiences there helped to shape the rest of his career.

### **III. Hummel and Beethoven**

It could be said that Hummel's relationship with Beethoven was complicated. Hummel was Beethoven's chief rival in Vienna; he was often compared critically to Beethoven and, depending on the critic, he was sometimes held to be the better pianist. Ultimately, Hummel recognized Beethoven's musical genius and "quietly accepted his second-place status" as a composer, although this did not diminish his respect and friendship with him.<sup>13</sup> For Hummel, the true test of loyalty was in dealing with Beethoven's all-too-well-known volatility. One day, Beethoven might be furious with Hummel for unknown reasons, and the next day he would invite Hummel over for dinner.<sup>14</sup> One of Beethoven's biographers, Anton Schindler, writes of Hummel's "fatal laugh," at Beethoven when he traveled to the Esterhazy court during Hummel's tenure there.<sup>15</sup> Supposedly in 1807 Beethoven overheard Hummel laugh after Prince Esterhazy criticized a performance of

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<sup>11</sup> Kroll, 41.

<sup>12</sup> Kroll, 41–45.

<sup>13</sup> Kroll, 57.

<sup>14</sup> Kroll, 57. For a time, Beethoven believed himself to be a fine cook, inviting his friends for home cooked meals. Unfortunately for them, Beethoven was by all accounts an absolutely terrible cook, and the meals he prepared were "usually inedible."

<sup>15</sup> Kroll, 60.

Beethoven's *Mass in C major*. Whatever the actual intention of the laugh, Schindler claimed that this estranged the two for a time. However, Hummel's ties with Beethoven eventually recovered and the two maintained a healthy professional relationship in Vienna. Beethoven worked with Hummel on numerous occasions including the premier performances of Beethoven's op. 91, *Wellington's Victory*.<sup>16</sup>

The two composers lost contact after Hummel moved to Stuttgart in 1816, but he returned to see Beethoven on his deathbed in 1827. A student of Hummel's, Ferdinand Hiller, witnessed his final visits with Beethoven, and wrote that they gave Beethoven great pleasure, particularly when Hummel's wife joined them. Of the final visit on March 23, Hiller writes:

He lay exhausted and miserable occasionally sighing quietly. No more words fell from his lips, the perspiration remained on his forehead, and, since his handkerchief was not directly nearby, Hummel's wife took her fine batiste handkerchief and dried his face with it several times. I will never forget the expression of gratitude that came from his defeated face.<sup>17</sup>

Though their relationship had strained, Hummel maintained a deep respect for Beethoven. After Beethoven's death, Hummel, among many distinguished musicians, attended his funeral, and performed in a memorial concert thereafter on April 7.

#### **IV. Hummel the Romantic**

Thus far we have discussed Hummel's personal and professional relationships with Mozart, Haydn, and Beethoven, but what is equally intriguing is the degree of influence Hummel had on the next generation of great composers. Hummel was a renowned teacher as well as performer and composer, and his work as a pedagogue profoundly influenced the development of those who came after him, most notably Schubert, Schumann, Liszt, and Chopin. In 1828, just a year after Beethoven's passing, Hummel published a method book titled *A Complete Theoretical and Practical Course of Instruction on the*

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<sup>16</sup> Kroll, 62. That is, when Beethoven wasn't flirting with Hummel's new wife, Elizabeth Röckel. Supposedly Beethoven was quite infatuated with Ms. Röckel, and it may have caused some tension between Hummel and Beethoven after Hummel married her in 1813. But for the record, Mrs. Hummel always insisted that Beethoven treated her kindly and respectfully after her marriage, and despite innocent flirting, she "never felt he wanted anything more serious."

<sup>17</sup> Ferdinand Hiller, *Künstlerleben* (Köln: M. Du Mont-Schauberg, 1880), 60.

*Art of Playing the Piano Forte*. With this book (also called the *Klavierschule*), Hummel sought to provide a thorough dissemination of piano technique.<sup>18</sup> It certainly was thorough; there were over two thousand individual exercises covering every conceivable hand position and fingering a pianist might find. Despite the sheer volume of the work and the inevitable tedium for its readers that would follow, the book was well-received. It was published in three languages and sold at least eighteen hundred copies on the first day.<sup>19</sup> The success of the book demonstrates that Hummel was a leading figure in the music world, and his insight was coveted all throughout Western Europe.

Robert Schumann was a noteworthy student of the treatise. He spent a great deal of time in his early training studying from the *Klavierschule*. Schumann's diary entries from 1829 show that he faithfully if not obsessively practiced from the book and from Hummel's music. In fact, for Schumann's debut public performance in April 1828 he played none other than Hummel's Piano Concerto in A Minor. 1831 Schumann stated his desire to become Hummel's student, and he wrote a letter to Hummel expressing this desire, along with a small composition. But after six months, he received no response. At this point Hummel was working as the *Kapellmeister* in Weimar and was very busy. But Schumann was still concerned, so he wrote a follow-up letter which included another work, his *Papillions* Op. 2. Hummel eventually replied in May 1832, but to Schumann's dismay, Hummel had rejected his request. It would seem that Schumann took this in stride, although afterward his criticisms of Hummel's work became more pointed. After vigorously studying the *Klavierschule* in his early training, Schumann later criticized the book for its lack of efficiency, writing that in the book he found "as many pointless things as useful ones."<sup>20</sup> He also reviewed Hummel's Etudes op. 125, where Schumann called them "lifeless," "completely lacking in imagination," and "coming years too late."<sup>21</sup>

Though Liszt may not have never actually met Hummel, his influence is clear. Interestingly, Liszt's father had worked at the Esterhazy court as an accountant while Hummel was employed there. When young Franz demonstrated his prodigy at age seven, his father first asked Hummel to be his teacher, in much the same way that Hummel's father had asked Mozart to instruct his son. Hummel's instructor fees, however, proved to be too high for Liszt's father, and he instead

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<sup>18</sup> Kroll, 252.

<sup>19</sup> Jarl Olaf Hulbert, "The Pedagogical Legacy of Johann Nepomuk Hummel" (PhD Diss., University of Maryland, 2006), 29

<sup>20</sup> Robert Schumann, *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik* 5 (1834): 73–75.

<sup>21</sup> Schumann, 74.

turned to Carl Czerny, who saw the young boy's talent and did not charge for lessons. Liszt studied and played Hummel's work often in his early career. In fact, Liszt, like Schumann, performed the Piano Concerto in A Minor for his debut public performance in Vienna.

After Hummel's passing, Liszt took up his position as *Kapellmeister* in Weimar and lived for a time on *Marienstrasse*, the same street on which Hummel had lived, and where Mrs. Elizabeth Hummel continued to live. Though Liszt always spoke very highly of Hummel as an artist and composer, Mrs. Hummel did not extend that same respect to Liszt. She advocated for Hummel's more conservative compositional style and piano playing and frequently disparaged Liszt as a musician. She accused him of "destroying the true art of piano playing."<sup>22</sup>

Hummel's influence can also be found in the compositions of others. Elements of his compositional style can be seen in Schubert's, Schumann's, and Chopin's works.<sup>23</sup> For example, observe in Chopin's *Nocturne* in E Major, op. 62/2, how he borrows from Hummel's virtuosic ornamentation over a steady bass line at cadential moments (Example 3). Another example shows how in *Etude* op. 25/6, Chopin composes virtuosic chromatic third passages in much the same way Hummel does (Example 4). Chopin also references Hummel with his *24 Preludes*, op. 28. Hummel also composed a collection of *24 Preludes*, op. 67, and like Hummel, Chopin organized his work according to the harmonic circle of fifths.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Alan Walker, *Franz Liszt: The Weimar Years, 1848–1861* (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1989): 195.

<sup>23</sup> Hulbert notes that one of Chopin's composition teachers, Jozef Elsner, guided him toward Hummel's music as a teaching tool. Hulbert also quotes one of Chopin's students, Adolph Gutmann, whom stated that Chopin "was particularly fond of Hummel's style." Hulbert, 35-36.

<sup>24</sup> Examples 3a and 4a are borrowed from Kroll, 314–317.

Example 3a. Chopin, *Nocturne in E Major, op. 62/2, mm. 30-33.*

Musical score for Example 3a, Chopin's *Nocturne in E Major, op. 62/2, mm. 30-33.* The score is in E major, 4/4 time. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef and a bass clef. The second system shows a red oval highlighting a triplet of eighth notes in the treble clef, followed by a trill (tr) and a fermata (f) over a quarter note.

Example 3b. Hummel, *Piano Concerto in A Minor, op. 85/I, mm. 152-56.*

Musical score for Example 3b, Hummel's *Piano Concerto in A Minor, op. 85/I, mm. 152-56.* The score is in A minor, 2/4 time. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef and a bass clef. The second system shows a red oval highlighting a triplet of eighth notes in the treble clef, followed by a trill (tr) and a fermata (f) over a quarter note.

Example 4a. Chopin, *Etude, op. 25/6, m. 4.*

Musical score for Example 4a, Chopin's *Etude, op. 25/6, m. 4.* The score is in E major, 4/4 time. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef and a bass clef. The second system shows a red oval highlighting a triplet of eighth notes in the treble clef, followed by a trill (tr) and a fermata (f) over a quarter note.

Example 4b. Hummel, *Piano Concerto in A Minor, op. 85/I, mm. 431-36.*

Musical score for Example 4b, Hummel's *Piano Concerto in A Minor, op. 85/I, mm. 431-36.* The score is in A minor, 2/4 time. The first system shows the beginning of the piece with a treble clef and a bass clef. The second system shows a red oval highlighting a triplet of eighth notes in the treble clef, followed by a trill (tr) and a fermata (f) over a quarter note.



## V. Hummel's Decline

Why, then, if Hummel was held in equal standing with Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven in regards to compositional quality, performance prowess, and compositional influence, was he so quickly forgotten? One strong possibility may be that he simply outlived the Classical era. There is general agreement among historians that the Classical era ends around 1820. Hummel died in 1837, and by that time Romantic practices were well established and generally preferred by audiences. Hummel's decline in the public eye can perhaps be seen most clearly by comparing the reception of his final two English tours in 1830 and 1831.

His earlier trip was eagerly anticipated thanks to the support of two of his most famous contemporaries, virtuoso pianists Friedrich Kalkbrenner and Ignaz Moscheles. Kalkbrenner, who established himself as a leading figure in London from 1814 to 1823, wrote of an "infinite desire" in London to hear Hummel play, and maintained his high praise of Hummel throughout his career.<sup>25</sup> Moscheles, an established Bohemian performer and teacher in London from 1822 to 1832, also advertised Hummel's arrival and made efforts to sell tickets to his performances. Hummel himself worked to promote his tour to a great extent; he purchased more advertising space than any of his colleagues in the area and scheduled performances with many leading singers and instrumentalists, including Moscheles.

The tour was wildly successful. In addition to a number of smaller performances with local artists, Hummel performed three "Benefit Concerts" with premier artists, which drew large crowds and received many glowing reviews. In particular, the third "farewell concert" sold out so quickly that one critic from the magazine *The Harmonicon* could not even purchase a ticket. They wrote:

Such was the desire to hear [Hummel], as it was likely that no other opportunity would be presented, that the room was filled soon after the opening of the doors. So crowded, indeed, was every part, and so blocked up were the avenues, that though we attended before the performance commenced, we could obtain no admission, and therefore have only to state, from the programme, that Mr. Hummel played.<sup>26</sup>

Each critic spoke highly of Hummel's execution, elegance, and clarity. Although his conservative approach to his compositions and

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<sup>25</sup> Karl Benyovsky and J. N. Hummel, *Der Mensch und Kunstler* (Eos: Bratislava, 1934): 311-12.

<sup>26</sup> Kroll, 132, quoted from *Harmonicon*, 307.

performance was acknowledged, he was still clearly admired by the music community. However, public tastes continued to evolve and his 1831 tour proved to be far less favorable. The first public concert on the later tour, though well-reviewed, was unusually poorly attended, and consisted mostly of his friends and colleagues. His second concert was much the same, even though Moscheles had been featured as a guest artist. Critics increasingly described Hummel as 'old school,' and attributed the poor turnout to his lack of modern tastes.<sup>27</sup>

Hummel was confused by his concert's lackluster reception, believing that England's political unrest was to blame.<sup>28</sup> Surely it had an important role, but there was another factor that likely affected Hummel's ticket sales: Paganini was in town. Paganini entranced audiences with virtuosic display and almost supernatural stage presence. He was the epitome of the new Romantic style and dominated the public eye. Paganini performed eight of his own public concerts while Hummel was in London, leaving Hummel's concert houses bare.

Hummel struggled to make a presence, but ultimately, he could not attract the crowds, the quality of his reviews continued to decline, and he was asked to be a guest artist in few concerts.<sup>29</sup> After the 1831 London tour, Hummel wound down his performance presence, though he did return to England once more as a conductor in 1833. This was to be his last tour, however, as his health was deteriorating. He continued to perform his duties in Weimar, and gave his final performance in March of 1837, before his death in October.<sup>30</sup>

## **VI. The A-Minor Concerto**

At the time of his death, Hummel had composed over three hundred works, and one of the most acknowledged masterpieces of his collection is undoubtedly the Piano Concerto in A Minor. Its elegance, clarity of form, and ornamental flare are indicative of a Classical/Romantic style for which Hummel was the foremost representative. Hummel composed the work in 1816, after he returned to Vienna from Eisenstadt, and performed it consistently over the remainder of his touring career. It was also closely studied

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<sup>27</sup> Kroll, 138.

<sup>28</sup> Kroll, 137. The English Commons had recently been dissolved, and much of the press was focused on the upcoming elections to replace it. Hummel could not acquire the kind of attention he had been offered in the previous year. Advertisements and reviews were largely pushed to the back pages of the newspapers.

<sup>29</sup> Kroll, 140

<sup>30</sup> "Hummel – The Last Years," The Hummel Project, accessed November 10, 2016, <http://www.jnhummel.info/en/lifelastyears.php>

by great Romantic composers whom followed Hummel, as we have suggested by comparing the compositional elements with works by Chopin, and in discussing Hummel's influence on Schumann and Liszt, both of whom chose to play it on their debut public performances. As Hummel's public reception declined in the 1830's and in the decades following his death, this work, along with many others, has been forgotten by music history. As historians gradually rediscover Hummel's work, they may yet begin to include his name as one of the great composers of the First Viennese School.

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# Historical Music Referenced in Czech Contemporary Music (focused on the “Brno Compositional School”)

IVO MEDEK, SÁRA MEDKOVÁ, VÍT ZOUHAR

If we are to speak of the interaction between historical and contemporary music at the general level, we should not overlook a few substantial moments in the music of the 19th and 20th centuries. In his text titled *Stará místo nové* (Old Instead of New), Martin Flašar mentions three such moments.<sup>1</sup> The first is the well-known performance of Bach's *St. Mathew Passion* by Mendelssohn-Bartholdy in 1829; in all likelihood, the very first delivery of historical art music, which opened the path to the emancipation of the previously exclusively performed contemporary music and the gradually emerging historical music.

The second watershed Flašar refers to is Stravinsky's *Pulcinella*, writing as follows: “Even though the composer evidently enjoyed the reminiscence of Baroque music, the critics were less forbearing. In connection with Stravinsky, in his *Philosophie der Neuen Musik*, Theodor Adorno applies the term ‘music about music’ and upbraids him for dishonouring the music of our fathers and being servile to the authorities of early music.<sup>2</sup> “*Neoclassicism? A husk of style? Cultured pearls? Well, which of us today is not a highly conditioned oyster?*”<sup>3</sup> Stravinsky said regarding the topic, later adding:

“Pulcinella was my discovery of the past, the epiphany through which the whole of my late work became possible. It was a backward look of course — the first of many love affairs in that direction — but it was a look in the mirror too.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Martin Flašar, “Stará místo nové. Proč interpretace nahrazuje současnou hudební tvorbu?” (Old Instead of New. Why the Interpretation Replaces Contemporary Music?), in *Ars longa, vita brevis*, ed. Jozef Vereš (Nitra: Univerzita Konštantína Filozofa in Nitra, 2015), 89-104.

<sup>2</sup> “[...] *leading the music of our fathers by the nose*”. Theodor Wiesengrund Adorno, *Philosophie der neuen Musik* (Frankfurt a. Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1976), 168.

<sup>3</sup> Igor Stravinsky and Robert Craft, *Dialogues* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 30.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted by Howard GARDNER, “Igor Stravinsky: The Poetics and Politics of Music,” *AVANT IV*, no. 3 (2013): 229.

Stravinsky remains an avant-garde representative in this respect too, as he – apparently the first to do so in the 20th century – recontextualised early music long before the accession of post-modernism.

The third historicising moment in music mentioned by Flašar is Schnittke's 1971 concept of polystylistic music, closely linked with the beginning of post-modernism and return to the historical music idiom, which he documents by quoting the composer: "*By the polystylistic method I mean not merely the 'collage wave' in contemporary music but also more subtle ways of using elements of another's style.*"<sup>5</sup>

Historical music was made use of in the works of post-war composers in a variety of forms, in dependence on the phase of the compositional process it entered. Historical music can only serve as a source of inspiration and does not appear in any form in the newly conceived work. Another optional use is partial exploitation – most frequently in the form of the work, whereby a contemporary piece employs historical formal schemes – although it must be pointed out that it is very often in a fashion that to varying degrees of generality rather respects certain principles of the particular scheme.

At the moment when historical music in any form indeed does appear in a new work, we get to the sphere of musical quotation. In this case, it always depends on what result the composer aims to attain by means of this or that form of quotation. The practice of musical quotation dates back to the 18th century and was amply applied in Romantic music. And the 20th century followed suit in this regard. In their publication *Transference hudebních elementů v kompozicích současných skladatelů*<sup>6</sup> (Transference of Musical Elements in Works of Contemporary Composers), the authors, Parsch, Piňos and Šťasný, define various possible quotations, with respect to the expected effect. The first alternative is the "fragmental quotation", with a specific quoted fragment being incorporated into the new structure. In the case that the original source extracted object is not transferred but the form of its structure is analytically interpreted, we can speak of the "structural quotation".

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<sup>5</sup> Alfred Schnittke, "Polystylistic tendencies in modern music," in *A Schnittke Reader*, ed. Alexander Ivashkin. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 87.

<sup>6</sup> Parsch, Arnošt and Alois Piňos and Jaroslav Šťasný: *Transference hudebních elementů v kompozicích současných skladatelů* [Transference of Musical Elements in Works of Contemporary Composers]. (Brno: JAMU, 2003).

Another possibility is “quotation of the material”, pertaining to a quotation of the manner of the generation of some of the parameters, as well as entire rhythmic-melodic structures. Serving as an example is Janáček’s well-known use of melodic and rhythmic formations, created on the basis of the modal material of Moravian ethnic music – for instance, in *Jenufa* and in the *Diary of One Who Disappeared*.

The “quotation of the style” variant does not refer to a specific composer, work or compositional technique, but to a certain stylistic historical epoch or a specific trend in newer music. This approach is evident in various neo-styles or in the case when the composer of a new work uses to the full the idiom characteristic of the respective style or trend.

The compositional method of creating multilayer musical objects by means of the collage technique may be termed “collage of quotations”.

Of a specific nature is the “cryptic quotation”, which is deliberately concealed and merely targets a certain group of connoisseurs.

When it comes to the authorship of the quotation, it is possible to treat quotations taken over from pieces by other composers, as well as quotations from one’s own works.

Transferred as a quotation can be an original (quoted) object, but also an interpreted form of its structure (the “structural quotation”). The “associative quotation” most frequently appears in connection with a certain symbolism.

Whichever of the aforementioned types of quotations is used, it involves the transference of specific information, generated by the quotation, with its crucial feature being the degree of assimilation and dissimilation, the degree of comprehensibility and recognisability. The greater the degree to which a quotation is assimilated into the new structures, the weaker its recognisability, and the greater its detachment, the more it becomes isolated from the newly created structures, that is, its surroundings.

The very brief summary reveals that there is a large variety of means of working with quotations, with various expected impacts on the listener, ranging from the evocation of the atmosphere of a particular epoch, through the application of fragmentary compositional techniques, to the wide utilisation in the semantic area, including all kinds of games with disclosing concealed quotations. When opting for quotations, references to historical music rank among the most frequent.

In global 20th- and 21st-century music, quotations from the music of the previous centuries have appeared in all the mentioned forms in

works by **Alban Berg** (the *Lyric Suite*, for instance), **Igor Stravinsky** (the *Symphony of Psalms*, *Mass*, *Threni*, *Monumentum pro Gesualdo di Venosa*, etc.), while collages, particularly multilayer ones, are present in pieces by **Charles Ives** (*Central Park in the Dark* or *Three Places in New England*), after World War II in compositions by **Hans Werner Henze** (*Symphony No. 2*, the pantomime *Idiot* and the opera *Die Bassariden*), **Bernt Alois Zimmermann** (*Die Soldaten* and numerous other works), Karlheinz Stockhausen (*Originale*, *Telemusik*, etc.), and in countless forms in pieces by John Cage, Mauricio Kagel, György Ligeti, Alfred Schnittke, and other composers.

When it comes to Czech contemporary music, we can observe certain specificities mainly pertaining to the compositions written during the time of the Communist regime and, most markedly, in connection with the invasion of the country by the Warsaw Pact armies in 1968. We should bear in mind that during the period of the rapid accession of the second avant-garde at the end of the 1940s and the beginning of the 1950s the then Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was accomplishing the revolutionary transition from a culturally and economically advanced and globally positively perceived post-war country to a Communist dictatorship, with all the attendant consequences for culture and the arts. The links to the evolution of culture in the Western democracies were severed, while those who remained in contact with it were persecuted by the police. This had a direct impact on the development of all types of contemporary art, with music being no exception. The idea of so-called socialist realism condemned all the artists who reflected the global trends and strove to keep in contact with the Western culture into the role of undesirables, which entailed the respective negative social and economic implications. The liberalisation of the political situation in the middle of the 1960s was, in the wake of the Soviet occupation in 1968, followed by repression and ideological restrictions even harsher than there had been previously. Up until the 1980s, Czech contemporary music was represented within and without by composers who conformed to the Communist ideology, whereas a number of superlative creators of the time wrote their works without having any chance of their being performed in public or chose to emigrate. When freedom itself is suppressed, whatever form it may take, every people tends to fasten to its history as a source of strength and national awareness. And it was the same in the case of the former Czechoslovakia. Besides composers who openly opposed the regime and whose pieces were scarcely performed in public (mainly at private events for trustworthy acquaintances or from materials illegally brought from abroad), there was a large group of artists whose pieces were allowed to be performed in public (with greater or smaller difficulties), yet they did not inwardly agree with the



Communist regime and yearned, in various manners, to contribute to its erosion, ironisation and parodisation, as well as to boost the sense of national belonging and courage to revolt against the totalitarian state. Ideal for these forms in music was the use of various types of quotations incorporated into the new compositions. Very frequently applied were quotations from liturgical music and Old Czech hymns, as religious subjects were among those out of favour.

I would like, at this juncture, to mention at least a few of the distinguished Czech composers who, in various ways, have exploited the potential of historical, primarily Renaissance, Baroque and Classicist, music, and go on to outline their intentions and the actual manner of their implementation.

Czech-American connotations with references to historical, yet also folk, music are palpable in some of the pieces by **Karel Husa** (b. 1921), a Czech composer living in the USA. This applies to, for instance, his 1986 work *An American Te Deum*, which employs both elements of the Gregorian chant and quotations of several folk songs evoking the nations of the settlers arriving in the USA.

In terms of the diversity of the elements taken over from historical music, especially noteworthy are several Czech composers of different generations, particularly **Miloslav Ištvan** (1928 – 1990), **Alois Piňos** (1925 – 2008), **Miloš Štědroň** (b. 1942), **Peter Graham** (b. 1952) and **Vít Zouhar** (b. 1966).

When it comes to **Miloslav Ištvan**, the most relevant in this context is his piece *Ommagio á J. S. Bach* (1971), in which selected Bach works are applied –as the composer put it – as sonic sources from without and installed into new connections through various kinds of filtration and combination of the prepared objects. The great majority of the thematic material in *Hry* (Games, 1977) is based on early-Renaissance formulae reflecting inspirations by Machaut, which are enciphered and transformed into a contemporary musical language. In the choral piece *Cor mio* (1979), quotations of fragments of Monteverdi's eponymous madrigal form part of the newly composed layers.

Example No. 1: Claudio Monteverdi: *Cor mio!*, bars 1-10.

**Adagio, ma non troppo**

Cantus  
Cor mio men - tre vi mi - - ro.

Altus  
Cor mio men - tre vi mi - - ro.

Quintus

Tenor  
*mf cresc.*  
Vi-si-bil-

Bassus  
Cor mio men - tre vi mi - - ro.

Example No. 2: Miloslav Ištvan: *Cor mio*, bars 24-31 - quotation of Monteverdi - bars 5-10

$\text{♩} = 88$

SOPRANO 1  
mi si - tras-form' - te mi si - tras-form' - te

SOPRANO 2  
vi - si - bil-men - te mi si - tras-form' -

ALTO  
vi - si - bil- men - te mi si - tras- form'

TENOR

BASS

3

mi si - tras - form' - te mi si - tras - form' - te

te mi si tras - form' te mi si tras - form'

- te mi si - tras - form' - te mi si - tras - form'

mi - - - tras - - - form' - - - in - - -

tr a s - - - f o r m' - - -

5

mi si-tras-form' - te mi tras - form' cor - - - mio

te mi si tras-form' - te mi tras - form' cor - - - mio

- te mi si - tras form' - te mi tras- form' - - - cor - - - mio

- - - vo - - - i - - - men - - - tre vi mi - ro - - -

- - - in - - - voi men - - - tre vi mi - ro

Transferred objects reflecting historical music are amply present in the compositions of **Alois Piňos**. Accentuating the spiritual dimension and continuity of the Czech existence, the Czech past unfurls in contraction by means of suggestions and allusions to pieces by Czech composers (Michna, Dvořák, Janáček), as well as in the frequently used old Czech hymns (Lord, Have Mercy On Us, and Saint Wenceslas). The B-A-C-H motif runs all the way through the *Koncert na jméno Bach* (Concerto in Favour of Bach), while the symphonic composition *České letokruhy* (Czech Annual Rings) juxtaposes a number of objects

transferred from Czech historical music and gradually integrates them.

**Miloš Štědroň** uses historical music – dating from the Monteverdi epoch in particular (he is the author of the very first Monteverdi monograph in Bohemia) – as the key source of inspiration, complemented by his lifelong focus on the miniature form. As Jindřiška Bártová writes in the monograph *Camerata Brno* (2): “The sui generis matter for Štědroň is the Monteverdi ritornello, which in addition to its original function, return, ensuring the work’s cohesion, also often acquires the function of characterising (within juxtapositions of various stylistic levels) ... or it is the bearer of a specific historical message ...”

From among the numerous examples in his oeuvre, these aspects are perhaps best represented by the cycle *SECONDA PRATICA*. The first piece of *Seconda pratica I* combines two materials:

**Figure 1: 8 intervals and chords from Carlo Gesualdo da Venosa’s madrigal *Tu m’uccidi, o crudele*;**



The selection of the two materials pertains in the case of Gesualdo’s work to a succession of 1 note, 3 intervals and 4 chords with alternate harmonic tension, while as regards Monteverdi’s piece, it concerns one of the most intriguing harmonic passages – F x F sharp in line with the *seconda pratica* theory. These materials blend together and are supplemented with microtonal “mirrors” and melodic areas of fourths. The two - Gesualdo and Monteverdi - “mottos” pass through the entire composition as a unifying material. Similar techniques are also applied in the cycle’s other three parts.

In the organ cycle *Claudio + Leo*, Štědroň juxtaposes in four forms the Monteverdi and Janáček impulses (Štědroň is one of the world’s leading Janáček connoisseurs). The first section, *CLAUDIO I*, is a stylised *moresca*, made up of two slightly asymmetrical nine-bar passages. The Monteverdi area is built up on an ascending melodic sequence and shorter descending passages, using Monteverdi *cadenzas*. The other parts also employ *sarabanda* and *passacaglia*, in which the bass is formed by 12-note series, with the individual segments of the series being transformed through rotation and forming the *passacaglia* basis. In the final, fourth, part, the Monteverdi impulse cumulates the Monteverdi *cadenzas* in the utmost density with the aim to give the impression of a *stretto*.

Similar impulses can also be found in Štědroň's Miniatures CM for cello and piano, 7 villanelle, Canti claudiani and other works.

Example No. 3: Gesualdo da Venosa: *Tu m'uccidi, o crudele*, bars 1-5.

The musical score consists of two systems of five staves each. The first system covers bars 1-3, and the second system covers bars 4-5. The lyrics are distributed across the vocal parts as follows:

- System 1 (Bars 1-3):**
  - S1: Tu m'uc - ci - - di, o cru - de - -
  - S2: Tu m'uc - ci - - di, o cru - de - -
  - A: Tu m'uc - ci - -
  - T: (Silent)
  - B: (Silent)
- System 2 (Bars 4-5):**
  - S1: le, cru - de -
  - S2: - le cru -
  - A: di, o cru - de - - - le, o cru - de - le,
  - T: Tu m'uc - ci - di, o cru - de - le,
  - B: Tu m'uc - ci -

**Example No. 4: Miloš Štědroň: *Seconda pratica*, bars 1-12.**

**Flosculi from Monteverdi's *Il ballo delle ingrate*.**



The symphonic composition *Byly časy, byly* (There Were Times, There Were), jointly created in 2000 by **Ivo Medek** (b. 1956), **Alois Piňos** and **Miloš Štědroň** (b. 1942), contains a quotation of various historical materials, which serves as the pivotal structural element. The work, written upon commission from the Brno Philharmonic Orchestra, with the aim to capture the characteristic facets of the development of music over the past two millennia, applies all the aforementioned types of quotations. Even though the piece contains dozens of quotations, precious few of them are easy to perceive, as the majority are either transformed or integrated or recast into a contemporary whole.

**Example No. 5: Miloš Štědroň: *Seconda pratica* - bars 13 - 19 - five times repeated 3 chords from Monteverdi**

If Miloslav Ištvan placed emphasis on the multilayered nature of his compositions, and as a result made use of the traits of a variety of historical materials, his pupil **Vít Zouhar** transformed this requirement in the 1990s into plays with a context, and after 2000 into a synthesis termed in the Czech context as Baroque Minimalism, that is, minimalism in which the detail and the whole refer to historical music and minimalism alike.<sup>7</sup>

What did it concern? At the beginning of the 1990s, Zouhar was experimenting with contrastive aesthetic patterns. He superimposed and overlaid them, with the aim to give rise to a compact and monolithic whole. He juxtaposed structures that are not related to each other, stem from various historical epochs and different ethnicities, yet he joined them together in such a manner that they naturally interlocked. His objective was for their interaction,

<sup>7</sup> Wanda Dobrovská, "Jak rychle nám stárne hudba 20. století" (How fast is 20th century music getting old), *Mladá fronta* (Young Front, Czech Republic), Nov. 21, 2001.



superimposition, sequencing and inosculation to give rise to new meanings and – as he highlighted – a new energy.<sup>8</sup> Zouhar has always been convinced that further progress in music will not take place in the field of innovation of material but solely at the level of meaning, as a result of combining that which has not previously been combined.

To be specific, let us first pay attention to the finale of the first movement of Zouhar's 1993 piece *Blízká setkání zběsilostí srdce* (Close Encounters of the Wild at Heart), for piano and orchestra, in which he blends together a historicising loop in the strings with a minimalist layer in the piano, percussion and brass instruments. When employing traits of historical materials or ethnic music, Zouhar consistently eschews quotations and creates paraphrases. These two aesthetically and stylistically distant layers are interconnected owing to bindings of their tonal centres, rhythmical structures and joint pulsation:

Vít Zouhar did not plunge into linking together historical and minimalist gestures in the 1990s, he had begun devoting to this synthesis back in the middle of the 1980s, when he first blended recordings of Baroque music with rock guitar breaks.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, he only started with consistent superimposition of Baroque and minimalist elements in the 1990s. Repeated cadenza loops inserted in sonic-rhythmic areas are present in Zouhar's trio *Jako voda je* (Like Water Is), for clarinet, bassoon and piano (1994), the bassoon quartet *Co všechno se může tangu také stát* (Whatever Can Happen to Tango, 1997), and the 1998 chamber cantata *Kyvadlo* (Pendulum).<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Matěj Kratochvíl, "Inconcievable In Combination. Vít Zouhar on the Postmodern - interview with composer Vít Zouhar," *Czech Music*, no. 2 (2002): 2-5.

<sup>9</sup> Karla Zouharová, *Gesta a řád v opeře Coronide Víta Zouhara* (Gestures and Order in Vít Zouhar's opera Coronide) Theses (Pardubice: Konzervatoř Pardubice, 2005), 18.

<sup>10</sup> Tereza Havelková, "Zouhar, Vít," in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart : allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik*, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 2008), 1199-1201.

Example No. 6: Vít Zouhar: *Close Encounters of the Wild at Heart*,  
*Presto*, bars 139-144, p. 19.

139 *mf e cresc.* 140

Flute

Oboe

Clarinet

Bassoon

Horn

Trumpet 1/2

Trumpet 3

Trombone 1/2

Timpani

Tom

Tom

Tom

Piano

*mf e cresc.*

Violin I

Violin II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabass

Around 2000, Zouhar shifted from this type of playing with the context to playing with emotions and ahistorical associations. This transformation was directly related to setting of Baroque opera librettos, whose original music has not been preserved. Zouhar approaches these texts in a manner similar to that of his method of superimposing and connecting heterogeneous musical materials.<sup>11</sup> He

<sup>11</sup> Miloš Štědroň, “La Dafne – razance jako před čtyřmi sty lety“ (La Dafne – fierce like huderd years ago), *Opus musicum* 43, no. 4, (2011): 62-65.

pieces extracts of them together into collages, in which he uses fragments of Antique myths and period commentaries in various language layers, thus giving rise to a new libretto and non-linear stories, while focusing on the emotion contained in the libretto.<sup>12</sup>

When in 2000 Zouhar was tackling the problem of “translating” into music the 1731 Italian libretto for his first opera, *Coronide*, he decided to make use of the principles of the musically rhetorical figures, which are still comprehensible to listeners today.<sup>13</sup> Such figures can be found in film, advertising and pop music, whereby, for instance, *descensus* continues to be an attribute of sorrow and death, while *ascensus* expresses joy and innocence, and dotted rhythm characterises anger. Accordingly, Zouhar primarily aimed to make the affections of the Baroque libretto understandable to the contemporary audience, without having to translate the text into Czech. In this manner, he concurrently resolved the problem of bringing his own post-minimalist idiom close to the Baroque narration. He added more concealed layers: the meanings of tonalities and gestures of structures. Furthermore, he reduced the text to passages directly pertaining to the affections.

Serving as a specific example is the arioso of the nymph Coronide (Coronis), who bewails her fate and forebodes that she will be killed by Apollo. In this section, Zouhar expresses death by means of a typical attribute, the *ciaccona* descending bass, whereas Coronide’s ascending melodic line copies the E-minor triad, thus symbolising the nymph’s innocence.<sup>14</sup> And so as to make her innocence indisputable, Zouhar doubles the tonic symbolism by a reverberation of the principle applied by Arvo Pärt in his *tintinnabuli*, where a *tintinnabuli* voice expressing forgiveness.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Vít Zouhar, “The text and beyond: real-time opera. Notes on La Dafne, Coronide and Mente,” in *Musica Nova VII. Almanac of the International Conference Musica Nova VII. Janáčkova akademie múzických umění v Brně 2011*, ed. Jaroslav Šťastný (Brno: JAMU, 2012), 119.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, 121.

<sup>14</sup> Parsch, Arnošt and Alois Piños and Jaroslav Šťastný: *Transference hudebních elementů v kompozicích současných skladatelů* (Transference of Musical Elements in Works of Contemporary Composers). (Brno: JAMU, 2003), 99.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. “Meine Melodien sind Sünden. Tintinnabuli - die Vergebung der Sünden.“ “Tintinnabuli – Flucht in die freiwillige Armut,” in *Sowjetische Musik im Licht der Perestrojka. Interpretationen. Quellentexte. Komponistenmonographien*, ed. Herman Danuser (Laaber: Laaber, 1990), 269.

Example No. 7: Vít Zouhar: *Coronide*, Scene 8, bars 29-60.

29 *p*  
 A. Tu - tto mi di - ce tu - tto di - ce che so - no u - na in - fe -  
 VI.g *p*

36  
 A. li - ce piu - u non so - no la tu - a vi - ta piu - u non so - no tu - o  
 VI.g

44  
 A. con - ten - to Il tu - o - be - ne non so - no piu — Mo - o - o - ro pri - ma  
 VI.g

52  
 A. di mi - rar Que - lla a - lma a tri - on - far que - e - e lla  
 VI.g

59 1. 2.  
 A. a - lma tri - on - far a - lma tri - on - far a - a - lma tri - i - on - far.  
 VI.g

Similar general principles are used by Zouhar in other operas, including *La Dafne* (2011), set to Ottavio Rinucini's text, dating from 1597. In this opera, ambiguity is also implicated in the actual configuration of the orchestra, which refers to a Baroque reflection of Antique drama, when it is reduced to the basso continuo section, a theorba, positive organ and cello. Yet is also bears another meaning, as within the contemporary context this group of three instruments

can also be deemed a paraphrase of a rock formation: guitar, keyboards, bass and percussion.<sup>16</sup>

Zouhar's tendency to reduce the text reaches the utmost limits in Scene 4 of *La Dafne*. Whereas this part of Ottavio Rinuccini's original libretto, serving to celebrate God, included some 24 stanzas, Zouhar merely retains the introductory "*Almo Dio*", concentrating everything into this single point, accentuated by a single expanding pattern, which gradually transforms and is symbolised by the key of A minor, defined by Christian Schubart as characterising softness (*Weichheit*).<sup>17</sup>

**Example No. 8: Vít Zouhar: *La Dafne*, Scene 4, bars 1-10.**

**4. La Dafne: Almo Dio**

The musical score for "Almo Dio" is presented in a multi-staff format. It begins with a tempo marking of ♩ = 100. The vocal parts are arranged as follows:

- SOPRANO:** The melody starts with a piano (*p*) dynamic and includes a *simile* marking. The lyrics are "Di - o, Di - o, Di - o, Di - o, Di - o,—" with a long note on the final "o".
- CONTRATENORE:** The melody is in a lower register, also starting piano (*p*). The lyrics are "Di - o, Di - o,".
- ALTO:** The melody is in a middle register, starting piano (*p*). The lyrics are "Di - o, Di - o, Di - o, Di - o,".
- BASSO:** The part is mostly silent, indicated by a series of horizontal lines.
- Organo:** The accompaniment starts piano (*p*) with a rhythmic pattern of chords and eighth notes.
- Tiorba:** The part is mostly silent, with some rhythmic patterns in the lower register.

Yet all these attributes are not decisive in order to comprehend *La Dafne*, *Coronide*, and the other works of Vít Zouhar. It is something that can be revealed, not that which must be known and be acquainted

<sup>16</sup> Vít Zouhar, "The text and beyond: real-time opera. Notes on *La Dafne*, *Coronide* and *Mente*," in *Musica Nova VII. Almanac of the International Conference Musica Nova VII. Janáčkova akademie múzických umění v Brně 2011*, ed. Jaroslav Šťastný (Brno: JAMU, 2012), 123.

<sup>17</sup> Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart, *Ideen zu einer Ästhetik der Tonkunst*, ed. by Ludwig Schubart (Vienna: J. V. Degen, 1806), 377.

with, or something everyone should be provided with so as to be able to access these compositions. The very opposite is the case.<sup>18</sup>

A number of interesting approaches to using historical reflections can be found in the works of Peter Graham. In *Carceri d'invenzione*, subtitled *Chromatic Fantasy and Fugue for Accordion*, the historical aspect is anchored in inspiration, which permeates the entire piece. The title, meaning "imaginary prisons", has been taken over from a series of graphic prints by the Italian Baroque artist and architect G. B. Piranesi (1720-1778), depicting bizarre buildings of fictitious jails that conceal secret escape routes.

The choice of the accordion in this piece is an analogy to Piranesi's situation: in the impoverished Italy of his time, he could not materialise his architectural visions but only draw them on paper; hence he only designed buildings that can exist merely on paper. Similarly, the composition's relatively monumental conception is fleshed out by means of the "humble" accordion, yet the score makes use of the instrument's specificities that cannot be replaced by anything else.

Graham's work consists of two parts. The *Fantasy* brings to bear extreme contrasts of timbre and dynamics, expressing fierce explosions of anger in a hopeless situation, as well as the persistent endeavour to "get elsewhere". The subsequent *Fugue* reveals a slow process of patient construction. In actual fact, this section is not a fugue in the sense of the conventional rules, but a sort of illusory architecture, one in line with Piranesi's fantastic designs.

Another notable Graham composition, titled *Annabara* (2014), is made up of four movements and scored for recorder and harpsichord (or another historical keyboard instrument). The whole piece is dominated by the principle of segmentation, whereby each movement includes just a part of the tonic material prepared in advance. Accordingly, relatively well-known things are put in new connections, thus giving rise to unexpected meanings. Particularly interesting is the fourth movement, with a "harum-scarum" basso continuo.

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<sup>18</sup> Vít Zouhar, "The text and beyond: real-time opera. Notes on La Dafne, Coronide and Mente," in *Musica Nova VII. Almanac of the International Conference Musica Nova VII. Janáčkova akademie múzických umění v Brně 2011*, ed. Jaroslav Šťastný (Brno: JAMU, 2012), 124.

**Example No. 9: Peter Graham: *Carceri d'invenzione*- Part II, bars 1-13**

♩ = 76

♩ = 80

The scorned street-fair music dating from the Hussite period in Bohemia inspired Peter Graham to write his *Serenade*, possessing the very attributes of this type of music. Although the piece is written for antique and noble instruments, it is not the type of music that would have actually been played at an aristocrat's court. Therefore, prior to performing the composition, it is recommended to somewhat detune the instruments, so as to prevent it from coming across as historical music. This actually means that even in the passages marked as unison a sort of heterophony is produced. Graham's *Serenade* is scored for various plucked instruments (guitars, lute, harpsichord). This quoting of a style, deliberately low-brow, allows for a novel, contemporary rendition.

Without a shadow of a doubt, we could find within the "Brno Compositional School" numerous other creators who have made use of the historical impulse in some of their works. These definitely include Arnošt Parsch, Jiří Bárta and Michal Košut. And numerous other composers would have to be mentioned when it comes to the entire realm of post-1950 Czech music – yet to name these would require a far more exhaustive text.



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# Barbara Willi Interview

TRANSCRIBED BY EMILY SMITH

**Justin Lavacek (JL):** Hi, I'm Justin Lavacek. I'm professor of music theory here at UNT, and my guest here today is Barbara Willi, the harpsichord soloist tonight on the Benda Concerto. Thank you for being a part of our Czech festival. Welcome! What was your musical education like? Where did you grow up and what were you playing?

**Barbara Willi (BW):** Well, I started playing the piano at the age of nine, but actually the piano was just a bridge for playing the organ, and that was because I [had] been growing up in a small village where the village priest told the village teacher that, "The organist is too old." She was at the age of ninety, and he would need somebody young to follow up. So the teacher said, "Well, maybe try Barbara; maybe she's a good candidate for playing the organ." So I started learning the piano, and then the organ, and I have been playing the organ from the age of fourteen to my studies then, at the university, and it was a great experience because as an organist you also learn to improvise. You have to improvise. And that's a good condition to learning the harpsichord.

**JL:** So, you come to us now from the Czech Republic, but is that where you grew up and where you were playing?

**BW:** Well, I did not grow up in the Czech Republic. I grew up in southern Germany, but I went to the Czech Republic like twenty-two years ago. So, I mean, half of my life is Czech and half of my life is German. And that's a little bit a reflection of my parents, because my father comes from really southern Germany, and my mother from Poland. So I'm ... in the Czech Republic, I'm really in-between my parents, actually.

**JL:** So you mentioned the piano and then the organ. When did you start harpsichord?

**BW:** Well, that's a nice story. I started the harpsichord at the age of sixteen. And my interest was [raised] by an American harpsichordist, Don Franklin, who gave a masterclass, and I was so enthusiastic about the freedom of French harpsichord music that I completely fell in love with the instrument and I started learning it, and then studied it at Freiburg, and then I continued in France, in Strasbourg, and then I ended up in Salzburg in Austria at the Mozarteum.

**JL:** So I'm thinking of Couperin. Is that the French music, among others?

**BW:** \*Nods\*

**JL:** Yeah. Can you talk to us a little bit – we’ve mentioned so many keyboard instruments – about the historical change from the harpsichord through the forte-piano through the modern piano?

**BW:** Yeah, of course. When we speak about Benda, this is exactly the transition time from the harpsichord to the forte-piano, actually the instrument before the modern piano. And it happened already there was the first invention of the forte-piano already before 1700 but nobody was really interested in an instrument that would do dynamics. It was not in the style of the time. And only in the second half of the eighteenth century people got really interested in making dynamics, you know, on the instrument. So they re-invented the piano, and this was mainly done in Germany, then in Austria, and then in Paris, and in England. So, now, our Benda piece was edited in 1779. And this is exactly the time where people started buying forte-piani. I don’t think that Benda himself conceived his concerto for forte-piano. I think he thought really of the harpsichord because you have no dynamic signature at all in the harpsichord part. He really definitely writes “cembalo.” So really harpsichord as solo instrument. And the spread of the forte-piano started in the eighties of the eighteenth century. So, I think, the concerto is really conceived for harpsichord, but it would not be unhistorical to play it on a forte-piano because the instrument existed. And now, what’s the difference between forte-piano and piano? It was a slow development from, let’s say, 1700... from the fifties of the eighteenth century to, let’s say, 1880 where the modern form of our piano, like that [motions to grand piano behind her] was fixed. And up from 1880 up to now there’s practically nothing really changed. It stayed as it was. So you have like [a] hundred years of adaptation from a forte-piano to modern piano, and when I try to explain it, with a lot of simplification actually, the eighteenth century forte-piano was harpsichord with a hammer mechanic. But it was still [a] wooden case and the aesthetics was like a harpsichord. It just did forte and piano. That’s where the name came from.

**JL:** So, if this is a harpsichord piece, will you play continuo on those parts when you are not the featured soloist? Will you continue to accompany the orchestra, let’s say, right at the very beginning?

**BW:** Yeah, sure, sure. I think this was the normal practice of the time. And you can also see that Benda himself put signatures into his bass line, so he expected the soloist to play with the orchestra.

**JL:** You’re giving a lecture actually on basso continuo. Can you tell us a few words, what is basso continuo? What is your role?

**BW:** Well, basso continuo came out of laziness of composers who didn’t want to write out the upper parts of an accompaniment,

because they are very easy to do and easy to improvise. So actually, what I'm doing when I play continuo is I see the bass line and I add the proper harmonies to it.

**JL:** I see. Have you ever played this Benda concerto, or has anybody ever played this Benda concerto before?

**BW:** Um, I can't answer to the second question. Maybe there was anybody, but I don't know about it. I played it some years ago. I came across this piece through a colleague from Brno who found it in the Dresden libraries, and pointed out that it was an interesting piece. Not yet edited. So he [drew] my attention to this piece, and I played it, I think, five or six years ago in the Czech Republic.

**JL:** So the edition you play tonight is by a UNT... the director of early music, Paul Leenhouts. Can you tell us a little bit about Benda? Is Benda an important family to the Czech musical heritage?

**BW:** It's definitely an important family. There were two brothers, Georg Antonín Benda, the author of today's concert, and his brother who was a violinist mainly. And it's interesting to know the context of the time, because both were very young when Frederick the Great from Prussia discovered them, and asked them to come with him to his court, to Berlin – or Potsdam. And actually the context of the time was such that Prussia was fighting against Bohemia, so actually both Benda brothers were asked by their enemy to come, to follow the king. So I think that's quite fascinating. We can see that music is stronger than any ethnic or whatever political coherence. And yeah, Georg Antonín Benda – Jiří Antonín Benda – went to Berlin. He met Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, and this was a very influential meeting. His style is very much influenced by Carl Philipp Emanuel's way of conceiving music. So it's a music where you change mood [every] three bars, you know. It's constantly changing. It's very emotional. It's very sensitive music. And then he went on to Gotha, and he had several posts in Germany.

**JL:** This is the *Empfindsamkeit* style. You're talking about C.P.E. Bach and now Benda. Is Benda known as a keyboard composer mainly? Are there lots of keyboard works [from] Benda that you've played?

**BW:** Well there are a couple of concerti. There are a nice series of sonatas for keyboard instrument. And then, in his time he was mainly known as the inventor of the melodrama, so there is his most famous piece... is *Ariadne auf Naxos*. And even Mozart appreciated him for this form because it was a very modern invention to compose a piece on a German text with the accompaniment of an orchestra. Where the music would express the feeling of the main person, of the singing or of the speaking person. And this was a big source of inspiration for

Mozart, who was otherwise very critical about all his colleagues, and so it was exceptional that he said that, "This protestant musician is a very good musician."

**JL:** And Mozart went on to write *Zaida*, which is a melodrama.

**BW:** \*Nods\*

**JL:** Now we talk about Mozart. What are some of the distinctive features of Benda's music, say, as opposed to Mozart or some of his other contemporaries?

**BW:** Well, I would like to compare him with C.P.E. Bach, who is, actually, they both have this kind of expressiveness in the melody where, of course, the Baroque counterpoint is completely gone. And the focus is on the melody. And the wonderful thing is C.P.E. Bach is very fast in changing mood, he can, you know, have five notes like [sings, then cuts off suddenly], and Benda is a little more classical in the sense that his change of moods is at least [every], let's say, four or five bars, so you can still get into the mood before it's going to change. I think that's a wonderful thing. And well, compared to Mozart, of course he's earlier; his style is a little earlier, but I think the important thing he did is he felt already, empowered you can say, you see that his melodies [were] constructed really according to compositional rules of the time, where, for example, Heinrich Koch said you have the melody and it's normally two or four bars. You can prolongate it or you can shorten it, and you [raise] the expectation and either you fulfill it, or you just, you know, crash it. And this is the, sort of, aesthetics that is behind the music.

**JL:** So because this is a concerto, we expect a cadenza. Did Benda write a cadenza for you or are you going to improvise?

**BW:** Well, Benda did not write a cadenza, which was absolutely normal at the time, because every musician would be expected to be able to improvise. So I will improvise it, really.

**JL:** And I think improvisation is kind of a specialty of yours, is it not? You mentioned it earlier to me.

**BW:** Yeah. I think that it belongs to [the] training of an early music person, but it's true that it is quite important for me, and I think in my development Jos van Immerseel, the Belgium conductor and pianist played a very important role because he really, you know, he thrilled us by saying, "you should improvise. You really should improvise on stage." And so I took that really serious[ly] and actually, I still don't know what I'm to play on Friday in the cadenzi. Of course I prepare it in a sense. I have some ideas. But it's, well, it will be fresh, really special, exclusive experience.

**JL:** I'll be looking forward to it. We talked earlier about Benda's keyboard works, but I understand that you've discovered recently some keyboard works of Ryba. And the Ryba Christmas Mass of course our, kind of, keynote concert coming later as part of the Czech Festival. Can you talk about this Ryba keyboard music that you found?

**BW:** Yeah, well, in the Czech Republic Ryba is always associated with the Christmas Mass. I mean, every child would just sing it and it's absolutely obligatory to go each Christmas to hear it, or to sing it, or to play it. And it raises the image that Ryba was a nice person, you know, idyllic music of Christmas, world peace... And then I came across organ pieces he wrote under the title of, he gave them a Latin title called [*Novae et liberae*] *cogitationes*, which is something like "New and Free Thoughts." And it's really, it's music that is very astonishing. It's harmonically very free. He wrote an organ prelude in C major, and you find the C major chord like three times. It's really going to all tonalities. It's very experimental, and very modern in a sense. So that is an astonishing new side of Ryba's personality.

**JL:** Great! Where do you teach now and what are you working on now?

**BW:** Well, I teach in Brno, in the Czech Republic. There are two universities of music in the Czech Republic, which is Prague and Brno. Of course we have a lot of cooperation between Prague and Brno. So, I am teaching at the Janáček Academy of Music and Performing Arts in Brno. We have been [building] a new department of early music there, including like traverso, Baroque violin, Baroque cello, lute, Baroque singing, and so on. And, well, I'm playing a lot of concerts. I have a Zelenka project, featuring actually all the six oboe sonatas of Zelenka, which are really very difficult to play. And I have great oboists from the Berlin Philharmonic and the members of the Czech Philharmonic. And so that's a big project going on now.

**JL:** Well, I would like to thank my guest, Barbara Willi. We look forward to the concert that's coming up in just a few minutes. Thanks for spending some time with us today.

**BW:** Thank you.

# Václav Philomathes and Insight into Sixteenth Century Theoretical Writings on Choir Practice: Bleating Sheep, Belching Oxen, and Quacking Storks

DEVIN ILER

In the early fifteenth century, the discipline of music theory was undergoing rapid transformation. Although early writers such as Guido of Arezzo, Jehan des Murs, and others launched “theoretical” discussions on a trajectory of focusing on such practical issues as the instruction of singing, theory treatises remained grounded in speculative topics such as the mathematical properties of acoustics and Neoplatonic philosophy. Theorists writing in the last two decades of the fifteenth century such as Franchinus Gaffurius, Ramis de Pareia, and Giovanni Spataro focused increasingly on practical theory and less on speculative theory. Theory treatises gradually became less concerned with the order of music in the universe or its relation to God and moved toward an emphasis of teaching other musicians how to compose, read, or simply sing music. Scholars had repurposed the role of music—these changes led to a wide array of didactic treatises dedicated to instructing young students in the basics of chant and choral singing.<sup>1</sup>

As these Italian theorists’ works moved north, scholars began to mimic the changes to the discipline that Italians began, and a large collection of German didactic writings emerged north of the Alps. The *lateinschule* tradition embraced the direction of *musica practica* and produced many works designed not only for the amateur but sometimes addressed the needs of the professional musician. Too often these works are ignored in our study of the history of music theory in a rush to reach the innovations of later pioneering theorists such as Heinrich Glarean, Pietro Aaron, and Gioseffo Zarlino, who redefined the conception of the medieval modal system and composition instruction. In the scramble to find something “new,” theorists such as Václav Philomathes, Georg Rhau, Nicolaus Wollick, Johann Cochlaeus, Johannes Galliculus, Andreas Ornithoparchus, Martin Agricola, Adrianus Coclico, and others have been passed over or had their “practical” contribution relegated to a mere footnote.

One of the most unknown areas of *musica practica* philosophized by these lesser-known authors is their thoughts on methods of

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<sup>1</sup> Claude Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Musical Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), 8-11.



producing a quality voice during singing and methods on conducting a choir and performing duties as a cantor. The first author to address some of these topics in depth was music teacher and theorist Conrad von Zabern in his *De modo bene cantandi chorale cantum* of 1474 (Mainz), which focuses entirely on how bad singing occurs and how to sing well.<sup>2</sup> Although there were earlier authors that address issues like singing with a head voice or a chest voice, von Zabern was the first to try to fully identify a best practice for singing well.

*De modo bene cantandi* mentions six main tenants of good choral singing, all of which refer specifically to chant practice, and not mensural music: the six tenants are (1) chants should be sung as one voice (*una voce*), (2) with equal rhythmic values and steady tempo, (3) in the middle of the vocal register, (4) at an appropriate tempo according to the specific function of the chant, (5) without embellishment or polyphony, and (6) without a faltering quality of voice from issues like nasal singing or raucous behavior.<sup>3</sup>

Conrad concerned himself primarily with correcting certain unfavorable practices he was observing. For instance, in regard to equal rhythmic values and steady tempo, he noted that he observed singing lengthening the duration of the high notes within a chant. He observed that sometimes the cantor would choose a pitch that was too high or low and the choir would be end up in awkward registers. Point 4 referred to monks not choosing an appropriate tempo to accompany the type of ceremony. If the ceremony was especially solemn, it should be sung slowly. Normal daily songs should be sung with a more rapid tempo. Point 5 was Conrad's way of trying to abolish the practice of adding polyphony to an existing chant melody, claiming it is never done well and citing that it led to issues of promiscuity and devilishness. Point 6 is greatly expanded within *De modo bene cantandi* and is the primary location where von Zabern addresses real qualities of voice tone. One of the facets of this method is to be careful with the

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<sup>2</sup> Timothy McGee, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises* (New York: Oxford University Press), 1998 discusses a host of early medieval descriptions concerning vocal quality that resonate with some of Philomathes's instruction. Gaffurius includes brief mentions of performance practice in *Practica Musice*, e.g. he references singing plainchant in equal note values (Book II, Chapter 15), singers wanting to control enunciation as well as rhythm (Book II, Chapter 15), and finding the basic pulse of the music in relation to the pulse of a resting heart (Book II Chapter 1). These examples are brief and cursory; in contrast, Philomathes goes far beyond the scope of Gaffurius or authors cited in McGee with the inclusion of the entire book on these matters.

<sup>3</sup> For a more complete summary, see Joseph Dyer, "Singing with Proper Refinement from *De modo bene cantandi* (1474) by Conrad von Zabern," *Early Music* 6, no. 2 (1978): 207-27.

sounds produced when singing syllables. For instance, when singing Kyrie eleison, one is not supposed to emphasize the “h” sound while changing syllables, like “Kyr-he-he e-leh-hee-son.” Conrad advises that that sound is similar to the sound of butchers driving sheep to the pasture. He continues with many more examples of forced syllables, lazy singing, and others, but his thoughts remain grounded to production of good tone quality.

Conrad von Zabern establishes ten precepts of good singing: they are: (1) avoid the addition of an “h” sound before any vowel, (2) avoid nasal singing, (3) sing syllables and vowels with a clear diction, (4) avoid changing vowel sounds during a melisma, (5) sing intervals correctly, (6) avoid singing with a forced voice, (7) avoid belting out high notes, (8) take care to match the incipit of each responsory to the proper tone of its verse, (9) avoid singing lifelessly, and (10) avoid singing while swaying, tilting one’s head, opening one’s mouth too wide or distorting the shape of the mouth.

Examining the depictions of fifteenth century singing, it seems clear that the practice of tilting the head back and other issues were quite common. It seems that around Conrad von Zabern’s time, his instructions to avoid these practices might have been new to many readers and quite necessary due to the seemingly widespread issue. Notice the craned necks of many of these singers in Example 1.

**Figure 1. Upwardly craned necks in singing**



*Grande Bible historique complétée*, 1395-1401, attributed to the Master of the book of hours of Johannette Ravenelle and the Master of the Coronation of the Virgin, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Français 159, f. 277v.



*Gradual*, attributed to Zanobi Strozzi, 1450-1455, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, *Diurno Domenicale, Corale 3*, 36v.



Initial C: Monks Singing. Unknown artist, Italian, circa 1420. MS. 24, f. 151.

How should a cantor lead a choir? Why has the idea of conducting been totally ignored? How is an ensemble supposed to work together effectively? Conrad von Zabern unfortunately has nothing to offer in regard to these questions. Rutgerus Sycamber of Venray, a student of Conrad von Zabern also publishes a treatise on refined singing in 1500, but his text merely repeats the same points as von Zabern's treatise and does not seek to advance these ideas.

The Czech music theorist and priest Václav Philomathes provides answers to some of these questions. In 1512 Philomathes publishes the *Musicorum libri quattuor* (Four books about music), which includes one remarkable book about choir practice, choir balance and tone, and conducting methods. It is not clear why Philomathes chose to write the book, as very little is known about Václav Philomathes. Jan Trojan in his dissertation from 1950 about Philomathes studies him and discusses the political and cultural climate surrounding Philomathes's life and includes what little is known of his life. The only other sources that contain bibliographical material are in the introductions of Philomathes's *Grammatyka česká* by Gerd Freidhof (1974) and a Czech translation of the *Musicorum libri quattuor* by Martin Horyna (2003). Both contain considerably less detail than Trojan's.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> There are early sources that mention Philomathes briefly, in the sense of encyclopedic entries: Josef Truhlář, *Humanismus a humanist v Čechách za krále Vladislava II* [Humanism and Humanists in Bohemia at the time of King Vladislav II] (Prague, 1894); Antonín Truhlář, "Přispěvky k dějinám studií humanistických v Čechách" [Essays in the History of Studies of

Philomathes was born in approximately 1490 in Jindřichův hradeč in South Bohemia. He became involved with the church, whether it was through attending parish school or by becoming a choirboy. Involvement with the church was the surest way for a commoner to gain access to music education. It seems likely that Philomathes was in such a position given the dedication page of the *Musicorum libri quattuor* to Jan Kaplický, a vicar in Jindřichův hradeč.<sup>5</sup> In the dedication Philomathes refers to Kaplický as “his lord” and offers the only present he can afford—the treatise. It is unknown exactly what role Philomathes served for Jan Kaplický, but several authors have suggested reasonable hypotheses. In František Teplý’s *The History of the Town of Jindřichův hradeč* he assumes that Philomathes was Kaplický’s chaplain;<sup>6</sup> however, in Horyna’s introduction to his Czech translation of the *Musicorum libri quattuor*, he can find no record to substantiate a record of Philomathes being a priest in Jindřichův hradeč.<sup>7</sup> Jan Trojan assumes that Philomathes was Kaplický’s best student, which would have ensured Kaplický prioritized the funding of Philomathes’s education.<sup>8</sup>

Philomathes moved to Vienna around 1510 and wrote the *Musicorum libri quattuor* in the University of Vienna in 1512. Trojan says that in order to receive the best education, Philomathes had to travel to the University of Vienna (which was run by Catholics) because of concern over the Hussites controlling Prague University. Vienna was a much more attractive option for a Catholic scholar as it was flourishing due to an influx of great teachers and students; in the mid-fifteenth century the University had more than 6000 students. In addition, King Maximilian and the Catholic Church were focused on protecting Vienna as a stronghold against the Ottoman armies threatening the Austrian empire.<sup>9</sup>

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Humanism in Bohemia]” in *České museum filologické* 5, 1899, 81; Vladimír Helfert, “*Muzika Blahoslavova a Philomatova*,” in *Sborník Blahoslavův (1523-1923)*, Přerov 1923, 121–151; František Teplý *Dějiny města Jindřichova Hradce* [The History of the Town of Jindřichův hradeč] (Jindřichův Hradec, 1932).

<sup>5</sup> Teplý, 40–8.

<sup>6</sup> Teplý, 48.

<sup>7</sup> Horyna, xxvi.

<sup>8</sup> Trojan, 7–9.

<sup>9</sup> The discussion of the University of Vienna and its importance as a musical center during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is a vast subject that is too large for this discussion. For more information see chapter 4 of Devin Iler, “Václav Philomathes’ *Musicorum Libri Quattuor* (1512): Translation, Commentary, and Contextualization,” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Texas, 2015), 16–74.

Philomathes wrote the *Musicorum libri quattuor* after a short period of study at the University of Vienna. The motivations behind his work remain uncertain. It appears there was no commission; he was not writing the treatise as any sort of application to join the faculty at another university, and it seems constructed as a didactical tool to teach the basics of music theory and practice. He mentions in the dedication that the book comes from the classroom (*tironica palestra*), and due to limited references to speculative music theory, Horyna suggests that the completion of his studies at the university *bursa* might have been the impetus for writing the work.<sup>10</sup> Despite the fact that its origins are shrouded in mystery, the *Musicorum libri quattuor* ended up as one of the most widely used theory textbooks of the sixteenth century throughout Central Europe with 26 copies extant today of five editions.<sup>11</sup>

After studying at Vienna it is assumed Philomathes travelled back to Czech lands to become a priest; however, no record of his name exists in any church document.<sup>12</sup> He was involved with several more publications throughout the rest of his life: Philomathes published a Latin *Institutio grammatica* (Kraków, 1525) and later collaborated with Beneš Optát and Petr Gzel while working with them on their Czech translation of the New Testament (1533). In the same year he published his *Etymologia* and combined it with Optát and Gzel's *Orthographia* to form the oldest Czech grammar, *Grammatyka česká* (Naměšť nad Oslavou, 1533). Despite his absence from German lands, the fact that publication of the *Musicorum libri quattuor* continued in Vienna, Leipzig, Strasbourg, and Wittenberg as late as 1543—long after he left the area—is a testament to the widespread influence and popularity of his text.

The value of Philomathes's treatise is that it contains a much more thorough and comprehensive philosophy of choir practice aspects than the *De modo bene cantandi*. Although von Zabern focuses solely on the experience of the individual in order to try to craft individual singers ready for anything they might encounter, Philomathes looks at the complete picture and addresses how the group should function, as well as the cantor himself. This approach and particular depth of philosophy seems unmatched either before Philomathes or after within other theory treatises.

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<sup>10</sup> Horyna, xxvi.

<sup>11</sup> See chapters 3 and 4 of Iler, "Václav Philomathes' *Musicorum Libri Quattuor* (1512): Translation, Commentary, And Contextualization."

<sup>12</sup> Trojan, 7–8. Although the reasoning behind this claim is not explained, it seems likely that he traveled back to Bohemia on account of his three subsequent publications—all published in Czech lands.

The third Book of the *Musicorum libri quattuor* houses all of his thoughts on choir practice and conducting and is the most original advancement of Philomathes to the discipline of *musica practica*. Although it is not known why he found the need to offer advice on good choir practice, being able to offer such in-depth guidance demonstrates Philomathes's ability as a practicing musician as well as his familiarity with the techniques and habits of other directors. The well-known music publisher, Georg Rhau, clearly cherished and understood the novelty of Book III: Rhau's first reprint (1518) of the *Musicorum libri quattuor* consisted solely of Book III and excluded the other three books. Because Rhau published this shortened edition only six years after the first edition (1512), it seems logical that Rhau realized the scholarly and perhaps monetary value in reprinting Philomathes's innovative chapters on choir practice as quickly as possible. Later, when he published yet another edition of the *Musicorum libri quattuor* in Wittenberg (1534), he printed the entire treatise but added a special title to Book III: "Venceslai Philomathes de nova domo liber musicorum tertius. De regimine utriusque cantus et modo cantandi," or "The Third Book of Music of Václav Philomathes of the New House (Jindřichův hradeč), concerning the regimen of each song and the manner of singing."<sup>13</sup> See Figure 2 for a copy of this title page. With this special title to Book III, Rhau highlighted Philomathes's name and the fresh contribution of the author to the discipline. The 1543 edition (published not by Rhau but Jakob Fröhlich) also bears this special title. Philomathes divided Book III into three chapters: the direction of plainchant, the directing of figured song, and the manner of singing.

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<sup>13</sup> Philomathes, *Musicorum libri quattuor* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhau, 1534), e3r.



Figure 2. Title Page of Philomathes Book III 1534 Edition, e3r

**VENCESLAI PHILOMATHIS DE NOVA DOMO  
LIBER MUSICORVM  
TERTIVS.  
DE REGIMINE VTRIVSQUE  
CANTVS ET MODO  
CANTANDI.**

**CAPVT PRIMVM  
DE REGIMINE PLANI  
CANTVS.**



*Vatinus est uulgo solitum pressisq; &  
acutis  
Vocibus in phanis diuinum promere  
cantum.*

*Ipsam igitur uocem refert rectoris habere  
Qua leuiter fundum contingere possit & altum.  
In concertorum cœtu debet super omnes  
Audiri sua uox, ut delirare uolentes  
Asperitate soni repareret, sistatq; regatq;  
Et sonet imprimis plano atq; nouissima cantu.*

**B ij SUNT**

Another aspect that makes Book III stand out is that the style of writing in the treatise differs in Book III from that of the other three books. For example, Philomathes abandons his typical use of concise or condensed explanations of technical jargon, in favor of a descriptive, humanistic, and sometimes provincial instruction of practical music. The first chapter describes the outstanding skill-level and presence required for the conductor—showing how much more proficiency is required by the cantor as opposed to the other members of the choir. Philomathes says that the conductor needs to be able to sing the highest notes as well as the lowest notes, and that his voice needs to be loud enough so that he is able to fix or reinforce any singer that might be missing notes or otherwise failing.

To the extent that it is common to produce divine sounds in song with both inexperienced and experienced voices, it is important for the director to have the voice himself by which it is possible to touch both the lowest and the highest [notes]. His voice ought to be heard above all in the group of singers in order that he might set, and repair, and rule those wishing to deviate with the asperity of sound. And let



him sing [be familiar with] the newest things in plainsong.

*Quatinus est vulgo solitum pressisque & acutis  
Vocibus in phanis divinum promere cantum,  
Ipsam igitur vocem refert rectoris habere  
Qua leviter fundum contingere possit & altum.  
In concentorum coetu debet super omnes  
Audiri sua vox, ut delirare volentes  
Asperitate soni reparet, sistatque regatque.  
Et sonet inprimis plano atque novissima cantu.*<sup>14</sup>

He says that conducting needs to be a delicate art rather than a brash, violent performance, and he offers several examples of the latter. He observes that some cantors conduct from a fighting stance with their hands held up like they are threatening injury towards another. Others will keep the *tactus* by stomping on the floor “like a horse that has eaten enough strikes the turf of green grass and salaciously leaps about.”<sup>15</sup> Philomathes observes how other cantors imitate vegetables while directing neumes or look like swans honking with the neck tilted back or squat down while singing. It is hard to imagine how the nuance and expression of the composition could be shown while conducting in this manner, so Philomathes says “Shame to these cantors. It is as effective as if these cantors were in a field plowing patiently and were to cut the furrows with the handle of the plow.”<sup>16</sup> In other words, they are completely ineffective and might as well go back to farming the field where hopefully they cannot do worse.

Philomathes also offers a series of advice on the most effective manner of conducting the choir. He calls for the use of a *stylus* (baton) in one hand to visually represent the leaps of notes and to touch the *tactus* with an assiduous motion (explaining for the first time the *ictus* of modern conducting). Performance of music must have been less formal than one is accustomed to today—he advises to stop conducting and let the choir stop singing if the cantor senses they are falling apart or having difficulty singing a complex passage. The cantor is responsible for bringing the group back together and only after he has accomplished that task may he continue conducting.

Philomathes recommends a few stylistic guidelines. He suggests

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<sup>14</sup> Philomathes, Book III, Chapter 1, d4<sup>v</sup>. Unless otherwise noted, all translations in this article are by the author, Devin Iler.

<sup>15</sup> Multos quoque vidi. / Mensuram pede signantes calcante, caballus / ut satur in viridi ludendo cespitat herba / Luxuriatque salax. (Book III, Chapter 1, d4<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>16</sup> Hui pudor, in campo satius decuisset eosdem / si stiva liras regerent patienter arantes. (Book III, Chapter 1, d4<sup>v</sup>).

logical aspects of “musicianship,” saying “By however so much intensely a song proceeds, by so much more it is pleasing to draw it out subtly and weakly. But how much a chant sinks down, on the contrary, by so much graver a sound is it pleasing to sing.”<sup>17</sup> Remember that music at this point in time is still free of notated marks of dynamics or other performance markings. He says that if the cantor wishes to sing harmony to plainchant, then the cantor must take the highest caution not to ruin the song, noting that this is hardly ever being done with taste. Another matter of style calls for the penultimate note rather than the *finalis* to be sustained in plainchant.

This paints a somewhat surprising picture of conducting technique than otherwise might have been expected. With as many examples of poor conducting as proper conducting, it is hard to imagine if any of the mannerisms or techniques were standardized. But one can see that as early as 1512 the cantor was using a baton in a manner that resembled conducting technique. Philomathes tends to describe the way a cantor should look rather than the techniques involved in conducting. It seems that there was enough of a standard practice for him to say, “do it like X rather than Y,” which provided sufficient instruction for any experienced cantor reading this chapter. Although theoretical texts to this point had not yet mentioned the use of a stylus in conducting, Figure 3’s illumination from the mid-fifteenth century clearly shows a conductor using a baton to conduct, therefore establishing that perhaps this tradition had been going on for quite some time before Philomathes made the first written account of this practice to be found in a theory text. Notice also this is the first picture, unlike the illuminations in Figure 1, where someone is across from the group of singers and facing them.

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<sup>17</sup> Quo magis intense melos it, subtilius ipsum / Debiliusque iuvat  
depromere, quo mage contra / Deprimitur cantus, graviore sono modulari.  
(Book III, Chapter 1, e1<sup>r</sup>)

**Figure 3. Illumination showing a conductor with a baton**



The Olivetan Master (Giralamo da Milano) (fl. 1429-d.1448) & the Master of the Lodi Choir Books (fl. 1419-1440). Detail of "Monks Singing the Office" (f.9v), from a Gradual (Use of the Olivetan Benedictines), ca. 1439-1447. Italy, Lombardy, Santa Maria di Baggio. Manuscript illuminated on vellum.

It is also interesting that Philomathes is able to provide so many examples of a choir failing, falling apart, or singing badly. Either this music might have been more difficult to perform than imagined, or maybe the reality was that it was hard to educate choirboys and men well enough to be able to sing together with any degree of proficiency. Philomathes observes that cantors are rarely able to sing a harmony to a plainchant without breaking rules. This shows that the practice of "singing above the book" (*super librum*) as Tinctoris described, challenged even the best cantors.<sup>18</sup>

The second chapter of Philomathes's Book III focuses primarily on the proper balance and the art of bringing a choir together in mensural song.<sup>19</sup> Philomathes begins the chapter with a description every musician has experienced at some point in their career: how one "mangy sheep" can harm the whole flock:

Every melody is dissonant when it is not sung with correct voices. It is as much when it is a high poem, correct for you who can sing the right notes and direct songs, when the pitch is correct for you but incorrect for your companion, you will begin in the right mode and your companion will drag you from it with his own voice, seeking the depths. It will be as if you have sung with a rock in the difficult middle part of the song. You seemed to descend from the beginnings

<sup>18</sup> Johannes Tinctoris, *Liber de arte contrapuncti* [The Art of Counterpoint], trans. Albert Seay (n.p.: American Institute of Musicology, 1961), 103–5.

<sup>19</sup> McGee's book, *The Sound of Medieval Song: Ornamentation and Vocal Style According to the Treatises*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1998. offers a thorough study of medieval descriptions on this topic.

under the diapente, and more, until finally you have sung all the way to the end.

### **Comparison**

One mangy, bleating sheep harms the flock and contaminates the entire herd if it grazes with beautiful lambs. Does the voice of an owl blend well with the voice of a lark? Therefore, you who direct mensural songs, choose only singers who have congruous voices, and let no one dare to approach the Stage of Melponiense, who seems to squeak with a harsh voice. Music thrives on art, but the singer is approved by his voice. If anyone knows both he is happy that such has been bestowed.

Original Text:

*Dissonat omne melos, dum rectis vocibus ipsum  
Non canitur, quantum sit cunque poematis alti  
Quo cecinisse modo recte potes, & regere odas  
Cum tibi vox recta est, concentori tamen aegra,  
More toni incipies, concentor voce suapte  
Illico te secum trahet, ima petens quasi saxum  
Cum quo vix mediam, partem cantus cecinisti,  
Visus es ab coepto descendere sub diapente,  
Et mage si tandem finem cantaveris usque.*

### **Comparatio**

*Officit una gregi scabiosa ovis, & pecus omne,  
Contaminat, si cum formosis pascitur agnis.  
Num vox bubonis voci bene quadrat alaudae?  
Harmonicas igitur quisquis moderare camoenas  
Delige dumtaxat concentores, quibus est vox,  
Congrua, Melpomenesque accedere pulpita nemo,  
Audeat, absurda qui voce crepare videtur.  
Musicus arte viget, sed cantor voce probatur,  
Si quis utrumque sciat, genio donante beatus.<sup>20</sup>*

Philomathes claims that a bass voice is the most fitting for the cantor because of its ability to direct polyphonic songs, because a sound is better heard “from the depths.” He claims that the tenor voice needs to be clear and serene, and that when boys sing the highest part, they should sing with a “subtle and tender sound.” As a metaphor, he says that wagons do not work when pulled by unequal horses, and so one cannot expect a choir to sing a hymn well with unequal voices.

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<sup>20</sup> Book III, Chapter 2, e1<sup>r-v</sup>

Philomathes considers the important factor to be that there must be a similar balance and tone quality among the members of the choir.

Philomathes also offers practical advice for the staging of a choir for a performance. He says that the tenor should stand with the boys (the discant voice), and that the altos should stand apart with the basses. The reasoning behind this is that Philomathes identifies these two group pairs to be joined by octave relationships. In order to begin a song, Philomathes calls for the cantor to softly sing or perhaps hum the incipit of each voice's part, so that the singers may internalize their starting pitch and begin in symphony. He stresses that beginning the singing of a composition is fraught with difficulty and, therefore, the cantor must be most cautious to start correctly.

Philomathes's last two pieces of instruction apply to mensural song. He tells the director to be diligent in fixing errors when members of the choir get lost or waver. The cantor should start singing the failed member's part and let someone else sing his part until they have fixed the error. In a surprising recommendation he says that if it is not possible to get the singer back on track, he should simply stop the choir and let them end on whatever harmony sounds most appropriate as an ending. He says that this will avoid the cantor's embarrassment and fool most listeners into thinking the composition was supposed to conclude in this manner. The second bit of guidance again covers techniques of conducting: the director should signify the beat through continuous motion. He says that although skilled singers might be able to handle singing a composition without a conductor, it is too difficult for novices to manage performing without a conductor.

The second chapter demonstrates that Philomathes had a deep appreciation for the proper balance and performance of mensural music. Given the many observations of how difficult it must have been for a choir to stay together, it is clear that not every church choir was capable of performing mensural music well. Philomathes's examples of authentic performance offer an invaluable window into music making in the sixteenth century.

Chapter three is an in-depth discussion of the proper manner of singing. Many examples contain metaphors to animals, which might be part of the appeal Philomathes's rustic quality of writing had to larger audiences. These examples are often quite humorous:

If anyone belches forth forcefully from his throat a voice in the manner of oxen, or if he paws the ground with quivering foot so that the voice returns a horrible sound with the lungs pushed back, or if he grimaces with discordant lips, or if he who stays awake all day

long and night yawns, it would be displeasing in song.  
It is necessary to preserve fitting gestures.

*More boum si quis vocem de gutture per vim  
Eructet, vel si trepido pede cespitet, ut vox  
Horribilem reddat sonitum pulmone repulse  
Aut si discordis labiis sannaverit, ac si  
Oscitet is, qui perdius & pernox vigilarit  
Displicet, in cantu est gestus servare decentes.*

He says that proper singing should sound like the lowest notes of a nightingale. He says to avoid singing with a “vibrating tongue” (i.e. without vibrato) or singing with open, or mostly open, lips (in the manner of a stork). Even with as many colorful examples as he provides, Philomathes says that the reader must seek out other good habits on their own.

Richard Sherr’s article, “Performance Practice in the Papal Chapel during the 16<sup>th</sup> Century,” includes quotations from many administrative and accounting records that describe specific scenarios where singers were fined, fired, or disciplined.<sup>21</sup> From the scenario portrayed in Philomathes’s Book III, it seems clear that the practice of music making was never a perfect endeavor, and it might have been more difficult to perform well than previously thought. Even within the pope’s own chapel, there is ample documentation of musician’s false starts, missed notes, wrong notes, and general antics.

Sherr gives an example of a record that describes the arrangement of the choir. In notes taken by Antonio Calasanz during a meeting of papal singers in 1564, he records a directive from the *maestro di cappella* to arrange the choir with tenors and sopranos on the left (sopranos in front) and altos and basses on the right (basses in back). This description mirrors that given by Philomathes, who calls for a similar pairing and positioning of voices. Sherr points out that this arrangement mirrors the choirbook layout found in Renaissance manuscripts, and so this positioning makes logical sense.<sup>22</sup> This alignment of singers led to several practical problems however, such as the altos not turning pages on time or singers starting on the wrong voice when the choirbook format on a given page of a score broke the conventional layout. In addition soloists would sometimes not know whether or not they should double singers on a line providing an amusing account:

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<sup>21</sup> Richard Sherr, “Performance Practice in the Papal Chapel during the 16<sup>th</sup> Century,” *Early Music* 15, no. 4 (1987): 453–62.

<sup>22</sup> Sherr, 453.

At the Benedictus, Cesare Bellucius [a bass] began to sing because Marinus Lupi [another bass] told him to. Johannes Baptista Martini [a bass] also sang because Paulus de Magistris [a bass] told him to sing, such that neither one of them wanted to stop or make way for the other. Cesare Bellucius did not know the rules of the chapel, but Johannes Baptista acted badly, as Martinus reported, because he was often told to sing and never wanted to, but today because Marinus told Cesare to sing, he [Martini] wanted to sing; thus, after the Benedictus they had much discussion about this.<sup>23</sup>

Philomathes's advice conforms to this tradition of a somewhat amateur scene of music making. Several of his examples of poor singing and conducting seem to reinforce the notion that there was indeed a demand for a solution to fix these problems. With such a poor history of vocal practice in the pope's own chapel, it raises the question of how rough music making in smaller Central European towns and cities might have been.

In Philomathes's inventive Book III he dispenses a wealth of practical instruction based on authentic performance experience. Although Book III is not theoretical in nature, its honest assessment of how to perform the music of his period is invaluable. Philomathes depicts a common scene where the cantor, the singers, and even the audience are struggling to understand and hear music properly. Although the theory behind concepts of modality and rhythm had existed for centuries before his time, it seems clear that music instruction was still lacking across Central Europe and left many musicians ill-equipped to deal with the realities of performing mensural music. Against this backdrop it is only natural that so many basic, didactic treatises appeared during the time period of Philomathes. Innovations like the printing press made music making more common and caused a vast demand for textbooks that could teach music's nuances.

It is clear that Philomathes started some kind of trend. Georg Rhau, who printed both the Leipzig and Wittenberg editions, also quoted many of Philomathes's verses in his own *Enchiridion utriusque musicae* (1517) and offers the following explanation for their inclusion: "as he is the most skilled man in the arts of poetry and music, I did not hesitate to prefer his verses to others."<sup>24</sup> Johannes Galliculus, in his *Libellus de compositione cantus* (1520), also quoted

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<sup>23</sup> Sherr, 457.

<sup>24</sup> "Qui cum sit homo, et poeticae et Musicae artis instructissimus, non erubui eius carminibus prae aliis uti." Georg Rhau, *Enchiridion utriusque musicae*, Wittenberg: Johann Rhau, 1517, b1<sup>r</sup>.

Philomathes, and Martin Agricola even published a commentary on Philomathes's treatise as the *Scholia in Musicam planam Venceslai Philomathis* (1538). Whether it started with Conrad von Zabern or Philomathes, a common trend in the sixteenth century was the eventual inclusion of a book on choir practice within a new treatise: Andreas Ornithoparchus's *Musicae activae micrologus* (1517), Sebald Heyden's *De arte canendi* (1540), Hermann Finck's *Musica practica* (1556), and Jan Blahoslav's *Musica* (1558) all include a book on practical advice to singers and choirmasters.

Perhaps part of the reason Philomathes's treatise was more widely printed than other similar treatises was Philomathes's focus on animals. Medieval and Renaissance scholars appreciated a good laugh and engaged in mischievous and playful depictions within manuscripts. The fact that manuscripts are often full of dueling rabbits, knights fighting snails, and other bizarre illustrations shows that books were not exclusively in the realm of serious study. Philomathes maintained a connection to the parochial matters, which a wider, more rural readership might have appreciated greatly.

**Figure 4. Humor in manuscripts**





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